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$95.00 HLM052

Spartan Helmet Copper Finish

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$57.95 HLM062

Uhlan Lance - Original type rope wrapping

What a piece of history! These lances were made by Weyersberg Kirschbaum for the German Uhlans prior to WWI. This is one of the most famous names in German military cutlery making. These lances were produced in the 1890's and lost in history until about 30 years ago when they were bought by the fabled international arms firm "Interarms". Here again, they got lost for another 30 years until SARCO uncovered them in a buying spree at Interarms.

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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 available; medium, Large, XL, 2XL, 3XL

(Inert)

M39-B German WW2 Smoke Grenade

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.

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German FG42 1st Model Replica

LAST OF THE INCREDIBLE SHOEI REPLICA WWII GERMAN GUNS - END OF AN ERA

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Full Size metal & wood replica of the venerable German Paratroop assault rifle. Comes with magazine & bayonet. This is the 1st model (Type 1), highly coveted and very difficult to find on the market today. This is a non-firing replica that we had purchased many years ago during the first production run by Shoei in Japan. Last Chance!!! Note: Guns lock & function just like the original. Exact size - over 85 machined parts in the FG42. These guns are dinosaurs in the making.

(non-firing) $1595.00 MISC117

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 (Inert)

FOR THE M1, M1A1 & M9 BAZOOKAS

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

$39.95 MISC447

RPG-75 Shoulder Fired Rocket Launcher (non-firing)

This 2 foot long inert training RPG-75 ,opens and extends to 35" long, when ready for fire. Very similar to the U.S. M72 LAW Rocket Launcher, this Czech made rocket launcher weighs 7 lbs., and comes with shoulder strap and flip up sights. This is the same RPG you will see in many hot spots around the world, especially in various Bush Wars in Africa, by SWAPO units in Angola, and the Near East.

$199.95 RL010

U.S. M1A1 Bazooka

(non-firing)

Sarco is please to offer a full size steel and wood replica of the venerable WW2 U.S. Bazooka. This unit from the 'Kamabee Keep' dept., sports the look of how the Bazooka appeared as used by U.S. forces in European & the Pacific theaters. It originally was also referred to as the 2.36 Rocket Launcher due to the diameter of its rocket. The unit comes complete with sights and sling. **$445.00** MISC502

German WW2 M39 Egg Grenade

Accurate inert steel reproduction with detachable Fuse assy. Full Size. **$22.95** MISC680 (Inert)

1888 British / Boer War .303 Bandolier

Soft Pliable Cow Leather like the Originals! Fits 50 rounds of .303 officially, but all sorts of other similar sized ammo like .30 and 7.62 Nato too. Fits well for people of Medium to 2XL build! New. Limited quantity.

$59.95 MISC786

M11A3 WWII DUMMY RIFLE GRENADE

Rare! Lost in the warehouse for 10 years. Repainted and may have minor storage dings on fins. These don't exist anymore. **$34.95** AM125 (Inert)

Please note: No dummy grenades to California - Some States may have restrictions on ownership of INERT grenades. Check your local & State laws.

Japanese WW2 Paratrooper Bandolier

Very sturdy, this 17 pocket bandolier holds 85 rds of ammo as originally designed and used throughout the Pacific and China campaigns by Imperialist Japan. Used with 6.5mm & 7.7mm Japanese ammo on 5 rd. stripper clips, this bandolier can hold an assortment of different similar sized ammo on clips like 8mm, .303, etc. We can offer this bandolier by itself or with 17 original brass stripper clips similar to the Japanese 7.7mm clip. New mfr.

Japanese Khaki bandolier (only) **$27.95** MISC676

Panzerfaust Klein WW2 Rocket Launcher (inert)

The first model German WW2 Rocket Launcher! Our steel Panzerfaust has a full size inert rocket with fins that can be removed from the tube. Also a sight / trigger assy., with movable cocking piece and trigger button that works. This is the correct style launcher - not the 'cobbled together' reproduction found elsewhere and sold as 'original style'. Full size and totally inert. New.

$145.00 MISC684

French Foreign Legion "Sahara" Kepi

Our Kepi is the NCO type with blue wool cover with red top and blue piping. An embroidered green bursting bomb is sewn into the front. Finished with brass chinstrap buttons and leather visor and chinstrap. We have included the DESERT COVER, which fits over the top, and the "Saharan" neck protector. Well-made. U.S. Sizes: 7-1/4", 7-3/8", 7-1/2", 7-5/8", 7-3/4"

$49.95 MISC285

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.

*Check your local laws on 'knuckl knives' before ordering. Cannot ship to CA, IL, MI, VT, MO, DE, MA, NY, NJ

$39.00 BAY333

STEEL TYPE 99 PROTECTIVE SHIELD

As used by Japanese forces during WW2. Complete with handle and monopod. New.

$99.95 MISC443

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

Japanese Army Helmet w/ Net

WW2 Steel helmet complete with suspension, chin strap, and helmet net as used by Japanese forces during WW2. Excellent quality and perhaps even better than the original. New made. **$54.95** HLM038

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U.S. M1 Carbine (Non-Firing Display Gun)

WWII ushered in a variety of great firearms, but the M1 Carbine may be the "King" of light shoulder fired weapons! Officers and NCOs, Arty. & Vehicle crews, Mortar teams, Radiomen all loved it because it had better accuracy than the Model 1911 pistol and less weight than the Thompson or Garand. This over shadowed the lack of ballistic punch. 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

German Stick Grenade Keychain

Fun way to handle your keys! 4-1/4" long wooden stick grenade ensures a positive grip. Printed with Original WW2 German markings and the Sarco Website imprinted on the handle. **$5.00** MISC785

CLAYMORE MINE (inert)

AND CARRY BAG WITH INSTRUCTIONS

Inert reproduction Claymore Mine with carrying bag with water proof instructions makes a great display or reenactor item! Comes with folding legs and screw on fuze holders. In use since Vietnam & still a favorite defensive measure! Limited availability.

$69.95 MISC589

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

U.S. WW2 M19 60MM MORTAR

U.S. Marine Raider and Army Airborne units benefited from this lightweight mortar rushed into action in 1942 which saw use in Europe and Pacific theaters and from Korea through Vietnam. Our non- firing mortar uses the original baseplate and M15 sight assembly blended with our new made tube. Never offered before in the U.S.! Mortar only. **$325.00** MISC397

Reich WW2 Metal German Wall Plaques

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

German M35 Helmet WWII, Afrika Korps Tan

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 in German 'Feldgrau' Afrika Korps Tan color. 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.

$34.95 HLM058

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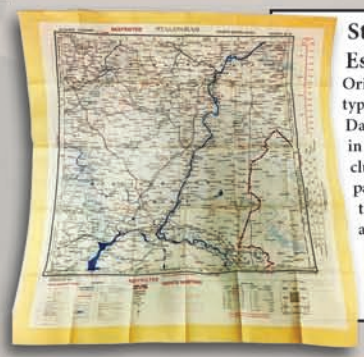
U.S. Pineapple Grenade (inert)

Inert cast iron body with inert US GI fuse lends authenticity to this iconic staple of the American serviceman in the last century. Introduced in WW1, the original designed grenade progressed through evolutions to serve in WW2, Korea, and beyond to retirement @1969. A very deadly grenade due to its girth and castellated body which reminded GIs of a Pineapple. Comes with WW2 era, (1943) 'overpaint Yellow' band and 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)



Stalingrad Regional Aircrew Escape Map

Original Rayon fabric escape & evasion type map issued to aircrews and 'Cloak & Dagger' operators behind the iron curtain in the 1950s. 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 . Easily foldable and resistant to water damage. Very scarce today and very limited. Size@22"x23.5"

Original. **$45.00** MISC952

BETSY ROSS FLAG

Manufactured with heavy duty cotton layered with 13 embroidered Stars applied in a manner Betsy Ross would be proud of. Perfect for flying every day on your flag pole. A beautiful touch of traditional colonial Americana. (High quality, heavy duty cotton.... Not cheap nylon or poly!) **Size 3 x 5 feet**

$34.95 FLAG56

Japanese Rising Sun Flag

Cotton 3 x 5 feet with loop on top and cord on bottom like the original WW2 flags. Originally adopted by the Army, but later dominated for use by the Japanese Navy.

$18.00 FLAG12

Vietnam Advisor's Bush Hat, US Military

Manufactured in the traditional labor intensive circular weave pattern for strength as used with the French Foreign Legion Bush Hat. Highly coveted during the war and almost impossible to find large sizes today! Perfect for the ranch, camping, or any rugged adventure where utility is important. Comes with a Saigon facsimile label of the period. Comes in O.D. green.

U.S. Sizes: 7-1/4", 7-1/2", 7-5/8", 7-3/4", 7-7/8" **$34.95** HAT06

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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. The peak of French military fashion in the early 20th century! These are of the highest quality and a rare find in the world market. Newly embroidered by a military contractor working with Kamabee Keep. Very limited quantity and only XL size is available. A gorgeous addition to any display or for art décor in your office! Eye catching quality and will get people talking for sure.

$89.95 MISC722

19th Century Antique Brass Australian Fire Helmet

Patterned from the British 1800s fire helmet, these are the New South Wales, Australian issue fire helmet used back in the days of horse drawn water cisterns and fire brigades. Brass plate embossing on front is marked with NSW FB. Comes complete with leather brass chained chinstraps. A beautiful historic collectible will add distinction to any décor! Large size. New. **$125.00** HLM059

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! Bound to spark interest and conversations from all who see it. Realistic metal and plastic construction and it comes with steel magazine and leather sling.

$210.00 REP02

British Grenadier Guards Regimental Flag

Whether storming fortress Tangiers, repelling Napoleons Imperial Guard at Waterloo, Crimea, or the Gothic Line, this Regiment has famously made great 'in roads' in the history of warfare. 3 x 5 feet flag with fringe is a beauty for wall display and perfect for any 'Anglophile'! **$25.00** FLAG30

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

1928 Thompson Display Gun

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

REMEMBER THE MOVIES ZULU & ZULU DAWN? HERE IS THE REGIMENTAL FLAG OF THE BRITISH 24TH WARWICKSHIRE REGIMENT

2nd Battalion, 24th Foot Colors with their battle honors is a beautiful tribute to their sacrifices from clashing with Napoleon at Talavera, charnel conflagration at Chillianwallah, and the truly legendary stand of their unit at Rorkes Drift , South Africa where against all odds and with stellar leadership, a Company of the 24th defended against an attack by over 4,000 Zulu warriors. A beautiful wall hanger. Size 53" x 33". 2 grommets for use on pole. **$29.95** FLAG32

German Balkenkreuz 'Vehicle Cross' Flag

Adopted emblem from WWI that found greater prominence during the WW2 where it was painted on hulls and as a 'Flag' applied to the top of the engine compartment to allow visual recognition by the Luftwaffe pilots, primarily in the Eastern campaign. All cotton, size 3 x 5 feet with loop and bottom draw cord. **$18.95** FLAG21

MILITARY HERITAGE

Winter 2021

FEATURES

COLUMNS

Cover: A U.S. Sherman tank races to the front in Tunisia during combat in 1943. Erwin Rommel "outfoxed" Allied troops during the fight for Kasserine Pass, which led to sweeping changes for American troops when George Patton took over command of the U.S. II Corps. Photo: Getty Images

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EDITORIAL

EISENHOWER'S REFORMS IN THE WAKE OF KASSERINE PASS

Even in retreat, the German army was formidable. The Allies learned this time and time again on the long road to victory that began in North Africa in late 1942. Following the Battle of Kasserine Pass in February 1943, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel quit the high plateau of the Grand Dorsal in western Tunisia and withdrew to the safety of interior lines in Tunisia. The Germans left behind more than 43,000 mines and demolished more than a dozen bridges to retard the Allied pursuit. A Teller mine could blow the track off any tank or other tracked vehicle. Each mine contained 11 pounds of TNT sealed inside a sheet-metal casing and fitted with a pressure-actuated fuse.

The German armored columns had scored another great victory, this time driving the Allies back 85 miles in less than a week—a much greater retrograde movement than would occur during the Battle of the Bulge two years later. Casualties ran high; the Americans suffered 20 percent losses, more than 6,000 of the 30,000 men engaged in the campaign. A significant portion of the losses were prisoners of war.

In the wake of its tactical defeat at Kasserine Pass, the U.S. Army engaged in a period of introspection and self-flagellation that led to reforms to tactical doctrine, logistics and operations. "We are learning something every day, and in general do not make the same mistake twice," wrote General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force in North Africa.

After the disaster at Kasserine unfolded in late February, Eisenhower had hurried artillery forward to the threatened sector. He also ordered U.S. II Corps commander Maj. Gen. Lloyd Fredendall to attack Rommel's exposed flanks, but the II Corps commander lacked the fortitude to undertake a counterattack. Rommel, of course, realized the vulnerability of his own supply lines and pulled back in good order.

The U.S. Army quickly made Fredendall its scapegoat. He deserved plenty of blame, but problems existed higher up the chain beyond his control. In some ways, Fredendall was a typical of many American leaders, but a number of American commanders participating in the battle had shown they had the guts and skill necessary to take on the Germans. Eisenhower sacked Fredendall less than two weeks after the battle. Afraid he might be shot down by the Germans if he flew to Algiers, Fredendall instead rode away from the battlefront in a Buick before boarding a plane for the States.

The Allied command structure was confused. Eisenhower accepted blame for the defeat and vowed immediately afterward to make sweeping reforms. He resolved to subordinate French troops to the Allied chain of command, concentrate American forces when engaging the Germans, issue forceful orders to frontline commanders, and upgrade American antitank capabilities. He had to do all of this while continuing to maintain unity among British, French, and American commanders prone to backbiting. The British directed the frontline forces, given that they fielded 75 percent of the ground forces in the North African theater.

Of course, the Americans needed a commander who understood the tenets of combined-arms operations and did not fight using the tactical principles of the last war. Maj. Gen. George Patton lived and breathed mobile warfare. Patton aimed to shake up the II Corps, and he made good on his promise.

Patton arrived at Djebel Kouif in Algiers on March 7 to take command. In the weeks that followed, he instilled discipline in officers and soldiers alike. The result was a growing sense of esprit de corps in the American fighting forces. He won a quick victory against the Germans at El Guettar, Tunisia, before the month was over. The U.S. First Infantry Division fought extremely well at El Guettar. "The Hun will soon learn to dislike that outfit," Eisenhower said. The Germans also would come to dislike many other American units.

—William E. Welsh

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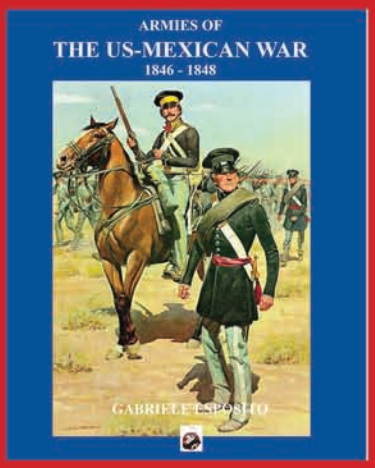

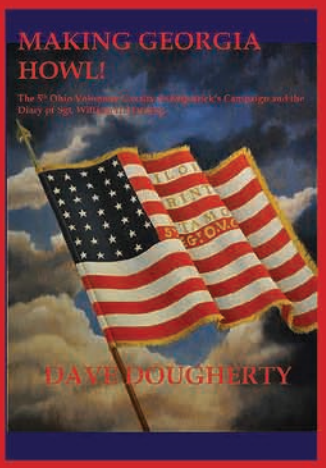

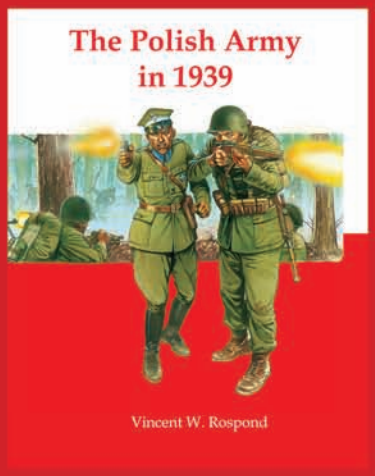

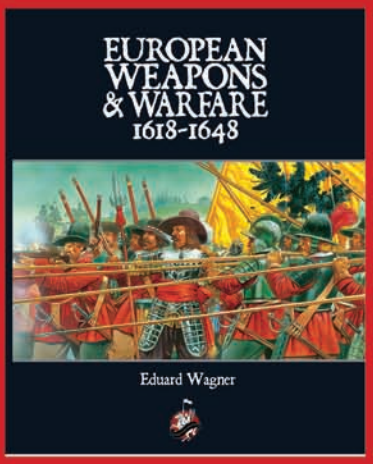

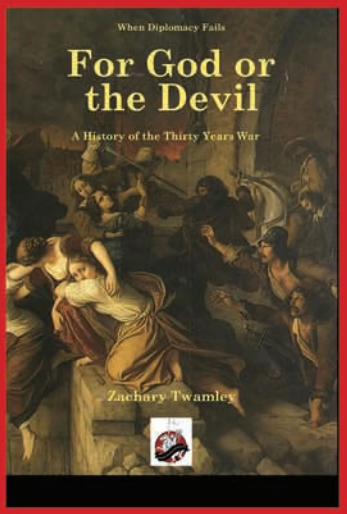

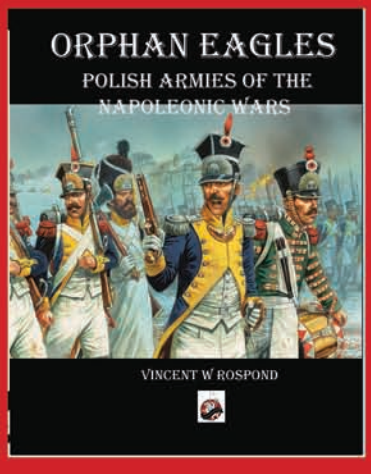

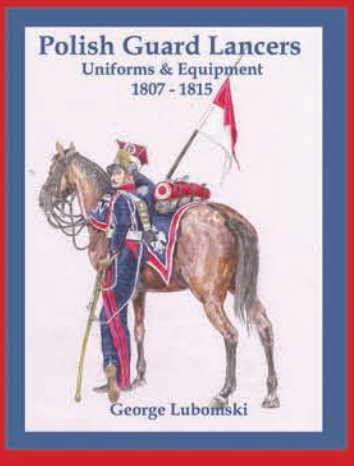

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RUSSIAN GENERAL PETER BAGRATION FACED HIS SUPREME TEST AGAINST NAPOLEON ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF BORODINO IN 1812.

By Victor Kamenir

French troops assault the Bagration fleches during the climax of the Battle of Borodino in a painting by Russian artist Aleksandr Yurievich Averyanov. The earthen redans changed hands many times throughout the savage fighting. Inset: General Pyotr Bagration.

Russian General Peter Ivanovich Bagration was one of those rare commanders who received near-universal praise from his contemporaries outside of Russia. "Gentle, gracious, chivalrously brave, he was beloved by everyone, and admired by all who witnessed his exploits," wrote his contemporary British General Sir Robert Wilson. "No officer ever excelled him in the direction of an advance or rear guard."

Such plaudits are all the more remarkable when one considers that he had to claw his way up through the ranks in the Imperial Russian Army. Bagration was just one year old when his father, Prince Ivan Bagration, a descendent from an impoverished branch of the royal Georgian Bagrationi dynasty, immigrated with his family to Russia in 1766. Since his princely rank was not recognized by the Russian government, Ivan rose no higher than second-major during his service in the garrison at Kizlyar fortress in the northern Caucasus.

In Russian society, someone of Peter's lineage would commonly have been educated by private tutors and possibly in the cadet corps in the capital; however, the financially challenged family was not able to provide young Peter with top-notch schooling. Thus, the younger Bagration was educated at the garrison's school along with other officers' children. At the age of 17, he enlisted as a gentleman ranker, an enlisted soldier with some claim to privilege, in the Astrakhan Infantry Regiment in 1782.

Service in his home area on the northern frontier of the Caucasus region involved constant guerilla warfare against mountain tribesmen who bitterly resisted Russian encroachment. During

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Bagration's courage under fire while fighting in the ranks of the Kavkazski regiment against the Turks at the siege of Ochakiv in 1788 led to his promotion from non-commissioned officer to captain.

this time, the younger Bagration gained invaluable combat experience and a earned a promotion to sergeant. While campaigning in the region in 1785, Bagration's regiment suffered such heavy casualties that the surviving soldiers were absorbed into the Kavkazski Infantry Regiment.

In the ranks of the Kavkazski regiment, Bagration participated in the Russian siege of the Turkish fortress of Ochakiv on the Black Sea. His superiors noted his bravery, composure under fire, and leadership abilities.

Because of this performance, Bagration was promoted up the chain. By 1790, he was a captain; in 1791, he was promoted to major and transferred to the Kiev Mounted Chasseur regiment.

Bagration's rise through the ranks continued unabated. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and given command of a *jaeger* (ranger) battalion in 1795. Bagration's temperament, astute nature, and initiative were perfectly suited for the command of these light troops, who were frequently tasked with difficult missions. Three years later, he received a promotion to full colonel.

Great opportunity awaited him in the War of the Second Coalition, which erupted in 1798. Russian Tsar Paul I dispatched an expeditionary corps under preeminent general Count Alexander Suvorov to northern Italy the following year to assist the allied Hapsburgs against the French. While en route to Italy, Bagration received a promotion to major general, for Suvorov had recognized his abilities in earlier campaigns. During the subsequent Italian and Swiss campaign of 1799, Suvorov served as Bagration's mentor.

The two generals were kindred spirits who both had a fondness for aggressive operations. Even though Bagration was the most junior Russian general in the Russian expeditionary corps, he quickly earned Suvorov's trust. As a sign of his regard for Bagration, Suvorov assigned him to lead the Allied advance guard.

The Italian campaign was a stunning success for the Russian expeditionary corps. Bagration came to the forefront during the expedition when he captured Brescia. In a string of successful military operations in Italy, Suvorov drove out the Republican French forces.

Unfortunately for the Allies, French General Andre Massena soundly defeated an Austro-Russian army at Zurich in September 1799 led by Russian General Alexander Korsakov. In the wake of the defeat, the Austrians concluded a separate peace with France.

Suvorov received orders to march to Zurich to try to save the situation. He then undertook a grueling trek through the St. Gotthard Pass in the snow-capped Alps to central Switzerland. Bagration once again led the advance guard under conditions that required a superhuman effort by everyone in the army. After reaching central Switzerland, Suvorov led his army on a strategic withdrawal to Russia. During the retreat, Bagration was given command of the rearguard. Suvorov's protégé again distinguished himself when his 6,000 troops fought off a French army five times its size at Hollabrunn in Lower Austria.

Upon returning to Russia, Bagration's exploits in Italy earned him a prestigious assignment as the commander of the Life-Guard Jaeger Battalion. Being in the emperor's favor, Bagration was frequently invited to the most fashionable salons of St. Peterburg. Emperor Paul conferred upon Bagration the title of prince in 1800, which gave the Bagration family a firm footing in the Russian nobility.

The long series of wars against Napoleon continued under the new emperor Alexander I, son of Paul I. Bagration fought in every major battle from 1805 to 1807, including Austerlitz, Eylau, Heilsberg, and Friedland.

Just two weeks before Austerlitz, Bagration led Russian troops in a rearguard action at Schongrabern in Lower Austria, thus allowing the main Russian army time to retreat and link up with reinforcements. Despite being given up for dead, Bagration was able to break contact with the enemy and rejoin the army. Bagration received a promotion to lieutenant general in 1805. He showed extraordinary courage while leading the advance guard at Friedland in 1807, where he very nearly overwhelmed the French right in the first phase of the battle. Not long afterwards, his soldiers, who worshipped him, dubbed him "Eagle of the Army."

During a lull in the Napoleonic Wars, Bagration turned in a stunning performance during the Finnish War with Sweden in spring 1809 when his 17,000 troops captured the Aaland Islands in a march over the frozen ice of the Gulf of Bothnia.

Bagration assumed command of the Army of Moldavia later that year when it devolved to him following the death of Field Marshal Alexander Prozorovski. Operations along the Danube River against the Turks were largely centered around fortresses located on both sides of the river. The opposing armies crossed and re-crossed the Danube, withdrawing to their sides at the end of each campaign season. Initially, Bagration's operations against Turkish positions on the right bank of the river went well, winning a battle and capturing two fortresses. As a result, he was promoted to general of infantry, which equated to full general.

At the end of the 1809 campaign season, due to political necessity, Alexander demanded that Bagration keep the army on the right bank of the Danube River to maintain possession of hard-won territory. Bagration was well aware that a lack of supplies and insufficient lodgings during the winter would cost him half of his army.

He chose to save the army over his career. He disobeyed Alexander and returned his army to the left bank of the river, leaving behind only a token force. The move earned him the enduring enmity of Alexander; the tsar relieved him of his com-

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Count Alexander Suvorov's army repulses a French attack in the St. Gotthard Pass during a fighting retreat from northern Italy to Switzerland in 1799. Suvorov picked Bagration to command the rear-guard as the exhausted Russian troops returned from Switzerland to Russia.

mand in March 1810 and transferred him to an insignificant post in the Ukraine.

His fortunes changed again when he received command of one of several Russian western-front armies when Napoleon invaded Russia on June 24, 1812. Tsar Alexander had three armies positioned against Napoleon. The Russian right flank was held by General Michael Barclay de Tolly's 127,000-strong First West Army, the center by Bagration's Second West Army of 48,000 troops, and the left flank by General Alexander Tormasov's 45,000-strong Third West Army south of the Pripet Marshes.

The Russian armies fell back in the face of Napoleon's Grande Armée, which contained 400,000 French soldiers and 285,000 allied troops. Although Barclay and Bagration tried to maintain communications with each other, they found it difficult to do so in the face of the rapidly advancing French army. Delays in communications spawned misunderstandings and misjudgments; as a result, the relationship between the two generals soured.

The two Russian armies united on July 22 at Smolensk. Tsar Alexander, who accompanied Barclay's army, verbally appointed Barclay to overall command before he departed for safer environs. But without written confirmation of his order, Bagration proceeded as if he were co-commander of the combined army rather than Barclay's subordinate.

After bitter rearguard action at Smolensk followed by a retreat eastward, the smoldering enmity between Barclay and Bagration came to a head. Many senior positions in the Russian military were occupied by ethnic Germans, French royalist émigrés, and other foreign-born officers. Russian officers, including Bagration, tended to resent the preferential treatment shown in the past by the Russian court to ethnic Germans who hailed from Russia's Baltic territories. Despite his Georgian roots, Bagration considered himself Russian. He took it upon himself to accuse Barclay of treason. It was an unjust accusation at best.

Unknown to Barclay and Bagration, the tsar had appointed General Mikhail Kutuzov, a popular ethnic-Russian officer, as commander-in-chief of the combined army shortly before the battle at Smolensk. Kutuzov arrived in the field to take command of the army on August 17. Russian officers and soldiers received Kutusov's appointment with great enthusiasm. To the consternation of Kutusov and his allies in the army, however, Bagration resented Kutusov's appointment.

Kutusov issued orders for a continued retreat and the continued use of scorched-earth tactics. It was both militarily and politically unrealistic to draw Napoleon all the way to Moscow without offering battle, though. Kutuzov decided to make a stand at the village of Borodino, 80 miles west of Moscow. He deployed Barclay's army to cover the right and center of the Russian position and Bagration's army to hold the left. Bagration's

Continued on page 98

UNIFORM 8TH TEXAS CAVALRY

By Don Troiani & William Welsh

SHOTGUN: Troopers of the regiment initially carried short double-barreled shotguns. The shotguns, which were extremely lethal at short range, often had a bar-and-ring attached similar to the Sharps carbine. Although they captured some Spencer repeating rifles in 1864, Terry's Rangers were unable to make good use of them owing to a lack of ammunition.

HEADGEAR: 8th Texas Cavalrymen adorned their slouch hats with a handmade "Lone Star" to show pride in their state.

REVOLVERS: The rangers also carried at least two revolvers. The most common were the Colt M1851 Navy revolver and the Colt M1860 Army revolver.

UNIFORM: The troopers of the 8th Texas Cavalry began the war with waist-length, red-trimmed gray jackets and red shirts, but as the war dragged on, they had to make do with whatever material they could find. They relied heavily on clothing furnished by their home state.

WAIST BELT: Each trooper received a waist belt to which he attached a small pouch to hold the percussion caps for his revolvers and carbine. Cavalrymen in the western theater either thrust their revolvers into their belts for quick access or positioned holsters in front of them.

CANTEEN: Confederate troopers carried one or more tin-drum canteens. They sought to exchange their inferior Southern-made canteens for Northern-made U.S. Army tin canteens. The Union Army canteens were covered with wool or cloth that helped keep the water cool.

Painting © Don Troiani

Colonel Benjamin F. Terry, a sugar planter from Fort Bend County on the coastal plains of Texas, raised the 8th Texas Cavalry Regiment. After receiving permission to raise a cavalry regiment from the Confederate War Department, Terry issued a call for volunteers in August 1861 in Houston.

The regiment's 1,170 troopers entrained in November for Virginia, but they were diverted to Nashville. Terry received a mortal wound in a sharp clash at Rowlett's Station, Kentucky, in December 1861. His men renamed the regiment Terry's Texas Rangers in honor of their fallen commander.

Afterwards, the regiment served in the Confederate Army of Tennessee, participating in major battles—in which they often fought dismounted—in the Western Theater from Shiloh through the Atlanta Campaign. They also conducted harassment raids against Union supply lines. Their last major action was at Bentonville, North Carolina. ■

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DURING THE BATTLE OF BLANC MONT RIDGE, MARINE JOHN J. KELLY SINGLE-HANDEDLY KNOCKED OUT A GERMAN MACHINE-GUN NEST, FOR WHICH HE RECEIVED THE MEDAL OF HONOR.

By William E. Welsh

Both: Naval History and Heritage Command

Marines of the 2nd Division grapple with the Germans in hand-to-hand combat atop Blanc Mont Ridge. The decisive Allied victory in October 1918 forced the Germans to quit the Champagne Region. INSET: Double recipient of the Medal of Honor, U.S. Marine John Joseph Kelly.

Chicago native Private John J. Kelly of the 78th Company of the 6th Marine Regiment and another soldier requested permission from First Lieutenant James M. Sellers on the eve of the U.S. infantry assault at Blanc Mont Ridge to reconnoiter the German position. Having received authorization, the two men crept cautiously towards the German's front-line trench. When they received no fire, they continued directly toward the channel. Finding it unoccupied, they reported their findings to their superior officer.

The intelligence was vital to the attack of the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division scheduled for dawn on October 3, 1918. Instead of squandering precious time attacking an empty trench line, the Americans took advantage of the intelligence to move forward to the abandoned trenches during the daylight hours on October 2. They used the captured trenches as the jump-off point for their attack the following morning.

When the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, it initially seemed as if the U.S. Marines would be sidelined and not allowed to join the American Expeditionary Force. American General John Joseph "Black Jack" Pershing initially had no intention of having the Marines serve in France. However, Secretary of War Newton Baker and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels ultimately persuaded Pershing to allow the Marines to fight in France. Pershing's intent was to have Americans units fight together rather than parceling them out as reinforcements to front-line French and British armies. Despite this stance, Pershing did loan some units to the French in order for the Amer-

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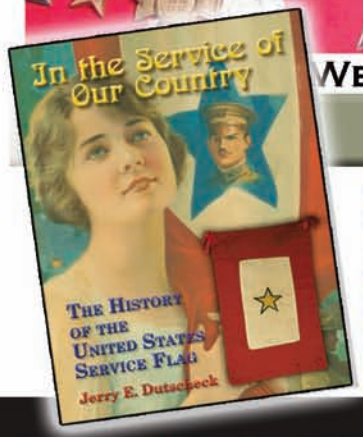

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In the course of the week-long battle at Blanc Mont Ridge, the French and Americans rounded up large numbers of German prisoners. The armistice was less than a month away. Kelly captured eight Germans when he attacked and silenced a German machine gun nest during the battle.

ican troops to gain vital combat experience.

The 5th Marine Regiment arrived in France with the first wave of U.S. troops in June 1917. They were followed eight months later by the 6th Marine Regiment and the 6th Marine Machine Gun Battalion, both of which arrived in France in February 1918. Pershing formed these three regiments into the 4th Marine Brigade, initially under the command of Brig. Gen. Wendell Neville. Pershing then created the 2nd U.S. Infantry division in October 1917 by combining the 4th Marine Brigade and the 3rd Army Brigade. He tasked Marine Corps Maj. Gen. John Lejeune with leading the division into battle.

Private John Kelly was destined for great feats of battle fighting in the ranks of the 4th Marine Brigade. He enlisted in the Corps at the age of 18 on May 15, 1917, in Port Royal, South Carolina. After successfully completing boot camp at Paris Island, he was assigned in mid-September 1917 to the 78th company. His courage under fire would earn him multiple citations for valor, including the nation's most prestigious military decoration, before the war was over.

Like other Marines, Kelly received combat training that included bayonet use, hand-grenade throwing, unit tactics, and, most importantly, marksmanship training with the 1903 Springfield Rifle. Of the 73,000 Marine Corps officers and men recruited and trained during World War I, 24,500 served on the Western Front.

The 2nd U.S. Infantry Division's baptism of fire occurred in late May and June at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood. After the soldiers of the 3rd Brigade checked the Germans at the crossings of the Marne River, the 4th Marines battled with the Boche throughout July. The Marines not only repulsed repeated assaults, but their important victory over the Germans at Belleau Wood earned them the praise and admiration of the French.

After gaining a foothold in Belleau Wood, the Marines launched six separate attacks in late June that drove the Germans out of the strategic tract of forest. During this phase of the battle, the Marines showed themselves more than willing to engage in bloody hand-to-hand combat with rifle butts, bayonets, and knives. The Americans continued assisting the French in the hard fighting that continued around at Chateau Thierry in mid-July.

The Allied attack against the German salient at St. Mihiel that began on September 12 afforded Pershing the first opportunity to deploy the full weight of the AEF in France against the Germans. He organized his forces into two super-sized corps, each of which contained four divisions. The Allies caught the Germans off guard as they were withdrawing in late July from the salient to avoid being encircled. Pershing's attack was a resounding success; the Allies took possession of the salient after just four days.

General Henri Gouraud, the French Fourth Army commander, requested American reinforcements in mid-September for an attack he was scheduled to launch in the Champagne Region. The goal of the attack was to push back German forces that were threatening the Allied supply hub at Reims. Another objective was to drive the Germans from Blanc Mont Ridge. Pershing agreed on September 23 to loan the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division to Gouraud.

Lejeune participated in the careful planning undertaken for the assault on the formidable German positions atop the limestone ridge west of the Aisne River. Gourard informed Lejeune that his division would be attacking across a two-mile front. The American commander received permission for his two brigades to attack side-by-side in battalion columns.

Marine tactics called for tight coordination between supporting artillery units and the advancing infantry units. In accordance with previously developed tactics, Lejeune's lead battalions had orders to follow closely behind the rolling artillery barrage in an effort to catch the Germans before they had fully emerged from their dugouts.

The German frontline units experienced severe manpower shortages as a result of heavy casualties from their Spring Offensive. The few replacements they could scare up were either boys or old men who lacked adequate training. The Germans compensated for a shortage of riflemen by distributing more light and heavy machine guns to the frontline troops to offset the shortage of riflemen.

The German 51st and 200th infantry divisions defended the ridgeline. The Germans deployed their green machine-gun teams in scattered positions in front of the ridge, while the veteran machine gunners deployed in the main trenches and bunkers.

The Germans had established an impressive defense-in-depth consisting of four main lines of resistance stretching from Mont Blanc Ridge east to the Aisne River. The Germans put few resources into holding the forward trenches that constituted the first line of defense. Instead, they concentrated on building up the fortifications atop the ridge, where they had established their second line of defense. The German infantry had painstakingly constructed sturdy dugouts and

Continued on page 98

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THE SUPERBATTLESHIP *YAMATO* MET ITS DEMISE IN OPERATION *TEN-ICHI-GO*, A LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO DISRUPT THE AMERICAN INVASION OF OKINAWA ISLAND IN APRIL 1945.

By John E. Spindler

All: Naval History and Heritage Command

F6F Hellcats, F4U Corsairs, SB2C Helldivers, and TBF Avenger torpedo bombers from carriers of Task Force 58 swarm the *Yamato* as it steams on its forlorn mission to assist Japanese ground forces on Okinawa. With no air cover, the *Yamato* and its escort ships were at the mercy of nearly 400 attack aircraft.

Allied victory in both the European and Pacific theaters seemed inevitable by spring 1945. The German Army was fighting on its own soil, and Japanese forces were defending Okinawa, the principal island of the Ryukyu archipelago. The amphibious landing on Okinawa's western shore, which began on April 1, were carried out by the U.S. Army's newly formed Tenth Army and elements of the 3rd Marine Corps.

Six days after the landing, the commander of the Japanese First Mobile Fleet, Admiral Soemu Toyoda, unleashed massed kamikaze attacks against the Allied fleet anchored off Okinawa in an effort to thwart the invasion. The kamikaze sorties were part of Operation *Ten-ichi-go* (Operation Heaven One), which involved the total commitment of Japan's remaining air and naval resources. The Japanese also intended to hurl the massive battleship *Yamato*, which had narrowly survived the Battle of Leyte Gulf, on a suicide mission against the Allied warships supporting the landing.

Designed to counter the U.S. Navy's numerical superiority, the *Yamato*-class battleships were the most powerful vessels of their kind ever constructed. Their mammoth size and heavy armament were part of a deliberate effort by the Japanese to build battleships that were superior to their American counterparts.

In the early 1930s, Japan's militaristic government dreamed of empire. In 1934 Japan withdrew from the Washington Naval Treaty, which placed limits on the size and power of capital ships, in order to build capital ships and aircraft carriers that could rival those of the United States, Great Britain, and other major powers.

The General Staff requested a battleship with 460mm cannons, excellent protection, and fast speed. The final design was approved in March 1937. At 263 meters long and full-load displacement of 70,527 tons, the *Yamato*-class battleships were the heaviest of their type ever built. The dozen boilers that powered the battleships produced a maximum speed of 27 knots with a maximum range of 13,300 km at 16 knots.

The vessel's firepower consisted of nine 460mm Type 94 naval guns, which fired a 1,426kg round

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The Yamato engages in sea trials following its launch in December 1941. The Yamato and her sister ship, Musashi, had the distinction of being the heaviest and most powerfully armed battleships ever built.

with a maximum range of 42 kilometers. This firepower constituted the largest naval artillery ever deployed.

The ship's designers placed a pair of triple turrets forward with one triple turret facing aft. Secondary armament consisted of four triple turrets of 155mm guns. Rather than the two 155mm antiaircraft guns installed amidships on previous battleships, the *Yamato*-class battleships received twelve 127mm guns.

The battleship was protected by side belt armor that was 410mm thick. Its main guns were encased in turrets that ranged from a 650mm face plate to a 270mm thick roof. As for radar, Japanese technicians installed a comprehensive system that included air-to-surface, surface-to-surface, and hydrophone arrays.

Forty percent of the 460mm ammunition stowed aboard the ship were *Sanshiki*. These were incendiary anti-aircraft rounds that each exploded into nearly 3,000 fragments using a time-delay fuse.

The Imperial Japanese Navy planned to build five *Yamato*-class battleships, but only the *Yamato* and *Musashi* were completed. The construction of the *Yamato* began on November 4, 1937, at the Kure Naval Arsenal situated on the Seto Inland Sea in Hiroshima Prefecture. Construction of the *Musashi* began the following year at the Nagasaki shipyard.

The *Yamato* launched on December 16, 1941, just nine days after Japan's surprise attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. The massive battleship spent the next two years either at Truk in the Caroline Islands or at Kure. On December 25, 1943, the *Yamato* came under attack while escorting a convoy sent to reinforce Japanese garrisons in New Guinea and the Admiralty Islands. The U.S. submarine *Skate* (SS-305) intercepted the convoy north of Truk. One of its torpedoes struck the battleship on the starboard side towards the stern. A repair ship carried out temporary repairs, after which the *Yamato* returned to Kure for permanent restoration.

The *Yamato* and *Musashi* were part of a major task force that sailed to oppose the American invasion force at Leyte in mid-October 1944. On October 24, 1944, multiple waves of U.S. aircraft succeeded in sinking the *Musashi* during the Battle of the Sibuyan Sea. The following day, the *Yamato* fired its guns at surface targets for the first and last time in the Battle off Samar.

At 6:58 AM that day, the *Yamato* fired both forward turrets. It failed to score hits on its first target, though. She targeted another ship later in the day. The battleship's official report states that it sank a destroyer, which the crew mistook for a cruiser, but the claim is unsubstantiated. The *Yamato* sped away from the battle after a number of torpedoes had been fired at her. The Japanese fleet subsequently withdrew due to low fuel.

After these clashes, the *Yamato* returned to dry dock for repairs and upgrades. Rear Adm. Kosaku Ariga became her last captain, and the ship's complement increased to 3,332 personnel. A chronic shortage of fuel oil and American air superiority compelled the *Yamato* to remain in Japanese waters until April 1945.

Emperor Hirohito, who failed to comprehend the scale of the disaster Japan was facing, believed that one great military victory would force the Americans to sue for peace. The first attempt to thwart the Americans at Okinawa fell to the Fifth Air Fleet, which was responsible for defending Japan's southern flank. Vice Adm. Matome Ugaki was given command of the air fleet, with orders to oversee waves of kamikaze attacks. The pilots would fly what were essentially manned torpedoes and manned rocket bombs, known respectively as *Kaiten* and *Okha*, against American forces massed for the Okinawa invasion. The kamikaze aircraft did significant damage to hundreds of ships, but they did not change the tide of battle.

Emperor Hirohito also instructed the Imperial Navy to join in the island's defense. Many senior naval officials saw this as a waste of the navy's remaining warships. They argued that the naval force might not even be able to reach Okinawa given that it would be totally devoid of air cover. Nevertheless, the plan went forward.

Vice Adm. Seichi Ito was tasked with leading the fleet composed of the *Yamato*, the cruiser *Yahagi*, and eight destroyers. Since the Imperial Navy had only enough fuel for a one-way sortie to Okinawa, there was no possibility of returning to the Inland Sea for future operations.

Ariga had orders to plow through the American invasion fleet, sinking as many transport ships as possible. Afterwards, he was to beach the great battleship so that it could serve as a gun platform until destroyed. Those Japanese sailors that survived the ordeal would then join the island's defense force.

Having decoded Japanese radio transmissions, the American already knew of the pending naval operation. Admiral Raymond Spruance, the commander of the U.S. Fifth Fleet, ordered a pack of submarines to station themselves off the southern approaches to Japan's Inland Sea to intercept the task force, but the Japanese fleet succeeded in passing unhindered through the Bungo Strait on April 6.

The Japanese fleet ran headlong into Admiral Marc Mitscher's Task Force 58, which was composed of 16 fast carriers and escorting battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. When morning broke the following day, the men readied themselves for the eventual air assault. Martin PBM-5 Mariner flying boats tailed the ships.

The *Yamato*'s main cannons fired 460mm *Sanshiki* anti-aircraft rounds without effect. In the late morning, a squadron of fighters arrived to

eliminate enemy air cover, but they found no enemy aircraft to engage. This meant that Mitscher's 386 fighters, dive-bombers, and torpedo bombers would be unhindered in their attack on the Japanese fleet steaming south.

Shortly after noon, the *Yamato* detected incoming aircraft. At 12:32 PM the first wave of Americans attacked, and Ariga ordered all anti-aircraft guns to fire. The *Yahagi* temporarily drew attention away from the *Yamato*. Fate caught up with Japan's last battleship nine minutes later, though, when a pair of 1,000-pound bombs struck the starboard side near the aft tower, destroying the aft radar room. Shortly afterwards another pair of bombs found their targets. Fires that were never extinguished erupted when one bomb exploded below deck while the other annihilated the aft 155mm turret, whose fragments ignited a blaze in its magazine.

Just before the second pair of bombs hit, the *Yamato* took a torpedo strike on the port bow. At the end of the first wave, two more torpedoes struck portside amidships, flooding the outboard port engine room. Evidence suggests another torpedo hit near the auxiliary steering room. All of the subsequent flooding caused a six-degree list to port. Counter-flooding eliminated the list.

The second wave arrived at 12:59 PM. The attacking aircraft concentrated on the port side, but no direct hits were confirmed. Shock waves from numerous near-misses weakened the hull's structural integrity, and the sheer number of planes overwhelmed air-defense crews. Before the *Yamato* listed too much to prevent their operation, the main guns continued firing Sanshiki rounds (a type of incendiary anti-aircraft ammunition) to little effect. Seeing this, the chief gunnery officer changed the fuse delay to one second, so that the fragmentation shells would detonate 1,000 feet from the ship.

While in the midst of a turn to starboard at 1:33 PM, three torpedoes slammed close together portside amidships. Most critical was the flooding from the hit near the bulkhead between the outside engine and machinery rooms. The *Yamato* listed 18 degrees to port and slowed to 18 knots. Once again, counter-flooding of all starboard voids was attempted. It was only the flooding from a torpedo hit starboard amidships that corrected the list by 10 degrees.

