WWI BLOODY BATTLE FOR AMIENS

MILITARY HERITAGE

Curtis 02313

MILITARY HERITAGE ■ NOVEMBER 2019 *Volume 21, No. 3*

WORLD WAR II
TANK BATTLE for Cologne

CIVIL WAR
Rebel Disaster at Nashville

FRONTIER FIGHT
Sioux Rampage in Wyoming

Daring Dambuster Raids

+ BOER WAR GUERRILLA TACTICS,
DEATH OF GEN. WOLFE, GREAT SEA BATTLES,
BOOK AND GAME REVIEWS, AND MORE!

NOVEMBER 2019

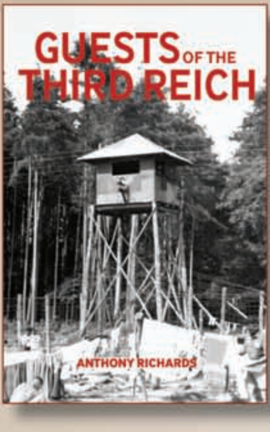
$6.99US $7.99CAN

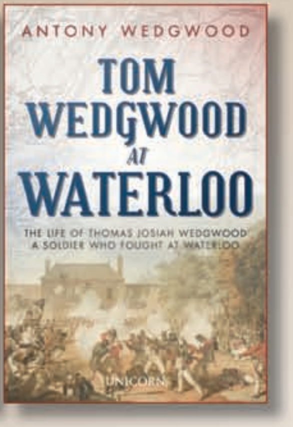
0 74666 02313 0 11

RETAILER: DISPLAY UNTIL NOV. 11

WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK.com

MILITARY HISTORY


GUESTS OF THE THIRD REICH
ANTHONY RICHARDS


ANTONY WEDGWOOD
TOM WEDGWOOD AT WATERLOO
THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOSIAH WEDGWOOD A SOLDIER WHO FOUGHT AT WATERLOO
UNICORN

From the Imperial War Museums

Guests of the Third Reich

The British Prisoner of War Experience in Germany 1939–1945

ANTHONY RICHARDS

Paper $22.50

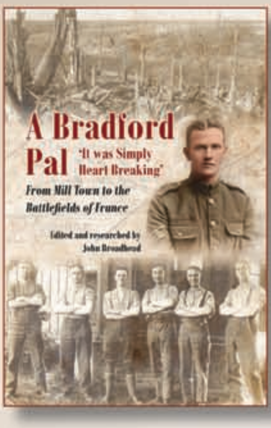
From Unicorn Press

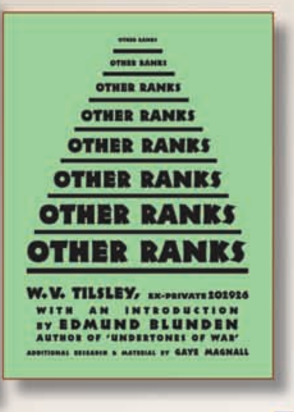
Tom Wedgwood at Waterloo

The Life of Thomas Josiah Wedgwood a Soldier Who Fought at Waterloo

ANTONY WEDGWOOD

Cloth $20.00


A Bradford Pal
'It was Simply Heart Breaking'
From Mill Town to the Battlefields of France
Edited and researched by John Broadhead


OTHER RANKS
W. V. TILSLEY, EX-PRIVATE 202926
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY EDMUND BLUNDEN
AUTHOR OF 'UNDERTONES OF WAR'
ADDITIONAL RESEARCH & MATERIAL BY GAYE MAGNALL

From Uniform Press

A Bradford Pal

"It was Simply Heart Breaking"– From Mill Town to the Battlefields of France

EDITED AND RESEARCHED BY JOHN BROADHEAD

Cloth $30.00

Other Ranks

A World War I Memoir

W. V. TILSLEY

Cloth $20.00

In the Ypres Salient

The Story of a Fortnight's Canadian Fighting

HENRY BECKLES WILLSON

Uniform Legends

Paper $15.00

Journeys Hazardous

Gurkha Clandestine Operations Borneo 1965

CHRISTOPHER BULLOCK

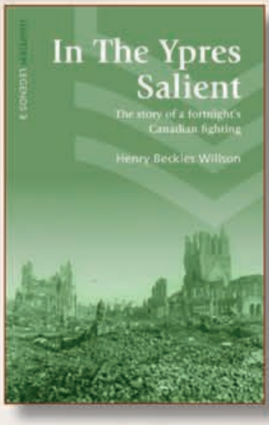
Paper $19.95

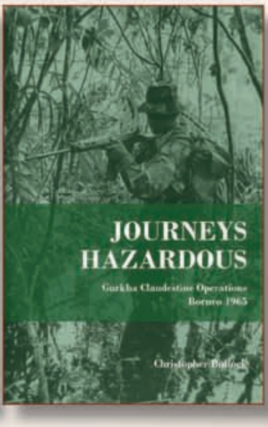
Britannia's Glory— A Maritime Story

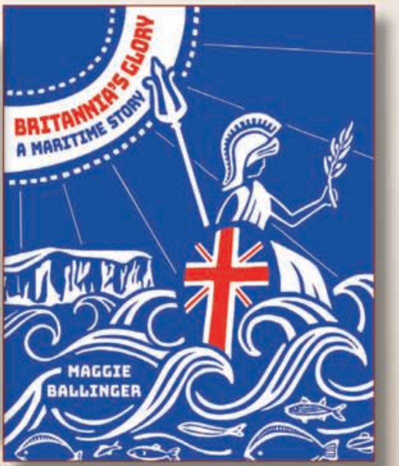
Great Britian's Seafaring Story Told in Verse

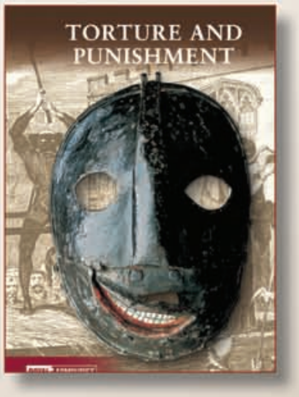
MAGGIE BALLINGER

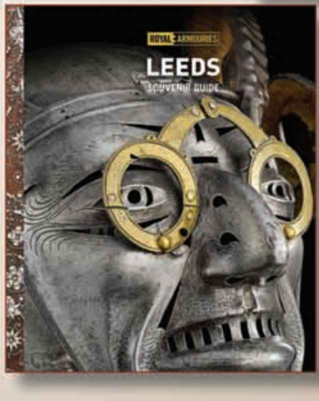
Paper $30.00


In The Ypres Salient
The story of a fortnight's Canadian fighting
Henry Beckles Willson


JOURNEYS HAZARDOUS
Gurkha Clandestine Operations Borneo 1965
Christopher Bullock


BRITANNIA'S GLORY
A MARITIME STORY
MAGGIE BALLINGER


TORTURE AND PUNISHMENT


ROYAL ARMOURIES
LEEDS
SOUVENIR GUIDE

From the Royal Armouries

Torture and Punishment

ROYAL ARMOURIES

Paper $15.00

Royal Armouries Guidebook

ROYAL ARMOURIES

Paper $8.95

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press
www.press.uchicago.edu

IN STOCK AND AVAILABLE

W.Britain®

HANDCRAFTED BECAUSE HISTORY MATTERS!

Tel: U.S. 419.865.5077
wbritain.com
Tel: U.K. 08000869123

matte finish
56/58 mm-1/30 Scale

25031 · Airborne Infantry · $36.00
Hand-Painted, Pewter Figures

62130
Wrath of the Northmen
Kenway
Saxon
Advancing With Sword
$40.00

62120
Wrath of the Northmen
Hereward
Saxon
Pushing With Shield
$38.00

62121
Wrath of the Northmen
Gostav
Viking
Pushing With Shield
$38.00

16053
Clash of Empires
Washington's Bodyguard At Support Arms
$40.00

13032
Jack Tars & Leathernecks
U.S. Marine
Drummer
1811-18
$42.00

10061
Museum Collection
Thomas Jefferson No.2
$40.00

10062
Museum Collection
Marquis de Lafayette
$40.00

13034
Jack Tars & Leathernecks
U.S. Marine
With BAR Korea
Winter 1950-51
$40.00

13014
Jack Tars & Leathernecks
U.S. Navy Pilot,
1941-45
$40.00

31290
American Civil War
Federal Iron Brigade
Advancing at Right Shoulder No.5
$38.00

31298
American Civil War
Federal Iron Brigade
Advancing at Right Shoulder No.4
$38.00

13004
Jack Tars & Leathernecks
British Royal Marine, 1805
$36.00

The products shown and the entire W.Britain range can be purchased from the retailers listed below:

For The Historian
Tel: 717-685-5207
www.forthehistorian.com
web@forthehistorian.com
42 York St, Gettysburg,
Pennsylvania 17325

Trains and Toy Soldiers
Tel: 800-786-1888
www.trainsandtoysoldiers.com
3130 S. 6th Street, Suite 104
Lincoln, Nebraska 68502

Green's Collectables
Tel: 973-627-4961
www.greenscollectables.com
46 Warren Trail
Denville, New Jersey 07834

Sierra Toy Soldier
Tel: 408-395-3000
Fax: 408-358-3966
www.sierratoysoldier.com

Baraboo Toy Soldier Shoppe
Tel: 608- 566-7075
www.baraboototoysoldiershoppe.com
524 Oak Street, Suite 15,
Baraboo, Wisconsin 53913

Hobby Bunker
Tel: 781-321-8855
Fax: 781-321-8866
www.hobbybunker.com
33 Exchange Street
Malden, Massachusetts 02148

The History Store
Tel: 740-775-7400
www.thehistorystore.net
info@thehistorystore.net
101 North Paint St.
Chillicothe, Ohio 45601

Treefrog Treasures
Tel: 507-545-2500
www.treefrogtreasures.com
2416 E. River Rd NE
Rochester, Minnesota 55906

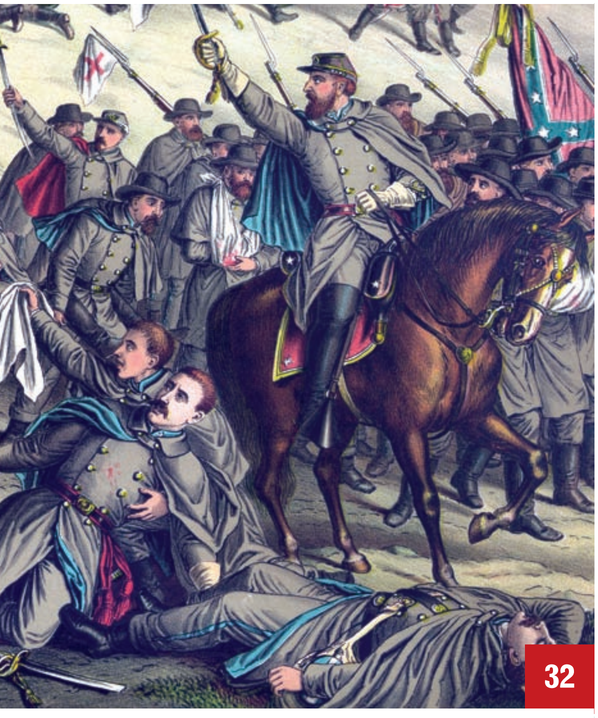
Michigan Toy Soldier Co.
Tel: 248-586-1022
888-MICHTOY
www.michtoy.com
1400 East 11 Mile Road
Royal Oak, Michigan 48067

Redcoat Models
www.redcoatmodels.com
31 Hillingdale, Biggin Hill,
Westerham, Kent,
TN16 3NR, U.K.

WB0806 19 ©2019 THE GOOD SOLDIER. The GOOD SOLDIER and W.Britain are registered trademarks of The Good Soldier, LLC, Holland, OH

www.facebook.com/
WBritainToySoldiers

24



32

56

MILITARY HERITAGE
November 2019

features

24 CLASH OF THE HEAVIES
By Christopher Miskimon
The U.S. Army's M26 Pershing tanks arrived on the Western Front in the closing months of World War II to take on the German Tiger and other formidable panzers.

32 GREAT REBEL GAMBLE
By Frank Jastrzembski
The fate of John Bell Hood's counter-invasion of Tennessee in late 1864 rested on whether he could defeat George H. Thomas at Nashville.

40 ADMIRAL SATAN
By Victor Kamenir
French Admiral Pierre Andre de Suffren bedeviled the British Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean during the global wars of the 18th century.

48 CANADIAN VALOR AT AMIENS
By Mike Phifer
The Canadian Corps played a crucial role in the successful assault on German positions near Amiens on August 8, 1918. Ludendorff called Amiens "the black day of the German Army."

56 BLOODY AMBUSH ON THE BOZEMAN TRAIL
By David A. Norris
The Sioux and their allies lured Captain William Fetterman's patrol at Fort Phil Kearny into a deadly trap in the winter of 1866 in retaliation for trespassing on treaty lands.

columns

6 EDITORIAL
8 WEAPONS
14 SOLDIERS
20 INTELLIGENCE
64 BOOKS
66 GAMES

8

Cover: An Allied soldier prepares to go over the top during the brutal trench warfare of World War I. See story page 48. Photo: AKG Images

Military Heritage (ISSN 1524-8666) is published bimonthly by Sovereign Media, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean VA 22101-4554 (703) 964-0361. Periodical postage PAID at McLean, VA, and additional mailing offices. Military Heritage, Volume 21, Number 3 © 2019 by Sovereign Media Company, Inc., all rights reserved. Copyrights to stories and illustrations are the property of their creators. The contents of this publication may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. ***Subscription Services, back issues, and Information:*** **1(800) 219-1187** *or* write to Military Heritage **Circulation, Military Heritage, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.** Single copies: $5.99, plus $3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: $24.95; Canada and Overseas: $30.95 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Send editorial mail to Military Heritage, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite A-100, McLean VA 22101-4554. Military Heritage welcomes editorial submissions but assumes no responsibility for the loss or damage of unsolicited material. Material to be returned should be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. We suggest that you send a self-addressed, stamped envelope for a copy of our author's guidelines. **POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Military Heritage, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.**

We have coins to fit any budget.

OWN A PIECE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

In 1921, WWI ended, the first Miss America was crowned, and Babe Ruth was hitting homers...

This is also the last year the U.S. minted the famous Morgan silver dollars which is often considered the #1 silver investment coin.

1883-CC
$1
PCGS MS64DMPL
97145.64/14137862

1883-CC Morgan Dollar DMPL
PCGS MS64 CAC
$793.00

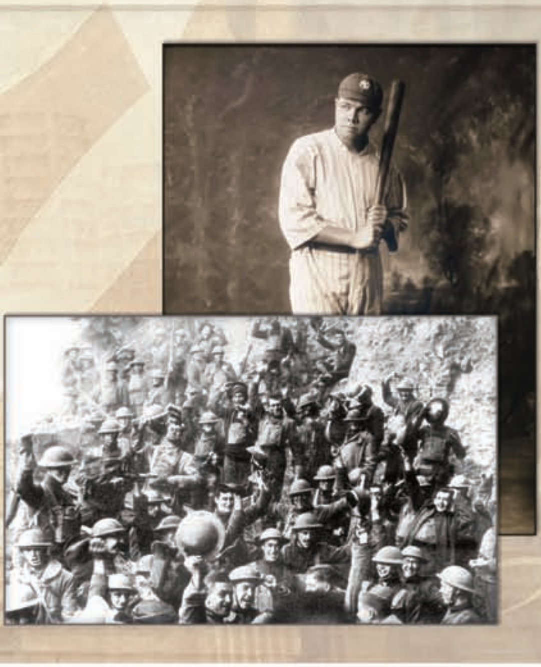
Circulated Morgan Dollar
$22.00

1885 CC S$1
MS 65+
4241760-013

1885-CC Morgan Dollar
NGC MS65 CAC+
$1,405.00

The Morgan Dollar obverse features Lady Liberty wearing a headband labeled LIBERTY. Her curls fall loosely from a twist at the nape of her neck. She is surrounded by 13 stars representing the original colonies. The year of issue appears at the bottom.

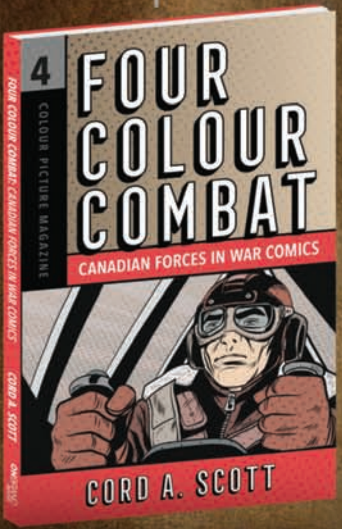
The reverse of each Morgan Dollar features an American Eagle with the words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA at the top. It is also engraved with the motto IN GOD WE TRUST and the coin's denomination.



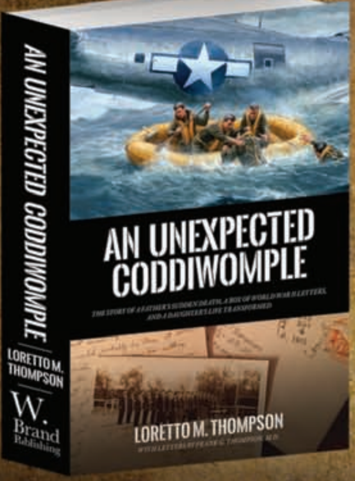
BLANCHARD™
America's rare coin and precious metals firm

www.blanchardgold.com | 888-546-5866

New WWII Books from W. Brand Publishing



Comic books transcend time and space. Centered around Canadian war stories in American comic books, the comics featured in this book present a unique spirit and play a colourful role in popular culture and WWII history storytelling.



The Story of a Father's Sudden Death, a Box of Over 500 WWII Letters, and a Daughter's Life Transformed

both books available at
BN.COM AMAZON.COM
OR ask your bookstore to order a copy!
wbrandpub.com

"All of the Indians are just now liable to become hostile."

THE LAKOTA WERE ONE OF FOUR MAJOR BRANCHES OF the Native American peoples known as the Sioux. They were forced to shift west in the 17th and 18th centuries when their Native American enemies, one of which was the Chippewa, received firearms from French traders. While the easternmost Dakota branch remained on the upper Mississippi River, the two central Nakota branches settled on the upper Missouri River, and the westernmost Lakota branch went into the Black Hills and Badlands.

The Sioux Wars, which began shortly after the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, lasted for nearly a half century and can be divided into five separate wars. A decade after the treaty, the Lakota increased the frequency of their raids against wagon trains and frontier outposts as they became increasingly angered by the high volume of traffic on the Oregon and Bozeman Trails.

The increased traffic was the result of the discovery of gold in the Montana Territory. The Bozeman Trail cut straight through prime hunting grounds of the Teton bands. Chief Sitting Bull's Hunkpapa band, Chief Red Cloud's Oglala band, and Chief Spotted Tail's Brule band all deeply resented the traffic on the Bozeman Trail.

In the winter of 1863-1864, U.S. Cavalry Lieutenant Caspar Collins spent considerable time with the Oglala tribe learning about their way of life and participating in buffalo hunts. Collins' men, many of whom had fought for the North in the Civil War, were eager to fight the Lakota. The young lieutenant did everything in his power to restrain them. It was a wise decision given that the few garrisons in the region were heavily outnumbered by the Tetons and their allies.

When the War Department requested a count of the Native Americans in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, Collins reported there were hundreds of Lakota and Cheyenne lodges near the Platte River and perhaps 3,000 warriors in the region.

"All of the Indians are just now liable to become hostile," he wrote. Collins reminded Washington that conflict was a natural state for the tribes. "Every tribe has some hereditary enemies with whom it is always at war and against whom it makes regular expeditions to get scalps and steal ponies," he wrote.

Platte Bridge Station was situated 130 miles west of Fort Laramie. When the commanding officer at Fort Laramie learned in mid-July 1865 that five empty wagons were returning east along the Oregon Trail toward the Platte, he sent Collins with a detachment to locate the wagon train and escort it to the fort.

Meanwhile, Oglala chiefs Young Man Afraid and Red Cloud and Northern Cheyenne Chief Roman Nose were plotting an attack on the small garrison at Platte Bridge Station. Their objective was to cut the U.S. Army communications with points west.

Collins led his 20-man detachment west for three days to Platte Bridge where they bivouacked. On July 26 Collins led his detachment across the bridge spanning the Platte River and continued west. They had gone no more than a mile when hostiles emerged from multiple hiding places and encircled the troopers. A swirling melee occurred with the Oglala and Cheyenne using their spears and tomahawks rather than their deadly bows. Collins was slain while trying to assist another trooper. Of the cavalrymen engaged, four were slain and all the survivors were all wounded, some severely.

The survivors located the wagon train and endured a second round of fighting against the hostiles. Command devolved to Sergeant Amos Custard, who circled the wagons. The troopers and armed civilians repulsed multiple assaults by the Oglala and Cheyenne. The attackers eventually withdrew having suffering heavy losses. The action foreshadowed the much more devastating Fetterman Fight the following year during Red Cloud's War of 1866-1868.

—*William Welsh*

MILITARY HERITAGE

VOLUME 21, NUMBER 3

CARL A. GNAM, JR.
Editorial Director, Founder

WILLIAM E. WELSH
Editor
editor@militaryheritagemagazine.com

LAURA CLEVELAND
Managing Editor

SAMANTHA DeTULLEO
Art Director

Contributors:
Frank Jastrzembski, Victor Kamenir, Joseph Luster, Christopher Miskimon, David A. Norris, Mike Phifer, John E. Spindler, Blaine Taylor

ADVERTISING OFFICE:

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

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

MARK HINTZ
Chief Executive Officer

STEPHFANIE RUPP
Subscription Customer Services
sovereign@publishersserviceassociates.com

ROBIN LEE
Accountant

CURTIS CIRCULATION COMPANY
Worldwide Distribution

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

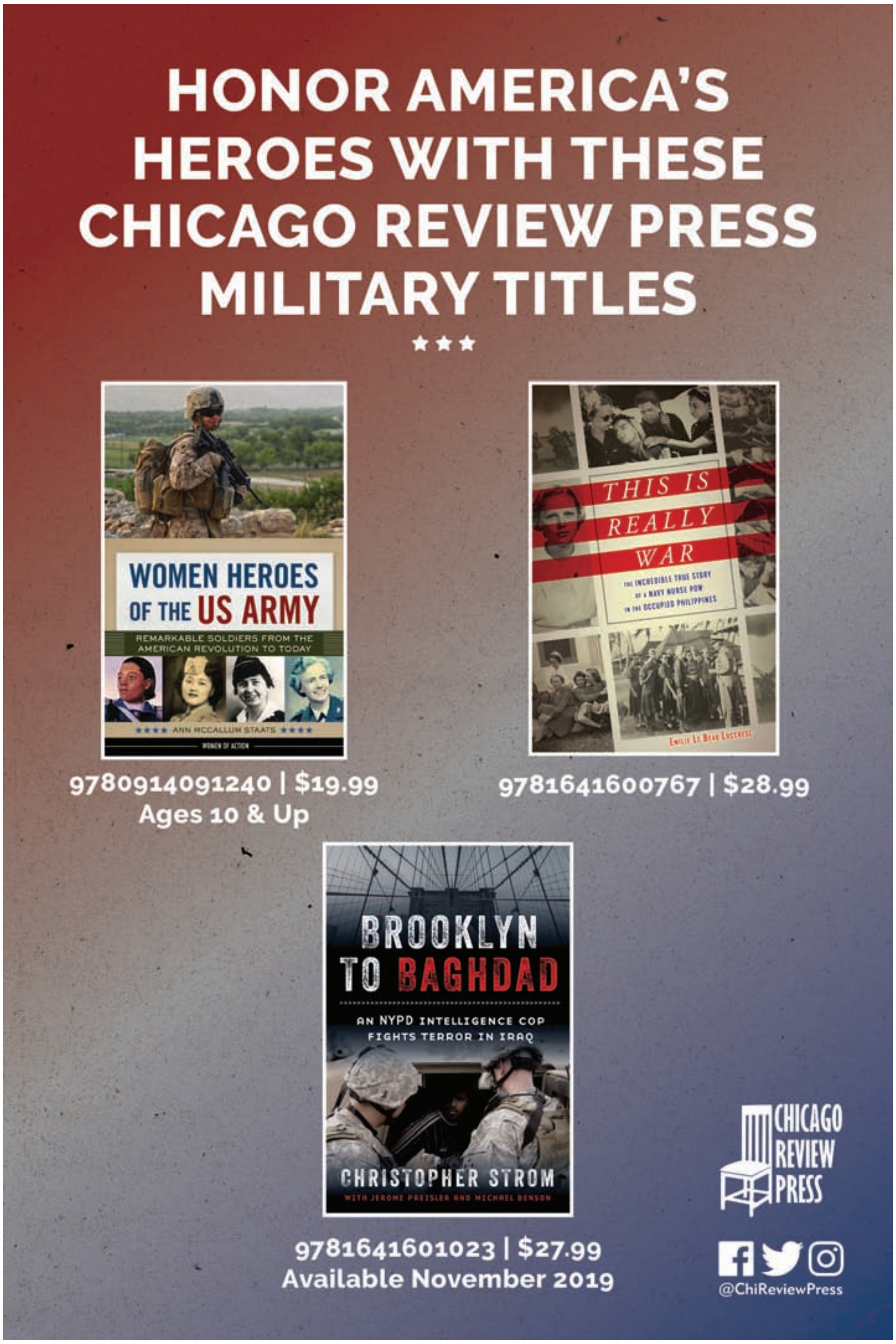
SUBSCRIPTION, CUSTOMER
SERVICE, AND BUSINESS OFFICE
2406 Reach Road
Williamsport, PA 17701

(800) 219-1187

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

WARFARE HISTORY NETWORK

www.WarfareHistoryNetwork.com



HONOR AMERICA'S HEROES WITH THESE CHICAGO REVIEW PRESS MILITARY TITLES

★★★

WOMEN HEROES OF THE US ARMY
REMARKABLE SOLDIERS FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO TODAY
ANN McCALLUM STAATS
THIS IS REALLY WAR
THE INCREDIBLE TRUE STORY OF A NAVY NURSE POW IN THE OCCUPIED PHILIPPINES
BROOKLYN TO BAGHDAD
AN NYPD INTELLIGENCE COP FIGHTS TERROR IN IRAQ
CHRISTOPHER STROM

9780914091240 | $19.99
Ages 10 & Up

9781641600767 | $28.99

9781641601023 | $27.99
Available November 2019

CHICAGO REVIEW PRESS

@ChiReviewPress

ALPVENTURES®

WORLD WAR II TOURS

Alpventures® World War II Tours are packed with History, Fun & Adventure.

Visit the World War II Battlefields of Europe and Russia on our Guided Tours, and enjoy exceptional service, first-class hotels, experienced guide, and much more...

(888) 991-6718 ***worldwar2tours.com***

By John E. Spindler

The British RAF modified the Avro Lancaster bomber to deliver a bouncing bomb capable of destroying Germany's Ruhr dams.

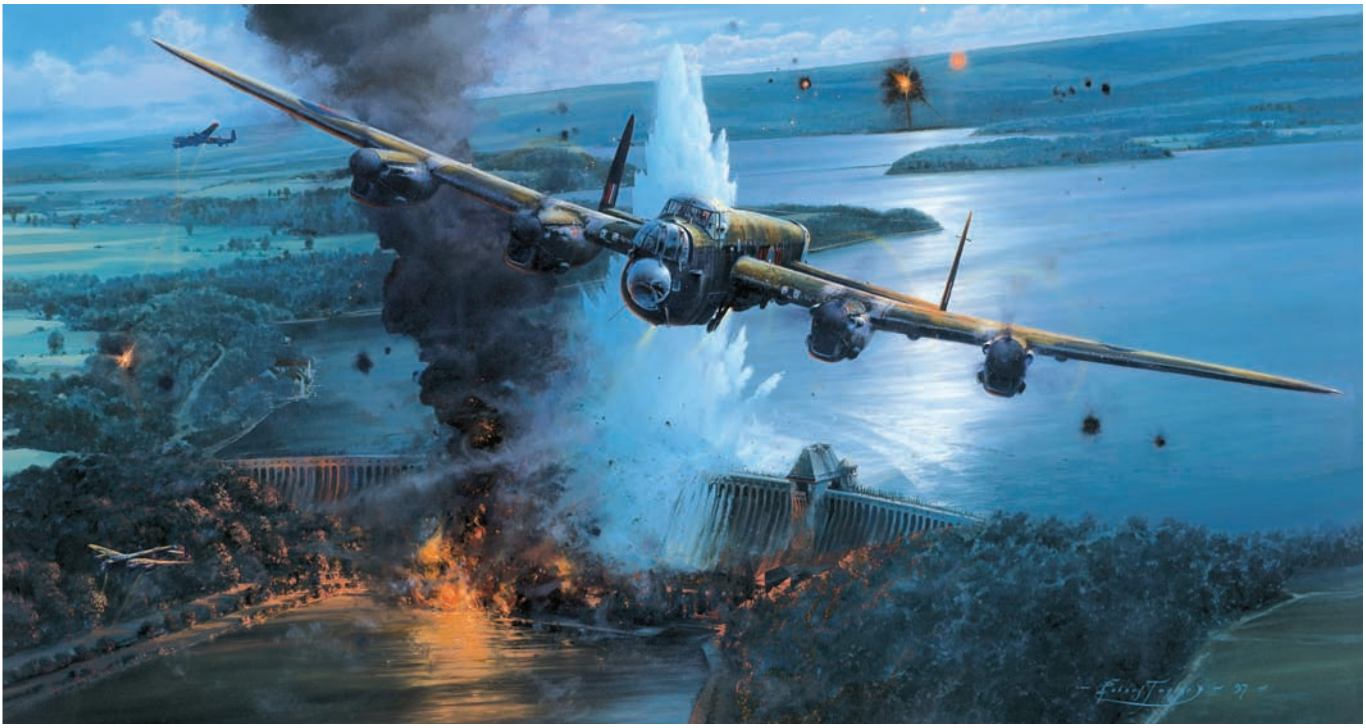
IN THE SUMMER OF 2018 A BRITISH FATHER AND SON WHO WERE catching crabs along Reculver Beach in Kent stumbled upon a historical item of intense value. What they found was the concrete core from a World War II cylindrical test bomb. Originally encased in steel plating that had long since rusted away, the test bomb was used to hone the skills of the bomber crews who carried out the 1943 mission known as Operation Chastise.

Before the outbreak of World War II, British war planners studied how they might incapacitate Germany's industrial effort if the United Kingdom went to war again with the European nation. One suggestion was to attack dams in the Ruhr industrial region. The idea was to blow up the dams or strike them with bombs to create breaches that would cause catastrophic flooding.

Unrelated to the British war planning, aircraft designer Barnes Wallis also pondered the issue. By 1941 he calculated that a shockwave would cause the most damage, especially if the bomb detonated underwater against the dam. The problem was the Germans knew their dams were vulnerable to a torpedo attack and had installed antitorpedo nets. Wallis wanted to find a way to deliver an explosive small enough to be carried by an existing Royal Air Force plane, yet be able to evade the antitorpedo defenses and breach the dam.

Wallis determined the following year that a bomb skipped across the water's surface would avoid the nets. Scale tests determined that backspin was critical to ensure successful delivery. His final design consisted of a cylindrical, air-dropped bomb that was 60 inches long with a diameter of 50 inches. The bomb, codenamed Upkeep, weighed 9,250 pounds, of which 6,600 pounds was the Torpex explosive wrapped in a three-eighths-inch steel casing. Three Mark IV hydrostatic pistols were employed to make the bomb explode at a depth of 30 feet.

To prevent the bomb from falling into enemy hands, a self-destruct pis-



Lancaster bombers of RAF No. 617 Squadron attack the Mohne Dam. The British hoped to compel the Germans to pull back a significant portion of their antiaircraft assets, thus weakening their AA defenses at the front lines.

The Military Gallery

TECHNOLOGY SIMPLIFIED – BIGGER AND BETTER

Wow! A Simple to Use Computer Designed Especially for Seniors!

Easy to read. Easy to see. Easy to use. Just plug it in!

WOW!
Good Morning!
43°

NEW

Now comes with...

Larger 22-inch hi-resolution screen – easier to see

16% more viewing area

Simple navigation – so you never get lost

Intel® processor – lightning fast

Computer is in the monitor – No bulky tower

Text to Speech translation – it can even read your emails to you!

U.S. Based Customer Service

FREE Automatic Software Updates

> *"I love this computer! It is easy to read and to use! I get photo updates from my children and grandchildren all the time."*
>
> – Janet F.

Have you ever said to yourself "I'd love to get a computer, if only I could figure out how to use it." Well, you're not alone. Computers were supposed to make our lives simpler, but they've gotten so complicated that they are not worth the trouble. With all of the "pointing and clicking" and "dragging and dropping" you're lucky if you can figure out where you are. Plus, you are constantly worrying about viruses and freeze-ups. If this sounds familiar, we have great news for you. There is finally a computer that's designed for simplicity and ease of use. It's the WOW Computer, and it was designed with you in mind. This computer is easy-to-use, worry-free and literally puts the world at your fingertips. From the moment you open the box, you'll realize how different the WOW Computer is. The components are all connected; all you do is plug it into an outlet and your high-speed Internet connection. Then you'll see the screen – it's now 22 inches. This is a completely new touch screen system, without the cluttered look of the normal computer screen. The "buttons" on the screen are easy to see and easy to understand. All you do is touch one of them, from the Web, Email, Calendar to Games– you name it… and a new screen opens up. It's so easy to use you won't have to ask your children or grandchildren for help. Until now, the very people who could benefit most from E-mail and the Internet are the ones that have had the hardest time accessing it. Now, thanks to the WOW Computer, countless older Americans are discovering the wonderful world of the Internet every day. Isn't it time you took part? Call now, and you'll find out why tens of thousands of satisfied seniors are now enjoying their WOW computers, emailing their grandchildren, and experiencing everything the Internet has to offer. Call today!

- Send & Receive Emails
- Have video chats with family and friends
- Surf the Internet:
  Get current weather and news
- Play games Online:
  Hundreds to choose from!

Call now toll free and find out how you can get the new WOW! Computer.

Mention promotional code 111914 *for special introductory pricing.*

1-888-834-0308

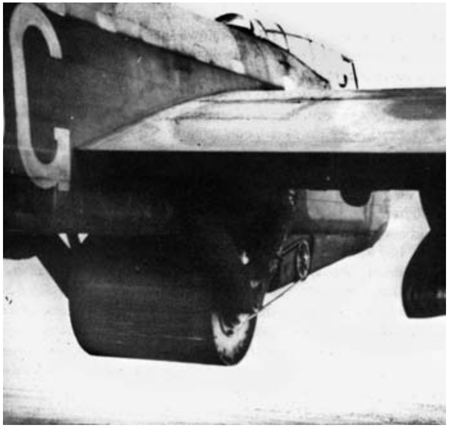
The WOW! Computer™

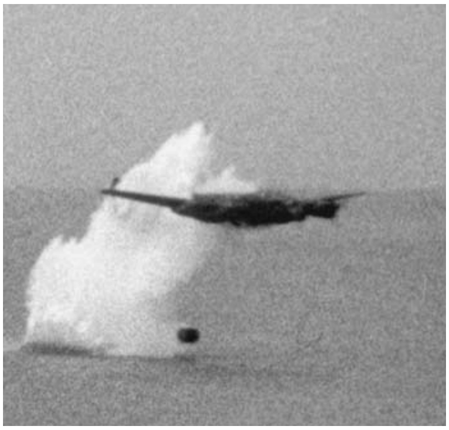
BBB ACCREDITED BUSINESS Rating of A+

© 2019 *first*STREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc.

84105

All: Imperial War Museum





LEFT: An 8,850-pound Upkeep bomb is shown tethered to the belly of a Lancaster in preparation for the raid. MIDDLE: When a Lancaster released a dummy Upkeep bomb during a practice run at Reculver bombing range, the water plume damaged the aircraft. RIGHT: Inventor Barnes Wallis and RAF personnel watch as the dummy bomb skips toward the shoreline.

tol was installed. Testing in early 1943 showed that the bomb could be carried by the four-engine Avro Lancaster heavy bomber, which by that time had become the backbone of the RAF's bomber force.

The Lancaster, which was crewed by seven airmen, was one of the most successful bombers in history. Introduced in February 1942, the Lancaster Mark I was powered by four 1,280 horsepower Rolls-Royce Merlin XX liquid-cooled V12 engines. This allowed the aircraft to cruise at 200 miles per hour and gave it a range of 2,530 miles. Armed with eight .303-inch machine guns, it could carry a maximum payload of 14,000 pounds in a long, unobstructed bomb bay.

The Lancaster was similar in some general characteristics, such as wingspan and length, and performance characteristics, such as cruise speed, to the main bombers employed by the United States: the Boeing B-17G Flying Fortress and the Consolidated B-24J Liberator. Although the Lancaster had a heavier payload capability, its 21,400-foot service ceiling was significantly less than its counterparts with the Boeing B-17G at 35,600 feet and the North American B-24J Liberator at 28,000 feet.

Once the bomb design was approved, modifications to the Lancaster were needed to carry the weapon. The RAF ordered 30 aircraft but later reduced the number to 21. Designated the Type 464 Provisioning and powered by American-built Packard Merlin 28 engines, the modifications included removal of the bomb bay doors due to the bomb's size, installation of V-shaped caliper arms to hold the bomb, and Vickers variable-speed hydraulic gear to drive the belt and produce the desired backspin of 500 revolutions per minute. To reduce weight and drag, the mid-upper turret was removed and the hole covered.

With this order, the RAF Operation Chastise into motion on February 28, 1943. The RAF tentatively scheduled the operation between May 14 and May 16 because at that time the water levels in the targeted dam reservoirs would be at their highest. Thus, a breach during that period would cause the greatest possible flood damage.

The service selected veteran Wing Commander Guy Gibson to command the new No. 617 Squadron of No. 5 Group. Gibson in turn selected 21 crews from various group squadrons to be based at Scampton in the East Midlands. Gibson informed his men that the mission would be against targets that required proficiency in low-level night flying. The RAF suspended flying regulations in order to improve aircrew efficiency.

Tests using inert bombs allowed Wallis to determine that the bomb needed to be released at a height of 60 feet while flying at 220 miles per hour. No bombsight or altimeter in use by the RAF was accurate enough for such a low-level attack.

Wing Commander Charles Dann solved the bombsight problem. He constructed a hand-held, triangular device made of wood with a sighting hole at the apex. The opposite base had nails in various points that when lined up with the dam's two sluice towers fixed the release point for the bomb. Determining the 60-foot height took a bit more effort. The result was the employment of two Aldis spotlights. One spotlight was installed in the nose and the other behind the bomb bay. The lights were angled to create a figure eight pattern that could be seen in front of the starboard wing.

Bomb testing began on April 16 at Reculver. By month's end, the squadron had begun flying the modified Lancasters. Gibson was debriefed in April as to the potential targets in Germany.

The extensive low-level flight-testing revealed that the standard radio sets were not reliable at low altitudes. To remedy the situation, engineers exchanged them for VHF sets. Gibson decided to use only tracer rounds for the Lancaster guns. The highly visible tracer rounds would serve to intimidate German flak gunners more than rounds they could not see. On May 11, No. 617 Squadron dropped inert bombs for the first time. Up until that point, all of the trials had been conducted with test pilots. The first and only test with a live bomb took place two days later.

The weather forecast for the target region during the proposed dates looked favorable. The RAF ultimately decided to proceed with the mission on May 16. Wallis arrived at Scampton to oversee the arming and loading of the weapons into the aircraft. A moment of sheer terror occurred when one of the bombs accidentally fell to the ground while being loaded, but it did not explode.

May 16 proved to be a busy day. Pilots, navigators, and bombardiers met with Gibson and Wallis. Wallis discussed how the bomb worked and what it was expected to accomplish. The main targets were the Mohne, Eder, and Sorpe Dams. Alternate targets were the Lister, Ennepe, and Diemel Dams.

The crews also were debriefed on the different types of dams. For example, Mohne, Eder, Lister, Ennepe, and Diemel were gravity dams constructed of masonry and concrete and held in place by their own weight. To destroy these dams, the bombers were to line up so that their attack runs occurred over the reservoir. In contrast, Sorpe was an earth dam with a central concrete core that was supported on both sides by sloping earthen ramps. To strike Sorpe, Wallis had decided that the bomb would be dropped without spin near the dam's crest. Instead of flying over the reservoir, the pilots were to fly the length of it.

A final briefing for the crews occurred at

6 PM. The first wave consisted of three flights of three Lancasters taking a southern route. They were to strike Mohne Dam first and then proceed to Eder Dam. If any of the aircraft in the fight still had bombs left, they could strike Sorpe Dam. The commanders in the first flight were Gibson, John Hopgood, and Harold Martin. The pilots in the second flight, which would take a northern route, were Squadron Leader Henry Young, David Maltby, and Dave Shannon. The commanders in the third flight were Squadron Leader Henry Maudslay, William Astell, and Les Knight.

The second wave's primary target was the Sorpe Dam. Five aircraft departed at one-minute intervals. The commanders were Joe McCarthy, Norman Barlow, Les Munro, Vernon Byers, and Geoff Rice.

The third wave, which was composed of five aircraft, served as a reserve. It departed 90 minutes after the previous wave. The commanders in the third wave were Warner Ottley, Lewis Burpee, Ken Brown, William Townsend, and Cyril Anderson. The RAF planned to radio them their targets during the flight.

At 9 PM on May 16, 1943, the prearranged signal went off and the crews of the first wave boarded their aircraft. McCarthy's plane developed a mechanical failure, so the crew rushed to the sole backup, which lacked the VHF radio set and Aldis spotlights. Due to their longer route, the second wave left first at 9:28 PM. The first wave departed 11 minutes later. The third wave did not take off until 9 AM. the following morning. One aircraft in the wave was downed by enemy antiaircraft fire.

After making a test run, Gibson lined up Mohne Dam and dropped his bomb. After three bounces, it sank and exploded. Unfortunately, the bomb detonated too far from the dam. No breach occurred, but the explosion destroyed the antitorpedo nets. Hopgood's plane was hit by the dam's flak guns on his approach, which resulted in the bomb being dropped late. It bounced over the dam and landed near the power station behind the dam. The bomb exploded destroying the power station. Hopgood's Lancaster caught fire and blew up, but its three crewmen were able to escape. Two survived and were captured.

Martin's bomb veered too far off center before exploding, leaving Mohne Dam still undamaged. Young's bomb struck the dam and sank before exploding. Although the bomb hit the target, it appeared not to have caused any damage. Maltby noticed the dam was beginning to crumble when he released his ordnance. After four bounces, the bomb struck the dam and sank before detonating. The resulting

When the time comes to sell your collection
—Let your first call be the only call you have to make.

CALL TOM & RON

Authors of numerous books and articles, with over 100 years of combined experience, let these two leading authorities on militaria maximize the profit potential in your collection.

We buy both small collections as well as large collections (pictured)!

COL. TOM JOHNSON & RON WEINAND

Some of our clients include:

Kevin McGinley, Connecticut
Barry Jett, Virginia
Robert Berger, Connecticut
Gerald Orosz, Michigan
Nathan Cochran, Kentucky
Skipper Greenwade, Texas
Chuck Nagy, New York
Jack Thompson, Pennsylvania
Dr. Donald Horsbaugh, Florida
Larry Pickerell, Kansas
Dick Page, Minnesota
Craig W. Young, Pennsylvania
Mrs. Russell Sardone, New York
Alan Ficht, Michigan
Bill Given, Ohio
Kim Chapman, Virginia
Arthur Maurer, Florida
Frank D'Agostino, Florida
Ray Norris, Colorado
Robert Strodel, Illinois
Virgil Maniago, Tennessee
Col. Charles H. Reed, Virginia
William K. Meier, Kansas
Michael Rossi, Maryland
Dr. William Francis, South Carolina
Col. James Walters, Florida
Dick Van Hevelen, South Dakota
Robert Sherwood, Michigan
The late LTC (Ret) Robert R. Carper, Louisiana
Kim Chapman, Virginia
Nick McCully, Virginia
Russ Newman, California
The Late Robert Klaiber, Sr., Ohio
Ms. Carolyn Archer, Nebraska
Scott Sadowski, Ohio
The Late Barry Jett, Virginia
Ron Coady, Florida
Chris Henningson, Florida

Col. Tom Johnson
403 Chatham Square Office Park, Fredericksburg, VA 22405
Phone: 540•373•9150

Ron Weinand
PO Box 323, Quincy, IL 62306
Phone: 217•223•2322

FREE History e-Books

From the publisher of *Military Heritage* and *WWII History* magazines.

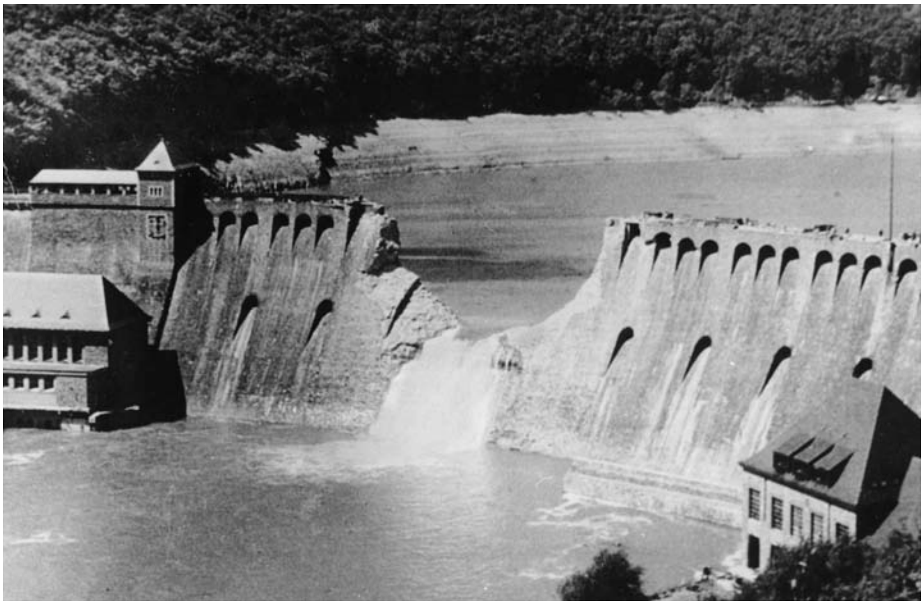
Read them when—and where—you want, on your phone, tablet or other device in PDF format.

Get all 11 books and start reading about the most important events in history.

