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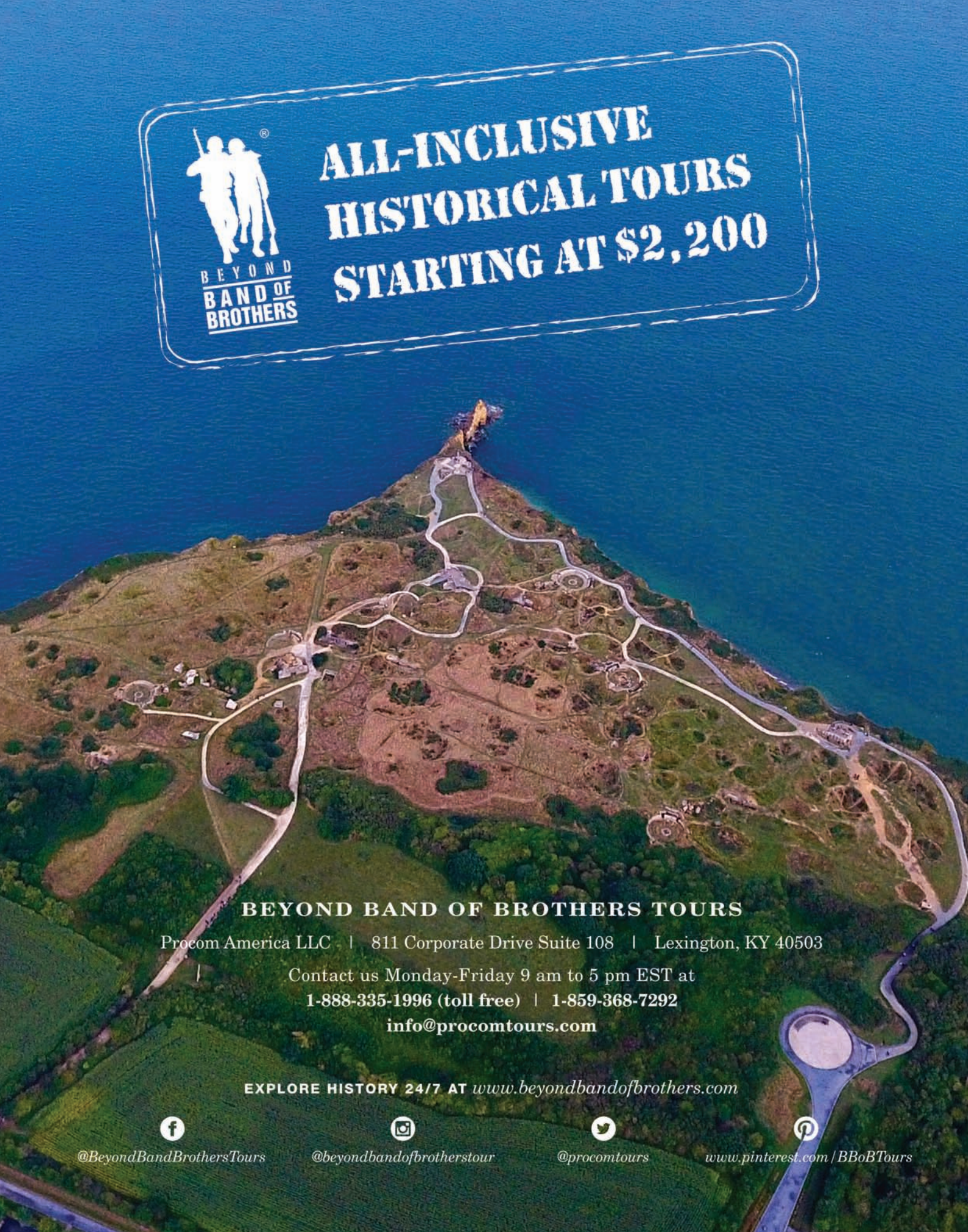
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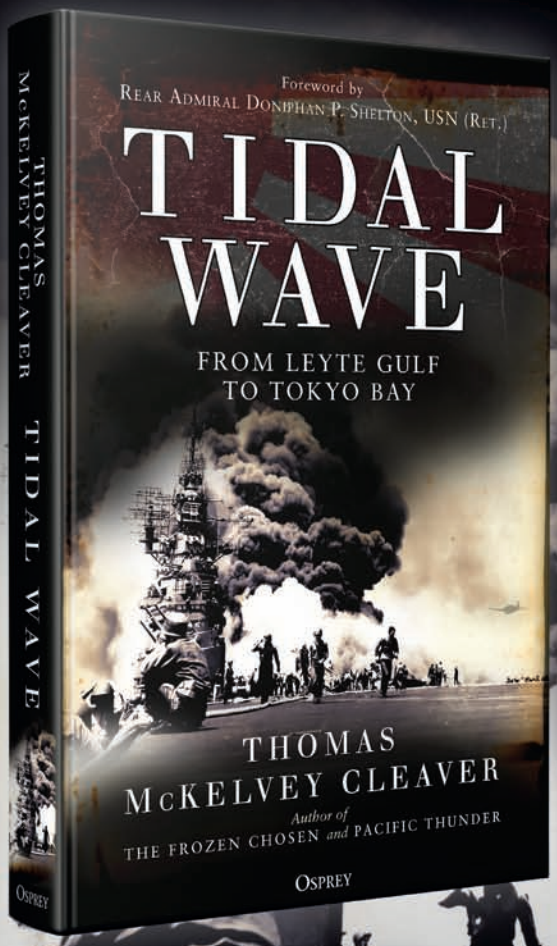

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Cover: Members of the 3rd Armored Division ride their Sherman tank into battle. The division participated in the Allied effort prevent the German Seventh Army from escaping through the Falaise Gap. See story page 40. Photo: National Archives

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Frederick the Great's Recipe for Success

PRUSSIAN KING FREDERICK II "THE GREAT" INHERITED from his father an army ready for war. Frederick William I had entrusted the training of his infantry to Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau. Leopold molded and refined Prussia's standing army into a force capable of meeting other great European powers on the field of battle. The "Old Dessauer" crafted an infantry force capable of precision maneuvers. A stunning achievement was the Prussian soldier's ability to get off five shots per minute in comparison to the two or three shots per minute typical of other armies.

In the early 1730s, young Frederick became the protégé of Prince Eugene of Savoy during the Polish War of Succession. Eugene was past his prime, but Frederick nevertheless saw how a great captain led an army in the field. Eugene saw great promise in Frederick. "Everything about you convinces me that you will one day become a great military leader," Eugene said.

He was right, of course. Over the course of more than two decades of warfare, Frederick would transform Prussia from a second-rate power to a first-rate power in European politics. Some of Frederick's victories would be marginal and others decisive; some would be at small cost and others at great cost.

When Frederick's father died in 1740, Frederick had the men and the money to wage war with neighbors. Of course, he faced his share of challenges. He needed to increase the size of the army he inherited, and he needed to address its deficiencies in light troops and artillery. He addressed many of these between the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession and the beginning of the Seven Years War.

Chief among his innate gifts was the ability to read terrain and know how to use it to his advantage. Other attributes were his boldness, daring, and willingness to take risks. By embracing risk he ultimately won victories that enabled him to expand Prussia's borders.

Frederick had no interest in defensive warfare. He sought to achieve victory quickly through offensive action. One of his hallmarks was the swift strike with overwhelming force. By this method he sought to disorder his enemy on the battlefield.

Frederick the Great at the Battle of Zorndorf in 1758.

Frederick cared little for his appearance or the trappings of supreme command. He wore the uniform of a subaltern and made sure that his officers wore similar nondescript uniforms and remained humble. This fostered a sense of common purpose. He showed his troops that he was willing to share their hardships, and he looked out for their needs, seeing to it that they were well fed. Having laid a firm foundation, he was able to inspire his men to great feats.

His greatest victories occurred a month apart in 1757, at Rossbach on November 5 and Leuthen on December 5. In both matchups he was heavily outnumbered, yet he won decisive victories that crippled the enemy and resulted in the capture of valuable war material. At Leuthen his troops executed the quintessential oblique attack.

His performance in the Seven Years War catapulted him to lasting fame, and in this issue we examine one of his famous battles in that conflict.

—William E. Welsh

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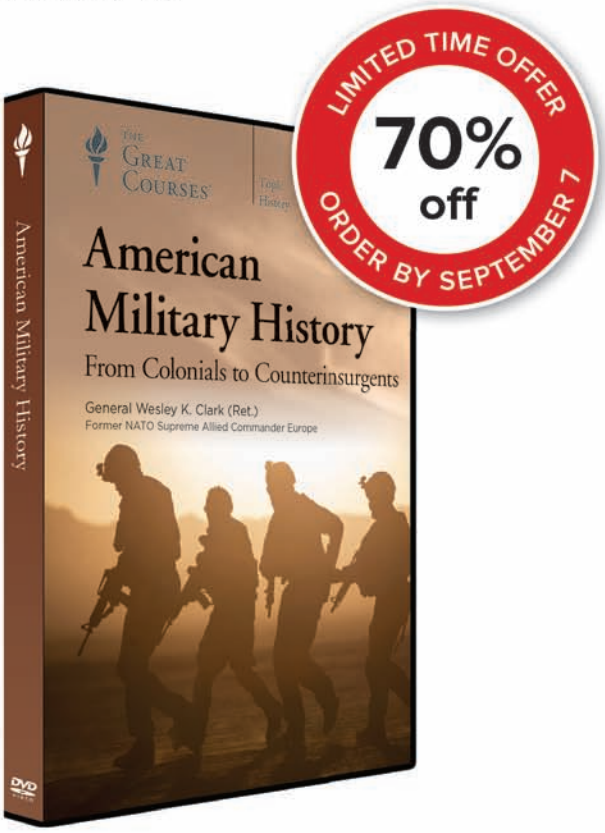

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By Joshua Shepherd

Polish nobleman Casimir Pulaski instilled pride and discipline in the Continental Army's cavalry during the American Revolution.

Warsaw-born Casimir Pulaski (above) won a string of minor victories in 1768 defending the interests of wealthy Polish magnates in a civil war against the Russian-backed Polish king.

A MAJOR FIGHT WAS IN THE OFFING WHEN THE FIRST STREAKS OF dawn appeared over Savannah, Georgia, on the morning of October 9, 1779. Columns of American and French assault troops, who had quietly formed up under cover of darkness, made their final preparations for storming the British-held city. A troop of some of the finest cavalrymen in the Continental Army was deployed behind the foot soldiers. Armed with lances and anxious to prove their worth in battle, the horsemen were fanatically devoted to their commander, Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski. "[Pulaski was] the most active and the greatest partisan of his time," said Captain Paul Bentalou, adding that the general was "a soldier in the full sense of the word, incapable of a compromise with honor."

Few foreign volunteers brought such experience and potential to the nascent Continental Army. Born March 4, 1747, in Masovia, Poland, Pulaski was scion of one of the most influential families in the Polish aristocracy. His father, Jozef Pulaski, was the ruling noble in the town of Warka. Access to the highest circles of the Polish nobility would serve the young Pulaski well. At age 17, Pulaski was appointed page to Carl Christian Joseph, Duke of Courland. His one year stay at Mitau in the Baltic duchy would prove a watershed experience.

As the Russian Empire continued to expand its control over the principalities of Eastern Europe, minor nobles such as the Duke of Courland functioned as little more than puppets to Moscow. Pulaski's stay in Mitau left the embittered young Pole with an abiding antipathy for Russian domination.

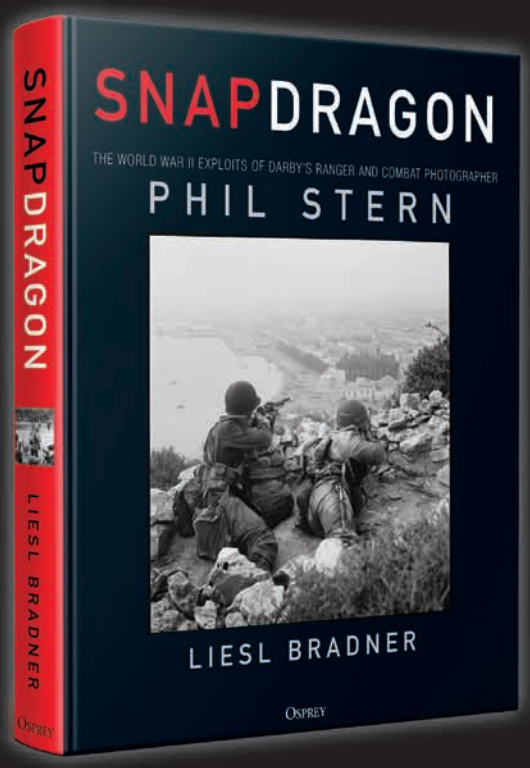
In 1764 the Pulaskis supported the election of Stanislaw Poniatowski to the Polish throne. It would be a short-lived arrangement. Frustrated by what he viewed as feckless leadership from the king and mounting Russian hegemony within Poland, Pulaski cast his lot with a disaffected group of nationalist nobles. Meeting

National Museum, Warsaw

SNAPDRAGON

THE WORLD WAR II EXPLOITS OF DARBY'S RANGER AND COMBAT PHOTOGRAPHER

PHIL STERN



Phil Stern is best remembered for his iconic images of James Dean and Marilyn Monroe. But little is known of his remarkable service during World War II as a combat photographer when he trained and traveled with the famous Darby's Rangers unit through Italy. Until now.

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early in 1768 in the city of Bar, the nobles made the radical decision to confront not only Russia but King Stanislaw II.

The formation of the Bar Confederation virtually ensured civil war and thrust Pulaski to the forefront of the greatest power struggle in Eastern Europe. Entrusted with a cavalry command with the Confederation rebels, Pulaski enjoyed early success in arms, winning a string of minor victories in April 1768. Two months later his luck ran out. A Russian expeditionary force surrounded Pulaski's troops at Berdyczow and took the young noble prisoner. After two weeks of confinement, the Russians paroled Pulaski.

Just as quickly Pulaski renounced the terms of his parole and rejoined the rebel forces. He led troops in the field over the succeeding two years, including a brief campaign in Lithuania in the hope of widening the Confederation's support. With a reputation for hard-driving gallantry and regarded as one of the rebels' best field commanders, Pulaski was appointed to the Confederation's War Council in the spring of 1771.

But the Bar Confederation's effort to assert Polish independence quickly unraveled. A desperate scheme surfaced to kidnap King Stanislaw, and Pulaski, who found the plan distasteful, finally lent his support when it was agreed that the king would not be harmed. Although the mission initially went well, the king escaped after a brief imprisonment. Early the following year, the Bar Confederation, defeated on the field and rent with internal dissension, was in its last death throes. Likely aware of the inevitable, Pulaski sought refuge in Silesia and escaped the final defeat of the movement.

On a personal level, Pulaski's involvement in the Bar Confederation was nothing short of disastrous. Tried in absentia by Polish authorities, he was sentenced to death, deprived of his property, and excluded from the nobility. Short on funds and desperate for employment, Pulaski initially angled unsuccessfully for a commission in the French army. Despite being a devout Roman Catholic, he then attempted to participate in the Russo-Turkish War on behalf of the Ottomans. His luck would only get worse. The penniless 33-year-old nobleman went into exile in France in 1775.

But just as quickly as his fortunes fell, an unexpected opportunity presented itself. Although his attempts to secure a military position in Europe had gone nowhere, the colonial rebellion in British North America seemed a viable option. America's ministers to France, Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, were busy wooing French officials to the Patriot cause. Their presence in Paris was something of an open secret, and the duo was deluged with European gentlemen seeking military commissions.

With a few notable exceptions, far too many of the applicants would prove more trouble than they were worth. The Americans were hectored by swarms of inexperienced officers, debt-ridden gentlemen, and idle noblemen who possessed far more ego than military aptitude. Pulaski, who was a soldier of fortune seeking employment, pursued an American commission.

Enthusiastic patrons in the French nobility lobbied hard on his behalf but initially met with a cool reception. When the Chevalier de Rulhiere recommended Pulaski's services, Franklin expressed disinterest for he had never heard of the Pole. Yet on further inquiry, Franklin discovered that Pulaski enjoyed support at the highest levels of the French government. Although Franklin could make no direct assurances of a commission in the Continental Army, he threw his full weight behind Pulaski.

Franklin penned a glowing letter of introduction dated May 29, 1777, on behalf of the Polish count, informing General George Washington that Pulaski was "famous throughout Europe for his bravery and conduct in defense of the liberties of his country." Franklin left the matter to Washington's discretion but clearly hinted that diplomatic considerations should bear some weight, adding his hopes that Pulaski would find a suitable position in the Continental Army.

The Polish knight-errant, who was fluent in French but not conversant in English, arrived in Boston in July 1777. He quickly penned a note to Washington in which he commended the American fight for liberty and expressed his desire to fight for the cause. Although Washington could make recommendations, he lacked the authority to grant commissions. Hoping to avoid the growing resentment in the commissioned ranks, Washington simply passed along Franklin's estimation of Pulaski and left the matter to the lawmakers.

Congress dragged its feet, and a commission for the ambitious Pole was not immediately forthcoming. By the late summer of 1777, the British army of Maj. Gen. William Howe had launched an unexpected amphibious campaign up the Chesapeake Bay, aimed at the American capital of Philadelphia. The two armies clashed on September 11 along Brandywine Creek, but the affair went poorly for the Americans. Howe succeeded in gaining vital fords off the American right flank and threatened to cut off the Patriot line of retreat.

Pulaski, attached at headquarters in a volunteer capacity, thrust himself into the thick of the fighting. Desperate to get into action, Pulaski requested that Washington give him command of 30 horsemen. The American commander granted his approval, and Pulaski led them in a spirited attack on the British left. As the American position collapsed under mounting pressure, Pulaski then rallied troops from scattered units and helped organize a hasty covering action for the retreating army.

His efforts, as well as his cool head under fire, did not go unnoticed. Following his first action on behalf of the American cause, Pulaski received a commission as well as a seemingly ideal assignment for a European beau-sabre. Washington announced on September 21 that Pulaski had been commissioned a brigadier general and appointed "Commander of the Horse" for the Continental Army. As chief of the army's cavalry, Pulaski was immediately given orders to track enemy movements. From the outset, it was apparent that Washington favored using his cavalry to gather intelligence and screen the main force during advance and retreat.

Pulaski, who had fought on horseback in Polish campaigns, entertained different ideas. The fiery noble hoped to reorganize the entire cavalry arm of the Continental Army along European lines. When the army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, Pulaski was anxious to institute rigid training of mounted field maneuvers, which he believed had previously been woefully neglected. He also hoped to keep part of his command on active duty through the winter in the hope that his men could gain valuable experience in the field.

Some of his ideas, which were nothing short of revolutionary to the American army, were frowned on. He wanted the cavalry arm to play a major role in Washington's army, and he hoped that the commander in chief would employ massed cavalry against enemy infantry. To Pulaski, mounted militia should be used for the mundane duties of scouting and intelligence, freeing the Continental cavalry for more crucial operations. Harkening back to the open-field maneuvers prevalent in mounted actions in Europe, Pulaski favored forming an independent corps of lancers along Prussian lines. Perhaps realizing that the tactical value of lancers in North America might be called into question, Pulaski informed Washington that he would personally be responsible for them.

Not surprisingly, the commander in chief nixed the idea. Washington was skeptical that large cavalry formations could be employed with effect in the sprawling forests and broken terrain of North America. Much to Pulaski's frustration, the lancer idea was shelved. Worse still, Washington was clearly annoyed by the liberties taken by foraging horsemen under

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Pulaski shined at the Battle of Brandywine in 1777 where he helped form a rear guard to cover the withdrawal of General George Washington's troops.

Pulaski's command, which were confiscating prime horseflesh from Patriot farmers. In a sharp letter of rebuke penned on October 25, Washington wrote that the permission he had granted "to the light dragoons of impressing horses near the enemy's lines has been most horribly abused and perverted into a mere plundering scheme."

Afterward Pulaski had to content himself with modest operations, such as skirmishing with British patrols on the outskirts of Philadelphia. In such actions he earned a reputation as a daring officer who led from the front. During the course of a particularly vicious melee in November, Pulaski led his men in a wild charge into a British column. Pulaski was briefly captured then liberated by his men. Pulaski favored cold steel, and "sets no store by carbines or pistols, but rushes on with the sword," wrote Major Samuel Hay of the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment, who fought alongside Pulaski.

By February 1778 Pulaski was stationed in Trenton, New Jersey, when he received an urgent request for help from Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne. Wayne had led a 500-man foraging party into southern New Jersey but was under threat of being cut off by 4,000 British troops. At the head of just 50 dragoons, Pulaski unhesitatingly rode toward the beleaguered Americans, attacking a British outpost on February 28. After the two commanders linked up, they struck another British outpost at Cooper's Ferry and succeeded in escaping the British net. Wayne had nothing but praise for the Polish cavalryman afterward.

But Pulaski, who dreamed of martial glory on the grand scale, quickly wearied of such minor actions and what he considered a woeful neglect of the army's cavalry. Pulaski resigned his position as Washington's cavalry chief in March 1778. Not surprisingly, he had other plans for acquiring an independent command. Washington informed Congress that despite the resignation, Pulaski was "led by his thirst for glory and zeal for the cause of liberty."

Pulaski convinced Congress to authorize the formation of a mixed outfit of cavalry and infantry that he could command on a semi-autonomous footing. By July 1778 he had raised a 330-man legion that he was able to train and command largely on his own. Despite a continuing lack of resources to supply and pay his men, Pulaski had an effective force in the field by autumn. In keeping with his fondness for lances, some of them were equipped with the weapons.

Unfortunately for the ill-starred Pole, his legion's first action ended in a fiasco. His troops were stationed near Little Egg Harbor in southern New Jersey, within easy striking distance of British amphibious probes. In the early morning hours of October 15, a British raiding party, which was guided by an American deserter, surprised one of Pulaski's forward outposts. In a furious and chaotic fight, the outpost was overrun.

During the succeeding months, Pulaski grew increasingly frustrated. Following a spate of bloody Indian raids on the northern frontier, Pulaski's Legion was posted to Minisink, New York, to furnish security for the region's settlers. Pulaski followed orders but was disappointed with the uneventful backwater assignment in which there was little fighting. Pulaski lamented that he could find "nothing but bears to fight."

Early in 1779, Pulaski's Legion was redeployed in the southern colonies. Repeatedly frustrated by continued failure to subdue the northern colonies, the British high command opted to refocus its energies southward. The British captured Savannah, Georgia, in December 1778. The deepwater port of Charleston, South Carolina, was the British army's next likely target. With America's southern army in desperate need of reinforcement, Pulaski was ordered to take his legion south.

Pulaski's command constituted one of the few Continental cavalry outfits in the South and saw steady action almost from its arrival at Charleston. His men sparred regularly with British patrols, but Pulaski grew increasingly disillusioned. Always regarded as an outsider by American officers, Pulaski was most disgusted by the cash-strapped army's neglect of his men. Pulaski was periodically forced to pay and supply his men out of his own pocket. In August he complained to Congress over his disappointments in a service "which ill treatment makes me begin to abhor." Despite his frustrations, Pulaski expressed hope that he could prove his devotion to the cause.

In September 1779, Pulaski would finally have his chance. American forces under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln linked up with a French expeditionary force under the command of Vice Admiral Count Charles-Hector d'Estaing. The Allies targeted Savannah for recapture, and with a combined force of 5,000 men enjoyed numerical superiority over the British garrison of 3,000. A three-week siege of the city, which was protected by formidable British fieldworks, encouraged the allied commanders to take the town by storm.

The plans were straightforward. The target of the assault was the Spring Hill redoubt, a key fortification near the center of the British works. While French troops attacked the redoubt from the front, the Americans were to swing into action on their left and open a gap in the British line through which Pulaski, leading 200 charging horsemen, could exploit the breach and wreak havoc in the enemy rear.

As the troops marched for the front early on the morning of October 9, the operation got off to a bad start. French troops were initially an hour behind schedule and then attacked prematurely without coordinating the attack with the Americans. Charging across open ground, the French were riddled by enemy fire and thrown back in confusion. American infantry, fighting their way forward through the blistering enemy fire, drove off the British defenders

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Hoping to take advantage of British confusion during a critical juncture in the Siege of Savannah in 1779, Pulaski led his mounted troops in a perilous charge that cost him his life. He is known today as "The Father of the American Cavalry."

and seized the parapets of the Spring Hill redoubt.

After the French repulse, Pulaski sensed the need to press the attack while the British were in confusion. Taking dragoon Captain Paul Bentalou with him, Pulaski rode ahead to probe for a gap through which his cavalry could charge. Running a gauntlet of intense British fire, Pulaski suddenly reeled from the saddle. When aides reached him, it was obvious that he was badly wounded. Bleeding profusely from a grapeshot wound in his upper thigh, Pulaski ordered that the attack continue. "Follow my lancers to whom I have given my order of attack," he gasped to his officers.

But the momentum of the fight had clearly turned in favor of the British. Launching a fierce counterattack, Redcoats seized control of the Spring Hill redoubt and drove off the last opposition. It was a bloody repulse in which the allies suffered 800 casualties.

Suffering from intense pain, Pulaski was taken aboard the American ship *Wasp* so that French surgeons could attend him. Their efforts were unavailing and infection set in quickly. On October 11, he succumbed to his wounds. Possibly buried at sea, his last resting place remains unknown.

Such an obscure end is fittingly symbolic for the tragically forgotten Polish noble who sacrificed his all for the cause of liberty in the Old World as well as the new one. As the Continental Army's first Commander of the Horse, Pulaski is widely regarded as the "father of American cavalry." It is an appropriate title for a professional soldier who spent much of his life in the saddle. It is a distinction of no small merit.

Although the American cavalry would never mount epic massed charges on the scale of European battlefields, the Continental dragoons, in some measure due to Pulaski's early training and organizational efforts, became highly skilled mounted soldiers whose prowess on the battlefield would prove crucial to victory by the close of the war.

In the spring of 1780 Hessian Captain Johann Ewald questioned a former member of Pulaski's Legion regarding the general's reputation among his troops. Pulaski was "a very daring horseman, and feared nothing in the world," the legionnaire said.

Ewald considered the legionnaire's observations to be among the highest compliments that could be paid to a professional soldier. "What a splendid eulogy for an officer after his death," the Hessian captain said. □

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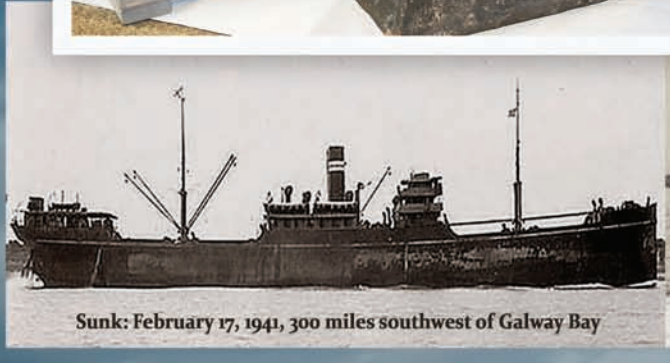
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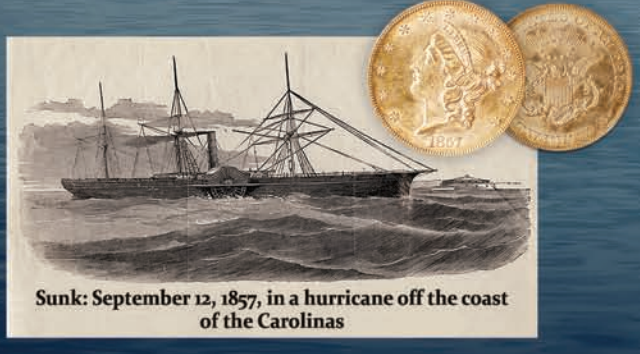
Sunk: September 12, 1857, in a hurricane off the coast of the Carolinas

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By Christopher Miskimon

The German cruiser *Emden* compiled an impressive record as a raider in the opening months of World War I before meeting an untimely end.

WORLD WAR I WAS ONLY A FEW DAYS OLD WHEN THE GERMAN LIGHT cruiser SMS *Emden,* patrolling off the Korean Peninsula, spotted its first target. Shortly after 4 AM on August 4, 1914, lookouts spotted what they believed to be the Russian cruiser *Askold*. The *Emden*'s crew readied for action. The Russian vessel fled before it, prompting *Emden*'s crew to fire a series of warning shots. the vessel slowed after the tenth round and stopped after two more.

A boarding party from the *Emden* discovered that it had not overtaken the cruiser *Askold,* but instead the 3,500-ton Russian merchant vessel *Ryazan*. The vessel, which had 80 passengers, had no cargo aboard that would make it a valuable prize. But Captain Karl von Muller, the commander of the *Emden,* decided to bring the large, fast ship to the German naval base at Tsingtao, China, for conversion into an armed merchant cruiser.

The boarders took control of the vessel and ran up the German flag. The two ships arrived in China on August 6. By the end of the month *Ryazan* would leave port, renamed the *Cormoran* and under German control. It was the German Navy's first prize of the war, and it marked the beginning of an amazing record for the *Emden*.

Although the U-boat is often seen as the star of the German Navy during the Great War, Kaiser Wilhelm II's small force of ships scattered around the globe also gave good service. Some were warships built for specific purposes, and others were converted merchantmen. They had one thing in common, though. They all raided enemy shipping and tied up large numbers of Allied ships dedicated to hunting them. Of all Germany's raiders, none had a career as bold as the *Emden*.

The *Emden* engages the Russian light cruiser *Zhemchug* and the French destroyer *Mousquet* during the Battle of Penang off the coast of Peninsular Malaysia. She sank both vessels.

AKG Images

In the early 20th century Germany controlled a small overseas empire and found itself in growing competition with other European powers, chief among them the United Kingdom. The German East Asiatic Squadron was based at Tsingtao and represented the bulk of German naval strength in the Pacific. The force was commanded by Konteradmiral Maximillian von Spee and included a number of cruisers and smaller vessels along with auxiliary vessels to carry coal, which was the lifeblood of warships during this period. Coal gave ships a great advantage in speed and maneuverability, but their endurance was limited by what they could carry in their bunkers.

Among von Spee's force was the *Emden*. The SMS that preceded the light cruiser's name was the German acronym for "His Majesty's Ship." She was built in 1908 in Danzig on the Baltic Sea. Weighing in at 3,593 tons, *Emden* was 387 feet long with a beam of 43 feet. The cruiser was armed with 10 10.5cm cannons along with nine 5-pounders, four machine guns, and two torpedo tubes. Her steam engines provided 13,500 horse-

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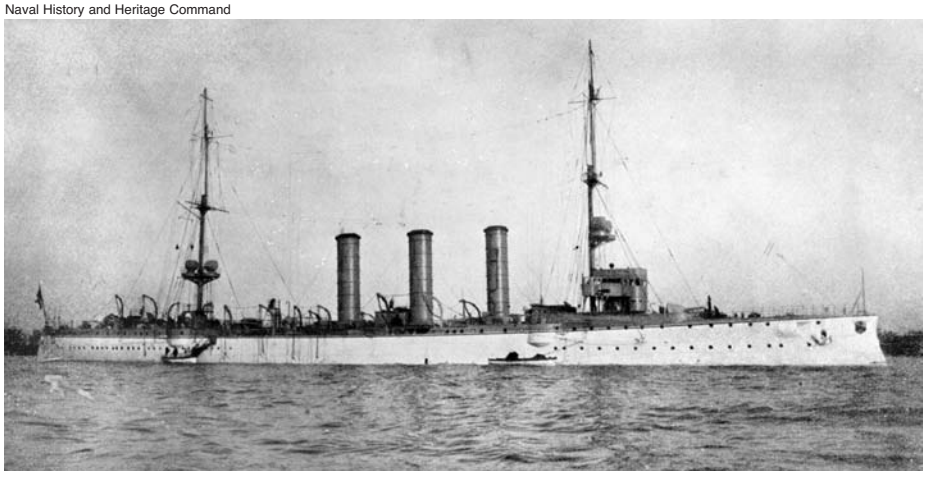

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ABOVE: In its brief career as an independent raider in the Indian Ocean, the *Emden* captured 23 vessels. RIGHT: Kapitanleutnant Helmuth von Mucke was the *Emden*'s second in command.

power for a top speed of 24 knots. The 790 tons of coal she could carry gave her a range of 1,850 miles at 20 knots or 3,790 miles at 12 knots. Maximum armor thickness was four inches.

Korvettenkapitan Karl von Muller initially commanded the *Emden*. Born in 1873, he was the son of a Prussian Army officer. When the war began he had 23 years of service in the German Navy and was known as a quiet, competent officer who had the respect of his crew. His second in command was Kapitanleutnant Helmuth von Mucke, who was born in 1881 and also was the son of an Army officer. Mucke had served 14 years and was an extroverted officer who had the crew's undying admiration. His skills complemented those of von Muller.

