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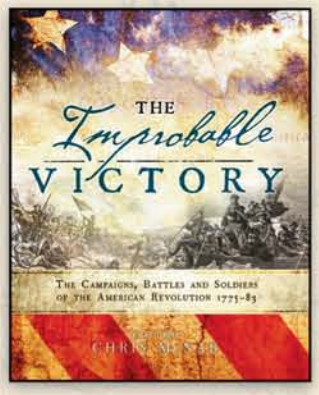

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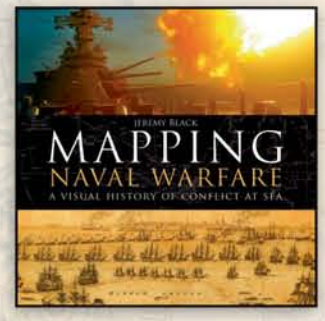

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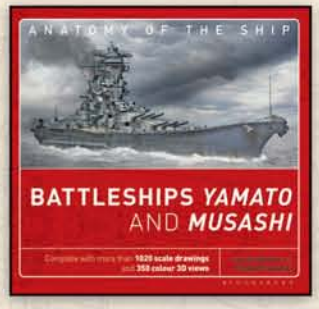

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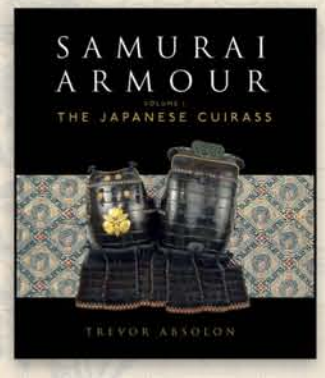

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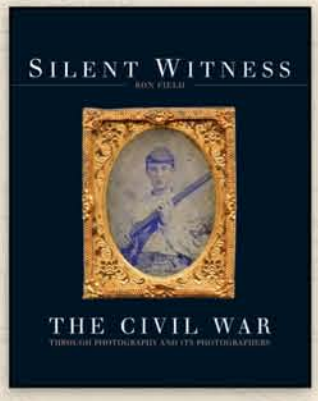

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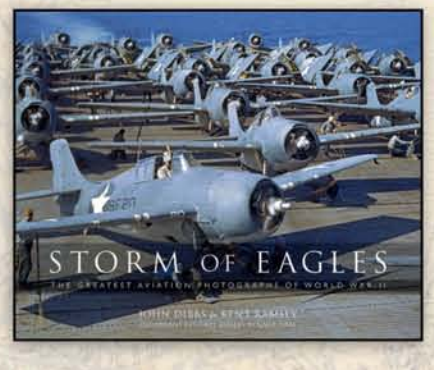

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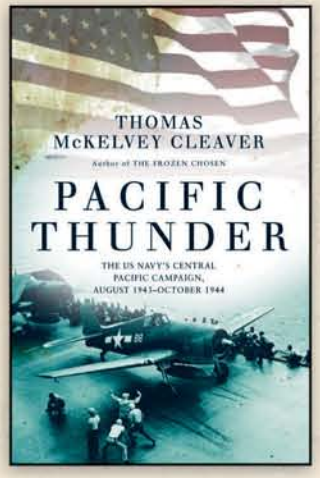

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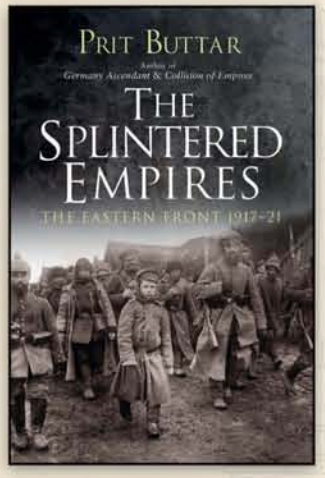

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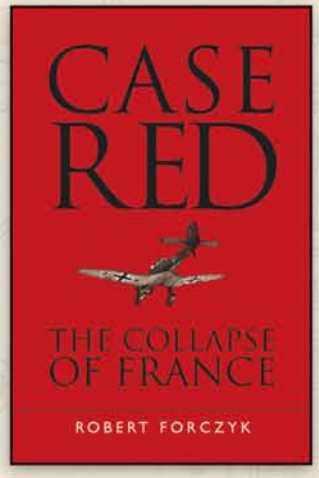

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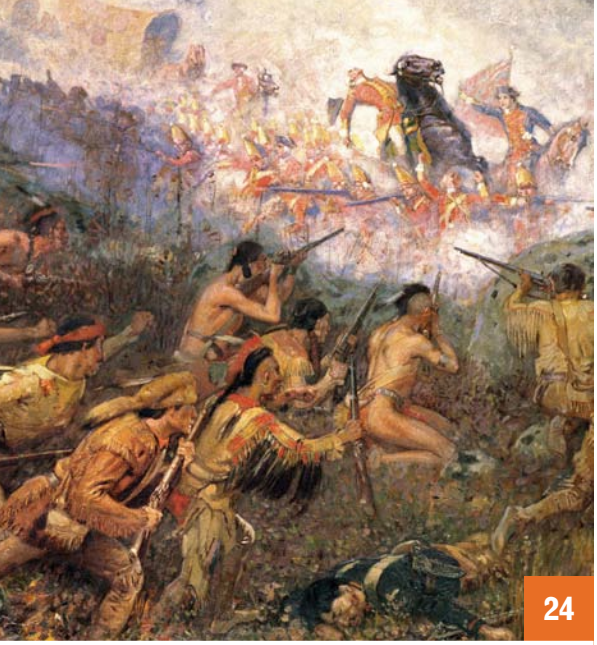

MILITARY HERITAGE

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Cover: Lord Cardigan leads the Light Brigade during their legendary charge at Balaclava during the Crimean War. See story page 48. Image: Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.

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

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Heavy infantry comes of age in the Swiss Confederacy.

THE AMBUSH OF DUKE KING LEOPOLD I'S ARMY BY Swiss foot soldiers on the mountain road at Morgarten in 1315 ushered in a roughly 200-year period where the hard-hitting Swiss maintained a reputation as elite foot soldiers. The Swiss made a name for themselves as they fought with their neighbors to establish and expand their confederation.

The free peasants of the Forest Cantons from which sprang the Swiss Confederacy were wealthy enough by the mid-13th century to purchase their freedom from the feudal lords who held sway over them. Their wealth derived from the pivotal role they played in assisting French, German, and Italian merchants in moving freight through key Alpine passes such as St. Gotthard. The close contact the Swiss had with the communes of northern Italy had a lot to do with Swiss proficiency in battlefield tactics.

Hard lives in an unforgiving climate in which they had to be self-reliant made excellent foot soldiers of the Swiss. The Swiss foot initially relied on the halberd and crossbow during the growth of their Confederacy. To a lesser extent they used swords, war clubs, and flails.

The free peasants who filled the Swiss ranks followed no code of chivalry by which it was deemed necessary to ransom enemy princes and lords. They had a reputation for never giving quarter and reveled in the slaughter of their foe. On some occasions they even tore their hearts out.

Swiss commanders showed a remarkable grasp of how to use terrain to their advantage. Through skilled use of high ground, Swiss generals pulled off impressive victories against superior forces at Morgarten in 1302 and Nafels in 1388. In both cases the Swiss occupied the high ground, which allowed them to roll boulders down on their surprised foe before charging them on foot.

The Battle of Arbedo in 1422 between the Swiss and the Milanese was a watershed event for Swiss tactics. The Swiss, who were outnumbered five to one, formed into a defensive circle. After several charges, the Milanese cavalry dismounted and used their lances as spears, which allowed them to outreach the halberds used by the Swiss.

In the aftermath of the battle, the Swiss Confederacy decided to adopt the pike as its main weapon. The halberdiers, from that point forward, guarded the banners and dispatched any enemy troops who managed to break through the pike ranks.

The Swiss became masters of the pike in the late 14th century, using it for both offensive and defensive purposes. They fought in deep columns rather than broad phalanxes. The charge of a Swiss infantry column could rout enemy cavalry if the latter allowed itself to be surprised and trapped in a confined area in which it could not maneuver or escape. The Swiss achieved famous victories with their pike formations at Laupen, Grandson, and Novara.

The death knell for the Swiss pike armies was a string of losses in the Italian Wars of the early 16th century. The arquebus and the handgun spelled the end of the Swiss pike formations. But what a glorious time it had been for the Swiss.

—William E. Welsh

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WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK

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By William E. Welsh

Roger de Flor's Catalan Company went to war in 1302 for a dangerously fragile Byzantine Empire.

AN ASSAULT ON AN ALAN WOMAN BY AN ALMOGAVAR OF THE Catalan Company exploded into a skirmish between the two groups of allies in the pay of the Byzantine Empire on April 9, 1303. The incident occurred at Cyzicus on the southern shores of the Sea of Marmara, a short trip by boat from Constantinople. This was no fist fight; rather, the scuffle was fought with swords and daggers. Some of the Alans attacked the Almogavars, and the latter counterattacked, driving those who initiated the assault into their multistory barracks. The allied army, under the command of Grand Duke Roger de Flor, contained far more Almogavars than Alans. As the Almogavars sought to batter down the doors, the defenders grabbed stones and tiles and dropped them from the rooftop and windows onto the attackers. The Almogavars broke down the doors, overwhelmed the Alans, and drove them from the building.

The unfortunate incident left several hundred dead in the area where the fighting occurred. Among the dead was the son of the Alan chieftain. The chieftain, who contemporary accounts name only as George, was inconsolable. De Flor went to him immediately and apologized for the deaths. The grand duke offered gold in compensation for the death of George's son, but the grief-stricken chieftain refused. He regarded the offer as an additional insult. Of the surviving Alans, one-third refused to continue fighting alongside the Almogavars against the Turks.

De Flor usually looked the other way when his troops provoked rivals or mistreated the people they had been hired to protect. He and his men were cut from the same cloth. At the time, 35-year-old de Flor was "a man in the prime of his life, of terrible aspect, quick in gesture, and impetuous in all his actions," wrote 13th-century Byzantine Greek historian George Pachymeres. In the case of the bloody riot at Cyzicus, de Flor's laissez-faire attitude toward the barbaric behavior of his men would have dire consequences.

De Flor was the son of Richard von Blum, a falconer who was a member of the household troops of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. Unlike most of the Holy Roman Emperors who lived in Germany, Frederick Hohenstaufen was born in Italy. He inherited the Kingdom of Sicily from his mother, which gave him control of Sicily as well as a large part of southern Italy. After Frederick's death in 1250, Blum served Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred, who became King of Sicily. Blum married a maiden named Beatrice who lived in Brindisi.

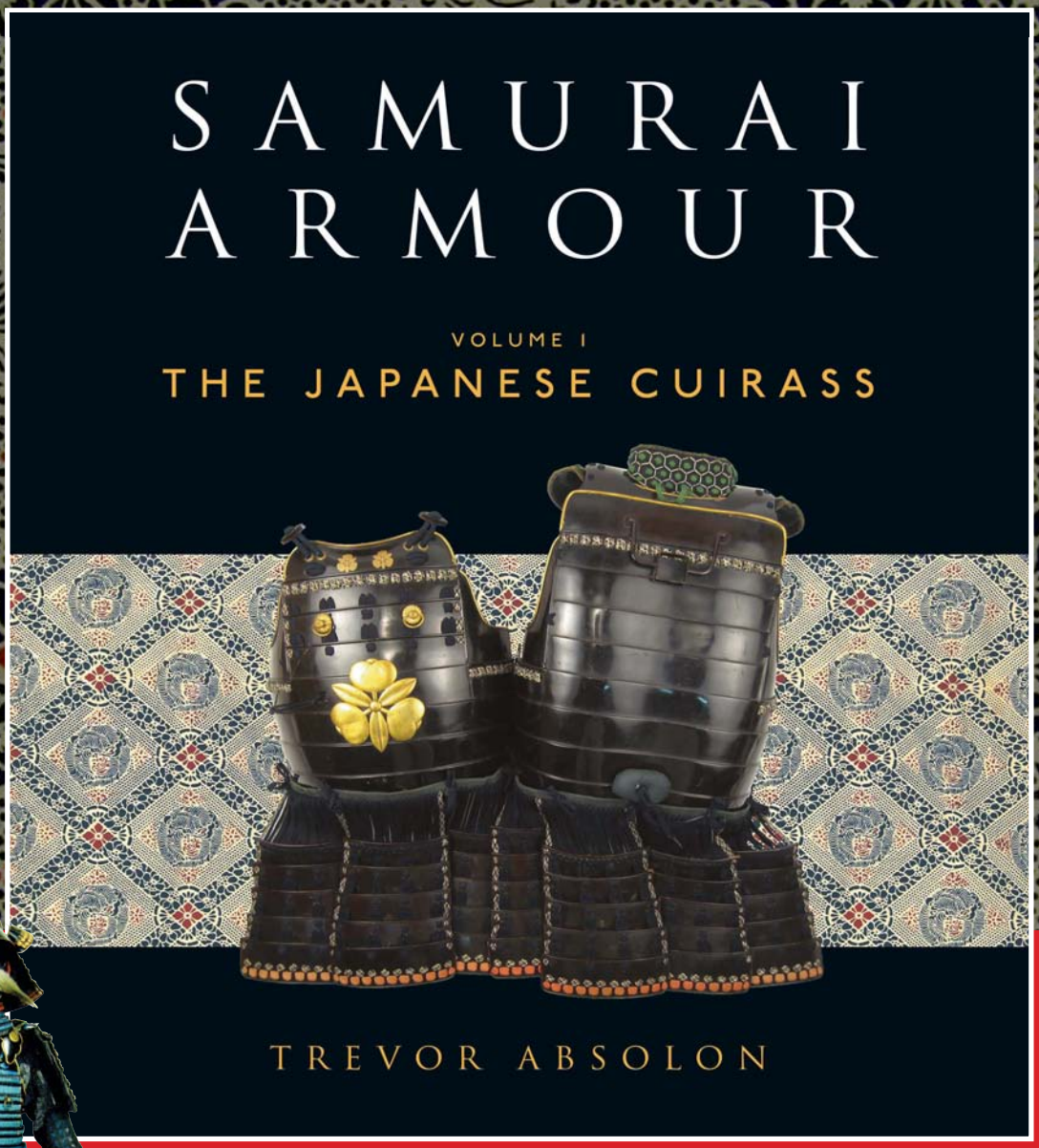
The Papacy despised the Hohenstaufens, and they recruited Count Charles of Anjou, the youngest brother of French King Louis IX, to oust King Manfred from the Sicilian throne. Charles subsequently invaded the kingdom in 1266 and killed Man-

Alamy

Roger de Flor and his Catalan Company parade past Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos upon their arrival in Constantinople in 1302.

THE BEAUTY AND SOUL OF

THE SAMURAI



For beauty, precision and strength, nothing has ever matched the combination of form and function of samurai armour. The samurai's suit of armour was the embodiment of his personality, social status and very soul. Drawing on over 20 years of research by author and expert Trevor Absolon, and stunningly illustrated with photographs and diagrams throughout, *Samurai Armour* is more than just a detailed technical exploration; it is a meditation on a process that was, and still is, nothing short of an art form.

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fred at the Battle of Benevento. The following year Beatrice gave birth to a son she and her husband named Rutger, which later became Anglicized to Roger. When Frederick's grandson Conradin Hohenstaufen arrived from Germany and tried to regain control of the Kingdom of Sicily from Charles, Blum died fighting the Angevins in the Battle of Tagliacozzo in 1268.

Beatrice returned to Brindisi where she and her son lived hand to mouth. The young boy loved to play on the ships tied to the wharf. The captain of a galley belonging to the Knights Templar offered to teach Roger to be a sailor. With no better future in store for him, Beatrice agreed. At the age of eight, he joined the crew of the galley in 1275. In the following years, Roger learned to navigate a ship.

When de Flor turned 20, he joined the Knights Templar as a sergeant brother. The Templars assigned him to serve as captain of a supply ship. He frequently put in to Famagusta, Cyprus, and he married a woman on the island who gave him a daughter. During the harrowing siege of Acre by the Mamluks in April-May 1291, he fought on the walls for a brief period. In the final days of the siege, he allegedly charged exorbitant fees to noncombatants bound for Famagusta to escape the imminent fall of the city to the bloodthirsty Muslim hordes. He was alleged to have not only taken gold and silver, but also all of the jewels of the French ladies he ferried to Famagusta.

When the Templars learned that he had accumulated substantial personal wealth, they further accused him of stealing money from their coffers, even though the money he had in his possession may have been amassed entirely through exorbitant fares. With charges of theft and embezzlement hanging over his head, de Flor resigned from the military order. That was not the end of the matter, though. The Knights Templar shared the results of their findings with the Papacy, and Pope Boniface VIII branded him a thief and apostate. Having been raised at sea where lawlessness was rampant, it is not surprising that his morality was different from that of the rigid Catholic military order.

