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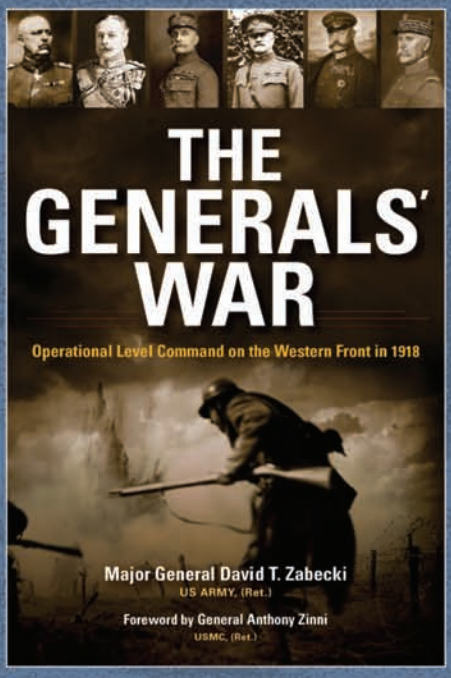

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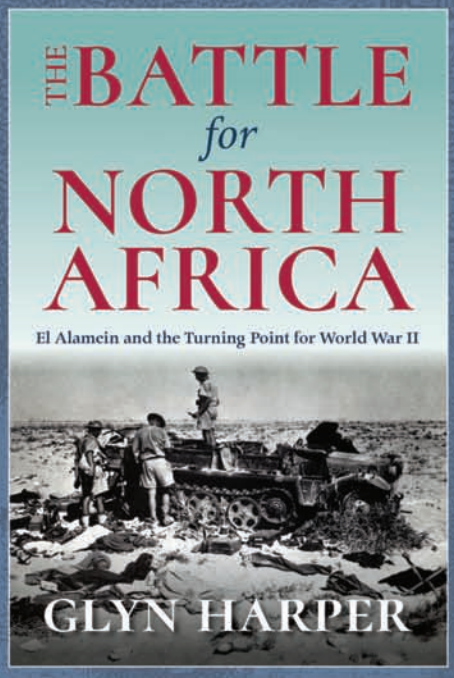

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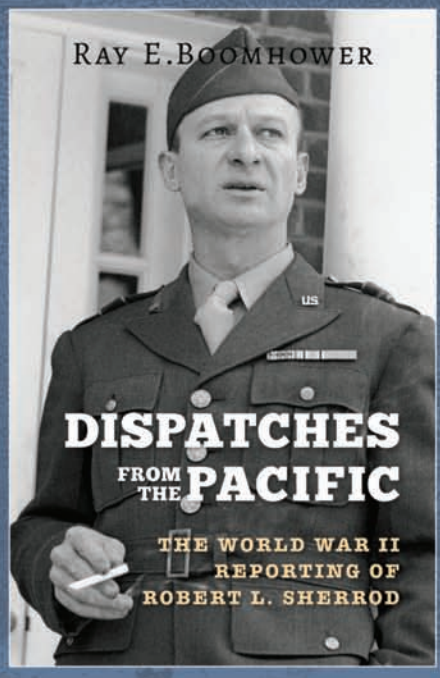

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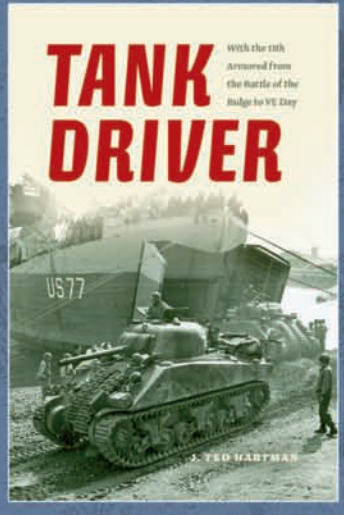

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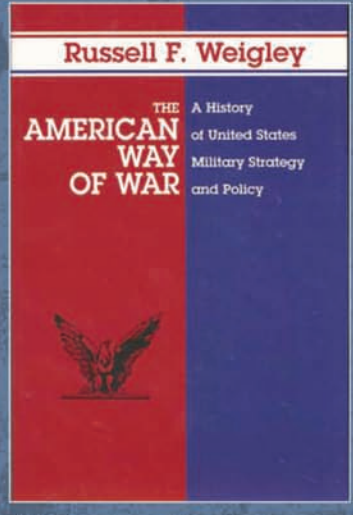

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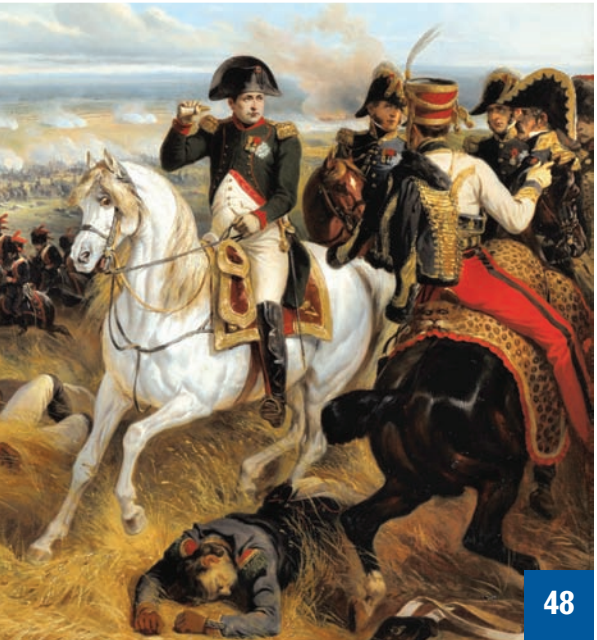

MILITARY HERITAGE

January 2019

features

columns

Cover: A Panzer IV leads a German column into Russia during the opening days of Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. *See story page 24. Photo: Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo / Alamy Stock Photo*

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Archduke Charles: Napoleon's Worthy Opponent

TO SAY THE AUSTRIANS DESPISED THE FRENCH AFTER they were vanquished by them in 1805 at Ulm and Austerlitz is an understatement. Napoleon had thoroughly humiliated Austria on the battlefield, and the Austrians deeply felt the sting of defeat. After these stunning victories, Napoleon created the Confederation of the Rhine so that he could use German soldiers and supplies for his war machine. He also stripped Austria of Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia through the Treaty of Pressburg.

But Great Britain continued leading the resistance, and the Austrians were heartened by it. They were enthralled when the Spanish revolted against the French army of occupation in 1808. The Spanish won a signal victory at Bailen in July 1808 that shattered the myth of Napoleonic invincibility. Additionally, Sir Arthur Wellesley, commanding a British expeditionary army in Portugal, led Anglo-Portuguese armies to victory at Rolica and Vimerio in August. The troublesome fighting in Spain and Portugal was draining Napoleon's manpower. To remedy the situation, Napoleon began calling up 16-year-olds for military service.

One man had been working steadily on reforming the Austrian army to bring it up to par with Napoleon's Grande Armee. Archduke Charles, the younger brother of Austrian Emperor Francis I, had won important victories against French revolutionary armies. He had distinguished himself in the campaign of 1793 during the War of the First Coalition. In the clash at Aldenhoven, he led a decisive cavalry charge, and at Neerwinden as the commander of the Austrian advance guard he allowed the French to exhaust themselves before launching a devastating counterattack.

But it was Charles's stellar performance against General Jean-Baptiste Jourdan and Jean Moreau in 1796 that cemented his reputation as one of the great generals of the period. He soundly defeated Jourdan at Amberg and Wurzburg and then turned on Moreau's army, which he drove out of Germany. In 1805 he was engaged against General Andre Massena on the Italian front when Napoleon won his great victories in Germany and Austria. With his reputation intact, he became the generalissimo of the Austrian army.

In the wake of the Austrian defeat, in 1806 Charles embarked on a series of key reforms to the Austrian military system. Not surprisingly, his reforms were similar to those Napoleon had imposed on the French army. Over a period of three years, he instituted a corps system, created light infantry units, modernized artillery, and overhauled its antiquated logistics system. Importantly, he taught the Austrian generals how to concentrate units for powerful infantry attacks. To flesh out the Austrian army, he planned to call up the Hungarian militia as a reserve army. Known as the Landwehr, it numbered 230,000 men.

Napoleon was preparing to announce the creation of a Le Grande Armee of Germany that would be built with Bavarian, Saxon, and Polish units when the Austrians rebelled. On April 9, Austrian forces crossed into Bavaria triggering a new war. Napoleon had stripped his defenses in central Europe of 100,000 men in 1808 in order to shore up French defenses on the Iberian Peninsula. He had no choice but to countermarch these forces back to central Europe to deal with the Austrians.

This time the Austrians would not be so easily defeated. From the Austrian generalissimo down to the Austrian private, every Austrian soldier had a score to settle with the French.

—*William E. Welsh*

MILITARY HERITAGE

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WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK
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By William F. Floyd, Jr.

Fast-moving, heavily armed U.S. Navy PT boats harried enemy forces in the Pacific and European Theaters in World War II.

LATE IN THE DAY ON OCTOBER 24, 1944, ALL OF THE AVAILABLE 39 patrol torpedo (PT) boats of the U.S. Seventh Fleet were traveling at high speed into the Mindanao Sea just south of Leyte Gulf. By dusk they had taken up position in a patrol line. The journey of the boats from New Guinea to Leyte Gulf, which was approximately 1,200 miles, presented a difficult problem for the U.S. Navy. The distance was considered too far for the boats to complete in one hop, even if they were escorted by tender, so the Navy set to work to devise a more viable plan.

The Navy decided to have the PTs fueled from the tenders. As for the tenders themselves, they would be fueled by tankers. The journey of the boats would represent the largest movement of PTs under their own power during the war. The U.S. Navy's ship commanders in the Philippines depended on the PT boats at Leyte for an advance warning of the approach of the Japanese fleet.

The PT boats' first contact with the Japanese Imperial Navy in the unfolding Battle of the Leyte Gulf was an encounter with a group of battleships. Ensign Peter Gadd, who operated the radar aboard PT-131, picked up the battleships on radar at 10:36 PM. Three PT boats began closing on the target to make their attack. The Japanese battleship crews soon sighted the PT boats and began firing on them. The PT boats radioed their sighting to Rear Admiral Jesse Oldendorf, commander of Task Group 77.2 that was guarding the Surigao Strait. The PTs made repeated attacks over three hours but were unable to score any hits. Unable to thwart the Japanese battleships, the PT boats retired and the next day U.S. destroyers moved in to engage them. The incident shows the critical role that PT boats performed in the Pacific Theater to screen U.S. bases and warn U.S. fleets of threats.

When World War II began, the small craft that came to be known as the PT boat was less than 40 years old. The origins of the PT boat can be traced back to the American Civil War. In 1864 Confederate Captain Hunter Davidson developed a forerunner of the PT boat when he fixed an explosive charge to the end of a long pole that jutted out from the bow of a small rowing boat. The spar torpedo proved highly effective; however, by being so close to the explosion, the crew of the attacking vessel was in danger of being blown up as well. What was needed was a self-propelled torpedo.

U.S. Navy patrol torpedo (PT) boats engage Japanese battleships in the Surigao Strait in during the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 in a painting by American combat artist Dwight Shepler.

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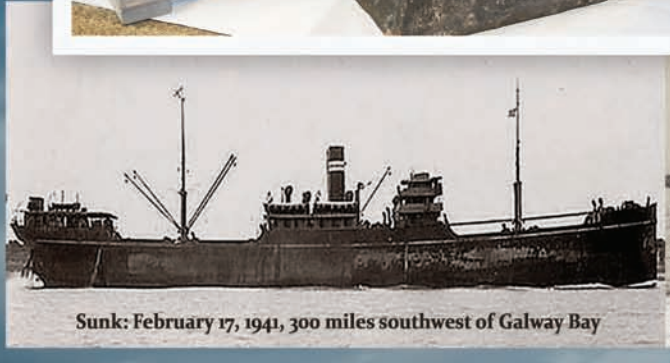
Sunk: February 17, 1941, 300 miles southwest of Galway Bay


German Submarine U-5

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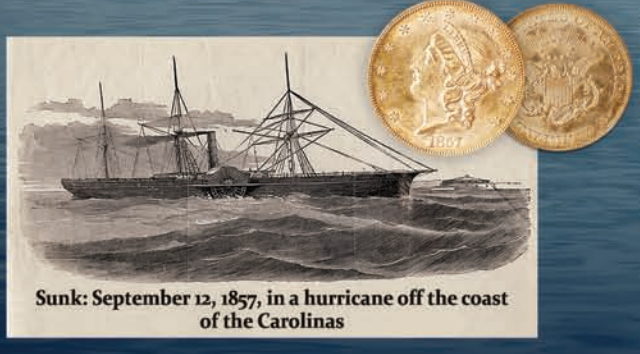
Sunk: September 12, 1857, in a hurricane off the coast of the Carolinas

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In 1866 English inventor Robert Whitehead developed just such a torpedo. Whitehead's self-propelled torpedo was designed to strike a vessel below the water line. It revolutionized small boat tactics. Six years later the British Alfred Yarrow shipyard began experimenting with spar torpedoes that naval engineers mounted on the bow of a 30-foot steam launch. The combination of a self-propelled torpedo and a power-driven boat became of great interest to both major and minor naval powers and they clamored for torpedo boats. Small navies in particular saw them as a way to offset the threat posed by large warships.

The PT boat fully matured during World War I. PT boats made during World War I were powered by steam. But steam engines eventually gave way to small internal combustion engines that offered faster speed and were less expensive to produce.

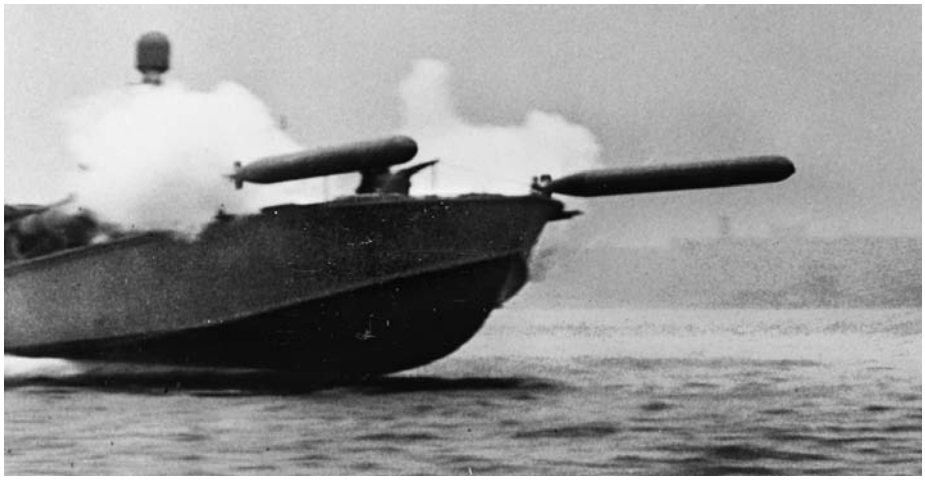
The U.S. Navy had little interest during that conflict in PT boats, but by 1938 it became interested in developing them. Discussions between Assistant Secretary of the Navy Charles Edison and Henry R. Sutphen, executive vice-president of the Electric Launch Company (Elco), led to the signing of a contract in 1941 whereby Sutphen's company would furnish the U.S. Navy with PT boats.

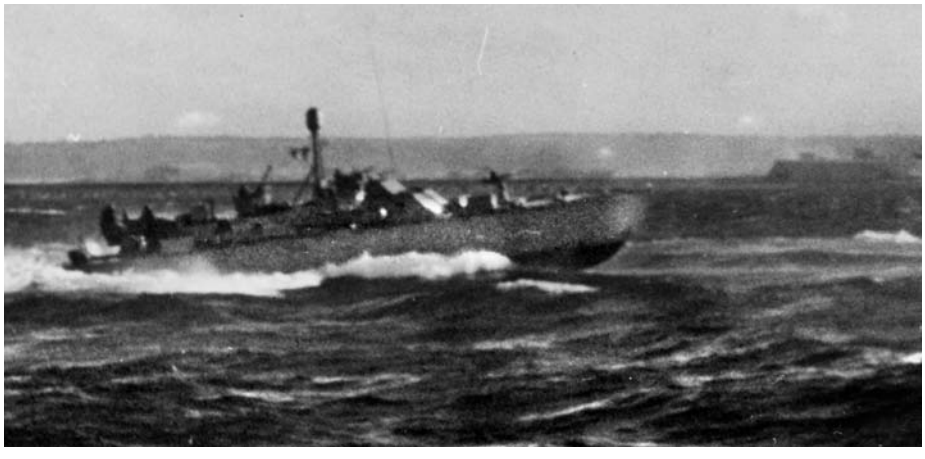
In 1939 Edison had informed the General Board of the U.S. Navy, an advisory council composed of senior admirals, that a 70-foot motor torpedo boat was available in Great Britain. British boat designer Hubert Scott-Paine was the brains behind the motor torpedo boat. The General Board advised Edison that the boat should be obtained as a check against the U.S. Navy's continuing development and refinement of its PT boats.

After further conferences with the Navy, Stuphen traveled to England to buy the boat with his own money. His understanding was that if he bought the Scott-Paine boat, the Navy would purchase it. A deal eventually was struck whereby the British Power Boat Company sold its private venture motor torpedo boat to the U.S. Navy.

Production of the Scott-Paine boat, which was designated PT-9, began in New York on September 5, 1939. The U.S. Navy subsequently awarded a contract to Elco on December 7 for 11 motor torpedo boats and 12 motor boat submarine chasers. The only major revision from the Scott-Paine model was the use of a Packard engine in lieu of one from Rolls Royce.

The U.S. Navy used the Packard V-12 Marine Engine (4M-2500) in all U.S. Navy World War II PT boats. The design was based on the 1925 Liberty Aircraft Engine, which had been converted for use in racing. Throughout the war the Packard engine underwent a number of key updates and modifications. The Navy steadily increased the horsepower from 1,100hp to 1,500hp so that the PT boats could maintain high speed as increasingly heavier armament was added to them. The final engine was a super-charged, water-cooled, gasoline-powered V-12 engine that weighed 2,900 pounds. With a full fuel load, the PT boat had a range of 259 miles at 35 knots, which amounted to a total of 518 miles.





ABOVE: An Elco PT boat fires MK torpedoes during a sea test. The Elco model was the longest of the three types of PT boats built for the U.S. Navy. BELOW: A PT boat in action against German forces during the Battle of Cherbourg in June 1944.

Shortly after the United States entered World War II as many as a dozen manufacturers at home and abroad competed to furnish PT boats for the U.S. Navy. Two boat builders eventually dominated the field: Elco of Bayonne, New Jersey, and Higgins of New Orleans. The principal PT was Elco's 80-foot-long boat. Higgins' boat measured 78.5 feet in length. By the end of the war, Elco had built 399 boats and Higgins had constructed 200. A third manufacturer, Huckens of Jacksonville, Florida, built just 18 boats. The Navy did not use the Huckens boats in combat, however.

The Elco PTs served mainly in the Pacific; however, a small number also were used in the English Channel and the Mediterranean Sea. As for the Higgins PTs, half of them went into service in the European Theater and the other half in the Pacific Theater. As for the Huckens PT boats, the U.S. Navy designated those for use by the PT boat training squadron in Melville, Rhode Island, as well as to the Panama Canal Zone and the Hawaiian Islands.

PT boats constituted a unique class of fighting ship. They were intended to intercept ships of larger classes through firepower and speed. To do this, they were armed with torpedoes, rockets, mortars, and machine guns. Their shallow drafts gave them a distinct advantage over vessels with deep drafts. It enabled them to penetrate minefields and harbor defenses. What is more, they were hard to see on the horizon against the ocean.

The Imperial Japanese Navy routinely sent ships out at night during this period to deliver personnel, supplies, and equipment to Japanese forces operating in and around New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The regularity of these runs compelled the Allies to call them the Tokyo Express.

The U.S. Navy deployed Motor Torpedo Boat Squadrons 2, 3, and 6 in Iron Bottom Sound, the stretch of water at the southern end of The Slot between Guadalcanal, Savo Island, and Florida Island in the Solomons, to interdict the Tokyo Express. Night after night the sailors in these PT

boat squadrons risked their lives in an effort to disrupt and destroy the Japanese convoys. Harrowing encounters unfolded as PT boats used their torpedoes and other weapons in an attempt to sink Japanese ships and troop-carrying barges.

In addition to their vital service in the Southwest Pacific, PT boats also played a vital role in protecting U.S. bases in the North Pacific, namely, in the Aleutian Islands. The islands stretch nearly 1,000 miles from the mainland into the North Pacific. Attu Island, the westernmost in the chain, is only 650 miles from the northern part of the Japanese-owned Kurile Islands where Japanese forces were based.

On June 3, 1942, the Japanese attacked the U.S. naval base at Dutch Harbor on the island of Unalaska. Three days later the Japanese began landing troops on Attu and Kiska, where U.S. weather stations were located. The U.S. Navy did not have any PT boats stationed in the Aleutians, so it had to transfer them from another location.

Beginning on August 11, 1942, the U.S. Navy began shipping PT boats from Pearl Harbor to Seattle, Washington, for overhaul at the Olson-Winge Marine Works. A key part of the overhaul was the installation of 20mm guns. The overhauled PT boats arrived at Dutch Harbor on Amaknak Island on September 1. It turned out that the PT boats were ill equipped for service in the extreme environment of the Alaskan waters, though. The only heat on PT boats came from the stoves located in the galley, which was a small alcove off the crew's quarters.

On May 11, 1943, units from 17th Infantry of Maj. Gen. Albert Brown's 7th U.S. Infantry Division landed on Attu to retake it from Japanese Imperial Army forces led by Colonel Yasuyo Yamasak. PT boats assigned to the mission had orders to protect the amphibious forces from possible enemy counterattacks. The Aleutians Campaign entered its final phase in mid-August when U.S. forces seized Kiska Island. The PTs were part of a feint to mislead the Japanese; however, the U.S. forces found that the Japanese already had abandoned the island. After the campaign, the U.S. Navy returned the PT boats to Seattle.

PT boats were also active in several areas of the European and Mediterranean Theaters. The U.S. Navy shipped a number of PT boats to Great Britain and the Soviet Union through the Lend-Lease program. In the Mediterranean Sea PT boats patrolled the coasts of southern France and northern Italy. The squadrons focused on disrupting and destroying enemy supply ships, particularly German vessels supplying their troops in North Africa. In carrying out this mission, the PTs were opposed by German Navy E-Boats and S-Boats. These vessels were up to 50 percent longer and sleeker than the PTs. Despite their shorter length, the PT boats held their own against the Germans.

ABOVE: PT boats go into action in support of U.S. forces participating in the landings on Mindanao Island in the Philippines. PT boats, which were designed to intercept ships of larger classes, were armed with torpedoes, cannons, rocket launchers, and dual .50-caliber machine guns. BELOW: During the island hopping in the Pacific, PT boats blocked enemy vessels shelling U.S. positions and intercepted Japanese vessels transporting troops to islands.

PT also were used to support the D-Day invasion on June 6, 1944. The boats harassed shore installations in support of Allied troop landings, destroyed floating mines, rescued downed pilots, and landed partisans behind enemy lines. On the night of May 19-20, the first PT boat crossed the English Channel carrying agents and equipment to the French coast. PT Squadron 2 performed 19 of these missions for the Office of Strategic Services without once being detected by the Germans. These types of operations would continue until the majority of the French coast was in Allied hands. As the war in Europe ended with the German surrender, the PTs began returning to the United States. A number of the PTs were overhauled in anticipation of being sent to the Pacific. But the war ended before this became necessary.

In August 1945 the U.S. Navy had 30 PT boat squadrons still in commission. By year's end all had been decommissioned except Squadron 4, a training squadron, and Squadron 41, a new squadron. The only squadron to be commissioned after the war was Squadron 42.

The U.S. Navy ended up destroying most of its PT boats because the light wood from which they were made could not be stored for future use as could the steel used in decommissioned warships. Before being scrapped the PT boats were first stripped of their valuable armament.

In the aftermath of World War II the United States and other countries have experimented with missile-carrying, next-generation fast patrol boats. These feature hydrofoils to lessen drag and increase speed. Air-cushioned hovercraft vessels also achieve the same outcome.

Many major powers have experimented with these kinds of vessels, including Great Britain, United States, Russia, Italy, Japan, Germany, and Canada. These next-generation patrol boats, which improve on the design of the World War II-era PT boat and continue that tradition, are an important way to protect coastal waters. □

By Frank Jastrzembki

Major General Edward O.C. Ord was one of Ulysses S. Grant's most-trusted battlefield commanders during the Civil War.

Library of Congress

When Major General Edward Ord (above) took command of the XIII Corps before Vicksburg, he ordered improvements to the corps' position that tightened its grip on the Confederate works.

FIVE BUSTS OF HIS GREATEST LIEUTENANTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR watch over the sarcophagus of Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at the General Grant National Memorial in New York City. The busts at Grant's Tomb, the largest mausoleum in North America, are Generals William T. Sherman, George H. Thomas, James B. McPherson, Philip H. Sheridan, and Edward O.C. Ord. Of these five men, Ord is probably the least familiar to Americans.

Ord first caught Grant's attention in 1862. Grant valued Ord's aggressive fighting style, skillful management of troops, and promptness in battle. Grant was not the only one to notice his fine attributes as a commander. "I knew if there was a fight to be scared up, Ord would find it," said Union Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds.

Edward Otho Cresap Ord was born at Cumberland, Maryland, on October 18, 1818. He was believed to have been an illegitimate grandson of King George IV. Ord "was brave and noble enough to have been a king himself," wrote Julia Grant. Ord, who excelled at mathematics, received an appointment to West Point in 1835. During summer training, Ord shared a tent with Ohio native Sherman, and the two began what would become a lifelong friendship. Ord, who ranked 17th in a class of 31, received his commission as second lieutenant in the 3rd Regiment, U.S. Artillery upon graduation in July 1839. His first field service was in the Second Seminole War.

The ambitious young officer wanted an assignment on the front line when war erupted with Mexico in 1846. Although Ord never did see action during that conflict, he traveled with his friend Sherman in July 1846 by steamer from New York to California. While stationed in the Pacific Northwest, he saw combat against the Rogue River Indians in Oregon in 1856 and then against the Spokane Indians two years later in the Washington Territory.

It was not long afterward that the U.S. Army transferred Ord to Fortress Monroe, Virginia. When Colonel Robert E. Lee led his contingent of U.S. Marines to apprehend militant abolitionist John Brown at Harpers Ferry in October 1859, Ord was among the troops rushed to the U.S. arsenal at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Captain Ord was 43 years old. Unlike Brown, he had no abolitionist inclinations. Indeed, as a Marylander he had strong Southern ties and was a staunch Democrat. Like his former classmate, Virginian George H. Thomas, he stayed loyal to the Union despite his southern roots and sentiments. Through his influential friends in Washington, Ord was able to obtain an appointment as a brigadier general in September 1861. He received command of a brigade in Brig. Gen. George A. McCall's division in the newly established Army of the Potomac alongside fellow brigadiers John F.

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Major General Edward Ord led Union troops to victory at Dranesville in northern Virginia five months after the defeat at First Bull Run. His victory boosted Northern spirits considerably.

Reynolds and George G. Meade.

Ord's first action was in the clash with Brig. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart's mixed brigade of infantry and cavalry at Dranesville in Fairfax County, Virginia, on December 20, 1861. After a sharp contest, Stuart withdrew, leaving Ord in command of the field. Ord's success at Dranesville was widely publicized in Northern newspapers, buoying spirits throughout the North in the wake of the twin disasters in northern Virginia at First Bull Run and Ball's Bluff.

Thereafter, Ord commanded the 3rd Brigade in Brig. Gen. George A. McCall's 2nd Division of Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell's corps that constituted the Department of the Rappahannock. These troops were charged with protecting Washington, D.C., while Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan launched his campaign against Richmond, Virginia, on the Virginia Peninsula. On May 3, 1862, Ord was promoted to major general.

Ord disliked McDowell and often quarreled with him. As Maj. Gen. Stonewall Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley unfolded in the spring of 1862, McDowell's corps was among the Union forces sent to contain the aggressive Confederate general. Ord, who by that time had received divisional command, was sent with Brig. Gen. James Shields' division to Manassas Gap to check Jackson's thrust north in late May that resulted in victories at Front Royal and Winchester. Ord did not perform with his usual pluck, possibly because of poor health. Indeed, Brig. Gen. James Ricketts took over command of his 9,000-man division as it approached Front Royal.

Shortly afterward Ord penned a letter to U.S. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton asking to be relieved and assigned to another command. Stanton granted his request, and in June Ord received orders to report to Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck in Corinth, Mississippi. Ord took command of a division on June 2 in the District of West Tennessee under Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. Ord showed considerable initiative during the campaign, which consisted of the Battles of Iuka and Second Corinth in September and October, respectively.

Although Ord and Maj. Gen. William Rosecrans failed to coordinate their attacks in a pincer movement to crush Maj. Gen. Sterling Price's Army of the West at Iuka on September 19, Grant praised Ord for his promptness, while chastising Rosecrans for his excessive caution.

In an attempt to cut off Confederate Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn's retreating Army of Tennessee following the Second Battle of Corinth, Ord's detachment of the Army of West Tennessee captured Davis's Bridge on the Hatchie River on October 5. Rather than simply hold the bridge, Ord pushed his troops across it, unaware that Van Dorn was in full retreat and he had stumbled into the vanguard, led by Price, of the retreating army. When he finally realized that his forces were in danger of annihilation, he headed to the front to rally them. As he was crossing the bridge, a Confederate canister round exploded, piercing his leg with an iron ball. Command devolved to Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut, who thought it wiser to leave the Yankee regiments in position than withdraw them under fire. The Confederates countermarched and found another escape route.

On the whole, Grant liked what he saw from the gutsy Marylander. The Iuka and Corinth campaign had marked the beginning of what would become a fruitful partnership that in some respects mirrored the one that Grant had with the irascible Sherman. Ord rejoined Grant in June 1863 after his leg wound healed. At the time, Grant's Army of the Tennessee was besieging the strategic city of Vicksburg on the Mississippi River. The commanding general had surrounded himself for the most part with a cast of able senior officers; however, XIII Corps commander Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand was an exception. The former Illinois congressman was disobedient, insubordinate, and incompetent. Simply put, he had no business commanding an army corps.

The very day that Ord arrived, Grant removed McClernand and put Ord in command of the XII Corps on the Union left flank. Ord immediately made improvements to the corps' situation. He widened and connected the corps' trenches, which made it easier to transfer artillery where it was needed most, and advanced them toward the enemy. These improvements tightened the corps' grip on the Confederate works.

After the Confederate surrender on July 4, the XIII Corps transferred to the Department of the Gulf to serve under another political general, Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks. Whereas his service at Vicksburg had been one of the high points of his Civil War career, his stint under Banks was one of the low points. Ord cringed at the thought of serving under Banks, whose incompetence was made clear by his performance during the 1862 Valley Campaign where he was derided as "Commissary Banks" for the amount of military supplies Jackson captured from his troops while he served in the Department of the Shenandoah. Ord contracted a severe respiratory infection and after three months under Banks submitted a request in October to be allowed time to recover.

Unfortunately, after Ord returned to command in January 1864, Lincoln reinstated McClernand to command of the XIII Corps the following month. At that point, Ord found himself transferred to the Department of West Virginia to serve under yet another political general, Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel. Ord avoided serving under Sigel by requesting to be relieved of command. After the request was granted, Ord pondered his next move. He strongly

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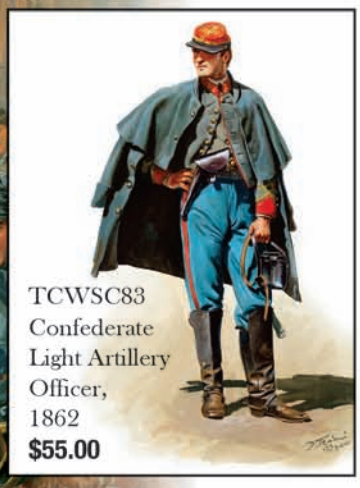

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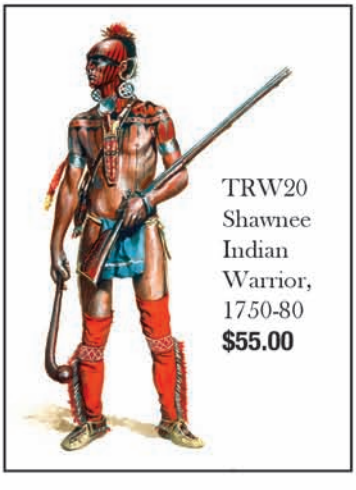

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Major General Ord was present in the parlor of the McLean House at Appomattox when General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant.

desired to serve under a competent commanding general in an active theater.