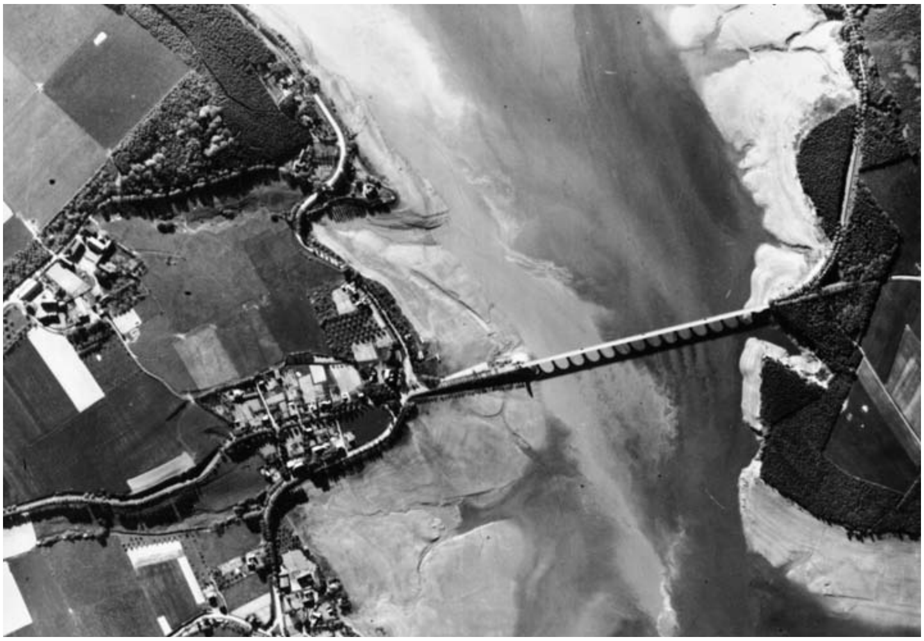
The Bloodiest Day: ANTIETAM
The Battle for Omaha Beach

WarfareHistoryNetwork.com/free-briefings

Bundesarchiv, 183-C0212-0043-012, Photo: Unknown



Imperial War Museum



ABOVE: A post-raid RAF reconnaissance photo shows the Mohne reservoir almost completely drained. Hitler authorized the transfer of thousands of workers to clean up the damage and rebuild the dams. TOP: A breach is shown in the Eder Dam on the Weser River in a photograph taken the day following the attack.

explosion, as with the previous four, caused a geyser of water. After ordering Shannon to prepare for his run, Gibson noticed a large amount of water pouring off the other side of the dam. He then spotted a massive hole in the structure. Calling off Shannon, Gibson notified Group 5 that Mohne Dam had been breached. Sending Maltby and Martin home, he ordered the others to follow him to Eder Dam.

Encountering no opposition, the five aircraft reached Eder Dam. It was going to be a difficult approach for the pilots but, fortunately, Eder lacked air defenses. Shannon made a few aborted runs before dropping his bomb. Though it exploded next to the dam, the structure remained intact. Maudslay followed. The bomb was dropped so late that it struck the parapet and detonated, causing severe damage to his aircraft, which was never seen again. Only Knight remained. After an aborted run, he dropped his bomb. It bounced three times, striking the dam slightly to the right of center after which it sank and detonated. After waiting for what seemed like an eternity, Gibson watched Eder Dam break. "[It was] as if a gigantic hand had pushed a hole through cardboard," he recalled. Gibson notified Group 5 that a breach had occurred at Eder Dam. At that point, the five aircraft turned for home. On the return leg, Young was shot down off the Dutch coast.

The second wave had a more difficult route, having to fly near the heavily defended island of Texel that bristled with antiaircraft guns. Barlow was the first to reach Germany, but his aircraft subsequently disappeared. For unknown reasons, the bomb's self-destruct mechanism was never armed, and the Germans recovered an intact bomb to study and reverse engineer.

Munro's Lancaster was struck by flak after crossing Vlieland in northern Holland. The aircraft lost both internal and external communications, as well as power to the tail turret. With no communications and decreased defensive capability, Munro returned to Scampton. His landing was almost disastrous when he cut in front of another returning aircraft. Group 5 lost contact with Byers shortly after takeoff. Drifting too close to Texel, he was downed by flak.

As for Rice, he was flying over the Wadden Sea, an intertidal zone along the coast of Holland, where he and his fellow crewmen were having difficulty judging their altitude. They inadvertently hit the surface of the water. The collision tore off their bomb. Having lost his bomb, Rice turned back to Scampton. McCarthy reached Sorpe but was puzzled to find that there was no sign of an attack in progress. Although visibility was good and there were no enemy air defenses present, he had to make several runs along the dam because of the lack of Aldis spotlights. On his tenth run, McCarthy dropped his bomb, without backspin, along the center of the dam on the water side. It rolled down and exploded. He observed crumbling along the top of the dam but no breach.

As it reached the Continent, the third wave received their targets by radio. Ottley led the wave. Shortly after being directed to Lister Dam, his aircraft was hit by flak. Before the Lancaster exploded, one crewmember escaped and was captured. Burpee strayed too close to the Luftwaffe's Gilze-Rijen Airbase, and his aircraft was hit by flak. It crashed near the base.

Meanwhile, Brown received instructions to head for Sorpe Dam. After numerous aborted runs, Brown dropped his bomb near the dam's center. Circling back to check for damage, he saw the top of the dam crumbling over a length greater than when it was struck by Maltby's bomb.

Townsend received instructions to strike Ennepe Dam, but he had difficulty locating it. He spotted a lake with a spit of land in it. Ennepe Reservoir was supposed to have an island, but the crew concluded they had the correct dam. The bomb exploded short of the parapet without causing any damage. It was later determined that Townsend actually attacked Bever Dam.

Anderson was sent to Diemel then redirected to Sorpe. Already off course due to flak, he encountered a heavy mist across the region. Having trouble getting oriented and with daylight approaching, Anderson aborted the mission and returned to Scampton. Maltby landed the first aircraft to return to Scampton at 3:11 AM, and Townsend landed the last one at 6:20 AM.

A reconnaissance flight the same day showed massive flooding behind Mohne and Eder Dams. Eighty-seven percent of the water held in Mohne and 75 percent of the Eder reservoir had been released. The flight revealed that power stations, factories, roads, bridges, and pumping stations were destroyed or damaged for miles around. In addition, gas, electricity, and water supplies were severely interrupted. The casualties, the majority of which were foreign workers, totaled 1,341.

Albert Speer, Germany's minister of armaments and munitions, arrived immediately afterward to determine the extent of the damage. With the approval of German leader Adolf Hitler, 7,000 workers were dispatched to clean up the damage and begin rebuilding the dams. Hitler also approved the transfer of an additional 20,000 workers. Many workers were transferred from Atlantic Wall projects to assist with the dam repairs.

In the aftermath of the strikes, the Germans deployed the equivalent of a division of soldiers to defend the Ruhr dams. They also installed antiaircraft guns at all of the dams.

The effect on the German war effort has been a source of debate among British military experts. Some believed that the heavy losses No. 617 Squadron incurred, which amounted to eight Lancasters and 56 casualties, were in vain given that the Germans had patched up the gaps in Mohne and Eder by October. One postwar analysis estimated that the Germans suffered as little as five percent loss of armament output in the latter half of 1943.

Other military experts hold that the strikes had a positive result largely because of the number of workers and the amount of construction materials the Germans had to commit to rebuild the dams.

The RAF built on its achievement in Operation Chastise by employing the Lancaster in other critical strikes, such as those against V-weapons sites and the Tirpitz. Although it was a costly mission, in the final analysis Operation Chastise stands as one of the great technological achievements of World War II. ☐

38TH PARALLEL
THIS IS WHERE IT IS
38°00'00"
NORTH LATITUDE
SURVEY
CONTROL
BY
1st F.A. OBSN BN
1950-53
KOREAN WAR
STATES OF AMERICA
PLURIBUS UNUM
HALF DOLLAR

Send just $2.95 for shipping and guaranteed delivery

FREE Korean War
60th Anniversary Coin

Now preserve important history of the Korean War with a FREE US Half-Dollar.

Coin features the 38th Parallel – the line that divided a country. Imagine owning this 60th anniversary commemorative coin – for just $2.95 shipping and guaranteed delivery.

Send today and you'll also receive special collector's information and other interesting coins on approval. Limit of one coin. Your satisfaction is guaranteed.

Korean War Coin FREE

☑ **Yes!** Send me the Korean War coin. Enclosed is $2.95 for shipping and guaranteed delivery. Limit of one coin. My satisfaction is guaranteed.

Quick order at MysticAd.com/JJ146

Name ________________

Address ________________

City ________________

NY State residents add sales tax.

State/Zip ________________

☐ **Check or money order**

☐ **Visa** ☐ **MasterCard** **Exp. Date** ___/___

Please send payment to: Mystic, Dept. JJ146
9700 Mill St., Camden, NY 13316-9111

SUBSCRIBE TO
MILITARY HERITAGE

CALL 800-219-1187 OR
WarfareHistoryNetwork.com

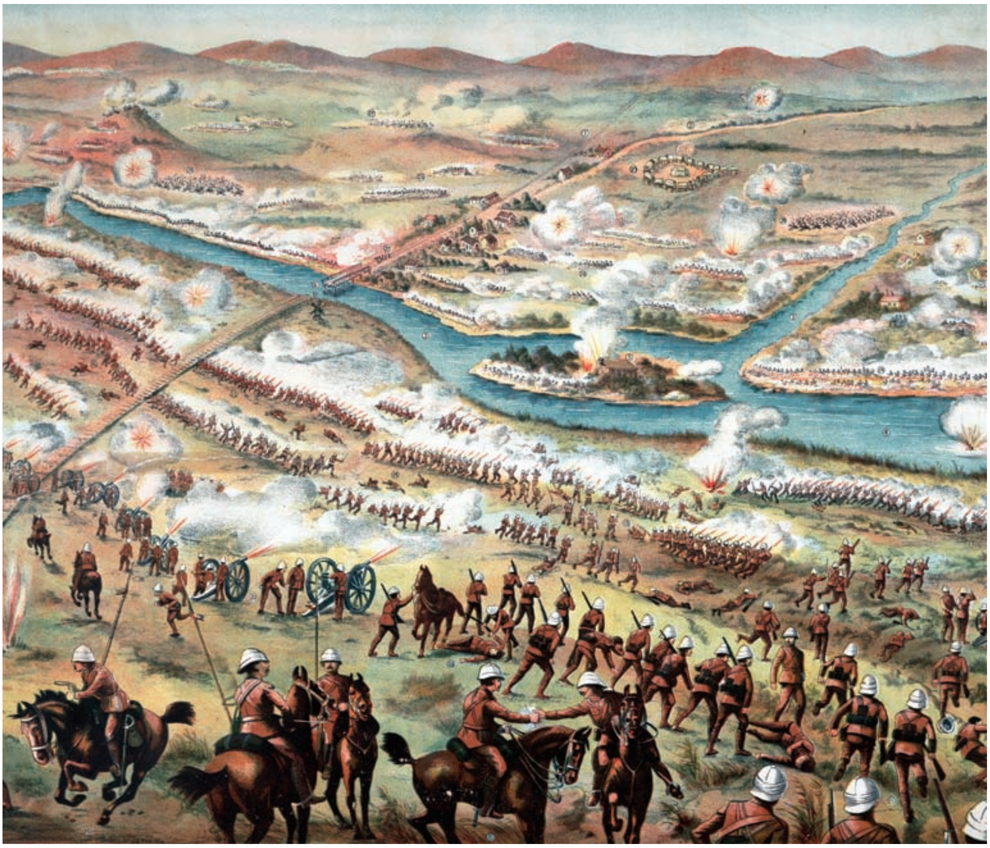
MILITARY HERITAGE
WORLD WAR II
BLOODY ASSAULT
Up Monte Cassino
CIVIL WAR
Rebel Charge at GETTYSBURG
INDIAN MUTINY
Siege of Lucknow
SEVEN YEARS' WAR
Redcoat Stand at Minden
AIR WAR IN VIETNAM, WWII SPIES, ANCIENT ROMAN WARFARE, BOOK AND GAME REVIEWS, AND MORE!
SEPTEMBER 2019

By William E. Welsh

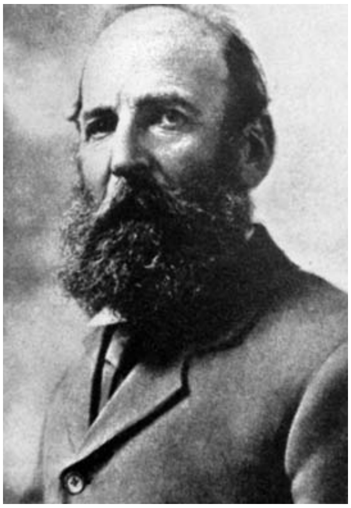
Commandant Jacobus "Koos" De La Rey exhibited tactical genius during the Second Boer War.

IN THE EARLY WEEKS OF THE SECOND BOER WAR, GENERAL JACOBUS Hercules De La Rey suggested a way to overhaul the tactics of his fellow Boers in a way that would prove devastating to his British opponents. Plunging fire from high ground had its limitations, he said during in a war council held at Jacobsal, Orange Free State, at the outset of the conflict. For example, it could not stop disciplined British troops from reaching the dead spot at the base of the steep-sided rocky hills known as *kopjes* that were endemic to the African Highveld. A British force that reached this protected zone could rest before its final assault on Boer-held high ground.

He therefore proposed a dramatic change in tactics that was designed to fully exploit the awesome firepower of the German-made Mauser rifle with which the Boers were armed. The Boers should deploy their front rank in trenches and rifle pits on the veld where they could sweep the ground up to 2,200 yards with their bolt-action, repeating rifles. De La Rey employed his new tactics in the pitched battle at Modder River on November 28, 1899. They were largely responsible for the Boer army's decisive victory that day.



Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



Boer soldiers armed with Mauser repeating rifles in shoulder-high trenches on the far bank of the Modder River laid down a sheet of fire against the advancing British. RIGHT: De La Ray applied lessons learned in bush warfare against the British.

De La Rey was born on the Doornfontein Farm at Winburg in the Orange Free State on October 22, 1847. His ancestors were Spanish, French Huguenot, and, of course, Dutch. Eleven years before he was born, hundreds of Boer *voortrekkers,* or pioneers, migrated by wagon train from Cape Colony north beyond the Orange River in an effort to live beyond the stern grip of British colonial administration. When De La Ray was just one year old, a sharp battle over control of the land between the Orange and Vaal Rivers occurred on August 29, 1848, at Boomplaats along the Orange River. Pitted against British General Harry Smith's 1,200 British troops were just 300 Boers led by Andries Pretorius. The Boers lost the battle, and the British eventually

Discover life-changing freedom and fun
ZINGER
ZINGER

The Zinger folds to a mere 10 inches.

"With my Zinger Chair, I can go anywhere and everywhere I want!"

More and more Americans are reaching the age where mobility is an everyday concern. Whether from an injury or from the aches and pains that come from getting older– getting around isn't as easy as it used to be. You may have tried a power chair or a scooter. The ***Zinger*** is NOT a power chair or a scooter! The ***Zinger*** is quick and nimble, yet it is not prone to tipping like many scooters. Best of all, it weighs only 47.2 pounds and folds and unfolds with ease. You can take it almost anywhere, providing you with independence and freedom.

> ***I can now go places and do things that I wasn't able to go or do before. It has given me a new lease on life and I am so happy I found it!***
>
> *–Dana S., Texas*

Years of work by innovative engineers have resulted in a mobility device that's truly unique. They created a battery that provides powerful energy at a fraction of the weight of most batteries. The ***Zinger*** features two steering levers, one on either side of the seat. The user pushes both levers down to go forward, pulls them both up to brake, and pushes one while pulling the other to turn to either side. This enables great mobility, the ability to turn on a dime and to pull right up to tables or desks. The controls are right on the steering lever so it's simple to operate and its exclusive footrest swings out of the way when you stand up or sit down. With its rugged yet lightweight aluminum frame, the ***Zinger*** is sturdy and durable yet convenient and comfortable! What's more, it easily folds up for storage in a car seat or trunk– you can even gate-check it at the airport like a stroller. Think about it, you can take your ***Zinger*** almost anywhere, so you don't have to let mobility issues rule your life. It folds in seconds without tools and is safe and reliable. It holds up to 275 pounds, and it goes up to 6 mph and operates for up to 8 hours on a single charge.

Why spend another day letting mobility issues hamper your independence and quality of life?

Zinger Chair®

Call now and receive a utility basket absolutely FREE with your order.

NEW

1-888-828-3974

Please mention code 111913 when ordering.

Just think of the places you can go: • Shopping • Air Travel • Bus Tours • Restaurants– ride right up to the table! • Around town or just around your house

Zinger is not intended for medical purposes to provide mobility to persons restricted to a sitting position. It is not a medical device nor a wheelchair. It is not covered by Medicare nor Medicaid. © 2019 *first*STREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc.

83967

Boers trenches, dug at the base of Magersfontein Heights. De La Ray's tactics were responsible for the Boer victory at Magersfontein, the second of three Boer victories in the disastrous "Black Week" for the British Army in December 1899.

confiscated Doornfontein Farm.

The De La Reys resettled to Lichtenburg in the Transvaal. The family moved again in the 1870s to Kimberley in the western half of the Orange Free State when diamonds were discovered there. "Koos," as he was called by family and friends, had little formal education. He found regular work transporting supplies for the Kimberley diamond mining operations.

Although he had no formal military training, Koos gained a wealth of experience fighting native tribes. He fought in the three-year Basuto War that began in 1865 and resulted in the absorption of most of King Moshweshwe's lands into the Orange Free State. He also fought in the Boer clash with King Sekhukhune of the Pedi in 1876. These experiences in irregular warfare would prove invaluable during the latter stages of the Second Boer War. While serving as a veld cornet in the short-lived First Boer War of 1880-1881, he took over the direction of the Boer siege of the Potchefstroom when Piet Cronje became seriously ill.

De La Rey was elected commandant of Lichtenburg in 1883 and became a member of the Volksraad of the South African Republic (Transvaal). He was against President Paul Kruger's war policy; instead, he was an ardent supporter of Piet Joubert, who had been the commandant-general of the republic during the First Boer War. Kruger, though, was a far shrewder politician. Kruger was so confident that a second war was imminent that he began stockpiling 1893/1895 Mausers from Germany. Of the 75,000 rifles in the South African Republic's arsenal by the start of the war, 37,000 were lightweight Mausers that could be rapidly loaded and fired with five-bullet clips.

The Transvaal Ultimatum, which called for the British to withdraw their military forces from the border of the Orange Free State and remove from South Africa all recently arrived reinforcements, was approved in a secret session of the Volksraad in September 1899. De La Rey was one of seven members who voted against the ultimatum. In an address to the session, he pointed out the folly of going to war with Great Britain. However, he concluded his remarks by saying, "I shall do my duty as the Raad decides."

De La Rey accepted a generalship at the outbreak of the Second Boer War on October 11, 1899. The Boers had begun mobilizing two weeks earlier. The armies of both the South African Republic and the Orange Free State were made up entirely of citizen soldiers between the ages of 16 and 60.

When the war began the Transvaal and Orange Free State fielded 23,000 and 12,000 soldiers, respectively. The troops were organized in units called commandos. The 52-year-old commandant received orders to assume command of Boer forces operating against the Cape Colony in the west. De La Ray was appointed to serve under the bull-headed General Piet Cronje as his advisor and second in command. The Boer strategy in the west was to secure the three key towns—Kimberley, Vryburg, and Mafeking—on the Western Railway north of the Orange River.

It was terrain with which Koos was intimately familiar. He would have the honor of leading Boer troops in what would be the first action of the conflict. Once this was accomplished, the Boers intended to invade Cape Colony. Meanwhile, Boer forces in the east would invade Natal and then march on the strategic port of Durban.

Like many Boers, Koos sported a thick beard. Standing six feet, one inch tall, he had a high forehead, thick eyebrows, and a hook nose. A stern religious man, he drove his troops hard in battle. Waving his leather riding whip, he was often heard in the thick of battle shouting, "God is on our side!" He succeeded primarily because of his practical nature, religious conviction, and charismatic leadership.

The war was only one day old when De La Rey led 800 Boer troops against 30 British "khakis" on an armored train heading north on the Western Railway for Mafeking. The Boers and British battled for five hours at a railway siding on October 12 until the British surrendered. A handful of British were wounded, but the Boers suffered no casualties. The train was carrying cannons, rifles, and ammunition. After securing his prisoners, De la Ray and his men offloaded the arms and ammunition. They then tore up some of the tracks and cut the telegraph.

After his success against the British armored train on November 25, De La Rey marched his force, which had been enlarged to 3,500 troops, to the confluence of the Modder and Riet Rivers, 25 miles southeast of Kimberley. The troops had six Krupp guns and three 1-pounders known as pom-poms.

The river cut deep troughs through the Highveld—in some places the river bed and its banks were 30 feet below the surface of the veld. Instead of posting his men behind the river to cover its crossings, the resourceful commander positioned his front ranks inside the deep cut of the river. This afforded the Boers excellent cover for the banks served as ready-made trench. The troops on the front line improved their position by stacking brushwood in front of their firing positions so that even their heads and shoulders were protected while firing. The rifle pits were on the south bank of the two rivers, while the artillery was spread out behind them on the north bank. Knowing that his fellow Boers were prone to flight because they lacked the discipline of professional soldiers, he deliberately placed the majority of his troops on the south side of the river. This would make it difficult for them to flee as they would have to cross to the north bank while under fire.

Throughout the following day, De La Rey supervised his troops as they converted nearby farm buildings into strongpoints, dug rifle pits, and marked out ranges for their weapons. Cronje arrived after all of the dispositions had been made. The two commanders did not like each other, but Cronje found De La Rey's preparations to his satisfaction. Rather than stand around appearing not to be doing much, Cronje retired to a small inn near the confluence for a good night's rest.

On November 27, Lt. Gen. Lord Paul Methuen led his 8,000 troops north from the railroad stop at Enslin toward the Boer position along the Modder. After marching 14 miles, the British bivouacked six miles south of the river. Methuen sent mounted scouts to reconnoiter the Boer position, and they reported that the Boers were deployed in force near the collapsed railroad bridge.

Methuen rode forward to see for himself. As he swept his glasses along the river, which was marked by willows and bushes, he could not see any of the enemy troops. If the Boers were deployed along the river, their numbers must be small, Methuen reasoned. The ground between the blue-tinged Magersfontein Heights in the far distance on the north side of the river and everything in between seemed devoid of human presence.

Methuen would have been better served by sticking closer to the Western Railway and trying to fight his way across the Modder at Jacobsdal. This would have allowed him to march straight past the Boers into Kimberley. His decision to assault the enemy in a strong defensive position came from his keen desire to defeat the Boers in a pitched battle.

The following day, the British advanced toward the river. Methuen estimated there were only 400 Boers contesting the position. Cronje emerged from the inn to watch the British deploy for battle. As he did so, he ordered two guns shifted from the center to the left. De La Ray was furious because the movement of the guns gave Methuen valuable information on the Boer position.

Having spotted the Boer guns, a battery of British horse artillery began shelling them from a distance of 4,000 yards. With shells crashing all around them, the Boer artillerymen decided to withdraw their guns. Shortly afterward, Methuen gave the order to advance. By that time, they were within 1,200 yards of the Modder.

The crack of hundreds of Mausers rang out as Boer riflemen in a four-mile line poured out a steady fire that pinned the British to the ground. Some of the more fortunate British soldiers were able to take cover behind anthills. The Mauser fire proved devastating. The British troops found it difficult to return fire for they could not see the enemy. This was not only because the Boer riflemen were so well camouflaged, but also because the Mausers used smokeless powder that did not betray their position like traditional black powder.

"It's fighting against rocks," said a frustrated British soldier. "You have nobody to shoot at, dammit!" In his extreme frustration, Methuen led a detachment of Highlanders forward through a gully, hoping to dislodge some of the Boers. During the unsuccessful effort, Methuen was shot in the thigh.

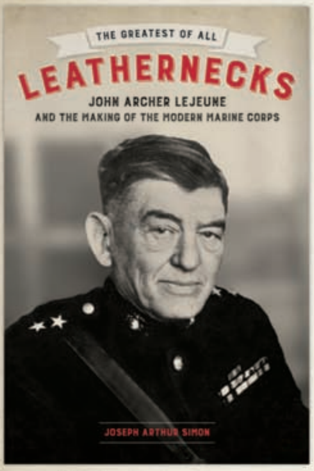
Methuen's valiant artillerymen moved up to within 800 yards of the Modder. They pounded the enemy's right wing so hard that the Boer riflemen withdrew across the river late in the day. This allowed some of the British infantry to get a foothold on the north bank.

Koos' 19-year-old son, Adaan, was mortally wounded during the fighting and taken to the rear. De La Rey personally oversaw the withdrawal of the Boer guns to ensure they did not fall into British hands. The British won the battle since they forced the Boers to withdraw.

THE GREATEST of ALL LEATHERNECKS

John Archer Lejeune and the Making of the Modern Marine Corps

JOSEPH ARTHUR SIMON



27 b&w images, 4 maps

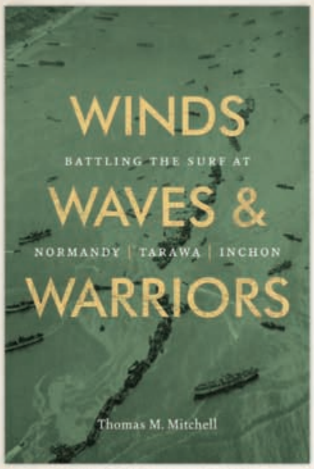
"Simon made the study of John Archer Lejeune his life's work, and his biography of the father of the modern Marine Corps sets a high standard for future books on Marine Corps leadership."

—Allan R. Millett, retired colonel, U.S. Marine Corps, and author of *In Many a Strife*

WINDS, WAVES, and WARRIORS

Battling the Surf at Normandy, Tarawa, and Inchon

THOMAS M. MITCHELL



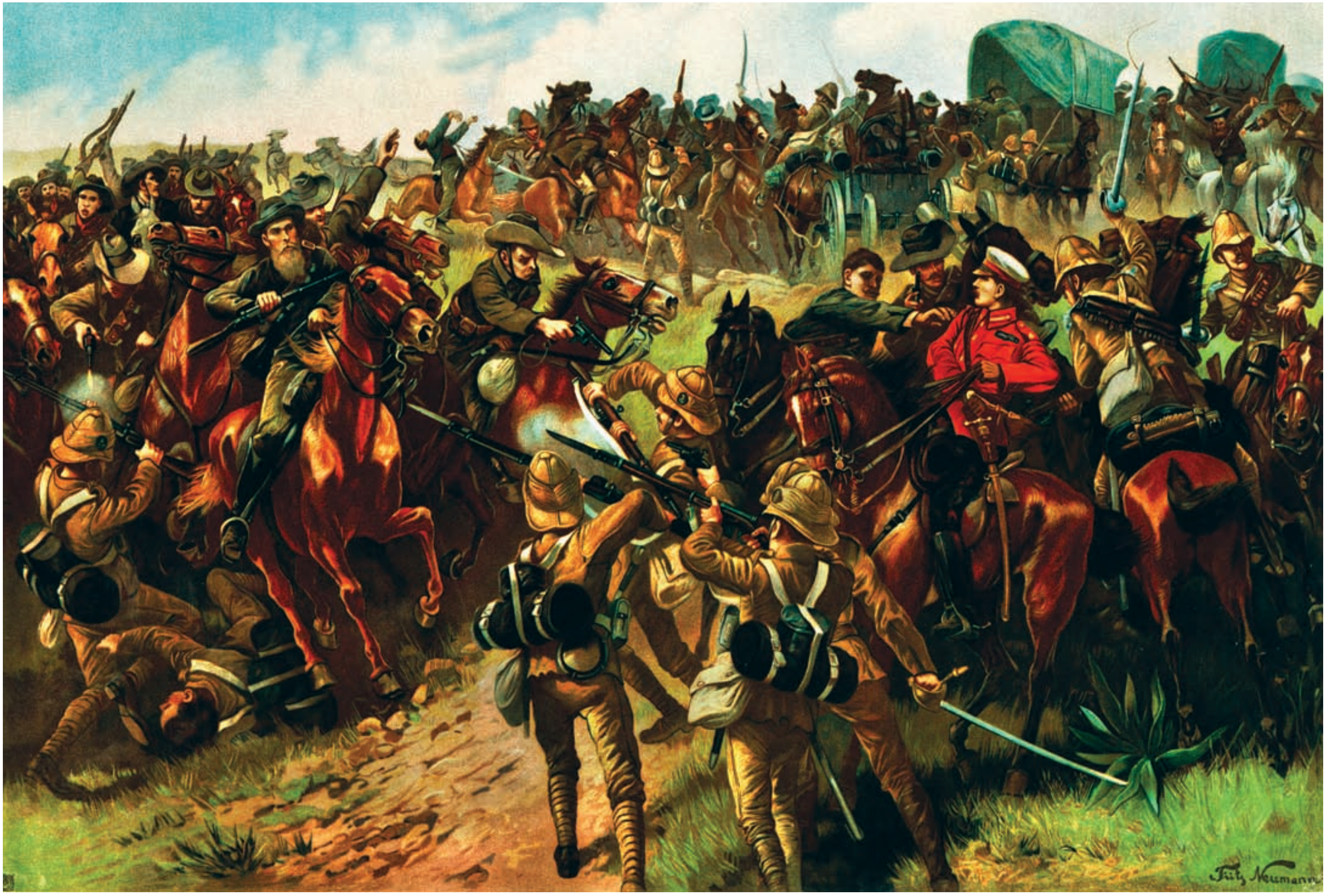
10 b&w images, 6 maps

"*Winds, Waves, and Warriors* is valuable chronicle of amphibious warfare as confronted by the U.S. in the Atlantic and Pacific theaters of World War II and the Korean War."

—David Haward Bain, author of *Bitter Waters*

AVAILABLE IN BOOKSTORES AND ONLINE AT **WWW.LSUPRESS.ORG**

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



Lord Kitchener tasked Lord Methuen with capturing De La Rey, but the wily Boer general instead captured Methuen in March 1902, destroying his 1,200-man column in the process.

However, they suffered 400 casualties while the Boers suffered only 75.

When Cronje rode over to discuss the action with De La Rey, the weary commander lashed out at his superior for failing to help control the retreating troops. Afterward, De La Rey sought out his dying son. He sat beside him as he drew in his last breaths. He wrote to his wife telling her of their loss. "Tomorrow the body will be committed to earth in Jacobsdal," he wrote. "How hard it is for us all. But God has decided [it this way]."

Afterward, the Boers gradually fell back to Magersfontein Heights. After 10 days of fighting, both armies had been heavily reinforced. The Boers now had 7,000 men and 10 guns, and the British had upward of 15,000 men and 33 guns. The heights rose 190 feet above the surrounding land. To their front were two parallel folds of ground that stretched for more than two miles.

De La Rey envisioned a similar defense to that at the Modder River. The Boers would entrench on the plain in front of the kopjes. He ordered his infantry to dig rifle pits and trenches deep enough so that they could fire standing up. De la Ray planned to put his best troops in the front rank firing Mausers. Their precise location would be hard for the enemy to determine because of the smokeless powder. Behind them in a second row would be the less experienced troops armed with antiquated Martini-Henry rifles.

Methuen decided to try outflanking the Boers by moving to the east to get around their left flank. This was precisely what the Boers had hoped he would do because it would allow them to enfilade his left flank as he advanced diagonally across their front. Methuen tried to march across the Boer front at night on December 10, but as the sun began to rise the following day the British were still slogging forward in tight formation. The Boers in their trenches laid down a sheet of fire that inflicted 950 casualties on the British at the cost of just 300 Boers. De La Rey had succeeded in stopping cold the British offensive in the west.

Lord Frederick Roberts took over command of all British and Commonwealth forces and set out in mid-February 1900 to relieve Kimberley. Roberts won a decisive victory over Cronje at Paardeberg on February 18. Afterward, the British forces encircled Cronje's army and forced its surrender nine days later. Four thousand Boer soldiers went into captivity. De La Rey withdrew to the outskirts of Johannesburg. He had just 1,500 men, of which 1,000 were Johannesburg policemen.

Roberts advanced rapidly into Transvaal, capturing Johannesburg on May 30 and Pretoria six days later. The nature of the war had been changing for the past several months as the British erected blockhouses to protect strategic locations and the Boers resorted to guerrilla actions meant to disrupt their operations. De La Rey set up a base of operations at Magaliesburg northwest of Johannesburg. On July 11, his veteran cavalrymen surprised the Scots Greys in their camp at Zilikat's Neck. The swift raid, which was an embarrassment for the British, resulted in the surrender of the regiment and the capture of 189 men.

Roberts departed for England in November. He was replaced by Lord Herbert Kitchener. The new British commander in chief would use new tactics, such as large-scale sweeps, in an attempt to capture Boer raiders.

On December 2, De La Rey attacked a

British wagon train east of Rustenburg in western Transvaal, inflicting 118 casualties and capturing more than 100 wagons. Not finished with the British in the area, he spent three days reconnoitering the camp of Brig. Gen. Ralph Clements' 1,500 troops near Nooitgedacht west of Pretoria.

Clements had made his camp at a waterfall in the Magaliesberg Mountains. After receiving substantial reinforcements led by Christaan Beyers that raised his cavalry corps to 2,100 troopers, De La Rey planned an attack that called for three columns to strike at dawn on December 13. Beyers, who commanded a column, had hoped to quickly overrun the 300 pickets at the top of the mountain, but a sharp firefight unfolded. De La Rey led a column that advanced against the main camp from the south, while Commandant Christoffel Badenhorst advanced on it from the west. De La Rey and Beyers, who shared responsibility for the operation, ultimately overpowered the British, inflicting 300 casualties and taking the same number prisoner at the cost of just 78 Boer casualties.

Although some of the Boer leaders began losing heart in 1901, De La Rey and Christiaan de Wet, who oversaw guerrilla operations in the Orange Free State, urged them to continue resistance to the British. In response to Kitchener's draconian policies, in June of that year they began plotting an invasion of Cape Colony in an effort to discredit him. Meanwhile, Kitchener continued his sweeps through the Highveld in the hope of capturing the two guerrilla leaders. Kitchener tasked Methuen with capturing De La Rey.

De La Rey captured a British supply train at Yzer Spruit on February 24, 1902. A short time later, he turned the tables on Methuen when he attacked his rear guard at Tweebosch on March 7. In the sharp firefight, Koos' troopers inflicted 200 casualties and captured 850 British prisoners, one of whom was Methuen. In a humanitarian gesture, De La Rey released Methuen because of his poor health. It was one of the two final pitched battles of the war.

At the outset of World War I, Koos considered leading an uprising against the British for which he might receive support from the Central Powers. This was never to be, though, for he was killed when his car crashed into a police roadblock in September 15, 1914.

De La Rey was one of a handful of Boer leaders who emerged from the war with their military reputations intact. His tactical genius and fortitude in the face of heavy odds ensured his inclusion in the Pantheon of great Boer commanders. □

RUSSIAN MEDALS & MILITARIA

www.CollectRussia.com

- ★ Imperial Russian and Soviet Decorations and Medals
- ★ Documented Award Groups
- ★ Uniforms and Field Gear
- ★ Historical Documents and Autographs
- ★ Reference Books
- ★ Military Badges and Insignia
- ★ World War II Reenactment Uniforms and Gear
- ★ Posters and Newsprint
- ★ Edged Weapons

Large assortment and the best prices.
All major credit cards accepted.

Atlantic Crossroads, Inc.
P.O. Box 144, Dept. WWII
Tenafly, NJ 07670
Phone: (201) 567-8717
Fax: (201) 567-6855

Please visit our website:
CollectRussia.com

E-mail:
Sales@CollectRussia.com

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

D-DAY
Through A Soldier's Eyes...
Limited Edition Print

THE STORM was violent, the waves were huge and the noise was deafening for the soldiers in the landing craft on D-Day, June 6, 1944. As they neared the beach, the door dropped open… and this photo lets you see exactly what they saw, and feel what they felt: treacherous breakers, withering machine gun fire, a long beach, huge cliffs, and near-certain death.

None hesitated. These brave unselfish men jumped into the cold Atlantic waters. Two thirds of them died soon after, so that we could live in freedom.

This historic photograph shows American soldiers from Company E, 16th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division exiting their LCVP landing craft under heavy German machine gun fire on Omaha Beach. The photo was taken by Coast Guard Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sergeant.

Company E landed on Easy Red Beach at 0645 in the face of murderous fire. Those few who survived kept wading right into everything the enemy had and took their objective, which provided the only exit from the beach that the entire Fifth Corps had for two days. Company "E," perhaps by strength of will and courage alone, helped keep the entire landing force from being thrown back into the sea. For a month afterwards, those who survived remained almost in a daze.

Available Now In Limited Edition

This handsome Giclee print is large—printed on 12" x 18" silver emulsion photographic paper.
Reserve one of these incredible limited edition prints now, and display it proudly. $49.95 Plus $10 Shipping

Call 1-800-219-1187 today.

By Blaine Tayor

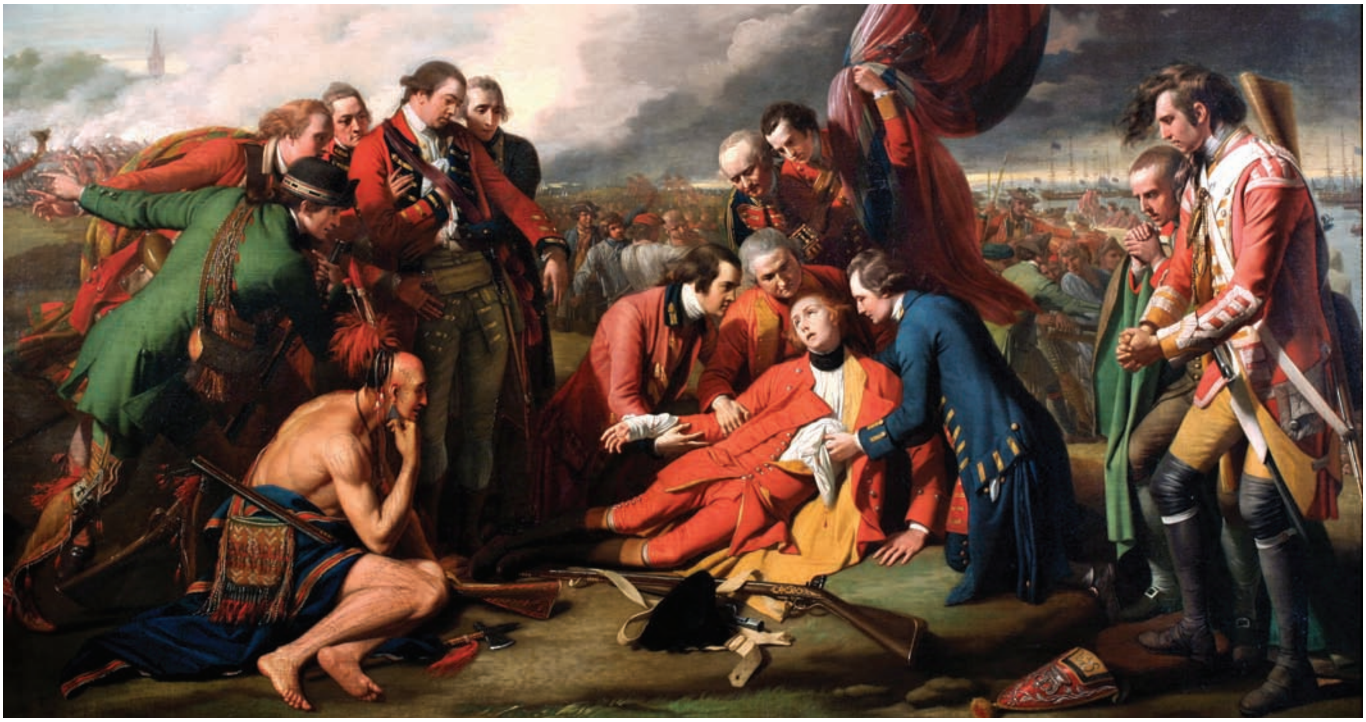
A British deserter fighting with the Canadians on the Plains of Abraham asserted that he fired the shot that killed Maj. Gen. James Wolfe.

BEFORE THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC, WHICH WOULD ENSURE HIM immortality in British military annals, one of James Wolfe's captains said of him, "No man can display greater activity than he does." Indeed, a full decade earlier, when he was a 22-year-old regimental commander in Scotland, another officer said of him, "Our acting commander here is a paragon. He neither drinks, curses, gambles, nor runs after women." Wolfe, who was the son of a Royal Marine colonel and was devoted to his parents and late brother above all else, had only hunting and fishing as hobbies outside his martial pursuits.

Wolfe lived only to die a glorious death in battle. "All I wish for myself is that I may at all times be ready and firm to meet that fate we cannot shun, and to die gracefully and properly when the hour comes," he wrote to his mother. "Being of the profession of arms, I'd seek all occasions to serve, and, therefore, have thrown myself in the way of the American war [against the French], though I know that the very passage [at sea] threatens my life, and that my constitution must be utterly ruined and undone," he wrote.

Wolfe cut an odd figure. He was tall and thin, gangling and awkward. He had foregone the wig that was worn by the majority of men in his profession. Without a wig, his bright ginger locks dangled free. Although his pointed nose and weak chin made him considerably less than handsome, his blue eyes shone brightly in contrast to his pale complexion. As for his personality, he was quick to take offense, haughty, and egocentric. Yet to his credit he had great courage and exhibited unchecked bravery before and during battle.

Wolfe was both contemptuous of his own troops and supremely confident that he could defeat the French, even though he had never commanded a full army in battle before the Quebec campaign of 1759. He was known as a good training officer and battalion commander, but nothing more.



British General James Wolfe's early death at the age of 32 in a decisive battle in North America guaranteed his ever-lasting fame in the annals of the British Army.

Wolfe called his men a rabble. “[They are] terrible dogs to look at,” he said. “They kill their officers through fear, and murder one another in confusion. No nation ever paid such bad soldiers at so high a rate. It is a doubt to me that there is another such collection of demons on the whole Earth!” Despite the rancor, his superior officer stated that his regiment was “the best in the whole army.”

Wolfe had utter contempt for American colonial troops, especially the Rangers. Ironically, it was the same kind of disdain that his foe in the Quebec campaign, French Lt. Gen. Marquis Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, had for the native Canadian and Indian forces serving under him.

Wolfe’s early military career included a failed raid on the French coast. He fought as an acting regimental adjutant at the Battle of Dettingen on June 27, 1741, where the British Army was engaged in a major action for the first time in 28 years. He then served as an infantry major at Falkirk Muir and Culloden in 1746 during the Jacobite Uprising that erupted the previous year. Returning to Holland, he was wounded at Lauffeld on July 2, 1747. From 1749 to 1757 Wolf was stationed in Scotland.

In September 1757 Wolfe participated in the British amphibious attack on the French Atlantic port of Rochefort. For his energy, dedication, and bravery during the expedition he was brevetted as a colonel. When King George II was preparing to send Wolfe to Canada to command a brigade under Maj. Gen. Lord Jeffrey Amherst, Prime Minister Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, informed the king that Wolfe was unsuited for the assignment because he was a madman. “Mad, is he? Then I hope he will bite some of my other generals and make them mad, too,” replied the king. Wolfe subsequently participated in the successful storming of the French fortress at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in Canada, his first action in then enemy-held North America.

Life in the British Georgian army for the redcoats was hard. Although King George I and his two successors opposed the system of purchasing officer commissions in the army, there was little alternative to it. During Wolfe’s day, the Georgian army was an unpopular and troubled institution. In Ireland, for example, British regiments earned no respect. The ranks were filled with all manner of thieves and scoundrels. Yet for many members of the lower classes, a career in the military was the only employment they could find.

This was particularly true for the Scots. They embraced the union with England in 1707 to

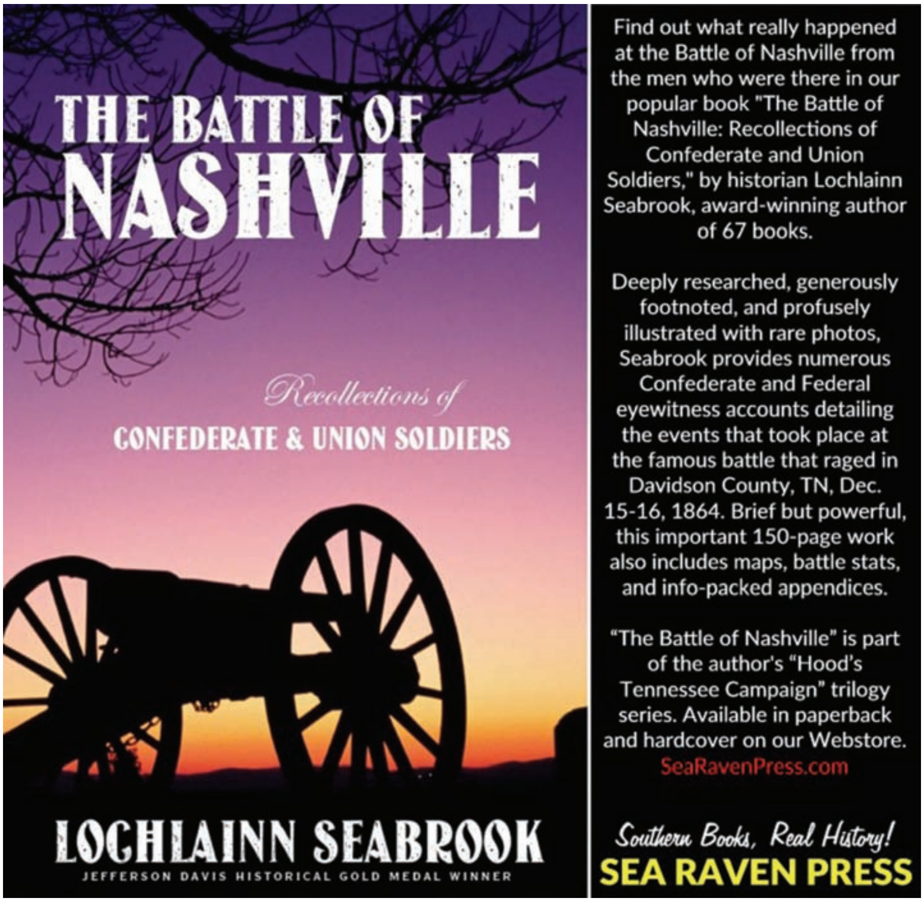
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN G.I.
Watch History Come Alive!

★ New Event ★
December 7, 2019
HISTORY IN MOTION
See tanks roll into action, feel the ground shake and watch history come alive!