Ariga was informed that any further port list could only be countered by flooding the starboard engine rooms. It was not an easy decision to make, for it would reduce the battleship's speed to a crawl.

At 1:42 PM the final wave of American aircraft assaulted the reeling *Yamato*. Bombs scored four identifiable hits. Three struck portside amidships and one at the bow. Power to most of the ship's guns was severed. Additional torpedo strikes on the port side signaled the battleship's death. Two amidships hits flooded the port inner engine room. A third torpedo penetrated in the aft and jammed the rudder, locking the ship in a counterclockwise turn.

TOP: The *Yamato*, which is shown in the final phase of construction at Kure Naval Base, boasted nine 18-inch main guns that could hurl 3,200-pound shells as far as 25 miles. BOTTOM: Curtiss SB2C Helldivers prepare to finish off the burning *Yamato*. After sustaining eight confirmed bomb hits and 11 confirmed torpedo hits, the superbattleship sank with thunderous explosions from its magazines.

A final torpedo slammed into the *Yamato*'s exposed underbelly on the starboard side. Down to one engine, the ship slowed to eight knots. With a 22-degree list to port, the order to abandon ship was issued at 2:02 PM. Ariga stayed with the ship, as did a few other crew members. A short time later, with the bridge tower practically at sea level, all power failed.

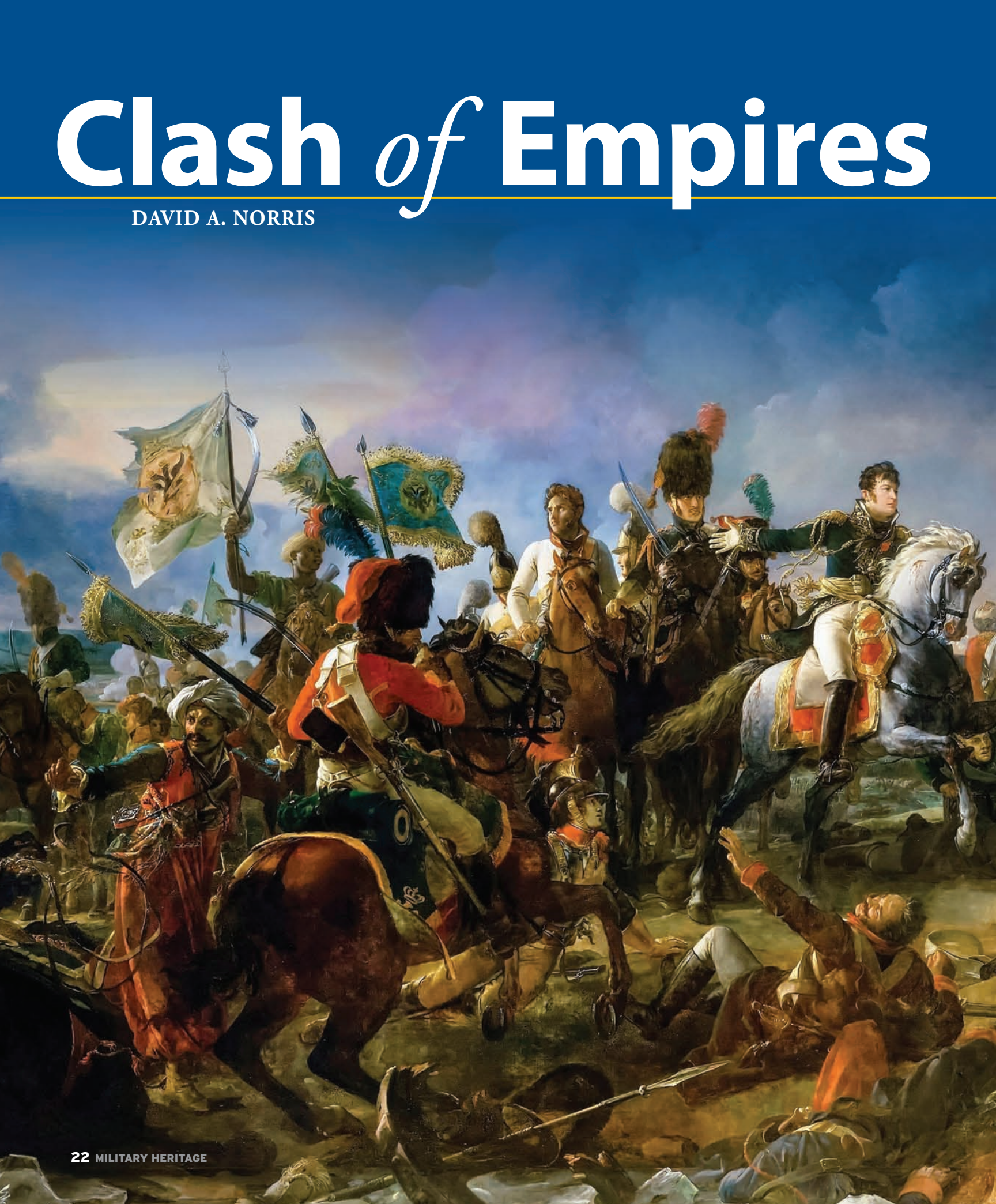
The *Yamato* exploded, resulting in a massive fireball and a mushroom cloud that was seen in Kagoshima. The exact cause of the explosion remains a mystery.

For the loss of 10 aircraft and 12 men, the Americans had sunk the *Yamato*, *Yahagi*, and five destroyers. The three surviving Japanese destroyers rescued survivors. From the *Yamato*, 23 officers and 246 enlisted men survived, while 3,063 never returned to Japan. The battleship had taken eight confirmed bomb hits and 11 confirmed torpedo hits.

The *Yamato* and the *Musashi* were the most powerful battleships to be constructed and participate in naval combat. In an era where surface-to-surface engagements between capital ships rapidly became a thing of the past, the perceived threat from the two massive and expensive Japanese superbattleships far outweighed their achievements in the Pacific War. ■

Clash *of* Empires

DAVID A. NORRIS



At the limits of his operational reach, Napoleon achieved a stunning victory at Austerlitz in December 1805 over the combined imperial armies of Austria and Russia in Central Europe.

French General Jean Rapp races towards a calm and self-assured Emperor Napoleon with a captured enemy standard during the height of the Battle of Austerlitz.

Almay

ABOVE: Napoleon achieved a stunning strategic victory when he outfoxed Austrian General Karl Freiherr Mack von Leiberich at Ulm at the outset of the campaign. OPPOSITE: Austrian cavalry drove the French from the village of Telnitz on the eve of battle, but French foot soldiers retook the village later that night.

The Battle of Trafalgar, fought off the southwest coast of Spain on October 21, 1805, was a disaster for French Emperor Napoleon I. His Franco-Spanish fleet lost 21 of its 33 ships of the line captured and another sunk. Plans for a French invasion of England collapsed; British Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger was elated.

Yet several weeks later, news arrived in London to change Pitt's optimistic joy into gloom. Trafalgar was a magnificent sea victory, but the December 2, 1805, Battle of Austerlitz balanced Britain's advantage at sea by cementing Napoleon's grasp of land power across Europe. "Roll up that map; it will not be wanted these 10 years," Pitt told an aide, pointing to a large map of Europe in his office upon learning of Napoleon's triumph at Austerlitz.

The 1802 Treaty of Amiens had brought only a short, shaky spell of peace before war resumed between Napoleon and Great Britain in May 1803. For a few months, some other European powers stayed out of the fighting. But in March 1804, Napoleon arrested Louis-Antoine, duc d'Enghien, a member of a branch of the Bourbon family who had formerly ruled France. False intelligence implicated the duke in a plot to assassinate Napoleon, who sent troops to seize the duke at his home in the neutral German state of Baden. After a sham trial, the duc d'Enghien was executed by firing squad.

To the crown heads of Europe, this was a sickening reminder of the bloody revolutionary purge of France's royal family in 1793. They saw Napoleon as a menace to their regimes, especially after the former Corsican artillery officer declared himself emperor of France on May 18, 1804.

Pitt knitted together a new anti-French alliance, which became the Third Coalition. Joining the British by mid-1805 were Russia, the Hapsburg-ruled Holy Roman Empire, and Austria. The alliance also included lesser powers, such as Sweden, Sicily, and Naples.

Great Britain had few troops to spare, but its powerful navy menaced Napoleon at sea, and London sent financial aid to its European allies. Prussia hovered on the sidelines, reluctant to enter another war, leaving Austria and Russia to carry the burden.

With two French armies assigned to guard Italy and France's northeastern frontiers, Napoleon took the 150,000 men of his newly reorganized Grand Army across the Rhine. It was essential to deal with the Austrians first, before the Russians could march from the east and unite with them.

Part of the Grand Army crushed a smaller Austrian army under Karl Freiherr Mack von Leiberich at Ulm on October 17, 1805. Some of the Hapsburg army escaped, but on October 20 Mack surrendered nearly all his high command and 25,000 men. Since the Austrian officers gave their parole (formal promise not to engage in hostilities), they were barred under its terms from any further part in the campaign against the French.

Field Marshal Prince Mikhail Kutuzov, commanding the advancing Russians, knew nothing of Mack's defeat until October 23. A forlorn traveler reached Kutuzov's army at Braunau, in western Austria across the River Inn from Bavaria. The traveler was Mack himself, who delivered the grim news while on his way back to Vienna.

Mack's fall from grace was complete. Forbidden to enter Vienna, he was compelled to give his report in a village outside the capital. The Austrians convened a court marshal. Mack not only lost his rank and honors, but also went to prison for two years.

Emperor Francis I of Austria, who was simultaneously Emperor Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire, instructed Kutuzov not to risk battle with the French. Instead, Kutuzov was to keep his army intact, withdraw to the east, and try to gather other coalition forces to augment his Austro-Russian army. French spymaster Karl Schulmeister, disguised as an Austrian officer, learned of the move and subsequently informed Napoleon that the Russians intended to avoid battle until reinforced.

The French won another victory at the Battle

of Durenstein on November 11. During that minor clash, Allied chief of staff Johann Heinrich von Schmitt lost his life. The Austrian army, after Durenstein and the other sharp reverses of the previous weeks, waited to unite with the Russians before confronting Napoleon. They did not make a stand before Vienna, which fell to the French on November 13. Marshal Joachim Murat led the victorious troops into the Hapsburg capital. Schulmeister, whom the Austrians had arrested on suspicion of espionage, was freed by Murat's arrival.

Kutuzov and his 65,000 troops fell back northward to Olmutz in Moravia. Tsar Alexander I and Emperor Francis I, along with several thousand Austrian troops, joined them. By November 25, they had 85,000 soldiers on hand.

Tsar Alexander had once admired Napoleon, but after the execution of d'Enghien he saw the French regime as a threat to the political order of Europe. While Francis I did not take an active role in command, Tsar Alexander—holding a vastly conceited opinion of his military abilities and leadership—took charge of the Russian forces himself. His entourage of aides and courtiers flattered him instead of guiding him. Some of his commanders favored continued withdrawal, perhaps into Hungary or Bohemia, until the coalition forces could regroup. But in late November Alexander, confidently but unwisely, dismissed advice from his cautious generals and made the decision to force a battle.

Maj. Gen. Franz von Weyrother replaced von Schmitt as chief of staff of the Allied armies. The 50-year-old had a mixed record but displayed a convincing facade of military mastery. He ingratiated himself with the Tsar and Russian commanders such as Friedrich Wilhelm, Count Buxhowden, and, for a time, with Kutuzov. The latter hoped von Weyrother would agree to move carefully. The new chief of staff, though, had different ideas. Von Weyrother favored a quick attack on the French, an opinion that suited the overconfident Tsar.

Leaving some troops to hold Vienna, Napoleon marched 47,000 men to positions around Brunn and Austerlitz. The Moravian village of Austerlitz, 80 miles north of Vienna, is now part of the Czech Republic and is known as Slavkov u Brna.

Two miles north of Austerlitz passed a road running west and east, between Brunn and Olmutz. To the west of Austerlitz were hills divided by the broad, low valleys of several brooks that flowed into a larger stream called the Goldbach. East of the Goldbach, the ground rose to a series of hills, including a plateau that was a commanding point of the terrain called the Pratzen Heights.

After exploring the terrain around the Goldbach, Napoleon ruled out ideas that would lead to ordinary victories. He saw a way to end the war in a single stroke. On November 28, he sent for all of the troops who could conceivably reach him in time for the crucial battle. Marshal Jean Bernadotte's 13,000 men left Iglau, which was 50 miles west. In camp near Vienna, Louis-Nicolas Davout's men received orders to march on the afternoon of November 29. At 9:00 PM General of Division Louis Friant's troops were the first to leave camp. Davout and his staff rode ahead of the 6,000 marching troops.

On November 30, French troops briefly held the Pratzen Heights. To the utter surprise of his enemies, Napoleon abandoned this obviously commanding high ground and withdrew across the Goldbach. Believing the legendary French commander had made a mistake, the allies quickly occupied the plateau.

Napoleon had deliberately made the "error" of giving up the Pratzen Heights. He knew the enemy would rush to take the plateau, which certainly looked like a key piece of ground. He hoped that the coalition armies would then leave the Pratzen Heights to attack the French right.

Strategically, it was a tempting move for them; by doing so, the Allied armies could cut the French off from Vienna and any possible reinforcements to the south. Falling back to the north would put the French closer to the Prussian frontier 75 miles away. After a Russian and Austrian victory, Prussia might well drop its neutrality and pounce on a defeated French army.

At the end of November, to convey an impres-

Both: Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Château de Versailles

sion of weakness and desperation, Napoleon twice requested personal conferences with Alexander I. The Tsar did not appear, but sent Prince Peter Dolgorukov in his place. Dolgorukov tactlessly frayed Napoleon's patience by demanding that the French give up Italy immediately, or face the loss of other lands as well. Napoleon coldly dismissed the emissary. What began as a polite meeting ended with a menacing threat. "If you were on the heights of Montmartre, I would answer such impertinence with cannon balls!" Napoleon told the prince.

While the meeting seemed to accomplish nothing, it worked perfectly for the French. Napoleon met Dolgorukov near the perimeter of his lines, as if unwilling to let him see the condition of his army. Dolgorukov saw soldiers work on hasty entrenchments, and he glimpsed preparations for retreat, which were carefully staged for him. The prince returned believing that the French would collapse when confronted in the upcoming battle.

On the afternoon of December 1, Napoleon placed his headquarters atop a hill behind the French lines at Bellowitz, just south of the Olmutz Road. From the hilltop he could survey his own and the enemy's camps. There was no structure available there, though, other than "a poor barn," wrote the Baron de Marbot. "The emperor's tables and maps were placed there, and he established himself in person by an immense fire, surrounded by his numerous staff and his guards."

The French left flank began at the Bosenitzberg, a hill just north of the Olmutz Road. The French referred to the hill as the "Santon." Entrenchments and artillery, added to the Santon's already strong defensive position, encouraged the enemy to look elsewhere for a weak point to attack. So, it was even more likely they would strike the French right flank, just where Napoleon wanted them to attack.

From the Santon, the French lines ran south to the village of Jirschikowitz. Then the line swung toward the southwest around the Pratzen Heights. It followed the valley of the Goldbach and its tributaries, past the villages of Puntowitz, Kobelnitz, Sokolnitz, and Telnitz. Beyond the latter were the Satschan and the Menitz—two broad, shallow artificial fishponds.

Davout and his staff joined Napoleon on the afternoon of December 1. Friant's division arrived at 7:00 PM after a forced march, having covered 80 miles in 46 hours. The troops halted at Raigern, five miles west of Telnitz. They rested a few hours before joining the troops at the front line early the next morning.

Napoleon's right was held by General of Division Claude Juste-Alexandre-Louis, Comte de Legrand. Even with Davout's men added, he would face nearly four times his numbers when the Austrians and Russians moved against him. In his favor, Legrand was a talented commander with fine veteran troops. The Goldbach itself was no more than a small creek, and foot soldiers could cross it nearly anywhere. But the stream coursed through boggy wetlands, and artillery could cross only at a few bridges at the villages. Legrand's men, comfortably settled on high and dry ground beyond the stream, could fire down into the slow-moving infantry slogging through the bitterly cold water and mud along the stream.

Legrand only had to hold on; he was not expected to advance. With the right so thinly held, there were 16,000 men available in the center for Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult's attack on the Pratzen. With the French holding the heights, they would cut the enemy forces in two and crush each section in detail.

Firing echoed from Telnitz after midnight as an Austrian attack drove the French from the village. Concerned that he had wrongly surmised the positions of the Allies, Napoleon rode with Soult and a party of staff officers to investigate. They were soon satisfied that the clash was only a minor affair.

It was in the early hours of the morning when Napoleon returned to camp. Instead of going back to bed, he decided to walk through the camps. His troops responded with a spectacular testimony of their devotion. First one man, then a dozen, and then hundreds wrapped straw around sturdy sticks and lit these improvised torches in their campfires. They cheered and saluted as Napoleon's stroll swelled into a spontaneous torchlight procession.

The roar of this triumphal parade carried through the chilly air to the Allied lines, where pickets saw the glow of the blazing straw torches. Officers did not know what to make of this strange spectacle. The French were not leaving their camps, so the commotion did not signal a surprise night attack. Quiet returned at 2:00 AM as Napoleon's soldiers settled down to grab a bit more rest before the next day's action. The only other action that night occurred when the French infantry drove away some Austrian cavalry and retook Telnitz.

Allied plans had been complete for several hours, after Von Weyrother held a nighttime meeting with his commanders. Most of the Austrians and Russians were distributed among five attacking columns and a reserve. Behind an advance guard of Austrians, two Russian columns would march southwest from the Pratzen Heights toward the villages of Sokolnitz and Telnitz. A third column, also of Russians, would unite with their right flank.

To their right, a combined Austrian and Russian column would push toward Kobelnitz. On the right of the Kobelnitz column, Prince John of Liechtenstein's cavalry would hold the northern end of the heights below the Olmutz Road. North of the road was a Russian force under the capable Georgian-born Lt. Gen. Pyotr Bagration. Behind Liechtenstein was the reserve, under the Grand Duke Constantine, a younger brother of the Tsar.

Count Louis Alexandre Andrault de Langeron, a French royalist who had entered Russian service in 1790, recalled that the generals assembled at 1:00 AM around a huge map of the area that was spread across a table. Von Weyrother "read us his dispositions in a very lofty tone, with an overbearing air, which plainly proclaimed a full persuasion of his own worth," wrote Langeron. "We might really have been taken for a pack of schoolboys." Kutuzov fell asleep during the briefing. At the end, Langeron tried to point out some drawbacks to the plans, but there was no debate, and the generals were sent back to their quarters.

Certainly, Langeron might well have questions about Von Weyrother's overoptimistic plans. Von Weyrother intended a massive attack on Napoleon's right at the cost of leaving the center depleted of troops, while their own right and left would be too far from each other to lend mutual aid. The overly complicated movements of the five columns were compounded by the language barrier between Russian- and German-speaking troops. Translating and copying the detailed orders for the generals took until 8:00 AM the next morning, by which time tens of thousands of troops had already been in action for a couple of hours.

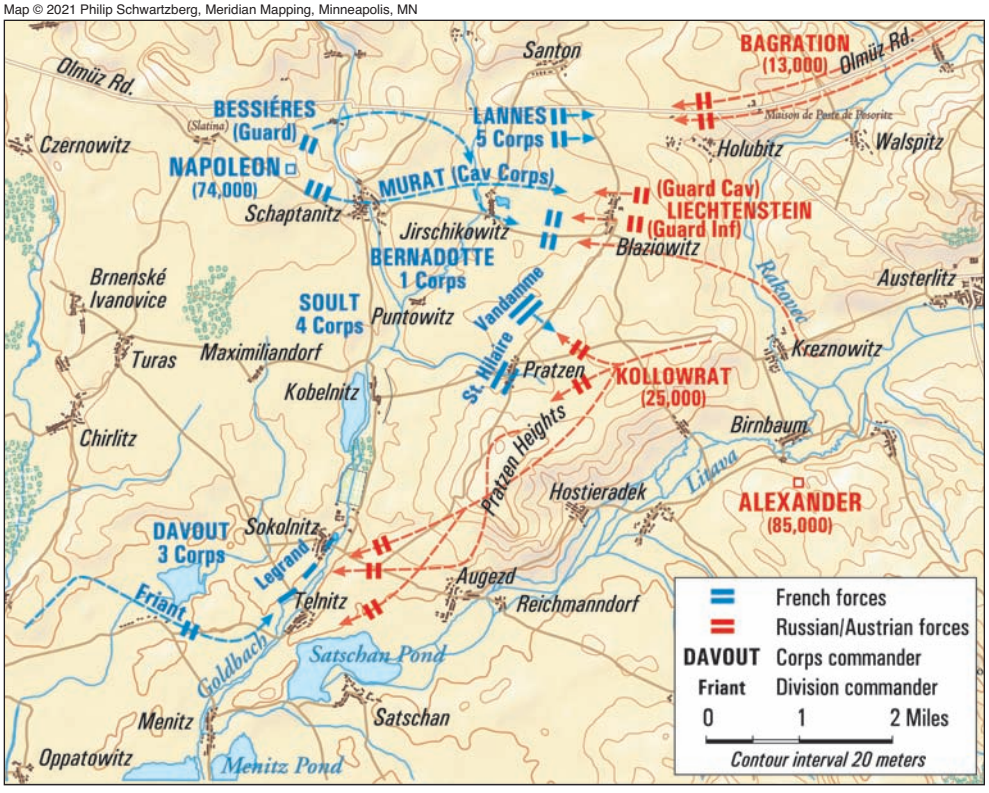
Most of all, the battle plan fatally depended on something that was very unlikely to happen, which was that Napoleon would become too paralyzed with shock and dismay to respond to enemy moves. Bagration, who was too far away on the flank to attend the pre-battle conference, knew his final orders only when they arrived well after dawn. "We shall lose the battle," Bagration told his officers after reading the orders.

Bright stars sparkled in the clear, dark skies. Most of the troops in both armies waited or dozed in camps well below the hilltops and ridges. Down in the low ground, they were shrouded in thick fog. Sentinels could barely see comrades who were more than 10 yards away. Fog persisted even after daylight broke across the valley of the Goldbach.

The French generals gathered at 5:00 AM for a final brief meeting to hone plans for the battle. Fighting threatened to break out between two of the emperor's senior commanders. Marshal Jean Lannes had quarreled with Soult four days before. Lannes was so angry that he appointed a second, who delivered the challenge for a duel with Soult. They had not met since that moment. Although Napoleon forbade his officers to fight duels, Lannes expected to draw his sword against Soult that morning. Soult brushed off the challenge, and pointed out that there were more important matters to deal with. With the duel averted and last-minute orders given, the meeting broke up. Napoleon buckled on his sword. "Gentlemen, let us commence a memorable day!" he told his staff.

Von Weyrother set in motion the battle plan that Napoleon had hoped that the Allies would follow. Buxhowden led 40,000 men in the three columns menacing Legrand. Other than an Austrian advance guard under Lieutenant Field Marshal Michael von Kienmayer, the columns were Russian. Lt. Gen. Dimitri Doctorov commanded the first column, Lt. Gen. Count Louis Alexandre Andrault de Langeron commanded the second, and Lt. Gen. Ignacy Przybysewski, the third.

One of Legrand's units, the 3rd Line Regiment, held Telnitz with two battalions of Corsican sharpshooters against Keinmayer's Austrian advance troops. Walls and ditches along the fields



ABOVE: Cloaked in fog and smoke as they advanced, the sudden appearance of two fresh French divisions on the Pratzen Heights shocked and demoralized the Allies. OPPOSITE: Napoleon's troops cheer and salute him with a torchlight procession on the night before the battle.

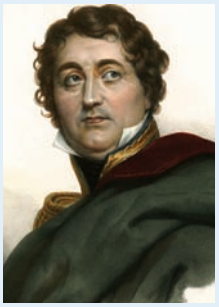
Key Commanders at Austerlitz

By William E. Welsh

LA GRANDE ARMEE

Emperor Napoleon
After defeating General Mack's Austrian army at Ulm on October 20 and capturing Vienna on November 13, Napoleon marched east in an effort to annihilate the Austro-Russian army reforming in Moravia. Although he was stretching his lines of supply and communications to the very limit, he continued to pursue the main Allied army despite his marshals' objections. With cool calculation he set the stage for victory by intentionally leaving his right wing weak, as well as leaving the dominant terrain feature, the Pratzen Heights, open for the enemy to traverse.

Marshal Louis-Nicolas Davout
Davout proved himself over the course of his career to be a brilliant tactician, harsh disciplinarian, and efficient administrator. He was one of Napoleon's most gifted and reliable generals. Commanding the III Corps at Austerlitz, he won accolades for his sound execution of the initial holding action on the French right wing—a crucial element of Napoleon's tactical plan.



Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult
Known for his level-headedness and cool demeanor under fire, Soult was an outstanding leader of troops. At the head of the IV Corps at Austerlitz, he led the decisive attack that drove the Russians off the Pratzen Heights and forced them to attempt to cross the frozen lakes of Satchan. The ferocious assault, delivered with skill and confidence, earned praise and admiration from Napoleon.

Marshal Jean Lannes
Lannes, bold, courageous, and determined, led the V Corps at Austerlitz. Napoleon rightfully regarded Lannes as his best vanguard commander and entrusted him at Austerlitz with holding Santon Hill on the French left wing. Lannes' skillful handling of his corps artillery enabled him to outgun Russian Lt. Gen. Pyotr Bagration's Advance Guard.

ARMY OF THE THIRD COALITION

Tsar Alexander I
Alexander, like Napoleon, served as commander-in-chief in the field with his troops, although he had no appreciable military experience. He surrounded himself with aggressive young hotheads who served as aides-de-camp while not heeding his experienced generals, and he was deeply fond of elaborate tactical plans. Alexander rushed headlong into battle at Austerlitz in the hope of obtaining a victory that would elevate him above Napoleon and make him Europe's greatest military commander.

Mikhail Kutuzov
Kutuzov served as the de facto commander-in-chief of the Austro-Russian army. In the early part of the campaign, he won a small victory over the French in a delaying action at Durrenstein on November 11 by luring a French division into a trap. He and several other Russian senior commanders advised Tsar Alexander not to make a stand at Austerlitz, but instead to fall back to the safety of the Carpathian Mountains. In the wake of the Allied defeat at Austerlitz, Kutuzov was removed from high command and given the inauspicious post of military governor of Kiev.

Lt. Gen. Pyotr Bagration
Russian general Bagration was a courageous, reliable, and utterly fearless commander who had the full confidence of the men he commanded. Entrusted with the Tsar's Advance Guard at Austerlitz, he initially proved his worth by masking movements of the Austro-Russian army while on the march. During the battle, he had orders to remain on the defensive on the Austro-Russian right wing. His guns caught Lannes' conscripts in a devastating crossfire, and he essentially fought the French left wing by himself. Most importantly, he covered the retreat of the army and kept superior French forces at bay during the withdrawal after the battle.

Lt. Gen. Prince Johann von Liechtenstein
Austrian general Von Liechtenstein commanded the Austro-Russian fifth column of cavalry at Austerlitz. On the day before the battle, he lost his way and wound up bivouacking behind the Allied infantry. This display of ineptitude was indicative of much of the Allied army's corps-level leadership during the battle. As the battle unfolded, he failed to position his troops properly and left a crucial gap in the Allied line. He eventually reinforced Bagration's isolated Advance Guard, thereby partially redeeming himself.

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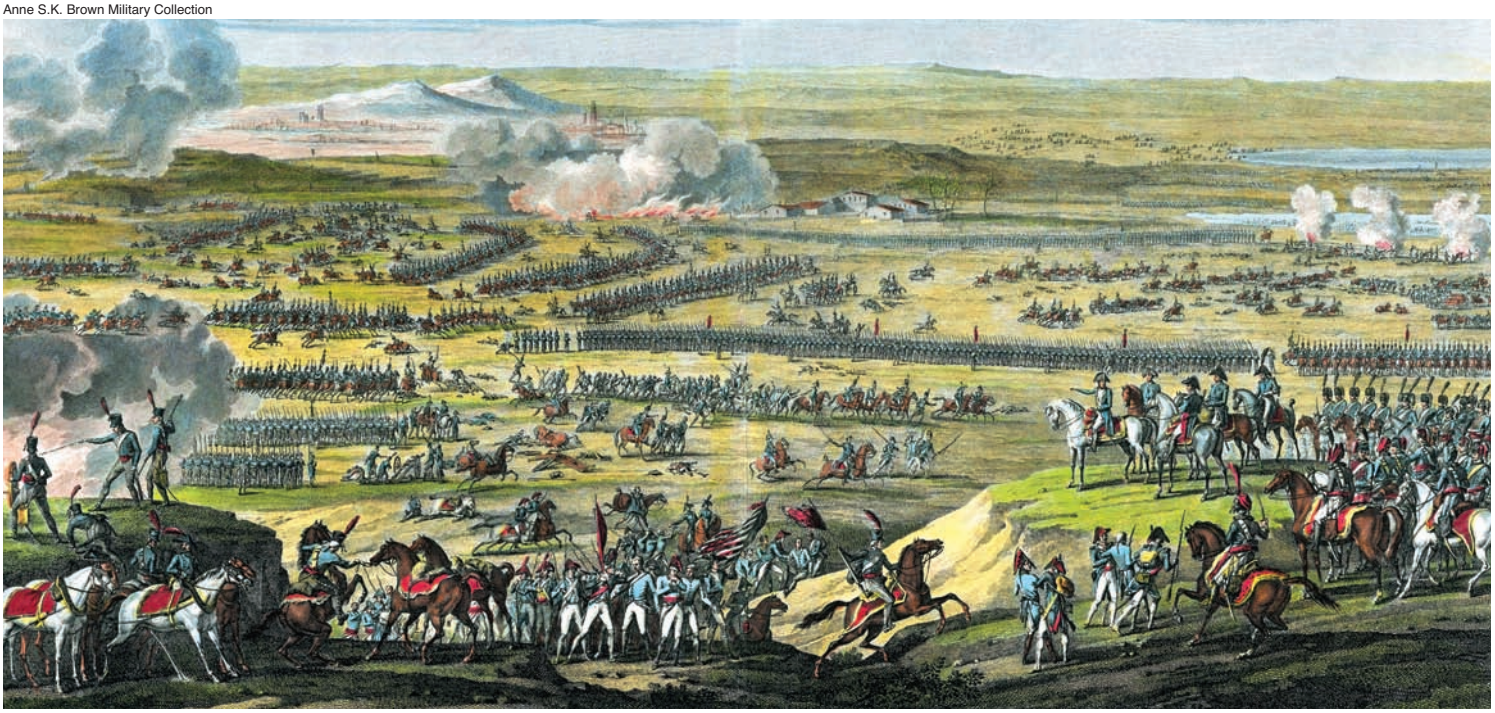


Napoleon, shown at lower right, took up a strategic position on a hill above the village of Bellowitz that enabled him to see the positions of both armies.

and vineyards afforded valuable cover, but after suffering heavy losses, the 3rd Line Regiment was pried out of Telnitz. A regiment of dragoons came to support them, and soon afterwards General of Brigade Etienne Heudelet de Bierre arrived with some of Davout's infantry. Together, the French units took back Telnitz. "The streets and houses were strewn with the dead," recalled Davout. Three captured Russian guns were taken away, but the French had to leave other guns because there were not enough draft animals left alive to haul them. Heudelet's 108th Line Regiment captured two enemy standards.

The defeated Russians had begun to discuss surrender terms. Meanwhile, Legrand's 26th Line Regiment had been dispatched to Telnitz. They marched as far as the Goldbach and halted; they saw soldiers in the distance. The morning fog mixed with the smoke of battle led the 26th to mistake Heudelet's men for Russians, and they opened fire on their own comrades. Amid the confusion, the battered Russians were reinforced by the first of arrivals of Buxhowden's columns and rushed back to take Telnitz again.

It looked like the allies would turn the French right, but then Davout fell upon the Russians at Sokolnitz. Surprised while reordering their ranks after overrunning the village, the Russians were thrown back with the loss of half a dozen guns. Buxhowden sent in more troops, though, and recaptured Sokolnitz.

The mists began to dissipate at 8:30 AM At first hilltops seemed to rise from the haze and looked like islands floating in a sea of fog. Then brilliant sunlight shone down on the French emperor and his staff. The magnificent drama and splendor of this moment was later immortalized in history and even poetry as "the sun of Austerlitz," a glorious omen of victory.

The departing mists revealed the sight of the last coalition troops leaving the Pratzen Heights and moving toward Telnitz and Sokolnitz. Napoleon asked Soult how quickly he could reach the heights. It would take only 20 minutes, replied Soult. Napoleon decided to wait another 20 minutes before dispatching Soult. "When the enemy is making a false movement, we must take good care not to interrupt him," said the French emperor.

A courier soon arrived from Legrand, bearing a warning that the enemy's attacks had intensified along his front. With the enemy generals fully occupied, Napoleon ordered Soult to seize the heights, and he also ordered Lannes to advance against Bagration.

The fourth Allied column, with Austrians under Lieutenant Field Marshal Johann Kollowrat and Russians commanded by Lt. Gen. Mikhail Miloradovich, was already supposed to be on the plateau. These troops would have replaced the Russians who departed from the heights had the Allied staff made better plans, but Kollowrat was delayed while Prince John of Liechtenstein's cavalry crossed his front riding northwest to join the Allied left.

Soult had two divisions ready to move, General of Division Dominique-Joseph Rene Vandamme's on the left, and General of Division Louis St. Hilaire's on the right. Both divisions were cloaked in the fog and smoke lingering in the lower ground until they stepped onto the Pratzen Heights. Their sudden appearance on the sunlit heights shocked the advancing allies, who had no idea that the French were so close.

Kutuzov, who with his headquarters staff accompanied the fourth column, realized the danger menacing the Allied center. The Allies could not afford to lose control of the Pratzen Heights. He recalled part of the second column, which was not yet engaged in the attacks around Telnitz, and ordered it to join Kollowrat and Miladorovich.

To meet the French, the fourth-column generals wheeled their men into battle formation and formed two lines. The sudden attacks by Vandamme and St. Hilaire smashed the first Allied line and sent the crumbled units reeling back into the rear line.

Kutuzov fed in all his remaining available troops, but he had no reserves available and the rest of his army was occupied elsewhere on the battlefield. Kutuzov and the French clashed for two hours on the plateau. Set afire by Russian guns, smoke rose from the burning village of Pratzen east of the heights. By 11:00 AM, Soult's divisions cleared the plateau for good, and Kutuzov pulled back toward Austerlitz, leaving behind several guns.

Soult's action on the Pratzen Heights was a decisive phase of the battle. He not only crushed the Allied center, but also slashed the enemy force in two. Neither Bagration nor the forces embattled around Telnitz and the Goldbach

could aid the other.

On the French left, Lannes pushed back Bagration on the Olmutz Road. Just to Lannes' right, Marshal Jean Bernadotte and the cavalry of Marshal Joachim Murat maneuvered toward the village of Blaswitz. Liechtenstein's cavalry should have met them, but they were late in moving to their position; instead, Bernadotte's men fired into the Russian reserves under the Grand Duke Constantine.

Murat confronted the Russian Imperial Guard, but Prince Liechtenstein arrived with his Austrian cuirassiers, which broke up Murat's charge. Keeping their momentum, the Austrian cuirassiers broke the first line of French foot and galloped through gaps in the formation of the second line.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Prince John of Liechtenstein's Austrian cuirassiers repulse the charge of Marshal Joachim Murat's heavy cavalry on the Allied right, but the battle was won by the French in the center.

Liechtenstein's wild dash left his horses blown and his formation in disarray. At that point, Murat tore into them with fresh French cavalry. As the Austrians turned around, they passed between the fire of enemy artillery and blocks of infantry as Murat kept up fire from behind them. The headlong charge and the deadly flanking fire during the withdrawal decimated the cuirassiers. Lannes did not gain a decisive advantage, but he tied up the Allied right and kept their numbers away from the endangered center.

Vandamme's first line broke under a bayonet charge by Russia's Imperial Guard infantry at 11:00 AM. His second line held and repulsed the guards. While the Russian infantry prepared for another charge, Grand Duke Constantine sent 15 squadrons of hussars and cuirassiers of the Russian Imperial Guard against Vandamme's left flank. They smashed three French battalions and captured the imperial eagle standard of the 4th Regiment of the Line. Second-in-command of the 4th Regiment was Jerome Napoleon, the emperor's youngest brother.

The Russian charge brought their men close to the base of the hilltop where Napoleon watched the battle. The French emperor committed two squadrons of the chasseurs of his Imperial Guard. Led by Colonel Francois-Louis de Morland, they smashed into the Semyenovski regiment of the Russian guard, breaking their square. But they could not hold on for long, as elements of the Preobrazhenski Regiment pressed toward them to relieve their comrades. The chasseurs were repelled, and two horsemen took the mortally wounded.

At that point, Napoleon committed more of his Imperial Guard. Led by Marshal Jean Baptiste Bessieres and General of Brigade Jean Rapp, six squadrons of elite chasseur and grenadier cavalry, two battalions of the guard's horse artillery, and the emperor's legendary company of Mameluke bodyguards galloped toward the Russians. "Soldiers! They are sabering our comrades; let us fly to their succor!" shouted Rapp.

Under the impact of the French charge, the Russian cuirassiers reeled back but rallied when joined by the Chevalier Guard. The latter was an elite unit of Russia's army, of which it was said that even the privates were gentlemen.

Sabers flashed and blades clanged in a tremendous duel between the Imperial Guard cavalries of Napoleon and Alexander I. Nearby were the foot soldiers of the Russian Guard, but they could not fire into the melee without slaughtering as many of their own men as the enemy. Rapp, suffering from two saber cuts, realized that he had ridden ahead of his men. Russian horsemen surrounded him. Before he had time to react, a band of French chasseurs came to his aid; they hacked down or scattered the Russians and escorted Rapp to safety.

Mustafa, one of the Mamelukes, singled out the Grand Duke Constantine. Intent on capturing the Russian royal personage, Mustafa was foiled when the grand duke shot his horse with a pistol.

The French Imperial Guard soon got the upper hand over their enemy counterparts. The guardsmen swept the Russian horse and foot guards from the field, precipitating a chaotic retreat. Two hundred of the Chevalier Guards were captured, along with their commander, Prince Nikolai Repnin-Volkonsky, and several artillery pieces and standards.

Captain Louis-Francois Lejeune reported the news to Napoleon. Although the Russian cavalry was shattered, the Russian artillery still fired into the French. "The return was really more dangerous than the charge for the enemy pelted us with shells," wrote Lejeune. "A chasseur of the Guard, who was already wounded, disappeared from my side with his horse, a shell having exploded inside the latter and blown both victims to pieces, leaving literally nothing but their shattered bones."

During the morning, the Battle of Austerlitz had been a tense struggle, with the battle lines ebbing and flowing as each side sought a definitive advantage. But once the French had cleaved the Allied army in two, the Russians and Austrians tried desperately to stave off collapse and disaster and abandoned any aspirations for a victory. Under orders from Kutuzov, Kollowrat and Liechtenstein retreated to Austerlitz, well east of where their lines had been that morning.

The French drove back Bagration's Russians along the Olmutz Road. Captain Lejeune wrote that the Russians had taken off their haversacks and piled them on the ground earlier that day. "Ten thousand haversacks ranged in rows remained in our possession," wrote Lejeune. "But our booty, vast as it appeared, resolved itself into 10,000 little black boxes or rather triptych reliquaries, each containing an image of S. Christopher carrying the infant Savior over the water, with an equal number of pieces of black bread containing a good deal more straw and bran than barley or wheat." Bagration eventually made it to

Allied troops crash through the ice of Satschan Pond during their retreat. French accounts describe a horrific catastrophe, but most of the soldiers fell into waist-deep water and survived the ordeal.

Alamy

Austerlitz, but the Olmutz Road was lost as a potential allied escape route.

In much greater danger were the divisions on the allied left. Soult and Davout, joined by the French reserves and Napoleon's Imperial Guard, overwhelmed and captured much of Przybysewski's third column.

French attacks cut off Buxhowden and several battalions from the rest of the army. Buxhowden's contingent managed to get away, but 7,000 of the troops of Doctorov and Langeron laid down their arms and were made prisoners.

Some of these men escaped the French assault. Running from the field, they reached the frozen Satschan pond. A wooden bridge collapsed under a heavy gun, and a French shot blew up a caisson that rumbled along a narrow causeway. Shattered wreckage and dead horses blocked the causeway, which was the best avenue of escape. Soldiers stepped onto the frozen surface of the pond. They were soon followed by cavalry, as well as draft animals pulling field guns.

Later French accounts of the battle describe a horrific panorama, where the lake's frosty surface was darkened with swarms of fleeing Russians. Napoleon's artillery opened fire, lobbing solid shot onto the ice. The frozen surface cracked and shattered, and, so it was said, hundreds of soldiers and horses fell through into the frigid waters. Wild tales later circulated that thousands of doomed Russians and Austrians froze or drowned in the pond.

The reality for most of the men was less deadly. A few days later, the superintendent of the Menitz and Satschan fish ponds was ordered to drain them. His laborers found only two or three bodies in the Satschan, along with 150 dead horses and about 30 guns. Not a dead man or horse was found in the Menitz.

Evidently, the fleeing men and horses tried to cross the ice over shallow water near the shore. Any who crashed through the ice dropped into water that was not even waist-deep and managed to extract themselves. The superintendent's report indicated that the few dead men were drivers or gunners, either entangled in the harnesses of lost guns or victims of French cannon shot.

The bright sun of Austerlitz was long gone as sleet mixed with light snow dusted the survivors who plodded away from the icy pond. No French pursuers harried them; the victors of Austerlitz were too exhausted, and their commands in too much disarray, to hurl them after the fleeing enemy.

Besides, there was no real need for close pursuit. At a cost of 9,000 casualties, Napoleon's troops inflicted losses three times as heavy on the enemy. The Allies suffered 11,000 Russian and 4,000 Austrians dead. Nearly 12,000 of the Allies were prisoners.

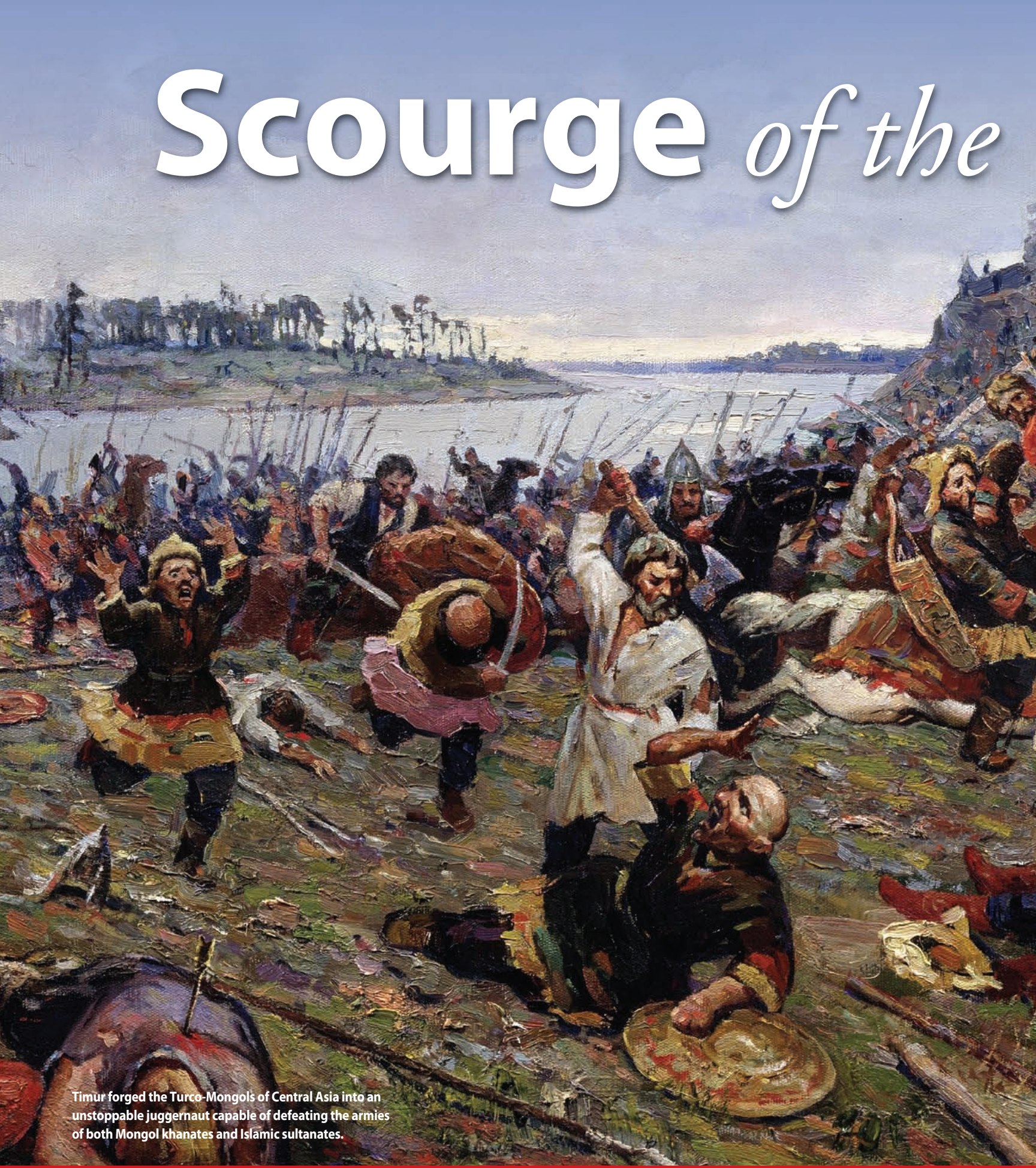
Some 180 Allied guns were captured on the field. Drawing away these guns had proved impossible as wheels sank into the soft ground. "The Russian horses, which are more calculated for speed than for draft, could not drag them out of the deep clay, into which they had sunk," wrote Maj. Gen. Karl Wilhelm von Stutterheim.