It would not be long before Grant called on him again during an emergency. On March 1, 1864, President Lincoln had appointed Grant lieutenant general and commander of all Union armies. From his headquarters at City Point on the James River, Grant wrote on July 10, 1864, to Halleck informing him that he "would give more for him [Ord] as a commander in the field than most of the generals now in Maryland."

The Union high command was furious with Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace for suffering a defeat at the hands of Lt. Gen. Jubal Early at Monocacy Junction on July 9, and the following day Chief of Staff Halleck sacked Wallace. General Order No. 228, issued two days after the Union defeat at Monocacy, gave Ord command of the VIII Corps and all of the troops in the Middle Department. Grant ordered Ord to "press into service every able-bodied man to defend [Baltimore]." Ord acted with speed, energy, and resolution. Although his troops in and around Baltimore braced for an assault, it fell on Washington instead where Early probed the defenses of the Union capital at Fort Stevens on July 11-12. The following day, Old Jubilee crossed back into Virginia via White's Ferry.

Once the crisis was over and Early had departed Maryland, Grant ordered Ord to report to his headquarters at City Point in southeastern Virginia. Grant subsequently appointed Ord to succeed Maj. Gen. William Smith as commander of the XVIII Corps, which was part of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler's Army of the James. Butler's army anchored the right flank of the Union line stretching from Petersburg to the Appomattox River.

Following the disastrous Battle of the Crater in July 1864, Grant ordered most of the Army of the James to cross the James River and threaten the Confederate capital of Richmond. Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac, led 25,000 men on a march that took them south of Petersburg. To keep the crossing of the James River at Aiken's Landing at a pontoon bridge by his 8,000 men a secret, Ord chose to issue verbal orders in lieu of written ones to ensure that they did not fall into enemy hands.

Ord, on Butler's left wing, led two of his divisions along Varina Road toward Fort Harrison, the strongest of the forts protecting Richmond. Brig. Gen. George J. Stannard's First Division of the XVIII Corps spearheaded the assault on September 29 in what became known as the Battle of Chaffin's Farm. The Yankees had to advance across 1,400 yards of open ground into the teeth of Confederate guns on the fort's ramparts. The artillery fire was so severe that it mowed lanes through the mass of bluecoats as they charged. When they reached the fort's moats, Stannard's men hurled themselves across the obstacle to engage the Rebels in fierce hand-to-hand fighting.

The fighting was vicious and chaotic. Of Stannard's three brigade commanders, one was slain and the other two severely wounded. The blow to the command structure left the Union troops milling around inside the fort unsure of their next move. Ord's command suffered 30 percent casualties in order to capture Fort Harrison.

Realizing the danger to his entire line, General Lee rushed reinforcements to support the outnumbered defenders. Ord had to think quickly. In an effort to regain control of his disorganized troops, he directed a party of company officers and skirmishers to capture and destroy the Confederate pontoon bridges to prevent the Confederate reinforcements racing to the point of crisis from arriving. Ord sensed that the Confederate capital, for four long years an objective that the Union never could capture, was ripe for the taking.

But the gods of war did not favor Ord capturing Richmond on that day. A Confederate ball sliced through his leg. He bound his bloodied leg with a tourniquet and continued to issue orders from an ambulance wagon until a surgeon urged him to leave the field to be treated. He rode off in the wagon to try to find Grant and plead for reinforcements. But it was too late. Ord's inexperienced replacement became overwhelmed in his new role and failed to follow up the initial success. If Ord had not been wounded, Union forces might have been able to capture Richmond's outer defensive ring and threaten the Confederate capital.

In December 1864, Butler consolidated the VIII Corps and X Corps to form the new XXIV Corps and placed Ord in command. Grant subsequently removed Butler from command of the Army of the James in January 1865 and replaced him with Ord. The move made the native Marylander the third most important man on the Richmond-Petersburg front with 50,000 men under his command. As such, only Grant and Meade outranked him.

Grant ordered Ord to pull three divisions from his line and support the Army of the Potomac's thrust against Petersburg at the end of March 1865. When the Union army shattered the Confederate position at Petersburg on April 2, Lee led his army west toward Lynchburg all the while hugging the Southside Railroad.

Ord not only had charge of his own army during the final pursuit south of the Appomattox River, but also was entrusted by Grant with the V Corps. His orders were to cooperate with Sheridan's cavalry corps. At one point, Ord's men marched for 26 hours with no more than a total of three hours rest.

Meanwhile, Grant and Meade marched with the main body of the Army of the Potomac to cut off Lee's line of retreat. If Lee managed to escape the Grant-Ord-Sheridan pincer movement, he would be able to unite with General

Joseph E. Johnston's army battling Sherman in North Carolina. Ord, wearing an old battered felt hat and a muddy oilcloth coat, exhorted his men to march just a little while longer. He knew they were exhausted, but he also knew the end was in sight.

When Ord learned that Lee had finally agreed to surrender, he was ecstatic. He rode down the column shouting, "Your legs have done it, my men," recalled Brig. Gen. Joshua Chamberlain. Thus, Ord gave his men the credit they deserved for their role in the Appomattox campaign.

If anyone wanted to see the war come to an end, it was Ord. He was fortunate to be one of the Union officers present with Grant at the McLean House when Lee signed the surrender. Afterward, Ord purchased the marble-top table where Lee signed the surrender document.

Ord remained in the army after the war, commanding several departments during Reconstruction, one of which was the Department of Texas. After accepting the post in 1875, Ord helped keep the peace on the U.S.-Mexican border. This occasionally involved pursuing renegade Indians and bandits into Mexico. During this time, he worked closely with his counterpart on the Mexican side, Jeronimo Trevino. In 1882 Trevino wed Ord's daughter Roberta. At times at odds with his superiors on his policy, Ord worked hard to keep the border safe and maintain good relations between the neighboring countries.

Library of Congress

Major General Ord purchased the marble-top table on which Lee signed the surrender document.

Nineteenth U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes signed the order forcing Ord into retirement at the mandatory age of 62 in December 1880. He was reluctant to turn over command after 45 years of service in the army. Broke and unemployed, Ord subsequently worked as a civilian agent in Mexico for the Southern Pacific Railroad and Standard Oil Company. After his term of employment ended, Ord joined another company, the Mexican Southern Railroad, which was managed by Grant. While working under Grant, Ord laid the groundwork for a railroad connecting Mexico City to Oaxaca.

While returning from Mexico by steamer to New York, Ord contracted yellow fever. He succumbed to the disease on July 22, 1883, in Havana, Cuba. His body initially was interred in Oak Hill Cemetery in Washington, D.C., but it was relocated to Arlington National Cemetery in 1900.

Throughout his career, Ord proved himself to be a resourceful, brave, and aggressive commander. Although Ord was occasionally willful and cantankerous, Grant overlooked these flaws and brought the best out in him. Grant's faith in Ord is evidenced by the way he gave Ord important posts during some of the Union Army's greatest campaigns, most notably, Vicksburg, Petersburg, and Appomattox. □

By Kevin Morrow

German agent Curt Prufer sought to incite Muslims against the British in the Near East during World War I.

ROBERT MORS WAS IN SERIOUS TROUBLE. IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS had stopped him for questioning upon his arrival at the port of Alexandria, Egypt, from Istanbul, and they immediately became suspicious. Great Britain and Germany were at war, and the British-controlled government of Egypt had begun expelling Germans from the country. So why was this man, an admitted German citizen, trying to get back in?

A search of Mors and his luggage yielded two boxes of dynamite blasting caps, a hand-drawn map of the nearby Suez Canal, and slips of paper with ciphered messages. They clearly had nabbed a spy and saboteur.

British intelligence had been observing ominous movements of fighters and agitators across the Middle East for weeks, suspecting that the neutral Turks were plotting to enter the war on Germany's side. Additionally, there was already underway a campaign of bombings and guerrilla attacks accompanied by propaganda designed to foment revolt in Egypt. These events constituted the opening salvos of a looming invasion.

Mors exposed several key figures behind the plots underway in Istanbul during his interrogation. One of these involved his handler, Curt Prufer, an Arabic scholar who had served as a diplomat at Germany's consulate in Cairo before the war. In his official capacity, Prufer handled interpretation and translation services for the consulate. But, unofficially, he moonlighted as an agent provocateur. Specifically, he incited Egyptian nationalists and Islamists against Britain through clandestine rabble-rousing meetings, interviews in the Egyptian press, and even an anti-British preaching tour among Bedouin sheikhs in Syria and Egypt.

Trina Prufer Collection

Prufer's subversion tactics borrowed a page from the Muslim holy war tactic embraced a generation earlier by German foreign policy adventurists who designed the approach as a victory strategy for the coming European conflict. They believed that if they incited Muslims in rival European empires to revolt, then the Muslims would defect to the Ottoman Empire, the standard bearer of global Islam. Fighting alongside the Turks as allies, Germany could then destroy enemy forces diverted from Europe to put the fires out, win the war, and gain

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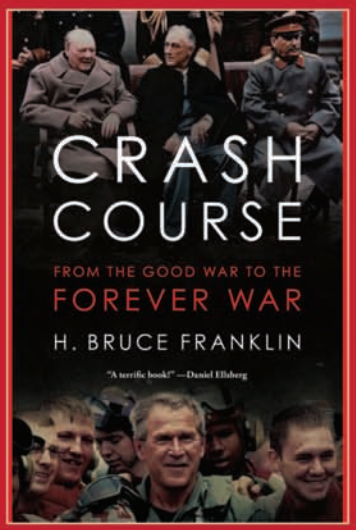
Turco-German forces during the surprise attack at Qatiyeh in the Sinai desert in April 1916, which occurred a few months before the sec-ond expedition against the Suez Canal. INSET: Curt Prufer in an Ottoman uniform in 1914.

From GOOD WAR to FOREVER WAR



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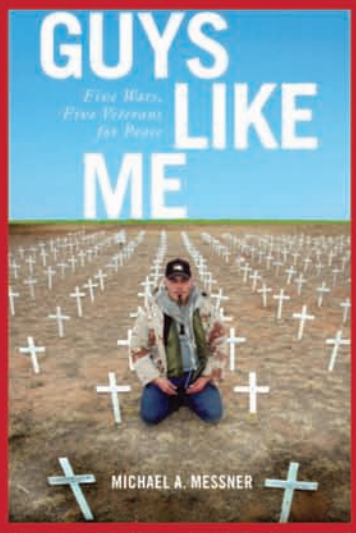

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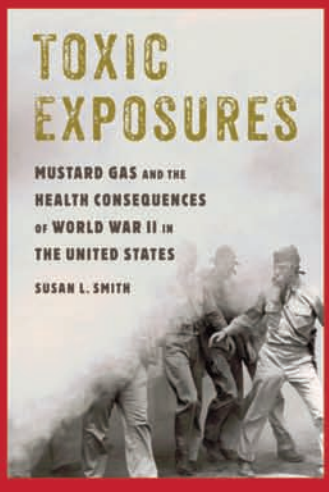

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a greatly expanded Middle East empire.

When the holy war strategy became official German policy after the outbreak of fighting in August 1914, Prufer immediately volunteered his special skills to the German Foreign Office, promising to incite unrest in Egypt. On August 28 he was bound for Istanbul to run Germany's espionage, propaganda, and sabotage operations in Ottoman territory alongside his new Turkish allies.

No effective German covert activities organization existed in the region, so Prufer had to create a concept from scratch using locally available Egyptian and German expatriates, local Arabs, and Ottoman paramilitary forces. During two frenetically busy weeks in Istanbul, Prufer labored ceaselessly to organize and equip them with German cash, guns, and propaganda materials and to spur them into action using his considerable powers of persuasion.

The covert operations chief left Istanbul on September 20 for a tour of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine to enlist pro-Turkish, urban Arab elites in the Ottoman war effort as media propagandists and roving holy war recruiters. Meanwhile, the first agents of Prufer's new spy ring began volunteering for intelligence-gathering duty in Egypt and Sinai. These were mostly Arab men whose livelihoods allowed substantial freedom of movement that provided perfect cover for their activities, such as the Palestinian mufti of Haifa Sheikh Muhammad Murad, Damascus camel merchant Muhammad al Bassam, and railway mechanic 'Abd al Hamid Yusuf.

Norbert Schwake Collection

German agent Curt Prufer accompanied the Ottoman army that marched through the Sinai desert in January 1915. When the attack on the Suez Canal failed, Prufer hurried back to Jerusalem on camel back.

Over the next three months, the Prufer ring assembled an incredibly detailed picture of British fortifications, troop strengths, and weapons in Egypt and at the Suez Canal. Though Prufer himself became dissatisfied with his agents' performance, their intelligence misfires hardly surpassed those of British intelligence in Cairo, which frequently had to fly blind during the war's early months.

Even as he was sending spies to infiltrate Egypt and Sinai, Prufer was closely monitoring the loyalties of his Arab collaborators, some of whom were suspected as enemy spies or clandestine Arab nationalists. Prufer's Turkish superiors worried most of all about the shaky loyalties of the stubbornly independent-minded Bedouin chieftains inside Arabia, as the Turks anxiously desired the participation of leaders from the birthplace of Islam in the holy war. Prufer devoted special attention to keeping tabs on the most prominent Arabian sheikhs through his informants in the camel trade.

Of Sharif Hussein bin Ali, the emir of Mecca and future leader of the Arab Revolt, Prufer reported on November 3 that he "is English through and through, but luckily powerless and in our hand. An encroachment of [future Saudi king] Ibn Sa'ud on Medina is unlikely. All the

same, Ibn Rashid is so thoroughly preoccupied with him that he is no longer worth considering for our expedition."

Throughout the autumn of 1914, the Turks had dragged their feet in entering the war. But on October 29 they allowed a German-led surprise naval attack on Russian ships and shore facilities in the Black Sea. The war in the Middle East had officially begun.

Two and a half months later, a 17,000-man Ottoman attack force stood fully assembled at a camp near Beersheba in southern Palestine, ready to push off for the first major military campaign in the Middle East, the attack on Egypt. At midnight on January 13, 1915, the army headed west into the Sinai desert. Prufer, who had finished his preparations by then, departed with the army.

The Ottoman army endured rain, sandstorms, bitter cold nights, boredom, and weariness for 17 days. Their travails occasionally were relieved by halts at staging camps throughout the Sinai. Prufer's sector was quiet until an enemy airplane bombed his camp on January 26. The incident was Prufer's first taste of combat. "I confess that the hammering of the bombs, the powerful explosion and the black billowing smoke somewhat scared me, although I did my best to hide it," he wrote.

Far worse things awaited the Turkish army at the Suez Canal where 30,000 British and Commonwealth troops had dug in along a 100-mile front, shielded by fortified posts, trenches, and armored trains equipped with artillery. Most ominous were the battle cruisers that controlled the flat, coverless terrain east of the canal. "Seems to me to be a disaster," Prufer wrote on January 30. "We will be destroyed before we have actually come in the vicinity of the canal."

When troops began dragging their pontoon boats toward the canal to force a crossing in the predawn darkness of February 3, enemy machine-gun fire riddled and sank many of the boats, forcing the attackers to retreat. British forces repelled a second crossing attempt at dawn spearheaded by infantry attacks against shore outposts and an artillery duel with the warships.

Prufer and a column of engineers waited impatiently all day long for the signal to commence blocking the canal with sandbags after the army had crossed. The signal never came. The attack failed, so the next morning an orderly retreat back to Palestine began. Prufer rushed back toward Jerusalem on camelback, stopping February 9 at Hafir al Awja on the Palestine-Sinai border to hammer out two after-action reports.

His report to Hans von Wangenheim, the

German ambassador in Istanbul, dispassionately catalogued the expedition's failings. The Turks suffered from poor water, meager provisions, and a lack of long-range artillery pieces and aviators. Moreover, their camels were dying at an alarming rate from fatigue. The Arab spies that Prufer had sent into Sinai and Egypt were "cowardly, and as civilians, mostly unreliable in their reports, because they were not able to clearly see the military situation correctly," he wrote. Efforts to incite a holy war produced neither battlefield defections nor a revolt in Egypt. "Although the Turkish losses are heavy, the talk cannot be of a catastrophe, nor of a defeat, by any means," he concluded. The expedition actually was intended as a reconnaissance in force.

Prufer's report to Max von Oppenheim, his former mentor in Cairo, was even more blunt. The Egyptians were cowards and lacking in patriotism, while the Syrians and Palestinians were essentially useless owing to traditional Arab-Turk enmity. "The holy war is a tragicomedy," and all the Arabian and Levantine Bedouins, Kurds, and Druze either quit the battle prematurely, deserted, or stayed behind in Palestine.

Planning for a second canal attack began immediately after the debacle in February. Prufer seized the opportunity to reinvent his intelligence organization by replacing his Arab agents with Jews from Palestine. On April 8 Prufer dispatched three new spies from his base of operations in Jerusalem to Egypt under the cover of false identities. Collectively, they gleaned a wealth of information, including interesting reports of Anglo-Egyptian tensions and discipline problems with Australian and New Zealand troops, who rioted in Cairo in April.

Norbert Schwake Collection

A group photo of Flight Detachment 300 with Curt Prufer in the middle of the back row.

Although Prufer's agents were spying in Egypt, Turkish counterintelligence uncovered an Arab nationalist plot to revolt against the Ottoman government. The consequent hanging of 11 suspects in Beirut on August 21 greatly enraged Ottoman Arabs and sorely tested their loyalties. In November Ahmet Djemal Pasha, the Ottoman governor of the Arab provinces, sent Prufer to Haifa, Damascus, and Beirut to gauge whether the anti-Turkish mood among Jews and Arabs merited special surveillance. Although Prufer found tremendous Anglo-French sympathy among Jews and Arab Christians, he believed it presented minimal danger to national security. The predominantly Muslim Arab nationalist movement, owing to just and severe measures of the government, was weakened, while most other Muslims supported the government. He therefore believed that new police measures were unnecessary.

In May 1916 Prufer unexpectedly quit his post as intelligence chief. Disgruntled over disputes with Djemal and a conviction that "the intelligence system [was] being run almost exclusively by the Turks," Prufer enlisted as an observer with Flight Detachment 300, the Ger-

man air group based in Beersheba. By joining he sought to collect intelligence not just from the ground, but also from the air.

In his first flight on May 5, Prufer narrowly escaped a crash landing. Undeterred, he quickly settled into a routine of flight and weapons training, bombing attacks, and reconnaissance flights over Egypt and Sinai.

On June 9 the airmen received some electrifying news that potentially might alter the shape of the war in the Middle East. They learned that Sharif Hussein had revolted against the Turks. "The revolt in the Hijaz is intensifying," wrote Prufer, who noted that he had warned German officials about the sheikh.

Momentous as this fire in the Ottoman rear became in subsequent months, the main action in mid-1916 still remained the imminent attack on the Suez Canal. It aimed at seizing Britain's forward-most defenses in Sinai, which were the fortifications at the village of Romani near the Mediterranean coast, as a forward artillery position for bombarding shipping in the nearby canal.

Logistical headaches and troop redeployments to other fronts had repeatedly delayed this second attack, but everything was ready by late July. Once again, a Turco-Germanic force trekked into the Sinai Desert to take on the British army known as the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, or EEF.

The first infantry assaults on EEF defenses came before dawn on August 4. For several hours, the Turks slowly pushed the enemy back with infantry attacks and accurate artillery fire, while Prufer and his fellow airmen bombed enemy encampments near Romani. Despite these attacks from air and ground forces, the EEF doggedly held the line throughout the day. Deep desert sand, brutal summer heat, and a stream of enemy reinforcements eventually wore the attackers down, and by early the next day, the expeditionary force was retreating, pursued by mounted enemy troops.

Britain's victory at Romani proved to be the decisive turning point in the Middle East war. The threat to Egypt was destroyed, and the EEF advance now turned eastwards toward the heart of Ottoman territory.

The clash at Romani also ended Prufer's combat service. Exhausted and sick after two years of constant action, he returned to Berlin, where he was promoted to lead the Istanbul branch of the News Bureau for the Orient, the German Foreign Office's official disseminator of holy war propaganda.

The Foreign Office had by then abandoned its propaganda's shrill Islamist tone and adopted a new, nongovernmental front organization

Continued on page 69

RACE

THE TROOPS OF GERMANY'S ARMY GROUP CENTER WERE MORE THAN A WEEK into a fresh offensive to capture Moscow on July 14 when they approached the historic battlefield of Borodino where the Russians delayed Napoleon's advance on Moscow in 1812. Dug in on the battlefield were the forward elements of a fresh division from the Soviet Union's Far East Military District that had been rushed to Moscow to thwart the German drive on the Soviet capital.

The burly men, outfitted in fur caps, great coats, and fur boots, belonged to Colonel Viktor Polosukhin's 32nd Siberian Rifle Division, which had arrived from Vladivostok by rail and reached the old battlefield several days earlier. As soon as they arrived, they entrenched and constructed emplacements for their artillery. Stalin had reinforced the division's three rifle regiments—the 17th, 113th, and 322nd —with two armored brigades equipped with T-34 and KV-1 tanks.

Approaching their position were elements of General Erich Hoepner's Panzer Group 4. Hoepner had tasked Lt. Gen. Friedrich Kirchner, commander of the 10th Panzer Division, with the destruction of the troops in and around Borodino. Kirchner assigned some of his best units for the hard fighting that lay ahead.

The tactical plan called for Colonel Bruno Witter von Hauenschild to lead his infantry brigade and the SS Reich Motorized Infantry Division in a frontal assault while the 7th Panzer Regiment moved to outflank the Siberians. The attacking armor and infantry were supported by Stuka dive bombers, 88mm flak guns, and Nebelwerfer rocket launchers.

As the battle unfolded, T-34 medium tanks counterattacked in mass formations. The Germans put their powerful 88mm flak guns to work as tank busters. Soviet artillery units and mortar batteries blasted the German grenadiers as they fought their way forward through minefields and barbed wire.

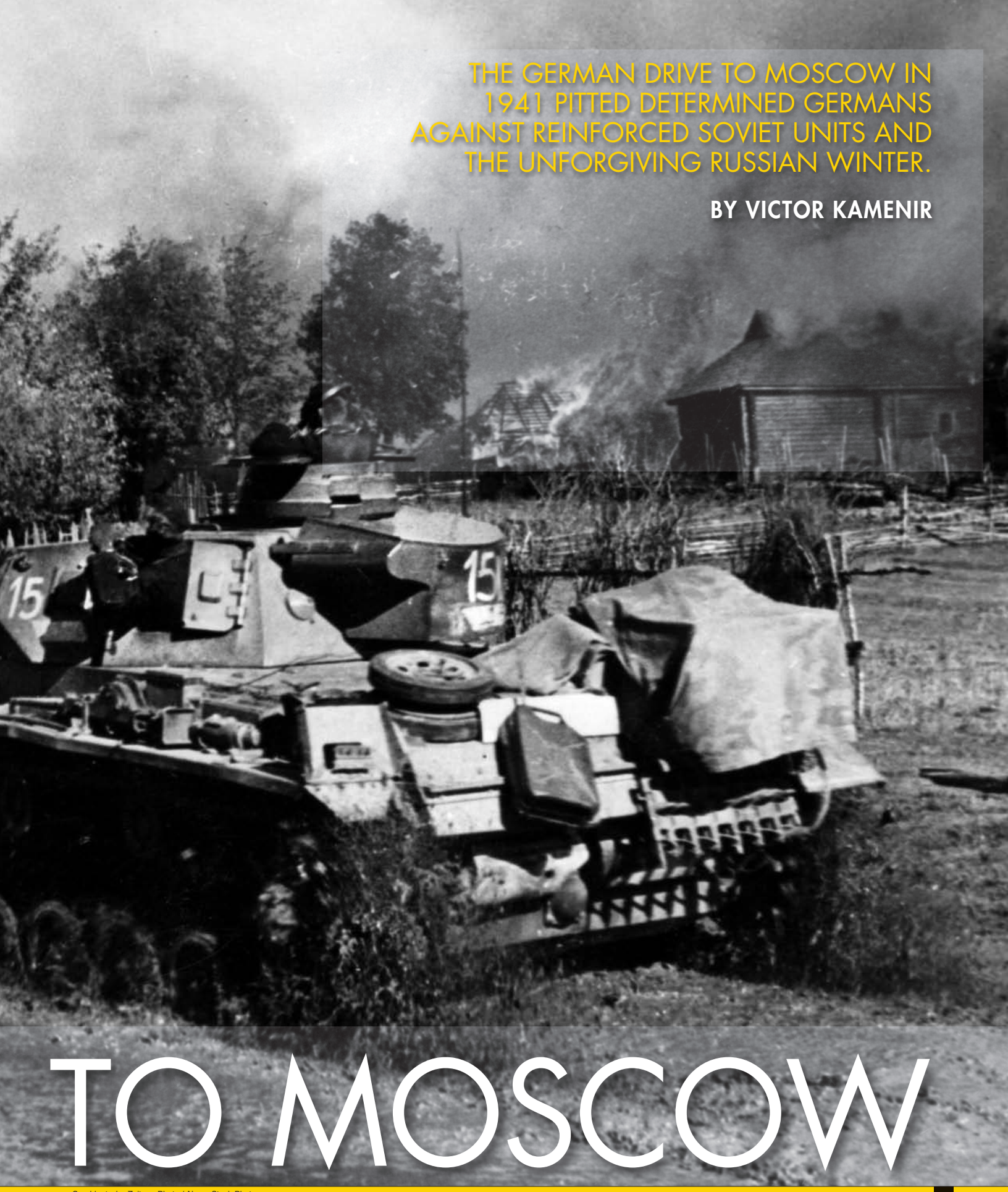
The slugfest at Borodino lasted for nearly a week before threats from the flanks forced the Soviets to retreat. The 32nd Rifle Division was mauled by the Germans, although it inflicted grievous losses on the attacking German units; for example, the Third Infantry Regiment of the SS Reich Motorized Infantry Division suffered such heavy losses that it had to be disbanded and its survivors distributed to other regiments in the division. Nevertheless, the Germans pushed on to the next Soviet line of defense, the Mozhaisk Line. Stalin believed that the 17th Rifle Regiment in particular had fought with great valor, and he therefore awarded it the Order of the Red Banner.

On June 22, 1941, the Germans had invaded the Soviet Union in a surprise attack involving 3.6 million German and other Axis troops organized into 153 divisions. Hitler and his generals had organized the attacking troops into three army groups for the invasion, which was codenamed Operation Barbarossa. Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb's Army Group North was ordered to push toward Leningrad, Field Marshal Fedor Von Bock's Army Group Center was tasked with capturing Moscow, and Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group South was sent into the Ukraine to secure the Donets Basin. The Oberkommando des Heeres (OKH), the German Army High Command, believed that the Red Army could be defeated west of the Dvina-Dnieper line, but it had not developed contingency plans if that did not occur as expected.

Despite suffering devastating losses early in the campaign, the Red Army did not collapse. It was able to hold itself together through the grim determination and draconian measures instituted by the ruling Communist party. The German timetable for a lightning-fast campaign to occupy all of the European Soviet Union within four months slowly began to unravel. Although German panzer formations continued their push eastward, infantry divisions fell far behind, not only because they lacked mechanized transport, but also because they had to methodically eliminate large pockets of Red Army troops.

Army Group Center became embroiled in a two-month-long slugfest known as the Battle of Smolensk in July. The battle raged over a swath of territory that was 400 miles long and 150 miles deep. It began on July 10 when General Heinz Guderian's Panzer Group 2 and General Herman Hoth's Panzer Group 3 advanced from Vitebsk toward Dukhovschina and Orsha toward Yelnya. Their objective was to encircle the Soviet 16th, 19th, and 20th Armies. During the titanic clash, the Germans were startled by the effec-

A German Panzer III slogs its way through the mud during the drive to Moscow in the autumn of 1941. Nearly every village through which the Germans passed was left in flames.



THE GERMAN DRIVE TO MOSCOW IN 1941 PITTED DETERMINED GERMANS AGAINST REINFORCED SOVIET UNITS AND THE UNFORGIVING RUSSIAN WINTER.

BY VICTOR KAMENIR

TO MOSCOW

Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo / Alamy Stock Photo

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-140-1212-04A; Photo: Gotze

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-141-1291-08; Photo: Momber

TOP: A column of German Sturmgeschutz assault guns prepares to move out. The Sturmgeschutz, with its signature low silhouette, was designed to assist German infantry in reducing enemy strongpoints. BOTTOM: The German 638th Infantry Regiment, a unit composed of French volunteers and Russian emigrants, participated in the massive offensive against Moscow.

tiveness the Soviet of T-34 medium tank and KV-1 heavy tank, Katyusha rocket launcher, and IL2 Sturmovik ground attack aircraft. These weapons platforms awed the Germans and they had no choice but to acknowledge that the Soviets had made impressive strides in military technology.

The T-34 medium tank was superior to any tanks the Germans had in action at the time. The T-34 outclassed the German Army's Panzer IV in many respects, including speed, armament, and armor. Its 76mm long gun was more effective than the Panzer IVs short-barreled 75mm gun. The two Soviet tanks had sloping hull and turret armor that enabled them to withstand all but the heaviest German antitank guns. Last but not least, both the T-34 and KV-1 had wide treads that gave them better traction on mud and snow than the German tanks.

Hitler and the generals of his personal staff in the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW) clashed sharply with the OKH generals in regard to how Barbarossa should proceed. The two highest ranking generals of the OKH were Field Marshal Walter von Brauchitsch, commander in chief of the Army, and General Franz Halder, chief of OKH general staff. They led a faction that believed that the capture of Moscow would destroy the Red Army's morale and quickly win the war. They were supported in this belief by Field Marshal Fedor von Bock, the commander of Army Group Center, and his hard-charging panzer generals Guderian and Hoth. As for Hitler, he had long favored the destruction of the Soviet field armies over capture of key objectives such as Moscow. Thus, Barbarossa had been a compromise of sorts between the opposing viewpoints.

But after nearly two months of hard fighting in which Army Group North and Army Group South had encountered difficulties, Hitler for all intents and purposes postponed the drive on Moscow by Army Group Center to reinforce the other two army groups. He ordered Hoth's panzers to reinforce Army Group North and Guderian's panzers to reinforce Army Group South. Valuable time was lost while Guderian assisted in the destruction of the General Mikhail Kirponos' Southwestern Front in the month-long Battle of Kiev that began in late August.

In early September, while the Battle of Kiev was still raging, Hitler believed that success on the northern and southern flanks had made a concerted push in the center imperative to bring about the total collapse of the Soviet resistance. Furthermore, he wanted to secure the economic resources of the Ukraine and shore up the flanks of Army Group Center.

Führer Directive 35, which was issued September 6, set forth that the successes on Barbarossa's flanks had made it possible to resume the advance in the center against Marshal Semyon Timoshenko's Western Front. Timoshenko's front "must be destroyed decisively before the onset of winter," the directive stated. With this in mind, von Bock and his staff developed a plan for the final push on Moscow, codenamed Operation Typhoon. In the initial stage of the operation, Panzer Groups 2, 3, and 4 were to surround and destroy the bulk of the Red Army forces facing Army Group Center in and around Vyazma and Bryansk. Next, the panzer groups would swing north and south of Moscow and link up at Noginsk, 20 miles east of the Soviet capital. The northern pincer, composed of the Hoth's Panzer Group 3 and General Erich Hoepner's Panzer Group 4, would strike at Moscow from the northwest through the city of Kalinin, while the southern pincer, Panzer Group 2, was to advance on Moscow from the southwest through Tula. Meanwhile, General Gunther von Kluge's 4th Field Army would advance directly toward Moscow from the west.