March 28-29,2020
LIVING HISTORY WEEKEND

PRESERVE ★ HONOR ★ EDUCATE
19124 Hwy 6 S College Station, TX
(979) 690-0501 | www.americangimuseum.org

Programs made possible in part through Hotel Tax Revenue funded from the City of College Station through the Arts Council


THE BATTLE OF NASHVILLE
Recollections of
CONFEDERATE & UNION SOLDIERS
LOCHLAINN SEABROOK
JEFFERSON DAVIS HISTORICAL GOLD MEDAL WINNER

Find out what really happened at the Battle of Nashville from the men who were there in our popular book "The Battle of Nashville: Recollections of Confederate and Union Soldiers," by historian Lochlainn Seabrook, award-winning author of 67 books.

Deeply researched, generously footnoted, and profusely illustrated with rare photos, Seabrook provides numerous Confederate and Federal eyewitness accounts detailing the events that took place at the famous battle that raged in Davidson County, TN, Dec. 15-16, 1864. Brief but powerful, this important 150-page work also includes maps, battle stats, and info-packed appendices.

“The Battle of Nashville” is part of the author’s “Hood’s Tennessee Campaign” trilogy series. Available in paperback and hardcover on our Webstore. SeaRavenPress.com

Southern Books, Real History!
SEA RAVEN PRESS

HISTORIC COINS

CAESAR IN GAUL
These silver Quinarius were minted by Celtic tribes in Gaul until 50BC, when Julius Caesar conquered Gaul. The small (11-15mm) crude coins depict a horse.
ONE CELTIC GAUL SILVER COIN, only $65
OR GET 3 FOR only $185

LAST SILVER COINS OF NAZI GERMANY
The silver 2 Reichsmark and silver 5 Reichsmark both depict Paul von Hindenburg on the front and the eagle and swastika onback. The coins were struck only 4 years, from 1936 to 1939.
GET BOTH SILVER COINS FOR only $39
OR GET 3 SETS FOR only $110

FREE SHIPPING with offer code MH
Calif. residents add 7.25% sales tax. 3 week return privileges. Checks, money orders, Visa, Mastercard, Discover, AMEX & Paypal accepted.
Free catalog is available by mail or at our website.

JOEL ANDERSON
www.JoelsCoins.com
Interesting World Coins — Since 1970
(805) 489-8045
e-mail: orders@JoelsCoins.com
P.O. Box 365-MH, Grover Beach, CA 93483-0365

PzG - Your Third Reich HQ!
Books • CDs • Videos • Flags • Pins
T-shirts • Posters • Daggers & more
SS Paratrooper Collapsible Anti Gravity Knife
DG7001 - Gold
DG7002 - Silver
Only $15 each +s/h
Third Reich Battle Flag
F04 - TR Battle Flag Only $25 +s/h
* more flags available on line.
Details: Polyester, 3' X 5', reinforced edging, brass grommets, indoor / outdoor use.
* add $10 per order for shipping / handling *
VISA MasterCard DISCOVER NETWORK
www.pzg.biz
PzG Inc.
P.O. Box 3972
Rapid City, SD 57709-3972
pzg@sprynet.com

form the United Kingdom with enthusiasm, to the point that by the 1760s between 20 to 30 percent of all officers in the British Army were Scotsmen. Promotion could be rapid if the situation warranted it, and captains could find themselves commanding regiments in the absence of field grade officers, but the ordinary society of private soldiers was disdained as drunken, disorderly, and vicious.

In Britain, the practice of quartering these rowdy men in private homes was a sore point just as it was in the American colonies where the Quartering Act of 1765 required colonists to give the redcoats food and lodging. Billeting them in barracks was adopted as a means of keeping the soldiers together and under eye, since the men were prone to trade their food money for alcohol when and where possible. Marriage was discouraged for common soldiers because of the sheer numbers of the women who traveled with the army in the field, all of whom had to be fed from the commissary stores.

On June 4, 1759, Wolfe's army, consisting of three brigades of 8,500 men, embarked from Portsmouth harbor. His force consisted of 10 regiments of the line, three companies of grenadiers, and three companies of light infantry.

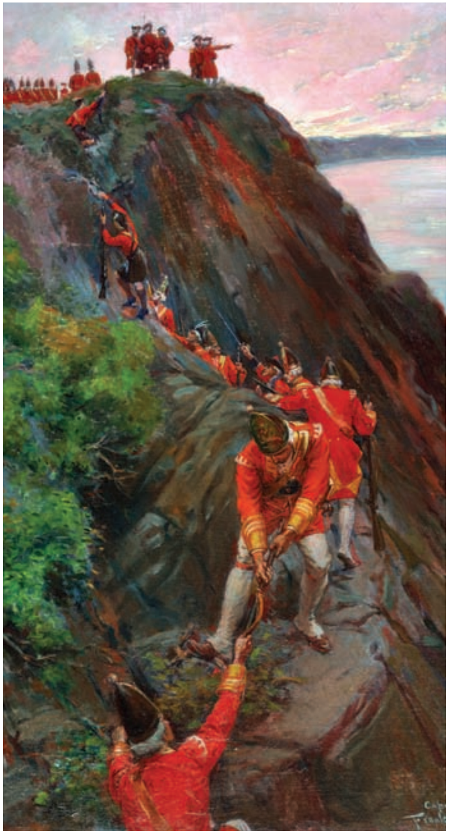
The British fleet of warships and troop transports consisted of 162 vessels, and the voyage across the rough waters of the North Atlantic took just under a month. The British fleet anchored on June 26, 1759, four miles away from the heights of Quebec in the St. Lawrence River.

From that point, Wolfe gained his first view of the impregnable fortress sitting square atop sheer cliffs with daunting bluffs. Stone walls that were both high and thick made the city seem impervious to frontal assault. Wolfe immediately assessed his position in comparison with his skillful opponent. "The Marquis de Montcalm is at the head of a great number of bad soldiers, and I am at the head of a small number of good ones, who wish for nothing so much as to fight him, for the wary old fellow avoids an action, doubtful of the behavior of his army," wrote Wolfe.

By the fifth year of the war in North America, there had never yet been the very type of set-piece battle that was so commonplace in Europe. Wolfe was determined at all costs to provoke one before winter set in, marooning his lesser force in the snow and ice of a faraway continent.

Wolfe faced another problem entirely unrelated to his land-based force. His Royal Navy ships contained 13,000 sailors who had to be fed. Moreover, the fleet had to return to the salt water of the open sea before the St. Lawrence froze over for the winter. In practical terms, that meant Quebec had to be taken before the first snowflakes fell. Wolfe therefore spent most of the summer 1759 looking for a back door through which to attack the city.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



After landing under cover of darkness in flat-bottomed boats, Wolfe's soldiers climbed 165 feet up a narrow path to reach the plains.

As for Montcalm, he had eight battalions at his command, five at Quebec proper with the other three dispersed elsewhere to prevent possible British landings, but all were within easy calling distance back to the fortress when needed.

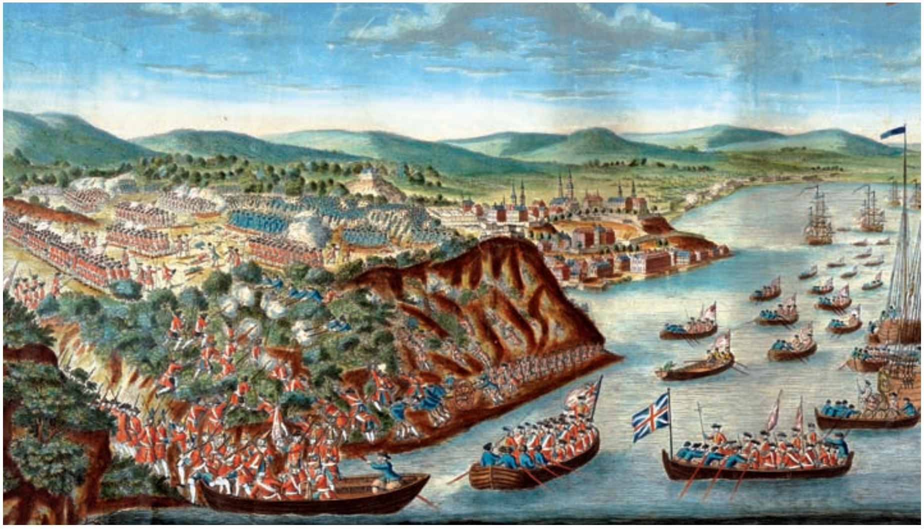
Wolfe set up a battery from which to shell the city and oversaw his troops as they fought off Indian attacks that led to the scalping of sentries at night. He also worked hard to prevent an ever-mounting tide of desertions as the summer wore on without the hoped for decisive battle against the white-coated French regulars and their irregular Canadian allies. Wolfe was determined to win at all costs, asserting, "A battle gained is the highest joy mankind is capable of receiving to him who commands, a defeat is a situation next to damnable."

A French fire ship attack against the anchored English fleet was repulsed by wary Royal Navy tars with grappling hooks. Meanwhile, Wolfe watched and waited for the opportunity to land his army in force.

An earlier landing attack on July 31, 1759, had been stopped by French fire, a heavy rainstorm, and Indian scalping parties. By the beginning of August 1759, the French estimated that 4,000 shells and 10,000 cannonballs had rained down on both the upper and lower towns of Quebec even before the main battle that was yet to come. Wolfe's incessant activity was pushing the French to the brink of starvation and causing militia desertions. Despite all of this, Montcalm remained confident of victory. Wolfe's guns might well destroy Quebec, but his redcoats would never take it, the French commander said. "Two months more, and they'll be gone," he told an aide.

Usually haughty and disdainful where his own subordinate brigadiers were concerned, Wolfe nonetheless called a council of war to present his plan of attack, which they unanimously rejected. Wolfe asked them to submit their own instead, which they did. To their astonishment, he accepted and implemented the plan to land his troops at L'Anse du Foulon. A French Catholic priest informed Wolfe that the French had left it lightly guarded.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



A period engraving depicts the British making an amphibious landing at Foulon, scaling the palisades, and engaging the French on the Plains of Abraham.

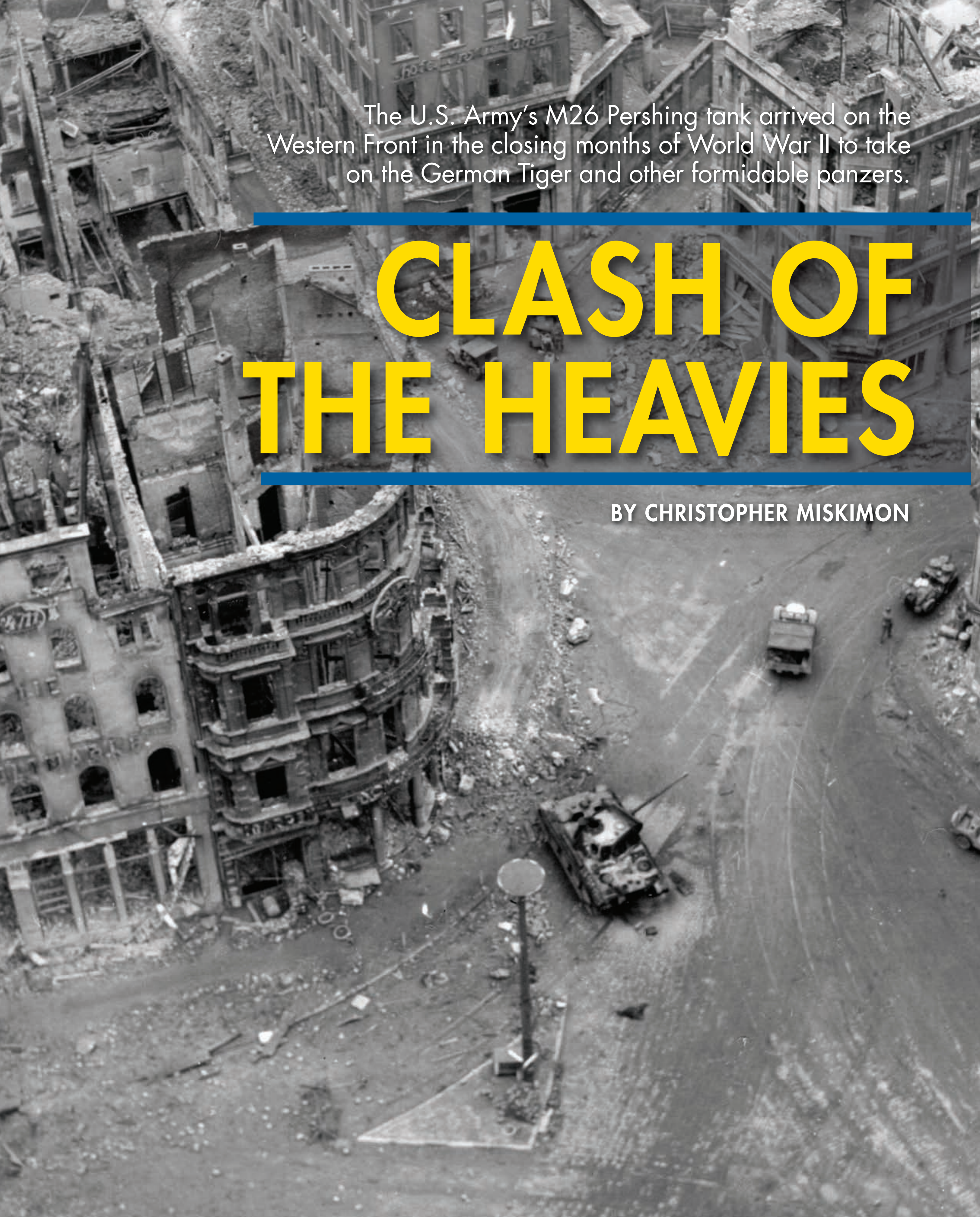
Securing the classic Royal Navy diversion to sow chaos downriver on the night of September 12, Wolfe sent ships bearing seven battalions upriver. At 11 PM the troops climbed down from the ships onto their transports. The flat-bottomed, oar-powered boats, each of which could hold 50 men, arrived at the cove at 2 AM.

As the first boats headed toward the shore, they were challenged by French pickets who shouted to them to identify themselves. French-speaking British officer Captain Donald MacDonald replied that they were French marines bringing supplies to Quebec. The first troops ashore arrived at 4 AM. The well-disciplined redcoats scaled the steep cliffs in silence.

Wolfe's 4,500 British troops had formed a battle line across the plain by 7 AM. Montcalm had expected the British to attack at Beauport to the east of the city. When he learned that Wolfe had managed to land his infantry at Foulon above the town, Montcalm sent an

Continued on page 69

75
INTERSTATE
London - Laurel County
Crossroads to Adventure
Visit Camp Wildcat
Civil War Battlefield!
Located on the old
"Wilderness Road"
Laurel County, KY
A beautiful and well-preserved
Civil War Battlefield.
It has many original trenches that
are still intact!
Don't Miss the
Reenactment!
October 18-20, 2019
London-Laurel County Tourist Commission
1-800-348-0095
www.laurelkytourism.com
Kentucky
UNBRIDLED SPIRIT



The U.S. Army's M26 Pershing tank arrived on the Western Front in the closing months of World War II to take on the German Tiger and other formidable panzers.

CLASH OF THE HEAVIES

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON

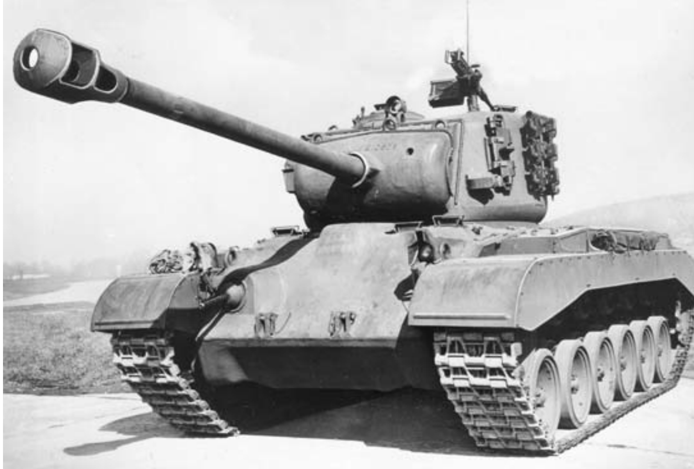
Sergeant Nicholas Mashlonik watched closely as the Panzerkampfwagen (PzKpfw) VI Tiger heavy tank rampaged through the village of Elsdorf in the Rhineland-Westphalia region of Germany on February 27, 1945. The 57-ton steel monster sported a long 88mm cannon that extended from a massive turret atop the blocky, angular mass of its hull.

The Tiger I was a fearsome opponent for any Allied tank crew in World War II. Mashlonik's job that day was to knock it out. Had he been commanding the M4 Sherman medium tank that day, the task would have seemed almost impossible without support or reinforcement, but now the odds would be evened because of the new tank he would be taking into battle against the Germans. His crew awaited him in T-26E3, designated No. 40, a new American heavy tank that weighed 46 tons and boasted a 90mm cannon.

Mashlonik had done a quick reconnaissance of the village from a distance during which he had spotted the Tiger. The Tiger crew had entrenched their vehicle, thus making it a more difficult target. But Mashlonik still believed he could destroy it.

Returning to his T-26E3, which lay hidden in a small valley, the young sergeant crafted a plan. He would act as gunner for the mission while his normal gunner, Corporal Carl Gormick, took over as loader. Driver Ernest Cade would inch the tank forward until just enough of the vehicle was exposed so they could shoot. Mashlonik ordered his crew to prepare two armor-piercing shells and one high-explosive round. He hoped the armor-piercing rounds would knock out the tank and the round would kill the enemy crew. Immediately after firing the third shot, Cade was to reverse the tank to avoid return fire.

Cade slowly pulled forward, creeping to where the American crew could get an opportunity. Mashlonik saw that the Tiger was moving. By leaving its cover, the driver of the Tiger exposed the belly of his panzer where the armor was much thinner. Mashlonik fired one of the new T-30 high-velocity, armor-piercing shells from 1,000 yards away. With a fiery flash and a supersonic crack, the T-26E3's gun sent the round crashing into the Tiger. The round smashed the transmission and drive assembly, stopping it immediately. The second round drilled straight into the Tiger's thick gun mantlet and ricocheted down into the hull, setting the German tank ablaze. The Tiger crew tried to bail out of their stricken vehicle, but Mashlonik finished them off with two, rather than one, high-explosive rounds.



ABOVE: The T-26E3 tank entered production in November 1944, an overdue answer to the superiority of heavy German tanks. It officially received the name "Pershing" in March 1945. OPPOSITE: Days after the battle, the burned-out hulk of OberLeutnant Wilhelm Bartelborth's Panther tank sits in the square in front of Cologne Cathedral. The tank burned for several days after being hit three times by American tank gunner Clarence Smoyer in his T26E3 Pershing.

During the course of the long morning, the T-26E3 crew spotted three PzKpfw IV's operating to the west of the destroyed Tiger. Mashlonik hit two of them, each panzer receiving an armor-piercing projectile followed by a high-explosive round. The remaining PzKpfw IV apparently beat a hasty retreat.

The three destroyed tanks brought Mashlonik's tally to 15 tank kills since Normandy, three of which were carried out in his T-26E3. His skill and experience as a tank commander were the reason that he was given No. 40 only a few days before. The technical appellation of T-26E3 would soon be supplemented with the name of the late U.S. General of the Armies John Pershing when it was christened the Pershing and given the designation M26.

At the outset of Operation Barbarossa in 1941, the Germans faced formidable Soviet tanks, such as the T-34 medium tank and the KV series heavy tank, which prompted the Germans to develop powerful medium and heavy panzers capable of defeating these fearsome tanks in battle. Thus, the Germans became trapped in a vicious cycle of designing and fielding larger tanks with thicker armor and more powerful guns as they battled the Red Army on the Eastern Front. In response to the Soviet threat, the Germans introduced the PzKpfw V Panther medium tank and the Tiger I heavy tank. The Germans also fielded a number of powerful tank destroyers with direct-fire guns.

American tank crews, who first went into action in North Africa in late 1942 during Operating Torch, fought most of World War II in the Sherman. The M4 was a good tank in 1942, but as the war progressed the United States lagged in armored vehicle development. The Sherman was designed to be built by the thousands in American factories, shipped by rail to ports, and loaded into Victory Ships for transport to combat zones around the world. It had to be reliable and easy to maintain. The Americans shipped spare parts along with the Shermans to keep them in service.

As the battle for Germany heated up in late 1944, the M4s 75mm gun proved unable to pierce the thicker frontal armor of enemy vehicles, and its own armor was too thin to withstand the heavy shells of German guns. The Sherman was a great tank for the generals, who needed thousands of reliable tanks they could feed into far-ranging campaigns. For the tank crews, its virtues were appreciated, but they knew they were vulnerable to enemy fire. They also knew that in a tank battle they could not expect to win head-to-head confrontations.

The young Americans who made up the armored force were not shy about admitting these problems and eventually the complaints made their way to the top brass. The Army had actually been developing an improved medium tank since 1942, but bureaucratic infighting and confusion over whether a new tank was even needed delayed production.

Development continued during the bureaucracy's debate, evolving from a prototype designated the T-20 to the T-26E1, which carried a 90mm cannon, four inches of frontal armor (equivalent to a Tiger I), and a Torqmatic transmission to save weight. Even so, the T-26E1 weighed more than 40 tons and, therefore, it was reclassified as a heavy tank. In early 1944, a team of armor experts was convened to study the need for a better tank. They concluded that the new heavy tank had to be capable of defeating enemy armor given that the Germans would always counter an armored penetration with their own armor. Thus, the Americans needed to field a tank that was superior to the enemy's best tanks.

ABOVE: A convoy of Pershing tanks moves through a blasted German village on their way to the front on March 30, 1945. Only four days earlier these tanks were unloaded from a cargo ship in a Belgian harbor. OPPOSITE: The crew of a T-26E3 of Company A, 14th Armored Battalion, 9th Armored Division near Vettweiss, Germany, on March 1, 1945. A week later they would take part in the capture of the bridge at Remagen over the Rhine River.

Further testing ensued, with more arguing over what constituted the best design. At long last the T-26E3 was authorized for production in November 1944. Yet the Army bureaucrats fretted over its battle-worthiness. This was prompted in part by after-action reports from the Battle of the Bulge that noted American tanks were prone to failure when they were needed the most. After some more agonizing, the Army shipped 20 T-26E3s to Europe for field testing.

The T-26E3s arrived in Europe as part of the Zebra Mission, whose purpose was to introduce a number of new weapons. In addition to the T-26E3s, other new weapons systems covered under the program were the self-propelled 155mm gun and a new type of 90mm antitank gun. Army ordnance specialists participating in the mission tackled the initial field problems encountered by the T-26E3. The Zebra Mission was assigned to Omar Bradley's 12th Army Group. Bradley sent the T-26E3 to Lt. Gen. Courtney Hodges' First Army since Hodges' units had the most contact with the Tigers.

Major General Maurice Rose's 3rd Armored Division and Maj. Gen. John W. Leonard's 9th Armored Division each received 10 tanks. The tanks arrived at Antwerp and were quickly shipped forward to a maintenance facility near the recently occupied town of Aachen, arriving on February 17, 1945. Each division sent 10 crews to become familiar with the new vehicles.

To get maximum advantage out of the new tank, 3rd Armored sent its best tank commanders and crews, with the idea to allocate one T-26E3 to each of 10 tank companies in the 32nd and 33rd Armored Regiments. Most of the controls on the new tanks were similar to the Sherman so the training went smoothly. The Pershing had a different transmission, so the crews spent extra time learning how to operate it. Each crew fired 28 rounds of the main gun ammunition, which accustomed them to the greater flash and smoke of the 90mm cannon.

Tank Gunner Corporal Clarence Smoyer recalled getting his first look at the Pershing at Stolberg, just east of Aachen. Smoyer belonged to a tank crew led by Staff Sergeant Robert Earley, which had a flawless record of never having their tank knocked out. Earley's tankers of 2nd Platoon, Company E, 32nd Armored Regiment were told to turn in their Sherman because they were going to be trained on a top-secret tank the U.S. Army was rolling out.

Smoyer was sitting in the gunner's seat of a Pershing bearing the designation E7 on its fender. Despite his experience as a gunner, he was nervous. His practice with the new 90mm was set as a demonstration to his entire regiment. Earley sat behind him in the turret and soon made the situation even worse by revealing Rose was only 50 feet away. He stood to the left of the tank even with its barrel.

From the commander's position, Earley ordered Smoyer to traverse right. The gunner looked into his sight and twisted his grip to the right, causing the massive turret to turn. The loader slammed a three-foot-long, armor-piercing round into the breech. Situated 1,200 yards away was a damaged farmhouse. Smoyer was told to aim for the chimney and fire when ready. He zeroed the reticle onto the target and prepared to shoot. The Sherman had a firing button on the floor, actuated by the gunner's foot; in contrast, the Pershing had a trigger on the same grip used to traverse the turret.

Smoyer took a deep breath and pulled the trigger. The flash blinded him, the noise deafened him, and the muzzle blast knocked Rose and his entourage off their feet. The chimney exploded in a shower of bricks. All the enlisted men watching were impressed by the shot but hid their laughter at Rose's predicament. Smoyer shifted to another chimney, this one 1,500 yards away. He hit that

chimney and another one as well.

When Smoyer got out of the tank, the assembled men cheered and clapped, including a mud-spattered Rose. The new tank inspired the tankers, who finally saw an American tank that seemed able to match the best German armor. “Our gunnery is far superior to that of the Germans,” Rose told General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower. For his part, Smoyer could not contain his exuberance. “The Army needs to rush a whole bunch of these over here,” he told his fellow tankers.

Despite the need, for the time being the Pershing’s presence in Europe amounted to a few dozen tanks, but the crews put them to work. In late February, the U.S. First Army was preparing to undertake Operation Lumberjack, which had as its primary objective the clearing and capture of the west bank of the Rhine River.

On February 23 the 3rd Armored Division attacked toward Duren. Initially, the mud caused more delays than the enemy. Many of the local German antitank guns lay knocked out by artillery or abandoned by their crews. The division’s Task Force Welborn, named for its commander, Colonel John Welborn, turned northeast three days later toward the rail hub of Elsdorf, situated 30 miles due west of Cologne. The task force reached the southern end of the town late in the afternoon and quickly captured about 15 houses before nightfall.

German grenadiers, artillerymen, and Volkssturm defended Elsdorf. The Volkssturm was a militia-like organization of very old and very young levies scraped together to defend the Fatherland. The Volkssturm were armed with deadly Panzerfaust antitank launchers.

Generalleutnant Fritz Bayerlein, commander of the LIII Army Corps, who controlled the German armor in the area, knew the Americans would try to capture Elsdorf since it was a rail hub. He ordered a small kampfgruppe from the 9th Panzer Division to the town. This force included PzKpfw IVs and at least three Tiger Is. They arrived after dark and the local German defenders told the panzer crewmen there were Americans at the southern end of the town. One of the Tigers, turret No. 201, went forward until its crew could hear tank engines running ahead.

There were two American tanks nearby, both from F Company, 33rd Armored Regiment. One was a Sherman and the other a T-26E3 nicknamed *Fireball*. They were on the street positioned behind a tanksperren, a log wall designed as a tank obstacle and used to block roadways and intersections. The Tiger crew managed to sneak their tank to within 100 yards, not too difficult with the sound of tank engines drowning each other out on both sides. At 9 PM the Sherman erupted in flames, either from German artillery or a well-placed panzerfaust round. The flames silhouetted *Fireball*’s turret, exposing its exact position to the Germans. They took advantage of this opportunity and opened fire.

The first 88mm round went through the gun mantlet on the front of *Fireball*’s turret, killing gunner Corporal John McGraw and loader Private Francis Rigdon. A second shot hit the muzzle brake on the Pershing’s gun. This jammed the barrel and caused the loaded 90mm round to detonate. A third and final round ricocheted off the mantlet and tore off the opened commander’s hatch. It was a brief action, yet it proved the adage that in tank warfare the crew that first spotted and fired on the enemy held a decisive advantage over their opponent. After their victory, the German crew tried to back their vehicle down the street to cover, a normally sensible move that kept the tank’s heavier frontal armor toward the enemy. However, that night the Germans backed into the rubble of a house and the Tiger got stuck, forcing them to abandon it.

In response, the Americans pounded the area with artillery and awaited daylight. The next morning, tanks and infantry pushed deeper into southern Elsdorf where they ran into more German armor. After a Tiger and two PzKpfw IVs were destroyed that day, the remaining German tanks retreated out of town. A few days later during the advance to Cologne, Mashlonik’s crew knocked out another PzKpfw IV, making No. 40 the highest scoring Pershing of the war with four tank kills. The Americans recovered Fireball, which was eventually repaired and sent back into action.

As the tankers of 33rd Armored were fighting in Elsdorf, a few miles south Smoyer and the crew of his Pershing were advancing toward the village of Blatzheim along with the Shermans of Company E. A group of M5 Stuart light tanks had been fired upon from a nearby farm complex, knocking out one of them. The tank company attacked, moving in three rows with the Pershing in the middle to protect their firepower. Rain fell as they crossed a field and took up positions around the burning Stuart.

The leading Shermans trained their guns on the farm to their left, and the enemy soon opened fire with a 75mm antitank gun. A green tracer from the armor-piercing shot buried itself in the sodden ground near the tanks. A heated exchange of firepower ensued. The Sherman crews fired multiple rounds into the farm buildings. Suddenly more green tracers came from Blatzheim to their front. The Americans confirmed that they were facing formidable 88mm flak guns serving as tank killers. One Sherman was struck and two more suffered mechanical problems as the American tank company made a hasty retreat out of the killing zone.

F Company came in from the flank and cleared out the farm, allowing E Company's 2nd Platoon to resume its attack toward Blatzheim, leading the rest of the company. As they advanced, one tank was hit and another threw a track. Another became stuck in a crater, leaving a Sherman and a Pershing to forge ahead. Suddenly a green tracer slammed into the turret of the Sherman and it came to halt. Earley's tank was alone, advancing toward at least one enemy 88mm gun. Smoyer looked through his site for a target and the loader, Corporal John DeRiggi, gripped a shell, ready to reload. Smoyer looked for a target but could not find one.

Then he spotted them. The guns were hidden under some trees where the nearby road entered the town. The gunner implored Earley to stop the tank so he could make an accurate shot. Earley complied as Smoyer told DeRiggi to load a white phosphorous round. Enemy shots struck the ground around the Pershing as Smoyer took careful aim and fired. The high-explosive round shattered a tree and started a fire around one of the 88s. Earley ordered the driver to reverse as DeRiggi reloaded. A round struck where they had been seconds earlier. Smoyer's second round hit another tree and engulfed another 88 antitank gun in a sea of flame. Earley kept moving the tank between shots to throw off the enemy gunner's aim while Smoyer put more shots into the enemy entrenchments.

ABOVE: Lieutenant Karl Kellner lays on the engine deck of his knocked-out Sherman in the upper right corner of this photo. A crewman from the Sherman at left rushes to his aid as another runs off to get a medic. His left leg blown off at the knee, Kellner died within minutes. BELOW: Ordnance troops inspect T-26E3 *Fireball* a few days after it was knocked out in Elsdorf. The fatal penetration can be seen on the gun mantlet behind the 90mm gun barrel. *Fireball* was repaired and back in service on March 7, 1945.

The American tank crews succeeded in knocking out the enemy guns. Then, the Pershing rumbled into Blatzheim with the six remaining Shermans. The crew began replenishing their ammunition. A few Sherman tankers joked that the Pershing had been slow crossing the field—it was a bit slower cross-country than a Sherman. "I never saw any of you try to pass us," Smoyer replied. That silenced them.

As the Americans crossed the German frontier during the Rhineland Campaign of later winter 1945, they noticed that resistance was beginning to crumble. By that point, the Germans had committed all of their reserve forces on the Western Front. The rapid advance of Rose's 3rd Armored Division, VII Corps, U.S. First Army in late February kept the remaining elements of the 9th Panzer Division in the sector off balance, forcing them to commit their armored resources in piecemeal fashion.

On the night of March 3-4, Rose's vanguard entered Worringen on the banks of the Rhine River directly north of Cologne. The 2,000-year-old city straddled the Rhine. It boasted a twin-spired cathedral that that had endured countless Allied air strikes on Germany's fourth largest city. The cathedral remained standing despite 14 hits while the city blocks around it were flattened. The urban rubble offered superb defensive positions to the German panzers. By the time the Americans reached Cologne, it was defended by remnants of the 9th Panzer, 3rd Panzer Grenadier, and 363rd Volksgrenadier Divisions.

E Company sat before an overpass on March 5, waiting for the infantry to clear the way. The Pershing tank was in the lead, a somewhat dubious honor after the performance of both tank and crew at Blatzheim. Smoyer peered through the gunsight of his 90mm cannon, searching for targets. Despite the Pershing's heavier armor, it was still vulnerable to a single German with a panzerfaust. The Royal Air Force had bombed Cologne just three days earlier. Smoke still rose from the fires that burned in the city. Heat and smoke from the many Allied aerial attacks on the city had left the spires of the ancient cathedral blackened and charred.

The T-26 Pershing moves through a Cologne street supported by nearby infantry. Urban fighting required close cooperation between tanks and infantry; the infantry protected the tank against lurking Germans with Panzerfausts and the tank provided firepower.

More infantry in half-tracks waited behind the American tanks. The infantry depended on support from the tanks and the tankers needed the infantry to sweep away marauding enemy soldiers and screen the tanks from threats they could not see. It was a symbiotic relationship; for in urban fighting the infantry would clear houses and kill anyone who tried to sneak up on a tank with a panzerfaust. In return, the tanks furnished firepower against strongpoints that the infantry had to capture and clear.

The delaying tactic worked that day. The Americans were held up for four hours before the order came to move in at 4 PM. The Pershing lurched into motion, leading one column of the task force, the other proceeding on a parallel route to the left. The Pershing advanced on a road that led toward the cathedral.

Each tank had a colored panel on the engine deck to identify it as a friendly vehicle to roving Allied planes. Tensions were high. Any window or doorway could hold an enemy ready to fight for the Reich; instead, the streets seemed empty, eerily devoid of life. As Smoyer peered through his sight, he saw something. A flash of light reflected off something on a clock tower almost a mile away. Worried it might be an enemy artillery observer peering at them through binoculars, he asked Earley to stop so he could make sure. The tank commander complied and Smoyer put a high-explosive round straight into the middle of the clock face. The tower collapsed in a rain of bricks.

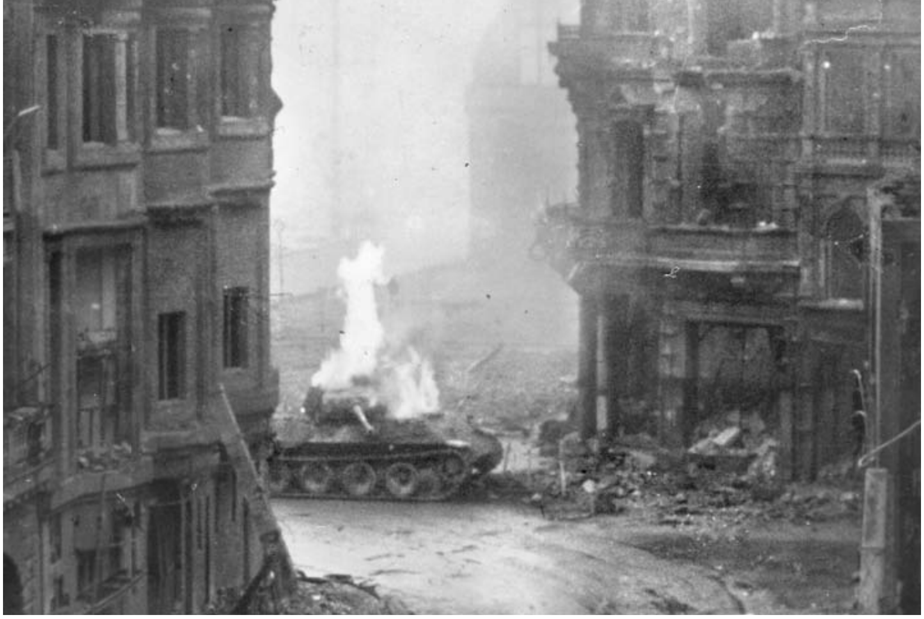
The tanks fought alongside the infantry the rest of the day. The tanks blew gaping holes in buildings for the infantry to enter and machine-gunned German soldiers. Unknown to them, by the next morning there were several German tanks—a mix of PzKpfw IVs and Panthers—around the cathedral. The enemy's situation around Cologne was desperate, with perhaps two dozen tanks remaining to defend the cathedral city. The Germans fought with great desperation. Snipers tried to pick off Americans, and young soldiers, some of them just boys, tried to get close enough to fire a panzerfaust or hurl a grenade at the Americans. The Americans pushed ahead toward the city center undeterred by the fanatical resistance.

The Pershing led the advance at midday with three Shermans behind it. To their front lay the cathedral, and just beyond it the Rhine River where a bridge still stood intact. Their orders were to get to that bridge and get across. It was a daunting task. The Germans would in all likelihood be entrenched on the far bank.

Some of the American tank crews felt they were being sent on a suicide mission. The streets were empty except for American infantry staying close to the tanks. Smoyer remembered being told the only vehicles on the street would be German military. No civilians had gasoline rations. The realization made the tank crews fear the appearance of German tanks.

The Americans crept toward the bridge, which was by then less than a mile away. They had no idea tanks awaited them near the cathedral. At 1 PM an explosion suddenly resounded through the empty streets from the east. Seconds later a column of smoke rose into the sky. From Earley's position in the commander's hatch of the Pershing, the smoke rose up between the twin spires of the cathedral. The driver stopped the tank as the crew realized the bridge they were ordered to cross was just destroyed by the Germans. The entire American force felt as if it had just received a reprieve from execution. They stopped and waited for the rest of the company to catch up. Earley radioed headquarters, hoping to receive an order to hold in place.

A reply soon arrived and was not what the tank crews had hoped to hear. They were ordered to continue to the Rhine, even though the bridge was down. Once again, the column moved forward, carefully, watching for any sign of the enemy. With the bridge down any remaining Germans could not retreat. The Pershing arrived at a four-way intersection and stopped in the shadows, just short of entering the open area. Smoyer peered through his sight, looking for targets. As he traversed the turret to the right, a German tank suddenly pulled out from behind the building to the left. He quickly swung his turret left, but the panzer reversed back behind a building before he could target it. Earley was looking in another direction and did not see it. Smoyer pointed out the building the panzer hid behind and aimed his 90mm in case it reappeared.



Flames roar from within Wilhelm Bartelborth's Panther after Clarence Smoyer's third armor-piercing shot strikes home. Such fires were generally the result of on-board ammunition "cooking off."

In the concealed PzKpfw IV, hull gunner Gustav Schaefer opened fire with his machine gun on a pile of rubble he thought concealed an American bazooka team. Smoyer saw the green tracers from the weapon pelting the rubble, but he kept his eyes fixed on the building for fear that the shooting might be designed to divert his attention. An armor-piercing round was sitting in the chamber of the 90mm, ready to destroy the enemy tank.

Both tank crews were distracted by a civilian car that suddenly flew into the intersection. The two civilians, a man and a woman, inside the vehicle had decided to try to make it out of the city as the battle heated up. They unwittingly drove into the middle of the unfolding tank clash. The Pershing's crew mistook their vehicle for a military staff car, and their .30-caliber machine gun sent orange tracers ripping into the vehicle.

Schaefer, who also saw the vehicle, fired on it as well, sending a stream of green tracers into the target. The car came to an abrupt stop with the male driver slumped over the wheel. The female flung open the passenger door and collapsed on the ground. Neither civilian would survive the encounter.

Schaefer wondered what the civilians were doing driving into a battle, but he knew he had to stay focused on the threat from the American heavy tank. A short distance away, Smoyer saw the car stop, but was unable to see who had fallen out. He knew, though, that he had seen green tracers indicating a German weapon.

The German panzer was still behind the building. Smoyer took aim at the building where he thought the enemy tank was and fired. A small shower of bricks poured down but there was no other effect. They could not tell if the panzer was hit, but the bricks gave Smoyer an idea. He fired several rounds into the already damaged building until the structure finally gave way and the upper floors collapsed in a shower of bricks and dust.

The bricks covered the PzKpfw IV, jamming the turret. Schaefer was able to get his hatch open, pushing aside the bricks covering it. The tank's commander also got his hatch open. He asked a civilian standing nearby for information, and the individual told him that the bridge had been destroyed. Schaefer fumed as he thought about how their unit commander had abandoned the panzer crew to their fate on the near bank of the Rhine. Angry about the situation, Schaefer implored his commander to abandon the panzer; he told the tank commander that further fighting was pointless. Some of the crew favored fighting on. They wanted to use the tank, whose turret would no longer traverse, like a direct-fire tank destroyer.

While the crew argued the matter, Schaefer climbed out of the tank and ran down the street. Moments later his commander followed him. The rest of the crew drove off in the damaged panzer. Schaefer said after the war that he never saw them again.

Meanwhile, the Pershing moved to a new position where the crew watched for more enemy tanks. On another street nearby several Shermans from F Company pulled forward slowly. Their job was to seize the cathedral, visible beyond the buildings at the end of the street. Afterward, the Stuart light tanks of B Company could dash to the Rhine and complete the battalion's mission.

A large pile of rubble blocked the street, delaying the Shermans' advance. The commander of the lead tank, Lieutenant Karl Kellner, looked for a way around the obstacle. Behind his tank was U.S. Army war correspondent Sergeant Andy Rooney, who would become a famous journalist after the war. Rooney clutched his camera and waited to see what would happen next.

Green tracers from a German armor-piercing shell flashed up the street and smashed into the gun mantlet of Kellner's Sherman. Shrapnel flew into the tank, hitting the gunner's legs. Within seconds another round hit, so close to the first the holes in the armor overlapped. The Sherman's hatches flew open from the pressure of the blast. The driver of the other Sherman reversed to get out of the line of fire, but a third green tracer raced out of the distance and hit the tank's right track. Still able to move, the driver broke left and backed the tank behind a ruined building. The crew leapt out as soon as it reached cover.

Smoke poured from Kellner's knocked-out Sherman. Kellner climbed out of the commander's hatch, clutching a carbine. He dropped it as he fell onto the engine deck, his left leg gone from the knee down. Smoke rose from the stump. The gunner climbed out of the turret and dove off. Kellner paused at the edge of the engine deck.

Rooney reacted immediately to try to save Kellner's life. He summoned a medic and the two men, as well as a crewman from the other tank, lifted Kellner off the engine deck and carried him to a pile of rubble. Someone tied a tourniquet around the leg, but sadly Kellner did not survive the ordeal. The Sherman's machine gunner also made it out of the tank; however, the loader and driver inside were dead.

It was an awful scene, made worse by the sudden sound of a German tank engine near the cathedral. The Americans all ran for cover. Ahead of them, a lone Panther tank appeared. Massive and angular, the Panther's long 75mm gun jutted menacingly from its turret. Oberleutnant Wilhelm Bartelborth of Panzer Brigade 106 and his crew had not fled the fighting in Cologne like so many other German soldiers. They intended to fight to the finish.

Three hundred yards away, the Pershing and its crew sat waiting. They heard the radio transmissions about the nearby fight and knew some Americans were hunting the Panther. Army Cameraman Jim Bates ran up and shouted to Earley, telling him about the enemy tank, which seemed to be guarding the cathedral. Earley left Smoyer in charge and he and Bates went to investigate on foot. They dashed ahead into the no-man's-land between the two sides and ducked into a building. From that location they spotted the Panther in the square in front of the enormous church, its gun lying across Kellner's Sherman.

Earley decided he would bring his tank down the street, dart into the square, and take the Panther in the flank. He went back to the Pershing while Bates went higher in the building to try and record the coming fight. He found a window and steadied his camera. The Panther's turret slewed to the right, directly toward Bates and the street the Pershing would take to attack. Bates ducked in the belief that the Germans had spotted him and were going to shell the building. When nothing happened, he peeked back through the window. He saw that the tank's gun was still pointed in the direction from which the Pershing would appear.

As Earley ordered the Pershing to advance, he warned the crews of the Shermans to hang back. They were more vulnerable to the enemy tank. Smoyer told Earley he would aim for the hull to guarantee a hit at such close range. "Shoot wherever you want," Earley told him. "He's just sitting there like he owns the place."

The loader held an armor-piercing round for a fast reload. Smoyer leveled his gun and turned the turret to the right as far as he could without hitting any buildings. He wanted to be ready to fire as soon as he spotted the tank.

The Pershing came to the intersection and went around the corner. Driver William McVey and bow gunner Homer Davis were the first to see the Panther, its gun pointed directly at them. The driver hit the gas and the Pershing lurched farther into the intersection, trying to get out of the line of fire. Smoyer saw it in his site, the muzzle of its cannon pointing straight at his tank, but the Germans did not fire. Bartelborth had never seen a Pershing before, mistook it for a panzer and told his gunner to hold fire. It gained the Americans the seconds they needed. Without hesitating, Smoyer fired.

The 90mm cannon lit with orange flame and a thunderous crack as the supersonic round raced from the barrel. In a fraction of a second it struck the Panther in its right side, punching through the armor plate and tearing into the tank's engine compartment. Flames appeared immediately, partially obscured by the cloud of dust raised by the impact. Bartelborth leapt from the commander's hatch of the Panther and jumped to the ground on the far side of the tank's hull, away from the Pershing.

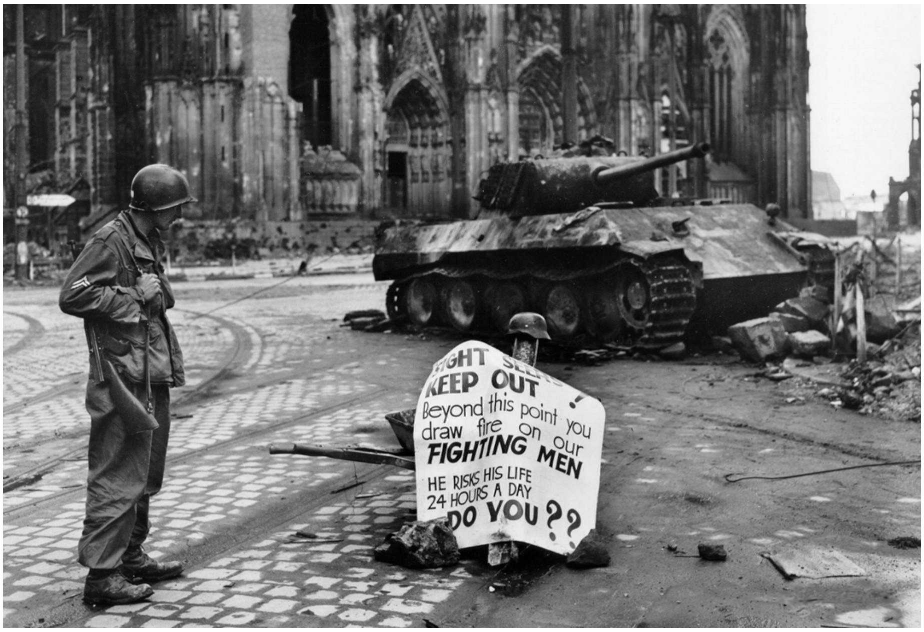
Through the cloud of dust, Smoyer could only see the outline of the tank and ordered DeRiggi to reload. He slammed another armor-piercing round into the breech as Smoyer adjusted his aim to just below the turret. He squeezed the trigger again and another flash lit the street as the high-explosive round slammed into the Panther just below its gun. A shower of sparks flew out from the point of impact as the projectile tore into the Panther's crew compartment.