Alexander I and Francis I, and their shattered armies, were blocked from retreat northeast to Olmutz or southeast towards Hungary. Victorious French forces seemed to loom all around them. The two humbled emperors sent Prince Liechtenstein to negotiate a truce with Napoleon.

The Russians continued to retreat from the battlefield, but Emperor Francis lingered to sign what became the Treaty of Pressburg. Russia did not take an active part in the treaty, but the Tsar's men were permitted to return home. Austria agreed to pay France 40 million francs. In addition, the Austrians confirmed French conquests in Italy, ceded Venice, and surrendered land to Napoleon's German allies Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Baden.

There was one final casualty of the Battle of Austerlitz. In 1806, Napoleon formed his client states into a new entity, the Confederation of the Rhine, forged from the ruins of the Holy Roman Empire. Austrian ruler Francis I had also held the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, in which he was rather confusingly known as Francis II. He abdicated the imperial throne, ending a chain of succession going back to Charlemagne, who was crowned in the year 800 as its first emperor. ■

Scourge *of the*



Timur forged the Turco-Mongols of Central Asia into an unstoppable juggernaut capable of defeating the armies of both Mongol khanates and Islamic sultanates.

East

Alamy

Egyptian medieval chronicler Ibn Taghribirdi relates an incident that occurred following Turco-Mongol Emir Timur's conquest of Aleppo in 1400. A young man in the city's Mamluk garrison was found lying among stacks of dead and dying soldiers after the Turco-Mongols captured the city. Timur learned that the young warrior had fought with such ferocity that he had suffered 30 cuts from Turco-Mongol sabers. Timur "marveled extremely at his bravery and endurance, and, it is said, ordered that he be given medical treatment," wrote Ibn Taghribirdi.

Timur generally ordered captured soldiers executed, thereby removing the possibility of their joining his conquering army, but on occasion he welcomed into his ranks those who had fought with great loyalty for their masters and commanders. It was a glimmer of humanity in the famous conqueror's otherwise sadistic nature.

Turco-Mongol Emir Timur embarked on a long march of conquest in the 14th century known for its savagery. Even the rival Golden Horde could not withstand his fury.

Victor Kamenir

Timur was born on April 9, 1336, near the town of Kesh in modern-day Uzbekistan to a prominent family of the Barlas clan. The Barlas clan was at the forefront of internecine struggle for control in the fractured Mongol khanate formerly belonging to Genghis Khan's second-oldest son, Chagatai.

By the time of Timur's birth, the Chagatai Khanate, which at one time encompassed parts of a half-dozen Central Asian states, had broken into two halves. Turkic-speaking tribes of the Tatar Confederacy in the western half—known as Transoxiana—had come under the cultural and religious influence of the neighboring Persians. As a result, they had shed their Mongol identity and converted Islam. Meanwhile, the peoples of the eastern half, known as Moghulistan, retained their Mongol character and its nomadic way of life. Even so, the ruling elite of these Moghulistan also converted to Islam.

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Although he received scant formal education, Timur grew up an intelligent, astute, and somber young man. He possessed great skill at arms, and he had a knack for the backstabbing politics endemic to the harsh, remote lands of Central Asia.

A power vacuum existed in Transoxiana following the assasination of Emir Qazaghan in 1358; seeking to exploit the situation, Moghul Khan Tughlugh invaded and subjugated the tribes of Transoxiana. Tughlugh Khan subsequently installed his son Ilyas-Khoja as viceroy and returned to Moghulistan.

Timur, who was extremely ambitious—having grown up in the shadow of Genghis Khan's legend—offered his services to the new viceroy. But other than being granted control of his native Kesh, Timur was thwarted in his aspirations to receive a senior position in Ilyas-Khoja's court. Deeply disillusioned by the political setback, Timur went into self-imposed exile with his household and a number of Barlas clan warriors who were loyal to him.

Timur ventured south into Afghanistan, where he joined his brother-in-law Emir Husayn of Balkh. Timur and Husayn's situation mirrored that of Italian *condottieri*, who offered their swords to powerful feudal lords and organized their armies. While in the service of the Prince of Seistan in eastern Persia in 1363, Timur was struck by a volley of arrows during a minor skirmish. One arrow penetrated his right knee, while another injured his right elbow. Neither wound healed correctly, leaving Timur with a pronounced limp and a diminished use of his right arm, earning him the nickname Timur the Lame, or Tamerlane, as he came to be called by Europeans.

The steadily growing reputations of Timur and Husayn drew to their banners warriors looking for loot and glory. After building up sufficient strength, the two emirs returned to Transoxiana sometime in mid-1360s. After initially suffering a defeat, they eventually routed Ilyas-Khoja. As a result, Moghulistan withdrew its forces from Transoxiana.

Even with the Mongols gone, however, Turkic lords could not oppose the firmly entrenched tradition of having a descendant of Genghis Khan upon the throne of Transoxiana. Timur and Husayn found a sufficiently pliable—and weak—member of the Genghizid line named Siurgutamysh to be the titular khan, while they held the real reins of power, maintaining their titles of *Emir*, the equivalent of "commander" or "general."

After the death of his father Tughlugh Khan, Ilyas-Khoja consolidated his power in Moghulistan and made another attempt at Transoxiana. On May 22, 1365, the combined forces of Timur and Husayn met Ilyas-Khoja on the bank of the Chirchik River. The relationship between the two emirs had deteriorated, and they could not agree on conduct of the campaign. Even though Timur's and Husayn's joint forces numbered 85,000 men against Ilyas-Khoja's 60,000, they fought as two separate entities without supporting each other.

During the battle, a sudden rain turned the battlefield into a muddy morass, with horses sinking up to their knees in the mire. The battle in the mud became a brutal melee, and Ilyas-Khoja succeeded in defeating the two emirs. Losing more than 10,000 men, Timur and Husayn retreated past Samarkand. In their assessment, the city's garrison had sufficient strength to withstand a siege. Ilyas-Khoja subsequently besieged the city but was forced to abandon the effort when an epidemic broke out among his forces.

Timur and Husayn took joint control of Samarkand. During this time, Timur drew upon his power base in nearby Kesh, but Husayn was the more powerful of the two. He dealt harshly with the local aristocracy; for example, by imposing burdensome taxes. In contrast, Timur showed his political astuteness by working steadily to undermine Husayn's influence. Their alliance of convenience disintegrated upon death of Timur's wife, who was Husayn's sister. At that point, their hostility erupted into open warfare. After suffering initial defeat, Timur negotiated a truce that allowed him to return to Samarkand, while

Husayn returned to his power base in Balkh.

Timur made his move against his erstwhile ally in 1370. He suddenly appeared in Balkh, catching Husayn unprepared. The two rivals skirmished for two days. Husayn agreed to surrender after securing Timur's promise not to execute him. Sticking to the letter of their agreement, Timur had one of his officers behead Husayn instead. Timur's troops then sacked Balkh and massacred the majority of its population. The incident foretold the wholesale slaughter that was to become Timur's trademark of conquest.

Timur called for a council of tribal leaders and senior generals, known as a *kurultai*. Timur had Genghizid Siurgutamysh, his puppet ruler, confirmed as the Khan of Transoxiana. Everyone in the region knew, though, that Timur held the real power. He took as his title Grand Emir. Siurgutamysh, and his son who succeeded him, were well-treated but virtually powerless.

Timur established Samarkand as the capital of his new state, which he called Turan. As part of celebratory proceedings, he married Husayn's widow, Saray Mulk-Khanum, who was a descendant of Genghis Khan. In this way, he was able to gain an aura of legitimacy by tying himself to the Genghizid line through marriage. In order to maintain a veneer of legitimacy, Timur styled himself a cultural successor to Genghis Khan, attempting both to restore the great man's former empire and to unify the world under one Islamic ruler.

Timur then began calling himself Timur Gurgan, which translates to "son-in-law." Timur also established the practice of taking wives and daughters of defeated opponents as his own wives and concubines. In this way, he eventually amassed a harem of 18 wives and 25 consorts.

Despite these moves, his new state stood on shaky ground. Its neighbors, all independent fragments of Genghis Khan's once-sprawling empire, were either wary or openly hostile to Timur's growing power. Timur conquered Khoresm, to the west, with minimal resistance. He arranged the marriage of its princess to his oldest son, Jahangir.

By this time Moghulistan was also in a state of anarchy, and raids by various chieftains were a constant nuisance for Transoxiana. Between 1371 and 1390 Timur conducted seven campaigns to keep the Mongols at bay, which required him to interrupt his campaigns in southwestern Asia to return east. The powerful Dughlat clan, under Emir Qamar-ad Din, proved particularly troublesome. Although Timur was never able to completely subjugate Moghulistan, his campaigns ruined the hostile state and broke the power base of the Dughlat clan. After his defeat, Qamar ad-Din went into exile. A period of instability followed before another Moghulistan ruler established a wary peace with Transoxiana.

Timur's Turco-Mongol army was not much different from that of Genghis Khan. It was largely composed of members of Turkic-speaking clans, who had converted to Islam; the Europeans called them *Tatars*. The backbone of the army was its tribal horse archers, who were backed up by heavy cavalry wielding both bow and lance. The horse archers' primary weapon was a composite bow. They used one type for long range and another for close-in, rapid shooting.

"Only a hand that can grasp a sword may hold the scepter," states a Tatar proverb. The timing was ripe for Timur to realize his ambitions: In the first half of the 14th century, the Black Death swept from Asia to Europe. As it spread like wildfire across the continents, it decimated populations and weakened established social orders. Hence, the collapse of the Il-Khanid Mongol dynasty in southwestern Asia created a power vacuum in Persia among warring successor states.

Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, the Castilian ambassador at Timur's court, gives a good summary of the Tatars' discipline in battle. "Ranks formed without word of command, orders were anticipated

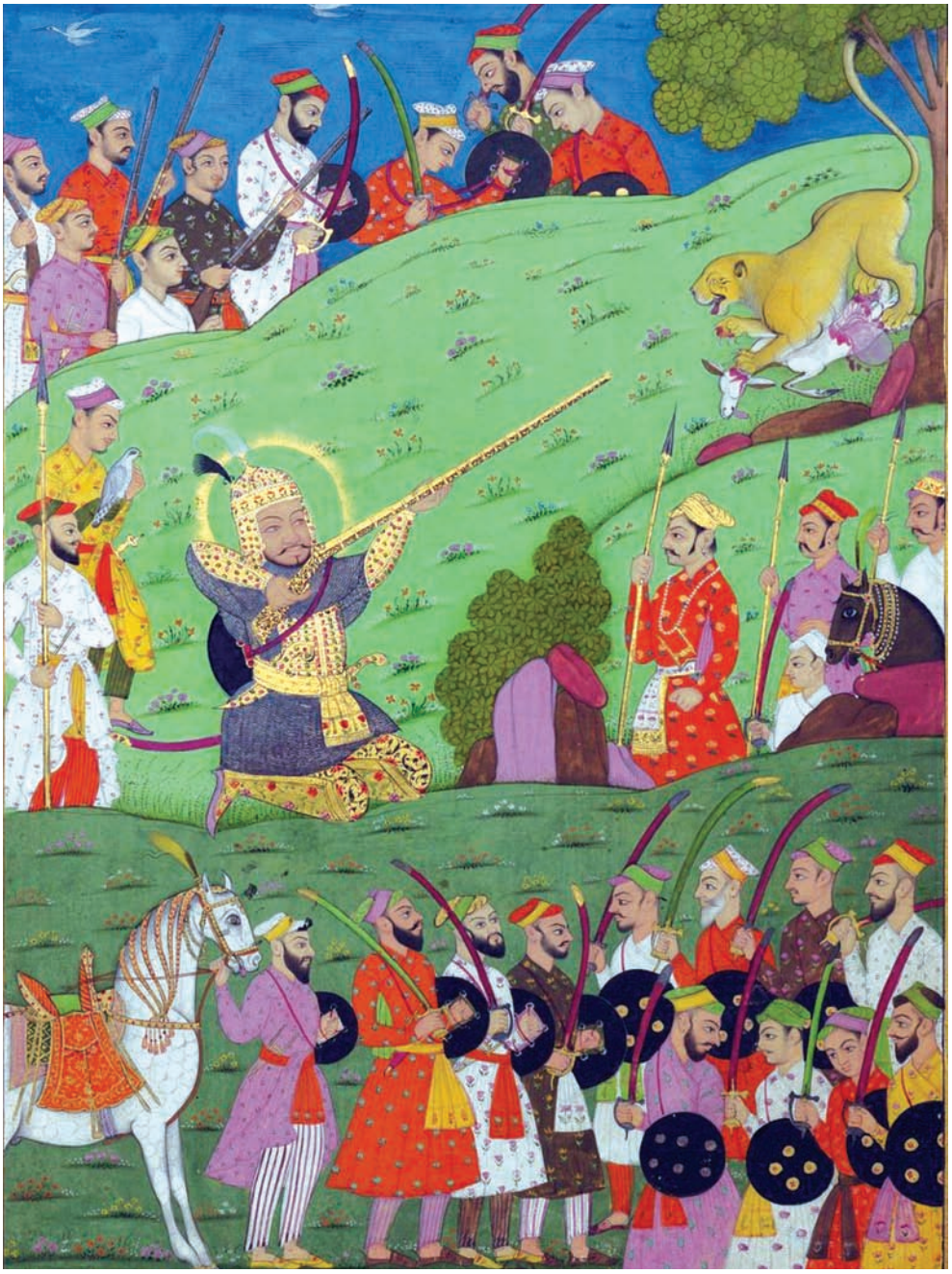
Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Timur took the title of Emir of Transoxiana. He was careful not to call himself khan because that title was reserved by Mongol law for direct descendants of Genghis Khan. OPPOSITE: The Timurids overran the Persianate-Mongol Jalayirid Sultanate of Iraq and western Persia in the late 14th century. Timur conquered primarily for loot and to enslave skilled artisans who were dragged off to Samarkand to improve his capital city.

before drum or trumpet sounded," he wrote. "Good order is maintained with utmost strictness, and none dare fight with another or oppress his neighbor by force; indeed, as to fighting, that Timur makes them do enough, but abroad."

Timur's army trained regularly, and he conducted spot inspections even while campaigning. Yearly training culminated in winter with maneuvers called the *nerge*, which meant "great hunt." Units spread out in a line that extended 50 miles. The wings would then move steadily forward, all of the while curving inwards until they met forming a circle. Close coordination was required to prevent the animals from escaping, and any man permitting even smallest creature to slip through was severely punished. Once the animals were corralled, the hunt could not commence until the hunt commander made the first kill.

In Timur's army, sedentary city populations typically served as infantry, although their role was largely limited to defensive tasks and siege works. Timur used the traditional nomad decimal system to organize his armies. Senior leadership positions were appointed based on tribal nobility, skill, loyalty, and fearlessness. As for the warriors, they could earn promotions through merit.



Timur participates in a hunt with a large entourage. Hunting was not only a necessary part of the nomadic lifestyle, but also an important cultural activity.

During campaigns, the swift-riding Turco-Mongol cavalry were followed by trains bearing Timur's court, administrators, and some of his wives. In addition, Timur's troops brought with them huge herds of horses and cattle.

Timur's campaigns resembled large-scale raids rather than empire-building conquests in the mold of Genghis Khan. After conquering a territory, Timur typically headed back to Samarkand, carrying with him looted treasures, slaves, and skilled artisans. The army left in its wake devastation, destroyed infrastructure, and dead towns full of decomposing bodies. His conquests were characterized by escalating levels of brutality toward defeated populations. Timur, who was a Muslim more from convenience than anything else, made no distinction between Muslims and peoples of other religion. Although not specifically intending to do so, Timur's conquests decimated the once-thriving Nestorian Christian communities of the Middle East.

Unlike Genghis Khan, who commonly incorporated defeated states into his empire proper, Timur made little effort to establish effective administration over conquered territory. He frequently left defeated rulers to govern in his name. Timur justified the bloodshed he inflicted during his campaigns on the grounds that it was necessary to terrorize the enemy in order to prevent resistance. This policy, though, frequently backfired. When Timur departed conquered cities, he often had to return to quash uprisings. The end result was enormous bloodshed. When a massacre was in the offing, Timur would order his men to raise a black banner over his tent.

After establishing control over Transoxiana, Timur turned his attention in 1381 to Khorasan. The following year he invaded the Mazandaran region of Persia on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. The Il-Khanate, another successor state of Genghis Khan's empire, had disintegrated long before Timur's birth and was split among several mutually hostile dynasties. The Il-Khanate encompassed eastern Anatolia, Persia, northern Iraq, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. After its collapse, what remained were a half dozen weak sultanates and principalities. Timur focused much of his wrath in this campaign against Sultan Emir Wali of Mazandaran because he had attacked one of Timur's vassals in Khorasan.

Timur's Tartars massacred 100,000 people at Heart in Khorasan. To ensure that all of his men participated in the bloodbath, he ordered that each warrior was to produce a head. His troops stacked the severed heads into 28 pyramids. As if that were not brutal enough, he ordered his men to cement 2,000 of the residents into the city walls while they were alive. Lives were not the only things lost in the devastation of the city, for

Timur's men also destroyed agricultural infrastructure. Before marching away from Heart, the Timurid troops leveled the ancient city.

Timur worked ceaselessly to bring glory and prosperity to his beloved Samarkand and the core of his empire. Attracted by favorable treatment and high pay, skilled architects and masons flocked into Timur's service in Samarkand. Of course, Timur's troops compelled many others, brought from the far corners of his empire, to work by threat of force.

The buildings of Samarkand, which previously had been made mostly of clay, were replaced by magnificent, enduring stone structures. The artisans built palaces, arches, mausoleums, and mosques. When Timur passed through Samarkand as he marched back and forth against enemies in the east and west, he would inspect the buildings in his capital. If he found a building did not meet his exacting standards, he ordered it destroyed and rebuilt.

In the early 1380s, Timur helped a Genghizid prince named Tokhtamysh gain control of the Golden Horde. Ghengis Khan's grandson Batu had founded the Golden Horde, which he established when he inherited western half of his grandfather's dominions.

Batu's vast khanate included most of European Russia. During his military campaigns in the mid-13th century, Batu extended control over a domain that stretched from the Urals to the Carpathians. The khanate's name came from an occasion when Batu pitched his golden tent at Sarai on the Volga, thus founding the center of his khanate. Timur tracked closely events in the Golden Horde, for it bordered Transoxiana, the heart of the Timurid Empire, to the northwest.

Prince Tokhtamysh repaid Timur's assistance with betrayal. While Timur was engaged elsewhere in 1386, Tokhtamysh began raiding northwestern Persia, which was part of the Timurid Empire. Turning the wrathful eye toward Tokhtamysh, Timur attacked in a wide flanking maneuver around the western edge of the Caspian Sea through the Kingdom of Georgia.

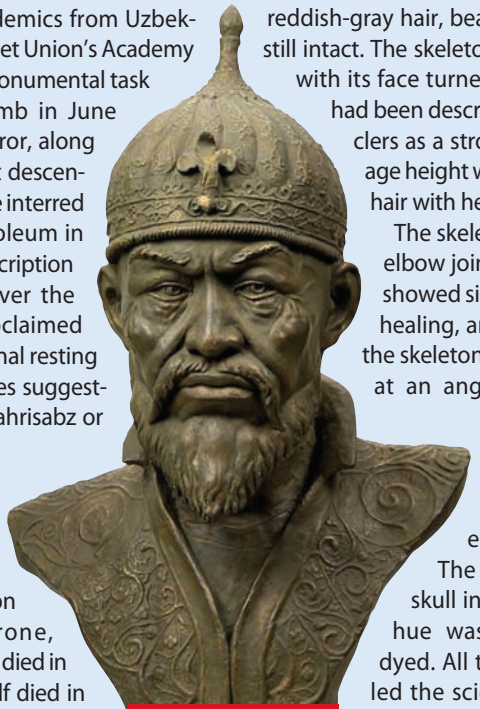
While Tokhtamysh retreated north of the Caucasus Mountains, Timur defeated Georgia. In so doing, he forced King Bagrat V to convert to Islam at sword-point and swear allegiance to him. Returning to Samarkand, Timur left Bagrat in nominal power under his suzerainty. He furnished him with 12,000 Turco-Mongol troops in case Tokhtamysh returned. Shortly after Timur's departure, Bagrat and his son, George VI, began waging a guerilla war against the Tatars, resulting in widespread devastation in Georgia.

Tokhtamysh returned in 1387 to attack Transoxiana, besieging Bukhara, the second city in Timur's empire. As Timur drew near, Tokhtamysh once again withdrew to the steppes to the north. The city of Urgench in Khwarizm paid a heavy price for supporting Tokhtamysh; Timur ordered the massacre of its people and the destruction of the city.

After securing his flanks, Timur moved against Tokhtamysh in February 1391. After an epic chase that lasted 18 weeks and covered 1,800 miles, Timur cornered Tokhtamysh on the Kondurcha River, which lay just north of modern Samara in Russia. Losing a large part of his force, Tokhtamysh fought his way out of the trap and escaped again.

Rebuilding his strength, Tokhtamysh began

Quest to Reconstruct Timur's Facial Features



Soviet archaeologist Mikhail Gerasimov produced this stunning facial reconstruction of Timur in 1941.

An all-star team of academics from Uzbekistan's branch of the Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences began the monumental task of opening Timur's tomb in June 1941. The great conqueror, along with several of his direct descendants, was believed to be interred in the Gur-i-Emir mausoleum in Samarkand. While an inscription engraved in a panel over the mausoleum's door proclaimed the location as Timur's final resting place, there were theories suggesting he was buried in Shahrisabz or even Otrar.

Construction on Gur-i-Emir (Tomb of the King) began in 1404 as the eventual resting place for Timur's grandson and heir to the throne, Muhammad-Sultan, who died in 1403. After Timur himself died in 1405 in Otrar, his grandson and second-in-command Khalil-Sultan had Timur's body embalmed and taken to Samarkand to be placed in Gur-i-Emir. The ornately decorated mausoleum became the family tomb of Timur's family and grew from one building to a multi-structure complex.

Work on opening the tombs began on June 2, 1941, constantly plagued by accidents and mishaps. Ornate tombstones were located in the main chamber, directly above the actual tombs in the crypt below. Scientists opened the tomb bearing Timur's name on a large slab of green nephrite jade on June 21. Other tombs contained the remains of sons and grandsons.

Emir Timur had supposedly issued a warning on his deathbed to anyone who would open his tomb. "Whoever disturbs my peace, will unleash evil greater than I am." The day after the tomb was opened, Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

Inside the casket was a well-preserved skeleton of a tall, powerfully built man whose tufts of reddish-gray hair, beard, and eyebrows were still intact. The skeleton was lying on its back, with its face turned toward Mecca. Timur had been described in medieval chroniclers as a strong man of above-average height who supposedly dyed his hair with henna.

The skeleton's bones at the right elbow joint and right knee clearly showed signs of injuries, improper healing, and illness. The bones of the skeleton's right knee were fused at an angle indicating that the man walked with a limp; however, the damage to the elbow joint was more in line with disease rather than injury. The hair remaining on his skull indicated that its reddish hue was natural, rather than dyed. All these factors combined led the scientists to a reasonable belief that they indeed were looking at the great Turco-Mongol conqueror Timur.

There were no reliable historical descriptions of Timur's appearance. Many later-date miniatures allegedly depicting Timur clearly portray men with Indo-Persian features, rather than Timur's Turco-Mongol traits.

The task of portraying Timur's face as it likely appeared in life fell to Mikhail Gerasimov, a Soviet archaeologist and anthropologist who developed the first method of forensic facial reconstruction. Gerasimov removed the remains of Timur and his sons and grandsons to Moscow, where he painstakingly reconstructed facial features of Timur, son Shah-Rukh, and grandson Ulug-Beg, before returning them to Gur-i-Emir in November 1942. For the first time in more than have a millennium, people again could look into the face of one of the world's greatest conquerors.

—Victory Kamenir

Claiming that Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud allowed his Hindu subjects to worship false idols in a manner that was insulting to Muslims, Timur invaded the Delhi Sultanate in 1398.

raiding Georgia in 1395, forcing Timur to go after him in earnest. The two armies squared off again along the Terek River on April 15, 1395. Tokhtamysh held the only available ford; Timur knew it was suicide to attack across the river against a waiting enemy, so he led his troops upstream along the south bank, while Tokhtamysh shadowed him along the north.

The maneuvering lasted for three long days with neither army gaining an advantage of position. "On the third night, as soon as his camp was formed, Timur issued orders that all the women who had marched with his soldiers should don helmets with men's war gear to play the part of soldiers, while the men should mount and forthwith ride back with him to the ford, each horseman taking a second mount by the bridle," wrote Clavijo. The following day, Timur's army forded the river. It marched along the north bank unnoticed and launched a surprise attack on the enemy. Timur's horse archers routed Tokhtamysh's troops and plundered their possessions.

Tokhtamysh escaped once again, but this time his power was broken for good. In retaliation for Tokhtamysh's impudence, Timur ravaged the Golden Horde's territory. His horsemen sacked and destroyed Sarai. After pushing on to destroy the town of Yeletz on the Russian frontier, the Tatars turned south to Crimea, where they destroyed all of the Genoese trading posts along the Black Sea littoral before heading to their homeland via Georgia.

With his power base and sources of income destroyed, Tokhtamysh fled to Lithuania, where he died ten years later. Iduku, who succeeded Tokhtamysh, could not restore the power of the Golden Horde. This enabled the Russians to finally throw off the Mongol yoke after 200 years, which led to the rise of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. The destruction of Sarai and Astrakhan disrupted the northern fork of the Silk Road, rerouting merchant traffic and resulting in rich revenues flowing southward through Timur's territory. Survivors of Genoese colonies carried the word to Western Europe about a new nomad scourge, that of the Tatars, emerging in the east.

Having nullified the threat from the Golden Horde, Timur returned to Samarkand in 1396, where for the next two years he fully immersed himself in turning his capital into a jewel of Central Asia. While the architectural wonders were being built, Timur was preparing for new campaigns. He cast his gaze to the south, eying India, which was ripe for an invasion given that it had been weakened by a long-running civil war between Muslim sultanates and Hindu kingdoms. In preparation for an invasion of India, forward detachments were sent to reconnoiter the ground and assess the combatants in preparation for a major campaign.

Timur led 90,000 troops across the Indus River in September 1398. He was bound for Dehli, and as he marched the towns and fortresses in his path toppled like dominoes. Timur alleged that his Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud of Delhi, who was also a Muslim, was being too lenient toward his infidel Hindu subjects.

Timur's army approached Delhi in late December. Mahmud had done an admirable job of fortifying his city; it was defended by a strong garrison. Upon his arrival, Timur began making preparations for a lengthy siege. He established a fortified camp a short distance from the city. His men constructed a ditch around it, and the excavated earth was topped by a wooden palisade. Timur brought tens of thousands of prisoners from the villages he had conquered along the way to slaughter before the gates of the city. He did this both as an intimidation tactic and to eliminate the need to guard and feed them.

The need to garrison the towns and fortressed that he had captured on his march to Dehli had reduced Timur's army close to parity with Mahmud's army. Foregoing the advantage of his fortified position, Mahmud marched his army outside the walls to face Timur in the field on January 2, 1399. Timur faced a major battle, for Mahmud fielded 10,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry. Mahmud's army also included 100 war elephants, a fearsome asset that Timur's tribal steppe horsemen had never faced in combat.

The Dehli Sultanate's troops protected their elephants with padded armor and equipped them

with blades fitted over their tusks. The elephants served a dual purpose, both as missile platforms and command platforms. The elephants bore carriages upon their backs that could carry as many as seven warriors equipped with spears and bows. Their height enabled the warriors to observe enemy positions and signal intelligence about them to other forces. But elephants had a major drawback: They were skittish and prone to being spooked by sights and odors to which they were unaccustomed.

Timur devised a method to deal with war elephants. He knew that all animals, no matter how large, have a deathly fear of fire. Timur ordered his troops to outfit a number of camels and water buffaloes with bales of straw and other flammable materials that could be quickly set afire.

On the morning of the battle, the Dehli Sultanate's army deploy for battle with two wings and a center. Mahmud ordered the elephant troops to take up positions in front of the infantry in the center of his army. As for Timur, he deployed his troops in two battle lines. He also established a reserve.

The battle began with the Dehli horsemen making a charge against Timur's center and left flank. The attacking cavalry nearly cut through to the nomads' second line, but timely deployment of Tatar reserves repulsed their charge.

As the Indian cavalry retreated, Mahmud committed his elephants. This was the moment for which Timur had been waiting. Upon his command, his troops lit the flammable materials tied to the backs of the camels and buffalos. The terrified animals, baying in pain and prodded by Tatar spears, advanced toward the elephants. Frightened by the wall of living torches, the elephants panicked and ran away in helter-skelter fashion. They trampled a large number of their own infantry as they fled the field.

Taking advantage of the chaos, Tatar archers swept around them. They fired up at the elephants' platforms, picking off elephant riders by using their composite bows with great precision. The victorious Tatar troops then chased the fleeing Indian army back to the gates of the city; however, they turned away in time to avoid fire from the enemy's missile weapons deployed on the high battlements.

Mahmud fled the city during the night with the remnants of his army. Timur took possession of Delhi the following day without a fight. A week-long orgy of slaughter followed; the Tatars burned the beautiful city to the ground. After spending two more months mopping up resistance, Timur's army returned to Samarkand. It brought with it enormous troves of treasure. Timur had no intention of establishing his rule in India; he had simply wanted to devastate and plunder it. After his departure, Mahmud slunk back to his devastated capital. He had an arduous task before him, given that his sultanate was in a state of chaos and anarchy.

Returning from India in 1399, Timur did not have time to rest. His oldest son, Miran-Shah, ruled Persia as Timur's viceroy. A fall from a horse caused him brain damage, and Miran-Shah became a shadow of his former self. Taking advantage of Miran-Shah's disability, Timur's enemies raided his domain and fomented unrest. Hurrying to Miran-Shah's stronghold at Soltaniyeh in northwest Persia, Timur relieved his son of his duties and took personal control of his territory.

Timur crushed troublesome neighbors Kara Yusuf of the Kara-Koyunlu Turcoman kingdom and his ally Sultan Ahmed Jalayir in Baghdad. They fled west to take refuge first in Syria under Egyptian Mamluk Sultan Nasir-ad-Din Faraj, and when Syria fell they sought safe haven with Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I.

In his march to Syria, Timur casually snapped up several small territories belonging to the Ottoman Sultan. The two rulers exchanged threats in correspondence, which inevitably led to open war between the Ottomans and Tatars. Timur spent two years ravaging Syria. In 1400, he sacked and destroyed Damascus and then turned his attention to Aleppo. During the sack of Aleppo, the Tatars fashioned 20,000 severed heads into pyramids.

Timur advanced into Ottoman Anatolia in late spring 1402. His march into central Anatolia showed all the hallmarks of his customary brutality. In the border town of Sivas, Timur ordered the execution of a garrison commanded by Sultan Bayazid's eldest son. In the ensuring massacre, the Tatars buried alive 3,000 Christian Armenian soldiers.

At the time of Timur's offensive, Sultan Bayazid I was besieging Constantinople, the last remnant of the once-great Byzantine Empire. He raised the siege and rushed east to meet Timur. The forced march of his Ottoman army in the scorching summer heat took a heavy toll on his troops.

Timur decisively defeated Sultan Bayazid I's Ottoman army in a pitched battle at Ankara in 1402. Although a great commander, his empire crumbled upon his death.

In a daring maneuver executed with great skill and coordination, Timur swung southwest undetected by Ottoman scouts and came up behind Bayazid, cutting off his avenue of retreat. The two armies squared off on the Cubuk Plain near Ankara on July 20. Timur fielded 140,000 troops, mostly mounted. He also brought with him 32 war elephants. He took up a position with the center of his army, leaving the flanks to his sons Miran Shah and Shah Rukh.

Bayazid's army was roughly half the size of Timur's army. The Ottoman army consisted of regular Sipahi cavalry, janissaries, and irregulars. The Ottoman sultan also had an auxiliary force of 5,000 warriors led by Serbian Prince Stefan

After his victory over the Ottoman Army at the Battle of Ankara, Timur visits Sultan Bayazid I, the only Ottoman sultan captured in battle. The defeat caused almost total collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Lazarevic. This auxiliary unit was composed of Serbs, Albanians, and Wallachians.

Many of the Ottoman troops were Anatolian provincial levies. Men of dubious loyalty, many of whom were recently conquered Turcoman warriors, commanded these levies. Because of the dubious caliber and condition of many the Ottoman troops, Bayezid's lieutenants urged him to fight a defensive battle, but Bayezid had other plans.

The sultan deployed his forces on the Cubuk Plain with his back to the hills. The European vassals under Prince Stefan deployed on the right, and Anatolian troops and Turcomans took up positions on the left. Bayazid personally commanded the center with his regular troops. Five of Bayazid's sons were with him. The most distinguished of these, Suleyman and Mehmed, led the left wing and rearguard, respectively. The Ottomans army's strength lay in its center, while the Tatars' strength lay in their flanks.

The battle began when thousands of Timur's horse archers unleashed a storm of arrows that rained down on the Ottoman ranks. The Anatolians and the Turcomans quickly deserted and went to Timur's side. As the battle progressed, the sheer weight of the superior Tatar numbers began to take its toll. The Tatar flanks began to wrap around the Ottoman army, threatening to encircle it.

In the process, the Serbs found themselves cut off; nevertheless, they fought their way to Bayazid's position. The majority of Serbian knights wore heavy plate armor, and therefore the Tatar arrows bounced off them, causing little damage. The proud Serbs fought like lions, thus earning Timur's begrudging praise. Surrounded on a small hillock, Bayazid rejected Prince Stefan's suggestion that they retreat together. Instead, he entrusted Suleyman and his treasure to Stefan's care. The Serbs succeeded in cutting their way out. Meanwhile, the ring closed around Bayezid, who was soon captured. The only Ottoman sultan ever to be taken prisoner, Bayazid I died three months later in captivity.

The Ottoman defeat reverberated through Europe. While the captured Ottoman sultan's sons engaged in a civil war, the Byzantines received a temporary reprieve. In the manner of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," the kings of Western Europe rushed to congratulate Timur and establish diplomatic relations with him.

After defeating Bayazid, Timur continued a triumphant march across the length of Anatolia, reaching the Aegean Sea. On December 2, 1402, Timur arrived at the city of Smyrna, the last Christian outpost in the Holy Land. The town's population was split between Christians and Muslims. The Knights Hospitaller held a strong castle in the city's small harbor. The castle, which was defended by 200 knights and their sergeants, was situated on a narrow strip of land, with a ditch separating the castle from the mainland.

After an initial assault on the castle was beaten back, Timur settled in for a proper siege. Under fire from the defenders, who employed naptha and Greek fire, the ditch was steadily filled. Meanwhile, Timur's stone-throwing artillery battered the walls for two weeks. The Tatars eventually breached the walls and stormed into the castle. The surviving knights cut their way through the swarming mass of Tatars to the harbor, where they escaped by sea. Afterwards, the Tatars massacred the Christians in Smyrna and destroyed the crusaders' quarters in the Aegean coastal city.

Upon his return to Samarkand, Timur began planning a campaign against China's Ming Dynasty. He held an impressive feast for his extended family in Samarkand before the start of the campaign. During the banquet, five of his grandsons were married. Timur ordered all religious constraints waived during the feast. Although outwardly professing religious piety, Timur loved alcohol and women. It would be his last feast in Samarkand, and it was worthy of an event hosted by Roman Emperor Caligula.

Timur typically began his campaigns in the spring, but this time he chose to start late in the year. He knew that he was not far from death. With that mindset, he marched hurriedly against China in the hope of conquering it and adding it to his already vast empire. Although still robust for a 72-year-old man, his health had begun to fail him. During this period, he was frequently unable to ride a horse.

His army marched east through deep snow in January 1405. During the arduous winter march, many of his men and their horses froze to death. With a merciless wind whipping through the steppes, Timur caught a cold. He hung on until the army reached Otrar in modern Kazakhstan, where he made his final dispositions before dying on February 18. Timur's death brought an abrupt end to his campaign against China.

Timur's son and heir-apparent, Jahangir, had died of illness in 1376. Timur's grandson Muhammad Sultan, who was the next in succession, fell in battle in 1403. On his deathbed, Timur appointed another grandson, Pir Muhammad, as his successor. Other progeny received governorships of various Timurid provinces. But civil war ensued among rival emirs. Timur's youngest son, Shah Rukh, eventually succeeded in quelling the warring factions and ascended to the Timurid throne in 1405. He ruled the Timurid Empire until 1447.

The empire that Timur had cobbled together began to disintegrate upon his death, for it lacked the administrative structure possessed by Genghis Khan's empire. Although he had excelled at waging war, Timur lacked the political foresight to effectively administer the wide territories under his control. While Genghis Khan meted out death and destruction with detached pragmatism, Timur's violence was of a far more personal, malicious nature.

Timur's land of birth, Uzbekistan, gained independence following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Uzbeks rehabilitated Timur's legacy as part of their effort to elevate their national identity and revive past glories. The Uzbeks focused on Timur's political, economic, and cultural achievements, which had brought unity and prosperity to their land.

In his youth Timur suffered an occasional defeat, but during his march of conquest he absorbed the thrones of 27 kings and sultans in an uninterrupted succession of victories. This achievement justifies his ranking as one of history's greatest conquerors. ■

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Field Marshal Erwin Rommel launched a bold strike against the Americans at Kasserine Pass in February 1943 but failed to achieve his lofty objectives.

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PANZER STORM IN TUNISIA

Ignoring the swirling sands stirred up by the fierce winds of the Sahara Desert in the early morning hours of February 14, 1943, Generalleutnant Heinz Ziegler ordered his panzer columns forward to attack the American forces deployed in central Tunisia. More than 100 tanks and halftracks and trucks packed with infantry rumbled through the Faid Pass in the Eastern Dorsal of the Atlas Mountains. The first objective of his two powerful panzer columns was a pair of prominent hills, known locally as *djebels*, 10 miles apart that bracketed the strategic crossroads of Sidi bou Zid. Between the two hills ran Highway 13 from Faid to Sebeitla.

Just as the sun hazily began to rise above the mountains, the tanks and vehicles of the 10th Panzer Division rolled out onto the flatland.

Generalmajor Friedrich Freiherr von Broich's 10th Panzer headed for Djebel Lessouda. Meanwhile, Colonel Hans Georg Hildebrandt's 21st Panzer Division debouched from the Mazil Pass bound for Djebel Ksaira, 10 miles south of Djebel Lessouda. American forces holding Sidi bou Zid remained unaware of the German forces bearing down on them.

The vanguard of the 10th Panzer Division sped past the village of Faid and continued westward. The panz-

Short-barreled Panzer IVs advance through the mountains of northern Tunisia. At Kasserine Pass, German panzer columns blasted American tanks and then encircled isolated U.S. infantry units.

Alamy

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ABOVE: Field Marshal Erwin Rommel hoped to punch through the American line in Tunisia and capture the U.S. II Corps supply depot at Tebessa, Algeria. RIGHT: Maj. Gen. Lloyd Fredendall confers with French commanders. The Germans initially succeeded in blunting the advance through the Tunisia interior of both the French XIX Corps and U.S. II Corps.

ers in the vanguard overran a squad of American troops a few miles west of Faid so fast that the Americans had no opportunity to use their radio or even fire a signal rocket as a warning. The panzer troops took the crews of 10 American tanks by surprise while they were cooking their breakfast and knocked out six tanks in short order. When more American tanks advanced in a vain effort to stem the panzer onslaught, the crack German panzer troops destroyed six more American tanks.

A few miles further, von Broich's column split into three *Kampfgruppen*, or battle groups. One of these moved around Djebel Lessouda; its mission was to knock out American artillery and encircle the hill. The other two battle groups moved south to envelop Sidi bou Zid.

The American forces defending Djebel Lessouda consisted of the 2nd Battalion/168th Infantry Regiment of the 34th Infantry Division, a company of tanks, and a platoon of tank destroyers. Lt. Col. John Waters, the executive officer of the 1st U.S. Armored Regiment, led the task force. The 900 American troops holding this hill, as well the 1,700 men under Colonel Thomas Drake at Djebel Ksaira, would soon find themselves overrun by the German panzer spearheads.

The Battle of Sidi Bou Zid was the opening clash by Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel's German-Italian Panzer Army against Maj. Gen. Lloyd Fredendall's 32,000-strong U.S. II Corps advancing into central Tunisia. It would be all that Cols. Waters and Drake could do just to hang on until help arrived; that is, if it ever did.

The Allies had begun Operation Torch, their invasion of Vichy French North Africa, on November 8, 1942. American and British troops in three task forces had stormed the coasts of both Morocco and Algeria. The Vichy troops offered some token resistance, but two days later General Dwight Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force of the North African Theater of Operations, brokered a cease-fire. French forces in the two countries promptly switched over to the Allies.

The purpose of Operation Torch was to maintain pressure on the Germans until landings in France could be made. British Lt. Gen. Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army had inflicted a serious defeat in autumn 1943 on German and Italian forces at the Second Battle of El Alamein in Egypt. As a result, Rommel's Panzer Army Afrika was in full retreat west across Libya with the British Eighth Army in slow pursuit. The Allies intended to crush Panzer Army Africa between armies converging on Tunisia from both the east and west.

The Allies eastern thrust began on November 14, when Lt. Gen. Kenneth Anderson's British 1st Army struck out from Algeria bound for the Mediterranean ports of Tunis and Bizerte in Tunisia. Anderson commanded the British V Corps, French XIX Corps, and U.S. II Corps.

The Germans quickly sent reinforcements by air and sea from Italy to secure a bridgehead in northeastern Tunisia and forestall the British and American advance on Tunis. Generaloberst Hans-Jurgen von Arnim arrived on December 9 at the Tunisian bridgehead to take command of the newly created 5th Panzer Army. Ziegler, who was Arnim's deputy, accompanied him. Sporadic fighting occurred down the length of the battlefront in central Tunisia, but it eventually subsided as supply problems and bad weather forestalled fresh British and American attacks. Winter rains, which typically lasted several months, had arrived in January on the Tunisian coastline. Eisenhower realized that because of the bad weather, large-scale operations by the British First Army on the North African coast would have to wait until the soil dried in the spring.

Rommel's chief concern was that the Allies would capture Gabes on the Tunisian coast and drive a wedge between the Axis armies. He therefore began, on January 2, 1943, to withdraw his forces from Libya, instructing his subordinate commanders to redeploy to the Mareth Line, a system of fortifications built in the previous decade by France in southern Tunisia. Although the line was originally intended to protect French-held Tunisia against an Italian invasion from its colony in Libya, it would now protect the Germans from the British.

By late January, Rommel's German-Italian Panzer Army consisted of 30,000 German and 48,000 Italian troops. In contrast, Arnim's better-supplied 5th Panzer Army comprised 74,000 German and 26,000 Italian troops. Arnim's army was further strengthened by the 21st Panzer Division,

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Soldiers of the U.S. 16th Infantry Regiment march through Kasserine Pass. The Americans underestimated the German strength arrayed against them in Tunisia, which left their forward units dangerously exposed to enemy counterattack.

which Rommel had sent to reinforce Arnim.

As for the Allies, they were deployed in late January on a 250-mile-long front in central Tunisia across the eastern and western Dorsals. The two mountain ranges stretched south across central Tunisia like an inverted V. The Eastern Dorsal curves to the southwest and terminates near Gafsa, while the Western (or Grand) Dorsal runs from the northeast to the southwest ending near the Algerian border. The eastern range has key mountain passes at Faid, Fondouk, and Pichon, while the western range had key passes at Sbiba and Kasserine.

Lt. Gen. Charles Walter Allfrey's British V Corps held the northern section of the Allied line, General Alphonse Juin's French XIX Corps held the middle section, and Maj. Gen. Lloyd Fredendall's U.S. II Corps held the southern section. Fredendall's corps was composed of Maj. Gen. Orlando Ward's 1st Armored Division and elements of the 1st and 34th Infantry Divisions.

"Old Ironsides," as the 1st Armored Division was known, consisted of Combat Commands A, B, and C. These combined-arms task forces, much like the German kampfgruppen, consisted of tanks, tank destroyers, infantry, artillery, and engineers. Since the arrival of the 1st Armored Division in North Africa, only CCB had seen combat.