German forces for Operation Typhoon numbered approximately two million men, 1,700 tanks and assault guns, 14,000 artillery pieces and mortars, and 780 aircraft. Despite seemingly large numbers overall, German units began showing signs of fatigue. Attrition of men and matériel exceeded expectations and replace-

ments did not keep pace with casualties. This situation was especially serious in motorized formations, where loss of tanks and tracked and wheeled transport seriously affected the combat efficiency of the panzer divisions.

Despite the attrition, morale was high and German troops were confident of victory. "The last decisive battle of this year will deliver a destructive blow to the enemy," exhorted Hitler. "We will remove the threat to the German Reich and all of Europe, which has existed since the time of the Huns and the Mongols, of an invasion of the continent."

Deployed east of Smolensk, Army Group Center was opposed by Lt. Gen. Ivan Konev's Western Front, Marshal Semyon Budyonny's Reserve Front, and Lt. Gen. Andrey Yeremenko's Bryansk Front. The armies that made up the three Soviet fronts were exhausted from the sustained heavy fighting. Their effective strength at the time was 1,250 men, 1,000 tanks, and 7,600 artillery guns.

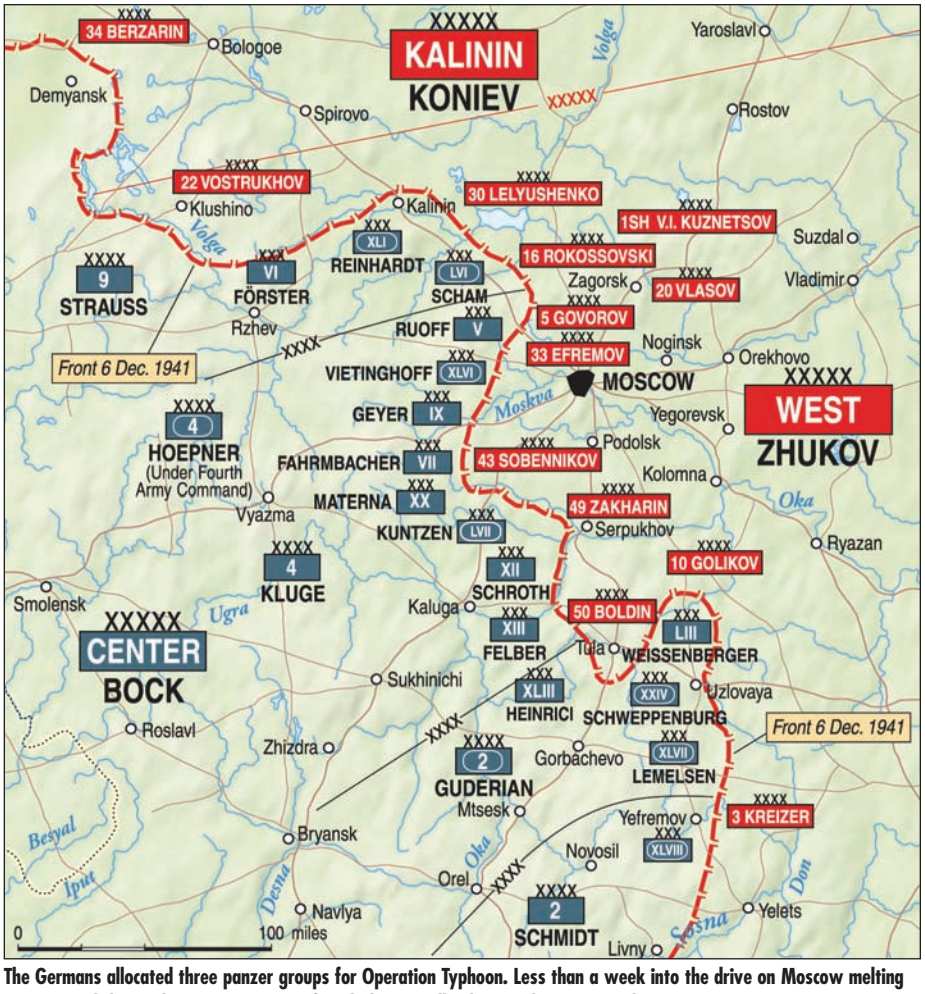
The Russians used rivers as defensive positions, especially the Desna River in the area of operation of the Bryansk Front; however, Soviet defenses lacked deployment in depth, continuous defensive lines, and sufficient antitank artillery. Soviet formations, especially those of the Western and Bryansk Fronts, were brittle after tremendous losses sustained during the summer fighting. To assist the hard-pressed fronts facing Army Group Center, Stavka concentrated reserves and equipment on the most threatened directions, particularly along the two highways leading to Moscow from the west.

Having the farthest distance to travel, Guderian's Panzer Group 2, which was deployed on Army Group Center's southern flank, was given a lead of three days over the other panzer groups. Guderian had some of the best units in the German Army. He had at his disposal five panzer divisions, four motorized infantry divisions, and the Grossdeutschland Motorized Infantry Regiment. Despite attrition, he still had 300 tanks.

Guderian's panzer units began their advance on September 30 against Yeremenko's Bryansk Front. They caught Maj. Gen. Arkady Ermakov's Operational Group by surprise. When he reported the German attack to Yeremenko, he was instructed to counterattack. He sent his 30 light tanks against Kampfgruppe Eberbach of the 4th Panzer Division on October 1 only to see them turned into flaming hulks. Once through the porous Soviet defenses in this sector, the XXIV Panzer Corps reached Orel on October 3, while the XLVII Panzer Corps captured Bryansk on October 6.

The rest of Army Group Center attacked on October 2. On Guderian's left, despite strong artillery and air support, the 2nd Field Army stalled in front of forward Soviet defenses along the Desna River in the face of determined Red Army opposition. Despite this, the 4th Field Army and Panzer Group 4 conducted a successful crossing of the Desna River and penetrated Soviet defensive positions up to 20 miles in several locations. In a similar manner, the 9th Field Army and Panzer Group 3, which were positioned on the left flank of Army Group Center, achieved substantial success and reached the Dnieper River on October 3.

Stavka's orders to the Bryansk Front to form a new defensive line came too late to save it from destruction. The capture of Bryansk by the XLVII Panzer Corps trapped three armies of the Bryansk Front in two pockets. The 50th Army became trapped in the Bryansk pocket north of the city, and the 3rd and 13th Armies were surrounded in the Trubchevsk pocket south of the city.



The Germans allocated three panzer groups for Operation Typhoon. Less than a week into the drive on Moscow melting snow turned the roads into a quagmire of mud, dramatically slowing the German advance.

Similarly, the 2nd and 10th Panzer Divisions from Hoepner's Panzer Group 4 closed the pincers east of Vyazma on October 10, thus trapping four armies of the Western and Reserve Fronts (19th, 20th, 24th, and 32nd) in a giant cauldron west of the city.

The outer encirclement rings initially were composed of German mobile formations that lacked the manpower to seal off all avenues of escape. The Soviet troops trapped in the pocket made repeated attempts to break out to the east. But as German infantry divisions moved up, the noose tightened around the Red Army troops and Luftwaffe aircraft unmercifully pounded their positions.

Some of the Red Army troops, their units astonishingly cohesive despite the constant shelling and bombing they endured, were able to escape their respective pockets during the following two weeks. They were reorganized and put in new defensive lines farther east. By the middle of October, the units still inside the Bryansk and Vyazma pockets began surrendering en masse. Although 85,000 soldiers escaped encirclement, the German Army captured 680,000 Soviet soldiers.

Even as the fighting continued in the Vyazma and Bryansk pockets, the first snow fell on October 7. The resulting snowmelt turned the Russian roads, most of which were unpaved, into a quag-

mire of mud. As a result, the German supply system slowed to a crawl. Heavy rains began a week later, heralding the arrival of the Rasputitsa (literally meaning time without roads) season in which travel on roads was extremely difficult because of muddy conditions. Rasputitsa, which occurs throughout Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine in the spring and fall, results from poor drainage of underlying clay-laden soils.

The Rasputitsa robbed the Germans of their mobility, which was one of their key advantages over Soviet forces. Vehicles broke down repeatedly or sunk to their axles in the sticky mud. Teams of men were commonly required to push and pull trucks and horse-drawn wagons out of the mud. Although Soviet forces also fell victim to the mud season, they had shorter supply lines than the Germans.

With the collapse of Soviet forward defenses, Stavka issued orders on October 9 for the creation of a new defensive line centered on the city of Mozhaisk, just 80 miles from Moscow. As survivors of Western, Reserve, and Bryansk Fronts trickled back, they reformed along the new defensive line. Western and Reserve Front units that had been mauled in combat were combined into the Western Front under the command of General Georgy Zhukov.

The Mozhaisk defensive line stretched for 180 miles in a shallow curve from the Ivankovo Reservoir on the Volga River north of Moscow to the city of Kaluga in the south. Zhukov, who was acutely aware that the 90,000 men under his command were woefully inadequate to create continuous defenses, concentrated his forces to defend main arterial roads leading to Moscow.

TOP: Soviet fighters guard the skies above Moscow. German air strikes against the city began on July 22 and continued for four months. BOTTOM: Approximately 100,000 civilians, three-quarters of whom were women, labored with picks and shovels to erect antitank ditches to protect Moscow.

Even before pockets at Bryansk and Vyazma were eliminated, the Germans resumed the offensive toward Moscow. As they advanced, they exploited gaps in the Soviet defenses. The exhausted Red Army units gave way, and the Mozhaisk defensive line collapsed within a week. On the northern flank, Major Josef Eckinger's advanced detachment of the Lt. Gen. Friedrich Kirchner's 1st Panzer Division captured Kalinin on October 14, in the process cutting the Leningrad-Moscow railway and capturing an intact bridge over the upper Volga. This put the Germans in that area just 93 miles from Moscow.

To defend Moscow from the north, three right-flank divisions of the Western Front were reorganized into a new Kalinin Front under Lt. Gen. Ivan Konev. In the center, the Russian cities of Maloyaroslavets, Mozhaisk, Naro-Fominsk, and Volokolamsk all fell in quick succession to the Germans. By the end of October, German forces stood within 50 miles of Moscow.

As the Germans pressed ever closer, the Soviet State Defense Committee issued orders on October 15 for the evacuation of governmental, cultural, and industrial institutions, as well as foreign embassies, from Moscow. The next day, wholesale departure from the capital began to the east. The evacuation and resulting panic became known as Bol'shoi Drap (Big Bug-Out). For three days beginning on October 16 all semblance of order in Moscow collapsed. Factories, stores, and civil administration stopped working. Buses and street cars did not run. Officials at all levels attempted to use their positions to secure transport for themselves and their families out of the city. At some factories, management attempted to pay the workers before shutting down, while at others, officials fled with the money. Some food stores attempted to distribute the food on hand, while others were stormed and looted by the panicked populace. The Russians looted the warehouses, and criminals robbed and committed various atrocities with impunity.

Civil order broke down entirely as Moscow residents assaulted public officials who they believed had forsaken them. Train stations were thrown into chaos as crowds stormed the trains to secure a seat. Roads to the east became clogged with streams of trucks, cars, buses, and horse-drawn wagons surrounded by people fleeing on foot. In just a few days, the population

of Moscow had been reduced almost by half.

When governmental institutions were evacuated, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and a handful of advisers assisted by skeleton staffs remained at their posts. The Soviet government on October 19 began reasserting order by draconian measures. Police and military patrols appeared on the streets in force. Captured looters and bandits were shot on the spot and within three days order was restored in the Soviet capital.

While lawlessness in Moscow was brought under control, the situation at the front became critical. On October 20 the State Defense Committee declared that Moscow was under siege. Three concentric defensive positions with extensive earthworks were established around the city. Stavka put Zhukov in charge of the outer perimeter and placed Lt. Gen. Pavel Artemyev, commander of Moscow's garrison, in charge of the city defenses.

The first defensive ring was an outer perimeter, the second defensive ring ran along Moscow's suburbs, and the third defensive ring was in the heart of downtown Moscow. Approximately 100,000 civilians from Moscow and its vicinity, three-quarters of whom were women, furiously labored mainly with picks and shovels to erect antitank obstacles and dig antitank ditches. Inside the city, the garrison and the workers' militia were tapped to defend an array of defenses that included barricades, antitank ditches, and gun emplacements. Unbeknown to the civilians, the majority of strategic objectives in Moscow were mined for demolition. Steps were taken to deal with every possible contingency; for example, resistance cells were organized to continue the struggle should the city fall to the Germans.

The Soviets created a formidable air defense system for Moscow consisting of one aviation and one air-defense corps. The 6th Fighter Corps numbered 600 aircraft, almost half of which were fighters. The 1st Air Defense Corps was armed with 1,000 antiaircraft guns and 300 quad machine guns. The defenders placed antiaircraft guns and machine guns on the roofs of Moscow's buildings. To pinpoint the German aircraft they used hundreds of searchlights, and to thwart flights over the city they launched barrage balloons. German aviators, many of whom were veterans of the London Blitz, said that they had never encountered as dense a curtain of antiaircraft fire as they did over Moscow.

The Germans had made their first major aerial bombardment of Moscow on July 22, 1941. In that bombing mission, 220 Luftwaffe aircraft had attacked in four waves over a period of five hours. Although Soviet air defenses took a heavy toll on German aircraft, air raids on Moscow steadily escalated, peaking in November of that year. The bombing continued steadily until June 1943. In total, the Germans destroyed 6,000 buildings and killed an estimated 2,000 civilians.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-049-0305-07A; Photo: Hugo Tannenberg

A German half-track is shown next to buildings destroyed by shellfire. By late October German panzer and motorized units had to contend not only with bad weather, but also with fuel shortages.

On October 26, delayed by bad weather and fuel shortages, leading elements of the 2nd Panzer Army arrived before the city of Tula, the traditional center of the Soviet Union's armaments industry. Survivors of Soviet 50th Army, after breaking out of the Bryansk pocket, conducted a fighting retreat to Tula, where the army was reorganized and reinforced.

A large militia regiment formed from the city's workers took an active part in the city's defense. Shifting the majority of the available fuel and ammunition to his leading XXIV Panzer Corps, Guderian launched repeated attacks against the city. Although the Germans reached the outskirts of Tula, they got no farther. While the fighting raged, Tula's factories worked around the clock producing ammunition and repairing vehicles. Unable to capture Tula, Guderian was forced to swing east in an attempt to reach Moscow on a parallel route through Kashira. By this time, the German advance had ground to a halt as a result of exhaustion and heavy attrition. Indeed, many of the German divisions were down to one-third of their men and equipment. OKH ordered a halt to offensive operations on October 31.

Stalin's determination and willingness to defend Moscow at all costs had paid off. A month earlier, on the same day that Guderian kicked-off Operation Typhoon, a conference took place in Moscow between Soviet, American, and British representatives. The United States had been providing economic assistance to the United Kingdom in its struggle against Hitler since January 1941. Stalin requested similar American and British assistance. U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt agreed on October 30 to extend to the $1 billion in interest-free loans to the Soviet Union for purchases of armaments and raw materials. The Russians already were receiving equipment, such as Matilda and Valentine tanks and Hawker Hurricane fighter aircraft, from the British government. It's worth noting, though, that the British and Americans did not give the Russians their best equipment.

To stiffen the resolve of the Red Army and the Soviet people, Stalin ordered the traditional military parade held on November 7 in Red Square in Moscow. Several of his advisers recommended canceling the parade, but Stalin insisted. Many commanders expressed concern that the German bombers would stage a massive attack to disrupt the parade and kill the Soviet leadership. To guard against this threat, the Soviet Air Force began preemptive strikes against German forward airfields two days before the scheduled parade. The weather also cooperated, for low clouds and heavy snow were forecast for the event, thus reducing the concern of military officials.

The Moscow garrison, as well as units moving through the city to the battlefront, marched past Stalin and other senior leaders of the Soviet Union where they stood atop Lenin's mausoleum on November 7. The show of determination was a great success. It demonstrated to the world the

TOP: Russian troops in foxholes outside Moscow await the inevitable German assault. The Germans faced enemy soldiers who were willing to lay down their lives in the defense of Mother Russia. BOTTOM: Russian troops in winter clothing march alongside a T-34. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin constantly demanded that the Red Army units attack, but General Georgy Zhukov told him that the troops were barely adequate for a defensive role.

strengths of the Soviet people and their intentions to continue the fight against the invaders.

During the first week of December, frost formed on the roads in the Moscow region. The frozen ground enabled German units to move not only on the roads, but also through the countryside.

Up to that point, sporadic fighting had occurred on the Moscow front as both sides reinforced their positions. Compared to the situation in October, the Red Army's condition improved significantly. Defensive positions of the three Soviet fronts stretched for 700 miles. Lt. Gen. Ivan Konev's Kalinin Front held the right flank, Marshal Georgy Zhukov's Western Front held the center, and Timoshenko's Southwestern Front held the left. Stavka had dissolved the Bryansk Front and distributed its units between the Western and Southwestern Fronts.

As for Moscow, it was protected by artillery and engineer units positioned astride strategic roads into the city. Soldiers and civilians alike stoically braced for the German attack. Not content with static defense, Stalin constantly demanded that the Red Army units attack. Zhukov attempted to convince Stalin that the forces under his command were barely adequate for defense let alone attack; however, there was no persuading Stalin.

Zhukov, therefore, reluctantly ordered Lt. Gen. Konstantin Rokossovsky's 16th Army to attack on October 16. Rokossovsky's three depleted divisions were reinforced by the fresh 316th Rifle Division under Maj. Gen. Ivan Panfilov and the 1st Guards Tank Brigade under Colonel Mikhail Katukov. A task force consisting of Rokossovsky's two rifle divisions, Katukov's tank brigade, and two cavalry divisions under Maj. Gen. Lev Dovator were to retake the town of Volokolamsk on the Moscow highway.

While Rokossovsky was preparing his forces, Army Group Center renewed its offensive on November 15. Its objective was Klin, which was situated northwest of Moscow. The spearhead of Panzer Group 4 was General Rudolf Veiel's 2nd Panzer Division, a relatively fresh unit. The division was outfitted with Panzer IIs, Panzer 38ts, and Panzer IIIs. It also had a small number of Panzer IVs.

The main thrust of the German offensive fell on Panfilov's 316th Rifle Division, which was the strongest division in Rokossovsky's command. Arriving from Siberia in August, the division spent most of the time in the reserve and was involved in active fighting only since October. Panfilov's division was bled dry after five days of fighting, having lost four-fifths of its personnel. Although they had inflicted heavy losses on the Russians, the Germans were able to make only minor inroads into the Soviet defenses. In many instances, they advanced less than two miles a day. The 2nd Panzer Division was not able to achieve its objective of capturing Klin by October 20. Nevertheless, the 7th Panzer Division of Panzer Group 3 captured the town three days later.

The situation was so dire that Stalin called Zhukov and demanded an honest answer as to whether Moscow could be saved. Zhukov replied that it could, but reserves needed to be deployed immediately. Stalin transferred three armies from the reserves, the 1st Shock Army under Lt. Gen. Vasili Kuznetsov, 10th Army under Maj. Gen. Mikhail Yefremov, and 20th Army under Maj. Gen. Andrei Vlasov to Zhukov's Western Front. Two armies, the 24th and 60th, were deployed to defend the city.

On November 27 Major Hans Freiherr von Funck's 7th Panzer Division seized a bridgehead on the Moscow-Volga Canal, the last natural terrain obstacle on the way to Moscow. Its leading elements stood within 20 miles Moscow's downtown, but the German offensive power was spent. A determined counterattack by the reserve 1st Shock and 20th Armies drove the Germans back.

Soviet combat engineers blew up six dams north of Moscow to hamper German progress. The resulting flooding inundated the surrounding low-lying terrain. A wall of water up to eight feet high and 30 miles wide flooded some villages, drowning residents

who had not been warned because of the desire not to jeopardize security.

In the south Guderian renewed the offensive on November 18 by attempting to bypass Tula toward Kashira; however, the exhausted Germans were making slow progress, at times barely five miles a day, in the face of constant Soviet counterattacks. By November 27 Guderian's offensive petered out and the threat to Moscow from the south was permanently eliminated. "The troops were no longer strong enough to capture Moscow and I therefore decided with a heavy heart, on the evening of December 5, to break off our fruitless attack and withdraw to a previously selected and relatively short line which I hope I shall be able to hold with what is left of my forces," Guderian wrote about the situation.

Having encountered strong resistance north and south of Moscow, Army Group Center launched a frontal attack on Moscow with the 4th Field Army on December 1. The Germans fought their way east along the Smolensk-Moscow highway. The German attack, supported by a small number of tanks, ran into well-prepared positions of the Soviet 1st Guards Motor Rifle Divisions. Counterattacked in the flanks and unable to break through frontally, the German offensive stalled. On December 2 the 1st Shock and 20th Armies began steadily pushing back the Germans. The 20th Army in particular achieved such success at the village of Krasnaya Polyana, its commander, Lt. Gen. Andrey Vlasov, became known as the Savior of Moscow among the Russian troops.

At the tip of the German advance was the 638th Infantry Regiment, a unit composed of French volunteers and Russian emigrants. Unlike the Frenchmen led by Napoleon during his invasion in 1812, the men of the Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism did not reach Moscow, coming only within 20 miles of the Kremlin.

Lacking proper winter clothing, German troops suffered severely as the temperatures plummeted. Since German war planners had intended to defeat the Soviet Union by wintertime, the Wehrmacht had only manufactured enough winter clothing to supply those divisions that were to remain in Russia on occupation duty.

In some German units the losses from sickness and frostbite exceeded those from combat. To further exacerbate the plight of German frontline soldiers, the delivery of warm clothing was pilfered by the rear-echelon troops and only a small amount reached the front lines. To make up the shortfall, German soldiers turned to looting warm clothing from the Russian population. Freezing German soldiers near the front lines expelled Russian civilians from their homes.

Taking advantage of the German vulnerability, the Soviets parachuted saboteurs and commandos behind enemy lines with orders to burn homes and barns that the Germans used for shelter from the freezing temperatures. Their efforts frequently doomed their own citizens to a cold death as well. There were instances when local residents, in an effort to protect their homes, would capture the arsonists and turn them over to the Germans.

The Soviet high command ordered a massive counteroffensive in early December in an effort to relieve pressure on Moscow. Although German intelligence knew of the Red Army reserves staging to the east of Moscow, the strength of the Soviet attack shocked the Germans.

As early as September, Stavka had been steadily shifting the bulk of its divisions from the Far East Military District to the Moscow theater. Red Army divisions from Siberia, fully mobilized and held in readiness since June, formed the majority of Soviet strategic reserves. The front-ine forces of the Kalinin, Western, and Southwestern Fronts, combined with 58 divisions of the strategic reserves, numbered 1.1 million men, slightly more than the Germans facing them.

The units of the Kalinin Front switched to the offensive on December 5. They were followed the next day by units of the Western and Southwestern Fronts. At the start of the counterattack, the majority of fresh reserve divisions were distributed among the armies of the Western Front. This meant that the Kalinin and Southwestern Fronts had to carry on understrength and exhausted during the December fighting.

Soviet ground attack aircraft pummel German tanks in this detail from a Russian panoramic mural. The strength of the Soviet counterattack in December shocked the Germans.

After several days of heavy positional fighting, Soviet forces began to penetrate German positions up to 10 miles in some places. Quickly committing reserves to exploit even the minor breakthroughs, the Red Army maintained pressure against both the flanks and rear of those German units still defending their positions. Two cavalry corps and one mounted mechanized group were sent to exploit the gaps and conduct raids behind German lines. Faced with a slowly crumbling front line, the Germans slowly began to fall back to avoid encirclement.

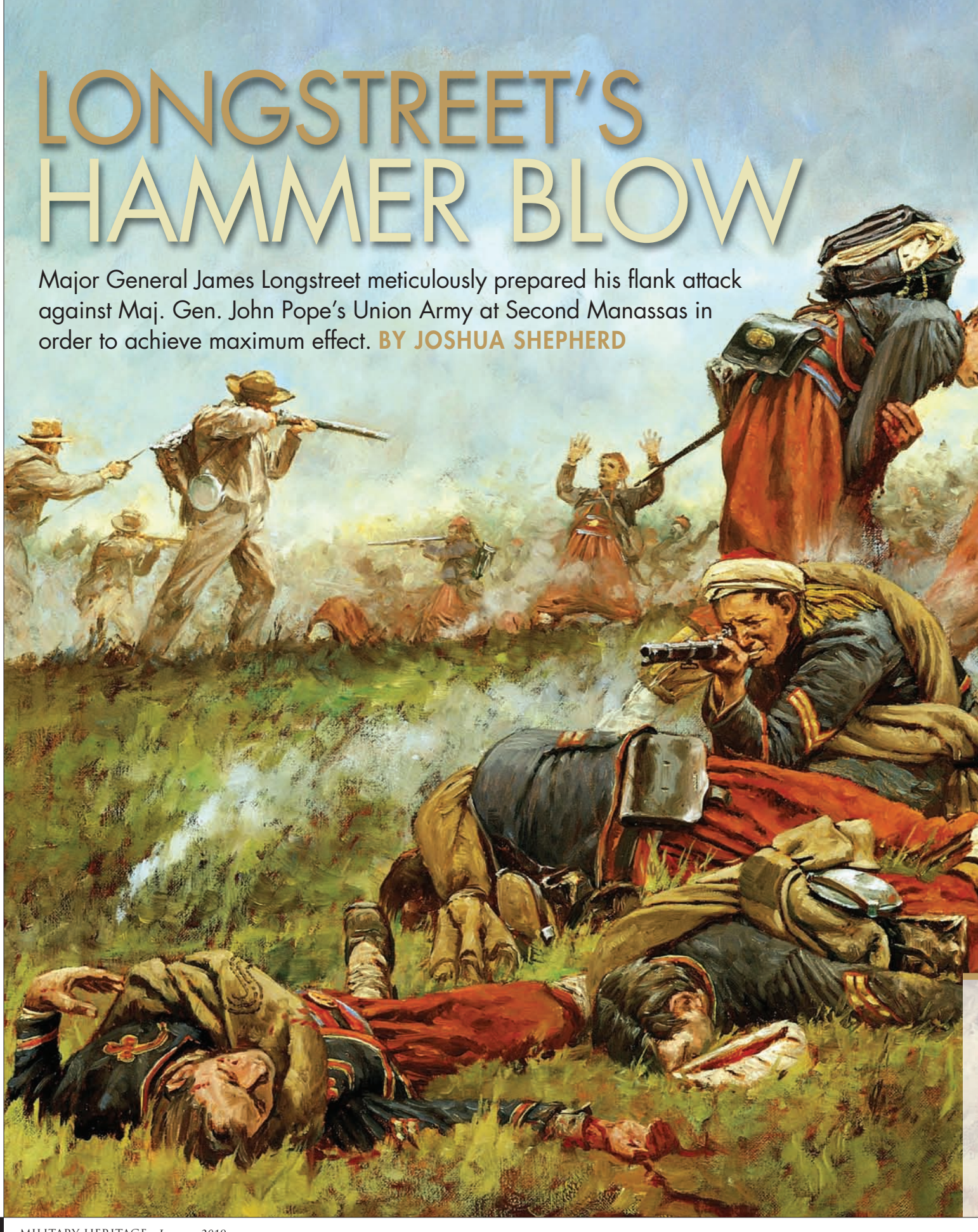
Faced with alarming reports, on December 8 Hitler reluctantly signed Directive No. 39, ordering the Wehrmacht to go on the defensive along the whole front. In some places German commanders pulled back to eliminate bulges in the front line. The shortening of lines occasionally resulted in the creation of reserves. On December 14 Halder and Gunther von Kluge, the commander of the 4th Field Army, gave permission for a limited withdrawal west of the Oka River without first seeking Hitler's approval. When Hitler learned of this he was irate. He rescinded the order six days later, reminding his generals that they were to defend every inch of hard-won ground.

Enraged with the failure of Operation Typhoon, Hitler needed scapegoats and began a wholesale dismissal of senior commanders. On December 19, Hitler dismissed von Brauchitsch for

Continued on page 68

LONGSTREET'S HAMMER BLOW

Major General James Longstreet meticulously prepared his flank attack against Maj. Gen. John Pope's Union Army at Second Manassas in order to achieve maximum effect. **BY JOSHUA SHEPHERD**



The brightly uniformed Zouaves of the 5th New York Volunteer Infantry suffered heavy losses at the outset of the massive Confederate flank attack on August 30. They were overrun by troops of Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood's division, which spearheaded the impressive assault.

In the rolling fields on the south side of the Warrenton Turnpike, the men of the 5th New York of Colonel Gouverneur K. Warren's brigade counted themselves among the luckiest troops in the Federal Army of Virginia. By late afternoon on August 30, 1862, Maj. Gen. John Pope's newly constituted Army of Virginia had grappled with the Confederates for three straight days. But the Federals had little to show for their effort other than a line of battle littered with dead. The New Yorkers, positioned on the army's left flank, had spent an uneventful day away from the main firing line.

It was a welcome respite. Stationed on a bald ridge fronted by timber, the regiment's 500 Zouaves idled away the afternoon. Their brightly colored uniforms were inspired by those worn by French army units operating in the hot climate and rough terrain of North Africa. Each man wore white leggings, baggy red pants, a short blue jacket, and a tasseled red fez. Since no attack was expected in that sector, their officers had ordered arms stacked. Some dozed in the shade, while others played cards. Despite the unit's relaxed stance, some of the men felt their role in the battle seemed too good to be true. One of these men was Private Alfred Davenport. He kept close watch on a stand of timber to the west. He had the unshakable impression that "some mischief was brewing."

Shortly after 4 PM his fears proved all too true. A terrified group of Yankee skirmishers dashed up the ridge, frantically waving toward the trees. They shouted that the Confederates were com-

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Major General J.E.B. Stuart's 1,500 horsemen sacked Maj. Gen. John Pope's headquarters at Catlett's Station while Pope was elsewhere. The Rebel horsemen took $350,000 in cash, Pope's dispatch book, and his dress uniform coat.

ing and would be on top of them in a matter of minutes. The startled Zouaves scrambled to form up and face the threat just as the tree line erupted with a sheet of musketry that felled dozens of men in seconds. "The balls began to fly from the woods like hail," thought Davenport. The regiment was assailed by the howling Rebels of the crack Texas Brigade. The Texans spearheaded the flank attack conceived by Maj. Gen. James Longstreet, commander of the Confederate right wing, which aimed to destroy Pope's army.

The seeds of the audacious attack had been laid on the Virginia Peninsula that spring. Since March 1862, Maj. Gen. George McClellan's Army of the Potomac had inched its way toward the Confederate capital at Richmond. McClellan had trumpeted great hope for his flanking move by water against Richmond. Almost as soon as he landed, though, he lost his nerve. He believed he was heavily outnumbered by the Confederates.

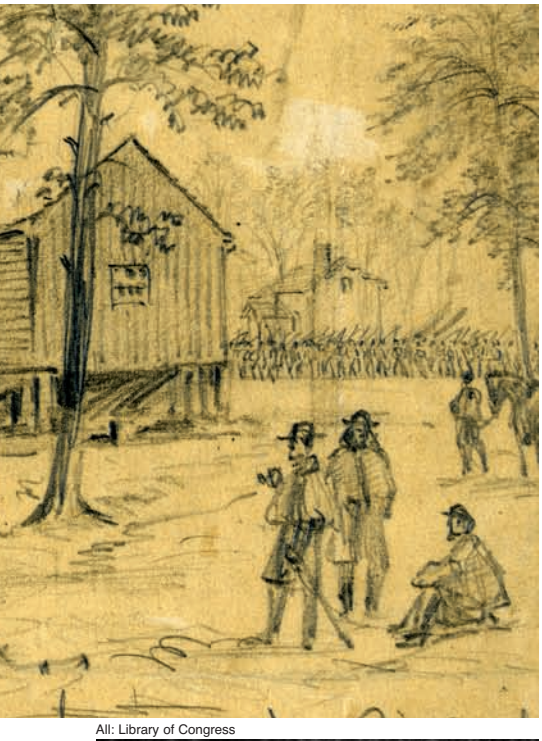
A portentous event occurred when Confederate Army of Northern Virginia commander General Joseph E. Johnston was seriously wounded during the fighting at Seven Pines on June 1. His replacement was General Robert E. Lee, a gifted engineer who previously had served as an adviser to Confederate President Jefferson Davis before being sent to northwestern Virginia in August 1861 to stem the Union advance east toward the Shenandoah Valley along the Staunton-Parkersburg Pike. After overseeing the defense of the coast of South Carolina and Georgia in late autumn, he returned to Richmond to continue advising Davis. When it became apparent Johnson would not return quickly to battlefield command, Davis put Lee in charge of the 55,000-strong Confederate field army. McClellan initially dismissed Lee as a Southern patrician who lacked experience commanding large armies. He soon had reason to reconsider his view of Lee.