The concussion from the Pershing's round caused Bates to shake in his perch in the building, throwing off the aim of his camera. As he struggled to get it back on the scene below, two more Germans climbed out of the tank. One came out of the loader's hatch with his clothes in flames. Both of them scrambled off the panzer from the same side as their commander.

DeRiggi pushed another shell into the gun, and Smoyer took careful aim, this time at a point between the Panther's wheels and its upper hull, where the armor was thinner. This third shot flew as straight and true as the others, slamming into the point of aim and finishing the tank for good. Tall flames roared from the Panther's turret hatches as its surviving crewmen dashed off in search of cover. Smoyer could see his three shell holes in orange, backlit by the fire raging inside the enemy tank. It was impossible that anyone else might make it out of the Panther.

Early realized the fight was over and ordered the driver to reverse. The Pershing backed into a shadowy area away from the vulnerable intersection. DeRiggi threw the empty casings out to help clear the air of the cannon fumes. The entire crew breathed a sigh of relief. They were alive—only a second or two had made the difference that day. From around the corner they could hear the Panther's ammunition cooking off.

Bates reappeared and told Earley he managed to film the entire fight. He also asked to film the crew as part of his footage of the event. Earley consented and the crew got out. Bates panned his camera in front of them, replaced the cap on the lens, and within a few minutes the Pershing was back in the war. Three Shermans joined it and they all moved cautiously to the train station next to the river. They reached it without taking any fire. The tankers stopped just short of the Rhine. They had accomplished their mission and were alive. For the moment, that was good enough.



Days after the battle a corporal looks at a warning sign posted in front of the burned-out Panther. By now the turret has been rotated to get the gun barrel out of the way and the muzzle brake has been removed.

The duel between the M26 Pershing and Panther is one of the most famous of World War II, largely because Bates and his fellow cameramen captured it on film. Of course, thousands of tankers on both sides experienced similar close calls and were engaged in equally dramatic armored contests during the war. For that reason, Bates' footage is merely representative.

Despite its late introduction, the Pershing nevertheless had proven it was up to the job of carrying the war into Germany. Although it was far from invulnerable, when properly handled it could hold its own against the Third Reich's best armor and antitank weapons.

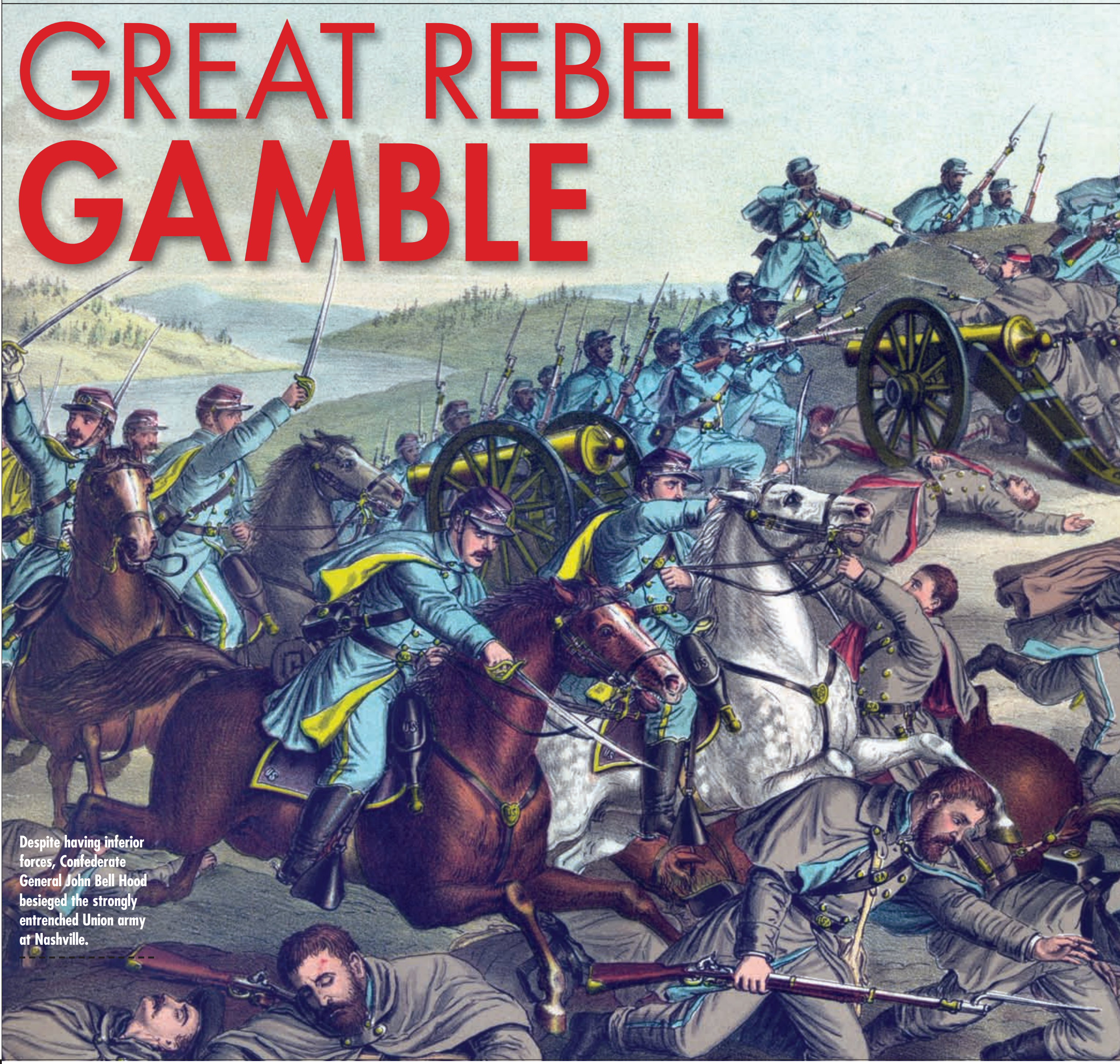
Unfortunately for the Americans, only about 110 Pershings were integrated into U.S. armored units on the Western Front in Europe before the war ended. Still, the M26 Pershing was so successful it formed the basis of American tank design throughout much of the Cold War, resulting in the M48 Patton tank that remained in use for a number of decades after it was first introduced in the 1950s. □

"OH, THE LORD, Henry but didn't the Rebs get the devil sure enough," Private Charles Grundy of the 10th Illinois Infantry Regiment wrote to a friend three days after the conclusion of the Battle of Nashville fought December 15-16, 1864. Grundy, an eyewitness to the battle, recorded his observations as he watched Union soldiers shatter the Confederate defenses. "The Rebs broke and fled in confusion, leaving everything they had[,] throwing away guns, knapsacks, and everything else, and our boys after them pelting shot and shell and bullets into their broken ranks, slaying them by the dozen[,] many of them wouldn't run at all, but surrendered without moving from their works." Grundy may have been a lowly Union private, but he did not need to be a general to realize that General John Bell Hood's Army of Tennessee had ceased to pose any real danger to the Union Army in the western theater.

In consultation with Lt. Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard, Confederate President Jefferson C. Davis in September 1864 approved Hood's ambitious plan to invade Union-held Tennessee. Hood hoped that by rapid marches he might be able to seize the railroad and supply hub of Nashville. If he could capture Tennessee's capital, Hood reasoned, its citizens might revolt against Federal occupation, thus swelling his ranks.

Once Nashville was back under Confederate control, Hood intended to cross the Ohio River and do as much damage as possible in the heart of Union territory. Perhaps he might even be able to turn east and unite with General Robert E. Lee's besieged army at Petersburg. Once together, they might fall on Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's

GREAT REBEL GAMBLE



Despite having inferior forces, Confederate General John Bell Hood besieged the strongly entrenched Union army at Nashville.

rear. Once this unified Confederate force crushed Grant, it could then march on Washington, D.C. At that point, Lincoln would have no choice but to negotiate an end to the war.

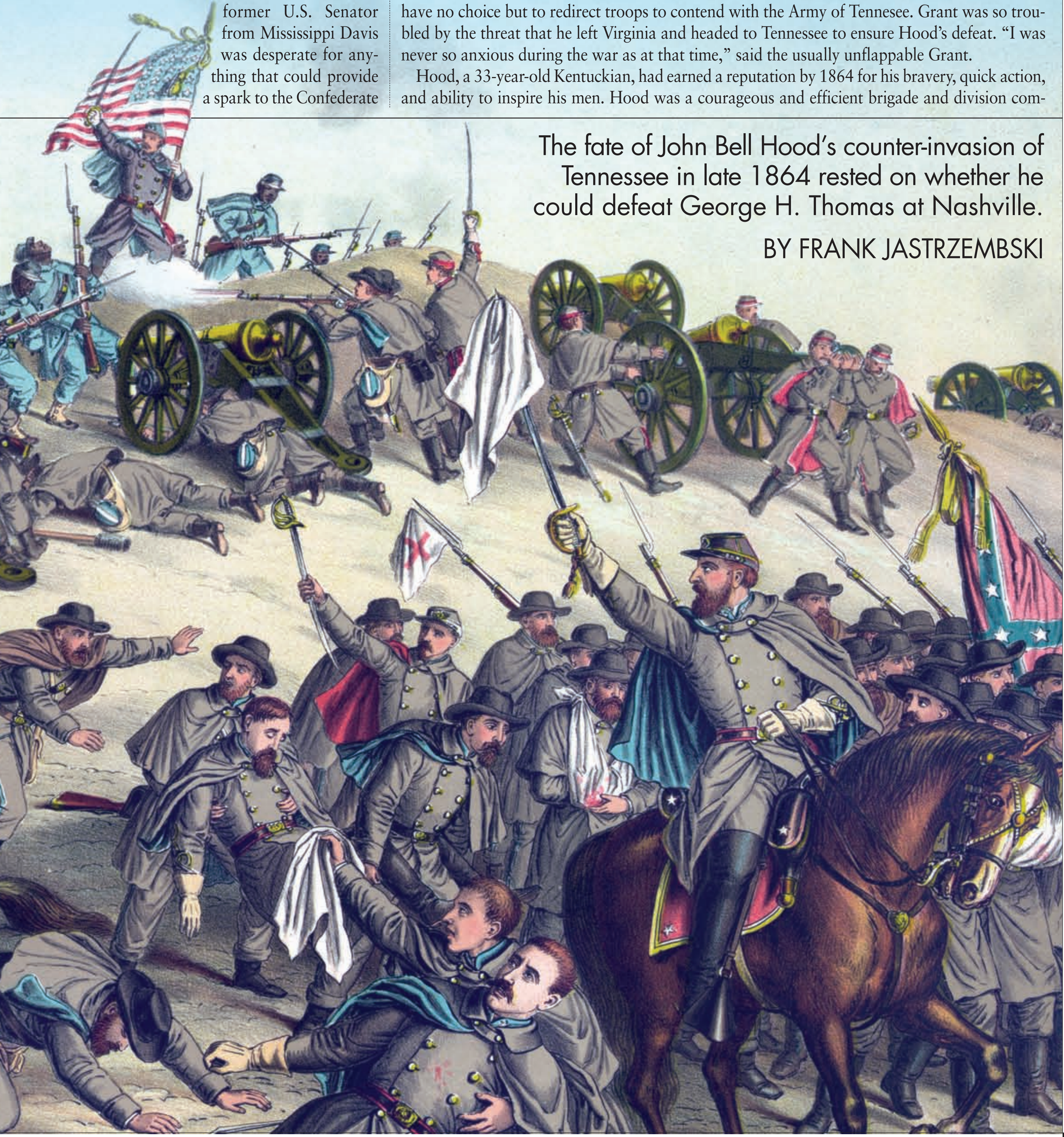
It was a bold and audacious plan. The most far-fetched aspects of it were clearly beyond the realm of possibility at that stage in the war. But former U.S. Senator from Mississippi Davis was desperate for anything that could provide a spark to the Confederate war effort. He therefore reluctantly gave Hood his blessing.

Hood's offensive into Tennessee was risky, but if it had succeeded it might have disrupted the Union war effort or even prolonged the war. Grant knew how important it was to destroy Hood's menacing Confederate army. Initially at least, Hood's offensive not only tied up Union troops stationed along the Mississippi River and prevented them from cooperating with Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman on his thrust into the Deep South, but it also posed a threat to Union-held Kentucky. If Hood could outmaneuver or outfight Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas at Nashville, Grant would have no choice but to redirect troops to contend with the Army of Tenesee. Grant was so troubled by the threat that he left Virginia and headed to Tennessee to ensure Hood's defeat. "I was never so anxious during the war as at that time," said the usually unflappable Grant.

Hood, a 33-year-old Kentuckian, had earned a reputation by 1864 for his bravery, quick action, and ability to inspire his men. Hood was a courageous and efficient brigade and division com-

The fate of John Bell Hood's counter-invasion of Tennessee in late 1864 rested on whether he could defeat George H. Thomas at Nashville.

BY FRANK JASTRZEMBSKI



Library of Congress

mander when under supervision, but a poor independent commander. When left to his own devices, he was prone to indulge his impulsive nature, putting his troops at risk.

"Nobody doubted his bravery, but as to his judgment—that was another question," wrote Lt. Col. Albert G. Brackett of the 3rd U.S. Cavalry. Hood's career mirrored the careers of French Marshal Michel Ney and Austrian General Ludwig von Benedek, both of whom were promoted beyond their capacity for high command.

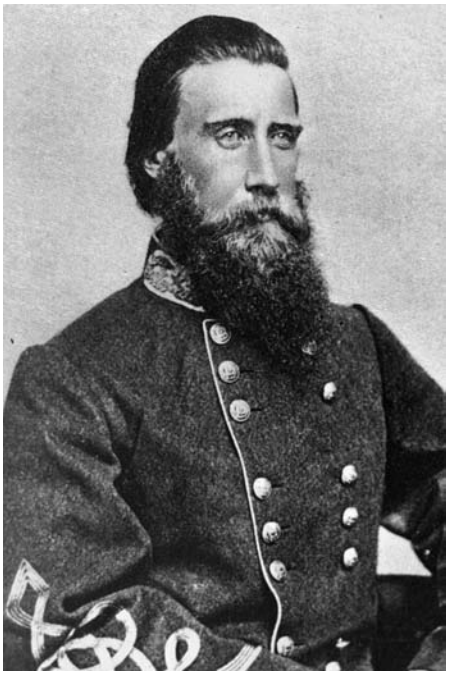
Hood ranked 44 out of 52 in the U.S. Military Academy at West Point's Class of 1853. His first assignment upon graduating was in the harsh wilderness of northern California where the young second lieutenant of cavalry served for two years at Fort Jones. Hood led escorts for surveying parties journeying into the mountains near the Oregon border.

Second Lieutenant Hood joined the U.S. Second Cavalry Regiment on the Texas frontier in 1855. His superiors in the cavalry regiment included Colonel Albert S. Johnston, Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee, Major William J. Hardee, and, ironically, his future adversary at Nashville, Major Thomas.

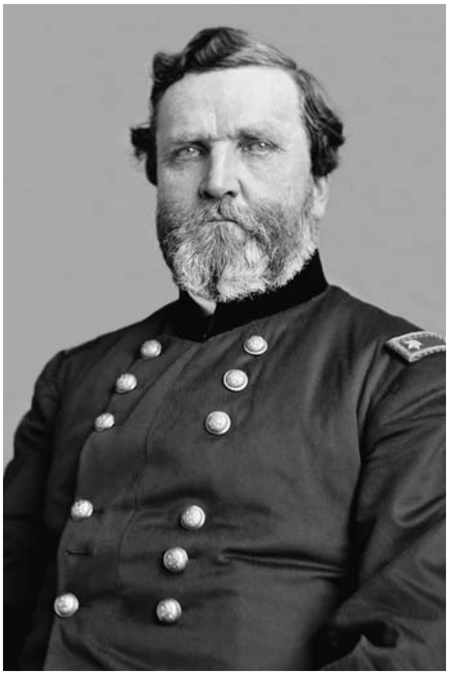
Hood ran into trouble in a clash with Comanches in July 1857 at Devil's River. Outnumbered four to one, his company lost six causalities in the badly handled encounter. In the desperate fighting, he was wounded in the arm by an arrow. His poor showing against the Comanches foreshadowed problems with independent command during the Civil War when the stakes were far greater.

Hood resigned his commission in 1861 to join the Confederacy. He subsequently was named colonel of the 4th Texas Infantry Regiment, which had the distinction of being one of only three Texas infantry regiments serving in Virginia. He performed ably and received his promotion to brigadier general on March 6, 1862. His brigade soon went by the nickname "Hood's Texas Brigade."

Library of Congress



Library of Congress



Confederate General John Bell Hood (left) and Union Maj. Gen. General George Thomas. Hood was aggressive and fearless, but lacked the judgment required for senior command. Thomas was a gifted commander who had the right skills to defeat Hood. OPPOSITE: The costly Confederate attack at Franklin, Tennessee, just two weeks before Nashville robbed the Army of Tennessee of some of its best brigade and regimental commanders.

His performance at Gaines' Mill on June 27 during General Robert E. Lee's counteroffensive known as the Seven Days Battle earned him high praise. During that bloody clash along the banks of Boatswain's Swamp, Hood led his Texas Brigade in a shock charge that pierced the Union center. After the campaign, Hood took over the division when Lee transferred Maj. Gen. William Whiting for his lackluster performance. Hood skillfully handled his division at Second Manassas in August 1862 and at Antietam the following month. As a result, he received a promotion to major general on October 11.

The challenge of leading from the front took a heavy toll on Hood's body in hard campaigning in two of the most famous battles of the Civil War in 1863. On July 2 at Gettysburg a shell fragment struck Hood's arm below the elbow, badly damaging the nerves and muscles and permanently depriving him of the use of his left hand. Despite the severe wound, Hood was at the head of his division when Lee sent Longstreet's corps to north Georgia to assist General Braxton Bragg. It was there during the clash in the woods and fields along Chickamauga Creek that Hood was wounded in the right leg so severely that it had to be amputated four inches below the hip. He subsequently spent the winter of 1863-1864 convalescing in Richmond.

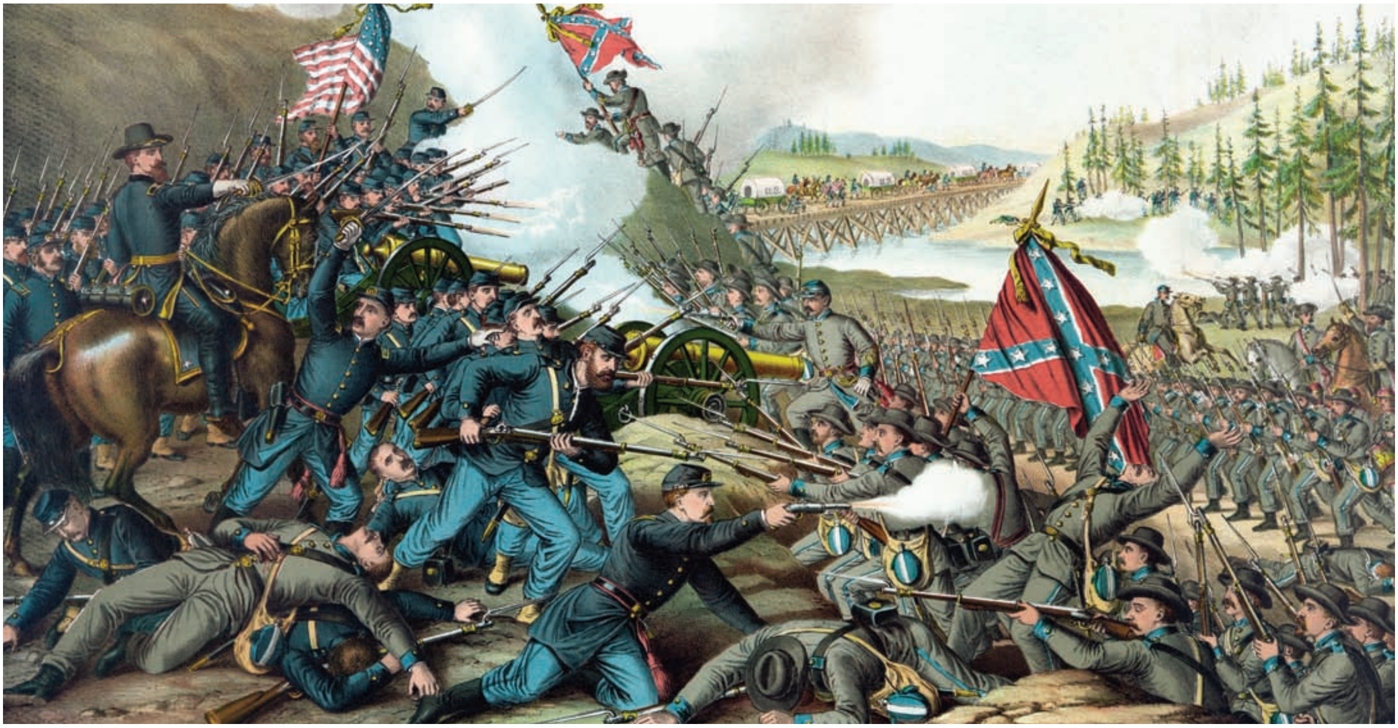
Hood had served ably under Lt. Gen. James Longstreet during 1862 and 1863, and there was every reason to believe he was capable of high command. He was therefore promoted to lieutenant general on February 11, 1864. The promotion was backdated to September 20, 1863, in recognition of his valor at Chickamauga. Hood was told to report to Georgia where he would take command of a corps in General Joseph Johnston's Army of Tennesee. Hood put in an average performance while serving under Johnston. Johnston favored manuever over head-to-head fighting. Of the Confederate generals serving under Johnston who questioned his conduct of the campaign, Hood was the most vocal critic.

Hood sent letters to the Confederate government in Richmond, Virginia, that were highly critical of Johnston; in so doing, he bypassed the official communication channels. Hoping to get to the bottom of the matter, Davis dispatched General Braxton Bragg, who at that point in the war was serving as the Confederate president's chief of staff, to interview Johnston and make his own assessment of the situation. Hood kept up his criticism, informing Bragg that he believed that Johnston was ineffective. Hood was not alone, though, in this view of Johnston, for his fellow corps commander in the Army of Tennessee, Lt. Gen. William Hardee, also faulted Johnston for not bringing on a pitched battle before the Confederate army found itself besieged at Atlanta.

On July 17, 1864, Davis removed the cautious General Joseph E. Johnston from command of the Army of Tennessee and replaced him with Hood. The newly minted army commander was promoted to full general the next day. Hood inherited the formidable task of defending Atlanta against the three Union armies under Sherman at the gates of Atlanta. Davis passed over Hardee, a more conservative choice for command of the army, in the hope that Hood would win victories against Sherman's grand army.

"He is eccentric, and I cannot guess his move-

Library of Congress



ments as I could those of Johnston, who was a sensible man and only did sensible things," Sherman wrote of his new adversary. Hood counterattacked Union forces at Peachtree Creek on July 20, east of the city at Bald Hill in what was known as the Battle of Atlanta on July 22, and again at Jonesboro on August 31-September 1.

None of the three counterattacks loosened Sherman's grip on the city. The upshot of three pitched battles in such a short period of time was that the Army of Tennessee suffered thousands of casualties that it could ill afford to lose. President Davis still retained Hood in command of the Army of Tennessee despite this disappointing performance and allowed him to proceed with his proposed offensive into Tennessee.

The Union high command had major concerns over Hood's march north. However, Sherman had his own plans in mind. After securing Atlanta, he wanted to march through central Georgia to Savannah. Grant was reluctant to allow Sherman to leave if Hood's army posed a threat to Union control of Tennesee.

"Do you not think it advisable, now that Hood has gone so far north, to entirely settle him before starting on your proposed campaign?" asked Grant. "With Hood's army destroyed you can go where you please with impunity. If you can see the chance for destroying Hood's army, attend to that first, and make your other move secondary."

Hood may not have been a brilliant general, but Grant appreciated the damage he could inflict in Sherman's absence. Sherman continued to press Grant to allow him to cut his supply lines and move south, focusing his attention on draining the resources of the South. Grant finally relented, but only under the condition that Sherman promised to leave behind enough troops to contend with Hood.

Thomas commanded the Union forces scattered across Tennessee. He requested that Sherman leave him with his old XIV Corps of the Army of the Cumberland, but Sherman insisted on retaining this veteran corps for himself. Sherman instead detached Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield's Army of the Ohio to join Thomas in Tenesee. Schofield's command comprised Maj. Gen. David S. Stanley's IV Corps and Schofield's own XXIII Corps.

Sherman also sent two cavalry divisions under the command of the youthful Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson to join Thomas. However, the horse soldiers were in poor condition and most needed to be remounted. In addition, the gruff but reliable Maj. Gen. Andrew J. "Whiskey" Smith was en route to Nashville from St. Louis with two strong divisions.

"If you can defend the line of the Tennessee in my absence of three months," Sherman wrote to Thomas, "it is all I ask." Sherman could not have selected a better man to handle the task ahead.

The 48-year-old Thomas was different from Hood in almost every regard. Thomas was cautious, methodical, and introverted. He was 15 years older than Hood. He ranked 12 out of 42 in West Point's Class of 1840. After serving in the Seminole War and U.S.-Mexican War, Thomas served as an artillery instructor before being assigned to the U.S. Second Cavalry. Despite his Southern upbringing, Thomas remained a Union man, choosing his country over his friends and family. Thomas earned a reputation as one of the best generals in the western theater during the war, especially for his stand on Snodgrass Hill to cover the retreat of Maj. Gen. William Rosecrans's Army of the Cumberland at Chickamauga.

"General Thomas' characteristics are much like those of my father," wrote Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard. "While I was under his command he placed confidence in me, and never changed it. Quiet, manly, almost stern in his deportment, an honest man, I trusted him.…" Many soldiers had the same sentiment as Howard, affectionately referring to Thomas as "Pap."

After stubborn Union resistance at Decatur, Alabama, Hood's army headed 40 miles to the west to Tuscumbia and crossed the Tennessee River at Florence on October 31. It crossed into Tennessee shortly afterward, heading northeast in the direction of Columbia. Hood was joined by Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest's cavalry corps. Including Forrest's troopers, Hood had about 40,000 men divided into three other corps at his disposal, under the commands of Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham, Lt. Gen. Alexander P. Stewart, and Lt. Gen. Stephen D. Lee.

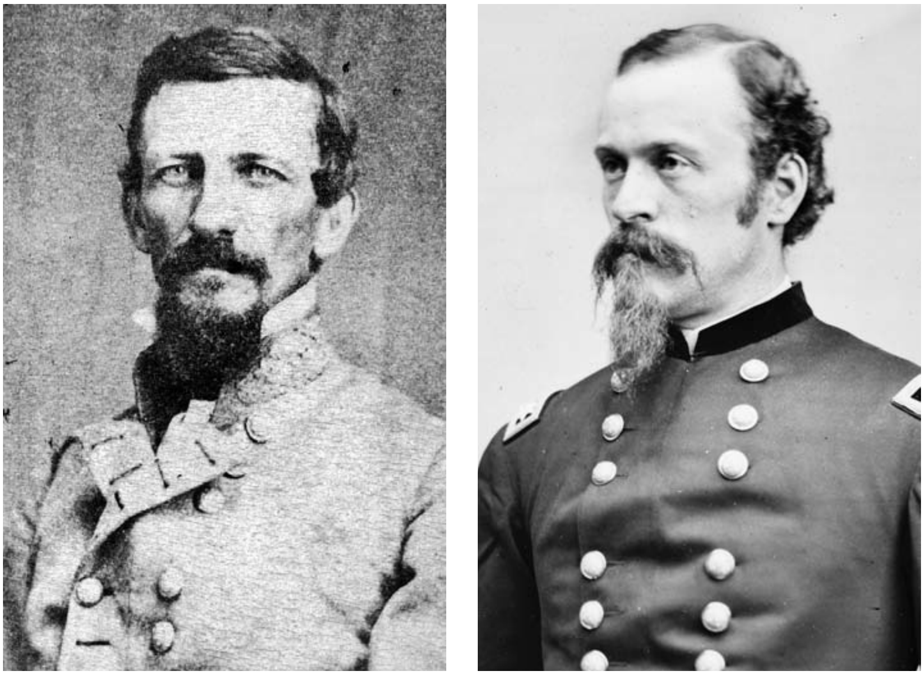
The challenge that lay before Hood was to move rapidly by forced marches and destroy Thomas's piecemeal forces before they could concentrate at Nashville. The first order of business was to destroy Schofield’s Army of the Ohio, which by November 22 was withdrawing north in good order to Columbia, Tennesee. Hood’s attempt to destroy the Army of the Ohio would be riddled with amateurish blunders and lost opportunities.

Hood’s first major misstep took place at Spring Hill on November 29. Although he overtook Schofield and ordered an attack that evening, his subordinate commanders called off the attack on the grounds that the troops were too exhausted to make a successful assault. That night, Schofield’s regiments snuck past Hood’s army and escaped to Franklin.

When Hood learned the next day what had occurred, he was furious that his orders to attack had not been followed. He laid most of the blame on Cheatham. Hood grumbled that he could have easily crushed Schofield with a single division. The failure to destroy Schofield at Spring Hill proved to be a travesty for Hood’s army. Many of his best men would die at Franklin and Nashville as a result.

Hood arrived on the heels of Schofield’s soldiers at Franklin on the afternoon of the next day. Schofield had to wait for pontoon bridges to arrive so that he could ford the Harpeth River to join Thomas at Nashville. He arrived that morning and had his men dig in while they waited for the bridges to arrive. Realizing that Schofield would easily reach Nashville once he crossed the river, Hood irrationally ordered an attack on the Union defenses with two of his corps. Hood suffered the loss of nearly 6,500 men killed or wounded during the ensuing assault.

“Just at daybreak, I rode upon the field and such a sight I never saw and can never expect to see again,” Cheatham recalled after the battle. “The dead were piled up like stacks of wheat and scattered about like sheaves of grain.… I never saw anything like that field, and never want to again.”


Library of Congress

Library of Congress

Confederate corps commander Lt. Gen. Alexander Stewart (left) received confused orders from Hood at Nashville that put his troops in danger of destruction. Union Maj. Gen. James Wilson’s two cavalry divisions were among the reinforcements rushed to Thomas on the eve of the battle. OPPOSITE: Union Colonel Sylvester G. Hill’s brigade captured Redoubt No. 3, but Hill lost his life in the desperate contest for the redoubt.

The Battle of Franklin decimated the officer roster of the Army of Tennessee. The most glaring loss was that of Maj. Gen. Patrick Cleburne, who rightly was regarded as one of the best division commanders in the entire Confederate army.

In addition to Cleburne, Brig. Gens. John Adams, Hiram Granbury, States Rights Gist, and Otho Strahl also were killed in action that bloody day. A sixth general, Brig. Gen. John Carter, died in December 1864. Six other generals were wounded and one captured. Replacing them in time for future operations was extremely difficult given that 21 colonels and 11 lieutenant colonels were killed, wounded, or captured.

These losses had a devastating effect on the leadership of Hood’s army, drained it of needed manpower, and devastated its morale before it had reached Nashville. Franklin was “a great and uncalled-for disaster of the Confederate cause—a battle fought against great odds, without any compensating value if successful,” wrote Confederate Maj. Gen. Samuel G. French. Hood’s attack had gained nothing. Schofield’s men simply slipped away after midnight to join Thomas at Nashville.

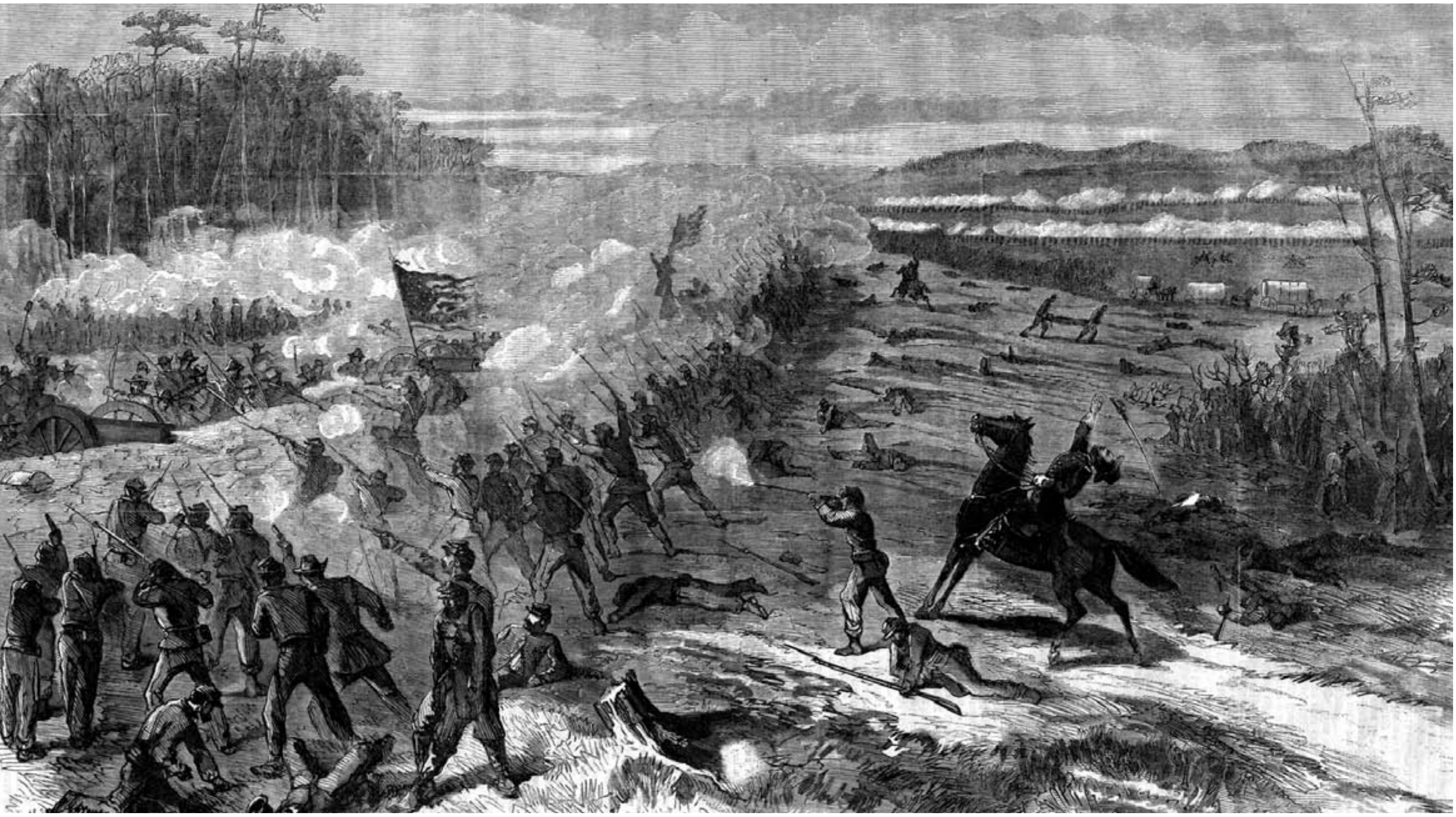
Hood’s battered army continued its advance north to Nashville and arrived there on December 2. Even with the setbacks at Spring Hill and Franklin, Hood still planned to engage Thomas with his 30,000 men. Thousands of Rebels arrived at the outskirts of the heavily fortified city barefoot and without blankets. Hood planned to form a ring of trenches around Nashville two miles outside the Union fortifications “to await his [Thomas’s] attack, and if favored by success, to follow him into his works.” He clung to a sliver of hope that reinforcements would arrive in the form of Lt. Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith’s Trans-Mississippi Department to bolster his strength. Beauregard pleaded with Smith to assist Hood by sending two or more divisions to his aid. “The fate of the country may depend upon the result of Hood’s campaign in Tennessee,” Beauregard wrote to Smith. Smith did not send any troops.

Hood tried to encircle Nashville and trap Thomas inside the city’s works with his skeleton army. He positioned Lee’s corps of three divisions across the Franklin Pike in the center, Stewart’s Corps of three divisions on the left, and Cheatham’s corps of three divisions on the right. Neither of his flanks had enough troops to reach the banks of the Cumberland River. Stewart’s corps fell short by four miles and Cheatham’s corps by one mile. This left a five-mile gap in Hood’s encirclement, which failed to pin Thomas in Nashville. Hood’s poor deployment lessened any chance of success he might have.

Hood made another blunder by sending Maj. Gen. William B. Bate’s 1,600-man division to Murfreesboro, hoping that he could capture it and destroy bridges and blockhouses along the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. On December 4, Hood sent Forrest with two of his cavalry divisions under Brig. Gen. Abraham Buford and Brig. Gen. William H. Jackson to support Bate and assume overall command of the operation. Hood also added Colonel Jacob B. Biffle’s cavalry brigade from Brig. Gen. James Chalmers’ cavalry division and Colonel Charles H. Olmstead’s infantry brigade to Forrest’s command.

Hood dispatched Colonel David Coleman’s 700-man brigade of infantry and dismounted

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



cavalry to join Colonel Edmund W. Rucker's brigade in holding the four-mile gap between the Cumberland River on the extreme left flank of his army. The troop transfers left Chalmers with just 1,600 men to defend the key sector.

The Murfreesboro operation turned out to be a waste of resources and manpower when Forrest found the town held by 8,000 men under the command of Maj. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau. Bate returned to Nashville after a Union sortie from the garrison defeated the Confederate force. Hood ordered Forrest to continue destroying the railroad around Murfreesboro with his two cavalry divisions. This removed one of Hood's ablest subordinates and 5,000 men from the looming battle.

Hood was not the only one with problems; Thomas had his fair share, too. Thomas finally managed to gather his scattered units at Nashville thanks to Schofield delaying Hood. Schofield's Army of the Ohio came up from Franklin and took up positions on Thomas's right wing. Although their troops were tired from their flight from Hood for the past 10 days, they nevertheless were in good spirits. This force was bolstered by Maj. Gen. John B. Steedman's Provisional Division. Steedman's command was composed of various detachments from Tennessee and Georgia and two brigades of U.S. Colored Troops. In addition, Maj. Gen. Andrew Smith's XVI Corps of two veteran divisions began arriving from St. Louis and unloaded at the docks at Nashville on November 30. Besides infantry, Thomas also had 7,800 cavalrymen of Wilson's cavalry corps at his disposal.

Thomas intended for Wilson's troopers to play a vital role in the upcoming operation, but he was still waiting for them to finish getting equipped and remounted. Lt. Gen. Grant, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and President Abraham Lincoln perceived Thomas's delay to wait for his cavalry as apprehension. "This looks like the McClellan and Rosecrans strategy of do nothing and let the rebels raid the country," Stanton telegraphed Grant. "The President wishes you to consider the matter." Grant exchanged a series of wires with Thomas, urging him to attack Hood before he fortified or destroyed his railroads leading to Nashville.

Thomas assured Grant that he would move with all haste, but he needed to wait for Wilson first. This was not what Grant, Lincoln, or Stanton wanted to hear. "If he waits for Wilson to get ready, Gabriel will be blowing his last horn," Stanton complained to Grant.

When his cavalry was finally ready for action, a freezing rain storm passed through Nashville, coating the roads in several inches of ice, further delaying Thomas's advance. The temperature dropped to below zero. "I have the troops ready to make the attack on the enemy as soon as the sleet which now covers the ground has melted sufficiently, to enable the men to march," Thomas wrote to Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck, Lincoln's chief of staff. "As the whole country is now covered with a sheet of ice so hard and slippery, it is utterly impossible for troops to ascend the slopes, or even move over level ground in anything like order."

Three days before the battle, Thomas invited his senior commanders to meet at his room at the St. Cloud Hotel in the city to discuss the weather conditions. Wilson, Smith, Wood, Steedman, and Schofield endorsed Thomas's proposal to hold off the attack until the weather improved. Schofield admitted after the war that "the men could not have gotten round at all unless they had snow shoes or had their stockings outside their shoes." Wilson claimed that the characteristically reserved Thomas confided to him his frustration over the continued pressure from his superiors. "The Washington authorities treat me as if I was a boy," he allegedly told Wilson. "If they will just let me alone I will show them what we can do. I am sure my plan of operation is correct, and that we shall lick the enemy if he only stays to receive our attack."

After more than a week of further delay, Grant was fed up with Thomas's lack of action. He wired Halleck expressing his disapproval and recommended that Thomas be replaced with

Schofield. "There is no better man to repel an attack than Thomas, but I fear he is too cautious to ever take the initiative." On December 13, Grant ordered Maj. Gen. John A. Logan to go to Nashville and replace Thomas if he had not advanced by the time Logan arrived at the city. However, anxiety got the better of Grant, and he decided to depart from his headquarters at City Point, Virginia, the following day to go to Nashville and assume command. When he stopped in Washington, D.C., on his way to Nashville two days later, Grant learned that Thomas had launched his assault on Hood. Grant decided not to proceed any farther.

Steedman claimed after the war that there was a "Judas" among the senior generals who was trying to undermine Thomas. Steedman accused Schofield of betraying Thomas by wiring disparaging reports to the authorities in Washington. Schofield's motive, Steedman alleged, was to get Thomas relieved of command so that he might succeed him. Schofield denied these accusations and called Steedman's statement "false and slanderous." Because of this matter, Thomas was nearly removed from command.

On December 14, the temperature rose and the ice finally melted, leaving the ground soft and slushy but the roads passable. Thomas called together his commanders that evening for a second meeting and laid out his plans to assault Hood's army the following day. The hammer would fall from Smith's XVI Corps, which would assault the enemy's left flank from the Hardin Pike, supported by Wilson's Cavalry Corps, which would swing around the Confederate flank. Wood's IV Corps would form on the Hillsborough Pike on Smith's left flank and concentrate to overrun the enemy position at Montgomery Hill. Schofield's XXIII Corps would remain in reserve and support Wood's attack. Steedman's Provisional Detachment would make a heavy demonstration against the Confederate right flank to draw soldiers away from the main offensive on the left.

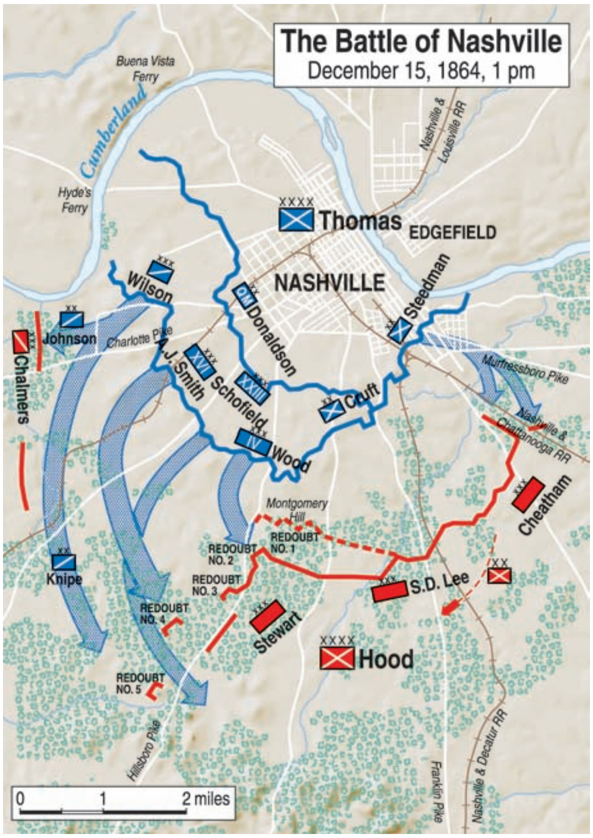
Brigadier General John F. Miller's Nashville garrison and Brig. Gen. James L. Donaldson's Quartermaster's Division would be responsible for defending the city when Thomas's men left the protection of the fortifications to attack Hood. At the last moment, Schofield reasoned that his troops should support Smith's attack instead of Wood's, and Thomas approved the change in plans. Thomas would have 55,000 men at his disposal for his attack.

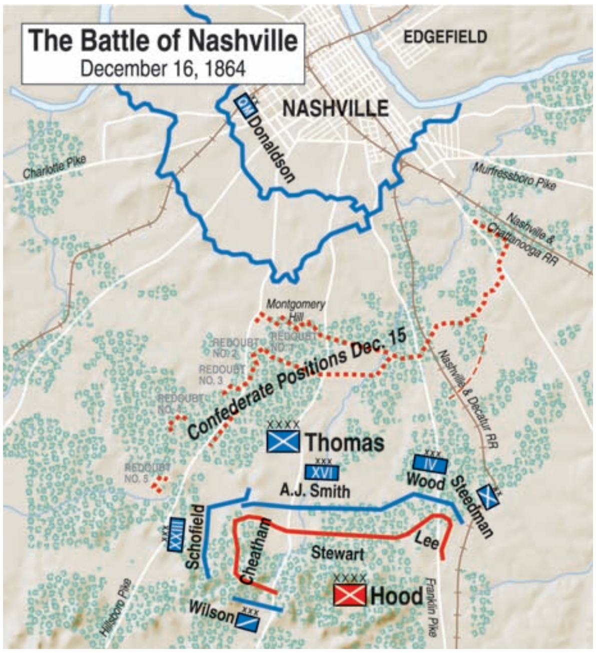
At 6 AM the next day, Union troops began to move into position. Thomas checked out of his hotel room early that morning and made his way to a hill near the Hillsboro Pike to observe the battle. The weather was foggy and cold. At 8 AM, Steedman initiated his attack on the Confederate right flank with 7,600 men in three brigades. They advanced along the Murfreesboro Turnpike targeting Granbury Lunette, named for one of brigadiers who fell at Franklin. Steedman's brigades met heavy resistance and were badly cut up. During the brutal fighting, some of Colonel Thomas J. Morgan's colored troops were trapped and slaughtered in a railroad cut. Hood began to send what reinforcements he could spare to his left, anticipating an attack on that part of his line.