De Flor eventually wound up in Genoa where a sympathetic merchant named Ticino Doria helped him purchase a ship. The fallen Templar subsequently embarked on a career as a pirate aboard his vessel *Olivetta* using the name Friar Roger. He enjoyed substantial success. He kept many of the boats he captured, and ultimately headed an entire pirate fleet. At the time the western Mediterranean was in the middle of a protracted conflict that pitted Angevins and Aragonese against each other for control of the Sicilian crown. In 1282, the Aragonese had

Accused of embezzlement and other crimes by the Knights Templar committed during the siege of Acre in 1291 (above), Pope Boniface VIII branded de Flor a thief and apostate. But other employers had no qualms with his nature provided he won victories for them.

taken control of the island of Sicily, leaving the Angevins in control of the mainland portion of the Kingdom of Sicily. Frederick III of Sicily continued the war against the Angevins that his father King Peter III of Aragon had begun. Frederick needed another skilled admiral and hired de Flor at some unspecified point in the mid-1290s and gave him the rank of vice admiral.

When the War of the Sicilian Vespers between the Angevins and Aragonese concluded with the Peace of Caltabellotta in 1302, Frederick had thousands of unemployed Almogavars on the island. When word reached him via Genoese merchants that Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos was in desperate need of experienced mercenaries to hold back the Turks in Anatolia, he arranged for de Flor to lead the Almogavars to Byzantium. De Flor demanded that the Almogavars receive twice the pay normally given to Byzantine mercenaries. Andronicus agreed.

The cost of the ships and equipment to transport the Catalan Company was financed by King Frederick, de Flor, and a loan of 20,000 ducats from Genoese financiers. De Flor set sail later that year at the head of a 39 galleys and transports that carried the 6,500 men of the Catalan Company to Constantinople.

The Almogavar foot soldiers hailed from Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia. They had fought in the Reconquista, as well as the War of the Sicilian Vespers, in which they fought for the Aragonese. They were armed much like Roman soldiers with javelins and short swords. The Almogavars had a reputation for ferocity in battle, and they could fight equally well either in open formation as skirmishers or in closed formation as main force infantry. The Almogavars of the Catalan Company "died hard in battle and were ready to gamble their lives," wrote Pachymeres. When under attack or going into battle, each soldier banged his weapons together above his head and collectively they shouted, "Aur! Aur! Desperta Ferre!"("Iron, awake!").

Andronicus was the son of Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, who had recovered Constantinople and revived the Greek Byzantine Empire in 1261 from the Latin rulers who had controlled it for nearly six decades following the Fourth Crusade. On the whole, the Byzantines had a deep distrust for Latin warriors given that the Latin Crusaders and Venetians had conquered and sacked Constantinople in 1204 and installed one of their leaders as emperor. The Palaiologos ruled the Empire of Nicea and crushed a Latin alliance at the Battle of Pelagonia in 1259 that led to their recapture of the imperial throne.

The Byzantine Empire that Andronicus inherited was nothing like the empire that existed at the time of the First Crusade. It controlled less territory in Europe, and it lacked a strong army and navy. When the Catalan Company arrived it was merely a minor regional power trying to maintain its frontiers against constant incursions. Andronicus had made his son Michael IX Palaiologos co-emperor to help him govern the empire and wage war against the Turks.

A blessing of sorts occurred in 1301 when 5,000 Alan warriors arrived on the northern border of Byzantium and petitioned the emperor for permission to enter and serve in its army. Andronicus allowed them to enter, and they were assigned to help protect the eastern frontier in western Anatolia; however, they performed poorly. The matter reflected badly on Michael IX because he was responsible for the overall defense of the empire's frontiers in Europe and Asia.

Christian refugees were crowded along the western coast of Anatolia, and the Byzantine towns were besieged by Turkish armies. The Byzantines lacked a gifted army commander, and Andronicus believed de Flor could defeat the Turks. He bestowed upon de Flor the title of grand duke. He also approved de Flor's request that one of his senior officers, Ferdinand d'Aones, be given command of the fleet supplying the company's Anatolian expedition.

The Almogavars had no sooner arrived in Galata, the Genoese suburb opposite the

Golden Horn from Constantinople, in September 1302 than they became involved in a street fight with the Genoese. The Genoese served as the de facto navy for the Byzantines. When their sailors and marines discerned that the Greeks were giving the Almogavars preferential treatment, they initiated the brawl. The fight escalated to the point that a Genoese officer named Roseo de Final deployed his banner. At that point, the Almogavars counterattacked with a vengeance, slaying de Final and many of his troops.

The Catalan Company debarked at Cyzicus where a Byzantine force partially composed of Alans was bottled up on the Artaki Peninsula behind a defensive wall that ran the width of the isthmus. A large army of Karasid Turks attacked the wall each day. After learning that their main camp was six miles to the east, de Flor conducted a night march that brought his army to the fringe of the camp just before daybreak. De Flor had 8,000 Almogavars and Alans against 15,000 Turks. The grand duke led the armored cavalry, while Seneschal Corberan d'Alet led the Almogavar infantry. The Latin mercenaries launched a spirited attack at dawn, catching the enemy by surprise. The Turks' main weapon was the bow and arrow. The Almogavars rushed them to minimize the amount of time they would have to endure the shower of arrows the Turks fired at them. Most of the Turks fled once they realized that they could not stand up against the better led Latin soldiers. Those who did try to make a stand fought in small groups on the plateau where their tents stood. They were slaughtered as the Almogavars gave no quarter. Unfortunately, most of the Turks escaped. When news of the great victory reached Constantinople, Andronicus and his wife Princess Irene celebrated.

The Almogavars of the Iberian Peninsula were among the Mediterranean region's best fighters. The bloodthirsty mercenaries were eager for fresh conquests at the conclusion of the War of the Sicilian Vespers.

The Almogavars returned to Cyzicus where they remained during the winter months. They behaved in a boorish manner toward the Byzantines living on the Artaki Peninsula. They looked down on the Greeks simply because they were

Alamy

Byzantine co-emperor Michael IX Palaiologos, who loathed de Flor, orchestrated his murder in 1305. The Almogavars vowed to avenge his death, and they made good on their promise in a savage campaign known as the Catalan Vengeance.

weaker soldiers. A senior officer of the company, Ferdinand Jimenez D'Arenos, complained to de Flor of the Almogavars' behavior, but the commander-in-chief of the army refused to take any disciplinary action.

In March 1303 de Flor met with Andronicus in Constantinople. His orders for the spring campaign were to relieve the city of Philadelphia 220 miles south of Cyzicus, which was besieged by a large Turkish army. While final preparations were being made for the overland campaign, rioting broke out between the Alans, who also were encamped on the peninsula, and the Almogavars. The death of the Alan leader's son earned de Flor the lifelong animosity of the Alan general. By that point both the Alan leader and Michael IX wished him dead.

The besiegers of Philadelphia were mainly Karamanlides, whose homeland lay far to the east in central Anatolia. They were awed by the Catalan Company's "military discipline, the gleam of their weapons, and the superlative elan of the Latins," noted 14th-century Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras. Even though they lacked the discipline of the Almogavars, the 20,000-strong Turkish army nevertheless offered battle. De Flor was heavily outnumbered, but he did not hesitate to attack, given that he had complete confidence in his men. The Turkish light cavalry, although numerous, was unable to defeat the more heavily armored Catalan cavalry. Once again the Almogavar infantry rushed to engage the enemy infantry and swept them from the field. The Turks lifted the siege and withdrew. De Flor's losses amounted to 180 men.

De Flor was hailed by Andronicus and those whom he had saved from the clutches of the Turks as "The Deliverer of Asia." After the relief of Philadelphia, he cleared the Turks from southwestern Anatolia, securing a number of key towns, including Ephesus, Magnesia, and Sardis.

De Flor then returned to Magnesia on the Meander River, which served as his headquarters in Anatolia. He began to plan a new campaign by which he would retake the southern coast of Anatolia from the Turks. In the spring of 1304 de Flor led his Byzantine army through southern Anatolia to Konya where the army turned east on the road used by the Latin Crusaders. This road led to the Cilician Gates in the Taurus Mountains. For most of their march, the Turks maintained a safe distance, but they launched a major attack on de Flor's army just before it entered the mountain pass known as the Iron Gates of Cilicia. The two sides fought a day-long battle at Cybistra in which the Latin troops emerged victorious. Although some of his senior officers tried to persuade de Flor to focus on setting up his own principality in Anatolia, he remained loyal to Andronicus. After receiving thanks from Armenians who rejoiced at his victory over the bothersome Turks, de Flor returned to his base at Magnesia.

At the end of the campaigning season, Andronicus summoned de Flor to Constantinople. De Flor took a picked force of Almogavars with him, and they bivouacked at Gallipoli. This time the emperor had difficulty raising the money to pay the Catalan Company. Because of that, de Flor instructed his Almogavars to plunder the area and take what they felt was due them. It marked an end to the mutually beneficial understanding that Andronicus and de Flor had shared. In further negotiations with Andronicus, de Flor coerced the emperor into promoting him to the lofty rank of caesar with authority over the Byzantine territories in Anatolia. When Michael IX learned of this, his hatred for de Flor reached new heights.

Shortly afterward, Michael IX invited de Flor to attend a lavish banquet. The Byzantine co-emperor had previously refused to meet with de Flor, and so it came as a pleasant surprise to the Almogavar leader. To ensure his safety, he took 300 Almogavars with him. When the Latins arrived at the banquet on April 30, 1305, they found themselves greatly outnumbered by the Alans in attendance. Almost immediately the Alans attacked the Almogavars. In the ensuing bloody skirmish, the Alan leader who had a vendetta against de Flor for killing his son made sure that de Flor was hacked to death by his men.

The Almogavar forces in Byzantium revolted immediately. Command devolved to senior commander Berenguer d'Entenza. The Catalan Company won a decisive victory three months later over Michael IX's Byzantine army at Apros in Thrace. This marked the beginning of what became known as the "Catalan Vengeance." During the next four years, the Catalan Company ravaged the Byzantine territories of Macedonia and Thrace. In the eyes of the Roman Church, the Almogavars' brutality exceeded the bounds of accepted warfare. Branding them "senseless sons of damnation," Pope Clement V excommunicated them.

Duke Walter of Athens eventually hired them as mercenaries, but they turned on him, too. The Almogavars defeated and overthrew the duke at the Battle of Cephisus in March 1311. Thereafter, the Catalan Company took control of the Duchy of Athens. To give their rule a sense of legitimacy in the eyes of the Latin world, they chose King Frederick III of Sicily as their sovereign, and he appointed his son Manfred to serve as its duke. The duchy remained under Aragonese control until 1388.

Although the territory in Anatolia that de Flor had conquered quickly reverted to Turkish control, de Flor and his successors showed that a well-led, crack force of mercenaries could reverse the downward spiral of a kingdom or empire. The Catalan Company's feats inspired mercenaries throughout the following centuries. □

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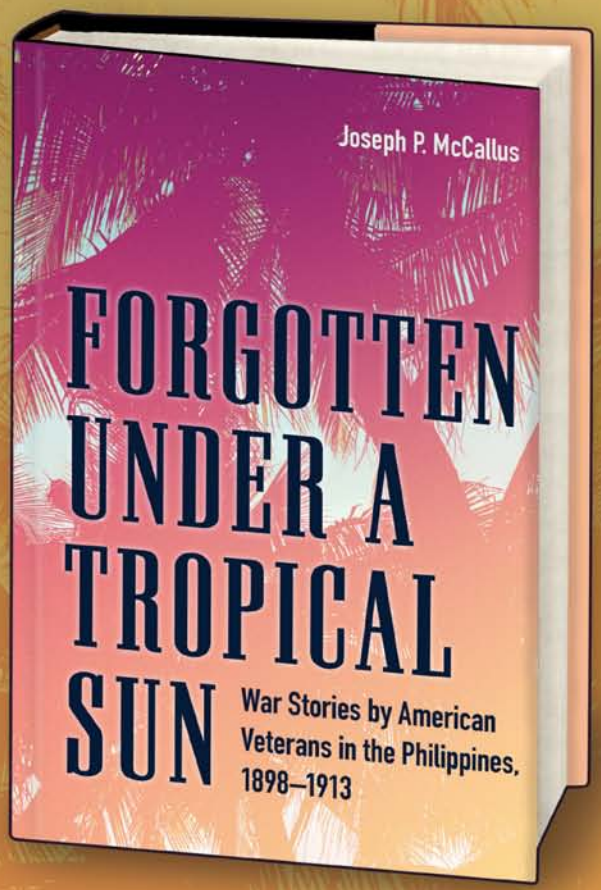

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By Blaine Taylor

The German battleship *Tirpitz* tied up British naval and air resources until she was destroyed near the close of World War II.

APRIL 1, 1939, WAS A RED-LETTER DAY IN THE HISTORY OF THE reborn German Kriegsmarine for two key reasons. First, Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler presented the fleet's chief, Erich Raeder, with an ornate, icon-studded Navy blue baton of office as the first grand admiral since the days of the Kaiser Wilhelm II. This was done with great ceremony and a gala luncheon afterward aboard the new battle cruiser *Scharnhorst*, anchored on Jade Bay in the former Imperial port of Wilhelmshaven. Second, the Kriegsmarine christened and launched the Third Reich's newest and most modern battleship, the *Tirpitz,* on the same day. The *Tirpitz,* the last battleship the Third Reich would build, was the sister ship to the *Bismarck*. But the *Tirpitz* was heavier than the *Bismarck*. Moreover, it had the distinction of being the largest warship built in Europe up to that point in time.

The name of the new battleship paid tribute to Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, who worked with the Kaiser to create Germany's powerful and impressive High Seas Fleet, which served and protected the empire from 1898 to 1918. Tirpitz was a gruff old salt who sported a Neptune-like pointed beard. When the Kaiser refused to allow him to command the fleet during the Great War, he resigned in a huff in 1916. Turning his attention to politics, he founded the pro-war Fatherland Party and was subsequently elected to the German Reichstag as a deputy. Sadly, he was not alive to see the ship that bore his name slide into the water in 1939 for he had died nine years earlier. But his daughter, Ilse von Hassell, was present. She was on hand for the April 1 ceremony in which Hitler named the mighty vessel honoring her late father and she christened it.

Just two months before Hitler had authorized Raeder to enact his ambitious Plan Z. The plan entailed the expansion of the Kriegsmarine so that it could successfully challenge the naval power of the United Kingdom. The ambitious plan called for a naval force composed of 10 battleships, 15 pocket battleships, four aircraft carriers, 250 submarines, and more than 100 cruisers and destroyers.

The Kriegsmarine had sketched out the ambitious plan the previous year. The grandiose German super fleet envisioned by Hitler and the Kriegsmarine would not be ready until 1948. But the British declared war on September 3, 1939, on Nazi Germany before the Kriegsmarine had made any tangible progress toward the plan's goals.

At that point, Raeder had only two 15-inch-gun battleships, three 11-inch-gun pocket battleships, two 11-inch-gun battle cruisers, two 8-inch-gun heavy cruisers, six 6-inch-gun light cruisers, 34 destroyers, and 57 U-boats. The *Bismarck* had launched on February 14, and the *Tirpitz* on April 1.

The *Tirpitz* fires her 15-inch main guns in the Baltic Sea in 1941. The British Royal Navy saw the huge battleship as a threat to merchant vessels and troop convoys bound for the British Isles.

The Germans never built any aircraft carriers with which to counter the French and British fleets. The odds against the Germans at sea increased dramatically when the Soviet Union and United States entered the war in 1941. Raeder faced an early sea war that he neither expected nor wanted, but Hitler showed little concern for grand admiral's wishes.

The *Tirpitz* displaced 41,700 tons, was 828 feet long, and had a beam of 119 feet and a draft of 36 feet. Three geared steam turbine engines powered the Bismarck-class battleship. She had a dozen superheated boilers that when working in tandem produced a maximum speed of 30 knots. Her wartime crew numbered 108 officers and 2,500 enlisted sailors.

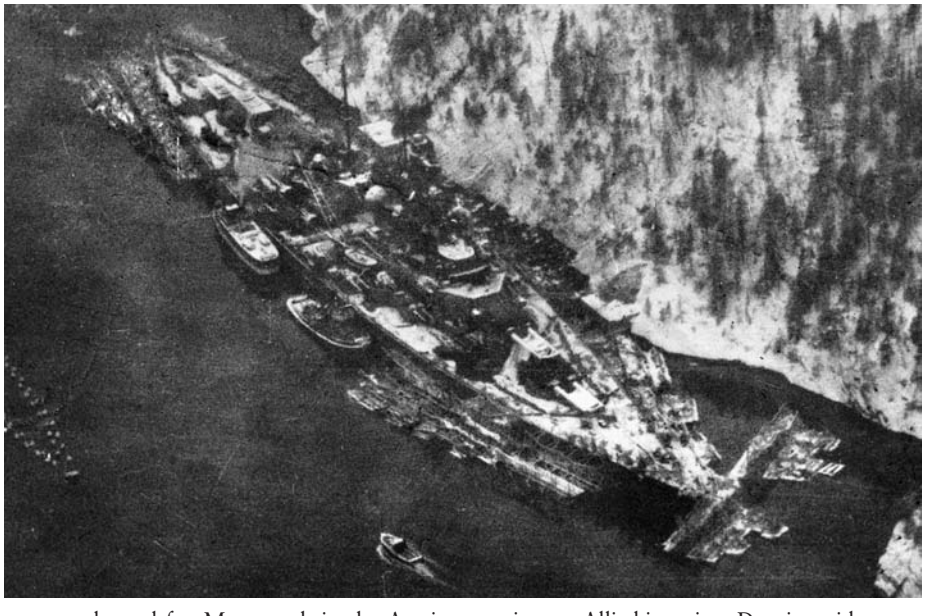
The *Tirpitz*'s main armament was her eight deadly 15-inch guns, which were housed in four turrets. One pair of the 15-inch guns was located forward and another pair was located aft. The guns had a maximum range of 22.4 miles. The fore turrets were named Anton and Bruno, and the aft turrets were named Caesar and Dora.