Both Johnson and Lee preferred fighting McClellan in open terrain rather than from inside the Richmond defenses. A reconnaissance by Confederate cavalry under Brig. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart revealed that Maj. Gen. Fitz John Porter's Union V Corps was deployed north of the Chickahominy River, while the rest of the Union army was south of the river. Lee counterattacked on June 26, concentrating his forces against Porter's at Mechanicsville. In what became known as the Seven Days' Battles, Lee repeatedly attacked McClellan until his back was against the James River at Malvern Hill. The Confederate counterattack removed the threat McClellan posed to Richmond and solidified Lee's reputation as an aggressive commander.

Exasperated by a glaring lack of aggression from his leading field commander, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln quickly considered his options for sacking McClellan. Lincoln appointed Pope to open a fresh offensive in northern Virginia. A graduate of West Point and a veteran of the Mexican War, Pope had shown tactical acumen by successfully capturing the Confederate outpost at Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River in April 1862, which earned him his second star. Lincoln believed that Pope had the aggressive nature to take the war to the enemy and boost the dwindling Union morale in the Virginia theater of operations. Pope successfully persuaded Lincoln to withdraw McClellan's forces from the Virginia Peninsula and combine the two armies under Pope's command.

Pope sparked a visceral reaction from friend and foe alike, but not the kind that Lincoln had in mind. He nettled everyone by bragging about his accomplishments in the West and making bombastic proclamations as he consolidated the scattered detachments that would constitute his newly created Army of Virginia. Pope's machinations infuriated senior officers loyal to McClellan. On July 14, 1862, Pope issued an address to his new army that infuriated many of the officers he would be commanding.

"The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy," wrote Pope. "Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before us, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance, disaster and shame lurk in the rear." A number of officers voiced annoyance at the insolent tone of the proclamation. Porter, who was slated to serve under Pope, quipped that his new commander "has now written himself down as what the military world has long



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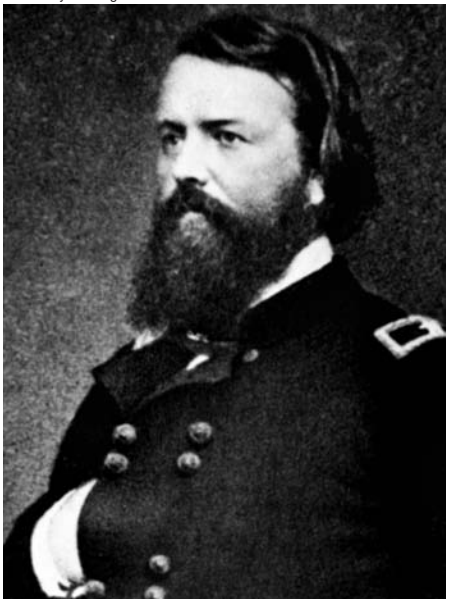

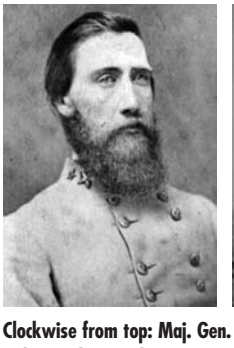

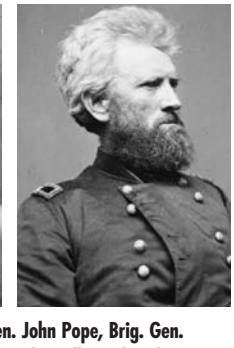

Clockwise from top: Maj. Gen. John Pope, Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy, and Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood. Milroy helped stem the Confederate onslaught on Henry Hill, while Hood made an impressive showing as a divisional commander.

known, an ass."

He also succeeded in raising the ire of Confederate commanders. Exasperated by what he considered a soft policy by the Union army toward Confederate civilians, Pope issued a string of orders intended to bring the harsh realities of war to the secessionists in Virginia. He ordered foraging on a mass scale, threatened to burn the homes of those who aided guerrillas, and demanded oaths of allegiance from male civilians. Lee called him a miscreant.

Although Pope expressed no interest in his lines of communication, Lee gave them careful scrutiny. Lee was informed on July 12 that Federal troops had moved on Culpeper and were within striking distance of the vital rail hub at Gordonsville where the Virginia Central Railroad met the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Gambling that McClellan would remain idle, Lee immediately dispatched two divisions to Gordonsville under the command of Maj. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, the hero of First Manassas. Far from content to assume the static defense of a rail depot, Jackson requested reinforcements. In response, Lee sent Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill's Light Division on July 27. Clearly seething at the Yankee crackdown on Virginia civilians, Lee told Jackson to teach the arrogant Pope a lesson he would not soon forget. "I want Pope to be suppressed," Lee wrote.

With nearly half of Lee's army at his disposal, Jackson had the means to begin fulfilling Lee's order. As Jackson's 24,000-strong column moved north from Orange toward Culpeper, it encountered Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks 12,000-strong II Corps in an exposed position at Cedar Run south of Culpeper. Jackson made contact on August 9 before all of his units were up, and for a while the battle hung in the balance as Jackson's left flank crumbled in the face of a spirited attack by Brig. Gen. Alpheus Williams' division. But Jackson's greater numbers compelled Banks to withdraw. Pope then sought to concentrate his scattered forces at Culpeper.

Realizing that McClellan was abandoning his position on the James River, Lee moved quickly against Pope's army before it could be united with McClellan's Army of the Potomac in northern Virginia. Lee issued orders on August 13 for Maj. Gen. James Longstreet to move north with his five divisions. With the Army of Northern Virginia consolidated in northern Virginia, it was Lee's intention to strike Pope before he was reinforced. If that occurred, the Union army would number more than 100,000 men.

Although Pope's 55,000 men sat squarely astride the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, he was also dangerously hemmed in between the Rapidan and Rappahannock Rivers where it was possible that he might become trapped. For that reason, he withdrew farther north. Lee issued orders on August 18 for his troops to cross the Rapidan and strike Pope. The Confederates moved slowly and did not cross until August 20 when Pope's army was already safely on the north bank of the Rappahannock, having crossed the previous day.

That same day, Porter's V corps of McClellan's army began arriving at Aquia Creek, 10 miles north of Fredericksburg, with orders to march west to reinforce Pope. Two days later, Maj. Gen. Samuel Heintzelman's III Corps arrived at Alexandria. Keenly aware that his long supply line was vulnerable to Confederate raiders, Pope sent a dispatch to Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck, general-in-chief of Union armies in Washington, to send a brigade to guard the bridge over Cedar Run near Catlett's Station. Pope also requested that Halleck urge Heintzelman to march rapidly to his aid. Lastly, Pope ordered his III Corps commander, Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell, to send cavalry regiments to guard Catlett's Station.

It was as if Pope had read Confederate Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart's mind, for on the night of August 21 Stuart had suggested to Lee a raid against Catlett's Station. Lee approved the idea in the hope that the raid might distract Pope long enough for Lee to get his army across the Rappahannock. The following morning, 1,500 of Stuart's troopers splashed through the shallow waters of the upper Rappahannock at Waterloo Bridge in the rain. They clattered through Warrenton after dark and continued northeast to Catlett's Station. The railroad station served as Pope's headquarters, but he was not there at the time of the raid. Stuart's troopers reached their objective late in the evening. In addition to nabbing several hundred prisoners, $350,000 in cash, and Pope's dispatch book, Stuart also snatched a gratifying trophy in the form of Pope's colorful dress uniform coat.

On August 24, Lee unveiled his plan for prying Pope from the Rappahannock line. Longstreet's right wing would occupy Pope's attention. Meanwhile, Jackson's left wing would make a wide swing to the northwest using the Bull Run Mountains to screen its movements from Union eyes. Jackson would turn east through the mountains at Thoroughfare Gap in order to get behind Pope's army. "It was a bold and beautiful play," Lt. Col. Edward P. Alexander, Lee's ordnance chief, wrote after the war. "For back at Manassas Junction 24 miles behind Pope's line of battle

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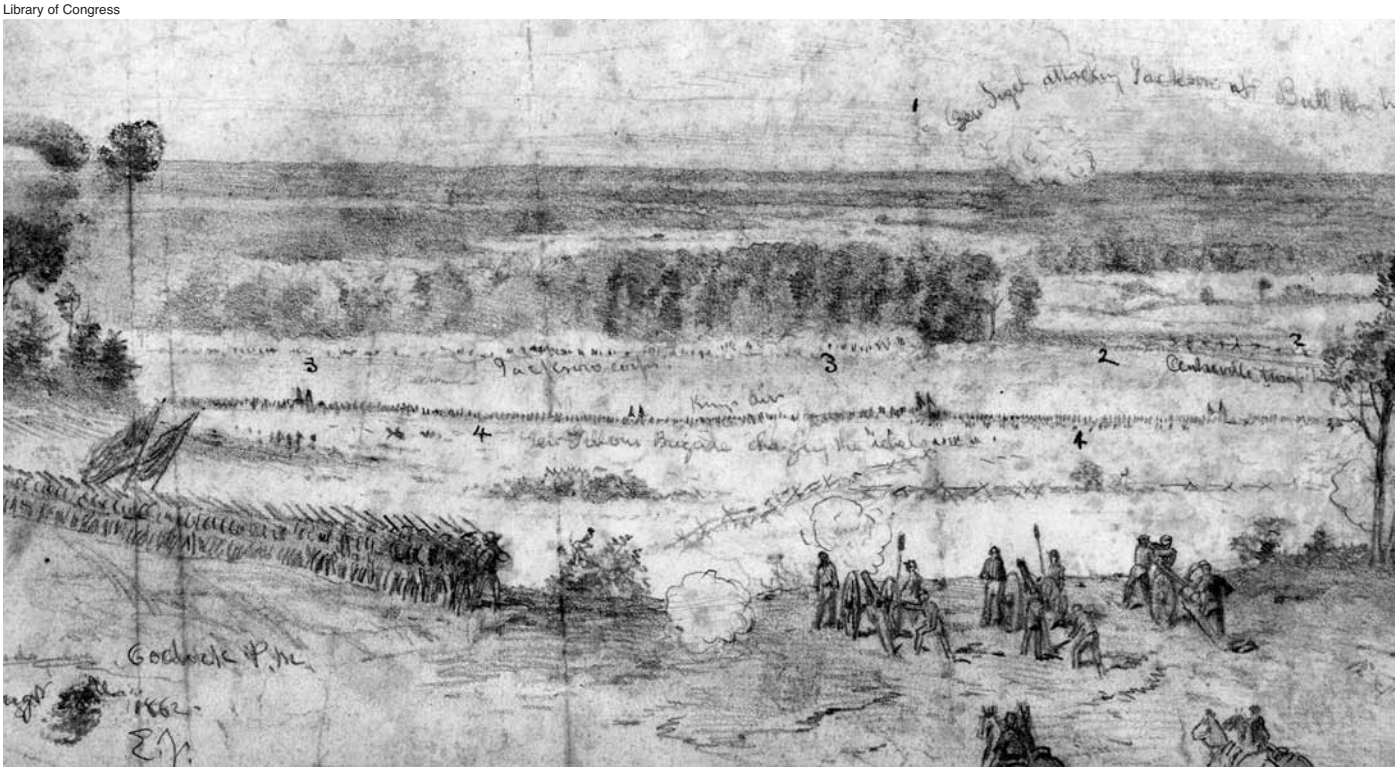


Brigadier General Rufus King halts his eastward march on Warrenton Turnpike to engage Maj. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's troops in the fields surrounding John Brawner's farm. Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's brigade, comprising three Wisconsin and one Indiana regiment, fought with great skill and determination in the opening clash.

were enormous stores and depots of Pope's army." It was an extremely risky plan. If Pope figured out that the two wings of Lee's army were separated by as much as 50 miles he would be able to turn first against one wing and then against the other. Lee knew that neither Pope nor his troops were capable of great feats. For all his bombast, Pope was no match for Jackson in Lee's mind. Besides, Pope's army lacked cohesion and its units were, for the most part, poorly led.

Jackson, who thrived on the execution of such bold stratagems, had his men on the march well before sunrise on August 25. "Old Blue Light's" foot cavalry made good time, capturing Manassas Junction two days later. Amid a festive atmosphere, the hungry Confederates ransacked bulging warehouses. Men in tattered uniforms greedily devoured all manner of delicacies, including lobsters, oranges, and, for a lucky few, whiskey.

Pope became convinced that evening that Jackson was vulnerable to attack. He therefore ordered his army, which by that time had been reinforced by two corps from McClellan, to converge on Manassas. Pope was so intent on catching Jackson that he neglected to consider that Longstreet might soon join him; however, McDowell covered for his superior by dispatching Brig. Gen. James Ricketts' 5,000-man division to Gainesville where it could monitor Thoroughfare Gap.

After pillaging Manassas Junction, Jackson had marched toward Centreville. On August 28 he deployed his troops in a concealed position along an unfinished railroad embankment on the battlefield of First Manassas. The unfinished railroad was part of an intended Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad that would run from Gainesville to Alexandria, but it was never completed. From his position Jackson could strike Union troops marching east along the Warrenton Turnpike and link up with Longstreet's wing, which was expected to soon pass through Thoroughfare Gap.

Throughout the afternoon Jackson watched as Federal troops marched east along Warrenton Turnpike oblivious to the Confederates a short distance away to the north. Jackson, who had watched them intently on horseback, rode back to where his troops were concealed in the woods. To lure Pope into attacking his strong position, Jackson issued orders for an attack just before 6 PM. "Bring out your men, gentlemen!" he said to his officers. A sharp firefight erupted in the gathering darkness on a farm leased by its owner to tenant John Brawner.

In a furious fight that lasted well into the darkness, Jackson's wing engaged Brig. Gen. Rufus King's division. King, who succumbed to an epileptic fit that day, had turned over command of his division to Brig. Gen. John Hatch. Before it was over, Jackson had committed elements of six brigades. The brunt of the fighting by Union forces was borne by Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's Black Hat Brigade. Although the action ended in a stalemate, Jackson had accomplished his objective.

On the morning of August 29 Pope had 62,000 men on hand near the hamlet of Groveton with which to assail Jackson. Instead of striking both of his flanks at once in a deadly pincer move, Pope squandered his strength in a series of piecemeal attacks that allowed Jackson to fend off each of the uncoordinated assaults. Pope was unable to make any considerable headway despite having a significantly greater number of men than his wily opponent. The Federals came closest to a local success against Jackson's left flank where Brig. Gen. Maxcy Gregg, waving his grandfather's Revolutionary War sword, exhorted his South Carolinians to stand firm against the Yankees of hard-charging Maj. Gen. Philip Kearny's division.

Having received regular reports from Jackson, Lee knew Jackson had the situation under control. He therefore allowed Longstreet to conduct his march at a relatively leisurely pace. McDowell's foresight in placing Ricketts' division at Gainesville came to naught. When Federal cavalry subsequently notified Ricketts that Longstreet's column was approaching Thoroughfare Gap on the morning of August 28, the Union general failed to get his division in motion fast enough to block the Confederates. Colonel George T. Anderson's Georgians secured the gap while the lead regiment of

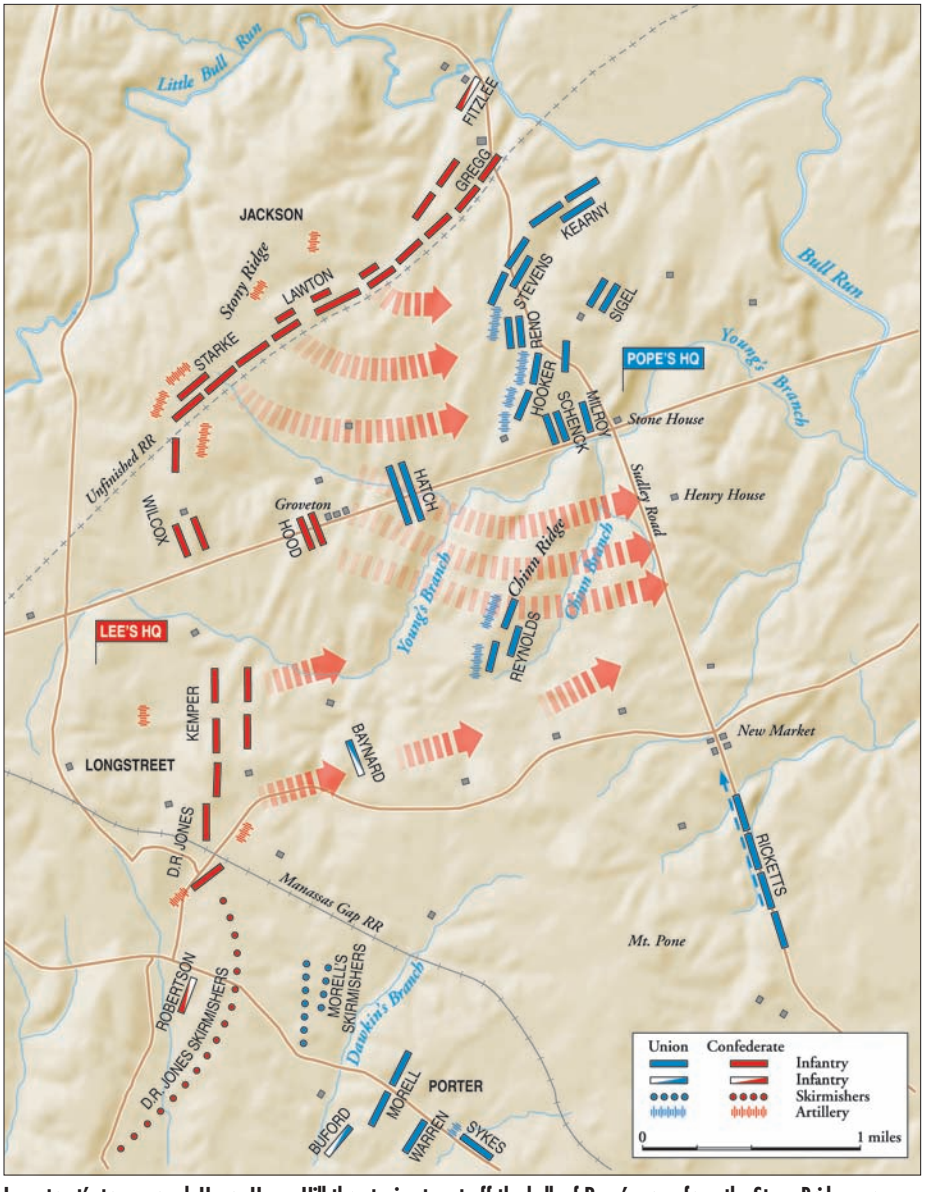
Colonel John Stiles' brigade of Yankees was still a quarter mile away from it. Stiles attempted to drive them back, but his efforts were in vain.

Lee led the head of Longstreet's column onto the field at 10 AM on August 29. When he rode forward to reconnoiter the enemy, his cheek was grazed by a bullet fired by a Yankee sharpshooter. By 12:30 PM the bulk of Longstreet's troops were deployed for battle. The junction of the two Confederate corps created a battle line three miles long. Longstreet's line, which stretched for more than a mile, ran from the Warrenton Turnpike to the Manassas-Gainesville Road. Lee favored an immediate attack, but Longstreet requested and received more time to reconnoiter the enemy troop positions. To his disappointment, he found that the Union line extended well south of the Warrenton Turnpike, which meant his troops would encounter considerable resistance. For that reason, Longstreet requested even more time. Lee was skeptical, but Stuart returned from a separate reconnaissance to report that there was in fact a large threatening Federal force on the Manassas-Gainesville Road. The unknown Federal force was Porter's V Corps. Fortunately for Longstreet, Porter was alarmed by the presence of a larger body of Confederates in his front, so he deliberately slowed his march.

At 9 that morning, Brig. Gen. John Buford, who commanded a brigade of Union cavalry acting in concert with Ricketts' division, had informed McDowell that a formidable column of Confederate infantry had passed through Gainesville and turned onto the Warrenton Turnpike moving toward Pope's army. McDowell thrust Buford's dispatch into his pocket and forgot about it until 7 PM.

Pope arrived on the battlefield at 1 PM and established his headquarters in Groveton. Convinced that Longstreet would not arrive at least for another day, Pope had penned a highly confusing joint order to Porter and McDowell from Centreville at 10 AM. The order directed both commanders to move forward and then quickly fall back. The order instructed Porter to work his corps around Jackson's right, but then be prepared to retreat east of Bull Run at nightfall. Pope believed his order had been sufficient to deal with any threat that might develop to his left flank. Despite receiving four separate warnings from subordinates that a large body of Confederates was hovering on his left flank, Pope continued to believe that Jackson was disengaging.

At 5 PM Longstreet resolved to make a reconnaissance in force with seven of his 12 brigades. The move was designed in large part to give some of his best units a secure foothold next to



Longstreet's troops reach Henry House Hill threatening to cut off the bulk of Pope's army from the Stone Bridge across the sluggish stream known as Bull Run. Were it not for Brig. Gen. John F. Reynolds' Pennsylvania Reserves, the Union army might have been destroyed.

the Union lines from which to resume their attack the following morning. Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood's division would spearhead the attack, advancing astride the Warrenton Turnpike. Hood's division consisted of his own Texas brigade as well as a mixed brigade led by Colonel Evander Law. Longstreet detailed Brig. Gen. Cadmus Willcox's three brigades and two brigades of Brig. Gen. James Kemper's division to support Hood. The attack began at 6:30 PM and continued until darkness made it too difficult to continue.

The attacking Rebels ran headlong into Hatch's division. When Pope spied Confederate wagons moving west on the Warrenton Turnpike, he mistook what probably were ambulances removing the wounded for a phased retreat by Jackson's troops. He could not have been more wrong. He told McDowell to attack the Confederates, and McDowell in turn ordered Hatch to pursue the supposedly retreating Rebels.

During the chaotic fighting that erupted in the gloaming, units became intermingled and shouts were heard often from troops on both sides to stop firing at their friends. After 90 minutes, the fighting stopped. The Confederates had fought their way to Groveton, and some of the Rebels had even reached the west slope of Chinn Ridge.

By the following morning, Pope had convinced himself that Jackson, beaten by the previous day's fighting, was in full retreat. Pope ordered a pursuit of the supposedly panicked Confederates.

Infuriated that the V Corps sat idle on the left flank, Pope ordered Porter to make an all-out attack on Jackson's position, certain that one more frontal assault would shatter the Confederates for good.

At 3 PM, Porter's troops went forward, swinging toward Jackson's left. As the Federal columns neared the railroad embankment, even Confederates looked on with grudging admiration. When they opened fire, they unleashed a hail of musketry that felled hundreds in minutes. Pinned down by gunfire from the front, Union troops took a punishing fire from Confederate artillery. Colonel Stephen D. Lee (no relation to Robert E. Lee) commanded a battalion of artillery fielding 18 guns that enfiladed Porter's left.

Federal troops briefly seized a section of the railroad embankment, but without support they had no choice but to fall back. After an hour of horrific fighting that left the field strewn with the dead and dying, the shattered V Corps retreated. McDowell, who exercised nominal control of the Federal left, abruptly ordered Brig. Gen. John Reynolds' division to cross to the north side of the Warrenton Turnpike and support Porter. This left only about 2,200 Yankees south of the Warrenton Turnpike to contest Longstreet's advance in that sector.

Lee, who recognized that the time had come to strike the Federals, immediately dispatched orders for Longstreet to send forward his entire wing. The attack, which had already been planned, was an imposing display of force, consisting of 28,000 men. The lead unit, the fierce shock troops of the Texas Brigade, would serve as a column of direction for the entire wing as it drove for the ultimate objective of the attack, the commanding eminence of Henry House Hill. From those heights, Longstreet would be in a position to control the Warrenton Turnpike, cut off the Federal line of retreat across Bull Run, and destroy the lion's share of Pope's army.

At 4 PM Longstreet unleashed his sledgehammer attack. As the Texans felt their way forward, they made contact with skirmishers from the 10th New York. The Confederates were moving fast. The New Yorkers gave the Rebels a single volley before darting off for the rear, where they gathered in front of the 500 men of the 5th New York. Hood's men were snapping at their heels. The bulk of the 10th New York, which was disordered and demoralized following its short but bloody fight, fled the field.

As they did so the Zouaves of the 5th New York took the full wrath of Hood's assault. His troops had succeeded in quickly working around the base of the hill and opened a murderous crossfire that felled scores of Federals in moments. The field was shrouded with a choking cloud of smoke, and the New Yorkers could barely make out the enemy that seemed to surround them. The Union troops could not escape the Confederates' overwhelming fire. "Not only were men wounded or killed but they were riddled," wrote Private Andrew Coats of the 5th New York.

In just minutes, what was left of the regiment broke apart. Hood's men, smelling blood, swarmed across the hillside in close pursuit. In the mad dash for safety, dozens more were shot. When the regiment rallied on Chinn Ridge, it numbered just 60 men.

During the confusion of the fighting, not everyone had received orders to fall back. Still unlimbered at their original position, the six guns of Lieutenant Charles Hazlett's Battery D, 5th U.S. Artillery, were defiantly banging away at Hood's troops. Seeing that the battery was about to be overrun, Private James Webb, in one of the war's most memorable acts of individual valor, took off at the run to warn Hazlett's gunners. Braving a gauntlet of enemy fire, Webb miraculously reached the battery and informed Hazlett that he was without infantry support. The unflappable artillerist led his battery off at the walk.

As the front line of Federal troops collapsed, the ugly reality of impending disaster dawned on McDowell. The obvious place to make a stand was Chinn Ridge, an imposing rise that, if manned in force, could contest the Confederate steamroller on its path toward Henry Hill. But before Union defenses could be patched together, McDowell had to make a desperate play for time. He frantically followed Reynolds' division, which were the very troops that he had so recently ordered north of the Warrenton Pike. He directed Colonel Martin Hardin's brigade, composed of four regiments, back to the fight.

Hardin's troops, which were supported by

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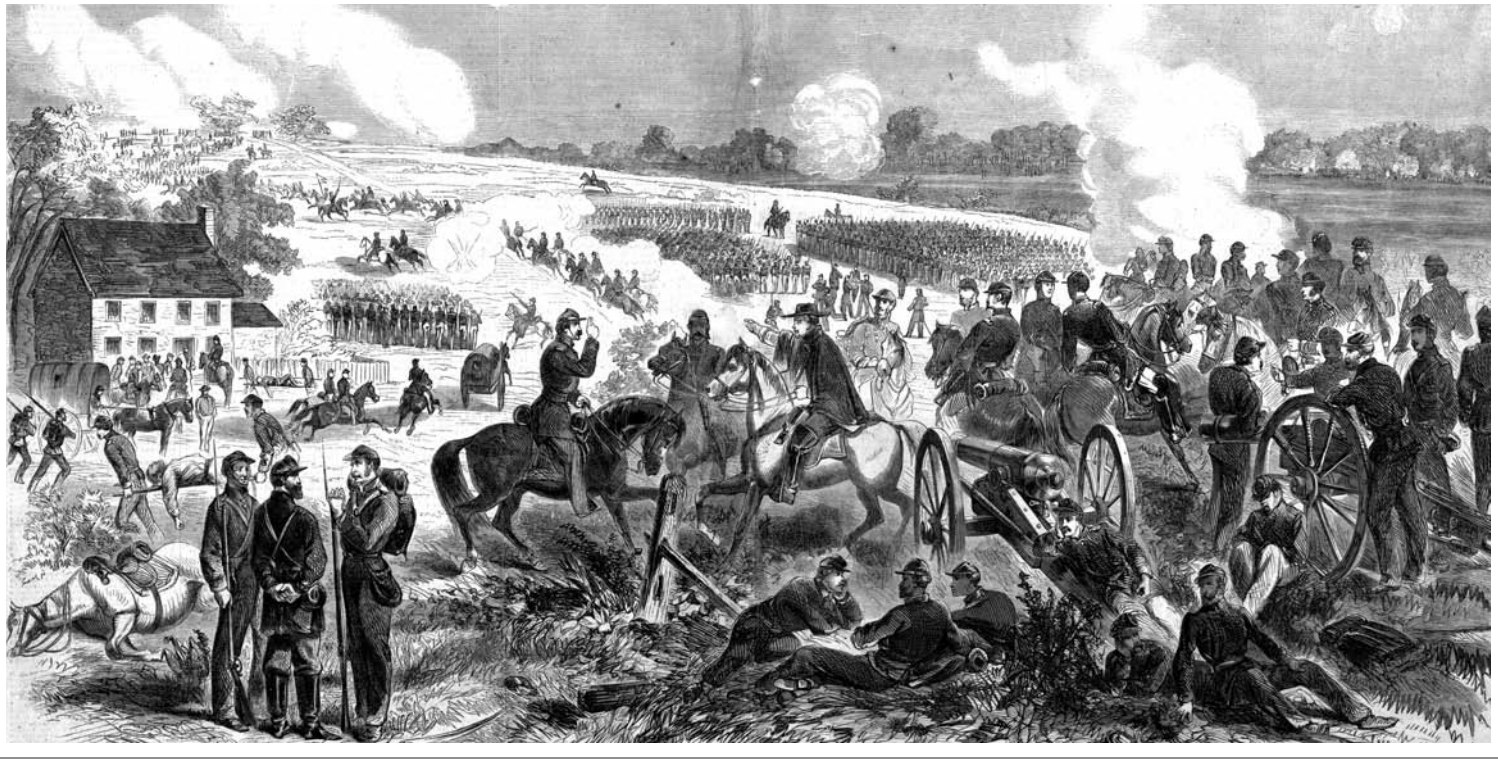

Captain Mark Kerns' battery, rushed into position on a small hill to the west of Chinn Ridge. When the Pennsylvanians formed up in two lines on the summit of the hill, Hood's brigade was fast approaching. Kerns' guns banged away at the Confederates, who briefly stalled on the banks of Young's Branch.

The standoff was momentary. Without orders, some of the Confederates, electrified by the fight, spontaneously dashed up the hill. With Confederates lapping around his flanks, Hardin rushed forward his second line of infantry, but the weight of numbers told. Collapsing under the pressure of the Rebel onslaught, Hardin's infantry broke for the rear. Kerns' gunners did not last much longer. Streaming for the safety of Chinn Ridge, the artillerists abandoned their guns and their captain.

Kerns was made of stern material. Left alone on the field, he single-handedly attempted to man the six guns of his battery. Some of the Confederates began shouting for their comrades to hold their fire for the Yankee artilleryman was far too brave to kill. But when Kerns readied to fire a load of canister, chivalric sentiments gave way to sheer survival, and he was shot down.

With the position cleared of Federals, Hood set his sights on the commanding heights of Chinn Ridge. The ridge was only 300 yards away beyond a steep ravine, but a fresh brigade of Federals, as well as the frowning guns of an enemy battery, was clearly visible along the summit. Wasting little time, Hood ordered his men forward, first seeking cover in the ravine, and then angling to the right for a belt of timber that could help shield his troops from Federal artillery. During the confusion of the advance, Lt. Col. Benjamin Carter's 4th Texas fell back to Young's Branch. This left Hood's brigade with just three regiments to assault the daunting ridge.