Emden had two other notable officers. The first was Leutnant zur See Franz Joseph, a nephew of Kaiser Wilhelm. He served as the ship's torpedo officer. The other was Kapitanleutnant Julius Lauterbach, a reservist who had only recently joined the crew. Lauterbach had long plied the Indian and Western Pacific Oceans as an officer of the Hamburg-Amerika Line and had extensive knowledge of the region, the ships that serviced it, and the type of men who served as crew on those ships. Both von Mucke and Lauterbach would prove invaluable during *Emden*'s service as a commerce raider.

On the war's eve *Emden* was in port at Tsingtao. In June the British cruiser *Minotaur* paid a visit. The *Emden*'s crew helped host the event, which included balls, banquets, and an athletic event. The Germans won at gymnastics and the high jump while the British crew triumphed in the soccer match. Sailors from both countries got along so well that upon the *Minotaur*'s departure there were numerous protestations that the two nations would surely never fight one another. In the months preceding the war, many of the crew rotated home with the arrival of new replacements. Having new crew to train kept the officers busy.

By the end of July 1914, war was imminent. Admiral von Spee was concerned about his ships becoming trapped at Tsingtao when war broke out. Japan was expected to join the Anglo-French alliance, and it had a substantial fleet nearby. To prevent the loss of his maneuver force von Spee took his fleet to sea on July 31 and soon after dispersed it. It was during this time *Emden*'s crew captured the *Ryazan*. After delivering that ship to Tsingtao for conversion to an armed merchant cruiser, *Emden* rejoined the fleet at Pagan in the Marianas Island chain on August 12.

The admiral commanded two armored cruisers, four light cruisers (one of which was the *Emden*), and a number of supply ships. The challenge became the pressing need for coal to keep the ships sailing. The admiral did not believe there would be a steady supply for his force in the Western Pacific Ocean, so he decided to sail for the Eastern Pacific Ocean. Admiral von Spee expected his ships could readily replenish their coal supplies in the ports of South America. What is more, his ships would find plenty of British merchant vessels in the Eastern Pacific to prey on.

Rather than leave the Western Pacific completely in Allied hands, von Spee decided to leave a single light cruiser, the *Emden,* behind to attack local shipping and other targets of opportunity. One supply ship, the *Markomannia,* would accompany the *Emden*. The *Markomannia* carried 6,000 tons of coal and would keep the cruiser going for some time. Eventually the ship would have to find new sources of fuel through captured ships or raids.

Emden and *Markomannia* sailed southwest from Pagan Island on August 14. Captain von Muller had the crew rig a fake funnel amidships. *Emden* had three stacks but adding a fourth would make her physically resemble a British County-class cruiser to any distant inspection. Camouflaging her appearance was not only a survival tactic for a commerce raider but also would help lull target vessels into a false sense of security when she approached. The crew had to maintain constant watchfulness and be prepared to act swiftly, whether to attack a merchantman or flee a superior warship.

Eight days after leaving Pagan, the two German ships slipped quietly through the Molucca Passage near Indonesia. They stopped where possible to take on water and provisions. On August 29 they moved into the Indian Ocean and entered the Bay of Bengal with its busy shipping lanes. Coal was running low and *Emden* needed to secure more before she was rendered adrift. Von Muller began hunting for ships as they approached Ceylon, and on the night of September 9 the crew spotted a light in the darkness. They quickly overtook a ship that turned out to be the Greek steamer *Pontoporos*.

Although Greece was a neutral nation, Lieutenant Lauterbach boarded the ship to check its credentials and manifest and found the ship was under contract to deliver coal to the British naval base at Bombay. This marked the cargo as legitimate contraband. The Germans even offered the Greek captain the chance to sail with them under contract and the captain agreed. Von Muller integrated *Pontoporos* and its cargo of 6,500 tons of coal into his task force.

The *Emden*'s arrival in the Indian Ocean was unexpected by the Allies and this gave the ship free rein for a time. Von Muller did not waste this advantage and quickly began striking at the merchantmen in the region. On the morning of September 10 smoke was spotted and the cruiser gave chase. Lookouts spotted what appeared to be a merchantman but had strange white structures on its deck that were feared to be gun emplacements. Von Muller

took a chance and they moved in, signaling the ship to stop and not use its radio. The boarding party discovered they had taken the British ship *Indus*, under contract to transport troops of the Indian Army. The white structures were merely newly constructed horse stalls. The ship also carried luxury goods that were quickly confiscated.

The ship's streak of success continued into the next several months. In all *Emden* captured 23 vessels totaling 101,182 tons, which constituted an impressive record. Coal and other supplies were taken as necessary to keep the German ships going. *Pontoporos* was eventually sent off on other duties but *Markomannia* remained. Captain von Muller went to great lengths to treat captured crews with such civility as wartime allowed. Two of the ships he captured were used to take prisoners to neutral ports to be interned or exchanged. Even British newspapers heard of von Muller's chivalry and wrote kind words about him, grudgingly admiring his success as well.

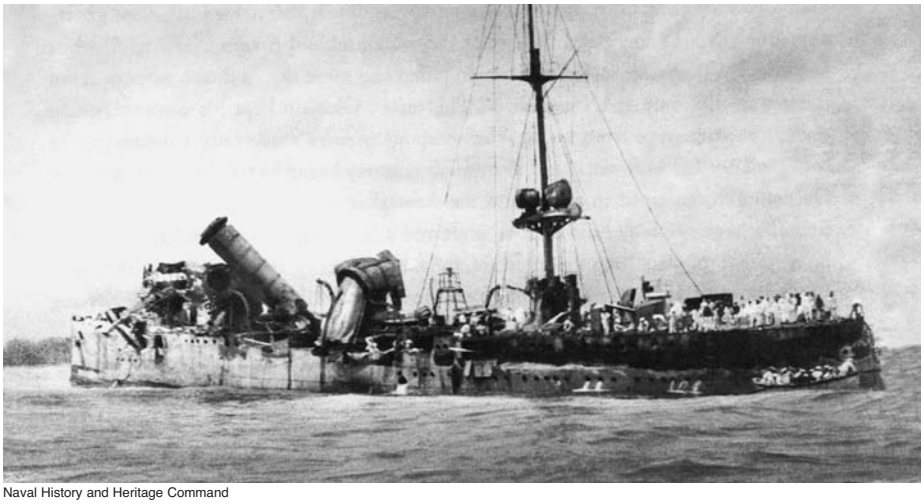
Despite the respect accorded von Muller and his ship, the Allies spared no effort to find the *Emden*. At its height, a total of 78 British, French, Russian, and Japanese warships were scouring the seas for the German cruiser. Telegraph and radio stations were advised to watch for the vessel and signal immediately if she appeared. Many of these stations were remote and could not hope for timely rescue, but at least it would give the hunters a last location to renew their search. It was imperative to stop the *Emden*. Shipping in the Indian Ocean was brought to a stop within a short time, insurance rates skyrocketed, and much needed troop convoys from Australia and New Zealand were delayed for lack of suitable escorts.

Along with its record of seizing enemy merchantmen, the *Emden* also conducted daring raids and attacks that only intensified the Allies efforts to end her cruise. On the evening of September 22, *Emden* cautiously approached the Indian city of Madras. No Indian coastal city had come under attack in centuries. The city was well lit with few precautions taken against attack from the sea. It was a calculated risk. Madras had powerful shore batteries that were sure to reply. The main target was the Burma Oil Company's storage facility with its oil tanks.

Just before 10 PM *Emden* sat a mere 3,000 meters offshore, her course designed so that errant shells would not strike civilian homes. Again, von Muller was showing his chivalry, though no doubt he also wished to avoid accusations of German barbarity. Minutes later the ship stopped engines, drifting into position at

Alamy Images

ABOVE: The Australian cruiser *Sydney* inflicted heavy damage on the *Emden* in the Battle of Cocos as this after-action photo reveals. BELOW: The *Emden* shelled and destroyed the Burma Oil Company's storage facility in Madras, India, during a bold night action.



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the port. The captain ordered the searchlights turned on and they lit the target ashore. Accompanying the order to illuminate the oil tanks was the command to fire. *Emden*'s starboard battery flashed to life, flames spilling from the muzzles of her cannon as explosive shells soared toward land. The first salvo went high, sailing over the oil tanks, though a few rounds found a shore battery. The second salvo landed short, near the water's edge. The crew had bracketed their target, a good sign. The third salvo struck a tank, sending a cascade of black oil gushing forth as it ignited. Flames leapt into the sky, eliciting a hearty cheer from the German sailors.

The gunnery officer adjusted his aim. Another salvo crashed into the next tank, yet nothing happened because the tank was empty. The third tank was full, though, and it exploded, sending flames skyward. The shore batteries returned fire but scored no hits. Their mission accomplished, von Muller ordered a cease fire and *Emden* quickly withdrew. He kept his ship's lights on as it headed north. Once out of sight, the lights were extinguished, and she changed course to the south. Approximately 5,000 tons of oil was destroyed, and the citizens of Madras were sent into a panic. Many of the panicked citizens fled the city. It was a daring raid that caused the British great consternation and increased the *Emden*'s reputation.

Just over a month later *Emden* struck again, this time against an enemy naval force. The Russian cruiser *Zhemchug* and four French torpedo boats were in port near Penang, Malaya. They were part of the force detailed to hunt for the German raider. The *Zhemchug*'s crew was cleaning her boilers. Three of the four French torpedo boats were unable to respond quickly because their boilers were cold; however, the fourth torpedo boat, *Mousquet,* was actively patrolling the area.

The *Emden,* which was disguised as a British light cruiser, sailed into the area without being challenged at 5:15 AM on October 22. When it closed to within 500 meters of the *Zhemchug,* the *Emden*'s crew raised the German flag. The German cruiser fired a torpedo from 200 meters that struck the Russian cruiser's engine room. The German sailors simultaneously raked the enemy ship's crew quarters with their guns.

The Russian sailors fired a few rounds in response, but scored no hits. The *Emden* swung around for another pass. This time it put a second torpedo into the enemy cruiser, which detonated its magazines. The resulting explosion blanketed the area in smoke. In the one-sided surface engagement, the *Zhemchug* had suffered 91 killed and 106 wounded.

Emden stalked the harbor for other targets but soon *Mousquet* appeared on the horizon. Von Muller ordered an attack and cannon fire lashed out at the small French ship. At 4,000 meters one round struck one of *Mousquet*'s boilers, covering the ship in a fog of steam. In return, the French ship launched a torpedo and replied with a single gun. Within 10 minutes the battle was over, and the torpedo boat sank. *Emden* was chased briefly by two of the other torpedo boats but quickly made her escape. This successful raid further increased *Emden*'s reputation, especially after the Germans rescued 36 survivors.

The ship's next target was the Cocos Islands, where the British maintained a cable station. Radio intercepts led the crew to believe no enemy ships were close enough to interfere. Unknown to them, one of the troop convoys was nearby, strongly escorted and under radio silence. By this time *Emden*'s consort was the coal ship *Buresk,* captured earlier near Ceylon. *Buresk* was sent away to await developments and *Emden* moved on Direction Island, home to the cable and radio station.

Arriving just after dawn on November 9, von Mucke led a 50-man landing party in three boats. *Emden*'s crew did not think they had been spotted, but a Chinese worker saw the ship and warned the British. The British challenged the ship and then sent out a message: "SOS *Emden* Here." Von Muller had the transmission jammed, but it was too late. Both radio and telegraph distress calls were already out. In the mistaken belief that no help was nearby, the Germans proceeded with their plan.

The Allied troop convoy was 55 miles away. It received the SOS signal, and the commander sent the Australian cruiser HMAS *Sydney* to investigate. The ship was armed with eight 6-inch guns and was well armored. Moreover, she was faster than the *Emden*. At 9 AM *Sydney* arrived near Direction Island, but the Germans initially mistook her for the *Buresk*. They real-

ized their error 15 minutes later and quickly got underway, leaving the shore party behind. Unfortunately for von Muller, all 10 of his gunlayers, that is, the men who aimed the ship's guns, were ashore. There was no time to retrieve them. At 9:40 AM she opened fire on *Sydney* and despite the absence of the gunlayers her first salvo bracketed the Australian ship. *Emden* had to close the distance to make her guns more effective and use her torpedoes.

Sydney's Captain John Glossop knew this and turned his ship to keep the distance open. Still, *Emden*'s third salvo struck, knocking out both of *Sydney*'s fire control stations. This slowed down the Australian's fire and hindered accuracy, but her armor was shrugging off the German shells. *Sydney*'s first hit came 20 minutes later, destroying *Emden*'s radio room. Glossop kept turning his ship to increase the range, giving his 6-inch cannons the edge. An ad-hoc fire control station was set up and soon shells were pounding the *Emden*. First, the electrical system was knocked out. Then, the steering gear suffered extensive damage, thus reducing the vessel's maneuverability. The fire from the Australian ship became more accurate as a result. Even worse, a shell landed among the aft guns and detonated their ammunition, killing the crew and causing a large fire.

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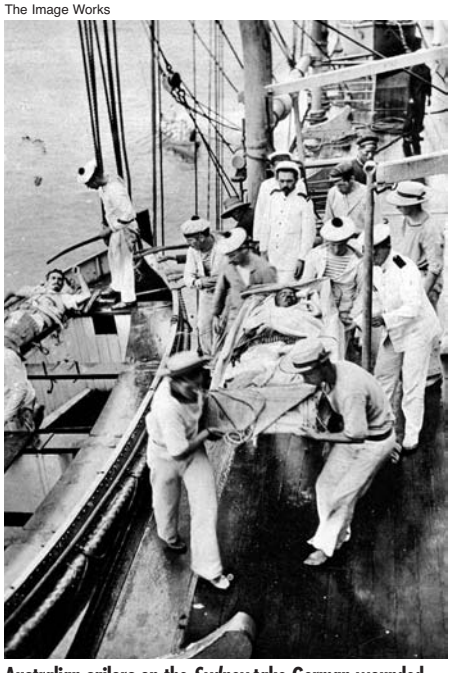


Australian sailors on the *Sydney* take German wounded aboard their vessel in a gesture of humanity.

Shell after shell landed on the *Emden,* crumpling the upper decks and bringing down the foremast. The killing blow was a salvo that hit all three funnels, collapsing them. This denied air to the boilers, reducing the ship's speed. *Emden* was defeated. Von Muller knew he had to quit the fight. Rather than abandon ship, he directed it to nearby North Keeling Island. He beached the *Emden* on the island's reef. *Sydney* fired two more salvos before realizing the *Emden* was finished. At that point, the Australian ship went in pursuit of the *Buresk*, which appeared nearby. The crew of that ship scuttled and abandoned her.

Von Muller and his surviving crew became prisoners. German casualties numbered 134 sailors. The prisoners were generally treated well and many Allied officers personally visited the German officers to congratulate them on their valor and accomplishment, despite their status as enemies. Von Mucke and the landing party managed to sneak off in a schooner. They sailed across the Indian Ocean to Arabia. From there, they continued overland to Turkey, where they arrived in May 1915.

As for the *Emden,* she lay stuck on the reef where she had been ditched until the 1950s, when a Japanese salvage company removed what was left of the hull. The *Emden*'s career, which ended in what became known as the Battle of Cocos, was brief but brilliant. It was marked not only by its impressive prizes, but also by the humanity and chivalry of its crew. □

By William E. Welsh

Belle Boyd was a fearless spy who assisted Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley at the outset of the war.

WORD SPREAD LIKE WILDFIRE THROUGH MARTINSBURG IN northeastern Virginia that the Yankees were on the move. On July 2, 1861 Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson led a corps of 25,000 bluecoats south from Williamsport, Maryland, toward the small town, which was defended by Brig. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's 2,300-man Virginia brigade. Jackson had strict orders from superior, General Joseph E. Johnston, to avoid a general engagement with Patterson. To fulfill those orders meant Jackson might have to abandon Martinsburg to the enemy.

Marie Isabelle "Belle" Boyd (right) braved Yankee rifle fire on May 23, 1862, on the outskirts of Front Royal to deliver intelligence to Brig. Gen. Thomas. J. "Stonewall" Jackson. She gave precise information on the type of force defending the town.

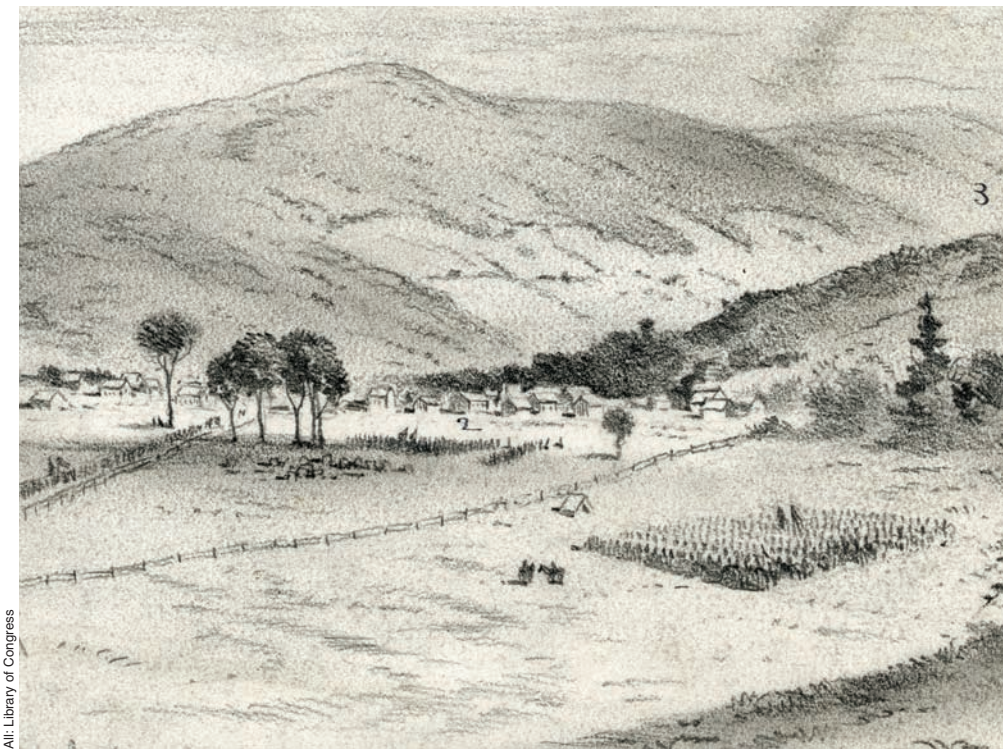
Jackson led one regiment north to reconnoiter Patterson's army and discern his intentions. He found Patterson advancing in force and offering battle. Jackson gathered his brigade and withdrew south of Martinsburg to Darkesville. Two days later Patterson marched into Martinsburg. Some of the boisterous Yankees decided to take out their anger on the people of Martinsburg.

"The doors of our houses were dashed in, our rooms were entered by soldiers who might literally be termed 'mad drunk,' wrote 17-year-old Belle Boyd. "They left our homes mere wrecks, utterly despoiled and mutilated. Shots were fired through windows; chairs and tables were hurled into the street."

One group of Yankees forced their way into the Boyd house on the first day of the occupation with the intention of raising the Stars and Stripes over its roof. Belle's father was away serving in the 2nd Virginia in Jackson's brigade.

"Men, every member of my household would die before that flag shall be raised over us," Belle's mother told them. When a drunken Yankee took a threatening move forward and loudly cursed both mother and daughter, Belle pulled out a Derringer pistol and shot him. "I could stand it no longer," she wrote afterward. "My indignation was roused beyond control; my blood was literally boiling in my veins."

Belle had inflicted a mortal wound on 25-year-old Private Frederick Martin of Company K, 7th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Martin's friends carried him to a hospital tent where he passed away later in the day. When they threatened to return and burn down the house in retaliation, Belle reported the matter to Patterson. He decided to



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investigate the matter himself before making a judgment regarding Belle's fate. After hearing the Boyds' account, he then interviewed the Union soldiers involved in the incident. Patterson decided that Belle had acted in self-defense. He posted sentries at the house to ensure that there was no further harassment of the family.

Boyd is one of several women who became spies for the Confederacy. In Boyd's case, her fame and enduring legacy after the war would become intrinsically woven with that of Jackson, for she would play a key role in intelligence gathering during parts of his renowned Valley Campaign of 1862.

Isabella Maria Boyd was born in Martinsburg in 1844 to shopkeeper Benjamin Boyd and Mary Rebecca Glenn. Her parents enrolled her at the age of 12 in Mount Washington Female College 75 miles to the east in Baltimore, Maryland. While at the elite boarding school, she studied literature, foreign languages, music, and etiquette. After completing a four-year course of study, she was introduced into society in Washington, D.C.

Having narrowly escaped arrest for shooting the Federal soldier, Belle proceeded with a relish to gather whatever intelligence she could from Patterson's army while it was based in Martinsburg. She sought out the company of Northern officers with whom she flirted to loosen their tongues. Many were smitten with her good looks and proved to be easy marks. She wrote down the information, a sign of an amateur spy, and secreted away her notes. By candlelight late in the evening she would draft dispatches, which she called "lettres de cachet," to be delivered to Jackson's camp at Darkesville by close friends, family servants, or Belle herself.

Belle was a skilled horsewoman, and on a number of occasions she rode her horse, Fleeter, to deliver the messages. She used a variety of methods to conceal the dispatches; for example, she sewed them into the soles of shoes or stuffed them into loaves of bread.

Her amateur methods and the frequency with which she was communicating with Confederate officers led to the interception of one of her dispatches by Federal troops. One afternoon Captain James Gwyn, an assistant provost marshal, came to the Boyd house and instructed Belle to accompany him to the Berkeley County Courthouse where the Yankees had established their headquarters.

It was a particularly easy case for Federal officers to prove because the message the Yankees intercepted was not in cipher, but in Belle's own handwriting. The colonel who interrogated her told her that she was in violation of the Articles of War pertaining to espionage and treason. He warned her that she could be put to death for such activities. She was let off with only a reprimand.

This Greek Revival-style house in Martinsburg belonged to Benjamin Boyd, who ran a general store for five years at the location. Belle shot a Union soldier who forced his way into the house.

Unbeknownst to Belle, family friend Ward Hill Lamon, who was a bodyguard of Lincoln', had interceded on her behalf, asking that they treat her with leniency. From that point on, though, the Federals in Martinsburg kept her under constant surveillance.

Jackson's brigade was part of Brig. Gen. Joseph Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah. Even before his pivotal role in the Confederate victory at First Manassas, Jackson was regarded as a hero to the people of the Shenandoah Valley for his defense of their homes in the opening months of the war.

Belle and her mother visited Johnston's camp at Manassas three months after the battle occurred. During the several weeks that Belle was in northern Virginia, she served as a mounted courier, carrying dispatches for Jackson, General P.G.T. Beauregard, and other commanders.

In the winter of 1861 the Federals withdrew again north of her hometown. During this time she became well acquainted with Colonel Turner Ashby, the commander of the 7th Virginia Cavalry, and carried dispatches between Ashby and Jackson, who had made his winter headquarters in Winchester.

When Belle's father returned home on furlough he decided to send Belle to live with her uncle and aunt, James and Mary Stewart, at their hotel in Front Royal so that she would be farther from the front lines when the Yankees advanced again. However, the Stewarts departed for Richmond on March 12, leaving Belle behind to live with her maternal grandmother, Ruth Burns Glenn, and cousin Alice. Eleven days later, Brig. Gen. James Shields defeated Jackson at Kernstown on the south side of Winchester, and Jackson retreated 40 miles up the valley to Mount Jackson.

On a journey to Martinsburg to rejoin her mother, Belle was arrested by a Federal provost marshal who had been tipped off that she was a spy. He took her to Baltimore for a hearing before Maj. Gen. John Dix, the commander of the Department of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Dix decided there was not a strong enough case against her and allowed Belle to return home. Having learned of her arrest, Federal authorities in Martinsburg ordered her to remain within the town's limits.

Shortly afterward, Belle's mother received permission for her and her daughter to relocate to Front Royal. When they arrived, Belle was delighted to discover that they would be billeted in close proximity to Federal headquarters. Shields and his staff had chosen her uncle's hotel for their headquarters. Belle and her mother were allowed to stay at a cottage on the property to which her grandmother and cousin had been relocated.

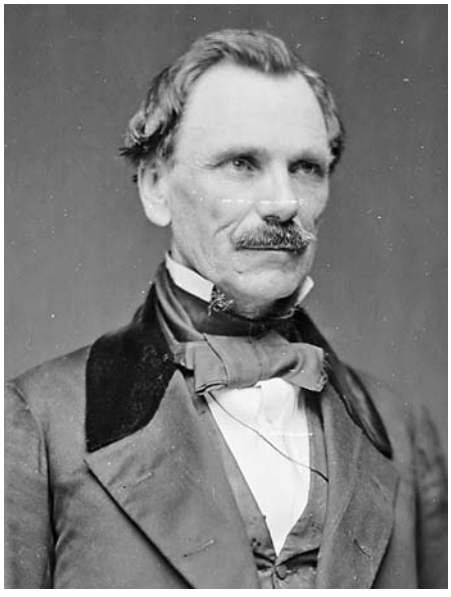
Belle immediately set to work spying on Shields. She eavesdropped on the general's conferences in the hotel's parlor by listening through a knothole in the ceiling above it. One morning she heard Shields make an important pronouncement to those assembled. "We march at sunrise," he said. "Before noon we will attack Jackson in the flank."

Belle translated what she had heard into cipher. Then she went to the stable, mounted her horse, and rode south. She rode for two hours, covering 15 miles, and pulled up at a house where she knew Colonel Ashby was billeted. Ashby's jaw dropped when he saw her. "Good God, Miss Belle, is that you?" he asked. After briefing Ashby, they both departed. Ashby rode for Jackson's headquarters, while Belle returned to Front Royal before sunup.

Shields marched his army south that day, but the Federals did not find Jackson's force where they thought it was bivouacked. Belle's efforts had paid off. Meanwhile, a new Federal force entered Front Royal. After her midnight adventure warning Jackson of Shields' advance, Belle heard of the need for a Confederate courier in Winchester for an important operation.

On May 22 she persuaded a Yankee admirer, Lieutenant Abram Hasbrouck of the 5th New York Cavalry, to assist her in visiting Winchester. He drove them there in a carriage. Belle met with Confederate agent who gave her two satchels and a note for Jackson or another high-ranking Confederate officer. Belle and family servant Eliza began whispering about how they would get the satchels through Union lines. Unbeknown to them, a servant loyal to the Yankees was watching them and informed Federal authorities that the two women were likely planning a clandestine operation.

The two women climbed back in Hasbrouck's carriage, and he proceeded south on the Valley Pike. When they arrived at the picket outpost on the outskirts of Winchester, two mounted Federal detectives were waiting to question them. "We have orders to arrest you," one of the detectives said. They escorted the carriage to the headquarters of Colonel George Beal of the 10th Maine Infantry. Belle had tried to disguise one of the packages as a gift from Hasbrouck, and she had written on the exterior "Kindness of Lieutenant Hasbrouck." Beal demanded that Hasbrouck explain his role in the matter. When Beal tore open the package, he found a copy of the Secessionist journal *Maryland News Sheet*. Belle tried to get Hasbrouck off the hook but was unsuccessful.



ABOVE: Boyd passed intelligence to the Confederates on one occasion that disrupted the plans of Union Brig. Gen. James Shields during the Valley Campaign. BELOW: Known to Northerners as the "Cleopatra of the Secession," Boyd served stints in both the Old Capitol Prison and Fort Monroe.

All this time, Belle was holding the secret message to Jackson in her hand. Although Beal demanded she relinquish it, she casually said, "It is nothing, you can have it if you wish." She held it out for him, but he was so furious with Hasbrouck that he accepted Belle's explanation without reading the note himself. Belle was dismissed, but Hasbrouck was detained and ultimately cashiered from the Union Army.

When Belle reached Front Royal, she read the dispatch she had carried in her hand. It gave the position of all of the Union forces converging on the Lower Valley in an effort to destroy Jackson's fast-marching army. As Belle already knew, a detachment under Brig. Gen. John Kenly garrisoned Front Royal. Brig. Gen. Nathanial Banks was in Strasburg, Shields was in Luray, and Brig. Gen. John Fremont was farther west in the Alleghenies. She would have to wait until morning to figure out how to get word to Jackson. It would be difficult because Kenly had imposed martial law and no citizens were allowed to leave the town.

Jackson marched north from Luray with 17,000 men on May 21, and two days later attacked Kenly's force of 1,000 troops in Front Royal. The Federal camp was situated a half mile north of the town. Union pickets held important crossings over the north and south forks of the Shenandoah River which join at Front Royal. Jackson had every intention of capturing them intact. His troops swept downhill into the town at 2 PM. The Federals were taken completely by surprise.

Belle and the other residents of the town first heard shots ring out from the hillsides and suddenly the street was full of blue-uniformed soldiers rushing every which way. Belle asked a Federal officer what was going on, and he replied that the Rebels were moving in strength against the town. When asked what the Federals planned to do, the officer told her that they would try to get the ordnance and quartermaster supplies out of town to prevent them from falling into enemy hands, but if the Rebels came on too quickly, they would have to burn them.

Belle decided to pass the information she had just gleaned from the officer, as well as what she knew about the strength of Kenly's garrison, to the approaching Confederates. She ran as fast as possible to the outskirts of town and continued into the fields that lay beyond. She heard bullets whistle past her and realized that the Yankees were firing at her.

When the Confederates came into view, she waved her bonnet in wide arcs. Some of the Rebels recognized her and cheered the gallant lass. "Their shouts of approbation and triumph rang in my ears many years afterward," she wrote.

Jackson's acting assistant adjutant, 21-year-old Lieutenant Henry Kyd Douglas, a native of Shepherdstown, Maryland, pointed out the approaching woman to both Jackson and Maj. Gen. Richard Ewell. Ewell told him to find out what the woman wanted. Douglas eagerly rode over to see what the woman was so worked up over. She called out his name, and he instantly recognized her. "I was not much astonished when I saw that the visitor was the well-known Belle Boyd whom I had known since earliest girlhood," he wrote. "She

Continued on page 69

THE UNION SOLDIERS OF COLONEL Harrison Fairchild's brigade prepared to attack uphill against a key Rebel position on the outskirts of Sharpsburg at 3 PM on September 17, 1862. Sensing their intention, Rebel gunners sent shot and shell in their direction. While waiting for the order to advance, the Yankees lay down to avoid being wounded or killed by the exploding shells that burst overhead and bounced along the ground toward them.

"Get up the 9th!" shouted Lt. Col. Edgar Kimball to the Zouaves of the 9th New York. The men had no choice but to obey his command. Similar orders rang out to the men of 89th New York and the 103rd New York.

"I turned over quickly to look at Kimball, who had given the order to advance, thinking he had become suddenly insane, never dreaming that he would think of advancing into that fire, and firmly believing that the regiment would not last one minute after the men had got fairly to their feet," wrote Lieutenant Matthew Graham, Company A, 9th New York.

Major General George B. McClellan, commanding the 87,000-strong Army of the Potomac, had begun his attack against Robert E. Lee's 38,000-man Army of Northern Virginia on September 17 with a series of piecemeal attacks by three Union corps—I, II, and XII—against Lee's left flank astride the Hagerstown Turnpike north of Sharpsburg. Maj. Gen. Thomas J. Stonewall Jackson, the commander of Lee's II Corps, skillfully parried the enemy thrusts, albeit with heavy reinforcements from Maj. Gen. James Longstreet's I Corps, which Lee had tasked with defending the ground east and south of the town.