Smith and Wilson, after a two-hour delay, moved their troops along Hardin Pike at 10 AM to attack the flank of Stewart's corps. Both commands wheeled east and headed toward the Confederate entrenchments running parallel to the Hillsborough Pike. Wilson gathered his brigade and division commanders the night before and stressed to them that their main objective would be to advance on the right of Smith's infantrymen in order to overpower and turn the Confederate left flank. Most of his mounted regiments were armed with the fast-firing Spencer repeating rifles.

The weight of the Union attack was delivered by Smith's corps, made up of Brig. Gen. McArthur's 1st Division, Brig. Gen. Kenner Garrard's 2nd Division, and Colonel Jonathan B. Moore's 3rd Division. "At first was visible only a great silent sea of mist, making firm our path to distant hills where the rebels were entrenched and awaiting us," wrote Chaplain Elijah Evan Edwards of the advance of McArthur's division on the Confederate position. "Underneath this silent sea our army was creeping noiselessly, stealthily forward. The silence was dread, fearful, ominous for we know that it betokened coming thunderpeals." As they came closer to the Confederate positions, they could clearly make out Confederate battle flags and gray columns and the roar of artillery from both sides.

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


The Battle of Nashville
December 15, 1864, 1 pm
Buena Vista Ferry
Cumberland
Nashville & Louisville RR
Hyde's Ferry
XXXX Thomas
EDGEFIELD
NASHVILLE
XXX Wilson
XX Johnson
XX Chalmers
Charlotte Pike
XVI A.J. Smith
XXIII Schofield
QM Donaldson
XXX Steedman
XX Cruft
IV Wood
Murfreesboro Pike
Nashville & Chattanooga RR
XXX Cheatham
Montgomery Hill
REDOUBT NO. 1
REDOUBT NO. 2
REDOUBT NO. 3
REDOUBT NO. 4
REDOUBT NO. 5
XX Knipe
XXX S.D. Lee
XX
XXX Stewart
XXXX Hood
Hillsboro Pike
Franklin Pike
Nashville & Decatur RR
0 1 2 miles


The Battle of Nashville
December 16, 1864
EDGEFIELD
NASHVILLE
QM Donaldson
Charlotte Pike
Murfreesboro Pike
Nashville & Chattanooga RR
Montgomery Hill
REDOUBT NO. 1
REDOUBT NO. 2
REDOUBT NO. 3
REDOUBT NO. 4
REDOUBT NO. 5
Confederate Positions Dec. 15
Nashville & Decatur RR
XXXX Thomas
XVI A.J. Smith
IV Wood
Steedman
XXIII Schofield
Cheatham
Stewart
Lee
XXXX Hood
XXX Wilson
Hillsboro Pike
Franklin Pike

TOP: Bold charges by the Union army against the Confederate left proved successful on the afternoon of December 15. BOTTOM: The following day the Federals captured Overton Hill, which unraveled Hood's second position. OPPOSITE: A photograph of Union troops deployed on the southern outskirts of Nashville shows how close the Union troops were encamped to their fortifications. Thomas hammered the Confederates in two days of fighting, sending them scurrying south in panic.

Library of Congress

Edwards and other soldiers were calmed by the presence of the division commander, Brig. Gen. McArthur, looking like a Highland chief in his tartan cap, and his staff, who wore matching caps, coolly directing the troops as they entered the fray.

Brigadier General Richard W. Johnson's 2,600 cavalry troopers forced back Chalmers' two brigades, which were outnumbered two to one, on the Charlotte Pike. They were supported by gunfire from Union gunboats on the Cumberland River. Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Edward Hatch's Fifth Cavalry Division and Brig. Gen. John T. Croxton's 1st Brigade advanced along the right of Smith's infantrymen and outflanked Stewart's defensive position.

Redoubt No. 5 was the first to fall to the advancing Union cavalrymen. McArthur's division, with the assistance of a brigade of Wilson's cavalrymen fighting dismounted, stormed Redoubt No. 4. The rebels at that location held out valiantly against the overwhelming numbers for three hours. In the meantime, Colonel Sylvester G. Hill's brigade of McArthur's division captured Redoubt No. 3. Hill was killed in the desperate fighting.

Wood initiated his own attack. Brig. Gen. Washington Lafayette Elliott's 2nd Division held the left, Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball's 1st Division was in the center, and Brig. Gen. Samuel Beatty's 3rd Division held the right. Their assault targeted heavily defended Montgomery Hill. It was spearheaded by Colonel P. Sidney Post's 2nd Brigade of Beatty's division. Schofield's two divisions, Maj. Gen. Darius N. Couch's 2nd Division and Brig. Gen. Jacob D. Cox's 3rd Division, came rushing up behind Smith's command and pressed past his extreme right, adding extra weight to his attack.

The combined effort from Wilson, Smith, Wood, and Schofield led to a collapse of the Confederate left flank and the capture of the last stronghold, Redoubt No. 1. "It was more like a scene in spectacular drama than a real incident in war," recalled Captain Henry Stone, a member of Thomas's staff. "As soon as the other divisions farther to the left saw and heard the doings on their right they did not wait for orders. Everywhere, by a common impulse, they charged the works in front, and carried them in a twinkling.… Everywhere the success was complete."

Thousands of men, material, and weapons fell into Union hands as Hood's army retreated. Chaplain Edwards recounted the horror when he entered the captured Confederate entrenchments. "The sight in the rebel trenches is horrifying," he said. "The dead and wounded lay there as they fell, pulseless, horribly mangled. The living gasping for water, or moaning their life away."

Hood managed to consolidate and reform his routed army at a second defensive position to the south, anchored by Compton's Hill on the left and Peach Orchard Hill on the right. Cheatham's corps now held the left flank while Lee's corps, which barely had been engaged in the battle, held the right. Stewart's battered corps held the center. Thomas's army pursued the Confederates and by nightfall was wrapped around the Confederate line like a double-ended fish hook. Schofield and Wilson formed the Union right, Smith in the center, and Wood, combined with Steedman's command, on the left.

Lincoln telegraphed Thomas the next morning congratulating him on his victory but pressed him to continue with his success. "You made a magnificent beginning. A grand consummation is within your easy reach. Do not let it slip." Lincoln could rest assured that Thomas did not intend to leave Hood alone. He planned to focus his attack on Hood's left flank, as he did the previous day, to deliver the final blow. "I had hopes of gaining his rear and cutting off his retreat from Franklin," he afterward reported. He wanted this to be the decisive battle in Tennessee.

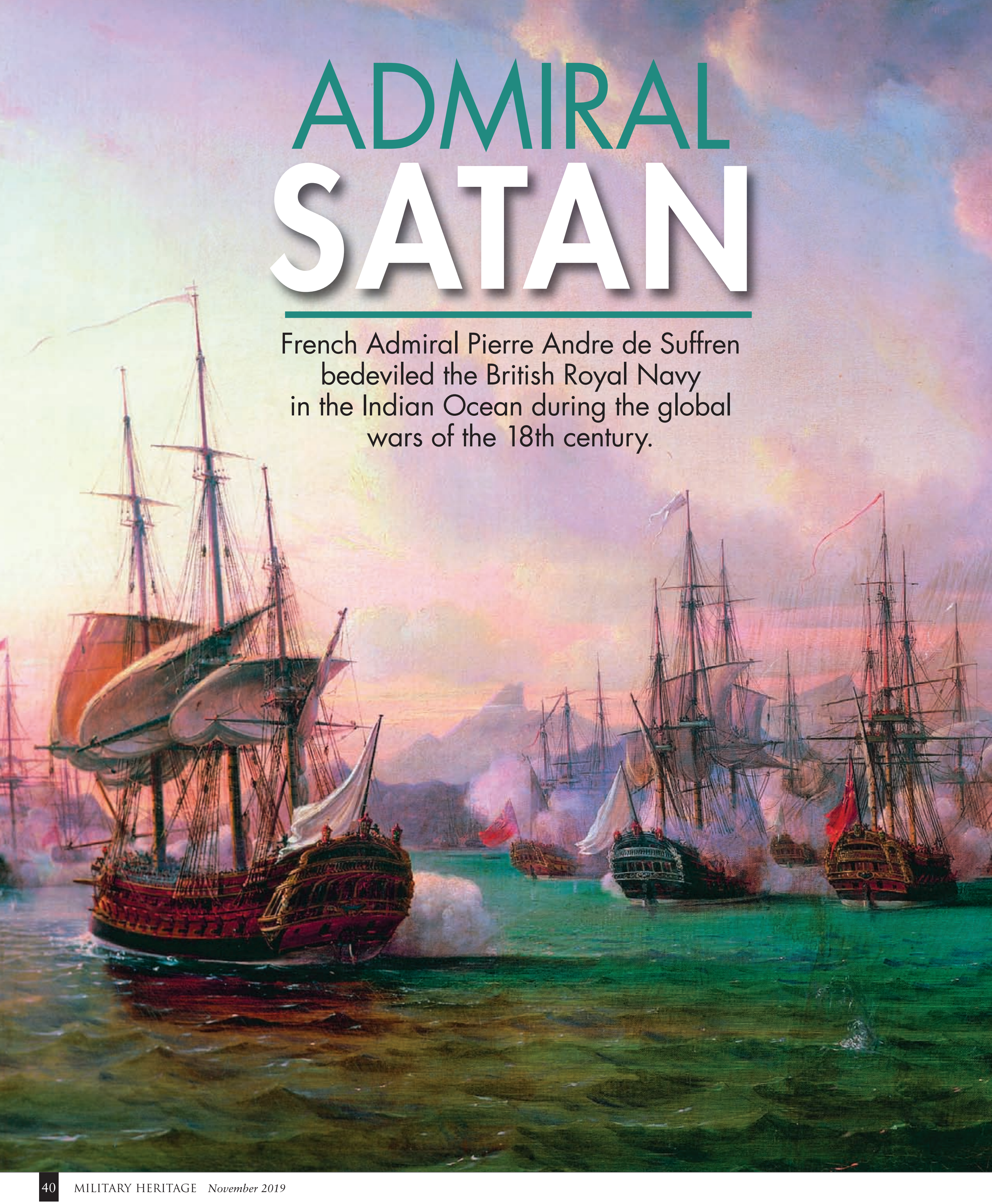
At 6 AM December 16, Wood's and Steedman's commands initiated the Union attack on the Confederate right flank but gained little. Smith's divisions, sandwiched between Wood on his left and Schofield on his right, advanced on the Confederate center. Schofield's infantrymen and Wilson's dismounted cavalrymen struck the Confederate left. By noon, Wilson captured the Granny White Pike in the Confederate rear, cutting off one of their two lines of retreat to Franklin. A breakthrough came on Smith's and Schofield's sector, causing a complete collapse of the Confederate defenses. Thousands of Confederate soldiers fled down the Franklin Pike toward Franklin, pursued by Union soldiers and cavalrymen until nightfall.

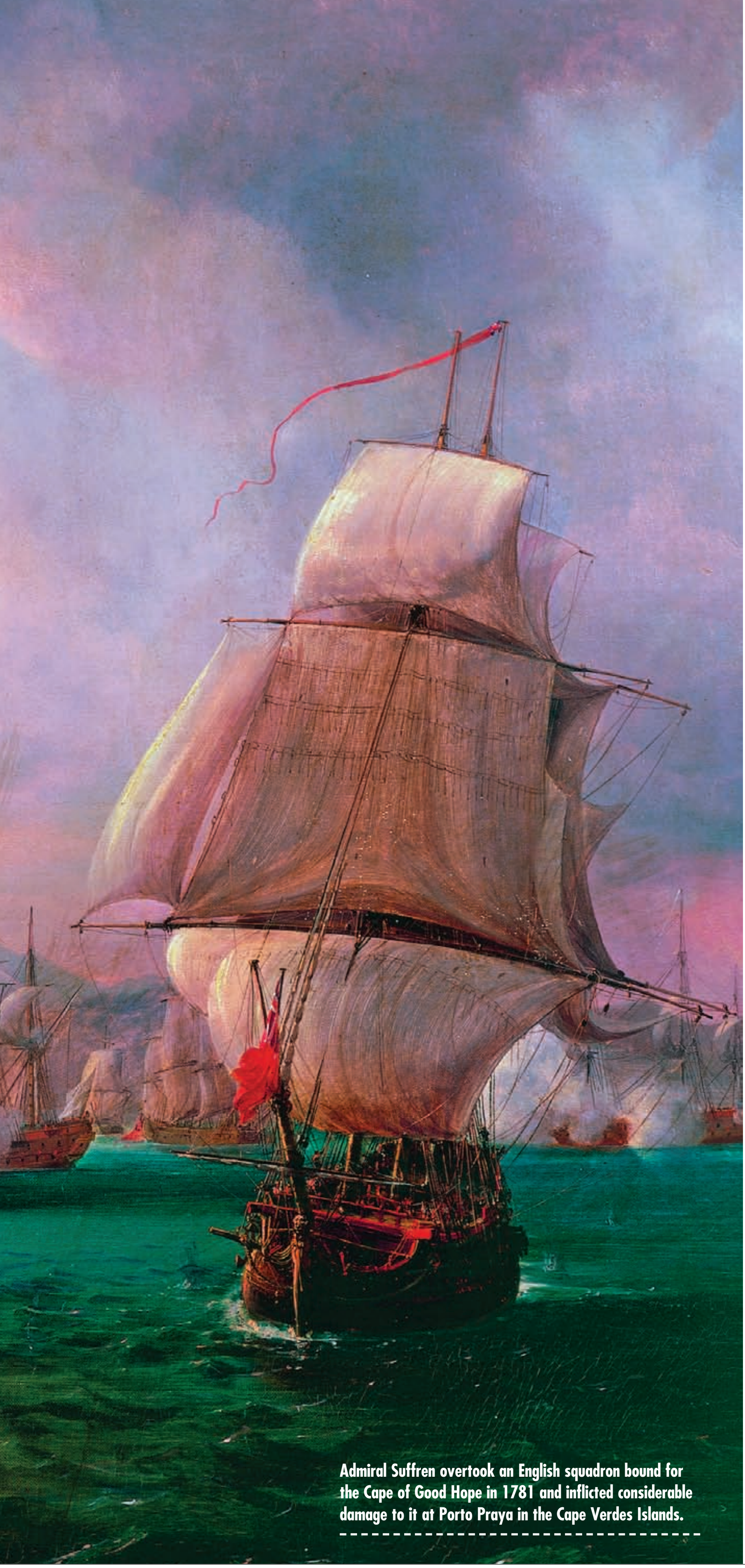
Confederate Private Samuel R. Watkins described the frantic retreat of Hood's army after the second day of the battle. Nearly every soldier threw away his guns and accouterments. Thousands

Continued on page 70

ADMIRAL SATAN

French Admiral Pierre Andre de Suffren bedeviled the British Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean during the global wars of the 18th century.





Admiral Suffren overtook an English squadron bound for the Cape of Good Hope in 1781 and inflicted considerable damage to it at Porto Praya in the Cape Verdes Islands.

AKG Images

BY VICTOR KAMENIR

French Admiral Pierre-Andre de Suffren de Saint Tropez did not fit the image of a dashing naval officer. Although a scion of one of the noblest houses of Provence, Suffren looked more like a disheveled clerk of some second-rate counting house. The obese admiral, whose rumpled clothes were frequently spotted with food stains, lacked social graces and liberally sprinkled his speech with language more appropriate in the saloons frequented by sailors than the refined salons inhabited by aristocrats. The ungentlemanly Suffren had two overreaching loves. One was a gluttonous obsession with food, and the other was an unquenched thirst for fighting the British.

Like many other noble youths from the maritime Provence region, young Pierre-André joined the French Navy as a naval cadet in October 1743 at the age of 14. His classroom training did not last long and four months later young Suffren reported for duty on the 64-gun ship-of-the-line *Solide* when hostilities with Great Britain flared up during the War of the Austrian Succession. Suffren was captured in 1747 on board the *Monarque* during the Second Battle of Cape Finisterre. Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hawke commanding a British squadron successfully enveloped the rear of a larger French squadron and captured six ships in the hard-fought naval action. Suffren had the opportunity to observe Hawke's success firsthand and took careful note of it. The humiliating experience of captivity and perceived British heavy handedness instilled lifelong animosity toward the British in Suffren during his formative years.

Repatriated after the war, Suffren went to the island of Malta, where his family had been prominent in the Order of Malta for several generations. The order's small efficient navy plied the waters of the Mediterranean protecting European shipping from the North African Barbary pirates.

Suffren returned to the French Navy in 1753 during the Seven Years' War. On August 19, 1759, the young lieutenant participated in the Battle of Lagos, which was fought off Portugal's southern coast. During this famous naval clash he served under Admiral Jean-François de la Clue on the admiral's flagship *Ocean*. When the French fleet was dispersed during the battle, four French ships took shelter in Lagos Bay, which was neutral Portuguese territory. Disregarding international law, British Admiral Sir Edward Boscawen attacked the French ships in the bay, destroying two of them and capturing the other two. Suffren became a British prisoner once again. He would remember vividly how Boscawen flagrantly violated international law and would employ that tactic himself more than two decades later. Repatriated once again at the end of the war, Suffren alternated serving in the navies of France and Malta, eventually commanding two xebecs (three-masted vessels with both lateen and square sails), two frigates, and a Maltese galley.

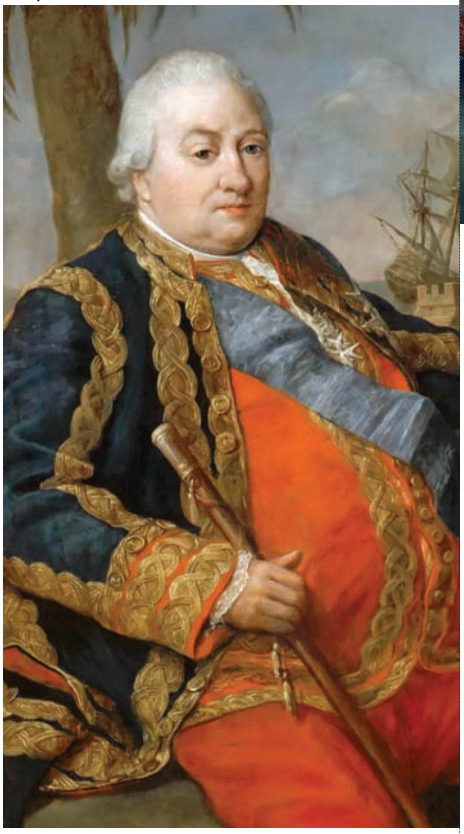
From the low point at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, France launched an ambitious program to rebuild her navy to challenge British supremacy. Naval budgets increased significantly to restart shipbuilding, and improvements were made in administration, procurement, and recruitment.

Both the French and British navies adhered to the strict doctrine of the line of battle, even though the British allowed far greater initiative to their captains. Naval warfare in the Age of Sail, which naval historians state began in 1571 and ended in 1862, was characterized by opposing fleets drawn up in lines dominated by large battleships called ships-of-the-line, while smaller combat vessels, frigates, and corvettes were largely tasked with scouting, communications, and convoy escort.

Because the cannons were mounted on two sides of the ships in equal number, only a few cannons could be mounted on bow and stern. This made ships vulnerable to a volley fired from directly in front or behind, called raking. The best protection against raking fire was to have ships sail close to each other in a straight line to prevent enemy penetration. A way to defeat the line of battle was for a line of warships to cross in front of a line of enemy ships, a tactic known as crossing the T. This allowed the crossing line to bring all its guns to bear while receiving fire from only the forward guns of the enemy ships. Another tactic was to sail one's ships on both sides of the enemy in order to bring fire to bear on both sides of the enemy's ships.

These tactics involved considerable skill in ship handling and required a high degree of cooperation and coordination between individual captains. Each side performed an intricate naval choreography in an attempt to gain the advantage of the weather gage, a position upwind of the opposing vessel. The upwind vessel enjoyed the ability to maneuver, to bring both starboard and port guns to bear on the enemy, while the downwind vessel was forced to make series of zigzag tacking moves as it struggled to sail indirectly against the wind.

Alamy

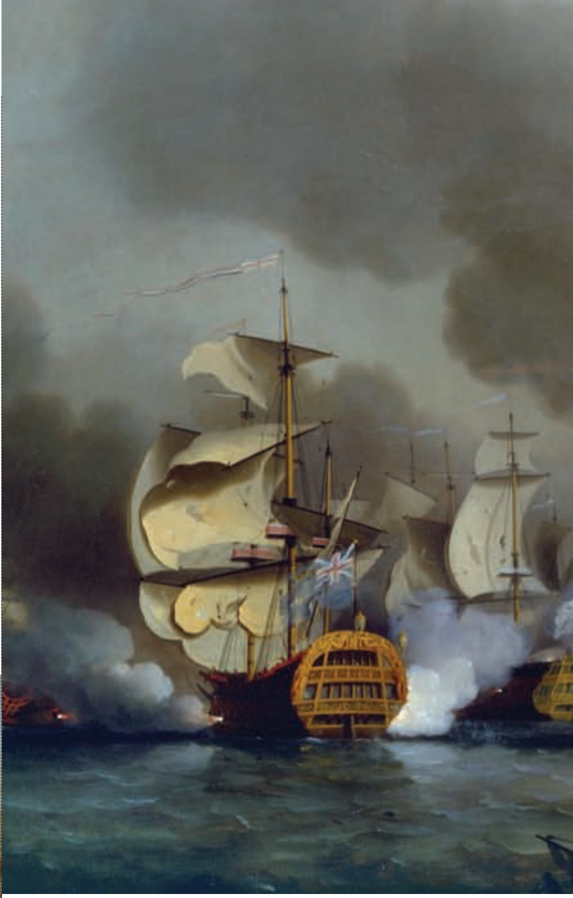


The American War of Independence gave France the chance to regain territory lost to the British. Starting with clandestine material aid to American rebels, France entered into a formal alliance with the newly created United States of America on February 6, 1778, and declared war on the Great Britain the next month. With Spain and the Netherlands entering the war on the French side in 1779 and 1780, respectively, the conflict took on the nature of a global war, from North America to the East Indies.

Suffren rejoined the French Navy with the rank of *capitaine de vaisseau,* the equivalent of a full colonel, and commanded the 64-gun *Fantastique* in Charles Hector d'Estaing's squadron off the coast of North America and the West Indies in 1778-1779. Throughout the desultory campaign, Suffren always aggressively sought action, earning the respect of d'Estaing who, upon return to France, recommended Suffren to King Louis XVI for promotion for his zeal and courage. Yet with 39 noble officers of the same rank and more seniority in grade, promotion was out of the question and the king instead awarded Suffren with an annual pension of 15,000 livres. An opportunity for an independent command came in early 1781.

In late 1780, French agents in England reported that a British squadron under Commodore George Johnstone was being prepared to sail for the East Indies to reinforce the British squadron already there. Since the Netherlands entered the war on the side of France in December 1780, the Dutch Cape Town colony would be a likely target for Johnston on his way to the East Indies. Located at the southern tip of Africa, the colony was the gateway to the Ile-de-France (modern-day Mauritius), the main French base in the Indian Ocean.

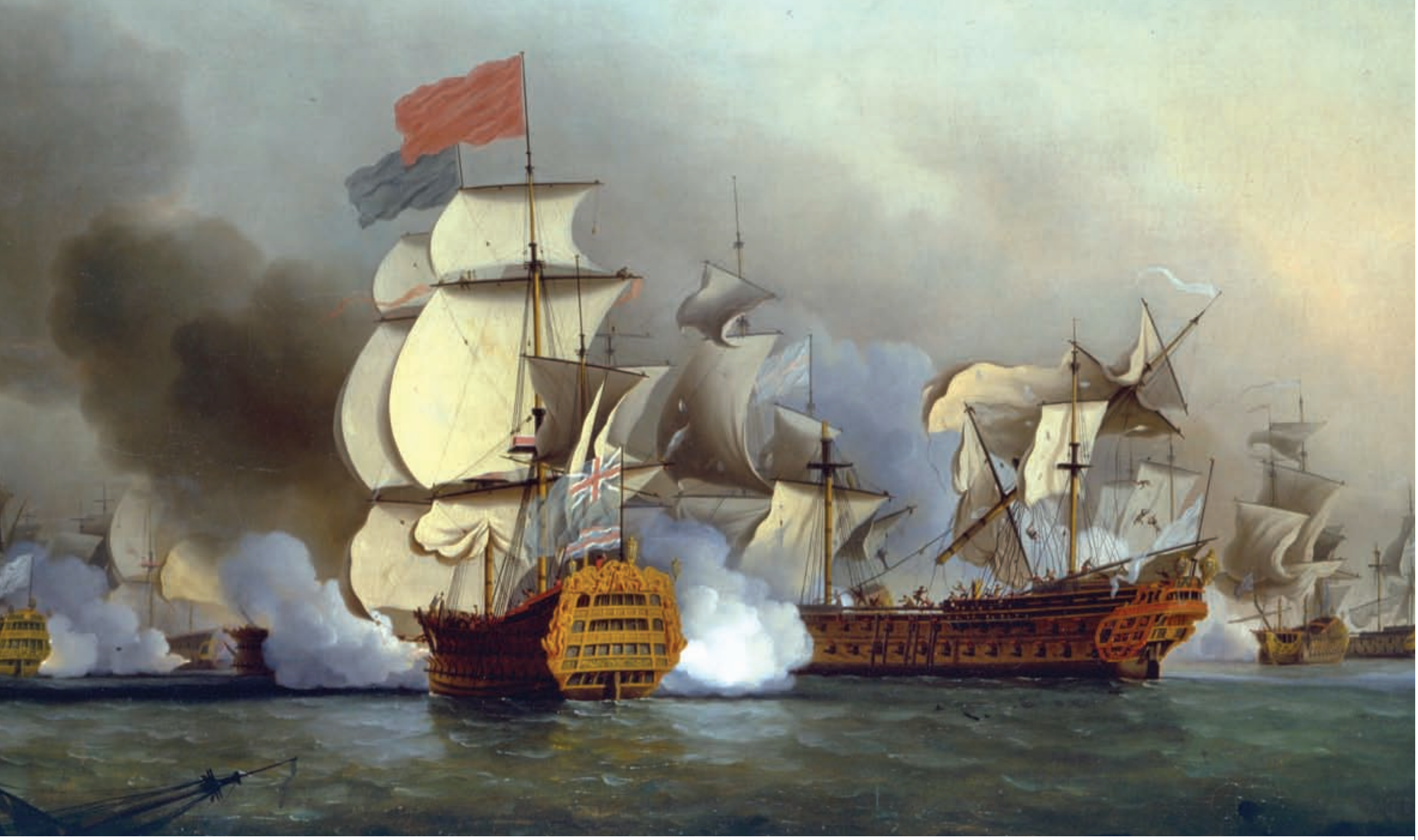
To prevent the strategic colony from falling into British hands, in March 1781 Suffren was placed in charge of a five-ship squadron escorting a troop convoy to Cape Town. Upon reinforcing the colony, Suffren was to be promoted to the next rank of *chef d'escadre* and merge with the French Indian Ocean squadron under Thomas d'Orves. Governor of Ile-de-France François de Souillac was in overall command of French forces east of Africa.



ABOVE: The English captured young Midshipmen Suffren when they defeated the French in the Second Battle of Cape Finisterre in 1747. LEFT: Andre de Suffren was the greatest French naval commander of the 18th century.

On March 22, 1781, Suffren's squadron, consisting of five ships of the line, three frigates, and one corvette and escorting transports carrying 1,200 army troops, sailed from Brest. The battleships in Suffren's squadron were the *Heros* and *Annibal,* mounting 74 guns each, and the 64-gun *Artecien, Sphinx,* and *Vengeur.* Several days later, a fast corvette raced for the Cape Colony to advise the Dutch authorities about the Dutch entry into the war and the French relief force being sent. Shortly before Suffren's departure, the French learned that Johnstone was already on the way to the East Indies, and Suffren knew he was in for a race if he was to beat Johnstone to the Cape Colony.

Artecien was a late addition to the squadron. Initially being prepared for a shorter run to North America, the vessel quickly began to run out of fresh water. To take on more drinking water and make some repairs, Suffren diverted to the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands, a small archipelago off the west coast of Africa. On the morning of April 16, 1781, *Artecien*, sailing ahead of the French squadron, stumbled upon Johnstone's British



squadron anchored in Porto Praya Bay.

Remembering Admiral Edward Boscawen's blatant violation of Portuguese neutrality 22 years earlier at Lagos, Suffren made a snap decision to destroy Johnstone's squadron. Correctly surmising that Johnstone would not be expecting trouble in a neutral Portuguese port, at 0900 Suffren ordered his squadron to close up for an attack. At mid-morning with *Sphinx* and *Vengeur* still far to the rear, Suffren entered the bay with his other three ships-of-the-line, the British completely by surprise. Not only were 1,500 British sailors relaxing on the beach, but Johnstone's five ships-of-the-line and three frigates lay at anchor intermixed with dozens of merchant ships and troop transports.

As Suffren in *Heros* sailed along the clustered British ships, British soldiers aboard the transports armed with muskets poured a heavy fire into the French vessels. Captain Alexandre de Tremigon, commanding *Annibal,* did not believe until the very last moment that a battle would take place in a neutral port and did not make his ship ready for action in time. Nonetheless, Tremigon skillfully maneuvered his ship to a position next to *Heros.* While his sailors rushed to clear the decks for action, *Annibal* was subjected to British fire without being able to reply in kind. When the next ship in line, *Artecien,* was entering the fray her captain Chevalier de Cardaillac, was struck in the head and killed by a musket ball.

Artesien's second in command, knowing Cardaillac's intentions of capturing a British ship, briefly boarded a merchant ship that eventually drifted out of the harbor. The last two French ships, *Vengeur* and *Sphinx,* arrived at last around 11 AM. Because they encountered an increasing headwind and were carried out of the harbor, they were able to exchange only a few desultory broadsides with the British.

Heros and *Annibal* were left alone to bear the brunt of intensifying British fire. The two French ships furiously fought back, with *Heros* damaging a mast on *Monmouth. Annibal* suffered extensive damage, losing two masts, and Captain Tremigon's leg was carried away by a cannon ball. The halyard rope holding her flag was cut, sending the flag fluttering into the sea. The British cheered in the mistaken belief that *Annibal* was surrendering. But her second in command, Lieutenant Morard de Galles, ordered a large napkin brought up from the wardroom and nailed it to the remaining mast, signaling that Annibal was still in the fight. His surprise attack having turned into a trap, Suffren ordered a retreat at noon. As *Annibal* followed *Heros* out of the bay, she lost her third mast and had to be taken in tow by the *Sphinx*.

French losses during the Battle of Porto Praya were 242 wounded and 107 dead, including Captain de Cardaillac of the *Artesien* and Captain Tremigon of *Annibal,* who succumbed to his mortal wound. As Suffren slowly made his way to the Cape Colony, with *Annibal* being alternatively towed by *Heros* and *Sphinx,* he fumed at the poor performance of his captains and the missed opportunity of defeating an enemy squadron. Not the least of Suffren's worries were the political ramifications of his violating Portuguese neutrality and he dispatched a frigate to France with a letter articulating in great detail the necessity of his actions in preventing the British from reaching the Cape first.

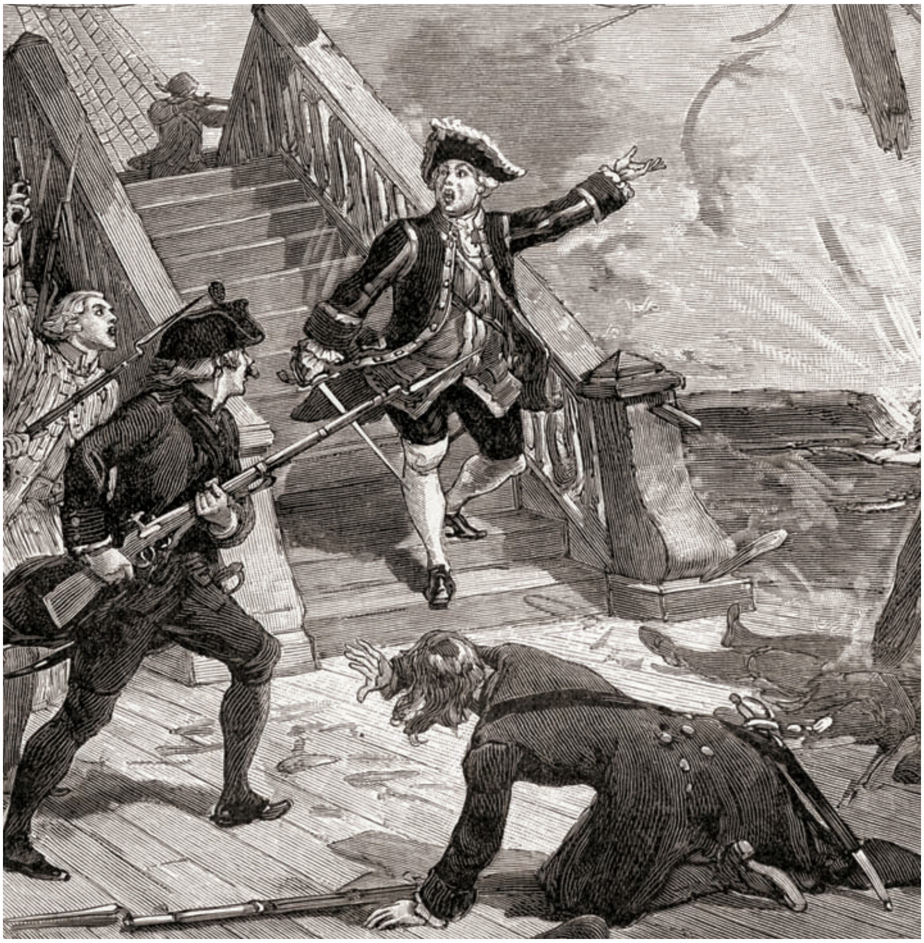
Despite suffering relatively minor casualties, 36 dead and 130 wounded, and only one ship seriously damaged, Commodore Johnstone inexplicably remained at Porto Praya for another two weeks, giving Suffren the strategic victory of beating the British to the Cape Colony. The action at Porto Praya was bitter evidence for Suffren that he could not expect his captains, steeped in the rigid tradition of the line of battle, to instantly react to a fluid situation.

On June 21, after 64 days sailing from Porto Praya and 92 from Brest, Suffren's squadron arrived at the Cape Colony in severe need of repairs and rest. Commodore Johnstone's British squadron arrived at the Cape in mid-July, but Suffren, with his ships slowly undergoing repairs, did not sally from the sheltered harbor to engage him. After sweeping up five Dutch merchant ships as prizes, Johnstone dispatched three ships-of-the-line to reinforce the British squadron in the Indian Ocean and sailed back to England with the rest.

After two months at the Cape, Suffren's ships and crews were in adequate condition to continue the journey. Leaving 500 French soldiers to bolster Cape Colony's defenses, Suffren's squadron arrived at the Ile-de-France on October 25, 1781. When in October 1778, the British captured Pondicherry, the main French outpost in India, the small French naval squadron under François de Tronjoly fled to Ile-de-France after a brief clash with the British. Tronjoly, wounded during the clash, turned the squadron over to his second in command, Thomas d'Orves, himself suffering from rapidly declining health.

In January 1781, d'Orves put in a half-hearted appearance off India's southeastern Caramandel Coast, but turned back to Ile-de-France without taking any action against the British squadron under Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. Furthermore, d'Orves neglected to make contact with France's only Indian ally, Hyder Ali, the Nawab of Sera and Mysore, who was expecting French coordination with his land campaign against the British. Sapped of strength and energy by his illness, d'Orves was easily swayed by the captains in his squadron toward easy sedentary living at the Île-de-France.

Alamy



Suffren is shown during one of his many engagements against the British Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean in the early 1780s. After the end of the Anglo-French War, he was feted by several English captains at Capetown on his voyage back to France.

Suffren quickly became bored by the comfortable life of the Ile-de-France's squadron. "The military spirit has been forgotten, but what can you expect from the indulgence and insubordination of their subalterns, who look on this place as their patrimony and do what they like by making their senior officers afraid of them?" he wrote to a friend. "Nearly everyone has a wife or a regular mistress. The ladies are charming, life is comfortable. Many have made their fortunes and become proud and factious."

Suffren and d'Orves were of the same rank, but the latter had longer time-in-service and Suffren grudgingly acknowledged d'Orves' seniority over the combined squadron by then numbering 11 ships-of-the-line, three frigates, and four corvettes. Yet a conflict quickly arose between Suffren and the cabal of d'Orves' captains, when, upon their demands, d'Orves gave command of *Annibal* to one of his inner circle, Captain Bernard Tromelin. The mutual enmity deepened as time went by, fueled in no small part by Suffren's ungentlemanly manners and appearance, as well as his unconcealed disdain for the Ile-de-France captains, and largely undermined everything Suffren hoped to accomplish.

On December 7, 1781, after completing repairs to Suffren's ships, d'Orves' squadron departed for India, escorting 10 troop transports carrying 3,000 troops which Governor Souillac added on his own initiative to assist Hyder Ali. The crews of the French ships were supplemented by East Indian sailors and 500 black slaves who were offered the choice of naval service as free men or death.

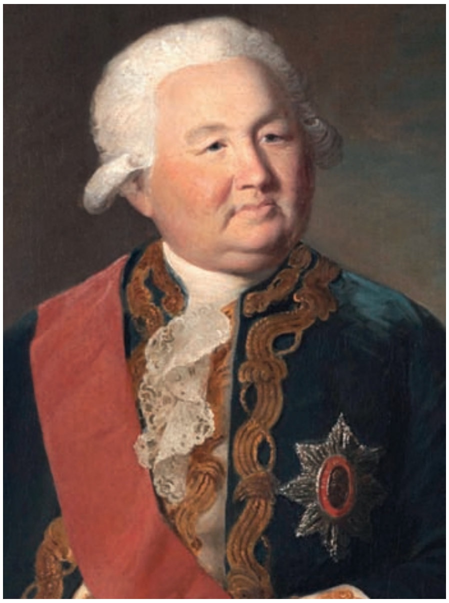
While en route to the Indian Ocean and before becoming completely incapacitated by illness, d'Orves formally turned over command of the squadron to Suffren, giving him full discretion to plan and execute the upcoming campaign. D'Orves died on board *Heros* on February 9, 1782, two days after arriving off India's Caramandel Coast.

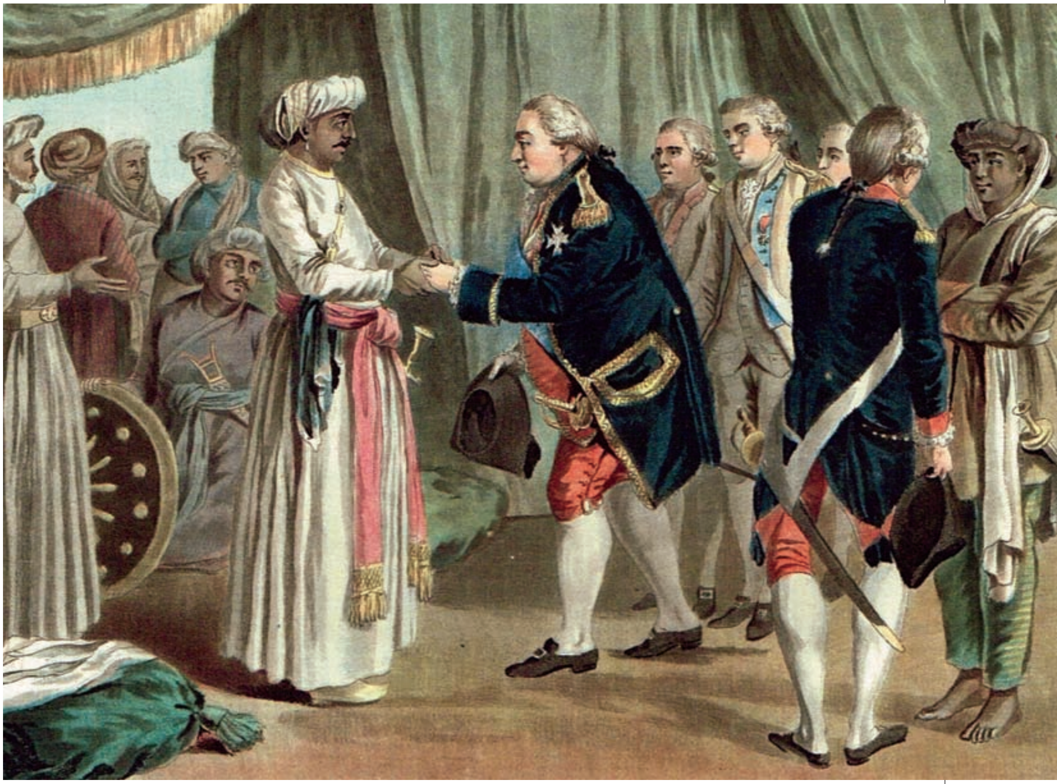
Over the next 17 months, Suffren fought five battles against Sir Edward Hughes in the last French attempt to contest British supremacy on the Indian subcontinent. Rather than a distant sideshow, Suffren fought his campaign as if the fate of France depended on it.

Political necessity required Suffren to stay close to India's Caramandel Coast and the nearby island of Ceylon. France's only Indian ally, Haydar Ali, had been less than satisfied with France's lackluster performance to date, and Suffren felt his squadron's presence was required to keep Haydar Ali from concluding his own separate peace with England. Likewise, while the British captured Trincomalee, the main port on Ceylon, early in the war, the rest of the island was in Dutch hands, and Suffren intended to prevent the rest of the island from falling to the British as well.

A squadron at sea required an extensive amount of supplies, particularly masts and spars, and battle damage exacerbated the regular wear and tear tenfold. Neither Ile-de-France, two months away, nor Ceylon were rich in naval stores and Suffren had to accomplish administrative miracles to keep his squadron at sea. As he maneuvered between India and Ceylon, Suffren was forced to live off the land, so to speak, resupplying himself by capturing British merchant ships and cannibalizing his own transports for masts and spars. To replace crew losses from illness and combat, Suffren had to enlist ever increasing numbers of local Indian sailors.

National Maritime Museum





ABOVE: Admiral Suffren fought five naval engagements against English Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes in the Indian Ocean. RIGHT: Suffren, shown here meeting Haydar Ali, worked hard to ensure that France's only Indian ally did not seek a separate peace treaty with the British.

For his demonic energy, the admiring Indians called Suffren "Admiral Satan."

Far more serious than difficulty with supplies, Suffren had to contend with the crisis of command. His abrasive personality, caustic tongue, and ungentlemanly manners quickly earned Suffren the enmity of most of his ships' captains. In an atmosphere where promotion to command capital ships was reserved almost exclusively to members of the highest nobility, junior officers of aristocratic birth frequently treated their superior officers as social equals.

Although not outright insubordinate, Suffren's captains frequently used any excuse to misunderstand and undermine his orders even to the detriment of their country. A good tactician, Suffren was not a good mentor, failing to instill his ideas in the minds of his subordinates, requiring obedience where initiative was needed. However, a crop of young, talented officers, which included two future admirals, served under Suffren and learned from him if not by direct mentorship, then from firsthand tactical experiences.

On February 14, 1782, Suffren discovered Admiral Hughes' squadron at Madras, the main British base on the Caramandel Coast. Unlike Commodore Johnstone at Porto Praya, Hughes' squadron was anchored in a line of battle, moving closer to shore under protection of the fortress guns after spotting Suffren.

The tactical situation did not favor the French. The following day Suffren continued south to Porto Novo, the only anchorage in the hands of Haydar Ali. Hughes correctly surmised that Suffren's intentions were to either land troops farther south along the coast or continue southeast to Ceylon to retake Trincomalee. With neither option acceptable, Hughes immediately gave chase to spoil Suffren's plans, even though the French outnumbered the British 11 ships-of-the-line to nine.

Throughout February 17 the two squadrons maneuvered closer to each other near the small town of Sadras. Gaining advantage of the wind gage, Suffren intended to double the rear of the British line, with his division of five ships coming up on the British windward side and Tromelin's division of six ships on the leeward. At 3 PM Suffren raised the signal to execute the doubling maneuver and close to within pistol range.

Two hours later Suffren's division closed with the British line from the rear. Suffren, in his flagship *Heros,* sailed along the British formation and lined up with Hughes' flagship, *Superb*. Behind Suffren *Orient, Sphinx, Vengeur,* and *Petit Hannibal* faced off against *Exeter, Monarca, Isis,* and *Hero*.

Although he was flying the signal for a close engagement, Suffren began firing from afar. Tromelin, possibly deliberately, misunderstood or chose to ignore Suffren's signals to engage and ordered his division to remain in line behind Suffren rather than enveloping the rear of the British formation. However, two captains from Tromelin's division, Saint-Felix in *Brillant* and Cuverville in *Flamand* understood Suffren's intentions and on their own brought up their ships to double the last two British vessels, *Monarca* and *Exeter.*

For a long hour the five ships in Suffren's division exchanged largely ineffective fire with the British ships opposing them. Only *Exeter* at the rear of the British line was in real danger as she was being shelled from two sides by the French. By 6 PM, when the leading ships in the British formation began coming around to assist their rear guard, Suffren gave orders for his squadron to draw off.

Even though *Exeter* was battered and *Superb* damaged, Tromelin's failure to double the rear of the British line resulted in the first contest between Suffren and Hughes to end in a draw. The British lost 32 men dead, including the captains of *Superb* and *Exeter,* and 95 wounded, while French losses came to 30 killed and 100 wounded. Hughes continued southeast to Trincomalee for repairs, while Suffren sailed to Porto Novo where he disembarked French troops. In April the French ground forces captured the small coastal town of Cuddalore, which became Suffren's frequent refuge for repairs and the source of fresh water.

The next engagement between Suffren and Hughes occurred in April 1782 in what became known as the Battle of Providien. The two squadrons sighted each other on April 9 and for three days maneuvered adroitly in an attempt to gain the wind gage as they maneuvered near Ceylon. On April 12, concerned that the French would overtake his rearmost ships, Hughes deployed his squadron in line of battle. At 11 AM, approaching the rocky islet of Providien south of Trincomalee, Suffren gave the order for his ships to close with the British, each aiming for one of the enemy. With a dozen French ships against 11 British vessels, Suffren intended that his extra ship double the rearmost British vessel.