Fortunately, he would have help. His immediate supporting brigade, the South Carolinians of Colonel Nathan "Shanks" Evans, arrived in front of Chinn Ridge but edged ever farther to the right. Lashed by massed Federal batteries on Dogan Ridge to the north, the Carolinians continued the mad push toward the right until Evans lost tactical control of his brigade. His regiments would go into action piecemeal.

Atop Chinn Ridge, Colonel Nathaniel McLean's brigade of 1,200 Ohioans, which constituted the 2nd Brigade of Brig. Gen. Robert Schenck's division, anxiously awaited the Confederate assault. For his actions slowing the Confederate advance on August 30, McLean would be promoted to brigadier general the following month.

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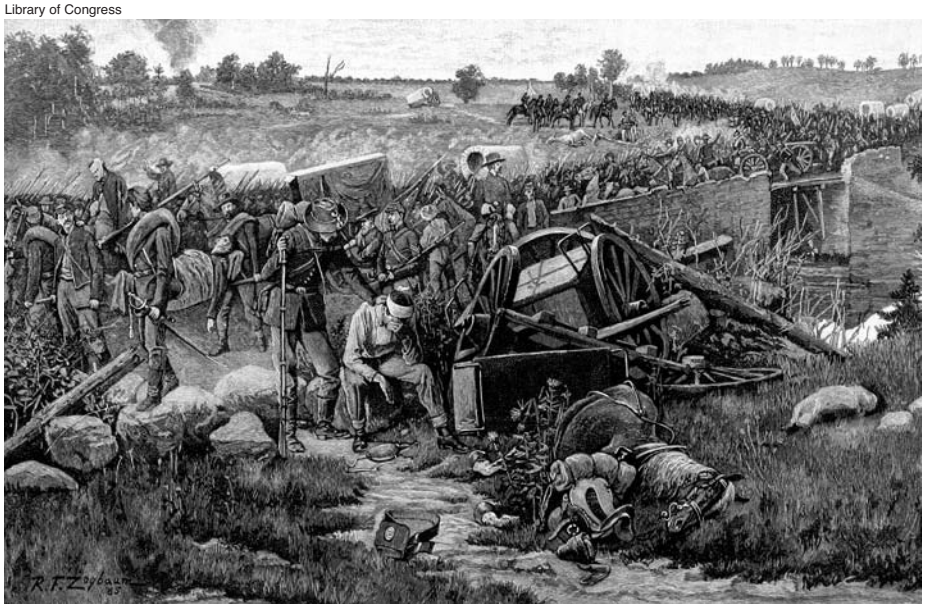

ABOVE: The Union disaster at Second Manassas was eerily reminiscent of the defeat that occurred the previous year on the same ground. The aftermath was different, though, because Lee maintained the Confederate momentum by invading Maryland. OPPOSITE: Maj. Gen. John Pope's headlong attack against Stonewall Jackson's troops defending the line of the unfinished railroad bed showed little imagination and squandered the greater numbers the Union army had on August 29.

From the front, McLean was assailed by the 17th and 18th South Carolina Regiments of Evans' brigade. The Confederates came on gamely but were badly mauled in their ascent of the ridge. Artillery fire, paired with McLean's musketry, tore great gaps in the ranks of the Palmetto Staters. In the intense fighting that unfolded on the ridge, Colonels John Means and James Gadberry, of the 17th and 18th South Carolina, respectively, were slain. When Evans' attack sputtered, Colonel Jerome Robertson's 5th Texas entered the action. The Texans tried to swing around McLean's flank, but failed to dislodge them. McLean's brigade held its ground.

McLean caught sight of a massive body of troops headed for his left. The colonel hoped the troops were Union reinforcements. Unfortunately for the Yankees on Chinn Ridge, they were the four brigades of Brig. Gen. James Kemper's division. Colonel Montgomery Corse sensed the Federals' vulnerability. His troops swept north along the ridge. The Buckeyes, who were deployed behind a fence, waited until the Confederates were within 50 yards, and then they rose up and unleashed a terrific volley. The Virginians reeled under the heavy blow.

The volley "struck the long line like an electric shock," wrote Private Alexander Hunter of the 17th Virginia. But the officers surged ahead cheering on the men.... The left of our brigade struck the enemy's right and doubled it up. In a moment the blue line quivered and went to pieces."

Time was running out for McLean's stubborn troops. A renewed Confederate push, which was supported by artillery, ultimately broke the Ohioans' line. The Confederates had shot down 400 of the Buckeyes in just 30 minutes. Nevertheless, McLean bought time for another Union line to be formed behind him.

As the survivors fled for the rear, reinforcements arrived on the scene in the form of Brig. Gen. Zealous Tower's brigade of Ricketts' division, as well as five guns from Captain George Leppien's 5th Maine Battery. Tower hastily deployed his four regiments across Chinn Ridge where they came under heavy attack by the advancing Rebels. Corse's Virginians, augmented by portions of Hood's and Evans' brigades, lapped around both of Tower's flanks. The Confederate crossfire shredded Tower's brigade. The 88th Pennsylvania on Tower's left broke under the pressure, its men streaming to the rear in confusion.

As Tower's position crumbled, Colonel Frederick Skinner of the 1st Virginia spurred his mount ahead of his men. He thundered into the midst of the Maine artillerymen. When one of the Federals attempted to fire a gun, Skinner swung his sword, a ponderous old French dragoon saber, in a wide arc that severed the Yankee's head. Skinner cut down another gunner, but was assailed by a third, who discharged his pistol into Skinner's face. The shot narrowly missed killing him, slicing off a bit of his earlobe. Although Skinner cut the man down, he was shot in the arm and ribcage.

Both sides funneled more men into the fight, but the Federals, caught in the vicious vice of a

Continued on page 70

The mass of heavily armored crusader knights swept across the frozen surface of Lake Peipus toward the Novgorodian troops that waited anxiously on the eastern shore. As they drew close, Russian foot archers stationed in the center fired thick flights of arrows at them. A large group of horse archers stationed on the Novgorodian right wing rode into position to enfilade the crusaders' left flank with arrows from their deadly composite bows.

A sound similar to a long roll of thunder occurred as the mounted crusaders crashed into the ranks of the Novgorodian army. Screams of rage and agony mingled with the steady clanging of steel as Teutonic, Livonian, and Danish knights swung their heavy broadswords in a frenzy of killing. Soon the slippery ice on which the crusaders fought was covered in blood and gore. Those crusaders who penetrated the Novgorodian line soon found themselves surrounded.

The sanguinary clash at Lake Peipus on April 5, 1242, on the Novgorodian-Estonian frontier was an attempt by the Teutonic Order to expand into the Principality of Novgorod and convert

NEVSKY'S GLORIOUS VICTORY

The Teutonic Order sought to expand east into the Principality of Novgorod in the early 13th century, but it underestimated the will of the northern Russians.

BY JOHN E. SPINDLER

Orthodox Russians to Catholicism. It was an outgrowth of the so-called Northern Crusades whereby the Catholic Church supported military orders in their attempts to convert the pagan peoples of the eastern Baltic region to Christianity.

The spread of Christianity into this region had stalled in part because of the extreme environment in which these pagan peoples existed. They lived in a cold climate among broad marshes and dense tracts of forest that were laced with lakes and rivers. Despite the inaccessibility of the region, Christian Danes and Germans routinely traded by sea into the Eastern Baltic as far north as the Gulf of Finland. In the course of these commercial ventures, they established trading posts and settlements.

In the 1190s Popes Celestine III and Innocent III called on the German Catholic princes for aid in defending the Church of Rome's new seat among the Livonians on the lower section of the Drina River. Pope Innocent had the hubris to demand at beginning of the 13th century that Orthodox Novgorod accept the Latin creed.

One powerful individual in particular responded enthusiastically to the Papal call. Albert of Buxhoeveden, a cleric who hailed from a wealthy family that dwelled in Lower Saxony, sailed from Lubeck to the site of a small community in Livonia established by merchants of the mercantile confederation known as the Hanseatic League.

Albert founded Riga in 1201 at which time he took the title of Bishop of Riga. The following year he established the Livonian Brethren of the Sword, or Sword Brethren, to protect German colonists in the eastern Baltic from attack by the pagans living in the region. In 1204 Pope Innocent III gave his official approval to the Sword Brethren. The newly founded military order advanced north into Estonia in search of land and riches. They relied on enormous cargo-bearing cogs operated by the Hanseatic League to supply them regularly in their far-flung outposts.

Albert's brother, cleric Hermann Von Buxhoeven, also was involved in the Northern Crusades. His involvement in Livonia deepened in 1224 when the Sword Brethren conquered the city of Dorpat in Estonia. This brought the Sword Brethren into conflict with the Russians since Dorpat was controlled by the city of Pskov, which in turn was controlled by the Principality of Novgorod. With its conquest, Hermann Von Buxhoeven became the Bishop of Dorpat, which made him the de facto ruler of Livonia. Though never numerous, the Sword Brethren persevered against the fearsome pagans.

The Danes also began carving out a sphere of influence for themselves in the eastern Baltic. Danish King Valdemar I, who ascended to the throne in 1154, sent Christian Danes to the eastern Baltic where they succeeded in establishing a foothold in Estonia. This was initially done for economic rather than religious reasons, although that would eventually change.

In 1218 Pope Honorius III authorized Valdemar to crusade in Estonia and granted him permission to annex land in the area for that purpose. Simultaneously, Bishop Albert asked the Danes to attack the pagan Estonians from the north while the Sword Brethren assailed them from the south. The Danes gladly obliged.

The Sword Brethren were not the only Catholic military order involved in the Baltic region. The Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Teutons in Jerusalem, better known as the Teutonic Order, was heavily involved in converting pagan Prussians. The order had been founded in 1190 in the Holy Land to defend the port of Acre in the dwindling Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Papacy officially recognized the new military order in February 1199.

Because their prospects in the Holy Land were limited given that the military orders known as the Templars and Hospitallers were firmly established in the region, the Teutonic Order's fourth grand master, Hermann Von

Russian Prince Alexander Nevsky successfully defended Novgorod against multiple enemies using both the war and diplomacy as circumstances dictated.

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Salza, began looking for fresh opportunities outside the Outremer for his warrior monks. Count Hermann of Thuringia, who was the suzerain of the Von Salza family, suggested in 1210 that Von Salza explore the possibility of aiding King Andrew II of Hungary, whose kingdom was frequently ravaged by raids conducted by the nomadic Cumans who lived on the Eurasian steppe east of the Carpathian Mountains.

In the discussions that followed, King Andrew outlined the need for the Teutonic Knights to guard the Burzenland, a part of Transylvania that lay in the western foothills of the Carpathians. Andrew offered them lucrative terms. He agreed to forego the customary taxes, duties, and tolls imposed on his vassals; however, he maintained the right to administer justice, establish markets, and claim half of any gold and silver that was discovered in the Burzenland. In 1211 Von Salza excitedly accepted the offer. He had only the king's verbal agreement, however.

Von Salza, who remained in Acre, dispatched a large contingent of Teutonic Knights to the Burzenland. The knights arranged for large numbers of German peasant volunteers to relocate to the Burzenland. Their role was to help the knights construct wooden forts from which to garrison the countryside. In addition, the German peasants would establish permanent farms. The Teutonic Knights would collect taxes on the farms, as well as on the harvests, to fund the fortified outposts and subsequent military operations. It was a tried and true method used by the military orders. A steady stream of immigrants from Germany poured into the Burzenland in the following years.

ABOVE: The Teutonic Knights (left) found enduring fame in the Northern Crusades. Saxon cleric Albert of Buxhoeveden (right) proclaimed himself Bishop of Riga. OPPOSITE: Alexander met and defeated the Swedes on the Neva River in 1240. Afterwards, he received the honorific Nevsky.

In 1217 King Andrew departed his realm to participate in the Fifth Crusade. In his absence, the Teutonic Knights began expanding east of the Carpathian Mountains. This was easily accomplished, for the nomadic Cumans had no interest in holding terrain. By 1220 the Teutonic Knights had begun to build stone castles in the newly conquered regions. By this time, the Hungarian boyars (aristocrats) were extremely jealous of the Teutonic Knights both because of the incomes they derived from agricultural activities, and also because of the new lands they possessed as a result of their conquests. When Andrew returned home in 1221 he found his kingdom in an uproar over the success achieved by the Teutonic Knights. The boyars insisted that the crusaders had overstepped the bounds and authority of the original agreement. They demanded that King Andrew rescind the land grants he had given to the Teutonic Order. For the most part, Andrew continued to honor his agreement. He found no fault with the Teutonic Knights.

But Von Salza worried that the Teutonic Knights in the Burzenland were dangerously exposed both politically and militarily. He therefore implored Pope Honorius to put the Knights in the Burzenland under his protection. Honorius obliged the grand master and made Transylvania a fief of the Holy See.

When he learned what Von Salza had done, King Andrew flew into a rage. He demanded in 1225 that the Teutonic Knights leave Hungary at once. He even ordered his eldest son, Prince Bela, to assemble the Hungarian army to oust the Teutonic Knights by force if necessary. The Teutonic Knights departed the Burzenland never to return. It was an embarrassing episode, and one that Von Salza did not want to occur again in another location.

Another opportunity arose the following year in Poland. Duke Konrad I of Mazovia invited the Teutonic Knights to assist him in fighting the hostile pagan Prussians who bordered Mazovia to the north. In return for their service, Konrad offered to give the Teutonic Knights the province of Chelmno, which lay between the Vistula and Drewenz Rivers.

As a result of the debacle in Hungary, Von Salza went to great lengths to negotiate an arrangement whereby the Teutonic Knights would be guaranteed autonomy in regard to the administration of Chelmno. Duke Konrad's promises alone were not sufficient. Von Salza requested official decrees from both Pope Gregory IX and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II that the Teutonic Order would not only have control of Chelmno, but also any territory that it subsequently conquered.

While these events were unfolding, the Sword Brethren were overextending themselves in the Baltic region. In the summer of 1236 the Brethren decided to launch an invasion of Lithuania. A force of 50 mounted crusaders marched south toward Lithuania. After crossing the Livonian-Lithuanian border, the Brethren encountered marshy land along the Saule River that slowed their progress. Suddenly they were showered with javelins thrown by pagan Samogitians. After unhorsing the knights, the Samogitians closed in on them. Although the knights fought fiercely with their broadswords, they were wiped out by spear-wielding Samogitians. The defeat irrevocably crippled the small military order.

Von Salza and a representative of the Sword Brethren traveled to Rome where they met with Pope Gregory IX to gain approval for the incorporation of the Sword Brethren into the Teutonic Order. Because the Sword Brethren had become haughty and disobedient in their administration of Livonia, Pope Gregory was more than willing to see them assimilated into the well-established and orderly Teutonic Order.

In the wake of the union that became official on May 12, 1237, the Teutonic Knights

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arrived in greater numbers in Livonia. In the years that followed, the Knights gradually subjugated the pagan Curonians, Semigallians, and Samogitians of Lithuania. Although the pagans were compelled to convert to Christianity, they were allowed to keep their forts and govern themselves. In return for autonomy, the tribes had to agree to fight for the Teutonic Order when requested.

The Orthodox Russians did not share the Catholic Christian zeal to convert pagans. Medieval Russia had coalesced in the 9th century when the Scandinavian Varangians conquered the lands in northwestern Russia inhabited by the East Slavs who lived on the Eurasian steppe. Varangian Prince Rurik made Novgorod his seat of power in the 850s. He ruled an area that stretched from Novgorod south to Kiev. When Rurik left Russia in 873 to rule over Friesland, which had been left to him by his late father, his kinsman Oleg took control of his domain in Russia. To legitimize their reign, the founders of Kievan Russia claimed to be descendents of Rurik.

By the early 13th century Russia was composed of 10 principalities, each of which was named after its main city. Prince Vladimir the Great, the grand prince of Kiev, had officially adopted Orthodox Christianity in the 10th century. The northernmost principality, Novgorod, was surrounded by swamps and had very little arable land; therefore, its inhabitants made their living by commerce rather than farming. In 1236 the Vsevolodovich dynasty led by Yaroslav II seized control of Novgorod following a complex struggle for power. As a result of responsibilities he had in other parts of Russia, Yaroslav sent his 15-year-old son Alexander to be the prince of Novgorod. Although Alexander knew that the Germans and Danes who had settled in Livonia and Estonia posed a threat to Novgorod, he faced a greater threat coming from Asia.

Mongol generals Subutai and Jebe had smashed the Christian Georgians on the Kuban River in 1222. The Mongols typically attacked in the winter when frozen rivers, streams, and marshes posed no obstacle to their mounted armies. After their victory in Georgia, they swept north into southern Ukraine where they vanquished a Russian-Kipchak army at the Kalka River in 1223. A long hiatus occurred before the Mongols returned to continue their attacks in the west.

In the winter of 1237-1238 Subutai and Ghengis Khan's grandson Batu led the Mongols on an offensive to complete their conquest of Russia. After conquering several Russian principalities, they failed to capture Novgorod because an early spring thaw had slowed their horsemen. It was a fortunate occurrence, for Prince Alexander had neglected to establish any defenses to slow the Mongols. Alexander, who knew his troops were no match for the elite Mongol warriors, struck a deal with the Mongols whereby Novgorod agreed to become a subject state and pay tribute.

Following the assimilation of the Sword Brethren into the Teutonic Knights in the spring of 1237, Papal envoy William of Modena brokered a deal with the Danes whereby the Teutonic Knights would administer Livonia while the Danes governed Estonia. With Novgorod agreeing to become a Mongol vassal, Modena and the Teutonic Knights believed the time was right to launch their own offensive against Novgorod. Modena therefore began preaching a crusade against the Orthodox Novgorodians.

Modena was acutely aware that crusades were costly endeavors. What is more, they also involved formidable logistical challenges. This would certainly be the case in regard to the new crusade because of the harsh climate of northern Russia. Nevertheless, he pressed on with his plans, knowing that the crusade enjoyed the full support of Rome.

Participating in a Northern Crusade was similar to participating in one in the Holy Land. Those who decided to take the cross would receive both material and spiritual benefits. Their personal assets would be protected and their sins would be forgiven. If a participant fulfilled his oath and completed the crusade, then all of his secular crimes would be forgiven. In addition, a crusader could keep any plunder obtained during the crusade, although he was expected to make a tithe to the Catholic Church.

The engagements that occurred in the Baltic typically consisted of skirmishes and raids. The dense forests and large marshes forced soldiers to deploy along well-established and predictable routes. These routes, many of which followed waterways, exposed the troops to possible ambushes. Like the Mongols, the crusaders found it easier to campaign in the winter months despite the frigid temperatures. Although the cold temperature adversely affected the men both physically and mentally, the crusaders, like the Mongols, knew that it was easier to cross frozen rivers and marshes in the colder months.

In the first half of 1240 a Swedish contingent landed at the confluence of the Izhora and Neva Rivers in northern Estonia. Their purpose was to seize control of the mouth the Neva and the city of Ladoga in order to control trade through those points. The Swedish force, which was led by Swedish Earl Karl Birger and Bishop Thomas of Finland, comprised Norwegians, Finns, and Tavastians. Alexander perceived the Swedish outpost as a threat to Novgorod.

To counter the threat, he organized a mobile strike force of Novgorod boyars who were well equipped and well trained. On July 15, 1240, Alexander smashed the Swedes on the banks of the Neva. In the aftermath of his decisive victory over the Swedes, Alexander received the sobriquet Nevsky, meaning "of Neva."

Alexander's rise in popularity among the people of Novgorod and his increased authority following the Battle of the Neva produced strained relations with the boyars of Novgorod. The backlash was so significant that Alexander departed Novgorod shortly thereafter for his father's principality of Pereyaslavl.

While Alexander was living in Pereyaslavl, William of Modena continued planning the so-called Novgorod Crusade. The crusade would involve Teutonic Knights, Danes, and Swedes.

ABOVE: Alexander captured the Danes' forward outpost at Koporye in 1241. He killed the local Estonians but released the Danes and Germans. OPPOSITE: Alexander's well-led army of spearmen and horse archers shattered the Crusader charge at Lake Peipus, putting a quick end to the Teutonic Knights' invasion of Novgorod.

Local Estonians would serve as foot soldiers for the mounted forces. The Danes were led by princes Canute and Abel, and the native Estonian auxiliaries were the responsibility of Bishop Hermann of Dorpat. Prince Jaroslav, an exiled Russian boyar from Pskov, joined the crusaders in the hope that he could one day rule Pskov.

Modena planned a three-pronged offensive against Novgorod. The Swedes would sail into the Gulf of Finland and land near the present-day site of St. Petersburg where they would take up a blocking position to prevent the Finns from reinforcing their Novgorodian allies. As for the Danes, they would march north from Estonia traveling along the Baltic coast to Narva and then proceed to Koporye, a town situated northwest of Novgorod. The Teutonic Knights would capture Pskov at the southern end of Lake Peipus. After achieving these objectives, the three columns would manuever to capture Novgorod.

Modena was an ecclesiastical official, not a military man. His plan for the campaign had glaring deficiencies. The most obvious oversight was that the forces would be too far apart to reinforce each other should one of them need assistance.

In September 1240, the Teutonic Knights captured the fortress of Izborsk. A force of 600 militia from Pskov set out to retake Izborsk. The crusaders soundly defeated the Pskovians on September 16, 1241. The crusaders subsequently besieged Pskov. After the crusaders had spent a week ravaging the area around Pskov, the residents of Pskov surrendered their city to the crusaders. A pair of Teutonic knights and a small number of troops remained in Pskov with a detachment of Prince Jaroslav's levies to garrison the city.

The death of Danish King Valdemar II on March 28, 1241, compelled princes Canute and Abel to return to Denmark; however, the Danes and their Estonian vassals already were committed to the offensive against Novgorod. The Danes successfully captured Koporye. To defend the site, they began constructing a stone castle, but they had only completed a single tower when they were faced with a Russian attack.

The successful advance of the crusaders sparked great alarm in Novgorod. In response the city's veche (popular assembly) sent a request to Alexander's father that he order his son to return to Novgorod to lead the defense of the principality. Instead, Alexander's father sent Andrey Vsevolodovich of Suzdal, who was Alexander's brother. The people of Novgorod were not content with Suzdal, and they reiterated their request for Alexander.

In response to the clamor, Alexander set out for Novgorod in the autumn of 1241. His druzhina (retinue) proceeded swiftly to Koporye where it captured the crusader-built tower. Alexander paroled the crusader prisoners, but he ordered the Estonians hung. At that point, Alexander had defeated two of the three prongs of the crusader invasion. He had beaten the Swedes on the banks of the Neva River, and he had smashed the Danes at Koporye.

During the winter of 1241-1242, Alexander was reinforced by his brother Andrey. With the addition of Andrey's troops, Alexander had an army of 5,000 men. The Russian army was composed of 800 druzhina cavalry, 200 Novgorod horsemen, 800 Novgorod infantry, 2,000 feudal infantry, and 1,200 horse archers. Andrey had recruited the horse archers. It is not clear whether the mounted archers were Turkish or Mongol. On the one hand, they may have been part of a Mongol invasion force that remained in the Principality of Suzdal when it became a Mongol subject state. On the other hand, they might possibly have been Kipchaks or Cumens from the Eurasian steppe.

Alexander decided in February 1242 to con-

NEVERTHELESS, THE CRUSADERS CRASHED WITH GREAT FORCE INTO THE RUSSIAN LINE, TRAMPLING MANY OF THE RUSSIAN INFANTRY IN THE CENTER. THE KNIGHTS ON THEIR GREAT STEEDS CLEAVED ALL AROUND THEM, SLAYING LARGE NUMBERS OF THE RUSSIANS.

duct an offensive to retake Pskov. The harsh winter conditions meant the marshes and waterways were frozen over and Alexander most likely used this to his advantage to once again strike the enemy before they knew what was happening. He also knew that speed was a necessity since an early thaw might occur at any time. He captured Pskov on March 5. Shortly afterward Alexander led his troops across the frontier into Livonia. He had carefully weighed the pros and cons of invading Livonia. In the end, his desire for revenge was so great that he decided it merited an invasion of enemy territory.

Alexander divided his army into several independent detachments in order to inflict maximum destruction on the enemy. One of these raiding parties was led by Domash Tverdislavish, a Novgorod boyar. A group of crusaders attacked and routed Tverdislavish's force near the village of Mooste. Tverdislavish and many of his men were slain the encounter. Those that escaped warned Alexander that a large force of crusaders was in the area.

Alexander and his brother quickly gathered their raiding parties. They decided to return to Novgorod by the most direct route, which would mean marching across the frozen surface of Lake Peipus.

Bishop Hermann led the crusader army in pursuit of Alexander. His 1,020-man force consisted of 20 Teutonic Knights, 200 Teutonic sergeants, 300 Danish knights, and 500 Estonian auxiliary infantry.

Lake Peipus lay astride the Livonian-Novgorodian border. It has a very flat shoreline that consists of both small beaches and reed banks. The narrowest part of the hourglass-shaped body of water is very shallow. The prevailing wind on Lake Peipus is from the west. The ice, which thaws and refreezes, piles up against the eastern shore, forming a series of jagged peaks and ridges.

Alexander learned from his scouts the path of the crusader advance and swung his force north to avoid them. The Novgorod army skirted to the north around the village of Mehikoorma and then crossed the frozen lake at the narrow section. When Alexander reached the far side, he led his troops a short distance north to a small, flat peninsula known as Raven's Rock. He then deployed his army behind the jagged ice floes, which he planned to use as a defensive barrier. Alexander positioned his troops on the edge of the lake facing west to receive the crusader attack.

Bishop Hermann's crusaders departed the village of Tartu, which lay due west of the frozen marshes on the west side of Lake Peipus. The bishop was elated at the chance to pursue Alexander's force because he believed he had caught the enemy in full flight. He hoped to cut off the Russian escape, but the Russians were too quick. When the crusaders reached the lake, they crossed to the north of the Russians where they could work their way from one small island to the next as they crossed the ice. They soon sighted the Russians waiting for them on the eastern shore.

Alexander placed the Novgorod militia in the center. These foot soldiers wore conical helmets, quilted jackets, and small circular breastplates. Most were armed with either a long spear or a long-handled axe. The Novgorod militia also had a number of skilled archers. The cavalry formed on both sides of the infantry. Alexander ordered the elite troops of his druzhina to form a second line behind the center where they would serve as the reserve. The majority of the horse archers

deployed on the right wing.

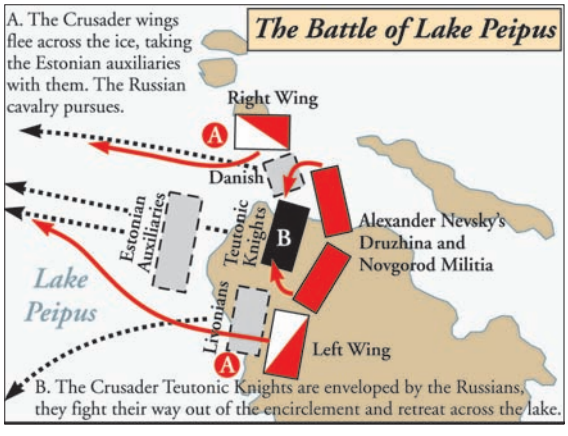
The crusaders attacked in their traditional blunt wedge formation known as a "boar's snout." They moved toward the Russian position in close order. Bishop Herman and the heavily armored Teutonic Knights were in the center of the wedge. The Danish knights of Livonia formed the left wing, and the Livonian knights were on the right. The Estonian infantry followed behind.

Bishop Hermann's army charged across the ice toward the center of Alexander's line, probably with the intent of killing or capturing him. The charge was difficult given that their horses had to make their way across the slippery ice. Because of these conditions, it is likely that the charge lacked the full momentum that would have been achieved on dry ground.

Nevertheless, the crusaders crashed with great force into the Russian line, trampling many of the Russian infantry in the center. The knights on their great steeds cleaved all around them, slaying large numbers of the Russians. The German knights desperately sought to reach Prince Alexander, but he was safely positioned with the reserve.

Although heavily outmatched by the German knights, the Novgorod militia did not break. Sensing that his center was in serious danger, though, Alexander ordered his light cavalry stationed on both flanks to encircle the crusaders and their allies. The lightly armored horsemen on both flanks of the Russian army advanced onto the ice to carry out the prince's order. The horse archers who were deployed in the Russian right wing began to enfilade the left flank of the crusader army. They fired thick showers of arrows into the gray sky that whistled downward with great force into the enemy ranks. The Danish knights suffered heavy casualties as a result of their exposure to the arrow storm.

The crusader attack soon bogged down. The crusaders' banners "were soon flying in the midst of the archers, and swords were heard cutting helmets apart," stated the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, an account believed to be written by an anonymous participant in the crusade. "Many from both sides fell dead on the grass. Then the [crusader] army was completely surrounded, for the Russians had so many troops that there were easily 60 men for every one German knight."



TOP: The Crusaders ventured deep into enemy territory, risking everything in a bold strike at Novgorod. MIDDLE: Alexander deployed his troops behind ice floes that served as natural breastworks to receive the Crusader charge. BOTTOM: The Russians struck the enemy's flanks forcing him to retire.

The local Estonian auxiliaries hung back to watch the crusaders fight the Russians. They feared the Russians and had no intention of joining the fight if they could possibly avoid it. When they observed the crusader attack flagging, they retreated in the direction from which they had come. Thus, they quit the battle without ever having supported the mounted attack.

The Danish horsemen soon began to retreat as well. Having been decimated by the arrow storm, they rode hard for the western shore of the lake with the Russian cavalry in close pursuit. Although some fighting occurred on the ice during the crusader retreat, it is unlikely that any troops fell through the ice, as some accounts suggest, because the water was no more than a foot deep. The surviving German knights soon retreated, too.

Alexander's troops broke off their pursuit when they reached the far shore, for the Novgorod prince had told them not to reenter Livonian territory. Instead, the Russian horsemen turned back to run down the Estonian infantrymen who had not made it to safety.

Twenty of the crusader knights died and six were captured, according to the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle. The crusaders likely lost 45 percent of their force. The Russian foot soldiers bore the brunt of the Novgorodian casualties. Contemporary accounts do not give figures for Nevsky's losses.

"The [crusaders] fought well enough, but they were nonetheless cut down," states the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle. "Some of those from Dorpat escaped the battle, and it was their salvation that they fled."

Alexander's defeat of the crusaders on the frozen shore of Lake Peipus put an abrupt halt to the eastward expansion the Teutonic Order. The Novgorod Crusade had failed largely because William of Modena had not assembled enough troops and resources to defeat Prince Alexander's army. In addition, the Teutonic Knights' overconfidence had led them to believe they could easily defeat the Russians. Neither William of Modena nor Bishop Hermann had foreseen the degree to which the extant Russian principalities that had survived the Mongol onslaught would cooperate with each other when faced with external aggression.

In the aftermath of the defeat, the Teutonic Knights had to return control of Izborsk to the Novgorodians. Having been humbled by their defeat, the Teutonic Knights subsequently focused their crusading efforts in the region on converting pagans to Christianity in Prussia and Lithuania, thus leaving a minimal presence in Livonia and Estonia.

The Teutonic Order also made key reforms

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Prince Alexander Nevsky enters the liberated Russian city of Pskov in triumph in a romantic depiction of the event.

after assimilating the Sword Brethren. Instead of allowing recruits of both high and low birth to join the military order as the Sword Brethren had done, the Teutonic Knights allowed only those of noble birth to become knights.

Not long after the battle the Estonians rose up against their Danish overlords and the Prussians revolted against the Teutonic Knights. It is possible that the rebellions were inspired by the success the people of Novgorod had against the Catholic crusaders. The Prussians received substantial support from Christian Slav Duke Sventopolk of Pomerallia. While the Teutonic Knights were heavily engaged in suppressing the revolt, they also had to guard against encroachment on their territory by German colonists, Polish princes, and the Knights of Dobryzn. The major revolt lasted for seven years, from 1242 to 1249. The Danes grew weary of administering Estonia, so in 1346 they sold it to the Teutonic Knights.

The rivalry between Catholic and Orthodox Christians in the eastern Baltic region also was tempered in the wake of the battle by Pope Innocent IV's efforts to establish peaceful relations with the Russians.