Arnim dispatched a battle group on January 18 to attack French forces in the Ousseltia Valley in central Tunisia. With a force consisting of Tiger tanks and 5,000 infantry, the Germans overran French positions and seized the passes of Pichon and Fondouk. The French appealed directly to Eisenhower for aid, and he instructed Fredendall to send a relief force. The task of relieving the French fell to Brig. Gen. Paul Robinett, the commander of the 1st Armored Division's CCB. In the subsequent fighting, the Germans mauled the French, inflicting 3,500 casualties.

In the early morning of January 24, Colonel Robert Stack's CCC raided Sened Station on Highway 14 between Gafsa and Maknassy. The Americans inflicted 100 casualties on its Italian garrison and captured 96 prisoners. The raid was intended as a preliminary move toward a future attack against Maknassy.

Generalfeldmarschall Albert Kesselring was responsible for all operations in the Mediterranean basin. Kesselring instructed Arnim to capture Faid Pass and then to drive towards the American supply base at Tebessa on the Algerian-Tunisian frontier, but Arnim did not believe he had enough supplies for such an operation. For that reason, he limited the attack, which was launched on January 30. He issued orders to the 21st Panzer Division to seize Faid Pass but did not instruct them to continue westward. The German panzer formations easily overwhelmed the French troops and seized control of the pass.

Once again, the French requested immediate relief from Fredendall. From his underground bunker complex in Speedy Valley, located nine miles southeast of Tebessa, Fredendall forwarded the request to Lt. Gen. Anderson. Anderson instructed him at mid-morning to immediately move to the relief of the French and to retake Faid pass.

Fredendall in turn ordered Colonel Raymond McQuillin, the commander of the 1st Armored Division's CCA, to assist the French. However, the orders McQuillin received instructed him not to weaken the defense of Sbeitla, which was situated 30 miles west of the Faid Pass. As McQuillin's relief force set off for Faid Pass on January 30, it was caught in the open not only by German Stukas but also by Allied aircraft that mistook it for an Axis column. McQuillin halted his bloodied troops seven miles from the pass.

After regrouping, McQuillin attacked Faid Pass on January 31. The Germans had moved quickly to fortify the pass by deploying their formidable 88mm anti-aircraft guns as anti-tank weapons along with machine guns and mortars. German 88s knocked out nine Sherman tanks. Another assault the following day also fizzled out. To make matters worse, the German 10th Division succeeded the same day in capturing Pichon Pass to the north, and a subsequent raid by the 1st

Armored Division's CCD on Maknassy to the south also ended in failure.

Although Rommel had been ordered to return to Germany to recover from exhaustion, he decided to remain in North Africa. He did this because he saw an opportunity to punch through American forces on the eastern and western dorsals and capture the American ammunition depot at Tebessa. Leaving a small force to hold the Mareth Line, Rommel calculated that the Germans had two weeks to smash the American forces in Tunisia. Once he had pummelled the Americans, Rommel intended to turn his attention back to the British Eighth Army. While Rommel dealt with the Eighth Army, Arnim could strike the British in northwestern Tunisia.

Kesselring met with Rommel and Arnim on February 9 to discuss strategy. The result was the creation of a coordinated operation against the Americans. In the first thrust, Operation *Fruhlingswind* (Spring Wind), Arnim's 5th Panzer Army would debouch from Faid Pass on February 14 with the goal of annihilating McQuillin's CCA at Sidi bou Zid. In the second thrust, Rommel would launch Operation *Morgenluft* (Morning Air) two days later with the goal of capturing Gafsa. Rommel intended to loan Arnim the 21st Panzer with the understanding that it would be returned in time for the second phase of Rommel's operation, which would be a strike through Kasserine Pass in the Grand Dorsal to capture Tebessa. "We are going to go-all out for the total destruction of the Americans," Kesselring told his subordinates.

Eisenhower arrived at II Corps headquarters in Speedy Valley on February 13 to meet with Fredendall and Anderson. Colonel Benjamin A. Dickinson, who was Fredendall's G-2 (intelligence officer), informed Anderson that the Germans were likely to launch an attack through Faid or Gafsa. Anderson dismissed the warning, believing instead that the Germans were planning an attack through Fondouk Pass in an effort to outflank the British V Corps in northern Tunisia.

Anderson left the meeting when it was reported that a German attack was imminent in the north. Eisenhower then headed out on tour of the American lines. At Sidi bou Zid, Colonel Peter Hains, commander of the 1st Armored Regiment, was unhappy with the placement of CCA nearby and let Eisenhower know. Other senior officers had made similar complaints to Ike. "Get your mine fields out first thing in the morning," Eisenhower ordered before returning to II Corps headquarters.

Earlier on February 11, Fredendall had ordered that Djebel Lessouda and Djebel Ksaira be strongly held, as he believed they were critical to the defense of Faid. Fredendall further ordered the establishment of a mobile reserve near Sidi bou Zid. For his part, though, Hains believed the hills were too far apart to allow the troops defending them to support each other. Furthermore, he believed that something was afoot with the Germans defending Faid Pass.

The sandstorm that masked Generalleutnant Ziegler's attack on the morning of February 14 began to abate by mid-morning. This allowed Col. Waters, the Task-Force leader, to see the full extent of the 10th Panzer's assault on Djebel Lessouda; it was only then that Waters learned that the Germans had overrun CCA's forward outposts.

McQuillin ordered Lt. Col. Louis Hightower to counterattack the Germans around Djebel Lessouda. With that goal in mind, Hightower led companies H and I of the 1st Armored Regiment and 12 tank destroyers from 701st Tank Destroyer Battalion out of Sidi bou Zid to engage the Germans. The tank clashes between the American and German armored forces included M3A1 Stuart light tanks, M3A3 Lee medium tanks, and M-4 Sherman medium tanks pitted against Panzer IV medium tanks and Panzer VI Tiger heavy tanks.

Stukas with sirens shrieking swooped down on Hightower's armored column. They did little damage, but Hightower's force soon came under fire from the German panzers. With a number of his Shermans knocked out and burning, Hightower conducted a fighting withdrawal back to Sidi bou Zid. Waters' task-force troops on Djebel Lessouda would have to fend for themselves.

The situation worsened for the Americans as the 21st Panzer Division advanced northwards from Maizila Pass, 20 miles to the south. While one battle group encircled Col. Drake's 1,700-srong troop command, another assaulted Sidi bou Zid. The Germans were executing a carefully planned double-envelopment of McQuillin's 1st Armored's CCA: The 10th Panzer formed one pincer, and the 21st Panzer the other.

Most of the American troops were in full flight from the Germans by late morning. All manner of vehicles raced west along Highway 13. At the intersection of Highways 3 and 13, Lt. Col. William Kern set up a blocking position with a company of light tanks and armored infantry; the intersection became known as Kern's Crossroads.

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Field Marshal Rommel reconnoiters the battleground from a command vehicle. An abandoned British Bren Gun Carrier is situated near a makeshift barricade. OPPOSITE: A U.S. half track mounting a heavy gun battles Axis forces in Tunisia. The Germans had superior armor and training that enabled them to prevail in their initial attack.

By 12:40 PM McQuillin had withdrawn from Sidi bou Zid and set up a new command post five miles west of the village. In the meantime, Hightower's Shermans attempted to cover the retreating American forces but ultimately succumbed to the German blitz.

Hightower's tank knocked out four German tanks before it was hit and set ablaze. Hightower and his crew managed to climb from the burning Sherman and stumble west for Kern's Crossroads. After his tank was knocked out, Hightower and his crew set out for Kern's position.

By this time, Col. Drake had shifted his command post to Garet Hadid, a more defensive position on high ground four miles west of Djebel Ksaira. He took with him 650 infantry and support troops. Approximately 1,000 troops of the 3rd Battalion, 168th Infantry of the 34th Division, commanded by Lt. Col. John Van Vliet, remained on Djebel Ksaira. Lt. Col. Robert Moore's 2nd Battalion continued to hold out on the upper slope of Djebel Lessouda.

Col. Drake requested permission from McQuillin to withdraw west; McQuillin forwarded the request to Fredendall, who denied it. Drake then wrote a message to Ward stating that his command was in dire straits and needed immediate assistance. The colonel gave the message to Lieutenant Marvin Williams, who roared off in a jeep to find Ward at Sbeitla.

Williams reached Ward's command post at Sbeitla and delivered Drake's message. Ward told the young officer that a counterattack was being planned. Ward had requested reinforcement from CCB, which was deployed near Maktar, but Lt. Gen. Anderson intervened in the matter. Believing that the assault on Sidi bou Zid was a diversion and that the Germans' real objective was Fondouk Pass, Anderson allowed only the 2nd Battalion of the CCB, led by Lt. Col. James Algers, to proceed to Sbeitla. The Germans captured Ward at 4:00 PM.

An hour later the two panzer divisions made contact west of Sidi bou Zid. The nine German battalions participating in the attack against McQuillin's CCA had destroyed or captured 44 American tanks, 59 half-tracks, and 29 artillery pieces. Concerned about the possibility of an American counterattack to relieve the remaining U.S. forces in the sector, Generalleutnant Ziegler halted for the night.

Angered over Ziegler's caution, Rommel urged Arnim to order his deputy commander to press his attack against Sbeitla. Despite Rommel's earnest request, Arnim concurred with Ziegler, favoring instead a push north towards Pichon and Fondouk passes.

As a precaution against a German attack on the Allies' southern flank, Anderson ordered the evacuation of French and American troops from Gafsa. The Allied troops proceeded to destroy bridges and other infrastructure before withdrawing west towards Feriana on heavily congested roads.

On February 15, Col. Stack's CCC launched a counterattack to relieve American forces on Djebel Ksaira. Sherman tanks arrayed in a V formation spearheaded the attack while tank destroyers from the 701st Tank Destroyer Battalion covered their flanks. Two batteries of self-propelled artillery, as well as soldiers of the 3rd Battalion, 6th Armored Regiment, followed the armor. The Americans had failed to reconnoiter the German positions, though, and were in for an unpleasant surprise: The Germans in their path were much stronger than they had anticipated.

The Germans allowed Stack's first wave of tanks to pass by their hidden antitank guns before opening up on the Shermans. Panzers from the 10th and 21st Panzer Divisions then swept around the Americans in a bid to cut them off.

The Germans badly savaged Algers' forces; in the confused fighting, the Germans captured Algers himself. The result of the action was that the two U.S. infantry battalions remained marooned on Djebel Lessouda and Djebel Ksaira.

Despite their tactical successes, much dissension remained among the senior German commanders. Rommel was vexed by the slowness exhibited by Generaloberst Arnim and Generalleutnant Ziegler. Rather than exploit his local victories, Arnim dispatched patrols toward Kern's Crossroads to see if the Americans were planning another counterattack. When Kesselring learned on February 16 of the situation on the ground, he ordered Arnim to take Sbeitla.

On the night of February 15-16, a P-40 Warhawk flew over Djebel Lessouda. Its pilot dropped a sack containing orders that the Americans withdraw from the hill. After spiking their heavy weapons and destroying their vehicles, Lt. Col. Moore marched his troops off the hill in two files under cover of darkness on a moonless night.

All did not go well, though. A German sentry challenged them, and then a machine-gun team opened fire on them. "Scatter! Run like hell!" shouted Moore. Mortar rounds began to burst around them as the Americans fled for their lives. Moore had no choice but to leave the wounded behind with Chaplain Eugene Daniel. Moore's troops trickled into American lines throughout the following day. Of his initial force, fewer than half made it to safety.

As bad as things were for Moore's retreating troops, matters were even worse for Drake's force on Garet Hadid and Lt. Col. Van Vliet's troops on Djebel Ksaira. They did not receive permission to fight their way through German lines until the afternoon of February 16. Like Moore's command, they destroyed their equipment and marched down from the hills under cover of darkness.

The Germans overtook Col. Thomas Drake's retreating column the following morning west of Sidi bou Zid. The colonel succeeded in rallying 400 men, and although they held off the Germans for an hour, they ultimately surrendered in the face of superior forces. At that point, CCA had lost a total of two tank and two infantry battalions. The Americans withdrew their remaining forces from Kern's Crossroads on February 17. The survivors established a new position at Sbeitla bolstered by Robinett's CCB.

With German forces probing the American defenses on the eastern side of Sbeitla, McQuillin relocated his command post to the west side of town. At the same time, American engineers began to blow up the ammunition dump, water-pumping station, and a railroad bridge at Sbeitla. Rumors quickly circulated among the battle-weary troops that the Germans had overrun CCA, and panic began to spread. Some of the troops in Sbeitla fled west without orders.

Anderson finally realized, two days into the battle, that the Americans were facing the German main force. He issued orders for the Americans to forgo further counterattacks. He also issued orders for the Americans to evacuate Sbeitla and withdraw through the Kasserine Pass towards Thala. To buy time for those troops already retreating from the town to make good their escape, elements of Combat Commands A and B fought desperate rearguard actions.

The Germans renewed their attack on Sbeitla on February 17, focusing on the south side of town, which was held by the CCB. Gen. Fredendall had issued orders to Ward not to withdraw from the town before midday. Ward deployed the surviving American armor and tank destroyers in a cordon around the town to hold the Germans at bay.

German panzers traded fire with American armor. A battalion of tank destroyers stationed on Brig. Gen. Robinett's northern flank retreated into Sbeitla. Chaos reigned inside the town, with American vehicles choking the roads. To dislodge the remaining elements of the 1st Armored Division, German aircraft began bombing and strafing the American forces in the town.

CCB continued fighting the Germans well into the afternoon, but as nightfall approached it began a leapfrogging retreat to Kasserine Pass. The Germans took possession of Sbeitla late in the day. Believing his army had achieved all its objectives, Generaloberst Arnim ordered the 21st Panzer Division to remain in Sbeitla. His intention at that point was to send the10th Panzer Division north in a bid to capture Fondouk and Pichon passes.

The situation for the Americans continued to worsen further south when Rommel launched

Having driven the Americans from the Eastern Dorsal, Rommel wanted to unite both wings of the German panzer forces at Kasserine Pass in order to sweep north to wreak havoc in the Allied rear.

Operation Morgenluft on February 16. Generalmajor Kurt Libenstein, commanding the Afrika Korps, took possession of Gafsa while other troops remained at the Mareth Line. Libenstein advanced the following day to Feriana, where he was wounded by a mine. Command of the Afrika Korps devolved to Generalmajor Karl Bulowius.

With the Americans in full retreat, Rommel wanted to exploit the German success by capturing Tebessa. From Tebessa he wanted to strike northward, get behind the British First Army, and capture the port of Bone, Algeria. If he were able to disrupt the Allied supply line, Rommel hoped to compel the Allies to withdraw from Tunisia altogether. Rommel debriefed Arnim on February 17, but Arnim told Rommel that he had broken off his advance on Tebessa because of fuel shortages.

Displeased with Arnim's performance, Rommel requested the following day that Kesselring assign both the 10th and 21st panzer divisions to him personally. Although he approved of Rommel's plan, Kesselring said he had to first consult with Italian leader Benito Mussolini since Italian forces were involved.

Kesselring contacted Rommel a short time later to inform him that he could retain the Afrika Korps and also have the two panzer divisions he desired for the operation. Rommel's command would be known as Group Rommel. As for the German-Italian Panzer Army on the Mareth Line, Marshal Giovanni Messe took command of it. It was rebranded as the 1st Italian Army.

Rommel was to strike northwest through Kasserine Pass for Le Kef in order to get behind the British First Army. Generaloberst Arnim received orders to conduct a diversionary attack against the British troops in the north to tie them down. To make sure Arnim carried out his portion of the plan, Kesselring flew to Tunisia on February 19 to keep a close watch on him.

Rommel ordered the 21st Panzer Division to assemble at the Sbiba Pass and the Afrika Korps to advance towards the Kasserine Pass. When it returned from Pichon, the 10th Panzer Division was to be placed on reserve. It would reinforce German forces at either Sbiba pass or Kasserine pass, depending on where a breakthrough seemed most likely.

While the Germans regrouped, the Allies scrambled to strengthen their hold on the Western Dorsal. "The longer they let us alone, the better we'll be set," said Fredendall. Reinforcements from Algeria and Morocco set out for the front lines in central Tunisia. LT. Gen. Anderson shifted the British, French, and American units in the Western Dorsal to strengthen positions, including Sbiba Pass and the southern approaches to Tebessa. Allied senior command left only a makeshift force at Kasserine Pass.

National Archives

TOP: A column of German Panzer III tanks advances through the rocky terrain of central Tunisia. BOTTOM: Italian Semovente self-propelled guns rumble forward during the initial Axis advance.

Kasserine Pass was situated 25 miles west of Sbeitla. Its width varied from 800 yards to one mile. Two djebels overlooked the pass: Djebel Semmama towered over the northern flank of the pass, while Djebel Chambi loomed over the southern flank of the pass. The Hatab River, flooded by recent rains, bisected the pass. The road through the pass emerged into a large basin known as Bled Foussana, which was surrounded by wooded hills. The road forked at that location, with Highway 13 leading west to Tebessa and Highway 17 turning north to Thala.

Colonel Anderson T.W. Moore, Commander of the U.S. 19th Engineer Combat Regiment, initially was given the task of holding Kasserine Pass. His troops specialized in construction and had minimal infantry training. Moore placed his engineers just inside Bled Foussana, a short distance west of where the road split. He deployed his troops in a three-mile-long line across the river. The 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry, with which Moore had recently been reinforced, took over the defense of Djebel Semmama.

Moore was further reinforced by eight tanks of Company I, 13th Armored; a battalion from 894th Tank Destroyers; two 105mm howitzer batteries from the 33rd Field Artillery Battalion; and a French 75mm battery. To further the defenses, patrols covered the high hills on the flanks of the pass and minefields were laid—although some of them were only partially covered with dirt or completely exposed. Moore's plan was to stop the enemy while they advanced through the narrowest part of the pass.

After a German reconnaissance detachment had probed the pass that same day, Fredendall became convinced the enemy was planning a major attack there. "Go to Kasserine right away and pull a Stonewall Jackson," Fredendall ordered Colonel Alexander Stark, the commander of the

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TOP: British infantry and carriers of the Grenadier guards advance over rugged ground near Kasserine Pass in late February. Lt. Gen. Kenneth Anderson, the commander of Allied forces in Tunisia, dispatched strong reinforcements to shore up the American sector. ABOVE: German infantrymen check weapons and stock up on ammunition during the battle for Kasserine Pass.

29th Infantry, in an effort to spur him to conduct a solid effort. Stark arrived at the pass on the morning of February 19 and assumed command of the forces defending it.

Generalmajor Bulowius attacked the pass at dawn on February 19 with the 33rd Reconnaissance Battalions of the Afrika Korps. These crack troops came under tank, artillery, and small-arms fire. As their attack stalled, the Germans took cover in the foothills of Djebel Chambi.

Bulowius then ordered Panzergrenadier Regiment Afrika into action. The panzergrenadiers charged up the slopes of Djebel Semmama. The two sides fought heatedly for control of a prominent knoll on the hill's shoulder. As the day wore on, Bulowius also committed the 1st Battalion, 8th Panzer Regiment, to the expanding fight. The Americans, though, contained the initial German assault, destroying five German panzers.

American reinforcements began arriving in the afternoon. These included a battalion of tank destroyers and a battalion from the 39th Infantry. Brig. Gen. Charles Dunphie, the commander of the British 26th Armored Brigade, arrived on the scene to confer with Colonel Dunphy's brigade was stationed 20 miles away at Thala.

Alarmed at what he saw, Dunphie reported his observations to Anderson. Anderson gave Dunphie permission to set up a blocking force on the road to Thala from Kasserine Pass. British Lt. Col. Arthur Gore's force, which was known as Gore Force, consisted of armor, motorized infantry, and a battery of artillery. Also arriving late in the night was Lt. Col. William Wells and his 3rd Battalion, 6th Armored Infantry of the U.S. 1st Armored Division. These fresh troops reinforced the American infantry battalion on Djebel Semmama.

The Germans attempted to infiltrate the American positions throughout the night as fighting continued for control of Djebel Semmama, where an American infantry company was cut off. Some American units withdrew without permission, including a company of engineers, some tank destroyers, and two artillery batteries.

While fighting raged at Kasserine Pass on February 19th, the 21st Panzer Division launched an attack at Sbiba that was cut short by the fierce defense put up by Allied forces. Instead of pressing his assault against Sbiba, Rommel decided to make his main thrust against Kasserine Pass.

At 8:30 AM on February 20, German artillery and *Nebelwerfers* (multi-barreled rocket launchers) began shelling the American positions at Kasserine Pass. In the assault that followed, Bulowius' troops succeeded in cracking a portion of the American lines. The 10th Panzer Division arrived in the afternoon to reinforce the attack. Unfortunately, Arnim had withheld its Tiger battalion, thereby weakening its attack.

Rommel became increasingly impatient for a breakthrough given that Montgomery's Eighth Army had arrived at the Mareth Line. He therefore ordered an all-out attack in the late afternoon. The 10th Panzer Division advanced on the right, while the Afrika Korps pushed forward on the left. The weight of the attack shattered the American defense, and the shaken American units retreated in disorder.

Exploiting his success, Rommel sent a battalion from the Italian Centauro Division racing westward on the road to Tebessa. The division made five miles before halting for the night. Meanwhile, the Germans advanced on Thala. Although Gore Force stalled the German advance for a time, the arrival of more panzers at dusk resulted in the

destruction of Gore's remaining tanks. Retreating with Gore Force was a handful of American tank destroyers, which was all that remained of an original force of 40. The Germans had at last succeeded in overrunning the American force on Djebel Semmama.

With Kasserine Pass in German hands, Rommel suddenly became cautious. Concerned over the possibility of an Allied counterattack in the morning, he halted advances towards both Thala and Tebessa. With no attack materializing on the morning of February 21, Rommel ordered Bulowius to advance cautiously westward toward the passes at the rugged Djebel el Hamra.

Generalleutnant Fitz Freiherr von Broich, commander of the 10th Panzer Division, received orders to make a cautious advance north towards Thala. Seven miles west of the Kasserine Pass, Bulowius' reconnaissance battalion ran headlong into Robinett's CCB. Robinett had earlier been ordered to stop the enemy on the road to Tebessa. The German reconnaissance force quickly pulled back and waited for help.

Rommel decided that his main effort would be to push through Thala onto Le Kef. To deal with the Americans on his flank, he ordered Bulowius late in the morning to take the passes at Djebel el Hamra. The Germans soon encountered Colonel Henry Gardiner and his 2nd Battalion, 13th Armored of the CCB. Gardiner had deployed his tanks in a wadi using a bank for cover. With the support of artillery, Gardiner's tankers engaged the German armor and infantry in a long-range firefight in the late afternoon. After an hour of fighting, the Germans broke off their attack. They were still four miles from Djebel el Hamra.

Rommel ordered Bulowius to swing around to the south and attempt to attack the Americans from the rear. In the darkness and pounding rain the Germans became lost. At dawn the next day the Panzergrenadier Regiment Afrika infiltrated through the Allies' line and attacked Hill 812 near the Bou Chebka Pass. They managed to capture five howitzers and other guns of the American 33d Field Artillery Battery.

The panzergrenadiers found themselves stranded on the hill when the fog lifted. An attack by German armor and Italian infantry to aid them came under artillery fire. "The air was full of hardware and smoke and the sounds of a real scrap," recalled Brig. Gen. Clift Andrus, commander of the 1st Division's artillery.

Andrus' guns stopped the attack cold. The Germans would get no closer to Djebel el Hamra, which lay two miles away, or to Tebessa, which was 23 miles away. Maj. Gen. Terry Allen, commander of the 1st Division, ordered an Allied counterattack. In the face of the counterattack, the Afrika Korps withdrew to the east.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-557-1002-10; Photo: Helmuth Pirath

Germans march Americans into captivity. The Americans reorganized their armored divisions after Kasserine Pass to make them more effective.

The Germans initially had more success pressing their attack towards Thala. The lead elements of Broich's advance eventually halted nine miles north of the Kasserine Pass when they came up against Dunphie's force on a ridge. Brig. Gen. Cameron Nicholson, whom Anderson had dispatched to take command of all forces south of Thala, ordered Dunphie to ensure at all costs that the German armored forces did not reach Thala before nightfall. With 50 Mk III Valentine and Mk VI Crusader tanks and a complement of infantry, Dunphie entrenched. Meanwhile, the 5th Leicesters established a new line of defense a few miles south of Thala.

Broich launched his main assault in mid-afternoon. Dunphie's lightly armored tanks were no match for the German panzers. By late afternoon, under the cover of a smoke screen, Dunphie withdrew his battered force to the last line of defense. Following closely on his heels were the Germans, with a captured Valentine tank leading the column. Through their ruse they succeeded in penetrating the British defense. A wild melee ensued; by midnight, the Germans controlled the ridge.

Dunphie's stand had bought sufficient time for reinforcements to arrive from Algeria. Brig. Gen. Stafford LeRoy Irwin arrived in the early evening on February 21 with his 9th Artillery Division after a gruelling 735-mile forced march. His tired gunners labored throughout the night to get their guns into position. By dawn they were ready to add their firepower to the 36 guns defending Thala.

The British tanks then launched a desperate thrust against the German position outside of Thala. The Germans shredded the attack. The American heavy guns kept the Germans at bay, though, and Broich broke off his assault.

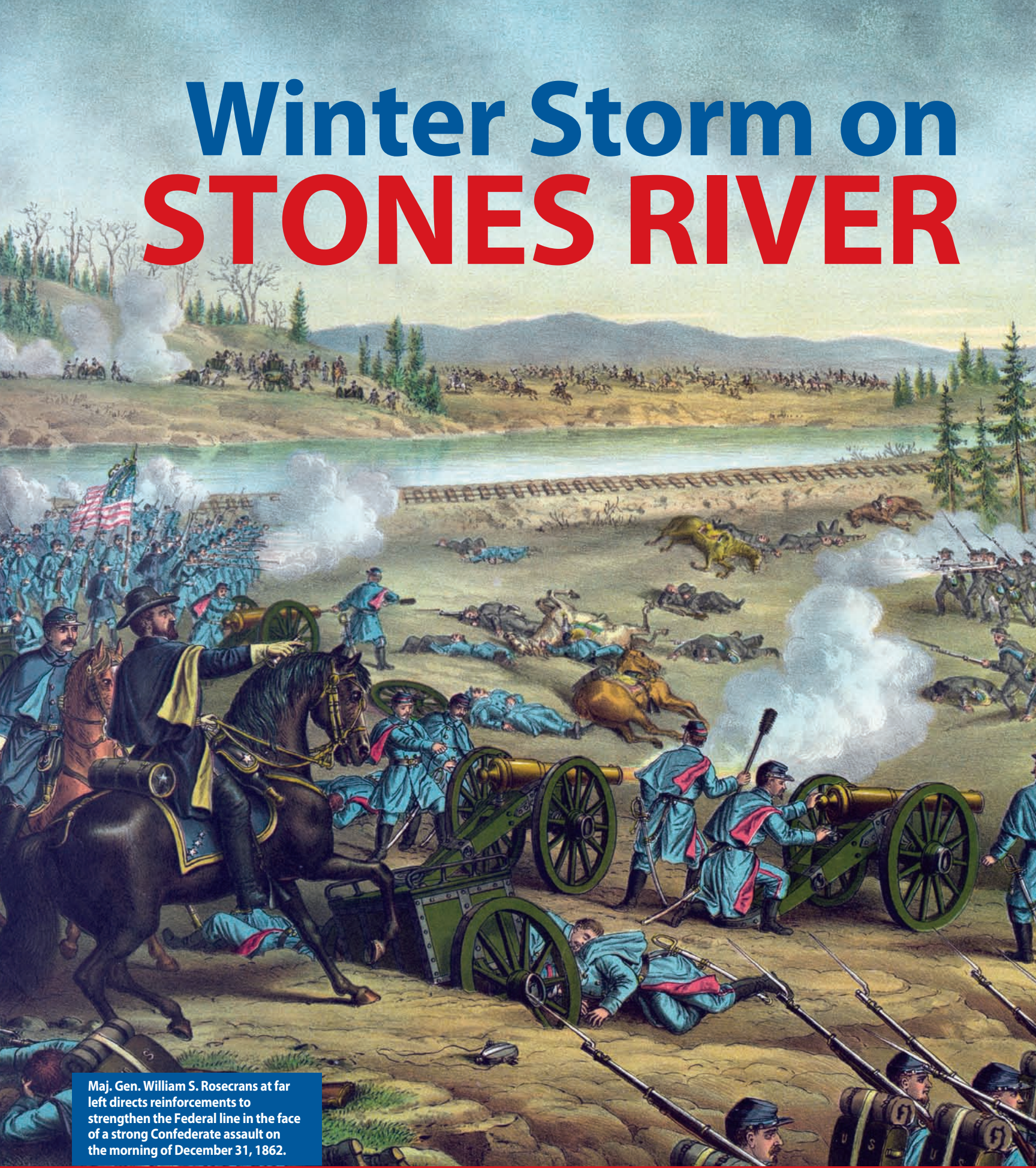
Blaming enemy reinforcements, the weather, and dwindling ammunition supplies, a seriously fatigued Rommel decided to end the operation. The battle for Kasserine Pass was over. Axis forces had suffered 2,000 casualties, while the Allies had suffered upwards of 10,000. The hard lessons that the Americans learned regarding the organization of their armored divisions would pay off in future campaigns in Italy and France.

Rommel began withdrawing his command from Kasserine Pass on February 23. That same day, Kesselring—who was deeply displeased with Arnim for his failure to support Rommel—put Rommel in charge of all Axis forces in Tunisia.

Although the two German offensives had cost the Americans heavily in terms of lives, equipment, and morale, their elite panzer forces had failed either to drive the Allies from Tunisia or even to capture the American supply depot at Tebessa. Moreover, in the reorganization that followed, Lt. Gen. George Patton replaced Fredendall on March 6. Patton introduced sweeping changes that resulted in a renewed sense of esprit de corps among the Americans that served them well when they resumed their offensive.

Rommel only served in his new role for about two weeks. He departed Tunisia on March 9 on sick leave. A renewed Allied offensive forced the surrender of Axis forces in Tunisia on May 13. The Allies led 272,000 German and Italian prisoners into a long captivity. ■

Winter Storm on STONES RIVER



Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans at far left directs reinforcements to strengthen the Federal line in the face of a strong Confederate assault on the morning of December 31, 1862.

A major battle was in the offing when William Rosecrans marched south to engage General Braxton Bragg at Murfreesboro in December 1862. The Federals had to win if they were to break the stalemate in Middle Tennessee.

Robert L. Durham

One of the most hard-fighting divisions in the Army of the Cumberland, the one led by Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan, had slowed the Confederate army's sledgehammer attack on the morning of December 31, 1862, at Stones River; but even Sheridan had to fall back three times in the face of the relentless waves of Rebels who raced across the fallow fields and fought their way through a screen of scrub cedars in their quest to reach the Nashville Pike.

One of the best things going for the Army of the Cumberland was Maj. Gen. George Thomas. The Virginia-born Union general commanded the corps deployed in the center of the Union army. Thomas barked a series of terse orders that bought time for additional troops to arrive from the army's left wing.

"Take your brigade over there and stop the Rebels," he instructed Colonel O.L. Shepherd, who commanded veteran U.S. regulars who could be relied on in an emergency. They took up a position on high ground along the Nashville Pike to protect the army's supply lines to Nashville. The commanders of the units engaged on the Federal right wing repaired their wounded commands and braced for more Confederate assaults.

Meanwhile, army commander Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans rode along Union lines at midday shoring them up. He massed artillery near a clump of trees that would become known afterwards as Hell's Half-Acre for the intensity of

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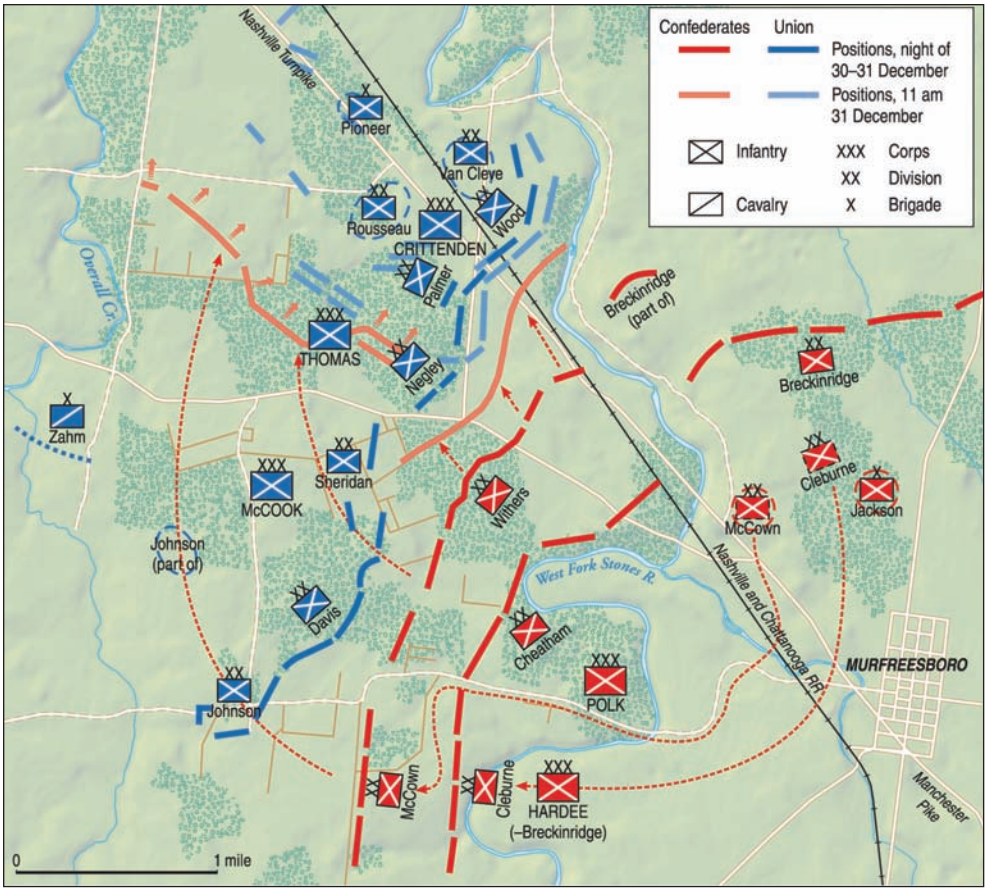
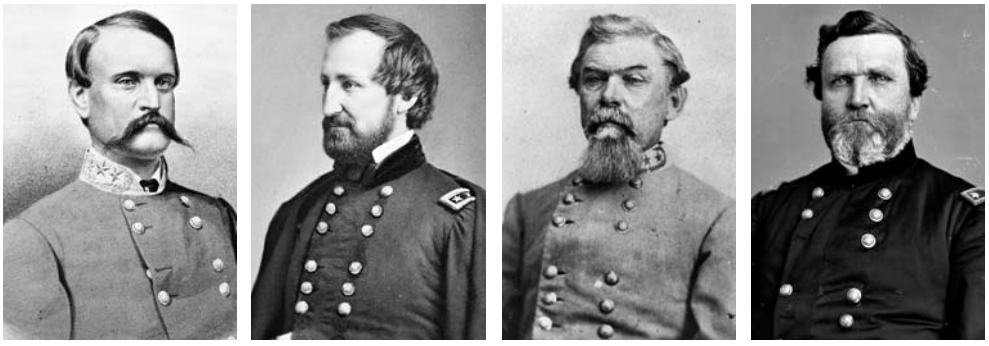




TOP: General Braxton Bragg's tactical plan called for a sledgehammer attack on the Federal right wing to be followed by a right wheel to drive the Army of the Cumberland into Stones River. BOTTOM: From left to right are Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge, Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, Lt. Gen. William J. Hardee, and Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas.

the fighting that unfolded at that location. The Confederates also were exhausted, but they continued their relentless attacks on the Union right into the afternoon.

The Murfreesboro Campaign was the culmination of Confederate General Braxton Bragg's 1862 invasion of Kentucky during the so-called Heartland Campaign. The campaign reached a climax when Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio clashed with Bragg's Army of Mississippi at the Battle of Perryville in central Kentucky on October 8, 1862. The battle was a tactical draw, but Bragg retreated south, handing the Union a strategic victory. Bragg did not stop his retrograde movement until he reached Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Buell followed Bragg cautiously, stopping his pursuit at Nashville, Tennessee. President Abraham Lincoln grew weary of Buell's slow movements and replaced him with Rosecrans, who renamed his new command the Army of the Cumberland. Lincoln had great hopes for Rosecrans, but he disappointed the president by not advancing that autumn against Bragg at Murfreesboro.

Bragg did not believe the Union army would make a major move before winter, so he ordered his men to build cabins for their winter quarters. Rosecrans planned to eventually lead his army to Murfreesboro, but he stayed in Nashville to reorganize and resupply his new command. Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, the general-in-chief of all the Union armies, informed Rosecrans that he would be replaced it he did not press south against Bragg's line at Murfreesboro. But the stubborn army commander refused to move against Bragg until he deemed his forces ready. In particular, Rosecrans had concerns that his cavalry was outmatched by the Confederate cavalry. Under great pressure from Washington, he finally departed Nashville on December 26 bound for Murfreesboro.

The 44,000-strong Army of the Cumberland moved in three columns, which Rosecrans called "wings." Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden's 14,500 troops of the left wing marched south parallel to the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. Maj. Gen. Alexander M. McCook's 16,000-strong right wing advanced along the Nolensville Turnpike. Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas' center wing, composed of 13,500 men, moved south along the Wilson and Franklin turnpikes, and then east along the Nolensville Pike behind Crittenden's column.

The Yankees marched south beneath dark, brooding skies buffeted by wind gusts. Rain soon began to pelt the army. "Tramp, tramp in the mud and rain, onward among the old scenes," wrote Corporal Ebenezer Hannaford of the 6th Ohio. "Rain, rain, rain—it would never cease raining."

Confederate cavalry effectively screened Bragg's dispositions from Rosecrans, while also furnishing the Confederate general with valuable information on the Union advance. Rosecrans reached the north bank of the West Fork of Stones River, a shallow left tributary of the Cumberland River, on December 29. Just two miles northwest of Murfreesboro, he deployed his forces to engage Bragg.

The Confederate commander had deployed his 35,000 troops in a line that ran northeast to southwest with troops on both sides of the river. He had not issued an order to entrench because he intended to attack the Federals. Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk's corps was stationed on the left, on the west bank of Stones River, and Lt. Gen. William J. Hardee's corps was deployed on the right, on the east bank of the river. When it looked like Rosecrans would assault his left, Bragg moved most of Hardee's Corps across the river to his left flank, but he held Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge's Division as a reserve on the east side of the river.

Crittenden commanded the left, Thomas the center, and McCook the right. From Stones River

to just beyond the Wilkinson Pike were Brig. Gen. Thomas Wood's division, Brig. Gen. John Palmer's brigade, Brig. Gen. James Negley's division, and Brig. Gen. Philip Sheridan's division. From Sheridan's position to the Franklin Road were the divisions of brigadiers Jefferson C. Davis and Richard W. Johnson. The reserve of each division rested in the rear of its respective division.

Rosecrans wished to deceive the Confederates into believing that he intended to launch a major attack against Bragg's left flank, so he ordered no fires be built where his troops were encamped in line of battle. The Union army commander detailed some of his troops to construct large fires off to the right in an effort to fool the enemy into believing he was massing troops for his attack in that area. Rosecrans instructed Lt. Col. Bassett Langdon, who had a booming voice, to take up a position near the bonfires and pretend he was issuing orders to troops stationed in that sector.

Both sides settled down to a restless night. The two armies were 700 yards apart. "The night was quite cold, and the ground saturated with water," wrote David Lathrop, the historian of the 59th Illinois. "Without blankets or fires, the men shivered through the night."

Bragg's plan of attack called for Maj. Gen. John P. McCown's and Maj. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne's divisions of Hardee's Corps to turn the Union right flank and gain the rear of Rosecrans' army. Bragg's ultimate objective was to cut off Rosecrans from his base in Nashville. Ironically, their plans were essentially the same: to turn the other's right flank. Rosecrans issued orders on the night of December 30 for an attack the following morning against the Confederate right.

Rosecrans had scheduled his attack to start after breakfast, but Bragg got the jump on him by attacking at first light on December 31. Hardee's two divisions stepped off at 6:00 AM. Well-dressed Rebel lines advanced past the Widow Smith house with their cross-barred Confederate battle flags adding a splash of color to the bland winter landscape.

McCown's division of Hardee's corps advanced on the Confederate left. His brigades from left to right were led by brigadiers James E. Rains, Matthew D. Ector, and Evander McNair.

Rains' brigade on the extreme left of the Army of Tennessee had the most ground to cover. His brigade comprised the 29th North Carolina, 11th Tennessee, and 3rd and 9th Georgia battalions. The 29th North Carolina spearheaded the assault.

A thick fog masked the Confederate advance from the prying eyes of Union pickets and enabled the Rebels to take the Yankees by surprise. "The color of their uniforms blending with the gray of the morning rendered their movements discernible only by the terrific fire of artillery and musketry," wrote Johnson.

Rosecrans' troops were sipping coffee and nibbling on hardtack when Confederate minie balls began zipping through the cold air of early morning. McCook's soldiers bore the brunt of the first wave of the Southern attack. Brig. Gen. August Willich, of Johnson's division, bent his brigade back in a right angle in an effort to protect the Union right flank. Brig. Gen. Edward Kirk's brigade to his left, as well as Colonel Philip Sydney Post's brigade of Davis' division, also experienced the full fury of McCown's assault.

McCown's men rushed through a cornfield and advanced into a copse of cedars to engage Johnson's startled bluecoats. Cleburne's division went into action to the right of McCown's troops. The native Irishman found his troops facing those of Davis. Cleburne's troops had orders to fire several volleys and then charge the enemy. They succeeded in dislodging Davis' troops, and the entire Union right wing began to give way.

"This early attack caught the enemy totally unprepared—not in line and cooking their breakfasts," recalled Captain Irving A. Buck, assistant adjutant general of Cleburne's brigade. The ground fought over consisted of limestone ridges and cedar thickets and was interspersed with farmhouses and cleared fields. The cedar thickets

Units of the Union right wing flee in panic in the face of the surprise attack of two Confederate corps. However, a determined stand by Brig. Gen. Phil Sheridan's division in the right center bought time for Rosecrans to organize a new line.

were often so thick that they made it impossible for the soldiers of both armies to see but a short distance "The continuous roar of musketry and artillery made it difficult to hear orders by voice, and the direction of movements were on both sides at times by the bugle," wrote Buck.

On the right of Cleburne's division, Brig. Gen. Lucius E. Polk, a nephew of Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk, led his troops through a patch of cedars and ran headlong into a Yankee line. A vicious struggle ensued with each side trying to gain an advantage.

"The fight was short and bloody, when the enemy gave way, both in the cedars and open ground," recalled Cleburne. The 8th Arkansas of Brig. Gen. St. John Liddell's brigade captured two stands of colors. The 2nd Arkansas met and defeated the 22nd Indiana and captured its lieutenant colonel. Liddell's Brigade also captured two rifled cannon. The Confederates pressed the guns into service and used them for the remainder of the battle.

Similarly, Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson's Tennesseans captured a four-gun Union battery. It was the first of two batteries the brigade would capture that day. The 16th Arkansas of Brig. Gen. Sterling A.M. Wood succeeded in capturing the colonel of the 101st Ohio, as well as killing the lieutenant colonel and the major of the Buckeye regiment.

Hardee committed Cleburne's only reserve, which was Brig. Gen. Sterling Wood's two Alabama and two Mississippi regiments, into a gap that opened up between Cleburne's left and Maj. Gen. Jones M. Withers' division of Leonidas Polk's corps.

The butternuts of the 29th North Carolina began firing at the blue-coated Federals opposite them, as did the regiments deployed to their right. "The hiss of minies was incessant," wrote Vance. The Tarheels captured an artillery section in which the guns were loaded but unfired.

The 77th Pennsylvania, which was deployed on the right of Post's brigade, was one of the few Union regiments prepared for the attack. Its bluecoats heard movement behind the enemy lines during the night and became convinced than an assault was imminent the following morning. For this reason, Colonel Post had ordered his men to stand to arms during the night.

The soldiers of the 59th Illinois, deployed in the center of Post's brigade, heard enemy musket fire off to their right. Captain Hendrick Paine dispatched aides to locate the threat. The reconnaissance party "found the forests full of flying Negroes, with some straggling soldiers, who reported whole regiment falling back rapidly," wrote Lathrop. "The fire continued to approach on the right with alarming rapidity, extending to the center." Post ordered his right regiments to change front to face the threat.

During their advance, the Confederates frequently encountered enemy batteries barring their way. Rains' troops had advanced steadily for the first few hours of the attack, but in late morning his Georgians encountered the enemy holding its ground in a copse of cedars. These were the bluecoats of Kirk's brigade. Kirk sent an urgent dispatch to Willich requesting help. Almost as soon as he did, he received a mortal wound to his thigh. Away from his command at Johnson's division headquarters, Willich was in the act of hurrying to get back to his brigade when he accidentally rode into enemy lines and was captured. The two brigades were driven back, despite putting up strong resistance.

During the clash with Kirk's brigade, Rains, astride his horse, was struck by a Federal minie ball in the heart. He was dead before he hit the ground. His magnificent horse bolted into the Union ranks. "The fall of this gallant officer and accomplished gentleman threw his brigade into confusion," noted McCown in his report. Command of the brigade devolved to Vance. Rains' death adversely affected the progress of Bragg's attack, for without his leadership his brigade suffered.