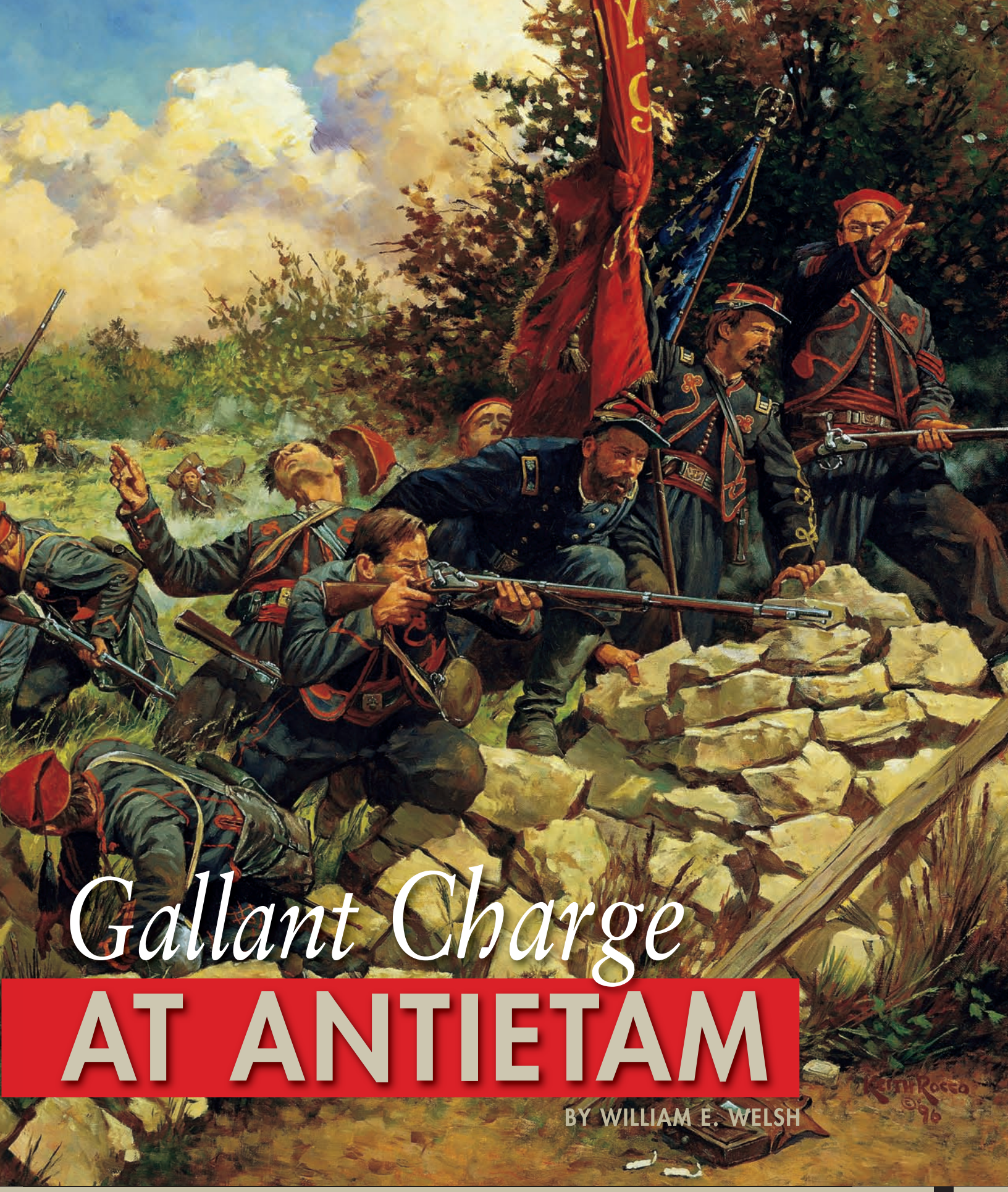
The action shifted at midday to the Sunken Road, a heavily eroded farm lane that bypassed the town to the east, connecting the Hagerstown and Boonsboro Pikes. Although Confederate Maj. Gen. Daniel Harvey Hill had conducted a masterful defense of the lane, his thin gray line had been driven out by Maj. Gen. Edwin Sumner's II Corps.

With both sides exhausted from the fighting in those two sectors, the onus fell upon Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside, commanding the forces on the Union Army's left, to press his attack on Sharpsburg. Burnside had entrusted command of his IX Corps to Brig. Gen. Jacob Cox so that he could focus on his responsibilities as right wing commander.

In the march through South Mountain to Antietam Creek, McClellan had given Burnside command of the army's right wing and entrusted him with command of both the Union I and IX Corps. But once the Union

FAIRCHILD'S UNION BRIGADE MADE A HEROIC CHARGE THAT CARRIED IT TO THE EDGE OF SHARPSBURG IN THE FINAL HOURS OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

With their officers leading them forward, the 9th New York Zouaves carry the Confederate position near the Harpers Ferry Road in this painting by Keith Rocco. The failure to quickly reinforce the Zouaves' success was inexcusable.



Gallant Charge AT ANTIETAM

BY WILLIAM E. WELSH

army reached the creek, McClellan removed Hooker's I Corps from Burnside's control, leaving him with only his IX Corps. Cox had offered to resume command of his Kanawha Division so that Burnside could return to command of his IX Corps, but Burnside clung to his elevated post.

Throughout the long hours of September 17, McClellan's orders went to Burnside, who forwarded them to Cox, who in turn issued orders to his four division commanders: Brig. Gens. Orlando B. Willcox, Samuel D. Sturgis, and Isaac Rodman, as well as Colonel Eliakim Scammon, who commanded the attached Kanawha Division. This extra layer at the top of the command chain contributed to the slowness of the IX Corps attack.

Burnside allowed four precious hours to slip by on the morning of the battle. He launched two attacks against the Confederates defending the Rohrbach Bridge over the lower section of Antietam Creek, but the Confederates repulsed both of them. Just when McClellan was on the verge of removing Burnside from command, two regiments of Brig. Gen. Edward Ferrero's brigade of Sturgis's division carried the stone bridge.

At 12:30 PM 670 bluecoats from Colonel John Hartranft's 51st Pennsylvania and the Colonel Robert Potter's 51st New York charged down from the hill side by side. The New Yorkers were on the left and the Pennsylvanians on the right. Minie balls and shells tore into their ranks, and they halted to take cover. After a short time, Potter shouted to his men to follow and some of the New Yorkers rushed onto the bridge. Not to be outdone, a group of Pennsylvanians joined them. They made it across and sought cover. Once the Yankees established a toehold on west side, two regiments of Georgians defending the crossing withdrew. More Union troops rushed across, expanding the bridgehead. In the four-hour ordeal at the bridge, the Union lost 500 men, and the Confederates lost 125 men. At the same time the bridge was captured, Rodman led his 3,200-man division through Snavely's Ford downstream from the Rohrbach Bridge.

Burnside had just barely avoided being removed from command for incompetence. McClellan had sent a member of his staff, Colonel Thomas Key, to observe the progress of the attack and, if Burnside did not get his men across in strength by the early afternoon, Key was to present orders to Burnside informing him that he was relieved of command. Fortunately for Burnside, he avoided the humiliating demotion.

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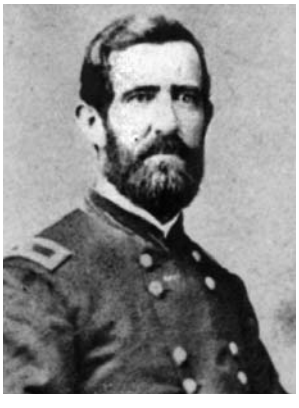

TOP ROW: Confederate commanders Lt. Col. Joseph Walker, Brig. Gen. James Kemper, and Brig. Gen. Lawrence Branch. BOTTOM ROW: Union commanders Colonel Robert Potter, Brig. Gen. Isaac Rodman, and Colonel Thomas Welsh. Branch and Rodman were among the six generals who died at Antietam. OPPOSITE: After squandering four hours in which two understrength Confederate regiments held back the Union IX Corps, a spirited attack captured the bridge at midday. Fairchild's brigade participated in the flanking move through a downstream ford.

Colonel Harrison S. Fairchild's brigade crossed first at Snavely's Ford followed by Colonel Edward Harland's brigade. Spearheading the thrust were the colorful Zouaves of the 9th New York. The bluff on the far side was held by two companies of Lt. Col. Francis Kearse's 50th Georgia of Brig. Gen. Thomas Drayton's brigade. The 220 Georgians, who were protected by a stone wall near the top of the bluff, fired on the New Yorkers as they waded across in twos through the waist-deep waters.

Fairchild issued orders for the men not to engage the Rebel pickets while they were crossing the stream. This was done to get the troops across as quickly as possible. As the Zouaves reached the opposite bank, they turned right and marched away from the stone wall under cover of a steep wooded ridge toward Rohrbach Bridge to link up with Sturgis's division.

As Fairchild's three regiments began ascending the bluffs near the bridge, they heard a heavy roll of musketry from the ford. The 4th Rhode Island of Harland's brigade had received orders to drive off the Georgians contesting the crossing. The Rhode Islanders made quick work of the task, and the Georgians withdrew at the double quick to a new line behind a stone wall that bordered the western side of John Otto's 40-acre cornfield. They were joined there by Brig. Gen. Robert Toombs's 2nd and 20th Regiments—the two regiments that had defended the Rohrbach Bridge—and a battalion of the 11th Georgia of Colonel George T. Anderson's brigade.

Toombs consolidated his reinforced brigade to contest Burnside's advance from the Rohrbach Bridge. Some of the troops under his command had contested the crossings of the Lower Antietam, while others had been detailed to guard Confederate supply wagons on the west side of the creek from a possible Union cavalry strike.

Toombs's four regiments—the 2nd Georgia, 15th Georgia, 17th Georgia, and 20th Georgia—were supplemented by the 50th Georgia of Brig. Gen. Thomas Drayton's brigade and five companies of the 11th Georgia of Colonel George T. Anderson's brigade. Anticipating that the Federals might try to outflank him in Otto's cornfield, Toombs ordered the regiments under his command to fall back to the Harpers Ferry Road where the only troops defending the extreme right flank of Lee's army were the regiments of Colonel Thomas Munford's cavalry brigade.

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Burnside's IX corps squandered more precious time preparing to move out from the Rohrbach Bridge. Sturgis's division deployed on the right astride the Rohrbach Bridge Road to Sharpsburg, and Rodman's division assembled on its left. Colonel Hugh Ewing's First Brigade of the Kanawha Division supported Rodman's left wing, and Colonel George Crook's brigade of the Kanawha Division supported Sturgis's right wing.

Burnside issued orders detailing the right wing to advance directly against Sharpsburg and for the left wing to block Lee's line of retreat into Virginia via Boteler's Ford on the Potomac River. McClellan advised Burnside that once he began pressing his attack against Sharpsburg he would receive substantial support from Fitz John Porter's Union V Corps. It would turn out to be a hollow promise.

After an hour getting the troops of Sturgis, Rodman, and Scammon across the Antietam, Cox discovered that Sturgis's troops had severely depleted their ammunition trading fire throughout the morning with the Confederates defending the Rohrbach Bridge. Cox, who was on the west side of the creek overseeing preparations for the advance, requested that Burnside send Willcox's division across the Rohrbach Bridge to take the place of Sturgis's division. The request was made at 2 PM. It took another hour to substitute Willcox's men for Sturgis's men. Sturgis's men shifted to the rear where they replenished their ammunition and served as a reserve.

Lieutenant Colonel Edgar Kimball, who was 38 years old at the time, commanded the colorful Zouaves of the 9th New York. Known as "Hawkins Zouaves," after politician-turned-soldier Rush Hawkins who founded the regiment, the men wore baggy trousers, short blue jackets, and fezzes, which were in vogue at the time, mimicking the world-famous Algerian Zouaves in the French colonial army.

The 9th New York had served throughout the first half of 1862 in Union operations against the Confederate coastal strongpoints in North Carolina, but on September 4 it arrived in Washington and proceeded to Frederick, Maryland, to join Maj. Gen. George McClellan's Army of the Potomac. The Zouaves' combat experience was limited, as reflected by their having suffered minimal casualties during their time on the North Carolina coast.

The terrain on the west side of Antietam Creek rose steeply in a series of terrace-like elevations up to the high ground where the Harpers Ferry Road was situated. The Rohrbach Bridge Road ran north from the bridge and then turned west up a ravine through which a spring branch emptied into Antietam Creek. The road through the ravine was flanked on each side by large farms. These farms were stitched by stone and post-and-rail fences and contained orchards, haystacks, and cornfields that furnished excellent cover for Confederate skirmishers and sharpshooters.

Brigadier General David R. Jones's division had about 2,500 men to contest the 9,000 men of the IX Corps. What the Confederates lacked in infantry in that sector they hoped to make up for in artillery. The Confederate batteries on or near the Harpers Ferry Road were positioned 40 to 70 feet higher than the four Union batteries that unlimbered on the west side of the creek to support the IX Corps advance. Thus, the Confederate batteries defending the approaches to Sharpsburg commanded the ground over which the Union infantry would be attacking.

Fairchild's troops assembled in a swale beneath the batteries of Captain George Durell's Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery D, and Captain Joseph Clark's 4th U.S. Artillery, Battery E. These two batteries of 10-pounder Parrott rifled guns soon became engaged in a tense duel with the Rebel guns along the Harpers Ferry Road.

Fairchild's brigade deployed in a long line in front of the two Federal batteries and between Harland's brigade to their left and Colonel Thomas Welsh's brigade of Willcox's division to their right. From left to right, Fairchild's three regiments—totaling 940 men—were Major Edward Jardine's 89th New York, Major Benjamin Ringold's 103rd New York, and Kimball's 9th New York.

Fairchild's field officers paced up and down behind their prone men anxiously awaiting orders from Rodman to advance. Rodman told Fairchild to deploy skirmishers and begin his advance once they were in position. Fairchild's objective was the Rebel batteries along the Harpers Ferry Road. His men would have to cover 800 yards under intense artillery fire to reach the guns.

The Confederate artillerists were firing round shot and case shot at the two Federal batteries. Many of the rounds overshot their target and landed amid the infantry lying prone nearby, causing great anxiety among the troops.

"The practice of the Rebel artillery men was something wonderful in its accuracy," recalled Lieu-

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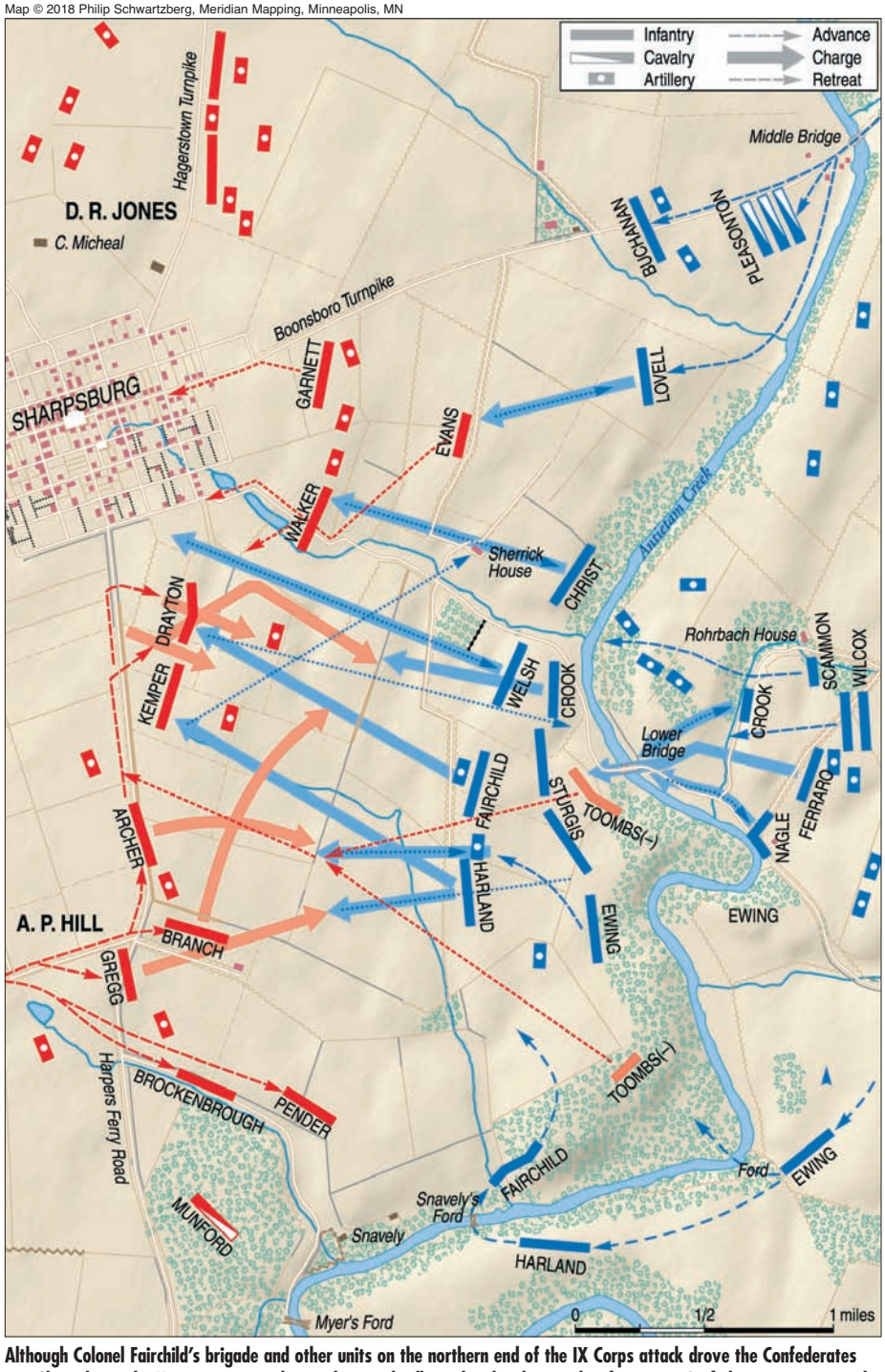

Although Colonel Fairchild's brigade and other units on the northern end of the IX Corps attack drove the Confederates into Sharpsburg, the Union troops on the southern end collapsed under the weight of a strong Confederate counterattack.

tenant Matthew Graham of the 9th New York. "They dropped shot and shell into our line repeatedly. They kept the air fairly filled with missiles of every variety. I watched solid shot ... strike in front of the guns with what sounded like an innocent thud, and bounding over the battery and park, fly through the treetops, cutting some of them off so suddenly that it seemed to me they lingered for an instant undecided which way to fall."

The two Confederate batteries that were dueling with Clark's and Durrell's batteries were Captain James Brown's Wise Artillery of Virginia and Captain James Reilly's Rowan Artillery of North Carolina. Brown contributed four light 6-pounders, and Reilly had a two-gun section of powerful 24-pounder howitzers in action.

Also lending artillery support against Fairchild's advance was Captain John B. Richardson's 2nd Company of the well-regarded Washington Artillery from Louisiana. Richardson had a battery of Napoleon 12-pounder smoothbores in action on the far side of the Harpers Ferry Road. His battery was deployed several hundred yards to the southwest of Brown's and Reilly's guns.

Lying in support on the reverse slope of ridge behind the Confederate guns were elements of Drayton's Georgia Brigade and Brig. Gen. James Kemper's Virginia Brigade. Neither Drayton nor Kemper were commanders of any particular note. Following the Battle of Fredericksburg, Confederate General Robert E. Lee helped arrange Drayton's transfer to the Trans-Mississippi Theater, a fate reserved for those Lee deemed third-rate commanders. Kemper was wounded in Pickett's Charge and afterward played no further role in Lee's army.

Only three of Kemper's five regiments, the 1st, 11th, and 17th, were available to contest Fairchild's advance. The other two regiments, the 7th and 24th, had been detached at noon to guard the extreme right flank of the Confederate army; however, Major Arthur Herbert's 7th Virginia returned in time to participate in the defense of the ridge. Kemper assigned the Herbert's men to serve as skirmishers. They moved downhill to contest the intervening ground.

These men were deployed in a protected position on the Avey Farm on the outskirts of Sharpsburg. A 300-yard-long fence enclosing the Avey orchard was built of different materials. The northern section of the fence was stone and the southern section was wood. The Confederate brigadiers planned to move their men forward to the fence line when the Yankees were closer. But for the time being, they stayed out of sight. Drayton's men would defend the stone section, and Kemper's men would defend the post-and-rail extension of the fence.

Rodman ordered his troops to advance at 3:30 PM. The regimental commanders shouted the order to advance. The men shed their knapsacks and fell into line. Fairchild's brigade was arrayed for attack with two regiments forward and one in reserve. On the left was the 89th New York, and on the right was the 9th New York. Ringold's 103rd New York formed the second line.

Fairchild and his regimental commanders planned to advance in short spurts toward their objective. The regiments would move at the double quick and then halt in a depression or ravine to realign before resuming their advance. The same method was used effectively by Welsh's brigade on Fairchild's right flank.

The three regiments lowered their heads as they advanced into a storm of iron from the Confederate artillery. The first obstacles they encountered were the post-and-rail fences lining

John Otto's farm lane. They quickly climbed the fences and pushed into a meadow beyond the farm road. By that time they had covered about one-quarter of the distance to the high ground where the Rebel guns were situated.

As they advanced, Herbert's Rebel skirmishers kept up a steady fire. Musket balls zipped through the air and artillery shells tore large gaps in the lines. Under this brutal bombardment, the Yankees passed through a ravine and into a meadow. By this time, their ranks were beginning to thin considerably from the enemy fire. This winnowing of their ranks ultimately would force Ringold's New Yorkers to squeeze into the center of the main line.

Upon entering the meadow, the regimental officers halted their men in a furrow to dress their lines. The men lay flat to avoid the enemy fire. Showing no fear of the storm of artillery shells bursting all around him, Colonel Kimball strode back and forth along their lines shouting encouragement. "Bully 9th!" I'm proud of you! Every one of you!"

At that point, Fairchild ordered his line to charge the enemy. "Huzzah!" the New Yorkers shouted as they swept forward at the double quick. Another obstacle loomed before them. The left and center of the line had to pass over a long stone wall that extended from Otto's cornfield toward his house before ending abruptly short of a ridge. Many of Herbert's skirmishers had used the stone wall to good effect, but when the long blue line reached the wall it scattered the Virginians like loose leaves in an autumn wind.

A fresh Confederate battery had unlimbered to the southwest and joined the furious bombardment intended to break up Fairchild's attack. This was Captain David McIntosh's Pee Dee (South Carolina) Battery, which was part of the vanguard of Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill's Light Division. Hill's command began arriving one brigade at a time on the southern end of the battlefield after a grueling 17-mile forced march from Harpers Ferry. McIntosh ordered his teams off the road at the Blackford Farm. Leaving a howitzer and his caissons near the farm, he accompanied his crews to a nearby ridge overlooking the Harpers Ferry Road. His artillery crews dropped trail on a pair of rifled guns and a 12-pounder smoothbore. More shells screamed down on Fairchild's Federals.

One Rebel shell killed eight Zouaves at once, sending equipment and body parts flying through the air. Despite the storm of iron, the New Yorkers continued on toward the ridge. As they swept on, they shouted, yelled, and cursed as they closed the gap between themselves and the Rebel guns.

Private John Dooley of the 1st Virginia estimated that as many as 2,000 Yankees were headed toward the ground held by Kemper's and Drayton's men. His estimate was more than double the actual strength of the blue-uniformed lines sweeping uphill. The feeling that they were outgunned was exacerbated by the dearth of Confederate infantry in the sector. "There may have been other troops to our left and right but I did not see any," he said.

Fairchild's troops halted briefly before covering the final 100 yards through a shallow vale and up the slope to the enemy's guns. The Yankees would have to ascend the last slope to reach the Confederate position. They had no idea that Confederate infantry was about to spring into action.

The ridge where the Confederate guns had been situated was 70 feet above their position. As it leaves Sharpsburg, the Harpers Ferry Road runs along this high ridge. The ridge's northern end abuts the spring branch that swings past the town on its north side to tumble downhill to Antietam Creek.

"Our position was directly in front of the village of Sharpsburg, on a high hill, behind a new post and rail fence," wrote Private Alexander Hunter of the 17th Virginia of Kemper's brigade. "The topography of the country and the configuration of the ground was peculiar, consisting of

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Captain Otis Baker (left) of the 4th Rhode Island. A.P. Hill's Confederate division forced his regiment to withdraw. A soldier from the 11th Virginia of James Kemper's badly depleted brigade of Virginians.

a succession of undulating hills and corresponding valleys. The elevation that we were on sunk rather abruptly to a deep bottom, and then rose suddenly, forming another hill, the crest of which was about 60 yards from the top of the eminence where we rested. Any attacking force would be invisible until they arrived on the top of the crest opposite, and in pistol-shot distance, or what we call point-blank musketry range."

For the assault against the flat ridge, Fairchild had 700 men remaining from the original strength of 940 at the start of the assault. At that point, the Confederates moved into position behind their respective fence positions. The Georgians filed in on the left behind the stone fence, and Kemper's Virginians filed in on the right behind the post-and-rail fence. Kemper had 210 Virginians and Drayton had 380 Georgians to defend their position.

The anticipation of the pending attack made Rebel hearts beat rapidly. "Keep cool, men, don't fire yet," Colonel Montgomery Corse told his 17th Virginia Regiment. Other regimental commanders and line officers repeated similar orders to their men the length of the Confederate line.

"The hill in our front shut out all view, but the advancing enemy was close on us, they were coming up the hill, the loud tones of their officers, the clanking of their equipments, and the steady tramp of the approaching host was easily distinguishable," wrote Hunter.

The Rebels were filled with a sense of dread equal to that of the attacking Federals. The Yankees went to ground again in a depression a short distance from the wall to reform their ragged line.

The Confederate batteries, nestled in a plowed field atop the ridge ahead, began firing canister at the mass of blue-uniformed soldiers. Canister was invaluable as antipersonnel ammunition for Civil War artillery batteries. When the enemy closed to within 200 yards of the battery, the gunners switched to canister and loaded either a single round or two rounds, referred to as "double canister." The casing disintegrated, spreading 1 1/8-inch iron balls in a conical formation.

"The loss was frightful," recalled Graham. The carnage reminded him of a line spoken by Marshal Jean Lannes, the commander of the advance guard at Austerlitz, who said, "I could hear the bones crash in my division like glass in a hailstorm." Across the path of their advance lay the mangled and contorted bodies of Yankee soldiers killed by the deadly canister fire.

By that time they had the undivided attention of the Rebel gunners who were going to great lengths to shatter their attack. "The battery [Brown's] ... had depressed its guns so as to shave the surface of the ground," wrote David Thompson of the 9th New York. "As the range grew better, the firing became more rapid, the situation desperate and exasperating to the last degree." While under cannon fire the Yankees let loose a torrent of cursing as they watched their friends dying around them. "Human nature was on the rack, and there burst forth from it the most vehement terrible swearing I have ever heard," Thompson wrote. A greatcoat flew over Thompson's head. He looked up to see a soldier in front of him lying face down in the dirt. The canister had plowed a groove across the top of his head and stripped his coat from his back, sending it flying through the air.

The Yankees received orders to fire a volley and then charge the wall with fixed bayonets. When the Union soldiers reached the stone wall, they were greeted with a crashing volley delivered at close range by the Southerners. "In a second the air was full of the hiss of bullets and the hurtle of [canister]," wrote Thompson. It was a moment of great mental strain for the Yankees, and it produced a sensation that Thompson likened to an experience had by German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in which "on a similar occasion—the whole landscape turned slightly red."

From 50 yards apart, both sides poured fired into each other. The Rebel fire felled many Yankees. Musket balls slapped the stone fence where the Confederates were positioned. Drayton's men set their rifled muskets atop the stone fence they defended, and Kemper's men laid the barrels of their weapons on the lower rails of the post-and-rail fence.

The Yankees lay flat in an effort to avoid the blistering fire. The key to getting them up and moving was to advance the regimental colors. If that was done, the men would follow. But each time a group of Yankees attempted to storm the wall with their colors, they were shot to pieces. "The flags were up and down, up and down, several times in a minute," wrote Graham. After all eight of the men assigned to the color guard of Company E of the 9th New York had been slain, Lieutenant Sebastian Myers was shot as he tried to pick them up.

After many long minutes under the galling Rebel fire, Captain Adolphe Libaire seized the regimental colors and shouted, "Up damn you, and forward!" He would receive the Medal of Honor for his valor. Libaire and three other company officers rose up and shouted for their men to follow them. The Yankees, who left many of their fellow soldiers lifeless on the field of battle, surged to the wall yelling, "Huzzah!" Waving his fez on his sword, Captain Robert McKechnie urged his men forward. At the wall the opponents, crazed by the wild nature of the fighting, began to fight with clubbed muskets. Bayonets flashed in the fading sunlight as the Yankees sought to pry the Rebels from the fence line. Some of the Yankees scrambled over the fence, and soon the Rebels found themselves outnumbered and unable to fend off the determined assault.

"We stood up against this force more from a blind-dogged obstinacy than anything else, and gave back fire for fire, shot for shot, and death for death," wrote Hunter. "But it was a pin's point against Pelides' spear."

Fairchild's brigade paid a high price in blood for the key position it captured. Of the 940 men participating in the attack, 455 were killed or wounded. Their loss was worth it, though, for it precipitated a general collapse of the Confederate right flank. Only the imminent arrival of Hill's Light Division could stave off defeat for Lee's army.

The survivors of Drayton's brigade fled through the Avey orchard into Sharpsburg, while Kemper's remaining troops fell back through the cornfield adjacent to the orchard. "We were forced to retire in great disorder leaving the enemy in possession of our position," said Dooley. "Hastily emptying our muskets into their lines, we fled back through the cornfield."

The Confederates ran west toward the Harpers Ferry Road. Dooley said that his 9-pound rifled musket, his heavy belt, and his cartridge box weighed him down so badly that he was only able to run at half his potential speed. "I was afraid of being struck in the back, and I frequently turned half around in running, so as to avoid if possible so disgraceful of a wound," said Dooley. Glancing backward from time to time as he ran, he could plainly see the elation of the Yankees at having captured their objective. "The enemy ... appeared to think they had performed wonders," he said bitterly. As for Hunter, he and two of his fellow soldiers were taken prisoner.

To the north, Willcox's division was making steady progress toward Sharpsburg. Welsh's brigade advanced along the south side of the Rohrbach Bridge Road, while Colonel Benjamin C. Christ's brigade advanced on the north side of the road.

About 400 yards beyond the Otto house were a stone house and stone mill situated on the north and south sides of the road, respectively. Welsh ordered Lt. Col. David A. Leckey, the commander of the 100th Pennsylvania, to deploy his regiment as skirmishers and lead the brigade's advance. The Keystone Staters pushed steadily uphill through the fields of the Otto Farm on the south side of the Rohrbach Bridge Road toward the mill beyond it.

Welsh's main battle line followed the 100th Pennsylvania. The 8th Michigan held the left, the 46th New York the center, and the 45th Pennsylvania the right. The left of Christ's line collided with the 15th South Carolina of Drayton's brigade, which was deployed in open order as skirmishers, and forcefully drove it back.

Contesting the advance of Christ's brigade north of the Rohrbach Bridge Road was Colonel Joseph Walker, who commanded the brigade of Brig. Gen. Micah Jenkins, who was recuperating from a severe wound inflicted at the Battle of Second Manassas. Walker's five South Carolina regiments were deployed on the slope of Cemetery Hill on the eastern outskirts of Sharpsburg. Also contesting Christ's advance was Colonel Fitz W. McMaster of the 17th South Carolina of Brig. Gen. Nathan Evans' brigade. McMaster commanded his regiment, another regiment known as the Holcombe Legion, and a detachment of the 1st Georgia from Brig. Gen. George T. Anderson's brigade.

McMaster's butternuts found themselves heavily outnumbered and having to fend off attacks by both of Willcox's brigades. On the north side of the road, McMaster's Confederates traded shots with the men of Lt. Col. David Morrison's 79th New York of Christ's brigade. Morrison's men fought as skirmishers in open order in two lines. Morrison was supported by Christ's main battle line consisting of the 28th Massachusetts, 50th Pennsylvania, and untested 17th Michigan. On the south side of the road, the 45th and 100th Pennsylvania captured the mill and advanced jointly against the remaining Confederate infantry on the last

ridge before Sharpsburg.

The long Federal line overlapped McMaster's much shorter line, and he ordered his troops to fall back on the stone house and mill. Rebel case shot screamed down on the Yankees, slowing their pursuit of McMaster's men and buying the South Carolinians and Georgians time to rally. McMaster's men put up a stout defense in the large apple orchard on the north side of the road. Christ's troops found themselves caught in vicious converging fire from McMaster's and Walker's troops.

At the same time that the lead regiments of Welsh's and Christ's brigades were trying their best to dislodge McMaster's stubborn Confederates from the mill, Brig. Gen. George Sykes had begun deploying elements of his 2nd Division of the Federal V Corps across the Middle Bridge for the purpose of putting added pressure on thea Confederates defending Sharpsburg. Captain John Poland commanded 2nd and 10th U.S. Infantry Regiments probing the makeshift Confederate defense in front of and atop Cemetery Hill. Finding only a small number of Confederate infantry to impede his advance, Poland requested permission to charge them. Rather than taking advantage of the opportunity, the senior officers of the V Corps overruled the request; instead, they ordered Poland to withdraw to the Middle Bridge. This signaled that McClellan had no intention of reinforcing Burnside.

Both Welsh and Christ ultimately succeeded in clearing the Confederates defending the ridges on the eastern outskirts of Sharpsburg. Some of Fairchild's men, as well as some of the men from Christ's and Welsh's brigades, cautiously pushed into the eastern edge of Sharpsburg where they traded shots with Confederate stragglers who, either by purpose or accident, had become separated from their commands and were wandering about or had taken refuge in homes and shops. Federal artillery shells had set some structures ablaze, and thick smoke from burning structures boiled into the sky. Both Christ and Welsh felt a keen sense of anxiety in their forward positions. They waited in vain for Burnside or McClellan to send troops to reinforce them and capitalize on their successes.

On the extreme left of the IX Corps line, Harland had bungled his attack. For reasons unclear, two of three regiments ordered to advance failed to do so. Consequently, Lt. Col. Hiram Appelman's 8th Connecticut Regiment on the brigade's right pushed toward the Harpers Ferry Road unsupported, while the 16th Connecticut and 4th Rhode Island remained on the south side of the Otto cornfield. Appelman's regiment headed straight for McIntosh's three guns.