The *Tirpitz*'s secondary armament consisted of a dozen 5.9-inch guns housed in six double turrets, three of which were located on each side amidships. For protection against incoming enemy rounds, the *Tirpitz* had belted armor plating that was 13 inches thick. The battleship's turrets, gunnery control, and command posts were individually protected with additional armor; however, the antiaircraft positions lacked overhead cover. In addition, she also boasted two quadruple 21-inch torpedo mountings on deck.

Installed foreward, foretop, and aft, the *Tirpitz* featured Model 26 search radar rangefinders, as well as a Model 30 on her topmast and a Model 213 fire-control radar unit aft, which complemented her 4.1-inch antiaircraft gun rangefinders.

To meet her aerial reconnaissance needs, the *Tirpitz* possessed four Arado Ar-196 seaplanes. The crew launched the single-wing seaplanes using a double-ended, 34-yard-long telescoping catapult. The seaplanes were armed with machine guns and cannons, and also could carry one 110-pound bomb to strike enemy submarines caught on the surface. The crew retrieved the seaplanes from the ocean surface by hauling them back on board by crane.

The Royal Navy viewed the *Tirpitz* as a menace not only to its warships, but also to merchant vessels that brought food and ammunition to the British Isles. From her Baltic Sea home port, the *Tirpitz* could intercept Allied convoys bound for Murmansk in the Arctic Circle. Because of these threats, the British Royal Navy and Royal Air Force had to delegate a large complement of naval and air resources to counter the threat the *Tirpitz* posed. This was known as the fleet-in-being concept by which a powerful warship or naval force poses a threat without ever leaving port.



ABOVE: The *Tirpitz* constituted a "fleet in being" that tied up British Royal Navy and Royal Air Force resources delegated to countering the threat of the battleship sortieing from her Norwegian lair. BELOW: The *Tirpitz* lies shrouded in camouflage netting in Aas Fjord in central Norway. The only time the *Tirpitz* fired her main guns in action was during the operation to destroy Allied weather stations on Spitsbergen in September 1943.

In the aftermath of the sinking of the *Bismarck* on May 27, 1941, the Kriegsmarine was reluctant to send the *Tirpitz* on raiding missions in the North Atlantic Ocean. Such missions became even less practical in the wake of the British commando raid against St. Nazaire on March 28, 1942, in which the port's dry dock was severely damaged.

In light of such setbacks, Hitler insisted that the *Tirpitz* deploy to Norwegian waters to shore up the German-occupied country's maritime defenses. Hitler's rationale was that the *Tirpitz* could help defend the Norwegian coast against an Allied invasion. Despite evidence to the contrary, he firmly believed that the Western Allies would attempt a seaborne invasion of Norway. He even feared a possible invasion of northern Norway by the Soviet Union.

The first attacks by the Royal Navy's Fleet Air Arm occurred while the *Tirpitz* was under construction at Wilhelmshaven, but she was not hit. The *Tirpitz* was commissioned on February 25, 1941. British Royal Air Force aircraft failed to score any hits on the *Tirpitz* while she was undergoing extensive trials and crew training in the Baltic Sea.

As captain of the Kaiser's yacht *Hohenzollern* before World War I, Raeder had firsthand knowledge of the location of many of the protective Norwegian fjords to which he ordered *Tirpitz* to set sail on January 14, 1942. But the Germans did not know that the British were able to decipher their radio traffic through Enigma machines.

Captain at Sea Karl Topp, the *Tirpitz*'s commander, pronounced her ready for combat operations on January 10, 1942. Four days later she departed Wilhelmshaven bound for Trondheim. Although the British knew that she had sailed, inclement weather conditions in England prevented any aerial sorties against her while she was en route to Trondheim.

The *Tirpitz* dropped anchor at Faetten Fjord on Trondheim's eastern end on January 16, 1942, where she was duly discovered eight days later by a startled Forward Air Arm pilot who initially mistook the behemoth battleship for an island.

Besides her own powerful guns, *Tirpitz* was protected by multiple antiaircraft batteries ashore and from 100 yards away by sunken steel antisubmarine and antitorpedo netting. The Germans also had Junkers Ju-88 fast bombers and Junkers Ju-87 dive bombers stationed on nearby airfields.

The shore-based antiaircraft gunnery defenses were aided by heavy booms installed in the fjord mooring's mouth. To keep the crew both busy and in good physical shape, Topp dispatched tree-cutting details ashore to provide camouflage on-deck for the huge vessel.

In February 1942, *Tirpitz* had her first real combat jaunt at sea when she participated in a deceptive sortie to draw away Royal Navy attention from the coming English Channel dash of *Scharnhorst, Gneisenau,* and *Prinz Eugen* returning to German home ports.

Operation Cerberus was a successful joint Luftwaffe-Kriegsmarine episode of good cooperation between the two normally rival services. In concert with both destroyers and torpedo boats, the following month the *Tirpitz* had orders to begin assaulting both inbound and outgoing Allied convoys in Operation Sports Palace, but the enemy was forewarned by Engima intercepts that helped to foil the mission.

On March 9, 1942, the RAF's Forward Air Arm conducted a series of aerial torpedo attacks against the *Tirpitz* that resulted in the wounding of three sailors. The RAF lost two aircraft to the *Tirpitz*'s antiaircraft guns.

Back at Trondheim on March 30-31, 33 Halifax bombers failed to score a single hit at the cost of five bombers. Follow-up raids conducted on April 27-28 by Avro Lancaster and Handley Page Halifax bombers resulted in the loss of seven more bombers without any hits on the battleship.

A particularly embarrassing episode for the Allies occurred in regard to Allied Convoy PQ-17, which departed Iceland bound for Archangel on June 27, 1942. Based on deciphered messages that the *Tirpitz* and other surface vessels were going to intercept the convoy, the British Admiralty ordered its escorting vessels and the convoy itself to disperse. Ironically, the *Tirpitz* had never sailed because the German High Command changed its mind and cancelled the raid. In the ensuing action, German aircraft and U-boats sunk 21 of the 34 merchant vessels. Shortly afterward, the *Tirpitz* received a general overhaul at Trondheim in which the Faetten Fjord defenses were doubled and a caisson was constructed around the stern to allow workers to replace the ship's rudders.

In addition to her own guns, the *Tirpitz* was protected by multiple antiaircraft batteries and antisubmarine and antitorpedo netting.

The British attempted to sink her in October 1942 with two British Mk 1 Chariot torpedoes deployed by frogmen. Launched from a fishing boat in Norwegian waters, the Chariots broke free from their tow-hooks in a gale and the operation was cancelled. After the *Tirpitz* rudder overhaul was completed in early January 1943, she underwent sea trials to ensure the ship's steering was in working order.

Hitler replaced Raeder with Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz on January 30, 1943. The catalyst for the move was Hitler's lack of confidence in the Kriegsmarine's handling of its surface ships following the Battle of the Barents Sea on December 31, 1942. The battle occurred during a raid by German cruisers and destroyers against Allied Convoy JW 51B bound for Murmansk.

During the unsuccessful raid, the British light cruiser *Sheffield* sank the German destroyer *Friedrich Eckoldt*. Hitler demoted Raeder to admiral inspector and decreed that from that point forward the Kriegsmarine would have to rely almost entirely on U-boats for convoy raiding.

However, on September 7, 1943, Hitler allowed the Kriegsmarine to send a task force composed of the *Tirpitz, Scharnhorst,* and nine destroyers to bombard the Free Norwegian naval base at Spitsbergen for the purpose of destroying Allied weather installations on the island. The mission was the only time the *Tirpitz* fired her main guns in action. She fired 52 main battery shells and 82 rounds from her secondary guns. The following day the Kriegsmarine landed a battalion of German soldiers who captured the installations and took 74 prisoners. The operation was a resounding success. Hitler could rejoice that his expensive heavies had at long last achieved a noteworthy success.

Before the month was over, the British Admiralty opted for an attack with its newly designed X-Craft midget submarines in which they would drop deadly mines underneath the *Tirpitz* to take advantage of its thin hull armor.

The British sent 10 of the midget submarines into the area during a five-day period beginning September 20, 1943. Eight reached the target area after two days. Three succeeded in breaching the *Tirpitz*'s outer water defenses. Of these, one was sunk by German gunfire and depth charges and two succeeded in depositing their mines.

One of the mines exploded abreast of gun turret Caesar, and a second blew up off her port bow, rupturing an oil tank, tearing up some armor plating, making an indentation in the hull, and buckling double-bottom bulkheads.

The crew contained the interior flooding and repaired mechanical damage; however, the Dora gun turret was torn from her rotating bearings and could not be restored right away due to a lack of heavy cranes. The battleship also lost two of her seaplanes. The German repair ship *Neumark* restored her to combat readiness by April 2, 1944.

The next day, 40 Barracuda dive bombers escorted by 40 fighter aircraft, attacked the *Tirpitz* in two waves while she was on sea maneuvers. They scored 15 direct hits at the cost of one aircraft.

The armor-piercing bombs did not penetrate the *Tirpitz*'s armor, but her superstructure was damaged. Casualties amounted to approximately 500 killed and wounded. The damage to the battleship consisted of the loss of a pair of 5.9-inch turrets and two more Arado Ar-196 floatplanes. The two near misses also caused flooding via holes in one side produced by shell splinters.

By June 1944 the Kriegsmarine could no

longer send the *Tirpitz* to perform surface missions due to a lack of fighter aircraft cover; nevertheless, the *Tirpitz* was again deemed to be seaworthy by her own engines and enhancements were made to her antiaircraft capabilities.

The British conducted five successive Fleet Air Arm attacks on the *Tirpitz* during the summer of 1944 that either failed or had to be scrapped. Because of the Royal Navy's inability to destroy the *Tirpitz* from the air, the mission was reassigned to the Royal Air Force Bomber Command.

By September 1944, RAF Bomber Command had opted to use the Tallboy earthquake bomb. The 12,000-pound medium-capacity bomb had a proven ability to penetrate reinforced concrete and had the potential to inflict underwater damage on a large ship at anchor. Bomber Command also planned to drop JW mines designed to rupture the vulnerable undersides of the hull, which were only protected by armor plating three-quarters of an inch thick.

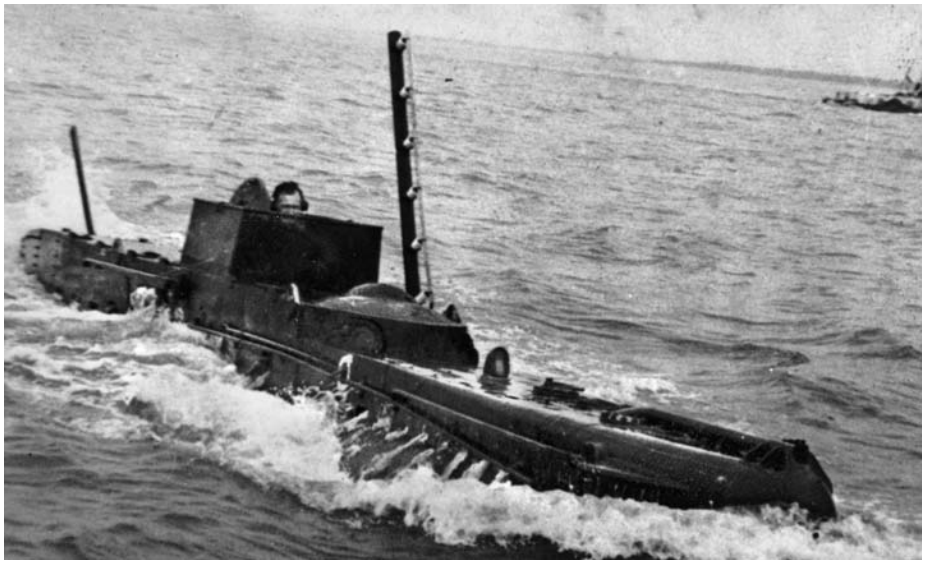
Operating from a forward base at Yagodnik in the Archangel region of the Soviet Union, the first Tallboy and JW mine attack was carried out by 23 Lancasters, 17 of which carried one Tallboy each and six of which carried two JW mines each. One of the Lancasters scored a direct hit with its Tallboy on the ship's bow. The bomb penetrated the ship, going clear through it from deck to keel before exploding at the bottom of the fjord.

Hundreds of tons of water flooded the bow, rendering the battleship unseaworthy and limiting its speed to a maximum of 10 knots. In addition, the concussive shock damaged the fire-control equipment. The Kriegsmarine High Command opted to patch up the hole as quickly as possible so that the *Tirpitz* could be moved from Alten Fjord south to Tromso to be farther away from the Russians, who were threatening the northeastern tip of Norway. On October 15 the *Tirpitz* made her final voyage, sailing 200 nautical miles to her new location.

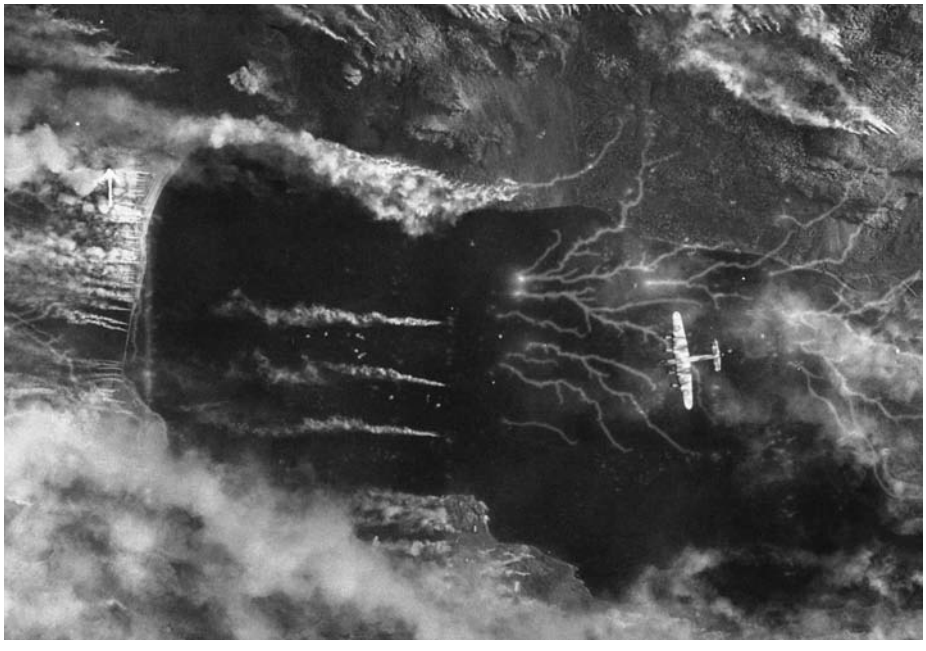
On September 29, the British struck again with a flight of 32 Lancasters. An underwater detonation in close proximity to the battleship damaged her port rudder and shaft, which resulted in major flooding.

The Kriegsmarine then established the *Tirpitz*'s final defensive posture and braced for another aerial bombardment. They built a large sandbank around the ship to prevent capsizing, installed more antitorpedo netting, and reduced the crew to 1,900 officers and men.

On November 12, 1944, RAF Bomber Command executed Operation Catechism. Thirty Lancaster heavy bombers rumbled into the fjord at Tromso. The *Tirpitz*'s main guns roared to life, but they failed to disperse the bombers. Each of the bombers carried one 5.4-ton Tallboy bomb. The British heavy bombers scored three direct hits.



ABOVE: The British sent 10 X-craft midget submarines against the *Tirpitz* in September 1943. Two succeeded in depositing mines that damaged the battleship. BELOW: The British sent waves of Lancaster bombers carrying Tallboy bombs against the *Tirptiz* in northern Norway in September 1944 in a determined bid to sink her. On November 12 while anchored in Tromso, Norway, the battleship capsized after a successful strike.



The first bomb, which landed between the gun turrets Anton and Bruno, failed to explode. A second bomb struck the vessel between its aircraft catapult and the funnel amidships. It produced enormous damage to the hull. A large hole opened up where the belted armor had been completely destroyed. The third bomb struck on the port side of gun turret Caesar.

The hit amidships led to an order to abandon ship. An internal explosion occurred 18 minutes later in the Caesar turret that blew off its roof. Debris from the explosion rained down on many of the sailors swimming to shore, producing significant casualties.

The *Tirpitz* capsized with her superstructure lodging itself into the sand bed. The crew launched a rescue mission to save those inside. Men used blowtorches to cut through the hull. Because of their efforts, 82 men were saved.

The Luftwaffe was roundly blamed for the sinking of the ship on the grounds that it failed to furnish sufficient air cover with fighter aircraft. Of the 1,900 crew, 1,200 were killed, wounded, or missing. The crew members who were ashore during the attack were truly fortunate. □

By William E. Welsh

Spanish agents may have orchestrated the assassination of Dutch leader William of Orange in 1584.

In March 1582 Dutch leader Prince William of Orange was severely wounded in the head during a failed assassination attempt in Antwerp. A portrait of William the Silent painted five years before his death.

