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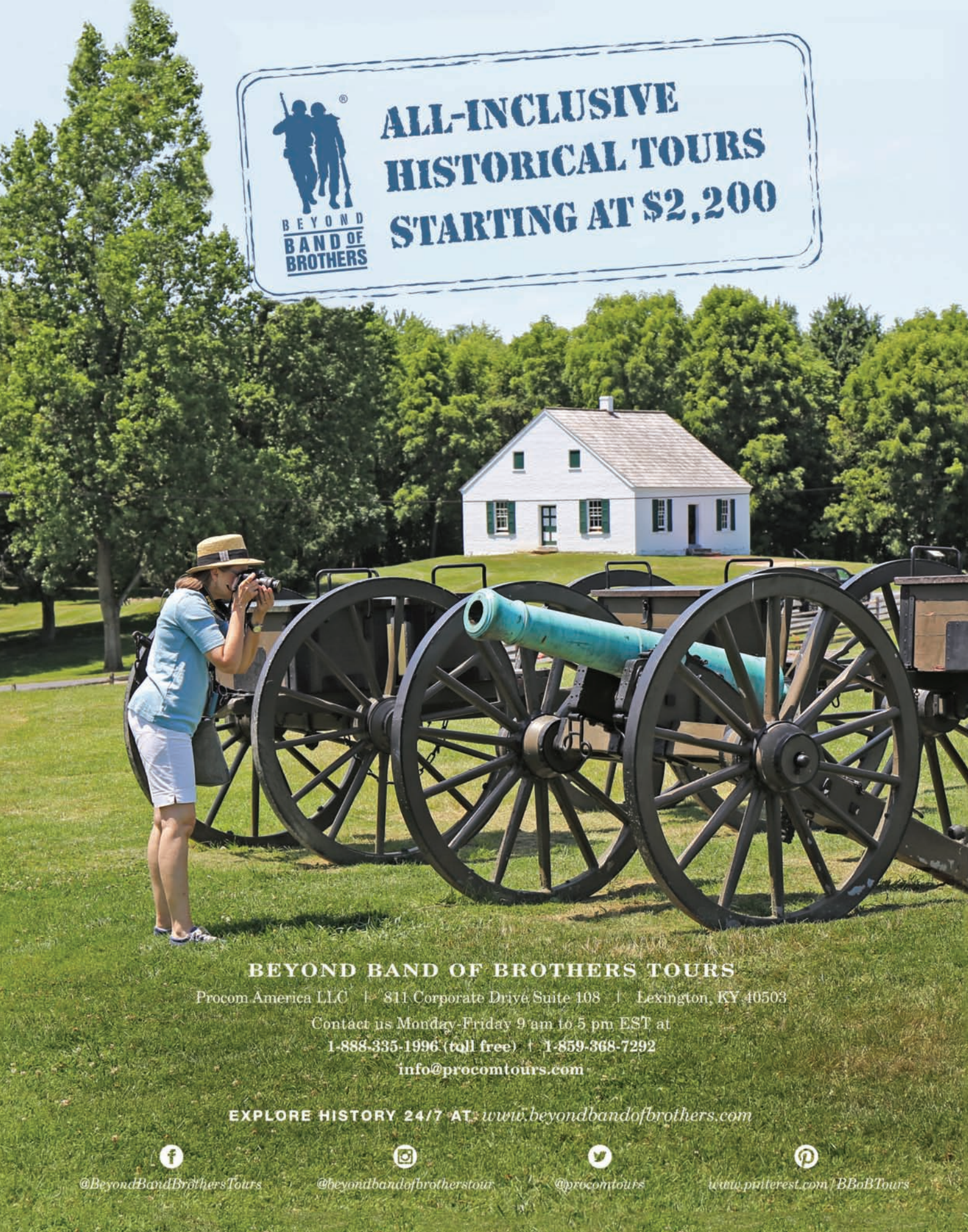
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Cover: A German Panzer IV from the 16th SS Panzer Division, photographed in Italy in late 1943. See story page 26. Photo: Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-305-0652-24; Photo: Funke.

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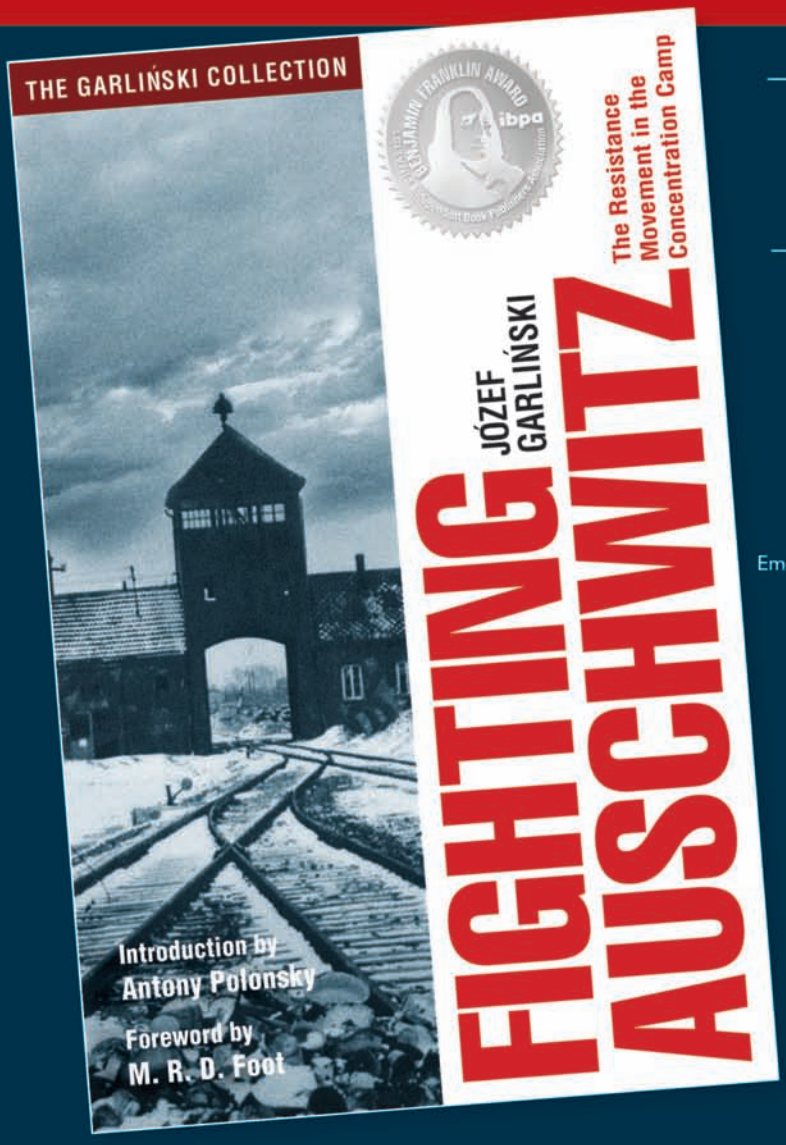

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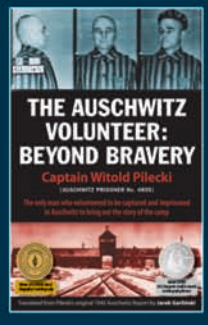

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The Fate of Rodes and His Brigade Leaders After Gettysburg

MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT RODES, AS WELL AS three of his five brigade commanders at the Battle of Gettysburg, did not survive the American Civil War. The attack of Rodes' brigade on July 1 is of great interest for it is the only time the entire brigade was engaged during the three-day battle.

Rodes' checkered performance has been the subject of many studies. A feature article in this issue chronicles the division's attack on July 1.

The first wave of assault by Rodes' division against the right flank of the Union I Corps was conducted by Brig. Gen. Edward O'Neal, Colonel Alfred Iverson, and Brig. Gen. Junius Daniel. Both Iverson and O'Neal survived the war.

O'Neal's shoddy performance commanding Rodes' old brigade, bordering on negligence, on the first day at Gettysburg resulted in General Robert E. Lee withdrawing his nomination to brigadier general. As a result, Confederate President Jefferson Davis cancelled the promotion. O'Neal returned to brigade command with the Army of Tennessee during the first part of the Atlanta campaign, but was let go when General John Bell Hood took command of the army in July 1864. O'Neal spent the remainder of the war tracking down deserters in northern Alabama and died in 1890.

Iverson, who remained in the rear while his brigade met with disaster at Oak Ridge on July 1, lost the confidence of General Lee, who had him transferred to his native Georgia. He received command of a cavalry brigade in 1864 in Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry corps. He partially redeemed himself by defeating Maj. Gen. George Stoneman's mounted raiders at Sunshine Church, Georgia, in July 1864. He died in 1911.

Brigadier General Daniel, a native of North Carolina, exhibited considerable skill in handling his brigade on the first day. His brigade suffered more casualties than any other brigade that day. He received a fatal wound during the Battle of Spotsylvania on May 12, 1864, while leading a gallant counterattack against Union forces occupying the Mule Shoe. "He was a thorough soldier, calm, resolute, and unpretending," Confederate historian Brig. Gen. Clement A. Evans wrote of Daniel.

As for Brig. Gen. George Doles, who supported the Confederate II Corps' attack on the Union XI Corps on the first day, his Georgia brigade had the misfortune to be overrun at Spotsylvania. The Southern press excoriated him for alleged mishandling of his command during the battle, even though his superiors exonerated him. His brigade was one of the best in the army, and that serves as proof of his leadership skills. He fell charging Federal lines on May 2, 1864, at Bethesda Church east of Richmond.

Brigadier General Stephen Ramseur, who drove the Union I Corps from Oak Ridge as the second wave of Rodes' attack, received a promotion to major general in June 1864. Like Rodes, he served in Lt. Gen. Jubal Early's Army of the Valley. During the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19 he was struck down by a minie ball while rallying his brigade and died the following morning. He was tenacious both on attack and defense. All three fallen generals—Daniels, Doles, and Ramseur—were men that Lee could ill afford to lose in the final months of the war.

Rodes died one month before Ramseur. In the Third Battle of Winchester fought September 19, the 35-year-old major general was struck in the head, it is not known whether by a bullet or shell fragment, while waving his men forward in a counterattack against the Federals.

"We have never suffered a greater loss save in the Great Jackson," wrote Major Jed Hotchkiss to his wife concerning the death of Rodes. "Rodes was the best division commander in the army of Northern Virginia and was worthy of and capable for any position in it."

—William E. Welsh

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By Alexander Zakrzewski

King Tigranes II of Armenia built an empire in western Asia that briefly rivaled both Rome and Persia.

IT IS SAID THAT HARD TIMES CREATE STRONG MEN. THE FIRST AND second centuries BC were certainly a hard time for the diverse peoples of the ancient Near East. The disintegration of the once sprawling Seleucid Empire had fragmented the region into a series of warring states, all vying for dominance amid the creeping influence of Republican Rome and Parthian Persia. A number of strong men arose out of the chaos to seize power and etch their names into the annals of history. Among the most remarkable was from the mountainous Kingdom of Armenia.

In 115 BC Armenian King Tigranes I lost a costly war to the Parthians. He was allowed to keep his crown but was forced to send his son and namesake to the Parthian royal court in Ecbatana to serve as a hostage. For the next 20 years, the young prince wiled away his youth, carefully navigating the often deadly world of Persian court politics, acutely aware that his life could end at any moment depending on his father's actions and the whims of his captors. It was a hard lesson in cunning and ruthlessness that would serve him well later in life.

In 95 BC, Tigranes' luck abruptly changed when his father died and he successfully petitioned the Parthians to allow him to return to Armenia and claim the throne. The Parthians fully expected him to assume his father's role as just another dutiful vassal in their vast empire. Tigranes gave them little reason to suspect otherwise. The 45-year-old ruler had spent most of his adult life in Persia and was more Persian than Armenian in his customs and manners. As a parting show of loyalty, he had even agreed to cede to Persia 70 Armenian valleys, a sizable territorial concession.

The Parthians had uncaged a lion. Unbeknownst to them, the new Armenian king had spent his captivity harboring a burning ambition to avenge his father and his homeland and build an empire of his own. From his precarious but privileged position at the heart of Persian power, he had observed firsthand how the bloated Parthian Empire was plagued by dynastic intrigue and foreign invasions. He had also noted how unstable the balance of power in the region had become, with new upstart rulers constantly challenging the larger empires for supremacy. It was the perfect time to set upon his life's mission.

The newly crowned Tigranes II returned to Armenia to find it in a good position to begin expanding. Despite disastrous foreign wars and costly territorial concessions, the rich and fertile Armenian highland had remained largely intact during his father's reign owing to the jagged mountains and deep valleys that insulated it from the rest of the world. Its capital of Artaxata, named for the Artaxiad dynasty of which Tigranes was a member, sat at a crucial junction on the network of trade routes that became known as the Silk Road. Artaxata was a prosperous center of commerce and culture. Its walls were believed to have been

Armenian King Tigranes the Great and his four vassal kings enter Parthia. Tigranes and his troops proved no match for the superior generalship of the Romans and their highly disciplined troops.

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impregnable, having been designed by the Carthaginian general Hannibal when he sought refuge there following his defeat by Rome in the Second Punic War.

The new king's first priority was to consolidate his power at home. Through a combination of skillful diplomacy and brash intimidation, he brought the notoriously quarrelsome and independent-minded Armenian nobility into line. He then marched his forces into the neighboring state of Sophene, which had broken away from the Kingdom of Armenia a century earlier and was ruled by a rival branch of the Artaxiads. Tigranes rapidly reabsorbed the breakaway state and in doing so extended his domain west as far as the Euphrates River.

Emboldened by his success, Tigranes next set his sights on the strategically important Kingdom of Cappadocia, a client state of the Roman Republic. This brought him into conflict not only with Rome, but also with King Mithridates VI of the Black Sea Kingdom of Pontus, another fast-rising, ruthlessly ambitious ruler with his own dreams of conquest in Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The two kings saw in each other a kindred spirit with mutual enemies and aligning objectives. Rather than fight over Cappadocia, they wisely formed an alliance that effectively split the Near East into Pontic and Armenian zones of influence. To cement their partnership, Tigranes agreed to marry Mithridates' daughter Cleopatra. As part of the dowry Mithridates, an amateur toxicologist, shared with his new son-in-law a special concoction of toxins and nutrients designed to strengthen the immune system and protect against poisonings. The exact recipe is unknown, but it is interesting to note that both men lived surprisingly long and healthy lives.

With his father-in-law protecting his western frontier, Tigranes was then free to begin expanding east and south at the expense of the Parthians, who were conveniently hamstrung by a Scythian invasion and yet another dynastic conflict. In a whirlwind campaign, he cleaved from them the vassal states of Gordyene, Osroene, Adiabene, and Media. During his conquest of the latter, he even managed to avenge his long captivity by marching deep into northwestern Persia and plundering Ecbatana.

His military successes were largely due to the high quality of his cavalry. During this time Armenian horses were widely sought after for their strength and hardiness and Armenian horsemen were renowned for their skill. Tigranes' best troops were his heavily armored cataphracts, antiquity's version of the medieval knight. Cataphracts rode into battle with both horse and rider completely encased in armor and carrying long lances for punching through enemy formations. With every conquest, Tigranes also added to his forces new auxiliary units recruited from among his new subjects. His army was soon a well-balanced mix of peoples and specialities, including Gordyene siege engineers, Median horse archers, Pontic charioteers, and axe-wielding Caucasian tribesmen.

ABOVE: Tigranes the Great carved out a great Armenian empire in southwestern Asia, but his growing power threatened Rome and led to frequent conflict with the Roman Republic. BELOW: Mithridates VI of Pontus was a staunch ally of Tigranes.

Wherever he marched, Tigranes also employed his trademark combination of shrewd diplomacy and brute force. Like Alexander the Great, he offered his enemies the chance to surrender peacefully and rewarded those that did. So long as they paid their taxes and provided soldiers for his growing army, his subjects were left in peace to practice their own cultures and religious traditions. Those who resisted or rebelled were shown no mercy.

In a region wracked by constant wars and shifting allegiances, Tigranes' liberal governance and promises of stability and protection were a breath of fresh air. Many people willingly flocked to his banner. In the northern Caucasus, the warlike Georgian kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania all agreed to become his vassals, and in 83 BC, he achieved his greatest diplomatic coup when the rich cities of Syria and Phoenicia, tired of their oppressive, dysfunctional Seleucid monarchs, invited him to be their ruler.

In just 12 years since being released from Parthian captivity, Tigranes had built an Armenian empire that stretched from the Black Sea in the north to Judea in the south, and from the Caspian Sea in the east to the Mediterranean in the west. To better administer his enormous new realm, Tigranes built a new capital that he fittingly named Tigranocerta (Tigranes' Foundation) along the upper Tigris River.

The new city was by all accounts a glittering and cosmopolitan metropolis, specifically designed to eclipse Babylon, Susa, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the age. It gleamed with palaces, temples, gardens, and parks filled with wild game. The walls were said to have been 300 hundred feet high and wide enough to house barracks and stables. An eclectic mix of Armenians, Greeks, and Persians, Arabs, Jews, and other peoples from across the empire bolstered the population. Tigranes' wife Cleopatra was a devoted patron of philhellenic culture and famous Greek playwrights, philosophers, and rhetoricians flocked to the city eager to secure her patronage.

In keeping with his newfound status as a world power, Tigranes styled himself Shahanshah (King of Kings), the Persian title reserved for great conquerors like Darius and Xerxes. His public audiences became awesome displays of wealth and grandeur, deliberately choreographed to inspire awe and obsequiousness. Wherever he went, a retinue of vassal kings trailed behind like living symbols of his power and influence. In the tradition of the Persian kings, he draped himself in purple finery. His hands and neck were adorned with precious jewels and on his head he wore a pearl-edged crown with an engraving of Halley's Comet, which his astrologers would have witnessed in 87 BC and interpreted as a sign of divinity.

Under Tigranes' wise rule, his Armenian Empire thrived and prospered for almost two decades. Relative peace reigned, and trade and cultural exchange flourished. Unfortunately, to the west, his father-in-law badly overplayed his hand with Rome, and by the mid-70s BC, the balance of power in the Near East was

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Mithridates tests poisons and antidotes on a prisoner. Mithridates, an amateur toxicologist, experimented with poisons and antidotes, which he shared with Tigranes.

shifting dramatically yet again with dire consequences for Tigranes.

In 88 BC, just as Tigranes was beginning his conquests in Mesopotamia, Mithridates ordered the slaughter of 80,000 Romans living in Anatolia, almost annihilating the Roman presence in the region. The brutal act set into motion the events of the Mithridatic Wars, an almost 20-year-long struggle between Rome and Pontus that eventually embroiled most of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East. For a time it appeared as if Rome, also wracked by revolts and civil war, had met its match in the wily Pontic king. But in 73 BC, the Senate sent the veteran general Lucius Licinius Lucullus to Anatolia with a powerful army and navy to crush Mithridates once and for all.

Lucullus swept through Pontic territory, razing cities and ravaging the countryside. Mithridates' allies and vassals deserted him in rapid succession. Even his son, the ruler of the Crimean Kingdom of the Bosphorus, struck a deal with the Romans to betray his father. At the Battle of Kabeira in 71 BC, the Romans vanquished the Pontic army. Mithridates fled east over the Taurus Mountains with whatever riches and loyal troops he had left to seek sanctuary in Armenia.

Tigranes was not happy to see his father-in-law and is said to have received him quite coldly. He knew it was only a matter of time before the Romans came to demand his handover, something the Shahanshah could not do no matter how much he resented being dragged into Mithridates' problems. When Lucullus's envoy insolently threatened war if the Pontic king was not surrendered, Tigranes lashed out at him. "I will never surrender Mithridates," he said. "If the Romans begin a war, the King of Kings will defend himself."

Upon receiving Tigranes' response, Lucullus did not wait for official approval from the Roman Senate to invade. In the summer of 69 BC he crossed the Euphrates into Armenian territory with an army of 45,000 and made straight for Tigranocerta with the intention of cutting the Armenian king off from his capital and power center. The speed of his advance was such that Tigranes, busy putting down a revolt in Syria, was caught completely off guard and did not believe the initial reports.

When the reports proved true, he assembled an enormous army drawn from across his empire and set out to repulse the Roman invaders. Mithridates, well aware that numbers meant nothing against Roman training and discipline, pleaded with Tigranes to avoid a direct confrontation. He urged him instead to use his numerical superiority to secure the crucial mountain passes and river crossings and sever the invaders' lines of communication. Tigranes refused. To fight in such a cowardly way was beneath the self-styled King of Kings and would mean abandoning his capital and treasury to the enemy.

On October 6, 69 BC, the two sides met south of Tigranocerta along the banks of what is believed to be the Batman Su River in modern-day southern Turkey. Both sides deployed their forces in a long line with infantry in the middle, cavalry on the flanks, and a thin screen of archers and skirmishers in front. Tigranes' numerical superiority was such that when he saw Lucullus's force he scoffed at it. "If they are coming as emissaries they are too many; if as antagonists, they are very few," he remarked to his staff.

It was perhaps because of this overconfidence in the size of his force that he made no effort to occupy a hill to his rear, overlooking his right flank.

Lucullus immediately recognized Tigranes' tactical oversight and he planned to take advantage of it. While his cavalry drew the enemy out of position with a feigned retreat, Lucullus personally led two cohorts of veteran legionaries in a wide flanking maneuver around Tigranocerta that took them behind the Armenian right flank to secure the hill that Tigranes had so foolishly left unguarded. From there he could see that Tigranes' troops, in their eagerness to come to grips with the enemy, had begun to lose cohesion. Seeing his opportunity, he charged down the hill, straight into the Armenian right flank where Tigranes' cataphracts were positioned.

The horsemen were caught completely by surprise and were quickly overwhelmed by the speed and ferocity of the attack. They tried to retreat but in their haste crashed into the neighboring infantry, causing a general panic that quickly degenerated into a chaotic rout. Tigranes was forced to flee the field, leaving both his baggage train and crown to the victorious Romans. Worse yet, when the defenders of Tigranocerta saw the Armenian army dissolve, they willingly opened the city gates to Lucullus, who generously agreed to spare their lives before allowing his men to plunder the city.

All was not lost, though. Tigranes retreated north to his ancestral capital of Artaxata. Lucullus pursued him but his advance through the mountains the following spring and summer was so slow and gruelling that after the costly and indecisive Battle of Artaxata in September of 68 BC, his troops mutinied, forcing him to call off the campaign and return to Anatolia.

As the Romans withdrew, Tigranes and Mithridates slowly reoccupied some of the territories they had lost. For a time it appeared as if their respective kingdoms might even experience a resurgence. But in 66 BC, the Roman Senate recalled Lucullus to Rome and replaced him with Gnaeus Pompey, a man of considerably greater talents and charisma, and tasked him with asserting Roman control over the whole of Anatolia and the Near East. In the spring of 65 BC, after stamping out the last vestiges of the Kingdom of Pontus, and forcing Mithridates into exile in the Crimea where he ultimately

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By Christopher Miskimon

The Navy and Marine Corps used the A-6 Intruder for a wide array of strike missions during the Vietnam War.

IT WAS DARK AND DIFFICULT TO SEE ON THE NIGHT OF APRIL 18, 1966, BUT the U.S. Navy was counting on that. The aircraft carrier USS *Kitty Hawk* prepared three aircraft for launch from its powerful catapults. A Soviet intelligence-gathering ship was nearby, so the planes operated under radio silence. A pair of A-6 Intruder attack planes quickly rose from the carrier's deck accompanied by an E-2A Electronic Warfare aircraft for later communications. Commander Ron Hays, executive officer of Squadron VA-85, piloted the lead plane with his bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Ted Been seated next to him. Lt. Cmdr. Bill Yarbrough and bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Bud Roemish flew the other A-6 as their wingmen.

Their target was the Uong Bi powerplant, 12 miles north of Haiphong, a port city in Communist-controlled North Vietnam. The Intruder's crews rendezvoused soon after takeoff and leveled off below 500 feet, staying low to avoid enemy radar detection. They stayed that way until about 25 miles from the target and then began a slow climb to 1,800 feet, where they could safely release their bomb loads. Each A-6 carried 13 Mk. 83 1,000-pound bombs. Soon the powerplant, sitting on the northeast side of Uong Bi, appeared below. The pilots separated their aircraft laterally before Hays made his run, releasing all his bombs onto the target. The second plane had problems with its release mechanism but the bombardier-navigator was able to manually drop his entire load as well.

The North Vietnamese were taken by surprise that night. By the time they began firing their antiaircraft guns both Intruders were already on the way home. A later damage assessment counted at least 25 bomb craters in the target area with heavy damage to the plant. The next day the North Vietnamese released a press statement in which they attributed the destruction to the B-52 Stratofortress. This was because the North Vietnamese were not yet fully aware of the payload and night attack capabilities of the newly introduced A-6 Intruder, but in the coming years they would learn this lesson, much to their detriment.

The A-6 Intruder had only been in service a few years when it was deployed to Vietnam. The design arose from a Navy requirement for a medium attack aircraft capable of flying in all weather and carrying out night operations. Before this the Navy's ability to carry out attacks at night was severely limited by the available aircraft and technology. Targeting systems were primitive and many pilots operated more by moonlight or flares to find their targets. Skyraiders and A-4 Skyhawks carried out the light attack function while the larger A-3 Skywarrior filled the heavy

A Grumman A-6 Intruder releases a Walleye II glide bomb during a Navy weapons test in 1994. The carrier-based aircraft was designed so that it could hit targets of opportunity at night and in difficult weather conditions.

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attack role, including using nuclear weapons. The medium attack function really came to embody the concepts of all-weather and nighttime operations. Most jets of this era carried no more than 2,000 pounds of ordnance, and the new plane had to carry more.

The requirement was sent to 13 aircraft companies. Grumman's A2F-1 won the competition from a field of eight submissions. In an era where jet aircraft were usually sleek with pointed noses and slim fuselages, the Grumman design had a large, blunt nose and a thick middle that tapered to the rear. Although it was dubbed the "Flying Drumstick," Grumman officials asserted that they were focused on engineering performance and not on aesthetics. The plane was to be a bomber, and it was engineered to fulfill that specific role.

The thick nose held new ground-mapping and targeting radars necessary to bomb accurately in the dark and under the adverse conditions envisioned for the plane. The cockpit layout seated the pilot and bombardier-navigator next to each other, increasing the fuselage width but allowing them to work together more effectively. The A2F-1 carried the Litton Company's ASQ-651 digital integrated attack navigation equipment, which enabled the crew to fly at night over rough terrain at low altitudes. It could do this in most weather conditions. "All-weather" is something of a misnomer as some weather is too severe for any flying. It was a complicated system that gave occasional trouble but was still a leap ahead in flying technology. The Navy also noted the Air Force had nothing similar in service. The system proved accurate enough that other attack aircraft often flew alongside the A-6 and dropped their ordnance at the same time.

The A2F-1 was standardized as the A-6A in late 1962 and entered active service in February 1963. The A-6A had a wingspan of 53 feet and could carry up to 18,000 pounds of ordnance on five external hardpoints. Typical loads consisted of 500-, 1,000-, or 2,000-pound bombs. While it had a combat radius of 900 miles, the Intruder was not a fast plane, with a maximum speed of only 685 mph compared to the supersonic aircraft of the day. The plane was not intended for speedy maneuvering, though. Its job was to put bombs on a target.

As the Intruder entered service it replaced the aging Skyraiders, with 10 squadrons converting to the A-6. Another pair of original A-6 squadrons were also formed. Ten of the 12 saw action in Vietnam. The Marine Corps also adopted the new plane and equipped six squadrons, with four of them serving in Southeast Asia. Marine Corps air crews flew the A-

ABOVE: A pair of Grumman A-6 Intruders from VA-85 fly over the South China Sea with tailhooks extended in preparation for landing aboard the USS *Kitty Hawk* in January 1966. Among the primary missions of the A-6 during the Vietnam War were close air support, radar suppression, and troop interdiction. BELOW: A 500-pound bomb is loaded into the rack of an A-6 assigned to VA-85 during the Vietnam War. RIGHT: A-6 Intruders on the deck of the USS *Constellation* in the South China Sea in May 1972. The workhorse aircraft flew upward of 35,000 combat sorties for the Navy and Marine Corps during the Vietnam War.

6 from both Da Nang and Chu Lai, as well as from carriers.

The A-6 suffered a high initial loss rate in Vietnam due to a mixture of mechanical failure, pilot inexperience, and enemy action. It is worth noting that accidental aircraft losses during the early years of carrier jet operations were higher than in the 21st century. A few days after the attack on the Uong Bi powerplant, a number of planes and aircrew were lost, with several men falling into North Vietnamese hands as prisoners, but there were also instances of success and heroism.

An A-6 from Squadron VA-85 was attacking barges north of the city of Vinh on April 27, 1966, when it was hit by enemy fire. A bullet struck the pilot, Lieutenant Bill Westerman, causing severe wounds. Bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Brian Westin reached across the cockpit to take the controls. There was no way to land safely so he pointed the plane out to sea. Bailing out over land meant probable capture by the North Vietnamese, but if they could get farther out to sea, it was more likely the Navy would find them first. Westerman was drifting in and out of consciousness, so after jettisoning the canopy Westin had to reach over and pull his friend's ejection handle before pulling his own.

A helicopter soon arrived and pulled Westin from the water. The bombardier-navigator directed the rescuers back down the Intruder's

track until they found Westerman afloat. There was no diver on the helicopter to help the stricken pilot into the rescue sling, so Westin dove back into the water and hooked Westerman into the sling before waving the helicopter off to get the wounded pilot to treatment. Another helicopter arrived five minutes later to again rescue the bombardier. Brian Westin would be the first of 14 Intruder crewmen to be awarded the Navy Cross for heroism.

Despite the loss rate, the A-6 acquired a reputation for single-plane night attacks flown at very low altitudes. In most instances, the Intruder could penetrate heavily defended enemy airspace, drop its payload with precision, and exit the area before an effective response could be mounted. Even when the North Vietnamese did detect the plane and fire at it, the increasingly skilled aircrews could often get through and get away again.

One example is an attack carried out by Lt. Cmdr. Charlie Hunter and his bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Lyle Bull on October 30, 1967. They took off from the USS *Constellation* and flew through the darkness toward Hanoi. Their target was the Red River ferry docks and their A-6A carried 13 Mk. 83 1,000-pound Snakeye cluster bombs. A single plane night attack was risky. Bull recalled the area was protected by 20 SA-2 surface-to-air missile sites and 600 antiaircraft guns. An earlier attempt to destroy the docks using a large number of planes failed due to the heavy defenses.

The Intruder reached the coast north of Vinh and headed northwest toward Hanoi with Hunter using the terrain to mask their approach. Bull was using the radar, marking their path using its returns. At about 20 miles from the target the plane left the covering terrain features and was immediately targeted by antiaircraft guns followed by missiles, even though they were flying below 500 feet. "Intelligence reported the SA-2 couldn't track below 1500 feet," recalled Bull. "We were disturbed to see that their assessment was incorrect." Hunter carried out a high-speed barrel roll that threw the missiles off target and took the A-6 as low as 50 feet.