As the Constitution Staters advanced toward the Rebel battery over the rolling terrain, McIntosh ordered his troops to switch targets. The skilled artillerymen loaded double canister to blast the Yankees charging their position. The guns bucked from the powerful recoil. The effect at close range was devastating. Still, the men of the 8th Connecticut advanced while loading and firing. They shot down the cannoneers and the battery horses as they approached the guns. McIntosh ordered his gunners to save themselves, and those still standing ran for safety. A Connecticut soldier, ecstatic over the triumph, leaped atop one of the captured guns.

In the distance, the head of the Hill's column arriving from Harpers Ferry could be seen by both sides. Rodman and Harland, who were following the 8th Connecticut, spotted the enemy column. Rodman galloped north to warn Fairchild. As Rodman made his way across the battlefield, a Confederate sharpshooter fired a musket ball that penetrated Rodman's left lung, knocking him from his horse mortally wounded.

Clad in his red battle shirt, A.P. Hill had with him five of his six brigades. Only about 3,300 of his men made it across the Potomac, and of that number only about 2,000 became engaged. Large numbers had fallen out of the column from heat and exhaustion. After a brief meeting with Lee, he rode south to confer with Jones regarding where to send the forward elements of the Light Division. The vanguard of the infantry consisted of Brig. Gen. Maxcy Gregg's crack Georgia brigade. Following Gregg's brigade were Lawrence O'Bryan Branch's North Carolinians and Archer's mixed brigade.

Continued on page 70

Combat artist Edwin Forbes shows the high tide of the Union IX Corps attack against Sharpsburg before it was hurled back by Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill's Light Division.

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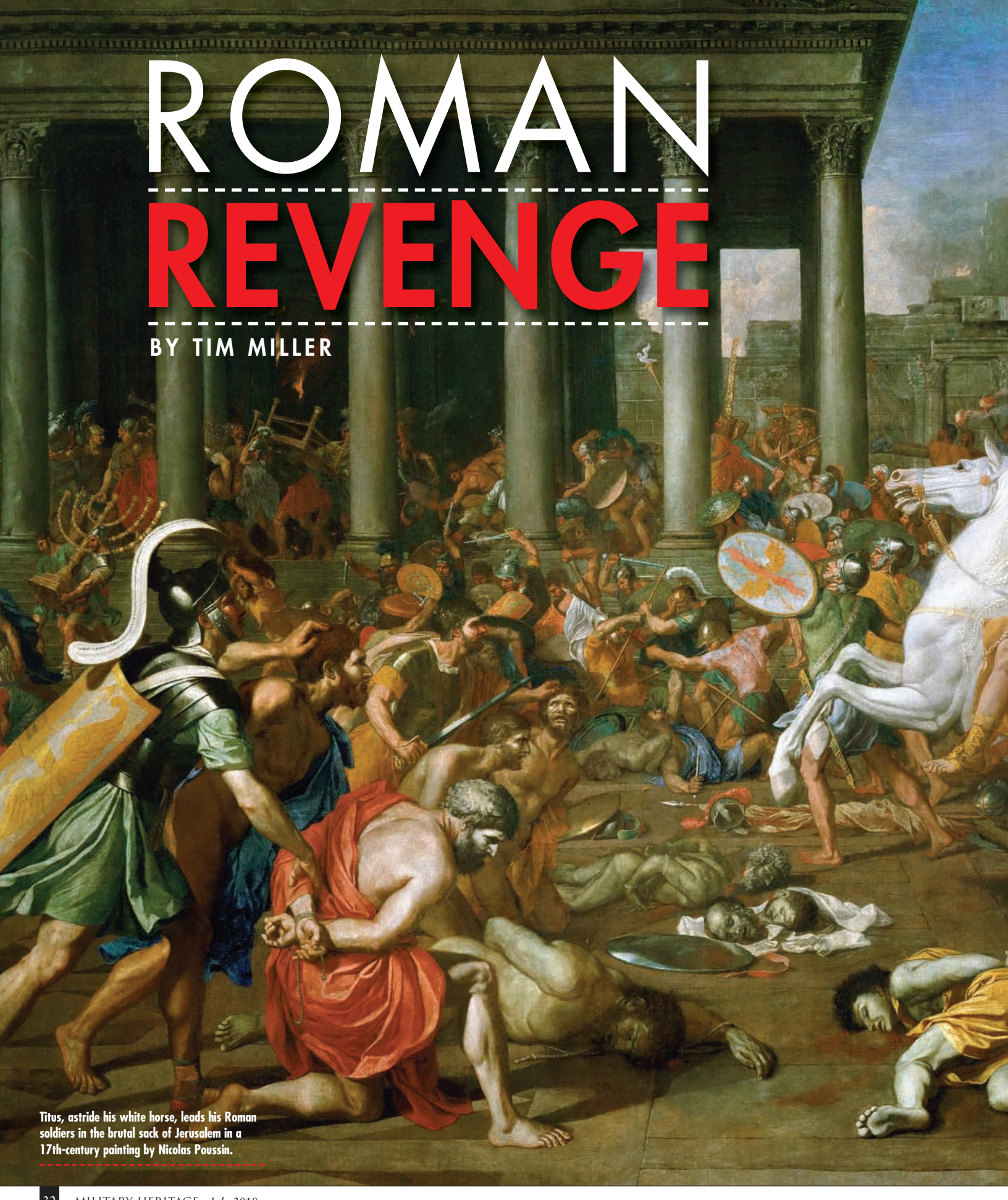
ROMAN REVENGE

BY TIM MILLER



Titus, astride his white horse, leads his Roman soldiers in the brutal sack of Jerusalem in a 17th-century painting by Nicolas Poussin.

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AFTER A SUMMER OF STARVATION AND SIEGE had been imposed on the people of Jerusalem, the great Second Temple was finally on fire. No one knows who threw the flaming brand, or indeed how the temple had avoided such a fate for so long, but once the conflagration began there was no stopping it.

The Jewish soldiers, outnumbered and hungry and armed only with weapons they had won from the Romans in battle, immediately refocused the physical courage and fanaticism that had helped them hold out for so long. The earthly embodiment of their ideals was now being destroyed, and their own freedom from Roman rule and even their own lives were nothing now that the Temple faced destruction.

"As the flames shot into the air the Jews sent up a cry that matched the calamity and dashed to the rescue, with no thought now of saving their lives or husbanding their strength; for that which they had guarded so devotedly was disappearing before their eyes," wrote the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus.

When Titus, son of the new emperor Vespasian and the Roman general in charge of the siege, heard the news he raced to the scene and demanded that the fire be put out. The Roman army either pretended not to hear, or simply disobeyed, throwing more wood on the fire. "Everywhere was slaughter and flight," wrote Josephus. "Most of the victims were peaceful citizens, weak and unarmed." As the Roman legionnaries pressed their advantage, the pile of corpses surrounding the alter grew ever higher.

TITUS STORMED JERUSALEM IN AD 70 IN A BLOODY BATTLE THAT DESTROYED MUCH OF THE CITY.

There was as much use arguing with the Roman troops as there was with the fire itself, according to Josephus. After some of the most brutal fighting in Roman history, and after a seemingly endless round of Roman victories and Jewish resurgence, the fire and bloodletting at the Temple was a total and terrible release. "[The soldiers'] respect for Titus and their fear of the centurion's staff were powerless against their fury, their detestation of the Jews, and an uncontrollable lust for battle," he wrote.

The huge white marble Temple complex, which gleamed with such a luster that it might be compared to a mountain covered in snow, and the city choking with civilians and insurgents and Romans, all swirled and culminated in a butchered, bloody, and smoky end on September 8, AD 70.

Jewish and Roman relations had never been great. Following his siege of the city in 63 BC, the Roman general Pompey the Great had profaned the Temple by entering the Holy of Holies, which no one but the High Priest was allowed to do, and that only once a year, merely to survey its riches. Following more than two centuries of Hellenistic rule, during which nearly every aspect of Greek life, not to mention paganism, was found offensive to the Jews, the Romans took over. They were equally offensive in the eyes of the Jews.

Pompey the Great had intervened militarily in the affairs of Judea in 63 BC. From that point forward, Judea became a client kingdom of the Roman Republic. Rome officially annexed Judea as a province in AD 6. Opposition to Roman rule was immedi-

ate. The sicarii, or knife men, were assassins who conducted hit and run attacks and then hid in the desert from Roman patrols trying to apprehend or kill them.

If the old cliché about the Romans is true, that they were merely brutes who elevated themselves by appropriating a good deal of Greek culture, their inability to rule in Judea is easily understood. Bureaucracy, organization, and a show of strength should have been enough to subdue a minority culture not known for its military might, but it was their religion that was the source of their seeming stubbornness. Not even Rome's eventual victory would snuff out Judaism.

In Judea there also were locals who were willing to work with the Romans as far as they could, no matter how incurious, ignorant, or ineffective their foreign overlords proved to be. But it did not take long for such Jews to lose favor with the larger community. The weakening of any aspect of Jewish ritual or legal life was viewed with suspicion, and almost immediately the Jewish population disintegrated into a handful of competing allegiances. The Jews harmed themselves by this infighting more than the Romans ever could.

In what essentially boiled down to class warfare, the words of Josephus are strikingly modern. He noted that those in power oppressed the masses, and that "the masses [were] eager to destroy the powerful." To the oppressed masses, who supported the more popular fundamentalism of the Pharisees, the great enemies were the Temple elites and the largest landowners, the Sadducees. There also were the ascetic and apocalyptic Essenes, but they lived away from the city and considered Temple life irredeemably corrupt. Added to this, Roman influence in the area was perpetually mediocre and easily undermined because the area was not of much interest in the wider Roman world. Of the quarter million men who made up the Roman standing army, only 3,000 were stationed in Judea at the beginning of AD 66.

In the last decades before Christ and those following Herod the Great's death, while there was the occasional upheaval in the province, there was little that could be deemed anti-Roman, and none of which could be said to presage the destruction of the late 60s. The Roman historian Tacitus simply says "all was quiet" in reference to Judea during the years of the Emperor Tiberius from AD 14 to 37. But that began to sour in AD 40 when Emperor Caligula departed from the policy of religious tolerance exercised by his predecessors. The chain of events over the next 26 years ultimately led to the ascendency of the Zealot party.

Deeming Judea a province of no military significance, the Romans entrusted its rule to a governor of procuratorial rank. Many of the governors of Judea during this period were corrupt. Added to this, the governors tended to overreact to disorder and suppress it with heavy force.

Caligula stoked the flames of discontent as well. He demanded that a statue of himself be placed for worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. Publius Petronius, the Roman governor of Syria, traveled to Jerusalem to quell the unrest. He asked the Jews if they were willing to go to war with Caligula over the matter.

"The Jews replied that they offered sacrifice twice daily for [Caligula] and the Roman people, but that if he wished to set up these statues, he must first sacrifice the entire Jewish nation; and that they presented themselves, their wives and their children, ready for the slaughter," wrote Josephus. Caligula was murdered in the interim and the matter was dropped. The response of the Jews was ample proof that they were willing to sacrifice themselves rather than dishonor their God.

Both: Public Domain

ABOVE: Titus was regarded as a competent military commander largely because of his successful siege of Jerusalem. INSET: The Jewish radical faction ordered the burning of many homes, including that of puppet king Herod Agrippa II.

As it happened, the events that led to the rise to prominence of the Zealots and their subsequent revolt can be traced to an avoidable miscalculation by the inept procurator Gessius Florus. In May AD 66, a Gentile mob had profaned a synagogue in Caesarea, a town on the Mediterranean coast 78 miles northwest of Jerusalem. A Greek, who was aware of the strict laws held by the Jews in regard to ritual purity and cleanliness, "placed a chamber pot upside down at the entrance [to the synagogue] and was sacrificing birds on it," wrote Josephus. Similar provocations had taken place in the previous decade; for example, Roman soldiers had exposed their buttocks to Jewish pilgrims. They also had seized and burned sacred Jewish scrolls.

This time the events in Caesarea would spiral beyond anything that had come before. Matters pertaining to local government and religion in Jerusalem were the purview of the High Priest and his council, the Sanhedrin. When the Jews of the area began to complain, Florus ignored their pleas.

Florus decided it was a good time to collect overdue taxes. His demands were met with anger in Jerusalem. Some youths went so far as to mock him by roaming the streets with a basket, begging for pennies for the seemingly impoverished governor. Florus demanded that the offending youths be handed over for punishment. The Sanhedrin authorities apologized for the behavior of the youths, but they refused to turn them over, saying it was impossible to identify the guilty parties in such a large crowd.

In a clear example of the brutal repression in Judea exercised by the Romans, Florus ordered his soldiers to the southwest market area of the city with instructions to slay indiscriminately those they encountered. "There followed a flight through the narrow streets, the slaughter of those who were caught, and rapine in all its

horror," he wrote. "Many peaceful citizens were seized and taken before Florus, who had them scourged and then crucified."

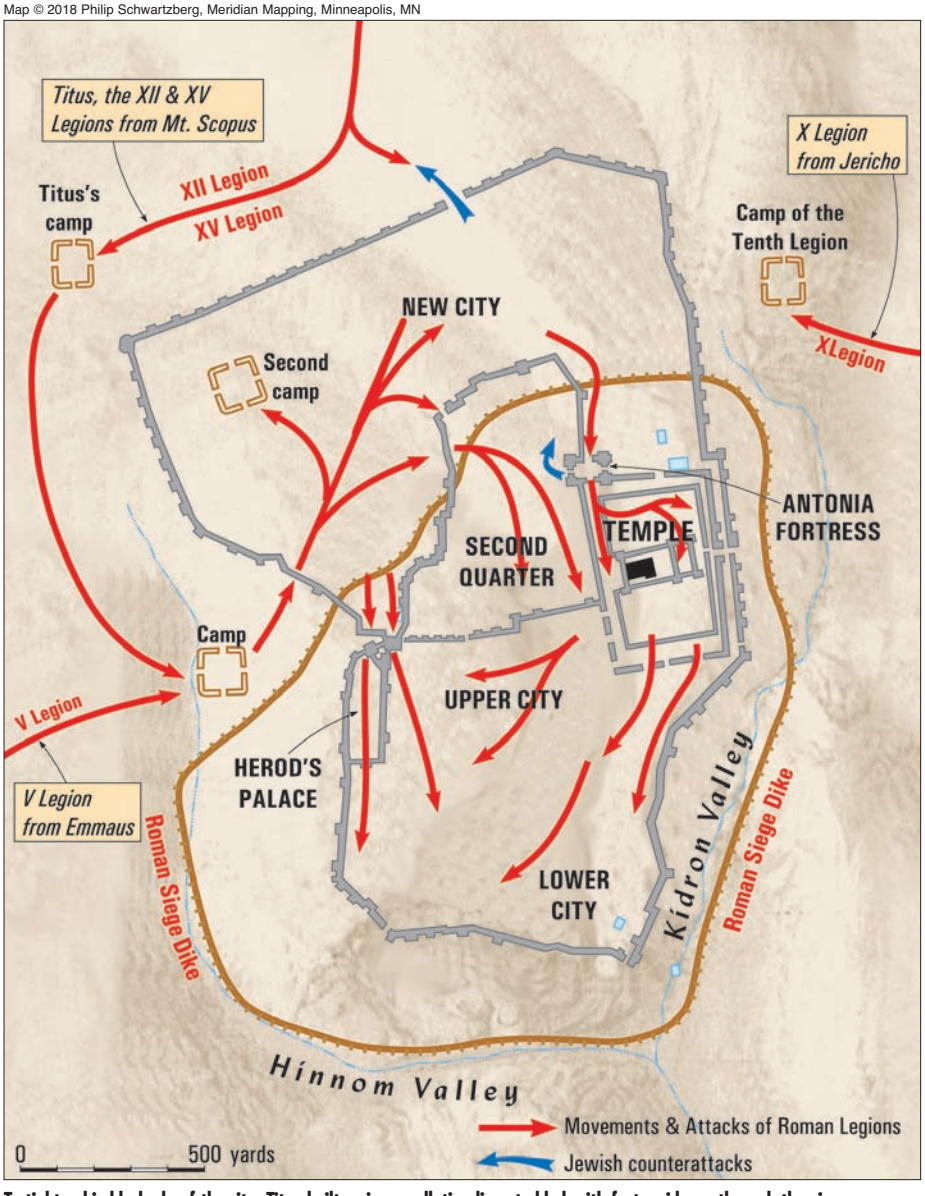
Almost immediately, Jewish radicals calling for revolution took control of the Temple. They suspended the daily sacrifice for the well-being of the Roman emperor and the people of Rome. Refusal to carry out the daily sacrifice was an overt act of rebellion as far as the Romans were concerned. The radicals also ordered the burning of many of the homes of the rich, including that of puppet king Herod Agrippa II. The radicals also destroyed the public archives, which brought many of the rural poor over to the revolutionary side. The conservative faction, meanwhile, fled to Agrippa's palace, along with the 500 auxiliaries Florus had left in the city before leaving himself.

When the Roman auxiliaries decided to sue for peace, the rebels assured them of their safety. Once they were marched out and relieved of their weapons, the rebels "fell upon them, surrounded and massacred them; the Romans neither resisting nor suing for mercy, but merely appealing with loud cries to 'the agreements' and 'the oaths,'" wrote Josephus. To the people of Jerusalem, war with Rome seemed inevitable at that point, as did a sense of their own collective guilt and ritual pollution. The city gave itself up to public mourning for what the future would bring, while those in the conservative faction quaked with fear as they contemplated the suffering that would be inflicted on them for the rebels' crimes.

Despite the fracture among the Jewish authorities and the terrible violence the rebels had already given to the Romans in reprisal, a wider war could have been avoided. Cestius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria, was called in to quell the disturbances. He initially tried to resolve the matter with diplomacy by sending his tribune Neapolitanus to Jerusalem. Neapolitanus and Agrippa tried to quiet the unrest but were unsuccessful.

Gallus marched from Antioch to Palestine with a large army, the core of which was the XII Legion. On his way to Jerusalem he left a path of destruction along the seacoast in his wake, burning villages and slaughtering their inhabitants. Before he reached Jerusalem, Agrippa delivered to the rebels a peace treaty on behalf of Gallus. It included a general pardon for the rebels, on the condition that they disarm. Perhaps with their own butchery of the unarmed Roman auxiliaries in mind, the offer was refused and one of the emissaries was killed for even bringing it.

In response, Gallus continued to Jerusalem. He fought his way into the city through the



To tighten his blockade of the city, Titus built a circumvallation line studded with forts midway through the siege. Afterward, the Romans spent weeks assaulting the Great Temple.

northeast suburbs where he encamped for five days before the second wall near Herod's Palace. The approach of winter with its heavy rains, as well as raids on his supply line, compelled Gallus to withdraw through Palestine. "Had he, at that moment, decided to force his way through the walls he would have captured the city forthwith, and the war would have been over," wrote Josephus.

The Jews harassed his retreat, forcing him to discard valuable war materials to speed his withdrawal. His best troops, whom he had left as a rear guard, were cut down at Beth Horon Pass. Gallus lost 5,000 men, 500 cavalry, and his siege and baggage trains during his withdrawal. The Jews also captured a legionary standard. The Jews' success gained siege artillery they lacked and also boosted their confidence. The heavy losses inflicted on Gallus's army guaranteed that the Romans would respond with even greater force.

The Romans did not launch another major offensive against Jerusalem for four years. Meanwhile, the city seethed with turmoil. The Romans were willing to watch the factions under various warlords fight among themselves.

Rome gave the job of suppressing the Jewish revolt to 58-year-old Vespasian. His family belonged to the equites, the second of the property-based classes of Rome ranking beneath the senatorial class. His uncle had served as a senator, and then as praetor, but that was as distinguished as his pedigree got. Although not in favor at court at the time of his appointment, Vespasian

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Roman legions press their siege of the great city of Jerusalem in a work by Scottish painter David Roberts. As the siege progressed, Titus relocated the legion camps closer to the front lines and in the new town itself.

seemed right for the job because his relatively obscure origins ensured that if he were entrusted with a sizable command he would not have grandiose plans to use the army to press his own gains. Vespasian had a long record of military service.

While serving as legate of Legio II Augusta during the final conquest of Britain in AD 43 he compiled a distinguished combat record that earned him triumphal regalia. He went on to serve in Africa and held the consulship in AD 51 during the reign of Emperor Claudius. As a member of Nero's retinue traveling in Greece in AD 66, he was nearly executed for falling asleep in AD 66 during one of the emperor's interminable musical performances. Quite literally fearing for his life, Vespasian had gone into hiding rather than face Nero's fickle and whimsical reprisals. To quash the rebellion in Judea, he was given the title of propraetorian legate with command over four legions.

Vespasian opened his campaign in April AD 67 with a campaign in Galilee. The commander of the Jewish defenses in Galilee was none other than Josephus. After a successful 47-day siege of Josephus's army at Jotapata, Vespasian took Josephus prisoner. In his work, *Jewish War,* which Josephus wrote in the decade following the conflict, he provides a detailed account of the struggle. Josephus was an ideal chronicler given that his family had been active in political life before First Jewish-Roman War, also known as the Great Revolt. After his capture, Josephus recorded events from both sides given that he witnessed the rest of the campaign from the Roman camp.

An aristocrat, priest, and Pharisee by education, Josephus claims to have considered suicide over capture, but a dream from God convinced him that he should remain alive and that the fall of Jerusalem was inevitable. He also prophesied that Vespasian would one day become emperor, a claim that at the time must have seemed far fetched. This was a year before the turbulent period known as the Year of the Four Emperors in which Rome would go through a string of emperors following the death of Nero on June 9, AD 68, before stability was restored.

Eccentric, narcissistic, and perhaps even psychopathic, the end had finally come for Nero. He had already forced numerous aristocrats and scholars, among them Seneca, to commit suicide for their roles in real or imagined conspiracies against him. While only 30 years old in AD 68, he had spent nearly half his life as emperor, using his position and authority mostly to fulfill the usual tabloid desires and pursue a career on the stage. In the spring of AD 68, Gaius Julius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, declared himself emperor. While this revolt was being put down, Sulpicius Galba, the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis on the Iberian Peninsula, also revolted. He decided to march immediately on Rome while Nero was still alive. Galba was assassinated, and Otho (Marcus Otho Caesar Augustus) committed suicide following his defeat at the First Battle of Bedriacum on April 14, AD 69, against the forces of Aulus Vitellius, commander of the army of Germania Inferior. Two days later Vitellius became emperor.

Meanwhile, Vespasian had stamped out rebel activity in Judea except for Jerusalem, secured his supply lines, and begun to his advance on Jerusalem. Nothing short of a miracle could save Jerusalem. The miracle came in the form of chaos in Rome. Abandoning Jerusalem, Vespasian travelled to Alexandria, Egypt, where he declared himself emperor. Egypt's prefect and legions approved, and so did his troops.

Vespasian's legions in Syria marched west through the Balkans and defeated Vitellius's legions at the Second Battle of Bedriacum on October 24. Afterward, the legions of Britain and Spain declared their allegiance to Vespasian. Upon arriving in Rome, Vespasian's men hunted down and executed Vitellius in the forum. They then threw his body in the Tiber River. At that point, Vespasian sailed from Alexandria for Rome.

With little in his background to justify his

position as emperor and having no direct hand in vanquishing Vittelius, Vespasian desperately needed a victory against the Zealots of Jerusalem. Vespasian entrusted command of the campaign to his son Titus, who marched against the city in April AD 70. With political and logistical stability in place, Titus wasted no time moving on Jerusalem. With previously only a small force to hold Judea, Titus was given four legions totaling 60,000 troops. His army consisted of the Legio V Macedonia, Legio X Fretensis, Legio XII Fulminata, and Legio XV Apollinaris. The army was supported by a force of 16,000 noncombatants responsible for supply and logistics.

The Jews had nothing comparable to Titus's professional army. By the time the siege began, several rebel leaders had come to the forefront. These were John of Gischala, Simon Bar Giora, and Eleazar ben Simon.

John was "the most cunning and unscrupulous of all men who have ever gained notoriety by evil means," according to Josephus. Reality seems much more prosaic. He was at first against the rebels, but he quickly changed sides when the Romans allowed the Greeks from nearby Tyre to sack Gischala. He then briefly fought with Josephus, eventually winding up in Jerusalem as another fighter for another faction.

Simon had been a part of the rebellion from the beginning, having led the Jewish forces that ambushed the Romans at Beth Horon Pass. In the intervening years, he briefly fell out of favor in the city and retreated with his men to the mountain fortress at Masada. He was called back later to restore order and he didn't relinquish power again until the Romans captured him.

As for Eleazar, he was a renowned Jewish chieftan who had fought with distinction against the Roman garrisons in Judea.

Waiting for the Romans in Jerusalem were 23,400 troops: 15,000 under Simon, 6,000 under John, and 2,400 under Eleazar. The Jews possessed "fortitude of soul that could surmount faction, famine, war and such a host of calamities," wrote Josephus.

Jerusalem was divided into three parts: the 100-acre upper and lower cities in the south, the 150-acre new city in the north, and the 50-acre Temple Mount in the east. The Temple Mount, which crowned Jerusalem, was positioned like a lock connecting the northern and southern sections of the city. Attached to the northwest corner of the Temple Mount was the formidable Antonia Fortress. Within the city were two inner walls. The first wall divided the northern and southern sections of the city while the second wall afforded an additional layer of defense in the new city.

The vanguard of Titus's army cut off communications between Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside upon its arrival in April. Titus cleverly added to the confusion within Jerusalem by allowing pilgrims to enter to celebrate Passover. He had no intention of allowing them to depart, though. He knew that the presence of large numbers of noncombatants would strain the city's food resources. As expected, famine quickly set in.

Titus ordered Legions V, XII, and XV to bivouac on Mount Scopus to the northeast and Legion X to encamp on the Mount of Olives to the east. The Jews conducted repeated sorties against the camps that forced Titus to tighten his siege. As the siege progressed, the camps would move closer to the front lines, eventually occupying part of the western portion of the new city.

Titus reconnoitered the city and decided to begin his assault on the level ground outside the new town. The Romans punched through the outer wall and the inner wall in just 24 days of fighting. They used bronze-headed battering rams to crack the walls. Roman catapults hurled stones into the center of the city to destroy defenses and inflict casualties.

But Titus's initial success, and the casualties he inflicted on the defenders, did not stop the Jews from fighting among themselves. John launched a surprise attack against Eleazar's troops holding the Temple in which his troops slaughtered Eleazar's men. When the fighting resumed between

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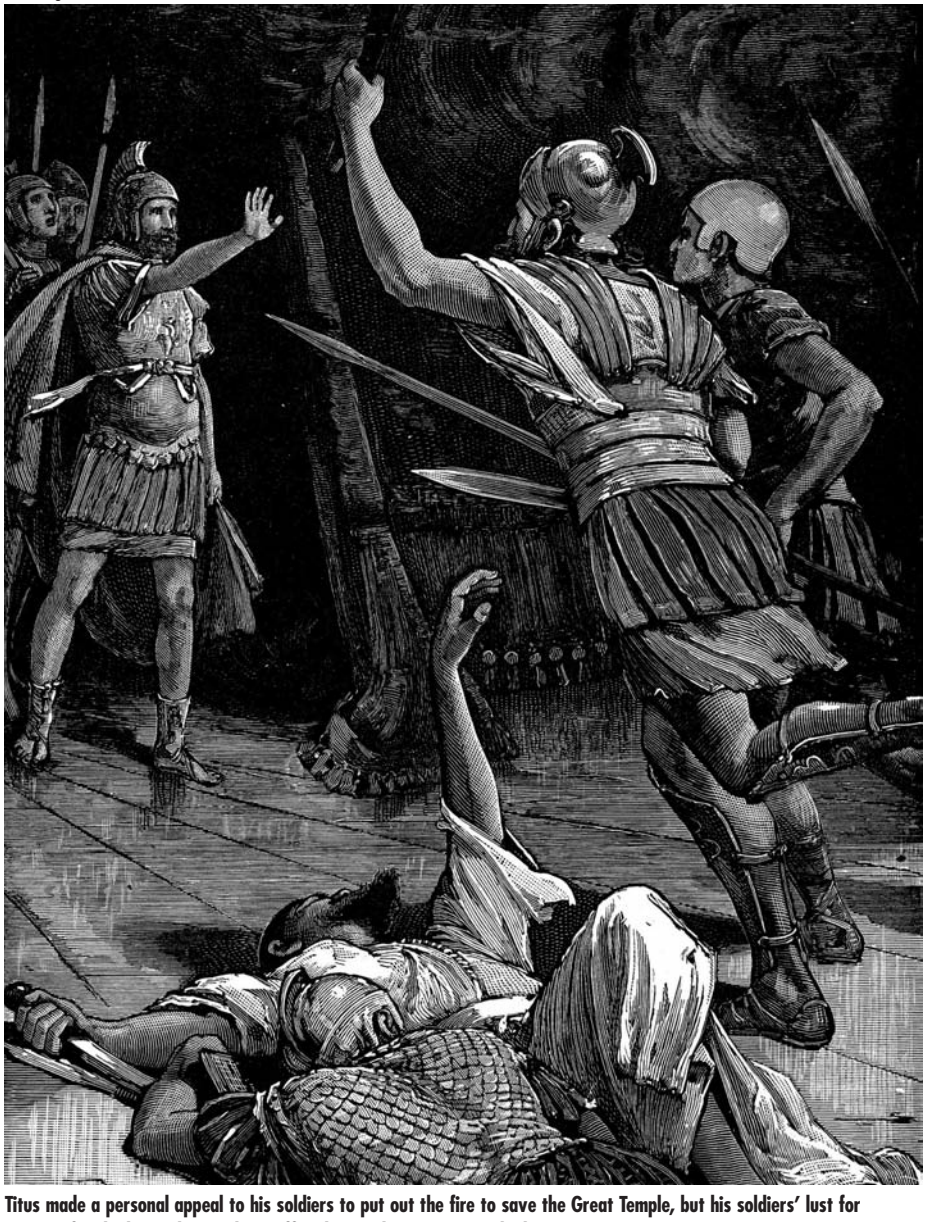

Titus made a personal appeal to his soldiers to put out the fire to save the Great Temple, but his soldiers' lust for revenge for the heavy losses they suffered proved too strong in the long run.

the Romans and the Jews, John's troops were in possession of the Temple Mount and the Antonia Fortress, while Simon's were deployed along the first wall in defense of the upper and lower city as well as Herod's Palace.

Titus subsequently separated his forces in order to attack each of these groups, but the focus of the siege and of the fighting soon moved to the Temple Mount. The Romans began to build ramps against the Antonia Fortress, and their construction went on day and night, with the Roman forces being attacked by hundreds of bolt shooters and stone throwers the Jews had captured from the Roman army.

While some Jews harried the Romans from above, others were tunneling beneath their position and filling the space with bitumen and pitch. Suddenly, the ground beneath the Romans collapsed, and the siege ramps and towers fell into the burning pits. It was a major setback for the Romans.

The heavy casualties the Romans had suffered in the house-to-house fighting and in the destruction of their ramps and towers compelled Titus to rethink his strategy. Titus had lost a large number of men in the fighting to that point, and he feared even greater losses trying to take the inner bastions of the city.

The Roman commander decided it would be advantageous to tighten his blockade on the city. Titus therefore ordered his troops to construct an encircling line around the city to ensure that

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The chaos, disorder, and looting that occurred during the Roman sack of the Great Temple is depicted in a romantic painting by Italian artist Francesco Hayez. The Romans forbade the Jews to rebuild the temple.

the Jews could not smuggle in supplies. The circumvallation line was 4½ miles long and was strengthened at intervals with 13 forts. In addition, he issued orders that anyone found outside of the city was to be crucified.

"Pitiful was the fare and lamentable the spectacle, the stronger taking more than their share, the weak whimpering," wrote Josephus. "Wives would snatch the food from their husbands, children from fathers, and—most pitiable of all—mothers from the very mouths of their infants." Deserters who were allowed out of the city told of corpses everywhere stacked up and left unburied. So crazed with hunger were the defenders that they resorted to eating leather belts and harnesses. Josephus himself appealed to the combatants to give up, at least for the sake of the starving, but he was ignored.

Yet somehow the defenders found the strength to fight on. They repaired breeches in the walls made by the battering rams and repulsed fresh assaults by the Romans. The Romans explored every possible avenue of attack. In late July, the Romans conducted a night sortie that overwhelmed Jewish sentries who had fallen asleep at their posts guarding the Antonia Fortress. Next, Titus focused his efforts on capturing the Temple Mount where the Jewish forces had concentrated in expectation of a final battle.

Although the northern end of the Temple Mount's colonnade had been almost completely destroyed by that point, its western end was still intact. On July 27 the Romans were at work on a series of platforms that would link it with the remains of the northern end. Suddenly, the Jewish rebels atop the western end dispersed, leaving it undefended. Some of the Romans probably guessed it was a trap, but the chance to gain control of the elevated colonnade roof was simply too good to pass up. They should have trusted their instincts for the Jews had packed the cedar rafters beneath the colonnade with bitumen, pitch, and dried wood. When the Romans climbed their ladders and reached the roof, the rafters below them burst into flames.