Approaching within range of a musket shot, Suffren gave orders to attack. Again, the French captains failed to execute Suffren's orders. The four rearmost ships, *Severe, Ajax, Annibal,* and *Flamand*, were too slow to engage and began firing from afar. *Bizzare,* whose assignment was to double the rear of the British line, was not able to execute the maneuver despite repeated urgings from Suffren.

A vicious fight flared up in the center of opposing lines between the French *Heros, Orient,* and *Brillant* and British *Superb* and *Monmouth*. The two flagships, *Heros* and *Superb* vigorously exchanged broadsides until a fire broke out on *Superb,* forcing her to veer out of line. *Heros* shifted fire on *Monmouth,* which lost her main and mizzenmasts under relentless battering.

As *Superb* extinguished the fire and reengaged, the two lines became disordered and continued exchanging fire as they moved closer to Providien's shore, which was treacherous with reefs and sandbanks. Not wishing to risk fighting in shallow water, in the late afternoon Hughes ordered his squadron to engage Suffren on the port tack and the French followed, but no further action took place that day. At dusk the two squadrons dropped anchor two miles apart, ending one of the bloodiest French-British naval conflicts to date. Once again, Suffren's plans were foiled because his captains failed to execute prescribed maneuvers. French losses came to 139 dead and 364 wounded, while the British lost 137 dead and 437 wounded.

On July 5, 1782, Suffren arrived off British-held Negapatam, intending to drive off Hughes' squadron and take the town by a naval landing. The morning of July 6 was spent maneuvering. In the late morning, Hughes, gaining the wind gage, ordered his squadron to close with the French. At 11 AM the leading ships began exchanging fire.

Even though Suffren had 12 ships-of-the-line against Hughes' 11, *Ajax* had lost two masts the previous night and quickly fell behind, leaving the two squadrons at 11 ships-of-the-line each. The vessels in the rear of both squadrons failed to come to grips at close range and exchanged largely ineffective broadsides from a distance. For the next hour and half, the center and van sections of two squadrons battered each other until *Brillant* and *Flamand* on the French side and *Exeter* and *Hero* for the British were severely damaged.

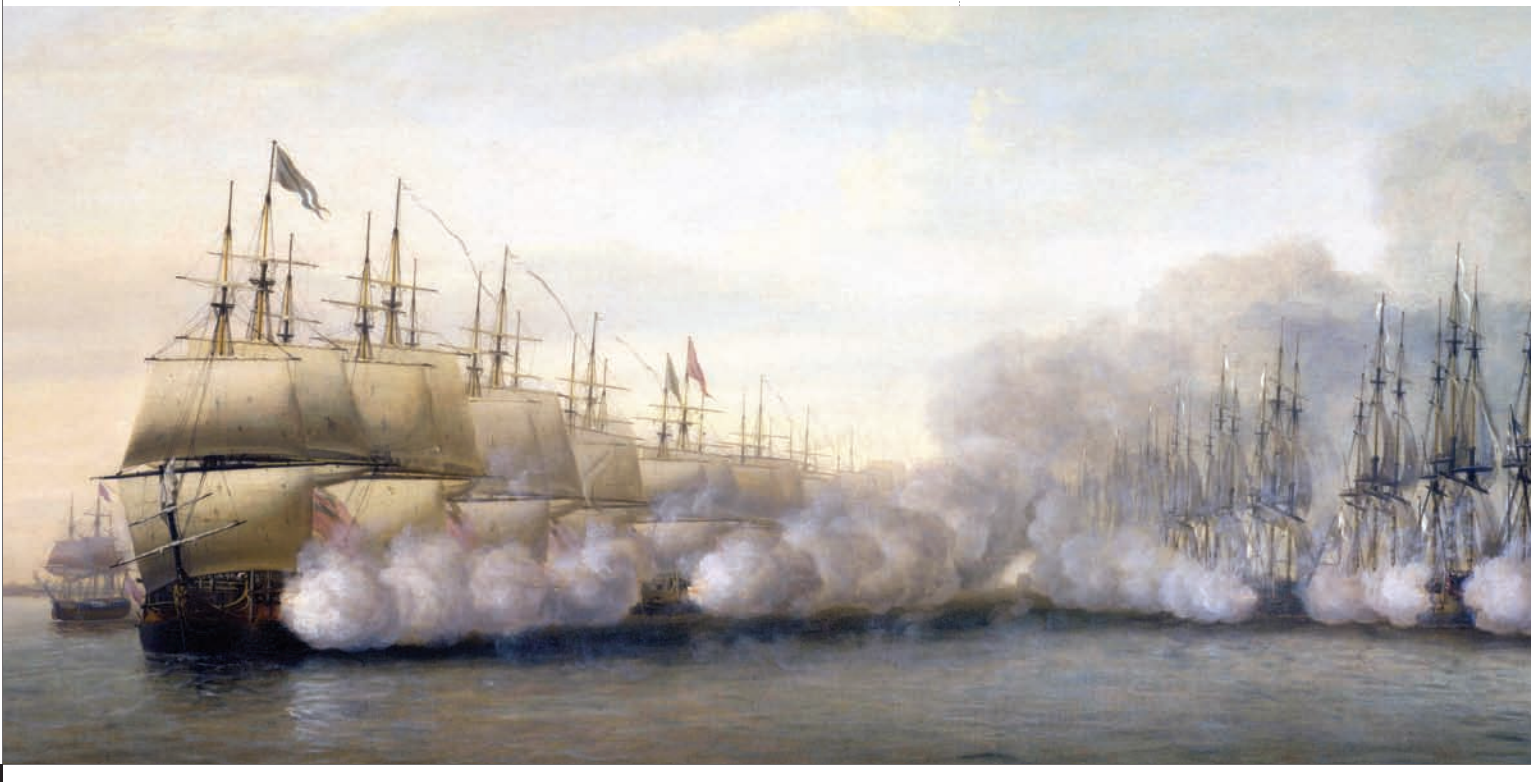
Severe found herself set upon by *Sultan* and *Burford*. Under merciless pounding, *Severe*'s Captain De Cillart lost his heart and ordered the ship's flag lowered as a sign of surrender. Two of his officers intervened and persuaded Cillart to raise the flag again and resume the fight. The struggle went on as the wind continuously changed directions, disordering both squadrons. After four hours of fighting, the firing gradually died down and the two squadrons finally anchored at 6 PM.

Although the French suffered far more in casualties—78 dead and 601 wounded against Hughes' 77 dead and 232 wounded—damage to British ships was greater. This prevented the British from pursuing the French. Nevertheless, Suffren was unable to drive off Hughes and had to give up his plans to capture Negapatam.

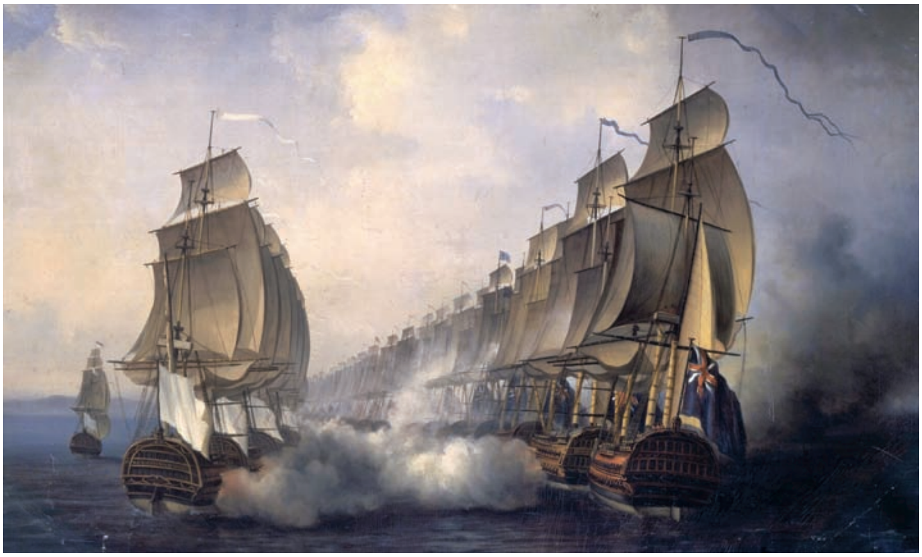
Upon returning to Cuddalore, Suffren dismissed four of his captains for lackluster performance during the battle. The cashiered officers were his cousin Claude Forbin of *Vengeur,* François Maurville of *Artesien,* Alexis Cillard of *Severe,* and Francois Bouvet of *Ajax*. Taking into consideration Bouvet's brave previous service, Suffren arranged for his resignation for health reasons. Bouvet's health deteriorated quickly and he passed away on October 6, 1782. Tromelin, having fought well at Negapatam, was retained in his present position.

Suffren set sail for Ceylon on August 1 after stripping Cuddalore bare of supplies. He also took materials from ships in port and homes in the town to repair his ships. A week later Suf-

National Maritime Museum



Palace of Versailles



ABOVE: Despite having fewer ships, Suffren defeated Hughes at Cuddalore in June 1783, forcing the English to raise their siege of the strategic town. BELOW: Suffren took disciplinary action against four of his captains after a failed attempt to capture the town of Negapatam in July 1782.

fren linked up at Batticoloa with two ships-of-the-line carrying 600 soldiers and one corvette that had just arrived from France.

British-held Trincomalee, with its good harbor, located only 50 miles north of Batticoloa, and Suffren used this opportunity to capture it. On August 23, after a short bombardment from the ships, the French landed a force 2,300 men. Four days later the small British garrison of Trincomalee surrendered.

Too late to save Trincomalee, Hughes arrived from Negapatam on September 2, having linked up with his own reinforcements en route. Suffren came out of the bay to meet Hughes the following day. In addition to the 14 ships-of-the-line, Suffren placed the large 36-gun frigate *Consonant* to lengthen his line of battle against Hughes' 12 ships-of-the-line. After several hours of maneuvering, frustrated with the sluggishness of his captains in forming the line of battle, at 2:30 PM Suffren gave the signal to close within pistol-shot range of the enemy. To hasten the laggard captains, Suffren ordered a gun fired from the upper deck of *Heros*. The officers commanding gun batteries on lower decks misunderstood the shot as the signal for action and began firing full broadsides. Other ships quickly joined in and the Battle of Trincomalee began at longer ranges than Suffren intended.

Suffren ordered V*enguer* and *Consonant* to double the rear of the British line. However, the maneuver failed and *Venguer,* having lost her mizzen mast, had to move out of the line, while the captain of *Consonant* was killed. The French van failed to close as well and the main action was fought in the center, with *Heros, Illustre,* and *Ajax* set upon by *Superb, Burford, Sultan, Eagle, Hero,* and *Monarca.* "The enemy formed a semicircle around us and raked us ahead and astern," recalled one of Suffren's officers.

By 5:30 PM the wind shifted in French favor and several of Suffren's ships in the van and rear were finally able to close in and assist the center. Thirty minutes later both *Heros* and *Illustre* lost their main and mizzenmasts and *Ajax* was badly battered. When *Heros*' mainmast fell, it carried her flag with it, and the British gave a great cheer thinking the enemy flagship had surrendered. Suffren quickly raised another flag, but the situation remained serious. Under cover from *Artesien,* the two dismasted ships were towed away and falling darkness again brought an end to the fighting. The next morning the French returned to Trincomalee while the British retired to Madras for repairs.

French losses came to 82 dead and 255 wounded, with most of the casualties occurring on *Heros*, *Illustre,* and *Ajax,* while five of French ships suffered no casualties at all. The British suffered heavily as well, losing 51 killed, including the captains of *Isis* and *Sultan,* and 283 wounded. Several of his ships "were taking much water from shot-holes so very low down in the bottom as not to be come to be effectively stopped; and the whole had suffered severely in their masts and rigging," recalled Hughes.

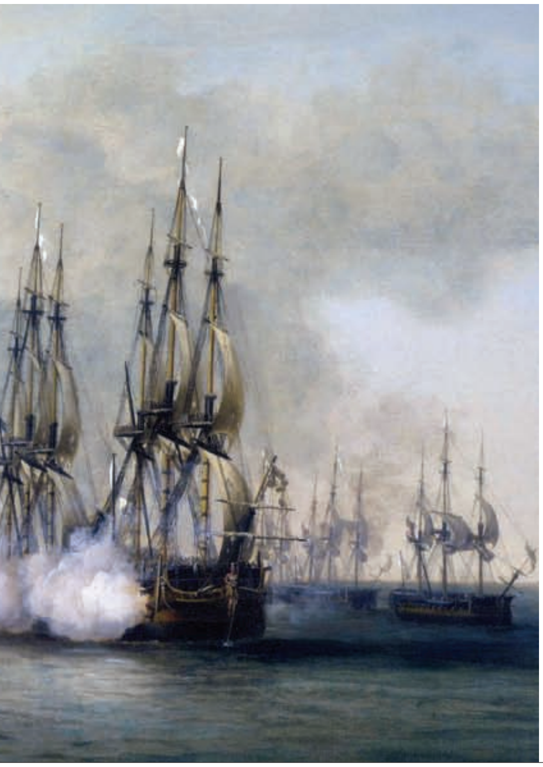
On September 23, the captains of the vessels that did not engage at Trincomalee, Tromelin of *Annibal,* La Landelle of *Bizarre,* St. Felix of *Artesien,* and Morard de Galles of *Petit Annibal* asked to be relieved, citing ill health. Tromelin, whose health was already failing, was no loss to Suffren. Both Saint-Felix and Morard de Galles were capable captains and their request was a vote of no confidence in Suffren. Many of Suffren's senior officers thought the war, or at least their part of it, was unwinnable, which could partly explain their lackluster performance in combat.

Tromelin was eventually dismissed from service in 1784 without pension but reinstated during the Revolution as vice-admiral. Saint-Felix and de Galles, after cooling their heels at the Ile-de-France for a time, returned to Suffren's squadron and were reinstated to command.

With the monsoon season fast approaching, the opposing squadrons needed to find sheltered harbors. Hughes departed for Bombay on the western coast of India, where the British traditionally wintered. Suffren took shelter at Aceh on the northern tip of Dutch-controlled Sumatra on the other side of the Bay of Bengal.

Returning to the Coromandel Coast in February 1783, Suffren discovered that Hydar Ali had died in December and his struggle against the British continued under his son Tipu Sahib. On February 15, 1783, Suffren arrived in Porto-Novo and, after a brief contact with Tipu Sahib, departed for Trincomalee the next day. Dispatches reached him in Trincomalee on February 26 announcing his promotion to chef d'escadre for his battle at La Praya. The good news was shortly

Continued on page 70



CANADIAN VALOR AT AMIENS

The Canadian Corps played a crucial role in the successful assault on German positions near Amiens on August 8, 1918. Ludendorff called Amiens "the black day of the German Army." **BY MIKE PHIFER**

The drone of a Royal Air Force bomber could be heard overhead in the early morning of August 8, 1918, as it flew up and down the Allied line near Amiens, France. The lone aircraft sought to cover the rumbling and clanking of hundreds of tanks moving forward to the start line to support an imminent attack. The noise of the bomber soon faded as it flew away, only to be replaced with the deafening crash of artillery.

All hell broke loose on the German lines at 4:20 AM when a heavy barrage erupted, lighting up the dawn. It was a "terrific racket," wrote Lt. Col. Andrew McNaughton, the Canadian Corps counterbattery officer, in a letter to his wife. "[The] Boche is getting his now," he told her. The German guns returned fire, but owing to McNaughton's counterbattery planning, the enemy's artillery fire was mostly neutralized.

Through a heavy fog blanketing the terrain near Amiens, soldiers of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Canadian Divisions pushed forward. With visibility down to just a few dozen feet, the Canadians followed the rolling barrage that hurled a curtain of death forward in 100-yard intervals. One of the most significant Allied offensives of the Great War was beginning.

The Allied offensive would be a key turning point, considering the Germans had launched a massive offensive five months earlier. The impetus of the Kaiserschlacht Offensive that began on March 21 was to strike a blow against the British, Commonwealth, and French forces on the Western Front before the men and matériel of the United States turned the tide of battle irreversibly in favor of the Allied powers.

At that point, the Germans had the advantage in numbers because the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed March 3 had freed up 50 German divisions previously committed to the Eastern Front. The Kaiserschlacht Offensive would ultimately fail in large part because the German logistic system was unable to support the rapidly advancing German stormtroopers in the early weeks of the offensive. The Germans had come to within nine miles of Amiens in the British sector in early April before they were halted. Although the danger of a German breakthrough to Paris had ended later that month, the Germans continued to make gains. Before the offensive drew to a close in mid-July, the Germans had advanced to within 40 miles of the French capital.While the Germans were still attacking, Allied Generalissimo Ferdinand Foch had approached British Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig in May about crafting plans for an offensive in mid-June. Haig in turn ordered Fourth Army commander Lt. Gen. Henry Rawlinson to investigate the possibility of attacking east of Amiens. The British assault was to be carried out in cooperation with the French First Army to the south. The plan was temporarily set aside, though, to deal with the continuing German offensive.

Rawlinson had thoughts of renewing the plan when he later met with the Australian Corps commander, Lt. Gen. John Monash. Monash had employed both Australian and American troops, along with British tanks, on July 4 to capture the town of Hamel not far from Amiens. Monash wanted to try something bigger and told Rawlinson his Australians could push up to five miles. Rawlinson inquired if he could go farther. Monash replied that he could as long as he received adequate support on his right flank so that it was not vulnerable to counterattack. Rawlinson suggested a few different corps, but none was to Monash's satisfaction until the British Fourth Army commander mentioned the Canadians. The Canadians had proved in previous battles that they were tough fighters, and they were much sought after for difficult missions. Monash quickly became enthusiastic about the idea.

Foch suggested to Haig on July 12 that he launch an offensive in Flanders. Haig did not like the suggestion. He favored an attack east and southeast of Amiens. The concept was not unlike what Rawlinson had in mind. In a meeting with Haig, Rawlinson explained his plan. He proposed having the Fourth Army attack south of the River Luce where it might punch through the old Amiens Outer Defense Lines, which were held by the British during the Battle of the Somme in 1916. To do this, Rawlinson wanted the Canadian Corps of the British First Army. Haig liked the idea and told Rawlinson to continue planning the attack.

Six days later the French struck the Germans on the Marne, thereby moving up the timetable for the British Fourth Army offense. Foch held a conference at Melun with the top British, French, and American commanders on July 24. Foch was optimistic. He believed an Allied victory was possible no later than the summer of 1919. The current operations against the Germans would continue driving them back from the Paris-Chalons-Toul-Avricourt railway. A second offensive launched from Amiens

A British corporal stands beside his camouflaged Mark V tank. Allied tanks were tasked with punching through the barbed wire and destroying German machine guns.

Imperial War Museum

Both: Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: German troops haul a mortar into position to support stormtroopers during the Kaiserschlacht Offensive. By the time of the Amiens offensive, the stormtroopers had suffered heavy attrition. OPPOSITE: Allied heavy artillery conducted a rolling barrage behind which the Canadian infantry advanced. By the end of the first day, the Allied Fourth Army had penetrated eight miles into the German defenses.

would remove the German threat on the Paris-Amiens railway. This area was a major rail center, and controlling it would be crucial for future offensives. A third offensive was to be launched against the Saint-Mihiel salient, freeing the eastern part of the Paris-Avricourt railway line by the just formed First American Army. This attack was to be delayed until the American army was fully assembled.

Haig eventually was given overall command of the French First Army under General Marie-Eugene Debeney, which was to operate on his southern flank. The reorganized British Fourth Army for the Amiens offensive consisted of Lt. Gen. Charles Kavanagh's British Cavalry Corps, Lt. Gen. Richard Butler's British III Corps, Lt. Gen. Arthur Currie's Canadian Corps, and Monash's Australian Corps. The combined arms offensive was designed to stun the Germans long enough to make considerable territorial gains. To achieve its objectives, the Fourth Army would use tanks, armored cars, armored troop carriers, horse cavalry, aircraft, artillery, and infantry.

The offensive, which was scheduled to begin on August 10, was moved up two days. The Canadian Corps, which was positioned 30 miles north of its starting point, would have the enormous task of moving from one zone to another while keeping the Germans deceived as to where they were going. Secrecy was of key importance to the operation. The soldiers received a stern warning in their paybooks to keep silent and not to talk about any preparations for an attack to soldiers from other units, strangers, or in public places where they might be overheard.

The Canadians had been planning an attack on Orange Hill, east of Arras, which the Germans had taken in their earlier offensive. The Allied high command canceled the operation. Nevertheless, Currie continued his preparations for the attack to deceive the Germans. To fool the enemy and draw its attention to another sector, he sent two battalions and several support units to the Ypres salient. In addition, the Royal Air Force increased its activity over the salient.

The rest of the corps began to move out of the Arras sector on July 30. Traveling by trucks, trains, buses, and on foot, the troops headed north. They would soon shift direction and head south by night. The more direct routes were avoided as the troops moved quickly through the short hours of darkness. The Canadians were told they were going into the General Headquarters Reserve to be able to support either the French First Army or the British Fourth Army. The divisional commanders and senior administrative officers had been informed of their true destination just a day earlier. Fortunately for the Allies, the weather cooperated. The overcast weather and foggy conditions on the ground concealed the high volume of traffic on the roads.

The 51st Australian Battalion, positioned astride the Amiens-Roye Road on the morning of August 4, reported alarming news. Five of the battalion's soldiers had been captured during a German raid. The Australians were under orders to transition control of their sector to the Canadians by August 6. This process already had begun and Canadian artillery was by that time deployed behind the Australians.

It was unclear, though, how much the Australian prisoners knew of the offensive. If the Germans learned that a major offensive was afoot, it could conceivably prove disastrous to the entire operation. It turned out, however, that the Germans had learned nothing of the preparations underway at the time.

The Canadians had the advantage of larger battalions than the British. The British were forced in early 1918 to reduce their division strength from 12 battalions to nine. The extra men brought the remaining battalions up to strength.

The British had recommended that the Canadians do the same, but Currie had refused. If he had, the four Canadian divisions in the field, along with the 5th Division in England, would have increased to six divisions, enabling them to have two corps and an Army Headquarters. But Currie did not want to do anything to reduce the Canadian Corps's esprit de corps. Instead Currie broke up the 5th Division and distributed the men to his other divisions. As a result, the Canadian battalions were 100 men or more overstrength.

As the buildup continued, Haig met with Debeney, Rawlinson, and Kavanagh on August 5. Haig informed his corps commanders that Foch had decided to include the French Third Army in the operation. They would go into action to the right of Debeney's army. The size of the operation was now much larger and the emphasis was now on exploitation rather than consolidation. Three British divisions were to be held at Headquarters Reserve ready to take advantage of any success. The Fourth Army was to push forward to the Roye-Chaulnes Lines, which had been held by the British until the Germans withdrew to the heavily fortified Hindenburg Line in 1917.

With a frontage of 8,500 yards, the Canadian Corps had the task of delivering the main blow on the Fourth Army's right. On the corps' right flank at the Amiens-Roye Road was the French First Army, while the Australians were on their left at the Amiens-Chaulnes railway. To the left of the Australians was the British III Corps attacking north of the Somme.

The Canadians had three objectives: the Green Line, the Red Line, and the Blue Line. In the first two lines, support element troops would leapfrog and push onto the final objective, the Amiens Outer Defense Lines, designated the Blue Line, which was located about eight miles from the Canadian starting point. The British 3rd Cavalry, which included the Canadian Cavalry Brigade, would push onto the Roye-Chaulnes Line. Acting as liaison between the foot soldiers and the cavalry, as well as protecting the troopers' right flank, was the Canadian Independent Force. This mobile unit consisted of a couple of motor machine-gun brigades, nine Lewis gun detachments of the Canadian Corps Cyclists Battalion, and two trench mortars mounted on trucks.

The British 4th Tank Brigade assigned 42 fighting tanks to each Canadian division, except for the 4th Division, which received just 36 tanks. Most of these were the 29-ton Mark V tanks, which were classified as either males (meaning they were armed with two six-pounders and four machine guns) or females (meaning they were armed with six machine guns).

In addition to the Mark V tanks, there also were Mark V Star tanks, which were six feet longer than the earlier version. This gave the tank more mobility in crossing trenches. Besides it crew of eight men, the Mark V Star was also able to carry 13 men armed with two Lewis guns and a Vickers machine gun. These heavily armed teams were to be dropped off on their objective and entrench until help arrived.

A faster tank than the Mark Vs, the smaller Whippet weighed in at 14 tons. With a crew of three men, the tank was armed with four machine guns. The Allies also planned to use aging Mark IV tanks that had been converted to carry supplies, such as trench mortars, ammunition, drinking water, and shovels. In total, the 4th British Army planned to employ 612 tanks in the offensive.

The 4th British Army had 2,000 field guns, howitzers, and heavy guns. The French fielded 1,600 guns. There was to be no preliminary bombardment before the attack for the Canadian soldiers, or the Australians and British. For the most part, the tanks were expected to deal with the barbed wire and German machine guns.

In preparation for the attack, Canadian engineers worked in the dark in the marshes around the River Luce where part of the 3rd Canadian Division would cross. The engineers built mats and footbridges across the 300 yards of marshes and the river. This had to be done in silence as the far side of the river was not held by infantry in strength, but rather patrolled every hour. Enemy machine-gun fire and shelling did not make the task any easier.

On August 6, two days before the attack was to be launched, the Germans struck first. A heavy barrage crashed down on the British III Corps. The German 27th Wurttemberg Division recaptured the Brick Beacon Ridge, recently lost to the Australians, and pushed up to 1,500 yards behind the front line. This put them near the huge ammunition dumps ready to supply the upcoming attack. The Germans had managed to reach the gun line where they had taken prisoners. The British counterattacked, driving the Germans back to the old Australian line. The Germans tenaciously clung to their positions. The British III Corps tried to dislodge the Germans the following day, but it failed to retake the ridge.

Holding the line across from the British 4th Army was the German 2nd Army, under the command of General Georg von der Marwitz. This army consisted of 10 divisions in the front line, with another four in reserve. Facing the Canadians were the German 225th Division, 117th Division, and part of the 41st Division. The 117th was considered an excellent division, with its regiments at full strength. They were new to the line, having just replaced the 109th on the night of August 7.

Like the British, the Germans had no choice but to reduce the size of their battalions to keep the same number of units at the battlefront. The motivated stormtroopers that produced considerable success for the German Army at the outset of the Kaiserschlacht Offensive had by that point been used up.

The German defenses facing the Canadians consisted of three lines of trenches poorly wired. There were other trenches behind these, including the abandoned Inner Amiens Defense system constructed by the French in 1915 and the Amiens Outer Defense Lines constructed in 1916. They had strong belts of wire, but they were facing the wrong way. The numerous machine-gun posts were the strongpoints in the 2nd Army's defense.

First Quartermaster-General Erich Ludendorff, second in command of the German military, believed the German defenses were strong. "We should wish for nothing better than to see the enemy launch an offensive, which can but hasten the disintegration of his forces," he

informed his troops on August 4.

But Ludendorff was expecting only local attacks. German intelligence reported that the Canadians were in Flanders, but the Germans had no inkling that the Allies were planning a major offensive. Lt. Col. Wilhelm Wetzel, chief of the Operations Section, was skeptical. He believed that the Allies might attack on the Somme front. German frontline troops also knew that something big was afoot when they heard increased vehicle traffic. For the most part, the German high command neither took the rumors seriously nor heeded the warning signs. They would pay a heavy price for their complacency.

The Canadian troops surged forward on the morning of August 8, following the rolling barrage. On the Canadian right the 43rd Battalion, 9th Brigade, 3rd Division attacked the Dodo Wood, which was situated on a steep hill. The 43rd got hit by German artillery fire at its jumping off point, but fortunately it did not last long. Four companies moved forward into the fog and took the German position with few casualties. The tanks, on the other hand, had some difficulty, with three getting stuck in the swamps while a fourth one stopped due to gas fumes.

The 43rd Battalion reached the Dodo Wood by 5:30 AM. From there, it pushed on to capture a smaller wooded tract. The woods were in Canadian hands less than two hours later. In the process, the 43rd had captured 400 prisoners and a German battery. The battalion reached the Green Line having suffered 194 casualties in the process.

Fighting on the left flank of the 43rd was the 116th Battalion whose objective was the Harmon Wood. The lead company was hit hard losing 60 men and all its officers before it outflanked the wood, giving the remaining three companies an easier task in taking the German position. By 7:30 AM they had taken their objective.

Bundesarchiv Bild 102-03377; Photo: Unknown

HAVRINCOURT
17

ABOVE: German troops advance near Bapaume during the Amiens offensive. Morale plummeted with entire divisions falling back without putting up their usual tenacious resistance. OPPOSITE: Allied tanks rolled along German trenches with their guns blazing, prompting scores of German soldiers to surrender. The Allies captured 15,000 prisoners on the first day.

Another unit from the 9th Brigade, the 58th Battalion had its lead company underway at dawn. Their objective was the village of Demuin, located along the south bank of the River Luce, as well as Courcelles, southeast of Demuin. The infantry and tanks worked well together, knocking out German machine-gun posts as they pushed toward Demuin.

Major Henry Rose's company also had trouble with an enemy machine-gun nest. When the company became pinned down by machine-gun fire, the major assembled 30 men for the purpose of outflanking the enemy. When he was reconnoitering the enemy position, the Germans threw stick grenades at him. Rose took cover in a shell hole to avoid the deadly blast. The force the explosions were so great that he was thrown out of the shell hole. He unloaded his pistol at the Germans to buy himself time until his men could assist him. They killed the Germans, but not before Rose had received eight wounds.

The 58th finally battled its way into Demuin, taking the village at 6:30 AM, and pushed onto Courcelles, capturing it 35 minutes later. The battalion achieved all of its objectives at the cost of 10 killed, 147 wounded, and one missing.

The rest of the Canadian attack continued like clockwork. Next to the 9th Brigade, the 8th Brigade of the 3rd Division attacked. This brigade was composed of four Canadian Mounted Rifle battalions that had been converted to infantry in 1916. These foot soldiers moved through the fog toward the village of Hangard to Cemetery Copse. Once past the destroyed village, they took machine-gun fire from the top of a large gateway leading into the cemetery. Return fire from the Lewis gun failed to silence the German machine-gun nest. Some of the Canadian soldiers put their helmets on the ends of their rifles and held them up, which was a previously agreed signal to indicate they required tank assistance. Although six tanks were out of action by that point for a variety of reasons, one working tank came to the Mounted Rifles assistance, rumbling over the enemy machine-gun nest. The attack ground on.

The 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles then leapfrogged over the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. They pressed on to secure the bridge crossing the Luce at Demuin. They soon discovered the bridge had been blown up, but the river was crossed anyway when a tank brought up crib fascines.

In the intervening time, the 3rd Brigade of the 1st Division attacked to the right of the 3rd Division. The 1st Division faced the tough German 117th Division. Going was tough for the 16th Canadian Scottish Battalion on the 3rd Brigade's right flank. The ground was rough and the fog heavy. As the troops moved across no-man's land the fog eventually began to lift.

A company of the 16th Battalion (Canadian Scottish) found that it had gone too far north. To correct its bearing, it marched southeast and stumbled upon a ravine full of German artillery batteries. German artillerymen streamed out of a dugout and began preparing their guns for action.

With a loud cheer, the Canadians rushed down the embankment toward the Germans. The enemy gunners withdrew to another position farther up the valley where they took cover in their dugouts. The Canadians gave chase, but ran headlong into heavy fire from German machine guns. Other troops came to their assistance, though. Some of the Canadians scooped up bombs designed to be used against the Allied tanks and flung them into the dugouts. The Canadians flushed out the

Imperial War Museum

survivors and took them prisoner.

Other elements of the 16th Battalion succeeded in achieving their Green Line objectives. They also managed to bag an enemy regimental commander and his staff of the 157th Regiment, 117th Division. The other two battalions in the 3rd Brigade, the 13th and 14th, also had great success. However, the 13th Royal Highlanders had the misfortune of suffering 30 casualties from friendly fire. Nevertheless, they pushed on to reach their objective. Two members of the 13th Battalion received the Victoria Cross. Private John Croak single-handedly knocked out an enemy machine-gun nest. Although seriously wounded, he directed his platoon as it captured three more machine-gun positions. He received a second wound that proved fatal.

The other Victoria Cross recipient from the 13th was Corporal Herman Good. He succeeded in knocking out several machine-gun positions by himself. Afterward, Good and three of his fellow soldiers encountered a German battery of 5.9-inch guns. Good figured the German gunners would not be trained in hand-to-hand combat, so he and his mates charged the battery and compelled the Germans to surrender.

The tanks supporting the 14th Battalion moved along the German trenches firing into the enemy soldiers and knocking down their parapets in a number of places. When the tanks rumbled on, the Germans from the 117th returned to their stations and opened up on the Canadians. The Canadians were forced to flank the Germans. White flags soon popped up. Some of the soldiers from the 14th moved forward to accept the surrender and were shot down by the Germans instead. Angered by this treachery, the men from the 14th opened fire, and when more white flags appeared they were ignored. The Canadians then mounted a bayonet attack and did not bother taking any prisoners. By 8:15 AM the two battalions had taken their Green Line objectives.

Meanwhile, the 4th Brigade of the Canadian 2nd Division also was having success. Despite suffering 150 casualties, the 18th Battalion had reached its objective by 7:45 AM. Fighting to its left was the 19th Battalion, which was flanked on its right by the Australians. At one point during the advance, the 19th was held up by German machine-gun fire, but two men charged the position. Although one was gunned down, the other succeeded in killing the German machine-gun crew.

Supported by the 21st Battalion, the 19th attacked Marcelcave after the village was hammered by a barrage at 6:23 AM. The town quickly fell to the Canadians who also captured another German regimental headquarters. Casualties for the four battalions of the 4th Brigade were more than 500 men. The Canadians had met all the Green Line objectives. Now troops headed for the Red Line.

After the barrage was lifted at 8:20 AM, the Allied troops moved their artillery forward so that it could effectively support the troops engaged against the enemy. With the mist evaporating, Allied air support began bombing and strafing enemy targets.

Pushing past the 8th and 9th Brigades, the 3rd Division's 7th Brigade moved forward on a three-battalion front. The 49th Battalion advancing on the left flank passed through grain fields and reached its Red Line objective at 10 AM, having met little German resistance. The 42nd in the center, with four tanks, overran two German batteries, and after crossing the plateau of Hill 102, reached its Red Line objective 20 minutes later than the 49th Battalion. Meanwhile, the men of the Royal Canadian Regiment, also with a few supporting tanks, advanced toward their objective, clearing the Germans from two wooded tracts.

With the capture of the Red Line objectives on the Canadian right flank, much of the German 225th Division was in a perilous position. The Canadians had overrun the division's guns, its front-line positions, and its support battalions. The German division was informed at 10 AM that the 376th Regiment of the 109th Division was on its way from Cayeux to aid them. Additionally, Regiment Bellmann, made up of three battalions from the 192nd Division, was preparing to go into action from its position in the forest southeast of Beaucourt. Meanwhile, the 1st Reserve Division from the 18th Army was ordered along the Roye-Amiens road to stop the Canadians in the Beaucort-Fresnoy area.

The 1st Brigade of the 1st Canadian Division pushed forward. The brigade's 2nd Battalion had already taken a number of prisoners during the advance to the Green Line. Despite having no tank support, which was still far behind them, the 2nd took their Red Line objectives by 11 AM.The 4th Battalion of the 1st Brigade also attacked without tank support. The troops took their Red Line objectives at the cost of 135 casualties. Fighting alongside them in their three battalion front was the 3rd Battalion. Because of its heavy casualties, the battalion did not begin its attack until 8:40 AM. Aided by a single tank, the 3rd Battalion took its objective later in the morning. In the process, the battalion captured 450 prisoners and 11 artillery pieces at a cost of 200 casualties.

The 2nd Division also continued its advance with the 26th and the 24th Battalions and tank support. With the Australians on their left flank, a platoon of the 24th fought on the Australian side, while a platoon of the Australian 57th Victoria Battalion served with the Canadians. The Australian liaison officer was concerned that the Canadians would not be able to keep up with them. A Canadian lieutenant said they would and then offered to race them to the Red Line. The Australians took them up on their offer.

At 8:20 AM the 24th kicked of its attack. Enduring heavy machinegun fire the Canadians took Pieuret Wood with tank support. Wiencourt fell at mid-morning, and a short time later Guillaucourt fell as well with the assistance of Australian covering fire and nine Whippet tanks. Hard fighting followed as the 24th pushed on toward its Red Line objective. Two hours later the 24th had reached its objective at the cost of 189 casualties. A few minutes later the Australian 57th reached its Red Line objective to discover they had lost to race to the Canadians.

With the Red Line reached, Kavanagh committed his troops. The infantrymen had advanced from their assembly area southwest of Villers-Bretonneux around 7 AM. The 1st Cavalry Division followed the Australian 2nd and Canadian 2nd Divisions, while the 3rd Cavalry Division moved behind 1st and 3rd Canadian divisions. Thirty-two Whippet tanks advanced in their support.

At 10:30 AM the Canadian Cavalry Brigade made contact with Brutinel's Independent Force, which in its armored vehicles had been pushing ahead on the Amiens-Roye road. The horsemen of Lord Strathcona's Horse Regiment advanced along the road with the Royal Canadian Dragoons on its left. Before the Blue Line objective could be reached, the villages of Beaucourt-en-Santerre and Le Quesnel had to be taken. Machine-gun fired erupted from Beaucourt, causing the vulnerable horsemen to gallop away from the Whippets and bypass the village. The soldiers quickly overran some German positions and rounded up 40 prisoners.

Two troops of the Lord Strathcona's Horse then swung into the French sector and captured Fresnoy-en-Chaussee and 125 prisoners. Soldiers from the German 1st Reserve Division were soon moving toward the village and nearly circled the two troops of cavalry, which escaped just in time. The Germans were back in control of the village and would cause the Canadians grief for the rest of the day with enfilading fire.

Beaucourt fell to the Royal Canadian Dragoons and Fort Garry Horse aided by the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery. The horse soldiers swept up 300 prisoners and pushed onto the eastern side of the village where they came under heavy fire from three battalions of the German 192nd Division at Beaucourt Wood. Because they were unable to take the wood, the Canadian horsemen fell short of their Blue Line objectives.

The infantrymen of the 4th Canadian Division were two hours behind the cavalry. They crossed the Red Line at 12:40 PM but had to halt 50 minutes later to let the Mark V Star tanks go by. Transporting infantry in these lumbering beasts was not working as well as had been hoped. The heat and fumes were causing many of the soldiers to become sick and even faint. These tanks ran into trouble south of the Beaucourt Wood where two German guns concealed by stacks of grain knocked out 10 guns.

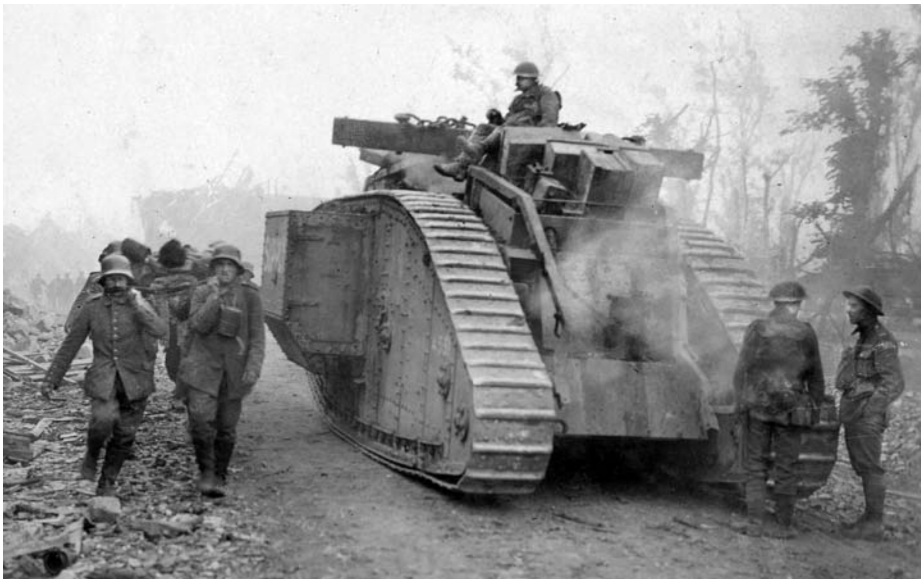
Heavy fire coming from northeast of Le Quesnel, which the Germans had been reinforcing to plug the hole in their line, forced the tanks to pick up their infantry and pull back. The tanks moved in beside the Royal Canadian Dragoons and waited for help from the 4th Division.

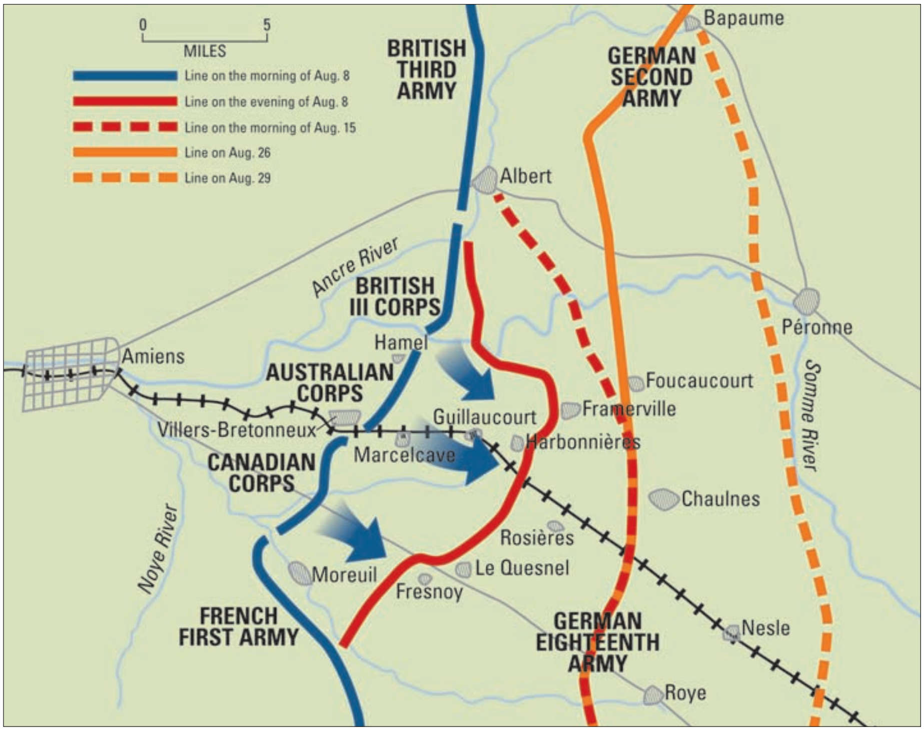
The 11th Brigade of the 4th Division soon arrived on the scene. Two of its battalions, the 54th and 102nd, moved past the pinned-down cavalry troopers and attacked Beaucourt Wood. Casualties were heavy, but the Canadians managed to reach the woods and clear out the Germans by 4:30 PM.

Another unit of the 11th Brigade, the 75th Battalion, was not doing as well. Heavy fire from Le Quesnel and Fresnoy across the flat terrain had caused it to call off the attack until the

Alamy

Canadian War Memorial




0 5
MILES
Line on the morning of Aug. 8
Line on the evening of Aug. 8
Line on the morning of Aug. 15
Line on Aug. 26
Line on Aug. 29
BRITISH THIRD ARMY
GERMAN SECOND ARMY
Bapaume
Albert
Ancre River
BRITISH III CORPS
Hamel
Péronne
Amiens
AUSTRALIAN CORPS
Foucaucourt
Somme River
Guillaucourt
Framerville
Villers-Bretonneux
Harbonnières
Marcelcave
CANADIAN CORPS
Chaulnes
Noye River
Rosières
Moreuil
Le Quesnel
Fresnoy
FRENCH FIRST ARMY
GERMAN EIGHTEENTH ARMY
Nesle
Roye

TOP: German prisoners carry a wounded Canadian past a tank on the Amiens-Roye road during the first day of the battle. BOTTOM: The offensive marked the beginning of the slow but steady advance by the Allies on the Western Front that continued unabated until the end of the war. OPPOSITE: Destroyed and disabled British tanks on the Amiens battlefield. The Germans knocked out 109 tanks on the first day of the offensive.

next day when heavy artillery could support it.

The 6th British Cavalry, north of the Canadian cavalry, encountered little opposition as it reached its Blue Line objective at 1 PM. An hour and half later they had cleared the south side of the River Luce. At midafternoon the 12th Canadian Brigade of the 4th Division arrived to reinforce the British cavalry's gains. Although the countryside ahead seemed free of enemy soldiers, the British cavalrymen of the 6th and the 7th Brigades refrained from advancing farther.

The 12th Battalion had met little opposition in its advance, except at the northern end of Beaucourt Wood where the 78th Battalion came under heavy fire. Lieutenant James Tait of the 78th Battalion took matters into his own hands during the advance when a German machine-gun halted his company. Tait snatched up a rifle and rushed the machine gun, killing the gunner. Inspired by his actions, the rest of his men charged forward and captured 12 machine guns and 20 prisoners. Tait, who did not survive the war, was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross.

The 72nd Battalion passed through the 78th Battalion, reaching its Blue Line objective at 6:15 PM. Meanwhile, the 85th Battalion leapfrogged the 38th Battalion. With the exception of Le Quesnel, which was strongly held by German reserves, the 4th Division achieved all of its remaining Blue Line objectives.

The 1st and 2nd Divisions also met their Blue Line objectives. During the bloody fighting, they suffered 1,036 men killed, 2,803 wounded, and 29 captured. The Canadians had succeeded in driving the Germans back eight miles.