Alexander Nevsky had shown that he possessed both shrewd political skills and a talent for military leadership. When the threat of a crusader invasion loomed large, he had acted swiftly and resolutely. Moreover, he fielded an army with the technical proficiency to defeat a crusader army. Through their knowledge of Mongol warfare and the lessons of Kalka River, both Alexander and his brother were confident that the horse archers could decimate an opponent.

The victory achieved by the Principality of Novgorod was a significant event in the evolution of Russia. It showed that the Russians could defeat Latin crusaders in battle. Alexander also knew that it was in the best interests of his people not to continue the war by invading the territories held by the Teutonic Order and the Danish crown. Although the Teutonic Order had suffered an important defeat, its garrisons along the Baltic seaboard were too strong for the Russians to conquer. He offered the crusaders generous terms, which they gladly accepted. The agreement produced two decades of peace between the Russians and the Teutonic Knights. Alexander soon had to go to war with the pagan Lithuanians to curb their repeated raids into Novgorod territory.

The Teutonic Knights were eclipsed in the following centuries by the rise of Poland and Lithuania, which had joined together in 1385 in a mutually beneficial union. The combined forces of the two great states subsequently defeated the Teutonic Knights in 1410 in the Battle of Grunwald.

Although descriptions of his actions in medieval histories borders on the supernatural, the truth is that his military abilities combined with his political shrewdness turned Alexander into a national hero. Alexander had superb political and military skills. He was able to remain at peace with the Mongols by using diplomacy.

After showing that foot soldiers could defeat highly trained and well-armed knights mounted on horseback, Alexander negotiated a treaty with the Teutonic Order in 1243 by which the order abandoned its claims to Russian territory. In 1547 the Orthodox Church canonized Prince Alexander as a saint.

Alexander Nevsky remains a heroic figure in Russian history. This is reflected in the "Order of Alexander Nevsky," which often has been used as one of the country's highest military decorations.

The Russian Orthodox Church knew all too well how significant Prince Alexander was to the Russian people. On November 14, 1263, Archbishop Kiril was leading a service at Vladimir Cathedral in Suzdal when he learned that the prince had died. He turned to the congregation and said, "The sun of the Russian land has set, my children." □

CLASH *of* GIANTS

ON THE EVENING OF JULY 4, 1809, Emperor Napoleon's Grande Armee prepared to cross a narrow waterway from Lobau Island to Marchfelt, a large, flat plain that bordered the eastern banks of the sinuous Danube River. Marshal Nicolas Oudinot's II Corps was among the first to attempt a passage, boarding boats with a minimum of delay and little or no confusion. No fewer than 6,000 grenadiers and voltigeurs had embarked, the men wearing white armbands to help identify French advance units and lessen the chance of friendly fire casualties.

Such identification was needed because, as the evening progressed, a storm developed that was both unseasonable and intense. French troops were lashed by a heavy downpour, a deluge of almost Biblical proportions accompanied by howling winds. French batteries on Lobau had opened a steady fire, their thunderous reports matched, and even surpassed, by peals of lightning.

The French army crosses the second stretch of the Danube River from the islands to the north side. Napoleon personally oversaw bridging operations to avoid the pitfalls of the initial river crossing during the battle of Aspern-Essling.

French surgeon Dominique Jean Larrey, a veteran campaigner, recalled that troops were also pelted by hail, and "so intense was the darkness that we could only get our bearings during the flashes of lighting." Some of the visibility problems were solved when French shells set the village of Gross Enzerdorf on fire. Flames engulfed the houses, the orange-yellow tendrils leaping so high into the air boatmen could get their bearings.

Once a foothold was firmly established on the eastern bank, French sappers went to work, rapidly putting preassembled bridges across the water. Once the spans were in place, the bulk of the Grande Armee began to cross. In spite of the weather and sporadic Austrian artillery fire, the whole operation went like clockwork. Shortly after 2 AM, Marshal Nicholas Davout's III Corps began crossing its assigned bridges without incident. His force included four infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions, altogether more than 30,000 men, yet all seemed to have made it safely across.

Somewhere in the pitch black awaited Archduke Charles von Hapsburg's Austrian army, a force numbering 113,800 infantry, 14,600 cavalry, and 414 guns. Six weeks earlier Archduke Charles had pulled off something of a miracle when he defeated Napoleon at nearby Aspern-Essling. But the French emperor had not been decisively defeated and was now attempting to regain the initiative.

Knowing the fate of his empire was at stake, Napoleon supervised every detail of the operation. When Marshal Andre Massena's IV Corps was about to cross, the squat emperor surprised the hard-working sappers by showing up at the bridgehead in person. A preassembled bridge was

Napoleon set out in the summer of 1809 to punish the Austrians for having the audacity to go to war against him again. He stumbled initially in his quest to restore French hegemony.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

Alamy

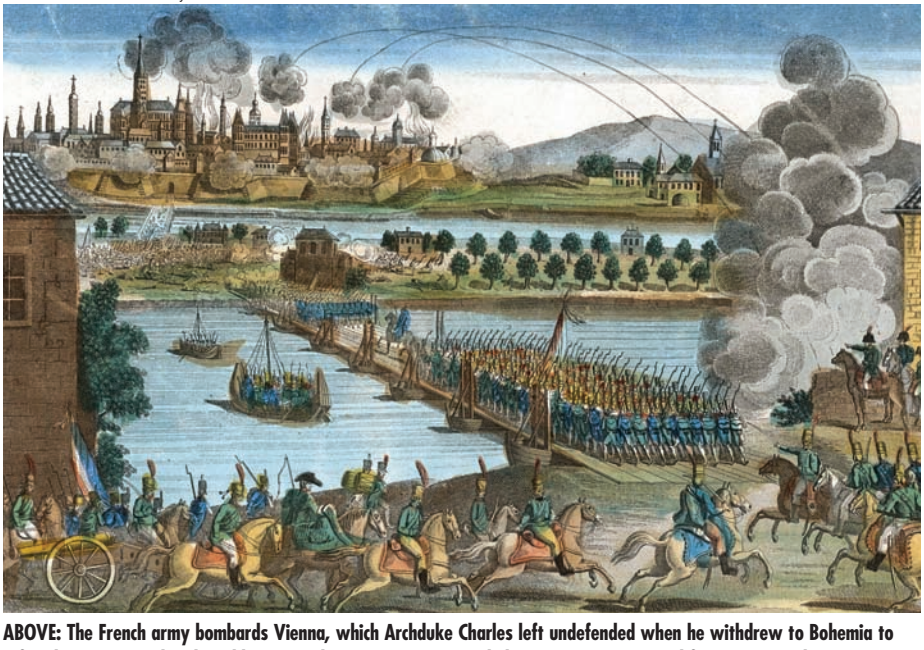
about to be swung across the channel. There were no fewer than 17 pontoons in the bridge, engineered to span a 178-yard gap. The idea was to swing the bridge across in one piece, a tricky and dangerous maneuver.

Napoleon, dressed as usual in his greatcoat and famed cocked hat, strode over to the officer in charge, a Captain Heckmann. His manner was brusk and to the point: "How long do you require for the swinging?" "A quarter of an hour, sire," replied Heckmann. The emperor was not buying it. "I give you five minutes," he snapped. Napoleon then turned to Henri-Gatien Bertrand, who was an engineering officer as well as an aide. "Bertrand, your watch!" he demanded.

The pontoon bridge managed to move flawlessly and all in one piece. It took eight minutes, but Napoleon was pleased enough to forgive the extra time. Still, there was not a moment to lose. Massena's men began crossing at once, their boots sounding a rhythmic thud on the rough wooden planks. The marshal himself rode in a calash drawn by four horses from his own stables. His legs had been injured in a riding accident, so he could not walk or ride on horseback. Massena's personal driver insisted on taking the reins, even though the carriage would be a perfect target for Austrian guns

By 10 AM it was done: Napoleon's army of 130,800 infantry, 23,300 cavalry, and 544 guns was safely across the Danube and poised for battle. There had already been some fighting that morning, savage and bloody, but still just a prologue of the main event to come. Who would prevail? The answer would determine the fate of Europe for some time to come.

Both: Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



ABOVE: The French army bombards Vienna, which Archduke Charles left undefended when he withdrew to Bohemia to refit. The city surrendered quickly to Napoleon. OPPOSITE: Marshal Jean Lannes journeyed from Spain to the Austrian front to take command of the French II Corps. He was mortally wounded in the fighting at Essling.

The battle had its roots in the turbulent power politics of the period. Napoleon's unrivaled genius on the battlefield led to peace treaties that too often humbled and humiliated his foes. Napoleon badly defeated Austria, once dominant in central Europe, in 1805 at Austerlitz. Afterward, Austria's power was diminished and its reputation tarnished by a man who they considered an upstart at best. Filled with a burning desire for revenge, the Austrians bided their time, waiting for an opportunity to renew the contest.

The opportunity came early in 1809. Napoleon was in Spain, wrapping up a major campaign, and the French were taken completely by surprise. Archduke Charles was a competent if not overly imaginative general, and his first moves were good enough in this game of sanguinary chess. But check is not checkmate, and once Napoleon arrived on the scene the archduke was forced on the defensive.

For a time it looked like Napoleon was about to score another triumph. Vienna was captured, an important psychological blow, but victory would not be achieved until the Austrian army was vanquished. Archduke Charles wisely based his army north of the Danube, thus placing the great river between him and the Grande Armee. To attack the Austrians Napoleon would first have to cross the mighty river, no mean feat if his passage was contested. And once across, he might find himself fighting a major battle with the Danube at his back.

Napoleon responded to the problem with his usual thoroughness, at least it seemed so at the time. But by 1809 the emperor's characteristic brilliance was being tainted by an all too human arrogance. He had come to believe in his own invincibility, and that, coupled with contempt for his foes, was to have near fatal results.

On May 20 Napoleon took a gamble. The French army crossed the river at Lobau Island, some four miles below Vienna, without adequate reconnaissance as to the enemy's whereabouts. Worse still, the crossing depended on a single pontoon bridge that stretched a vulnerable 825 yards. The French managed to establish a bridgehead, but a vigorous attack by Archduke Charles on May 21 placed the whole Gallic operation in jeopardy.

The resulting fight is commemorated as the Battle of Aspern-Essling. It was a savage, two-day affair, and the French were hard pressed from the very beginning. Napoleon usually had the upper hand in battle, but this time the shoe was on the other foot. The French found themselves outgunned and outnumbered two to one, with reinforcements and ammunition conveyed over that single rickety bridge. The flimsy span was broken at least five times during the course of the battle, either by the Danube's strong current or by Austrian fireboats.

The Lobau pontoon bridge was the French army's lifeline, and when the bridge's fragile beams parted, the French army was marooned. Finally accepting the inevitable, Napoleon ordered a general retreat to Lobau on the afternoon of May 22. It took time for such an amazing event to sink in. Although hard to fathom, Napoleon had been defeated in person.

The emperor himself was in something like a state of shock. For a good three days he was listless. His mind was seemingly paralyzed by the unaccustomed defeat. His mood was also darkened by the death of Jean Lannes, one of his best marshals and a close personal friend. But Napoleon's energy and resolve soon returned, and he began planning for a comeback.

Napoleon knew that the French empire rested on shaky foundations, his continuing victories binding it together. If he sustained enough defeats, the whole grand empire would collapse like a house of cards. Russia, a nominal French ally, was more interested in nibbling away at Austrian territory than offering substantial help. And Prussia, dismembered and still smarting from its own defeat in 1806, also had to be watched.

But the emperor also had to contend with growing German nationalism. Austria and Prussia apart, the other German-speaking lands were growing restive under French domination. Napoleon's Continental System, the economic blockade of Great Britain, was resented and brought hardships to German businessmen. Germany, formerly a patchwork quilt of approximately 300 petty states, had been consolidated into around 35 principalities, a French-driven process that ironically accelerated a pan-German feeling.

In spite of Napoleonic reforms, the Germans resented French rule, the presence of French troops, and French demands that they participate as allies in the emperor's endless wars. They were restive, impatiently waiting for obvious signs of decline and defeat before rising up against the French occupiers. Napoleon had stumbled, but not fallen, that is, at least not yet. That is the reason the outcome of the next battle was of such vital importance. Napoleon had to win or risk losing everything.

As a first step the emperor temporarily withdrew all French troops from Lobau except Massena's IV Corps. The island was then transformed into an entrenched camp, with strong fortifications bristling with at least 129 guns. More bridges were built, sturdy and strong, that linked Lobau to the mainland, but Napoleon realized the spans were in danger from fireboats or anything else the Austrians might place in the river to damage them. Taking no chances, the French drove poles into the riverbed upstream to catch any floating obstructions dumped into the Danube. Additionally, the Marines of the Guard manned 20 boats, an impromptu Danube River patrol to keep a watchful eye on things.

Napoleon was pleased with the continuing preparations; the bridges that linked the great river's islands to the mainland were particularly noteworthy. The emperor, normally a hard taskmaster in war, could boastfully say, "The Danube no longer exists; it has been abolished." At that point, it was simply a matter of concentrating all his forces for the projected knockout blow.

As the weeks went by Archduke Charles did little or nothing, as if he was mesmerized by his victory over the great Corsican. He did refortify Aspern and Essling and placed batteries that overlooked Lobau Island. More artillery was summoned for his field army, and the Landwehr (Austrian militia) was incorporated into his main forces.

Many reasons have been advanced for this delay. Some authorities suggest he was waiting for a German popular uprising against the French, but if he was, by late June he must have realized the waiting was in vain. Others suggest he was waiting for his brother, Archduke John von Hapsburg, and his army to join him. Unfortunately, a Franco-Italian army under Napoleon's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais and General Jacques MacDonald soundly defeated the archduke at Raab in Hungary on June 14.

Napoleon poured over maps, studied every intelligence report, and analyzed every possible scenario. He had no intention of crossing the Danube in the same spot as he had in May, though it was obvious Charles must have thought he would. Aspern and Essling were fortified, and the approaches to the old French bridgehead were lined with Austrian cannons. There was the problem of Archduke John as well. Even though the archduke had been defeated and reduced in numbers, he still had enough men to tip the scales in Austria's favor. Eventually he wound up in Pressburg, just 30 miles away from his brother's main army. If Archduke John's 13,000 men suddenly appeared on the Grande Armee's flank, disaster might ensue.

Eventually a plan began to crystalize in Napoleon's mind. First, he would give every indication that the French army would indeed cross where it had last May. Among other things, he moved his headquarters to the southwest corner of Lobau Island, an action that would be reported to Charles. Next, he sent General Legrand's division over to the Muhlau salient, the one toehold the French still had on the Austrian-controlled side of the river, a passage that also included 36 guns. But this was only a feint to confuse Charles.

The real crossing point would be farther southeast. The village of Gross Enzerdorf would be the hinge by which the French army would wheel northwest, outflank the Austrian field guns near

the old crossing, and simultaneously smash into the Charles's left flank. At the same time, and this was the beauty of the plan, the French would impose themselves between the main Austrian army and that of Archduke John.

Ideally, Charles would rise to the bait, moving his army forward to the banks of the Danube, preparing for a rematch on the old battlefield, all the while not suspecting he was about to be hit in the flank and perhaps even the rear by a resurgent Grande Armee. Sure enough, Archduke Charles did move forward, at least initially, the white-coated Austrian troops marching through the lush grain fields that ripened in the blazing summer sun.

But Charles started to have second thoughts almost immediately. His troops were now within range of French guns, whose crews lost no time in bombarding the serried ranks. After spending all of July 2 in deliberation, pondering the best course of action, Charles ordered the bulk of the Austrian army to move farther from the river.

For Napoleon, these movements had both positive and negative aspects. On the negative side, the emperor could no longer outflank, and perhaps even smash, the entire Austrian army as he had hoped. Yet there was some good news too: a Danube crossing, once discovered, would not be hotly contested by Charles's main force.

The new Austrian positions were not without merit, and in fact used the region's geographical features to great advantage. Much of the Marchfeld was flat, with a rise or two that usually did not measure more than three feet. A meandering stream called the Russbach snaked its way through Marchfeld's northern border, its steep banks lined with clusters of trees. The Russbach was truly a stream for it was only about 30 feet wide, but the trees and its banks made it an effective moat against cavalry and an impossible barrier for artillery.

Behind the Russbach there was some marshy ground, and after that, the most prominent feature of Marchfeld, the Wagram. The Wagram was an escarpment, a low ridge varying in height from about 60 to 98 feet that lay between the villages of Deutch-Wagram and Markgrafneusiedl. Making the most of this terrain, Archduke Charles placed his I, II, and III Corps on the escarpment behind the Russbach.

The forward positions in front of the Russbach, including the villages of Aspern and Essling, were held by the Austrian VI Korps and Austrian Advance Guard. Thoroughly out on a limb, these units were to delay the French as long as possible then fall back in good order. The VI Korps was then to withdraw to the Bisamberg, a high ridge near the Danube, while the Advance Guard was to retreat to Markgrafneusiedl.

Massena's IV Corps was to make a great wheeling movement to the left, marching to a position northwest of Aspern at Britenlee. At the same time, Marshal Nicolas Oudinot's II Corps would hold the French center, advancing to the Russbach just opposite Baumersdorf. The French right was assigned to Marshal Nicholas Davout's III Corps, disciplined troops who were to move toward Markgrafneusiedl via Glinzendorf. Supporting troops included Prince Eugene's Army of Italy and Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte's IX Corps, the latter consisting of Saxons allied to Napoleon.

As a reserve, Napoleon had his Imperial Guard, famed veterans whose bearskin caps were a symbol of French military prowess. He also had his reliable Reserve Cavalry under Marshal Bessieres. The Reserve was mostly cuirassier regiments, shock troops in steel helmets and breastplates and mounted on powerful horses. That did not complete the list of available units. Marshal Marmont's XI Corps and the Bavarian troops under General Karl von Wrede were still on the Lobau and had not yet arrived at the front.

All: Wikimedia

Clockwise from top: Austrian Generalissimo Archduke Charles, French General Jacques MacDonald, and French Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessieres.

General MacDonald, son of a Jacobite exile, hoped to distinguish and rehabilitate his image in the unfolding battle. He leaned toward Republicanism, which made him suspect in Napoleon's eyes. Worse still, he had been close friends with Jean Moreau, who was living in exile and regarded as one of the emperor's greatest enemies. Attached to the Army of Italy as a kind of shadow adviser to Prince Eugene, MacDonald had been largely responsible for the latter's triumph over Archduke John at Raab.

As the Army of Italy waited for the main action to start, Napoleon suddenly appeared on horseback. The Italian troops reacted to his presence by lifting their shakoes on the tips of their bayonets and repeatedly shouting, "Long live the emperor!" Napoleon acknowledged the cheers with a salute, but simply gave MacDonald a glance and rose on. MacDonald was somewhat crestfallen.

The first day's fighting was heavy, see sawed back and forth, and was inconclusive. By 5 PM it seemed as if the battle would have to stop. Both sides had fought furiously most of the day, and some of Napoleon's men, many of whom were still green conscripts having been called up to fill out the depleted ranks of the Grande Armee, were nearing exhaustion. But the emperor sensed he had momentum and was loath to end the day's offensive. Bernadotte, Prince Eugene, Oudinot, and Davout would simultaneously assault the Russbach stream line between Deutch Wagram and Markgrafneusiedl and in so doing drive a deep wedge into the Austrian army. Once a breakthrough was achieved, it would be simply a matter of divide and ultimately conquer.

French artillery opened up about 7 PM, signaling the opening of a new and terrible phase of fighting. Baumersdorf, a village on the Russbach, had the misfortune of being near the Austrian center, which made it a primary target for French artillery. The village was held by the 8th Jager and Volunteers of the Erzherzog Karl (Archduke Charles) Legion, who stoically endured a hurricane of metal that soon set many of its buildings afire.

The artillery barrage was just the prelude to a full-fledged French infantry assault by men of Oudinot's II Corps. The Volunteers and Jagers refused to yield, stubbornly defending Baumersdorf's scorched ruins foot by foot, yard by yard. Marshal Oudinot decided on a differ-

Wikimedia

During the battle of Wagram, Napoleon positioned himself just north of the village of Raasdorf in the center of the French line from where he could monitor the progress of both wings of his army.

ent approach, namely a flanking attack on the village about 8 PM, the assignment given to the 57th Regiment of the Line and the 10th Legere.

The 57th was a famous regiment with roots dating back to the prerevolutionary Ancien Regime. They were renowned for their prowess in war, so formidable they were nicknamed "the terrible." The blue-coated soldiers went forward with elan, but were met by Austrians with equal determination. Each shattered house, each rubble-choked building, became a fortress that had to be taken by storm.

The 10th Legere bypassed Baumersdorf, moving ahead to the main Austrian position. They waded the Russbach, passed through the viscous muck of the nearby boggy patch, and then ascended the escarpment just beyond. The climb was steep, and when the leading elements of the 10th Legere finally crested the summit they were disordered and probably winded by the effort.

Before they could recover from their exertions they met a brigade of whitecoats from II Korps in position on the escarpment. The Austrians leveled their muskets and unleashed a volley, a storm of lead that caused scores of French dead and wounded and left the survivors reeling. Before they could recover they were sent packing, and literally plunging, down the escarpment slopes by a cavalry charge of chevauxlegers (light cavalry) led in person by a sword-wielding Prince Frederick von Hohenzollern.

The first day's battle finally concluded around 11 PM, mercifully ending the slaughter for the moment. Napoleon was in a fairly decent position, but it was obvious the long-sought decisive victory had eluded his grasp. And his ill-judged and ultimately ham-fisted dealings with the Iberian Peninsula were also coming home to roost. Napoleon had an army of 200,000 men occupying Spain, troops that could have been used to better purpose in Germany and Austria.

Because of his Spanish commitments, the quality and effectiveness of the Grand Armee was compromised. The infantry was especially diluted by too many conscripts and, because of manpower shortages, the French were forced to use German allied troops to a greater degree than in the past. There were several instances of raw troops breaking and running, though usually they did manage to rally and fight again. To be fair, there were a few instances of Austrian units taking to their heels as well.

Throughout the battle Napoleon kept his customary sang froid. At one point, an Austrian shell exploded so close to the emperor his horse shied. Oudinot, startled, said, "They are firing at headquarters!"

"Monsieur, in war all accidents are possible," Napoleon dismissively replied. And even when conducting a high-stakes battle, Napoleon had time for a little humor to lighten the mood. When a staff officer had his helmet knocked off by a cannonball, "It's a good job that you are not any taller!" the emperor said with a smile.

The next day, July 6, proved to be decisive. It was Archduke Charles who began the affair with a vigorous dawn offensive by Klenau's VI Korps. One of his objectives was to crush the French left, while at the same time pushing on to the Danube to seize control of the Lobau bridges. If Charles could get behind the French army and cut off its means of supply and escape, it would be "marooned" and surrounded. It was a nightmare scenario for the French, and potentially an even greater disaster than Aspern-Essling. Napoleon himself might even be caught in the Austrian "net."

The Austrians moved forward with pomp and real panache. Bands played as they marched, and the overall mood seemed to be one of supreme confidence despite some setbacks in the past. Certainly, they were no strangers to the terrain; the Hapsburg troops held frequent maneuvers at Marchfeld.

Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte made matters worse by abandoning a key position, the vil-

lage of Aderklaa, without orders to do so. Touchy, with a large chip on his shoulder, he tended to cover up his own failings by shifting the blame to others. In 1806 he failed to support Davout when the latter was hard pressed at Auderstadt, yet he tried to cover up his actions with bluster and bravado. The 1809 campaign was no different.

Bernadotte rode ahead of the fleeing troops to rally them, but in so doing happened to run into a very angry emperor. "I herewith remove you from command of the Corps you have handled so consistently badly," the emperor snapped, adding, "Quit the Grande Armee within twenty-four hours."

In the meantime, Klenau was making good progress battling his way through the French left, ultimately cutting Napoleon off from the Lobau bridges and his line of retreat. But the Austrian army was not noted for taking the initiative. General Klenau halted and began to patiently wait for support from the Austrian III Korps. He was only about three miles from the unprotected rear of the French army and the Lobau bridges, but he still stopped his progress, and in so doing the initiative passed to the French.

Napoleon saw the danger to his left and was going to deal with it in a decisive manner, but his main focus at the moment was on the right, where Davout was going to attack Markgrafneusiedl. Markgrafneusiedl was the key to victory, at least in the emperor's opinion, and he was rarely wrong in these matters. In the meantime, Massena was ordered to turn and march south, his IV Corps coming to the rescue by stopping Klenau's threatening advance.

To follow the emperor's orders Massena had to execute a tricky and even perilous maneuver. He had to march across the face of the Austrian III Korps and Grenadier Reserve. By crossing the "T" with the Austrians at the bottom stem and the French the upper stroke, Massena's men would expose their vulnerable flank to enemy artillery fire and perhaps even musketry.

Massena's march would also be an agonizingly long five-mile trek. To divert the Austrians and gain some time, Napoleon ordered Marshal Jean Bessieres to attack with his heavy cavalry reserve. No fewer than 4,000 armored warriors rode past Napoleon, and as they went their galloping steeds produced a thunderous tattoo, a rumble that was punctuated by fervent cries of "Vive l'Empereur!"

Napoleon, acknowledged their salute, but shouted additional orders over the din: "Ne sabraz pas: pointez, pointez." This translates to "Don't slash with your swords, use the points of your weapons instead." The charge was a magnificent spectacle, full of pride and panoply, and their breastplates and backplates evoked memories of medieval knights. But this was the early 19th century and not the Middle Ages. Austrian artillery opened up at once, cutting bloody swathes into the advancing horsemen. Men and horses were eviscerated, disemboweled, turn to gory heaps of human and animal flesh, but the cuirassiers would not be dissuaded from their task.

Bessieres, a leader of Napoleon's Imperial Guard, habitually wore the uniform of the Guard's Chasseurs a Chaval. He wore his hair unfashionably long and so was easy to spot on the battlefield. The marshal shared his men's misfortune: first, his horse was killed out from under him, and then, moments later, an apparently glancing blow from a cannonball wounded him. When Napoleon heard that Bessieres was out of action, he ordered that the news be suppressed as much as possible. The marshal was a popular man. He would later recover.

The gallant charge was not in vain, because it did indeed buy valuable time. It bought enough time for Napoleon to bring his grand battery forward. The grand battery consisted of 112 guns, with some artillery coming from the Imperial Guard and some pieces from the Army of Italy. Forming a wide arc, the French artillery soon started pounding the area between Aderklaa and Brentenlee. Cannons belched gouts of flame and smoke with each discharge as sweat-drenched gun crews worked their pieces with clockwork regularity.

The grand battery had essentially the same mission as the cavalry: protect and support Massena's risky move south. The battery proved more effective than the cavalry, tearing great holes in the packed ranks of the whitecoats. Shells ripped into soldiers, sometimes flinging their shattered bodies up in the air, and cannonballs took off heads, arms, and legs with horrifying ease.

Desperate to find some shelter from this man-made maelstrom, elements of the Austrian III Korps retired to the Breitenlee-Sussenbrunn road. For the moment, the situation had stabilized, leaving Napoleon to concentrate on capturing the all-important key to victory, the village of Markgrafneusiedl. Davout stormed the village without hesitation, but it was soon apparent that it was going to be a hard nut to crack. Austrian defenders fought for every inch of ground. Markgrafneusiedl's cluster of stone houses became fiercely contested strongpoints, and other landmarks, like the windmill, monastery, and an old moated church, were fortresses often to be taken not just by bullets, but by the cold steel of bayonets.

Bavarian infantry of the VII Corps engage Austrian cavalry covering the army's withdrawal from the battlefield. The Austrian army's good showing at Wagram indicated that the Grand Armee would no longer enjoy easy triumphs as it had at Ulm Austerlitz, and Jena.

Napoleon also desired an attack on the Austrian center. If the attack on the center succeeded, it would split Charles's army in two; if not, it would still tie up and divert the Austrians, preventing them from sending reinforcements to the hard-pressed defenders of Markgrafneusiedl. The emperor chose MacDonald and his Army of Italy for this crucial task.

MacDonald formed his men in a gigantic hollow square of 8,000 men. In his memoirs MacDonald claims that, at least in part, the formation was used because of the threat of Austrian cavalry attacks, though he did have French horsemen with him as well. Perhaps the general didn't want to admit that unseasoned troops fought better in larger formations, and the chances of their taking to their heels was reduced, if not altogether eliminated.

Drummers beat the pas de charge, a throbbing, rhythmic tattoo that could be distinctly heard over the sounds of battle. MacDonald's great square was a perfect target for Austrian artillery, and soon great bloody gaps were torn

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

in the blue-coated ranks. Whole bunches of men were cut down simultaneously, but survivors were ordered to close and dress their ranks as if on parade.

MacDonald's column was like a great wounded beast staggering along, leaving a bloody trail of entrails, which were the broken bodies of its dead and wounded soldiers, in its wake. French cuirassiers and cavalry of the guard gave support, but they could not protect MacDonald's cumbersome formation from the artillery barrages that tormented and lacerated them with each step.

MacDonald's long-suffering troops had not achieved a breakthrough, but their secondary purpose, that of preventing reinforcements to Markgrafneusiedl, succeeded. Napoleon, who scanned the horizon with his telescope from horseback, saw that Davout's firing line had passed the village's church tower. It was plain that Markgrafneusiedl would fall to the French, and soon. Satisfied, the emperor snapped the telescope shut. Massena was making good progress on the right, and by 2 PM Klenau, his get-behind-the-French-army maneuver in tatters, was forced out of Aspern.

With his right and left crumbling, and his center barely holding, Archduke Charles was in real despair. His brother Archduke John, the man whose arrival would have tipped the battle in Austrian favor, was nowhere to be seen. In a hopeless mood and suffering from a slight wound, Charles reluctantly ordered a general withdrawal.

Napoleon had his victory, but the French were simply too exhausted to mount an effective pursuit of their enemy. Sadly, the French army lost another one of its legendary paladins when 33-year-old General of Division Antoine de Lasalle, a renowned hussar commander, was shot dead at the head of his troops.

Napoleon had won the Battle of Wagram, but as Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, once said of his victory over Napoleon at Waterloo, it was a near-run thing. Wagram, in truth, was something of a pyrrhic victory if one looks at the statistics: 30,000 casualties, 4,000 captured, and 11 guns and three eagle standards lost. In comparison, the Austrians suffered 23,000 casualties and 18,000 captured. Yet the Austrian lost only nine guns and one standard, which was mute but eloquent testimony of the Austrians' newly learned discipline and training.

Nevertheless, the French emperor had bested the Austrians and regained his prestige. Austria capitulated, since the Treaty of Schonbrunn, signed in October 1809, was yet another punitive pact that left the Austrian empire reduced in territory and prestige. Besides the loss of territory, Austria had to pay an indemnity and honor the Continental System; thus, it was not peace, but a protracted pause before the next round of fighting.

MacDonald won his long-coveted marshal's baton, and the honor was made even sweeter by being awarded on the field of battle. Napoleon embraced MacDonald, declaring. "On the battlefield of glory, where I owe you so large a part of yesterday's success, I make you Marshal of France."

The next three years after Wagram saw Napoleon at the height of his power. But the Austrians had fought well, in part because of a rising patriotic, nationalist feeling, and also they adopted some of the organization and techniques of the Grande Armee. That, as well as the lowering of the overall quality of the French army, meant that relatively easy triumphs such as Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena would not be repeated.

Sometime later, when someone criticized the Austrian army within earshot of the emperor, he snapped, "It is evident you were not at Wagram." □

Admiral Alvaro de Bazan gives thanks to God for victory over the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto in 1571 in this detail from a religious painting completed not long after the battle. The victory shattered the Ottoman Empire's illusion of invincibility.

AKG Images

ON JUNE 27, 1570, an Ottoman fleet sailed against Venetian-held Cyprus during the reign of Sultan Selim II. After a short siege of Nicosia, the Turks then besieged Famagusta. Its Venetian defenders fought tenaciously but succumbed to the Ottomans on August 5, 1571, after a grueling 11-month siege.