Gunfire continued to flash at the A-6 as it reached the docks. Despite the incoming fire, Bull managed to drop his bombs on target and then Hunter flew them out of the engagement area. The Intruder made it safely back to the USS *Constellation*. Hunter and Bull received the Navy Cross for their actions. Both men stayed in the service and rose to the rank of rear admiral.

Once commanders and planners realized the Intruder's strengths, the squadrons flying them

began to get commensurate assignments. The night attack capability came as an unpleasant surprise to North Vietnamese troops moving along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a logistics line used to move supplies and soldiers into South Vietnam through Laos and Cambodia. The Intruder's targeting system also included a device called the moving target indicator, which helped target these moving troops at night. The North Vietnamese generally did not move during the day to avoid be spotted and targeted, but they were very comfortable travelling at night.

Entire convoys were bombed with practically no advance warning. The Intruders would often drop cluster bombs first, which punctured fuel tanks and set off ammunition, starting fires the pilots could use for followup attacks. Often the North Vietnamese would fire tracers into the air despite the low chance of a hit, just to warn the convoys in the area that American aircraft were overhead.

The Navy and Marine Corps refined strike tactics to improve the crew's chances. If an attack involved multiple planes, flying in a column, one after the other, it allowed antiaircraft gunners to better target the following aircraft. Instead, the A-6s flew in from different headings a few seconds apart. To reduce the chance of mid-air collisions, the planes would come in at different altitudes, timed to be a few seconds apart. This minimized the opportunity for gunners to shoot at them, and some aviation experts even compared the tactic to the precision flying done by the Navy's demonstration unit, the Blue Angels.

The side-by-side crew configuration proved to be a great benefit to the aircrews. Marine Corps pilot Bruce Byrum flew more than 3,000 hours as an A-6 pilot and praised the role his bombardier-navigator played. He monitored the radio and watched airspeed, power settings, attitude, and rate of descent. The bombardier-navigator also oversaw the plane's place in the landing pattern as Intruders returned to their carrier. "He had as much to do with the pilot's success as the pilot," Byrum recalled.

This relationship created a great sense of teamwork and camaraderie. "With two guys sitting side by side, you could communicate with hand gestures, if need be," said Commander Robert "Rupe" Owens. "You could simply look at the other guy and nod."

On February 26, 1967, Intruders of VA-35 flew from the deck of the nuclear-powered carrier USS *Enterprise* to drop aerial mines in two rivers. They were the first unit to drop such mines since World War II. VA-35 lost one A-6 in its tour during a strike against Hanoi during Ho Chi Minh's birthday on May 19, 1967. An A-6 flown by Lt. Cmdr. Gene McDaniel and bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Kelly Patterson was hit by a missile during the attack. Both men ejected. Patterson died in captivity while McDaniel spent six years in prison. He was later awarded the Navy Cross for his leadership while a prisoner.

An A-6 launches from the USS *Lexington*. Intruders participated in raids over Lebanon in 1983 as well as the U.S. strike against Libya three years later.

One of the blackest days for the A-6 came a few months later. On August 21, 1967, four A-6As of VA-196 launched from USS *Constellation* for a day attack against the Duc Noi railroad yard north of Hanoi. The weather was bad, with thunderstorms and heavy cloud cover over most of the country. On the way in, one plane was hit by flak, but the crew felt they could press on. As the Intruders moved in for the attack, another strike by U.S. Air Force planes was in progress nearby and they were taking fire as well, losing a pair of F-105s. The resulting large amount of emergency radio traffic made coordination even more difficult.

As the aircraft started their dives, a surface-to-air missile struck the Intruder flown by Commander Leo Profilet, a well-respected Korean War veteran. The plane burst into flames and Profilet ejected along with his bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Bill Hardman. Their fellow flyers saw their parachutes as they flew out of the target area. Both men survived but spent more than five years as prisoners of war.

The remaining three planes raced toward the coast but became separated in the bad weather. Only one plane returned to the USS *Constellation*; the other two were missing, but their fate was soon discovered. The Chinese government announced via radio it had shot down two U.S. Navy planes after they flew over their border. Bombardier-navigator Lieutenant Robert J. Flynn survived the ordeal. He was taken prisoner by the Chinese and held for more than five years, undergoing solitary confinement for most of that time. It was a dark day for the squadron and the Navy, losing three A-6s in one mission and even worse, seeing all the crews either killed or captured.

As the war progressed, new variants of the Intruder appeared. The A-6B was an initial attempt at a fire suppression aircraft specializing in attacking enemy radar and surface-to-air missile sites. A few A-6Bs would accompany A-6 squadron to assist in this role. The B model would eventually be replaced by the EA-6B Prowler, a specialized suppression aircraft that entered service toward the end of the Vietnam War and flew until March 2019.

The A-6C was fitted with a special pod carrying low-light and infrared cameras to further improve its ability to strike targets at night. A tanker variant, the KA-6D, also joined the Intruder squadrons to provide carriers with an improved air-to-air refueling capability. The A-6E was an improved attack version with better radar and navigation systems. The E model would serve the Navy until 1997, a victim of post-Cold War defense reductions.

The rugged A-6 also acquired a reputation for toughness despite the heavy losses Intruder squadrons sometimes suffered. Byrum recalled a daylight mission where one of his squadron's planes took a hit that left a barrel-sized hole in the right wing. Although the pilot could not see it, the bombardier-navigator could. Since they were still over enemy territory, the bombardier-

navigator chose not to tell the pilot about the damage, hoping to at least get to a friendly air base. Because the A-6 was not leaking fuel or hydraulic fluid, Byrum also decided not to inform the pilot.

The damaged A-6 made it safely to Da Nang and Byrum landed after it. By the time Byrum taxied over, the pilot of the damaged plane had shut down his engines and gotten out to inspect the damage. As Byrum watched, the shocked pilot knocked his bombardier-navigator to the ground, unhappy the man had not told him the truth. Byrum chose discretion and kept his cockpit shut so the enraged flyer would not try to do the same to him. "I don't know what he would have done differently," said Byrum. "He surely did not want to eject."

Of the Intruders lost in combat in Southeast Asia, two were lost to MiGs, 10 to surface-to-air missiles and 36 to antiaircraft guns with more lost to accidents and mechanical failures. This was a small number of losses considering the Navy and Marine Corps flew 35,000 A-6 combat sorties over hostile territory that bristled with the most extensive air defense network in the world at the time. Worse than the loss of aircraft was the loss in lives. The Navy and Marine Corps lost 92 A-6 aviators and 53 other A-6 aviators became prisoners of war.

The A-6 was equipped with navigation equipment that enabled it to fly low over rough terrain on night missions to avoid enemy radar detection.

Rear Admiral James Seely placed great value on the Intruder's contribution. "In my opinion the A-6 was the most effective strike aircraft the U.S. Navy had during the Vietnam War," said Seely. "It could do day missions as well as any other aircraft, and was much superior at night. We had system problems with the A-6A, but it was in fact the only true all-weather aircraft in the fight."

Some of the most demanding missions of the war were assigned to Intruder crews and they carried them out with courage and determination. Many A-6 crewmen would go on to command positions after the war, seeing the aircraft's service through the remainder of the Cold War. □

By William F. Floyd, Jr.

U.S. embassy code clerk Tyler Kent funneled secrets to a pro-German organization during World War II.

ON THE MORNING OF MAY 20, 1940, AT GLOUCESTER PLACE IN central London a crowded sedan came to a screeching stop. A group of men exited the car in a hurry and rushed into a townhouse subdivided into private residences. The group included Captain Maxwell Knight from the British Security Service, U.S. Embassy Second Secretary Franklin Gowen, and several agents from Scotland Yard.

They eventually located the landlady and asked which apartment Tyler Kent occupied. She pointed out his residence. "Don't come in!" Kent shouted when they tried to enter the front door of his residence. But the door was unlocked, and they burst in to find him standing before them clad only in pajama pants.

Kent was seated at the breakfast table. Knight informed him that they had come to conduct a search of his residence. They instructed Kent that whatever he told them might be used against him in court. The investigators began questioning Kent. He stated that he had nothing in his possession that belonged to the U.S. government. Furthermore, he denied having any idea about why they would want to search his residence. Of course, this did not deter the investigators.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom Joseph P. Kennedy (left) with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Kent passed along to the Soviets copies of diplomatic cables and classified correspondence that compromised the security of the United States and Great Britain. INSET: Tyler Kent at the age of 29 in 1940.

The raid on Kent's apartment was the culmination of an investigation that had been going on for many months. In Kent's apartment, the investigators found multiple suitcases and stacks of boxes jammed with papers and photographic plates from the U.S. Embassy where he was employed as a cypher clerk. They also found a red leather book hidden away in a cupboard that contained the names of hundreds of British citizens. Knight and the others were pleased that they were able to gather ample evidence that could be used to prove an espionage case against Kent.

The investigators hauled Kent off to the U.S. Embassy where he was held in custody. The investigators debriefed U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom Joseph P. Kennedy. He berated Kent and he formally dismissed him from his job at the U.S. Embassy. Since Kent no longer had diplomatic immunity, Scotland Yard could prosecute him for espionage.

Kennedy had been shocked at what he saw. Kent had not only comprised State Department cipher codes worldwide, but also had copied Kennedy's memos, some of which expressed his controversial opinions about the war in Europe.

Among the documents seized was correspondence between U.S. Presi-

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55-59	$14.20	$11.95	$23.00	$19.25	$45.00	$37.50	$111.00	$92.25
60-64	$17.20	$13.30	$28.00	$21.50	$55.00	$42.00	$136.00	$103.50
65-69	$20.50	$16.00	$33.50	$26.00	$66.00	$51.00	$163.50	$126.00
70-74	$27.40	$21.40	$45.00	$35.00	$89.00	$69.00	$221.00	$171.00
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British Nazis parade before the war. U.S. State Department officials alleged that Kent had turned over highly secret cables and documents to both the Soviet Union and Germany during his tenure at U.S. embassies in Moscow and London.

dent Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, who at the time was Great Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty. The documents showed that Roosevelt was looking for ways to avoid U.S. neutrality in order to help the British defend themselves against the German threat from land, sea, and air.

Some of the diplomatic cables that Kent stole revealed that Churchill had recently asked Roosevelt if the United States could loan some of its half-century-old destroyers to Great Britain because the Royal Navy was stretched thin around the globe. The fact that Roosevelt was even considering such a request would not sit well with isolationists in the United States.

Kent was born on March 24, 1911, in Manchuria where his father, William Patton Kent, was U.S. counsel. The elder Kent took his family with him as he moved from one diplomatic assignment to another. They lived in Leipzig, Germany; Berne, Switzerland; Belfast, Ireland; and Hamilton, Bermuda, before returning to the United States. The first time young Tyler set foot on American soil was when his father retired from the Foreign Service in 1919.

Young Tyler attended prestigious preparatory schools, first Kent in Connecticut and then St. Albans in Washington, D.C., and was accepted at Princeton University. He entered Princeton in the fall of 1929.

Kent, who had demonstrated a remarkable gift for foreign languages at the prep schools he attended, studied foreign languages at Princeton. He left Princeton in his second year to study Russian at the Sorbonne during what would have been his sophomore spring semester at Princeton. That summer he studied Spanish at the University of Madrid. He eventually earned a degree in history and economics from The George Washington University as part of a focused preparation for a career in the Foreign Service.

The recent university graduate seethed inside with insecurities and prejudices. He was self-centered, arrogant, and unscrupulous. Upon graduating from GWU he learned that Ambassador William C. Bullitt, who would serve as the first U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, was looking for clerks with knowledge of the Russian language for the new embassy that would soon open in Moscow. Bullitt subsequently hired Kent. The 23-year-old college graduate travelled to Moscow in 1934 and he reported for work in his first post with the Foreign Service.

Kent found Stalinist Moscow to be a dreary city. Food and hygiene products were in short supply. As for luxury items, they were almost nonexistent.

Bullitt, who was a Russophile, tried to create opportunities for closer contact between his staff and the Russians in the hope it would foster a good working relationship. For his part, Kent only thought of himself and how he might be able to thrive under the circumstances in which he found himself.

Kent was the epitome of the sharp-dressed man. He owned tailor-made, expensive suits that made him appear affluent when he was actually low on the diplomatic ladder. This false front enabled him to obtain a Russian starlet as his close companion. The more he socialized with the Russians, the more he became a mark for Soviet intelligence operatives.

Kent managed to obtain a gun, a car, and a studio where he photographed his Soviet-furnished mistress in the nude. It was here that Kent began keeping copies of official messages for what he called historical purposes. Such behavior would indicate that Kent was working for the NKVD. Yet his State Department superiors, if they knew about such activity, never took any action.

The NKVD maintained a permanent observation post outside the embassy from which it brazenly conducted operations. At the time that Kent was employed at the embassy, it was customary for a number of attractive women to wait across the street for men working at the embassy to leave for the day. The women, who pretended not to know English, lured the men into bars at nearby hotels. Some American diplomatic personnel who fell for the girls' act and believed that the girls could not understand them were careless and spoke to freely about their work. The women, who were Soviet agents, reported their findings to their NKVD superiors.

"These women have, up until a short time ago at least, had free access to the Embassy building and there was hardly a night when several of them were not there," stated an FBI report issued in 1940.

In this atmosphere of heavy drinking and flirtation, it not take long for Kent to get in trouble. He neglected his work and engaged in improper behavior for someone in his position. Kent later tried to justify his behavior in Moscow by saying that there was insufficient translation work to keep him occupied and that he was bored with his mundane clerical duties.

His behavior was serious enough to nearly get him thrown out of his job after just a short time. Bullitt gave him a stern reprimand and let it go at that despite the near-universal recommendation from embassy officials that Kent should be dismissed from his position.

On April 25, 1935, Ambassador Bullitt wrote that Kent's work had greatly improved. If Kent had seemed to calm down it may have been because he met the woman who would be his principal paramour for the remainder of his time in Moscow. Her name was Tatiana (Tanya) Alexandrovnaya Ilovaiskaya. A green-eyed blonde, she was the epitome of the beautiful female secret agent. It was mainly due to Tanya that Kent, in contrast to most bachelors who served in Moscow, had a good social life. Tanya would make no attempt to conceal from Kent her connection with the secret police.

Kent soon thought of a new scheme. Working with Tanya and fellow clerk Anthony Barrett, he began to do business on the black market. The three collaborators bought jewelry and furs that they shipped by diplomatic pouch to New York where they were sold on the black market. Kent's share of the profiteering helped pay for his car

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and the rent on a dacha where he spent weekends with his co-conspirator and mistress.

On September 23, 1939, Kent left Moscow for a new assignment in London. Although members of the diplomatic service suspected him of engaging in espionage in Moscow, they could not prove it. Nevertheless, they purposely transferred him to London. Kent had made quite the life for himself in Moscow, and he was deeply displeased to have to leave it behind.

Ambassador Kennedy had wanted Henry W. Antheil, chief code clerk at the Moscow embassy, to fill the opening in London; however, Antheil changed his mind. He had been Kent's predecessor as code clerk in Moscow. Ironically, it was discovered that Antheil also had passed classified information to the Soviets. Antheil died in a suspicious commercial airliner crash in 1940 before formal charges could be brought against him.

Kent reported for duty at the London embassy on Thursday, October 5, 1939. He was immediately put on the watch list of the British Security Service, better known as MI5, because he had sailed aboard the same ship as a Gestapo agent who was under British surveillance. It did not help that Kent later dined with the agent. Kent had to adjust to living in a wartime environment, for Great Britain and France had gone to war with Nazi Germany when it invaded Poland on September 1, 1939.

Kent quickly settled into the routine of decoding. He rented a two-room apartment at 47 Gloucester Place, which was located within walking distance of the embassy. Kent continued to collect classified documents even though he did not have a Russian mistress with whom to collaborate. He may have done this to satisfy his oversize ego.

When off duty Kent actively participated in London's vibrant social scene. He became a regular at the Russian Tea Room, a gathering place for anti-communist, ex-patriot Russians. The owner of the tea room was Nikolai Wolkoff, the former Imperial Russian naval attaché in London. The admiral's daughter, Baroness Anna Wolkoff, was the center of attention at the tea room, which was a gathering place for right-wing extremist and anti-Semites.

Another regular at the Tea Room was Archibald "Jock" Ramsay, a Scottish Member of Parliament. Ramsay was the founder of a secret society known as the Right Club whose right-wing extremist members were vehemently opposed Churchill's call for total war against Germany. Kent was comfortable in this milieu, and he soon joined Ramsay's club.

Kent would often work deep into the night alone at the embassy. This enabled him to make

Clockwise from top left: Ambassador William C. Bullitt, Captain Maxwell Knight, Baroness Anna Wolkoff, and Henry W. Antheil. BELOW: Kent is believed to have taken this photo showing Russian agent Tatiana Alexandrovnaya Ilovaiskaya and a friend. Kent was fully aware of her connection with the Soviet secret police.

copies of secret and sensitive documents, which he would then put in his briefcase and smuggle out of the embassy. He brazenly stored them in his apartment.

The Tea Room and the Right Club soon were of great interest to MI5. Captain Maxell Knight, who headed up MI5's counter-subversion section, had recruited women to penetrate the club. One of these agents was known as "Miss Amor." Dining with Baroness Wolkoff on February 24, 1940, Amor learned that Wolkoff was spending a great deal of time with a man from the American Embassy who was a spy for German sympathizers. Knight soon discerned that the spy with whom the baroness had become so familiar was none other than Kent. Wolkoff told Amor that Kent was providing Ramsay and herself with stolen documents.

Knight was confident that Kent could lead authorities to a fifth column. If he could arrest Kent and seize the secret documents, he might be able to connect him to British traitors. Churchill, who had become prime minister of Great Britain in May 1940, was keen on seizing every suspicious alien and appeaser in the country. Indeed, Churchill intended to push this policy through Parliament.

In regard to Kent's espionage, time was of the essence. The British were on pins and needles because they expected the Germans to launch a seaborne invasion of Great Britain. Just two days after Kent's May 20 arrest, Parliament rubberstamped an act authorizing internment of any individual suspected of associating with the enemy. Kent was charged with violating the Official Secrets Act and obtaining and transferring documents "that might be directly or indirectly useful to an enemy." Wolkoff was arrested the same day on similar charges.

Kent had hidden the documents he had taken in Moscow so that he might one day use them to political advantage. For example, he might give them to U.S. lawmakers who shared his political objectives relative to isolationism and anti-Semitism. There was no mention of his arrest in the press.

The U.S. State Department announced 11 days later that Kent had been fired and that he was being detained by order of the British Home Secretary. State Department officials later said that Kent had turned over highly secret cables and documents to both the Soviet Union and Germany during his tenure in Moscow and London. A search of his London apartment turned up copies of 1,929 official documents.

"They are a complete history of our diplomatic correspondence since 1938," a State Department official said. "It means not only that our codes are cracked, but that every diplomatic maneuver was exposed to Germany and Russia." This was an exaggeration, though, for further investigation revealed that Kent had not compromised the codes.

Kent's secret trial began at the Old Bailey on October 23, 1940. It was interrupted periodically by the Blitz. The jury deciding his case reached a decision in just 25 minutes. They convicted him on five counts related to obtaining and communicating documents that might be used by enemies of Great Britain. He subsequently received a seven-year sentence. Baroness Wolkoff, who was tried separately, received 10 years. Archibald Ramsay was held without trial and released after four years.

Kent's sentence ultimately was scaled back to

slightly more than two years because he was a model prisoner. It was standard practice at the time in Great Britain to reduce sentences by one third for good behavior. He departed London on November 21, 1945, aboard the British steamer Silver Oak and arrived in Hoboken, New Jersey, on December 4.

Shortly after his arrival, Kent wed Clara Hyatt, the former wife of a Foreign Service officer. Clara's son had no doubt about why Kent married his mother. "He married my mother for her money and never did an honest day's work in the 42 years of their marriage," he said. Kent persuaded his wife to let him handle her financial affairs. He then charged her $10,000 annually to perform that function; in other words, for the privilege of fleecing her.

The former code clerk eventually sold his wife's property in Maryland and moved to Florida where he bought 80 acres. He not only built a new house on the land, but also relaxed on the couple's yacht. In 1959 he bought the *Putnam County Weekly Sun*, which he filled with vitriolic right-wing propaganda, attacking liberals, Blacks, and Jews. The *Miami Herald* and other newspapers wrote investigative articles about Kent and his newspaper that helped drive it out of business.

Kent's social standing in his community quickly declined when his money ran out. At that point, the couple moved from place to place. They finally wound up living in a trailer in Kernville, Texas. It was there that Kent died of cancer at the age of 77 on November 20, 1988.

Kent (far right) returns to the United States a free man after serving two years in prison in the United Kingdom. He expressed no regrets for his espionage crimes.

Kent retained his radical political views until his dying day and remained unapologetic. Although the FBI investigated Kent regularly during the 1950s and 1960s, it never produced any charges against him. □

HELL ON A MOUNTAINTOP

The Battle of Monte Cassino reached a crescendo in May 1944 as the Allies desperately sought to carry the position held by crack German paratroopers. **BY JOSHUA SHEPHERD**

BY the evening of January 22, 1944, it was increasingly apparent that a drastic shift in strategy was needed to break the bloody debacle that had developed in central Italy. Two days before, the Fifth Army's 36th Infantry Division had launched a catastrophic assault across the Rapido River. Facing a furious gauntlet of German machine-gun, mortar, and artillery fire, the Americans had been badly mauled as they raced across the mud flats that flanked the river. By the time the attack was called off after two days of carnage, the costs were staggering. The division had sustained 2,000 casualties; on their side of the river alone, exultant German troops had recovered 430 frozen American corpses.

To Maj. Gen. Geoffrey Keyes, the veteran commander of II Corps, the primary cause of the debacle was obvious. While the Americans had attacked across the marshy bottom ground of the Rapido, the Germans retained possession of the rocky heights that surrounded the site, affording them an ideal perch from which to flail oncoming Americans with accurate fire from above. To the West Point-trained Keyes, it was a grave tactical fallacy to attack across the valley unless German positions on the high ground were reduced.

The focus increasingly shifted to a particularly conspicuous mountain that dominated the countryside for miles around: the commanding heights of Monte Cassino, which was crowned with a magnificent Benedictine monastery that possessed a fortress-like appearance. Mud-covered American soldiers cast angry glances toward the mountain and intuitively realized what the top brass had seemed to miss: enemy positions on the high ground had to be seized. Associated Press correspondent Hal Boyle was of much the same opinion. "Sooner or later somebody's going to have to blow that place all to hell," said Boyle, giving voice to the Allies' frustration over the enemy's possession of the stronghold.

The Allied campaign for Italy, as well as the legendary fight for Monte Cassino, had been borne of sharp disagreements and outright arm twisting at the highest levels. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, long the standard bearer of the fight against fascism, was determined to invade mainland Italy. It was the logical next step, he argued, to attack what he referred to as the soft underbelly of Fortress Europe.

But the American top brass was skeptical of such a move. By their reckoning, a direct invasion of France and a subsequent drive into the heart of Germany was the quickest way of winning the war. Yet it was likewise apparent that any major invasion of France was a logistical impossibility until the spring of 1944.

Such a lengthy period of idleness, Churchill asserted, would certainly nettle the Allies' suspicious partners in the Soviet Union, whose armies were suffering astonishing casualties on the meat grinder of the Eastern Front. An invasion of mainland Italy would also tie down untold numbers of enemy troops who were desperately needed elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe. Furthermore, it was hoped that a robust push into Italy would topple the Fascist government of Benito Mussolini. In fact, Mussolini was voted out of power and arrested on July 25, 1943. Not surprisingly, the astute and persuasive Churchill won the argument.

By the first week of September, the Allies launched the invasion of Italy. On September 3, the British Eighth Army, led by General Bernard Montgomery, crossed the narrow Straits of Messina directly to the toe of Italy. Facing light opposition, Montgomery quickly secured his beachhead and began pressing inland. His progress, stymied by stubborn German resistance and rugged terrain, was frustratingly slow.

The direct threat to the Italian homeland, however, had the desired effect on the nation's Fascist regime. Since Mussolini's arrest in July, Italy's war effort had grown increasingly feeble. On September 8, the recalcitrant Italian government publicly announced its surrender to Allied forces. Yet the announcement did little to alter the fight on the ground. Occupying German forces quickly took effective control of the nation. They seized arms, munitions, and vital infrastructure.

Despite the success of knocking Italy out of the war, the American contingent of the invasion would receive a bitter reception to the country's mainland. Beginning on September 9, the American Fifth Army under the command of Lt. Gen. Mark Clark undertook an amphibious landing near Salerno.

Clark's troops found it impossible to effect a breakout of the landing sites and barely held a grip on the coast following a ferocious German counterattack that swept toward Salerno during the middle of September. Determined fighting finally repelled the German attacks, and by the end of the month a renewed offensive mounted by Anglo-American troops resulted in the

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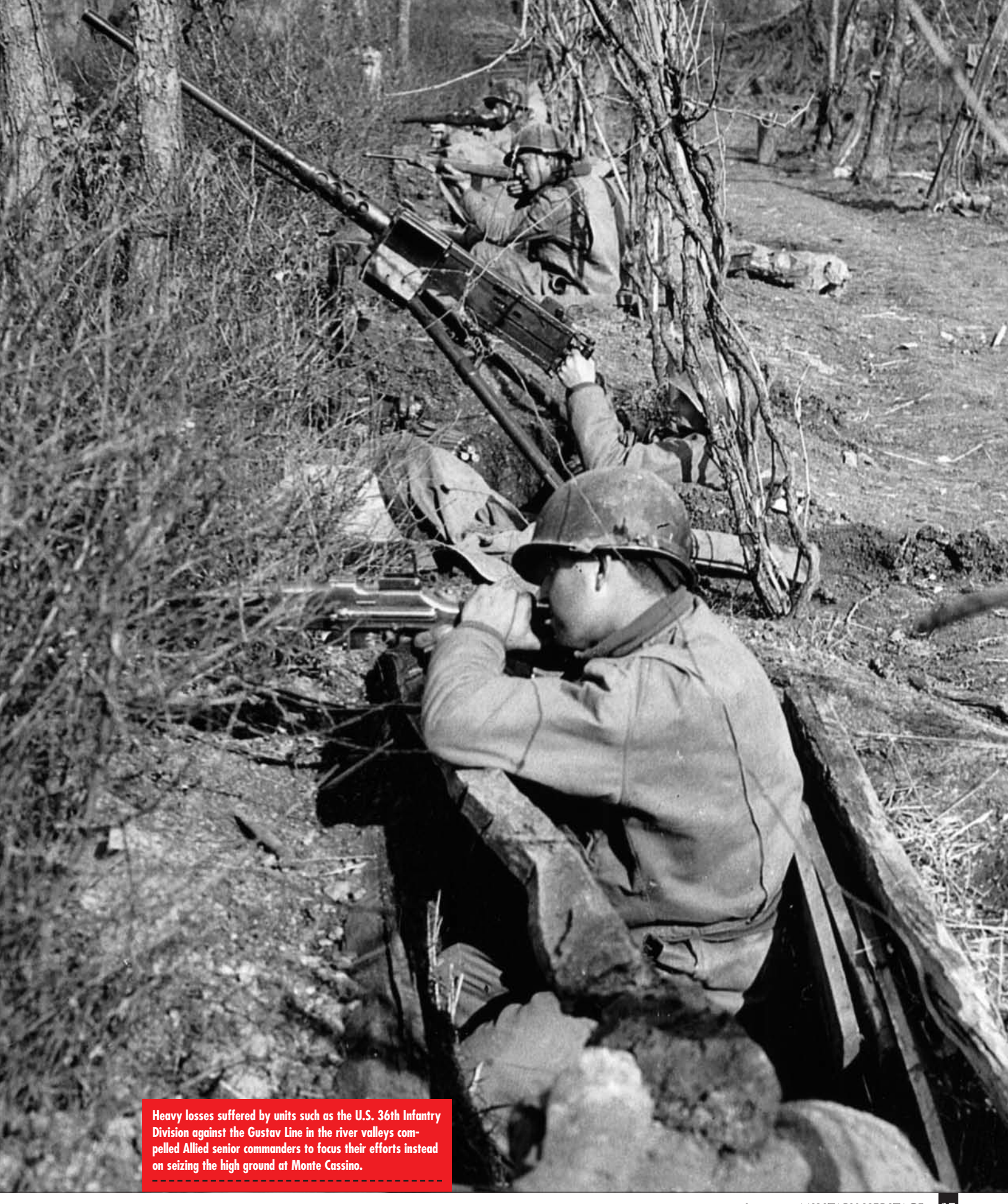

Heavy losses suffered by units such as the U.S. 36th Infantry Division against the Gustav Line in the river valleys compelled Allied senior commanders to focus their efforts instead on seizing the high ground at Monte Cassino.

capture of Naples, the largest city in southern Italy.

The liberation of the rest of Italy would prove far more problematic. Although initially inclined to abandon Italy following the nation's surrender, German leader Adolf Hitler was convinced of the need to maintain a tight grip on the peninsula in order to keep Allied troops as far from the German homeland as possible. Hitler knew it was of paramount importance to keep the Allies from establishing airfields in Italy with which to bring their overwhelming air power against Germany. Sensing the grand strategic stakes at risk in the war for Italy, German troops would fight a tenacious defensive war there.

Heading up the German war effort in Italy was a gifted and widely experienced career officer, Field Marshal Albrecht Kesselring. In the grinding defensive battle for the Italian peninsula, the field marshal would prove a resourceful and clever opponent.

Although greatly outmatched in manpower and matériel, Kesselring enjoyed a decisive advantage in terrain. Much to the chagrin of the Allies, he made the most of it.

Overall command of ground forces in Italy fell to British General Sir Harold Alexander, commander of the 15th Army Group, composed of Clark's Fifth Army, which pushed up the western flank of the peninsula, and the British Eighth Army, by that time under the command of Lt. Gen. Sir Oliver Leese, which pressed north along Italy's east coast. Due to the barrier of the Apennines, each army was largely on its own.

Two primary roads led north toward Clark's ultimate objective at Rome. Near the coast, Route 7 led north to the capital. Farther inland, Route 6 twisted through far more forbidding terrain

Imperial War Museum

A New Zealand sniper participates in the drawn-out struggle for Monte Cassino. The horrors of the Italian Campaign offered little respite for the embattled infantrymen who struggled for every rugged inch of ground at Monte Cassino.

before reaching the flatlands of the Liri Valley south of Rome. After the painfully slow campaign through the rugged hills of southern Italy, the Liri Valley offered the tantalizing prospect of a swift end to the bloody war of attrition that had unfolded in Italy.

By mid-January 1944, lead elements of Clark's army mounted the heights of Monte Trocchio but were forced to halt the advance. To the north of Monte Trocchio lay a three-mile-wide swath of open ground that gave German gunners a nearly unobstructed field of fire. The main route to Rome was also blocked by the Rapido River, an aptly named tributary of the Garigliano River whose narrow waters were nonetheless treacherously swift. Situated on the north of the Rapido was the town of Cassino, a wayside city that now found itself at the epicenter of the fight for Europe.