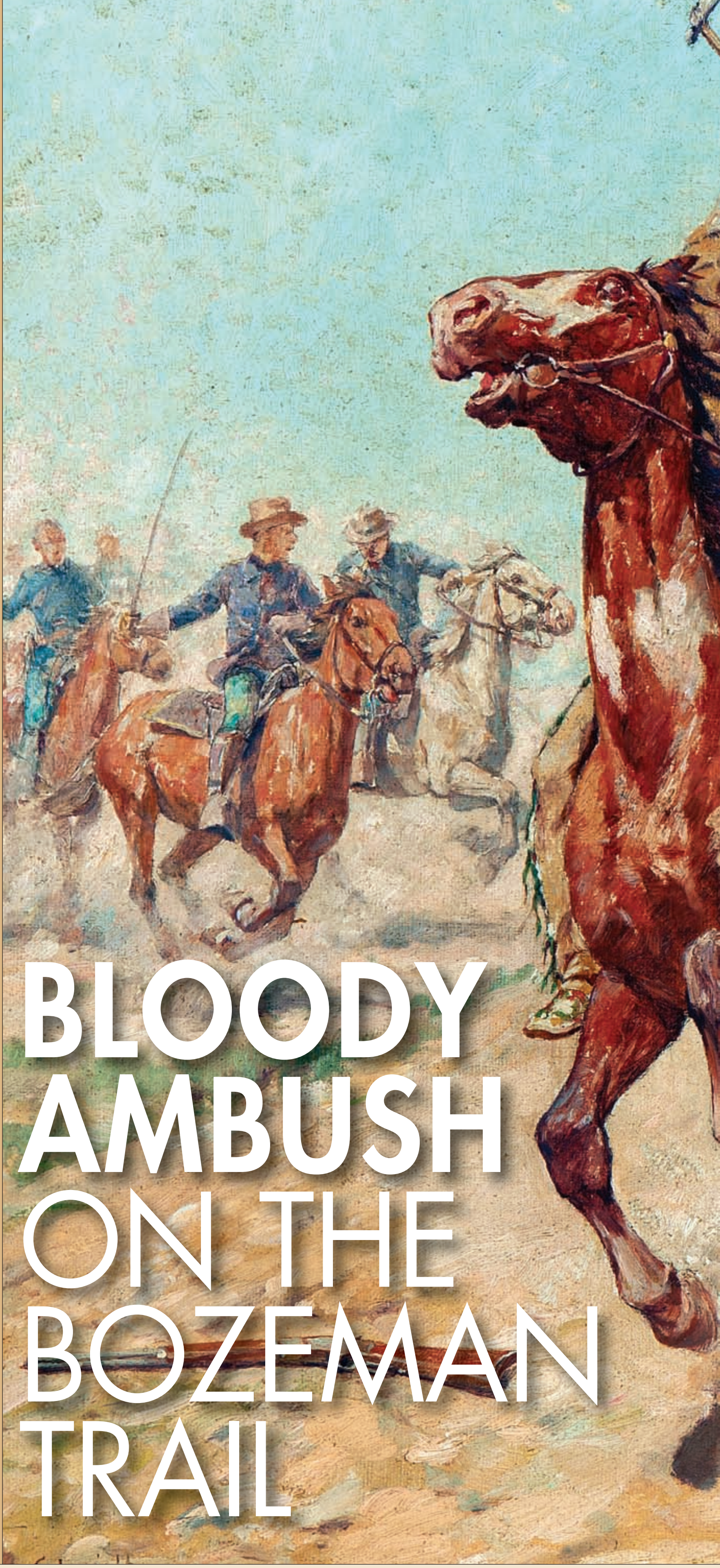
To the Canadians' right, the French did not fare so well. They lacked tanks, having lost them in previous battles, and therefore had to rely on a 45-minute preliminary bombardment of the German positions to their front. The Canadians gave them assistance whenever possible; for example, the Canadians sent armored cars to assist the French at Mezieres. The horsemen of Lord Strathcona's Horse also crossed the line into the French sector and secured Fresnoy. The French advanced five miles.

The Australians, like the Canadians, had a better time of it. They advanced seven miles at the cost of 2,000 casualties. The British III Corps, on the other hand, advanced only two miles and suffered an estimated 700 casualties. When it was over, the Fourth Army had suffered 8,800 casualties. It had been a hard day on tanks with only 145 available for action the following day.

The Germans lost 700 officers and 12,000 men. They also lost 30,000 troops who were captured. The Allies had destroyed 400 German artillery pieces.

Fighting would continue in the following days. The Canadians would advance another six miles before they began to be withdrawn by the night of August 19. By then the Allied advance has stalled. The Germans had stiffened their defenses; as a result, the Allies sustained heavier casualties. When the offensive was over, the Canadians Corps returned to the British First Army.

The Allied victory at Amiens "was the blackest day of the German Army in the history of the war," said Ludendorff. Most importantly, the British Fourth Army's victory at Amiens broke Ludendorff's will. Although the Germans remained capable of maintaining a determined and well-coordinated defense up until the armistice was signed on November 11, Amiens spelled the beginning of the end for the Germans. □



BLOODY AMBUSH ON THE BOZEMAN TRAIL

Gilcrease Museum

THE U.S. cavalrymen posted at Fort Laramie in the Dakota Territory on Christmas Day 1866 celebrated the holiday with a full dress garrison ball despite subzero temperatures and more than a foot of snow on the ground. While Captain David S. Gordon of the 2nd U.S. Cavalry was mulling over whom he would choose as his next dance partner at 11 PM, a stranger wearing a heavy buffalo overcoat, pants, gauntlets, and cap burst into the ballroom.

Scout John "Portugee" Philips contrasted sharply with the soldiers in their military dress uniforms and the women in their Victorian finery. Brig. Gen. Innis Palmer summoned Gordon to the post headquarters and handed him the dispatch that Philips had carried for four days on his 236-mile ride during which he endured blizzard conditions. The dispatch from Colonel Henry B. Carrington at Fort Phil Kearny stated that three officers, 92 men, and two citizens had been massacred four days earlier near the fort. The utter destruction of the detachment, commanded by Captain William J. Fetterman, was the worst disaster to befall the U.S. Army up to that point in the Indian Wars of the 19th century.

Fort Phil Kearny sat precariously on land that was ceded by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. Signed by the United States and eight Indian nations, the treaty set aside parts of Nebraska, South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming as exclusively Indian land. The U.S. Army was permitted to build forts within the treaty lands; other white intruders were forbidden.

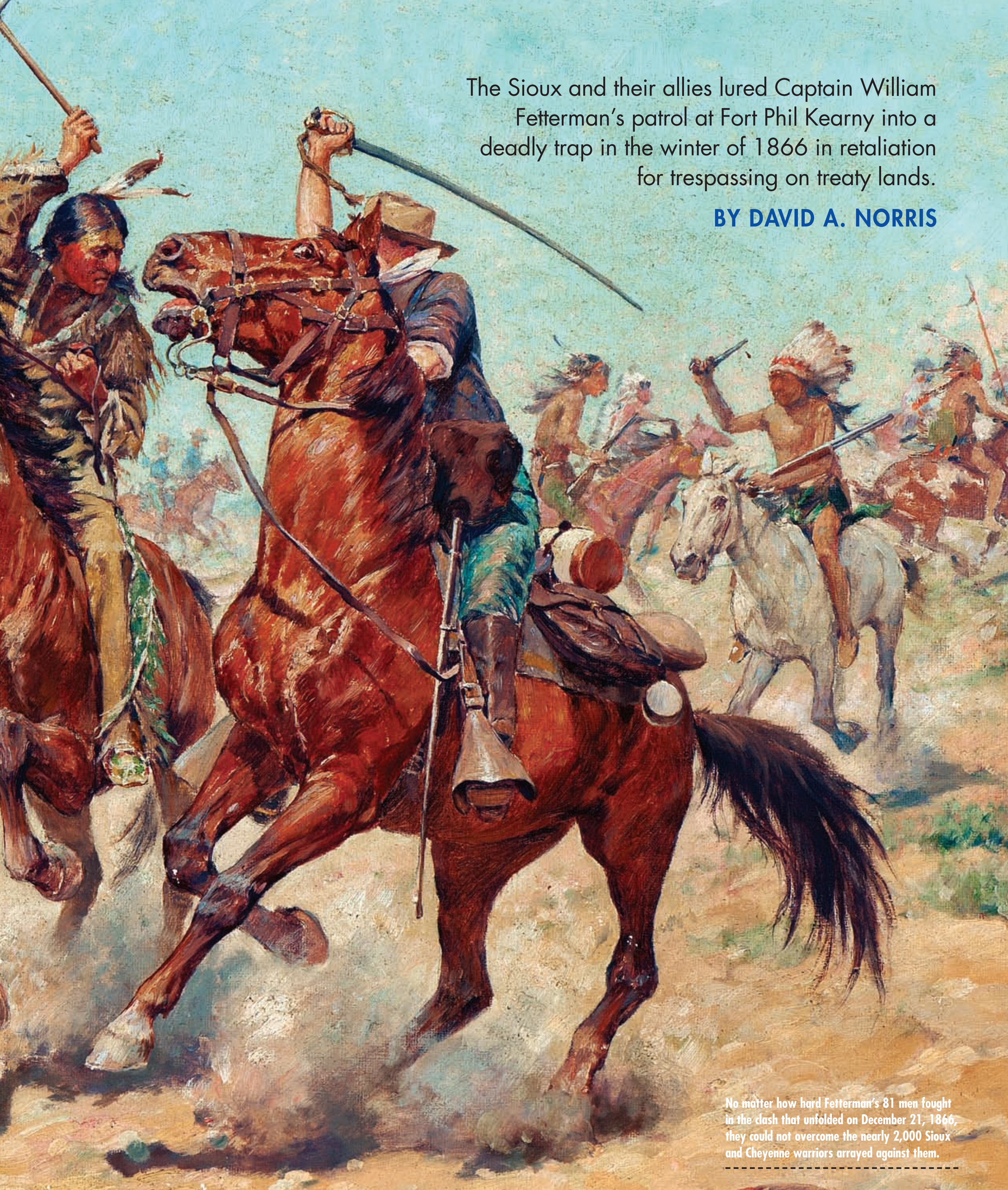
Peace lasted until August 19, 1854, when Lieutenant John Lawrence Grattan led 30 soldiers into a Brule and Oglala Sioux village. Grattan was there because a settler complained that a Sioux named High Forehead had stolen a cow. High Forehead had simply butchered a cow whose owner had abandoned the animal because it was lame. The lieutenant's aggressive manner ignited a quick battle in which Grattan and all of his men were killed. The incident, called the Grattan Massacre by the Army and settlers, sparked the First Sioux War.

Fighting ended in 1856. A few years of relative peace followed, although white buffalo hunters and trappers poached within the treaty lands. Conflict flared again after a promising gold strike at Alder Gulch in 1862 spurred the creation of the legendary Montana boom town of Virginia City. Despite the bloodshed in the East during the second year of the Civil War, the temptation of quick riches lured a veritable stampede of gold seekers toward Virginia City.

Avoiding the Laramie Treaty lands required long detours for travelers. Seeking a quicker path to the gold fields, frontiersmen John M. Bozeman and John Jacobs blazed a route known as the Bozeman Trail in 1863. Leaving the Oregon Trail near the North Platte River northwest of Fort Laramie, the 680-mile-long Bozeman Trail was the shortest possible route to the gold mines.

But the Bozeman Trail crossed the Powder and Tongue Rivers, slashing through the heart of the lands set aside for the Indians after the 1851 treaty. These were the richest hunting grounds left to the tribes. Deer, elk, and mountain sheep were plentiful. Wagon trains disrupted the hunting, and draft animals and livestock ate up great swaths of grassland. The Indians attacked most of the wagon trains that cut through the treaty lands.

Retaliating for an 1862 uprising in Minnesota, Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully campaigned against the Sioux in 1863 and 1864. In 1864 Sully's 4,000 troops destroyed tipis, horses, clothing,

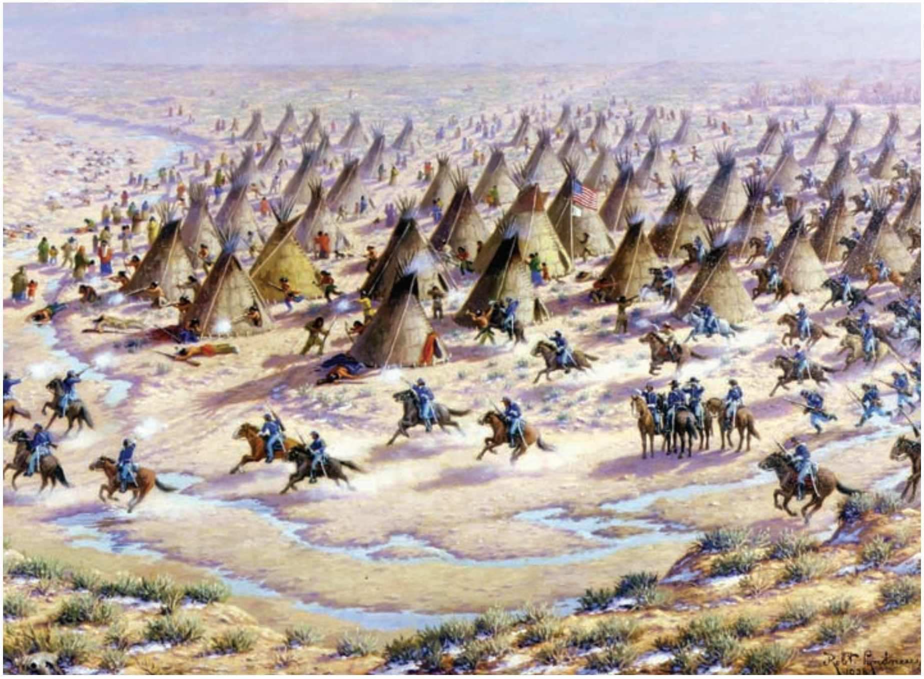


The Sioux and their allies lured Captain William Fetterman's patrol at Fort Phil Kearny into a deadly trap in the winter of 1866 in retaliation for trespassing on treaty lands.

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

No matter how hard Fetterman's 81 men fought in the clash that unfolded on December 21, 1866, they could not overcome the nearly 2,000 Sioux and Cheyenne warriors arrayed against them.

Colorado Historical Society



ABOVE: In the wake of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, warriors from the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux tribes waged a revenge campaign. RIGHT: Left to right: Oglala Sioux Chief Red Cloud, Colonel Henry B. Carrington, and Captain William J. Fetterman.

blankets, and food supplies. As a result, the Sioux were left to face the harsh winter empty handed. Several hundred miles away, Union volunteer troops killed 150 people in an unprovoked attack on a Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho village at Sand Creek in the Colorado Territory on November 29, 1864.

The Sully expeditions and Sand Creek Massacre pushed Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe bands into the North Platte River country. They had ample opportunity for revenge by attacking wagon trains on the busy emigrant routes. In August 1865, Brig. Gen. Patrick E. Connor began building Fort Reno inside the Laramie Treaty lands to protect Montana-bound wagon trains on the Bozeman Trail.

Major General Philip St. George Cooke took command of the Department of the Platte in 1866. Cooke, who was the father-in-law of the late Confederate Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, was a veteran of the Indian Wars. Cooke had served as a cavalry commander during the Peninsula Campaign and Seven Days Battles, but the awkwardness of his ties to Stuart compelled him to resign active service. After the war President Andrew Johnson nominated Cooke for appointment to the brevet grade of major general in the Regular Army.

Cooke's General Orders No. 33, issued on March 10, authorized construction of two more posts along the Bozeman Trail. The order also designated the trail's section of the Department of the Platte as the Mountain District. Command of the new district went to Carrington, who had been a successful lawyer in Ohio before the Civil War. Although appointed colonel of the new 18th U.S. Infantry, Carrington did not serve in the field. He wound up being transferred from one administrative duty to another during the war.

Carrington arrived at Fort Reno in June with 700 men of the 18th U.S. Infantry. Approximately 500 of them were new recruits, and there were only a dozen officers with them. He soon chose a site on Big Piney Creek, a tributary of the Powder River, which became Fort Phil Kearny. Carrington also chose a site overlooking the Bighorn River in Montana to build a third post on the trail, Fort C.F. Smith.

Not to be confused with Fort Kearny in the Nebraska Territory, which was established in 1848 and named for the famous frontier officer Brig. Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny, the new post was named for Maj. Gen. Philip Kearny, who was killed in action at the Battle of Chantilly on September 1, 1862.

Fort Phil Kearny was the largest of the Bozeman Trail posts. The original stockade was built of foot-thick logs, each 11 feet long and buried three feet into the ground. The original log walls, 600 feet by 800 feet long, enclosed more than 11 acres and about 40 buildings. Two sawmills, one water powered and the other equipped with a steam boiler, cut timbers and boards. At least 11 soldiers and civilians brought their wives; there were nearly a dozen children as well. Carrington's household included his wife, two sons, and an African American butler.

The fort's artillery consisted of a 12-pounder field howitzer and three mountain howitzers. Designed to fire standard 12-pounder ammunition, the mountain howitzer had a brass barrel only 39 inches long. The little guns could be dismantled and carried on a pair of mules, with another mule carrying ammunition and gunner's implements.

Carrington sited the fort inside the "V" formed by the junction of Big Piney and Little Piney Creeks. Between the streams rose a ridge, which Carrington called the Sullivant Hills, after his wife's family. To the north, the Sullivant Hills descended into the valley of Big Piney Creek. Beyond the Big Piney to the north rose the heights of Lodge Trail Ridge. The Bozeman Trail ran close to the northern wall of the fort. It skirted around the eastern edges of Lodge Trail Ridge, and then ran north and west toward the valley of Peno Creek. The fort stood on a commanding position with little cover offered to potential attackers. Carrington established a signal station on a rise called Pilot Hill just south of Little Piney Creek.

During the journey from Fort Phil Kearny, Carrington had met Brule Sioux chief Standing Elk. Although his people sought peace, there were Miniconjou and Oglala bands in the Powder River country that had not consented to the treaty agreements signed at Fort Laramie, Standing Elk told Carrington. He also informed Carrington that the Cheyenne and Arapaho supported the hostile Sioux.

Among the leaders seeking to eject the soldiers from their lands was 44-year-old Oglala Sioux Chief Red Cloud. Red Cloud's band had moved in the 1830s into the North Platte River valley near the new trading post of Fort Laramie. Red Cloud gained fighting experience and an increasing degree of respect as he took part in raids and battles against Crows, Pawnees, Utes, and

Shoshones. He became a chief through his proven leadership in numerous clashes, rather than from a hereditary claim.

To Red Cloud and his allies, the arrival of hundreds of soldiers working on new forts indicated that the whites meant to seize these lands. Although the land technically belonged to the Crow Indians, the Sioux had taken control of them given that they were rich in buffalo.

Red Cloud was determined not to let the summer pass without taking action. Cheyenne Chief Two Moons stated years later that he and some companions visited Fort Phil Kearny during the summer of 1866. As they scanned the fort's defenses, they talked with the legendary mountain man and army scout Jim Bridger, who was an old acquaintance. Bridger pointed out the fort's four guns, and Two Moons was well aware of the deadly case shot they fired. The Cheyenne scouts believed that an attack on the fort, which was well protected by the guns, would be doomed to failure.

Even without firsthand intelligence from Two Moons, Red Cloud was unlikely to try launching a direct assault on a sturdy log stockade bolstered with artillery. It was much more practical to attack isolated messengers, supply trains, livestock tenders, and hunters outside the range of the fort's guns.

The fort's need for fresh timber was its weakness. The closest suitable woodland was about four miles west of the fort at Piney Island where there was a stand of pines 90 feet tall surrounded by tributaries of Piney Creek. On most days, at least a couple of dozen wagons with civilian teamsters rolled along a road south of the Sullivant Hills to Piney Island. Even heavily escorted trains faced ambushes, and the timber cutters worked in constant peril. Log blockhouses protected the two timber camps. Even when the soldiers were barricaded in the blockhouses, Indians could shoot them by firing through the loopholes.

A war party slipped close to the fort on July 17 and made off with some of the Army's livestock. Two soldiers were killed and three wounded in the subsequent pursuit. Another soldier was killed a week later when several hundred warriors blocked a wagon train coming from Fort Reno. A relief party from Fort Phil Kearny, with a mountain howitzer, drove off the attackers.

The Indians attacked eight other wagon trains in the second half of July. Over the next few months, Carrington reported 51 skirmishes in which Red Cloud's men probed the fort's defenses. Between August and mid-December 1866, the Indians killed more than 70 soldiers and civilians around Fort Phil Kearny. Raiding parties rode off with approximately 700 government horses, mules, and cattle.

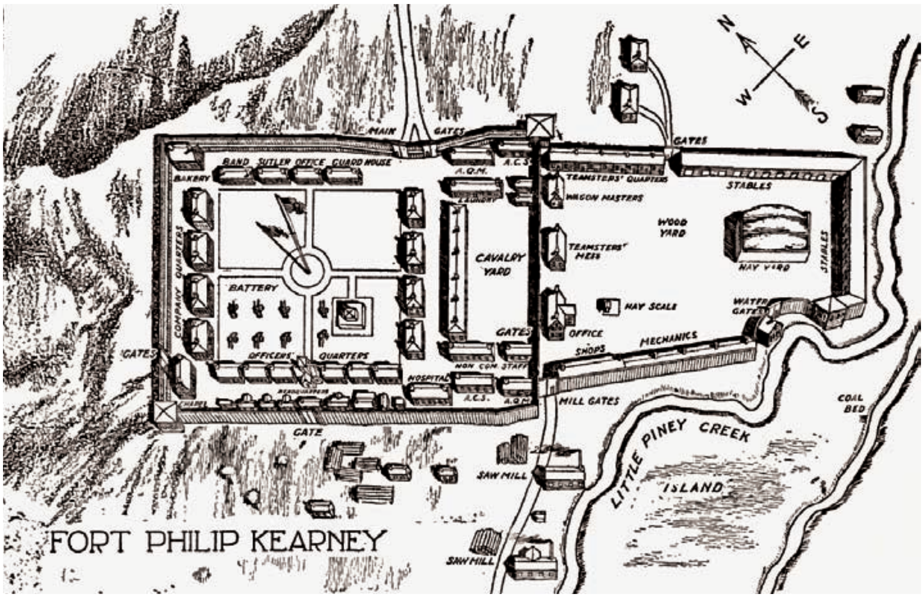
Lone hunters or travelers were in special peril. Ridgeway Glover, an artist-correspondent for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, disappeared after ignoring frequent warnings against leaving the post alone. His body was found, decapitated and scalped, on September 17. Glover had been taking photos of the fort and the area for the newspaper. No trace was found of his camera, nor of the only photographs ever taken at Fort Phil Kearny.

Red Cloud's campaign attracted hundreds of new allies during the summer and fall of 1866. To the U.S. Army soldiers, Red Cloud was the commanding general of an enemy army. In reality, his authority was more complicated, holding some sway over a loose alliance of essentially independent Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands. By and large, his reputation as a successful war leader kept 2,000 warriors following the broad outlines of his strategy during the fighting in 1866.

Amid the growing harassment by Red Cloud's mounted warriors, Carrington had no cavalry at Fort Phil Kearny. He had to improvise with mounted infantry, but few of the men were experienced riders. In any case, all three forts were short of serviceable horses.

Most of Carrington's men carried single-shot, muzzle-loading Springfield rifled muskets, and some mounted soldiers lacked revolvers. A number of the Sioux and Cheyenne had obtained repeating rifles or revolvers from Indian traders or by capture.

Cooke notified Carrington on August 11 that two companies of the 2nd Cavalry were going to join him. Company C of the 2nd U.S. Cavalry, which was led by Lieutenant Horatio Bingham,



ABOVE: Fort Phil Kearny, which housed 40 buildings, was the largest of the three planned Bozeman Trail forts. BELOW: A reconstructed stockade wall at Fort Phil Kearny Historic Site, Wyoming. The logs were sunk three feet into the ground.

Both: Library of Congress

was the only one that arrived. Company C did not arrive until November 3. "Be very cautious," warned Cooke. "Don't undertake unnecessary, risky detachments."

Arriving with Bingham was Captain William J. Fetterman of the 18th Infantry. Fetterman's background is obscure, but he was commissioned as a first lieutenant in the same regiment back in May 1861. In contrast with his colonel, Fetterman had an active combat career during the Civil War and was brevetted lieutenant colonel for his services during the Atlanta Campaign.

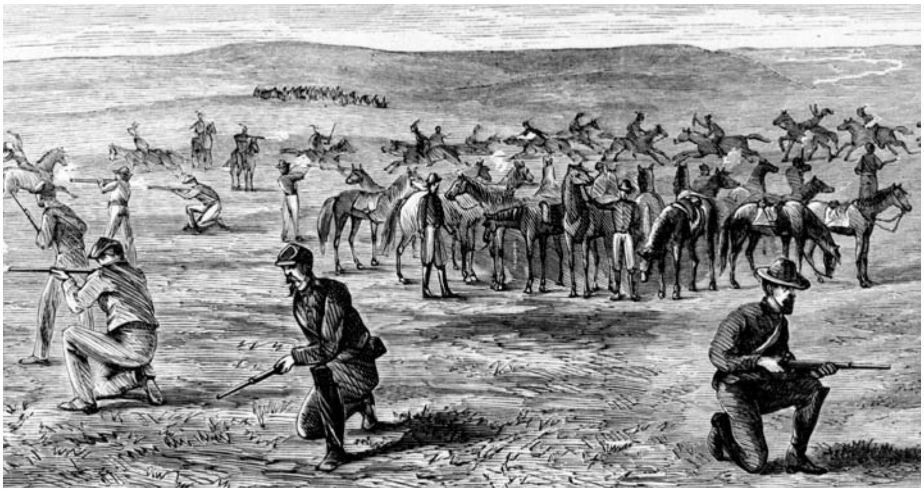
At least 10 of the other infantry officers who served at the fort also had received one or more brevet promotions for gallant and meritorious service during the Civil War. Some officers chafed under the colonel's orders that allowed only measured reactions. "I can take 80 men and go to Tongue River," Fetterman told Carrington. The old scout Jim Bridger heard the young officer's brash statement. "Your men who fought down South are crazy!" Bridger said in astonishment. "They don't know anything about fighting Indians."

Bridger had heard ominous news from some Crow warriors, whose people were yet at peace with both sides in the simmering conflict. They told Bridger it took half a day for them to ride through the camps of Red Cloud and his allies. Red Cloud tried to persuade the Crow to join him. He told the Crow that he intended by wintertime to starve the soldiers out of their forts and kill them.

Red Cloud carried out a sharp attack on a wood train two miles from the fort on December 6, 1866. Carrington sent Fetterman 35 cavalrymen and some mounted infantry to drive away the Indians and pursue them along their expected route of withdrawal through the Sullivant Hills. Meanwhile, Carrington intended to close in behind the Indians with 25 mounted infantrymen. It was the first time the colonel had ridden into action.

Carrington's plans failed when the band of 100 warriors, who seemed to be fleeing, suddenly turned around and attacked. They surrounded Carrington's party for several anxious minutes. Under heavy pressure, the Plains Indians routed the soldiers. They killed two men and mortally wounded another. As a result, Carrington became more cautious than ever. His garrison at Fort Phil Kearny numbered only 350 men. What is more, their supply of ammunition was down to about 45 rounds per man by mid-December.

Library of Congress



U.S. Cavalry tactics called for troopers to dismount for battle with five to 10 yards separating each trooper. One of every four troopers was tasked with holding horses.

The Plains tribes were greatly pleased with their performance in the December 6 action. Based on their success, the tribes agreed to combine for a new attempt to lure a larger party of soldiers away from the fort, and then surround and annihilate them.

Several dozen of Red Cloud's riders again attacked a wood train on December 19. As Carrington feared, the raiders intended to lure a relief force into range of several hundred warriors hidden nearby. Captain James Powell led the fort's response that day. Powell, who enlisted back in 1848, had years of experience in the antebellum dragoons and cavalry on the frontier. The old frontier hand drove off the attackers but did not follow them.

With the attacks on his isolated garrison growing more dangerous, Carrington decided to halt the wood-cutting expeditions. The wood train ordered to go out on December 21 was to be the last until the spring of 1867.

On the night before the final wood train, Captain Frederick H. Brown was awaiting transfer to Fort Laramie. "The night before the [massacre] he made a call with spurs fastened in the buttonholes of his coat, leggings wrapped, and two revolvers accessible," recalled Margaret Carrington, the captain's first wife. Brown said that he was ready for action "by day and night and must have one scalp before leaving," she wrote.

December 21 also was the date Red Cloud had chosen for his most ambitious operation yet. His plan called for an initial attack on the wood train to be followed up with an ambush of the relief party that he expected to be sent from the fort. To lure the relief party into the ambush, Red Cloud's raiders would ride past the Sullivant Hills and Lodge Trail Ridge. Across the ridge, the ground sloped down to a narrow plain around Peno Creek and its small tributary streams. Hundreds of warriors would lie hidden in the grasses and brush of the bottom lands waiting to fall upon their pursuers.

The wood train, with 30 soldiers and 65 armed civilian teamsters escorting 35 wagons departed at 10 AM on December 21. They rolled under bright blue skies on a bitingly cold day. One hour after the wagons passed through the fort's gate, signals from Pilot Hill warned that the train was under attack.

Inside Fort Phil Kearny, Captain Powell prepared to lead a relief force to the wagons. Citing seniority, though, Fetterman went to Carrington and demanded command of the expedition. Fetterman had attained his captaincy in 1861, nearly three years before Powell reached that rank.

Carrington acquiesced to Fetterman's demand. He placed Fetterman in command of three officers and 77 men. With them went civilian volunteers James Wheatley and Isaac Fisher. As civilian employees of the quartermaster department, both volunteers were armed with Henry repeating rifles. These breech-loading, lever-action rifles held 16 metallic cartridges.

The soldiers numbered 49 men from the 18th Infantry and 27 from the 2nd Cavalry. Lieutenant George W. Grummond and Captain Brown joined Fetterman. It would be Brown's last chance to fight the Indians before he departed for Fort Laramie. Although an infantry officer, Grummond was placed in charge of the horsemen, as Bingham's death left no cavalry officers at the fort.

Carrington stated afterward that his orders to Fetterman were as follows: "Support the wood train, relieve it, and report to me. Do not engage or pursue Indians at its expense; under no circumstances pursue over the Ridge, namely, Lodge Trail Ridge, as per map in your possession." Grummond's orders were to obey Fetterman's commands and to stay with him.

Some witnesses later confirmed hearing the orders, but others did not.

Fetterman left the fort about 11:15 AM, leading the 49 infantrymen. Serviceable mounts were too few to accommodate that many soldiers, so they marched out on foot. Captain Brown could ride with them only because he had borrowed Calico, a pony belonging to Colonel Carrington's son Jimmy. Grummond led the horsemen out a few minutes later.

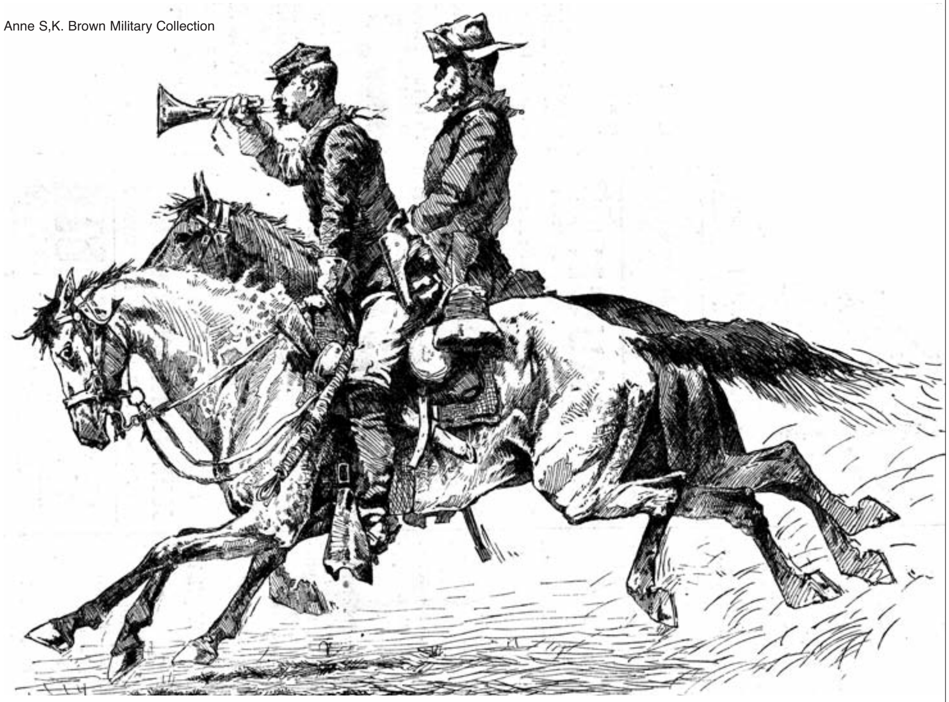
As no medical officers accompanied the wood train or Fetterman's patrol, Carrington summoned C.M. Hines, an assistant surgeon under contract to the U.S. Army. The colonel ordered Hines to accompany the wagon train and to treat any casualties he found. Moreover, he was to catch up with Fetterman if possible. Shortly after Hines departed, the Pilot Hill station signaled that the attack on the wood train was over, and the wagons had resumed their trip to the timbering site.

Although Red Cloud was not present, the looming battle was the result of his successful months-long campaign against the three Bozeman Trail forts. Fetterman's orders were to march south of the Sullivant Hills to the wood train. With the wood train no longer under attack, Fetterman focused on the handful of mounted warriors who taunted the soldiers. Among the decoys were a number of highly respected warriors of the Northern Plains tribes, such as Morning Star, Crazy Horse, Black Shield, Big Nose, and White Bull. Some of the chiefs had extensive experience. For example, Cheyenne Chief Morning Star (known as Dull Knife to the U.S. Army soldiers) was a veteran of four decades of raiding and warfare. These great warriors would become famous in the final years of the Sioux Wars.

Believing that he outnumbered his enemies, Fetterman followed them past the eastern slopes of the hills. The warriors plodded slowly along toward Lodge Trail Ridge, rather than galloping away from the slow-moving foot soldiers. Crazy Horse even dismounted and performed an elaborate pantomime of a man tending to his bridle. Crazy Horse and his riders slowly disappeared beyond the ridge.

Fetterman marched to the Bozeman Trail itself and turned left to follow the road west along icy Peno Creek. In a short time, Fetterman could no longer be seen by lookouts from the fort. None of his men was ever seen alive again by their fellow soldiers. What unfolded next can be pieced together only from evidence found on the battlefield, stories related years later during interviews with Indian participants, and archaeological finds made many decades afterward.

Anne S,K. Brown Military Collection



The Indians refrained from mutilating the body of cavalry bugler Adolph Metzger, who is believed to have wielded his bugle as a club. In respect for his bravery, they covered his fallen body with a buffalo robe.

Grummond and the cavalry, with Wheatley and Fisher, rode ahead of the infantry. They opened fire, bringing down a few Indian riders. The decoys crossed the frozen ford of Peno Creek. They formed two groups and rode away from each other, but then turned and crossed their paths. Nearly 2,000 hidden Sioux and Cheyenne recognized this as the prearranged signal to unleash their ambush. Scores of warriors rose up from concealed positions in the grass and brush and let loose a barrage of arrows. They were soon joined by hundreds of other warriors.

A few Indians, emboldened enough to ride headlong among the solders, were shot dead. Wheatley and Fisher dismounted, and a few cavalrymen joined them. The two civilians, who took cover behind some large rocks and a few dead ponies, cut down warriors and their mounts with their Henry repeating rifles.

The rest of the cavalrymen made for a nearby ridge topped with rocks and boulders. Grummond never made it to the ridge. With the hilt of his saber tightly gripped in his hand, Grummond was shot and killed in the roadway of the Bozeman Trail.

A short distance behind the cavalry, Fetterman led the infantry back toward high ground, where they sought cover amid a collection of boulders on the rocky slope. Captain Brown dismounted and, after sending away his borrowed pony, joined Fetterman. Among the rocks, Fetterman's men reloaded and fired again, their volume of fire growing weaker as the Indians picked them off one by one.

For a few minutes, Wheatley and Fisher fended off their attackers with the Henry repeaters. Soldiers inspecting the battlefield later counted 60 splashes of blood scattered on the frozen ground, giving mute testimony of the effectiveness of the Henry rifles. When their ammunition ran out, they were quickly overwhelmed and slain.

So many Sioux and Cheyenne surrounded Fetterman that many arrows missed soldiers, and flew on to hit Indians on the other side of the dwindling band. Within 20 minutes, the Indians had slain the last of the soldiers. It was obvious that desperate hand-to-hand fighting had occurred given that some of the men were obviously slain by war clubs and lances in the final moments of their doomed stand.

Carrington reported that Brown and Fetterman shot each other rather than fall prisoner. It seems possible, however, that Brown shot himself. But a post surgeon named Samuel M. Horton found that Fetterman died of violent slash wounds to his chest and throat. This matches the account of Oglala leader American Horse, who told of knocking Fetterman down and killing him with a knife.

Atop their ridge, the last of Grummond's cavalrymen struggled across the icy surface until they found good cover amid a cluster of boulders. To the south, they saw a virtual sea of enemies. There was no chance of anyone getting back to the fort. Their horses driven away, the troopers fired into the mass of warriors pressing in on them. It was only a few minutes until the last soldier was cut down.

A barking dog that had belonged to one of the dead soldiers broke the silence. "All are dead but the dog," said one of the victors. "Let him carry the news to the fort." But another warrior was against letting the dog get away, so he killed it with an arrow.

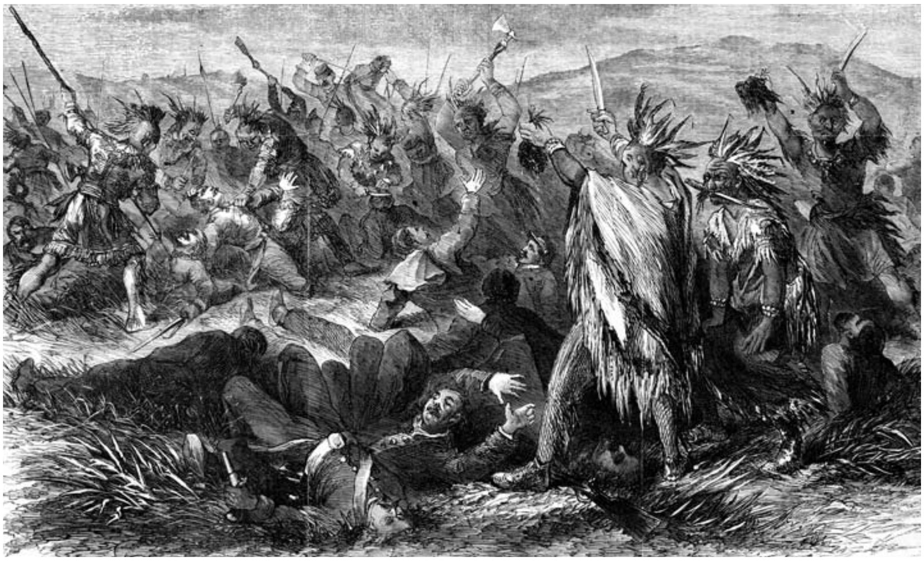
Back at Fort Phil Kearny, it was just before noon when the garrison heard gunfire. "A few shots were followed by constant shots, not to be counted," wrote Carrington. Hines soon returned with chilling news. He had been able to ride only as far as a hill some distance from the fort. He hurried back when he saw only a vast array of Sioux and Cheyenne and no trace of Fetterman's men.

Carrington ordered 75 men under Captain Tenedor Ten Eyck to relieve the embattled detachment. Moments after Ten Eyck left the fort, the colonel dispatched 40 more men to join them. Most of Ten Eyck's men marched on foot. When they reached the Big Piney, they had to remove their shoes and stockings to ford the ice-covered stream.

Carrington then sent an ambulance and two wagons with a few crates of ammunition to follow Ten Eyck. Forty armed teamsters accompanied them. A quick count found only 119 men left in the fort, including civilian employees and some prisoners who were released from the jail.

About three miles from the fort, Ten Eyck halted on high ground to the right of the road rather than pressing on to rescue Fetterman. This prudent step later brought denunciations and accusations of cowardice down on Ten Eyck. Neither boldness nor caution would have made the slightest difference. All of Fetterman's 80 men were already dead before Ten Eyck's men stepped out of the fort.

Library of Congress



This illustration of the Fetterman fight appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.* Most of the Indians were armed with their traditional weapons, including bows, lances, and clubs.

From the heights, Ten Eyck's troopers could see only the vast Indian forces, celebrating their victory. Neither the victors nor the small army detachment moved to attack, and the Sioux and Cheyenne drifted away to the west. There would be no more fighting that day.

Moving down into the valley, Ten Eyck's men walked into the grim horror of the silent battlefield. Following age-old custom, the victorious warriors had slashed and mutilated the dead. Everywhere the soldiers turned in the freezing wintry air they saw corpses, severed body parts, and pools of blood.

Civilian teamster Finn Burnett, one of the men who retrieved the slain soldiers, noted one exception to the violent mutilations of the dead. The body of Bugler Adolph Metzger was left untouched after his death. Near the German-born soldier's lifeless body was his bugle. Crumpled and battered, the bugle had served Metzger as a war club in his last moments. Burnett said he found Metzger's corpse covered with a Sioux buffalo robe, left behind as a mark of respect for his courage.

Eighty-one men from the fort and a handful of their mounts, including Jimmy Carrington's pony Calico, lay dead. Among the slaughtered corpses of the soldiers and their dead horses was only one survivor, a cavalry mount named Dapple Dave. A dozen arrows had plunged deeply into the dying horse. The final shot of the day echoed over the bleak landscape when Ten Eyck ordered a soldier to shoot the suffering animal.

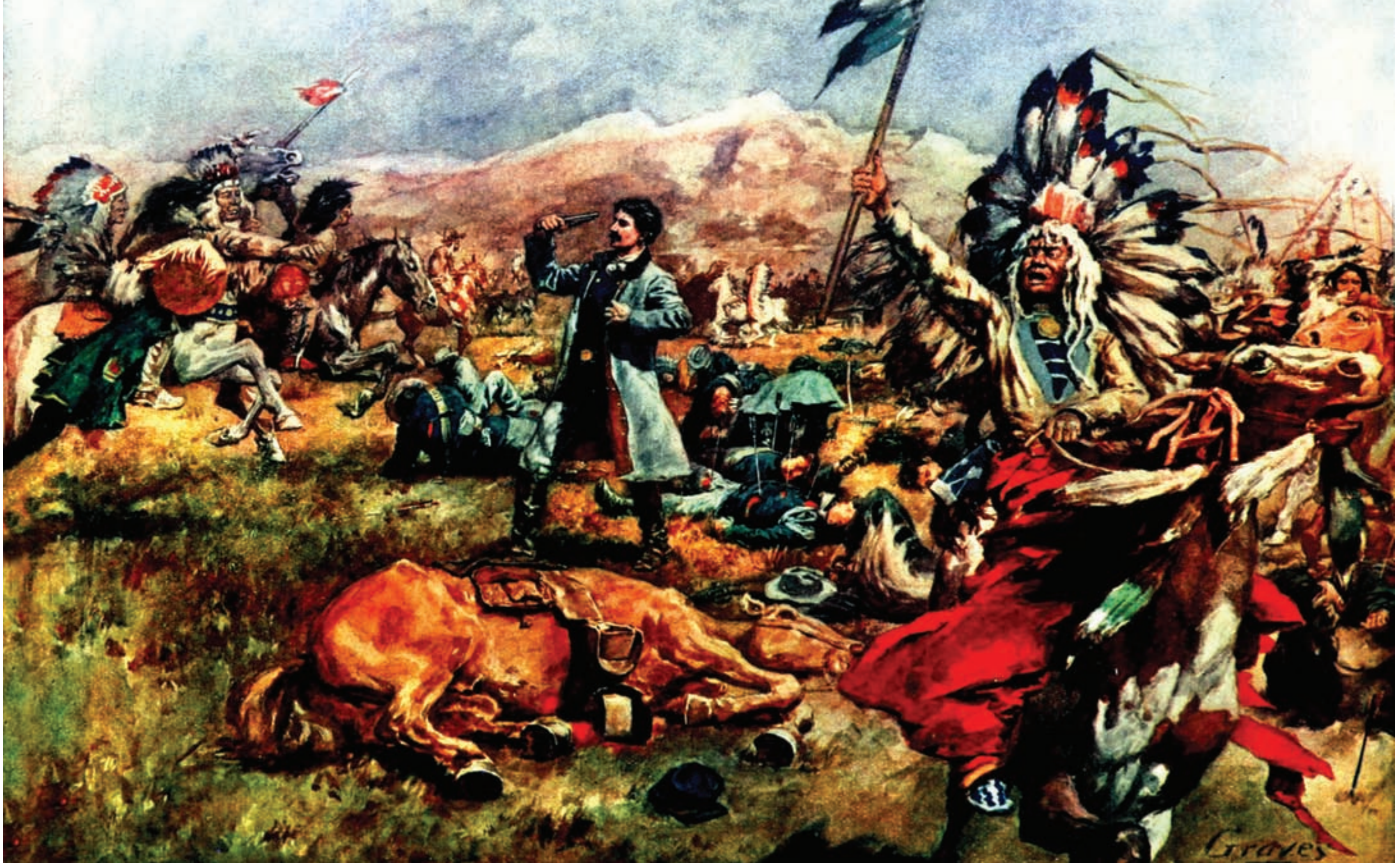
Only half a dozen soldiers bore evidence of gunshot wounds. Nearly all of the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho in the battle were armed with traditional weapons, such as bows, lances, and clubs. By one estimate, nearly 40,000 arrows were loosed in the approximately 40-minute-long battle. Red Cloud's exact losses are unknown; however, interviews with the participants in later years indicate about 60 dead and 300 wounded.

Ten Eyck's three wagons were able to bear only about half the dead; the rest of the slain remained frozen where they fell until they could be retrieved the next day. When the macabre procession reached Fort Phil Kearny, the state of the dead shocked and horrified everyone. The wagon loads of bodies reminded Hines of "hogs brought to market." Young Jimmy Carrington would have nightmares for many years afterward when his dreams took him back to that grim evening.

Oddly enough, the wood cutters had reached Piney Island in peace, out of hearing range of the desperate battle on Lodge Trail Ridge. They returned safely to the fort and added their numbers to the garrison. Bracing for a potential all-out assault that might overwhelm the fort, soldiers formed wagon boxes into three concentric rings surrounding the magazine. All of the women and children were ordered to stay by the magazine. If the fort was overrun, Carrington himself would touch off the Army's gunpowder to prevent the families from being taken prisoner.

Carrington dashed off messages and distributed them to several couriers in the hope that at least one would get through. Philips, a native of the Portuguese-owned Azores, rode 236 miles to the nearest telegraph station. Pushing on to Fort Laramie, he interrupted the post's Christmas ball with news of the destruction of Fetterman's command. Philips' harsh four-day trek through sub-zero temperatures and as much as five feet of snow became a legend on the plains. It took 16 days for reinforcements from Fort Laramie to push their way through the deep snow and ice to Fort Phil Kearny; nevertheless, help did arrive before any attacks were made on the fort.