ON SUNDAY, MARCH 18, 1582, 37-YEAR-OLD DUTCH STADHOLDER Prince William of Orange attended a festive luncheon in his palace in Antwerp to celebrate the birthday of major ally French Duke Francis of Anjou, who had arrived in the Low Countries the previous month to support the Dutch in their rebellion against the Spanish crown.

When the meal was over, William agreed to meet with a petitioner in an alcove adjacent to the dining area. The previous year King Philip II of Spain had placed a substantial bounty on the Prince of Orange's head, and for the most part he had remained secluded in the palace, but it was hard for the modest prince to turn his back on those seeking his assistance with their affairs.

The 18-year-old man, whose name was Jean Jauregay, was a junior clerk employed by a Spanish merchant based in Antwerp named Gaspar de Anastro who had fallen on hard times and lost five of his ships. Spanish agent Jean de Yzuncam, who was working undercover in the Netherlands, pressed Anastro to assassinate William to claim the reward. Anastro did not want to risk his life, so he recruited the impressionable Jauregay for the dangerous mission.

William sat down to receive the petitioner. Standing nearby were his 14-year-old son Maurice and several courtiers serving as bodyguards. When Jauregay approached the prince, he pulled a pistol out of his pocket and shot the prince at point-blank range. The inexperienced youth had overcharged his gun, and he was knocked backward by the recoil. The bullet, which had an upward trajectory, went through the prince's neck, through his mouth, and exited from his cheek. William thought the building had collapsed so violent was the explosion. The prince's bodyguards and his son lunged toward the assailant and stabbed him repeatedly. Although the single bullet did not inflict a mortal wound, William's physicians had great difficulty keeping the wound closed in the days that followed.

His health fluctuated wildly over the course of the next six weeks as he succumbed to fevers, but he finally made a full recovery. As he re-entered public life, William and those close to him wondered whether he would be so lucky the next time there was an attempt on his life.

William was the eldest son of Count William of Nassau Dillenburg, a devout Lutheran, and his second wife, Juliana von Stolberg. He was born in 1533 in the village of Dillenburg in the County of Nassau along the Lahn River, a right tributary of the Rhine River. It was a pastoral area with orchards of plum and cherry trees, thick tracts of woods blanketing low ridges, and meandering streams.

Young William would not live the low-profile aristocratic life of his

Waterloo. Normandy. Agincourt. Gettysburg.

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father, whose main occupation was looking after his meager estates and large family. William would find himself playing a pivotal role as a result of events that substantially increased his inheritance and catapulted him to the upper echelon of European nobility.

Fate had it that William's cousin, René of Chalons, who was the ruler of the Hapsburg principality of Orange in Provence and Stadholder of Holland and three other provinces in the Spanish Netherlands, was cut down at the young age of 25 in battle during the siege of St. Dizier in 1544. In his will, René left his substantial inheritance to his 10-year-old cousin William. In the late 12th century, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I had made the Burgundian County of Orange a sovereign principality within the empire. This development put William, the new Prince of Orange, in the center of a political storm that was brewing in the Netherlands.

Since René had been a prince of considerable note among the Netherlanders, his benefactor, the staunchly Catholic Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, deliberately made sure that the inheritance passed not to René's uncle, William of Nassau-Dillenburg, who was a Lutheran, but instead to his impressionable young son.

In almost the wink of an eye, William inherited vast estates in northwestern Europe, including the sovereign principality of Orange, and substantial estates in Brabant, Luxembourg, Flanders, Franche-Comte, Dauphine, and Charolais. Charles V instructed that William should be sent to Breda in northern Brabant, the seat of the Nassau family. It was only a two-day ride from Breda to Antwerp where William would take his place as the Prince of Orange in the Imperial Court of The Netherlands under the watchful eye of the emperor.

Shortly afterward William became part of the emperor's court in Brussels. Charles V intended to raise him as a devout Catholic prince faithful to the emperor and to the pope. Charles tested William's military aptitude and capabilities by designating him the nominal head of an army of 20,000 men during the Italian Wars that pitted the Hapsburg Empire against the Valois dynasty of France. William served Charles V for a decade until the emperor abdicated in 1554 and passed responsibility for the Netherlands to his son, King Philip II of Spain.

William did not show any great aptitude as a military commander; however, he did show great promise as a diplomat. He was one of three representatives at the peace table and helped negotiate the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559 between Henry II of France and Philip II of Spain. The peace ensured that after nearly seven decades of war between France and the Hapsburg Empire over control of Italy, the Hapsburgs won the struggle and the French ceded their territorial claims in Italy to the Hapsburg Empire and the County of Savoy.

The year after William stepped down from his post as commander of the Hapsburg forces on the Flemish border with France, a young man named Balthasar was born to the devoutly Catholic household of the Gerards, who resided in the village of Vuillafans in Franche-Comte, one of the Hapsburg dominions. Balthasar, who had 10 siblings, was quiet and studious, as well as passionate and intense. The Gerards, like many other Catholic households in Franche-Comte, had prospered under the benevolent rule of the Hapsburgs. His family was affluent enough for him to attend the nearby Catholic University of Dole where he studied law.

Gerard wound up not as a lawyer, but as a cabinetmaker's apprentice who was a fanatical admirer of Philip II. In one documented workplace incident, he thrust his dagger visciously into a piece of wood vowing to do the same to the Prince of Orange. When Philip reached the point by 1581 that he publicly announced a reward to whoever could assassinate William, Balthazar answered the call.

William had first met Prince Philip, the future King Philip II of Spain who would rule not only Spain, but also the Netherlands and the Spanish territories in Italy, in 1549. Despite being six years older than William, the introverted Philip disliked the younger prince, who was far more self-confident and socially at ease than Philip. Nevertheless, Philip behaved in a civil and cordial manner toward William as required by his high-born status.

When Charles V abdicated and turned over the reins of power to Philip in 1555, the new Spanish king and overlord of the Netherlands lost little time stepping up the war on heretics in the Netherlands. To the Protestant mix of Anabaptists and Lutherans which his father had tried to counter ecclesiastically, politically, and militarily had been added the militant preaching of Calvinism. Although it spread more slowly with fewer mass conversions in the Netherlands than it had in France, it nevertheless was gaining ground. It appealed not only to those in the northern provinces of the Netherlands, but also to the large urban populations in the southern provinces.

In 1556 larger numbers of Jesuits moved into the Netherlands. They played a role in the inquisition, which was still used to tamp down heresy by enforcing harsh edicts. The inquisition in the Netherlands was very aggressive in that even if a heretic repented he was still put to death.

Three years later Philip issued directives to reorganize the bishoprics that would have a major effect on the political power structure of the Netherlands. He established for the first time three archbishoprics within the Netherlands—Cambrai, Utrecht, and Malines—rather than have the bishoprics the Netherlands part of the German archbishoprics of Rheims and Cologne.

This meant that Archbishop of Mechelen Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle became the head of the Netherlands Council of State, of which William was a member. Thus, the council was controlled not by a group of nobles as it had been previously, but instead by an archbishop. The Catholic Church had elevated Granvelle from cardinal to archbishop in 1561 at the request of the Hapsburgs.

Although no clear connection was ever established between Granvelle and Gerard, it is an uncanny coincidence that William's assassin also hailed from Franche-Comte. Some observers speculated in the aftermath of the assassination that Gerard may have felt some sense of duty to Granvelle.

In 1559 Philip appointed his illegitimate sister, Margaret of Parma, as governess-general of the Netherlands. Her responsibility was to ensure that Philip's initiatives and desires were fulfilled in regard to governing the wealthy and heavily populated Hapsburg domain. The same year he also made William the stadholder, or governor, of the northern provinces of Holland and Zeeland. As such, it was William's duty to look after Philip's interests in the Netherlands and guard his rights as sovereign.

William mobilized the nobility of the Netherlands against Cardinal Granvelle, who was referred to by his enemies as the "red devil." They petitioned Philip in 1562 for his removal, charging him with excessive zeal in the persecution of Protestant heretics and mishandling of church revenues. When this did not work, William and his ally, Lamoraal, Count of Egmont, withdrew the following year from the Council of State, interrupting the normal business of government. Philip relented in 1564 and recalled Granvelle from the Netherlands. Granvelle's ouster constituted a key political victory for the Orangists.

Philip was unrelenting in his zeal to prosecute heretics. In October 1565 he signed orders requiring all provincial authorities in the Netherlands to enforce the laws against heretics. In response, Calvinists in 1566 broke into Catholic churches and smashed statutes and stained glass windows. Isolated incidents had occurred as early as 1562, but the so-called Iconoclast Fury of 1566 was widespread throughout heavily populated southern provinces. Calvinist preach-

ers routinely held outdoor sermons in which they urged members of their congregations to do away with the symbolic trappings of Catholicism. In many cases local officials stood idly by while groups of between 50 to 100 men sacked Catholic churches.

The Iconoclast Fury led directly to Philip's decision to send large numbers of Spanish troops into the provinces to restore order and protect the Catholic Church properties. Realizing he could not hold back the tide of revolt, William departed the Netherlands in April 1567 for the Nassau estates in Dillenburg. From that point on, William feared that he might be assassinated.

Philip replaced Margaret of Parma in December 1567 with Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba, who was a veteran commander of the Ottoman-Hapsburg Wars. Alba actively persecuted the Calvinists, which served to drive the religion underground and resulted in the departure of large numbers of Calvinist clergy and nobility from the provinces. Although William and his brother Louis of Nassau attempted to counter the Spanish military forces that occupied the Netherlands, they lacked the resources to meet them on even terms.

Alba served for five years as governor-general of the Netherlands during which time he presided over the Council of Troubles, dubbed by its detractors the Council of Blood, which sought to punish the agitators responsible for the desecration of Catholic churches. The council oversaw the execution of as many as 1,000 people. As if this were not enough, his reign of terror included the sack of key cities throughout the southern provinces and the execution of their garrisons.

King Philip of Spain (left) detested the Prince of Orange (right) who he believed had betrayed his trust. Considering assassination to be a legitimate instrument of war, the Spanish king called for William's assassination in 1581, offering gold and other enticements.

William would live long enough to see three successors to Alba: Don Luis de Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Alessandro Farnese, the Prince of Parma. Of the three, only Parma realized that it was necessary to undertake diplomatic initiatives while continuing to apply military force to achieve Philip's goals. Yet it was under Parma's regency that the seven provinces in the north seceded from Spain in 1581.

Philip's intransigence in regard to Calvinism compelled the majority of the southern and northern provinces to depose Philip in favor of Catholic Duke Francis of Anjou on January 23, 1581. Philip had long since considered William a traitor and he was personally stung by what he felt was a personal betrayal. Philip considered assassination to be a legitimate instrument of warfare.

Granvelle backed Philip because he wanted revenge against the prince. Granvelle had become deeply embittered by the way the Orangists had driven him from power. He delighted in the knowledge that William might be discomfited knowing that each day of his life

The Prince of Orange slumps on a staircase after being fatally shot on July 10, 1584, by a Catholic zealot who had gone to great lengths to gain access to the prince. King Philip had failed to grasp that the assassination of his adversary would make the prince a martyr for the cause of Dutch independence from Spain.

might be his last.

On March 28, 1581, the King of Spain issued a proclamation in which he put a price on William's head. Because William had disturbed the religious peace in the Low Countries, "every one is authorized, to hurt him and to kill him," stated the document. Whoever succeeded could claim the reward of 25,000 gold crowns, along with land and titles.

Anjou brought troops with him ostensibly to fight the Spanish, but when he learned that he had only limited powers, he embarked on the conquest of key cities, one of which was Antwerp. Fighting erupted throughout the city on January 17, 1583, and Anjou returned to France. The provinces that had chosen Anjou as their sovereign switched their allegiance to William of Orange.

Although Gerard was intelligent and resourceful, it is hard to believe he could have acted alone for he used various different subterfuges to put himself in close proximity to the Prince of Orange. The tricks and cons included both forged testimonials and counterfeit documents. Gerard assumed the name François Guyon and maintained that he was the son of a Protestant serving man, Guy of Bensacon, who had been roundly persecuted for his religious beliefs.

Gerard carried around letters signed by prominent Catholic officials in the Netherlands that were meant to prove that he was well liked and trusted by authorities of the Spanish government. He used this as bait to entice those close to William into believing that he had access to intelligence related to the Spanish army and government that might be of interest to the Prince of Orange and his advisers. He successfully used the documentation to dupe Pierre Loyseleur de Villiers, William's chaplain and intelligence chief, into believing that he might be a useful spy.

Gerard landed a job in Luxembourg in 1583 as a secretary to a relative who was in Parma's Army of Flanders. One day he saw a pile of

signed blank passes left unattended on an officer's desk and he pocketed a half dozen. He tried to make contact with Parma in Hainault to inform him that he wanted to try to assassinate the Prince of Orange, but he lost his nerve and continued on to Holland, arriving in May 1584.

Gerard gained an audience with William, who by that time had returned to Holland and was living in Delft. He told the prince that it was his greatest desire in life to serve him. He showed William the stolen passes, but the count had no use for them. William suggested he deliver them to Anjou, with whom William was still corresponding. Since he had no money to purchase a gun with which to assassinate William, Gerard departed in early June for France.

Learning on the way that Anjou had died of malaria on June 10, Gerard returned to Delft to share the news of Anjou's death with William and to see if a fresh opportunity to kill him might present itself. William once again received Gerard. He told Gerard to return to his home in France. Upon learning that Gerard was still hanging about in the days that followed, William sent him 12 crowns to pay his travel expenses.

Gerard used the money to buy a small wheellock pistol from one of William's bodyguards. After finishing his dinner on July 10, William received several petitioners, one of whom was Gerard. When one of the petitioners knelt to receive William's hand on his bowed head before departing, Gerard leaned toward William and fired into his upper body.

The double charge, which entered William's body from the side, tore through his lungs and stomach. With great strength he remained standing. With his wife and step daughters watching in shock, William's sister tried to help her brother, who had slumped down near the bottom of a staircase. By then his face was ashen gray. "Do you die reconciled with your savior, Jesus Christ?" she asked. "Yes," he replied softly.

Philip, who was blinded by his rage, had failed to grasp that the assassination of the Prince of Orange made him a martyr for the rebellious Dutch. As such, William posed a greater threat to Spanish rule in the Netherlands as a martyr than he would have if he had remained alive.

William had the unfortunate distinction of being the first prominent political leader to be assassinated by a handgun. While the Prince of Parma reconquered the largely Catholic southern provinces for Philip, he was unable to recover the seven provinces of the north that became the United Provinces. William's paternal bearing played a key role in bringing about their independence from Spain. □

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Major General Edward Braddock is mortally wounded by a hail of fire from well-concealed enemy forces in a painting by American artist Edwin Willard Deming. Great Britain realized in the aftermath of the defeat that French forces in North America could not be quickly defeated.

DISASTER IN THE WILDERNESS

British Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock marched into a trap in July 1755 laid by the French and their Indian allies in the backwoods of Pennsylvania. The surviving troops were left to fend for themselves.

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

Captain Daniel Lienard de Beaujeu rushed to save the remote French outpost of Fort Duquesne in early July 1755. Weeks away from receiving substantial reinforcements, the fort was the target of British Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock. With Braddock was the largest army in the North American frontier, and enough mortars and 8-inch howitzers to smash the French defenses. On July 9, 1755, Beaujeu led most of the garrison's regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians in a last-ditch attempt to ambush the British at a vulnerable point, where they had to ford the Monongahela River.

Seven miles from the fort, at the edge of a little ravine carved through the forest by a small creek, Beaujeu saw he was too late. Braddock's vanguard was well beyond the ford and just across the creek. Soldiers in the service of Great Britain and France spotted each other at the same instant. Shots echoed through the Pennsylvania forest lands claimed by monarchs in faraway Paris and London.

While English colonists settled along the Atlantic coast in the mid-18th century, France held loose sway across the vast interior of North America, around the Great Lakes, and along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Fur trading, with the cooperation of a network of Indian tribes, brought great wealth to France. By the 1740s, English fur traders had reached the Ohio River country west of the Appalachians. Alarmed by the development, the colonial administrators of New France tightened their hold on the Ohio Valley. A new governor, Michel-Ange Du Quesne de Menneville, known as the Marquis de Duquesne, arrived in 1752. Fort Niagara already provided a key French foothold where the Niagara River emptied into Lake Ontario. Duquesne soon built new posts at Forts Presque' Isle, Le Boeuf, and Machault in western Pennsylvania.

At the time, Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie was serving as the de facto chief executive of Virginia on behalf of Governor Willem Anne van Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle, who chose to remain in England. Virginia's rulers considered the Ohio River country as part of their colony. Many prominent men, such as Dinwiddie, were heavily invested in the Ohio Company, which sought to profit by filling the Ohio Valley with Anglo-American settlers. Reports of French trespassers on what he regarded as Virginian soil spurred Dinwiddie to action.

Dinwiddie loathed the French. As they pushed south from Canada, he feared that they would soon encroach on Virginia. "The French are like so many locusts," he wrote. "They are collected in bodies in a most surprising manner; their number now on the Ohio is from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred." His estimate of French forces was intended to provoke the British Crown into prompt action.