Beyond Cassino, forbidding terrain assured the Allies of a difficult and bloody fight. In fact, the heights beyond the Rapido, dominated by steep ridges, plunging ravines, and jagged peaks, constituted some of the most rugged terrain in central Italy. The ground was entirely impracticable for maneuvering armored columns; even for veteran infantry, the rocky inclines, paired with a stout German defense, would require a herculean effort to overcome.

Ironically, the hellish no-man's land at Cassino was dominated by an imposing hill that had served as a bastion of religious tranquility for nearly 1,500 years. Commanding the city to the west were the soaring heights of Monte Cassino, which rose some 1,600 feet above the valley. The mountain was crowned with by the Abbey of Monte Cassino, whose gleaming travertine walls, 10-feet thick, could be seen by troops miles away.

By the winter of 1944, the abbey occupied the most strategically valuable real estate in Italy. Despite its military potential, the seven acres of the magnificent monastery were regarded as off limits for both Allied and Axis forces. Both sides adhered to a tentative policy, which was subject to military necessity, of preserving artistic and cultural sites in Italy.

To block the Allied route to Rome, Kesselring ordered the construction of a seemingly impregnable defensive position. It stretched for 100 miles from the Tyrrhenian Sea in the west to the Adriatic Sea in the east. Christened the Gustav Line, the fortified network bristled with thousands of artillery pieces, mortars, machine-gun nests, bunkers, and minefields. The fieldworks, laid out in multiple, mutually supporting lines to maintain a defense-in-depth, was an impressive display of German military engineering.

Perhaps most importantly, Kesselring had at his disposal 20 divisions that included infantry, panzer, panzergrenadier, and airborne units. Although many units had been reinforced with foreign conscripts, Kesselring's forces possessed a hardened core of German veterans who were fiercely determined to keep the Allies out of the Fatherland.

As the Allied high command made plans to breach the Gustav Line, it hoped that the worst of the terrain could simply be bypassed. Largely due to Churchill's prodding, the Allies planned a large-scale amphibious landing at Anzio, well behind German lines. Paired with a direct thrust into German positions by the main body of Clark's troops, it was hoped that the Anzio landings would quickly pry German defenders loose from the Gustav Line.

In preparation for the landings, Alexander and Clark sketched out an operation against enemy positions opposite the Fifth Army. Rather than directly assault Cassino and the formidable heights behind the town, Allied forces would execute a wide pincer move designed to envelop the position. To the north of the town, General Alphonse Juin's French Expeditionary Corps would push into the mountains before swinging south behind the town and abbey. On the left, the British X Corps would cross the Garigliano River and seize the high ground beyond. South of Cassino, the American 36th Division would attack across the Rapido and

assault the German center.

Late on the evening of January 11, 1944, Juin's troops moved into their assault positions. The spirited Frenchman, an experienced veteran and skilled tactician, led a colorful corps of colonial troops renowned for impetuous ferocity. Drawn primarily from the French possessions of North Africa, the troops of the French Expeditionary Corps were regarded as poorly disciplined but well suited for the rigors of mountain fighting. The Goumier were the scions of a fierce martial tradition in Arabic and Berber culture, and they waged war on their own terms.

In the hope of securing the element of surprise, the artillery remained quiet, leaving the Goumier to attack enemy positions with small arms. Early on January 12, Juin's Moroccans and Algerians were on the move, rushing headlong into the hills north of Cassino. Accustomed to rough terrain, the hard-fighting tribesmen made good progress as they stormed German positions perched in the rocky hillsides. When the Algerians seized the heights of Monna Casale, the Germans counterattacked. Bloody fighting ensued with the position changing hands four times during a horrific battle that did not end until sunset.

Despite initial success, the attack slowed as it encountered more experienced enemy troops. Generalleutnant Julius Ringel's 5th Mountain Division, an elite unit trained specifically for the rigors of such combat, fought stubbornly in the hills. After four days of bloodletting, the French assault had come close to success but finally stalled. Juin pleaded for reinforcements, convinced that just one more division would enable him to achieve a breakthrough.

On January 17, British X Corps artillery unleashed a deafening barrage against German positions on the north bank of the Garigliano River. Lt. Gen. Sir Richard McCreery hurled his three divisions across the Garigliano following the artillery fire. Furiously paddling assault boats, the Brits smashed into the Generalleutnant Bernhard Steinmetz 94th Infantry Division, a woefully inexperienced outfit. McCreery's troops pushed their way into the high ground beyond the river but were badly mauled in the process. Despite heavy casualties, the British drove several miles in two days of fighting.

But the German defenders were not idle. With his lines south of Cassino bent to the breaking point, German XIV Panzer Corps commander General Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin was a formidable opponent. As the Allies stepped up their attacks, he scrambled to reinforce exhausted frontline units with fresh

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ABOVE: Allied artillery proved incapable of inflicting substantial casualties on the entrenched Germans in the town of Cassino. BELOW: American and French colonial troops advance cautiously through a village destroyed by the Luftwaffe. French Goumiers, largely from Morocco and Algeria, were experienced mountain fighters.

ones. By birth a Prussian nobleman, he was a field commander with a decidedly cerebral approach to the art of war. A devoutly religious man who was privately disgusted with Nazi atrocities, Senger was under no illusions about the outcome of the conflict. "The rotten thing is to keep fighting and to know all along that we have lost this war," he observed. Nevertheless, he fought tenaciously for the German people and homeland.

Senger bolstered his front lines with some of the toughest reserves available. Inserting the 90th Grenadier Division and the 29th Panzergrenadier Division, Senger succeeded in stabilizing his position. British X Corps units were forced to fall back and consolidate their modest gains. On McCreery's right, though, the British would make one more attempt to smash through the Gustav Line behind the Garigliano.

Hoping to follow up on the promising attack launched by its X Corps comrades, the British 46th Division attempted a crossing of the river on January 19. The crossing, however, quickly degenerated into a debacle. The swift waters of the Garagliano played havoc with the assault boats, which were unable to make headway in the current. British troops were badly shot up by machine-gun fire, which swept the surface of the river and rendered a successful crossing all but impossible. Only a handful of troops succeeded in reaching the north bank.

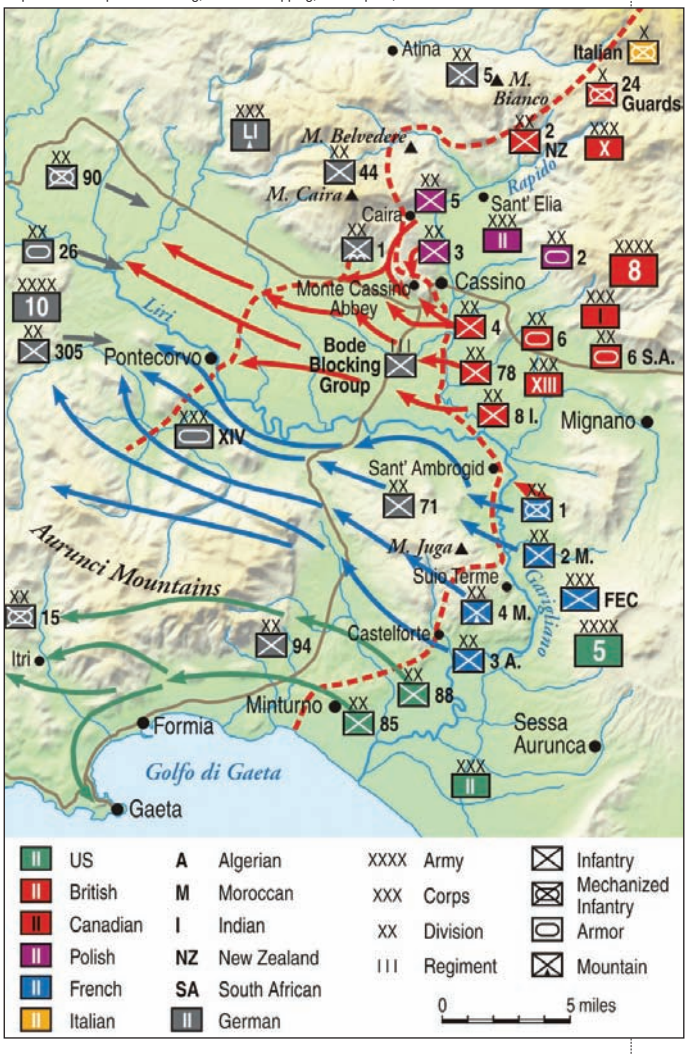
For the Allies, matters would only get worse. In the river bottoms just south of Cassino, one more push into German positions was planned for the troops of Maj. Gen. Fred Walker's 36th Infantry Division. Their assigned crossing point was in full view of German observers perched on

Monte Cassino, and the river below the city was extraordinarily swift.

For his part, Walker was anything but optimistic over the prospects. Stymied in his attempts to have the attack shifted to more favorable ground upriver, he grew increasingly dejected over the fate that awaited his men. "I don't see how we, or any other division, can possibly succeed in crossing the Rapido," he confided to his diary.

Despite such misgivings, the attack went forward on the evening of January 20. The attack targeted the village of Sant'Angelo, with Walker's 141st Infantry Regiment going in on the right and the 143rd Infantry Regiment on the left. From the outset, the attack went awry. As the hapless American soldiers rushed forward, they were exposed to a withering fire from the crack troops of Generalleutnant Eberhard Rodt's 15th Panzergrenadier Division. Running a gauntlet of machine-gun, mortar, and artillery fire, the men of the 36th Infantry Division suffered heavy casualties before they even reached the Rapido.

Map © 2019 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



Once the troops reached the riverbank, the situation did not improve. Facing a hailstorm of German fire, dozens of men were cut down as they struggled to get their boats in the river. Most boats were shredded by enemy fire or simply floundered in the waters of the Rapido. By dawn of the next morning, only two demoralized battalions, cowering in mud on the north bank, had succeeded in getting across the river. Two more days of bloody stalemate induced Clark to authorize a withdrawal.

The repeated drubbings that Allied forces had endured in attempting to cross the Garigliano and Rapido Rivers forced Clark and his senior commanders to refocus their energies toward the heights beyond the town of Cassino, in particular the commanding eminence of Monte Cassino. It was hoped that the timeless military maxim of occupying the high ground would finally pry the Germans loose from the Gustav Line.

Clark again unleashed Juin's French Expeditionary Corps on January 24. The fierce French colonial troops stormed into German lines north of Cassino, breaking through initial defenses and eventually seizing Monte Belvedere five miles inside the Gustav Line. Stalled by an increasingly determined German defense, Juin issued fruitless requests for reinforcement, without which, he said, his exhausted troops could do no more.

While the French were struggling through the mountains to the north, the Americans of the 34th Infantry Division attacked the Gustav Line north of Cassino. They were able to force their way across the Rapido and then seized the ruins of former Italian Army barracks on the German side of the Gustav Line. However, fierce enemy counterattacks drove back the exhausted Americans beyond the east bank. Led by the tenacious Maj. Gen. Charles Ryder, the 34th Division launched repeated assaults toward the river, only to be repulsed with heavy casualties.

Such persistence finally paid off. On January 27, Ryder had secured a lodgment on the German side of the river, and two days later pushed inland. Stubbornly fending off enemy counterattacks, Ryder's men pushed their way through German defenses, capturing the village of Cairo on January 30.

The fight to break the German hold on the Gustav Line was far from over. Ryder, his left on the Rapido and his right in the mountains, turned his division south in a bid to capture the town of Cassino. With armor support deployed in the river bottom, his troops seized the Italian barracks and then forced their way into the outskirts of the town. A stubborn German defense turned brutal house-to-house fighting into a bloody draw, and the Americans were unable to seize the town.

In the hope of seizing Monte Cassino and unhinging the Gustav Line, Clark ordered an all-out attack February 7. While the French advanced on their right and the British X Corps launched an attack on their left, the Americans of the 34th and 36th Divisions assaulted the high ground above Cassino. The fighting turned into an infantryman's nightmare as exhausted American soldiers groped their way through the jumble of rocky peaks north of Monte Cassino.

The Germans had fortified every high point and rushed in reinforcements from the veteran 90th Grenadier Division, as well as the fearsome paratroopers of Maj. Gen. Richard Heidrich's 1st Parachute Division. Vicious see-saw fighting resulted in high casualties on both sides. The Americans fought their way onto Snakeshead Ridge, a dominating line of hills that led toward the monastery. Although they briefly threatened Monte Cassino itself, Clark was forced to call off his exhausted divisions and consolidate Allied gains.

Fortunately, Clark had fresh reinforcements at hand with which to press forward the attack. Beginning in late January, Alexander transferred three Commonwealth divisions from the British Eighth army: the 2nd New Zealand Division, the 4th Indian Division, and the British 78th Division. He placed the three divisions, which formed the II New Zealand Corps, directly under Clark's control. The units were under the command of Lt. Gen. Bernard Freyburg, who had led the defense of Crete in the face of General Kurt Student's airborne invasion in the spring of 1941.

After enduring repeated defeats in front of the Gustav Line, Allied troops were highly suspicious that German troops were using the abbey as a ready-made observation post. A

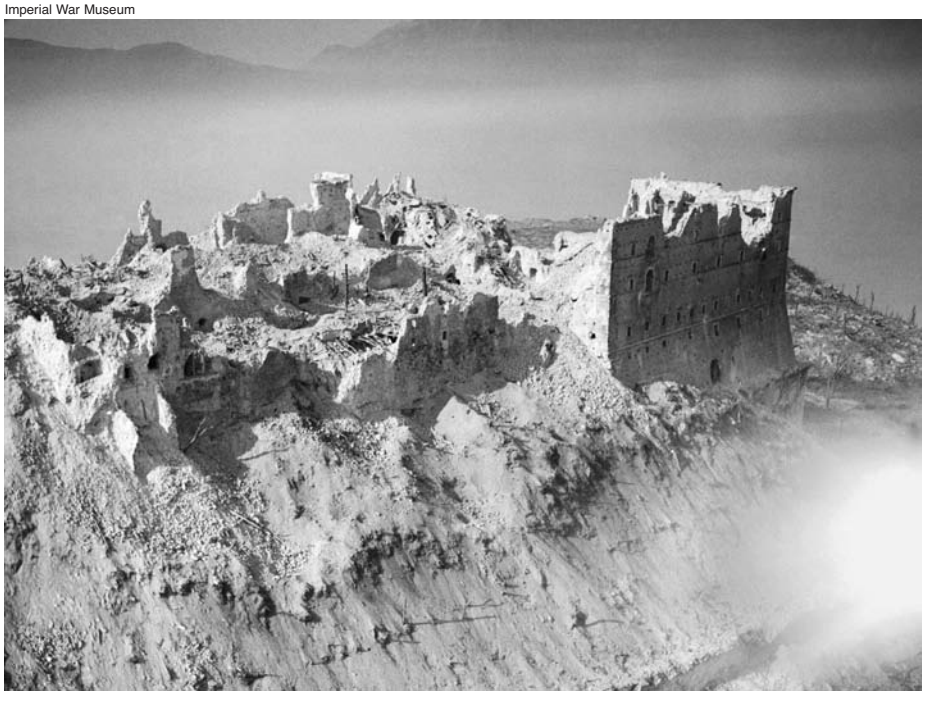
number of infantrymen reported that they had seen Germans behind its walls or even in the windows. Convinced that the Germans had fortified the locale and unwilling to see his men shed blood unnecessarily, Freyburg called for the destruction of the monastery before his troops launched another attack.

Ironically, it appears that such suspicions were groundless. Although the mountain itself was occupied by German troops, the abbey grounds were populated with little more than Benedictine monks and terrified civilians. The gentleman warrior at the head of the XIV Panzer Corps, von Senger, was circumspect in his observance of the traditional rules of war as they applied to the abbey. Once invited to dine in the building, von Senger respected the privilege by refusing to even look out the windows in the direction of Allied positions.

Clark, who was highly skeptical of reports that the enemy had entered the abbey, refused

to authorize an attack on the monastery. Conflicting intelligence reports did not help matters. On February 14 Maj. Gen. Ira Eaker, commander in chief of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, and Keyes made reconnaissance flights over Monte Cassino. While Eaker claimed to have seen Germans in the abbey compound, Keyes reported that he saw nothing. Ultimately, political considerations determined the outcome of the priceless monastery on Monte Cassino. Largely to assuage Freyburg, Alexander overruled Clark's objections and authorized the destruction of the abbey. Clark correctly predicted the outcome. "If the Germans are not in the monastery now, they certainly will be in the rubble after the bombing ends," he said.

Imperial War Museum



ABOVE: The Allied bombing of the Abbey of Monte Cassino unwittingly turned it into a ready-made fortress for the crack 1st Parachute Division. RIGHT: The Allies found General der Panzertruppe Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin a formidable opponent. OPPOSITE: Allied commanders committed four corps to Operation Diadem, which was the fourth and final push to clear elements of the German 10th Army from Monte Cassino and open up the Liri Valley.

On the morning of February 15, the Allied air fleet launched Operation Avenger, aimed at the complete destruction of the abbey. About 250 bombers flew repeated attacks over the mountain, dropping 600 tons of ordnance that rocked the mountain and shattered the walls of the monastery. Allied artillery also bombarded the mountaintop, lobbing shells into the ruins. Terrified civilians who had not fled the heights were caught in the maelstrom. Many of these noncombatants perished during the bombing and shelling. By the end of the day, much of the monastery had been reduced to a confusing labyrinth of boulders and dust.

True to Clark's fears, German troops immediately moved into the rubble. Elements of the 1st Parachute Division swiftly took up positions in the abbey grounds, which afforded a commanding position of the valley below and dominated the Allied approaches. Far from blasting a hole in the Gustav Line, the Allies had inadvertently transformed Monte Cassino into a ready-made fortress for some of the toughest troops of the German war machine.

Rather than launch an attack in the immediate aftermath of the bombing, Freyburg sat tight for the better part of the day. As darkness fell, an attack was launched, albeit by a single infantry company of the 1st Royal Sussex Regiment, which groped its way through the darkness toward Point 593 on Snakeshead Ridge. Not unexpectedly, the British troops were mauled as they assaulted formidable German positions. The New Zealand Corps kept up the pressure but accomplished little. On February 17, Freyburg sent in elements of the 4th Indian Division, who fared little better. The hard-fighting mountain troops of the 1/2nd Gurkhas battled their way toward the base of Monte Cassino but were finally driven back with heavy casualties.

That same night, the 28th Maori Battalion of the 2nd New Zealand Division attacked directly across the Rapido River with the aim of capturing the vital railway station south of Cassino. The Maoris enjoyed initial success, forcing their way through German defenses and seizing the station. But engineers, working feverishly in a storm of German artillery fire, were unable to bridge the river and bring up armor support. Driven back by a fierce German counterattack the following day, the New Zealanders were forced to the east bank of the Rapido.

The horrors of the Italian Campaign offered little respite for the embattled infantrymen who struggled for every rugged inch of ground at Cassino. Plans for yet another try at the Gustav Line unfolded immediately, to be carried out once again by the II New Zealand Corps. Freyburg pressed for yet another massive bombing run, this time targeting the town of Cassino. On the morning of March 15, Allied bombers flew over the Rapido and unleashed a torrent of explosives into the heart of the town. As many as 900 artillery pieces lent their weight to the attack. In four devas-

tating hours the once pastoral town was reduced to rubble.

Freyburg's troops stormed into Cassino on the heels of the bombardment, hoping to quickly overrun dazed German defenders. They were sorely disappointed. Tenacious German paratroopers who had survived the bombing had taken up excellent defensive positions in the rubble. The hard-pressed New Zealanders suffered heavy casualties as they battled their way into the town. As the infantry fanned out, they met with a measure of success on the margins of the town. To the west of town, the New Zealanders seized the summit of Castle Hill, a vital height between the town and the monastery. Other troops forced their way through to the railroad station.

The Kiwis failed to dislodge stubborn pockets of German defenders in the town center, and Allied tank crews found it impossible to operate in the demolished remains of the urban center. Hardened troops from the 3rd Parachute Regiment set up strongpoints in the ruins of the Continental Hotel and the Hotel Des Roses. Despite multiple attacks, the Germans defied repeated efforts to dislodge them.

In the hills west of town, the troops of the 4th Indian Division once again attempted to force their way toward the monastery. The Indians took over the fight from Castle Hill but were stopped cold in a futile push west. The men of the 9th Gurkha Rifles, braving a gauntlet of enemy fire, succeeded in seizing Hangman's Hill, a commanding position just 300 yards from the monastery.

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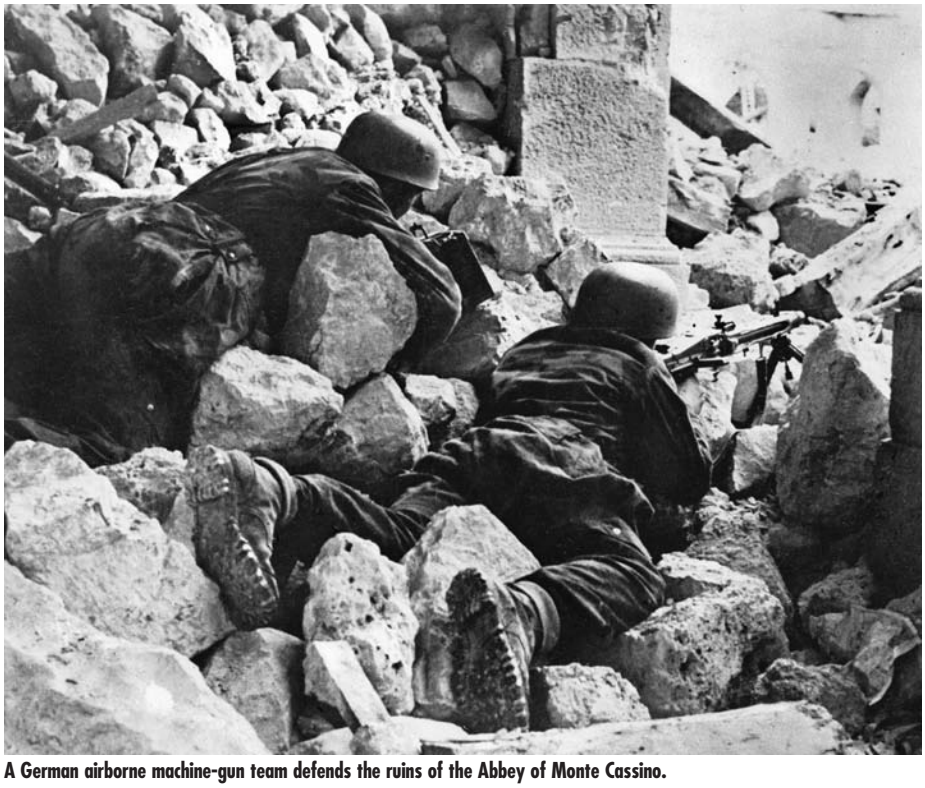


A German airborne machine-gun team defends the ruins of the Abbey of Monte Cassino.

Unfortunately, reinforcements were not forthcoming. The hardy Gurkhas fought on, cut off and isolated on the summit of the hill.

Despite the overwhelming weight of Allied forces, Heidrich's paratroopers were far from beaten. On March 19, they struck back. German troops attacked through Cassino, aiming to dislodge the New Zealanders, but were handily repulsed. On Castle Hill, a life-or-death struggle ensued in the darkness. Elements of the 4th Parachute Regiment overran Allied outposts and then assaulted the castle directly. In a sharp and narrowly won fight, the defenders succeeded in driving off the Germans.

Freyburg had reached his limit by March 23. He recalled his battered troops and regrouped. The repeated Allied attacks on Cassino and heights above the town, largely carried out in piecemeal fashion, had been miserable and costly failures. An exasperated Churchill badgered Alexander for an explanation. "I wish you would explain to me why this passage by Cassino [and] Monastery Hill is the only place which you must keep butting at," he said. "About five or six divisions have been worn out going into those jaws."

It was a painful question that increasingly nagged at every Allied soldier in Italy. Determined to finally crack the Gustav Line, Alexander began transferring the bulk of the Eighth Army from the Adriatic to the Cassino sector. In six weeks, Clark was reinforced with a hodgepodge of fresh Allied divisions. Eventually, the front lines between Cassino and the sea were manned by 20 divisions drawn from nearly every Allied nation across the globe.

Alexander's plan for a massive breakthrough, Operation Diadem, would bring overwhelming force to bear on the increasingly thin German defenses. Clark's Fifth Army, which had taken considerable casualties in the fighting around Cassino, shifted to the left and would launch its assault along the coastal route of Highway 7. On Clark's right, the French Expeditionary Corps would push straight into the Arunci Mountains.

To the right of the French, the British Eighth Army took up positions in the Cassino sector. The divisions poised to push into the embattled zone included troops from the far reaches of the Commonwealth: Brits, South Africans, Indians, Gurkhas, and Canadians. On the far right, the Polish II Corps, under the command of Lt. Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, prepared to attack toward Monte Cassino.

On the evening of May 11, the Allies unleashed a massive artillery bombardment designed to pulverize the Germans. More than 1,000 artillery pieces opened a devastating barrage that slammed into enemy positions along a 25-mile front. The crescendo was deafening for attacker and defender alike and shook the earth across the Rapido Valley. Allied troops were hopeful that the overwhelming firepower would reduce German positions before the infantry even came to grips with the enemy.

On the left, Clark thrust his men forward along Route 7 but faced a tough fight. On his right, Juin's troops stormed forward, breaking the initial defenses of the German 71st Division and battering their way deep into the Arunci Mountains. South of Casino, the 8th Indian Division and the 4th British Division crossed the Rapido under heavy enemy fire. Although taking heavy casualties, the two divisions succeeded in gaining the northern bank of the river.

On the right, the final battle for the prize of Monte Cassino fell to Anders' Polish Corps. These men had escaped Poland as it fell to the Germans and Russians in 1939. Anders exhorted his men to triumph over the Germans they deeply despised. "Soldiers! The moment for battle has arrived," he said. "We have long awaited the moment for revenge and retribution over our hereditary enemy." Working their way into the rugged hills north of Cassino, the Poles launched assaults along parallel rises that

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: Dead British and German troops offer grim evidence of the brutal fighting at Monte Cassino. RIGHT: Polish soldiers assault Monastery Hill in May 1944. They had the honor of being the first Allied troops to occupy the abbey in the wake of the German retreat.

pointed toward the monastery. The 5th Kresowa Division attacked along Phantom Ridge, driving off the German defenders, but were battered by enemy artillery.

Along the much-contested Snakeshead Ridge, the men of the 3rd Carpathian Division ran into stiff resistance as they pushed for Point 593, a nondescript but dominant rise of rubble and boulders that controlled access to Monte Cassino. In a chaotic night fight, the Poles lashed themselves against German defenses but paid a fearful price. Hundreds were cut down by well-sighted German machine-gun fire, and the terrain made evacuation of the wounded difficult. At dawn the Poles suffered a murderous fire from German small arms, mortars, and artillery. The attack on Point 593 stalled in a bloody stalemate. Later that afternoon, a devastated Anders ordered the withdrawal of his battered troops.

After consulting with Anders, it was apparent to Alexander that the Poles would be unable to seize Monte Cassino without further support. While Anders regrouped his battered corps, plans were laid to launch a two-pronged assault to reduce enemy positions on the mountain.

By May 17, The British 4th Division attacked the southern reaches of Cassino, again bringing pressure on diehard pockets of German paratroopers still holding the town. Meanwhile, the British 78th Division, pushing north from the village of Sant'Angelo, seized Route 6 south of Monte Cassino. With the German line of retreat in threat of being cut off entirely, Anders and his Poles launched another attack from the north.

The 5th Kresowa Division attacked down Phantom Ridge, succeeding in driving off German defenders and seizing Point 601, which dominated the ridge. With Phantom Ridge secured, the lead elements of the division pressed on toward Point 593 on Snakeshead Ridge, which was under assault by the 3rd Carpathian Division. The Poles, whose homeland had been overrun and occupied by the Wehrmacht five years earlier, fought with a tenacity borne of patriotic determination and a thirst for outright vengeance. Fighting fiercely with small arms and hand grenades, the Poles rooted out the final German defenders and overran Point 593.

Ironically, the final fight for the great prize of the monastery that crowned Monte Cassino would prove nearly bloodless. With British troops positioned to race up Route 6 far in their rear, and Polish troops poised for a renewed assault, the German paratroopers who had fought and bled for so long to control Monte Cassino received orders to withdraw.

By mid-morning on May 18, cautious Polish troops inched their way toward the summit only to discover the enemy was gone. The honor of claiming Monte Cassino fell to a patrol of the 12th Podolski Lancers, who mounted the shattered walls of the monastery and raised a Polish flag. Alexander, ecstatic with the symbolic victory that had taken so long to secure, fired off a dispatch to Churchill. "Capture of Cassino means a great deal to me and my armies," he wrote.

Indeed it did. With the walls of the monastery securely in Polish hands and German troops on the run, Allied divisions swarmed north and west. Kesselring attempted to rally his outnumbered divisions at yet another imposing belt of fortifications called the Senger Line, but was unable to stop the momentum of the Allied steamroller. On May 23, American troops began battering their way out of the Anzio beachhead, and the Allied weight in men and matériel finally began to tell. On June 4, exultant Allied troops entered Rome.

Although the costly war in Italy would linger on for another year, the bloody battles for Monte Cassino arguably constituted the most horrific struggle for the peninsula. Total German casualties exceeded 20,000 lives. The Allies paid an even greater price for the citadel; it is estimated that they suffered approximately 50,000 casualties in the bitter struggle to break the Gustav Line.

Churchill, who had lobbied vigorously for the invasion of Italy, regarded the entire operation a strategic victory. "The principal task of our armies had been to draw off and contain the greatest possible number of Germans," he said. "This task had been admirably fulfilled."

Such sentiments of grand strategic success were cold comfort for the common foot soldiers who had fought and bled in the horrific fight for Monte Cassino. For his part, Clark was tormented by the legacy of the clash, and his stark assessment of the brutal struggle for the limestone hills of central Italy likely came closest to the truth. "The battle for Cassino," Clark recalled, "was the most grueling, the most harrowing, and in one respect the most tragic, of any phase of the war in Italy." □

SOWING THE DEVIL'S

ON THE EVENING of May 30, 1857, Julia Selina Inglis was preparing to go to bed when she heard an urgent knocking on her door. The pounding alarmed her and she answered immediately. It was Martin Gubbins, an official with the Honorable East India Company. Gubbins was a no-nonsense individual who was not used to mincing words. "Bring your children and come up to the top of the house immediately," he ordered.

Inglis and several other women were staying with Gubbins because his house was within the grounds of the Residency, the official British headquarters in the city of Lucknow in northern India. Because the Residency had been transformed into a garrison post, complete with armed troops, it was considered to be a place of refuge and safety.

Thousands of Indian soldiers, including sepoy foot soldiers and sowar cavalrymen, were in full mutiny against their British overlords, and the rebellious spirit was like an infection that was almost impossible to contain. The British tried to contain this growing rebellion, but efforts to nip it in the bud proved ineffectual and even ham fisted.