Ottoman general Mustafa Pasha initially offered to allow the Christian troops to sail to Crete. But his mood turned sour and he reneged on his offer. The bloodthirsty Turks slaughtered the Christians. In an act of unspeakable cruelty, Venetian commander Marco Antonio Bragadin was tortured and flayed alive.

The Venetians vowed revenge. Other Catholic maritime powers in the Mediterranean region sympathized with their situation. At the urging of Pope Pius V, Spain, Genoa, Venice, the Papacy, and the Knights of St. John formed a powerful Holy League. It was the only way the Christians could meet the Ottomans on equal terms at sea. The Venetian Arsenal, a massive complex of shipyards and armories, churned out war galleys and galleasses for the expedition.

On October 7, 1571, the opposing fleets faced off at the Battle of Lepanto in the Gulf of Patras. The league's left division was led by Venetian Admiral Agostino Barbarigo, the center division by fleet commander Don John of Austria, and the right division by

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

SPAIN'S INVINCIBLE ADMIRAL

Alvaro de Bazan fought Ottoman fleets and corsairs in the Mediterranean Sea, but the pinnacle of his career was the conquest of the Azores.

Genoan Admiral Gianandrea Doria. The commander of the rear division was Alvaro de Bazan, Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was one of the greatest naval commanders in Spanish history. Aboard his flagship *Lupa* (Wolf), Santa Cruz performed his duty magnificently. At a crucial point in the battle, he sent a portion of his command to plug a dangerous gap in the Christian line.

One of the soldiers who fought at Lepanto was Miguel de Cervantes, who would go on to write the novel *Don Quixote* in 1605. In *Don Quixote,* he spoke in glowing terms of Santa Cruz. The Spanish admiral was "that thunderbolt of War, the father of his soldiers, that fortunate and invincible captain."

Alvaro was born in Granada on December 12, 1526, to a respected and highly accomplished family from the lush Baztan valley of Navarre. At birth he was given his father and grandfather's name. The valley in which he grew up lies north of Pamplona and is nestled along the province's northern border with Aquitaine. His family was one of the principal houses of Navarre, and it had rendered loyal service to the kings of Spain. The

ABOVE: Turkish forces investing the Venetian garrison at Famagusta benefitted from a short supply line, as well as from the absence of a Christian relief force. OPPOSITE TOP: The coastal fortress of Penon de Velez de la Gomera on the Barbary Coast as depicted on a 17th-century Flemish map. Small garrisons of Spanish troops struggled to survive in a hostile land where resupply occurred infrequently.

family modified its surname, in an effort to reflect the valley from which it came, from Baztan to Bazan. Because of their affluence, his parents were able to send young Alvaro to school in Gibraltar. But he soon went to sea to learn the naval profession.

Alvaro's grandfather had fought in the decade-long Grenada War that ended in victory for Castile-Aragon in 1492. Alvaro's father, Don Alvaro de Bazan, Marquis of Viso, served King Charles V, who ruled both the Spanish Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, as Captain General of the Ocean Sea. Spanish shipbuilding was performed largely by private contractors, and Viso also designed and built ships for the Spanish crown.

The Bazan family acquired extensive lands in La Mancha both as compensation for service to the Spanish crown and also from outright purchase from the king. The Marquis of Viso took advantage of the arrangement to purchase the town of Santa Cruz de Mudela from Charles V. When young Alvaro came into his own later in his career and climbed the ladder of success as a preeminent Spanish naval commander, the inspiration for his title came from Santa Cruz de Mudela, for he wished to be known as the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

Because of his lineage, 17-year-old Alvaro received command in 1543 of a Spanish naval squadron composed of four ships and 1,200 sailors stationed in the Atlantic Ocean. The squadron patrolled the waters from Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. Bazan the Younger won his first laurels in a major naval clash that unfolded during the Italian War of 1542 to 1546, one of the many wars that pitted Charles V against French King Francis I.

In the summer of 1543 a French fleet composed of 25 warships led by Jean de Clamorgan set out from Bayonne to attack Spain by raiding along its coastline. The Marquis of Viso found the French anchored at Muros Bay in Galicia on July 25. Although the Spanish had only 16 warships, they were on average larger than those of the French. Having captured the French at anchor, the Marquis of Viso sailed directly for Clamorgan's flagship and sank it. The French capitulated and the Spanish captured all but one of their ships, as well as 3,000 sailors. Bazan the Younger, whose squadron participated in the battle, also basked in its success.

Much of the younger Bazan's career over the course of the next two decades was devoted to checking the expansion of Ottoman corsairs based in North Africa. The Ottomans referred to the 1,200-mile coastline from modern Morrocco to Libya as the Maghreb, whereas the Spanish called it the Barbary Coast. Shortly after the turn of the century corsairs from the eastern Mediterranean relocated to the Maghreb in search of greater riches by raiding Spain, Italy, and nearby islands. This ultimately sparked a long-running amphibious war along the Barbary Coast between the Spanish and the Muslim corsairs. Bazan the Younger played a key role in protecting Spanish lands in the western Mediterranean from corsair raids.

After the fall of Granada in 1492, the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella embarked on a program to construct presidios at key points along the Barbary Coast. The presidios would serve as bases from which to disrupt corsair activity. Archbishop Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros of Toledo, who had his hand in military as well as ecclesiastical matters, drew up a plan for constructing the strongholds.

Cisneros tapped Pedro Navarro, a brilliant military engineer who had served with distinction in Italy during the Italian Wars, to conduct an offensive against the corsairs and build presidios in the ports and cities he conquered. In 1510 Navarro led Spanish forces that captured Algiers, Bougie, Tlemcen, Tripoli, and Tunis. Navarro generally chose a rocky crag or strategically located island to command the harbor traffic. The Spanish referred to these rock-fortresses as peñons.

Navarro's short-lived offensive was not sustained by his successors. As time went by, the presidios became wholly defensive in nature. The isolated garrisons had to wait anxiously for resupply from Spanish war galleys because the local Arabs and Berbers would not sell them supplies.

Sixteenth-century clashes in the Mediterranean Sea typically involved war galleys and smaller vessels, such as galiots and fustas that combined oars and lateen sails. Because of their sleek design, war galleys could not hold much cargo. They had to put into port frequently to take on food and water. The longest they might go at sea was two weeks.

These vessels routinely participated in amphibious operations, patrols, and raids. Galleys were well suited to capture coastal objectives. An attacking naval force might land troops and guns to assault the objective from land while their galleys furnished fire support with their bow guns.

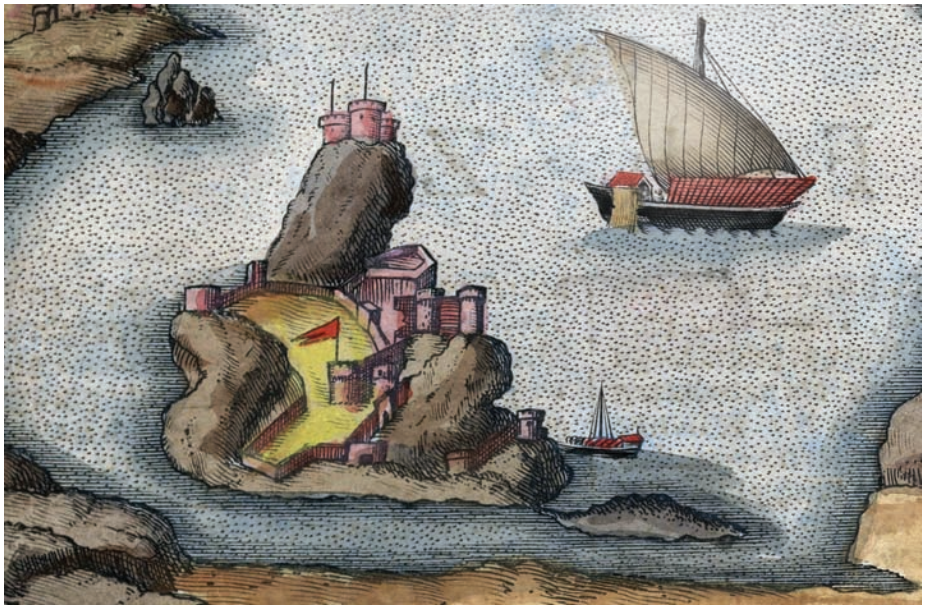
Fleet-versus-fleet engagements were unusual. This is because the great admirals knew that attempting to destroy an enemy's fleet was a major gamble and generally not worth the risk. The path to victory in galley warfare was not to destroy the enemy's fleet, but rather to capture his bases in order to deny him control of the coastline and its ports, harbors, and coastal fortifications. On the rare occasions that galley fleets fought against each other, such as at Preveza in 1538 and Lepanto in 1571, they also might incorporate sail-driven ships, such as the galleon, caravel, or cog.

The Spanish needed ships with the endurance of merchant vessels that could carry guns and soldiers to fend off attacks. They also needed

ships that could withstand the rough weather encountered in trans-Atlantic voyages. As early as the 1530s, the Spanish had begun building carracks and galleons capable of transporting men, equipment, and treasure across the Atlantic. The Marquis of Viso and his son both made major contributions to the design of the Spanish galleon, which was an iconic vessel of the Spanish empire. When his father passed away in 1559, the Bazan the Younger built on the advances his father had made to perfect the design of ocean-going galleons used in trans-Atlantic voyages.

His innovative design incorporated the best features of the Portuguese caravel. He designed a standard galleon that was 100 feet long and 30 feet wide and could transport 600 tons. Such capacity was necessary both for storing supplies for the crew on long voyages and for transporting goods and treasure from Spanish possessions in the Americas back to Spain. That was just one of many sizes, though. Depending on the specific model, it might have three or four masts, a combination of square and lateen sails, and several decks. For armament galleons had from 24 to 48 guns. A typical crew size was 200 sailors and 100 soldiers.

A Spanish galleon's guns were not sophisticated enough at that stage of artillery evolution to fire repeated broadsides at enemy vessels. They were so heavy that once fired, the crews could not easily run them back and fire again.



Besides, the Spanish were not keen on destroying enemy ships because they preferred to capture them as prizes and reflag them. A Spanish galleon usually fired one broadside before coming alongside the enemy ship for boarding. It then sent sailors and soldiers to fight their way aboard the enemy ship with half pikes and swords.

For his design achievements, King Philip II bestowed on Bazan the title of Marquis of Santa Cruz in 1559 and gave him the governorship of Gibraltar. The following year Santa Cruz was promoted to Captain General of the Galleys. He transferred his squadron to the western Mediterranean to address the continuing threat posed by the Ottoman fleet against Spanish possessions in Italy and the Muslim corsairs in the Maghreb.

One of his first expeditions was to drive the corsairs from Peñon de Velez de Gomera on the coast of modern-day Morocco. For the next several years he worked to drive the corsairs from their many makeshift bases in the region. This was necessary because the Ottoman corsairs routinely raided the eastern coast of Spain where they would assist the Moriscos. The Moriscos were Moors in Spain who had been coerced into becoming Christians.

During the winter of 1564-1565, Santa Cruz led a Spanish force in a surprise attack against Ottoman corsairs based at the mouth of the Tetuan River east of Peñon de Velez de Gomera. He departed Seville with six galleys and stopped at Gibraltar and other Spanish-held ports in the vicinity to gather additional ships. With his galleys as the core of the fleet, he added six brigantines, four caravels, three armed chalupas (fishing boats), and a galiot. The two-

ABOVE AND RIGHT: Scale models of a 16th-century Spanish galleon, left, and a rowed war galley from the period.

masted brigantines were used not only to transport troops, but to conduct swift reconnaissance against targets. His small fleet had a total of 225 arquebusiers and crossbowmen for amphibious assaults.

In mid-February 1565, the fleet sailed east from Gibraltar. The chalupas with their shallow draft carried the soldiers to an anchorage near the mouth of the Tetuan where the men attempted to burn two Ottoman raiding vessels. They were counterattacked by a strong force of arquebusiers and light cavalry. The chalupa crews fired swivel guns to assist the Spanish troops. A fierce melee ensued. The Ottomans got the upper hand in the frenzied fighting. Fearing that his soldiers would be annhilated or captured, Bazan ordered the galleys to move to their assistance. The bow guns of the galleys sent shells crashing into the Ottoman ranks. This furnished the cover Santa Cruz needed to withdraw his troops. His fleet suffered 50 killed in the unsuccessful attack.

In September 1565 Santa Cruz assisted Don Garcia de Toledo Osorio, Viceroy of Sicily, with the transport of 9,600 Spanish reinforcements to Malta to assist the Knights of St. John who were besieged in the Grand Harbor by 40,000 Turks. Santa Cruz commanded three of the eight Spanish galleys. Other galleys came from Genoa, Florence, and the Knights of St. John's own fleet. The fleet arrived in Mellieha Bay on September 6 and disembarked the troops the following morning. Three years later, Santa Cruz was given command of Spain's Neapolitan fleet.

The effort to relieve the Venetians at Cyprus five years later, which failed because the Catholic maritime powers did not act with enough urgency, ran concurrent with Pope Pius VI's effort to form a Holy League composed of Latin kingdoms and republics to contest Ottoman sea power.

During the Christian naval offensive that culminated in the Battle of Lepanto on October 7, 1571, Santa Cruz served as one of the key advisers to fleet commander Don John of Austria. As such, he

ABOVE: Admiral Bazan was among the admirals who guided the vessels that landed the Spanish relief force at Malta in September 1565. OPPOSITE: The Marquis of Santa Cruz directed the Holy League's reserve at Lepanto in 1571. His quick thinking thwarted Ottoman left wing commander Uluj Ali Pasha's attempt to pierce the league's battle line.

helped Don John decide the arrangement of forces for battle. Of the four available commands, Santa Cruz chose to lead the rear guard of 38 galleys. His duty as commander of the rear guard was to reinforce the three front divisions as he saw fit or to contain breaches of the main line.

Philip instructed Don John to heed the advice of his principal fleet commanders, namely Doria and Santa Cruz. Doria was by nature cautious, whereas Santa Cruz was daring and courageous. While Doria cautioned Don John that it was too late in the year for a naval campaign of such magnitude, Santa Cruz advised the commander in chief to proceed with the campaign regardless of the weather. Don John's spirit was more like that of Santa Cruz, and he took Santa Cruz's advice over that of Doria.

At mid-morning on the day of battle the Holy League's fleet assembled in the Gulf of Patras. The galley captains could not have asked for better weather. The wind was light, the sea calm, and the sky clear.

The Christian fleet's secret weapon was its six Venetian galleasses. Each of these specially designed vessels bristled with 40 guns on two decks. The galleasses not only mounted guns fore and aft, but also had a few guns squeezed in among the rowing benches in order to fire broadsides.

The job of the galleasses was to inflict heavy damage on the Ottoman galleys before the fleets collided in battle. Both fleets began moving slowly toward each other an hour later. At 11 AM the galleasses, which were three-quarters of a mile in front of the Christian main line, began shelling the enemy with thunderous fire from a distance of 1,200 yards.

As the Turkish galleys approached the Christian line, the galleasses on the Christian left and center wreaked terrible havoc on them. Spanish shells smashed banks of oars and sent showers of deadly splinters raining down on the Turks. The galleasses wheeled as the Turkish galleys passed, firing first into their sides and then into their sterns as they made for the Christian galleys. When the galleys clashed, Spanish arquebus fire swept their forward platforms. Not all of the Turkish soldiers had arquebuses. Many fought with only bows, and their arrows glanced harmlessly off the armor of the Spanish knights. When galleys collided, Spanish troops swarmed onto the Turkish galleys and fought desperately to secure them as prizes.

Neither Ali Pasha, commanding the Ottoman center, nor Mehmet Sulik Pasha, leading the Ottoman right, showed any of the requisite skills of a good admiral. The only Turkish commander who exhibited any measure of tactical competence was Uluj Ali Pasha, who commanded the Ottoman left opposite Doria. Uluj, who had more galleys than Doria, stretched his line until Doria was forced to shift his line to the right to avoid having his flank turned. This opened up a wide gap between the Christian center and right that some of Uluj's galleys exploited. Although Santa Cruz had reinforced Don John's division in the center with some of his galleys, he had retained enough to thwart the Ottoman thrust through the gap. Uluj suddenly found fresh Christian galleys bearing down on him to his front, while galleys of both the Christian center and right had turned to take his breaching galleys in the flank. Uluj decided to quit the fight with 13 of his galleys that were undamaged.

The four-hour Battle of Lepanto was Santa Cruz's finest hour up to that point in his career. By containing Uluj's penetration of the gap that opened up late in the battle, he saved the Christian fleet. The Christians lost 15,000 men, and the Ottomans lost 30,000. The Christians lost only 12 galleys, whereas the Turks lost 113 galleys sunk and 117 captured.

The Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War ended

with the Venetians pulling out of the Holy League and making a separate peace with the Ottomans on March 7, 1573. The Venetians did this because they desperately needed to maintain their lucrative maritime trade with the Ottoman Empire.

In the wake of Lepanto, Spain's priority shifted from the Mediterranean to the Spanish Netherlands where the Spanish were heavily engaged trying to suppress the Dutch Revolt. Philip entered into a truce in 1578 with the Ottoman Sultan Murad III that allowed the Spanish monarch to focus his military assets against the Dutch and protect his colonies in the Americas. The result in the Mediterranean was that the Ottomans were able to reinforce their garrisons throughout the Maghreb, as well as foment an Arab rebellion against Portuguese rule in Morocco.

The Ottomans subsequently furnished funds to the Saadi Dynasty in Morocco to assist them in expelling the Portuguese. Unwilling to give up his North African possessions, 24-year-old King Sebastian of Portugal led an army against the Saadis. In an effort to crush the Arab rebellion in Morocco, Sebastian launched what amounted to a small crusade in Morocco. The crusade floundered, and he was slain in the Battle of Alcacer Quibir fought on August 4, 1578.

Sebastian's death had far-reaching consequences for both Spain and Portugal. He had no heirs, and therefore his uncle, Cardinal Henry, succeeded him. But he also died childless on January 31, 1580. This plunged Portugal into a succession crisis. King Philip of Spain had a strong claim to the throne through his mother, who was a Portuguese princess, and he exercised it. But it was contested by another claimant. This individual was Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato, who was the son of Duke Louis of Beja. On July 24, 1580, Dom Antonio had the audacity to crown himself King of Portugal. Philip resolved to unseat him by force.

Philip put Santa Cruz in charge of Spain's Atlantic fleet for the invasion. The fleet comprised 80 galleys and 30 galleons. The Spanish admiral outfitted the fleet at Cadiz. Santa Cruz would sail to Setubal, 30 miles south of Lisbon, where he would rendezvous with a 40,000-strong army led by the veteran general Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba. He would then transport Alba's army to a position behind Antonio's army covering Lisbon.

Alba's army departed Badajoz on June 27, 1580, on its march to Setubal. Once the army arrived at Setubal, Santa Cruz transported them to the Tagus River. Since the Portuguese nobility and clergy pledged their fealty to King Philip, Dom Antonio had been forced to cobble together a militia army composed of peasants, townspeople, and African slaves to whom he promised freedom if the army was victorious. On August 25 Alba's veterans soundly defeated Antonio's inexperienced soldiers at the Battle of Alcantara. The following summer Philip was crowned in Lisbon with the approval of the Portuguese nobility. Through conquest of Portugal, Philip inherited a large navy and a maritime empire that spanned the globe.

Following his defeat at Alcantara, Antonio had fled to England to request military assistance. In the meantime, he received word from local officials in the Azores that they supported his claim to the Portuguese throne. This gave Antonio a base from which to continue his struggle against Philip. The Azores, which were situated 950 miles southwest of Lisbon, were a crucial way station for the Spanish treasure fleets returning from the Americas.

Antonio communicated his desire for assistance through the proper channels to both Queen Elizabeth of England and King Henry III of France. Both England and France were rivals of Spain, and neither wanted to see King Philip increase his power. In return for support, Antonio promised that if the Azores were secured for him he would give access to the Portuguese resources in the Atlantic to his benefactor. This appealed to Spain's rivals, for whoever controlled the Azores would have an excellent way station for sailing ships setting out from Europe for the other continents.

Elizabeth allowed English privateers to assist. Antonio received support in France from dowager Queen Catherine de Medici. She told Antonio that she bankroll a fleet of French privateers to assist him. She even arranged for fellow Florentine Filippo di Piero Strozzi to command the fleet.

In the summer of 1582 Strozzi put to sea at the head of a French fleet composed of 60 warships and transports with 7,000 soldiers aboard. His objective was to secure the Azores for Antonio. The fleet included a squadron of nine English privateer ships led by Captain Henry Richards.

Meanwhile, Captain Pedro de Silva led the Spanish-Portuguese naval vanguard, which was com-

ABOVE: Portuguese pretender Dom Antonio's peasant army proved no match for the Duke of Alba's crack Spanish troops at Alcantara. RIGHT: The Marquis of Santa Cruz wears the Order of Santiago around his neck. OPPOSITE: Spanish troops land at Terceira in the Azores in 1583. The Marquis of Santa Cruz orchestrated the flawless campaign that resulted in the conquest of the Azores from Portuguese rebels.

posed of two galleons, three caravels, and five other vessels, to the Azores. He had instructions to wait for the arrival of Santa Cruz with the main fleet before undertaking any action against the enemy. But De Silva decided to land some of his soldiers on Sao Miguel on July 15. At the time, Antonio was on the island of Terceira with some Portuguese troops loyal to him. He quickly ferried his troops to Sao Miguel to contest the Spanish occupation but re-embarked them when he learned that Santa Cruz was approaching the island with a large fleet.

Santa Cruz soon arrived with a fleet of 31 ships that included two massive Portuguese galleons, armed merchantmen, and transports carrying 4,500 soldiers. The two Portuguese galleons were the admiral's flagship, the 48-gun *San Martin,* and the 34-gun *San Mateo.* The Spanish admiral weighed anchor at Vila Franca do Campo on the south side of Sao Miguel but found the local people hostile.

The two fleets clashed 18 miles south of Sao Miguel on July 26, 1582. The encounter occurred beyond sight of land, which was rare for naval battles in that period. The two fleets sailed on a northerly course three miles apart from each other. The French initially had the weather gauge and attacked the rear of the Spanish fleet commanded by Santa Cruz. At midday, Strozzi bore down on the *San Mateo,* passing just windward of the Spanish line. The *San Mateo,* which was sailing leeward, withheld fire from her double decks until the spars of the two vessels brushed each other. Strozzi's flagship and four other vessels in his fleet isolated the *San Mateo.* After pounding her with broadsides, the French successfully boarded and captured the large ship.

Meanwhile, Santa Cruz maneuvered the *San Martin* toward Strozzi's flagship. Once within range he pummeled his opponent's flagship with a broadside. His men then swung over to the French ship and fought furiously with Strozzi's crew for control of it. The Spanish prevailed in the melee, and afterward the decks were awash with the blood of 400 dead Frenchmen. Strozzi, who was mortally wounded, was carried to Santa Cruz. The French admiral surrendered his vessel and then succumbed to his wounds.

Although the *San Mateo* was crippled from extensive shot damage to her side, Santa Cruz was able to have it towed to port at Villa Franco de Campo on the south side of San Miguel Island. The French lost 10 ships and 2,000 men in the clash at sea, whereas the Spanish suffered 200 killed and 500 wounded.

Santa Cruz's ships prevailed in the fighting in large part due to his excellent leadership, yet he inadvertently marred his glorious victory by ordering the execution of the French prisoners captured in the battle. He did this despite the loud objections of his own men. The Spanish put 380 French sailors and soldiers to death.

The Spanish admiral decided to wait until the following year to carry out the landing and conquest of Terceira Island with his galleys and landing barges. He left a garrison of 2,000 Spanish soldiers on Sao Miguel to await the fleet's return the following year.

Santa Cruz returned with his Atlantic fleet to the Azores chain in the summer of 1583 to complete the Spanish conquest. The fleet comprised five large galleons, 31 armed merchantmen, 12 galleys, two galleasses, and 48 smaller vessels. Aboard the fleet were 9,000 soldiers and 6,000 sailors and oarsmen.

Santa Cruz would have to pry 8,000 French and Portuguese troops from Terceira. While his supporters risked their lives for him, Dom Antonio was in France attempting to raise more troops. Santa Cruz, who led the galleons to the Azores, rendezvoused at Sao Miguel with Admiral Diego de Madrano, who commanded the galleys. The galleys would furnish the close-range fire support with their bow guns for the oar-driven barges that would land the troops on the island. The Spanish fleet arrived without incident off Terceira on July 23.

French Admiral Aymar de Chaste commanded the 3,000 French troops, and Governor Manuel de Silva led the 5,000 Portuguese troops on the island. De Silva had gone to great lengths to improve the coastal defenses, and they were well manned against an assault.

De Silva had detailed four companies of infantry to defend the works. The coastal works consisted of 31 small stone forts and 300 guns. These forts and coastal batteries

were connected by a series of protected trenches. He deployed the rest of the troops to defend the towns of Angra on the south side and Praia on the east side. His ships were anchored in the harbor at Angra.

Under cover of darkness on the night of July 23-24, Santa Cruz transferred his men to the landing barges. The Spanish galleys towed the landing barges, which contained 4,000 soldiers, to shore under cover of darkness. The Spanish troops assaulted the shoreline at dawn. A withering fire from the coastal guns took its toll on the landing barges, but the assault proceeded unabated despite the losses. The Spanish galleys, which could turn with their oars to point their formidable bow guns at various targets, returned fire on the shore batteries, causing substantial damage.

Santa Cruz recounted the fiery coastal assault in his journal. "The flag galley began to batter and dismount the enemy artillery and the rest of the galleys did likewise," wrote Santa Cruz. "The landing boats ran aground and placed the soldiers at the sides of the forts and along the trenches, although with much difficulty and working under the pressure of furious artillery, arquebus, and musket fire of the enemy. The soldiers mounting the trenches in several places came under heavy arquebus and musket fire but finally won the forts and trenches."

Once the Spanish troops had a secure foothold, Santa Cruz came ashore to supervise the fighting. His presence electrified the troops, who after a fierce engagement forced the defenders to withdraw. After an hour of heavy fighting, the four companies of French and Portuguese who were entrusted with defense of the shore fled inland. When word reached De Chaste that the defenders of the cove had been routed, he promptly issued orders for the remainder of his troops to drive the Spanish into the sea. Rather than launch a counterattack, the Franco-Portuguese reserve simply took up a defensive position near the town of Sao Sebastiano at the southeast corner of the island in a blocking position protecting Praia, thereby allowing the Spanish to establish a firm foothold on the island.

Fighting raged in the settled parts of Terceira as the Spanish carried one enemy position after another. The following day, July 25, Santa Cruz landed the balance of his infantry. They proceeded to capture Angra and Praia. Santa Cruz allowed his men the customary three-day period to sack the towns. Afterward, they rounded up the surviving French and Portuguese troops who had hidden in the island's forests. The fighting ended on August 2.

Rather than execute the French and risk a war with France, Santa Cruz decided to grant them safe passage home. But De Silva was executed, and the captured Portuguese loyalists were condemned to serve as galley slaves for the Spanish fleet.

In appreciation for his successful conquest of the rebellious Azores, Philip made Santa Cruz a Grandee of Spain, which raised him to the highest echelons of the nobility, and appointed him to serve as Captain General of the Ocean Sea, the same high office his father had once held. His primary responsibilities were defending Spain from attack by sea and ensuring the protection of the Spanish treasure fleets.

The renowned English privateer Sir Francis Drake would prove to be the bane of the Spanish navy for the rest of the decade. In a bold raid against Galicia in October 1585, Drake burned ships. He also put men ashore who desecrated Catholic churches. In response, Philip vowed to teach the English a lesson.

In August 1585 England signed a treaty with the Dutch in which it agreed to furnish the Dutch with 7,400 troops to fight the Spanish in Holland and Flanders. The event moved Spain closer to declaring war on England.

Meanwhile, Drake preyed heavily on Spanish outposts on both sides of the Atlantic. He attacked Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands in November 1585, sacked Santa Domingo in Hispaniola in January 1586, and plundered Cartagena in March 1586. At that point, King Philip instructed Santa Cruz to draw up plans for an invasion of England.

For the next three years, Santa Cruz devoted his energies to the invasion plan. He was an excellent choice for the assignment not only because of his experience commanding large fleets,

Alamy

but also because of his superb administrative skills. In July 1586 Santa Cruz submitted plans calling for a 500-ship armada, of which 150 would be large galleons and carracks, which would land 55,000 troops.

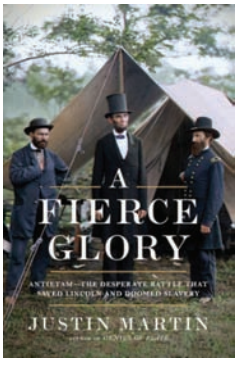
King Philip was adamant that the invasion should include the Army of Flanders led by Alexander Farnesse, Duke of Parma and governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The king approved Santa Cruz's plans and sent them to Parma for his input. Parma formulated an alternate plan whereby he would be the primary commander and Santa Cruz would play a supporting role. The glory-seeking Parma believed that he could conquer the English with his Army of Flanders alone. He would build barges and ferry his army across the Strait of Dover to Kent. It was a fatuous idea given that Dutch and English ships prowled the English Channel and North Sea.

Parma suggested to the king that Santa Cruz's armada make a diversion to draw the English away from his intended crossing. King Philip in turn suggested to Santa Cruz that he land his troops either in Ireland or at Plymouth as a distraction. Santa Cruz had an intense dislike of Parma's plan. In the end, a compromise was worked out whereby the Spanish armada would keep the crossing area free of enemy ships so that Parma's troops could make their crossing unhindered by Dutch or

Continued on page 70

By Christopher Miskimon

The story of the 7th Maine Regiment is typical of the many gripping narratives that illuminate the pivotal Battle of Antietam.

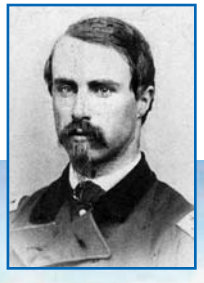


IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1862 THE 7TH MAINE Regiment received new orders. The Battle of Antietam had raged throughout the day. Thousands were dead and even more lay wounded on the field or suffering in hospitals behind the lines. After horrible combat at places known afterward as The Cornfield and Bloody Lane, the fighting climaxed at the lower bridge over Antietam Creek that historians called Burnside's Bridge in memory of Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside who failed to capture it in a timely fashion. The 7th Maine was about to enter this action and its place in the history of the American Civil War.

Twenty-one year-old Major Thomas Hyde, a native of Bath, Maine, commanded the regiment. The regiment was part of Colonel William H. Irwin's brigade of Maj. Gen. William Franklin's VI Corps. The unit was seriously understrength that day. Only 181 men remained of its original complement of 1,000.

Hyde's regiment had gone into action at the Bloody Lane and then taken up a position behind limestone outcroppings on the rolling hills west of Antietam Creek that afforded it a measure of protection from enemy fire. In that location the men dodged desultory enemy fire. When they could, the regiment's marksmen sniped at enemy artillerists and officers.

Hyde and his men expected that when night arrived they would be relieved; however, like other regiments they lacked knowledge of how the battle was progressing. Irwin eventually issued new orders to Hyde. He told the major to lead his regiment in an attack against the Piper Farm where Lt. Gen. James Longstreet and Maj. Gen. Daniel Harvey Hill had cobbled together infantry regiments and batteries for a final stand following the Confederate retreat from the Bloody Lane.



Hyde believed the order was foolish. He told Irwin that an unsupported attack against such a position was tantamount to suicide. He felt a personal responsibility for his men and was unwilling to lead them in such a perilous attack. Irwin repeated his orders and then asked an insulting question meant to goad Hyde into leading the attack. "Are you afraid to go, sir?" asked Irwin.

Hyde wanted the men of the regiment to know that it was Irwin's idea and not his own. "Give

The 7th Maine Volunteer Infantry Regiment makes its suicidal attack against the Confederate center in a painting by Union soldier James Hope. INSET: Major Thomas Hyde.

the order so the regiment can hear it, and we are ready, sir," Hyde said.