Deployed in the timber behind and to the right of Kirk's infantrymen were the guns of Captain Warren Edgerton's Battery E, 1st Ohio Light Artillery. The Georgians disrupted Kirk's brigade, at which time they began taking fire from Edgerton's guns. The Ohioan cannoneers got off six rounds of solid shot before Rains' men, charging at the double-quick, overran the guns. Edgerton, who had remained with his guns, fell prisoner to the Confederates.

By mid-morning Hardee had succeeded in pushing the Yankees back three miles. This bent McCook's line back towards the Nashville Pike

but did not break it. Hardee now faced a major challenge, for the Federal right wing remained intact. If Hardee hoped to seize the Nashville Pike before the day was over, his brigades and regiments would have to work in concert to achieve that objective.

Rosecrans had initially hesitated to call off Crittenden's attack on the Confederate right, until he realized the seriousness of the situation. But once he determined that it was a major attack, he cancelled the assault and worked to shore up his deteriorating right wing.

Although Bragg's attack against the Union right was in full swing shortly after sunrise, Rosecrans was not aware of the extent of the assault. As the Union soldiers of the right wing grabbed their muskets to blunt Hardee's attack, Rosecrans had gone ahead in the early morning with his plans to assail the Confederate right. He ordered the lead brigade of Brig. Gen. Horatio P. Van Cleve's division to ford Stones River and form a line of battle to attack Breckinridge's division.

Rosecrans listened to the sound of battle on his right wing for nearly two hours before he eventually changed his plans. He was confident that the Union forces on the right wing would heed the orders he had given them the previous night to hold their ground. Even when he received a message from McCook requesting reinforcements, Rosecrans did not become alarmed. He sent an order to McCook reiterating that the right-wing commander must hold his ground.

Two of Van Cleve's brigades crossed Stones River and the third brigade was making ready when Rosecrans received another, more urgent request for aid from units on his right wing. When crowds of skulkers and walking wounded began appearing in the woods, he knew for certain that a major Confederate attack was underway and that his right flank was in danger of collapse.

Rosecrans recalled the two brigades that had crossed the river at 8:00 AM. He ordered Colonel James P. Fyffe's brigade of Van Cleve's division to march at the double-quick to Nashville Pike, where he believed the greatest danger lay. Rosecrans then dispatched Colonel Samuel Beatty's brigade from Thomas' corps to the right wing. He ordered Colonel Charles G. Harker's brigade to follow Beatty's Brigade and instructed Colonel Samuel Price to guard McFadden's Ford closely to ensure it remained in Union hands.

Next, Rosecrans instructed Crittenden to pull back and consolidate his troops. Rosecrans told Brig. Gen. Thomas Wood, Crittenden's First Division commander, to use Brig. Gen. Milo S. Hascall's brigade of the First Division as a mobile reserve.

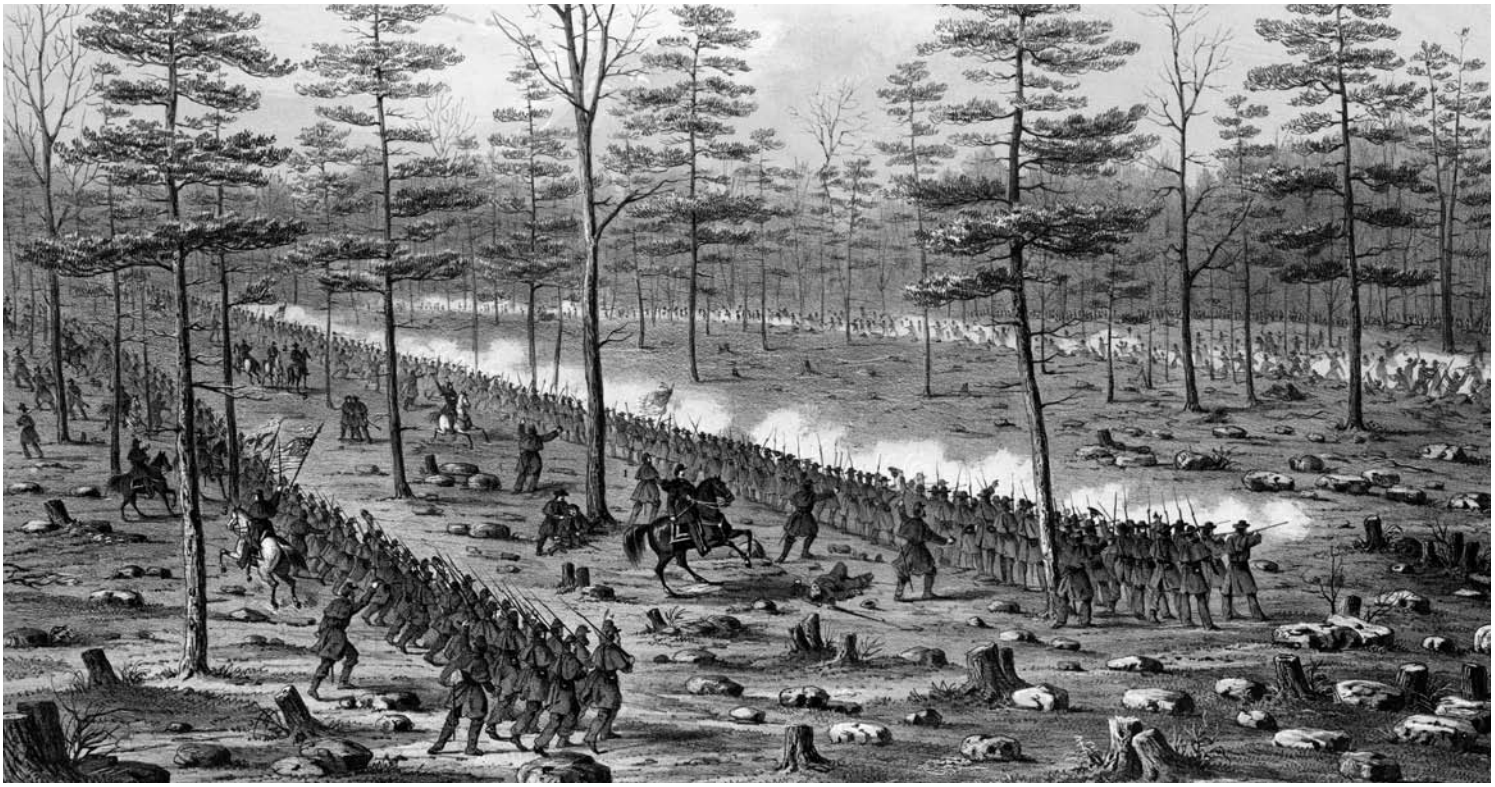
Last but not least, Rosecrans ordered additional rounds be distributed to the troops heavily engaged before riding to his right wing to oversee its defense in person. Just then, Lt. Col. Julius P. Garesche, Rosecrans' aide, was beheaded by a cannon ball. The gore splattered Rosecrans' uniform but did not shake the army commander.

Once Rosecrans realized that the Confederates were determined to fight their way to Nashville Pike, he took critical steps to protect his lines of supply and communications back to Nashville. One of these steps was to detach troops from Crittenden's left wing to buttress the army's center and right.

Whether the Union army survived Bragg's attack would depend largely on Maj. Gen. Thomas' corps in the center. The bluecoats of Thomas' corps would bear the brunt of the fighting in the next phase of the battle.

After its initial advance, the 29th North Carolina reformed itself into a line of battle in order to ascertain how much ammunition its soldiers possessed. It was subsequently determined that they had just 10 rounds each. Rains' troops faced three lines of resolute Yankee infantry with artillery interspersed between the regiments. "The fire was terrific, the treetops falling all around," wrote Vance.

The murderous fire killed Vance's horse and 60 men of the 29th North Carolina in a few min-



ABOVE: Pulled from the Union left to reinforce the right, the hard-fighting Midwesterners of Colonel John Beatty's brigade went into action in the open woods against Maj. Gen. Patrick Cleburne's butternut veterans. OPPOSITE: The Confederates captured Brig. Gen. August Willich when he inadvertently rode into their lines during the chaotic situation on the morning of the battle.

utes. A courier from the 11th Tennessee informed Vance that the regiment had expended all of its ammunition and had no choice at that point but to fall back.

Ector's Texas brigade, which advanced to the right of Rains' brigade, consisted of four regiments of dismounted Texas cavalry. Like Rains' Georgians, Ector's Texans also engaged the Federals at the edge of the cedar brake. The Texans overran the Yankee skirmish line in front of them before the skirmishers could get into action.

"We drove them back on their main line so rapidly that we got to within easy gunshot of their main line before they knew it," wrote Lieutenant J.T. Tunnell of the 14th Texas. "Many of the Yanks were killed or retreated in their nightclothes. We pursued them with the Rebel yell."

When they came under Federal artillery fire, Ector's men went to ground. "Our men sheltered themselves as best they could behind trees [and] ledges of rocks," wrote Tunnell. At that point, the front line of the Yankee forces opposite Ector's troops started to advance. "[They were] walking a few steps, then firing, and falling down to load." Orders were passed down the Confederate line to retreat. Ector's men reformed across an open field opposite the Yankees in the cedar brake.

Davis, who commanded the First Division in McCook's corps, found himself directing what had become the right-flank division of the Union line. He ordered Post to move his brigade to a better position. Post's brigade still had plenty of fight. The colonel shifted his troops from a thicket of woods to a position along a dirt lane that afforded each of his regiments a clear field of fire to the south. The untested left regiments, the 74th and 75th Illinois, were at the edge of a wood behind a split-rail fence on the east side of the lane, while the right regiments, the 55th Illinois and 22nd Indiana, deployed in fallow fields. The 5th Battery, Wisconsin Light Artillery, led by Captain Oscar Pinney, deployed its 10-pounder Parrott Rifles in a cornfield in the center of the brigade.

Post's brigade faced Brig. Gen. Bushrod Johnson's brigade of Cleburne's division. Captain Putnam Darden's Jefferson (Mississippi) Artillery dropped trail behind the left regiments. While endeavoring to perform the right-wheel movement that Bragg had ordered, the three brigades of Cleburne's division had advanced at different speeds. This resulted in the brigades losing contact with each other.

Lt. Col. Peter B. Housum led a portion of his 77th Pennsylvania regiment forward to try to capture the Rebel guns posted 500 yards away. The Yankees ran headlong into Confederate canister and musket fire that threw them back with considerable loss. Housum was slain in the bloody assault.

Colonel John S. Fulton's 44th Tennessee faced Post's left regiments behind the split-rail fence. "[Fulton] led his regiment with such vigor and gallantry that no Federal force could withstand its terrible, death-dealing blows," wrote Sergeant G.W.D. Porter. The blistering Yankee fire pinned down the Tennesseans. Seeking to dislodge the Yankees, Fulton ordered his men to charge. Under a terrific fire from the Federals, the Tennesseans came to within 50 yards of the position of the two green regiments.

When his men wavered, Fulton rushed forward. "Forward, my men, forward!" he shouted, brandishing his sword. The Tennesseans erupted in the Rebel Yell and rushed over the remaining ground. They fell upon the bluecoats behind the

The Confederates began to lose momentum in the late morning as they assailed the fresh infantry of Maj. Gen. Lovell Rousseau's division backed by a strong line of artillery along the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad.

Although Maj. Gen. John Breckinridge's division succeeded in dislodging Union troops from the high ground on the east bank of Stones River on January 2, Union forces made a successful counterattack.

split-rail fence, driving them back in confusion.

Yankee regiments were toppling like dominos as the fighting wore on throughout the morning. The combined weight of Brig. Gen. Lucius Polk's Arkansas-Tennesee brigade and McNair's Arkansas brigade proved too much for Colonel Philemon P. Baldwin's brigade of Johnson's division. McNair's troops covered 300 yards of ground at the double-quick. In their rush close with the enemy, the Arkansans smashed through several split-rail fences. When the Confederates came to within 75 yards of Baldwin's line of battle, the troops on his right side broke and fled. At least the troops on the left side initially held their ground, but then they also fled. Cleburne's hard-fighting division had succeeded in routing a total of five Union brigades.

Rosecrans ordered Thomas to send his First Division, which was commanded by Maj. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau, to support Sheridan's division. Sheridan's division had gone unscathed in the initial Confederate assault because Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham had been slow to get his four brigades into action. It would later turn out that the reason for Cheatham's dilatory performance was that he was drunk.

Hardee sent a courier to Bragg, informing him of the delay. Bragg then dispatched a messenger to Cheatham telling him to advance at once. But when Cheatham's brigades finally did go forward, they did so in a piecemeal manner. This diluted his attack and afforded Sheridan an opportunity to shift forces as needed to meet each emergency that arose.

The first attack Sheridan experienced at 8:00 AM did not come from one of Cheatham's brigades, but rather from Colonel John Q. Loomis' brigade of Maj. Gen. Jones M. Withers' division. Loomis' right regiments struck brigadier Joshua Sill's brigade, while his left regiments took on elements of Colonel William E. Woodruff's Brigade of Davis' division.

Sill's brigade followed in a determined charge; his bluecoats succeeded in driving back Loomis' brigade to its starting point. "In this charge, the gallant Sill was killed, a rifle ball passing through his upper lip and penetrating the brain," wrote Sheridan. Command of Sill's brigade devolved to Colonel Nicholas Greusel of the 36th Illinois.

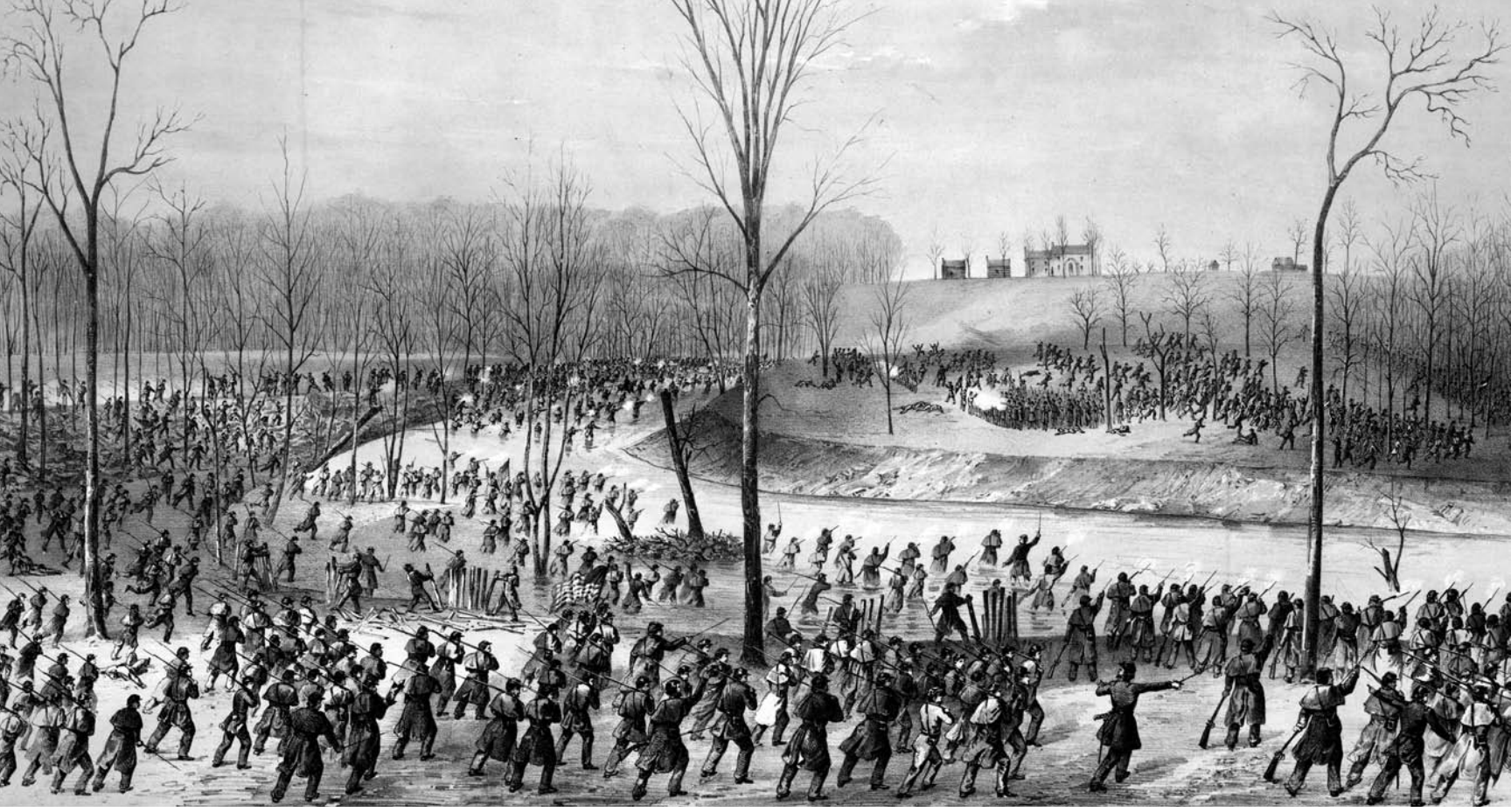
The third Rebel assault, against Sheridan's line, outflanked his forces. Sheridan ordered Colonel George W. Roberts to attack with his brigade. Sheridan's rationale was that Roberts' counterattack would cover the withdrawal of the rest of the division's units. By that point in the battle, all of the units in the right wing of the Union Army had been driven from their initial positions. By 10:00 AM the Confederates had seized more than two dozen Union artillery pieces and captured 3,000 prisoners.

After disrupting the Union right wing, Bragg's army began to assail the Federal center. If they could succeed in punching through the center of the Union army or drive back the Union right even father, the Confederates might be able to seize Nashville Pike. That would cut the Yankees off from their only means of withdrawal. But the tide was slowly turning in favor of Rosecrans' army.

In compliance with Rosecrans' orders, Thomas had dispatched two brigades of Rousseau's Division to support Sheridan's right flank, but he eventually sent the remaining two brigades to join it. Thomas also assumed command of the Union right wing.

Thomas and Sheridan's division of McCook's corps formed their respective units into a V made up of troops of all three sections of the Army of the Cumberland. On the right flank was Rousseau's division, in the center Sheridan's division, and on the left flank McCook's forces. Two of Negley's brigades supported Sheridan at the bottom of the V, and three brigades of Palmer's division supported the left flank of the V.

The responsibility for the Union line lay firmly in the capable hands of Thomas, who directed its defense with meticulous diligence. Known for his



steadiness under attack, Thomas moved up and down the line making his presence known to all frontline troops under his immediate command. Maintaining this position was imperative to give Rosecrans enough time to organize a new battle line in front of the Nashville Pike. Rosecrans held the life of his army in his hands. If the Confederates seized Nashville Pike, they would essentially have the Union army surrounded.

Hardee moved to take the position in flank. He shifted Cheatham's division to the right and sent it against Sheridan and Negley. The Rebel infantry surged forward anew. The high-pitched Rebel yell could be heard over the deep rumble of cannon and crashing thunder of thousands of rifled muskets. "The Rebels were falling like leaves of autumn in a hurricane," recalled Private Sam R. Watkins of the 1st Tennesee. The Confederates fell back but soon reformed and came on again. A fragment of shell struck Watkins in the arm, and then a minie ball hit the same arm, paralyzing it. "Come on boys, and follow me," shouted Cheatham. But Watkins did not follow owing to the severity of his wound.

Private Samuel Seay, who belonged to the same regiment as Watkins, waited for the command to charge from his regimental commander. Once it was given, the regiment surged forward. "Every man, with gun loaded and cocked, cartridge-box open, and at the front, instantly sprang forward," wrote Seay.

Cleburne's division made a rapid, albeit somewhat disorderly, pursuit of the Federals, until a fresh line of infantry and artillery came into view. Liddell's and Polk's brigades forced back the Yankees. "The enemy were driven back across the Wilkinson Pike, and took refuge in the woods and heavy cedar brake on the north side," wrote Cleburne in his battle report.

The attacks of the Confederates twisted the Yankee lines into strange shapes. At one point, Miller's brigade of Negley's division was bent back upon itself. When Sheridan's men ran out of ammunition, he ordered them to retire. Nearly all of the regiments of the Union right wing were running low on rounds as the morning wore on. Union soldiers desperate for cartridges searched through cartridge boxes of the dead and wounded. The Union troops did not receive timely ammunition resupply because the Confederate cavalry had succeeded in interdicting some of the ammunition wagons on Nashville Pike.

Because of the successful Confederate attacks, the fates of Rousseau's left and Negley's right were both up in the air. Miller's brigade found itself being attacked in front and on both sides. The enemy moved against it "in heavy columns, firing deadly volleys of musketry, and also concentrating his artillery on this one point," wrote J.T. Gibson of the 78th Pennsylvania, adding, "The roar of the artillery with the rattle of musketry was deafening, and the scene indescribably appalling."

The 78th Pennsylvania received an order to retire, even though its troops were fighting bravely and holding their ground. The Pennsylvanians had fallen back 100 yards when they were ordered to retake their original position. They counterattacked and regained the ground lost to the Rebels, but they eventually received orders to retreat through the cedar break.

It was almost impossible to preserve regimental lines in the thick woods, and the Rebel artillery caused many casualties. "One shell exploded exactly in the line of the regiment on our left, killing, at, least, three men," wrote Gibson. Nearly all the Yankee artillery horses had been killed. They passed an artilleryman trying to save his gun with only one horse. A wheel of the gun carriage was caught between two rocks, and he was attempting to pry it out, using a rail for leverage.

Lt. Col. Oliver L. Shepherd's brigade of U.S. Regulars on the Union right flank performed exceptionally well. When ordered to advance from their reserve position, some confusion followed. Since they were to act as a reserve, they did not expect the terrible battle they were to enter. "The woods were darkened with soldiers flying from the line of battle, some wounded—others without hats or guns," wrote Private Reuben Jones.

The regulars fired by platoons, beginning first on one flank and then on the other flank. The rolling fire forced Rains' troops to fall back. Shepherd's brigade lost one-third of its troops in a short period of time. Thomas ordered his units to pull back.

The brigades of Miller and Colonel Timothy

R. Stanley sustained one of the most furious assaults of the day. As for Negley's division, which was nearly surrounded, it had to cut its way out of encirclement in order to reach the safety of the main Union line. In so doing, it abandoned six cannon.

Negley's retreat left Brig. Gen. Cruft's Brigade of Palmer's division with its right flank uncovered, and it also had no choice but to retreat. By that time, Sheridan's original position had completely collapsed.

Colonel Willian B. Hazen, who led the Second Brigade of Palmer's Division, had established a strong defensive position in the Round Forest where he intended to make a stand that would cover the Nashville Pike. Hazen's command provided a rallying point for the retreating bluecoats. The remnants of various regiments fell in on both sides of Hazen's position.

Hazen's men repulsed repeated attacks by two fresh brigades sent across the river from Breckinridge's division. The 41st Ohio moved across the turnpike, taking up a position on a slight ridge of open woodland. "The enemy came on in fine style to the attack of this position," wrote Robert L. Kimberly of the 41st Ohio.

"The Rebel bullets were hissing all about us," recalled Corporal Hannaford. "We were in action." The corporal only fired three shots, the second from his knee, shooting low and deliberately. "[Suddenly], a whistling volley of bullets came over…and for me the battle was over." A minie ball had struck Hannaford in the throat, but all he felt from the actual wound was a croup-like sound when he tried to talk. He believed minie ball had struck him in the shoulder. "With a dull, aching feeling in my right shoulder, my arm fell powerless at my side, and the Enfield dropped from my grasp."

Hazen held his ground by using the railroad embankment to protect his infantry and by relying on substantial artillery support. The Confederate brigades of Adams and Jackson fell back. The Union guns had shattered them. Two of Breckinridge's brigades, those led by Brig. Gen. William Preston and Colonel Joseph B. Palmer, arrived on the west side of the river. Breckinridge led them into action. They were not only driven back, but also lost a number of men when the Yankees captured them in a countercharge.

Having achieved all that was possible against the determined Union resistance, the Confederates withdrew at nightfall. Rosecrans held a council of war that night. He and his corps commanders seriously considered retreating to Nashville, but in the end decided to stand and fight. As for the Confederates, Bragg believed he had won the battle. He issued orders for his men to entrench.

Bragg wired Richmond informing the Confederate government that he had won a major victory over the Union army. "God has granted us a happy New Year," he wrote. He expected that the Union army would retreat the following day.

Rosecrans revived his original plan of striking the Rebel right. He ordered Van Cleves to lead his division across the river at McFadden's Ford on January 1, 1863. Van Cleves took possession of a ridge overlooking the Confederate right that could be used by Union artillery to enfilade the Confederate right. Other than this, neither side made any moves on New Year's Day.

While the Confederate infantry remained in its previous positions, Brig. Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry continued to harass Union wagon trains traveling on the Nashville Pike. Because of the continuing threat from Wheeler's troopers, Rosecrans had to detach troops to escort the convoys of wounded journeying to Nashville.

On the morning of January 2, 1863, Bragg ordered Breckinridge to lead his division in an assault to retake the ridge overlooking the McFadden Ford. The former vice president of the United States protested because he felt the charge would be suicidal.

Rosecrans had previously instructed Captain John Mendenhall, the chief of artillery for the Union left wing, to mass Union artillery to thwart any Confederate attempt to cross the ford. Mendenhall deployed 45 of the guns hub-to-hub on the bluffs on the west bank. He also positioned another 12 guns to the southwest, where they could enfilade the Confederate line of attack.

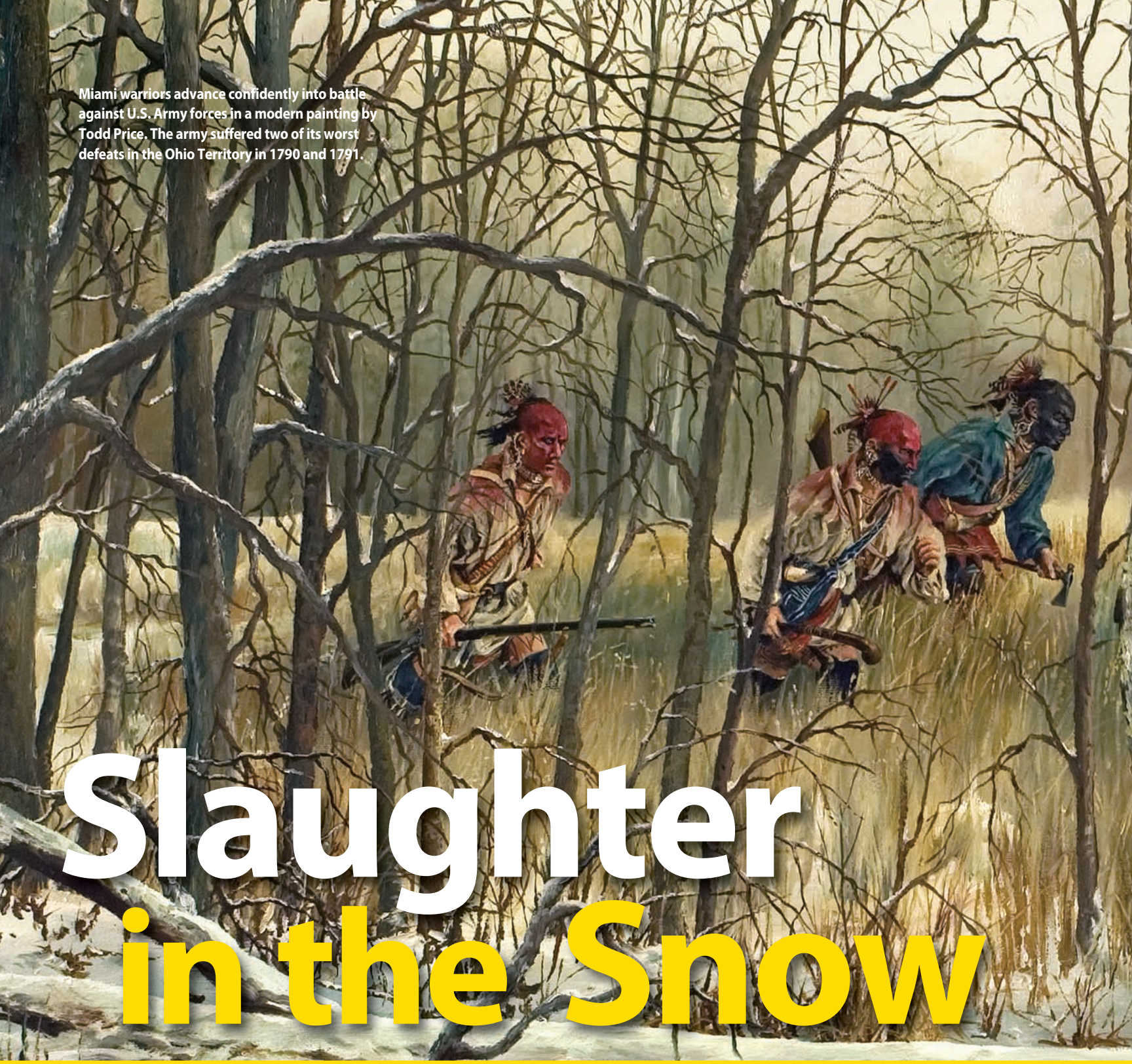
In compliance with Bragg's orders, Breckenridge's 4,500 troops attacked in a driving rain at 4:00 PM. His soldiers succeeded in dislodging Brig. Gen Horatio Van Cleves' troops from the high ground on the east bank overlooking the ford. As the Confederates pursued them down the reverse slope, they came under fire from the enemy's massed artillery. Breckinridge's command suffered 1,800 casualties in less than one hour.

In the aftermath of the debacle, Bragg decided to withdraw. He was acutely aware that the Union Army of the Cumberland had significantly more soldiers than the Army of Tennesee. Under cover of night on January 3, Bragg's army slipped south 30 miles to Tullahoma, Tennessee. Rosecrans took possession of Murfreesboro on January 5.

Total casualties for the Federals at Stones River were 13,200 compared to 10,200 for the Confederates. Although it had been a close-fought battle, Rosecrans could claim a strategic victory, for he had forced Bragg to give up a substantial amount of ground to the Federals by withdrawing to the Tullahoma line.

By that point, the heady days of the Confederate's Heartland Offensive were long gone. What followed was a grinding war of attrition as the Union army advanced relentlessly on the railroad hub of Chattanooga, Tennesee. ■

ABOVE: A group of Confederates attempt to capture the Union colors in a period illustration that captures the ferocity of the fighting at Stones River. Despite his initial successes, General Bragg conceded defeat by withdrawing south to Tullahoma. OPPOSITE: Captain John Mendenhall concentrated 57 guns to cover McFadden Ford on January 2 and succeeded in inflicting heavy casualties on Breckinridge's men.



Miami warriors advance confidently into battle against U.S. Army forces in a modern painting by Todd Price. The army suffered two of its worst defeats in the Ohio Territory in 1790 and 1791.

Slaughter in the Snow

The warriors of the Western Confederacy crept silently along the snow-covered ground towards the U.S. Army camp on the banks of the upper Wabash River just before dawn on November 4, 1791. Their faces were painted red and black. The war paint was not only intended to frighten their foe, but also to protect the warriors in battle. The warriors were armed with clubbed weapons, such as hatchets and tomahawks, as well as missile weapons such as bows and captured muskets.

When their war chiefs gave the signal to attack, the warriors rushed forward screaming their blood-curdling war cries. While two bodies of warriors swept around the camp to encircle it, the main force made a frontal assault. The mostly inexperienced soldiers under the command of Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair were just restarting their fires from the previous day when the Native Americans penetrated the army's exposed militia camp.

Caught by surprise, the militiamen fled in panic. Those who were not cut down fled in terror through a freezing-cold stream in a desperate effort to reach the main camp before being overtaken by the bloodthirsty warriors. Back at the camp, regulars and volunteers rushed to grab

At the Battle of the Wabash, Native Americans of the Western Confederacy launched a stunning surprise attack on Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair's army marching to disband them.

John E. Spindler

their weapons and shake themselves into a line of battle to stem the unexpected onslaught. St. Clair's army was in desperate straits. Whether the general could rally his troops and repulse the warriors of the Western Confederacy was at that point highly doubtful.

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 had brought an end to the American Revolutionary War and delineated the boundary in North America between British crown lands and the 13 states. Through the treaty, the British Empire ceded all territory east of the Mississippi River, north of Florida, and south of the Great Lakes to the newly independent United States. In addition, the British agreed to relinquish various forts across the northern boundary. Yet they surreptitiously continued to occupy and use these fortifications, particularly Fort Detroit, to furnish aid to the Native Americans.

The British handed over this vast territory without consulting, or even informing, the Native American tribes, many of which had allied themselves with the British against the Americans. Several tribes refused to accept U.S. sovereignty. Although the conflict between the various tribes and westward settlers had been ongoing since 1750, the stakes for both sides increased in the aftermath of the founding of the United States.

In the 1780s the Confederation Congress, America's legislative body, lacked the authority to tax for desperately needed funds. The U.S. government was an estimated 40 million dollars in debt from the Revolutionary War. The Congress hoped to sell some of the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains to raise money to pay off the new nation's debts. The legislative body set forth regulations concerning surveying, selling, and settling lands north of the Ohio River in the 1785 Land Ordinance.

A force was needed not only to deal with squatters occupying land in the Northwest Territory, but also to protect the settlers from violent responses by the Native Americans. With an inherent suspicion of standing armies, the Confederation Congress had previously authorized the creation of an army not to exceed 700 men. The American settlers could cultivate the land for both sustenance and profit.

The treaties did not end raids by Native American warriors. In a never-ending cycle, the Kentucky militia retaliated in response to a raid by crossing the Ohio River to raze villages of tribes such as the Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami residing in the Northwest Territory. In the midst of these skirmishes, important events occurred back East. With the plan to sell the land a failure, the Northwest Ordinance was enacted on July 13, 1787. This legislation guaranteed settlers the same rights that citizens of the 13 states possessed. The ordinance also established a system by which settlers in the territory could form new states. The same year saw the foundation of a new national government with the drafting of the U.S. Constitution.

U.S. Department of State

The principal commanders in the Northwest Indian War from left to right are Brig. Gen. Josiah Harmar, Miami War Chief Little Turtle, and Brig. Gen. Arthur St. Clair. Although Little Turtle was a resourceful and competent commander, his forces lacked training and supplies necessary for a long war.

legislators appointed Brig. Gen. Josiah Harmar in 1784 to command the army. To supplement the regular army, the legislators continued the British tradition of maintaining a home militia. It just so happened that the 13 states, as well as the Kentucky district of Virginia, already had militias.

During this time, government representatives had been attempting peace negotiations with the Native American tribes west of the Alleghenies. Unfortunately, the large number of tribes meant several treaties, each negotiated with only a few tribes. The U.S. government assigned Maj. Gen. Richard Butler the arduous task of negotiating the treaties. He worked out settlement boundaries in three key treaties; however, none of the primary tribal chiefs signed these treaties. Cultural differences regarding how the land was used ensured the two sides would clash. As Native Americans used the land for hunting and gathering, they could not comprehend the idea of measuring land to be parceled out for private ownership so that

General George Washington was elected the nation's first President and immediately faced many difficult tasks. Among them were the continuing confrontations between Native Americans and settlers. The settlers feared purchasing land because of the lack of guaranteed protection. Land speculators saw loss of their investments and wrote to President Washington and Secretary of War Henry Knox, stating that the only way to persuade people to settle in the Northwest Territory was to eliminate the tribes though force.

Brig. Gen. Harmar advanced north towards Kekionga on October 7, 1790. Leaving Fort Washington—located near Cincinnati on the Ohio River—he marched north with 320 regulars of the 1st U.S. Regiment, 1,133 militiamen, and three artillery pieces. Although this was the largest army the Western Confederacy had seen, the majority of militia were not the veteran frontiersmen. Many were actually young boys and old men who had never fired a musket.

Harmar arrived at Kekionga, only to find the Miami had burned their own structures in order to prevent the Americans from using them. A large supply of vegetables and corn was found there and in smaller villages in the vicinity. The Americans torched the food stores. The process was repeated the next day at Chillicothe, a Shawnee village a couple of miles away. After razing Kekionga, five villages and an enormous supply of food, Harmar declared victory and returned to Fort Washington. He twice sent detachments numbering several hundred men to confront any returning Natives; on both occasions, the detachments were severely mauled by Native ambushes. Harmar's campaign ended in failure with the loss of 73 U.S. regulars and 100 militiamen killed.

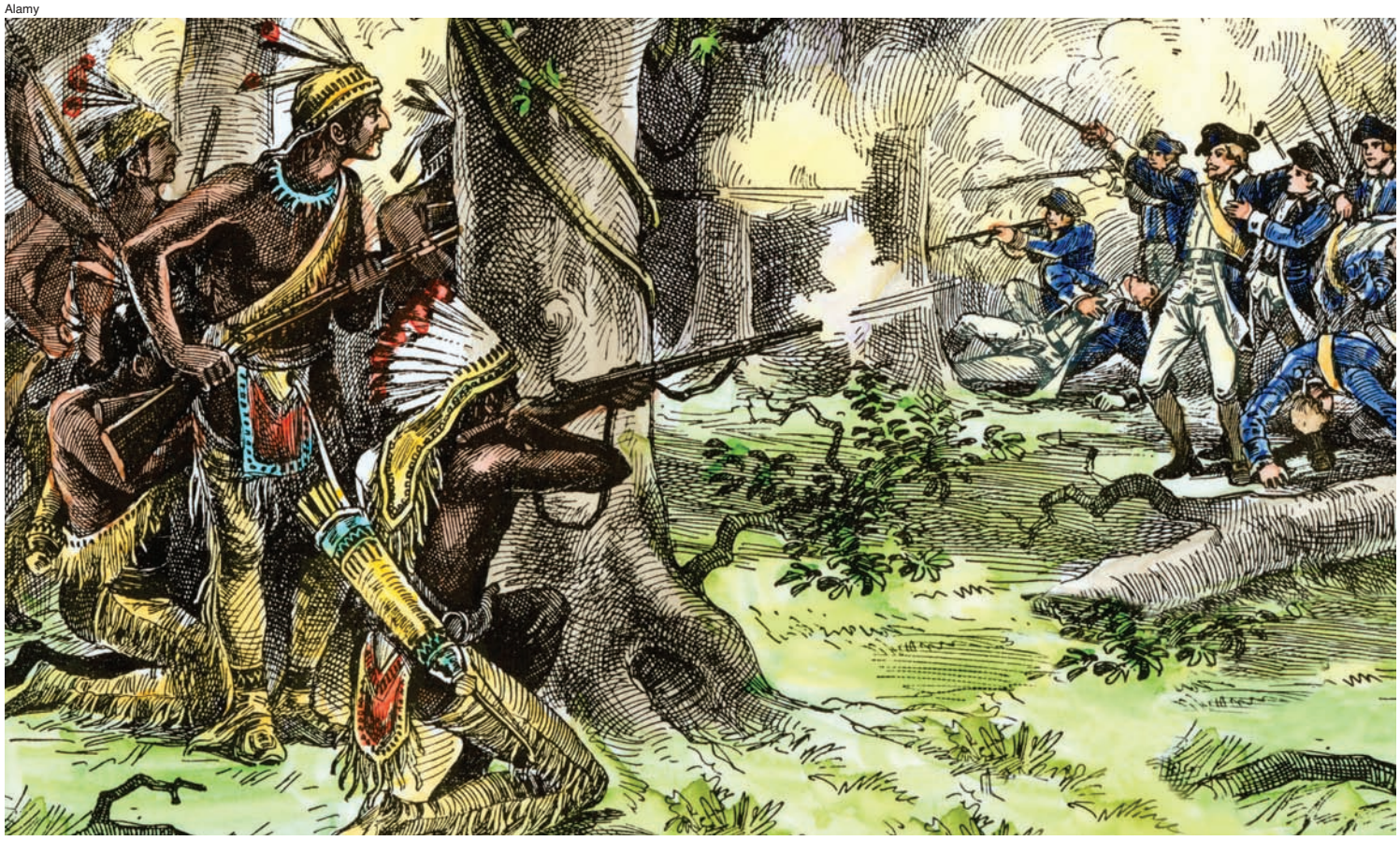
The Native Americans of the Western Confederacy launched vicious retaliatory raids in January 1791 from their principal settlement of the Glaize, a trading community situated where the Auglaize River empties into the Maumee River. On January 2, a Native American force raided the settlement of Big Bottom near Fort Harmar, and on January 10, Mingo leader Simon Girty directed an attack against Dunlop Station, 17 miles north of Cincinnati.

The raids caused panic and reluctance for westward movement among American settlers. They also showed the Native Americans that they did not need a major military victory to slow or stop American expansion westward. Increased pressure by elite land speculators forced President Washington to act. Washington appointed Northwest Territory Governor St. Clair on March 4, 1791, to command the next expedition with the rank of major general.

Scottish-born St. Clair had purchased a commission in the British Army and fought in the French and Indian War in North America. After resigning his commission, he stayed in North America. Joining the Continental Army in January 1776, he rose through the ranks, being promoted to major general in February 1777. As commander of Fort Ticonderoga, St. Clair made the questionable decision to withdraw its small force without being under fire from the British. Although exonerated at his court-martial, he never again held a command post. St. Clair went into civil service after the Revolutionary War's end. His health was compromised by obesity and gout, the latter of which worsened with extended exposure to dampness and cold.

His second in command was Maj. Gen. Richard Butler. A former trader who had married a Shawnee woman, he knew personally many of the war chiefs of the Northwest Territory tribes. Other important subordinates included Major John Francis Hamtramck, commanding officer of the 1st U.S. Regiment; Major Jonathan Heart,

Alamy



Native American warriors ambush Brig. Gen. Josiah Harmar's troops near the Miami villages of Kekionga in a fanciful 19th-century illustration. Harmar's campaign in autumn 1790 ended in disaster after his troops suffered repeated losses at the hands of well-led Miami and Shawnee warriors.

acting commander of the 2nd U.S. Regiment; Lt. Col. William Darke, commander of the 1st Levy Regiment; Lt. Col. George Gibson, commander of the 2nd Levy Regiment; and Lt. Col. William Oldham, commander of the Kentucky militia.

Ordered by President Washington to launch a more forceful campaign in the summer, St. Clair's hopes were buoyed by Congress' approval of an additional regiment and the authorization to raise another 2,000 men on six-month terms. Unfortunately, the regular regiments never achieved the authorized strength of 950 men and officers, and the recruitment drive failed to attract the desired number of volunteers.

American soldiers were armed with Charleville muskets that had been supplied by the French during the Revolutionary War. These muskets fired a .69-caliber lead ball and had a maximum range of 1,000 yards. Providing firepower were two artillery companies. One possessed four 3-pounder cannons, while the other was armed with four 6-pounder guns. One hundred mounted dragoons accompanied the force to provide reconnaissance and guard the army's flanks.

Originally scheduled to depart mid-July, the U.S. Army that finally departed Fort Washington was about 1,600 officers and men, 80 artillerymen and 100 dragoons. More than half of the troops were in the 1st and 2nd Levy Regiments on six-month terms; a majority of those men had never been in the woods before or even fired a firearm.