Lucknow, the capital of Oudh (modern-day Awadh) Province, nursed its own grievances, and it was only a matter of time before it joined the spreading mutiny. Heeding Gubbins' command, Inglis quickly dressed herself and her children and went to the roof as fast as she could. After the rising tensions of past weeks, she had an inkling of what to expect, but was still shocked by the view.

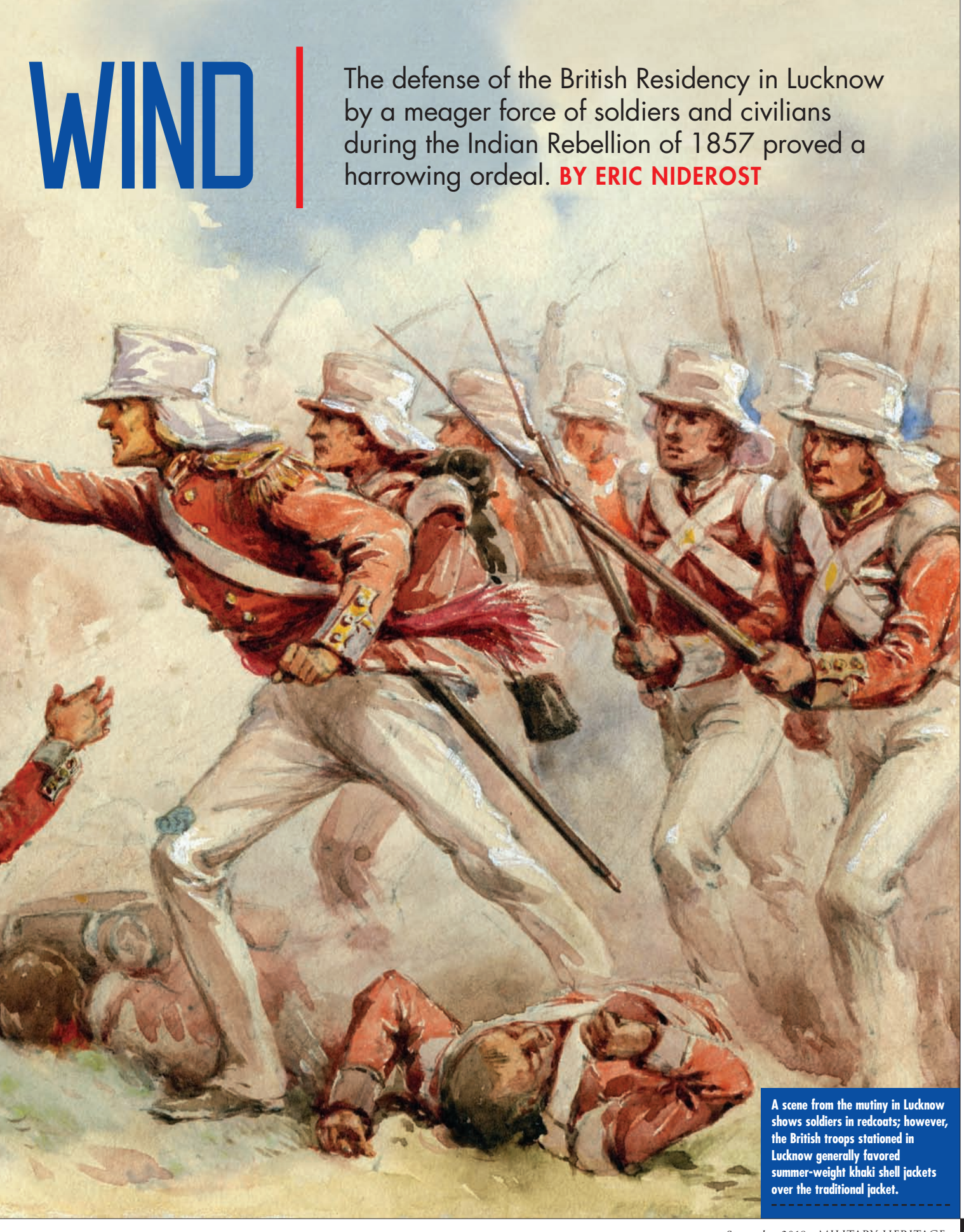
It was 11 PM, but the inky void and its canopy of stars could not erase the terrible spectacle that presented itself. The European cantonments were on fire, with tendrils of yellow and orange flames leaping high into the air. Rebel sepoys were busy looting empty buildings before setting them to the torch. But there was fighting, too. Cannons boomed and the staccato popping of musket fire could be heard distinctly. Soon, a handful of Europeans and loyal Indians were under siege, an epic of endurance that would be long remembered even after British rule in India was only a memory.

The Great Mutiny had its roots in the political, cultural, and religious turmoil of the 1840s and 1850s. The East India Company grew more high handed and arbitrary, and its lust for wealth and territorial acquisitions more obvious and all consuming. The "doctrine of lapse" held that if there was no natural heir to a ruling family, the territory or state would be annexed by the British.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

WIND

The defense of the British Residency in Lucknow by a meager force of soldiers and civilians during the Indian Rebellion of 1857 proved a harrowing ordeal. **BY ERIC NIDEROST**



A scene from the mutiny in Lucknow shows soldiers in redcoats; however, the British troops stationed in Lucknow generally favored summer-weight khaki shell jackets over the traditional jacket.

Sometimes, company dealings were even more direct and arbitrary. In the 1850s it cast covetous eyes on Oudh, a rich and prosperous state in northwestern India. Its ruler was Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, and he was deposed by the British in January 1856 on the grounds of having a corrupt administration. Many of the Nawab's retainers and officials lost their positions, and some landowners lost their lands because they had no proof of ownership or their title was dubiously acquired.

The common people, mainly peasant farmers, were burdened with heavy taxes and feared loss of caste and religion with British rule. European missionaries meant well, but could scarcely conceal their contempt for the Hindu religion. Wild rumors circulated in northern India that the British and Europeans were dropping beef and pork pieces in drinking wells at night. Cattle are sacred animals in the Hindu religion, and pork is forbidden to people of the Muslim faith.

The company's Bengal army had its own grievances. Many Bengal army sepoys were recruited from higher castes like the Brahmins, and they were very conscious of their privileges. Fearful of losing caste if they traveled overseas, Bengal sepoys initially were exempt from such deployments. The British grew impatient with such arrangements and started to introduce soldiers who were available for foreign service, men like Sikhs from the Punjab and Ghurkas from Nepal. Bengal soldiers resented this seeming loss of prestige.

Conservative Indians intensely disliked the changes the British were introducing into the subcontinent. The railroads and telegraph, seemingly works of the devil, were strange and alien in concept. The British also allowed widows to remarry, tried to suppress female infanticide, and abolished sati, the customary practice of a widow throwing herself on her husband's funeral pyre. These reforms, and the suppression of sati, were deeply resented. Sati was not widely practiced, and other reforms may have had minimal impact on most Indians, but that was not the point. The point was foreign meddling with time-honored Indian customs that were centuries old.

Many Indians regard the Great Rebellion as India's first war of independence. This is perhaps overstating the case; the deposed rulers and threatened upper classes had their own axe to grind, and common Indian farmers were oppressed and feared for their culture and religion. But it is true that the Great Mutiny planted the seeds of a true Indian nationalism that sprouted later in the century.

The Great Rebellion of 1857 also was called the "Devil's Wind," and it is an apt description. Partly though misplaced idealism, partly through arbitrary and high-handed politics, partly though cultural and racial arrogance, the British sowed the wind and would soon reap the whirlwind.

The Enfield rifle was introduced in India in the spring of 1857, but rumors spread that its cartridges were greased with the fat of cows and pigs. The cartridge controversy was the spark that soon had all of northern India ablaze.

It began at Meerut, where elements of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry refused to accept the cartridges when drilling. No fewer than 85 were court-martialed for their disobedience, and most were sentenced to hard labor. The next morning, which was a Sunday, the remainder of the 3rd Cavalry openly revolted and freed their imprisoned comrades. Other Indian units joined the growing rebellion, and soon no European was safe.

Rebel sepoys killed the British officers who tried to stop them, and before long European homes were attacked. Men, women, and children were killed without mercy, and the death toll included 50 Indian servants who tried to conceal or otherwise save their employers. The mutineers, triumphant and nearly ecstatic with joy, marched to Delhi 50 miles away.

Delhi had great symbolic significance, especially because it was the capital of the moribund Mogul empire. Delhi fell to the mutineers, a psychological blow to the British that simultaneously boosted rebel hopes and aspirations.

Brigadier General Sir Henry Lawrence had been chief commissioner of Oudh Province for only a few months when the storm broke. Level headed, experienced, and fair, he did his best to calm the troubled political waters and make things right, but he ran out of time. When he

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

heard of the events that occurred at Meerut and Delhi he knew that Lucknow would be targeted by the insurgents sooner or later.

When Lawrence took a survey of the Lucknow area, he did not like what he saw. Troop locations were scattered, often miles apart. The main soldier cantonments were at Muriaon, three miles away from the Residency, and consisted of three regiments of native infantry, the 13th, 48th, and 71st, two batteries of native artillery, and one battery of European artillery.

At Mudkipur, about a mile and a half farther, the 7th Light Cavalry and two regiments of irregular cavalry, the 4th and the 7th, were south of the River Gumti. The loyalty of all these regiments was problematic, but Lawrence hoped that his recent attempts to make things better might calm an increasingly volatile situation.

Lawrence had only one full European regiment on hand, the 32nd Regiment of Foot. It had been in Lucknow for about a year, and its troops were acclimated to India's temperature extremes. Lt. Col. John Inglis, a seasoned officer who had served with this regiment for many years, commanded the regiment.

One of the commissioner's first tasks was to fortify the Residency, his political and administrative headquarters. The Residency was actually part of a complex of detached buildings that included a banqueting hall, post office, treasury, storerooms, and individual houses. Many of the existing structures had been built by the Nawabs of Oudh and were meant for royal pleasures or ceremonial occasions. None of the buildings had been erected for military purposes. The compound was located on higher ground near the Gumti River, with Lucknow, a sprawling metropolis of 600,000 souls, spread out beneath it.

Necessity was truly the mother of invention, and gradually a defensive perimeter took shape that was roughly pentagonal in shape. There were at least 28 buildings in the compound, of which perhaps a half dozen or so were vital to the coming defense. Entrenchments were dug, mounds of earth piled up, and gun batteries established. There were simply too many buildings to defend, so many of the outlying structures were pulled down, partly to provide a better field of fire for the defenders and partly to prevent insurgents from using them as cover.

Several formerly private residences within the Residency compound were converted into strongpoints. One example was Anderson's Post, the home of Captain R.F. Anderson of the 25th Native Infantry. Anderson pulled down a garden wall and in its place dug a moat-like ditch that was filled with a prickly hedge of pointed bamboo sticks. A wooden stockade

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ABOVE: Bengal army sepoys recruited from higher castes such as the Brahmins revolted during the Great Rebellion of 1857. They not only killed British officers and soldiers, but also killed noncombatants without mercy. OPPOSITE: British Colonel John Finnis was slain by rebellious sepoys of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry at Meerut in northern India on the first day of the uprising.

and a mound of earth completed Anderson's defenses.

Germon's Post was another key point, formerly the Judicial Commissioner's office. It was defended by Captain R.C. Germon and his loyal sepoys from the 13th Native Infantry, supplemented by junior civil servants. These civilians, essentially volunteers, also had their families sheltering there.

The post was a two-story building largely built of red brick, like many in the compound. The house itself was barricaded on all sides with boxes and furniture, and a wall of earth was supplemented by fascines, rough bundles of brushwood bound together.

Two batteries, one in the north, and one in toward the south, provided much needed firepower. The half-moon-shaped Redan Battery, which boasted two 18-pounders and a 9-pounder, was named after a famous battery in the recently concluded Crimean War. In contrast, the Cawnpore Battery consisted of an 18-pounder and two 9-pounders. The Cawnpore Battery, which was in a dangerously exposed position, depended on flanking fire from the Martiniere Post and Brigade Mess to be tenable. Indeed, the Cawnpore Battery was considered so dangerous it was relieved daily by a captain and men of the 32nd Foot.

The Residency building was the heart of the defense. It was a three-story brick building with a main entrance that featured a beautiful double-columned portico. The roof boasted an Italianate balustrade, and the façade's large picture windows were shaded from the harsh Indian sun by elegant venetian blinds. But these features were meant to impress and to provide comfort, not for military considerations.

Converting a small palace into a makeshift fort was no easy task. Large stacks of firewood were arranged into a semicircle to protect the front of the building. The wooden wall formed an embankment about five feet high, with embrasures cut into it for 4-pounders. The rampart was strengthened by mounds of dirt, which gave the illusion that it was of a more solid construction that it really was.

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: British troops on a rooftop outpost on the outskirts of Lucknow. Brig. Gen. Sir Henry Lawrence drove mutinying members of the 72nd Native Infantry from Lucknow at the end of May, but they returned a month later to besiege the Residency. OPPOSITE: Mutineers storm the half-moon-shaped Redan Battery at Lucknow on July 30, 1857. The Residency was situated 150 yards south of the battery.

By the end of May, Lawrence thought it advisable to call in all European families from outlying areas and have them shelter in the Residency compound for safety. This made sense but resulted in instances of terrible overcrowding. When their Indian servants eventually ran away, the women would get a taste of real hardship.

The long-anticipated mutiny at Lucknow began on May 30. It unfolded when sepoys, mainly from the 72nd Native Infantry, finally rose up against the British East India Company. They set fire to the European quarters and killed several British officers foolish enough, or perhaps unlucky enough, to be in the immediate vicinity. Lawrence gathered enough men to confront them; after some desultory fighting, the mutineers were expelled from Lucknow. They would not return in force for another month.

Martial law had been declared, and a number of mutineers had been captured. The prisoners were put on trial; if evidence was lacking, the suspects were released. The few found guilty were promptly hanged.

Goaded by Financial Commissioner Martin Gubbins, who insisted inaction was tantamount to cowardice, Lawrence decided to take the offensive on the last day of June. It was an ill-planned, ham-fisted affair and nearly led to disaster. It began when word was received that a body of rebels were at Chinhat, only eight miles from Lucknow.

Lawrence left Lucknow with a small force composed of 300 men of the 32nd Foot, 230 loyal sepoys, 100 Sikhs, and a small detachment of civilian volunteer cavalrymen. One of the horsemen was a Calcutta businessman named L.E. Ruutz-Rees, who left one of the more compelling and candid memoirs of the mutiny period. It was Ruutz-Rees who gave a detailed account of the Chinhat confrontation.

The advance to Chinhat was badly managed, with the troops marching when the sun was already high and blazing down with full intensity. Indian water carriers quickly decamped when they felt the insurgents were nearby, which did not help the column's growing needs. Lawrence's column also marched out without adequate food, and hunger was added to the tormenting thirst.

The Indian insurgent forces, led by the skillful commander General Barhat Ahmed, numbered 5,000 and were supported by 10 guns. The Lawrence column also had artillery, and British guns were unlimbered to start an artillery duel. The 32nd Foot also advanced, boldly exchanging musket fire with the insurgents

But suddenly things began to fall apart. Indian artillerymen and a native police unit deserted to the mutineers, and some began firing at their former employers. The British attack faltered, in part due to the extreme heat and lack of water. The Lawrence column fell back, but the orderly retreat soon turned into a rout.

Lawrence was emotionally devastated by the massive defeat. "My God!" a soldier heard him exclaim. "And I have brought them to this!" The British had brought along an 8-inch howitzer nicknamed "The Turk," and the massive gun was pulled by an elephant. When things started going bad the elephant handlers cut the traces and took off with the pachyderm, leaving the howitzer behind. It was captured by the insurgents, who made good use of it during the coming weeks.

During that anxious time it seemed that British rule in India was coming to a swift and abrupt end. The first week of June saw rebellions erupt in Sitapur, Faizabad, Sultanpur, and Salon. The entire province of Oudh was now in rebel hands, with British authority reduced to the tiny patch of ground around the Residency.

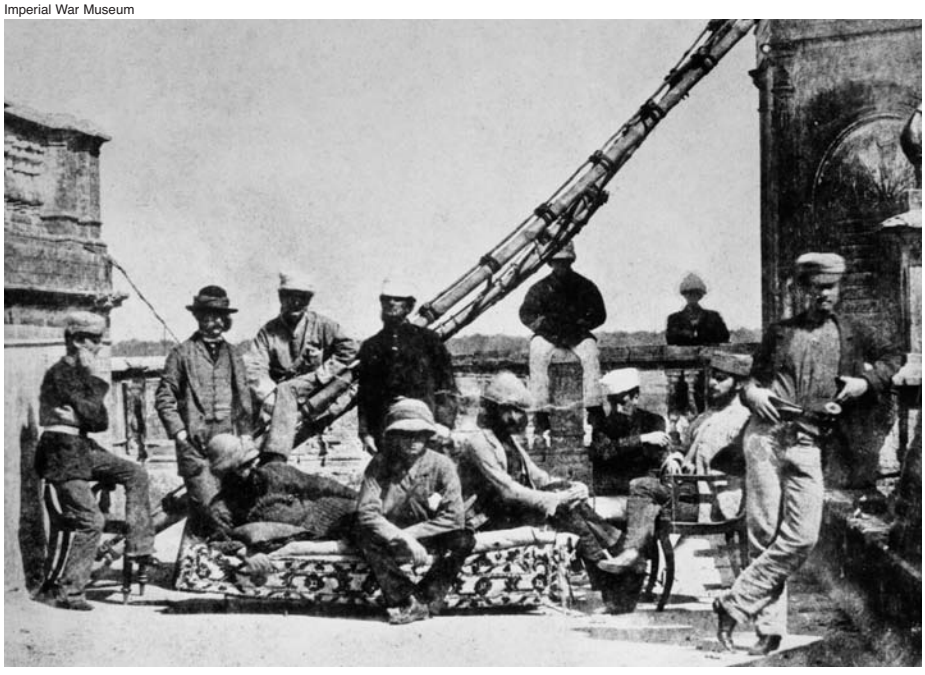
In the end the important princely states of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, and Kasmir decided to stay out of the insurrection. The smaller states of the Rajputana also stayed neutral. The Sikhs of the Punjab—who had little love for Hindus or Muslims—actively helped the British. They had a warrior tradition and were among the best soldiers the subcontinent ever produced, so their aid was crucial.

But these developments had little immediate effect on the Lucknow siege. The defenders hoped and literally prayed for relief, but the mutineers were a well trained and powerful enemy. It would be some time before the British could mount a counteroffensive that would have any chance of succeeding. The only thing the Lucknow defenders could do was hope for the best while preparing for the worst.

When the siege began there were slightly fewer than 3,000 people at the Residency. There were 1,720 armed defenders, a number that included British soldiers, loyal sepoys, and civilian volunteers. They would provide the backbone of the defense. But a detailed tally included 237 women, 260 children, 50 boys from the Martiniere College, 27 non-combatant Europeans, and 700 noncombatant Indians.

The 32nd Regiment of Foot was the only full-strength European formation at Lucknow when the disturbances began. A weak company of the 84th Foot was also on hand. The traditional red coat was still worn on active service, but more and more it was being replaced by khaki. The men of the 32nd wore summer khaki shell jackets and blue trousers. A Kilmarnock round cap, complete with cover and curtain to protect the back of the neck from the sun, completed the uniform. Ironically, the 32nd was armed with the model 1842 percussion musket, not the more accurate Enfield

Imperial War Museum



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But these developments had little immediate effect on the Lucknow siege. The defenders hoped and literally prayed for relief, but the mutineers were a well trained and powerful enemy. It would be some time before the British could mount a counteroffensive that would have any chance of succeeding. The only thing the Lucknow defenders could do was hope for the best while preparing for the worst.

When the siege began there were slightly fewer than 3,000 people at the Residency. There were 1,720 armed defenders, a number that included British soldiers, loyal sepoys, and civilian volunteers. They would provide the backbone of the defense. But a detailed tally included 237 women, 260 children, 50 boys from the Martiniere College, 27 non-combatant Europeans, and 700 noncombatant Indians.

The 32nd Regiment of Foot was the only full-strength European formation at Lucknow when the disturbances began. A weak company of the 84th Foot was also on hand. The traditional red coat was still worn on active service, but more and more it was being replaced by khaki. The men of the 32nd wore summer khaki shell jackets and blue trousers. A Kilmarnock round cap, complete with cover and curtain to protect the back of the neck from the sun, completed the uniform. Ironically, the 32nd was armed with the model 1842 percussion musket, not the more accurate Enfield

rifle-musket, the gun that sparked the mutiny.

The civilians were whipped into martial shape during the relative lull that occurred in June. A sergeant of the 32nd Foot was assigned as drillmaster, but most of the men were junior civil servants or businessmen who were not used to using firearms. In the early stages of the siege they often missed targets when the insurgents launched attacks. As the weeks went on, those who survived death by wounds or disease did seem to get better as soldiers; hard lessons were learned by a literal baptism of fire.

Perhaps the most unusual Residency recruits during the siege were boys from the Martiniere School. The student body consisted of European and Eurasian boys, and the school had a sterling reputation. School Principal Schilling, six masters, and 67 boys made their way into the Residency on June 18. The younger boys rode elephants while the older boys formed a rear guard and were armed with muskets.

Any boy capable of bearing arms was given a musket and some rudimentary training on how to use it. The armed recruits were between the ages of nine and 15. But the boys also did a variety of tasks, including tending the sick and wounded, washing clothes, bearing messages, and working the punkah fans. Some of these jobs were usually assigned to Indian servants, almost all of whom fled.

The insurgents began the month of July with a furious bombardment, a veritable hurricane of shot and shell. It was determined that the Machi Bhawan, the dilapidated fortress about three-quarters of a mile from the Residency, could not be held given the large numbers of casualties sustained in the Chinhat fiasco. There was too much enemy gunfire for runners to be sent to the old fort, so a makeshift semaphore was constructed on the Residency roof. It was said that the Martiniere boys had a hand it its design and operation.

After one or two abortive attempts the semaphore did manage to convey the message: spike the guns, blow up the fort, and retire to the Residency at midnight. As midnight approached, Colonel Palmer opened the gates and began the trek to the Residency. Luck was with them, and their 15-minute journey was undetected by the insurgents. After their safe arrival, a slow-burning fuse reached the 240 barrels of powder and 594,000 cartridges and blew them up with a deafening roar. It was a cataclysmic blast that shook Regency buildings and blew out many windows.

It was soon discovered that the buildings were still largely unsafe, in spite of all the sweat and toil that had gone into transforming them into makeshift fortresses. On July 2 a shell crashed into the Residency's second floor, tearing off the leg of 19-year-old Suzanna Palmer, who was said to be engaged to a company officer. Palmer and a few other women had elected to stay on the second floor, probably because the lower rooms were crowded and stifling almost to the point of suffocation.

Palmer begged medical staff not to remove what remained of her leg, but Dr. Joseph Fayrer insisted, and the operation proceeded. The young woman died in great pain two days later. She was the first civilian casualty, and a foretaste of what was to come. Lawrence had a near miss a day earlier, when an 8-inch shell crashed through a window and landed in a room where he and his staff were staying. The shell failed to detonate, and the commissioner downplayed the incident to his staffers.

Tragedy struck the next day. Weary after long hours of inspections, Lawrence finally decided to take a break by lying down on a bed on the Residency's second floor. While the commissioner was resting, Captain Thomas Wilson stood nearby reading a report to him.

Suddenly the room dissolved into sheets of smoke and flame, the blast accompanied by a deafening roar. An 8-inch shell had once again crashed through, but this time it detonated and mortally wounded Lawrence. A shell fragment smashed the upper part of his thigh and fractured his pelvis. A tourniquet staunched the blood flow, but little else could be done for him.

The commissioner appointed Major John Banks as his political successor and tapped Lt. Col.

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John Inglis to take care of military affairs. He was given chloroform to ease his pain, but infection must have set in because his agony grew more intense with each passing hour. Some were unnerved by his tormented moans and piercing screams of agony, and after much suffering he died two days later.

Though forgotten in most histories, the British had a formidable Lucknow opponent in Begum Hazrat Mahal, wife of the deposed Nawab. She was known for her beauty, but also for her efficient rule and keen intelligence. A kind of Indian Boudica, she was a politically savvy warrior queen with a sound strategic sense. Her fiery speeches inspired her soldiers, and it was said she actually led them in battle.

The day after Lawrence died the Residency defenders could hear music and festive noise coming from the city proper. The Begum was in the process of installing her son, Birjis Qadar, as the new Nawab of Oudh. Since the lad was only 12, the Begum continued to hold power as a kind of regent.

The European women fought their own battles, conflicts of a more immediate and personal nature. Hour after hour, day after day, week after week, they grappled with terror and despair, with little more than their own courage and religious faith to sustain them. Katherine Bartum found herself assigned to the ironically titled "Ladies Quarters," which she describes as dirty and uninviting. Initially, she and her two-year-old son were crowded into one room along with 15 other women and children.

Bartum's diary details her struggle to keep her son alive as conditions worsened and unsanitary

living conditions spread disease. Some of the women and children contracted cholera; there also were outbreaks of smallpox. She recorded her emotional ups and downs; for example, chronicling how her son survived dysentery and a near-fatal fever.

No place was really safe. Bartum was horrified when a little girl she watched playing in the courtyard was suddenly hit in the head by a cannonball. She fainted from the sheer shock of seeing such a bloody demise, but in time such scenes of death and destruction grew commonplace. The noncombatant casualties mounted, rivaling the number of male battle deaths.

In some respects the women did have the worst of it. Once the fighting began, the terror was amplified by the fact that they were literally and figuratively in the dark. The underground rooms, known as tykhanna, had little or no natural light. "There would come the cry of all lights out; the children would cry at being in the dark, and the women would be trembling in fear lest the enemy attack proved successful and the sepoys should get in," recalled Bartrum.

Sounds of battle would filter into the rooms, a chaotic cacophony that included the crash of shells and rattle of musketry, the screams of the wounded, and the shouts and cries of men engaged in the fight of their lives. Women never knew if a door would suddenly open and mutineers might rush in to kill all inside.

By mid-July the Residency compound was reeking with a sickening stench, an amalgam of smells from human waste and the decomposing bodies of men and animals. During lulls in the fighting the musket was exchanged for a shovel as every effort was made to bury the decaying flesh before pestilence spread. The work was exhausting in the innervating heat and only partly successful. Many of the graves were so shallow that the reeking cemetery was avoided as much as possible.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: Lawrence was on the second floor of the Residency when an eight-inch shell crashed through the wall. A shell fragment inflicted a wound that proved fatal two days later. OPPOSITE: Lieutenant General Sir Colin Campbell arrived in November 1857 in what was known as the second relief of Lucknow. He evacuated the Residency and led the survivors to safety.

The insurgents launched an all-out assault on July 20. Ruutz-Rees was busy cleaning his musket when suddenly the loud cry of "To Arms!" caused him to pause in his labors. Large numbers of rebels had been seen massing, so every man had to report to his post. Ruutz-Rees started running out of the building when an explosion erupted near the Redan, a blast so powerful the ground beneath his feet shook.

The insurgents had tunneled underground and planted a mine in hopes of blowing up the Redan. Once a breech in the fortifications was deemed practicable, the insurgents hoped to pour into the Residency compound before the defenders could respond; however, the mutineers had miscalculated, and the Redan was intact. The smoke from the explosion obscured the battery, and the insurgents were not aware of their error until the attack was well underway.

The Redan's guns opened up as soon as the enemy was in range, discharging lethal blasts of grapeshot that shredded and lacerated the oncoming ranks. The rebels paused at the Redan but soon renewed their attacks at other posts. Gubbins' post was one of their targets, a building so battered by days of artillery fire that its upper story was reduced to a shattered, pockmarked ruin.

Sensing an opportunity, insurgent sepoys climbed into the Gubbins building to engage the defenders. They were bayoneted for their trouble, and swarming groups of insurgents just below were kept at bay by hand grenades. Lieutenant Gregor Grant proved particularly adept at lobbing grenades but handled one whose fuse was so short it exploded prematurely. The lieutenant's hand was blown off, and a nearby officer was wounded. Grant's hand was amputated, but he died from the effects of the wound.

Some of the heaviest fighting that torrid July day came from around the area on the Innes post, a house on the northwest side of the compound once owned by Lieutenant McLeod Innes. A mixed group defended the post, including loyal sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry, some soldiers of the 32nd Foot, and civilian volunteers such as Ruutz-Rees.

At one point Ruutz-Rees recalled, "Our men, seeing the rebels swarming thick as bees, and nothing but one sea of heads and glittering weapons before them, thought of retreat." The commander of this post was Lieutenant Loughnan of the 32nd Foot. "Give a shout, my boys, a loud and strong one!" he said. The men complied, lustily yelling with all of their might, "Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!"

The insurgents, almost as if on cue, suddenly stopped dead in their tracks. It seems the mutineers thought that the long awaited relief column had finally arrived. The column had not arrived, but the pause gave the defenders renewed courage and perhaps a laugh. Momentarily checked, the rebel advance began again, and some managed to get to the base of a wall where the defenders' gunfire could not reach them.

Insurgent attacks were accompanied by drums, bugle calls, and fierce exhortations by their leaders to kill the Europeans. Yet in all the excitement they had forgotten to bring scaling ladders. "Bring the ladders!" the insurgents shouted in their native tongue over the din of battle. Parties of three brought scaling ladders, but in so doing they came within range of defender muskets.

The soldiers and civilians poured a surprisingly accurate fire on the ladder bearers, and as

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one fell dead or wounded, the other two dropped their burden and retreated with their stricken comrade. The scaling parties decided to forego the use of ladders and simply climb the ramparts. Some of them did succeed in getting to the top but were quickly bayoneted for their trouble.

Since the Innis post defenders lacked hand grenades, and numbers of insurgents still huddled at the base of the wall, they improvised a solution. They threw bricks and mortar and other missiles of an impure nature—perhaps bottles of urine or beef entrails—at the heads of their attackers and quickly dislodged them.

As July turned to August hopes for relief started to fade. "As for death it stares one constantly in the face," wrote Ruutz-Rees. "Not daily, not hourly, but minute after minute, second after second, my life, and every other's, is in jeopardy. Balls fall at our feet, and we continue the conversation without a remark; bullets graze our very hair, and we never speak of them."

There was enough food to stave off starvation, but nothing more. Bartum recalled the rations included flour, rice, peas, salt, and meat. Rees noted in his dairy that the beef ration was usually studded with flies. "These scamps flew into my mouth, or tumble into the plate, and float about in it, impromptu peppercorns," he wrote.

In the underground rooms, conditions grew worse by the day. Vermin multiplied, and women and children crawled with lice, which the women called "light infantry." Rats and mice scurried about, and at night their scampering over faces interrupted many a victim's fitful sleep. By July the monsoon season was in full swing, but the rains brought more misery than comfort. The air might momentarily freshen, but then the dampness produced a stultifying humidity that sapped strength and weakened resolve.

August was ruefully dubbed the "Month of Mines" because the insurgents persisted in trying to blow up the defenders with subterranean explosives. Men on sentry duty were told to listen for the sounds of digging, and it got so that enemy tunneling became kind of a grim joke. "So hurrah, my friend, for a celestial trip in the air!" as one defender laughingly told Ruutz-Rees.