On October 31, 1753, Dinwiddie ordered a small expedition to the headwaters of the Ohio River to

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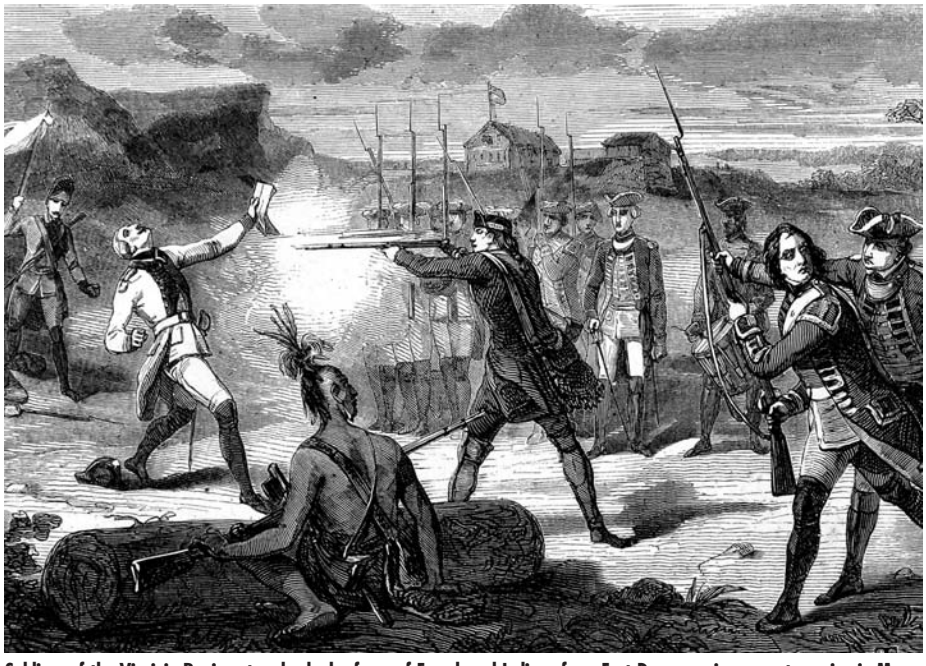

Soldiers of the Virginia Regiment ambushed a force of French and Indians from Fort Duquesne in a remote ravine in May 1754, escalating hostilities between the rival powers. Among the dead was the party's commanding officer, Ensign Joseph Coloun de Villers de Jumonville, after whom the skirmish was named.

warn away the French. Leading the expedition was a 21-year-old militia major named George Washington. The French, though, brushed off his demands to leave.

Another party sent by Dinwiddie halted where the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers meet to form the Ohio River. They began building a fort until a larger French force appeared and drove them away. The French, who continued building, named their new post Fort Duquesne. By holding the headwaters of the Ohio, France gained tenuous control of a 2,000-mile water route down the Ohio to the Mississippi River, which flowed to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico.

In the spring of 1754 Colonel Joshua Fry and newly promoted Lt. Col. Washington led 300 Virginia militia north to hold and expand the British fort being constructed at the Forks of the Ohio. They soon met the Virginians the French had expelled from the fort. Captain Claude-Pierre Pecaudy de Contrecoeur, commander of Fort Duquesne, sent Ensign Joseph Coloun de Villers de Jumonville for a parley with Washington on May 28. Seeing Jumonville's party as an attacking force, Washington ambushed the French in what became known as the Battle of Jumonville Glen. Ensign Jumonville and approximately 10 of his men were killed, and nearly all the rest were captured. Only one French soldier escaped to bring news of the clash to Fort Duquesne.

Washington withdrew to a place known as Great Meadows and built a log stockade called Fort Necessity. Acting on rumors that a large British army was marching to join Washington, Contrecoeur sent 700 men under Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers (Jumonville's brother) to take Fort Necessity. After a day of fighting, the fort surrendered on July 4, 1754. Washington and the garrison were allowed to leave, but the French burned down the stockade.

Although Britain and France were not yet officially at war, London agreed late in 1754 to Dinwiddie's pleas for ordnance, ammunition, and two regiments of regular infantry to drive the French out of Fort Duquesne.

To command the Fort Duquesne expedition, Captain General William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, chose Braddock. Born in Scotland, Braddock was the son of another major general of the same name. In 1710, the younger Braddock joined his father's regiment, the Coldstream Guards, as an ensign. Braddock was well known in London society for his aggressive and bullying manner, and he had fought at least one duel with a higher ranking officer. Braddock served competently in Holland under Cumberland's eye during the War of the Austrian Succession. The duke believed Braddock was the best choice not only to command the expedition into the Ohio Country, but also to serve as the commander in chief of all British regular forces in North America.

Braddock was both an able administrator and strict disciplinarian. While he was regarded as a brave commander, he was not a gifted tactician by any means. In the North American campaign that loomed before him, his loyalty to his superiors and his rigidity would blind him to much of the sound advice offered by colonial governors.

With a promotion from colonel to major general, Braddock landed at Hampton Roads, Virginia on February 19, 1755. His command consisted of two regiments of regulars, the 44th and 48th Foot. Lieutenant Robert Orme, an officer Braddock knew from the Coldstream Guards, accompanied the general as his aide. William Shirley, son of the governor of Massachusetts, served as Braddock's secretary.

Washington expressly declined the opportunity to command Virginia militia on the expedition so that he could join Braddock as a volunteer. Doing so entailed serving without pay in a junior officer's capacity for a chance to be commissioned in the field or obtain his commander's patronage. Because of his intimate knowledge of the Ohio Country, on May 10 Braddock appointed Washington to serve as an aide-de-camp on his staff.

Braddock's ambitious plan carried forward the military strategy previously envisioned by Cumberland. He would send one army against French forces in New Brunswick, another army against French forces around Lake Champlain, and yet another against French forces at Fort Niagara. The fourth army, which Braddock would lead himself, would march on Fort Duquesne. Once these points fell, Braddock would unite his forces and capture Quebec and Montreal, driving the enemy from New France altogether.

From the outset, the Braddock expedition got off on the wrong foot. The quickest way to get the soldiers to Fort Duquesne would have been to land them at Philadelphia; instead, the British squandered a great deal of time by landing them in southeastern Virginia and marching northwest across the Potomac River toward Fort Duquesne. Although the colonial government in Pennsylvania was heavily influenced by pacifist Quakers and largely indifferent to the needs of the army, there was sufficient equipment on hand to support Braddock's expedition.

Philadelphia printer Benjamin Franklin interceded on behalf of the expedition. He composed two broadsides, which were widely distributed and read, and he also made direct appeals to friends and acquaintances in the back country. As a result of his efforts, Pennsylvanians sent wagons, draft animals, and supplies south to join Braddock's army en route to its objective.

Braddock's regular regiments were chronically understrength after languishing on garrison duty in Ireland for several years. To fill their depleted ranks, the British army transferred soldiers from other units. In addition, the army authorized further recruitment for the units in

the American colonies. The goal was to ensure that each regiment had 700 men. The hurried recruitment effort resulted in a high proportion of untrained men devoid of combat experience.

Fort Cumberland, a log stockade at the confluence of Will's Creek and the Potomac River on the Maryland frontier, became the staging point for the advance on Fort Duquesne. The Pennsylvanians responding to Franklin's appeal sent 150 wagons and teams and 500 packhorses to join the expedition at that location. One train of pack animals from Philadelphia bore an array of supplies intended as gifts for the junior officers of the two British regiments.

During the army's time at Fort Cumberland, it was necessary to turn the horses loose in the forest "to feed on leaves or the young shoots of trees," wrote Orme. Many of the horses were lost or stolen, and the lack of suitable forage weakened the rest.

Braddock's army departed Fort Cumberland on June 10. The army comprised 1,400 regulars evenly divided between the 44th and 48th Foot, 300 provincial troops, and 100 British artillerymen. The provincial troops hailed from Virginia, New York, Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In addition, there were civilian drovers, servants, and camp followers, including women and children. Some British officers brought their batmen, and some of the American officers brought their slaves as valets. Braddock also had 30 sailors of the Royal Navy who accompanied the expedition because of their expertise handling block and tackle, a mechanical system necessary to secure the expedition's heavy wagons as they traveled up or down steep mountain grades.

Efforts to add a substantial force of Indian allies familiar with the back country failed miserably. Pennsylvania trader George Croghan, who had cultivated good relations with the Indians of the Ohio Country during the course of his career, rounded up Mingos who lived near his trading post north of Fort Cumberland, and also dispatched a messenger to the Ohio Country with an invitation for Delawares, Mingos, Oneidas, and Shawnees to come to the fort to meet with Braddock.

Braddock regarded the Indians with great disdain. He not only believed that Indians posed no threat to his regulars, but also that they would not benefit him as allies in a fight. The Indians, who wanted the French out of the Ohio Country, were inclined to work with the British. The most distinguished were Scarouady, who was half-king of the Iroquois in the Ohio Valley, and Shingas, the principal war chief of the Delawares.

Shingas asked Braddock what the English intended to do in regard to the back country once they had driven out the French. "The English should inhabit the land and inherit the land," replied Braddock, adding "No savage should inherit the land." The Indian leaders posed the same question to Braddock the following day in hopes of receiving a more palatable reply. During the ensuing discussion they told him that if they were going to shed their blood for the land, then they must be allowed to live freely upon it. Braddock told them in no uncertain terms that he did not need their help in expelling the French from the region. It was a deeply offensive answer and had the immediate effect of alienating the Indians attending the meeting.

All but Scarouady and seven Mingos returned home. When Shingas and the other members of the delegation returned to Ohio Country, they informed the members of their various tribes of Braddock's response. Not surprisingly, some of the Indians departed immediately to ally themselves with the French.

Among the British and colonial soldiers in the expedition were several men destined for fame two decades later in the American Revolution. Besides Washington, Braddock had the services of wagoners Daniel Boone and Daniel Morgan, as well as New York militia officer Horatio Gates. Braddock's subordinate commanders were Lt. Col. Thomas Gage, who would command the British forces in North America in 1775, and Lieutenant Charles Lee, who would become a general in the Continental Army.

Axe-wielding soldiers hacked a 12-foot-wide road through the forest for the wagons and guns. Soldiers toiling on the road received extra pay. The extra pay amounted to six pence a day for privates, nine pence for corporals, and a shilling for sergeants. On June 25 the men were offered a further reward of five pounds for each Indian scalp. Braddock worried that the extra pay would diminish his available funds; since there was nowhere for the men to spend their extra pay, he ordered it withheld until the next winter's lull. Many of the men would not live to receive their bonus pay.

Left to right: Virginia Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie; Lt. Col. George Washington, deputy commander of the Virginia Regiment; and Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock.

Up to that point, colonial forces had fought most of the Indian wars in North America. For that reason, the British Army had relatively little experience against the Indians who inhabited the forests of North America. Braddock's troops plodded west over a dense, damp, and shady forest floor hardly touched by the light of the sun. In the gloomy desolation, the provincials told chilling tales about Indian warfare. The provincial soldiers and backwoodsmen warned the increasingly nervous regulars that fighting the Indians with European tactics would get them all slaughtered.

The French also had been taking steps to strengthen their position in the upper Ohio Valley. During the previous winter, Contrecoeur had asked Duquesne to relieve him from command of Fort Duquesne. His replacement, Montreal-born Captain Liernard de Beaujeu, was one of the most capable French officers on the frontier. Like other French-Canadian officers, he was willing to adopt Indian and frontier ways in warfare. During the 500-mile trip from Montreal, Beaujeu spent much time securing the French supply line and forwarding weapons and food to Fort Duquesne. He joined Contrecouer late in June.

Following its departure from Fort Cumberland, the British column made agonizingly slow progress through the wilderness. Cutting the road slowed the column to only a few miles a day. Eight days of hard labor found the expedition only as far as Little Meadows, 30 miles from Fort Cumberland. Washington fretted that French reinforcements were on their way to Fort Duquesne.

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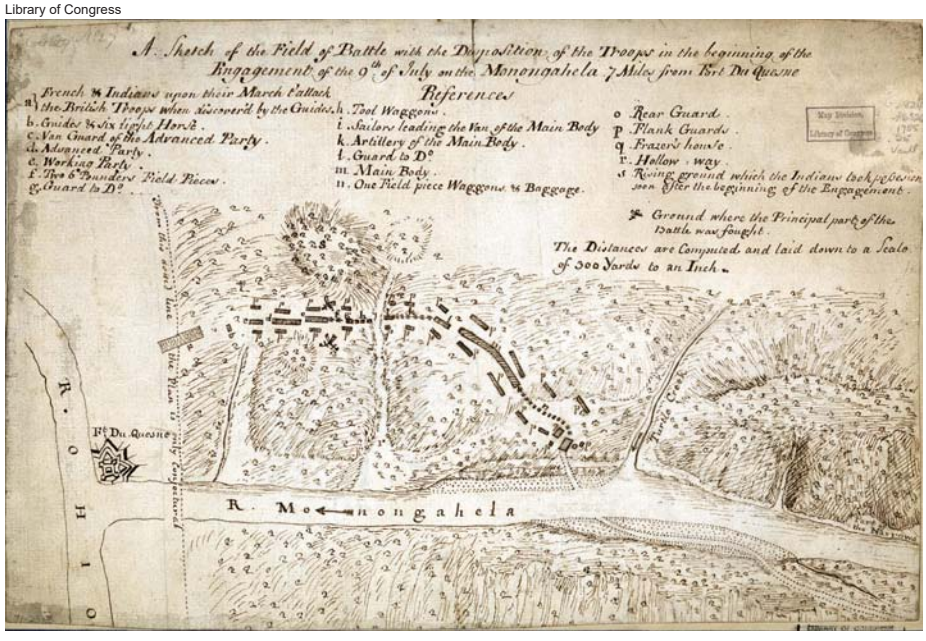


Braddock's long column is shown in great detail on this period pen and ink map. After crossing and recrossing the Monongahela to avoid the Narrows, the British vanguard collided on the afternoon of July 9 with a French force from Fort Duquesne that had marched to intercept it.

For that reason, he recommended that they divide the army into a so-called flying column that would press ahead as quickly as possible toward the objective, while a supply column that constituted the baggage train with its cumbersome wagons followed in its path.

Braddock consented and took two thirds of his men with him on June 18. The remainder, under command of Colonel Thomas Dunbar, would follow as best they could. Braddock retained four 12-pounders, four 8-inch howitzers, a pair of 6-pounders, and three Coehorn mortars. Thirty wagons and 400 pack horses carried supplies. The flying column also had 100 spare horses. Drovers brought along a herd of cattle and some sheep for fresh meat.

Washington was disappointed that they still made slow progress. The regulars continued "halting to level every Mold Hill, and to erect Bridges over every Brook," he wrote. "We were 4 days getting 12 miles."

On June 24, just before reaching the Great Meadows, the marchers found a recently abandoned Indian camp. The Indians had "stripped and painted many of the trees, upon which they and the French had written many threats and bravados with all kinds of scurrilous language," wrote Orme. The following morning, the enemy killed and scalped three men who had wandered beyond the picket lines. Two days later, Orme noted a more chilling display at another empty Indian camp. "They had marked in triumph upon trees, the scalps they had taken two days before, and a great many French had also written on them their names and many insolent expressions," wrote Orme.

The French and their Indian allies launched small-scale attacks on Braddock's column as it continued west. Washington wrote on June 28 that there had been "frequent alarms, and several men have been scalped, but this is done with no other design than retard the march." Although there was not enough of the enemy to make a major assault, the alarms put everyone on edge.

On July 3 Braddock held a council of war. The officers who attended the meeting debated whether to halt until Dunbar caught up to them. Once the two columns had reunited, they could resume their march confident that they were employing their full strength. In the end, though, the council decided it could not afford the delay and resumed the march.

Nearing Fort Duquesne on July 7, Braddock's force approached a sharp bend in the Monongahela River. Along this two-mile stretch, which became known as the Narrows, the road ran along a slender ledge of beach on the bank. The road needed considerable work to make it passable for the wheeled vehicles. To their left was the river, and to their right were steep cliffs that soared high above the river. It was the perfect location for an enemy ambush. By proceeding, the column risked being trapped and annihilated.

Rather than risk an ambush in the Narrows, Braddock opted to avoid that dangerous stretch by fording the Monongahela. Once on the southern bank, the column would march two miles past the Narrows to another ford and cross the river again. Both fords were shallow and offered easy passage; after the second crossing, thet would be just nine miles from their objective.

Indian scouts informed the French at Fort Duquesne of Braddock's progress. The fort, which was made of logs and earth, was a small quadrilateral. Its rudimentary nature meant that it could withstand a siege. French deserters who provided the English with a plan of the fort stated there were only eight guns mounted, and half of them were inconsequential 3-pounders. The high ground on the opposite side of the Monongahela River offered a prime spot for Braddock's siege guns to bombard the fort.

On paper, Contrecoeur commanded approximately 1,600 men, the majority of whom were Indians. The reality was that many of these troops were scattered across hundreds of miles of wilderness. Some of the troops were in the process of hauling supplies and ammunition to the fort.

Fort Duquesne's regulars belonged to the Compagnies Franches de la Marine. Under the administration of the French Navy, the units were independent companies of infantry assigned to guard naval bases as well as the overseas colonies. Most of the enlisted men in the North American companies came from France, but many of their officers were Canadian-born soldiers well experienced in the combat tactics and conditions of the frontier. There was no regimental command, and the highest rank in the Compagnies Franches was captain. With the regulars assigned to the fort were militia recruited from inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Valley.