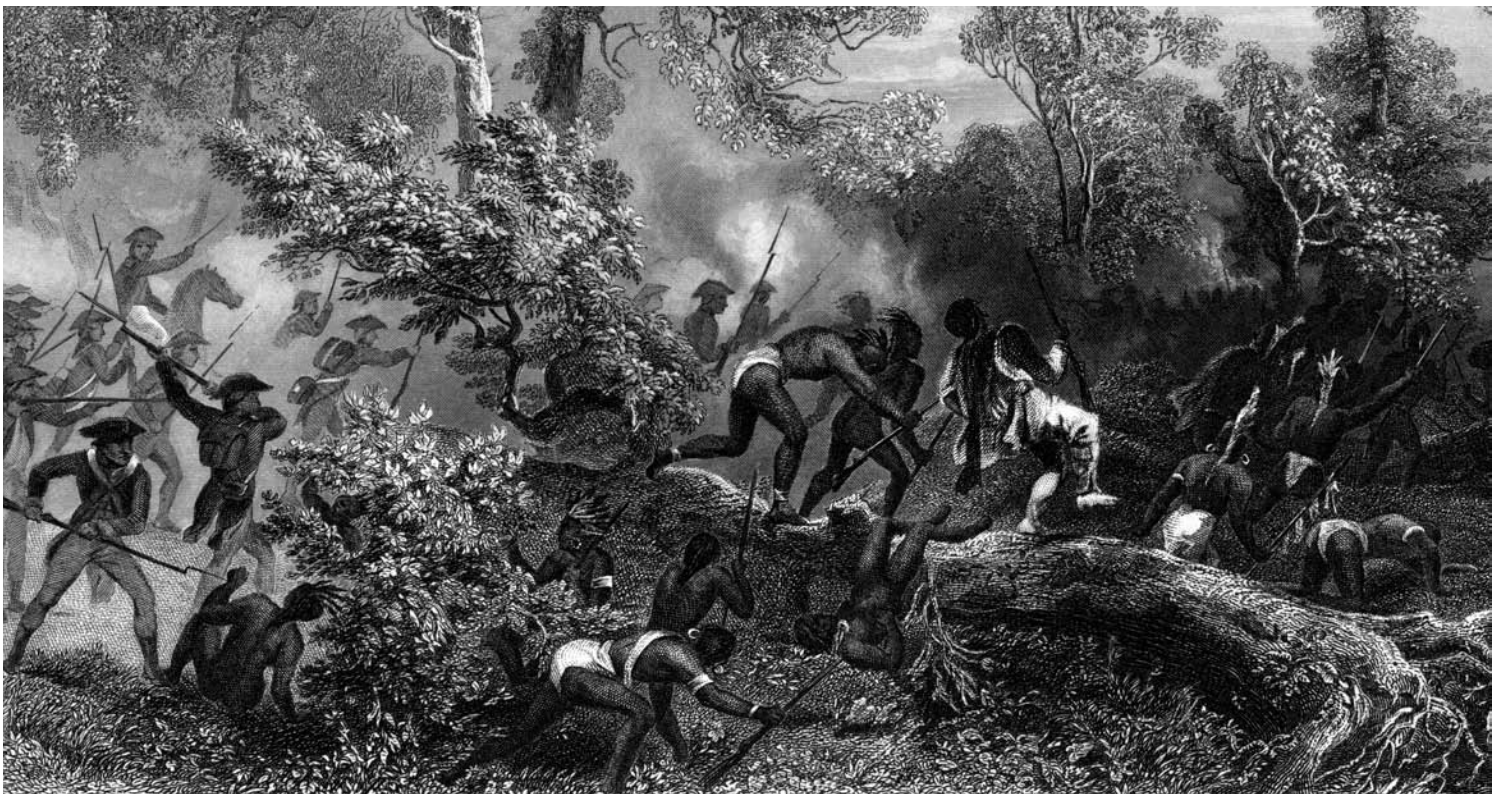
St. Clair had to supplement his force with militia. He anticipated assistance in form of 1,300 militiamen from Kentucky and Pennsylvania, but only a meager force of about 400 militiamen, mostly untrained volunteers, materialized.

Two confederations vied for control of the area that constituted the Northwest Territory in the 1780s. On one side were the 13 states governed by the Confederation Congress, which saw the land as the solution to its financial difficulties. Opposing were numerous tribes, each the equivalent of an independent nation. During times of crisis, such as in 1790, these tribes formed confederations, usually consisting of tribes who saw the need for cooperation and affiliation transcending cultural and language differences. Other times an outside source, such the colonization of America, drew tribes together to face a common danger.

The primary leaders behind the Western Confederacy were the war chiefs Mihsihkinaahkwa (also known as Little Turtle) of the Miami, Weyapiersenwah (also known as Blue Jacket) of the Shawnee, and Buckongahelas of the Delaware. Fighting alongside, from the Great Lakes, were the Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibwe, also known as Chippewa, who had already formed an alliance known as the Three Fires. The Wyandot, along with a few Cherokee and the Mingo, also believed in the need to stop the settlers' encroachment.

Unlike the conventional military structure employed by the Americans, the Native confederation army did not use a formal command system. War chiefs with charisma and strong character, such as Weyapiersenwah and Mihsihkinaahkwa, held their positions because warriors believed in and followed them. A council of tribal leaders would debate and then agree on a general strategy and tactics, but the warriors, all of whom were volunteers and free to leave at any time, generally fought individually once a battle began.

Continuing an informal alliance, the tribes were supplied provisions and firearms by the British out of Fort Detroit. At the Battle of the Wabash, the Western Confederacy warriors fought with weapons of various calibers. Probably the most common was the British .75-caliber Brown Bess musket, which was similar to the Charleville musket in range, accuracy, and reliability. When the powder and shot for their firearms was gone, the warriors reverted to tradi-



tional bows and tomahawks.

In summer 1791, the Western Confederacy fielded what was likely the largest Native American army assembled up until that time. Ensign Samuel Turner, a prisoner being taken to Fort Detroit, stated he had heard the army, under the control of Blue Jacket, was 1,500 strong with another 900 men approaching the area. William Wells, taken captive and then adopted by the Miami tribe as a child, said that Little Turtle commanded an army that consisted of 1,400 men, of whom 1,133 fought that morning. Simon Girty noted that he had counted 1,040 warriors who departed the Miami villages on October 28. "The Indians were never in greater heart to meet their Enemy," Girty wrote to a British Indian agent

With his appointment, St. Clair also received advice from Washington. The president told him always to be alert for surprises, stay armed, and fortify at night. St. Clair's campaign instructions declared that he was to march north, no later than July 10, from Fort Washington to the Miami villages at Kekionga.

After subduing any resistance, St. Clair was to construct a fort with a garrison of 1,200 men. This would allow the U.S. to exert control in the area and counter British influence. In addition to the veteran 1st U.S. Regiment, he would have at his disposal the newly raised 2nd U.S. Regiment. These two units totaled 1,000 regular troops. Knox authorized the recruitment of 2,000 levies on a six-month term.

A couple of days after leaving for Fort Pitt, the assembly point in the East for men and supplies going to Fort Washington, St. Clair experienced a severe gout attack. Campaign responsibilities temporarily devolved to Butler. St. Clair reached Fort Washington on May 15 and met the 299 men from the 1st U.S. Regiment, around which he built his army.

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton arranged for the United States to finance the campaign. However, the contract system in place to supply the U.S. Army was corrupt and inefficient, meaning that everything an effective army required was supplied by the lowest bidder regardless of quality or suitability. In January 1791, the U.S. Army awarded the contract to financier William Duer, a friend of Secretary of War Henry Knox. Given $75,000 by Hamilton for the operation, Duer proceeded to loan out $10,000 of the first $15,000 installment to Knox for land speculation in Maine. He also misappropriated funds pay off his own debts.

In the same month Washington appointed St. Clair, Knox appointed business partner Samuel Hodgdon to be Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army. Hodgdon has been described as lacking common sense and good judgement, which would prove to be detrimental to Maj. Gen. St. Clair and his army. His responsibilities included dealing with supply contracts and inspection of those supplies in Philadelphia. Hodgdon was also tasked with organizing the transportation of the supplies to Fort Washington.

Hodgdon apparently felt immune to any repercussions from ignoring deadlines, and he did not arrive at Fort Washington until mid-September. In his absence, St. Clair was forced to waste time in locating and employing a variety of local craftsmen in Cincinnati, including gunsmiths, carpenters, and wheelwrights.

Butler lodged a number of complaints regarding Hodgdon's poor management and the general neglect by his department. Almost the entire materiel inventory was of low quantity and poor quality. Firearms were in a poor state, with some unusable. Tents were of material that leaked in heavy rain. The powder casks for the cannons leaked, rendering some powder useless due to moisture contamination. Worse still was the lack of powder cartridges for the muskets, which prevented target practice for the new recruits and volunteers.

The situation was further exacerbated by a summer drought that caused the Ohio River water levels to drop, preventing the shipment of men and cargo. Not until mid-August did transports regularly sail down the river. When the last of the troops arrived in mid-September, there was no time for training the new men.

St. Clair knew he needed assistance from the Kentucky militia and their commander, Brig. Gen. Charles Scott. Scott had led a mounted force across the Ohio on May 23. During this incursion, the mounted troops had destroyed Wea vil-

lages along the Wabash at Ouiatenon. As result the tribes turned to the British, requesting food and munitions for the invasion they had known about since early April. Not surprisingly, the British agreed to help.

While a second Kentucky militia raid was returning, St. Clair moved a portion of his force north six miles to Ludlow Station. He wanted to remove the temptations of vices from the soldiers in Cincinnati. Those who had volunteered or enlisted were mostly the poor or those with a criminal history; it was difficult to instill discipline on such men. Mainly from urban areas, most of these men had never been in the woods before, and many would only fire a weapon for first time on the march northwards.

At the end of August, St. Clair visited Kentucky to negotiate the employment of the militia. Scott was reluctant to allow his best men to go, so St. Clair received slightly more than 300 poorly trained militiamen under Oldham. Upon returning, St. Clair found Butler, and the last of the troops arrived. He had the army march 18 miles north from Ludlow Station, building a path known as St. Clair's Trace.

Construction of the supply depot known as Fort Hamilton along the Miami River proceeded throughout September. In contrast to the summer drought, September saw an overabundance of rain and the start of desertions. Returning to Kentucky to supervise the militia, St. Clair left orders for Butler to proceed north after completion of Fort Hamilton. The army was to march in two columns on a pair of 40-foot wide paths and encamp at night in rectangles, with the columns forming the long sides and the noncombatants secured in the middle. In contrast to the Native Americans' knowledge of the army's location at all times, St. Clair's force advanced blindly.

With Fort Hamilton built, Butler began the army's advance on October 4 and only made it two miles before having to bivouac for the night. The men discovered that their uniforms fared poorly in the autumn weather. Over the next few days, the army made progress, but carving out two paths through wooded terrain was slow work. Due to Hodgdon's mismanagement, too few felling axes were on hand. Butler ignored his commander's orders and instead cleared a single path wide enough for the army. St. Clair arrived at Fort Hamilton on October 7 and was angered at the pace of the army, Butler's decision to cut only one trail, and the lack of a flour convoy. The inconsistent supply of flour had severely hampered the speed of the advance.

The rains returned on October 12, and the troops awoke to the year's first hard frost. With low provision levels, St. Clair ordered many of the civilians accompanying the army to head back to Fort Washington. The next day, St. Clair selected a site for another supply fort, to be named Fort Jefferson, which is situated near modern-day Greenville, Ohio. Despite the shortage of construction tools, the fort was finished in about two weeks. As morale waned from the weather, poor equipment, and continued lack of supplies, desertions continued unabated. Over the course of the advance to Fort Jefferson, a few soldiers were picked off by the enemy when they straggled.

On October 24, the army resumed its march, leaving 120 sick men and two cannons at Fort Jefferson. A couple of the days later the rain changed to snow. Further complicating the situation, the last of the flour was used up, and the force halted to await a supply convoy, which also brought the anticipated twenty Chickasaw scouts.

While the Americans were welcoming the flour convoy, the three war chiefs led their warriors south. Instead of hiding from the Americans as they did in 1790, the council made the bold decision to take the fight to the invaders.

A debate occurred on October 20 in the American camp as to whether to continue the campaign after those levies with expiring terms were released. It was decided to carry on the campaign, but non-essential baggage was sent back with the levies. After advancing 13 miles in a couple of days, the army encamped, and that night about 60 militiamen deserted. Fearing they might hijack the incoming flour convoys, 300 men from the 1st U.S. Regiment, under Hamtramck, were sent to ensure the convoys' safety. One convoy arrived, but a second was expected. Uncertainty arose over

ABOVE: Lt. Col. William Darke, a veteran of both the French and Indian and American Revolutionary wars, led his levies in one of several bayonet charges at Wabash that failed to reverse the course of battle. OPPOSITE: The Western Confederacy continued its offensive operations in January 1792 with successful attacks at Big Bottom and Dunlap's Station. Perturbed by Harmar's poor performance, President George Washington appointed St. Clair to reverse the situation.

whether it still existed, and the regiment tried to locate it. This decision would deprive St. Clair of his most reliable men at the time when their experience was sorely needed.

St. Clair then suffered another gout attack, so the army did not resume its advance until November 2. Resuming the advance, the army eventually came across what St. Clair mistakenly believed was St. Mary's River. He set up camp on a wide piece of high ground next to the Wabash River at the location of modern-day Fort Recovery, Ohio. No attempt to build even a rudimentary defense was made. The camp took its standard rectangle shape with the levy regiments under Butler forming a long side close to the river. Darke held the opposite side, and each side had three cannons. Butler was supported by the 6-pounders. A dragoon company and riflemen formed the short sides, with the civilian and baggage wagons protected in the interior. St. Clair assigned 220 men to six locations beyond the camp's perimeter. With a lack of space and a justifiable concern over more desertions, the remaining companies of militia were forced to encamp 300 yards away, across the river.

At the onset of the advance, St. Clair had started with 2,000 men. Desertions, levy-term expirations, and the detachment of troops to guard the flour convoy considerably reduced that number. The adjutant general calculated the army and militia forces present on November 4 totaled 1,669 officers and men. "Discharges, desertions, and the absence of the first regiment reduced the effective strength on the day of action to about fourteen hundred," wrote aide-de-camp Lieutenant Ebenezer Denny in his journal. Despite the strength reduction and lack of accurate intelligence, St. Clair still believed he had enough men to be victorious. He dismissed any enemy seen so far as opportunists, not scouts from an opposing army.

Just two-and-a-half miles from the American encampment were 1,400 warriors of the Western Confederacy. The council, kept well-informed of St. Clair's position, made final preparations. The force was ready to attack the invaders the next day with morale running high.

That night, an American scouting party successfully ambushed a small party of warriors. Soon afterwards, a larger war party was spotted but not engaged. The scouts returned to the militia camp, where its commander informed Oldham. The lieutenant colonel sent him to report the findings to the main camp. Debriefed by Butler—since St. Clair had retired for the night—he was told to get some rest.

In pre-dawn prayers, Blue Jacket announced that the Great Spirit was with them. Due to a better job of self-promotion, Little Turtle has been seen as the mastermind of the operation. However, Blue Jacket is believed to have been the driving force, and he was the one who decided to attack using the crescent formation based on previous success. Forming the left horn of the crescent were 400 warriors from the Ottawa, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi tribes. The right horn was composed of 300 warriors from the Wyandot, Cherokee, and Mingo tribes. At the crescent's base were 700 warriors from the Shawnee, Miami, and Delaware tribes.

As the Native Americans moved into position for their attack at 5:30 AM, the Americans reignited their cooking fires. Animal sounds were heard, and some even concluded that the sounds came from people rather than animals. Reveille sounded at 45 minutes later, and officers prepared for morning review. At last informed of the raid results, St. Clair met with Oldham. After review, the men gathered for breakfast with weapons nearby as a precaution.

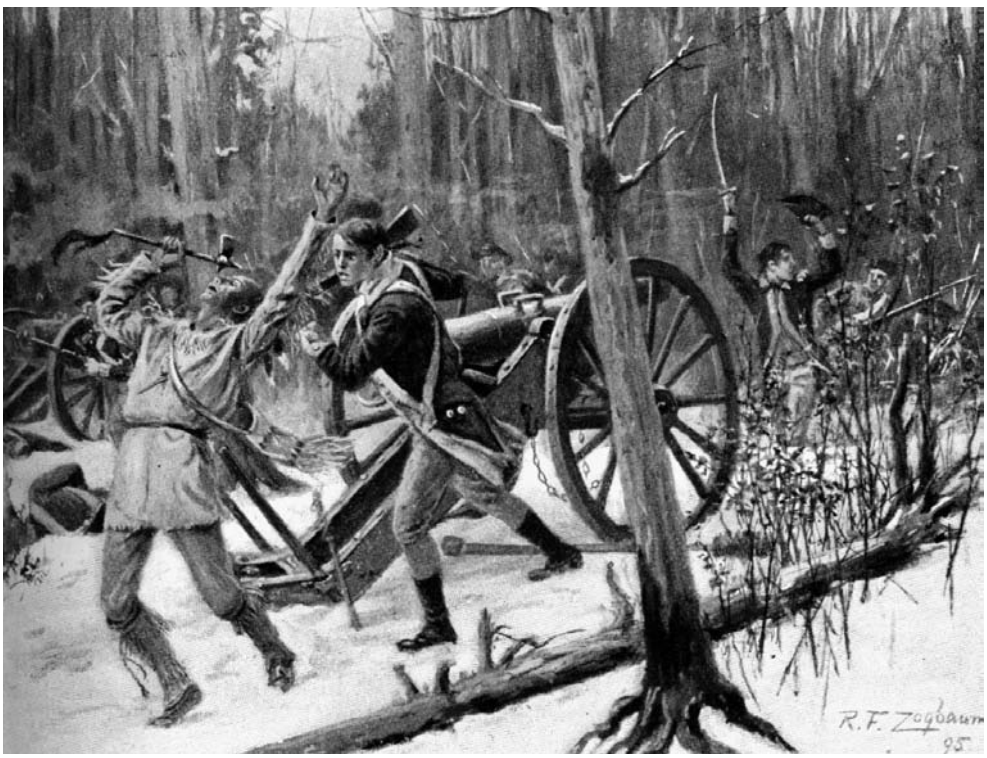
As the sun rose above the horizon 30 minutes later, the Native American army advanced. By that time, they were arrayed in the crescent-shaped formation and had advanced to within 200 yards of the outermost militia. Minutes before they were spotted, a thousand war cries shrieked throughout the forest.

Near the militia camp, a pair of sentries fired upon some Native Americans. The Native Americans near them returned fire, sending hundreds of muskets balls at the startled sentries. The two men fled their positions. Within minutes large numbers of warriors swept around the camp to the north and south, while the Shawnee, Miami, and Delaware attacked it frontally.

The militiamen, who lacked a leader since Oldham was with St. Clair, only got off a few dozen shots. Some died as they tried to reload, while others, paralyzed by fear, were cut down. Most made the 300-yard dash to the main camp.

Alerted by the war cries and the sound of musket fire, the officers started to prepare the battle positions. St. Clair threw an old black coat over his bedclothes and donned a battered black hat. Dressing in those clothes saved his life. Although the Native American warriors tended to fight independently, groups of marksmen were assigned specific targets. At the direction of the British, one group of marksmen targeted the American officers, while another group focused on silencing the cannons.

As the officers started to rally the troops, the fleeing militiamen crossed the frozen Wabash River, climbed its ravine side, and continued straight into the army's main line. Disruption reigned in the cannons as frightened militiamen



ABOVE: After routing militia troops in forward positions, the attacking Shawnee, Miami, and Delaware warriors grappled with the crews manning St. Clair's 6-pounder cannon. OPPOSITE: A period illustration inaccurately shows neatly aligned ranks of American soldiers. In reality, the Native Americans overran multiple sectors of St. Clair's perimeter, forcing him to retreat with his survivors.

stationed on both sides of the guns ran through them. These men infected some of the levies with their panic and tried to find safety amongst the civilians, but the women chased them out of the area. The Shawnee, Miami, and Delaware followed the militia closely, and some fought around the 6-pounders.

"In a few minutes, our whole camp, which extended above three hundred yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters," recalled St. Clair. While a bayonet charge temporarily stabilized the area around the cannons, in 30 minutes the warriors of the Western Confederacy had surrounded the Americans. By that time one-quarter of St. Clair's men were either slain or had fled the battlefield. The general had two horses shot out from underneath him.

At 7:15 AM the next phase of the battle began as the Native Americans brought a deadly crossfire to bear against St. Clair's troops. Morale and discipline continued to disappear as men watched their officers being struck down. The cannons were virtually ineffective as they mostly fired over the heads of the attackers. Within 90 minutes, the artillery support had been silenced. The cannon fire was heard miles away by Hamtramck, and he pushed his men towards the noise.

An adrenalin surge brought about by the combat allowed St. Clair to direct the battle on foot without pain. In an attempt to stabilize the perimeter, he ordered Darke to lead a bayonet charge. The Wyandot warriors fell back in the face of Darke's charge. When the counterattacking troops reached a gully, they were forced to halt. At that point, they began to take heavy casualties.

Taking advantage of the reduced U.S. forces, Shawnee warriors overran the dragoons next to Thomas Butler's company, as well as part of the 1st Levy Regiment. Rallied by their chief, the Wyandot warriors followed Darke's men back and joined the Shawnees' attack as both tribes pushed into the heart of the camp. Warriors scalped and slaughtered the wounded, cowards and civilians. During the battle, a rifleman made the disheartening discovery that the gunpowder used by the Americans was too weak. He claimed that he hit several of the enemy, but they were not brought down. While ejecting the intruders from the camp, Darke was wounded.

While Darke made his charge, Butler and others conducted additional charges. During one of these Butler was severely wounded, and almost all of the 2nd U.S. Regiment's officers were killed. In order to retake the camp's southern end, St. Clair and Major Heart gathered some men from shattered units and charged. While successful in expelling the warriors by 8:30 AM, casualties were heavy, including the death of Major Heart.

Butler and Darke took command of the front and rear lines, respectively. The situation was desperate as the Western Confederacy warriors had forced the Americans into a smaller area. There were hundreds of wounded, as well a significant number of men who were too demoralized to continue the fight. The warriors had quickly learned to melt away in face of the bayonet charges and then attack when the Americans pulled back.

Regrouped, the Native Americans attacked again using same pattern. Any surviving officers were targeted as the warriors advanced using trees and logs for cover. During this assault, Butler was mortally wounded. With the situation critical, St. Clair threw his last intact unit into battle. After laying down fire, another bayonet charged drove the Miami and Delaware fighters back down the ravine. Falsely believing he had outlasted the enemy and won the battle. St. Clair welcomed the lull in fighting.

Blue Jacket rode among the warriors to revitalize their spirit. After 15 minutes, they attacked again with renewed determination. The Americans realized they would have to abandon the camp's southern section, where a dying Butler sat propped

REVENGE AT FALLEN TIMBERS

In the aftermath of the military disaster at Wabash, President George Washington wasted no time in recalling "Mad" Anthony Wayne, veteran general of the Revolutionary War, to lead forces against the Western Confederacy. Washington yearned for revenge against the unruly Native Americans who had dealt a humiliating defeat to the mixed force of regulars and militia commanded by Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair at the Battle of the Wabash.

Wayne, a native of Pennsylvania, was the right man for the job given that he had extensive experience battling Loyalists and their Creek and Cherokee allies during the American Revolution. This had given him first-hand knowledge of Native American tactics.

Wayne immediately began reorganizing the forces that would campaign against the Western Confederacy tribes into units known as "sub-legions," each comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The following year, he led his troops to Fort Washington. He put his men to work building two fortifications, Forts Greeneville and Recovery, the latter of which was constructed on the site of St. Clair's defeat.

In spring 1794, 1,200 warriors of the Western Confederacy attacked Fort Recovery but failed to capture it. Satisfied that summer that his troops were sufficiently drilled to achieve victory over the Native Americans, Wayne struck out north on August 17 along the Maumee River at the head of 2,000 soldiers to engage Miami chief Little Turtle and Shawnee chief Blue Jacket. He had organized his army into four sub-legions. As the march tramped through the wilderness, light infantry and mounted troops screened the flanks and rear.

Five miles from the British supply point of Fort Miami, 1,000 Native Americans under the command of Blue Jacket lay in wait in a crescent-shaped line concealed amidst a tangled nest of brush and fallen trees, which would give its name to the coming battle.

Upon the approach of Wayne's vanguard on August 20, a group of Native Americans charged into the Americans, scattering them into the woods. This premature attack by this group of warriors ruined any chances the Native Americans had to ambush Wayne's main force.

Wayne began issuing orders to his well-drilled troops. He had already decided that he would rely on the shock of bayonet rather than the firepower of his muskets and artillery. While the foot soldiers launched repeated bayonet attacks against the Native Americans to pin them down, Wayne directed his mounted troops to flank the enemy. Using these tactics, the Americans routed the Native Americans in a one-hour battle. The retreating warriors sought refuge at British-held Fort Miami but were refused admittance.

After his victory in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Wayne systematically torched the villages of the hostile tribes in a scorched-earth campaign. After failing to get help from the British, the warring chiefs made peace with the Americans. The U.S. government signed the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 with the remnants of Little Turtle's alliance. Through the terms of the agreement, the U.S. government compelled the tribes to relinquish ownership of most of their lands to Americans for settlement.

—William E. Welsh

U.S. Army

Maj. Gen. "Mad Anthony" Wayne's well-trained regulars inflicted stinging retribution on the tribes of the Western Confederacy after defeating them at Fallen Timbers.

against a tree. The last remaining cannon was spiked and the mobile wounded removed as the troops relocated north. Shortly after this evacuation, the Shawnee, Miami and Delaware pressed forward. Butler was killed with a tomahawk. Some warriors ran out of powder and shot but continued to inflict death with arrows.

By 9:30 AM the army had taken 50 percent casualties and St. Clair knew his force must retreat. Forming a plan, he had some units hold their positions while Darke supervised a charge to break the encirclement. Afterwards, the men would strike east and feint clockwise towards St. Clair's Trace, then wheel in the other direction before making a loop to return to the path. Quickly the bayonet charge opened a gap in the enemy's line. Those soldiers who could walk poured through the gap. St. Clair left the battlefield with the last of his men at 9:35 AM.

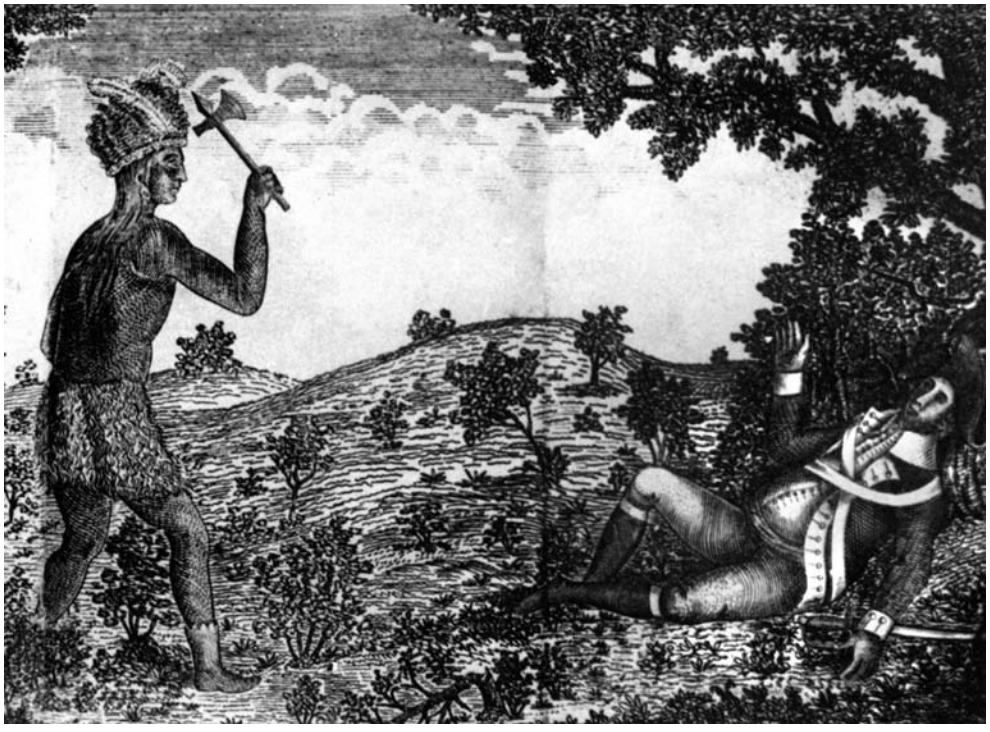
But discipline soon evaporated. Men fled for their lives, tossing away their weapons and equipment in the process. The wounded who could not continue were abandoned. Warriors pursued the Americans for five miles before returning to the battle site. Some militia who fled at the onset of the battle ran into Hamtramck and informed him of the massive Indian attack. Fearing the worst, Hamtramck ordered the 1st U.S. regiment back to Fort Jefferson to prepare a defense. At the American camp, the Native American warriors took out their aggression upon the helpless wounded and civilians. His gout pain returning, St. Clair mounted a horse. He said the retreat was "disgraceful business."

The lead elements reached Fort Jefferson, which offered little protection and was practically out of provisions, at 7:00 PM. A decision was made to march the 45 miles to Fort Hamilton. Leaving the immobile, St. Clair and his force departed at 10:00 PM. Stragglers stumbled into Fort Jefferson for a day or two, as did the Chickasaw scouts who had been away on a mission up the Miami River.

St. Clair knew his army had been roughly handled but not his exact losses. While sources give slightly differing numbers, the battle produced the highest-percentage casualty rate ever suffered by a U.S. Army unit. The Native American coalition had killed 632 of the 920 soldiers and wounded many others. Militia losses are unknown, but probably were similar to those of the regular army troops. St. Clair also reported the loss of six cannons, two baggage wagons, and 1,200 muskets.

The Native Americans looted the camp and slew most of the Americans. Some of the cannons were rolled into the Wabash. Unfortunately, any momentum that Little Turtle and Blue Jacket had gained from their victory soon disappeared. Differences in the council regarding a follow-up strategy, as well as poor crop yields, led to the disbanding of the Native American coalition army. Casualty figures among the Native American warriors have never been determined. Their losses are estimated at 21 killed and 40 wounded.

Guthman Collection



Maj. Gen. Richard Butler, St. Clair's second-in-command, fought valiantly but was wounded in a bayonet charge. After the Americans withdrew, a warrior clubbed him to death with his tomahawk.

After a stop at Fort Hamilton, St. Clair and most of the demoralized survivors arrived at Fort Washington on November 8. Many soon left, but St. Clair stayed to write his after-action report. The report reached Washington, who was outraged upon hearing about the disaster.

In order to determine blame for the loss, the U.S. House of Representatives initiated an investigation, the first Congressional Special Committee investigation. After hearing witness testimony and reading evidence, the legislators exonerated St. Clair of all blame. He resigned his commission and returned to duty as territorial governor. The committee found that Secretary of War Knox, Quartermaster Hodgdon, and other War Department officials had done an inadequate of job of raising and training a sufficient force and had failed to equip and supply the army due to gross mismanagement and neglect. Although St. Clair's ignorance of the area's topography and geography complicated matters, the committee found he had remained cool and professional throughout the campaign, having to overcome ill-trained troops, poor-quality equipment, and supply shortages.

The silver lining that resulted from the defeat was the birth of today's U.S. Army. Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne was appointed as its new commander, and Congress appropriated adequate funds for it. Legislation was passed to standardize organization, equipment, and training of militias to conform to that of the army. After the defection of William Wells—who developed an effective scout force—and Wayne's training to fight the tactics of Native American warriors, Wayne returned to site of St. Clair's defeat. Recovering the bodies, he built Fort Recovery.

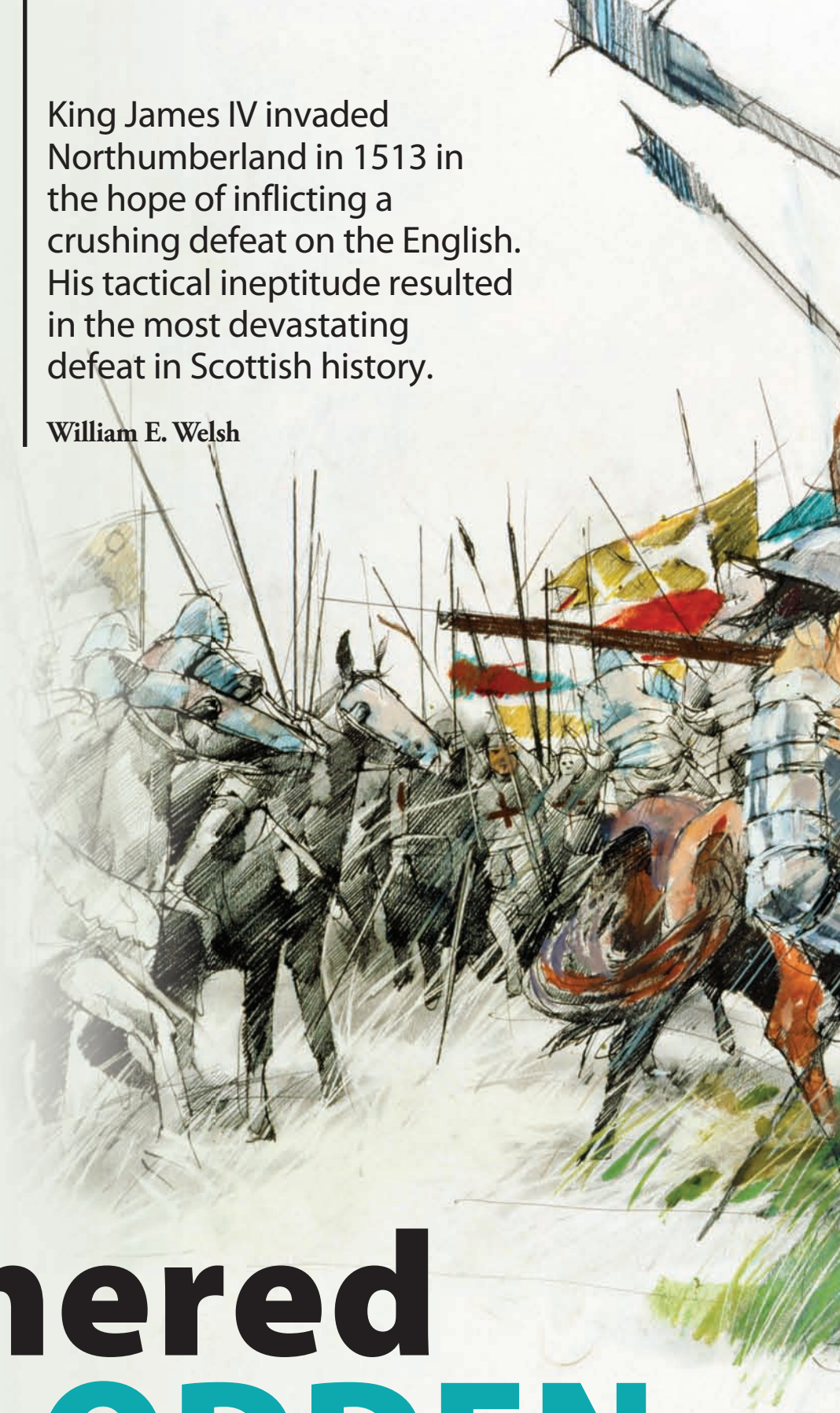
In summer 1794, Wayne successfully defended Fort Recovery from a Western Confederacy attack. On August 20, 1794, he soundly defeated them at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The losses forced various tribes to sign the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, in which they ceded land south of Fort Recovery. This land became the boundary marker between America and the Northwest tribes.

On November 4, 1791, along the banks of the Wabash River in western Ohio, one of the most important battles in American history took place. Weyapiersenwah, Mihsihkinaahkwa, and Buckongahelas led a determined Native American army that was habitually underestimated by a government that believed too highly in its military's capability. St. Clair, in poor health, performed the best he could with the forces and support he had at his disposal. The site of the worst defeat of an American force by Native Americans, even greater than the Battle of Little Bighorn, would have a positive consequence; that is, the birth and development of the U.S. Army. ■

Butchered AT FLODDEN

King James IV invaded Northumberland in 1513 in the hope of inflicting a crushing defeat on the English. His tactical ineptitude resulted in the most devastating defeat in Scottish history.

William E. Welsh



Highlander bowmen fired arrows that hissed through the air as they led the advance against the English at Flodden as skirmishers. The English longbowmen fired back with telling effect. Tightly packed files of pikemen from the Scottish dales followed on the heels of the highlanders. Their flanks were covered by more highlanders wielding two-handed swords. French captains well-versed in pike assaults directed the attack led by two Scottish lords.

The pikemen surged through the gully at the bottom of the hill and crashed into the English line. Those in the front ranks, with menacing leveled pikes, wore sallets and armor to deflect the hailstorm of English arrows that peppered their ranks. Their bristling hedgehog of pikes bowled over the stunned shire levies in the front ranks.

Whatever resolve the levies of young Edward Howard's division might have had quickly vanished on the late afternoon of September 9, 1513, on the fields of Branxton Moor in Northumberland. The few on the English right who dared stand up to the pikes were either spitted on their steel tips or trampled beneath the feet of hundreds of pikemen. Raw recruits gripped by terror cast aside their bows and billhooks to flee from the deadly pikes.

Scottish King James IV's echeloned attack had begun auspiciously. The Scottish monarch watched with admiration from his position in the center of the Scottish battle line. If his follow-on divisions achieved similar success, the soldiers of his royal army might celebrate victory around their campfires that night.

By the standards of the Middle Ages, Scotland became a kingdom at the pace of other late-maturing realms, such as Germany and Poland. In the early medieval period, it was nothing more than a patchwork of minor kingdoms and tribal entities. But in the 11th century, these previously rival states became a bona fide kingdom. The reign of David I in the 12th century was an important milestone in the maturation of the monarchy; after his reign, the throne was passed in keeping with the rules of primogeniture.

Scottish King James IV attacked across unfavorable ground at Flodden that put his pikemen at a disadvantage. Once engaged, the more nimble English billmen carved up the Scottish pike blocks.

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ABOVE: Henry VIII was 17 years old when he became king in 1509. Four years later he won a minor victory against the French in the Battle of the Spurs in August 1513 that paled in comparison to the victory that the Earl of Surrey would win against the Scots at Flodden the following month. OPPOSITE: As a result of their experience in frequent cross-border raids, border reivers on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish frontier were well-versed in the hardships of warfare and demands of combat.

Yet not every transition was smooth. When 13 Scottish nobles claimed the throne upon the death of Queen Margaret in 1290, King Edward I of England took advantage of the disorder to try to establish overlordship over the Scots. The concept was not new at all, for the English had considered themselves overlords of Scotland as far back as Anglo-Saxon times, when Scottish barons were vassals of the king of Wessex. But on the whole, the pugnacious Scots valued their independence. To help them resist the English, they forged a pact in 1295 with France against England.

The fear that both the Scots and French had of the powerful English army became acute during the Hundred Years' War when Edward III invaded France. The Auld Alliance, as the pact was known, generally favored France. The French more than once manipulated the Scots into attacking the English to serve their own ends. Nevertheless, the Scots did not show any sign of wanting to withdraw from the alliance, and it was renewed frequently.

Following King Edward's invasion of Scotland in 1296, the two kingdoms had been at war with each other intermittently. Even in times of peace, both sides engaged in destructive cross-border raids along the Anglo-Scottish frontier.

The Scottish monarchs in the 15th century sought to raise the prestige of their kingdom and make it an important player on the European stage. One way to do this was to purchase the latest military technology. When King James IV took the throne in 1488, he was keen to build an artillery corps and a large fleet.

James had a golden opportunity to test his new artillery in 1496, when disaffected Yorkists in England attempted to put a pretender on the throne. The Scottish king backed the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, and personally launched a cross-border raid that he hoped would show Tudor King Henry VII that he was unable to defend his northern border.

James IV's raiders crossed the River Tweed at Coldstream on September 12, 1496, and immediately began wreaking havoc in Northumberland. Henry VII entrusted the defense of northern England to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was Lord Lieutenant of the Northern Marches. The elderly Surrey was the best general that England possessed at the time. Since he generally found border duty to be onerous, Surrey purposely avoided engaging the Scots because they were only conducting a raid as opposed to a full-blown invasion.

The Scots razed some towns and also destroyed a few towers and bastille houses before withdrawing. The English crown captured Warbeck the following year, marking the end of the Yorkists' ill-conceived and poorly executed attempts to unseat Henry VII. Through his support of Warbeck, combined with his destructive raid into Northumberland, James IV had earned the animosity of Henry VII.

The two monarchs supposedly shelved their animosities in 1502 when they signed a peace treaty. The English king solidified the treaty by giving his daughter, Mary Tudor, to James in marriage. Although James favored keeping the peace with England, events on the European Continent drew the kingdoms into war.

The long-running Italian Wars had embroiled France, the aggressor, into war with the Papacy and various Italian states. The Papacy assembled alliances, known as leagues, to combat French aggression. In 1511 Pope Julius II recruited Henry VIII of England, who had succeeded his father to the throne, to become an active participant in a newly established Holy League.

French King Louis XII invoked the Auld Alliance in an effort to get Scotland to distract England. He lured James IV into nullifying his treaty with the English with the promise of money and troops. Charles promised to give the Scottish monarch 50,000 francs, 2,000 infantry, and money for the Scottish fleet's operations with the French fleet. James took the offer, for he believed the best way to elevate Scotland internationally was to join France in its war against England.

Henry VIII resolved to take the field against the French. He arrived in Calais and took command of the English invasion army on June 30,

1513. Before departing, the king confirmed Surrey's position as the English commander in northern England. Surrey had a personal retinue of 500 drawn from his estates in East Anglia that were clad in the green and white livery of the Tudors. The earl directed his subordinate commanders to begin stockpiling supplies in Newcastle in mid-July. He was in London at the time, where he could maintain communications with the king. He mustered his retinue and led it out of Bishopsgate on July 22, bound for northern England. Surrey established a temporary headquarters on August 1 at Pontefract Castle in West Yorkshire. From that location, he issued summons to members of the northern gentry directing them to muster their retinues and recruit levies. Dispatch riders set out in August for each of the north shires to announce a general muster in Newcastle on September 1.

The French sought to dissuade the English monarch from his plans to wage war against France. They sent a herald to Calais on August 11 to inform the English monarch that their allies the Scots would invade northern England unless Henry desist from his preparations for war in northern France. Henry was not in the least dissuaded from his mission, for he had faith that Surrey could contain the Scots.

The Scots had mobilized before the English. James had issued a muster in July 1513 that required all men between the ages of 16 to 60 to respond to the call to arms within 20 days. A half century before Flodden, the Scottish parliament had passed an ordinance that replaced the infantry's primary weapon, the 13-foot spear, with the 18-foot pike. The majority of the pikes were made by foreign artisans and arrived by ship in Scotland's North Sea ports.

In a move that showed considerable foresight, James had previously established a harness factory at Stirling to produce high-quality, Milanese-style armor that could be worn by the Scottish infantry to lessen their exposure to the arrows fired by the English longbowmen in the event of war with England. Not all pikemen needed a full or even partial harness; those in the front ranks received top priority.

Also arriving by ship in July were 40 French captains skilled in pike tactics. They set to work immediately upon their arrival training levies from the Scottish lowlands. James issued orders for the army's principal formations to consist of deep formations of pikes. The French captains took great pains to explain to the Scottish lords who would lead the pike formations into battle that it was necessary for the columns to maintain a rapid pace and strike the enemy with force in order to be successful. If the pike attack slowed or stalled, it was likely to end in failure.

James had assembled 42,000 troops by August 19, as well as his artillery corps, for his invasion of Northumberland. The Scottish army was made up of inexperienced levies from the lowland valleys, veteran borderers from the marches, and, most significantly, fierce clansman from the remote highlands. The clansmen, who were armed with bows and swords, did not train as pikemen; instead, James allowed them to fight as they had always done.

The Scottish royal army had 29 artillery pieces. Seventeen were heavy siege guns that hurled 60-pound shot. The balance consisted of two 18-pounder culverins, six 10-pounder demi culverins, and four 6-pounder sakers. Unfortunately, the Scottish gunners lacked the extensive training and experience possessed by the English artillery corps.

The size of James' army was one of his key advantages. He had succeeded in assembling the largest and best-equipped army that Scotland had ever fielded against the English.

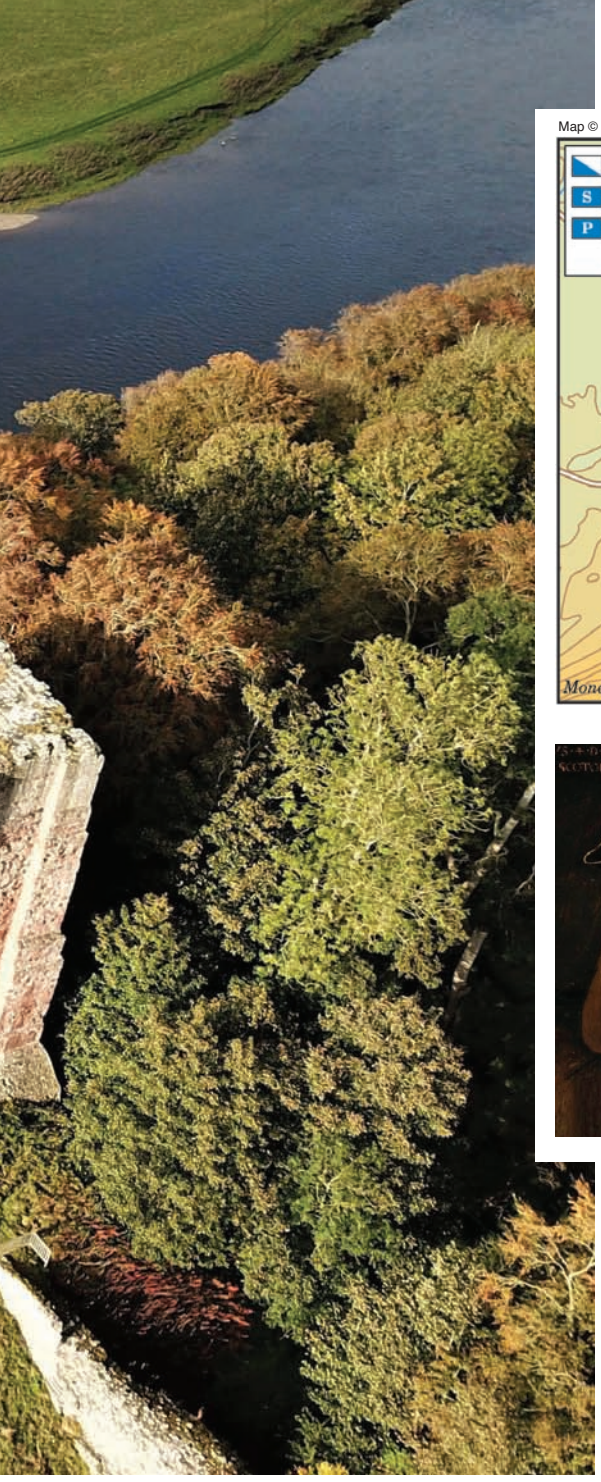
Five days later, the French and English skirmished in a half-hearted engagement known as the Battle of the Spurs. The battle came about when a French mounted force attempted to deliver supplies to the beleaguered garrison of Therounne, which was besieged by an Anglo-Imperial army. English cavalry and artillery turned back the French force, which had miscalculated the strength of the enemy forces screening Therounne.