The defenders were fortunate to have a resourceful engineer in their midst. Captain Peter Fulton sought out enemy tunnels before they could be finished and planted with mines, a job he performed with considerable success. The defenders dug shafts as deep as 30 feet. After that, they tunneled horizontally to carve out galleries in the direction of the enemy's tunnels. Luckily, the soil in the Lucknow area was firm, so little or no shoring up was needed, and the tunnels were short enough not to need ventilation.

Accompanied by a devoted Sikh assistant who carried blasting powder, Fulton would find insurgent tunnels then blow them up. One time he actually broke into a rebel tunnel while the workers were digging. The sudden appearance of the Englishman so surprised the enemy miners that they fled immediately. It was also fortunate that the 32nd Foot hailed from Cornwall because the men had ample experience in mining in their native region.

The long-awaited rescue came on September 27 when a relief column under Maj. Gen. Henry Havelock and Maj. Gen. James Outram arrived in Lucknow. It had been more than 12 weeks since the siege began, and the defenders were beginning to lose hope. The doors of the battered Bailey Guard Gate, entrance to the Residency compound, were thrown open to allow the Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers, and turbaned Sikhs to enter.

"Oh, what welcome! What joy!" exclaimed defender Henry Metcalfe. "Comrades shaking hands … and rough soldiers embracing and kissing little ones." The elation was genuine, but the rescue was more apparent than real.

A third of the relief force had been killed or wounded during the arduous march, and soon the British found they did not have enough men to fully break the siege. The relief force ended up reinforcing the original garrison but little more. The first siege had lasted 87 days; the second would be another 61 days.

The Lucknow Residency was finally relieved in November 1857 by troops under Lt. Gen. Sir Colin Campbell. Not wanting to be trapped as his predecessor Havelock had been, Campbell evacuated the Residency in a general retreat that took place over several days. The mutineers were not even aware of the withdrawal until it was too late. The British returned to Lucknow the following year.

The British Union Jack British had flown day and night during the siege, shot torn and tattered, but still defying its enemies. As a special dispensation, unique in the British Empire, a British flag continued to fly there until Indian independence in 1947. □

Confederate General Robert Rodes' initial attack against the Union I Corps atop Oak Ridge on the first day of Gettysburg was soundly repulsed until he committed his reserve.

REBEL MISFIRE at Gettysburg

BY ROBERT L. DURHAM

The men of Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson's North Carolina brigade, four regiments strong, marched forward as if on parade, their rifles at the right shoulder, as they went into battle on the first day at Gettysburg. Their commanding officer stayed in the rear, so they were on their own. The field had not been reconnoitered, and no skirmishers had been deployed to their front.

They were marching toward the enemy but could see no sign of the Yankees except for some skirmishers, who quickly vacated their position. From behind a rock wall 80 yards in front of them, a brigade of Union soldiers suddenly rose up and fired a crashing volley. The Confederates had unwittingly walked into a trap. The Union musketry decimated the brigade's left three regiments.

Due to the surface configuration of the field, the right regiment was left largely untouched. But the survivors of the other three Tarheel regiments went to ground in a depression that gave them scant protection. The Yankees

West Point Museum Art Collection, United States Military Academy

continued to pour fire on them as they hugged the ground. The pinned-down Rebels eventually began waving their shoes and hats on bayonets to signal their desire to surrender. After the Union soldiers rounded up the prisoners, the dead lay behind in a straight line in grim testimony to the failed assault.

The episode occurred on July 1, 1863, the first of three days of fighting at Gettysburg. The Tarheels of Iverson's brigade, which was a part of Maj. Gen. Robert Rodes' division, had advanced into the devastating ambush owing to a number of factors, including poor leadership, faulty reconnaissance, and an absence of skirmishers to forewarn the main body of threats.

While Iverson bears the brunt of the blame for the destruction of his brigade, Rodes also shares in a portion of it. He was born March 29, 1829, in Lynchburg, Virginia. At 16 he entered the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) and graduated three years later. He rose to the rank of lieutenant and graduated 10th in a class of 24. Upon graduation, Rodes became an assistant at VMI. After his tenure, he came to be a railroad engineer, building railroads in Texas, Alabama, North Carolina, and Missouri. In 1856 he accepted a job offer from an Alabama railroad where he eventually rose to chief engineer. At the outbreak of the war in April 1861, he raised a volunteer company in his adopted state that became part of the 5th Alabama Infantry. He had the good fortune on May 11 to receive a commission as the regiment's colonel.

The regiment was sent to Virginia in time for the Battle of First Manassas, July 21, 1861. The Alabamians served in Brig. Gen. Richard S. Ewell's brigade and were deployed on the army's unengaged right flank where they saw no action. In the aftermath of the battle, promotions were coming fast and furious, and when Ewell was promoted to division command, Rodes received a promotion to brigadier on October 21.

The popular brigadier cut an impressive figure on the battlefield. Standing six feet tall, with a lean frame and gleaming eyes, he would prove every bit the warrior in his baptism of fire at Seven Pines on May 31, 1862. Rodes' men impressively charged the Union lines three times that day, helping spearhead the attack of Maj. Gen. James Longstreet's right wing. The first charge was part of the general assault to clear Casey's Redoubt, the second charge occurred against a reformed Yankee line 150 yards in the rear of the redoubt, and the third charge was made against Yankees who had withdrawn into a tract of woods. In the third charge, his exhausted men suffered heavy losses.

Late in the battle Rodes rode toward the front with Brig. Gen. James Kemper, who had arrived with reinforcements, to show the Virginia brigadier where to insert his regiments. As he did so, a bullet struck his lower right arm. He stoically remained in command until the battle was over, at which time he relinquished command to Colonel John Gordon of the 6th Alabama.

"Rodes' men were badly cut up," wrote Maj. Gen. Daniel Harvey Hill, his division commander, in his battle report. It was evident not only to Hill but also to Longstreet that 33-year-old Rodes was a competent and effective leader. Hill later informed Richmond that Rodes was

The fury of the Confederate onslaught on July 1, 1863, is captured in James Walker's painting. By the time Maj. Gen. Robert Rodes' division joined the attack against the Union I Corps, the Federals had strengthened their position on Oak Ridge.

"a capital brigadier." Rodes' performance at Seven Pines was "distinguished for his coolness, ability, and determination," Longstreet stated in his report. Rodes, who was in danger of having his wound become infected, stayed out of action for three months afterward.

During Rodes' absence, his brigade was reorganized in accordance with Confederate President Jefferson Davis's desire that regiments should be brigaded by state. To his existing 5th, 6th, and 12th Alabama Regiments, Rodes received two veteran regiments, Colonel Cullen Battle's 3rd Alabama and Colonel Edward O'Neal's 26th Alabama.

Rodes returned to his brigade and joined in General Robert E. Lee's invasion of Maryland in September 1862. When the Union army began advancing rapidly toward South Mountain, Lee ordered Harvey Hill to take his division to the top of the ridge and block Turner's Gap where the National Pike crossed the mountain. On September 14, Hill placed Rodes' Alabamians on the division's extreme left.

It proved a challenging assignment. Rodes' 1,200 troops had to defend a 1,000-yard-wide front of rough terrain. As the battle for the mountain unfolded, none of Rodes' regiments had contact with each other during the scrap that unfolded with veteran soldiers of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker's I Corps. Rodes had to adjust his line several times. The Alabamians held their part of the line marvelously during a spirited four-hour clash but suffered 422 killed, wounded, and missing.

Three days later Hill deployed Rodes' brigade in the Sunken Lane at Antietam where it played a key role in defending the Confederate center against a determined attack by Maj. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner's II Corps. As the Union attack reached a crescendo, Rodes turned away briefly to assist a wounded aide from the field. A misunderstood order resulted in the entire brigade withdrawing while Rodes was attention was diverted. He struggled to rally his men and eventually shook them into a new line along the Hagerstown Road.


Library of Congress

Following the clash at Antietam, Harvey Hill received a transfer to Richmond where he took command of forces in that sector. Lee then made Rodes acting commander of Harvey Hill's division, which was assigned to Lt. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's II Corps. Rodes was present in command of the division at Fredericksburg, but it played no part in the battle. In March 1863, all of the brigade commanders in the division signed a petition to President Jefferson Davis calling for Rodes' promotion to major general, as befitted a division commander. At the time, though, nothing came of it.

Rodes' 7,800 men would play a prominent role in the Battle of Chancellorsville that spring. The division formed the first line of Jackson's corps as it overran the Union army's right flank on May 2. "Push ahead from the beginning," Jackson told Rodes minutes before the attack. To ensure the attack would not stall out, "Old Blue Light" told Rodes' brigade commanders that there was to be no stopping; if necessary, they could call on those brigades in the second line for support. "Forward men, over friend or foe!" shouted Rodes as his troops swept forward.

Rodes met every expectation that day. The victory was bittersweet for the South, though, as Jackson received a grave wound that required the amputation of his arm. In discussions with his surgeon, Dr. Hunter McGuire, and on his deathbed, Jackson praised Rodes for his performance in the recent battle. When Rodes visited Jackson a few days after his wounding, the general had a chance to praise Rodes in person. Lee personally wrote to President Davis on May 4 requesting Rodes' promotion and recommending his assignment to permanent command of Harvey Hill's division. The promotion, which was confirmed on May 7, was dated May 2 in order to acknowledge when the actions in battle occurred that merited his promotion.

Jackson's leadership had been crucial to the Confederate success at Chancellorsville, and his absence at Gettysburg was very much apparent in the indecisiveness of the Confederate senior leadership. Following Jackson's death, Lee reorganized the Army of Northern Virginia into three corps, and Rodes' division became part of Lt. Gen. Richard S. Ewell's II Corps. At the time, it was the largest division in the army and had five brigades.

When Confederate III Corps commander Lt. Gen. Ambrose Powell Hill became heavily engaged with the Union I Corps along the Cashtown Pike on the morning of July 1, Ewell directed Rodes to march south along the Carlisle Road to the sounds of battle. Ewell accompanied the division as it marched at double-quick time.

Rodes' division had considerable leadership problems at the brigade level. Although brigadiers Stephen Dodson Ramseur and George Doles, who commanded North Carolinians and Georgians, respectively, were competent, the other three were either entirely untested or noticeably lacking in ability.

As for Brig. Gen. Junius Daniel, a West Point graduate, Gettysburg would be his first battle with the Army of Northern Virginia. His large brigade had been stationed during the first half of the war near Drewry's Bluff on the James River and also on North Carolina coast. In the case of Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson, he did not have the confidence of his troops. Perhaps the most troubling brigade commander was Colonel

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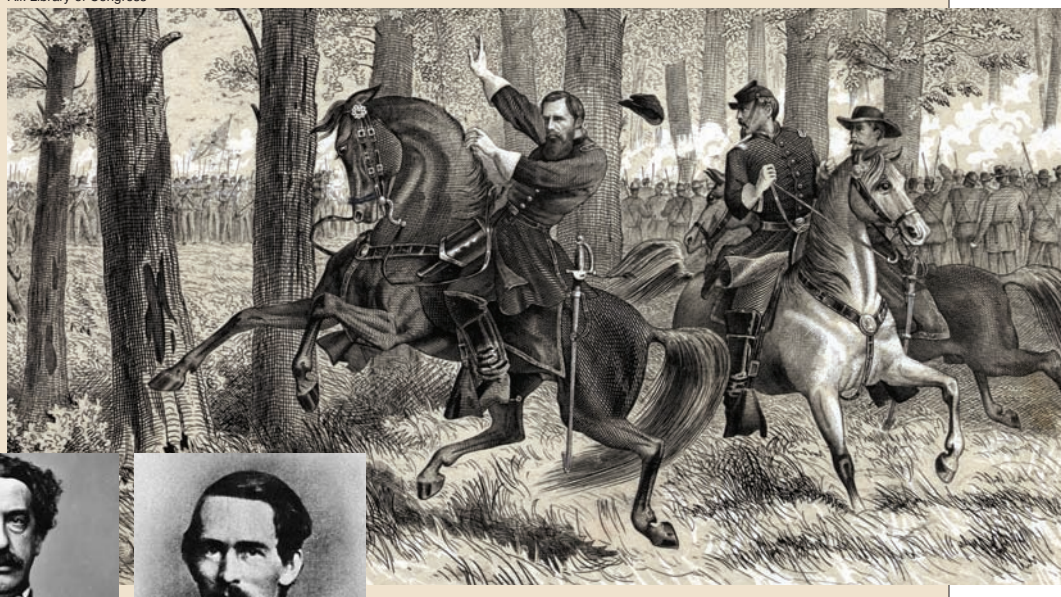

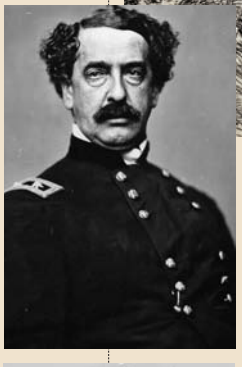

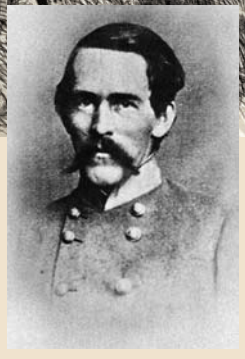

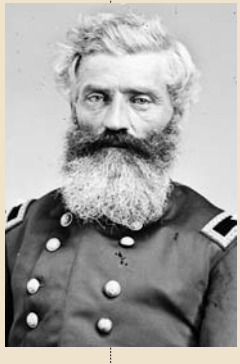

ABOVE: Union I Corps commander Maj. Gen. John Reynolds was mortally wounded in McPherson's Woods in the chaotic morning fighting of July 1. LEFT: Clockwise from top left: Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday, Maj. Gen. Robert Rodes, Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson, and Brig. Gen. Henry Baxter. OPPOSITE: At the Battle of Chancellorsville, Rodes and his division helped secure victory for Lee's army. But the string of Confederate victories in the East ended with the death of Lt. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson at Chancellorsville.

O'Neal. A lawyer from Alabama, he commanded Rodes' old brigade. Although Lee had thought O'Neal fit for brigade command, Rodes had serious reservations about his abilities.

As the division approached the battlefield, Rodes deployed Doles' brigade on the left, O'Neal's brigade in the center, and Iverson's brigade on the right. Daniel's and Ramseur's brigades deployed in reserve behind the others. At that point, Daniel was behind Iverson and Ramseur was trailing O'Neal. Rodes was wary of the threat the Union XI Corps posed to his east. Doles initially took up a defensive position to protect the division's left flank. Rodes instructed him to tie into the flank of Maj. Gen. Jubal Early's division of the II Corps when it arrived on the field.

The division turned west off the Carlisle Road and arrived atop Oak Hill at about 1 PM. Although the division initially was in an ideal position to strike the Federal right flank, it would take Rodes 75 minutes to arrange his brigades for battle. Major Eugene Blackford led a battalion of sharpshooters, made up of the four best shots in each company of Iverson's brigade. He deployed them forward, in front of Doles' brigade around the Hagy farm, near the Mummasburg Road.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Carter's artillery battalion was attached to the division as its organic artillery support. Rodes ordered Carter to fire on the Yankees. Two of Carter's batteries began to bang away at targets to their south, while the two remaining batteries faced southeast to shell Colonel George von Amsberg's brigade of the Union XI Corps. In this location, four companies of skirmishers from the 45th New York had already deployed to screen the rest of the regiment.

Although Rodes may have hoped to fall on the Union right flank in a surprise attack, Colonel Thomas Devin's cavalry brigade detected the arrival of Rodes' division and warned Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday. Doubleday had succeeded to command of the Union I Corps following the death Maj. Gen. John Reynolds, who was slain at 10:15 AM in the confused fighting in Herbst's Woods.

Brigadier General Lysander Cutler's brigade of the First Division of the Union I Corps occupied Shead's Woods. As Doubleday realized the extent of the threat, he reinforced the right flank of his line. The I Corps commander dispatched Brig. Gen. Henry Baxter's brigade of Brig. Gen. John Robinson's Second Division of the I Corps to reinforce Cutler's brigade. Baxter, a Michigan storekeeper before the war, moved into position on Cutler's right atop Oak Ridge.

Just east of Oak Ridge, Colonel George von Amsberg's brigade of the Third Division of the Union XI Corps deployed fronting north against Blackford's sharpshooter battalion. While the Union reinforcements were moving into position, Rodes planned his attack in painstaking detail. He wanted to ensure his brigades were perfectly aligned before ordering an advance. By 2:15 PM he was ready to begin his assault.

Rodes final disposition for called for a two-brigade attack. O'Neal advanced on the left and Iverson on the right. Daniel's brigade took up a position to attack en echelon on the right. Rodes instructed Daniel to either support Iverson directly or attack on his right. Ramseur's brigade, which was situated behind O'Neal, would serve as a readily available reserve.

"I determined to attack with my center and right, holding at bay still another force, then emerging from the town," Rodes wrote in his battle report. A defect in Rodes' deployment was that he entrusted his opening attack to O'Neal and Iverson, who were his least reliable brigade commanders.

Iverson received instructions to coordinate his assault with that of O'Neal to his left. Likewise, Daniel was to coordinate his assault with Iverson. O'Neal's regiments from left to right were the 5th Alabama, 6th Alabama, 26th Alabama, 12th Alabama, and 3rd Alabama. Rodes subsequently detached the 5th Alabama to cover the ground between the four attacking brigades and Doles' brigade on the far left of the division. Rodes gave explicit orders to Colonel Battle to tie his 3rd Alabama Regiment into Daniel's brigade. The division commander did this because he did not trust Iverson to execute the task.

As events unfolded, O'Neal's brigade attacked with just three of his regiments. Instead of having 1,700 men in five regiments for his attack, he would have only1,000 men. O'Neal would later blame Rodes for having taken his two flank regiments away from him. Yet Rodes contended that he had informed O'Neal of this before his brigade advanced. To make matters worse, O'Neal did not advance with his brigade; instead, he waited behind with the 5th Alabama. This was contrary to standard practice, for all brigadier generals in the Army of Northern Virginia were required to

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TOP LEFT: Lieutenant Robert Pryor James of Company E, 20th North Carolina, part of Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson's brigade. TOP RIGHT: Private Thomas P. Devereux of Company D, 43rd North Carolina, Brig. Gen. Junius Daniel's brigade. Private Devereux wears a black armband for General Daniel after he was killed at Spotsylvania. BELOW: Company D, 149th Pennsylvania Infantry, Colonel Roy Stone's brigade. The 149th drove off Confederates assaulting the railroad cut. OPPOSITE: Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson's North Carolinians engage the Union I Corps in a painting by Dale Gallon. Iverson's Tarheels were shot to pieces by Union musketry.

personally direct their brigades in battle. This was essential to ensure that a brigade stayed on course and reacted quickly and effectively to changing circumstances.

O'Neal failed to inform Iverson that he was beginning his attack. His men headed directly south toward Baxter's position. Baxter's brigade, which was composed of six regiments, was deployed in a salient. The 12th Massachusetts was at the apex of the salient; its left companies faced west and its right companies faced north. Captain Herbert Dilger's six Napoleon 12-pounders of Maj. Thomas Osborne's Artillery Brigade of the XI Corps fired canister into the ranks of the 6th Alabama on O'Neal's left flank.

Baxter ordered the 88th and 90th Pennsylvania Regiments to shift to the north to check the charge of O'Neal's Alabamians. Since part of the 12th Massachusetts and the 83rd New York already were facing north, this gave Baxter sufficient strength to check O'Neal's assault.

"The boys from the other side were coming right along," said Private John Vautier of Company I of the 88th Pennsylvania. "Cocked and primed for a fight." The Rebel skirmishers leading O'Neal's brigade initially masked the three regiments behind them. When the brigade came to within easy range of the Federals, it experienced severe musket fire. "[Minie] balls were falling thick and fast around us, and whizzing past and striking someone near," recalled Captain Robert Park of the 12th Alabama on the brigade's right flank. Park received a wound that knocked him to the ground. "It was a wonder, a miracle that I was not afterward shot a half dozen times."

As Rodes watched them, he saw that they were moving quickly but not in the correct direction. O'Neal's ranks were in confusion and his attack stalled. Rodes rushed to the 5th Alabama and ordered Colonel Josephus Hall to lead his men forward to assist the rest of the brigade. "To my surprise, I found that Colonel O'Neal, instead of personally superintending the movements of his brigade, had chosen to remain with his reserve regiment," Rodes noted in his report. "The result was that the whole brigade … was repulsed quickly." After the battle, O'Neal would make the dubious assertion that when Rodes ordered the attack to begin neither O'Neal nor his staff could reach their horses in time to accompany their brigade.

With no time to waste, Rodes ordered Hall to deploy his regiment to the left of the 6th Alabama. The regiment moved rapidly forward past Moses McLean's farmhouse at the foot of Oak Hill. To address the threat posed by the 45th New York's skirmishers, Hall refused his left flank. Although the 5th Alabama came to within 50 yards of the Federal line, it was compelled to fall back since it was receiving front and enfilading fire with no hope of reinforcement. O'Neal's charge had disintegrated after just 15 minutes. One of the key reasons for its failure was that O'Neal had failed to extend his line far enough to the east to take Baxter's brigade in the flank and rear. In its disjointed attack, the brigade had suffered heavy losses. The survivors regrouped 300 yards to the rear.

Iverson found that O'Neal's brigade had stepped off before he had a chance to coordinate his brigade's movement with it. Iverson neither placed skirmishers in front of his brigade nor did he reconnoiter the ground over which his brigade would advance. As the brigade began its advance, the 5th North Carolina, 20th North Carolina, 23rd North Carolina, and 12th North Carolina Regiments were ordered left to right.

Baxter realigned his brigade so that all of his regiments were facing west. The regiments on his right flank were concealed behind a rock wall and had laid down their flags. Thus, Iverson's advancing Tarheels simply saw a grassy field ahead and beyond it what appeared to be an unoccupied rock wall.

The North Carolinians were "sweeping on in magnificent order, with perfect alignment, guns at right shoulder and colors to the front," Iverson wrote in his report.

Colonel Roy Stone's brigade of the Third Division of the Union I Corps, which was deployed on McPherson's farm, opened a

destructive fire at long range on Iverson's right flank. Lieutenant James Stewart, who commanded the 4th U.S. Artillery, Battery B, also opened fire from the Chambersburg Pike with three guns against the same target. Stewart's battery was part of Colonel Charles Wainwright's artillery brigade, which was the I Corps' artillery support.

When Iverson's men got to within 80 yards of Baxter's position, the Yankees stood up and fired on the Tarheels. "At the command a sheet of flame and smoke burst from the wall with the simultaneous crash of the rifles, flaring full in the faces of the advancing troops, the ground being quickly covered with their killed and wounded as the balls hissed and cut through the exposed line," recalled Private John Vautier of the 88th Pennsylvania.

"There seems to have been utter ignorance of the force crouching behind the stone wall," wrote Captain Vines E. Turner of the 23rd North Carolina. "When we were in point blank range the dense line of the enemy rose from its protected lair and poured into us a withering fire from the front and both flanks."

The survivors of Baxter's initial catastrophic volley withdrew a short distance to a depression in the ground where they found themselves trapped. To stand up in order to advance or retreat in the face of such withering fire meant certain death. "The smoke was so dense that you could not perceive an object 10 feet from you," wrote Captain Lewis Hicks of the 20th North Carolina. He said that the Confederates in the gully could not make up their minds "whether to lie still or to yield or to die fighting." All the while, Baxter's exultant Yankees continued to fire on them from the safety of the rock wall.

Both O'Neal and Rodes went forward to try to rescue the remnants of the shattered brigade. Yet before they could arrange for their rescue, the distraught troops in the depression surrendered. Some of Baxter's men advanced from their protected positions to scoop up Rebel prisoners and send them to the rear; in the process, Baxter's men captured the flags of the 5th, 20th, and 23rd North Carolina.

After the prisoners were gone, the line of dead killed in the opening volley shocked those who witnessed it. The blood from the dead bodies "ran like a branch," recalled Turner. "And that, too, on the hot, parched ground." Iverson, who was culpable in the slaughter, had the audacity to later state that he exonerated the survivors who had surrendered. Despite this, Rodes acknowledged that Iverson's men had done their duty. "[Iverson's] men fought and died like heroes," wrote Rodes.

After the fight, there were rumors that Iverson was drunk and spent the battle hiding behind a log. The North Carolinians of Iverson's brigade never forgave him for sending them leaderless into battle. Lee never forgave Iverson either. The commander of the Army of Northern Virginia ultimately had Iverson transferred to Georgia.

The 3rd Alabama of O'Neal's brigade was still unattached and without orders. Battle offered his brigade's assistance to Daniel, who gladly accepted. The 3rd Alabama fell in on Daniel's left flank as they moved out of Forney's Woods.

A COUPLE OF WELL-AIMED, THUNDEROUS VOLLEYS SO DISHEARTENED THE NORTH CAROLINIANS THAT THEY WERE PUT TO FLIGHT. THEY RETREATED NORTH ABOUT A QUARTER OF A MILE BEFORE DANIEL ARRIVED AMID BURSTING UNION ARTILLERY SHELLS TO RALLY THEM.

When Iverson advanced, his bearing left to strike Oak Ridge in a frontal assault unmasked Daniel's left wing. Concerned about this, Daniel rode forward to reconnoiter the ground over which his brigade would be attacking Union forces. He observed that he would not only need to engage the Baxter's and Cutler's forces on Oak Ridge, but also check the fire of Stone's regiments along the Chambersburg Pike to prevent his troops from receiving a deadly enfilading fire from these units.

Daniel therefore decided to divide his 2,000-man brigade. He sent the 43rd and 53rd North Carolina Regiments, as well as the 3rd Alabama from O'Neal's brigade, to the left against Oak Ridge. To contend with the threat to his brigade from the south, Daniel ordered the 2nd North Carolina Battalion, 32nd North Carolina, and 45th North Carolina Regiment to advance south against Stone's line. The officer commanding the 32nd North Carolina, though, became confused and his regiment was largely ineffective. Similarly, Lt. Col. W.G. Lewis, commanding the 43rd North Carolina, initially kept his regiment in place near the Forney House along the Mummasburg Road and did not follow the 53rd North Carolina and 3rd Alabama in their assault against the Federal line.

The 2nd North Carolina Battalion moved south on the left with the 45th North Carolina Regiment on its right. Waiting to receive their attack on the Chambersburg Pike were the 143rd and 149th Pennsylvania Regiments of Stone's "Bucktail Brigade."

The Tarheels' moving south against the Bucktail Brigade ran headlong into a severe fire when they stopped to dislodge Yankee skirmishers from their position behind a fence. Having driven off the skirmishers, Daniel's men began climbing over the fence. Just at that moment, the Bucktails on the south side of the Chambersburg Pike opened up with a heavy fire. Daniel's two regiments wavered and temporarily halted. By this time, the Tarheels' front rank had reached the railroad cut. While seemingly providing protection against enemy fire, the railroad cut also could

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prove a deadly trap. Earlier that day elements of Brig. Gen. Joseph R. Davis's brigade of the Confederate III Corps had become trapped in a different section of the railroad cut.

Lieutenant Stewart's guns fired canister at the Rebels as they approached the railroad cut. Some of the Rebels jumped into to the cut to escape the effects of the canister. From their left Confederates in the cut were struck by other Union guns that swept the cut itself with enfilading canister fire. Sensing that their side held the advantage, Lt. Col. Walton Dwight, commanding the 149th Pennsylvania, ordered his Bucktails to advance to the railroad cut. His men surged across the Chambersburg Pike, and when they reached the cut lay down along its southern lip where they were concealed by the lay of the land.

As the rest of the Confederates were scaling the fence to approach the cut, Dwight ordered his men to fire on them. A couple of well-aimed, thunderous volleys so disheartened the North Carolinians that they were put to flight. They retreated north about a quarter of a mile before Daniel arrived amid bursting Union artillery shells to rally them. To the south, Dwight had to withdraw his regiment to the Chambersburg Pike when incoming Confederate artillery shells made the position too warm to hold.

Not all of the Rebels had withdrawn from their positions along the cut, though. Some of the soldiers from the 2nd North Carolina Battalion were engaged in a hot exchange of musketry with the 143rd Pennsylvania anchoring Stone's right flank. They eventually withdrew.

"At the railroad cut, which had been partially concealed by the long grass growing around it, and which, in the consequence of the abruptness of its sides, was impassable, the advance was stopped," Daniel wrote in his report. Daniel ordered the remainder of his troops at the railroad cut to withdraw 40 yards to a hill. From their new position, they maintained a brisk fire on the enemy.

Daniel eventually reestablished his right wing on the crest of a low hill north of the railroad cut. Although the 2nd North Carolina Battalion and the 45th North Carolina Regiment had failed to inflict serious damage on Stone's regiments or dislodge them, they had fought gallantly. In so doing, they had successfully protected the right flank of the part of Daniel's brigade that was attacking Cutler's division at the western edge of Shead's Woods.

Daniel's left wing, consisting of the 3rd Alabama on the left and the 53rd North Carolina on the right, advanced against three brigades of the Union I Corps occupying Oak Ridge and Shead's Woods. As they made their way toward their objective, their battle lines were torn asunder by a combination of artillery and long-range musketry from Cutler's men deployed at the edge of Shead's Woods. The 53rd North Carolina had made it to within 50 yards of the smoke-wrapped Union line when the 3rd Alabama stopped abruptly. Colonel William Owens halted the 53rd North Carolina's advance and had it fall back far enough to maintain alignment with the Alabamians. What Owens did not know at the time was that Colonel Battle had stopped his regiment in an effort to try to align it with the right regiment of Ramseur's brigade.

As Daniel's attack stalled, Rodes committed his reserve brigade to the fight. Ramseur's brigade advanced boldly against the Union I Corps' right flank. While the other brigades were advancing to the attack, Ramseur's four regiments positioned at the rear of the division arrived in position about 3 PM.

By the time Ramseur formed up his troops for an advance at 3:15 PM, O'Neal's assault had failed, and Iverson's attack was unraveling.

Ramseur initially divided his command to deal with the dire situation facing the other brigades that had attacked before him.

Ramseur dispatched the 2nd and 4th North Carolina on his left wing to assist O'Neal's beleaguered troops. Then, astride his dark gray horse, Ramseur accompanied his right wing, composed of the 14th and 30th North Carolina Regiments, to assist Iverson's mauled brigade.

Captain James Crowder, who commanded the 3rd Alabama's sharpshooters, suggested to Ramseur that rather than strike Oak Ridge head on, he shift to the left in an attempt to take the Union troops in the flank. This is what O'Neal was to have done, but his troops were not far enough east to achieve their objective of turning the flank of the Union I Corps.