Unlike the British, the French had close relationships with many Indian peoples. Defending the isolated outpost was possible because upward of 700 Indian allies were encamped near the small fort. They belonged to approximately 20 Eastern Woodlands tribes, including the Ottawas, Hurons, Abenakis, Ojibas, and Delawares. Many of these, which were known as domiciled Indians, lived in villages in the shadow of French-Canadian missions or towns.

Duquesne had ordered Contrecouer to stay in command until the crisis was over. So the two senior officers present divided their responsibilities, with Contrecouer running the fort and Beaujeu taking charge of a preemptive strike force to ambush the British. It is possible that another officer, Ensign Charles-Michel de Langlade, the son of a French-Canadian fur trader and the sister of an Ottawa chief, devised the ambush. Yet another officer, Captain Jean-Daniel Dumas, would later claim that he crafted the ambush plan. Any of these French officers would have known that the terrain around the Narrows and Turtle Creek

offered many choice spots for ambushes.

Beaujeu wanted to set out on July 8 and hit the enemy as far as possible from the gates of Fort Duquesne. But when he revealed his plans to the allied Indian chiefs, they were reluctant to join the attack. Some reports exaggerated Braddock's strength as upward of 4,000 men. Despite Beaujeu's pleas, the best he could get was a promise that the chiefs would consider his plans overnight.

Braddock's men broke camp early on the morning of July 9. At 2 AM Gage led the advance party and a pair of 6-pounders toward the first ford of the Monongahela. The work party followed at 4 AM, and the rest of the army marched one hour later. Gage reached the second ford at 9:30 AM followed by the rest of the army.

Forever etched in Washington's mind was the majestic spectacle that the British troops created that morning as they marched in full uniform through the deep woods. The soldiers in the long columns marched with precision. Occasionally the sunlight penetrated the forest canopy to flash momentarily from their burnished arms. As they marched in step, the river flowed lazily on their right, and the emerald forest flanked them on their left. After a perfectly peaceful crossing, scouts and flankers moved out to cover the work party, which continued cutting the wilderness road that would bear the name of the commanding general. The rest of the army settled down to its midday meal.

Meanwhile, Beaujeu led most of the garrison troops through the gates of Fort Duquesne after a quick morning mass by Chaplain Father Denys Barron. With Beaujeu were 36 officers and cadets and 72 enlisted men of the Compagnies Franches de Marine, with 146 Canadian militia.

Beaujeu visited the assembled chiefs in a council house. "I am determined to meet the enemy," he said. "Will you let your father go alone?" His persuasive speech inspired approximately 600 Indians to follow him, and the combined force left at approximately 9 AM. Half of the Indians soon detached themselves to march by another route.

At the head of Braddock's column were their guides and a half dozen Virginian light horsemen. Behind them was Gage with 300 troops including two grenadier companies and Captain Horatio Gates's Independent Company of regulars from New York. Then came the work party, the two 6-pounders, and a rear guard. The rest of the column was close behind. Although no scouts were out very far ahead of the army, flanking parties paralleled it along both sides.

At about 1 PM the guides crossed a dry ravine and soon drew near a small creek. Henry Gordon, an engineer, walked ahead to mark the path of Braddock's Road for the work detail. Gordon spotted a mysterious figure in the woods, dressed in Indian style, but wearing around his neck the shiny metal gorget of a French officer.

The Indian with the gorget was none other than Beaujeu himself, leading his men. Beaujeu was apparently as surprised to stumble upon the enemy troops as the redcoats were to see him. He was visible waving his hat and calling to his men, who rushed off the trail when they saw his signals and formed into a rough semicircle blocking the British column.

Far from unfolding as the stealthy ambush Beaujeu had planned, the Battle of the Monongahela opened badly for the French. Although surprised, the British held steady. Gage's grenadiers pressed forward in good order and fired several volleys, and his 6-pounders soon went into action. Beaujeu was shot dead only moments into the battle.

Dumas took command of a perilous situation, which moment by moment grew worse for the French. One of Dumas's lieutenants was killed and two other officers were wounded. Many of the French-Canadian militiamen fled after they learned their commander was killed. The battle began to look like a disaster in the making, and the Indian contingent began melting away. Despite the smoke and heavy undergrowth, the British saw their enemies were running and they raised a cheer.

A British artillery crew, aided by Lt. Col. Washington, pushes a gun into position during the confused fighting in the dense forest. The British guns posed little danger to their widely scattered and well-hidden foe.

It crossed Dumas's mind, he later wrote, that death was preferable to watching his command fall apart. But the captain stayed where he was. Responding to his air of confidence, his remaining men settled down behind trees, stumps, and logs to return the grenadiers' fire.

Around this time the Indians who had marched separately from the fort rejoined Dumas. Few of the Indians were accustomed to the firing of a cannon; however, it was quickly apparent that although the big guns made a fearsome display, they held little danger for widely scattered and well-hidden foe. Seeing that Dumas anchored an unyielding line of soldiers, the Indians slipped ahead and found firing positions along the enemy flanks.

Gage's men stopped cheering as they realized the enemy was beside and behind them. One British soldier described the sound of the enemy fire as "poping (sic) shots, with little explosion, only a kind of Whiszing noise; (which is proof that the Enemys Arms were riffle Barrels)." A dozen grenadiers fell in only a few minutes. Around them the British saw a dark landscape thick with timber, fallen trees and logs and heavy brush. There was no open space other than the just-carved nar-

Lieutenant Colonel George Washington kneels next to mortally wounded Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock during the height of the backwoods battle against the French and Indians in a painting by Robert Griffing. Although Braddock had posted flank guards, they were overwhelmed by the Indians.

row road, which was now packed with British soldiers who were exposed to fire from all directions. Gage's surviving men wavered and then fled back toward the main force.

Braddock responded to the emergency by leaving 400 troops with Colonel Peter Halket to guard the baggage and rushing forward with the rest of his men. Gage's fleeing troops ran headlong into them, scrambling Braddock's disciplined formations. All the while, Dumas and his men pushed closer, and the firing of the Indians intensified. The redcoats knew how to stay together in line and fire massed volleys at opposing formations in front of them. The grim smoke-shrouded woods offered no particular targets. Indeed, many survivors later claimed that they literally never saw any of their enemies during the battle. Unable to tell front from flank, the British troops bunched together into shapeless crowds a dozen or more men deep, unable to return fire with any effect.

Some of the provincials fought the enemy in their own style, scattering to find firing positions sheltered by trees or logs. Surrounded as they were, each of the colonials was protected only from some angles. Artillery was useless. Firing cannons at random into the labyrinth of dark trees was like shooting at needles in a haystack. Fearing the worst, the civilian drivers abandoned their wagons. Cutting the horses loose, the drivers mounted and galloped away toward Dunbar's detachment.

Officers, in their distinctive uniforms, were easy targets. William Shirley, Braddock's military secretary, died instantly from a bullet to his head. When Colonel Halket was shot dead his son, Lieutenant James Halket, ran to him. An instant later, the lieutenant's lifeless body fell across that of his father.

Braddock's horse was shot from under him. Mounting a fresh animal, that horse too fell within moments. Prominent Pennsylvanian James Burd conveyed to Pennsylvania Governor Robert Hunter Morris that Braddock's soldiers pleaded with the general to allow them to take cover behind trees to return fire. Braddock denied permission and "stormed much, calling them Cowards and even went so far as to strike them with his own Sword for attempting the Trees," wrote Burd.

The general's attention focused on a hill to the right of the road, where persistent fire poured from the woods. Braddock ordered Lt. Col. Ralph Burton of the 48th Foot to charge the hill, but the officer could rouse no more than 100 men to follow him. When Burton was hit, the attack collapsed and his men surged back into the chaotic tangle of soldiers milling about in the road.

Braddock's men expended their ammunition with little effect. Many men fired wildly into the air. Visitors to the site in 1776 reported that "the marks of cannon and musket balls are still to be seen on the trees, many of the impressions are twenty feet off the ground."

"Wherever they saw a Smoak or Fire," wrote Burd, the redcoats shot at it. Hardly any of their bullets struck an enemy, but the regulars' uncontrolled firing decimated their own comrades in the flanking parties and the provincial soldiers fighting under cover. After the battle, Washington agreed with other survivors who estimated that "two-thirds [of the dead and wounded] received their shot from our own cowardly Regulars, who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep, would then level, fire and shoot down the men before them."

Many soldiers saw Washington, the last of the general's aides who was not out of action, trying to steady and organize the men from horseback. Likewise, Braddock galloped through the battlefield, mounting fresh horses when his mounts were shot dead. He was on his fifth horse of the action when an enemy ball tore

through his right arm and ripped into his lungs.

"This Confusion lasted about two hours and a half," wrote Orme. "When their general fell, panic engulfed the British troops ... the whole ran off crying the devil take the hindmost."

Although the rank and file ran, many officers were conspicuous in trying to stem the rout. Three fourths of the British and American officers were killed or wounded. Washington "had two Horses shot under him and his Cloaths shot thro' in several Places, behaving the Whole Time with the greatest Courage and Resolution," wrote Orme.

In full panic, the survivors stampeded to the ford and waded into the river. Engineer Henry Gordon, his right forearm shattered by a bullet, rode to the crossing but found it was completely clogged with fleeing men. Looking for another crossing point, part of the sandy bank crumbled away under him, but his horse stayed upright and Gordon kept his seat. Forty yards into the river, Gordon glanced back and saw the enemy pressing closer. He observed some of the Indians scalping both the wounded and the female camp followers who fell into their hands. Others fired into the river at the retreating British. One Indian bullet pierced Gordon's right shoulder, but he stayed on his horse and made it across.

Dumas watched the enemy rush across the Monongahela, but he was unable to press on and destroy the remnants of the Anglo-American army. The battle won, the Indians and militia would not heed orders to continue the pursuit, but fell to looting. There was plenty of plunder there for the taking. Eight guns and seven mortars were abandoned with their ammunition and equipment, not to mention hundreds of muskets left by the dead or dropped by soldiers in flight. A French account claimed the capture of more than 400 horses and 100 beef cattle. Also taken was the money tumbrel, which held about £2500 in coin, and Braddock's confidential orders, papers, and maps.

Braddock begged to be left to die on the battlefield, but several officers carried him away. Orme promised several soldiers a guinea and a bottle of rum apiece if they bore the general in a litter. They conveyed the wounded officer to Dunbar's camp on July 11. Most of the survivors were already there. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that at 5 AM on the day after the battle, the first panic-stricken straggler made it to Dunbar's camp.

The dying general saw no option but a fast retreat to the safety of Fort Cumberland. He ordered the destruction of most of the expedition's supplies. Dunbar and the other British field officers carried out the orders. Most of the wagons were put to the torch. Soldiers broke open kegs and poured tons of gunpowder into a spring. They buried the Coehorn mortars saved from the battlefield and dumped or burned most of their remaining supplies.

"We shall know better how to deal with them another time," Braddock said before succumbing to his wounds. Orme, who was seriously wounded and lying near the general, recorded the general's last words for posterity. After the general's death on July 14, he was buried in an unmarked grave in the road his troops cut through the wilderness about one mile from Fort Necessity. Marching away from the campsite, the survivors of the expedition marched over the gravesite, leaving no trace of its location.

Engineer Patrick Mackellar tallied a precise 457 killed and 519 wounded, out of a total of 1,459 men. A witness later claimed that a 1758 British expedition reached the site and buried 450 skulls. Other casualty totals vary, but all state that two thirds of Braddock's advance force was killed or wounded. Surgeons found graphic evidence of the toll taken by friendly fire. Many bullets they extracted were of the large-size British military issue, rather than the smaller caliber balls common in French-Canadian and Indian frontier muskets.

Had Beaujeu lived he would have basked in the major accomplishments of routing Braddock's larger army and saving Fort Duquesne. The cost to France of this strategic coup was the sort of losses one would expect in a skirmish. Including Beaujeu, only three officers were killed. Four officers, one of whom died on July 30, were wounded. Enlisted casualties ran to five men dead and four wounded, and only 27 Indians were reported killed or wounded. Nearly all of the casualties occurred during the confusion and surprise of the opening moments of the battle.

Library of Congress

Braddock died five days after the battle and was buried in an unmarked grave in the road his troops had cut through the wilderness. The survivors of the expedition marched over the gravesite, leaving no trace of its location.

Washington came out of the disaster on Braddock's Field with lasting respect for his courage under fire and his clear-headed leadership. In 1775 the fledgling Continental Army could look with confidence upon Washington as a military commander.

The fighting along the Monongahela became just one aspect of a wider conflict, the Seven Years' War, which engulfed much of Europe between 1756 and 1763. Fort Duquesne fell to a British force in 1758. A new post on the site, Fort Pitt, became the nucleus of the modern city of Pittsburgh. The war ended with the expulsion of the French from North America. Thereafter, Canada and the Ohio Country became part of British North America.

But the 1755 clash on the Monongahela cast a permanent shadow on colonial relations with Great Britain. Two regiments of British regulars had been routed from the battlefield, leaving American troops to survive on their own. Braddock was forever painted in American minds as an arrogant blunderer who led his Anglo-American army into a deadly trap. Even worse, Braddock became a symbol of the drawbacks of British rule and proof that Americans knew better than their masters in London how to conduct their own affairs. □

German armored infantry arrives in Aachen. The Germans rushed troops from Holland and as far away as Alsace to defend the historic city.

With weapons at the ready, the American squad advanced cautiously on both sides of the tree-lined boulevard toward the German strongpoint in Aachen. Buildings pummeled by Allied shells had toppled to the ground, sending concrete and bricks spilling into the street. Hardly a structure remained intact as a result of the protracted fighting.

As the squad moved toward an intersection, it directed its fire on the corners of the block of apartment houses that lay ahead. Soldiers darted hurriedly across the street as they moved from building to building. While trying to knock out the strongpoint, they began taking fire from another German-held apartment building down the street. The American platoon leader, who was watching the action from a corner room window, called for assistance on his field telephone.

Soon a large vehicle arrived. American mortar teams on rooftops kept a steady fire on the enemy as the M12 moved into position. An M12 was a self-propelled gun that consisted of a French World War I-era 155mm field gun mounted atop an M4 tank chassis. It was tailor made for such situations.

The driver of the tracked vehicle steered it into a concealed position behind a pile of rubble. The crew sighted the barrel toward the building where the enemy fire had originated. The gun roared, sending a large shell into the upper half of the building. It blew a gaping hole in the side of the building and sent debris raining down into the street below. A second round caused the top three floors of the six-floor building to collapse. The American squad waited for a few minutes, and then it cautiously entered the remains of the building to clear it of any surviving German troops. Afterward, engineers set up booby traps in some of the rooms to discourage other Germans from reoccupying the buildings.

The vignette describes the tedious tactical fighting that characterized the Battle of Aachen fought from October 2 to October 19 just inside the German border in North Rhineland-Westphalia. The Germans intended to fight to the death for the Fatherland in response to the exhortations of German leader Adolf Hitler and his staff.

After nearly two months bottled up in Normandy, the Allies broke out from the bocage country in late July 1944. The German forces, forced to fight in open terrain against a foe with superior numbers of men and equipment, were encircled in costly battles, such as the Falaise Pocket in August that cost them 60,000 men and 500 tanks and assault guns. In the three months following D-Day, the Germans lost upward of 300,000 men on the Western Front.

The race across France toward the German frontier ground to a halt in early September. As the Allies approached the German frontier, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery's 21st Army Group held the extreme left flank of the Allied line and General Omar Bradley's 12th Army Group was positioned on its right.

BLOODBATH IN AACHEN

The U.S. First Army faced the daunting task in October 1944 of capturing the old Imperial city of Aachen. The Germans were determined to exact a heavy toll in American lives. **BY WILLIAM F. FLOYD JR.**

Eisenhower approved Monty's elaborate plan for Operation Market Garden in which Allied forces would leapfrog over the rivers of Holland through a combination of river assaults and air drops. The operation, which began on September 17, involved British, American, and Polish forces. To the end of his life, Eisenhower believed that Market Garden was a risk that the Allies had to take even though it was a disastrous failure. The Allied defeat was the result of a number of factors, including supply limitations, bad luck, and unrealistic tactical objectives. Unfortunately for the Allies, Montgomery and Eisenhower resumed their previous acrimonious relationship, with each blaming the other for the failure of Market Garden. Afterward, the race to Berlin became a slog to get through the Siegfried Line that guarded Germany's western border.

German forces in the West braced to defend their homeland against the fast-moving Allied forces that were as much as eight months ahead of their timetable for the liberation of Germany. The Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force hoped to seize the Ruhr, which was the industrial heartland of Germany, to stifle any further war production.

Bradley assigned Lt. Gen. Courtney Hodges' First Army to break the German front near Aachen. First Army comprised 40 infantry and airborne divisions and 15 armored divisions. In the center of First Army was the VII Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. J. Lawton Collins, known as "Light-

SZ Photo / The Image Works

SZ Photo / The Image Works

ning Joe" to his troops. Collins did not want to get bogged down in house-to-house fighting in Aachen, so he decided to surround the city in the hope that the Germans might decide to pull out. However, such an approach failed to take into consideration German leader Adolf Hitler's fortress mentality and his obsession with not giving up a town as historically significant as Aachen. "The Führer wanted to defend Aachen to the last stone," Field Marshall Hermann Göring said after the war. "He wanted to use it as an example for every other German city, and defend it, if necessary until it was leveled to the ground."