Meanwhile, the Scots and English clashed in a brief but bloody skirmish in Northumberland. One of James' top lieutenants, Alexander Home, Lord of Home and Warden of the East March, led a large mounted force on another raid into Northumberland in mid-August. While they were returning to Scotland through the Till Valley, they ran headlong into a well-laid ambush set by William Bulmer of Brancepeth, the High Sheriff of Durham. Bulmer had hidden 1,000 longbowmen in a brushy patch of ground near Milfield. When the Scottish rode into the kill zone on August 13, longbowmen fired sheets of arrows into the column of mounted Scots. As many as 500 Scots died or were severely wounded in the "Ill Raid" at a cost of just 60 English lives.

The two army commanders were a study in contrast. Surrey had a calm demeanor. When he applied himself, he showed himself to be industrious, methodical, and efficient. For his part, James was arrogant, self-indulgent, and overbearing. Whereas the lords from the border regions had considerable experience at low-intensity conflict, the highlander chiefs were brave yet unproven.

Ruins of Surrey had tight control over the core of his army given that two of his division commanders were his sons, the eldest 40-year-old Lord Admiral Thomas Howard and his third son Edmund Howard. Surrey's second son, Edward Howard, had perished in a naval clash in Brest with the French fleet in April 1513. In an effort to elevate his youngest son, Surrey made him Marshal of the Horse.

The Scottish army crossed the River Tweed at Coldstream unopposed on August 22. Two days later the Scots besieged Norham Castle. The castle was of Norman design with a large keep. James deployed his siege guns on the north bank of the Tweed. The gunners opened breaches in the northern walls and also destroyed the western gatehouse.



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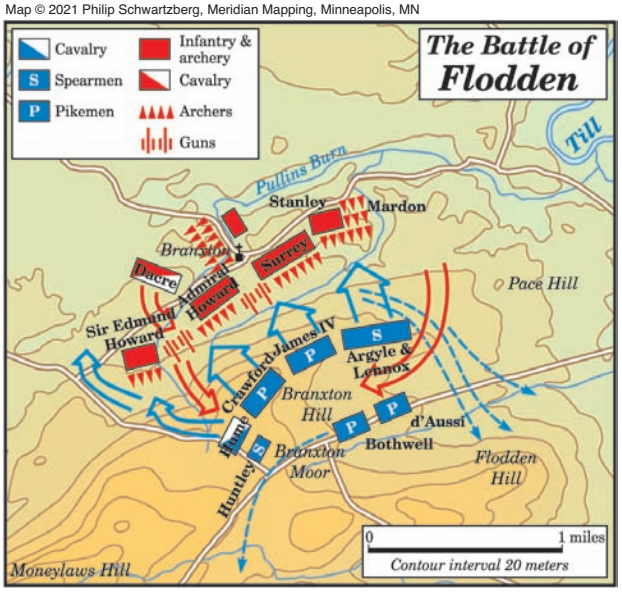

TOP: The Earl of Surrey's flank march upset King James' battle plan; it forced the Scottish king to abandon a seemingly impregnable position that he had hoped to defend against an English attack. ABOVE: King James IV of Scotland (left) and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, in his younger days. LEFT: The Flodden campaign began on a high note when the Scottish army succeeded in forcing the surrender of Norham Castle on River Tweed after a brief siege.

Scottish foot soldiers stormed the breaches. The English defenders showered them with arrows and met their assaults with edged weapons in an effort to turn them back. Three times the Scots charged, and each time the English prevented them from breaking through their makeshift defenses. But when no English relief force arrived to rescue the garrison after a week of fighting, castellan John Anislow struck his colors on August 29.

The Scottish king then proceeded along the east bank of the Till River to both Etal and Ford Castles. He set up his headquarters at Ford Castle to await Surrey's move. Marching further south into England made no sense, for James' strategy was to draw Surrey's army as far from London as possible. The weather grew cold and rainy, making marching difficult for both armies. Surrey faced a formidable task getting his army assembled given that it had to march along muddy roads and narrow lanes. By the time Surrey had assembled his army, James had taken up a strong defensive position atop Flodden Edge.

James' lost about one-third of his force when troops who had obtained booty from the plundered towns and strongholds departed for their homes. Most of the deserters were highlanders, who were not accustomed to long service.

Surrey, who was at Pontefract when he learned that James had invaded England, departed for York the following day. He paused in York for three days before moving north to Durham, where he took possession of the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert. The English had carried the banner into war with the Scots since the time of Edward I. Surrey then proceeded to Newcastle. He arrived in the northern city on August 30 to take command of 22,500 troops.

Surrey's troops were drawn from the retinues of the northern nobility, bishoprics of Durham and Whitby, and the counties of Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire. The entire army consisted of billmen and longbowmen, except for 1,500 horsemen drawn from the border marches. The billhook came into use with the widespread adoption of plate armor in the late 15th century. Derived from the agricultural tool, the weapon had a traditional head with a blade that curved outward. Each part of the versatile billhook served a different purpose. Soldiers used the heavy curved blade to chop and slash at their opponents much like an axe, they used the spike on top to thrust at opponents like a pike or spear, and they used the hook on the back to snag the weapons of their opponents and yank horsemen from their saddles. Unlike pike formations, billmen required no training.

Surrey's artillery train consisted of a well-trained, 400-man artillery corps. Led by Sir Nicholas Appleyard, the English artillery corps included 22 guns— eighteen 2-pounder falcons and four 4-pounder serpentines. Although these were much lighter than the heavy Scottish siege guns, they were more maneuverable on the field. Their maneuverability made them well-suited to counter-battery fire.

Surrey faced three major challenges when it came to fielding an army against the Scots. First, the bulk of his army consisted of levies. Second, he did not have high-quality weapons and equipment to distribute to his troops, and therefore they would have to get by with the weapons they owned or could borrow. Third, he had to bring the enemy to battle quickly, for he lacked food stores with which to feed his army as well as tents and blankets to protect them from inclement weather if there were to stay in the field through the autumn months.

Surrey led his army north from Newcastle on August 31. He halted on September 4 at Bolton, near Alnwick, having covered 34 miles. He ordered his banners unfolded and convened a council of war.

The following day English scouts brought word

that the Scottish army held a strong position at Flodden Edge. The ridge on which the Scots were deployed rose 500 feet above the surrounding plain. Attacking a larger foe in a defensive position on high ground was a recipe for disaster, so Surrey decided to manuever in such a way as to draw the Scots from their position. As he worked out his strategy, additional mounted troops arrived in the English camp on September 7 led by John "The Bastard" Heron, a seasoned English border reiver. Surrey ordered Heron to join the main body of border light horsemen under Dacre.

While heralds conveyed messages between the two armies, Surrey made preparations to execute a wide flanking march that he hoped would compel the Scots to abandon Flodden Edge since it would bring the English into position behind the Scottish army. Surrey's army, which was 30 miles from Flodden Edge, set out on September 8 on the maneuver. When the English host reached the River Till, it crossed to its north bank and continued for eight miles. Surrey halted his army for the night at Barmoor. He selected the site because an intervening hill, known as the Watch Law, blocked the line of sight from Flodden Edge to the English encampment. By so doing, he hoped to keep the Scots unaware of his approach.

The English resumed their long flank march the following morning. Surrey led the army north and then west. He intended to recross the Till to its south bank. This would place the English astride James' line of communications to Scotland. Surrey divided his army at Duddo Village, sending the Lord Admiral with the vanguard and artillery on a longer march to cross at an upper ford, while Surrey with the main army crossed at nearby Heaton Ford.

Scottish scouts located the English army that morning. After crossing the Till, both halves of the English army then crossed a stream known as the Pallinsburn and deployed into line of battle near Branxton village. To meet the English, James abandoned Flodden Edge and ordered his armies to advance a mile north to Branxton Edge and redeploy facing north. In James' mind, he could still fight a defensive battle if the English tried to pry him from Branxton Edge; however, his new position was less formidable than his original one.

The two sides prepared for battle. James ordered Lord Alexander Home's borderers and Lord Alexander Gordon's highlanders—10,000 troops—to deploy on the left. The 7,000 troops of three nobles—William Hay, Earl of Errol; John Lindsey, Earl of Crawford; and William Graham, Earl of Montrose—collectively known as the Scottish Division, deployed in the center. James IV's 15,000-strong King's Division took up position on the right.

Two other divisions served as the Scottish reserve. The 5,000-strong Highlander Reserve, led by Archibald Campbell and Matthew Stuart—the earls of Argyle and Lennox, respectively—deployed to the right rear of the King's Division to cover its right flank. The 5,000-man Lowland Reserve, led by Adam Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, assembled in the center behind the Scottish Division. The majority of the Scottish troops served as pikemen; however, James allowed the highlanders to fight according to their traditions with their claymores, two-handed axes, and bows.

The English host deployed with the 3,000 men under Edmund Howard on the right, the 11,000 men under the Lord Admiral in the center, and 5,000 troops under the Earl of Surrey on the left. Another division of 3,000 troops, under Sir Edward Stanley and Sir Marmaduke Constable, was assigned a support role on the extreme left flank. Lastly, Warden-General of the Northern Marches Lord Thomas Dacre's 3,500 cavalry served as the English reserve. Dacre's light horsemen from the border regions were known as prickers.

Stanley was an experienced commander. He held the lifetime position of High Sheriff of Lancashire and also was the Commissioner of Array for Yorkshire and Westmoreland. The majority of his troops were fleet-footed archers skilled in the

FLODDEN TIMELINE

June 24, 1488
James IV is crowned king of Scotland.

April 22, 1509
Henry VIII ascends to English throne.


Henry VIII, 1509

November 13, 1511
England joins Pope Julius II's Holy League against France.

August 10, 1512


Battle of Saint Mathieu

Battle of Saint-Mathieu, an Anglo-French naval action near Brest, ends with the English victorious but having lost Sir Edward Howard.

August 13, 1513


Scottish reivers

The "Ill Raid," in which Scottish reivers are ambushed by English longbowmen.

August 16, 1513


Battle of the Spurs

King Henry VIII wins minor victory against the French in the Battle of the Spurs.

August 22, 1513
Royal Scottish Army crosses River Tweed at Coldstream to invade England.

September 4, 1513
The Earl of Surrey unfolds his banners at Bolton and prepares for war.

September 9, 1513


Battle of the Flodden

The Battle of Flodden results in a decisive English victory and the death of Scotland's King James IV.

August 7, 1514
France and England sign an independent peace treaty. All French aid to Scotland ends.

use of their longbows from a lifetime of practice. Unfortunately, they would not reach the battlefield until dusk.

Both armies positioned their artillery in front of their divisions. In the mid-afternoon the English began bombarding the Scottish line-of-battle to its south. The highly effective fire of the skilled English gunners dismantled Scottish guns. The Scottish gunners fired back, but did not do comparable damage to the English.

Those Scottish gunners who survived the initial bombardment quit their guns once it became apparent they could not compete with the English gunners. After Appleyard's gunners had silenced the Scottish guns, he ordered his men to begin shelling the Scottish pike formations. Although the casualties were not heavy, the roundshot produced horrific wounds and gruesome results that discomfited the Scotsmen as the balls bounded into the Scottish pike files. During the course of the artillery duel, the English succeeded in killing the Scottish artillery commander.

The Scottish foot soldiers grew increasingly restless under the vicious bombardment. Although James had wanted to receive the English attack with his troops in an advantageous position atop to Branxton Edge, it became evident to him that he would have to order an attack against the English lines in order to retain the morale of his troops. Surrey had not only forced James to abandon a perfect defensive position on Flodden Edge by his strategic flank march, but also silenced the Scottish guns.

James devised an en echelon attack against the English. One of the basic concepts behind attacking en echelon was to compel the defender to commit his forces against each advance, thereby leaving an easier path for the next advance in line. The pikemen in the front ranks had protection ranging from full or partial plate armor to less expensive padded jacks and brigandines. Those wearing the jacks and brigandines also had "splents," or splint armor, which consisted of metal strips that attached to their arms and to their legs like greaves, according to *The Trewe Encounter or Batayle Lately Betwene Englande and Scotland*, a contemporary account of the battle.

The success of the Scottish pike attack depended on whether James' divisions could maintain their speed of advance. Although they would have initial momentum moving down the north slope of Flodden Edge, there was a marshy gully at the base of it. Although the gully was not so pronounced in front of the Scottish left, its sharp dip in front of the rest of the Scottish position would prove to be a significant impediment to the pikemen of the middle and right divisions.

James issued orders for the division on the left to advance at 4:30 PM The Scots advanced "in good order … without speaking a word," according to the *Trewe Encounter*. They attacked "in great plumpes, part of them quadrant [i.e., square or rectangular] and some pikewise, that is being more wedge-shaped to the front," stated the chronicle.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Advancing Scottish pikemen roughly handle the English troops of Edmund Howard. The Earl of Surrey staved off what might have been an unfolding disaster by sending his mounted reserve to rescue Howard and stabilize the English right wing.

The division of Lords Home and Huntly that led the attack on the Scottish left outnumbered Edmund Howard's division opposite them by two to one. Lord Home's well-delivered pike attack shattered the cohesion of the shire levies.

Even before the Scottish advance, the Cheshire levies fighting under Edmund Howard felt a great sense of unease. This stemmed from their having to go into battle under the youngest Howard when their regarded Lord Stanley as their rightful commander. They had hoped to go into action under Stanley's eagle-claw banner, but the Earl of Surrey had directed otherwise. They resented the youngest Howard and had no faith in him.

The Cheshire levies had to contend not only with Lord Home's pike squares, but also with the

fury of Lord Huntly's highlanders, who moved against their flanks swinging their claymores and battle axes. Once the English levies' cohesion was shattered, the Scottish highlanders began a dreadful slaughter of the billmen on the English right. "[The Scotsmen were] such large and stout men that one would not fall when four or five bills struck them," wrote Bishop Thomas Ruthal of Durham to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. Many of the Cheshire levies in Edmund Howard's demoralized division fled for their lives.

Surrey watched the crisis unfold on his right. As his younger son's division crumpled, he committed Lord Dacre's prickers to shore up his right wing. Dacre's prickers launched a furious counterattack on horseback and succeeded in stabilizing the remnants of the shattered division. The Bastard of Heron's horsemen rode into battle with the prickers. When Heron spied Edmund Howard wielding his hand-and-a-half sword against several highlanders who were trying to capture him, Heron and his men drove off the highlanders and escorted the youngest Howard to safety.

The bloody beginning of the great contest at Flodden had not been without a cost to the Scots, for some of the more stout-hearted billmen had slain three of Home's kinsmen from the Scottish upland dales, as well as four senior Gordon highlanders.

The troops of the Scottish Division advanced just minutes after the division to its left went forward. It rolled down the northern slope of Branxton Hill to assail the Lord Admiral's troops in the English center. The Scotsmen in the ranks hailed from Perthshire, Angus, Fife, and the northeastern Lowlands.

When the Scottish Division reached the marshy stream at the base of the ridge, though, it lost its forward momentum. The ranks split in places with men struggling to get through the marshy ground that pulled at their feet. Making matters worse, the Lord Admiral had placed the bulk of his troops on a rise known as Piper's Hill. The difficulty of crossing the gully combined with the effort needed to ascend Piper's Hill robbed the Scottish Division of its forward momentum.

ABOVE: The Scottish earls of Lennox and Argyle, whose highlander reserves failed to shore up King James' division, fell prey to Lord Stanley's fast-moving brigade of archers. Approaching the highlanders over dead ground, they caught the division by surprise and routed it. OPPOSITE: Flodden had the distinction of being the last major battle in which an English army relied on longbowmen. Lord Stanley's archers, who arrived late in the battle, inflicted heavy casualties on the already demoralized Scottish foot soldiers.

Despite showers of arrows fired at them at them by the Lord Admiral's archers, the well-armored pikemen in the front ranks of the second division struggled uphill hoping to wreck the English center. "Unless [the arrows] hit them in some bare place, [they] did them no hurt," stated *Hall's Chronicle*, penned by 16th century English historian Edward Hall. Bishop Ruthal echoed *Hall's Chronicle*, "[The Scots] were so well cased in armor that the arrows did them no harm."

In an effort to rally their pike squares, the three Scottish earls shouted encouragement to their men, exhorting them to show their king that they were sturdy and reliable soldiers. Yet the division's attack floundered at the crest of Piper's Hill. Having resolved not to suffer the fate of the Cheshire levies, the Lord Admiral's troops rose to the occasion. Some succeeded in fighting their way into the Scottish ranks, forcing many of the Scots to drop their unwieldy pikes and fight with their swords. The Scots wielding swords were outfought by the English with their much longer billhooks.

The fighting atop Piper's Hill rose to fearsome heights of bloody carnage, but the Scots never gained an advantage. It was a textbook case of a failed pike attack. Having gained an advantage over the Scots, the Lord Admiral's troops made the most of it. All three of the stalwart Scottish earls fell in hand-to-hand fighting with the Lord Admiral's 500 crack retainers and the billmen. The success enjoyed by the English center owed much to Lord Admiral's charisma and steadfast leadership.

"Our bills shortly disappointed the Scots of their [pikes]," wrote Bishop Ruthall, adding that the Scots "could not resist the bills that lighted so thick and sore upon them." In the face of the struggle with the Lord Admiral's billmen, the Scottish Division ultimately collapsed.

James could do little to reverse the setback in the center of the battlefield, for he still had to contend with the Earl of Surrey's division. Like the two divisions to his left, James' division swept down the northern slope of Flodden Edge at 4:45 PM His pikemen also lost their forward speed trying to cross the slushy ground at the base of the hill.

Nevertheless, the sheer size of the King's Division would make it difficult to defeat. In a skilled move that only a gifted commander could devise, Surrey had ordered his front ranks to pull back far enough to buy time for the Lord Admiral to redirect a portion of his troops to assail the exposed left flank of the King's Division. As Scottish pikes in the King's Division advanced in a giant wedge, the Lord Admiral's archers thinned their ranks. The longbowmen fired their deadly arrows at short range into thick mass of Scottish foot soldiers. The fighting ebbed and flowed on that part of the battlefield, but the English eventually prevailed. As the Scots in the front ranks were forced back, many of those at the back threw down their weapons and ran believing the day was lost.

Unfortunately for James, the reserve division led by Lennox and Argyll failed to come to his aid. The reason for this is unknown. One the one

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hand, the earls might not have received explicit orders to come to the king's aid. On the other hand, they may have believed the day was lost and been unwilling to commit their highlanders to a hopeless cause. James probably expected the two reserve divisions to come to his aid without having to make a request. The Scottish king did send an urgent order to lords Home and Huntly, who had rallied their remaining troops, to come to his aid. But Lord Home flatly refused to obey the order. Huntly raged at him, but could not get Home to change his mind.

Yet the Earl of Bothwell did commit his reserve at 5:30 PM The commitment of these troops did not alter the course of the battle because they were not deployed in an effective manner. Rather than maneuvering to strike an English flank, Bothwell sent them straight into the rear of James' troops, where they became mingled with those who were quitting the field. Confusion ensued as the Scots from the reserve collided with desperate soldiers determined to save their hides. Bothwell did nothing to try to rally the fleeing troops. Meanwhile, the English billmen and archers began encircling the Scottish army.

Lord Stanley and his troops did not reach the field of battle until 6:30 PM He later attributed his delay to his inability to find a local guide to lead his troops to the field of battle. The High Sheriff of Lancashire had craftily ordered his archers to approach the battlefield over dead ground; that is, across ground hidden from Scottish observers by an intervening knoll. They caught the highlander reserve, positioned behind the Scottish right, by complete surprise.

Shooting as they advanced, Stanley's crack archers felled large numbers of lightly armored highlanders. The surviving highlanders fled west, where they stumbled into the Scottish pikemen, minus their unwieldy pikes, retreating from the main battle. Some of the highlander chieftains tried to rally their troops, but by that time it was clear the English had won the day. The English took few, if any, prisoners; neither side granted quarter to the other on this occasion.

In a circle of Scots that were still fighting at 7:00 PM, James IV fell dead to the ground. At first the Scots were unaware of the king's death. But when they realized he had fallen in combat, they lost the last ounce of their morale. The day belonged to the English. In the gloaming, the English took possession of the Scottish artillery. By capturing the enemy guns, Surrey's army had won a great prize that would make their victory even more treasured.

Flodden was a cataclysmic defeat for the Scots. King James IV had risked everything by committing the manpower resources of his kingdom to one major battle. The Scots lost 10,000 men, while the English lost just 1,500.

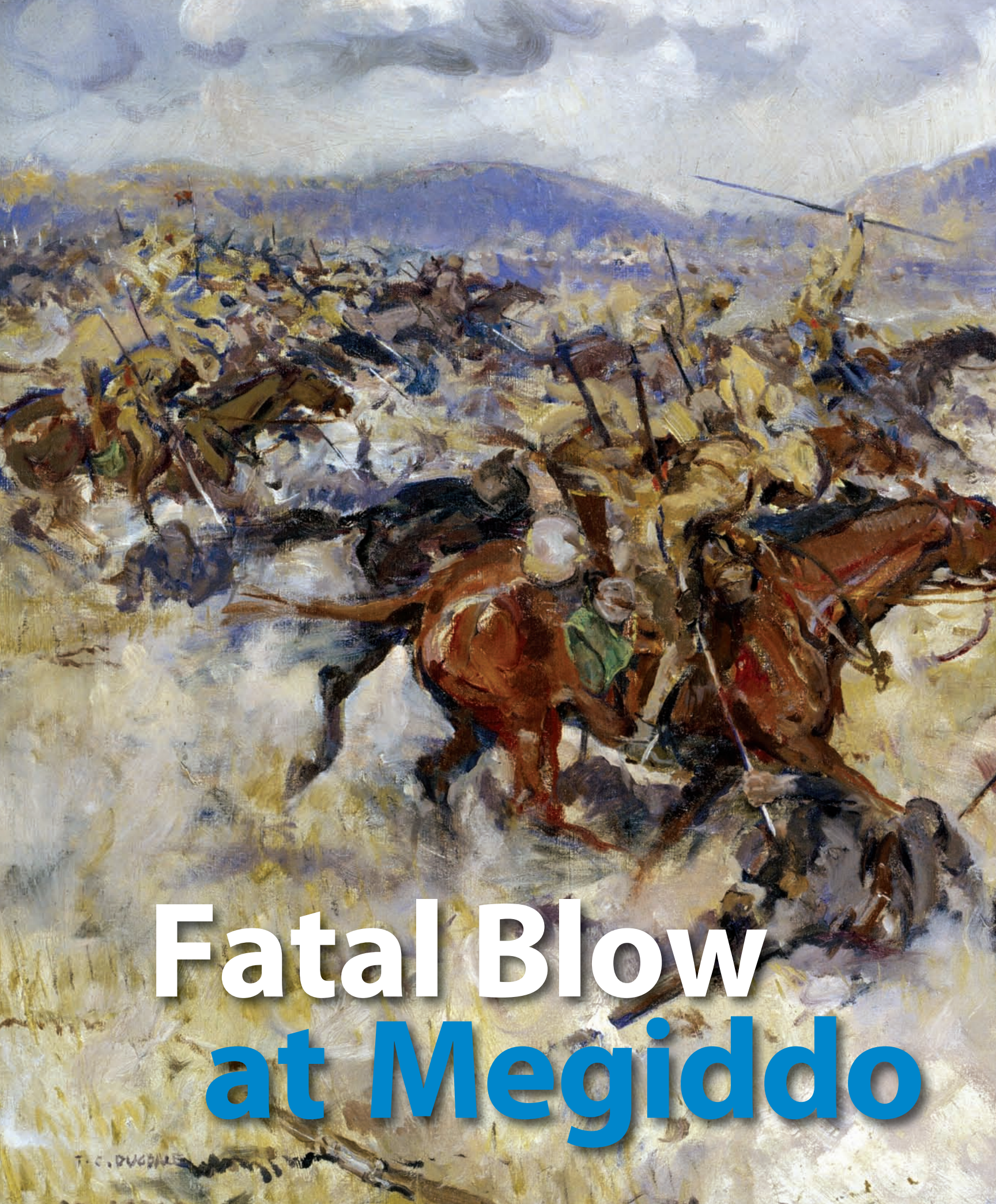
In addition to James' death, other high-born Scotsmen who died on the field were nine of the country's 21 earls, 14 of the 20 lords of the Scottish Parliament, and 300 gentry. The Scottish army also lost many men of the cloth who went into battle, including Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews; George Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles; two abbots; and the Dean of Glasgow. Lords Home, Huntly, and Lindsey cheated death and survived the carnage. Yet the Scottish Parliament would later charge Home with treason, and he would be eventually beheaded for his treachery at Flodden.

Lord Dacre found James' half-stripped body, which had been plundered by English commoners. Surrey ordered the king's corpse shipped to London.

The English victory was a tribute to the leadership of the Earl of Surrey and the Lord Admiral. It was also a tribute to the skill of the English artillerymen. Lastly, it was a sterling tribute to the steadfastness of the English billmen, the majority of whom had not flinched even though they were substantially outnumbered.

The Scots wanted revenge for their defeat at Flodden, but squabbling among Scottish lords dashed any hope of another military campaign. In the wake of the king's death, the Scottish Parliament appointed Duke John of Albany to serve as regent for James' infant son. The Holy League disbanded in March 1514. England and France signed a treaty that year by which the French agreed to cease all aid to the Scots.

King Henry had depleted the English war chest, and because of this there was no thought of continuing the war against the Scots any longer than necessary. The War of the Holy League had witnessed the greatest defeat of Scottish arms in the kingdom's history. ■



Fatal Blow at Megiddo

credit

Edmund Allenby's Egyptian Expeditionary Force ran roughshod over Ottoman forces in Palestine in September 1918 in a brilliant campaign that forced the Turks to the peace table.

Richard Willis

The six-day Battle of Megiddo fought in September 1918 was a decisive climax to the struggle in Palestine between the Ottoman Empire, backed by the Germans, and Great Britain and her allies. In the rush to Damascus, troops from several Allied nations fought with vigor and exuberance in the shadow of the ancient battleground city of Megiddo, where the Egyptians and Canaanites had battled in the 15th century B.C.

Far from the Western Front in World War I Europe, Allied cavalrymen rode across Palestine and left behind them the ravages of a Turkish rout. Allied artillery, the Royal Air Force, and the Australian Air Corps pummelled the Turks. Then, swift-riding horsemen in full regimental uniforms and armed with swords and lances consolidated the gains.

To many of the participants in the campaign it was a dream; to others a nightmare, as though what had happened in the Holy Land in former times had sprung forth again, breathing fire, sword, and lance from the pages of the Bible. The Turks, shelled or bombed out of their trenches, hid in *wadis* (ravines), and the moment the Allied cavalry appeared the demoralised Ottoman conscripts often surrendered.

The Allied cavalry tended to ride hard and rough, covering great distances in times that the world had forgotten were possible—a foretaste of the German blitzkrieg two decades later. The sight of the ruined city of Megiddo must have made the troops question how many armies had been ground to death by chariots on this same terrain. Perseverance, bravery, and sound leadership were to result in the final withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the Middle East.

Since the beginning of World War I, British leaders had been keenly aware of the vital importance of keeping the Suez Canal open to maintain access to their eastern colonies. The decision to invade Palestine was taken in 1917, partly in response to the continuing stalemate on the Western Front.

Much of the credit for the defeat of the Turks can be given to General Sir Edmund Allenby, noted for his dexterity in planning and executing warfare. Allenby was thoroughly familiar with the power of military man and horse, owing partly to his experience of leading the Cavalry Division of the British Expeditionary Force in 1914. He had also been appointed commander of the Third Army in 1915 and performed satisfactorily in the Battle of Arras in 1917.

After arriving in the Middle East, Allenby gave orders to move his headquarters from Cairo to Rafah, nearer the front, in an effort to be in closer touch with his troops. In contrast, the Ottoman headquarters was too far from the front, which put the Ottoman commanders at a disadvantage. Allied success followed between October 31, 1917, and November 7, 1917, in the battles of Beersheba and the Third Battle of Gaza. The Palestinian Arabs saw

Indian lancers overrun an Ottoman position in the Valley of Armageddon on the second day of the Battle of Megiddo.

All photos: Library of Congress

ABOVE: General Sir Edmund Allenby enters Jerusalem in triumph in December 1917, thus ending four centuries of Ottoman rule. RIGHT: German General Liman von Sanders, the Ottoman commander, resigned himself to fighting a defensive battle against numerically superior British forces.

Allenby as a prophet of God, and he was highly respected by both his troops and the enemy. He tolerated no nonsense and was feared by his subordinates. When displeased, Allenby often unleashed a fearsome rage.

Allenby's victory in autumn 1917 did not guarantee that the same troops would be available to fight in the Battle of Megiddo nearly a year later, as many of them were transferred to France to counter the German Spring Offensive of 1918 on the Western Front. With the removal of many of his troops, Allenby had no choice but to halt his advance. A vital element of Allenby's approach to his command in 1918 was the Desert Mounted Corps, led by Lt. Gen. Sir Harry Chauvel.

When hostilities resumed in September 1918, the DMC was without the camel units that had formerly been part of Chauvel's command. It now relied on troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and India. The Indian soldiers were used to a similar climate, and the corps was dominated by the Indian troops of the 4th and 5th Cavalry Divisions. Allenby's infantry had learned to fight in highly mobile cavalry campaigns such as Beersheba the previous year, which had involved the four divisions of XX Corps and two divisions of the DMC, and in exercises organized by Allenby during summer 1918.

Physically fit and now experienced in this kind of warfare, the mounted divisions were highly trained and groomed for battle. Other nations, too, were part of the Allied army, including a South African field artillery brigade and the French Regiment Mixte. Even Palestinian volunteers made their presence felt, with a significant number joining the 38th and 39th battalions of the Royal Fusiliers.

Because of the wide geographical spread of the troops, the military struggle for Megiddo comprised two distinct engagements, at Sharon and Nablus, rather than a single battle. One key action was the cavalry advance past the ancient site of Megiddo on the night of September 19-20, giving its name to the whole action.

In October 1914, German warships attacked Black Sea ports, thereby bringing Russia into the war. The entry of Russia subsequently compelled Britain and France to declare war on Turkey. Turkey had been neutral but decided to throw in its lot with the Central Powers; the Ottomans believed that Germany would be victorious over the Allies.

The Turks launched an attack on the Suez Canal, which was under British protection, in 1915, but the Ottoman Empire failed to make much progress. In the course of the fighting, the Turks lost 2,000 troops. Broken railway lines and the significant geographical expanse of the Sinai remained major impediments to both the Turkish and British forces. Poor roads added to their problems, yet military operations in and around Palestine continued, involving the Senussi Muslim sect. A revolt by Arab tribes against the Turks, drawing on the initiatives of Colonel Thomas Edward Lawrence, captured the railhead across the Sinai. In summer 1917 the Allies planned to launch a major campaign in the region against the Turks.

Opinion in the British government was divided between those who considered that fighting the Central Powers on the Western Front was the only way to victory, and those, including British Prime Minister Lloyd George, who pinned hope on the defeat of relatively minor powers such as the Ottomans. General Sir William Robertson, head of the Imperial General Staff, apprehensive about starting a new offensive on the Western Front, appointed Allenby and sanctioned a plan to capture Gaza.

Important archival evidence reveals that the British and Allies sustained relatively few casualties in the campaigns that unfolded in late 1917 and early 1918, whereas the Ottomans lost 25,000 men. British and Allied losses were 5,000 combatants, proportionately not nearly as disastrous as the huge numbers perishing on the Western Front. In the months leading up to the Battle of Megiddo, the British War Office invited Allenby to launch a major attack on the Ottomans in the autumn, but offered no reinforcements and expected him to draw on the military resources already at his disposal.

Turkish losses in 1917 set the stage for the British victory at Megiddo. Allenby spent summer 1918 consolidating his forces' positions and made sustained efforts to reinforce and organize his army, despite opposition from the War Office. Effective coordination spearheaded by Allenby ensured that his troops received training for the desert conditions and were ready to engage in an autumn offensive. He also improved the British defenses and communications facilities.

The Turks, under German General Otto Liman von Sanders, commander of the Yildirim

Ottoman troops march into battle in Palestine. Allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Turkey sought to draw off large numbers of Allied troops that might otherwise have reinforced the Western Front.

(Thunderbolt) Army Group, assembled during the same period three armies totalling 34,000 men. The Seventh and Eighth armies were positioned west of the Jordan River, and the 4th Army was deployed east of it.

Where the Turkish armies could access a rail network, coal and wood to fuel the trains was in limited supply; the crews often were forced to rely on anything that would burn. The overall state of the Turkish army was poor, even though it had time to rebuild during the months when military action in Palestine had been suspended. This can be partly explained by Enver Pasha, the Turkish war minister, diverting Turkish forces to seize the Baku oil fields, and also partly by shortage of materiel at this stage in the war.

Turkish military readiness was also lower than it might have been owing to the casual approach to army life Ottoman officers displayed, a situation made worse by high rates of desertion among Arab conscripts. Communications in the Ottoman armies were poor, and they received little help from an unreliable telephone system and a railway network that covered only a small portion of the field of conflict and functioned poorly at best owing to the shortage of fuel. Trucks were still somewhat rudimentary, and the Turks had few of them; vital equipment shortages in general limited the ability of the Turkish army to function optimally.

Liman von Sanders was descended from Jewish ancestors and had been appointed head of the German Military Mission to the Ottoman Empire in December 1913. He was frequently at odds with his colleagues, as well as with the German ambassador and the Turkish ministers. Yet he was judged to have performed creditably during the Allied landings on the Gallipoli peninsula, where he had commanded the Ottoman defense. Some similarities between Allenby and Liman von Sanders were evident: Neither would tolerate any form of incompetence among their subordinates, and both had high credentials in the leading of cavalry.

With 69,000 men at his disposal, 12,000 of whom were cavalry, Allenby planned to launch an offensive along the coast in the west on the Plain of Sharon, where the landscape was particularly suited to mounted operations. He aimed to knock out the Turkish army at the first opportunity and prevent any possibility of retaliation, preparing his plans to the utmost detail. Allenby's strategy was bolstered by the assistance of the newly renamed Royal Air Force. Its primary role would be to destroy Liman von Sanders' telephone connections and damage communication between the command structures within the Turkish army.

To gain an additional advantage, Allenby did his best to deceive the Turks into thinking that the main attack would be initiated in the east. In the Jordan Valley, the British simulated the presence of men belonging to the main force, using wooden horses and dummy equipment made of canvas. The Allied infantry and cavalry units stealthily moved to the coast and hid in camouflaged tents and linen shelters to conceal their presence from German aircraft.

The ploy was to move supplies and military personnel at night, deploy phantom forces, and use donkeys to kick up dust to exaggerate and heighten the extent of activity. Allied forces in the sector consisted of the mounted division from the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—which gave the appearance that most of Allenby's force was in the Jordan Valley—and the Australian Flying Corps, which maintained a superiority in the air and so succeeded in preventing aerial observation of Allied troop movements. Action in the Jordan Valley on September 17-18 gave further credence to the deception. Secrecy was vital, and knowledge of the deception was confined to Allied commanding officers and those immediately involved in the operation.

Nearer the coast, Allenby was able to muster a clandestine force to confront the Ottoman XXII Corps. The plan was to launch an attack from this region on the coastal plain on September 19, 1918. Allenby's army, by contempo-

Allied aircraft played a key role supporting British infantry, cavalry, and tanks that broke through the Turkish defenses in Palestine.

rary accounts, was highly motivated and physically and mentally strong.

It is surprising that Allenby's strategy was not exposed to the Turks. A soldier of the 7th Indian Division was captured on September 17 and revealed details of the deception, but Liman von Sanders, to the relief of Allenby, was convinced that the solder was a plant and intended to deceive the Ottomans. This failure to believe what the captive had revealed meant that in the coastal sector, the Turkish infantry and cavalry were outnumbered by 10 to one.

On the night of September 18-19, the RAF unleashed a bombing raid on Afula, destroying many key Turkish positions with the result that, at the outbreak of hostilities, Liman von Sanders was unable to communicate with his armies. At 04:30 AM on September 19, the full weight of the British and Allied artillery launched a major bombardment of the Ottoman army, dispatching 1,000 shells per minute and concentrating its fire on the area chosen for the military breakthrough. The greatest impact came from the howitzers, with one type using 100-pound shells having a range of 11,000 yards.

The barrage only lasted for 15 minutes, though the bombardment was the heaviest launched in any theatre of World War I. At 4:45 AM, four divisions of British and Indian infantry began advancing towards the Ottomans along the coast on the Plain of Sharon, and only the 75th Division met with notable resistance. The Turkish artillery did attempt to fight back, but it had almost no effect since their guns fired only upon unoccupied trenches. The failure of the artillery to get better results was surprising, given the esteem in which this arm of the Turkish forces had previously been held.

Following the Turks' inept response, the DMC moved into the gap that had so effectively been opened by the infantry, dividing and disorienting the Turks, whose position was further compromised by a breakdown in communications. Many of the Turkish troops offered no resistance at all, often surrendering in vast numbers. The Allied infantry quickly broke the Turkish lines, and the Plain of Sharon provided the cavalry with an excellent opportunity to advance rapidly. The Turks were forced to retreat, first to Tul Keram and then east to Messudieh Junction.

At this point, the Arab rebels entered the fray. Forming what was referred to as an irregular army, the rebels were led by the Emir Feisal and Colonel Lawrence. These Arabs harbored an intense hatred of the Turks, and the feeling was mutual. The Arab force received support from a British mechanized force, including a Light Car Patrol and two Talbot trucks, and from a small French detachment. Alongside Feisal and Lawrence was the small Arab regular army, led by Ja'far Pasha el Askeri, which consisted of infantry, a camel battalion, and military armaments. These Arab forces contributed to the rout and combined with the Allies to scatter and overwhelm the Ottoman soldiers.

The Allied operation was further aided by the actions of the Australian 5th Light Horse Brigade and the New Zealand Mounted Brigade, and the Turkish losses were made worse by RAF aerial attacks. The advance became more rapid, and by the end of the first day the cavalry had covered 21 miles. By the time they reached Megiddo, the Allies encountered no opposition, as the Turks had abandoned this area. Resistance was minimal, and where the mounted force did come across resistance, their enemy was lanced to death.

The Ottoman Fourth Army in the Jordan Valley was oblivious to the destruction being inflicted on the western coast, but news of the defeat eventually became spread by escaping refugees and scattered forces retreating from the west. The British and Allies found themselves in a commanding position only 24 hours after the Battle of Megiddo had commenced. Liman von Sanders, based in Nazareth, was aghast to be roused from sleep by the sound of the British 18th Lancers arriving and forced to flee in his pajamas to avoid capture. Accompanied by only three staff officers, Liman von Sanders made his way to Samakh, where he set up a temporary headquarters.

The 18th Lancers subsequently overran a large Turkish barracks, while the Gloucester Hussars, part of the British Fifth Mounted Brigade, sought to take the northern part of Nazareth. At 04:25 AM on September 20, they besieged the town. Most of the stunned Germans and Turks surrendered, though a minority decided to make a stand and a few German headquarters clerks desperately attempted to burn incriminating documents—only to be wiped out by the invading force. When arriving at the south of Nazareth, a squadron of the Lancers encountered a convoy of Turkish trucks, which they seized. One vehicle was found

to be transporting £20,000 worth of gold (nearly £800,000 in today's money).

Allenby deeply regretted the news that Liman von Sanders had escaped. Brig. Gen. Philip J.V. Kelly, in charge of the 13th Cavalry Brigade, had been personally charged with arresting Liman von Sanders, and failure to do so practically cost him his job. Liman von Sanders returned to Nazareth and attempted to lead his forces, which were at this stage in considerable disarray.

Turkish fatalities were substantial by late morning, and the British had succeeded in capturing 1,000 Turks. In contrast, British forces reported relatively few losses. By early afternoon Liman von Sanders had given up hope of retaining Nazareth and set off towards the Sea of Galilee.

Colonel Henry W. Hodgson, the acting major-general in charge of the Australian Mounted Division, gave orders at 3:50 PM for the 3rd Light Horse Brigade to cut off fugitives who were retreating northwards from Jenin to Afula. The 10th Light Horse Regiment rapidly advanced and, when three miles from Jenin, came across 1,800 Germans and Turks, who offered no resistance and surrendered as a group.

Allenby's strategy had gone according to plan. He had been able to hide the movement of his infantry divisions and artillery to the coastal plain, and as soon as a gap appeared, he had sent in his mounted force. His offensive was a hammer blow to the enemy so severe that the Turks were unable to launch any kind of effective retaliation. The British forces had excelled, and the Turks fallen well short of displaying the kind of military abilities that had been evident in the Gallipoli campaign they had won.

One substantial weakness was that in the trenches, Ottoman troops failed to maintain hygiene, and this meant that rates of dysentery and related illnesses were exceedingly high. Liman von Sanders' cavalry was considerably outnumbered by the DMC and, though not short of motivation, had received inadequate training and lacked experience; hence, it was not sufficiently aggressive. Little meaningful liaison among the Turkish cavalry apparently took place, and this, too, led to inefficiency and poor performance.

Wherever Allenby looked, there was evidence of victory for the British and their allies. The Turkish XXII Corps, which had been positioned near the coast, was completely defeated. The corps' commander wandered aimlessly behind British lines and only made it to Tyre just before the town was captured. Pockets of Turkish resistance, such as the stand at Nahr Falik, were few and far between and were quickly overrun.

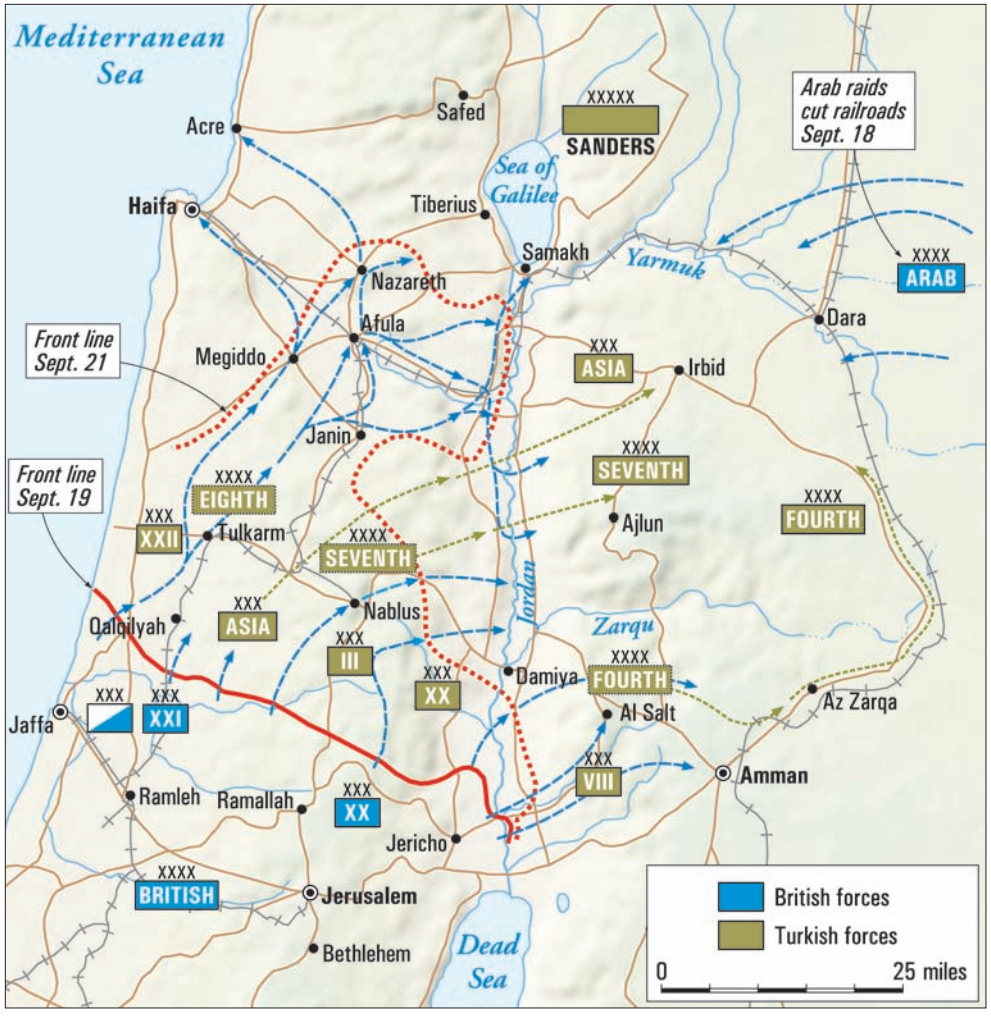
Nor had the Germans lived up to the strengths normally attributed to them. The German Asia Korps was significantly better equipped and orga-

Both: Library of Congress

TOP: Soldiers of the Black Watch (Royal Highlanders) reinforce the Allied front line near Arsuf in June 1918. ABOVE: General Liman von Sanders expected Turkish infantry supported by artillery to easily repulse the Allies as they had in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915-1916.