The 50-foot-high colonnade collapsed, sending hundreds of Romans down into the city. Those who had advanced beyond the collapsed area had nowhere to go when the flames consumed their ladders. "Encircled by the blaze some flung themselves down into the city behind them, some into the thick of the foe; many in the hope of escaping with their lives jumped down among their own men and broke their legs; most for all their haste were too slow for the fire; a few cheated the flames with their own daggers," wrote Josephus. The remaining individuals, many of whom were severely wounded, eventually succumbed to their wounds.

For all of their elation, the Jews merely had delayed the inevitable. Sensing that victory was near, Titus pressed the siege of the Temple Mount. Each day he sent legionnaires forward to ram and batter the walls. But the walls were too well made and the individual blocks too thick, so that even prying a handful of them free did nothing to the walls' overall integrity. Frustrated, Titus ordered that the Temple Mount be stormed, but this only led to more lives lost and more standards captured by the enemy.

The Jewish destruction of the western colonnade, while briefly affording the defenders an advantage, had nevertheless made their position vulnerable. When the Romans decided to destroy the northern colonnade, the Jewish forces secured themselves within the walls of the Temple complex.

The Temple Mount and inner courtyard were surrounded by thick walls and a handful of strong towers. The Temple alone soared 150 feet into the air. The entire complex, known as the Platform Mount, was itself built atop a dais. The series of walls, boundaries, balustrades, gates, and impediments were meant to halt one's progress toward the earthly home of the Jewish God behind golden gates. It was within sight of these gates that the remnants of the

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A relief on the Arch of Titus in Rome shows victorious soldiers carrying the vanquished Jews' seven-branched Menorah and trumpets high above their heads.

starving Jewish forces made their last stand.

The Jews sallied forth on August 9 and attacked the Romans holding the outer court. After three hours of see-saw fighting, in which the Jews bore the brunt of a Roman cavalry charge, the Jews retreated to the inner court once again.

The following day the Jews attacked the Romans in the outer court again but found themselves trapped against the northern wall of the Platform Mount. Someone hurled a flaming torch over the wall and into the Sanctuary surrounding the Temple. No one knows who did it or why.

If the cessation of the sacrifice had demoralized the Jews, the entire reason for that sacrifice, and for the revolt, was being destroyed. The Jews' defensive line and their very religion, the source of their strength both physical and spiritual, were collapsing at the same moment. Chaos, disorder, and looting ensued. The Romans gave no quarter.

"There was no pity for age, no regard for rank; little children and old men, laymen and priests alike were butchered," wrote Josephus. He added, "The cries from the hill were answered from the crowded streets; and now many who were wasted with hunger and beyond speech found strength to moan and wail when they saw the sanctuary in flames."

Whatever sympathy Titus may have once had for the Jews, whatever respect or awe he may have once given the Temple, and whatever worries he may have once given to the notion of Rome acting too harshly toward the rebellion disappeared altogether. He ordered a victorious sacrifice near the eastern gate of the Temple. One of the animals burned there, which was the most insulting and blasphemous of all, was a pig.

The insurgents who remained held out for many months. Herod's Palace was laid to siege and finally destroyed, and by the next summer, even as Titus and Vespasian were celebrating a triumph in Rome, their forces were still clearing Judea of fighters. Captured Jewish men were sent to either live out their lives in forced labor in Egypt or to be torn apart by animals in gladiatorial games, while their women and children were dispersed and sold as slaves. The whims of the new regime also meant that the rebel leaders met with different fates. John was sentenced to life imprisonment, while Simon was systematically tortured and scourged before being strangled. In Judea in AD 73 and 74, the Romans conquered the hilltop fortress of Masada, bringing the First Jewish War to a bloody conclusion.

Titus took home to Rome as trophies of his victory the golden table of shewbread, the seven-branched candlestick, and a roll of the Law. Shortly after Titus's death in AD 81, his brother Domitian had the Arch of Titus erected on the Via Sacre in Rome. In one of the reliefs depicting the destruction of Jerusalem, Roman soldiers are seen carrying off the seven-branched menorah and trumpets, holding them high over their heads.

The Romans forbade the Jews from rebuilding the Temple, established a permanent garrison, and abolished the Sanhedrin, replacing it with a Roman procurator's court.

Josephus, who had correctly predicted the rise of Vespasian, was at Titus's side during the fall of the city. After the war he became a Roman citizen and was given a pension and an imperial residence in Rome. He spent the rest of his life writing not only a history of the war, but of his people, narrating for Greek and Roman readers the story of the Jews from the creation of the world to the revolt.

To the end, Josephus defended Jewish culture and norms against the supposed superiority of Greek knowledge and philosophy. As Temple Judaism disappeared and Christianity spread over the known world, Rabbinic Judaism rose from the horror and bloodshed of the revolt and from the ashes of the Temple. In the end, Jerusalem survived Rome. □

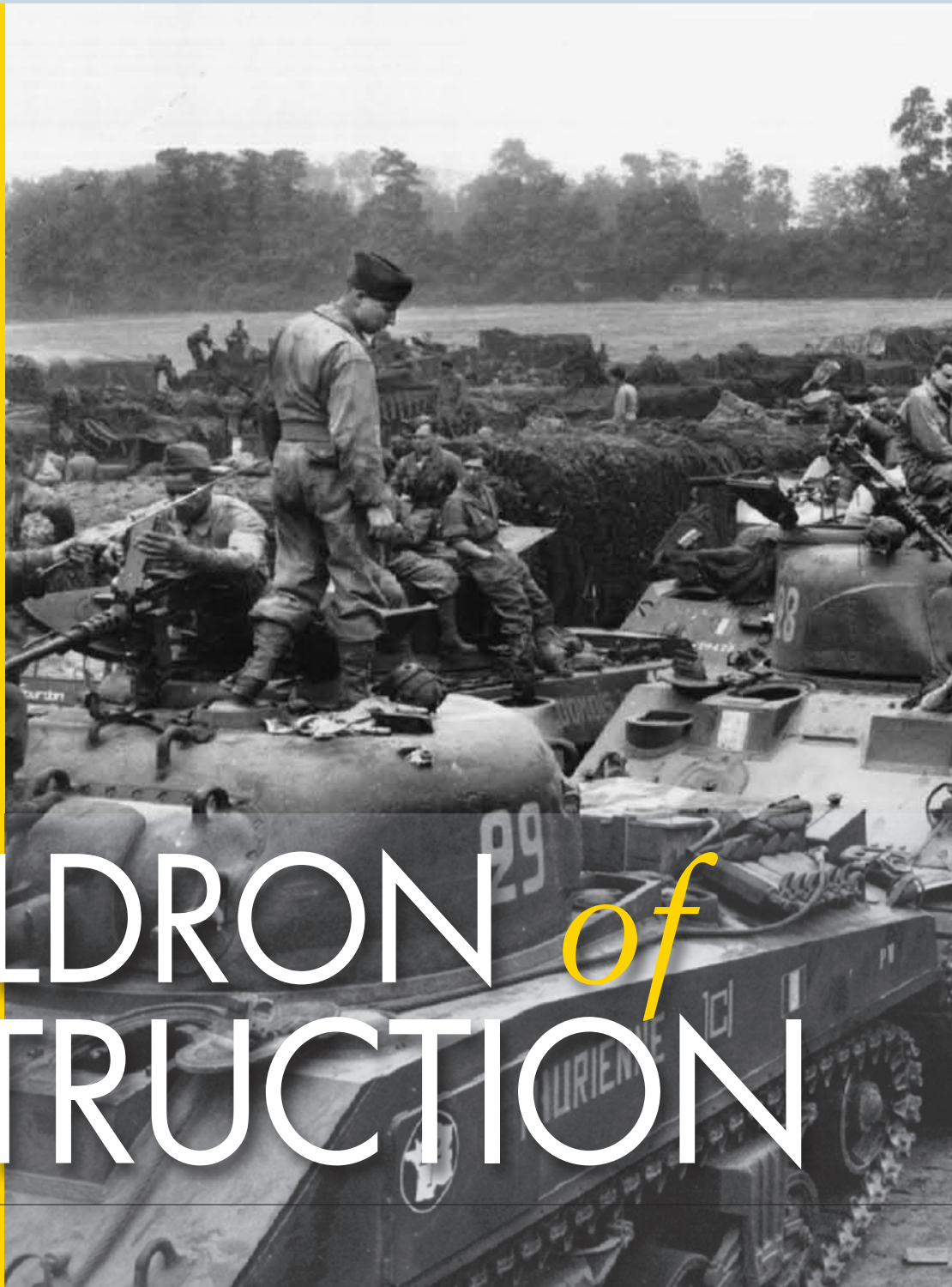
U.S. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY HENRY MORGENTHAU, WHO WAS ATTIRED IN civilian clothing in keeping with his role as an observer for U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, met with U.S. 12th Army Group commander General Omar Bradley at his headquarters in Normandy on August 8, 1944. Standing in front of a situation map, Bradley briefed Morgenthau on Allied plans to surround the German forces of Field Marshal Gunther von Kluge's Army Group B in a large pocket south of the town of Falaise. Bradley had every confidence that the Allied forces could surround and crush Kluge's forces in what would amount to one of the greatest decisive victories of World War II.

"This is an opportunity that comes to a commander not more than once in a century," said Bradley. "We're about to destroy an entire hostile army." It was the second day of Operation Luttich, a German counteroffensive underway near the village of Mortain designed to isolate Lt. Gen. George Patton's Third Army from the bulk of the Allied forces in Normandy.

Morgenthau thought Bradley's optimism was premature given the resilience of the German Army, but Bradley elaborated in an effort to convince him. If the Germans continued to throw their weight into their attack at Mortain, it would give the Allies sufficient time to seal off the eastern end of the pocket between Falaise and Argentan, said Bradley. As a result of their nearsightedness, the Germans were risking the cream of their forces west of the Seine River. The loss of so many powerful infantry and armored divisions would cripple the Germany Army in France. At that point, the Germans "would have nothing left with which to oppose us," said Bradley. "We will go all the way from

THE ALLIES FOUGHT FEVERISHLY IN AUGUST 1944 TO CLOSE THE EASTERN END OF THE FALAISE POCKET IN ORDER TO ENSNARE THE RETREATING GERMANS.

BY WILLIAM F. FLOYD, JR.



CAULDRON *of* DESTRUCTION

here to the German border."

The Allies had been bogged down in Normandy since the D-Day landings of June 6. By late July the Allies had 34 divisions on the ground in Normandy, and the Germans had 28 divisions arrayed against them. Since the Allies bore the burden of attacking, their superiority on the ground was only marginal.

Allied forces pushing out from Normandy were organized into two army groups. Bradley commanded the 12th Army Group, which constituted the Allied right wing, and British General Bernard Montgomery led the 21st Army Group, which made up the Allied left wing.

Montgomery served as commander of Allied land forces for Operation Overlord, which lasted from the June 6 landings in Normandy until August 30. General Dwight Eisenhower did not assume the role of supreme Allied commander until September 1. Up to that point, Montgomery was responsible for formulating Allied strategy against the Germans in northern France. Despite this, Eisenhower played an active role advising Bradley throughout August.

After being delayed a number of times by bad weather, Operation Cobra, intended to break the German front at Saint Lo, began July 25. It started with a massive bomber attack that devastated Lt. Gen. Fritz Bayerlein's Panzer Lehr Division. American infantry and armor swept through Avranches and Coutances. The light resistance they encountered was an initial indication that the German Army in Normandy was weakening. In the first several days of the offensive, the Americans drove the Germans back 12 miles.

Avranches fell on July 30, opening the way west into Brittany, south to the Loire, and east to

National Archives

Major General Jacques Leclerc's 2nd French Armored Division prepares to go into action against the Germans in the Falaise Pocket. Determined to liberate Paris, Leclerc was reluctant to get bogged down at Falaise.

National Archives

ABOVE: The crew of an American 57mm antitank gun engages the enemy during the Battle of Mortain. Both sides sought to retain Hill 314 east of Mortain because of its value to artillery spotters. BELOW: A German Panther tank fires as it moves into a Normandy village during the German counterattack.

Ullstein Bild

the Seine and the so-called Paris-Orleans gap. Patton sent Maj. Gen. Wade Haislip's XV Corps to capture Mayenne and Le Mans. The corps covered approximately 75 miles in one week. Patton would rely heavily on the aircraft of Maj. Gen. Elwood Richard Quesada's 9th Fighter Command to guard the flanks of his fast-moving force from encirclement by superior German panzers. Even if American fighter bombers could not always stop the panzers, they could systematically knock out supply trucks, interrupt logistics, and slaughter German troops.

Although senior German officers recognized that strategic retreat was a real possibility, most believed that their lines would hold. From 1,000 miles away in his East Prussian headquarters, Hitler formulated plans for Operation Luttich. The German leader's communications with Kluge regarding a possible counteroffensive were intercepted by the British signals intelligence operation known as Ultra.

The intercepts did not give precise information about the time and place of the counterattack, but they revealed that one was under discussion. The British cryptanalysts had intercepted discussions of previous counteroffensives that were ultimately cancelled, so it was hard to tell if this one would go forward. The decoded messages chronicled von Kluge's vehement objections to the counteroffensive on the grounds that he could not pull out of line enough armored divisions to ensure the success of such an operation. Von Kluge added that such an attack would make the elite German forces involved in it vulnerable to envelopment.

Hitler was adamant that the counteroffensive go forward and brushed aside von Kluge's objections. "We must strike like lightning," Hitler said. "When we reach the sea the American spearheads will be cut off. Obviously, they are trying for an all-out decision here, otherwise, they would not have sent their best general, Patton. The more troops they squeeze through the gap, and the better they are, the better for us when we reach the sea and cut them off."

In preparation for Operation Luttich, the German forces underwent reorganization as six replacement divisions arrived from southern France and from the Pas de Calais region. Panzer Group West was renamed the Fifth Panzer Army under the command of General of Panzer Troops Heinrich Eberbach. After the replacements were distributed, Col. Gen. Paul Hausser's Seventh Army had 16 divisions, and Eberbach's Fifth Panzer Army had 12 divisions. Hausser held the German left flank and Eberbach held the right flank. Should the Americans succeed in encircling the Germans, Hausser's troops would have farther to march than Eberbach's men.

The Germans fought tenaciously to preserve a salient north of Mortain in early August. The increased activity in that sector aroused Bradley's suspicions that the town would be the jump-off point for a possible German counterattack. The cryptanalysts decoded the first message specifically pertaining to a strike against Mortain at 7:48 PM on August 6, the night of the attack. That message and two more received that evening were passed along to Bradley and the other senior Allied commanders in Normandy.

"Ultra was of little or no value," wrote Bradley. "It alerted us to the attack only a few hours before it came and that was too late to make any major defensive preparations."

As it turned out, the full force of the attack fell on Maj. Gen. Leland Hobbs's 30th Division of Maj. Gen. J. Lawton Collins VII Corps of the U.S. First Army. The VII Corps comprised four infantry divisions (1st, 4th, 9th, and 30th) and two armored divisions (2nd and 3rd).

Hobbs's men were exhausted from their recent participation in Operation Cobra and had been hoping to be pulled out of the front line themselves for rest and relaxation. Instead, they were transported by truck to their new position and dropped off without maps of the local area. They deployed into the area with slit trenches and foxholes previously occupied by the Big Red One. Moving onto Hill 314 were three rifle companies of the 2nd Battalion, 120th Infantry Regiment. To the 30th Division's north were other divisions of the VII Corps, notably the 3rd Armored Division, but to the south there were no Americans nearby.

Patton, who previously dismissed Bradley's concern over a German counterattack, realized by the night of August 6 that something was afoot. Although he felt the Germans were bluff-

ing, he nevertheless issued orders to three divisions in the vicinity of St. Hilaire, situated 10 miles southwest of Mortain, to halt their advance until further notice in case they had to turn north to assist the First Army.

Hausser had two Wehrmacht (2nd Panzer and 116th Panzer) and two SS armored divisions (1st and 2nd SS Panzer) at his disposal. The divisions had among them a total of 250 tanks. Luftwaffe officials had promised to send as many as 300 aircraft to support the attack. Mortain, a town of 1,600 residents nestled in a valley, was about 20 miles from Avranches. The key to success for the Germans would be to quickly eliminate any American roadblocks and secure the crossroads needed to keep the tanks and half-tracks moving. What is more, the Germans would need to control the high ground surrounding Mortain. In particular, they needed to capture a rocky prominence known as Hill 314, situated just east of Mortain. Because the hill afforded sweeping views of the surrounding countryside, it was of great value to artillery spotters.

The stakes of the Mortain counteroffensive were high, for if von Kluge succeeded in reaching Avranches he would isolate as many as 12 American divisions. Lt. Gen. Gerhard Graf von Schwerin, the commander of the 116th Panzer Division, objected to the counteroffensive, and his division did not join the attack until well into the afternoon of August 7.

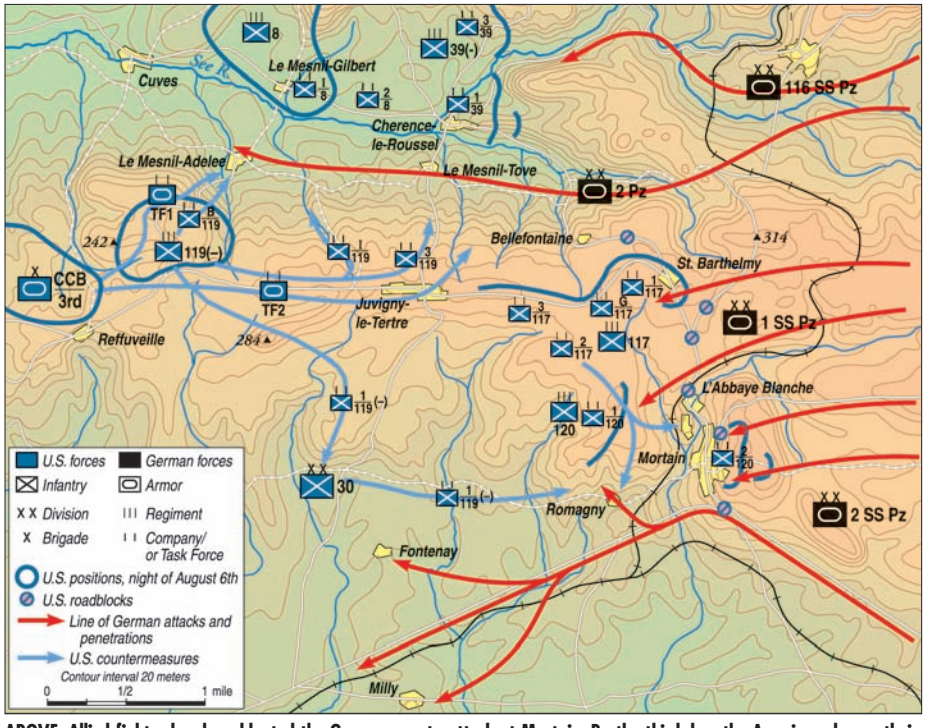
Shortly after 1 AM on August 7, American pickets began hearing small arms fire followed by the unmistakable sound of rumbling tanks. Oberführer Otto Baum's 2nd SS Panzer Division Das Reich, outfitted with formidable Panther tanks and Wespe self-propelled howitzers, spearheaded the German attack against Mortain. Das Reich advanced in three columns against the 2nd Battalion, 120th Infantry Regiment holding Mortain.

Hausser hurled half his tanks against the Americans on the first day of the counteroffensive. Altogether 26,000 Germans participated in the Avranches counteroffensive. German panzers came clanking out of the darkness at 12:38 AM on August 7 against the troops of the Old Hickory Division. The Germans had begun shelling the American positions earlier that evening, and many of the buildings in Mortain were ablaze at the time of the attack. In addition to long-range guns, the Germans also employed the brutally efficient 88mm guns in direct fire support.

Supported by the 17th SS Panzergrenadier Division, the black-uniformed SS troops of Das Reich overran Mortain in the first hours of the attack. The Americans employed bazookas to augment the machine guns and antitank guns in place to defend their roadblocks. The Germans repeatedly probed Hill 314 the first night, but the 700 Americans entrusted with its defense drove them off.

The advantage shifted to the Allies when the sun rose that morning. British Typhoons and American P-47 Thunderbolts took to the skies to knock out as many German tanks as possible. The Typhoons were armed with a combination of 60-pound rockets and four 20mm cannons. The P-47s were armed with 4.5-inch rockets and eight .50-caliber machine guns. The Allied fighter bombers knocked out an estimated three dozen tanks on the first day of the German counterattack. In so doing, they helped alleviate the pressure on the riflemen of the 30th Infantry Division.

Only the return of night stopped the awesome carnage inflicted by the Allied fighter bombers. Although some Luftwaffe bombers managed to strike the American positions on the first night of the attack, Quesada's fighters shot down any Luftwaffe fighter aircraft that attempted to fly



ABOVE: Allied fighter bombers blunted the German counterattack at Mortain. By the third day, the Americans began their own counterattacks to regain ground lost to the Germans. BELOW: The Americans massed five artillery battalions to support their hard-pressed infantry at Mortain.

National Archives

National Archives

ABOVE: Retreating German vehicles moving in the daytime were easy tagets for Allied fighter bombers. BELOW: Canadian troops fought tenaciously in an effort to close the northern end of the Falaise Gap, but their untried armored divisions stalled in the face of massed German artillery.

Imperial War Museum

into the sector during the daytime. Altogether, the pilots of the 9th Fighter Command flew 429 sorties on August 7.

"We found an entire German armored column that was 15 miles long," said William Dunn, a pilot with the 406th Fighter Group of the XIX Tactical Air Command. "After hitting this column with our full group strength three times during the day ... the road was jammed by burning, exploding, and destroyed tanks, trucks, and armored personnel carriers."

Defending the battlefront between Mortain and St. Barthelemy to the north were the three battalions of the 117th Infantry Regiment. An American platoon defending the crossroads at Abbaye Blanche, the site of a Benedictine convent just north of Mortain that had been converted into a Cistercian monastic church in the 12th century, had four 3-inch antitank guns, a 57mm gun, bazookas, flamethrowers, and machine guns with which to blunt the German attack. The guns were sighted to cover bridges over the Cance River.

The sun was beginning to rise at 5 AM when the lead elements of the Der Führer Regiment of Das Reich began its assault on the defenders of the crossroads. The Americans knocked out the reconnaissance vehicles that approached the roadblock and stitched the fleeing Germans with .30-caliber machine-gun fire. American tank destroyers moved up to reinforce the platoon engaging the enemy's Panther tanks at close range. They succeeded in some cases in knocking out Mark IV and Mark V Panther tanks by firing back at their muzzle flashes. The Americans employed cunning tactics; for example, at one roadblock they let the German armor pass through and then attacked the panzergrenadiers following the tanks.

The 2nd Panzer Division made the greatest penetration at the outset of the German attack. Led by its gifted commander, General of Panzer Troops Heinrich Freiherr von Luttwitz, the division advanced four miles on a narrow front in the St. Barthelemy sector. Luttwitz's panzer troops overran two companies of the 117th Infantry Regiment before its advance was halted by American artillery.

As early as 1 PM on August 7 the German attack began to bog down. Over the next four days, the German panzer troops were reduced to fighting a grinding battle of attrition with Hobbs's infantry regiments.

The doggedness of the American infantrymen at Abbaye Blanche on the first day of the battle forced Baum to redouble his efforts to seize the key position. He surmised that control of the crossroads was necessary to isolate the Americans atop Hill 314. He ordered repeated company-sized attacks against the hill. Despite the valiant effort of the panzergrenadiers, the Germans failed to carry Hill 314. The American stand atop the key ground was made possible by the support of five artillery battalions. The heavy guns shattered repeated attempts by Das Reich and the 17th SS Panzergrenadier Division to capture the strongpoint.

The German counteroffensive ended on the night of August 11-12. The defeated German columns withdrew east and north. In keeping with his characteristic fashion of blaming his generals, Hitler said, "The attack failed because Field Marshal von Kluge wanted it to fail." Hobbs's 30th Division paid a high price to defeat the German counteroffensive. It suffered 1,800 casualties in the slugfest with the four panzer divisions.

While the German counteroffensive was in progress, Montgomery proceeded with his own offensive. On August 8 the Canadian First Army attacked south from Caen. The two-day offensive had as its objective securing Falaise, which lay nine miles to the south.

The Germans were waiting, though. They fielded dozens of 88mm guns in an effort to stop the Canadian tanks. Fighting alongside the Canadians was the newly deployed Polish 1st Armored Division.

On August 8, while the battle for Mortain and Operation Totalize were both raging, Bradley became captivated with the idea of trapping the German forces between Argentan and Falaise in what became known as the short envelopment. Bradley called Montgomery to outline the plan. Eisenhower was highly enthu-

siastic about the revised plan. From a strategic standpoint, he thought it made perfect sense. "We must destroy the enemy rather than win territory," he said, adding that it should be done "now and not tomorrow."

Montgomery tentatively agreed, although he still favored a larger envelopment already planned near the Seine River. Although he was even more skeptical than Montgomery of Bradley's plan, Patton went along with it. He offered to divert Haislip's XV Corps north toward Alençon and Argentan to rendezvous with the First Canadian Army south of Falaise. The stakes were high for the Germans for they stood to lose a significant portion of their 100,000 troops in Normandy.

The Americans began their own counterattacks on August 9 seeking to regain ground lost to the Germans on the first two days of their counteroffensive. To buttress the 30th Infantry Division, Collins ordered elements of the 3rd Armored Division and the 4th Infantry Division to recapture towns, such as Juvigny-le-Terte, behind the main line of resistance that had fallen to the Germans in the past two days. In addition, Maj. Gen. Paul Baade's 35th Infantry Division of the Maj. Gen. Troy Middleton's VIII Corps began fighting its way north toward Mortain.

Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Walton Walker's XX Corps, which was advancing on Patton's right flank, moved into the Loire Valley. The 5th Infantry Division, led by Maj. Gen. Stafford Irwin, pushed south from Vitre toward Angers, which lay 60 miles away at the confluence of the Maine and Loire Rivers. The Red Devils, as Irwin's division was called, advancing on Third Army's extreme right flank, reached Angers on August 10 and began clearing out the Germans defending the town.

Across Haislip's front the Americans encountered only minor resistance. Leading XV Corps' advance were two armored divisions. Maj. Gen. Jacques Philippe Leclerc's 2nd French Armored Division advanced on the left, and Maj. Gen. Lunsford Oliver's 5th Armored Division advanced on the right. They were followed by the 90th and 79th Infantry Divisions, respectively.

Leclerc's troops secured the bridges over the Sarthe River at Alençon on August 12 and continued their advance, leaving the 90th Infantry Division to mop up in Alençon. The day's actual objective had been Argentan, even though it lay 12 miles inside the sector assigned to Montgomery's 21st Army Group. At that point, Haislip ordered Leclerc to angle west. This would open the highway north from Sees for the 5th Armored Division, giving greater weight to the Allied attack. Instead, Leclerc decided to put his forces on all available roads, thus blocking the movement of the 5th Armored's fuel trucks. This move by the French also gave the Germans six hours to rally 60 panzers from the area around Mortain for the retreat east.

The Canadians had become badly bogged down trying to reach Falaise. Patton intended to order Haislip to attack the German blocking force facing the Canadians and push on until he linked up the Canadians near Falaise. The Third Army commander phoned Bradley on August 13. "Shall we continue and drive the British into the sea for another Dunkirk?" Patton asked sarcastically.

Bradley was a serious as Patton was jocular. He ordered Patton not to go beyond Argentan. "Just stop where you are and build up on that shoulder," said Bradley. The British later learned of Patton's quip, and they were justifiably offended.

Bradley's decision was based on questionable intelligence. He believed that as many as 19 German divisions were racing east to escape the Allied trap. If this turned out to be true, Haislip's corps was at risk of destruction if it were to move north with an exposed left flank.

Montgomery also fretted over the vulnerability of Haislip's corps. Bradley did not consult with Montgomery; he alone made the decision to stop Patton. It came as no surprise to Bradley that Patton objected. Haislip could "easily advance to Falaise and completely close the gap," wrote Patton. He said the halt was "a great mistake."

Bradley defended his decision. "Although Patton might have spun a line across the narrow neck, I doubted his ability to hold it," Bradley later wrote. "Nineteen German divisions were now stampeding to escape the trap. Meanwhile, with four divisions [Patton] was already blocking three principal escape routes through Alençon, Sees, and Argentan."

Imperial War Museum

An American bazooka team takes aim at a German half-track during the Battle of the Falaise Pocket. Rather than risk losing all of the German 5th and 7th Armies, Hitler eventually permitted a withdrawal.

Bradley reasoned that if Patton extended the line to include Falaise, it would have extended his roadblock 40 miles. That would have allowed the Germans an opportunity to punch through the perimeter. On those grounds, it was imperative that Haislip stop at Argentan. "I much preferred a solid shoulder at Argentan to the possibility of a broken neck at Falaise," wrote Bradley.

The failure of Operation Totalize to capture Falaise caused more debate than almost any other action during the battle for Normandy. Montgomery had made a major miscalculation when he felt the Canadians would be at Argentan before the American forces could arrive. He also assumed the Germans would move more troops to defend their southern flank against Patton. Moreover, Montgomery also had underestimated the difficulties of sending untried armored divisions against a strong force of 88mm guns.

At that point, Bradley made another key decision. He decided to dispatch more than half of Haislip's force, two divisions and 15 artillery battalions, toward Dreux, which lay 65 miles to the east. "Due to the delay in closing the gap between Argentan and Falaise, it is believed that many of the German divisions which were in the pocket have now escaped," Bradley stated in his August 15 order. "In order to take advantage of the confusion existing, the Third Army will

now initiate a movement toward the east."

As of August 15, the Germans still had not decided whether to evacuate the Falaise Pocket. For several days Hitler had been hoping that his army in Normandy would be able to regroup and attack Haislip's left flank, halting the American advance. The remnants of the German Army were absorbing overwhelming punishment from ground and air in practically all areas of the pocket, making a counterattack completely out of the question. Based on these circumstances, Hitler finally authorized a complete retreat from Normandy that day.

Von Kluge and the other German generals in Normandy already had been shifting their troops eastward in the face of heavy attacks. When Hitler's order arrived at the front on August 16, German troops began an all-out effort to get out of the rapidly closing pocket. This involved crossing both the Orne and Dives Rivers to reach the Seine River. Bradley would concede afterward that if he had not been misled by intelligence he might have sent Walker's XX Corps north to deploy on Haislip's right flank in the direction of Chambois.

The Falaise Pocket by this point extended 20 miles from east to west and was 10 miles wide. Allied intelligence had intercepted von Kluge's withdrawal order, correcting Bradley's decision that the Germans had already fled. This prompted Montgomery to ask the American forces to shift eight

Map © 2018 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

The Germans had to pass through a 10-mile-wide corridor to escape the Falaise Pocket. Those who were unable to escape were either killed or captured.

miles northeast from Argentan toward Chambois and Trun to a location where the Polish and Canadian troops were bound from the northwest in hopes of closing the remaining two roads the Germans were using to exit the pocket.

On August 17 Montgomery told Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, the chief of the British Imperial General Staff, that the gap had been closed. It was a false statement. In addition, he told British Prime Minister Winston Churchill that the Germans trying to exit the pocket would not be able to escape. It was another falsehood.

Moreover, Montgomery also would claim that he had 100,000 Germans nearly surrounded. This was partially true; however, reducing the pocket from the air and ground had begun. As the fighting near Falaise heated up, Allied aircraft flew between 1,500 to 3,000 missions per day.

Trun fell to Canadian forces on August 18, leaving the Germans with an escape corridor that was only 10 miles wide. Von Kluge was startled that night when Field Marshal Walther Model arrived with orders that he was to replace von Kluge as the commander of Army Group B. Until Model arrived, von Kluge had no inkling he was about to be dismissed. Model gave von Kluge a handwritten note from the German leader. The note ended with a threateningly ambiguous comment that the field marshal should contemplate which direction he wished to go. Von Kluge would write a letter to Hitler telling him that the "failure of the armored units in their push to Avranches and the consequent impossibility of closing the gap to the sea had been preordained by the American and British wealth in material." He concluded by urging Hitler to end the war. Von Kluge departed for Germany, but en route committed suicide with a vial of potassium cyanide.

With time running out and the major roads blocked by Allied forces, the remnants of the German Seventh Army hurried east on farm roads or simply headed cross-country using their compasses to guide them. Many of the haggard Germans lacked helmets and shoes. As many as 3,000 Allied guns pummeled the Germans trapped in the pocket. Based on information received from aerial spotters, the gunners used devastating white phosphorus and high-explosive rounds. Those targets that the Allied howitzers missed were soon found by Allied fighter bombers. The relentless Allied air attacks, coupled with the lack of available fuel, compelled German crews to abandon their armored vehicles.

The conditions were horrific, and the scenes that confronted the Allies and Germans alike

Imperial War Museum

The German route of retreat in the Falaise Pocket was strewn with the dead bodies of soldiers and burned-out vehicles. Those who escaped were eager to withdraw to the safety of the West Wall on the German frontier.

were stupefying. "The roads were blocked by shot-up and burned-out vehicles standing side by side," wrote an officer with the 21st Panzer Division. "Ammunition exploded, panzers burned, and horses lay on their backs kicking their legs in their death throes. The same chaos extended in the fields far and wide. Artillery and armor-piercing rounds came from either side into the milling crowd."