The Germans considered Aachen to be hallowed ground. It was the presumed birthplace, as well as the coronation site, of Frankish King Charlemagne, who became the first Holy Roman Emperor. For 600 years afterward it was the seat of power for Imperial Germany, and the majority of the emperors were crowned in its stately cathedral. The old Imperial city held great psychological value for the Germans and particularly for Hitler, who regarded it as the founding city of Germany's First Reich.

Hitler instructed that the city was to be held at all costs. He ordered the staff of the Oberkommando des Heeres (Supreme High Command of the German Army) to ensure that it did not fall to the Allies. "Every bunker, every dugout, every town, every village must become a fortress against which the enemy will beat his head in vain or in which the German garrison goes under in hand-to-hand combat," wrote General Alfred Jodl, chief of the German Operations Staff, in a September 16 order.

Aachen was situated in a saucer-shaped depression 45 miles west of the Rhine River. The city was surrounded on all four sides by hills and ridges that rise between 300 and 500 feet above the city. At the outset of the war, Aachen had a population of 165,000, but Hitler had ordered the city evacuated and only 20,000 remained.

Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, commander of Oberbefehlshaber West (German Army Command in the West), on paper had 48 infantry divisions and 15 panzer and panzergrenadier divisions, but all of the divisions were below strength. The Allies also had a decisive advantage in equipment and matériel. They outnumbered the Germans in artillery pieces nearly 3 to 1, and had a staggering 20 to 1 advantage in tanks. While the Allies had more than 13,000 military aircraft, Luftflotte Kommando West had just 573 aircraft.

Fortunately for the retreating Germans, the terrain in western Germany on the west side of the Rhine favored the defenders. It consisted of urban industrial areas and rivers and woods that would be obstacles to the advancing Allied forces.

The defense of Aachen fell to General Friedrich-August Schack's LXXXI Corps. The corps was part of General Erich Brandenberger's 7th Army of Field Marshal Walter Model's Army Group B. Schack was replaced in late September by General Friedrich Kochling.

Schack had four infantry divisions—two regular divisions and two Volksgrenadier divisions—to defend Aachen. The infantry was supported by General Gerhard Graf von Schwerin's 116th Panzer Division. The regular infantry divisions were Colonel Gerhard Engel's 12th Infantry Division and Generalleutnant Siegfried Macholz's 49th Infantry Division. The Volksgrenadier divisions were Generalleutnant Wolfgang Lange's 183rd Volksgrenadier Division and Colonel Gerhard Wilck's 246th Volksgrenadier Division. The effective strength of the four divisions was 18,000 men. They had a total of 140 105mm guns, 84 150mm guns, and 15 heavy guns.

Some of the divisions arrived while the fighting raged and were fed directly into the battle. Engel's 12th Infantry Division, which had been reconstituted in the late summer in East Prussia after service on the Eastern Front, arrived at the front in buses and trucks on September 16. Lange's Volksgrenadiers, who had been stationed in Bohemia, arrived on September 22.

Schwerin's division had 1,600 men, three PzKpfw IV tanks, two Panther tanks, and two StuG III assault guns. To round out his depleted ranks, he was given two fortress battalions and some Waffen SS and Luftwaffe troops.

When Schwerin, who was entrusted with overseeing the defense of the city, arrived on September 12 he found that antiaircraft crews, police, municipal bureaucrats, and Nazi Party officials all had fled toward Cologne. Schwerin, who was a highly decorated Prussian aristocrat, countermanded Hitler's order for the evacuation of all civilians. He made every effort to restore order as quickly as possible. He sent troops to secure the city with orders to shoot looters. He also urged the remaining citizens to return to the relative safety of their homes.

"I have stopped the absurd evacuation of this town; therefore, I am responsible for the fate of its inhabitants and I ask you, in the case of an occupation of your troops, to take of the unfortunate population in a humane way," Schwerin wrote in a letter to be given to the American commander upon the capture of the city. His letter fell into the hands of the Nazis, and he was tried for cowardice by the People's Court. In a rare decision, Hitler only issued a reprimand. Nevertheless, Schwerin was relieved of command of the city. His superiors transferred command of the beleaguered city to Wilck.

The Germans had begun construction on the Siegfried Line in 1938. Aachen was sandwiched between two bands of pillboxes. The Scharnhorst Line was situated west of the city, and the stronger Schill Line was located east of the city. Each contained pillboxes, bunkers, minefields, and antitank obstacles and ditches. The tank obstacles included rows of concrete pyramids known as Dragon's Teeth. The fortifications were set up with interlocking fields of fire intended to enable the defenders to annihilate attacking formations.

Spearheading the VII Corps advance was Maj. Gen. Clarence Huebner's 1st Infantry Division. Huebner's veteran division comprised the 16th, 18th, and 26th Infantry Regiments. It was supported by Maj. Gen. Maurice Rose's 3rd Armored Division. The Big Red One, as the 1st Infantry Division was known, advanced toward Aachen on a 35-mile front.

The division began fighting its way into the Scharnhorst Line on September 12. The fighting that occurred from September 12 to September 29 is known as the First Battle of Aachen. The tempo of the fighting was fast and fierce, and the Germans began picking off the 3rd Armored Division's tanks with their deadly 88mm guns. The VII Corps tank force dwindled from 300 Shermans to just 70 in a short time. Despite the heavy losses, VII Corps punched a 12-mile hole in the Scharnhorst Line.

The VII Corps armored attack occurred directly south of Aachen in an area known as the Stolberg Corridor. The corridor was a six-mile-wide passage of relatively open terrain between Aachen and the Hürtgen Forest. Collins intended to fight his way through the corridor to the Roer River. As soon as they became aware of Collins' intentions, the Germans massed infantry and armor to halt the thrust.

The fact that American forces intended to attack the Stolberg corridor rather than move directly on Aachen was welcome news to the Germans. They shifted panzer units and issued orders for artillery units to recalibrate their guns.

Two armored combat commands of the 3rd Armored Division advanced shoulder to shoulder into the corridor. Brig. Gen. Doyle Hickey's Combat Command A advanced on the left with its left flank on the outskirts of Aachen, while Brig. Gen. Truman Boudinot's Combat Command B advanced on the right with its right flank resting on the Hürtgen Forest. Opposing them were the 9th and 116th Panzer Divisions. When Engel's full-strength 12th Infantry Division arrived at the front on September 16, the Germans were able to shore up their defenses. Although Engel's regiments were fed into the battle piecemeal, their presence enabled the Germans to launch repeated counterattacks that kept the Americans off balance and slowed their advance. By late September VII Corps' armored thrust had lost its momentum. The Germans had paid a heavy price in casualties, though, as Engel lost half of his 3,800 riflemen.

By the end of September, Collins' VII Corps had fought through both the Siegfried Line's German fortifications without capturing Aachen or advancing toward the Rhine; at that point, he conferred with Hodges and they came up with a fresh approach. The influx of German forces into Aachen made it necessary to conquer the city. The Battle of Aachen would turn into a major battle, one of the largest urban battles fought by U.S. forces during the war, which was an event the Allies had hoped to avoid.

Collins' armored thrust south of Aachen ran out of steam on September 29. A new offensive was scheduled for October 1. Under the revised plan, Maj. Gen. Charles Corlett's XIX Corps would push south to link up with Collins' VII Corps. The XIX Corps forces would consist of Maj. Gen. Leland Hobbs' 30th Infantry Division, which would be supported by Maj. Gen. Ernest Harmon's 2nd Armored Division. Meanwhile, Huebner's 1st Infantry Division of the VII Corps would strike north, clearing Aachen and linking up with the XIX Corps.

Corlett advanced along a route eight miles north of Aachen to get into position for the fresh offensive. The XIX Corps would have to ford the Wurm River, and preparations were made for duckboard footbridges and wooden and metal culverts, respectively, to get the infantry and armor across the river.

For six days, Corlett's heavy guns shelled the approximately 45 pillboxes in front of the 30th Infantry Division before beginning the ground attack. The artillery bombardment stripped away camouflage from pillboxes, demolished barbed wire obstacles, and touched off mines. But it took few German lives as they had good cover.

The ground assault scheduled to begin October 1 was postponed until the following day because of heavy rains that precluded air support. As was often the case with major operations on the West-

AP Photos

ABOVE: Before they could attack Aachen, American GIs had to clear the Germans from the Scharnhorst Line, the forward section of the Siegfried Line in the Aachen sector. OPPOSITE: German troops move toward the battlefront at Aachen. The terrain in Germany on the west side of the Rhine consisted of urban industrial areas and woods that favored the defenders.

ern Front in World War II, the initial high-altitude bombing by medium bombers of the Ninth Air Force was largely ineffective. Because of this, Corlett's artillery units quickly went through most of their shells trying to soften up the enemy positions before a large-scale infantry assault. After its artillery barrage, Corlett's XIX Corps was down to just 2,000 rounds. This meant that the gunners would often have to wait to receive scheduled resupplies of ammunition, which were established by First Army headquarters.

On October 2, the first day of the attack, mortar crews from the 30th Infantry Division targeted enemy pillboxes in preparation for an infantry advance. The fighting from October 7 to October 21 is known as the Second Battle of Aachen. The mortar crews lobbed more than 18,000 shells from 372 tubes. The GIs advanced against the pillboxes using satchel charges, flame throwers, pole charges, and bazookas in an attempt to neutralize the fortifications. To its credit, the 30th Infantry Division knocked out 50 pillboxes on the first day. It took an average of 30 minutes to capture a pillbox. The Germans fought tenaciously. In one firefight, the Americans suffered 87

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: The best place to be in an urban battle was next to the buildings where it was possible to find a degree of cover from enemy fire. An American machine-gun team belonging to the 26th Infantry Regiment engages the enemy in mid-October. RIGHT: A German soldier armed with a Panzerschreck antitank rocket launcher, peers from a cellar.

casualties in an hour. A German counterattack the first night was a complete failure.

In spite of CCB of the 2nd Armored Division entering the battle in support of the infantry on October 3, the American forces were stopped after several German counterattacks. As the fighting on October 3 came to an end, the crossing of the Wurm River and the creation of a bridgehead had cost the 30th Infantry Division 300 dead and wounded. On October 4, the Allied advance slowed with the Americans having lost approximately 1,800 men over the past three days. The next day the 119th Infantry captured Merkstein-Herbach.

On Hobbs' right flank, the 119th Infantry could advance no farther than a railroad embankment because the Germans had presighted their guns to cover all crossings of the railroad tracks. On his left flank, though, the 117th Infantry had made substantial progress working its way through the first line of pillboxes.

The Americans developed an effective coordinated technique for clearing pillboxes. First long-range artillery would pound the pillbox. When the big guns stopped firing, machine-gun and bazooka teams would keep the soldiers inside occupied while flamethrower teams and sappers with pole charges would attack the embrasures and doors. If necessary, M12s and Sherman tanks would fire on the bunkers.

On October 6, the Germans launched a counterattack against the 117th in Ubach, but the Americans repulsed the attack. The 119th faced tough going trying to eliminate pillboxes near the medieval Rimburg Castle. At that point, the 30th Division had penetrated five miles into the Siegfried Line along a six-mile front. On October 7, the spearhead of XIX Corps turned south to outflank Aachen.

"We have a hole in this thing big enough to drive two divisions through," said Hobbs, adding, "This line is cracked wide open." He believed his division's work was done, but he could not have been more wrong. German reinforcements from Holland and as far away as Alsace had arrived. They went into action and successfully halted XIX Corps' advance three miles short of Aachen. The process of tightening the noose around Aachen would require renewed help from the 1st Division to the south, which had succeeded in establishing a semicircular 12-mile-long front that curled around the south of the city.

The 18th Infantry launched an attack on October 8 northeast of Aachen aimed at eliminating defiant German troops in other pillboxes. The following day two American infantry companies slipped past enemy pickets without having to fire a shot and climbed the Ravelsberg, an enemy stronghold on the high ground south of Wurselen. The Americans usually gave the Germans in the pillboxes a chance to surrender, and the following morning eight pillboxes gave up.

Huebner delivered an ultimatum on October 10 to the German garrison of Aachen. He threatened to level the city if they did not surrender. Wilck declined the offer. He had about 5,000 troops to defend the rubble-strewn city. In addition to his Volksgrenadiers, he had approximately 200 grenadiers from the 1st Panzer Battalion of the 1st SS Panzer Division under the command of Hauptsturmfuhrer (Captain) Herbert Rink. Realizing the city was in danger of falling to the Allies, Rundstedt had directed the crack troops to move into the city as soon as possible.

The destruction of Aachen began in earnest on October 11. Approximately 300 Allied planes dropped 62 tons of bombs on areas marked as targets with red smoke. Over the course of the next two days, the Allies dropped another 5,000 artillery rounds and an additional 100 tons of bombs on the city.

Eisenhower constantly urged his commanders to stay on the attack at Aachen so that the Germans did not have a chance to regroup. He wanted them to maintain a constant and steady attack to wear down German resources. He knew that the Allies' superior resources would enable them to win the war sooner rather than later. His critics accused him of adopting a sterile, costly strategy. Eisenhower made no excuses. He believed that in the long run his strategy would save thousands of Allied lives.

"People of the strength and war-like tendencies of the Germans do not give in," he told a critic. "They must be beaten to the ground." The fighting that resulted was some of the least glamorous and toughest of the war. There was not a whole lot of manuever and strategy involved.

The Germans counterattacked in force

against the 30th Infantry Division on October 12. The attack was disrupted by artillery fire and well-placed antitank defenses. American artillery pummeled the 12th Infantry Division, firing as many as 5,000 rounds. As the bombardment continued, Lt. Col. John T. Corley's 3rd Battalion, 26th Infantry began to clear the factories between Aachen and the city of Haaren. They completed the task by nightfall. As the fighting continued, two German infantry regiments attempted to take Crucifix Hill from the 1st Infantry Division. In a brutal firefight, the Germans temporarily occupied the hill, but they were mauled in an American counterattack at the cost of two regiments.

On the morning of October 13, Corley's tough battalion began to push northwest toward Observatory Hill while Lt. Col. Derrill M. Daniel's 2nd Battalion began a painstaking movement through the center of the city. Daniel's men had to find their way through a maze of rubble and damaged buildings while keeping in contact with Corley in the hills to the north. Daniel had about 2,000 yards of attack frontage, no small amount in view of the density of the buildings. Out of necessity, the battalion's movements would be slow and deliberate.

Daniel developed assault tactics on the spot for his battalion. To compensate for the shortage of men in his battalion, he buttressed his rifle companies with heavy firepower designed to knock out German strongpoints in order to preserve his infantry as much as possible. Daniel's mantra regarding the city's buildings was "knock 'em all down."

He established task forces consisting of a rifle company backed by either three M4 Sherman tanks or three M10 tank destroyers and including two 57mm antitank guns, two bazooka teams, two heavy machine-gun teams, and a flamethrower.

The infantry advanced along the sides of the street using smoke grenades to screen their movements from the enemy and the doorways of buildings for temporary cover. Meanwhile, the tanks and destroyers advanced directly up the street, firing into the buildings to soften up enemy positions and prepare them for a rifle squad assault. The intention was to drive the Germans into the cellars, which the rifle squads could attack with grenades. If the enemy holding a particular position proved especially tenacious, the Americans used satchel charges and flamethrowers to kill them.

The Germans in Aachen picked two or three houses in a block that offered a good field of fire. The only way to root them out was to encircle them with small units of riflemen. A major problem for the advancing Americans in these situations were snipers firing from rooftops or upper stories of buildings and the danger of mortar fire.

The Germans placed their mortars on the top floors of buildings and fire from the windows. Neither the soldier firing the mortar nor the mortar itself could be seen because they were beneath the windowsill. The Germans were not overly concerned with firing at targets they could see; instead, they lobbed shells onto main streets they knew the Americans would use.

American engineers used dynamite to blow holes through the walls or ceilings in buildings and houses in a method known as "mouseholing." This enabled them to bypass stairwells that were likely to be defended by the Germans. This also could also be done with beehive rounds fired from a 155mm howitzer that would knock holes through several buildings at once. The shells tore clean holes through multiple walls, thus allowing the infantrymen to advance from one building to another without being exposed machine-gun and rifle fire. When the Germans converted large buildings into strongpoints, as they did with the State Theater in Aachen, the Americans used several M12s to flatten the building from a distance of 300 yards.

The American units were using every available tool to force the Germans to surrender or retreat. Three captured streetcars were each loaded with a thousand pounds of captured enemy munitions, with a delayed fuse, and rolled down the street into no-man's land. The explosions did little damage but seemed to be a morale booster for the Americans as appreciative cheers rose from their lines. As the fighting continued on October 14, the flamethrower again showed its value when it was used to clear a three-story air raid shelter of 75 soldiers. For those holding out in bunkers, engineers from the 1st Division discovered that wedging mattresses into firing ports would raise the explosive pressure inside, causing fractures in the concrete. An order went out to gather every mattress from each occupied German village. As the Americans crept through Aachen at a slow, steady pace of 50 feet per hour, they continued shooting and dynamiting every possible hiding place.

Beginning on October 13, the 30th Infantry Division and the 2nd Armored Division continued their drive to get behind Aachen. In spite of heavy air support, the Americans were not successful in breaking through the German defenses and linking up with Allied forces in the south. The Germans, using artillery, took advantage of the narrow front line to attack advancing American units.