Imperial War Museum

Map © 2021 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



TOP: British riflemen practice their marksmanship near Arsuf in preparation for the showdown at Megiddo. ABOVE (MAP): Allenby introduced a combined-arms approach to overwhelm Turkish defenses in Palestine. The rapid defeat of the Turks led to the surrender of tens of thousands of downtrodden Ottoman soldiers.

nized than the Turkish infantry and so were able to some degree to bolster the Turkish forces. However, during the retreat from Nablus, some observers considered the Germans' fighting strength to have been little better than that of the Turks. Neither force could match the physical capabilities of the British and the Allies. Allenby had seen the importance of mobility, while Liman von Sanders, conditioned by his experience at Gallipoli, was convinced that standing ground was the secret to military success.

The stamina of the Allied cavalry was evinced by the 40-mile northwards advance, which was achieved in 25 hours. High standards of horsemanship were apparent and guaranteed the success of the mounted corps. This was especially true of the Indian cavalry, which tended to be more agile and leaner than its British counterparts. No less were the achievements of the French, and indeed the Regiment Mixte showed particular skill in its dynamic capture of an Austrian battery position 2,000 yards north of Tul Karm.

The great distances the horses could travel gave the DMC a distinct advantage over infantry, and at close quarters the lancers could inflict severe injuries or fatal wounds. Fugitives from Tul Karm fleeing along the road to Nablus were chased and cut down and at the same time bombed and fired upon from the skies. The British captured vast supplies of food and water, rifles and machine guns, and military vehicles from the Turks and Germans. One soldier of the Gloucester Hussars single-handedly captured 37 wagons, four officers, and 100 men.

The Australian Light Horse Regiment, which covered 11 miles in 70 minutes despite their horses being in a state of near exhaustion, met a significant number of Turks about three miles from Jenin, but as the Ottomans and the few Germans with them were taken by surprise, they surrendered without any resistance. Much booty was found, mainly stocks of food and supplies, including 120 cases of champagne. Before the arrival of the first brigade, much produce had been set alight to avoid it falling into the Allied hands.

Over the course of the day, some 8,000 Turkish prisoners streamed into Jenin. By this stage, the role of the British infantry had virtually come to an end. As the day progressed, the British cavalry denied the Ottomans and Germans any cut-off routes to the north.

The almost total exhaustion of the horses mandated respite for them. They were given water and rest, but not for long, as Allenby estimated that the Turks might be planning to make a last stand in the Samarian Hills. However, the extent of the destruction of Turkish forces meant that any counterattack would prove fruitless, and any turnaround became impossible once the coastal sector

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A column of Australian light horse moves into position in Palestine. The mounted infantry played a pivotal role in the defeat of the Ottoman forces in Palestine.

had been penetrated and the British cavalry were advancing northwards.

On September 20, the Allied XX and XXI Corps successfully confronted the Turkish Seventh and Eighth armies, which did not manage to present much resistance. The rapid defeat led to the surrender of tens of thousands, who were in a state of panic and debility. More effective was the German Asia Korps, which by contrast was more able to withstand the pressures meted out by their enemy. Meanwhile, Kelly's 13th Cavalry brigade pressed on into the Samarian Hills on land so rough that the riders were at times forced to dismount and lead their horses on foot.

September 21 was a comparatively calmer day. Nablus was overrun by the Australian 5th Light Horse Brigade from XXI Corps. Brig. Gen. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, commander of the Turkish Seventh Army, decided to evacuate the remaining Ottoman troops. The Allied airplanes unleashed an attack that resulted in almost complete annihilation of the Ottomans. Miles of burned-out equipment and vehicles littered the retreat. The British attempted at times to press the abandoned booty into service, but reusable assets were hard to find. Surprisingly, the Turkish death toll was not as high as Allenby had predicted, yet wherever the Turks attempted to escape to the hills they were soon found and added to the masses of prisoners. On the morning of September 22, Allenby—feeling very satisfied at the success of his army—entered El Lajjun with the order that the losing enemy be chased to Damascus and that the port of Haifa be captured.

Further Turkish casualties resulted from British and Australian aircraft bombing Tul Keram on September 23. The inhabitants fled in confusion. The British cavalry, advancing rapidly northwards after their inroads into the coastal west, captured large amounts of land, eventually encircling the Seventh and Eighth Armies, who had little choice but to plead for surrender or commit themselves to what was seen as suicidal resistance. By noon of September 23, the Ottoman Seventh and Eighth armies had "virtually ceased to exist," according to British archival records.

These Allied successes contrasted with the failures on the Western Front in Europe, where the military forces had remained virtually static for four years. Trench warfare was less common in Palestine, where the swift movement of mounted men and infantry characterized the campaign.

Chauvel then ordered the 5th Cavalry Division to capture Haifa and the port of Acre. With the capture of these towns, victory was complete. The taking of Haifa was essential so that supplies could be unloaded. Little opposition was met at Acre, but Haifa, attacked by troops under Brig. Gen. Cyril R. Harbord, proved more troublesome. One possible explanation for this was that a sizable Indian cavalry unit, the Hyderabad Lancers, was diverted from a fighting role to escort prisoners. Even so, the overall surge of cavalry to the north is best described as a tour de force, and the speed with which the mounted forces pressed forward was unrelenting.

The Mysore Squadron of the DMC made a considerable contribution by storming Mount Carmel. The heroic ascent of Mount Carmel took place under enemy fire from above, complicated by the lameness of the exhausted horses. After the fighting had ceased, only 15 of the cavalrymen had survived the ascent. Surprisingly, these men overran their opponents in the midst of machine-gun fire and over rocky terrain. They captured military equipment in the process, including a 150mm gun, and rounded up 78 prisoners.

Further military action led to an operation to seize the remaining fords across the Jordan; the Turks incurred significant fatalities and the capture of 9,000 more prisoners. Although the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies had been obliterated on September 25, even at this late stage of the battle the Allies carried out their most aggressive assaults of the week. The Australian squadrons made a considerable contribution by punching through enemy defences on the eastern bank. Eventually, the exchange of gunfire fizzled out. Before this occurred though, a small number of entrenched Turkish troops on the opposite bank

Allied Mounted Troops Blitzed the Turks

The British Empire fielded various types of mounted troops, such as light cavalry, mounted rifles, and mounted infantry. Light cavalry was trained to fight both mounted and dismounted, whereas the mounted rifles and mounted infantry fought dismounted.

By the time of World War I, cavalry possessed as their principal weapon either the carbine or the rifle. All of the major adversaries also still fielded mounted lancers during the Great War, although some did so more effectively than others. The Australian and Indian lancers in Egyptian Expeditionary Force proved quite useful in the final campaign of the war.

Shock weapons consisted of the 42-inch 1908 cavalry sword, which ended in a sharp, spear-like point, and the 9.8-foot-long, steel-tipped lance. The purpose of a mounted charge with shock weapons was not to produce collision with the enemy, but rather to put them to flight. Mounted troops who lacked swords made charges with sharpened bayonets.

The argument for arming cavalry with shock weapons was that it gave them greater tactical flexibility. Even so, mounted charges against enemy infantry were always fraught with risk given that the foot soldiers were armed with rapid-firing rifles and machine guns.

The War Office established the Egyptian Expeditionary Force under General Archibald Murray in 1916. The mounted component of the EEF was known as the Desert Column under the command of Lt. Gen. Philip Chetwode. Chetwode had both infantry and cavalry in his column.

The British repulsed a major Turkish attempt on the Suez Canal at Romani in August 1916. After that, the British went on the offensive. Although Murray succeeded in driving the Turks from the Sinai Peninsula in February 1917, his subsequent attacks on the Gaza line failed.

General Edmund Allenby arrived in Cairo in summer 1917 to replace Murray as the head of the EEF. Allenby reorganized his mounted forces into a separate corps known as the Desert Mounted Corps. When Chetwode was given command of the EEF's XX Corps, Allenby appointed Australian Harry Chauvel to command the DMC.

The Desert Mounted Corps was composed of Australians, New Zealanders, British Yeomanry, Territorial Horse Artillery and Indian Cavalry, with French cavalry added for the last operations in the final year of the war, according to Chauvel. The corps "worked harmoniously and efficiently" together to defeat the Ottomans, he said.

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TOP: British lancers also carried the short magazine Lee Enfield rifle. ABOVE: Hodson's Horse, a regiment of British Indian cavalry, had a tradition of fighting in inhospitable terrain.

By spring 1918, the DMC comprised the Australian and New Zealand mounted divisions and the 4th and 5th (Indian) cavalry divisions. The EEF's sledgehammer attack against the Turks at Megiddo began on September 19. Allenby fought a brilliant combined-arms battle. The British XXI Corps opened a path for the DMC to wreak havoc behind Ottoman lines. Allied aircraft strafed and bombed the retreating Turks.

The Australian 3rd Light Horse Brigade was the first unit to enter Damascus on October 1. The Turks sued for peace that month. British and Allied mounted troops had fought—and won—what was regarded as the last great cavalry battle.

Chauvel's forces had run roughshod over Ottoman defenses in Ottoman Syria. There were numerous instances at Megiddo, and afterwards in the Jordan Theater, where bold mounted action brought about a swifter resolution than would a protracted firefight.

"Again and again, Australian Regiments were, because they possessed a mounted weapon, to gallop down the Turks and cause them to surrender," wrote Australian correspondent Henry Gullett. "Without the swords they would have been compelled to dismount and go in on foot with their rifles [and] there would have been stout, and perhaps successful, resistance to our men approaching on foot."

—By William E. Welsh

Imperial War Museum

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TOP: A British light armored car patrols the rugged hills north of Samaria. ABOVE: Ottoman trenches at the shores of the Dead Sea reflect the static nature of the Ottoman defenses during the campaign.

of the Jordan, which were serving as an Ottoman rearguard, defended their position against the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, who had to dismount and clear the area at bayonet point. Again, serious carnage was avoided by large-scale Turkish surrenders, with 2,500 prisoners taken by the British and Allies. A large part of Palestine, with the exception of Samakh, was now under British control. Liman von Sanders pinned hope, perhaps irrationally, on some kind of reversal of fortune at Samakh, where he could count on some support from German machine gunners.

Lieutenant R.R.W. Patterson brokered a particularly impressive surrender by convincing the Turks that his forces were far greater than they actually were. The outcome was almost beyond belief, for 2,800 men surrendered to just 23 Australians. During the course of the battle, the number of Turkish prisoners increased to 25,000. Allenby switched his attention to Transjordan, deploying the New Zealand Mounted Brigade, whose determined efforts quickly secured Salt and Amman. The battle was drawing to a close. With the rest of the Turkish Fourth Army unable to function in any meaningful way, Allenby, with renewed vigour, planned the complete expulsion of Turks from Palestine.

These cavalry operations are some of the most celebrated in the history of warfare. The effectiveness of the British artillery and infantry was outstanding, and Allenby's advances were practically unknown in terms of the amount of territory captured and their lightning speed. Although the role of the infantry following the bombardment had been exceptional, the part played by the cavalry cannot be overemphasized. The use of cavalry by the British in military campaigns was declining, yet the advent of war in Palestine provided one final opportunity to exhibit its strengths. By contrast, the Turkish cavalry were ineffective and demoralized.

The Turks had outnumbered the British, but the latter had far better means of communication—particularly the railway network they could employ, which extended from the Sinai desert to Rafah and Jaffa. In the wake of the end of hostilities in the Battle of Megiddo, Allenby was given no definite operational orders; however, he was mindful that an advance on Damascus was a move that was both desirable and obvious.

Allenby ordered the DMC to proceed to the Sea of Galilee. Concerns that the corps would run out of resources were allayed when it managed to requisition supplies en route. The men of the DMC were highly confident, and their subsequent victory was arguably one of the most effective operations by cavalry in recent history. The victory was decisive, and the number of men lost in action was exceptionally low in contrast to the millions of soldiers who died on the Western Front.

The clash at Megiddo had virtually destroyed the Seventh and Eighth Ottoman armies west of the River Jordan, and any counterattacks proved to be futile. In the wake of Great Britain's decisive victory, Damascus was eventually captured in a relatively straightforward operation. The main assault leading to the capture of Damascus was launched on the morning of September 27. Making their way up the Golan Heights, Australian troops arrived at Kuneitra in the afternoon of September 28.

On the morning of October 1, the Allies reached Damascus; by October 6, action had generally died down. The vanquished Turks signed an armistice on October 30, which would not have been conceivable before the crushing Allied victory at Megiddo. In the five weeks since its beginning, Allenby's troops had wiped out three Turkish armies, taken 76,000 prisoners, and advanced 350 miles. In addition, the victors took possession of vast stores of weapons and supplies.

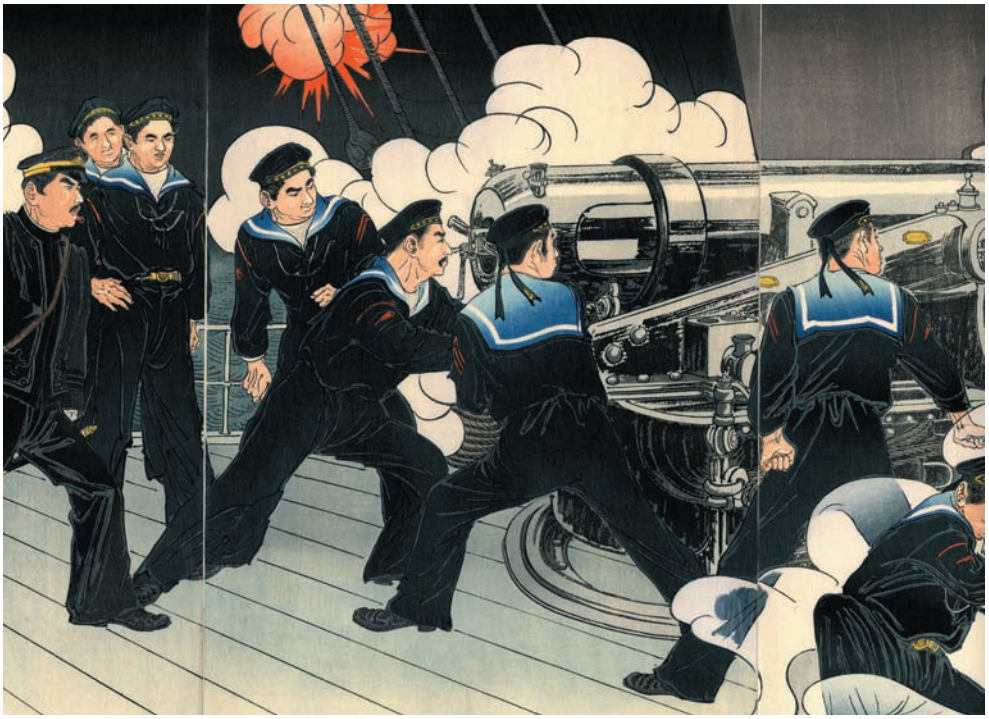
Despite the Allied prowess and undeniable distinction that led to such a victory, the Ottoman army was undeniably hamstrung by logistical shortfalls. The Turks did a commendable job of persevering in the face of such operational poverty and shoe-string resources, although their demise in the face of Allenby's relentless attacks was inevitable.

The diversionary tactics and the RAF operations were outstanding, and these made major contributions in destroying the Ottoman lines of communication to divisional headquarters and, in some cases, between the headquarters themselves.

Allenby was not free of constraints. Indeed, he had more than his share of administrative glitches. Moreover, the weather did not always favor his plans for attack. In addition, London was not always accommodating: The War Office demanded that he knock Turkey out of the war but denied him the forces he requested to accomplish it. It was to Allenby's credit that he managed to do so. As a result of his single-mindedness and perseverance, his legacy after the Battle of Megiddo was garlanded in victory and triumph. ■

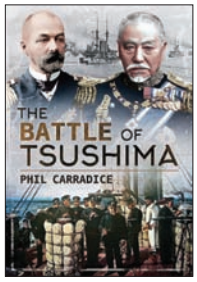
A HERCULEAN EFFORT BY THE RUSSIAN BALTIC FLEET TO REACH THE PACIFIC OCEAN ENDED IN AGONIZING DEFEAT AT THE BATTLE OF TSUSHIMA.

By Christopher Miskimon



LEFT: Japanese sailors fighting in their home waters employed high-explosive, incendiary ammunition that caused extensive damage to the Russian ships at Tsushima. RIGHT: Russian Admiral Zinovi Rozhestvensky's 2nd Pacific Squadron, which had sailed 18,000 miles from the Baltic Sea to engage the Japanese, consisted of older, dilapidated ships.

On May 27, 1905, the Russian fleet went into battle against the Japanese navy. For months, this fleet sailed around the world, beginning its long journey in the Baltic Sea. The Russo-Japanese War was in full fury, and the Russian navy had fared poorly in prior battles, so the Russian government had dispatched the new Second Pacific Squadron. This new squadron, commanded by Admiral Zinovi Rozhestvensky, sailed to avenge previous Russian defeats and sweep the upstart Japanese navy from the seas.



The journey from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean proved both physically and mentally demanding. Many of the aged ships proved prone to mechanical breakdown. Few experienced seamen sailed with the fleet; most of the Russian Navy's veterans were already serving in the Pacific, lay dead, or sat in prison camps from previous battles. Many of the new sailors came from farms or factories and had no experiences of the sea. Even worse for the Russian officers, some were revolutionaries, angry over Russia's almost-feudal political system. The Russians being belligerents in an ongoing war, most nations denied them the use of their ports, making the necessary frequent stops to replenish coal even more difficult.

Despite incompetence, unreliable ships, rebellious crewmen and limited assistance, Rozhestvensky got his fleet around the world and in position to fight the Japanese. Even without combat, it was a tremendous feat of seamanship and showed him an effective leader of Russian sailors. Still, many of the ships were worn from the journey, and all of them desperately needed time in drydock to have their hulls scraped and cleaned. Japanese Admiral Togo used the time to refit his ships as they awaited the approaching enemy fleet, even as some Russian ships began posing a threat in the Pacific.

The battle of Tsushima proved a testament to the bravery of the Russian crews; yet at the same time, it revealed glaring shortcomings in their fighting capabilities. Russian gunnery compared poorly to that of the Japanese, although they inflicted some damage with their armor-piercing shells. In contrast, the Japanese skillfully employed new explosive incendiary ammunition, which wrecked the top decks and superstructures of the Russian ships, causing extensive casualties and igniting fires. Japanese torpedo boats also inflicted damage on the Russian fleet, making repeated sorties around the clock.

In the end, the Russian fleet suffered yet another defeat. The loss proved to be humiliating

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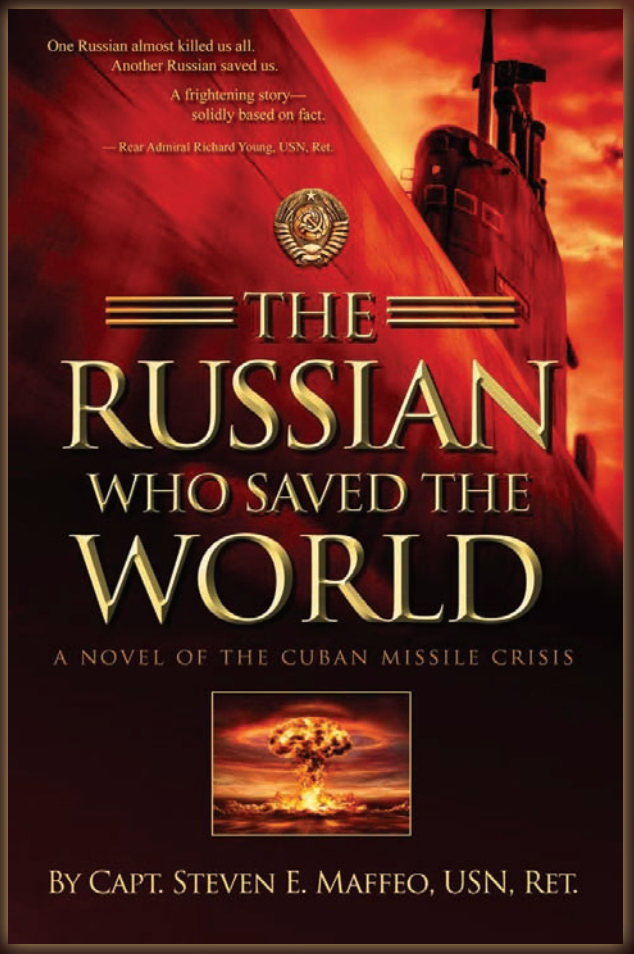
—Theodore C. Sorensen, advisor to President Kennedy



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FOCSLE
Annapolis, MD

not only for the empire, but also for Tzar Nicholas II personally, who bore a grudge against Japan for an attack by a crazed samurai he had suffered decades earlier during a visit there. In the first years of the 20th Century, Japan was not yet taken seriously by the West. Success in the Russo-Japanese War was Japan's first step toward proving its capabilities to the world. It also boosted the Japanese Empire's confidence and fueled the empire's aggressive nature.

The historical events that led to the meeting of these two great fleets is well told in ***The Battle of Tsushima*** (Phil Carradice, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2020, 184 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, $32.95, hardcover).

Tsushima's effects proved as wide-ranging as the actions that led to the battle itself. The author covers both, providing much more than a simple retelling of the fight and its immediate aftermath. The book begins by revealing the cause of the tsar's prejudice against Japan and establishes the background through the inclusion of world events, Japan's ambitions, and the machinations of the Russian royal court. The Russian fleet's epic journey reads as a combined endurance test, challenge of international diplomacy, and tactical problem. The drama builds as Rozhestvensky makes his way to the Pacific with Togo waiting. Overall, the book effectively explains the Battle of Tsushima, largely forgotten by history but one of the most significant engagements of the early 20th Century—one that heavily influenced the coming world wars.

The Brownsville Texas Incident of 1906: The True and Tragic Story of a Black Battalion's Wrongful Disgrace and Ultimate Redemption (William Baker, USA (Ret.), Cranberry Twp, PA, 2020, 481 pp., illustrations, notes, index, $30.00, hardcover)

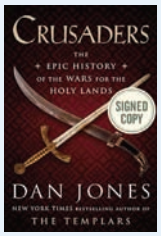
In the early 20th Century, Brownsville, Texas, was situated near Fort Brown, the home station of the 1st Battalion, 25th Infantry Regiment, a unit composed of African American troops led by white officers. The citizens of the town became incensed on August 12 over a reported attack on a white woman and blamed the black soldiers. In response, the unit's officers ordered an early curfew to keep the soldiers apart from the townspeople.

On the night of August 13, gunfire erupted, and a white bartender and a police officer were shot. The black soldiers received the blame, despite evidence they were not involved. Townspeople provided shell casings in the caliber of army rifles, but the soldier's rifles were checked after the shooting and had not been fired. Despite the lack of real evidence, President Theodore Roosevelt summarily discharged 167 of the unit's men without trial. It was not until 1972 that a new investigation corrected the long-standing injustice.

Lt. Col. William Baker worked in the Pentagon at the time and reinvestigated the incident for the army. The case he prepared led to the restoration of the discharged men's rank and honor. This book is Baker's account. It is not only a tale of racism and unfair treatment, but also one of justice and redemption. It contains a well-written, detailed narrative that lays bare the injustice that occurred and its belated correction.

SHORT BURSTS

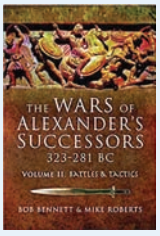
"Vincere!" The Italian Royal Army's Counterinsurgency Operations in Africa 1922-1940 (Federica Saini Fasanotti, Naval Institute Press, 2020, $44.00, hardcover). Italy fought against native guerillas in both Libya and Ethiopia. This book shows how the Italians adapted over two decades of warfare.



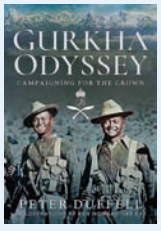
Crusaders: The Epic History of the Wars for the Holy Lands (Dan Jones, Viking Press, 2020, $30.00, hardcover). The series of wars known as the Crusades were formative to the development of Europe, with far-reaching effects. This new work delves into this crucial period in history.

British Battle Tanks: Post-War Tanks 1946-2016 (Simon Dunstan, Osprey Publishing, 2020, $$30.00, hardcover). This is the last in a four-part series on British armor. It is well-illustrated, covering the development and use of these armored vehicles in numerous conflicts and the Cold War.

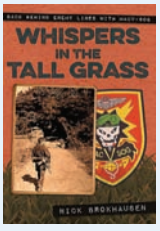
From Manassas to Appomattox: Memoirs of the Civil War in America (Gen. James Longstreet, edited by James I. Robertson, Jr., Indiana University Press, 2020, $75.00, hardcover). This is the memoir of the famed Confederate general who commanded the I Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. It is updated with notes from the editor.



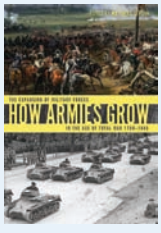
The Wars of Alexander's Successors 323-281 BC Volume I: Commanders & Campaigns (Bob Bennett and Mike Roberts, Pen and Sword Books, 2020, $24.95, softcover). Alexander the Great's untimely death led to decades of struggle to determine who would rule after him. This first volume introduces the key personalities of the story.



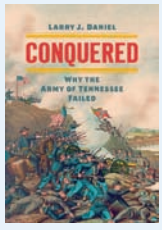
Gurkha Odyssey: Campaigning for the Crown (Peter Duffell, Pen and Sword Books, 2020, $49.95, hardcover). The author served as an officer in the Gurkha regiment. His book is a thorough history of the Gurkhas in service to Great Britain.



Whispers in the Tall Grass (Nick Brokhausen, Casemate Books, 2020, $32.95, hardcover). This is the second of the author's memoirs, covering his second tour in Southeast Asia as a member of the Studies and Observations Group. It is well-written and descriptive.



How Armies Grow: The Expansion of Military Forces in the Age of Total War 1789-1945 (Edited by Matthias Strohn, Casemate Books, 2020, $65.00, hardcover). This anthology gathers essays on how military forces expanded during the era of mass armies. It provides insights into how the methods of doing so might be applied to the modern era.



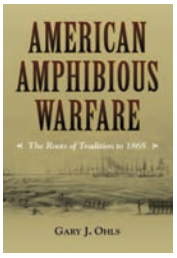
Conquered: Why the Army of Tennessee Failed (Larry J. Daniel, University of North Carolina Press, 2020, $35.00, hardcover). The author analyzes why this western theater Confederate army failed to achieve success. He looks at senior leadership, unit cohesion, and internal administration.

Grunt Slang in Vietnam: Words of the War (Gordon L. Rottman, Casemate Books, Havertown PA, 2020, 240 pp., appendices, bibliography, $34.95, hardcover)

Soldiers in the Vietnam War used a variety of slang terms. A soldier with his hands in his pockets was said to be wearing "Air Force gloves." Marines called the same infraction "Army gloves." Chaplains passed out "sympathy chits" to complaining soldiers. A "million-dollar wound" was one serious enough to send you back to America but not so severe as to be crippling.

Some terms even endure to the present day. For example, "Helo," "birth-control glasses," and "Mark One Eyeball" are all terms still recognizable to current service members. Other terms have fallen into disuse and are no longer part of military lexicon. Whatever the case, the slang of the U.S. military in Vietnam is descriptive, humorous, and witty.

The author is a Vietnam veteran and has firsthand knowledge of his subject matter. Organized alphabetically, each entry contains a detailed definition complete with background information on the term's origin. A set of appendices provides examples of the Pidgin English used by Vietnamese during the war, unit and equipment nicknames, and military ranks.



American Amphibious Warfare: The Roots of Tradition to 1865 (Gary J. Ohls, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis MD, 2019, 274 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

The overland route to Mexico City posed great problems for Maj. Gen. Zachary Taylor as he sought to prosecute the war with Mexico to a successful conclusion. Although he won every battle in the northern part of the country, Taylor realized those victories would not bring the Mexican leadership to terms. The Americans had to capture Mexico City, but the marching route was long and the terrain difficult. The answer lay in Veracruz, a coastal city already under blockade by the U.S. Navy. Beaches near the city led to routes that would enable American forces to march straight into the heart of Mexico. An amphibious landing proved the key to Mexico's defeat.

The amphibious assaults of World War II are most familiar to modern readers, but they were built upon a tradition of sea-based landings going back to the American Revolution. This new book

CALL OF DUTY GETS ITS FIRST NEXT-GEN ENTRY, AND *SQUAD* FINALLY TAKES THE FIGHT OUT OF EARLY ACCESS

By Joseph Luster

Call of Duty: Black Ops Cold War

Genre: Action • Platform: PS4, PS5, Xbox One, Xbox Series X|S, PC • Publisher: Activision • Available: Now

Whether you love them or merely tolerate them, the *Call of Duty* games are a staple of the wargaming landscape for a reason. At this point, the series has a nearly 18-year history behind it, with seventeen entries and plenty of offshoots that have established their own unique narrative and aesthetic throughlines. In the case of the *Black Ops* series, the latest installment is its sixth, and *Call of Duty: Black Ops Cold War* also has the honor of pulling double duty as it bridges two generations of consoles and attempts to usher in a new era.

Available across PC, PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Xbox One, and Xbox Series X/S, there's no shortage of ways to play *Cold War*, but at its core you'll find another comfortably familiar take on the first-person shooter blockbuster. This time around, as the

title implies, we're heading back to the '80s to tackle a mix of real-world events and original characters—from East Berlin and Turkey to Vietnam, the Soviet KGB headquarters, and beyond. While the protagonist always shares the codename of Bell, you're able to mold your own custom character for the campaign, tweaking everything from cultural background to gender, right down to a bevy of unique personality traits that actually impact the game in certain ways. Player choice does carry some weight in this campaign, so it's always interesting to see how that plays out over the course of what is typically a relatively straightforward style of storytelling.

The gist of the story—which serves as a sequel set 13 years after the original *Black Ops*—finds players thrust into the history of a group of CIA operatives in their infancy. At the height of the Cold War, they must prevent global nuclear conflict through operations that will, ostensibly, remain off the record for the rest of time. Outside of the fast-paced shooting and the bombastic set pieces for which the series is known, half the fun is finding out firsthand what happened during these world-preserving off-the-record missions.

On the topic of that fast-paced action, *Cold War* starts out really strong with an early mission set in Amsterdam just two weeks after the 1981 New Year's Day celebrations. Before you know it, you're dealing with a hostage crisis and engaging in an intense rooftop chase, with all of it coming to a head in the kind of unexpected way *Black Ops* fans will really enjoy. From there you have missions set in the Vietnam War—one of many flashbacks that serve to slot in extra contextual puzzle pieces to the overall narrative—and harrowing attempts to infiltrate KGB headquarters, among many other memorable outings.

There are plenty of twists and turns along the way, and for some players, this will be where *Black Ops Cold War* burns the brightest. Others, of course, only come to the table for the multiplayer, which is alive and well here with both fresh and familiar game modes. The competition will no doubt be fierce in both six-on-six and twelve-on-twelve matches, but those used to more packed battlefields will want to check out the new Fireteam mode, which supports up to 40 players. There's also cross-platform play—making it easier to link up with friends on different platforms—as well as a progression system that can connect to *Call of Duty: Warzone* for interchangeable weapons and gear.

Toss in the always-welcome Zombies bonus, which packs in a new "Dark Aether" storyline, and you have a well-balanced mid-gen outing from the lead developers at Raven Software. At this point, we pretty much know what to expect from a new *Call of Duty* game, but the level of polish is even higher this time around, and *Call of Duty: Black Ops Cold War* shows the teams responsible still have a few interesting tricks up their sleeves.

Squad

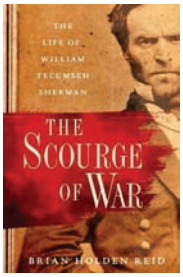
Genre: Action/Simulation • Platform: PC • Publisher: Offworld Industries • Available: Now

Some games spend a brief portion of their lives in early access, while others take an extended period of time to hone what they have to offer and improve. *Squad*—a tactical shooter from developer and publisher Offworld Industries—definitely falls into the latter category. This one had been in early access for a whopping six years; that is, until it finally made its way to the fully formed Steam storefront in September of 2020.

It's understandable that this particular game would remain in the oven for so long. *Squad* comes from the same team that previously worked on *Battlefield 2* mod *Project Reality*, and it has similarly wide eyes as far as its ambitions for super-sized multiplayer competitions are concerned. The results are massive fifty-on-fifty matches spread across 20 large-scale maps, with a mix of base construction, squad-based battles, and vehicular combat at its core.

That stew of shooting action and more cerebral tactics sits *Squad* somewhere nicely between two opposite ends of the spectrum. On one end, we have something like *Battlefield*, which is arcadey and more suited to quick matches but still manages to work in some strategic planning (when you're playing on a competent team, at least). On the other end is a game like *ArmA*, which takes its military-sim aspects more seriously and plots its campaigns slowly across huge maps. *Squad* is a comfortable middle ground, and it's going to be fun to see how its player base evolves now that it's out in the wild as a complete package. ■

gathers seven examples of amphibious operations through to the Civil War, laying out their connection and importance to the larger conflict. This new work, which offers insightful analysis in addition to narrative history, provides a clear understanding of the American military's use of amphibious warfare.



The Scourge of War: The Life of William Tecumseh Sherman (Brian Holden Reid, Oxford University Press, Oxford UK, 2020, 632 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

At first glance, there seemed little to predict William T. Sherman would become one of America's greatest generals. He did not see combat in the Mexican American War, which almost all other Civil War leaders who attained high rank had experienced. As a civilian before the war, Sherman's business venture saw little success. Early in the conflict, a mental breakdown seemed to portend failure and obscurity. But Sherman recovered and went on to win major victories. His reputation waxed as that of some better-known Union generals waned. His expertise as a military strategist and willingness to wage total war led to Sherman being regarded as one of the first practitioners of modern warfare.

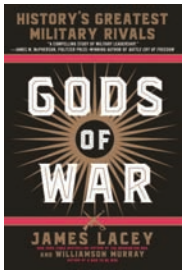
Biographies of Civil War generals abound; however, this one is a worthy addition due to its clear prose, detailed research, and the effective arguments contained in the narrative. The author is an award-winning historian who has written a number of works on the American Civil War and its leaders. This latest scholarly work will add to his reputation.

Ia Drang 1965: The Struggle for Vietnam's Pleiku Province (J.P. Harris and J. Kenneth Eward, Osprey Publishing, Oxford UK, 2020, 96 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $24.00, softcover)

The campaign in Pleiku Province began with a North Vietnamese Army attack on the American Special Forces camp at Plei Me. When the communist forces retreated from that effort, airborne troops of the 1st Cavalry Division gave chase in a bid to destroy them.

The resulting encounter was the famous battle at landing zone X-Ray, in which Colonel Harold Moore's 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry, fought a difficult three-day, pitched battle against the North Vietnamese. Moore succeeded in defeating the North Vietnamese in that engagement, but a second clash at LZ Albany was a bloody affair where 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry was left holding the field, but only at a heavy cost. This campaign signaled that the war would not be easy or quick and revealed the skill and determination of both sides.

This book is among the latest in Osprey's Campaign series, which examines important battles and operations throughout history. This work is number 345 in that series, which attests to its success. The book is well-illustrated with period photographs and original artwork along with excellent maps. It is a good choice for a reader seeking a concise yet thorough recounting of the campaign.



Gods of War: History's Greatest Military Rivals (James Lacey and Williamson Murray, Random House, New York NY, 2020, 384 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $32.00, hardcover)

Military rivalries normally happen by coincidence. It takes a number of otherwise-unrelated decisions, orders, and opportunities to bring two particular and opposing leaders into contact on the battlefield. In the right circumstances, however, these meetings create legends and turn the tide of history. General George Patton and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel fought only because the American general's predecessor had to be relieved for ineptitude. This gave the aggressive and flamboyant Patton the chance to face the vaunted Rommel in the rough terrain of Tunisia.

Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, whose names are synonymous with the American Civil War, served in the same army before the conflict. Various choices and happenstances placed them on the path to battlefield conflict. While Lee is often considered the superior general, Grant's leadership won the war and changed history for the United States.

Likewise, Julius Caesar and Gnaeus Pompeius were former allies until ambition and lust for power brought them into opposition. The outcome of their fight helped transform a republic to an empire and changed the course of world history.

These are just three of the six case studies of warfare's most famous rivalries in this new work. Each chapter covers their battles and provides a study of what made these leaders the formidable generals they were. The authors succeed in breathing new life into their narrative despite the well-known nature of their subjects. The book is fast paced, with a scope ranging from grand strategy down to battlefield decisions. ■

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WEAPONS

Continued from page 11

troops were more exposed because the left flank lacked terrain obstacles. For that reason, Bagration ordered his men to construct several arrow-shaped earthen fieldworks that became known as Bagration fleches to strengthen their portion of the line.

Napoleon attacked on August 24. He sought to pin down Barclay's troops while he launched a sledgehammer attack against Bagration's left wing. The fleches changed hands many times during the course of the savage fighting.

Bagration was struck by a shell fragment in the left leg that unsaddled him. Believing the wound to be a minor one, the stout-hearted general refused to go to the rear. Only after he began losing a great deal of blood did he allow his staff to remove him from the battlefield. Medical staff at a field hospital removed a piece of broken tibia from the wound during his initial examination; however, they failed to thoroughly clean the injury.

After 12 hours of savage fighting, Kutuzov ordered his army to retreat during the night. In so doing, he abandoned Moscow to the enemy. Bagration was initially taken to Moscow, a decision he did not approve. "I will die not from the wound, but from [being in] Moscow!" he exclaimed.

At his request, he was taken further east. He eventually arrived on September 19 at the village of Sima, where he convalesced at the Golitzyn estate, which was situated northeast of Moscow. Neither Bagration nor his doctors appreciated the severity of his wounds. Medical personnel missed a window of opportunity when surgery might have altered the situation.

Bagration's leg became severely swollen and painful, and he came down with a raging fever. Exploratory surgery performed two days later showed extensive damage to the bone, tissue, and blood vessels. Gangrene set in, and he died on September 24. He was initially interred in a church cemetery in the village. Tsar Alexander, who still bore a grudge against Bagration, refused to allow him to be buried in Moscow.

Bagration's remains were transferred in July 1839 from Sima to Borodino during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I. But communist officials ordered the destruction of both the monument and Bagration's grave at Borodino in 1932. Local residents collected and saved his bones.

On the eve of the 175th anniversary of the battle in 1987, his remains were re-interred once again at Borodino. Bagration's body lies at the site of the Great Redoubt. To this day, his indomitable spirit lives on in Russia through his legacy of bravery, tenacity, and grace under fire. ■

VALOR

Continued from page 16

bunkers that took full advantage of the natural rock atop the ridge.

The Germans had held Mont Blanc Ridge since 1914. Repeated attempts by the French to pry them out of their positions had failed. If the Americans could force the Germans to retreat from the ridge, the Germans likely would have to withdraw 30 miles to the Aisne line. The Americans moved into the positions from which they would step off to attack on October 1. In the process, they replaced the exhausted French 61st Infantry Division. The 4th Marine Brigade deployed on the left, and the 3rd Army Brigade took up positions on the right. Within the Marine brigade, the 6th Marine Regiment would lead the attack, and the 5th Marine Regiment would follow behind it.

The French divisions deployed on each side of the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division had orders to advance simultaneously with the Americans. Gourard had scheduled the attack for October 2, but poor communications among the French and the American units compelled Fourth Army headquarters to postpone the attack until October 3.

In preparation for the attack, the 4th Marine Brigade arrayed itself in a column of battalions with the 2nd Battalion in front, the 1st Battalion in the middle, and 3rd Battalion bringing up the rear. The first two battalions into action each had the support of 12 French tanks, and all three battalions had the support of a machine-gun company.

One of the most challenging parts of the attack for the 4th Marine Brigade would be containing the German troops on their left flank, who were strongly entrenched in a fortified zone bristling with machine guns known as the Essen Hook. The 6th Marines would have to advance two miles over ground dotted with scrub and small trees that afforded the attacking infantry scant cover. The French 21st Division on the Marines' left flank was entrusted with neutralizing the Essen Hook.

During World War I runners carried communications back and forth on the battlefield because neither radio nor telephone communications existed on the tactical level. Private Kelly served as one of these military couriers. Even though his principal duty was carrying messages, he also served as a scout and participated in combat as needed.

By the time of the Battle of Blanc Mont Ridge, Kelly had proven himself to be a brave Marine who was cool-headed under fire. He had earned four Silver Stars between July and September in combat at Château-Thierry and St. Mihiel. This means he held the Silver Star with four bronze oak-leaf clusters.

The Marine attack on Blanc Mont Ridge began at 5:50 a.m. on October 3. After an initial five-minute barrage, the lead units stepped off. They fought their way steadily up the slopes towards the crest behind a rolling artillery barrage. As anticipated, the Germans in the Essen Hook poured heavy machine gun fire into the left flank of the advancing Marines. The Americans were mortified that the troops of the French 21st Division did not attack the Essen Hook as directed.

At 6:20 a.m. Kelly sprinted 100 yards ahead of his company towards the German positions. He ran straight through the Allied artillery barrage to attack a German machine-gun nest. He hurled a grenade at the machine-gun nest, killing the gunner, and then shot a surviving member of the machine-gun crew with his pistol. He then rounded up eight prisoners and returned with them through the artillery barrage. When he saw his fellow Marines, Kelly greeted them with a matter-of-fact pronouncement. "Just what I told you I'd do," he shouted.

Kelly received two Medals of Honor for his valor at Blanc Mont Ridge. He received one from the Army and another from the Navy, which made him a double recipient. He was one of only 19 double recipients ever to receive the Medal of Honor. Kelly's act of valor went "beyond the call of duty in action," stated his Navy citation.

Three hours into their attack, the Americans were halfway to their objective. When the French failed to assault the Essen Hook, additional Marines were directed to return fire against it. Later in the day, the Marines stormed the crest of Blanc Mont Ridge. They succeeded in piercing the German line at five points. The Germans launched an unsuccessful counterattack characterized by bloody hand-to-hand fighting that night in a desperate bid to retake the ridge. The scene was ghastly on the morning of October 4. "The trenches were choked with days-old bodies, often dismembered, which were turning green under the sun during the day and molding at night," recalled Captain Wendell Westover of the 4th Machine Gun Battalion.

Pershing pinned the two medals of honors on Kelly while he was serving with the Army of Occupation at the Koblenz Bridgehead. In addition to his Silver Star with four Oak Leaf clusters, he received the World War I Victory Medal with five bronze battle stars. His foreign commendations were the French Médaille Militaire and the Croix de Guerre 1914-1918 with bronze palm and bronze star for valorous service during the war. He also received from Italy the Croce al Merito di Guerra and from Montenegro the Silver Medal for Bravery.

Kelly, who was discharged from the Army in August 1919, passed away in his Illinois hometown at the age of 59 in 1957. ■

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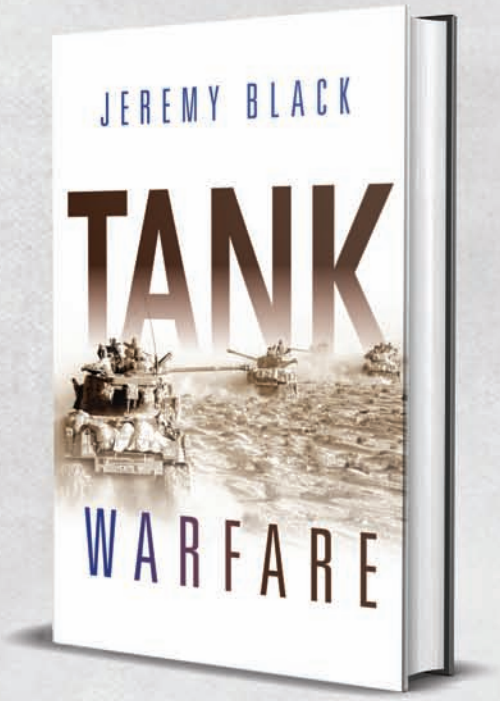

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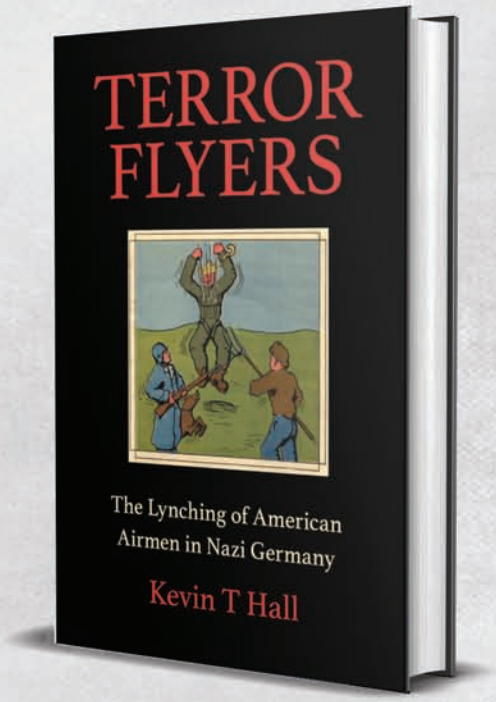

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