During the daytime German soldiers and vehicles hid in the woods and orchards from Allied aircraft, waiting for nightfall to resume their flight. Those on foot stumbled along at night cursing their commanders for a litany of perceived failings. They found themselves mixed up with rear-echelon troops, all trying to escape but without any idea of where they were going. The ground shook as Allied batteries shelled the roads to hamper their escape.

The Germans launched a savage counterattack on August 19 against the Canadian 4th Armored Division at St. Lambert, a village straddling the Dives River between Trun and Shambles. Fire from burning gasoline trucks blackened the sky. At a bridge across the river there were corpses, carcasses, and burned-up equipment. The Germans organized small battle groups to fight their way through an Allied cordon southeast of St. Lambert. The effort succeeded.

Three miles to the northeast, 1,800 men of the Polish 1st Armored Division entrenched on a key position known as Hill 262. The Poles became embroiled in a major firefight on August 20 with elements of Das Reich and Colonel Max Sperling's 9th Panzer Division. Model sent these two divisions west across the Seine River in an effort to reinforce those units still inside the pocket and help extract them from the closing Allied pincers that threatened to trap them. The resilient Poles fought valiantly.

The weather cooperated with the Germans. Low clouds grounded Allied Typhoons and Thunderbolts that day. German Panthers and Polish Shermans exchanged fire at point-blank range as infantry units fought continuously for two days. As the fighting raged, Germans retreating east streamed past Hill 262 (also known as Mont Ormel). By the time the Canadian 4th Armored Division broke through on August 21, 350 Polish soldiers lay dead and more than 1,000 were wounded. The hulks of destroyed tanks littered the landscape.

German troops continued to perish as they sought to cross the Dives. Some grew weary of flight and surrendered. Several hundred Germans in armored scout cars firing 20mm guns attempted to charge through fields around Trun. A Canadian line of Vickers machine guns raked the vehicles, inflicting substantial casualties. As the battle progressed, it was the Canadians and Poles who bore the brunt of the fighting, not the British and Americans. The 1st Polish Armored Division bled heavily in sustained fighting with the Germans for control of Hill 262. At mid-day on August 21, Canadian forces arrived at Mont Ormel to relieve the Poles.

Although the Allies had won a clear victory over Germans at Falaise, the victory was incomplete. The Germans who survived the pocket had little trouble getting over the Seine River farther east where they crossed at as many as 60 locations. The Germans constructed two ferries to get upward of 25,000 vehicles to the east bank of the Seine over a four-day period beginning August 20.

Meanwhile, German foot soldiers nailed together rafts from barrels, pried doors from their hinges and mounted them on empty fuel cans, and tied saplings together with phone wire to float across the Seine. Others employed even more desperate measures, such as clinging to bloated cow carcasses to float across the river.

Nothing the Germans had accomplished rivaled Falaise, said General Fritz Bayerlein, a Panzer division commander in Normandy, summing up Patton's armored thrusts in France. "Not even the battles of annihilation of the 1940 blitzkrieg in France in or in 1941 in Russia can approach the battle

Continued on page 70

"A PICTURE OF

King Frederick II of Prussia was busy writing dispatches, his face a study of grim determination as he scribbled out the words by the light of a guttering candle. At the moment he was in Elsnig, a village in Saxony not far from Torgau on the Elbe River, sheltering in a miniscule church that was more like a chapel in size and function. It was the evening of November 3, 1760, and the last stages of a great battle were being fought even as he worked.

Frederick the Great, as he was better known to history, normally would have been on horseback, directing the action and sharing its dangers with his men, who adored him as the semi-legendary Alte Fritz (Old Fritz). The king was only 48, yet his face was that of a wizened mummy, deeply fissured with masses of wrinkles. Earlier that day he had been hit by a spent piece of canister, the force of the blow so severe he was rendered unconscious for a time. When the king came to his senses, the pain and shock were so great, even though he would not admit it, that he was forced to quit the field and seek shelter to recover.

HELL"

FREDERICK THE GREAT DEVISED A CLEVER PLAN OF ATTACK AGAINST THE AUSTRIANS AT TORGAU IN 1760. BUT THE COST IN PRUSSIAN LIVES WAS FRIGHTFUL.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

Frederick the Great had a habit of pushing his soldiers to the limit of their endurance. When this occurred at Kunersdorf in 1759, it resulted in the worst defeat of his military career.

Alamy

Frederick was sprawled on the church floor, sitting on the steps that led to the altar. A gap between the communion rails that separated the sanctuary from the rest of the church provided a smooth and suitable writing desk. Bunches of straw cushioned the king from the hard wooden steps, and his legs were slightly splayed to keep his balance.

When night fell it looked like the Prussians were headed for a catastrophic defeat, and as he feverishly wrote dispatches, with pauses only to quickly dip his quill pen in a nearby inkwell, the outcome was still unknown. It only added to the anxiety, but Frederick was no stranger to stress in this war, now 4½ years old. It had aged him. The flickering candle produced shadows that could soften, but not conceal, the ravages of time.

In some respects Frederick himself was the author of his own misery. It began in 1740, two decades before, when he had invaded and seized Silesia, then a province of Austria. Prussia had legitimate claims to at least part of Silesia, but those details could be left to pettifogging lawyers.

The province was rich, with more than 15,000 square miles of fertile farmlands and a burgeoning cloth industry to boot.

It made geographic sense to Frederick as well. The Oder River ran down from Prussia to Silesia's capital, Breslau, only 183 miles from Berlin. There was a fairly large population of Protestants, too, who had suffered some discrimination from Austria's Catholic Hapsburg dynasty.

Frederick's invasion of Silesia set off a sporadic series of clashes collectively known as the War of the Austrian Succession. The intermittent fighting over eight years ended in 1748 with Frederick apparently triumphant. Prussia kept all of Silesia, and it quickly became an integral part of the kingdom. There was peace for almost a decade as a result of an extended truce. In reality, Frederick's enemies were only biding their time, using the respite to plan and prepare for a bigger war.

Frederick had sown the wind, and he was about to reap the whirlwind. In some respects, the king had met his match in Maria Theresa, Austria's ruler. She was not reconciled to the loss of Silesia and was more determined than ever to make the Prussian monarch pay for his aggression. By the mid-1750s a formidable coalition had been created that included Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and a large part of Germany, then a patchwork of approximately 300 principalities. Of the major powers only Great Britain stood with Prussia.

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Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Clockwise from top left: Field Marshal Leopold Joseph Count von Daun, Lt. Gen. Franz Moritz Count von Lacy, and Prussian General Hans Joachim von Zieten.

The Third Silesian War began in 1756, and from the start it was clear that Frederick was not just fighting to retain Silesia, but for the survival of the Prussian state. The Prussian pariah would experience both triumph and tragedy over the next four years. His victories at Leuthen and Rossbach early in the war would establish his reputation as one of the greatest military commanders of his era. Yet he made mistakes, too. As the years wore on and attrition took its toll, there were also terrible defeats. The worst of these defeats was in 1759 at Kunersdorf, where his army was not just defeated but routed.

By his own admission, Frederick could only muster 3,000 men from his original 48,000 after that battle. The disaster at Kunersdorf left the king so depressed his wrote a hysterical letter that hinted at suicide. But the Allies could never seem to agree to a plan that would finish Frederick off. Too much time was spent arguing what to do next, and the movements of Allied armies were poorly coordinated. The Russians, for example, were far from home, and the logistics of supplying their troops was a nightmare.

Both Frederick's spirits and Prussian fortunes were revived, and the army staged a remarkable recovery. Recruits came in to replenish the depleted ranks, but quantity could not altogether trump quality. There were still some old 1756 professionals in the ranks, but each year they grew fewer in number. "We are very shattered, and our losses and our victories have carried off the flower of our infantry that formerly rendered it so brilliant," said the king in an unguarded moment.

The king himself was wearing down, beset with illness and exhaustion. He was plagued with fevers and fainting spells. He occasionally even spit blood. The aging accelerated, and he was losing teeth as well. Only the eyes, blue and piercing, displayed Frederick's still unconquered spirit. By that point, he was forced to remain on the defensive, waiting to see what his still numerous enemies would do before he decided on a course of action.

The Allied plan for the 1760 campaign season backfired. In August they tried to trap Frederick but received instead a severe drubbing in the Battle of Liegnitz. Though not as famous as Rossbach and Leuthen, Liegnitz was a notable victory that buoyed Frederick's sagging spirits. His soldiers, the king proudly remarked, fought "like his old infantry."

But the elation was momentary, the respite brief. Lt. Gen. Franz Moritz Count von Lacy's Austrians linked up with Russian troops and captured Berlin in October. Some parts of the city were sacked, though other parts were spared after paying a hefty ransom. When they heard Frederick was marching to rescue his capital, the Austro-Russian forces quickly withdrew with their loot.

Up to that point, the royal Prussian master had kept ahead of his opponents in the game of bloody chess, but it remained to be seen whether he could successfully checkmate them and gain a decisive victory. It was a time for watchful waiting, and before long it seemed as if an opportunity might soon be in the offing. Field Marshal Leopold Josef Count Daun's Austrian army moved out of Silesia and west into Saxony. Seeking a strong defensive position, Daun placed himself in and around Torgau, a strategic Saxon town nestled along the banks of the Elbe River.

Lacy's corps joined him, fresh from their Berlin raid and eager to tell tales of plunder to Daun's envious soldiers. The Russians were out of the picture, apparently having had their fill of both loot and fighting for the moment. The Russian army withdrew to Frankfurt am Oder, where it would play no part in the future drama.

The Reichsarmee of 30,000 men was also supposed to join Daun. These were troops from the various German principalities that lay under the nominal control of the decrepit Holy Roman Empire. Maria Theresa was co-ruler of the Holy Roman Empire with her husband, Francis of Loraine. Luckily for Frederick, the Reichsarmee apparently got cold feet and marched off in a different direction.

When Frederick heard of Daun's move he immediately issued orders for his army to march toward Torgau. Apart from wishing to achieve a decisive victory, the Prussian king simply could not afford, both literally and figuratively, to have the Austrians have a foothold in Saxony. Saxon money helped pay for Prussian campaigns, Saxon food fed its army, and Saxon men often became its soldiers. The fact that the Saxon recruits were forced into Prussian service and taxes were wrung from the Saxon population did not matter. Frederick needed the food, money, and men.

The Prussian army advanced to Schilda,

about seven miles south of Torgau. Ironically, Frederick had a good idea of what the region was like. His brother Prince Henry had held off a large Austrian army there only a year before, and indeed some of Henry's fortifications were still in place. Frederick rode on ahead with a small escort to examine the Torgau environs and perhaps refresh his memory on its topography.

Torgau was geographically important because it was the site of a bridge, the most important crossing in the middle stretch of the great Elbe River. The original bridge had been destroyed, but the Austrians had built three bridges of boats that served just as well in wartime conditions. Natural features made the surrounding terrain ideal for defense. The key to the whole region was the Suptitzer Heights, a high ridge that formed a narrow, finger-like plateau running east-west for about three miles.

The heights averaged approximately 200 feet in elevation but were much steeper along their southern edge. The slopes were sandy, making it hard for an attacking soldier's feet to gain purchase as he ascended; a few scraggy vineyards provided additional troublesome obstructions. The southwestern slopes' natural defenses were augmented by abatis, a type of field fortification consisting of felled trees with branches deliberately sharpened and pointed outward toward any attacking force. Most of these abatis were Prussian, leftovers from Prince Henry's stay.

It seemed as if nature itself had been enlisted to promote defense. There was flatter ground between the eastern end of the heights, but much of that space was occupied by a body of water called the Grosser Teich (Great Pond). A large semicircular belt of pine woods cocooned the whole Torgau region, making movements by artillery not impossible, but certainly problematic.

Frederick the Great observed the southern slopes of the heights from afar, but even from a distance he did not like what he saw. He noted how steep the southern face of the plateau was, but also saw that a meandering brook flowed immediately in front of the heights. This was the Rohrgraben, steep-banked and bordered with marshy ground. The Austrians had plenty of artillery that could rain down death and destruction on any attack that came from a southerly direction.

But a plan was starting to form within the king's nimble mind. He noted that the bulk of Daun's army was stationed on the small plateau that topped the heights. Having the high ground is always advantageous, but the Austrian army was so large it was rather crowded

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Frederick's victories at Leuthen and Rossbach early in the Seven Years War established his reputation as one of the greatest military commanders of his era.

up there, with little room for maneuver.

Frederick envisioned a two-pronged attack. The first phase called for General Hans Joachim von Zieten to make a diversionary assault against the southern end of Suptitzer Heights, fixing Daun's attention in that direction. The second phase involved a wide flanking march by which the bulk of Frederick's army would secretly circle around the Austrians, their approach concealed by the vast Dommitsch pine forest. If this move escaped detection, the envelopment would place Frederick on the north side of the heights at the rear of the Austrian army. Frederick would be the hammer to Zeiten's anvil, with the hapless Austrians essentially surrounded with little room to maneuver.

The plan offered endless possibilities. The Austrian army, caught between two fires and unable to escape, would have to choose between surrender and annihilation. Such a defeat would be a major blow to Maria Theresa, one of the most intractable of Prussia's enemies, and would quite possibly lead to serious peace negotiations.

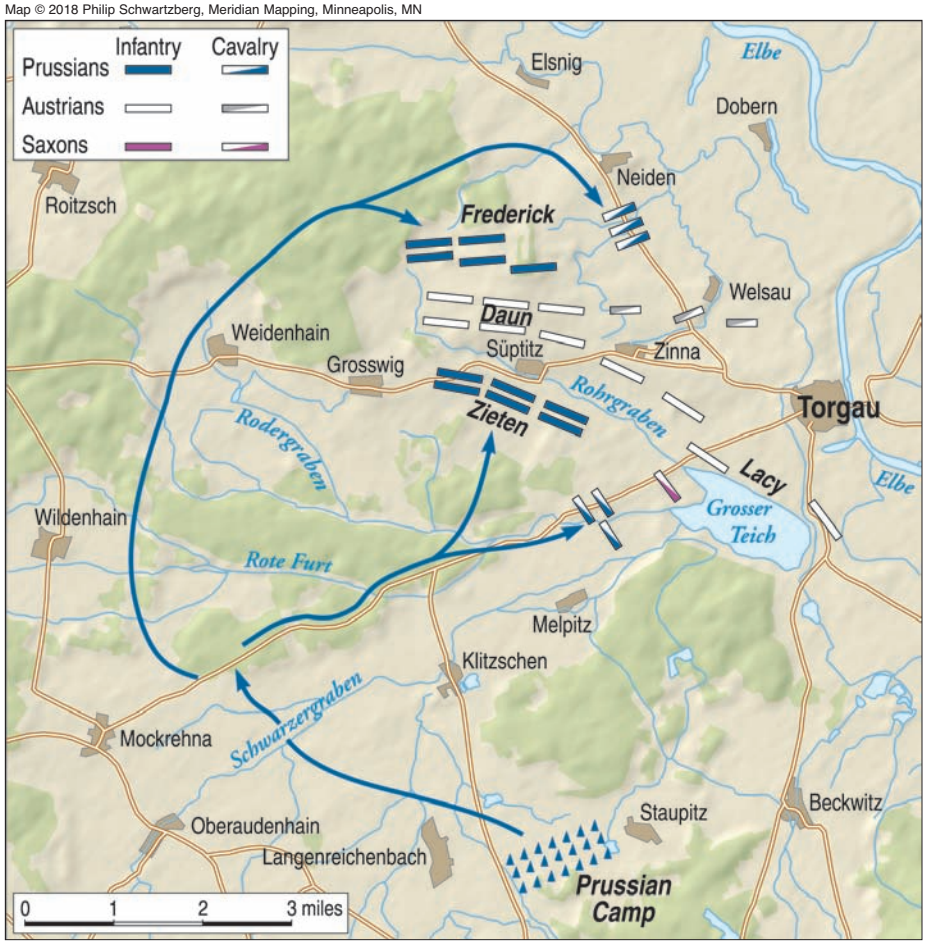
Frederick, a seasoned campaigner, knew the risks well. The plan was good on paper, but required precise timing. If the Prussians could launch simultaneous, or nearly simultaneous, attacks on the Austrian front and rear, Frederick's plan had a good chance of succeeding. Much depended on Frederick's 26,000 men being in position, and they had the longest way to go.

The troops conducting the flank march would have to cover 14 miles and, if all went well, that distance could be covered in about six hours. Zeiten's command of 18,000 had a much shorter distance to go, about seven miles. Above all it was hoped that the Prussians would not encounter Austrian scouts or pickets along the way. Secrecy was paramount, and much also depended on the element of surprise.

Frederick's wing of the Prussian army would be composed of three distinct columns. Frederick would personally lead the first column, 15 battalions of infantry accompanied by 1,000 Zieten Hussars. Lt. Gen. Johann Hulsen would lead the second column, which consisted of 12 battalions of infantry. Crude and perhaps a bit unstable, Hulsen's courage and devotion to duty made him the perfect choice for such an assignment. Lt. Gen. Prince George Ludwig of Holstein-Gottorp would lead the third column, which was made up of 38 squadrons of horse (approximately 6,000 troopers) and two battalions of infantry.

The king's columns set out at 6:30 AM. Long lines of blue-coated infantry stepped off at a brisk pace, scissoring legs moving in a steady cadence. It was cold, and a frigid drizzle alternated with light snow flurries, but the men seemed in good spirits. They wore no greatcoats, so each regi-

Map © 2018 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



ABOVE: Frederick's first attempt to take the high ground at Torgau failed, but the arrival of General von Zieten's troops ultimately enabled the Prussians to capture Suptitzer Heights. OPPOSITE: Frederick hurled his elite grenadiers into the teeth of the Austrian guns atop Suptitzer Heights. The grenadiers had to endure a hurricane of lethal metal from the enemy's massed artillery.

ment could be distinguished by the multihued facings of pink, yellow, or red. The cold was so intense that breath misted in small white clouds before mustached faces, and at times the drizzle turned into full-fledged rain.

As the columns marched along, the pine woods grew thicker, slowing progress to a crawl. Tree limbs crowded together in such a way as to form a woody latticework, forcing the soldiers, especially the grenadiers with their tall miter caps, to stoop or risk a collision. The sandy soil was spongy, but its viscous nature was enhanced by the intermittent rains. Soon cannons and their limbers were sunk nearly up their axles in the sandy muck. Ammunition wagons and other vehicles experienced similar difficulties.

Although beset by many of the same difficulties as the others, the king's columns were still in the lead. Hulsen's column was much farther behind, and Holstein-Gottorp's cavalry also experienced setbacks, largely due to human folly and error. It was said the third column got off to a late start because the prince tarried over breakfast. After it did finally move off, it was literally lost in the woods for a time.

Marshal Daun had the foresight to place pickets in the woods. Among the forces assigned to this duty was Grenzer Regiment 66 Slavonische Broder. Grenzer Regiments were irregular, light troops who originally were Croats and other generally Slavic people who guarded Austria's frontier with the Turkish Empire. They had an unsavory reputation and were prone to looting and ill discipline but were good fighters in open order.

The light infantry sniped at the blue-clad Prussians until the latter unlimbered some artillery and flushed them out of the woods. They fell back, but the damage was done: back on the heights Daun had heard the booming cannon reports and was alerted to at least part of Frederick's plans. If he had any doubts, they were dispelled later by eyewitness accounts from the retreating light infantry.

About this time an Austrian cavalry unit, the St. Ignon Dragoons, came across the Prussian infantry, but before they could gallop away to report their findings, they found to their horror that they were actually sandwiched in between two columns of Frederick's foot soldiers. Before they could break through, the Zieten Hussars attacked and made short work of them.

Major General Jean Baptiste Saint-Ignon and most of his regiment were forced to surrender. He must have been the unluckiest officer in Austrian service. Earlier in his career he had suffered seven saber cuts to the head, lost an eye, and had been captured by the Prussians. Exchanged in 1758, he was now a prisoner yet again.

Zieten was taking longer than expected. The old Hussar general was following orders to the letter, and because he had a much shorter distance to travel his pace was slower and more deliberate. He emerged from the southern portions of the Dommitsch Forest, only to run into the advance outposts of Lacy's corps, which had joined Daun earlier that same morning. Lacy was a tough and resourceful fighter, and he was now in the general area of the Grosser-Tiech lake.

Lacy's outposts consisted mainly of Grenzer border or frontier troops, in this case Slavic Croats. Dressed in a Hungarian style, their felt hats would be the inspiration for the later development of the shako. As irregulars they could snipe at regular formations with the best, but tended to melt away in the face of a determined attack. A Prussian bayonet charge sent them packing, but when they fell back they reported Zieten's presence to Daun. The pieces of the puzzle were all in place; now the Austrian field marshal knew exactly what Frederick was attempting.

Daun responded with alacrity, arranging his battalions to deal with this duel threat. When all was complete, the Austrian lines atop the Suptitzer Heights formed a kind of three-sided rectangle. One line of troops faced north, another south, and a third, which formed the connection between the other two, faced west. The Austrian soldiers were so crowded together some regiments merely had to do an about face, literally turn around, to fulfill Daun's new orders.

Meanwhile, Zieten held back his main force, contenting himself with a kind of desultory artillery duel with Lacy. Some accounts of the battle state that he was supposed to begin his attack when he heard a signal cannon shot from Frederick. But how could he hear such a signal when he was engaged in his own cannonade? Perhaps he was waiting for a messen-

ger, or was due to attack at a prearranged time. We may never know.

While Zieten fired artillery salvoes and Daun waited for the main Prussian attack, Frederick finally emerged from the forest. The king went forward to reconnoiter with a small escort of some aides and Zeiten Hussars. Sweeping the horizon with his telescope, Frederick did not like what he saw. The original plan was for Frederick's columns to attack Daun's right flank, that is, the portion near Torgau and the Elbe River. If the Prussians could cut the Austrian army off from the bridges over the Elbe, the whitecoats would have no option but destruction or capitulation.

But now that he was on the scene, Frederick knew he would have to alter his plans. There were strong Austria batteries on the right and if Frederick attacked where intended he'd also be between Daun's and Lacy's troops. The only other viable alternative was to shift his proposed attack west, up the heights near Daun's left. That would mean some necessary delays while the Prussian troops sorted themselves out so they could advance in the new direction.

But then the winds blowing from the south brought an auditory message that the king misinterpreted. Zieten's cannonade could be distinctly heard, but Frederick thought that it was the sound of the old hussar's main attack. This brought a new sense of urgency to the proceedings. Frederick could also see a steady stream of Austrian baggage wagons crossing over the Torgau bridges to the relative safety of the Elbe's eastern bank. This could well be the opening moves of a general retreat by the whole Austrian army

Frederick did not want Daun to escape, and without the king's attack Zieten might be overwhelmed by superior forces. After all, Daun had some 53,000 men in his command. But Frederick's second and third columns under Hulsen and Holstein had not yet arrived. Two other factors goaded the king to launch a premature assault: specifically, the weather and the time. The skies were lowering, dark with turbulent clouds that could unleash a full-fledged storm at any moment. Even now, occasional flurries of snow and icy rain pelted the Prussians. It was almost 2 PM and even the most optimistic assessment gave Frederick only about four more hours of daylight.

There seemed no other alternative but to attack, so Frederick used what troops he had in hand, the 10 leading battalions of grenadiers. These elite formations would have no cavalry support and almost no artillery support. Virtually all the heavier cannons were miles away, bogged down in the soggy, viscous, and sandy soil.

There was one unforeseen byproduct of Daun's concentrations on Suptitzer Heights: his cannons were practically wheel to wheel. The Austrian massed artillery was able to produce a firestorm of death and destruction. The Prussian grenadiers were 800 feet from the Austrian artillery.

The Austrian guns opened up, belching great gouts of smoke and flame from each well-tended piece. Some accounts state the Austrians had 200 guns, but others indicate they may have had upward of 400. The grenadiers were elite troops, but they were still flesh and blood, and nothing living could stand up to this hurricane of lethal metal. Cannonballs plowed through the packed ranks, and when the surviving grenadiers got closer the Austrians switched to canister.

The carnage produced by the guns was "a picture of hell," wrote one survivor. Cannonballs and pieces of canister peppered the nearby woods, sending a cascade of branches and larger tree limbs cascading to the forest floor. The sound of each individual cannon blast merged with the

AKG Images

others, producing one deafening roar that was terrifying even to the most seasoned veteran. "What a frightful cannonade!" Frederick marveled to his aides. "Have you ever heard anything like it?"

Within a few minutes two-thirds of the grenadiers were killed or wounded, and the survivors fell back into the relative safety of the woods. More Prussian infantry came up, and the leading elements of Hulsen's second column made a belated but still timely appearance. Marshal Daun counterattacked, and though his thrust was easily parried and ultimately repulsed, it was plain that Frederick had to continue his own attacks. If he tried to break off the action and retreat, the Austrian army might surge forward, turn the tables, and ultimately rout the Prussians.

There was nothing left to do but order a second attack, even if it meant putting more men into the meat grinder. "My God!" exclaimed Daun. "Why is the king throwing so many men away?" Many of these Prussian troops were relatively new soldiers and certainly did not have the intense training that was once a matter of course in the 1756 army. Yet they proved themselves again and again as worthy successors of the old formations that had been the marvel of Europe.

The second attack was spearheaded by such regiments as Manteuffel Infantry Regiment 17, Pomeranians who were veterans of several fights. The Prussians pressed forward, stepping over the bodies of those killed and wounded in the first assault. These fresh men also had to endure a heavy cannonade, a storm of metal that tore and eviscerated with horrifying ease. Yet sheer courage gave the Pomeranians the momentum to scale the heights and capture the guns that tormented them.

Gunners were shot and bayoneted, and others were taken captive or put to flight. The decimated Prussians lost no time in spiking the cannons, but Austrian infantry came up to dislodge them from

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Prussian cuirassiers in white uniforms charge the Austrian right flank late in the day.

their foothold in the heights. For a time the bluecoats stood their ground, trading volley after volley with their Austrian counterparts, but then sheer enemy numbers forced them to withdraw. The second attack was a failure, but though the Prussians were bloodied they were unbowed.

It was around this time that Frederick was hit by a spent piece of canister and rendered unconscious. He was on horseback at the time, and aides only noticed something was amiss when he let loose of the reins and started to fall backward. One adjutant, a man named Berenhorst, managed to grab the king before he fell off his mount, and together with other aides managed to get their royal master away from immediate danger.

The aides opened up his coat, fur vest, and shirt but found the metal piece had not penetrated the skin. When Frederick came to his senses, he treated the matter with his customary coolness. Indeed, his first words were in French, a language he preferred to his native German. "It's nothing!" he said. The king had a contusion in the center of his breast, and thereafter nursed a large and painful bruise.

Shortly after 4 PM Marshall Daun took a bullet in the leg. Mastering his pain, he remained in command for another hour or more until he was sure the Austrians were victorious. Then, and only then, he retired to Torgau to have his wound treated. When his boot was removed, it was found to be filled with blood.

It looked indeed like Frederick's gamble had failed disastrously, and the Prussians were headed for defeat. Marshal Daun even sent a message to Vienna, which turned out to be premature, announcing his victory. But then, when all seemed lost, Zieten finally made some significant moves. He was helped by the fact that an unguarded route was discovered that led to a causeway between two sheep watering ponds and right up to the heights on Daun's left flank.

Zieten threw everything available through that gap, and before long his troops had a firm foothold on Suptitzer Heights. At the same time the village of Suptitz, which gave the heights its name, was taken by Prussian infantry. Suptitz village had been a hard nut to crack, having been well barricaded and defended by Austrian infantry regiments Harsch 50 and Aremberg 21 supported by three or four medium guns.

The heavy fighting had set parts of the village on fire, and in the gathering darkness the leaping flames created a lurid, hell-like beacon to friend and foe alike. Finally, Prussian units such as Infantry Regiment 31 drove the defenders out and started to scale the heights just behind the burning hamlet. On Frederick's side of the heights, Hulsen could see what was happening and how Zieten's new effort could well bring victory if it was properly supported. He was not the kind of man to let an opportunity like this slip by him.

Hulsen resembled Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blucher of the Napoleonic Wars. He was tough, hard bitten, profane, and not overly intelligent. It was said he was an ensign for over a decade. But Hulsen was a good battlefield leader, and it was this quality that caused him to finally rise in the ranks. Age and wounds prevented him from riding on horseback, but he insisted on personally participating in the attack. He placed himself on a gun carriage, summoned soldiers, and commanded them to pull him.

Hulsen took the Schenkendorff (No. 9) and Donha (No. 16) Regiments as the foundation for a new push to claim the heights once and for all. With those two regiments forming the nucleus, he added 1,000 men that were disorganized remnants of previous attacks. They had been rallied by a Major Hans Sigismund von Lestwitz of the Alt-Braunschweg Regiment and were ready for immediate use.

With Hulsen and Zieten acting more or less in concert, attacking from both north and

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The heavy fighting throughout the day had set parts of Suptitz on fire, but the inferno did not deter Frederick's infantry from storming the village to help win the day. Painting by Gunter Dorn.

south, the whole strategic picture changed. In some instances Austrian units were surprised and even initially hit from the rear. Desperate Austrian counterattacks achieved nothing, and the whole position of the Imperial army collapsed like a house of cards. With Daun badly wounded, Lt. Gen. Carl O'Donnell assumed command. There was nothing much he could do but order a withdrawal over the Elbe bridges.

Marshal Daun was dumbfounded when he heard the news but was forced to acquiesce. It was past 6:30 PM, darkness had fallen, and the Prussians were in firm control of the heights. The Austrian army retreated across the Elbe. Frederick the Great had won another victory.

The Prussian victory came at a high cost. Frederick lost 16,670 dead and wounded, while the defeated Austrians sustained a butcher's bill of 8,500 casualties. In addition, the Prussians took 7,000 Austrian prisoners and 49 guns.

The battle's aftermath was such that many soldiers did not even know if they were among the victors or the vanquished. Thousands of Prussians and Austrians stumbled about in the pitch-black darkness, looking for their units or merely trying to escape captivity. Exhausted by the day's events, Prussian and Austrian soldiers sometimes bedded down near each other, trusting that they would find out which side won and which side lost and, subsequently, who was prisoner, when the sun rose the next morning.

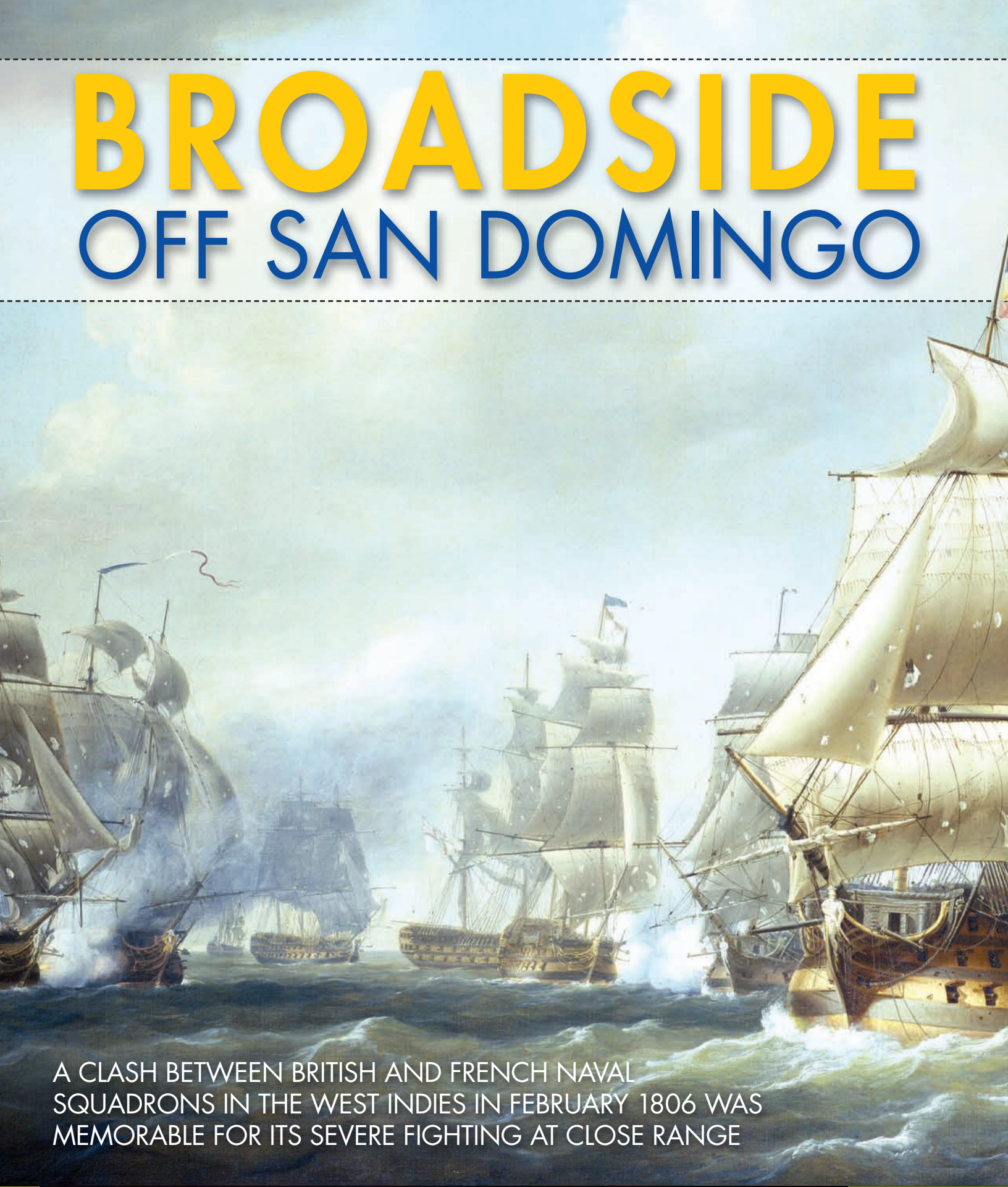
Austrian Maj. Gen. Vinzenz Felix Graf von Migazzi, disoriented like everyone else, gave orders to an astonished Prussian battalion. He was quickly taken into custody. In at least one instance an entire regiment was captured almost intact, though not without a fight. The Austrian Erzherzog Carl Regiment was Hungarian in origin, a veteran unit with a very high and well-deserved reputation. Surrounded by the Prussians, the regiment refused to surrender and fought on well into the night. A few broke out, but the rest were finally forced to lay down their arms.