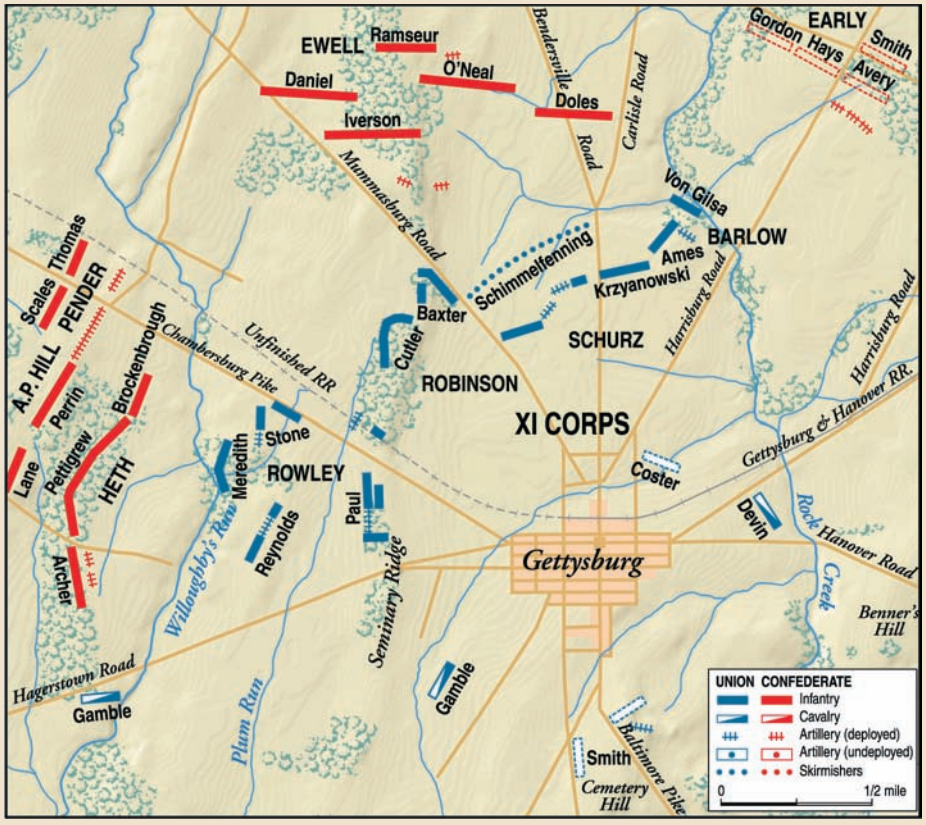
By mid-afternoon the extreme right of the Union I Corps was no longer held by Baxter's brigade. Baxter had shifted to his left, and his old position was occupied by the five regiments of Brig. Gen. Gabriel Paul's brigade, also of the Second Division of the I Corps. Paul had received orders at 1 PM. from division commander Robinson to take Baxter's position. His men had begun arriving at that location about 90 minutes later, just as many of Iverson's troops were surrendering.

Ramseur heartily agreed. Through some adroit maneuvering, which included a wheel to the left after marching across O'Neal's front, Ramseur was in position to attack. After a brisk march, his men were panting.

"Boys, do you see that stone wall over yonder?" Ramseur said to the men he was leading. "Well, I want you to drive the Yankees from behind it, and then you can rest." While Ramseur was preparing to attack, Rodes located Ramseur's two left wing regiments and ordered them to rejoin the rest of the brigade for its attack on Paul's flank.

As Ramseur's brigade advanced southward to the attack, the 14th North Carolina was on its left and the 30th North Carolina on its right. The 4th was behind the 14th, and the 2nd was behind the 30th. Ramseur's men would have to cover 600 yards of ground to strike Paul's brigade. Working to their advantage was the fact that during the first half of their advance they would be concealed from the Federals by the lay of the land.

When Ramseur's men came to the fence, their weight collapsed it and they continued their rapid assault. When they reached the Mummasburg Road, the front rank stopped and fired a crashing volley before the entire battle line resumed its charge. The 30th North Carolina ran headlong into the 104th New York, while the 14th North Carolina advanced



ABOVE: The attack of Rodes' division on the first day at Gettysburg might have rolled up the Union right flank if it had been better executed. OPPOSITE: Brig. Gen. George Doles ably led his Georgians in a supporting attack against Yankees on Blocher's Knoll, now known as Barlow's Knoll.

against the 13th Massachusetts. The frenzied fighting shifted back and forth across the Mummasburg Road.

Paul's men were taking heavy fire from the front, rear, and right flank. The Yankees began retreating in companies and regiments east toward Gettysburg. Ramseur had achieved what three brigades before him had been unable to do. Ramseur's brigade was "ordered forward, and was hurled by its commander with the skill and gallantry for which he is always conspicuous, and with irrestistable force, upon the enemy just where he had repulsed O'Neal and checked Iverson's advance," wrote Rodes in his report.

The enemy "made but feeble resistance to the front attack, but ran off the field in confusion, leaving his killed and wounded and between 800 or 900 prisoners in our hands," wrote Ramseur. To their credit, Baxter's troops did not succumb to panic. Instead they fought a slow retreat, stopping occasionally to make a brief stand in to drive back the pursuing Rebels as they made their way one and a half miles to Gettysburg.

A short distance to the east, Brig. Gen. Doles' Georgia brigade was deployed three-quarters of a mile east of the main force of Rodes' division where it guarded the division's left flank against the Union IX Corps. Doles had performed superbly, handling his brigade with great skill, during the Battle of Chancellorsville while serving under Rodes, and he would do the same at Gettysburg.

While Ramseur was preparing his attack, Doles was working closely with Brig. Gen. John Gordon, who commanded a brigade in Maj. Gen. Jubal Early's division of the II Corps, on plans to assail Brig. Gen. Francis Barlow's division of the Union IX Corps. Barlow's division held an exposed, unsupported position on Blocher's Knoll north of the town. The Union division commander had seized the commanding ground in an effort to prevent Doles from taking it and using it as an artillery position.

Rodes accompanied Doles' attack, focusing great attention on it. Their respective contributions to the successful attack that unfolded at mid-afternoon on July 1 reflected positively on both of them. Doles led off at 3 PM with a two-regiment front consisting of the 4th Georgia on the left and the 44th Georgia on the right. The 12th and 21st Georgia constituted the reserve. The two lead Georgia brigades smashed into the left wing of Barlow's crescent-shaped front line. Some of

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AN ANGLO-GERMAN ARMY SOUGHT TO DRIVE THE FRENCH FROM HANOVER IN 1759 DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. AN UNORTHODOX ATTACK UNFOLDED THAT DEFIED THE TACTICS OF THE TIME. | BY DAVID A. NORRIS

IT DID NOT SEEM POSSIBLE for them to hold on, yet six regiments of British infantry, standing with three battalions of Hanoverians, withstood a heavy artillery barrage on August 1, 1759, on a plain next to the fortress of Minden in the Electorate of Hanover. They repulsed two charges of French cavalry, then they fended off an attack by French-allied Saxon infantry.

Lieutenant Thomas Thomson of the 20th Regiment of Foot desperately hoped that reinforcements were on their way to assist the hardy musketeers. "Now was the time the English Cavalry should have come up; every eye was looking with impatience," Thomson wrote afterward. But the horse soldiers were nowhere to be seen.

The British would look back in later years at 1759 as the *annus mirabilis* (miracle year) when the Seven Years' War turned sharply in their favor. But the spring of 1759 found the British and their German allies in deep trouble in the French campaign against the King George II's continental possession of Hanover.

At the time, George II of Great Britain also was the Elector of Hanover. The title of elector reflected the ruler's membership in the select group of high-ranking secular princes and archbishops who chose the Holy Roman Emperor. The nearest Protestant successor to Queen Anne, who died in 1714, was George II's father, George I. Thus, the elder George found himself

Minden was one of as many as 30 key battles in the Seven Years' War. Major powers France, Austria, and Russia went to war against Britain, Hanover, and Prussia in the global conflict.

crowned as monarch of one of Europe's major powers. His son George II also ruled the British dominions and the middling north German state of Hanover. More than a few in Great Britain grumbled that the king seemed more concerned about his possessions in Hanover than those of the British Empire.

The Seven Years' War, which began in 1756 and ended in 1763, found Great Britain straining to fight the French in Canada, the West Indies, and India, as well as on the Continent. Heretofore, George II was wary of the growing power of Frederick the Great's Prussia, which was uncomfortably close to Hanover; however, this new war broke out with an unusual diplomatic twist. Austria and France ended years of enmity and went to war as allies. Empress Maria Theresa of Austria sought revenge against Prussia for loss of Silesia in the War of the Austrian Succession, which had ended in 1748. A new British-Prussian alliance gave Prussia London's help against its powerful enemies and provided George II with Prussia as a shield to protect Hanover.

Among other setbacks in the war, the French defeated a Hanoverian and Hessian army at the Battle of Hastenbeck on June 27, 1757, near the town of Hamelin in Hanover. Hanoverian commander William, Duke of Cumberland, signed the Convention of Klosterzeven, an agreement that led to the disbandment of his army and the French occupation of Hanover. Although Cumberland was the son of George II and famous for his victory over the Scottish Jacobite rebels at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, he was disgraced and never held military command after the debacle of Hastenbeck.

At the insistence of Prime Minister William Pitt, George II appointed as commander of the Hanoverian army Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, a younger brother of Brunswick's ruler Charles I. Ferdinand had served with Frederick the Great's army during the War of the Austrian Succession. Ferdinand proved his competence by defeating the French at Krefeld on June 23, 1758. The French were driven from Hanover, and George II rewarded Ferdinand's success by

MIRACLE AT MINDEN

sending 7,000 British troops to join him.

The first commander of the British contingent, Charles Spencer, Duke of Marlborough (grandson of the famed first duke), died suddenly in August 1758. London would come to regret replacing Marlborough with Lt. Gen. Lord George Sackville.

For a century, Britain's Hanoverian kings, known as the "Four Georges," carried on a tradition of quarrelling with their heirs. In 1759, factions of the British court gravitated toward King George II or his grandson and heir apparent, Prince George (the future George III). The king and his followers favored intervention in Germany and the Prussian alliance. The rival faction that was grouped around the crown prince, known as the "young court," disliked Prussia. They preferred raids on the French coast and colonies over direct involvement in aid of Frederick the Great.

Stepping into Marlborough's post, Sackville was not extended Marlborough's powers of appointing his own replacement officers when necessary. Neither was he appointed to Marlborough's place as master of ordnance. His limited status struck him as an insult by the king's party, intended to heighten Ferdinand's prestige at the expense of his own. Establishing trust and a good working relationship with Ferdinand was a necessity for someone in Sackville's shoes, but instead he squabbled with the duke and seethed at perceived personal slights.

After Krefeld, the Comte de Clermont resigned as commander of France's army in western Germany and was replaced by Marshal Louis Georges Erasme, Marquis de Contades. Early in the spring of 1759 Contades' subordinate Victor François, Duc de Broglie, won a French victory at Bergen on April 13. Ferdinand's plans for the upcoming campaign were dashed, and at that point affairs looked bright for the French. Contades' 60,000-strong army included some Saxon infantry accompanying the French units.

Ferdinand's army of 45,000 was mainly German, with large contingents from Hanover and Hesse and smaller contribution from Prussia and Brunswick. With them were six regiments of British infantry, a Royal Artillery contingent, and six regiments of British cavalry. A new draft of nearly 800 infantry recruits arrived from England early in April. The new men would make up roughly a quarter or a third of each of the six foot regiments.

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French successes continued on July 9, when Broglie captured Minden on the left bank of the Weser. The medieval town of Minden stood inside a formidable array of walls and bastions begun in the 1500s. Below the walls the winding course of the Weser River, which flowed north past Bremen to empty into the North Sea at Bremerhaven, protected the Hanoverian territories to the east.

Ferdinand pulled back to the north after the fall of Minden. Part of his forces held Bremen, and he also secured his magazine at Nienburg. Contades captured Osnabruck, sent troops to impress supplies in Hanover, and threatened Hamelin, Lippstadt, and Munster.

Although outnumbered, Ferdinand confronted Contades a few miles north of Minden. On July 17, Contades withdrew to Minden, choosing to avoid battle while his detached troops were making progress against the allies.

Contades and his main army camped south of Minden. In the French army's front was the Bastau, a small stream that emptied into the Weser just south of the fortress walls. The Bastau meandered for eight miles through a morass approximately 200 yards wide. South of the morass, the terrain rose to a flat shelf of farmland where the French army camped. Behind the camps, to the south, was a long, wooded ridge. Across the old town bridge and two pontoon spans, the Duc de Broglie occupied the right bank of the Weser.

Camped at Petershagen, Ferdinand sent pickets ahead to occupy several villages north and west of Minden. The villages stretched in a shallow arc from Todtenhausen on the Weser southwest to Hille, which was eight miles west of Minden. By holding Hille, the allies perched close to Contades' right, blocking the only causeway that crossed the marshes. Increasing the pressure on Contades, Lt. Gen. Georg August von Wangenheim's corps of 10,000 troops moved to Todtenhausen on July 22.

Charles William Ferdinand, who as the eldest son of Charles I was hereditary prince of Brunswick, marched 10 miles west of Minden to Lubbecke. On July 27 the hereditary prince's 6,000 men drove away the troops shielding the French left. Farther west, the allies recaptured Osnabruck one day later, blocking Contades' main supply route.

Rather than assail Contades' army behind its strong lines, Ferdinand hoped to draw the enemy out into the open. If harassment of the French supply and communication lines was not reason enough to lure the French out, Ferdinand dangled the tempting bait of a seemingly unprotected wing of his army. While leaving Wangenheim by the Weser at Todtenhausen, the rest of the allied troops marched west toward Hille, leaving a gap of several miles between the main army and the isolated detachment by the river. At the time, 10,000 of Ferdinand's troops were miles away with the hereditary prince, and another detachment was away at Lubbecke.

Ferdinand's risky weakening of his forces paid off by tempting the French out of their protected lines. Contades sent 8,000 men under Louis Hercule Timoleon, Duc de Brissac, to keep the hereditary prince from joining his forces to the main army. Sappers assembled eight bridges across the marshy Bastau, and the army moved forward in eight columns. Broglie was summoned from the opposite bank of the Weser to join the main army as the ninth column. With 51,000 men and 168 guns, Contades aimed at the allied force of 41,000 troops and their 170 guns.

A storm bore down from the west on the night of July 31. So heavy were the winds that the church bells in Minden could not be heard in the French camp as the soldiers marched across the bridges over the Bastau. Scarcely one hour after the French left their camps, the pickets of Frederick Erdman, Prince of Anhalt-Kothen, picked up two French deserters. Both men revealed that their army was on the march. Duke Ferdinand expected such a move and had already instructed his commanders to alert him at once if the enemy army showed signs of activity. Anhalt, though, disbelieved the deserters. The prince dithered for a couple of hours before sending a courier, so it was 3 AM on August 1 before word of the French moves arrived at Ferdinand's headquarters at Hille.

In moments, orders flew to the allied gener-

Wikimedia

ABOVE: Ferdinand of Brunswick, shown on horseback in the center of the Prussian-Hanoverian line, proved his competence by defeating the French at Krefeld in June 1758. OPPOSITE: Clockwise from top left: Prussian Field Marshal Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel; Marshal Louis Georges Erasme, Marquis de Contades; Maj. Gen. August Friedrich von Sporcken; and Lt. Gen. Lord George Sackville.

als. They were already prepared to move in eight columns, with infantry in the center and cavalry on each flank. The right column was composed of 24 squadrons of cavalry (15 British and nine Hanoverian) under Lord Sackville. Sackville's column was followed by a German artillery column, which in turn was followed by Maj. Gen. August Friedrich von Sporcken's six British foot regiments. The British artillery was grouped in four brigades under captains Forbes MacBean, Duncan Drummond, Edward Foy, and William Phillips, with the latter in overall command.

Most of the troops promptly left camp, but Sackville's column was not ready to move, and no one could find its commander. Ferdinand had greatly offended Sackville with his assignment. Although the head of all the British troops on the field, the duke ordered him to lead only the right flank's cavalry minus his infantry regiments.

Duke Ferdinand pushed ahead, accompanied by only one staff officer, to survey his army. One of his first goals was to take Hahlen because possession of the village would menace the French left flank. After the delays caused by Anhalt and Sackville, the duke worried that the enemy would snap up the village before his own men could get there.

The duke rode to another village, Hartum, perhaps one mile west of Hahlen. He rousted his pickets and rushed them toward Hahlen and then galloped toward that point himself. Yet it was too late; French troops already held the village. Even worse, there was no word from Wangenheim's corps. He could hear no gunfire coming from Todtenhausen, but he knew the gusty winds might be drowning out the noise of a brisk cannonade. Ferdinand dispatched the only staff officer with him to ride to Wangenheim. Now with only a groom for company, the duke rode to the plains before Minden. After dawn, heavy smoke rose from Todtenhausen, indicating that Wangenheim was engaged with the enemy.

From the right, the duke heard gunfire coming from the 500 men and a pair of cannons posted at Hille near the causeway across the Bastau. A six-gun French battery had opened fire in hope of distracting Ferdinand's attention. Rightfully regarding the French battery as a minor threat, he only summoned the troops at Lubbecke and ordered two more guns sent to Hille.

Anhalt again tangled the duke's plans. He led the pickets from Hartum, but finding the French settled into Hahlen, he simply halted. Stirred to action by Ferdinand's orders, Anhalt seized Hahlen without much trouble. Rather than press the enemy further, he stayed in the village.

To aid the troops at Hahlen, the duke sent Captain Foy's battalion of artillery. Foy's gunners put up a brisk fire, and the enemy made no attempt to drive away Anhalt's troops.

Contades' timing was also thrown off in the early morning hours. He had to push his regiments across the Bastau during the stormy night hours; marching them in the light of day would have exposed them to attack as they strode out of the morass. Their officers did not have them deployed until well after daylight.

Dawn found the French army arranged in a great convex arc, as if shielding the fortress of Minden. Their troops were still shuffling into place, with infantry holding the flanks and the cavalry in the center. On their right confronting Wangenheim was Broglie, with the Grenadiers Royaux and Grenadiers de France in his front line. The latter was an unusually large regiment of 48 companies requiring an expanded contingent of field officers. As the columns to Broglie's left were

not in place, he waited with his foot and horse troops, leaving his artillery to bombard the enemy.

If Broglie expected to surprise Wangenheim, he was disappointed. His soldiers encountered an entire division prepared for battle rather than scattered pickets. Ferdinand planned for his detachment at Todtenhausen to hold on long enough to assemble his forces and throw them united against the French. Wangenheim was well entrenched and backed up with 30 guns.

Foy's cannons still played on the French left. Encouraged by their success, Ferdinand sent Captain MacBean's 10-gun artillery battalion and Major Haase's Hanoverian artillery battalion to join them.

Sporcken, with his British and Hanoverian troops, waited by the guns defending Hahlen. Lieutenant Hugh Montgomery of the 12th Regiment of Foot wrote that his regiment was roused as early as 4 AM, and by 7 AM it drew up in a valley. On the day before the battle, soldiers of Montgomery's regiment and their fellow British units marched past hedgerows and gardens bearing fresh blooming roses. Many of the redcoats were still wearing the roses they had plucked during that peaceful interlude on their hats and in their buttonholes.

The fleeting sweet scent of the moist roses would soon be smothered in sulfurous powder smoke. Ferdinand sent a courier informing Sporcken that when he received orders to advance his soldiers were to march to the beat of their drums.

Shortly thereafter, Ferdinand was shocked to see that Sporcken's front line was in motion. The duke's aide had delivered his orders verbally in French. The foot officers misunderstood the aide to mean that they should immediately advance on the enemy with drums beating.

Several of the duke's aides galloped to head off the premature attack. Word reached Sporcken's forward line, which halted behind the cover of a stretch of fir trees, but only for a short time. Then, as the drums pounded again, Maj. Gen. John Waldegrave led the front line forward, with the British 12th, 37th, and 23rd Regiments of Foot on the right and the Hanoverian Guards on the left. The regiments marched straight toward the French center, manned by three lines of the cavalry of the Duc de Fitzjames, a grandson of King James II, the Stuart monarch deposed in the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Seeing Waldegrave move out, Colonel William Kingsley led Sporcken's second line, composed of the British 20th Regiment and three Hanoverian battalions, in support of the first line. Waldegrave and Kingsley pressed ahead, caught in the crossfire of 60 French guns. Lieutenant Montgomery and the 12th Foot were on the right flank of the front line when "an 18- pound ball came rolling gently up to us; now began the most disagreeable march I ever had in my life, for we advanced more than a quarter mile through a most furious fire from a most infernal battery of 18 pounders, which was at first upon our front, but as we proceeded, bore upon our flank, and at last upon our rear." Cannon balls slashed through their ranks, but the soldiers marched on without hesitation.

"I was almost knocked off of my legs by my three right-hand men, who were killed and drove against me by a cannon ball, the same ball also killed two men close to [Ensign Charles] Ward, whose post was in the rear of my platoon," recalled Montgomery. Twice Montgomery was struck by spent musket balls, and another ball pierced his coat. "My spontoon was shot through a little below my hand," wrote Montgomery. He later replaced it with a captured French spontoon.

Lieutenant Thomas Thomson of the 20th Foot found the action as hot as did the redcoats of the 12th Foot. The enemy guns were "ill served at first, but they soon felt us, and their shot took effect so fast, that every officer imagined the battalion would be taken off before we could get up to give a fire … my right-hand file of men not more than a foot from me were all by one ball dashed to pieces, and their blood flying all over me; this, I must confess, staggered me not a little," wrote Thomson. But a spent musket shot that bruised his arm also snapped his attention away from the horror and steadied him.

When the infantry was within 100 yards of the French line, 11 squadrons of cavalry under

BELOW: In one of the most curious episodes of the war, Lt. Gen. Lord George Sackville disobeyed multiple orders from Ferdinand of Brunswick to send British cavalry to assist the hard-pressed British infantry. OPPOSITE: Although the French cavalry overran two companies of British infantry as they cut through the British line, they failed to disorder the rest of the British troops.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

SAINT-PERN SAW HIS MEN WAVER AS INCOMING CANNON BALLS SLASHED THROUGH THEIR RANKS. TO STEADY HIS SOLDIERS, HE RODE IN FRONT OF THEM AND TOOK OUT HIS SNUFFBOX. "WELL, MY BOYS, WHAT'S THE MATTER, EH? CANNON?" HE ASKED. "WELL, IT KILLS US, IT KILLS US, THAT'S ALL, MY BOYS. MARCH ON, AND NEVER MIND IT."

Alamy

Marquis Charles de Castries charged them. Waldegrave's redcoats held their fire until the enemy horsemen had galloped within 30 yards, according to Montgomery. Then, a British volley cut down dozens of riders and horses. The momentum of the charge carried some of Castries' men forward, and Montgomery saw that "they rode down two companies on the right of our regiment, wounded three officers, took one of them prisoner with our artillery lieutenant and whipped off the tumbrels."

The French horsemen gained little else from their charge, though. When they came to a halt after cutting through the British line, Waldegrave's companies turned around to fire into the enemy cavalry just as Kingsley's second line unleashed a volley from behind them. Castries' cavalry wheeled about and surged back into Fitzjames' line, leaving behind many dead or wounded on the field.

Ferdinand saw the repulse of the French cavalry. He sent Captain Wintzingerode, a Hessian aide-de-camp, with orders to Sackville, who waited with the cavalry of the right flank. These horse regiments were arrayed by a windmill near Hallen. If it were not for a stand of fir trees, they would have been able to see Waldegrave's and Kingsley's embattled infantry to their left and somewhat in front. Wintzingerode relayed the commander's orders in French to pass his cavalry through the woods on his left, move forward onto the heath, and relieve the foot soldiers.

Instead of advancing, Sackville argued with the aide. He repeatedly asked how that was to be done. For his part, Wintzingerode saw the woods as open and with no bushes or underwood, but Sackville deemed them impassible. The Hessian repeated his orders in French and then tried to explain the details in his limited English. He saw Sackville turn to speak to his officers. Confident that the cavalry would move, the aide rode back to rejoin Ferdinand's staff.

Sackville not having responded to his orders, Ferdinand sent a second aide-de-camp, Captain Edward Ligonier, to urge Sackville to action. Instead of passing through the woods to his left, Sackville pushed forward a short distance and stopped.

As the French cavalry rallied, four brigades of infantry and 32 guns were pushed ahead to fire on Sporcken's redcoats. The second line of Fitzjames' cavalry, still fresh, "came upon us like lightning," wrote Montgomery. Ferdinand, aware that Sackville was standing still, sent Captain William Phillips' artillery brigade just in time to lend its support to the foot soldiers.

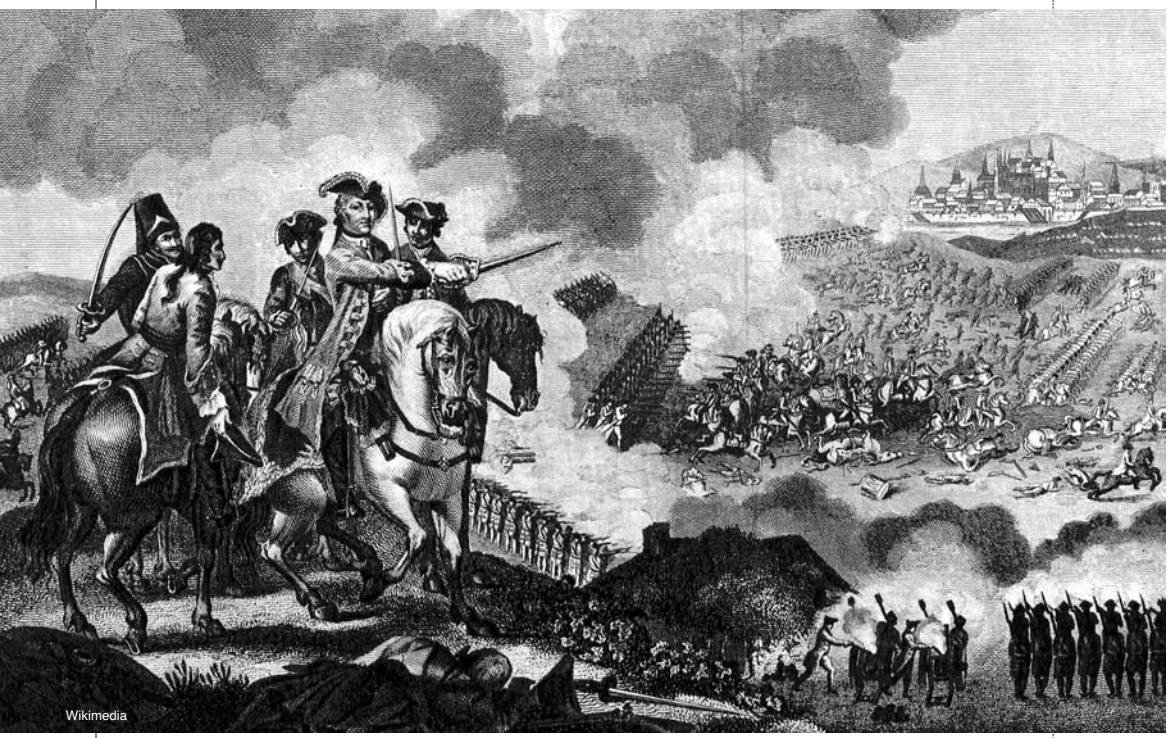
Once again, Sporcken's troops shattered and hurled back a cavalry charge. They then repulsed an advance of enemy infantry. Lieutenant Thomson was then hit by a musket ball. "I found myself fainting," he said. Thomson set out for the rear to find a surgeon.

A wounded soldier supported Thomson on his way, while "the balls came as thick as in the front," Thomson recalled. Thomson's companion was struck down. "His left leg was carried away by a cannon ball, the wind of which fairly turned me round, but did not hurt me otherwise," wrote Thomson.

The common was strewn with dead and wounded men and horses. On the leeward side of those horses lay wounded soldiers that could not get any farther. Thomson fell in with a wounded

captain, and the two walked three miles in search of a surgeon. They stumbled across Sackville's coach, and they were attended by the lord's personal surgeon. The surgeon was one that Sackville "need not have had, as there was no danger of his being hurt, as you will soon find by the Vox Populi," noted Thomson.

As Montgomery and Thomson wondered about Sackville's whereabouts, Ferdinand sent yet another aide, Colonel Charles Fitzroy, to the cavalry commander. Fitzroy conveyed the duke's new orders to send the British horse battalions forward. Sackville, still accompanied by Ligonier, snapped that he was being given contradictory orders. Proclaiming that the aides had misunderstood their orders, he angrily halted his cavalry again. Meanwhile, Fitzjames stabilized his lines,



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and the chance for a breakthrough in the French center faded away.

After fretting so long for the arrival of his cavalry, Duke Ferdinand lost his temper. "Good God!" he shouted. "Is there no means of getting the cavalry to advance?" He sent yet another set of orders with Wintzingerode. The orders instructed John Manners, Marquess of Granby, to bring up the second line. Fitzroy had ridden ahead to speak with Ferdinand, and he explained Sackville's failure to heed his orders. Ferdinand sent Fitzroy across the battlefield once again, also with orders for Granby, stating, "I know he will obey me." Sackville, though, halted Granby and angrily rode to confront the duke and ask the meaning of this barrage of orders.

In the center, Waldegrave and Kingsley held on. Kingsley's horse, shot four times, collapsed and trapped the general on the ground. Saxon troops pushed across that part of the field twice; but at last, Kingsley pulled himself from under his dead horse and made his way back to his brigade. His hat and uniform were punctured with bullet holes. "Look at the old boy, he's well peppered!" quipped an enlisted man. When Sackville finally met Ferdinand face to face, the exasperated duke held his temper, coldly responding, "My lord, the opportunity is now passed." Despite the lack of help from Sackville, the allied infantry closed the gap between the main army and Wangenstein. British and German guns swelled in number and began to overwhelm Contades' artillery.

At Todtenhausen, the Grenadiers de France under the Marquis de Saint-Pern came under heavy fire from the British guns. Saint-Pern saw his men waver as incoming cannon balls slashed through their ranks. To steady his soldiers, he rode in front of them and took out his snuffbox. "Well, my boys, what's the matter, eh? Cannon?" he asked. "Well, it kills us, it kills us, that's all, my boys. March on, and never mind it."

Thomas-Alexandre-Marc d'Alsace, Prince de Chimary, colonel of one Saint-Pern's grenadier battalions, was mortally wounded. Stepping into his place was another colonel, Michel Roche Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de la Fayette. La Fayette held command only a short time before he, too, was mortally wounded. The marquis's son Gilbert, who at that moment was five days from his second birthday, inherited his title. The youngster would grow up to be the legendary Marquis de Lafayette who played a central role with the army of General George Washington during the American Revolution.

Despite Sackville's refusal to bring up his cavalry, the half-dozen British regiments on the left endured everything the enemy could throw at them. "Not one platoon in the whole army," stated the London Gazette, "gave way a single step during the whole action." By 9 AM, the allied right surged forward. In the absence of British cavalry, Ferdinand's German horse regiments tore into the French lines. Within another hour, Contades' regiments were driven from the field. They ran for shelter by the guns of the fortress, or crossed to the south side of the morass.

One of the French infantry regiments left exposed by the collapse of the cavalry in their center was the Regiment d'Auvergne under Colonel Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau. This regiment held steady, and its stubborn withdrawal helped much of the broken army escape. Rochambeau would later command the French army that aided Washington's Continental forces in the Yorktown Campaign.