The 7th Maine obeyed its orders and advanced toward the farm. Waiting to receive their attack were the remnants of four Confederate brigades from Hill's division and Maj. Gen. Richard Anderson's division.

The Rebels poured a deadly fire into the small group of Union soldiers. The Maine men found themselves trapped in farmer Henry Piper's sprawling apple orchard. The repulse of Hyde's regiment was over quickly. The survivors limped back to their previous position. Of the 181 men who participated in the attack, 12 were killed, 63 wounded, and 20 reported missing. Of the wounded, 13 succumbed to their wounds. They later learned that Colonel Irwin had been drunk when he sent them forward in such senseless slaughter.

The Battle of Antietam is full of such small stories, tales that combine to reveal the horror of one of the Civil War's worst days. Antietam is remembered as the bloodiest day in American military history. Union casualties numbered 12,400 men, and Confederates casualties amounted to 10,320.

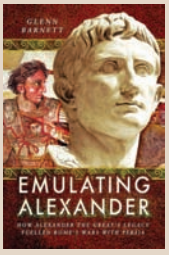
The Union Army won a strategic victory for it repulsed General Robert E. Lee's first invasion of the North, forcing him to retreat shortly afterward to Virginia. But that victory had a high cost. The story of this dreadful battle is told in detail in ***A Fierce Glory: Antietam—The Desperate Battle That Saved Lincoln and Doomed Slavery*** (Justin Martin, Da Capo Press, Boston, MA, 2018, 336 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover).

Although there are many books on the Battle of Antietam, this one stands out for its superb use of first-hand participant accounts. The author weaves the broader story of the battle into the work in a seamless manner. He also describes the role of famous noncombatants associated with the battle, such as nurse Clara Barton and photographer Alexander Gardner. In addition, the far-ranging consequences of the battle are discussed at length.

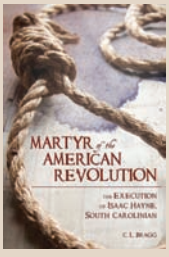
The result is a work that engages readers and retains their interest page after page. The book includes a useful section for visitors to the battlefield park, helping them understand the terrain in relation to the action. For these reasons, the book is a worthy addition to the works available on Antietam and the American Civil War.

With Their Bare Hands: General Pershing, the 79th Division, and the Battle for Montfaucon (Gene Fax, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK,

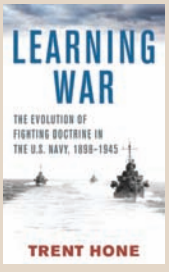
SHORT BURSTS



Emulating Alexander: How Alexander the Great's Legacy Fueled Rome's Wars with Persia (Glenn Barnett, Pen and Sword Books, 2018, $34.95, hardcover) This book covers Rome's relations with Persia and how they were influenced by Alexander's actions centuries before. Many Roman leaders launched campaigns in a desire to emulate the great commander.

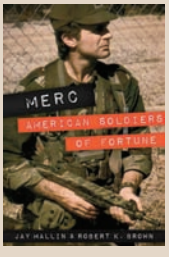


Martyr of the American Revolution: The Execution of Isaac Hayne, South Carolinian (C.L. Bragg, University of South Carolina Press, 2017, $34.99, hardcover) Colonel Isaac Haynes was the most prominent American executed by the British for treason during the American Revolution. This work tells his story.



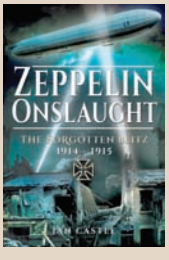
Learning War: The Evolution of Fighting Doctrine in the U.S. Navy, 1898-1945 (Trent Hone, Naval Institute Press, 2018, $34.95, hardcover) The U.S. Navy was an innovative and forward-thinking organization during the early 20th century. The author explains how the service developed new and effective tactics.

Secret SAS Missions in East Africa: C Squadron's Counter-Terrorist Operations 1968-1980 (Michael Graham, Pen and Sword Books, 2018, $34.95, hardcover) C Squadron spent 12 years conducting antiterrorist operations in eastern and southern Africa. This is the first book to cover its actions in detail.



Merc: American Soldiers of Fortune (Jay Mallin and Robert K. Brown, Casemate Publishers, 2018, $19.95, softcover) First published in 1979, this work tells the stories of several Americans who fought abroad as mercenaries. Brown was the publisher of Soldier of Fortune magazine.

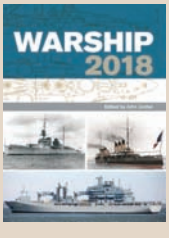
History of the Third Seminole War 1849-1858 (Joe Knetsch, John Misall, and Mary Lou Misall, Casemate Publishers, 2018, $32.95, hardcover) This work is a detailed account and analysis of the last Seminole War. It contains numerous firsthand accounts.



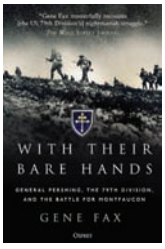
Zeppelin Onslaught: The Forgotten Blitz 1914-1915 (Ian Castle, Frontline Books, 2018, $50.00, hardcover) This was the first sustained aerial bombing campaign in history. Britain was initially unprepared for the attack and struggled to defend itself.

The Tanks: The History of the Royal Tank Regiment 1976-2017 (Charles Messenger, Helion Press, 2017, $59.95, hardcover) British armored forces saw wide service during the later years of the Cold War and afterward, culminating in the wars in the Middle East. This new history covers the regiment's actions in detail.

Charlie Company's Journey Home: The Boys of '67 and the War They Left Behind (Andrew Wiest, Osprey Publishing, 2018, $28.00, hardcover) This book chronicles the Vietnam War through the perspectives and experiences of the families and loved ones left behind.



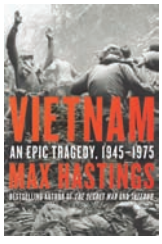
Warship 2018 (Edited by John Jordan, Osprey Publishing, 2018, $60.00, hardcover) This annual work offers 11 of the best articles on naval history. It is well illustrated and full of technical detail.



2018, 495 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $22.00, softcover)

"The infantry of the 79th Division attempted to capture the German positions with their bare hands," wrote Colonel C.F. Crain of the American 79th Division after his unit attacked the enemy at Montfaucon. The engagement was the most important of the battles of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive of 1918, part of a series of Allied attacks known as the Hundred Days Offensive. The 79th Division's men were novice soldiers. The unit was composed of draftees from Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington D.C. They had only been in combat for seven weeks when the attack on Montfaucon was ordered.

The author's grandfather fought in the battle and this work is the result of 17 years of research into the action. It uses the letters and memoirs of the participants as well as official reports to convey the action in descriptive prose. This work also analyzes the decisions and orders of the senior American leadership, including General John Pershing, who hoped to strike a decisive blow with the risky attack. The book is an in-depth look at a single division in a single battle, fighting a difficult action with little support.

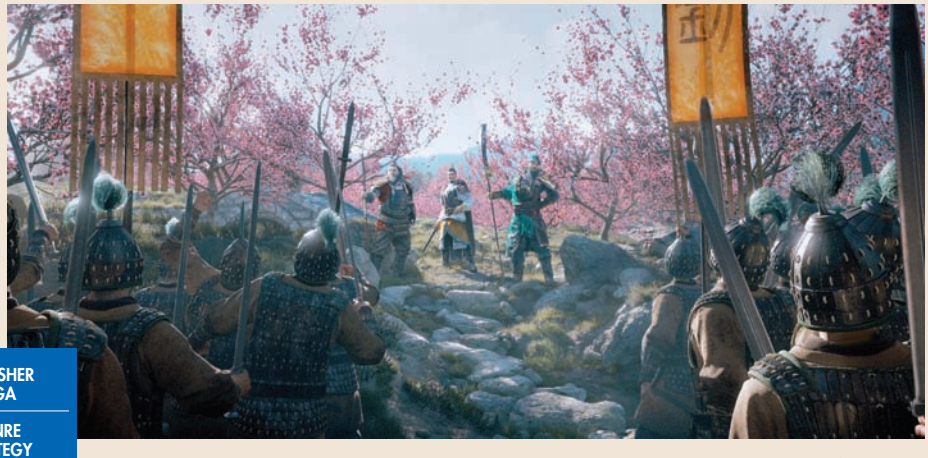


Vietnam: An Epic Tragedy, 1945-1975 (Max Hastings, HarperCollins, New York, 2018, 896 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $37.50, hardcover)

In early 1971 the war in Vietnam began to focus on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the North Vietnamese logistics line that went through Laos and Cambodia. Seventh Air Force commander, General Lucius Clay, recalled the instructions he received from his commander, General Creighton Abrams: "He wants that Ho Chi Minh Trail in such a shape that a crow has to carry his rations to fly over it." Observation and air strikes began soon after, and a South Vietnamese-led ground operation was planned, Operation Lam Son 719. It was hoped if they could wreck the enemy's supply lines it would give them a year's breathing space, during which time South Vietnam could recover and strengthen. North Vietnamese intelligence got wind of the plan, which the Americans knew, but chose to go ahead with the operation anyway. While the first days of the attack went well, massing NVA forces soon drove the South

simulation gaming *By Joseph Luster*

THE LEGENDARY CONFLICTS OF ANCIENT CHINA MAKE THEIR *TOTAL WAR* DEBUT



PUBLISHER
SEGA

GENRE
STRATEGY

PLATFORM
PC

AVAILABLE
MARCH 7, 2019

Creative Assembly's *Total War* series has been running since the debut of *Shogun: Total War* back in 2000, spiraling through plenty of historical eras in the intervening years. From *Medieval: Total Rome* to the more recent *Total War Saga: Thrones of Britannia*—and even some purely fictional outings on the side with games like *Total War: Warhammer*—a lot of ground has been covered. Next year, however, marks another first for the series with the launch of *Total War: Three Kingdoms,* which finally takes on the epic conflict across ancient China.

Set in China around 190 CE, *Three Kingdoms* puts players in a tumultuous time during which the fractured land seeks out a new emperor. The power to unite China under you own rule is right at the tip of your fingers, but building such a lasting legacy won't come without its own price. With 11 legendary Warlords to choose from and plenty of heroic characters willing to throw their swords and spears over to your side if necessary, you'll have to balance your burgeoning rule across the equally important economic, political, military, and technological fronts.

There's a mix of real-time and turn-based combat at play in *Three Kingdoms,* and the actions you take during the real-time battles will have greater consequences than they did in previous entries. They can impact the way your Heroes feel about you, altering the course of those relationships as well as those the Heroes develop with friends and rivals alike. Cultivating and maintaining alliances is one of the keys to success in the overarching campaign, and the champions that emerge will ultimately shape the future of the Three Kingdoms.These nuances are brought to life thanks to Creative Assembly's Guanxi system, which echoes the Chinese concept of dynamic inter-relationships. With this system at play, the heroes within all have their own idiosyncrasies, from personal motivations to the minutiae of their likes and dislikes.

The natural beauty of ancient China is on full display, with plenty of iconic landmarks such as the Yangtze River and Great Wall of China lovingly depicted with a particularly artful flourish. Both the user interface and the overall design of the visuals are inspired by an authentic Chinese aesthetic, so it's going to be a treat to see how it all unfolds visually over the course of the story and the game's multiplayer components.

At the time of this writing, *Total War: Three Kingdoms* is very much in the later stages of development leading up to its 2019 launch. There are already some interesting bonuses on the horizon, too, including campaigns that offer additional Warlords to incentivize pre-orders. The Yellow Turban Rebellion bonus, for instance, adds He Yi, Gong Du, and Huang Shao into the mix along with three new hero classes: Healer, Scholar, and Veteran. There are also new weapons and pieces of armor for each hero, as well as character skills related to Taoism's three virtues: Frugality, Compassion, and Humility.

One would imagine that this and any other pre-order bonus will eventually be available to purchase after launch. Hopefully that doesn't mean *Three Kingdoms* will have a bunch of content splintered and gated off in various ways, but only time will tell. For now, we're excited to see how *Three Kingdoms* advances the *Total War* series through distinct visuals and some fresh new ideas.

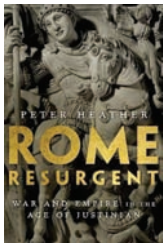
Vietnamese back across the border in defeat.

The Vietnam War is widely considered an American defeat and a tragedy of bad decisions and poor strategy. The author of this excellent new work touches on these issues, along with American successes. His real argument focuses on how the war, despite heavy American casualties, was only a setback for them, whereas it was an absolute disaster for the Vietnamese people as a whole. Forty Vietnamese died for every American killed, atrocities were committed by both sides, and the entire nation sank into oppression after the North's victory.

Women of the Blue and Gray: True Civil War Stories of Mothers, Medics, Soldiers and Spies (Marianne Monson, Shadow Mountain Books, 2018, 240 pp., photographs, notes, $19.99, hardcover)

It is estimated between 400 and 1,000 women surreptitiously served in military units as soldiers during the American Civil War. They frequently did so for the pay and to escape poverty at home. At the time women might make only $4 a month working in a Northern factory while a private soldier in the Union Army made $13 monthly plus rations. There were other reasons as well. Mary Ann Clark of Kentucky enlisted to get away from an abusive husband. Harriett Merrill wanted to escape a life of prostitution. Sarah Wakeman even wrote to her family and told them she enjoyed her new life and freedom, boasting she had plenty of money and had a good time soldiering. Former slave Maria Lewis joined the 8th New York Cavalry when it appeared in her town, disguising herself as a "deeply tanned" white male. Initially intending to use her enlistment as a way to go North, she chose to stay with the Union Army another 18 months and was later chosen to join an honor guard presenting captured flags to the Secretary of War.

These are just a few of the stories of women serving their countries during the Civil War. This new work delves into the details of their lives and service as well as the risks they took. The book also covers women who served openly in the medical services and those who acted as spies. It is quick to read and very engaging. The service of women during the conflict has always been known, but this book brings together many stories to reveal how wide female involvement in the war really was.



Rome Resurgent: War and Empire in the Age of Justinian (Peter Heather, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2018, 408 pp., maps, photographs, glossary, notes, bibliography, index, $29.95, hardcover)

Between the fall of the Western Roman Empire during the 5th century and the Arab conquests of the 7th century, there was a time when the Mediterranean basin was dominated by Emperor Justinian, ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire. Centered on Constantinople, this polity sought to reclaim what was lost—vast lands controlled by a number of foreign powers. Despite upheavals in the Christian world and the spread of a plague that may have rivalled the Black Death, Justinian unleashed his armies in an onslaught against his various foes. Though his efforts would fail to recreate the dead Roman Empire, his actions had far-reaching consequences for the region and history. Justinian is often referred to as the last Roman and there is justification for this viewpoint.

This is the newest addition to Oxford's acclaimed Ancient Warfare and Civilization series, and the author does excellent work in guiding the reader through Justinian's recovery of the Eastern Empire and its importance to his-

tory. It combines archaeological evidence with contemporary source material to provide a thorough and balanced view of the topic. The book also gives attention to Justinian's enemies, such as the Persians and Vandals. It is also well-illustrated and contains a set of maps to guide the reader around the region as events occur. It is eminently readable.

US Marine versus German Soldier: Belleau Wood 1918 (Gregg Adams, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2018, 80 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $20.00, softcover)

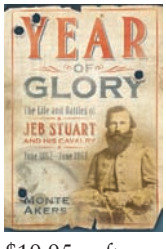
The Battle of Belleau Wood was a defining moment in the modern history of the United States Marine Corps. The 4th Marine Brigade went into action at Belleau Wood in June 1918 and fought elements of three different battle-hardened German infantry divisions. The fighting was difficult and costly but the Marines fought with a tenacity that earned them the nickname Devil Dogs from their opponents, a sobriquet still used today. The success of the Marines had a positive effect on French morale. Fears of a German advance on Paris were replaced by headlines of U.S. Marines attacking the enemy. The presence and success of the Americans likewise had a negative effect on German confidence as they realized the balance was turning inexorably against them after four years of war.

This study compares the U.S. Marine infantryman to his opponent, the German foot soldier. The book begins with a look at how each side trained, armed, and equipped their troops as well as looking at their leadership, morale, and logistics. The author then chooses three different engagements of the Belleau Wood fighting to highlight the battlefield performance of the two forces. The work ends with an analysis and overview of the aftermath and importance of the battle. It is well illustrated and features both period photographs and original artwork.

Machete Squad (Brent Dulak, Kevin Knodell, David Axe, and Per Darwin Berg, Dead Reckoning/Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2018, 160 pp., illustrated, $18.95, softcover)

Brent Dulak was a newly promoted sergeant and U.S. Army medic when he was sent to Afghanistan. Already a veteran of two tours in Iraq, Brent was showing signs of fatigue and stress. He had to lead a team of medics in a remote region of Kandahar Province as American troops prepared to turn the region over to the local Afghan forces. Brent had to try and keep his team alive and able to do their job, treating the wounded while surrounded by Taliban insurgents, local allies who did not seem to actually be allied, and civilians just trying to survive the constant warfare, mines, and bomb blasts.

As the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan grow old enough to become part of history rather than simply current events, the veterans of those conflicts are beginning to tell their stories. Many of those who served are of a younger generation, raised on visual media along with the traditional printed books and articles older readers often prefer. This graphic memoir is part of a new series by the Naval Institute Press aimed at helping these veterans tell their story in a visual way that reaches out to younger readers. This work is open and honest about soldiers' experiences and is often darkly humorous in a way that veterans of any era will find familiar.



Year of Glory: The Life and Battles of Jeb Stuart and His Cavalry, June 1862-June 1863 (Monte Akers, Casemate Press, Havertown PA, 2018, 392 pp., maps, photographs, notes, index, $19.95, softcover)

James Ewell Brown "Jeb" Stuart was considered the Confederacy's most dashing and daring cavalry commander of the American Civil War. He was almost the stereotype of the Southern gentleman of the era. When not fighting, the nattily attired cavalier attended balls and galas and even recited poetry. Said to be the only one who could make the taciturn Lt. Gen. Thomas J "Stonewall" Jackson laugh, he performed superbly as a commander and scout for General Robert E. Lee. Stuart proved this in dozens of raids and battles during the year preceding the Battle of Gettysburg, when the Army of Northern Virginia was turned back in its second and final invasion of the North.

The focus of the book is the period from June 1862 to June 1863, when Stuart made his reputation. It follows him on an almost daily journey as he garnered one success after another. The author takes Stuart's own letters and reports and combines them with firsthand accounts by the men who rode with and largely worshipped him. The book is a well-written snapshot of Stuart at his best when fortune seemed with him and his cause. □

Moscow

Continued from page 31

health reasons and assumed the supreme command himself. Brauchitsch, whose health actually was declining since he had suffered a heart attack in November, was removed to the officer reserve where he remained inactive for the duration of the war.

By the end of December, dozens of generals were relieved of duty. One of these officers was Guderian, who languished in the officer reserve until 1943. For retreating without orders, General Erich Hoepner, commander of Panzer Group 4, was cashiered in January 1942.

The retreating Germans fought fiercely and the Red Army had to fight its way through the German defenses. Despite its battlefield losses, Army Group Center remained a potent and dangerous battle force. Indeed, Soviet casualties mounted to the point when the Moscow counteroffensive ground to a halt in the first week of January 1942.

Historians still debate the losses sustained by the opposing sides during Operation Typhoon and the Soviet counteroffensive. The start of the Battle of Moscow is commonly considered to be September 30, 1941. But there are still debates about the date of the end of the giant battle. Western sources typically consider the first week of January 1942 as the end of the Battle of Moscow; in contrast, many Russian sources include the Rzhev operation that followed, which began on January 8, 1942, and ended on March 3, 1942, as part of the battle. Soviet casualties numbered 658,279 for the defensive phase and an additional 370,955 until the end of the counteroffensive on January 7, 1942. In addition, the Soviets lost 4,000 tanks and 1,000 aircraft. During the same period, German casualties amounted to 460,000 men as well as 600 tanks and 800 aircraft.

By the end of the Soviet counteroffensive, the Red Army had advanced up to 150 miles in some places. The whole of the Moscow and Tula regions, as well as large parts of Kalinin and the Smolensk regions, were cleared of Germans and the threat to the capital was permanently eliminated. But the Red Army was not able to defeat Army Group Center. If it had been able to do so, the war on the Eastern Front might have ended in 1942. Believing they had captured the strategic initiative, the Soviet leadership launched several ill-prepared offensives in the first half of 1942. Although suffering tremendous losses that year, the Soviet Union was by that time fully engaged in the war of attrition, a contest that Germany could not possibly win. □

Continued from page 23

called the German Overseas Service to cloak its propaganda activities. Despite the changes, Germany's messaging efforts in the Middle East were languishing.

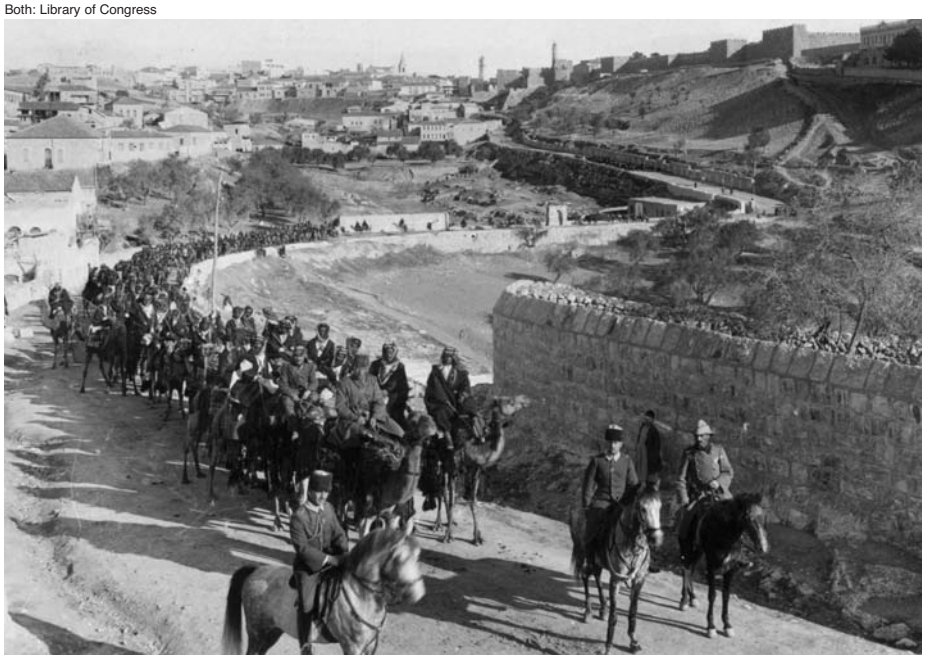
For months following his return to Istanbul in late March 1917, Prufer fought a losing battle to procure subject-appropriate materials for Turkey and to lift censorship springing from Turkish resentment of German activity in Muslim lands. He also repeatedly urged switching the focus from the overabundant praise of the German war effort and what he termed "weepy accusations" against the enemy to Germany's peaceful activities, which he hoped would build affection in the Middle East for Germany similar to that enjoyed by France before the war.

As Prufer's propaganda effort muddled its way forward, the EEF offensive, which had stalled in southern Palestine, roared to life again, overrunning Beersheba and Jerusalem by the close of 1917. Prufer's zone of operations had begun to steadily shrink, so the Foreign Office assigned him a new mission as government minder for Khedive Abbas Hilmi II, the former ruler of Egypt. The khedive had been banned from Egypt and deposed by the British after publicly throwing in his lot with the Turks in 1914. Three years of cajoling the British, Germans, and Turks to support his return to the throne had failed, but concerns about enemy influences on his loyalties induced the Turks to invite the khedive to move to Istanbul in October 1917. The Germans assented to this in the hope that they could retain the khedive as a future client ruler in an Egypt under German or Turkish control.

To burnish his relations with Germany, Abbas Hilmi toured Germany and Belgium meeting with government dignitaries throughout July and August 1918. The likelihood of a German defeat in Europe had by then begun to dawn on the khedivial party, despite the outside appearance of normalcy. In June Prufer was still repeating happy talk regarding what he described as "open rumors about a special peace for Turkey." By the time the Allies launched their Hundred Days Offensive in France in August, he pronounced the "entire world very depressed," a despondency the khedive's entourage attempted to dispel with "boozing, dancing, and flirting, hectic room parties and the like," wrote Prufer. Clearly, the end was drawing near.

Bulgaria's surrender on September 30 and the liberation of Damascus on October 1 spelled what the Turks realized was certain defeat. A month later they surrendered to the British at Mudros on the Greek island of Lemnos. Germany itself surrendered in France on November 11.

Both: Library of Congress



ABOVE: An Ottoman Arab camel corps departs Jerusalem for the Sinai front in 1916. BELOW: Turkish machine gunners defend the Tell ash-Sheria line in southern Palestine in 1917.

The Germans' holy war strategy had flopped. Islamic propaganda manufactured by Christian foreigners to promote German and Turkish domination failed to rally the global Muslim community to the Ottoman flag, while the Turks had proved too weak to play the role of the standard bearer of global jihad assigned to them.

The British and the French, by contrast, had beaten the Germans and Turks at their own game by publicly offering independent nationhood to willing Ottoman defectors. Once the Turks were defeated, though, the British and French reneged on their promises to their Arab partners by seizing the liberated Ottoman Arab provinces for themselves as spoils of war. As a result, riots and insurrections broke out across the Arab world in protest against the European imperialists' cynical thwarting of self-rule, metastasizing into a perpetual cycle of violence, terrorism, and war that drove out the British and French after 1945.

Although the urge to dominate foreigners for national benefit burned German, British, and French hands alike before and after 1918, Prufer did not learn the lesson. During World War II Prufer once again willingly served a belligerent, expansionist German government as its ambassador to Brazil. As before, German aggression resulted in defeat and ruin. □

Manassas

Continued from page 39

massive Confederate assault and entirely outflanked, got the worst of it. A frantic McDowell ordered two more brigades onto Chinn Ridge, where Kemper's troops overwhelmed them. The Federals fought bravely but suffered for it.

"Our boys dropped like tenpins," wrote Private George Paine of the 13th Massachusetts. He recalled seeing a soldier drop to the ground in front of him. "I heard the bullets chug into his body; it seemed half a dozen struck him. I shall never forget the look on his face as he turned over and died," recalled Paine.

The momentum was clearly with the Confederates. At 6 PM, an hour before dark, Longstreet's Confederates had pried loose the last of the Federal defenders on Chinn Ridge. In 90 minutes of furious fighting, the Confederates had overwhelmed the troops directed by McDowell to hold Chinn Ridge. But the Federals' costly defense of the ridge had furnished Pope with precious time in which to bolster the defenses of Henry Hill. If his troops could fight a successful rearguard action on Henry Hill, he would be able to hold the Stone Bridge over Bull Run long enough for his troops to cross to safety.

Oddly enough, the troops that Pope ordered to Henry Hill were the two remaining brigades of John Reynolds' division. These were the same troops whose redeployment from the left flank, ordered by McDowell, had led to disaster. As Reynolds' men formed up on the crest of Henry Hill, Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy's Independent Brigade formed on their left and Lt. Col. William Chapman's crack brigade of U.S. Regulars formed on Milroy's left. The strong Union line was supported up multiple artillery batteries.

Lee and Longstreet would give them little time to prepare. Jackson's wing began a tardy push against the Federal right. About the same time, Brig. Gen. David R. Jones's three brigades of Georgians and South Carolinians from Longstreet's wing formed up to assault the Union troops on Henry Hill. Jones's troops surged up the slope of Henry Hill into the teeth of the Union musketry and artillery.

Charging to within 50 yards of the Union line, the Georgians and South Carolinians sought cover and returned fire. The Federals, who were fully aware that the fate of the battle hinged on the possession of Henry Hill, stood their ground. The Confederates continued feeding more troops into the assault on Henry Hill.

Longstreet had placed Maj. Gen. Richard H. Anderson's division behind his other four divisions so that Anderson's troops might deliver the coup-de-grace to the routed Federal army. Anderson's three brigades were led by Brigadiers Lewis Armistead, William Mahone, and Ambrose Wright. These troops moved into position for a fresh assault. Mahone's four regiments of Virginians overlapped Chapman's flank. A savage firefight unfolded on the extreme Union left between the Regulars and the fresh Rebel troops.

The Regulars paid horribly for their stand. With his ranks rapidly thinning, Chapman was forced to withdraw his remaining troops. Moving up to relieve them was Colonel Robert Buchanan's brigade of U.S. Regulars. In the center of the Henry Hill line, Milroy broke down. He babbled incomprehensibly for reinforcements. When the apoplectic brigadier attempted to commandeer two of Buchanan's regiments, the defiant colonel told him to go away.

Such steady nerves began to turn the tide of the battle. Pope succeeded in funneling further reinforcements toward Henry Hill, and Anderson's Confederate division, exhausted after its hurried march to the hill, failed to press the attack. As dusk fell, the last-ditch Union line on Henry Hill began to stabilize. Sporadic fighting would continue into the darkness, but the Federal Army of Virginia, though badly mauled by Longstreet's massive attack, had narrowly escaped destruction. Pope issued orders for a retreat to Centreville where the exhausted Union troops immediately entrenched.

The Federal army had been soundly defeated but was able to retreat in good order. Ultimately, Pope was able to save himself from total disgrace, but it had taken the blood of brave men to do so. The human cost of the fierce fighting was simply staggering. Pope lost nearly 14,500 men. In comparison, the Confederates suffered just 7,200 casualties.

The results of the defeat were equally devastating to the Northern war effort. Pope, not surprisingly, was edged out of his command on September 2, and an exultant McClellan resumed command of a reunited Army of the Potomac. Pope's inept leadership had set the stage for a Confederate invasion of the North.

Officials of the Lincoln administration voiced their outrage at the second debacle suffered by the Union Army on the plains of Manassas. "Never before was there such a grand army, composed of truly excellent materials, and yet, so poorly commanded," said Attorney General Edward Bates. One Rebel offered his own homespun assessment. "We whipped the Yankees worse this time than they ever was whipped before," said Jefferson Wilson of the 16th Mississippi. □

Santa Cruz

Continued from page 63

English vessels. The revised plan called for an armada of 130 large ships. Santa Cruz would transport 17,000 soldiers from Spain, while Parma would ferry 17,000 soldiers from his army across the English Channel in 120 barges.

In September 1587, Santa Cruz moved to Lisbon to supervise the assembly of the invasion fleet. His job was complicated by frequent interference by the king, corruption by private contractors, and disease that swept through the fleet while at anchor.

Drake continued to harass the Spanish navy. In a bold raid on Cadiz harbor on April 29, 1587, the English captain torched 27 Spanish ships. Although Santa Cruz sailed in pursuit of Drake, he was unable to catch him.

Santa Cruz would not live to see the armada sail, though, because he died on February 9, 1588. Philip ultimately spent 10 million gold ducats to finance the expedition. The king gave command of the fleet to the Marquis of Medina Sidonia, who was not a naval officer. The fleet set sail on May 28, but bad weather forced it into La Coruna. It departed that location on July 21 and when it arrived in the English Channel it found the English navy waiting for it. Major sea clashes occurred at Plymouth, Portland, and Gravelines.

Unable to ferry Parma because of the interference from the English navy, a decision was made to return to Spain by sailing around Scotland. The Spanish armada encountered some storms in the North Sea, but even worse weather lay ahead. The fleet, which was scattered over hundreds of miles, was pummeled for several weeks by storms off the coast of Ireland as it worked its way south through the Atlantic Ocean. The less seaworthy galleasses were not designed for such a long journey through storm-tossed waters. During that time numerous ships sank or ran aground on the rockbound coast of Ireland. On September 21 Medina Sedona arrived in Spain. Many ships were still at sea well into October. The Spanish ultimately lost 45 large ships in the ill-fated expedition.

If Santa Cruz had led the armada, it might have fared better. Leading oared and sail-powered ships in the Azores expedition had given him the experience to know what such a fleet could achieve and what was beyond its capabilities. Still, the expedition was fraught with problems from the moment it set sail. Spain's greatest successful naval operation of the period remained the Azores expedition in which Santa Cruz had achieved victory both on land and at sea. □

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