Frederick certainly knew how close he had come to disaster, and when the casualty figures started coming in, the numbers left him gloomy and in a very bad mood. The next morning six Prussian dragoons waited outside Elsnig Church, each bearing a captured Austrian standard. Frederick emerged from the church, mounted his horse, and rode away without giving the captured trophies a second glance. The victory had been too dearly bought for the king to feel like celebrating.

Torgau was a bloody battle and, on the surface, seems like a Pyrrhic victory. But appearances can be deceiving, and politically Torgau was a significant win for Prussia and its harried king. In Austria, Chancellor Count Wenzel Anton Von Kaunitz, the principal architect of the anti-Prussian coalition, started to lose heart. After four years of increasingly bloody war, Frederick remained at large and Silesia unredeemed. Kaunitz began to push for a negotiated peace. France, Austria's ally, was also discouraged by the news of yet another Prussian victory.

Although far from a decisive victory, Torgau fostered a general malaise among Frederick's enemies. The battle created fissures in the coalition; all that was needed was one more catastrophic event to bring the whole edifice that Kaunitz so carefully crafted tumbling down. That event was the death of the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, Frederick's inveterate and implacable enemy. Thus, Torgau was not so barren of results after all. □

BROADSIDE
OFF SAN DOMINGO



A CLASH BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH NAVAL SQUADRONS IN THE WEST INDIES IN FEBRUARY 1806 WAS MEMORABLE FOR ITS SEVERE FIGHTING AT CLOSE RANGE

Smoke from hundreds of cannon muzzles fueled an ever thickening fog hovering over the Caribbean Sea south of the French-occupied colony of San Domingo on February 6, 1806. It was scarcely four hours earlier that Rear Admiral John Thomas Duckworth's small British fleet discovered the French ships of Vice Admiral Corentin Urbain de Leissegues, igniting the Battle of San Domingo. From rooftops and vantage points, French colonists and soldiers anxiously peered into the smoke, unable to distinguish friend from foe. At last, a strong breeze brushed away some of the smoke. The colonists saw across the water a once proud ship of the line reduced to a splintered hulk, shorn of her masts and rigging. Swept by patriotic joy, the spectators clapped their hands in delight.

At the British victory at Trafalgar the previous year, the loss of 11 French and 11 Spanish ships of the line left French Emperor Napoleon unable to confront Britain's Royal Navy. British blockaders kept most of the emperor's remaining French and Spanish capital ships penned up in their harbors. But the French had by no means given up; instead, they embarked on a new strategy of attacking British colonies and shipping in the Caribbean. At that time, the sugar industry was so profitable that the main sugar-producing islands of the West Indies were among the most valuable colonies in

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

The French flagship *Imperial* engages the British ship of the line *Cumberland* in the foreground in a painting by British naval artist Nicholas Pocock. The Battle of San Domingo had the distinction of being the last fleet action on the open sea in the Napoleonic Wars.

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A French ship of the line enters the port of San Domingo on the south side of Hispaniola Island. Although the French vessels were well armed, a great proportion of their crews were landsmen recently conscripted by Napoleon's regime.

the world. Raiding these British colonies, or capturing the ships that served and protected them, would deal a sharp blow to London's power.

It was not long after Trafalgar that the French were at sea again. When early winter storms drove Admiral William Cornwallis's blockading squadron off-station, the port of Brest was unwatched. Once the British were gone, 11 French ships of the line slipped out to sea from Brest on December 13, 1805.

One day later, the French ships separated into two squadrons. Six ships of the line, under Rear Admiral Jean-Baptiste Philibert Willaumez, went to prowl the South Atlantic and Caribbean. Among Willaumez's officers was Captain Jerome Bonaparte, youngest brother of Emperor Napoleon and commander of the 74-gun *Veteran.*

Leissegues took the other five ships of the line. His pennant flew over the 120-gun *Imperial,* commanded by his flag captain, Julien-Gabriel Bigot.

Laid down at Brest in 1793, the *Imperial* was first named the *Peuple,* then the *Vengeur,* before receiving her final name. She was designed by Jacques-Noel Sane, France's finest naval architect. Sane was known as the "Vauban of the Navy" in comparison to Sebastien Vauban, who revolutionized military land fortifications in the 17th century. Aboard the *Imperial* were 32 36-pounders on the lower deck and 34 24-pounders on the middle deck. Rather than the expected array of lighter 12-pounders on the upper deck there were 34 18-pounders. On the forecastle were 18 8-pounders and half a dozen 36-pounder carronades.

Also with Leissegues were the 80-gun *Alexandre* and the 74-gun ships *Jupiter, Diomede,* and *Brave*. Two 40-gun frigates, the *Comete* and the *Felicité,* and the corvette *Diligente* rounded out his small fleet.

Although the ships themselves were adequate and well armed, a great proportion of the crews were landsmen recently conscripted by Napoleon's regime. For many of them, the escape from Brest was their first time at sea. The crew of the *Alexandre* was supplemented with soldiers from the 15th Regiment of the Line and some army artillerymen.

Leissegues was ordered to transport 900 troops to the city of San Domingo on the island of Hispaniola. Then, he would cruise off Jamaica for two months, or head for Newfoundland if the Caribbean was too full of British warships.

News of the French escape from Brest reached the Admiralty on December 24. London ordered two squadrons to find them, but neither was able to leave England until late January of 1806.

However, a British convoy sighted Leissegues on December 15. The convoy and its armed escorts scattered to elude the enemy. On December 23 the frigate *Arethusa* delivered news of the sighting to the HMS *Superb,* the 74-gun flagship of Vice Admiral of the Blue Sir John Thomas Duckworth.

For about two months, Duckworth had been on blockade duty off Cadiz, keeping an eye of the remnants of the Franco-Spanish fleet that was defeated at Trafalgar on October 21. On November 26 he received a report that a French squadron lurked near the Savage Islands, between Madeira and the Canary Islands. Duckworth left behind two frigates to watch Cadiz and sailed south to look for this new menace.

The ships in question were five ships of the line commanded by Rear Admiral Zachary Allemand. They had left Roquefort in July with instructions to join the fleet from Brest, but the latter force never ran the British blockade. For several months, they ravaged British shipping in the Atlantic, eventually taking more than 40 prizes including the 50-gun HMS *Calcutta*. They eluded Duckworth and made it back to safety in France.

Meanwhile, Duckworth gave up looking for Allemand. He was en route back to his station off Cadiz when he met the *Arethusa* and learned of a French fleet to his west. Again, Duckworth hurried after an enemy squadron.

On Christmas Day 1805, about 300 miles northwest of Tenerife, Duckworth's lookouts spotted nine sails to their south. The British tacked to follow them. They were neither the ships of Leissegues, nor those commanded by Allemand. Rather, they were vessels belonging to Willaumez.

"You cannot conceive the joy expressed by every one on board," an officer aboard the *Superb* wrote in a letter. "Every individual thought himself a king, and expected that day to be one of the happiest Christmases he had ever spent."

For Duckworth's crews, the dreams of glory and prize money soon "turned into melancholy ... from the very bad sailing of several ships of

the fleet." By early afternoon on December 26, the *Superb* had closed to within about seven miles of the hindmost French ship and was gaining. But Duckworth's squadron was strung out over a vast distance. Four miles separated the *Superb* from the nearest vessel, the *Spencer,* which was five miles ahead of the *Agamemnon.* The others were more than 20 miles away. While it was likely that the *Superb* could soon close within range of the nearest French ship, it was also possible that other French ships could overwhelm her, the *Spencer,* and the *Agamemnon* before the rest of the force could arrive. Thus, at 1 PM Duckworth signaled an end to the chase. Willaumez opted to keep moving rather than risk battle and escaped into the South Atlantic.

Leissegues avoided the British but fell into the Atlantic's winter storms. On Christmas Day, the *Jupiter* lost her main topmast, and the *Diomede* and the frigate *Comete* developed dangerous leaks. The storm intensified, driving the *Alexandre* and the *Brave* away from the rest of the force. The French admiral and most of his ships anchored at San Domingo on January 20, 1806. Nine days later, the *Alexandre* and the *Brave* straggled into the harbor, battered and leaking.

Major General Jean Louis Ferrand, the French officer in command of San Domingo, needed the troops brought by Leissegues. During the 1790s tumultuous change, revolution, and violence swept Hispaniola. In 1791 a slave revolt broke out in Saint Domingue and toppled the French administration. After three centuries of Spanish rule, Spain ceded the colony of San Domingo to France under the terms of the 1795 Treaty of Basel. France never permanently regained control of Saint Domingue, and it became the independent Republic of Haiti in 1804. Haitian forces temporarily overran the whole island, but by 1806 the former Spanish colony of San Domingo was back in French hands, and the port of San Domingo offered refuge for French warships and privateers.

In the city of San Domingo, the French population was delighted to see a naval squadron from home in their beleaguered and isolated colony. Grateful colonists held balls and entertainments for the naval officers.

Leissegues might have sailed on to the friendly port of Havana. The capital of colonial Cuba, Havana was a center of Spanish naval construction, and it offered better repair facilities than San Domingo. Havana's harbor was better protected than the large, open bay around the city of San Domingo. But the admiral knew British ships might lurk between Hispaniola and Cuba, and therefore he decided to remain in port and complete the repairs as best they could.

Meanwhile, Duckworth dispatched the *Amethyst* to England with his reports of the French. He also ordered the 74-gun *Powerful* to warn British interests in the East Indies about the prowling French squadrons. After he reached Barbados on January 12, 1806, Duckworth sent the *Acasta* ahead to St. Kitts to start preparations for taking on water and supplies for his command.

With the *Powerful* on her way to the East Indies, Duckworth had five ships of the line: his flagship *Superb,* the 80-gun *Canopus,* the 64-gun *Agamemnon* (once Horatio Nelson's ship), the 74-gun *Spencer,* and the 74-gun *Donegal.* Rounding out Duckworth's force were the frigates *Amethyst* and *Acasta*.

Originally the French-built *Benjamin Franklin,* the *Canopus* was captured at the 1798 Battle of the Nile. Her new name was doubly appropriate. Canopus was the ancient name for Aboukir, a town near the 1798 battle site. It also was the name of the ship's pilot of King Menelaus of the Trojan War. Taking the *Canopus* as his flagship was Rear Admiral of the Blue Thomas Louis. According to family legend, Louis's grandfather was an illegitimate son of Louis XIV. He served for years with Nelson, earning the friendship and respect of the great admiral. Louis's flag captain was Captain Francis William Austen, brother of the as yet unpublished novelist Jane Austen.

Duckworth's ships anchored at St. Kitts on January 19. Two days later they were joined by two more ships of the line: the *Atlas* and the *Northumberland*. Their arrival brought Duckworth's

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Rear Admiral John Thomas Duckworth had seen plenty of action on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean during his long service at sea. When word reached Duckworth, who was on station off Cadiz, that a French squadron lurked to the west, he sailed off in search of it.

squadron up to seven ships of the line and gave it three admirals. Aboard the 74-gun *Northumberland* was Rear Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane, commander of the Royal Navy's Leeward Islands Station. Cochrane would later raid the Atlantic coast of the Unired States during the War of 1812 and direct the 1814 bombardment of Fort McHenry that inspired Francis Scott Key to pen "The Star-Spangled Banner."

On January 31, Lieutenant Nathaniel Day Cochrane (a nephew of Rear Admiral Cochrane) and the 18-gun sloop *Kingfisher* were anchored at Tortola in the Virgin Islands. Night brought to an end a long day of painting, caulking, and tarring. At midnight, a man hailed them from a small boat and asked if the *Kingfisher* was a British warship. Assured that it was, the rower explained that he worked for a Scottish trading firm on the island of St. Thomas. He had learned that a French flotilla was at San Domingo, taking on water and supplies. With that important news, the merchant had rowed 20 miles in hope of contacting the Royal Navy.

The *Kingfisher* was coated with wet paint, and her rigging was damp with tar. But Cochrane ordered, "Damn the paint! Up anchor!" Within 10 minutes of receiving the news, his ship was underway. Heavy dew slowed the drying of paint and tar. A night of working on the ship under sail left the crew "bedaubed with white, green, black, and red paint and tar, and by daylight, the Kingfishers were transmogrified into spotted tigers," recalled an officer.

Fresh breezes sped the *Kingfisher* toward St. Kitts, but the winds dropped away and becalmed the sloop a few miles offshore of the island's harbor at Basse-Terre. Lieutenant Cochrane called for his gig and was rowed the rest of the way to deliver his news on February 1. After hearing Cochrane's report, Duckworth ordered his ships to sail.

Five days later, the frigate HMS *Magicienn*e joined them in the Mona Passage, between Puerto Rico and San Domingo. With the frigate was a Danish schooner that left San Domingo a few days earlier. The Danish captain relayed a great deal of detail about Leissegues' vessels. Several French officers thought that the schooner should be burned rather than allowed to leave port, but Leissegues overruled them.

By February 5, the French ships were still not quite ready to return to sea. On that day, a Captain Taggart, the commander of an American merchant ship, landed in San Domingo. He tried unsuccessfully to warn the French of the presence of British warships. He said that he had spoken with the crew of a warship that belonged to a squadron that was looking for Leissegues. But the officers refused to believe his report.

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ABOVE: Left to right are British Rear Admiral Thomas Louis, British Captain Richard Goodwin Keats, and French Vice Admiral Corentin Urbain de Leissegues. OPPOSITE: By mid-day on February 6 Admiral Leissegues was down to four ships. Although the British ships had taken some damage, they were in a position to pick off the French one by one.

After dawn, the corvette *Diligence* approached Leissegues' ships, firing her guns in alarm. Taggart's warning was all too correct; the *Diligence* had spotted the enemy off Catalina Island, 50 miles to the east. At 7:30 AM, when the British came into sight, Leissegues was caught flat footed. The admiral and some of his officers were ashore. Many men were away from their ships on work details; some of them were miles away up the Rio Ozama loading fresh water casks.

An army officer visiting the *Diomede* found the ship in great disarray. To tilt the vessel and aid repairs to the hull, the starboard guns and some of the ship's stores were rolled to the larboard side. Aboard the *Brave,* water casks and firewood brought aboard the previous day were piled around the guns. There was no longer any time to stow the supplies, and the *Brave*'s crew jettisoned the casks and firewood. Throughout the squadron, the ships' new caulking would not have time to dry before the ships saw action.

San Domingo's bay formed a shallow semicircle opening to the south and running about 25 miles east to west. Ferrand felt the admiral should remain close to shore. The French general said his land artillery could hold off the British and allow time for the scattered work details to get back to their ships, and properly clear them for action.

Leissegues did not want to become hemmed in by a superior force. Pressed for time, the admiral ordered the ships to cut their cables and sail west, which would take them around Cape Nisao and toward Ocoa Bay. They moved in two lines roughly parallel with the south shore of Hispaniola. The *Alexandre, Imperial, Diomede, Jupiter,* and *Brave* formed the outer line; the three smaller ships formed the inner line.

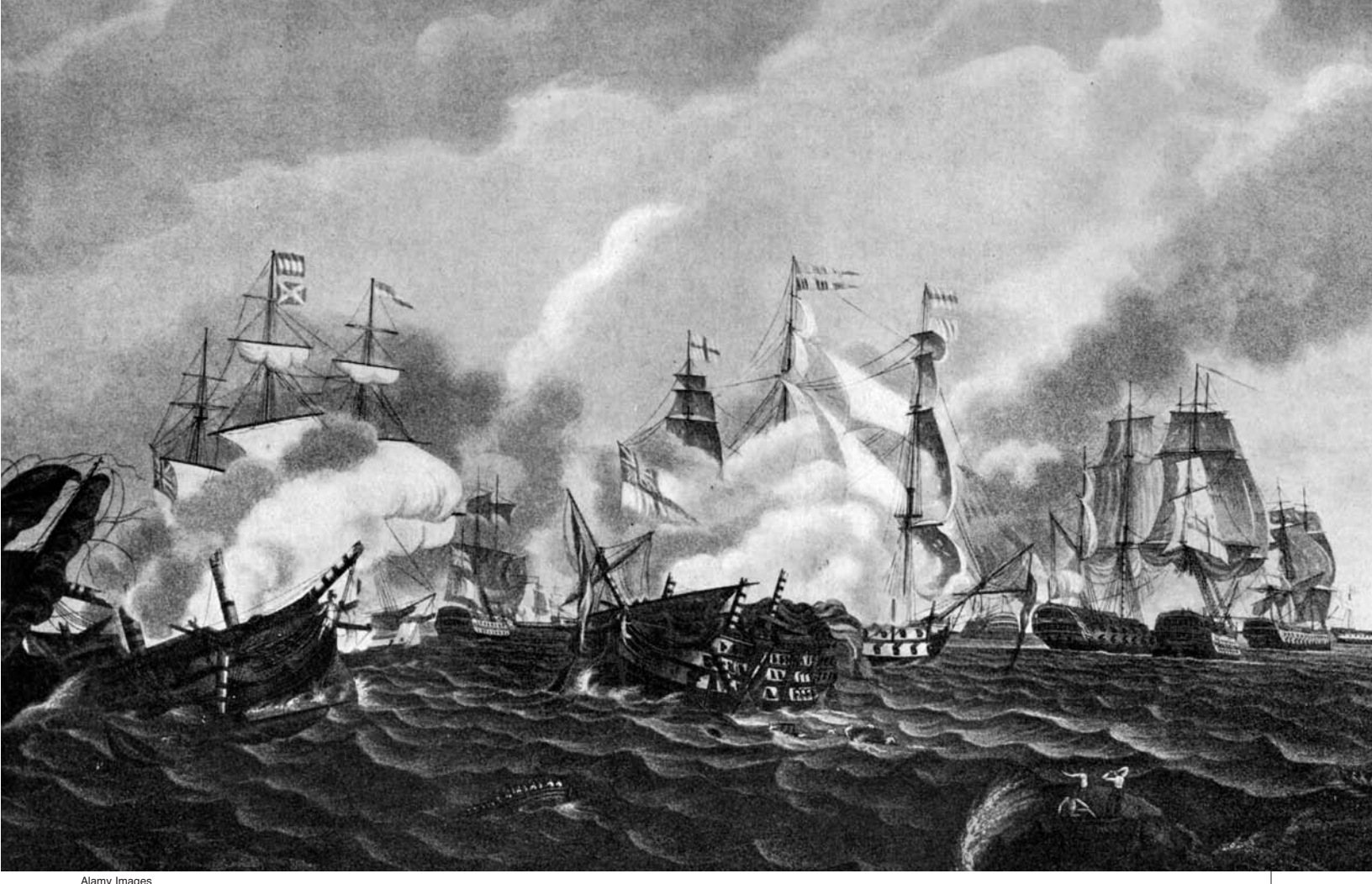
At 7:30 AM on February 6, 1806, the frigate *Acasta* spotted the French ships in line off the city of San Domingo. From the *Acasta*'s rigging flew the signal "enemy in sight."

Of Duckworth's ships, all but Captain Sir Edward Berry's *Agamemnon* had missed Trafalgar. Now, as a new fleet action loomed ahead, Duckworth placed his seven great ships in two lines. In the starboard line came the *Superb, Spencer, Northumberland,* and *Agamemnon*; the larboard and leeward line held the *Canopus, Donegal,* and *Atlas*. His smaller vessels formed a separate line to windward. Duckworth guessed that the French would sail around Cape Nisao to reach Ocoa Bay. Erroneous reports received by the British claimed there were more French ships of the line waiting in the bay. The British ships sailed to intercept the enemy when they approached Cape Nisao.

Duckworth's flag captain on the *Superb,* Richard Goodwin Keats, had served with some distinguished comrades. He was formerly a lieutenant aboard the 90-gun *Prince George* during the American Revolution, when British Prince William Henry (later King William IV) served as a midshipman. None other than Nelson himself wrote of Keats, "I esteem his person alone as equal to one French 74."

As the ship sailed into battle, the *Superb*'s musicians played for the crew. After "God Save the King," they went to the lively folk tune "Off She Goes," and followed that with the patriotic "Nelson of the Nile." Keats raised a portrait of his old friend Nelson from the mizzen stays.

Ten minutes later, Duckworth's *Superb* fired the first shots of the battle at Captain Pierre-Elie Garreau's *Alexandre*. Within another five minutes, the *Northumberland* was engaged with the *Imperial,* and the *Spencer* closed in to fire on the *Diomede* and the *Imperial*. Attacked



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ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH SHIPS, ESPECIALLY THE *NORTHUMBERLAND*, HAD TAKEN SOME DAMAGE, THEY WERE IN A POSITION TO PICK OFF THE FRENCH ONE BY ONE. DUCKWORTH'S SHIPS GRADUALLY PUSHED THE FRENCH BACK CLOSER TO THE SHORE OF PALENQUE BAY.

before they could round Cape Nisao, the French were cut off and hemmed into a small bay east of the cape.

The broadside from the *Superb* wreaked such damage to the *Alexandre* that the latter luffed to and dropped astern of the other ships. As the *Superb* neared the *Imperial*, the great three-decker held its fire as Duckworth's flagship approached to within pistol-shot range. Before the French guns could throw their heavy load of iron into Duckworth's flagship, the *Northumberland* slipped into the narrowing gap between the two ships. When the *Imperial* fired, several of her shots punched entirely through the *Northumberland* and crashed into the *Superb*.

Duckworth signaled for closer action. Keats' portrait of Nelson still fluttered from the mizzen stays, although both Captain Keats and the image were splattered with the blood and brains of a man struck down by a cannon ball.

After suffering damage to the rudder, the *Alexandre* slipped between the *Northumberland* and the *Spencer* at about 10:25 AM. Captain Robert Stopford of the *Spencer* raked the bow of the *Alexandre* and wore ship to empty another broadside. That day the winds were light, allowing powder smoke to collect and linger over the combatants. Amid the thick haze, officers aboard the *Superb* and *Northumberland* were unaware of Stopford's maneuvering, and their guns mistakenly fired into the *Spencer*. At the same time, some of the *Imperial*'s gunners fired blindly into their comrades aboard the *Alexandre*.

Up to that point, the *Superb*, *Northumberland*, and *Spencer* had taken the brunt of the French fire. Duckworth's other vessels strained to reach the center of the action. Captain Austen wrote to his fiancée, Mary Gibson, "The *Canopus* sails so bad that we were nearly the last ship in action." Ten minutes later the guns of the *Superb* and the *Spencer* had cut up the rigging and masts of the *Alexandre*, and the *Canopus* was fast closing in. Then, Austen's ship fired into the *Alexandre*. "The first broadside we gave brought our opponent's three masts down at once," wrote Austen

As usual in naval warfare of the time, ships of the line generally stood aloof from the smaller enemy frigates and corvettes, which stationed themselves away from the fighting. Captain Cocault of the *Diligence* watched from a distance as "the quickness of the firing, and the thick smoke which concealed the vessels, prevented us from distinguishing any object. Being to the windward of our squadron ... I received a part of the enemy's fire, which was directed against our headmost ships."

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A French crew abandons its burning ship off San Domingo. At the conclusion of the brief battle, three French ships had surrendered and two others were aground.

Cocault and the frigate captains were obliged to shift out of range of the stray shots.

Ashore, French colonists watched the battle from rooftops in the city, trying to distinguish what was happening amid the smothering pall of powder smoke. When the wind stirred slightly and brushed away some of the smoke, the townsfolk saw a dismasted ship lying dead in the water. Army officer Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier-Delafosse remembered a brief wave of relief washing over the spectators, until the air cleared enough for them to realize that they had mistaken the shattered *Alexandre* for a British ship.

Following in Austen's wake, the *Atlas* and *Donegal* joined the battle by firing into the smoke shrouding the stricken *Alexandre*. Then, the *Canopus* joined the battle against the *Imperial,* while the *Donegal* and *Atlas* attacked the *Brave* and the *Jupiter.* Struggling to catch up with the other vessels, the *Agamemnon* was the only ship of the line not yet engaged in battle. With the *Alexandre* reduced to a dismasted wreck, the *Spencer* turned toward the other enemy ships. At 11:30 AM, the *Alexandre* became the first of Duckworth's foes to lower the colors.

By that time, Leissegues was down to four ships; his enemies would have seven on hand once the *Agamemnon* caught up with them. Although the British ships, especially the *Northumberland,* had taken some damage, they were in a position to pick off the French one by one. Duckworth's ships gradually pushed the French back closer to the shore of Palenque Bay.

After firing some of the final shots to hit the *Alexandre,* the *Donegal* fired her starboard broadside into the *Brave*. Crossing the stern of the *Brave,* the *Donegal* brought her larboard battery to bear. British shot severed stays and halyards and slashed the sails. Cannon balls crashed through the hull, dismounting 15 guns. There was five feet of water in the hold. Captain Louis-Marie Coude stayed at his post, although he was wounded four times. Two of Coude's officers were killed, and five were wounded. Less than half the crew was still on their feet. At 11:45 AM, the *Brave* became the second of Leissegues' vessels to strike. The frigate *Acasta* took her under tow.

Captain Pulteney Malcolm's *Donegal* sailed on to confront the *Jupiter.* Malcolm crossed the enemy's bow so closely that the French bowsprit loomed over the deck of the *Donegal*. British tars lashed the enemy bowsprit fast with a hawser. Captain Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Laignel of the *Jupiter* fell wounded. While the ships were tied together, small arms fire struck down many aboard both vessels. Some wounded men fell overboard and were trapped and crushed between the ships' hulls. Resistance soon collapsed and the *Jupiter* surrendered. Malcolm sent a lieutenant with a 100-man prize crew aboard and took her in tow.

The *Agamemnon,* launched in 1781, was the most elderly of the British ships on hand. After lagging far behind the others, the old ship at last neared the fighting around the *Imperial*.

The *Atlas* and the *Canopus* joined to hammer the *Imperial*. After throwing two broadsides into the French flagship, the tiller of the *Atlas* jammed. Shot from the *Diomede* tore into the *Atlas*'s starboard quarter. Amid the chaos, and unable control her course, the *Atlas* lost her bowsprit when she ran afoul of the *Canopus*.

The most persistent of the *Imperial*'s foes was the *Northumberland*. A cannonball rushed so near Admiral Cochrane's head that the suction pulled his hat off. Cochrane's fire, combined with that the *Superb* and *Canopus,* ripped into the 120-gun ship. By 11:30 AM, the *Imperial* had lost her main and mizzen masts. Captain

Bigot took a serious head wound and was carried below. Captain Louis-Joseph Caboureau, who stepped into Bigot's place, was soon wounded four times. Five more of the ship's officers were wounded, and two were killed.

An officer aboard the *Superb* wrote that a French shot demolished a wooden structure on the poop, which contained one compartment filled with marine muskets and another used as a chicken coop. Splinters, shattered muskets, and bayonets went spinning through the air while a rooster flapped his way up to the spanker boom and started crowing. Another shot hacked through the boom, breaking it off behind the rooster, so the bird flapped again and settled on the remaining stump of the boom and resumed crowing.

Outnumbered by that point and with two badly damaged ships to seven mostly fresh adversaries, Leissegues saw escape was impossible. Determined to deny the British his own flagship, he had a sail rigged on the remnant of the mizzenmast and steered north toward the beach along Palenque Bay.

By this time the *Northumberland* could not spread enough canvas for a pursuit. Captain Keats of the *Superb* thought it unwise to follow the French into the shallower water. At 11:40 AM, the *Imperial*'s keel struck the sea bottom, lurching to a halt with such force that the foremast snapped and fell.

Moments later, the mainmast of the *Northumberland* snapped and plunged down to crash on the forward starboard side of the deck. The impact knocked out several of the starboard guns on the main deck. Also crushed were several of the ship's boats, which just before the battle had been filled with water in case of fire. A splinter hurtled from the shattered mast and struck Admiral Cochrane with enough force to send him to his knees.

The *Spencer* joined the *Atlas* in attacking the only remaining enemy ship of the line, the *Diomede*. Berry ordered the *Agamemnon*'s gunners to cease firing at the *Diomede,* as he believed her captain was "taking off his hat and making every token of surrender." To Captain Dunn of the *Acasta,* it appeared that the ensign and the pennant of the *Diomede* had been lowered. But little time passed before Henry's ship ground to a halt 200 yards astern of the French flagship. All three of the *Diomede*'s masts tumbled down at the impact "with a crash as if a forest was rended," as Duckworth put it. Yet the battered hulk still fired several more shots at her enemies, an act of bravado that marked an end to the battle.

At the conclusion of an action of about two hours, three French ships had surrendered and two others were hard aground. Only their two frigates and the corvette escaped. All of Duckworth's ships were afloat, and only the *Northumberland* had taken significant damage.

As the British did not immediately move to occupy the stranded ships, Leissegues began getting the survivors ashore. One day later nearly all the flagship's survivors and part of the crew of the *Diomede* were evacuated. Admiral Leissegues saved his flag as well as the much prized Napoleonic eagle that had been given to his ship.

The next day, Captain Richard Dunn of the *Acasta* took possession of the *Imperial* and *Diomede*. With a flotilla of ship's boats, he sent the remaining crew away as prisoners. He reported taking 150 prisoners from the *Diomede,* including Captain Henry. Barely half a dozen were left to take from the *Imperial*; the highest ranking among those few captives was a petty officer. Dunn's sailors plied their oars through shallow waters churning with dangerous surf. Captives and captors alike saw sharks lurking around them, attracted by the fresh blood spilled into the seas by a naval battle. As the two stranded ships were heavily damaged and stuck fast in treacherous waters, once the last prisoners were removed, Dunn set the grounded vessels on fire.

British losses at the Battle of San Domingo ran to 74 dead (including two officers, both midshipmen) and 263 wounded. Casualties were heaviest aboard the *Northumberland,* which accounted for more than a quarter of the British toll: 21 dead and 79 wounded. Among the dead was Alexander Sapenack, Admiral Cochrane's cook.

French losses were not precisely tallied but were much higher. Duckworth reported the killed and wounded on the three captured vessels as 300 aboard the *Alexandre,* 260 on the *Brave,* and 200 aboard the *Jupiter.* Other estimates reported 500 casualties on the *Imperial* alone, and another 250 on the *Diomede*.

Other than Bigot of the *Imperial,* all of the French captains were captured and held until after Napoleon's first abdication in 1814. Officers and sailors who escaped capture waited in San Domingo. The French eventually arranged passage for them to United States, where French consuls took charge of them.

Controversy swirled around Captain Henry when he offered his sword to Keats of the *Northumberland.* Keats heatedly refused to accept the sword; he was convinced that Henry had broken naval and gentlemanly tradition by only pretending to surrender his ship. Then, thought Keats, once Henry had tricked his enemies into ceasing fire, he deliberately ran the *Diomede* aground.

Henry was mortified at the accusations. Allowed to speak for himself, he explained that his ensign had been shot away. His pennant, he insisted, had flown until the mainmast crashed down when his ship ran aground. Further investigation revealed that some British officers had observed the captain of the *Brave* making the clear signs of surrender and mistaken his ship for that of Henry's. Satisfied, the British acknowledged that Henry fought his ship honorably.

Aboard the *Superb,* the defiant rooster had been hit by a splinter and lost an eye but survived well enough. The sailors took a fancy to the bird, decorating him with rings and gaudy ribbons, and saved him "from the dire hand of the poulterer." Adapting to his newfound status as a mascot, the rooster ate from sailors' hands and allowed himself to "be fondled like the greatest lapdog."

The *Jupiter* and *Alexandre* were repaired and taken into the Royal Navy. Although the *Brave* foundered in a storm on its way to Britain, Captain Malcolm of the *Donegal* rescued her crew.