Normally at this stage of an 18th-century land battle, cavalry would have been thrown at the fleeing enemy. Yet at Minden two artillery battalions spearheaded the pursuit. Foy's and MacBean's gunners found new firing positions, tossed a few shots, then hitched up their horses and pulled the guns forward again. The artillery finally came to a halt at the edge of the high ground north of the Bastau where it kept up a steady fire to drive Contades' men out of range across the marsh.

For Contades, the last straw was the news that the hereditary prince's troops had driven away the Duc de Brissac, cutting him off from his forces to the west. On the night of August 1, Contades retreated across the Weser, destroying the bridges behind him. Minden's 2,800-man garrison surrendered to Ferdinand on August 2.

"I have seen what I never thought to be possible [that] a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry ranked in order of battle and tumble them to ruin," Contades lamented. Public announcements acknowledged that the

disaster at Minden cost Contades 7,000 men killed, wounded, or captured, but the commanders cited higher figures in private letters. Forty-three guns were left on the field along with much of the army's baggage and 17 standards.

Ferdinand's losses came to approximately 3,000, of which nearly half were British. By one official account, of the 3,198 British soldiers in the six regiments involved in the battle, 294 were killed, 1,037 wounded, and 67 missing, for a total of 1,398. Casualties in the British artillery battalions amounted to another 20 men.

In a letter written to his mother, Lieutenant Montgomery added a postscript to the clash. "The noise of the battle frightened our sutler's wife into labor," he wrote. "The next morning she was brought to bed of a son, and we have had him christened by the name of Ferdinand."

For a short while, Sackville's rank and position shielded him from reproach. Hours after the battle, he calmly sat down to join Ferdinand and the other generals at dinner. "The man sits here as if he had performed wonders!" remarked Ferdinand. Nothing was said openly for some time, but officers shared their disgust in personal letters and quiet conversations, and the affair became public knowledge.

After the battle Ferdinand warmly praised many officers. Of Lord Granby, the duke wrote, "He is convinced that had he been fortunate enough to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly assisted in bringing the day to a far more complete and more brilliant issue." The glowing commendations made no mention of Sackville. Ferdinand not only left Sackville out of his post-battle congratulatory orders, he even wrote to George II, requesting Sackville be recalled.

Eventually Sackville demanded a court-martial in Britain. His conduct at Minden remains something of a mystery. He had demonstrated courage and competence on several battlefields before 1759. Some commentators, including the gossipy writer and politician Horatio Walpole, saw the problem as the climax of a personality clash between Sackville and Ferdinand; the general had never gotten along with the duke and resented many of his decisions. He would not be the first commander to let pride in his aristocratic title and high rank get in the way of his duty.

In his defense at the court-martial, he pointed out that he was in wooded terrain unfavorable to cavalry and claimed that Ferdinand issued him numerous obscure and contradictory orders. Any one point regarding an objection to one order or another might have carried weight, but the overriding intent of the duke's five separate orders to pitch the cavalry into the battle was abundantly clear. The court-martial inevitably found Sackville guilty of disobedience of orders. He was dismissed from the army with the proviso that he could never return to military service.

Sackville, though, returned to power and influence. George II died in 1760, and his grandson George III had sided with Sackville during the court-martial. Sackville was back in royal, if not military, favor. He inherited a large estate in 1770 and adopted a family surname, Germain. As Lord Sackville-Germain, he was made the colonial secretary by Lord Frederick North's administration in 1775, just as the American colonies rose in rebellion.

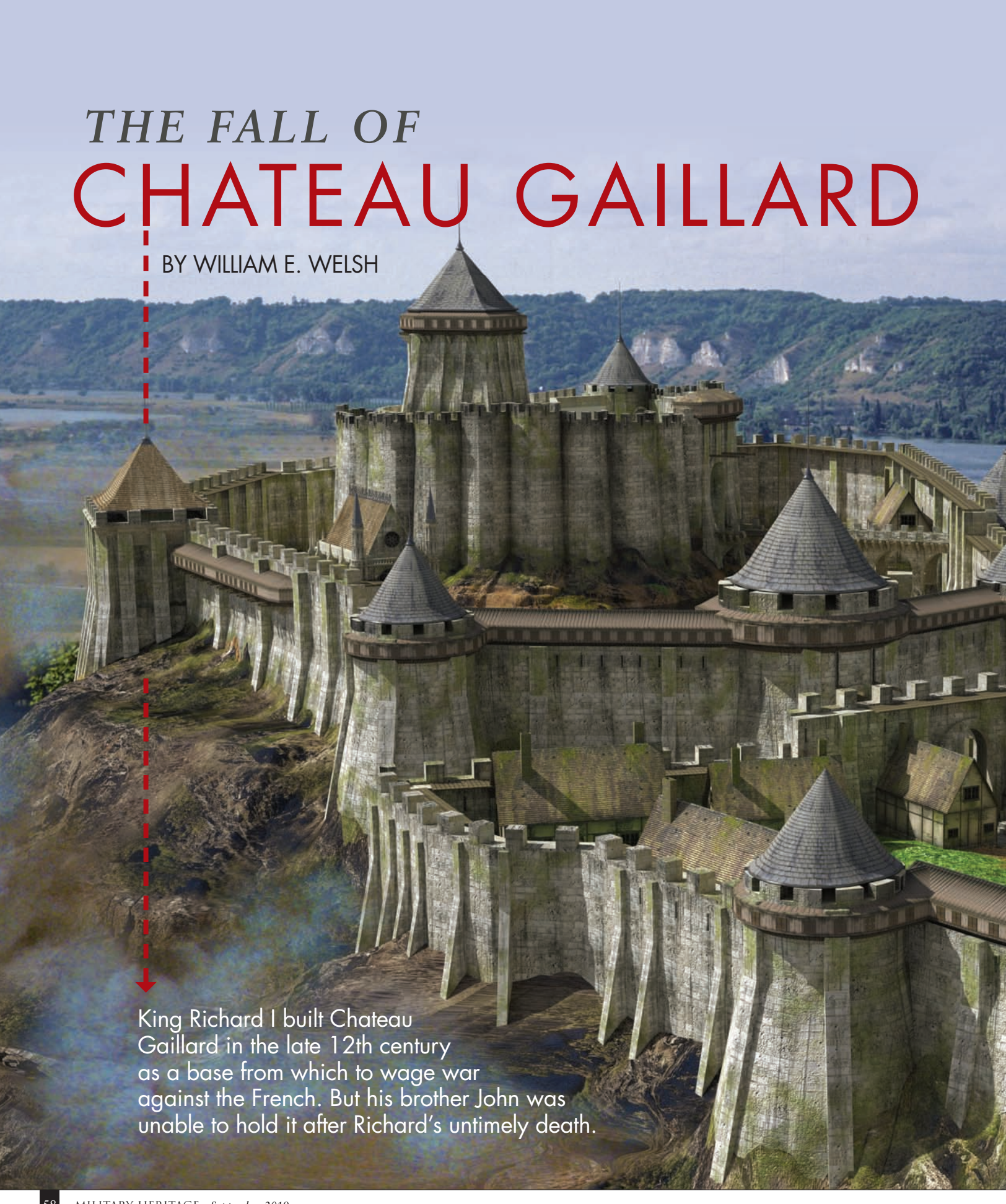
Overshadowed in historical memory by the fall of Quebec, which changed the course of North American history, Minden nonetheless altered the direction of the war in Europe. It was the last time the French threatened Hanover during the conflict, and the battle left Prussia safer along its western borders.

Remembered with pride by the British Army, Minden Day is still marked annually by the successor regiments of the British units that fought there. Roses tucked into modern-day military headgear echo those plucked from the hedgerows by the redcoats before the battle. □

BELOW: With the British line standing fast despite repeated attempts by the French to break it, German cavalry surged forward, driving the French from the field. Minden was the last time the French threatened Hanover during the Seven Years' War. OPPOSITE: The half-dozen British regiments on the allied left endured everything the enemy could throw at them during the desperate battle.

THE FALL OF CHATEAU GAILLARD

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH



King Richard I built Chateau Gaillard in the late 12th century as a base from which to wage war against the French. But his brother John was unable to hold it after Richard's untimely death.

Perched on a limestone outcrop overlooking the Seine River, English King Richard I intended Chateau Gaillard to serve as a base from which he could complete his conquest of the Vexin. INSET: Richard the Lionheart.

IN 1194 English King Richard I returned to England from his long absence on the Third Crusade and set about recovering the castles his younger brother John had taken in his absence. Upon learning Richard had returned safely, the garrisons of most of the castles held by John yielded without a fight. But not the stubborn garrison at Nottingham Castle.

On March 25 Richard arrived at Nottingham determined to take the stronghold by force. Richard donned harness and helmet, for he was always in the thick of the fray. As he moved about, several bodyguards carried large shields in front of him. Richard's knights and men-at-arms fought their way into the barbican and outer bailey on the first day. The next day, Richard deployed catapults against the castle walls.

On the third day of the siege, two defenders were allowed into the king's presence to confirm that he had indeed returned to England and that there was no hoax being perpetrated against the garrison. "Well, what can you see?" he asked them. "Am I here?" This was enough to convince those who doubted Richard was among the besiegers. The garrison surrendered on the fourth day.

Richard pardoned the garrison troops, but he made each one pay a fine. This move was intended to expand his coffers, for he was gathering funds by every conceivable means to finance a protracted war on the Continent against French King Philip II to regain lands that were his by right of being the Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou.

Richard had perfected his fighting skills on the Third Crusade. Even before he was crowned king of England on September 3, 1189, Richard had begun preparations to participate in the crusade. The young monarch took the cross not only to atone for his sins, but also as a chance to demonstrate his martial skills against the Muslims.

Richard quite literally fought his way to the Outremer. While in Sicily, his troops stormed Messina. Afterward, he conquered Cyprus by defeating its Byzantine despot. He arrived in Acre on June 8, 1191, to find a siege already in progress. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had died in Anatolia on his way to join the crusade. Richard shared command with Philip, who had reached Acre a short time earlier.

Acre fell to the crusaders in mid-July. Both Philip and Richard had fallen ill with a scurvy-like disease called arnaldia. Philip used his illness as an excuse to depart, but he really left to address pressing political matters back home, one of which was a succession crisis in Flanders.

Although Richard failed to take Jerusalem largely because he believed it too difficult to capture and hold, his army captured a number of Muslim-held ports and towns in Palestine that shored up the Kingdom of Acre and helped it survive for another century. Richard's victories against An-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, better known to the West as Saladin, in pitched battles at Arsuf and Jaffa solidified his reputation as a first-rate commander. The experience enhanced his logistical, administrative, and leadership skills.

Richard was keenly fond of war. He fought alongside his troops not only to inspire them, but because he loved fighting. The upshot was that he exposed himself to great personal danger on a regular basis. Because of this, the odds were high that he would one day die in battle.

On his way home from the Third Crusade, Richard was taken prisoner in December 1192 by Duke Leopold V of Austria because of a grudge stemming from the siege of Acre. When Leopold, who

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took command of the German contingent after Frederick died, had placed his banner next to Richard's on the battlements of the captured city, Richard's troops tore down the banner and threw it into a ditch. They did this because they believed that the Germans had done little to contribute to the fall of the city. Whether Richard ordered them to take it down is not clear, but he did not tell them to put it back, either. From that point forward, Leopold considered Richard his sworn enemy.

Richard's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, paid her son's ransom of 100,000 silver marks. Richard was freed in Mainz on February 4, 1193. Before sailing to England, he forged key alliances in the Rhineland, Flanders, and Holland that would pay handsome dividends in the future. Richard arrived at Sandwich in Kent on March 13. John's intrigues against Richard came to nothing for his older brother retained the loyalty of his subjects.

In preparation for his journey to Normandy, Richard put in place a new land tax called a *carucage* in which the amount of tax owed was determined by the size of the estate owned by the taxpayer. In addition, the king and his chief justiciar, Hubert Walter, entered into various agreements with individuals and groups by which the party agreed to pay a fee in return for privilege or protection. After a crown-wearing ceremony on April 17 at Winchester Cathedral designed to show his subjects that he was in good health, Richard began assembling an expeditionary army for a long campaign in Normandy.

Richard was anxious to sail to France, for he knew that Philip had not only been seizing castles in eastern Normandy, but also in the Loire Valley. Elsewhere, rebel lords in the Duchy of Aquitaine also caused trouble for Richard. John had been Philip's willing accomplice. Richard's younger brother, who desired the English throne for himself, had ceded all of Normandy east of the Seine River, except for the capital of Rouen, to the King of France.

The Vexin region of Normandy was a source of continuing conflict between the Duke of Normandy and the French crown. Richard's father, King Henry II, became the first Angevin monarch of England when he ascended to the throne in 1154. Two years earlier, Henry had wed Duchess Eleanor of Aquitaine, one of the wealthiest women in Europe. Through his marriage and his inheritance, Henry ruled England, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Aquitaine.

King Henry II had made substantial improvements to many of the castles in the Vexin to prevent their fall to Philip, who had ascended to the French throne in 1180. One castle in particular, Gisors, was coveted by both sides because it was situated in a key location on the Vexin's eastern frontier. In 1193 Castellan Gilbert de Vascoeuil surrendered Gisors to Philip. Many of the nobles in the Vexin were torn between supporting Richard, who they believed might not return from captivity, and Philip, who put heavy pressure on them to join him. Some barons tried to have it both ways. Known as "cross-border nobles," they tried to remain loyal to both the Duke of Normandy and the King of France, but it was a strategy fraught with peril should one or both of their sovereigns decide to punish them by taking their lands. Many had sided with Philip during Richard's captivity on the grounds that if they did not submit to Philip they faced the loss of their lands and financial ruin.

Philip had taken possession of more than two dozen of the castles in the Vexin by the time Richard was ransomed. Some had been taken by storm, and others had simply lowered their drawbridge to avoid a siege. Philip had tried but failed to capture Rouen, the capital of Normandy, in February 1194.

Philip continued his aggression in the Vexin in May while Richard was bottled up in Portsmouth waiting for stormy weather in the English Channel to subside before embarking for the coast of Normandy. Philip's target was Verneuil Castle in the southern Vexin.

After an absence of four years, Richard crossed the English Channel with a fleet of 100 ships laden with men, horses, and siege equipment. On March 20 he arrived at Barfleur where he was received with great fanfare by his Norman subjects.

Richard's first stop was Lisieux where he met with the Count of Alençon. While at Lisieux, 27-year-old Prince John arrived to beg his older brother's forgiveness. Richard magnanimously forgave his younger brother on the grounds that John had been deceived by enemies who pretended to be friends. "You have gotten into bad company, and it is those who have led you astray that will be punished," said Richard.

Count John became one of Richard's subordinate commanders, although Richard had far more trustworthy commanders.

As a show of good faith to Richard, John marched against the stronghold of Evreux determined to claim it for Richard. Earlier that year, Philip had given John control of the town. John had the townspeople and garrison slaughtered and installed an English garrison in their place. The heavy-handed manner in which John behaved reflected his true nature. He lacked the diplomatic skills characteristic of great leaders.

Richard's first objective was to relieve the garrison at Verneuil. For operations in Normandy and the Loire Valley, he could count not only on Anglo-Norman forces, but also on his Navarrese allies. Richard had married Princess Berengaria of Navarre in May 1191 in Cyprus during the Third Crusade. Eleanor of Aquitaine arranged the marriage largely to forge an alliance with Navarre that would protect Aquitaine's southern border from foreign incursions. To assist Richard against Philip, King Sancho VI of Navarre sent an army into France.

The situation at Verneuil was dire, for Philip's siege machines had already knocked down one wall of the fortress. Richard divided his army. He sent a small force of knights, crossbowmen, and infantry to break through the siege lines and reinforce the garrison. The forces entrusted with this objective achieved their mission. The rest of the army he sent on a raid to cut Philip's supply lines. The day after the English reinforced the garrison, Philip raised the siege and departed. Richard chased the retreating French and captured their siege train.

Richard needed professional troops who were skilled and reliable. He set about building a quasi-standing army in which the recruits served for a one-year minimum. His army included English, Normans, Navarrese, Welsh, Genoese, and Brabanters. The Brabançons were an unruly lot who had no compulsion about slaughtering noncombatants when the occasion arose for brutality. Richard's army included a number of veteran crusaders as well as a small number of Saracens.

After his return from Aquitaine in early summer, Richard began rolling back Philip's gains in the Loire Valley. The English king captured and demolished Montmirail Castle on the Maine-Perche border. Afterward, he marched into Touraine where he successfully stormed Loches Castle on June 13, 1194.

Philip grew increasingly alarmed at the gains Richard was making in the Loire Valley, and so in early July he marched south from Paris to Freteval on the frontier of Anjou. Richard had anticipated the move, though, and had moved into a blocking position at Vendome. Philip, who was afraid he might lose a pitched battle with Richard, made a hasty retreat north on July 4. Richard once again gave chase, and this time he captured Philip's baggage train.

The war did not always go in favor of Richard and his captains, however. When John and William d'Aubigny, Earl of Arundel, besieged Vaudreuil Castle in the Vexin, which the French had captured five months earlier, Philip rushed to save it. The French king fell upon the Anglo-Norman camp at dawn, achieving a much-needed victory.

Philip and Richard entered into a truce on July 23. The Truce of Tillieres set forth that the two sides were to refrain from hostilities until November 1, 1195. It was unlikely that the truce would last long owing to the chaotic local politics of the Norman Vexin, though.

Richard decided during the truce to win back key areas in southwestern France that he had surrendered to the French when he ascended to the throne in 1189. He led the Brabançons in a whirlwind march of conquest in mid-summer through the County of Berry. At the outset of the expedition, Richard captured Issoudon Castle. Situated on the upper Loire, it was a natural gateway to Touraine and Poitou. Then, Richard sent the Brabançons into the County of Auvergne where they secured several key fortresses and took the pro-French Count of Auvergne into their custody.

Philip marched against Issoudon Castle in mid-November. When Richard learned of Philip's expedition, he rushed to the castle's relief. When he arrived, he pierced the French siege lines and reinforced the garrison. More Angevin forces followed, and they encircled Philip's small army. Philip had to agree to terms set by Richard before he was allowed to depart on December 5 with his army intact.

Philip and Richard held a peace conference in January 1196. The Peace of Louviers was an interim settlement. The terms of the agreement were favorable to Richard because by that time he had gained the upper hand. The agreement required Philip to acknowledge Richard's gains in the Vexin, County of Berry, and Duchy of Aquitaine. In regard to Aquitaine, Philip was compelled to recognize that several rebellious counts were indeed Richard's vassals.

Richard then prepared to assert his control over the Duchy of Brittany. In the spring of 1196 he summoned Duchess Constance of Brittany to attend his court with her son and heir, nine-year-old Arthur. Arthur, like Prince John,

RIGHT: English King John (left) and French King Philip II. BELOW: Duke Leopold V of Austria avenged his humiliation in the Holy Land by imprisoning Richard for slightly more than a year before he was ransomed. OPPOSITE: Richard's victories against the Muslims at Arsuf and Jaffa during the Third Crusade solidified his reputation as a first-rate commander.

All: Wikimedia

was a potential heir to the English throne.

Breton rebels intercepted and kidnapped Constance and Arthur while they were on their way through Normandy. Richard responded by invading Brittany, so the rebels took Arthur to Philip's court to keep him out of Richard's hands. Philip responded by granting asylum to Arthur. While Richard had tried to gain control of Brittany, Philip had been hard at work forging alliances with the counts of Boulogne, Flanders, and Ponthieu.

A large Franco-Flemish army subsequently attacked Aumale, a fief in the northeastern section of the Norman Vexin, in July 1196. Richard countered by capturing Nonancourt in the southern Vexin. Richard then tried to relieve Aumale but was unsuccessful. The Angevin garrison at Aumale surrendered on August 20, and Richard was forced to pay 3,000 marks to secure its release.

Richard had been thinking throughout the first half of 1196 of ways to get a decisive strategic advantage over Philip. One of his ideas was to entice both Count Baldwin of Flanders and Count Raymond VI of Toulouse to abandon their respective alliances with Philip.

The other idea was to begin construction of a new castle on the Seine that would serve as a base camp for a concerted campaign to reconquer the remaining fortresses in the Vexin. The castle itself would be built upon the Rock of Andeli, a towering cliff overlooking the river. The castle would be the centerpiece of a fortified complex whose grounds would be large enough for an army to encamp.

BELOW: Philip was no match for Richard in battle, but his capture of Chateau Gaillard after Richard's death proved that he was a master of siegecraft. OPPOSITE: Richard's desire to be at the forefront of every armed encounter ultimately led to his undoing when he was mortally wounded by a crossbow bolt during a siege.

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He faced two political problems in regard to the site selection. First, the Treaty of Louviers signed in January 1196 by Philip and Richard forbade either one to fortify the site. Richard simply ignored this. Second, the Manor of Andeli was owned by Archbishop Walter of Rouen, one of Richard's Anglo-Norman friends and supporters. Despite their friendship, the archbishop declined to give the land to Richard. The reason the archbishop refused the request was that he had established a tollhouse on an island in the river to collect dues from boats carrying cargo up and down the river. Because his archbishopric had suffered a decline in revenue as a result of the ongoing war, the archbishop badly needed the tolls derived from the river commerce.

Richard began construction of Chateau Gaillard despite the archbishop's objections. The archbishop subsequently departed for Rome to make a personal appeal to the Pope Celestine III. Before setting out on his journey, the archbishop placed an interdict banning all church services in the Duchy of Normandy as retaliation against Richard's occupation of the manor.

Construction on the castle and the associated fortifications began that summer. In addition to the castle sited atop the 300-foot limestone promontory overlooking the river, Richard constructed a fortified town on the north side of the castle known as Petit-Andelys. A bridge connected Petit Andelys to the river island, and another bridge connected the island to the far bank. Richard had his laborers construct an outer wall on the opposite side of the river that enclosed the land inside a wide bend in the river.

Richard had considerable math, engineering, and design skills that made him a master builder. In addition, he had an extensive knowledge of siege warfare and incorporated not only contemporary concepts used in Western Europe, but also design features from the Christian and Muslim castles he had seen during the Third Crusade. The work on Chateau Gaillard was completed in just two years. Richard oversaw the process, and he allowed nothing to interrupt or delay it. The total cost of the project was 21,203 pounds sterling, and it amounted to three times what Richard spent on improvements to all of the castles in England during his reign.

The completed castle was an engineering marvel for its time. It incorporated existing rock into its design and had a three-tiered defense in depth to frustrate besiegers. The castle was protected to the west by the river and to the north and east by steep slopes. This left the south side as the only viable avenue of attack for a besieging army. The castle had an outer bailey, middle bailey, and inner bailey,

each with protective stone walls and towers.

The triangular-shaped outer bailey was surrounded by a moat and featured one large circular tower and three smaller semicircular towers in walls that were 30 feet high and 12 feet thick. The only way to reach the middle bailey from the outer bailey was to cross a causeway laid out with a zigzag turn designed to thwart an attacker from rolling a siege engine from the outer bailey to the walls of the middle bailey.

The middle bailey, which housed a chapel overlooking the river, also had three semicircular towers, one on each corner facing the outer bailey and one on the front. The inner bailey, which was enclosed by the middle bailey, had a keep but no towers on its walls; however, its walls were 39 feet higher than those of the middle bailey. Like the outer bailey, the inner bailey also had its own moat with a bridge carved out of the natural stone.

Richard added a number of clever touches based on his observations of castles in the Holy Land. The base of the walls were buttressed to make it difficult for miners to dig through or under them and also so that obstacles dropped from machicolations above would ricochet off the buttresses and strike the attackers at the base of the walls. Additionally, the towers were rounded and placed close enough to each other to furnish covering fire and ensure that there was no dead space between them where an attacking force would have cover from defensive fire.

While the builders worked continuously throughout 1197 on Chateau Galliard, Richard forged alliances with Baldwin of Flanders and Raymond VI of Toulouse. Richard won over Count Baldwin by lifting an Angevin embargo on Flanders. He also gave him 5,000 marks and a large volume of wine from the fertile vineyards of Aquitaine. As for Count Raymond, Richard gave him his sister Joan's hand in marriage, renounced his ducal claims to Toulouse, and restored the disputed Quercy region to the Count of Toulouse.

In 1197, Baldwin attacked the French-held region of Artois while Richard attacked the remaining French strongholds in the County of Berry. This stretched Philip's resources and forced him to fight a two-front war. The King of France moved against Baldwin for the attack on Artois threatened neighboring French royal lands. Baldwin fought a brilliant campaign. He lured Philip into chasing him by conducting a feigned retreat. When Philip gave pursuit, Baldwin sent forces west to surround Philip's army. In the meantime, Richard captured 10 French-held castles in Berry. In September 1197, Philip and Richard agreed to another truce, which was scheduled to be in effect until January 1199.

Alamy

Truces were routinely ignored, though. Philip found himself under attack in the autumn of 1198 by both Richard and Baldwin. The Count of Flanders invaded St. Omer. The people of the region appealed to Philip for relief; however, Philip could do little to help them because he was preoccupied with the defense of his fortresses in the Vexin.

After Chateau Gaillard was completed in 1198, Richard immediately set out to capture Philip's remaining strongholds in the Vexin. He captured Vernon, Neufmarche, Gamaches, Courcelles, Boury, Serifontaine, and Dangu. Having a large base camp at Chateau Gaillard was paying handsome dividends.

In response to Richard's completion of Chateau Gaillard, Philip reinforced the strongholds of Gisors and Le Goulet. A memorable incident occurred in late September 1198 when Richard's troops surprised Philip's army while it was on patrol. Finding his force outnumbered, Philip made for the safety of Gisors. When French knights and foot soldiers swarmed onto the drawbridge in an effort to escape the English, it collapsed, sending them into the moat. Philip, who was among those wo fell into the moat, very nearly drowned.

At that point in the war, Richard held the majority of the castles in the Vexin. A few of the strongest castles in the French Vexin remained in Philip's hands largely because Richard lacked the siege equipment needed to capture them.

In December 1198, papal legate Peter of Capua arrived to negotiate a peace between the two rivals. Pope Innocent III wanted the two warring kings to put an end to the war so that they could support a new crusade that Innocent was preaching. Richard did not think much of the idea since he had encountered difficulties with the Church of Rome while conducting the Third Crusade. After berating Peter of Capua, Richard set off for Aquitaine in early 1199. He had a score to settle with the Count of Angouleme and the Viscount of Limoges, two steadfast supporters of Philip in Aquitaine.

Richard was an unconventional warrior. Rather than fight only during the warm months as was established custom, he waged war throughout the year. He carefully prepared a campaign against these two enemies. In March 1199 Richard besieged Chalus-Chabrol, the viscount's castle. On the third day of the siege, Richard was walking along the siege lines exhorting his sappers to hurry with their mining of the castle walls. His archers maintained a steady fire designed to keep crossbowmen on the battlements pinned down, but one in particular could not be suppressed. This intrepid crossbowman used a frying pan as a shield whenever he exposed himself to fire. He succeeded in firing a bolt that struck Richard in the shoulder. Richard quietly retired to his tent where he tried to extract the long iron barb himself. A surgeon eventually cut it out. The wound turned gangrenous, though, and Richard died on April 7.

Richard's untimely death enabled Philip to move in strength against the Angevin territories in France that he had so long coveted. King John, who succeeded Richard, lacked the firm resolve


Wikimedia

and broad skills that Richard had possessed in warfare. In the coming conflict, Philip would rely on force of arms and feudal law to defeat John.

The following year Philip invaded Maine. At the outbreak of the war, John was in Normandy. John faced serious problems defending Normandy for many of its fortresses were in a state of disrepair and morale was low.

John had very few supporters in the counties of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. For that reason, it was easy for Philip to conquer them. As for the approximately 50 lords in Poitou, they desired independence from John. To assert their independence, the Angevin counties denounced John in favor of young Arthur, who by that time held the title Duke of Brittany. Philip demanded that John turn over the three counties to Arthur and possession of the disputed Norman Vexin region.

It was absolutely essential that John retain Anjou and Maine if he wanted to retain his continental fiefs. Many of the principal roads in western France passed through these regions, and if he lost control of them he would no longer have a clear route north to Brittany and Normandy from Aquitaine. Of particular importance was the stretch of road connecting the towns of Angers and Tours that roughly paralleled the Loire River.

Philip led an army into Maine and seized and razed Ballon Castle. Philip and John signed the Treaty of Goulet in May 1200. For King John, the treaty ensured that the Angevin Empire remained intact and made Arthur his vassal. In exchange, John acknowledged that the counts of Flanders and Boulogne were French vassals. Additionally, John gave Philip 20,000 marks sterling as receipt of various lands and for his overlordship of Brittany.

When a marriage between 12-year-old Isabella of Angouleme and Hugh IX de Lusignan, Count of La Marche, threatened to strengthen the ties of powerful families in west-central France that could impede Angevin interests in Poitou and Aquitaine, John married the young heiress on August 24, 1200. Isabella had been engaged at the time to Hugh, and the Lusignan family was highly aggrieved by John's move. Although John might have offered them compensation and assuaged their wounded pride, he made no effort to do so.

At that juncture, the Lusignans turned to King Philip for a remedy. John made matters worse by insulting the Lusignans. As if that were not bad enough, in 1201 John invaded the County of La Marche and the Norman County of Eu, which was held by Raoul, Hugh's brother. The Lusignans redoubled their pleas for redress to the French king.

In his position as Duke of Aquitaine, John was Philip's vassal. Philip summoned the duke to appear before him. When John failed to appear, the French royal ruled on April 28, 1202, that John was to forfeit all of his continental fiefs and embarked on a campaign to secure them by force. Chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall wrote that John and his predecessors "had long neglected to render all of the services due from the lands and had nearly always disobeyed the summonses of their lord and king."

Following the French court's ruling, Philip plotted a two-pronged attack in the summer of 1202 on the Angevin lands. An expert at siege warfare, Philip intended to systematically roll up the Angevin-held Norman castles east of the Seine while Arthur led a Breton army, reinforced by the Lusignans, in a march of conquest north of the Loire River to secure Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.

Philip knighted the young prince at Gournay in Normandy in July. Before Arthur departed, Philip warned the young warrior to be cautious, but Arthur's enthusiasm for the upcoming campaign was boundless. Philip sent him off to Angers with a core of 200 knights and funds to raise more troops.

Arthur rendezvoused with Poitevin Baron Savery de Mauleon, Hugh and Geoffrey de Lusignan, and various other anti-Angevin barons. He then marched against Mirebeau Castle, which was situated between the towns of Angers and Poitiers, to capture his grandmother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. He intended to use her as a bargaining chip in negotiations with John. Arthur's army arrived on August 1 but soon found it would take more time than he initially thought to compel the garrison to surrender.

William de Roches, Seneschal of Anjou, urged the English king to launch a surprise attack on the French besieging Mirebeau. John responded enthusiastically and marched south from Le Mans in late July. The surprise attack on August 1 was a great success. The English scattered the Breton army; in the process, John captured Arthur, de Mauleon, the Lusignans, and the other prominent barons.