The slaughter of Fetterman's force was the army's worst disaster in the Indian Wars since Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair's army was mauled by the tribes of the Western Confederacy at



Initial reports suggested that Brown and Fetterman shot each other rather than fall prisoner. While it is possible that Brown shot himself, a post surgeon found that Fetterman died of violent slash wounds to his chest and throat.

the Battle of the Wabash on November 4, 1791. It was easy enough for the War Department and the general public to decide that the Bozeman Trail was not worth its cost in blood. At any rate, the new Union Pacific Railroad would soon swiftly carry thousands of passengers closer to the gold fields. A new agreement, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, gave the Sioux a large reservation that included the Black Hills of South Dakota. In keeping with this agreement, the U.S. Army abandoned its Bozeman Trail forts and closed the route to white travelers.

On July 31, 1868, the U.S. government withdrew the last troops from the treaty lands. The 120 men were buried in the post graveyard of Fort Phil Kearny. Carrington's carefully built fort on the Little Piney was destroyed by fire. Whether the fire was set by a departing soldier or by one of the victors of Red Cloud's war is unknown.

Peace lasted only until a gold strike in the Black Hills in 1874 brought another wave of miners and settlers through the Powder River country. This wave was even greater than the previous one. But the immediate aftermath of the Fetterman Fight and the subsequent negotiations meant that Red Cloud's war was a rare victory for the Plains Indians in the long struggle to protect their lands and way of life from white encroachment.

Was Fetterman an arrogant and reckless officer, or simply a confident commander who ended up in the wrong place at the wrong time? He had been popular with his men, who found him brave, competent, and considerate of their well-being. The U.S. Army honored him by naming a new post, Fort Fetterman, after him in 1867. Conflicting views of Fetterman appeared after press reports in the East sought to assign blame. In the wake of the reports, political infighting engulfed the U.S. Army high command.

Cooke removed Carrington from his post few days after the battle. Carrington faced trouble from some of his former subordinates who admired Fetterman much more than they did him. His superiors proved to be even more serious adversaries. It was plain that Fort Phil Kearny was undermanned and that the Army was grossly negligent in failing to provide the endangered outpost with enough horses, modern weapons, and sufficient ammunition. As a result, Cooke and some other high-ranking officers tried to deflect blame by citing Carrington as incompetent.

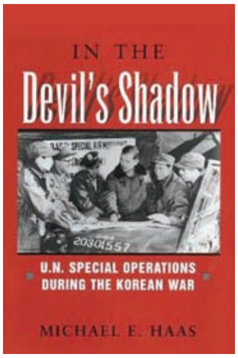
Carrington in his defense painted Fetterman as an irresponsible hothead whose rash decisions doomed his men. Carrington would state time and again that he had forbidden Fetterman to cross Lodge Trail Ridge, and that the captain's direct disobedience of orders was the cause of the catastrophe. Carrington was officially exonerated. Yet his report was suppressed for years, and he never held active command again before his retirement in 1870.

Carrington was married to two writers whose work permanently tinted the perception of the Fetterman fight. His first wife Margaret wrote of the family's life on the frontier in the 1868 book, *Absaraka, Home of the Crows.* After Margaret's death in 1870, Carrington married Frances Grummond, the widow of Lieutenant Grummond who died in the ambush. Frances Carrington's 1910 book, *Army Life on the Plains,* also included the story of the 1866 battle. Both women relayed the impressions of their husband, and they helped shape the enduring image of Fetterman as irresponsible and disobedient.

Lurid accounts in the Victorian press led to the battle being labeled as "the Fetterman Massacre" and the "Fort Phil Kearny Massacre" for many years. The Sioux called it the Battle of the Hundred Slain, from a prophecy that before the clash foretold the death of 100 soldiers. The fateful clash that had unfolded on December 21, 1866, had the distinction of being the worst disaster to befall the U.S. Army during the Indian Wars since 1791. It was eclipsed a decade later by Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in June 1876. □

By Christopher Miskimon

Special Forces units fought a difficult and bitter secret war in-country during the Korean War.

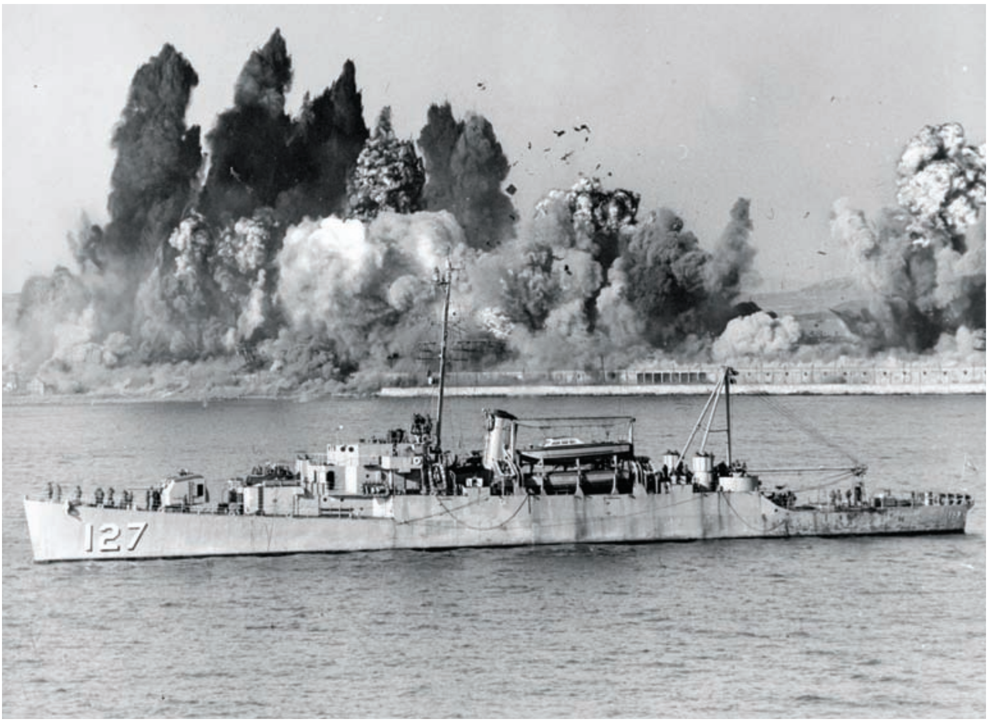


OPERATION VIRGINIA I WAS A FOUL-UP ALMOST FROM THE beginning. The mission launched on March 15, 1951 aboard a U.S. aircraft transporting four U.S. Army Rangers and 20 Korean agents recruited from the South Korean Army's officer candidate school. The Rangers were assigned only 10 days before the operation began. They did not even meet their Korean counterparts until six days later. Much valuable preparation time was lost. Even worse, a few hours before the plane was to take off their leader, First Lieutenant Bob Brewer, was removed. Planners did not take into account his knowledge of other clandestine operations in Korea and belatedly realized they could not risk his capture.

Despite all these problems, the controlling headquarters for the mission, known simply as Baker Section, decided to go ahead and send the now leaderless group behind enemy lines. The drop was scheduled for the hours of darkness, and the landing ground was covered in heavy snow. The aircraft rose into the frigid night with its cargo door open, buffeting the team with freezing winds for the entire 250-mile flight into North Korea. When the time came to jump, the team did so, but unfortunately the plane was eight miles south of the designated drop zone.

Ranger Martin Watson landed right in the middle of a sleeping North Korean village. The inhabitants were quickly awakened when every dog in the hamlet began barking at Watson's arrival. The villagers immediately noticed the large white man running through their streets. Watson was able to rendezvous with his team, and they set out for their target, a railroad tunnel 30 miles from the coastline. It was believed to be lightly defended and remote from any major population centers or military bases. The U.S.-South Korean group marched for hours through the deep snow and finally arrived at the tunnel. They scouted the area and soon realized their briefing was wrong. The tunnel was so well defended the team had no hope of destroying it short of committing suicide.

Their mission no longer feasible, the team started for their extraction point on the coast. The mountains swarmed with Communist patrols. It took two weeks for the team to arrive at the coast, evading the enemy all the way. They reached the extraction point and Navy helicopters arrived to pick them up. Three of them got out on one of the helicopters before the North Koreans managed to shoot down a second helicopter with Watson aboard. Watson, the pilot, and five Koreans aboard the downed helicopter managed to escape in the confusion; however, they lacked a radio with which to request another rescue attempt. They were captured a week


Naval History and Heritage Command

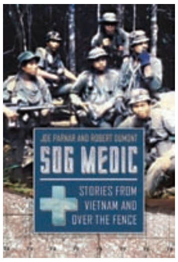
North Korean port facilities at Hungnam are destroyed by Navy frogmen in December 1950, one of the U.N. Special Operations during the Korean War.

later. The Americans were interrogated and tortured before spending the rest of the war in a prisoner of war camp. Two of the five Koreans made it back to friendly lines, but the South Korean Army executed them in the mistaken belief that they were spies.

The Korean War was a brutal, often confused affair and this incident highlights the danger faced by the elite soldiers tasked with behind-the-lines missions. Not all operations went so badly, but all were risky and required a special kind of soldier to undertake them. The history of such operations is thoroughly covered in the new book ***In the Devil's Shadow: U.N. Special Operations During the Korean War*** (Michael E. Haas, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2018, 243 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $21.95, softcover).

Special operations during the early Cold War are almost stereotypically applied to the Vietnam War, but the Korean War saw its share of commando raids, reconnaissance missions, and unconventional warfare. Sadly, the efforts were often uncoordinated and subject to interservice and interagency rivalries, often squandering the achievements of men on the ground. This book pulls no punches in its revelations of special operations in Korea, showing both the good and bad. Even when the results were good, they were often ugly.

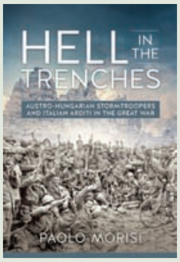
This newly released paperback edition is comprehensive, using declassified documents from the CIA and Defense Department as well as interviews with veterans of this secret war. It provides extensive coverage of land, sea, and air operations, creating a balanced view. The work includes a number of compelling photographs, the majority of which come from the personal collections of the veterans.


SOG MEDIC
STORIES FROM VIETNAM AND OVER THE FENCE

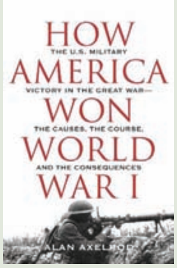
SOG Medic: Stories from Vietnam and Over the Fence (Joe Parnar and Robert Dumont, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2019, 258 pp., maps, photographs, index, $32.95, hardcover)

The Studies and Observations Group carried out one of the most important and dangerous special operations of the Vietnam War. Joe Parnar was a Special Forces medic assigned to SOG in 1968. He was assigned to Vietnam after meeting with Billye Alexander, a woman famous in Special Forces lore. She made her reputation compiling lists of who should be sent to Vietnam. She told him she appreciated

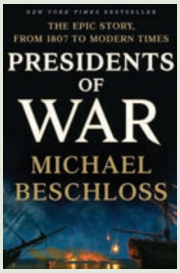
SHORT BURSTS


HELL IN THE TRENCHES
PAOLO MORISI

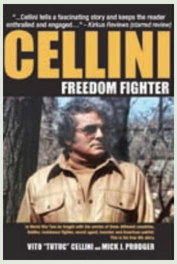
Hell in the Trenches: Austro-Hungarian Stormtroopers and Italian Arditti in the Great War (Paolo Morisi, Helion and Company, 2018, $39.95, softcover) These two groups of hand-picked soldiers fought across the mountainous regions of southern Europe. This book reveals details of their creation and organization.


HOW AMERICA WON WORLD WAR I
ALAN AXELROD

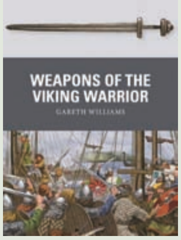
How America Won World War I: The US Military Victory in the Great War—The Causes, the Course, and the Consequences (Alan Axelrod, Lyons Press, 2019, $29.95, hardcover) Even Von Hindenburg admitted that the U.S. infantry won the war. This book explains how they did it.


PRESIDENTS OF WAR
MICHAEL BESCHLOSS

Presidents of War: The Epic Story, from 1807 to Modern Times (Michael Beschloss, Crown Books, 2019, $35.00, hardcover) This is a history of how U.S. presidents have taken their country to war. The author's storytelling provides context to the reader.


CELLINI
FREEDOM FIGHTER

Cellini: Freedom Fighter (Vito "Tutuc" Cellini and Mick Prodger, Elm Grove Publishing, 2019, $37.99, softcover) Vito Cellini fought as an Italian soldier and Yugoslav partisan in World War II. After the war, he used his skills in the private sector.


WEAPONS OF THE VIKING WARRIOR

Weapons of the Viking Warrior (Gareth Williams, Osprey Publishing, 2019, $22.00, softcover) This book examines the wide variety of weapons Viking warriors used in combat. The author uses both historical and archaeological sources.

IMAGES OF WAR
T-54/55

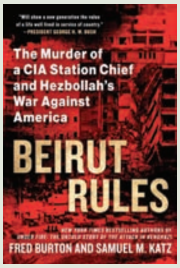
T-54/55: Soviet Cold War Main Battle Tank (Robert Jackson, Pen and Sword Books, 2019, $22.95, softcover) This was the ubiquitous Soviet tank of the Cold War. This book provides historical details as well as information for the serious modeler.

ALPHA ONE SIXTEEN
A COMBAT INFANTRYMAN'S YEAR IN VIETNAM
PETER CLARK

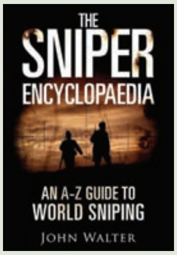
Alpha One Sixteen: A Combat Infantryman's Year in Vietnam (Peter Clark, Casemate Books, 2018, $29.95, hardcover) The author was a replacement in the U.S. 1st Infantry Division. This memoir conveys his experiences during his tour in combat.

SMOKE 'EM IF YOU GOT 'EM
The Rise and Fall of the Military Cigarette Ration
JOEL R. BIUS

Smoke 'Em If You Got 'Em: The Rise and Fall of the Military Cigarette Ration (Joel R. Bius, Naval Institute Press, 2019, $39.95, hardcover) This book examines the U.S. military's issuance of cigarette rations to service members. After the Surgeon General reported that cigarettes were hazardous to health, the military sought to sever the soldier-cigarette relationship.


The Murder of a CIA Station Chief and Hezbollah's War Against America
BEIRUT RULES
FRED BURTON AND SAMUEL M. KATZ

Beirut Rules: The Murder of a CIA Station Chief and Hezbollah's War Against America (Fred Burton, and Samuel L. Katz, Penguin Random House, 2018, $28.00, hardcover) This book focuses on the murder of CIA Station Chief William Buckley amid the war in Lebanon in the early 1980s. It places his death amid the larger fighting in the Middle East.


THE SNIPER ENCYCLOPAEDIA
AN A-Z GUIDE TO WORLD SNIPING
JOHN WALTER

The Sniper Encyclopedia: An A-Z Guide to World Sniping (John Walter, Casemate Publishing, 2019, $37.95, hardcover) The history of sniping is thoroughly covered in this work. Details are given on weapons, tactics, training, and the snipers themselves.

simulation gaming *By Joseph Luster*

REFIGHT AIMS FOR WARSHIP GLORY, AND THE THREE KINGDOMS RETURN WITH A NEW ROMANCE.

PUBLISHER
FANTIAN

GENRE
STRATEGY

SYSTEM(S)
PC, PS4 (SOON)

AVAILABLE
NOW

Refight: The Last Warship

Refight: The Last Warship is a free-to-play strategy game from Chinese developer Fantian, and it originally launched on PC via Steam Early Access back in May 2019. That wasn't the last stop for this intense survival sim, though, because a PlayStation 4 port was recently revealed at the ChinaJoy 2019 event. At a glance *Refight* looks more or less like another take on the hugely successful *World of Warships* and its contemporaries, but it has some potential to break out on its own once it makes its way out of Early Access and onto PS4 and Steam proper.

Survival is the name of the game, especially considering the limited resources players begin with in each battle. Materials appear randomly, but it's going to take some serious searching to obtain the right supplies and further strengthen your battleship for the fights to come. Toss in harsh environmental elements like rain, fog, and blizzards, as well as the constant creeping threat of the enemies that surround you, and you have an imposing environment that adds tension to the otherwise standard battle royale style combat.

There are additional strategies to master beyond choosing the right warships for the mission at hand and knowing which weapons will take down certain enemies most effectively. Players also have to consider the ability to capture nearby islands to improve their odds in battle, especially since they serve as such an enticing vantage point for added protection and relief from the oncoming volleys of enemy torpedoes.

If you're wondering what you can expect out of the Early Access version of this game, there are a few limitations to keep in mind. The scope hasn't fully been ironed out at this point, but right now players can choose from three warships and begin navigation of the sea through a handful of different channels. Some of the warship defense components that can be collected along the way include ammunition and supplies, as well as an engine, naval weaponry, and more. Thirty players can go up against one another either as single players or as a team, with 15-on-15 action supported. Developer Fantian promises to expand upon these and other features by the time *Refight*'s full version is available.

At the time of this writing, *Refight: The Last Warship* has a ton of rough edges that need to be worked out. Once it leaves Early Access and debuts on consoles and PC as a full-fledged warship rumbler, we'll be sure to check in to see if it's worth your time. For now, participation is only really recommended to those who want to provide feedback, or simply to see what else waits in the waters beyond the heavy hitters like *World of Warships.* It is free, though, so the only resource you'll be risking is time.

PUBLISHER
KOEI TECMO

GENRE
STRATEGY

SYSTEM(S)
PS4, PC

AVAILABLE
EARLY 2020

Romance of the Three Kingdoms XIV

Romance of the Three Kingdoms is one of the most iconic franchises in the history of strategy gaming. Based on the 14th-century novel by Luo Guanzhong, the games have traced the tumultuous timeline of China's Three Kingdoms period—toward the end of the Han dynasty starting around AD 169—since the first turn-based entry launched on PC in Japan back in 1985. Many sequels and ports have followed since, and now the first entry in three years is getting ready to make its early 2020 debut on PC and PlayStation 4.

Romance of the Three Kingdoms XIV continues to follow the fall of the Han dynasty, giving players another chance to capture territory and expand through both violent and diplomatic means. Koei Tecmo calls out the original *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* game as direct inspiration for the latest entry's emphasis on managing and gathering land to further the player's strategic spread across a massive map of ancient China.

That's not the only influence from a previous entry to be found in this one. *Romance of the Three Kingdoms XIV* also adopts the ruler-based system from the ninth and 11th games, which has all actions—including political, domestic, and battle—taking place on a single map. Koei Tecmo promises more individuality among all the main characters, as well, with the likes of Liu Bei and Guan Yu more prominently asserting themselves depending on the situation at hand.

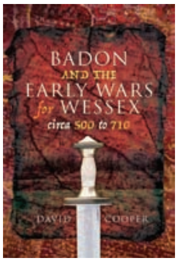
The overall aim is to have everyone's own strategy experience pan out to be something truly unique to their game. The ideals of each ruler dictate the organizations formed, so the ruler you go with will end up shaping the entire course of the game. Even those within the same faction will run into different expansion possibilities depending on the policies at play, though, so using your officers wisely is of the utmost importance. Toss in an enhanced artificial intelligence system and it sounds like *Romance of the Three Kingdoms XIV* is looking to strike the ideal balance between updated and classic gameplay.

Whether you're a fan of the franchise or a total newcomer, the historical intrigue of the setting is enough to make a return trip to the era enticing. If Koei Tecmo succeeds in striking the aforementioned balance, this could end up setting the standard for *Three Kingdoms* moving forward. □

his candor in volunteering as she preferred to send only those who wanted to go.

Shortly afterward, Parnar arrived in the tri-border area of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. He did just about every job a medic could do. On numerous occasions, he had to treat multiple casualties while under fire. Such service required extraordinary dedication and courage.

Originally published in 2007, this new release is a revised and updated edition. It contains added text, new maps, and photographs. There are many memoirs of Vietnam on the market, but this one stands out for its readability and authenticity.

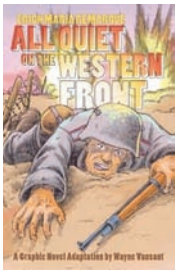


Badon and the Early Wars for Essex circa 500 to 710 (David Cooper, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2018, 260 pp., map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

When the declining Roman Empire abandoned Britain in AD 410, it greatly affected the local population. For some it was a great calamity and a loss of security, while for others it was an exciting opportunity, a chance to remake the island in a way more natural and profitable for its indigenous people. The territory of Wessex was important to any such plans, thus it was not long before the area was enveloped by warfare. The Britons defeated the first Saxon attempt to seize land in Wessex at the siege of Badon Hill in AD 500. Subsequent years saw more fighting, including the involvement of Germanic and other non-Roman peoples. By AD 710 King Ine managed to push the Britons off to the west, consolidating his position and setting the stage for the future, including the reign of Alfred the Great.

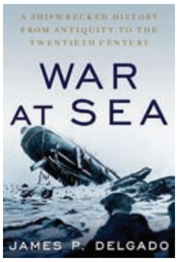
The author is a retired British Army officer who taught Roman history for many years and conducted field studies over the hallowed ground about which he writes. More than just a simple battle history, the book delves into the context and background of post-Roman Wessex, deftly separating the Battle of Badon Hill from Arthurian legend. The book is a mix of academic and archaeological information, tactics, and doctrine as they were applied during this era. It cleverly explains how the Kingdom of Wessex arose from the chaos after Rome and became a power in the British Isles.

All Quiet on the Western Front (Erich Maria Remarque, adapted by Wayne Vansant, Dead Reckoning, Annapolis, MD, 2019, 176 pp., illustrations, $24.95, softcover)


ERICH MARIA REMARQUE
ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT
A Graphic Novel Adaptation by Wayne Vansant

This is the classic novel of World War I, the story of Paul and his young friends who enlist in the German Army, caught in a patriotic fervor. Exhorted by their teacher, the boys march off to war to be trained by a sadistic and stern corporal. Soon they are sent to the trenches of the Western Front, where they endure a hellish existence of filth, bombardments, and brutal combat. As years of this go by, Paul and his fellow soldiers become inured to the horror and violence that surrounds them. They struggle to retain their humanity as they are gradually distanced from the very nation they are fighting for.

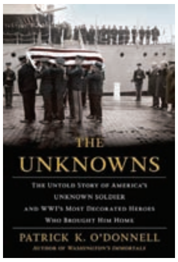
This classic work, aging and less well known with each passing year, receives new life in this graphic novel. The author has spent 30 years writing graphic adaptations of military history and war fiction, introducing a generation of new and young readers to stories which might otherwise be lost to them. The writing and artwork are both of high quality and make the work readable and enjoyable. This book is an effort by the esteemed Naval Institute Press to bring both fictional and nonfictional military stories to the public, and it succeeds admirably.


A SHIPWRECKED HISTORY FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
WAR AT SEA
JAMES P. DELGADO

War at Sea: A Shipwrecked History from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century (James P. Delgado, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2019, 432 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

The world's oceans are humanity's vastest battlefield. As a result, the seabed is home to untold thousands of warships and their crews, lying in their sunken gravesites, most of them unknown to this day. The earlier recorded naval battle took place in 1200 BC and in the millennia since the wrecks littering the ocean's bottom provided a map to the struggles of human civilization, when they could be found. Sunken warships also demonstrate the gradual advances in technology represented over time. Places such as Actium, Trafalgar, Jutland, and Midway are more than just points on a map. Looking at what lies beneath the waves reveals more than what is often found at the sites of land battles, which get picked over and the land reused.

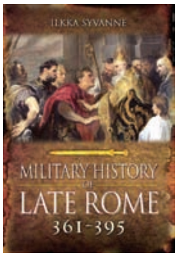
The author has personally discovered or explored and documented a number of the sunken ships in this work. The book is organized as a chronological journey through history examining the history of war at sea through what is left behind. It is also a combination of several disciplines, including history, archaeology, and the science of exploration. This book is an interesting and fresh way to consider naval history. It is well illustrated and relates shipwrecks to the events that produced them in a creative and original way.


THE UNKNOWNS
THE UNTOLD STORY OF AMERICA'S UNKNOWN SOLDIER AND WWI'S MOST DECORATED HEROES WHO BROUGHT HIM HOME
PATRICK K. O'DONNELL

The Unknowns: The Untold Story of America's Unknown Soldier and WWI's Most Decorated Heroes Who Brought Him Home (Patrick K. O'Donnell, Grove Atlantic Press, New York NY, 2019, 362 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $27.00, hardcover)

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier built in 1921 at Arlington National Cemetery holds the remains of a single soldier from World War I, symbolic of all those who fell in battle and were never identified. The tomb contains the remains of a soldier who was brought back from Europe by an honor guard of eight men, all decorated service members selected personally by General John J. Pershing.

Many of the stories in this book read like tales of adventure fiction, but they are well-researched and in-depth historical accounts. The author is an acknowledged military historian with numerous works to his credit, and he pours that long experience into this new work. The memorial to the Unknown Soldier is one of America's better known military monuments, but the story of the eight men who brought that soldier home is almost unknown today. That void is filled admirably in this new book, adding new weight to the importance of our remembrance.



Military History of Late Rome 361-395 (Ilkka Syvanne, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2019,320 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $50.00, hardcover)

With the death of Constantius II in AD 361, Rome began its long slow decline into ruin. The new emperor Julian led an expedition against the Sassanid Persians, and Valens suffered defeat against the Goths at Adrianople; both emperors paid with their lives for their battlefield failures. Rome faced many external threats during this period on several fronts and it

From the editors of
MILITARY HERITAGE MAGAZINE

SPECIAL ISSUES

Available in Print and Digital Formats

GETTYSBURG
WWII: Combat on the RUSSIAN FRONT
D-DAY 70th ANNIVERSARY
BATTLE OF THE BULGE
The BAND OF BROTHERS
HITLER

These Special Issues are available in Printed format, sent via regular mail, or Digital format, available for immediate download.

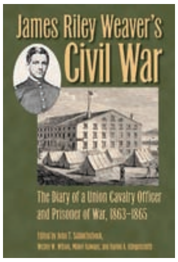
Each fascinating issue is 100 pages, with insightful stories by our favorite authors, and illustrated with historic photos, artwork and maps. Beautifully printed and "Perfect Bound," you'll want to save each of these for future reference.

Call to order:

1-800-219-1187

became increasingly more difficult to secure the borders. By the end of this period Rome was divided into Eastern and Western Empires upon the death of Theodosius I.

This latest work is part of a planned seven-book series covering the military history of late Rome from 284 to 641. As later Rome was a tumultuous period, the author wisely provides extensive background on the military changes, organization, equipment, strategy, and tactics of the time. The author also covers the details of Rome's allies and enemies. These sections alone are interesting and full of valuable information, but the book also covers the campaigns and leaders who fought during these years.


James Riley Weaver's Civil War
The Diary of a Union Cavalry Officer and Prisoner of War, 1863–1865

James Riley Weaver's Civil War: The Diary of a Union Cavalry Officer and Prisoner of War, 1863-1865 (Edited by John T. Schlotterbeck, Wesley W. Wilson, Midori Kawaue and Harold A. Kingsmith, Kent State University Press, Kent, OH, 2019, 328 pp., Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $49.95, hardcover)

Weaver's service and captivity span 666 consecutive days. His diary entries contain his experiences at Gettysburg and time in Northern Virginia as the Union Army gradually gained first parity with and then superiority over the Confederates. After his capture, Weaver continues to provide unvarnished and clear descriptions, describing how men from all walks of life and all regions endured hardships alongside one another. He also reveals what he learned from conversations with guards, civilians, new arrivals, and even local newspapers as he and his fellow prisoners tried to make sense of what was happening around them.

It is increasingly difficult to find new and unused primary sources for the American Civil War. Therefore, it is always welcome when one such as this comes along. Weaver was intelligent and thoughtful, and the editors of his diary equally so in their preparation of this document for publication. It is a treasure for those interested in Civil War prisons and the experiences of prisoners.

1918
WINNING THE WAR, LOSING THE WAR
MATTHIAS STROHN

1918: Winning the War, Losing the War (Edited by Matthias Strohn, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2018, 304 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover)

The final year of World War I was the most dramatic of the conflict. Russia had suffered defeat the year before, dropping out of the war and enabling Germany to mass fresh troops on the Western Front for a final push to try and end the war before masses of U.S. divisions flooded into the trenches. The German offensives began in March 1918 and brought the Allies to the edge of defeat but were finally stopped before a decisive end could be reached. The Allied counterattacks, with the infusion of fresh American soldiers to bolster the exhausted British and French armies, pushed back the Germans and achieved victory in the autumn of that year.

This interesting new work is a collection of articles concentrating on the final year of World War I. The authors are among the most prominent scholars of the conflict, and their work has been carefully gathered and edited into a coherent narrative of 1918. The author includes chapters on the four major armies of the Western Front: British, French, German, and American. Another chapter informs the reader on the so-called forgotten fronts in Russia, Italy, and the Balkans. He also covers air and sea campaigns. This book provides an excellent overall look at the war's final months from multiple perspectives.

LETTERS FROM MAFEKING
EDWARD SPIERS

Letters from Mafeking: Eyewitness Accounts from the Longest Siege of the South African War (Edited by Edward M. Spiders, Frontline Books, Yorkshire, UK, 2019, 288 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

The 217-day siege of Mafeking, a railway town with inadequate defenses, was the longest and most controversial of the three sieges that began the South African War in 1899. The relief of the town brought celebrations across the British Empire, despite the limited military value of the event. Mafeking was just one of several sieges which became notable in British Victorian history.

The author provides a new history of the siege through the use of fresh material from 120 newly available letters, diaries, interviews, and speeches by both soldiers and civilians who participated in the fighting. Unlike the news reporting of the time, these sources are all uncensored and provide insights not widely available in the siege's aftermath. The psychological and physical impacts of the fighting are reexamined and applied to the success of the defense of Mafeking. □

Continued from page 23

urgent dispatch to Colonel Louis Antoine de Bougainville's 2,000-man flying column, which was stationed eight miles upriver at Cap Rouge, ordering them back to Quebec City. Leaving 1,500 troops behind as a covering force at Beauport, Montcalm rode to the city.

French Governor-General Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, had taken the initative to send Canadian militiamen and Indians out from the city to harass the British troops. These sharpshooters took up positions in the woods on the British left and in cornfields on the British right. When Montcalm arrived at mid-morning, he was astonished to see the British formed up in two ranks for battle. He admired their cool discipline under the harassing fire, something his motley force lacked.

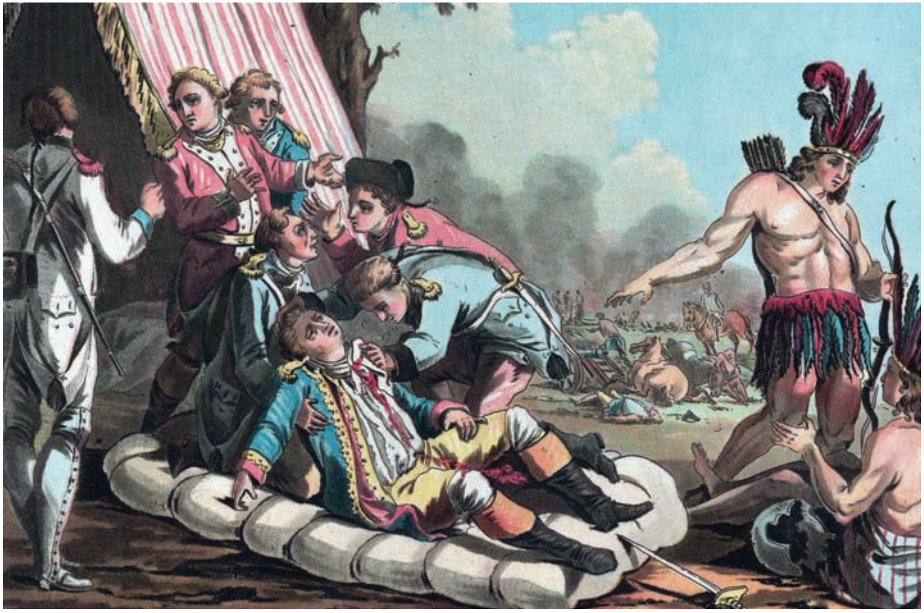
The Canadian sharpshooters, who had deployed on both flanks, picked off dozens of British soldiers. Among them was an English sergeant who Wolfe had reduced to the ranks for some sort of infraction. The noncommissioned officer was so angry with his commanding general that he deserted to the French before the demotion went into effect and swore revenge against Wolfe. On the eve of the battle, he specifically requested that he be allowed to join the Canadian sharpshooters so that he might have the opportunity to shoot Wolfe. The French granted his request.

Montcalm resolved at 9:30 AM to attack the British for he did not want to allow them an opportunity to entrench. "If we give [the enemy] time to establish himself, we shall never be able to attack him with the sort of troops we have," he told his chief of artillery.

Because he had so few regulars, at the outset of the campaign Montcalm had integrated the fittest of the Canadian militiamen with his regulars. These troops marched out of the city to engage the British. The French unfurled their flags 600 yards from Wolfe's scarlet-coated infantry and grenadiers. Wolfe's seven battalions were formed into two ranks in a half-mile-long line. Clad in his bright scarlet uniform, he walked his line to stiffen his troops. He was standing on a rise near the Louisbourg grenadiers when he was shot in the wrist. He stoically wrapped it in a handkerchief.

The French attacked first, and twin volleys of coordinated fire struck the British lines at 150 yards. The renowned British discipline held firm. Wolfe himself gave the order to return fire with a single devastating volley at under 50 yards, followed by a charge of cold British steel bayonets and bloody Scottish Claymore swords.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



The Marquis de Montcalm's rush to battle cost him his life and cost France her colonies in Canada.

The French line broke, and the men ran back to Quebec's walls for shelter as fast as they could. The Highlanders dropped their muskets in favor of completing the slaughter with their broadswords.

Wolfe's bright red uniform made him an easy target as he led the charge at the front of the Louisbourg grenadiers. He was shot a second time in the stomach and then a third time in right side of the chest. The English sergeant who deserted to the French claimed that he fired the musket ball that killed Wolfe, but there is no confirmation of it.

Wolfe sank to his knees, and a lieutenant in the grenadiers who rushed to help him initially thought that he was already dead. With blood oozing out of his mouth, Wolfe asked the lieutenant to help him get back on his feet so that his soldiers would not see him fall.

Wolfe declined a surgeon's aid. "There's no need now," he said weakly, asking to be laid on the ground. "Go to Colonel Burton, one of you lads!" Wolfe said. "Tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed to the Charles River to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge."

Those around him informed Wolfe of the French defeat. "God be praised," he said. "Since I've conquered, I'll die in peace."

The battle had been won and the enemy defeated, but it was not over yet. Indeed, defeat was almost snatched from the jaws of victory as Bougainville's reinforcements nearly arrived to reverse what had only just happened outside the city walls.

Montcalm had been driven back toward the gates of the city by the tide of retreating French and Canadian soldiers. He was mortally wounded in the leg and abdomen by grapeshot. He asked two soldiers close to him to hold him on his saddle until they were out of sight behind the walls of the town. At that point, Montcalm was taken to the house of a surgeon who informed him that the wound would prove fatal. He died the following morning.

British casualties in hour-long battle amounted to 58 men killed and approximately 600 wounded. Another 36 were slain immediately after the battle by French guns mounted on the ramparts of the city. French losses were 150 killed and 700 wounded.

The British won the battle, but what would happen next was unclear. Wolfe's second in command, Brig. Gen. Robert Monckton, was severely wounded. Command ultimately devolved to Brig. Gen. George Townshend.

Townshend ordered the British troops to reform upon learning that Bougainville had arrived from his position upriver at Cap Rouge. But it was all for naught, for the French had no more fight left in them.

Vaudreuil had made up his mind to abandon Quebec. The survivors of the battle on the Plains of Abraham marched to Beauport where they linked up with the covering force. They then countermarched to Montreal, rendezvousing with Bougainville's flying column along the way.

The British Army remained in Quebec on the verge of starvation during the harsh winter that followed. The return of the British fleet the following year solidified Wolfe's decisive victory and the general's legacy. □

NASHVILLE

Continued from page 39

of men were captured, while the rest kept moving despite being exhausted and hungry to avoid ending up in a Yankee prison. He saw large numbers of Confederate prisoners "broken down from sheer exhaustion, with despair and pity written on their features." Wagons, artillery, cavalry, and infantry were jumbled together. Broken wagons, horses, and provisions littered the roadside.

Wounded in the middle finger and the thigh, Watkins unhitched a horse from an abandoned wagon and rode it back to Franklin. "My boot was full of blood, and my clothing saturated from it," Watkins wrote. He observed a dejected Hood at his headquarters that night: "He was much agitated and affected, pulling his hair with one hand and [he had but one] and crying like his heart would break."

Grant said after the war that he believed Hood's strategy was unsound. "If Hood had been an enterprising commander, he would have given us a great deal of trouble," Grant said after the war. "If I had been in Hood's place I would never have gone near Nashville. I would have gone to Louisville, and on north until I can to Chicago…. If he had gone north, Thomas would have never caught him."

Just five days after Thomas won the Battle of Nashville, Sherman departed Atlanta bound for Savannah, Georgia, at the head of 65,000 of his best troops, including most of his cavalry.

What remained of Hood's defeated army continued its retreat for 100 miles until it crossed back into Alabama on December 26. Conservative figures estimate Hood's loss at 6,000 men killed, wounded, and captured during the two-day battle at Nashville compared to Thomas's 3,061 casualties. Hood lost approximately 60 percent of his army during the invasion of Tennesee. The crushing defeat ended any chance for Hood to foil Sherman's March to the Sea or to dispute Grant's campaign in Virginia. The defeated Confederate general resigned his commission in disgrace in January 1865. On March 3, 1865, Thomas and the soldiers under his command received the thanks of Congress "for their skill and dauntless courage" in driving Hood's army from Tennessee. "His [Thomas's] brilliant victory at Nashville was necessary to mine at Savannah to make a complete whole," Sherman wrote afterward. Less than four months after the Confederate defeat at Nashville, Lee and Grant met at Appomattox Court House to negotiate the terms of the Confederacy's surrender. □

ADMIRAL SATAN

Continued from page 47

followed by the bad when the new French supreme commander in the East Indies, Marquis Charles de Bussy-Castelnau, arrived from France at the end of March with a small detachment of troops and another ship-of-the-line

Bussy had had a distinguished career in India during the Seven Years' War but was a shadow of his former self when he returned to India in 1783 at the age of 67. Besieged by multiple illnesses and suffering from gout so severe that he could not ride a horse, Bussy conducted a lackluster land campaign before being bottled up in Cuddalore by the British in early June.

Under orders from Bussy, Suffren arrived off Cuddalore on June 13, 1783, to discover Hughes' squadron blockading the town in support of the landward siege. Sighting Suffren, Hughes moved off and anchored five miles from Cuddalore, lifting the naval blockade and allowing Suffren to make contact with Bussy. Understanding that the naval action would decide the fate of the siege, Bussy embarked 1,200 soldiers to bring the crews of Suffren's ships-of-the-line to full complement.

The two squadrons began closing for action on June 20, 1783. Among his latest dispatches, Suffren received orders from the naval minister to be aboard a frigate during future engagements. This measure was taken to avoid the fate of the commander of the West Indies squadron, Admiral François de Grasse, who was taken prisoner the previous year during the Battle of Saintes when his crippled flagship was forced to surrender. In accordance with his orders, Suffren raised his flag on the frigate *Cleopatra* for the Battle of Cuddalore.

The wind was so weak that neither side attempted to maneuver. The two squadrons moved into the traditional parallel lines of battle. The fighting began at 4:20 PM between 15 French and 18 British vessels at the range of half-cannon shot. For two hours the squadrons traded broadsides, and when the fighting died down at nightfall no ships were sunk or captured and no significant damage was inflicted. The action was bloody, with the French losing 102 dead and 386 wounded, and the British 99 dead and 431 wounded.

On June 22 the two squadrons began drawing closer again; however, with an outbreak of scurvy rampant on his vessels and drinking water running short, Hughes withdrew and returned to Madras. Despite the lack of dramatic events, the last battle of the war was a strategic victory for the French. The uninterrupted resupply of Cuddalore by sea made the siege of the town pointless and the British land forces withdrew the next month.

Anchored off Cuddalore, on June 29 Suffren received news that preliminary peace articles had been signed five months earlier in Paris. This was bittersweet news. Had it not been for the long delay in navigation from Europe, the battle on June 20, which resulted in hundreds of casualties, would have been unnecessary.

Suffren left Indian waters on October 6, 1783, shortly after receiving news that he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant general, the equivalent of vice admiral. Hughes remained off India for a time, assisting British land forces in dealing with Tipu Sultan's Mysoreans, while the bulk of his squadron sailed for England. After the final provisions of the peace treaty were ironed out, the European powers in India and Ceylon returned to the way things were before with the exception of Negapatam, which passed into British possession.

During the five battles between Suffren and Hughes, no capital ships on either side were sunk or captured. After making a stop at Ile-de-France on his way back to France, Suffren put in at the Cape Colony on December 22, finding nine ships from Hughes' squadron at anchor there. Nine British captains who recently faced Suffren over the barrels of their guns, as well as several officers from neutral vessels, came aboard *Heros* to enthusiastically greet the French admiral as a master of the profession. An enthusiastic welcome and an audience with the king greeted Suffren upon his return to France.

Suffren died on December 8, 1788, during a visit to Paris and was buried with great honors at the Order of Malta's Temple Church in Paris. Among his many decorations and offices, he held the lofty rank of bailiff in the Order of Malta.

During the Reign of Terror in 1793 following the French Revolution, Parisian mob desecrated Suffren's tomb. The Temple Church fell victim to revolutionaries' efforts to eliminate all traces of the Old Regime, being razed to the ground in 1796.

Once the fervor of the Revolution died down, Suffren's legacy was rehabilitated in the hearts of his countrymen. "Why, did he not live until my time?" Napoleon Bonaparte lamented in exile. "Why could not I find someone of his kind? I should have made him my Nelson and our affairs would have taken a very different turn. Instead I spent all my time looking for such a sailor and never found one." Multiple French navy ships bore Suffren's name and a statute of the corpulent admiral graces the quay of his native St. Tropez. □

FROM THE PUBLISHERS OF WWII HISTORY MAGAZINE

D-DAY

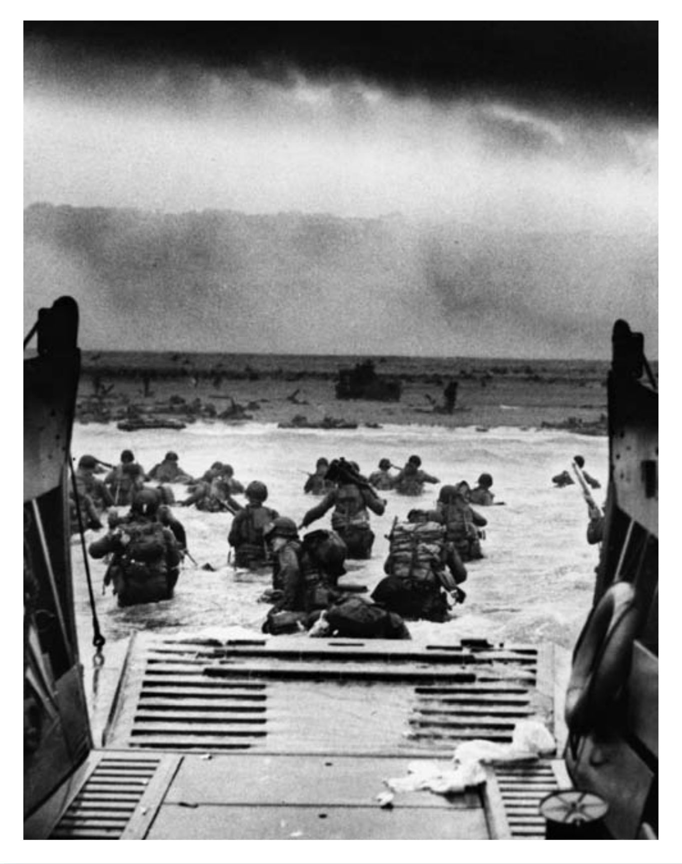
Through A Soldier's Eyes... *Limited Edition Print*

The storm was violent, the waves were huge and the noise was deafening for soldiers in their landing craft on D-Day, June 6, 1944. As they neared the beach, the door dropped open… and this photo lets you see exactly what they saw: withering machine gun fire, treacherous breakers, a long beach, high cliffs, and near-certain death.

None hesitated. These brave men jumped into the cold Atlantic waters. Two thirds of them died soon after, so that we could live in freedom.

This historic photograph shows American soldiers from Company E, 16th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division exiting their LCVP landing craft under heavy German machine gun fire on Omaha Beach. The photo was taken by Coast Guard Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sergeant.

Company E landed on Easy Red Beach at 0645 in the face of murderous fire. Those few who survived kept wading into everything the enemy had, taking their objective and providing the only exit off the beach for the entire Fifth Corps. Company "E," perhaps by strength of will and courage alone, helped keep the entire landing force from being thrown back into the sea. For a month afterwards, those who survived remained almost in a daze.



Available Now In Limited Edition

This handsome Giclee print is large—printed on 14" x 18" silver emulsion photographic paper. Reserve one of these incredible limited edition prints now, and display it proudly. $49.95 Plus $10 Shipping.

Call 1-800-219-1187.

Have your credit card ready, or mail the coupon below.

COMPLETE MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

YES! Send me the Limited Edition print(s) I've indicated below at the special price of $49.95, plus $10 shipping and handling, for each.

Number of prints (at $59.95 each): __________

☐ **Check Enclosed** (payable to *Sovereign Media*)

Credit Card: ☐ **VISA** ☐ **AmEx** ☐ **MasterCard**

Card Number: ____

Exp.: ___ ___ / ___ ___ Security Code: ___________ *(Security Code: Last 3 digits on the back of VISA & MC, four digits on the front of American Express).*

Name on Card: ____

Signature: ______________________ Telephone: ___________________

SHIP TO:

Name ____

Address ____

City ____

State ___________ Zip ______________________________

MAIL TO: Sovereign Media Collections
2406 Reach Road
Williamsport, PA 17701

BBOB
BEYOND
BAND OF
BROTHERS

YOUR SERVICE KEEPS OUR LOVED ONES SAFE

BRINGING HISTORY TO LIFE

In honor of Veterans Day we are giving a 25% discount on all our 2020 history tours to veterans and members of our armed forces.

If you are a current or former member of our armed forces, you and your family are eligible for a discount from the list price of any of our 2020 tours. Applies between 1 and 18 of November.

CLAIM YOUR DISCOUNT!

VETERANS DAY 25% DISCOUNT

Contact us
1-888-335-1996
1-859-368-7292
info@bbob.com

Explore history 24/7 at www.bbob.com

BEYOND BAND OF BROTHERS TOURS
400 North Ashley Drive, Suite 1010 – Tampa, FL 33602