Captain Raymond Coucault of the *Diligente* reached Port-Louis in Brittany and delivered news of the disaster. The report released to the French public, whether Coucault's or simply a version released under his name, painted a highly embroidered version of the clash. News of the defeat was made more palatable by adding false claims that Duckworth had a larger squadron of nine ships of the line; and that two of Duckworth's ships were wrecked and two others were dismasted.

Grateful to Lieutenant Cochrane of the *Kingfisher* for the timely news of the enemy fleet, Duckworth dispatched the young officer to rush the news to Great Britain. Cochrane was rewarded handsomely with a promotion to post captain. His first command in that rank was the *Northumberland.*

Compared to the joy after the victory at Trafalgar, reaction in Britain to the Battle of San Domingo was somewhat muted. Victory was no more than the expectation, because the enemy was outnumbered. Planters and merchants of the British Caribbean colonies, though, had been in great peril from the potential of French raids and so were much more impressed by the victory.

No one in 1806 could have known that the Battle of San Domingo would be the last fleet action on the open sea in the Napoleonic Wars. Indeed, it was to be one of the last major fleet actions of the age of sail. □

By Christopher Miskimon

The U.S. Marines acquired a lasting reputation for bravery and dogged perseverance on the Western Front in World War I.

U.S. Marines withstood nearly continuous attack by waves of Germans during fighting in Belleau Wood June 4 - 5, 1918. On June 6 the Marines attacked Hill 142, driving off the Germans despite heavy causalities.

THE GERMANS ADVANCED AGAINST THE U.S. MARINES IN BELLEAU Wood at 2 PM on June 4, 1918. Among the first Marines to see the coming assault were several snipers hidden atop a haystack at the Les Mares Farm. Placed there by Lieutenant Lemuel Shepherd, they were positioned to pick off the advancing enemy troops, but the job was not easy. German observation balloons had spotted many of the defensive positions and directed their artillery on them. Some of the supporting French artillery was driven off by the fire.

Veteran German infantry now advanced and the battle proper was joined. This was the point of the fighting where victory or defeat went into the hands of the enlisted men, their sergeants, and a handful of junior officers. Senior officers had done all they could to prepare. Now it was time to watch their men do their bloody work. The Marines of the 2nd Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment lay prone in their scraped-out fighting positions and waited as the Germans moved closer. Lt. Col. Frederick Wise, the battalion commander, watched his men wait until the enemy was just 100 yards away, then they opened fire with deadly accuracy.

All along the line Wise saw his men working the bolts of their rifles to maintain a steady fire. When he looked up to examine the German front ranks, Wise found there were no Germans still fighting. They lay dead or dying in the field through which they had launched their attack. A second line soon followed, though, their own rifles raised to their shoulders, firing as they advanced. They met the same fate as the first line. Although the Germans outnumbered the Americans by more than two to one, they seemed unable to pry the Marines from their defensive positions. The German attack, which should have carried the American position, had failed completely.

Luck was with the Marines that day. If the Germans had spotted sev-

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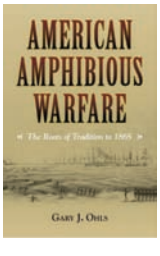
eral gaps in the line or tried to outflank their foes, they likely would have succeeded. As it was, that luck and the marksmanship of the Marine riflemen meant those Germans never got closer to Paris than they did that day. The German attack in other sectors fared no better than at Les Mares Farm. Machine-gun and rifle fire cut them down in staggering numbers. One Marine had to switch between his rifle and a stricken comrade's weapon when his own got too hot to hold. For the rest of the battle, he just changed weapons as their barrels overheated. The end result was a hard-won victory for the Marines, one of many they would achieve during the Battle of Belleau Wood and the months to follow during the final year of the Great War.

The U.S. Marine Corps has given more than two centuries of proud service to its nation, but it was during World War I when it truly became famous for its martial skill, dogged determination, and discipline. The Marines brought fresh strength to the Western Front, which was faltering under renewed German attacks in the summer of 1918 when American troops were adding their numbers to Allied weight. The story of how the Marines created their legend and helped win a war is well told in ***First to Fight: The U.S. Marines in World War I*** (Oscar E. Gilbert and Romain Cansiere, Casemate Publishing, Havertown, PA, 2017, 360 pp., maps, photographs, appendix, notes, bibliography, $32.95, hardcover).

The work is a superb account of the Marine Corps' World War I story told from the points of view of both high-ranking officers and enlisted men. It is detailed and descriptive, often using the participants' own words to give a personal view to the reader. One of the authors is well known for his works on the history of Marine armored forces. He exhibits great expertise and skill in telling of the battlefield tests the Marines faced in the Great War. During World War I the Marine Corps evolved from a collection of shipboard security detachments and base security forces into an offensive combat force respected and feared by its opponents. The book also covers the fledgling Marine air units that began their existence during the war.

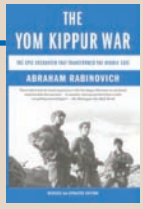


American Amphibious Warfare: The Roots of Tradition to 1865 (Gary J. Ohls, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2017, 320 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

In May 1800 the United States was deep in its Quasi-War with France. French Authorities were holding a British packet, *Sandwich*, in the Spanish port of Puerto Plata, Santo Domingo. Captain Silas Talbot of the American frigate *Constitution* devised a plan to seize the ship, despite the fort protecting the harbor from intrusion. Two officers took 90 Marines and sailors aboard the sloop *Sally*, which regularly visited Puerto Plata. They sailed the sloop into the port and came alongside the *Sandwich*.

The Americans burst from below decks and captured the British ship. As the sailors pre-

SHORT BURSTS



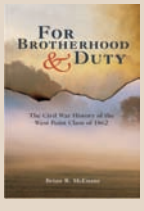
The Yom Kippur War: The Epic Encounter That Transformed the Middle East (Abraham Rabinovich, Schocken Books, 2017, $20.00, softcover) This second edition contains new, recently declassified information about the 1973 war. It is a definitive account of the conflict.

Texans at Antietam: A Terrible Clash of Arms, September 16-17, 1862 (Joe Owen, Philip McBride, and Joe Allport, Casemate Publishers, 2017, $28.95, softcover) Hood's Texas Brigade fought fiercely during the morning phase of the Battle of Antietam. This book recounts their experiences in their own words through diary entries, interviews, and letters.

Hellfire Boys: The Birth of the U.S. Chemical Warfare Service and the Race for the World's Deadliest Weapons (Theo Emery, Little, Brown and Company, 2017, $29.00, hardcover) The introduction of chemical weapons during World War I forced the United States to develop its own arsenal and the troops to service it.

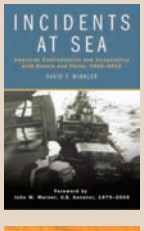
Our Year of War: Two Brothers, Vietnam, and a Nation Divided (Daniel P. Bolger, Da Capo Press, 2017, $28.00, hardcover) This is the story of Chuck and Tom Hagel, brothers who fought together in Vietnam. Chuck Hagel would go on to become a respected senator and defense secretary.

Warfare in Neolithic Europe: An Archaeological and Anthropological Analysis (Julian Maxwell Heath, Pen and Sword Books, 2017, $39.95, hardcover) With the rise of complex societies came conflict. This work reveals the evidence of occasional war among the rising communities.

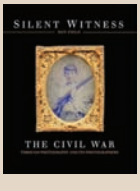


For Brotherhood and Duty: The Civil War History of the West Point Class of 1862 (Brian R. McEnany, University Press of Kansas, 2017, $45.00, softcover) This book follows the Class of 1862 through its training and combat service. It includes the accounts of 12 Union and four Confederate officers.

Behind the Lawrence Legend: The Forgotten Few Who Shaped the Arab Revolt (Philip Walker, Oxford University Press, 2017, $34.95, hardcover) Lawrence is the most famous figure of the Arab Revolt, but this book focuses on his fellow officers and spies who carried out their own part in the conflict.



Incidents at Sea: American Confrontation and Cooperation with Russia and China, 1945-2016 (David F. Winkler, Naval Institute Press, 2017, $31.95, hardcover) The Cold War contained numerous incidents at sea, which continued into the 21st century. The book includes interviews with participants and high-level leaders.



Silent Witness: The Civil War Through Photography and Its Photographers (Ron Field, Osprey Publishing, 2017, $35.00, hardcover) This coffee table book presents the Civil War via the new art of photography. Each chapter covers a different facet of the war.

Recce: Small Team Missions Behind Enemy Lines (Koos Stadler, Casemate Publishers, 2016, $32.95, hardcover) The author was a career officer in the South African Special Forces. This memoir covers his training and service.

pared her for sea, the Marines rushed to the nearby fort and took it before either the French or Spanish could respond. They spiked the fort's cannon and sped back to *Sandwich*, where they planned a defense until the prevailing wind appeared in the evening. That wind arose sooner, however so *Sally* and *Sandwich* set sail and made their escape. The amphibious raid was a complete success.

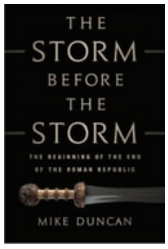
The American military has a long history of amphibious operations. This book chronicles seven amphibious assaults in America's early military history when the tactics and equipment of the day argued against direct assaults on defended beaches. The author examines each action in great detail.

The Last Battle: Victory, Defeat and the End of World War I (Peter Hart, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2017, 442 pp., maps, notes, bibliography, index, $34.95, hardcover)

On July 18, 1918, American First Lieutenant Elliott Cooke was leading his Marines against a German dugout. A number of the enemy had taken cover inside it and Cooke could not leave such a threat in his unit's rear. His men were out of grenades but they found a box of German ones. Despite the risk they might be booby trapped, he decided they had to use the enemy weapons to destroy the dugout. Cooke gingerly picked up a grenade, but nothing happened. He then unscrewed the case cap and pulled the cord to activate the fuse. If the fuse was rigged to blow immediately, he was dead, but he had to try. When he yanked the cord the fuse popped inside the grenade as it was supposed to do, so Cooke quickly threw it through the dugout's entrance. The explosion within was muffled and no Germans came out. He and his men threw more grenades in until the dugout's roof was slanting and the walls leaked sand.

The final battles of World War I were vicious struggles between the Germans and their American, British, and French opponents. This book focuses on those final grueling months when the exhausted combatants fought to the bitter end. The author allows the participants to tell their stories in their own words, but he weaves together their accounts to create a gripping narrative that conveys the horror of the war's end.

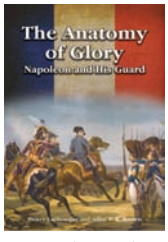
The Storm Before the Storm: The Beginning of the End of the Roman Republic (Mike Duncan, Public Affairs Books, New York, 2017, 327 pp., maps, notes, bibliography, index, $27.00, hardcover)



By 146 BC the Roman Republic was the strongest military power in the Mediterranean region. It began as a small city-state but gradually expanded its territory and strength, conquering and absorbing its neighbors until the Italian peninsula was its own. Through that time its participatory form of government survived and the republic flourished. However, Rome's very success proved to be its undoing. Rome ruled an empire in all but name and it was incapable of overseeing its own expanse. The fading republic was about to enter a period of civil war that would transform the Roman state into an empire. Men such as Marius, Sulla, and the Gracchi brothers would fight and plot to advance themselves and their agendas at the expense of the Roman people.

This book delves into the years 146 BC to 78 BC as the Romans dealt with a new situation. It is a story of both politics and war as the two were closely intertwined in the Roman state. The author delivers a clear, concise, and readable narrative of the period.

The Anatomy of Glory: Napoleon and His Guard (Henry Lachouque and Anne S.K. Brown, Frontline Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2017, 560 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $59.95, hardcover)



Napoleon Bonaparte ranks as one of the greatest generals in history. Likewise, his Imperial Guard is one of the most famous formations in history as well. Originally established as a small force of bodyguards on May 18, 1804, the unit grew in both size and importance until it was large enough to become a tactical reserve for the French Army in the field.

By the time Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812 the Guard had swelled to 50,000 and included not only Frenchmen, but also Dutch, Polish, and Mameluke soldiers. Napoleon used the crack guard as a grand reserve in battle.

Its reputation as an elite fighting force was only enhanced by its infrequent use, usually at a critical moment when it was need to swing the battle in French favor. Only experienced veterans and the best of new recruits were allowed to join the guard in an effort to keep its quality high. Regard for the Imperial Guard was so high that when it was defeated at Waterloo, the resulting loss of morale heralded not only the loss of the battle but the fate of Napoleon's attempted return.

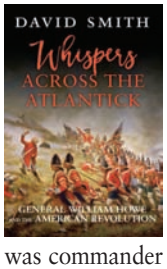
This is a reprint of what is perhaps the defining history of Napoleon's Imperial Guard. First published in 1961 by a pair of renowned historians, this is the fifth printing of the book. The work is extremely well detailed and lavishly illustrated with extensive technical appendices.

The Royal Air Force: A Centenary of Operations (Michael Napier, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2018, 340 pp., photographs, index, $40.00, Hardcover)

The United Kingdom's Royal Air Force was the world's first independent air arm, predating the U.S. Air Force by almost 30 years. Since its creation the RAF has been engaged in nearly continuous operations around the world, including two world wars, imperial policing duties, humanitarian operations, and numerous so-called small wars. Since its inception it has been considered one of the world's premier air forces, whether fighting Nazi Germany, conducting long-range bombing missions in the Falklands War, or precision strikes in the Middle East.

This coffee-table book commemorates the 100th anniversary of the RAF in both text and imagery. The author is a former RAF pilot and his experience is apparent in his coverage of its history. The photographs are numerous and well chosen, vividly showing the RAF's combat, transport, and reconnaissance aircraft. The work serves as a comprehensive study of the British Royal Air Force and its long history of service to its nation and the world.

Whispers Across the Atlantick: General William Howe and the American Revolution (David Smith, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2017, 304 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $34.00, hardcover)



During the early part of the American Revolutionary War General William Howe was commander of all British forces in North America. He was an enigma to many people. His troops loved him, and his enemies despised and feared him. There was even a murder plot hatched against him that included both American and British officers. More than once he appeared on the verge of winning a war, but then failed to clinch victory.

11-11: MEMORIES RETOLD PROMISES AND ARTISITIC AND EMOTIONAL WORLD WAR I NARRATIVE, AND *RISING STORM 2: VIETNAM* RECOGNIZES ITS COMMUNITY.

11-11: Memories Retold

There are so many unique ways to convey the reality of war in video games, so we always have our eyes open for something fresh and exciting. One of the most promising military titles on the horizon is a humble game called *11-11: Memories Retold,* which foregoes the traditional genres of strategy and white-knuckle action for a more contemplative, story-driven narrative based on World War I.

PUBLISHER
BANDAI NAMCO ENTERTAINMENT

GENRE
NARRRATIVE ADVENTURE

PLATFORMS
PC, PS4, XBOX ONE

AVAILABLE
TBA

Bandai Namco Entertainment is in charge of publishing for the project, which has developer DigixArt Studio teaming up with renowned animation studio Aardman Animations (*Wallace & Gromit, Chicken Run, Shaun the Sheep*). The art style they're working with is reminiscent of paintings, promising a unique experience that combines Aardman and DigixArt's talents with top music production. While details surrounding the story are still murky, the developers aim to use WWI as a lens through which they will be able to project a memorable and emotional narrative.

The title serves as a streamlined means of conveying historical significance. The Great War came to an end on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month of 1918 following the armistice agreement between Germany and the Allies. We commemorate this moment each year on Armistice Day, and it looks like *11-11: Memories Retold* will do so in its own special way when it eventually makes its debut on PlayStation 4, Xbox One, and PC.

For further details on the project, we'll need to leave it to representatives of Aardman and DigixArt, who produced some choice quotes for the initial announcement. Dave Sproxton, founder of Aardman Animation, had the following to say: "Engaging audiences with compelling stories through animation is at the heart of what we are trying to do at Aardman. With this project we want to produce an emotionally rich experience with distinctive visual character to help you understand what war is all about."

DigixArt game director Yoan Fanise echoed similar sentiments about *11-11*, saying, "11-11: Memories Retold is a very special game at many levels. From the painted style to the emotional journey we create for the players to revive their heritage, we are pushing the boundaries of what a game can be and hope it will leave a mark on you." Hopefully, the end results echo the same level of passion that is clearly being put into the game throughout its development.

Rising Storm 2: Vietnam

For something on the complete opposite end of the spectrum, *Rising Storm 2: Vietnam* takes the historical environment of the Vietnam War and uses it as the setting for massive 64-player battles. It's the United States military against the North Vietnamese guerrilla forces in this squad-based shooter that's been lighting up Steam for a while, and with the right teammates on your side there's a ton of guns-blazing fun to be had.

PUBLISHER
TRIPWIRE INTERACTIVE

GENRE
SHOOTER

PLATFORM
PC

AVAILABLE
NOW

While *Rising Storm 2* is a tactical shooter at heart, it manages to strike a decent balance between arcade-style shooting and down-to-Earth realism. Developer Antimatter Games took the framework established in the critically acclaimed *Rising Storm* and beefed it up with more unique abilities and tactics that manage to stay true to the era. Players can fire off surface-to-air missiles, set traps and ambushes, and call in napalm strikes to further suppress the relentless enemy forces. The fast-paced nature of online play keeps *Rising Storm 2* interesting throughout the often lengthy matches, and it's easy to customize your squad so you don't run into potentially deadly moments of confusion in the heat of battle.

Rising Storm 2: Vietnam has been pretty tight with its community since the beginning, and that emphasis was echoed in a recent contest that had modding community members competing to make the best maps and mods for the game. Round one winners were awarded $12,500 in prizes, with a total of $27,500 in cash prizes going to winners of round two. Best of all (well, the money is pretty hard to beat), the player-made maps and mods will be making their way into *Rising Storm 2* itself, so everyone will get the opportunity to officially taste what the community has been cooking.

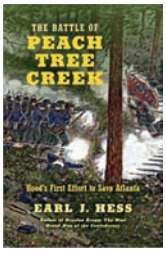
The first-place map alone—which is called Jungle Raid and came from *Rising Storm 2* player Tyler—earned its creator a cool $10,000. Other winning maps include Border Watch, Hoa Lu, and Resort, and some of the prizes for mods went to a Gameplay Overhaul Mutator and Green Army Men. It's always cool to see a developer willing to acknowledge the hard work of the modding community, which is where publisher Tripwire Interactive's founding members originated in the first place. They found success within the modding community for games like *Red Orchestra: Combined Arms,* so now it's their turn to pass on the love and support to their own players.

If you haven't played *Rising Storm 2: Vietnam* for yourself, it's worth digging into for anyone who has interest in the Vietnam War or simply enjoys large-scale online shooting. As is the case with most PC games, this is one that has been evolving on a consistent basis since its debut, so it'll be fun to watch how both the developers themselves and the active modding community change the way everything looks and works as the player base grows. □

Howe eventually was recalled to England to face trial for dereliction of duty and incompetence. He wound up arguing his case in the House of Commons, where he risked his reputation and even his very life. There were factions both for and against him within Parliament. His story became one of the great spectacles of the day.

This new account of Howe reads more like a novel or a courtroom drama than a dry history of a trial. The author uses new archival discoveries to bring life to an event that has long been ignored by historians due to a lack of primary source documents. This biography of the famous British general during his time of troubles is a fascinating look at an unknown chapter of the American Revolution.

The Battle of Peach Tree Creek: Hood's First Effort to Save Atlanta (Earl J. Hess, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2017, 344 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $37.50, hardcover)



When Confederate President Jefferson Davis replaced General Joseph E. Johnston with General John Bell Hood on July 17, 1864, it was with the understanding that Hood would counterattack the Union forces at the gates of Atlanta under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman rather than fight a defensive battle of the kind Johnston favored. Hood's elevation to command of the Army of Tennessee came as a shock to the Confederate rank and file.

One of Hood's first moves was to launch a counterattack against Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland, one of three Union armies under Sherman's command, at Peachtree Creek three days later. Although it initially caught Thomas by surprise, his troops prevailed in the pitched battle.

The author, who has written numerous first-rate works on the American Civil War, renders an in-depth account of the clash. Through careful research and analysis he arrives at new conclusions about the battle. Hess holds that because of flagging morale some of the Confederate units did not follow through on their orders to attack. By that point in the campaign, many of the Confederates believed their situation was hopeless. In contrast, the Union forces involved had high morale as a result of their string of victories during the Atlanta Campaign. Hess offers a gripping tactical account of the battle while placing it in the larger context of the campaign. □

intelligence

Continued from page 25

was just the girl to dare to do this thing."

She handed the dispatch from the Confederate agent in Winchester to Douglas. "I knew it must be Stonewall when I heard the first gun," she panted breathless. "Go back quick and tell him that the Yankee force is very small. [It consists of] one regiment of Maryland infantry, several pieces of artillery, and several companies of cavalry.... Tell him to charge right down and he will catch them all." She then walked back to town.

Jackson rode over to Douglas, who briefed his commander and handed him the dispatch. The Confederates quickly seized the town, and Kenly conducted a rearguard action on the north bank of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. After a furious artillery duel lasting an hour, Confederate cavalry forded the shallow North Fork in multiple place, making Kenly's position untenable.

The one-sided battle ended in a resounding victory for Southern arms, and Jackson's army netted 700 prisoners and captured all of Kenly's stores. Douglas scouted the streets for Belle and found her talking to a group of Federal prisoners. He handed her a note from Jackson. "I thank you, for myself and the army, for the immense service that you rendered your country today."

Jackson's Valley Campaign soon took him south again where he defeated Fremont at Cross Keys on June 8 and Tyler at Port Republic on June 9. When the Federals retook Front Royal, Belle was promptly arrested. The taciturn Union Secretary of War Edwin Stanton had issued instructions for her arrest and transport to Washington, where she was incarcerated at the Old Capital Prison. Her stint in prison did not break her spirit, though. Her sense of humor carried her through the experience.

Federal authorities eventually allowed her to depart for Richmond where she arrived to a hero's welcome. When Lee marched into Pennsylvania in June 1863, Belle took the opportunity to visit Martinsburg, which had returned to Confederate control. When the Federals returned following Lee's sorrowful retreat from Gettysburg, they placed Belle under house arrest. Stanton decided after a month to arrest her again and confine her in Washington. She was subsequently confined at Carrol Prison, an annex of the Old Capitol Prison.

When she helped three prisoners escape by distracting the guards, Federal authorities grew weary of her tricks. She was formally charged with espionage and sentenced to hard labor at Fort Monroe for the duration of the war. On her way by boat to the fortress, she learned that her sentence had been commuted. She was allowed to take a boat to Richmond.

Belle was so well known by that time that she could no longer perform the services of a spy. She discussed with Confederate President Jefferson Davis how she might assist the South. The Mississippian advised her to serve as a courier running dispatches back and forth to England on blockade runners. The boat she departed on, the *Greyhound*, was intercepted by a Federal cruiser, *Connecticut,* and Belle was taken aboard the Federal ship but not confined. One of the officers, Lieutenant Samuel Hardinge, became smitten with her. He subsequently proposed to her, but she declined. The cruiser docked in New York, and Belle quickly became the object of attention in the metropolis. The Northern press referred to her as "Cleopatra of the Secession."

Hardinge proposed a second time in New York City, and this time Belle accepted. They sailed to Boston, but Federal authorities in that staunchly abolitionist city would not permit Belle to stay. They advised her to go to Canada, but Belle decided to continue on to England as originally planned. Hardinge followed her shortly afterward, and they were wed abroad.

Hardinge was soon discharged from the U.S. Navy for neglect of duty. Under Belle's influence, he agreed to carry dispatches for the Confederate government aboard vessels bound for the Eastern Seaboard. He was caught, arrested, and imprisoned. To raise funds for herself and her imprisoned husband, Belle wrote her memoirs, which were published in England. At the same time, she embarked on an acting career. Hardinge's health failed, and he died in prison.

Belle eventually returned home where she began speaking tours. She married two more times. Her second husband was an English officer, and her third was an actor from Ohio. While on the tour circuit she died on June 11, 1900, of a heart attack in Kilbourn, Wisconsin. She was buried on Northern soil, where she perished.

Belle frequently embellished her achievements, and some are undoubtedly fabricated, particularly in the absence of corroborating accounts. Her accomplishments did little for the South as a whole, although they might have had some local effect in regard to what occurred in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. Her zealous nature speaks volumes about the spirit of Southerners who were willing to endure hardship for their beliefs. □

Antietam

Continued from page 31

Gregg's South Carolinians engaged the green 16th Connecticut and the 4th Rhode Island as they moved through the Otto cornfield. The 4th Rhode Island reeled under volleys that slashed their left flank, forcing it to withdraw. With the regiments around it compelled to retire, the 16th Connecticut ultimately withdrew as well.

Following on Gregg's heels, Branch's Tarheels went into action on Gregg's left flank. Branch ordered the 7th and 37th North Carolina, which formed the vanguard of his brigade, to advance at the double quick to intercept the 8th Connecticut. Caught in converging fire from Branch's Tarheels and Confederate batteries posted along the Harpers Ferry Road, the 8th Connecticut's losses began to pile up. Appelman ordered his men to retreat. He had lost 173 of his 350 men.

Branch's Tarheels changed front to the right to engage the 23rd Ohio and 30th Ohio of Ewing's brigade. The Buckeyes found themselves taking fire from Branch to their front and Archer and Gregg on their left flank, and they also withdrew.

During the confused fighting, Branch was reconnoitering for his brigade when he was struck in the head with a fatal bullet wound. His death came as a heavy blow to Lee's army.

At 5:30 PM Fairchild, Welsh, and Christ, who stated that their commands were threatened by the fresh Confederate forces arriving to their south, withdrew toward Antietam Creek. The enlisted men of these three Federal brigades were furious at having to give up ground for which they had bled heavily. The drive on Sharpsburg had ended.

The Union army suffered a crisis of leadership at the army and corps level at Antietam that cost it the battle. McClellan had literally thousands of fresh troops near the Middle Bridge in the form of Maj. Gen. Fitz John Porter's V Corps and Maj. Gen. William Franklin's VI Corps, with approximately 10,000 and 12,000 troops, respectively, which he refused to send to assist Burnside in his late afternoon drive on Sharpsburg.

The battle ended in a tactical draw. To McClellan's credit, though, he had turned back Lee's invasion of the North. The battle cost the Union approximately 12,400 casualties, and the Confederacy approximately 10,300 casualties. The following night the Confederates withdrew south across the Potomac. They would invade the North again in less than a year's time. □

Falaise

Continued from page 47

of annihilation in France in 1944 in the magnitude of their planning, the logic of their execution, the collaboration of sea, air, and ground forces, the size of the theatre, the strength of the combatants, the bulk of the booty, or the hordes of prisoners," Bayerlein wrote. "Its greatest importance, however, consists in its strategic efforts, that is, that it laid the foundation for the subsequent final and complete annihilation of the greatest military state on earth."

The German armies in France were in no way completely destroyed in the Falaise Pocket. On the river below Rouen in eastern Normandy, a five-mile-long line of undamaged German armor and vehicles sat stopped for an entire day and night. They were waiting while German engineers worked on repairing a damaged railway bridge, the only possible way to cross the river. Heavy rain had kept the Allied air forces grounded for the time being. Sporadic artillery fire inflicted some losses, but thousands of men and vehicles were soon travelling toward Germany. The Germans who made their way out would prove invaluable to Hitler in the coming weeks, forming the skeleton on which the western defense of the Reich would be based.

"We were shell shocked and exhausted," wrote 1st SS Panzer Division Major Herbert Rink. "Once behind the West Wall, we could join all the defeated, decimated German units, all those who had made it through 600 kilometers of horrifying crushing battles.... We, who had come depleted and exhausted from the inferno of Caen, through the breakout from the pocket at Falaise, through the nerve-racking defeat across France, and partisan-plagued Belgium—we had gathered our strength and rebuilt our confidence."

Eisenhower described the battlefield of Falaise as one of the greatest killing fields of all time. "Forty-eight hours after the closing of the gap, I was conducted through it on foot to encounter scenes that could be described only by Dante," wrote Eisenhower. "It was literally possible to walk for hundreds of yards at a time stepping on nothing but dead and decaying flesh."

The Germans abandoned Paris without a fight. Leclerc's French 2nd Armored Division arrived in Paris on August 25 to find the French Resistance in control. From that point forward, the Allies plotted their strategy for carrying the war into Belgium to liberate Brussels.

One of the most important reasons for the Allied success in France was the lackluster response of the German Luftwaffe and Kriegsmarine. The Luftwaffe had withdrawn most of its remaining planes from France, and the Kriegsmarine was outmatched by the combined Allied navies. The fractured German command structure also contributed to the German defeat in France. Simply put, Hitler's involvement proved a hindrance to strategic operations.

The inability of the Allied leaders to throw caution to the wind in the Battle of the Falaise Pocket, as Patton had urged, resulted in a great missed opportunity for the Allies failed to close the pocket, thereby forcing the Germans to surrender, as they had at Stalingrad, or face annihilation.

Even after the fighting at Falaise was over, the Allied leaders remained hidebound. They remained fixated on liberating Brittany, even though the offensive into that region amounted to little more than a sideshow. For that reason, they insisted that Patton carry out the plans established before the D-Day landings. The plan called for Patton to move the entire Third Army toward Brittany. Patton protested that sticking with the original plans was a mistake. He wanted to attack toward Germany, not away from it. Eisenhower and Bradley made one concession. They allowed Patton to reduce his offensive in Brittany by one corps. This left two corps to pursue the Germans retreating toward Germany.

Germans casualties in the Falaise Pocket amounted to 30,000 killed and wounded and 50,000 captured. In contrast, the Allies suffered 10,000 casualties. In addition, the Germans lost nearly all of their fighting vehicles. Specifically, they lost 220 tanks, 160 assault guns, 700 towed artillery pieces, 130 antiaircraft guns, 130 half-tracks, 5,000 motor vehicles, and 2,000 wagons.

The battle destroyed German resistance in Normandy. Model told Hitler that his panzer and panzergrenadier divisions only averaged between five to 10 tanks. Many of the German divisions that reassembled east of the pocket had only about 300 soldiers, although a few had upward of 3,000 men. Das Reich, for example, emerged from the Falaise Pocket with only 450 men and 15 tanks.

The one ray of hope for the Germans was that most of their divisions and corps headquarters units managed to escape relatively intact. The Germans lost only three of their 15 divisional commanders and one of their five corps commanders. This enabled the Germans to quickly reorganize the survivors of the battle for the hard fighting in which the Allies would have to pry the Germans from their superb defensive positions along the border of the Fatherland. □

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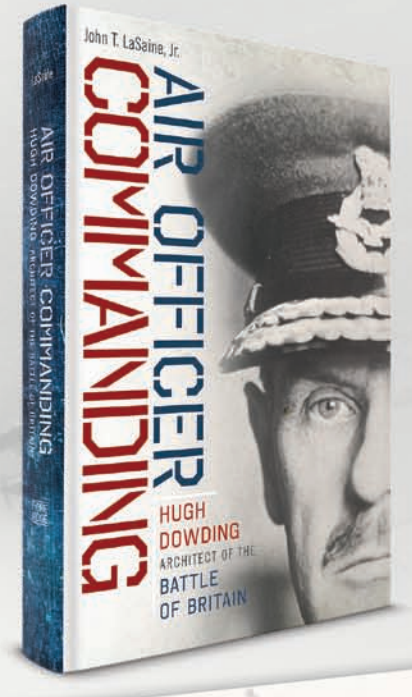

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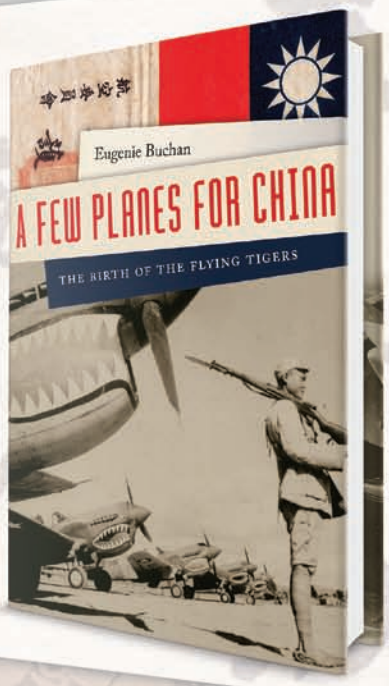

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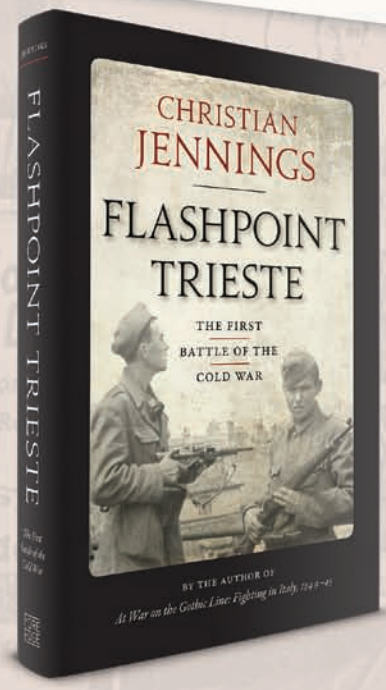

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