John sent Arthur to Falaise Castle in Normandy. He was never seen again, and it is believed that John ordered his murder. John singled out the Lusignans for harsh treatment ordering them confined in chains until they were ransomed.

King John's erratic behavior so alienated de Roches that he changed sides and John replaced him with one of his cronies. When word spread of the English king's capriciousness, many of the lords on both sides of the Loire quit his service. Some tried to remain independent, while others gladly joined with Philip.

ABOVE: The remains of Chateau Gaillard call attention to its concentric design and the sturdy nature of its formidable walls. RIGHT: French troops advance their siege against Chateau Gaillard from the south. They captured the castle through a combination of mining and trickery.

With Arthur's vassals defending his interests in the Loire Valley, in the spring of 1203 Philip focused his attention on the conquest of Normandy. Philip's ultimate objective was the capture of the late King Richard's seemingly impregnable Chateau Gaillard.

Englishman Robert de Lacy, Constable of Cheshire, was John's castellan at Chateau Gaillard. Before he could besiege the chateau, Philip had to reduce a number of lesser satellite castles in order to isolate the main prize. He began his march on the west bank of the river. Some of the barons willingly capitulated, sparing Philip a siege. This was the case with the castles of Montfort-sur-Risle and Beaumont-le-Roger. The most important supporting stronghold for Chateau Gaillard was La Vaudreuil. Philip braced himself for a protracted siege, but to his surprise the Norman castellan raised the drawbridge for the French troops.

Philip besieged Chateau Gaillard in September 1203. His first step was to construct a circumvallation ditch fortified with 14 towers to isolate the garrison. In an effort to make operations difficult for the attackers, De Lacy ordered the bridge over the Seine destroyed so that the French could not transfer supplies and siege equipment across the river. Philip responded by constructing a pontoon bridge.

Two English relief forces, one moving upstream on the Seine and the other marching overland, failed in their efforts to force Philip to raise the siege that autumn. In the hope of drawing off Philip, John launched a chevauchee into Brittany. But that ploy failed, too.

As the siege progressed, the French bombarded the walls of the outer bailey with trebuchets and constructed siege towers, known as belfries, to reach the top of the walls and a covered way to protect sappers. The French had to level the land on the south side of the castle in some places so that their troops could roll the belfries up to the walls.

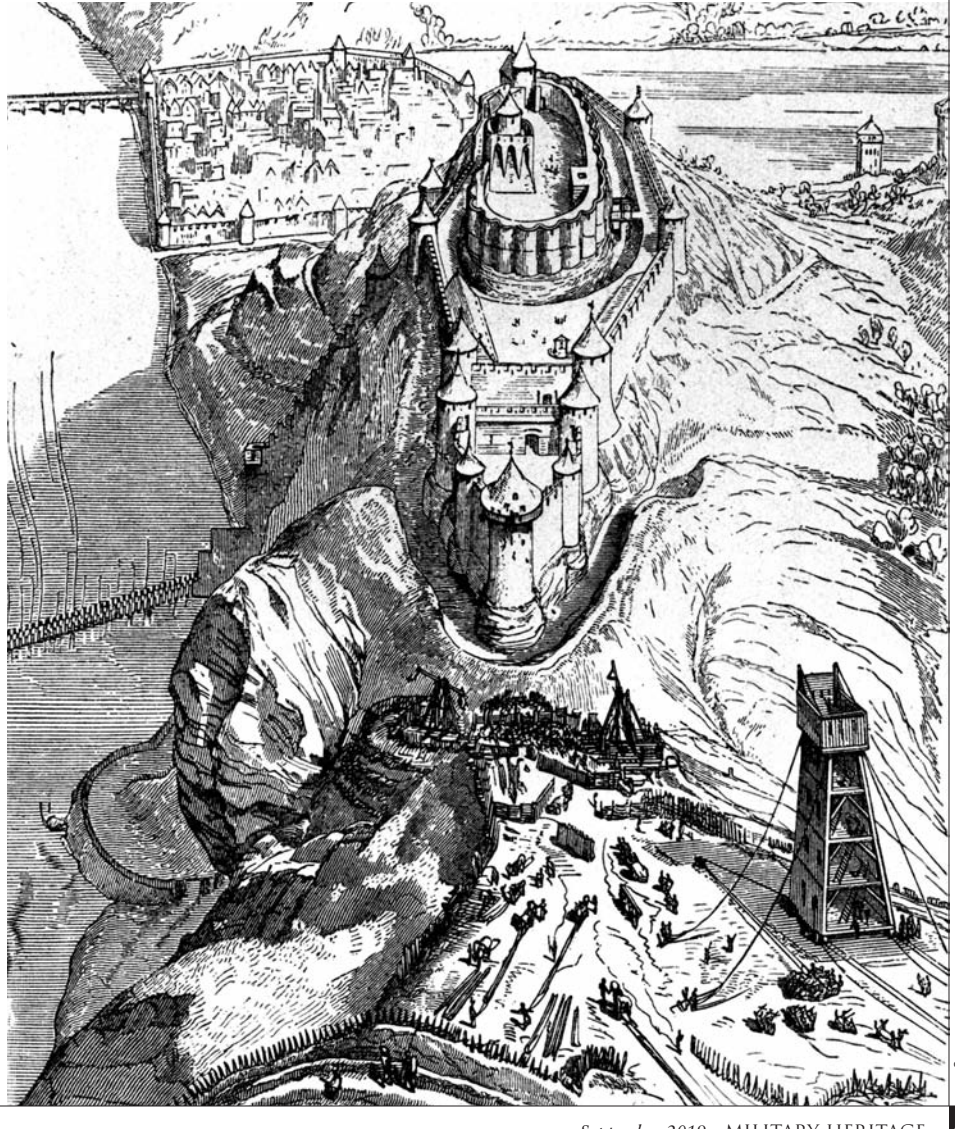
The residents of Petit Andelys had taken refuge in the fort before the siege began. In an effort to preserve his supplies, De Lacy ordered them out of the fort. At first Philip allowed them to pass through his lines, but he eventually stopped allowing them to leave. This left several hundred poor souls trapped between the lines. They were exposed to missile and artillery fire as the siege continued. Philip eventually relented and allowed the starving noncombatants to depart.

The French not only tried to breach the walls of the outer bailey with a direct assault using troops in belfries, but also employed skilled miners to try to collapse them by setting fire to the wooden props holding back the earth in the tunnels. The latter was a particularly successful technique provided that a fort was not constructed atop solid rock as were some in the Holy Land.

In February 1204 the French succeeded in breaching the outer bailey as a result of a successful mining operation. Sappers tunneled under the wall and then fired the props that held up the tunnels. A portion of the wall collapsed, and the French fought their way through the breach.

Yet the miners were unable to dig beneath the foundation of the walls enclosing the middle bailey because they could not reach the lowest foundation. A lucky break came when a French soldier noted that a latrine emptied beneath the chapel on the west side. He scaled the path and from there entered the chapel through an unbarred window. A small number of soldiers followed him. Once inside the chapel, they made as much noise as possible to deceive the defenders into thinking that a large force had forced its way into the building.

Continued on page 70



AKG Images

By Christopher Miskimon

A new work on the Battle of the Little Big Horn assesses the veracity of survivors' accounts of the battle.

Indians attack Custer's men during the fight at Little Bighorn in this painting by Charles Marion Russell. The details of the battle are still subject to controversy 150 years later.

MAJOR MARCUS RENO'S COLUMN FIRED THE OPENING SHOTS of the Battle of the Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876. At the time, Reno had with him three companies of the 7th Cavalry Regiment. Having received orders to attack the Sioux village along the Little Horn River, his troops splashed through a ford and began their attack at about 2:30 PM. Reno rode at the head of his column with his orderly, Private Edward Davern, following close behind him. As the major approached the camp, he began to realize it was much larger than previously suspected. His own troops were shielded by trees as he approached for his attack and the trees hid the camp from his sight as well.

Once his troopers cleared the woods, they advanced in a line with three companies abreast. As they rode forward, some of the men claimed to have seen Lt. Col. George A. Custer and his column off in the distance to their right. In the village to his front, Reno observed enemy warriors gathering for battle. Halting his line, Reno ordered his troopers to dismount and fight on foot.

Although some modern historians believe Reno's decision to dismount was prudent, others believe it was a mistake. Reno's men dropped from their saddles and formed a skirmish line. The troopers were five to 10 yards apart. Every fourth man took the reins of three other horses and held them along with his own, thereby freeing three men to take their place on the firing line.

For a time, each cavalryman held his ground. Yet Reno sensed the pressure among his men building to mount. The column pulled back, moving to a line of trees where the fight went on against mounting numbers of Native American warriors. The troopers were under heavy fire. Eyewitness accounts, some positive and others negative, offer a glimpse into Reno's conduct. Several men contended in the court of inquiry held afterward that Reno became rattled during the desperate action. It is known he ordered his troops to mount, then dismount, then mount again.

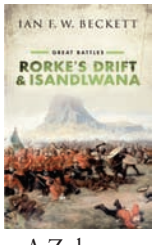
When an Arikara scout named Bloody Knife was killed next to Reno, the major was showered with his blood and brains. Some soldiers later asserted that Reno became rattled as a result of this incident and that it contributed to his losing his composure. He ordered a general retreat, and his command withdrew to a nearby hill where it entrenched. Thus, Reno's command was effectively out of the battle.

This account of the advance and retreat of the Reno column is but an overview of the opening minutes of the battle. It pales in comparison to the exhaustive account offered in

The Fight on the Little Big Horn: Unveiling the Mysteries of Custer's Last Stand (Gordon Harper, Casemate Publishing, Havertown, PA, 2019, 408 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $19.95, softcover). This new work offers a blow by blow account of one of the most famous battles in American history using firsthand accounts, forensic analysis, and extensive research.

Unlike previous books on the topic, this one incorporates Native American accounts of the battle to round out its narrative. This is especially important because none of the cavalry troopers with Custer survived. Thus, some of the statements of those troopers with other parts of the regiment are considered suspect owing to their natural desire to exonerate themselves from blame for the devastating defeat. What is perhaps most amazing about this book is that, for all its rich detail, it is actually a condensed version of the author's work. Sadly, the author passed away in 2009, but his family has preserved his extensive work on the topic. The book includes detailed maps and further analyses.

The Battle of the Little Big Horn has been the subject of many books and still sparks controversy among interested parties almost a century and a half later. This book will be of interest to those readers who want a fresh take on the storied clash, as well as those who want a single, detailed account.



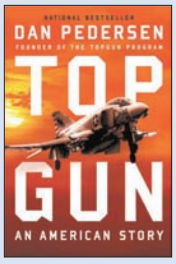
Great Battles: Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana (Ian F.W. Beckett, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2019, 225 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $24.95, hardcover)

A Zulu army nearly wiped out a British column on January 22, 1879, in what became known afterward as the Battle of Isandlwana. Despite inflicting severe casualties on the attacking Zulus, it was the worst loss of troops in a single day between the Battle of Waterloo and World War I. The incident sent shock waves throughout Great Britain. The British people could not fathom how a European army could be so thoroughly defeated by a less technologically advanced native force. Recriminations followed. These included a call for retribution against the Zulus and led to their eventual defeat in the brief but bloody Anglo-Zulu War.

The same day that the Battle of Isandlwana occurred, a large Zulu force also attacked the small outpost at Rorke's Drift, defended by a small British force. Despite being badly outnumbered, the British troops successfully repelled the Zulu attack. Eleven Victoria Crosses were awarded to the defenders of the mission station. The victory at Rorke's Drift mollified the sting of the larger defeat. Yet the victory did not calm the calls for vengeance.

Oxford University Press's Great Battles series covers history's most decisive engagements. This edition covers the beginning of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. Its publication marks the 140th anniversary of the battles.

SHORT BURSTS

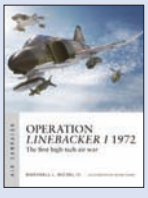


Sino-Indian War Border Clash: October-November 1962 (Gerry Van Tonder, Pen and Sword Books, 2019, $24.95, softcover) Pen and Sword publishes an in-depth series focusing on the flashpoints and conflicts of the Cold War. This volume examines the brief war between China and India in late 1962.

Napoleon: A Life (Adam Zamoyski, Basic Books, 2019, $40.00, Hardcover) Napoleon led France through war, empire, and downfall. His life is examined in this work in great detail.

Top Gun: An American Story (Dan Pederson, Hachette Books, 2019, $25.98, hardcover) The author founded the Top Gun Program, teaching Navy pilots the forgotten art of dogfighting during the Vietnam era. This is his memoir of that effort.

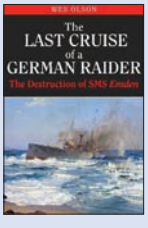
A Military History of Modern South Africa (Ian van der Waag, Casemate Books, 2018, $32.95, hardcover) South Africa's military forces stayed active throughout the 20th century and beyond. This new work covers colonial actions, the two world wars, and the Cold War era through to post-apartheid.



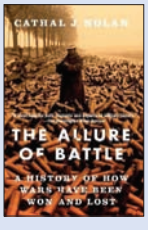
Operation Linebacker I 1972: The First High-Tech Air War (Marshall L. Michel III, Osprey Publishing, 2019, $24.00, softcover) When North Vietnam invaded South Vietnam in 1972, there were few American ground troops left to assist in the defense; instead, the U.S. launched a massive air campaign that thwarted the North Vietnamese.

War Matters: Material Culture in the Civil War Era (Edited by Joan Cashin, University of North Carolina Press, 2019, $29.95, softcover) This collection of essays studies how Americans consider objects related to their nation's most tragic conflict.

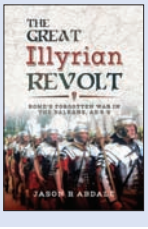
The Smell of War: Three Americans in the Trenches of World War I (Virginia Bernhard, Texas A&M University Press, 2019, $32.00, hardcover) This book combines the experiences of three men who served during the war. It describes the soldier's world and everyday life for the reader.



The Last Cruise of a German Raider: The Destruction of SMS Emden (Wes Olsen, Naval Institute Press, 2018, $39.95, hardcover) The sinking of the German raider SMS *Emden* by an Australian cruiser in 1914 is retold in great detail using firsthand accounts, memoirs, and letters.



The Allure of Battle: A History of How Wars Have Been Won and Lost (Cathal J. Nolan, Oxford University Press, 2019, $21.95, softcover) This work places famous battles within the wider context of the conflicts in which they occurred. Its author holds that they were not actually turning points even though they are often presented as such.



The Great Illyrian Revolt: Rome's Forgotten War in the Balkans, AD 6-9 (Jason R. Abdale, Pen and Sword Books, 2019, $34.95, hardcover) Rome fought a bitter three-year war in the Balkans involving 15 legions. This work covers that little-known conflict.

THE LATEST *TOTAL WAR* GAME SHINES AND THE STEALTH THRILLS OF *SNIPER ELITE V2* RETURN IN REMASTERED FORM.

PUBLISHER SEGA
GENRE STRATEGY
SYSTEM(S) PC
AVAILABLE NOW

Total War: Three Kingdoms

At this point, Sega and developer Creative Assembly's *Total War* franchise is about as dependable as can be. Each entry and spinoff has something new to offer to longtime players and newcomers alike, and the latest focuses on one of the most interesting eras of historical warfare. True to its name, *Total War: Three Kingdoms* is all about the age during which the once-majestic Han dynasty was on the precipice of complete collapse. As chaos takes over with the enthroning of the new Emperor Xian, various warlords throughout China rise in an attempt to take down the manipulative and oppressive Dong Zhuo, and all of their conflicting ambitions serve up the perfect setting for another excellent strategy game.

Creative Assembly handles this epic subject matter with aplomb, delivering a narrative that's every bit as exciting as the tactical gameplay for which it serves as a setup. At times, the combination of the story and the tutorials necessary to get the ball rolling can feel a bit overwhelming, but for the most part *Three Kingdoms* offers up a gripping, multifaceted campaign that will keep aspiring strategists glued to their screens.

Similarly overwhelming are the sheer number of options presented to players from the very beginning, including 11 different leaders you can choose to begin your sprawling quest for dominance. Within each you'll find specific traits that can be advantageous, as well as unique units that could turn the tide of battle if used wisely. The game's generals give you plenty of different ways to approach any given situation. If you choose to play as Cao Cao, for instance, you can look forward to a boost in diplomatic influence, which may serve you well in playing other nations against one another. The diplomacy system has been overhauled nicely, too, and even those who just want to get straight into battle will find something interesting to keep them coming back to diplomatic options in more engaged and informed ways.

Speaking of battles, these will feel pretty familiar to anyone who has played previous entries in the *Total War* series. That's either fantastic or disappointing depending on who you ask, but it's not always something you need to concern yourself with during every session. It's easy to simply set your battles to auto and handle other aspects of the job in the meantime, just be aware that this means the outcome is way more of a gamble than usual. It's often worth the risk if you just aren't interested in a particular skirmish, but your success is at the mercy of a randomly generated number system, so keep that in mind before choosing to roll the dice for every single battle.

If you're used to games like *Dynasty Warriors,* which take this period and run with it in over-the-top ways, you can get a taste of that absurdity in Romance mode. It's here where your generals will rush into battle with superhuman success rates, complete with spectacular moves that no mere human could possibly withstand. For those who prefer the more historical lens, stick to Records mode and lose yourself in the harsh reality of battle. Either way, strategy fans are going to have a good time with this one. *Total War: Three Kingdoms* is a sterling example of the genre that should serve as solid inspiration to any other developers looking to deliver similar Desktop General thrills.

PUBLISHER REBELLION DEVELOPMENTS
GENRE SHOOTER
SYSTEM(S) PS4, XBOX ONE, PC
AVAILABLE NOW

Sniper Elite V2 Remastered

Even with all the improvements made in a series over the years, sometimes it's a breath of fresh air to go back to the earlier roots. That's what Rebellion Developments has given everyone a chance to do with *Sniper Elite V2 Remastered,* which, with the exception of some visual polish, is pretty much the exact same game many of us played back in 2012. If that sounds like a good time to you, then you probably already have a copy. For everyone else, it's going to depend on how easily you can jump backwards in a series that has made some major improvements in recent years.

For those new to the *Sniper Elite* series, it's all about the thrill of stealth combined with the payoff of absurdly brutal long-distance takedowns. As Lieutenant Karl Fairburne, players are tasked with eliminating dangerous Nazi targets in the final days of World War II. These assassinations culminate in the aforementioned payoff: the X-Ray Kill Cam that shows how the shot goes down in slow motion. Seeing the damage you've done in x-ray vision is always entertaining, and it's almost too over the top to really be considered gruesome. It's the stealth sniper game equivalent of a *Mortal Kombat* finishing move.

This is all going to be pretty straightforward for anyone who hasn't long since moved past V2 and on to improved followups like the third and fourth entries. Those games did a great job of both enhancing the artificial intelligence of enemies and crafting a more attractive overall visual design. *Sniper Elite V2* is fun, but its environments are drab and its enemies are as dumb as rocks. On the other hand, there's a special sort of charm to the smaller levels that makes for a more easily digestible experience.

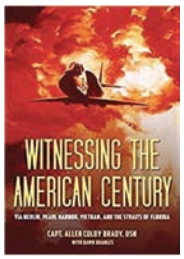
If you played *Sniper Elite V2* the first time around and went on to have fun with later games in the series, there's little reason to go back unless you had specific missions or moments you loved. The best thing *Sniper Elite V2 Remastered* has to offer is a more refined and touched-up way to snipe your way through the last days of war for the first time. Give *V2* a shot and then prepare to be wowed as you move on to the sprawling locales of *Sniper Elite III* and *Sniper Elite 4.* □

The author is an acknowledged expert on the British Army of the era. His clear and concise writing, superb research, and expert analysis make this an invaluable work. He also includes newly available perspectives from the Zulus.

Rome at War (Various authors, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2019, 192 pp., maps, photographs and illustrations, index, $15.00, hardcover)

The military power of Rome was the basis of its success both as a republic and later as an empire. Well-trained and disciplined Roman legions variously fought conflicts of conquest, survival against external threats, and civil wars. Although they did not win every battle, the army endured for centuries before eventual national decline took Rome into oblivion. During this time the army transformed from a force of part-time warriors divided by social class into a standing army able to impose Rome's will far beyond the Italian peninsula. While Rome lasted, its army was the world's greatest military force.

This well-organized and superbly illustrated book explains how the Roman army was organized, employed, and equipped over centuries of development and expansion. The author discusses in detail how Roman troops were recruited, trained, and led during war and peace.

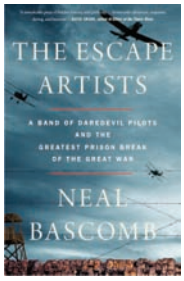


Witnessing the American Century: Via Berlin, Pearl Harbor, Vietnam, and the Straits of Florida (Capt. Allen C. Brady, Kent State University Press, Kent, OH, 2019, 258 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

Allen Brady turned 16 the day World War II ended. He wanted nothing more than to be a pilot and took lessons just before entering the U.S. Naval Academy in 1947. His career took him through the Cold War, which, he learned to his detriment, was often very hot and brutal.

He served as a test pilot for atomic bomb testing in the Marshall Islands before flying during the Bay of Pigs invasion. Shortly afterward, Allen flew patrols during the Cuban Missile Crisis. In 1966 he was transferred to an A-6 Intruder attack squadron. He subsequently served as a pilot on the USS *Kitty Hawk*. Shot down over North Vietnam, he spent years as a prisoner of war. He endured horrible abuse and hardship at the hands of the communists. He returned to active duty after his release and retired after 30 years of service.

As the veterans of the Cold War and Vietnam War reach their seniority, more of their memoirs are being published. This memoir is valuable owing to Brady's participation in so many major global events of the mid-to-late 20th century. Brady's prose is authentic and engaging.

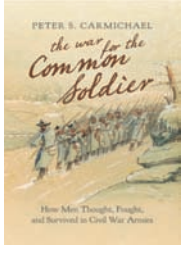


The Escape Artists: A Band of Daredevil Pilots and the Greatest Prison Break of the Great War (Neal Bascomb, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing, New York, 2018, 310 pp., maps, diagrams, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover)

Holzminden in Lower Saxony was one of the worst German prisoner of war camps in World War I. The British and Commonwealth troops held there ranked among the most escape-prone captives the Germans had to contain.

The prisoners nicknamed the place "Hellminden" and many resolved to escape as soon as they could. Ace pilot and former aArmy sapper Captain David Gray led a breakout. The prisoners dug a tunnel, donned disguises, and carried with them forged papers. It was a daunting task. The escapees had to travel 150 miles to reach the relative safety of Holland. Camp commandant Karl Niemeyer swore that none of his prisoners would ever get away from the bleak prison.

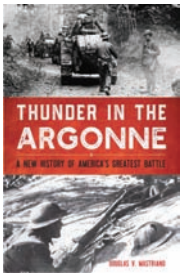
Prisoner of war escape attempts are often thought of as occurring primarily in World War II owing to films and television, but the Great War had its own version of The Great Escape. The tight narrative makes for an exciting read. The participants' memoirs are expertly used to add gravity to the story. Readers will come away from the work with a clear understanding of what the prisoners endured and the difficult challenge they faced escaping from such a hellish place.



The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War Armies (Peter S. Carmichael, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2018, 408 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

John Pardington, a volunteer in the 24th Michigan Infantry, found his unit encamped at Antietam two months after the battle. Every day he walked the short distance from camp to visit the hundreds of Confederate wounded who still lay in the open, although a few managed to find shelter in barns and sheds. There was little medical care available and a few died each day. He wrote to his wife to tell her of the horrible sight and how it moved him. Despite the sorrow he felt for these wretched men, he ended one such letter with a martial determination. "I must close now for I must clean my gun and keep it in good fighting trim so I can Pop a Rebel every time," he wrote.

This new work studies how the men who fought the American Civil War thought about their circumstances, seeking out the common themes in their experiences. Using their own words from letters and records, the author maintains these soldiers, often reluctant, nevertheless found a pragmatic way to deal with the realities of soldiering, including the ways in which established notions about duty, honor and morality often fared poorly when exposed to the war's harshness. The book is part of a new 16-volume series from the publisher and other universities that seeks to comprehensively examine the war.



Thunder in the Argonne: A New History of America's Greatest Battle (Douglas V. Mastriano, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 2018, 430 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

French General Ferdinand Foch, the supreme Allied commander, perceived that the German Army in the summer of 1918 was losing the momentum it needed to continue the war. He crafted plans for a coordinated offensive involving all of the Allied powers. He delegated the most difficult assignment to General John J. Pershing's American Expeditionary Force.

The fighting in the Argonne Forest was particularly bloody. The Germans had established heavily fortified positions in the dense woods. Without complaining, the American soldiers did their duty. As a result, they paid a high price in blood. It is estimated that the Americans suffered 20,000 casualties a week. The hard fighting was necessary, though, to bring about an end to the Great War.

This detailed and well-organized work presents a complete picture of Argonne fighting. It includes not just the perspectives of the Allied nations, but also the German view. The author takes a balanced look at both the successes and failures. Among his conclusions are that the Americans achieved a great military success in the Argonne. □

Soldiers

Continued from page 12

committed suicide, Pompey invaded Armenia.

Pompey's invasion broke what will to fight was left in Tigranes. By then he was 75 years old and exhausted from decades of constant campaigning. His allies had deserted him and he had been forced to put three of his favorite sons to death for trying to seize the throne. When the Romans were within 15 miles of Artaxata, Tigranes rode out to meet them. Eager to spare his people any more needless suffering, the Armenian king climbed down from his horse, removed the crown from his head and presented it to the victorious Pompey.

So struck was Pompey by Tigranes' tired and humbled appearance that he magnanimously insisted that he rise and sit beside him. After conversing for some time, they worked out an arrangement in which Tigranes agreed to pay the Romans the vast sum of 6,000 gold talents and relinquish all of his conquered territories. In exchange, he could keep his crown and continue to rule over a much reduced Armenia as an ally of Rome. Tigranes had no choice but to agree. He reigned peacefully as essentially a Roman vassal for 10 more years before dying quietly of natural causes at the age of 85.

Tigranes' Armenian Empire was ultimately too large, new, and diverse to survive. For all Tigranes' posturing as the King of Kings, the Armenian monarchy simply did not have the history and gravitas—nor did Armenian culture have the assimilating influence—required to rapidly absorb and unite such a disparate population into a cohesive state. So long as his powerful enemies remained conveniently distracted with other problems, Tigranes could masterfully exploit their weaknesses to his own benefit. But once confronted with the full determined force of a military, political, and cultural superpower like Rome, he stood no chance. Regardless, what he did manage to accomplish in such a short time was truly incredible, and for that he deserves the title "The Great."

Tigranes' short-lived Armenian Empire remains the subject of much speculation and theorizing among historians. Following its collapse, Rome extended its frontiers all the way to the Persian border, setting the stage for centuries of conflict between the two powers. If the Armenian Empire had survived, could it have precluded these conflicts? Perhaps Rome would have turned its attentions away from the Near East altogether, leaving Syria, Judea, and Egypt to be absorbed by the Persians or Armenians or even to maintain their independence for centuries to come. □

Gettysburg

Continued from page 49

the troops that Doles drove from the field were von Amsberg's men.

The XI Corps "gave way, vanishing as mist, for it was a fearful slaughter, the golden wheatfields, a few minutes before in beauty, now gone, and the ground covered with the dead and wounded in blue," wrote Private Charles Grace of the 4th Georgia Regiment of Doles' brigade. Doles was nearly killed when his horse stampeded Union lines. Rodes estimated that his troops captured 2,500 Union soldiers during the rout of the IX Corps.

That evening Rodes redeployed his troops in and around Gettysburg. He attempted to launch an assault against Cemetery Hill in tandem with Early's division; however, by the time Rodes had his men in place, Early's assault had failed. It is interesting to note that Rodes had assigned Ramseur the responsibility of leading the assault. Although it is not known for certain why he did this, he may have been ill at the time.

Rodes did not lead any other attacks on the second or third days of the battle. When Maj. Gen. Alleghany Johnson failed to capture Culp's Hill on the evening of July 2, Lee ordered Rodes to try again on July 3. To assist Johnson, Lee ordered Rodes to furnish part of his division for the fresh attack. Rodes subsequently dispatched O'Neal's and Daniel's brigades, which formed a second wave against the entrenched Union XII Corps on the morning of July 3. The attack failed.

Rodes' decision to send inexperienced brigade commanders to spearhead his attack against the Union I Corps on July 1 was a key mistake. Yet taken on the whole Rodes' performance on the first day at Gettysburg was above average, particularly considering that both Ramseur's and Doles' brigades achieved superb results.

Rodes would continue to play a significant role in the Army of Northern Virginia throughout the Overland Campaign of spring 1864. When Lee established an independent command that summer under Early to march up the Shenandoah Valley and threaten Washington, Rodes became part of Old Jubilee's Army of the Valley. The former railroad engineer lost his life in the Battle of Third Winchester in September 1864. As he watched his troops advance against the enemy, Rodes' horse threatened to bolt. As he sought to bring it under control, he was fatally wounded. His death was widely mourned, for Rodes had made substantial contributions to the success of Southern arms in the Eastern Theater. □

Gaillard

Continued from page 65

An effort to smoke out the assault party failed. A coordinated attack at the main gate to the middle bailey unnerved the defenders of the middle bailey, who were forced to fight both on their front and flank, so they decided to withdraw to the inner bailey.

The assault party in the chapel then opened the gate to the middle bailey for their fellow soldiers. The reinforced base of the walls enclosing the inner bailey thwarted attempts to mine them, so Philip ordered his trebuchets to batter the high stone walls. While the trebuchets pounded the walls, the miners found that they could tunnel into the wall under the stone bridge. The defenders dug a counter tunnel, hoping to frighten the French sappers, but the combination of two tunnels so weakened that section of the wall that sections began to fall off. When a wide enough breach opened, the attackers swarmed through it. The surviving 20 knights and 120 men-at-arms tried to escape on March 6, 1204, but were discovered and forced to surrender.

Philip then set about systematically conquering Normandy. Taking great pains to avoid a costly and time-consuming siege of Rouen, he began by conquering Lower Normandy. He reduced the main pockets of resistance in that region by capturing Argentan, Falaise, Caen, and Cherbourg. He then besieged Rouen. Unable to come to its relief, John authorized its surrender. Philip took possession of Rouen on June 24, 1204. He ordered the Norman keep torn down and in its place erected a circular donjon. From that point forward, Normandy was a province of France.

John also was unable to prevent the loss of the rest of his Angevin territories. When Arthur had paid homage to Philip two years earlier, the French king had just cause to take possession of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. The decision by a coalition of 10 of the most powerful barons of the region to pay homage to Philip further strengthened the French king's position relative to the Angevin lands. Guilluame des Roches, who was the seneschal of the three counties, switched to Philip's side and secured the principal English garrisons in the region for Philip.

Philip's campaign of conquest against King John of England from 1199 to 1204 proved that Philip was a master strategist, a skilled practitioner of siege warfare, and a firm and resolute monarch. The siege of Chateau Gaillard was a high point in the French conquest of the Angevin lands and stands as one of the most famous sieges in Medieval Europe. □

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