Hobbs instructed his forces to outflank the Germans using two battalions to advance by an alternate route. The Americans stumbled upon an air raid shelter on October 15 that housed 1,000 civilians. The maneuver succeeded enabling the 30th and 1st Infantry Divisions to link

ullstein buld / The Granger Collection

An American mortar team in action. Both sides employed mortars not only at street level, but also on the rooftops of buildings where spotters could track enemy movement.

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: The Americans relied on tanks and and self-propelled guns to blast the Germans out of buildings transformed into strongpoints in Aachen. American tanks advance cautiously through a rubble-strewn street. BELOW: The M12 gun motor carriage consisted of a 155mm field gun mounted atop a M3 Lee tank chasis.

up on October 16. Aachen was now encircled, but the Germans tried to break the surrounding ring of Allied forces.

On the afternoon of October 15, Wilck ordered a counterattack designed to halt American progress and stabilize German position in the center of Aachen. Ring's SS troops attacked at dusk and the fighting raged for two hours before the Germans pulled back. Both sides suffered substantial casualties in the surge in fighting.

Wilck, who had moved his headquarters to the Hotel Quellenhof, issued a new directive to the defenders of the city. "We shall fight to the last man, the last shell, the last bullet," he said. The hotel billiard room, beauty parlor, and children's dining room were now defensive strongpoints. On October 18, the 3rd Battalion, 26th Infantry swept into Farwick Park and prepared to assault the hotel. American tanks and artillery began firing on the hotel at short range. Soldiers of the 1st SS Battalion repulsed several attacks on the building. To assist them, German forces nearby launched a strong counterattack that overran several American infantry positions. This relieved the pressure on the hotel for a short time. American mortar teams rained shells down on the German positions. In addition, an M12 advanced along Rolandstrasse followed by Sherman tanks and assault guns that fired left and right into the houses fronting the boulevard. The M12 put 30 rounds into the hotel, reducing it to a pile of rubble.

While the enemy hid in the hotel basement to escape the incessant American shelling, a platoon under 2nd Lt. William Ratchford stormed into the lobby. The American lobbed grenades through all of the entrances to the basement. When Ratchford procured machine guns for firing into the basement, the Germans decided that they had had enough. The Americans killed 25 Germans in the firefight. As the Americans moved through the hotel, they found large quantities of food and ammunition. On the second floor they came across a 20mm antiaircraft gun that the Germans had carried upstairs piece by piece and reassembled the crew-served gun.

On October 19, Corley's men seized the Salvatorberg with little resistance. At the same time, the heights of Lousberg were being overrun by American forces. The Aachen-Laurensberg highway was soon cut by the same American forces. By nightfall on October 19, a part of the same force had occupied a chateau within 200 yards of the highway. In the chateau the Americans found stacks of ammunition and, to their disappointment, empty whiskey bottles scattered about the grounds. During the afternoon of the same day, the German commander, Wilck relayed Hitler's order to the city's garrison instructing the remaining troops to fight to the last man.

At that point, German resistance rapidly fell apart. Even though the battalion of the 110th Infantry was in a defensive position, it would join Daniels' battalion in finishing off the city. Daniels' men had seized the main railroad depot and were closing in on a nearby railway line that led to Geilenkirchen and divided the business district from the western residential sectors. After taking control of the Technical University, a strongpoint in the northwestern sector of the city, the battalion reached the western railroad tracks at sunset on October 20. The few remaining Germans were captured in the western and southwestern suburbs. Some of the German soldiers who had not been captured decided that suicide was their best option. A soldier would take off his boot crook his big toe around the trigger of his rifle, put the muzzle in his mouth, and pull the trigger. For them the horror of war was over.

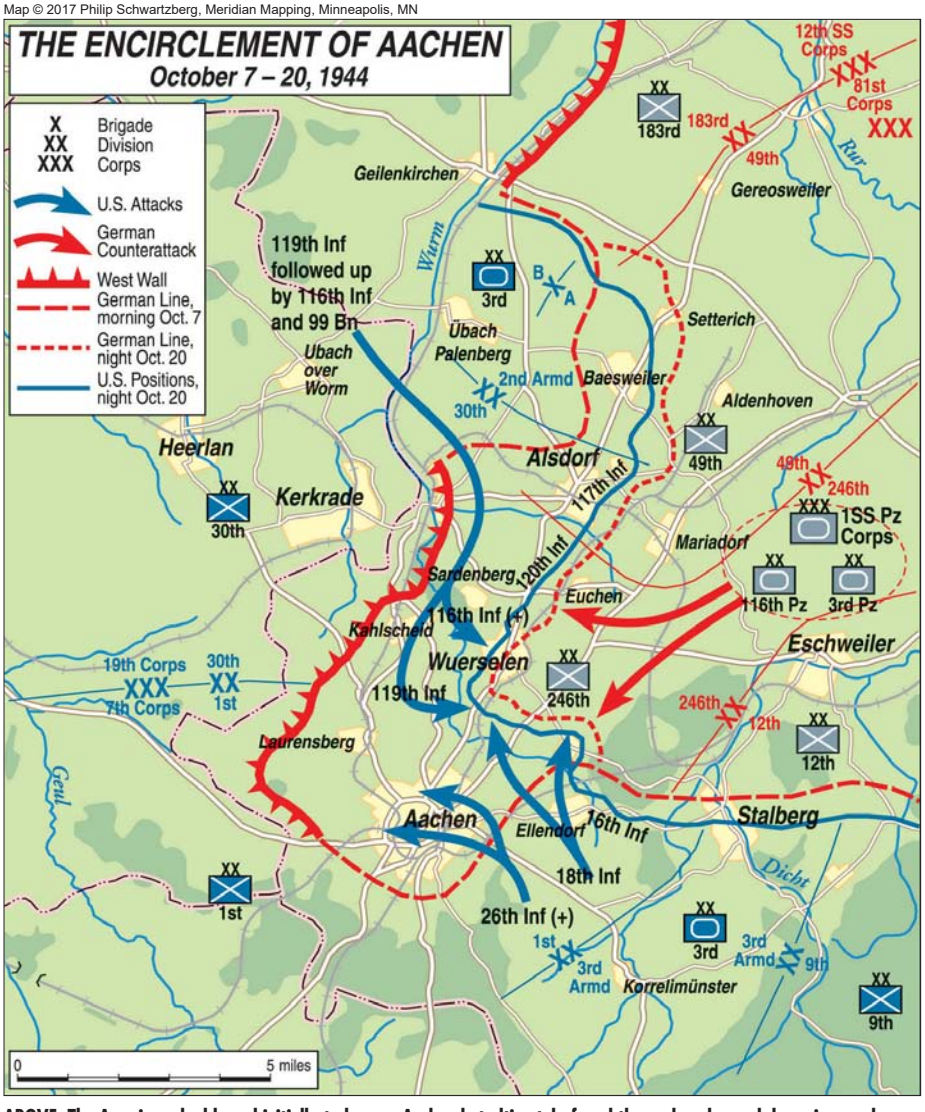
In a vain attempt to raise morale, Wilck requested 15 Iron Cross First Class and 147 Second Class medals for the remaining 800 men defending a 600-square-yard perimeter around his bunker. Outside the bunker, the flames had mostly died down and the morning dawned bright, clear, and cold. Allied dive bombers pounded the narrow circle of Germans defending the bunker.

Corley and Daniels believed air support unnecessary at that point in the battle. Corley's men moved down the Weyherstrasse where they found an abandoned German command center. Meanwhile, Daniels' infantry advanced to the command bunker on the Rutscherstrasse and took it under fire. Corley was not going to sacrifice the lives of his exhausted infantrymen on a frontal assault against the bunker. He decided to bring up a 155mm gun. By noon it was in action, firing one shot after another into the defenses around the bunker from a range of less than 200 yards. It compelled the survivors to surrender. Wilck remained defiant, but it may have just been for show to Berlin. "All forces committed to the final struggle," Wilck said in a radio message that night. "We shall fight on. Long live the Führer!"

Despite his bluster, Wilck wanted to end the fighting. But he faced a real dilemma in carrying out that objective. Two Germans who had previously tried to leave the bunker under a white flag had been shot in the confusion of battle. The answer appeared to be the use of American prisoners. The Germans asked for volunteers from among the Americans to help

National Archives

with the surrender. Staff Sergeant Ewart M. Padgett and Private First Class James Haswell, both of the 1106th Engineer Combat Group, volunteered to translate. When the two Americans came out from the bunker, they were greeted with small arms fire. An American rifleman soon motioned from a nearby window, directing the two men forward. Padgett motioned for the two German officers behind



ABOVE: The Americans had hoped initially to bypass Aachen but ultimately found themselves bogged down in an urban battle. The U.S. 1st and 30th Infantry Divisions suffered heavy casualties that prevented them from participating in the subsequent advance to the Rhine 50 miles to the east. LEFT: The Americans captured a large number of prisoners at Aachen, but amazingly the Germans managed to scrape together enough troops for a massive offensive in the Ardennes two months later.

him to follow. At Corley's headquarters, Brig. Gen. George Taylor, the 1st Division assistant commander, accepted the German surrender on October 22.

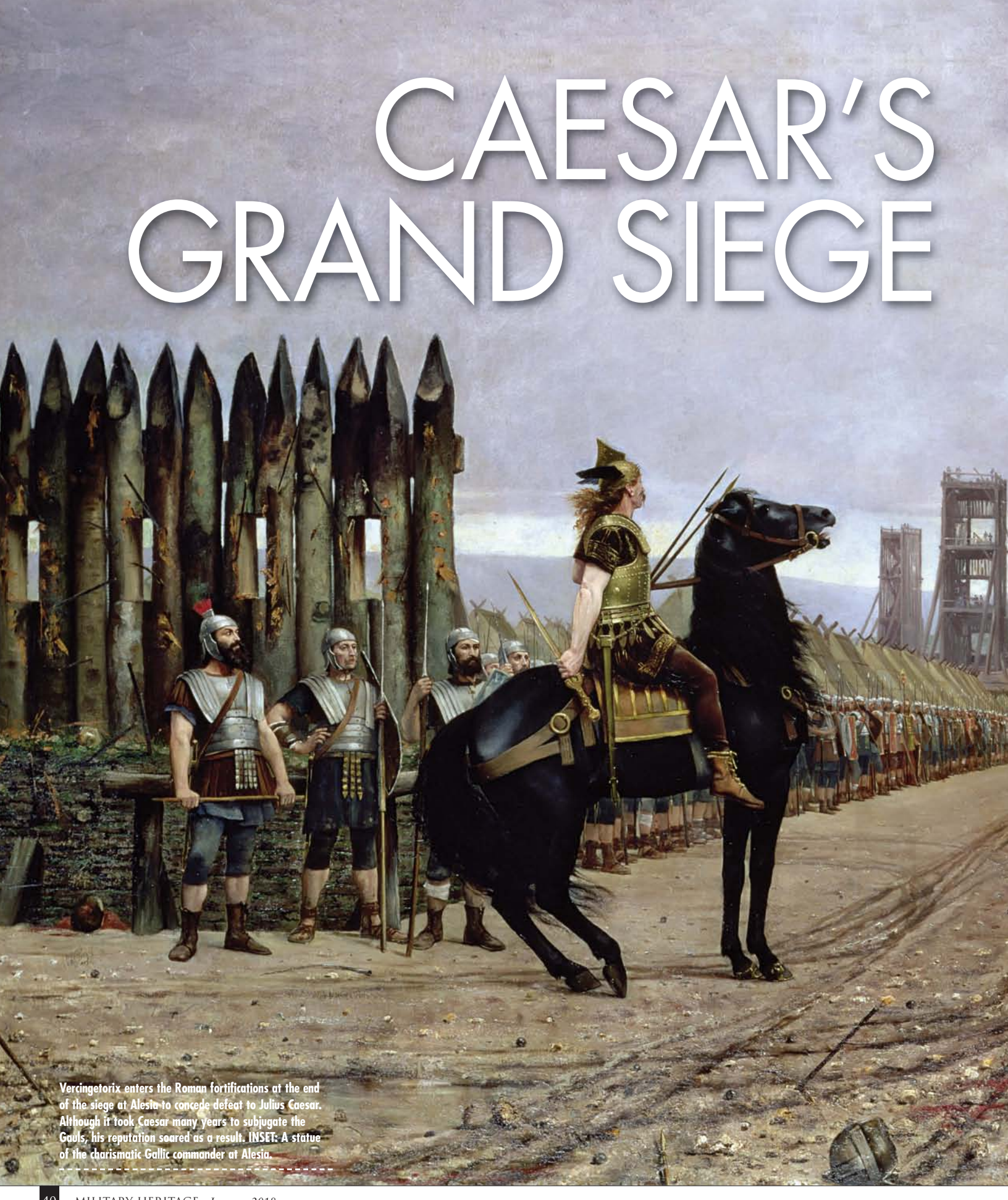
The Americans suffered 5,000 casualties in the protracted battle. The fighting had taken a severe toll on the 1st and 30th Divisions, which were depleted and would require rebuilding. They would not be in shape to advance to the Rhine River and participate in its crossing.

The Germans suffered a similar number of combat casualties and also lost the use of about 15,000 men who were taken prisoner by the Allies. Except for its famous cathedral, Aachen was mostly demolished in the street fighting. "The city is as dead as a Roman ruin, but unlike a ruin it has none of the grace of gradual decay," said a visitor to the city soon after it fell to the Americans.

Aachen was securely in American hands. It had the distinction of being the first German city to be taken by an invading army in more than a century. The Germans offered various excuses for their failure at Aachen. They blamed superior Allied air power and artillery for their defeat.

The next chapter in the road to Berlin was a particularly bloody one. Once the Battle of Aachen was over, Hodges' First Army was given the difficult task of capturing the Roer Dams east of the Hürtgen Forest. The dams could be used by the Germans to flood the valleys the Americans were hoping to use as part of a route to Berlin. Yet no American soldier had to be reminded that hundreds more German cities, towns, and villages needed to be taken before the Third Reich was no more. □

CAESAR'S GRAND SIEGE



Vercingetorix enters the Roman fortifications at the end of the siege at Alesia to concede defeat to Julius Caesar. Although it took Caesar many years to subjugate the Gauls, his reputation soared as a result. INSET: A statue of the charismatic Gallic commander at Alesia.

JULIUS CAESAR'S ROMAN ARMY CONSTRUCTED A DOUBLE RING OF SIEGEWORKS AT ALESIA IN 52 BC IN AN EFFORT TO FORCE THE GAULS INTO SUBMISSION.

BY COLEY COWAN

Musee Crozatier, Le Puy-en-Velay, France / Bridgeman Images

AS JULIUS CAESAR'S ROMAN ARMY began its march on a late summer day in 52 BC in eastern France it discovered Gallic cavalry barring the way of its vanguard. It also found large bodies of Gallic horsemen on both flanks.

Caesar relied on German auxiliaries for his cavalry throughout the Gallic rebellion of 52 BC for they were superior horsemen to the Romans. He ordered his cavalry to divide into three groups to contest the Gallic cavalry. Cotus, the commander of the Gallic horse, had received orders from Vercingetorix, the king of the Gauls, to overtake the Roman army and capture some of its equipment to demoralize the men. He pinned his hopes on the Romans abandoning their baggage in hostile country, which would put their lives in grave danger. Cotus and his lieutenants swore an oath to their commander in chief that they would not return until they had ridden twice through Caesar's long column. Vercingetorix, who had every confidence in his horsemen, was greatly pleased.

All three bodies of Germanic cavalry were soon engaged in hard fighting as the Gauls sought to pillage the Roman column. Whenever the Gauls charged, the Germanic cavalry withstood the shock of their charge and flung them back. After a sustained period of fighting, the Germanic cavalry on the right took advantage of the high ground to charge and rout the Gallic cavalry with which it was engaged. The other two bodies of Gallic cavalry fled as well. Vercingetorix was greatly displeased, and the Gallic cavalry as a whole was sorely demoralized. It was not the last time in the final weeks of the protracted rebellion that Caesar's highly skilled and effective German horsemen would turn the tide of battle.

Gaul was in the throes of a massive revolt that year. The fractious tribes had united late in the previous year to defeat Caesar's army. After many long months of campaigning, Vercingetorix established a fortified encampment at Alesia in August 52 BC where he planned to make a last stand. In the coming battle, he hoped to throw off the Roman yoke or, if that was not possible, he was prepared to submit to the Romans.

The 48-year-old Caesar was acutely aware of the high stakes of the campaign. He desperately needed a major victory over the Gauls to put himself on par with his chief rival, Gnaeus Pompeius Mag-

nus, or Pompey. Caesar knew that the Gallic hordes he would confront at Alesia dwarfed his army. He had complete confidence in himself and his troops. As for Caesar, he was confident, determined, and resourceful. He believed that his army's superior engineering, training, and discipline evened the odds substantially.

Caesar was born July 13, 100 BC into a patrician family of long standing. But by the time he was born it was no longer included in the inner circles of Roman politics. His father, who was a Roman senator, named him after himself.

Sixteen-year-old Caesar became the head of the family when his father died unexpectedly in 85 BC. Caesar's aunt Julia married Gaius Marius, a prominent figure in the Republic, and Caesar benefitted from the patronage of his uncle by marriage. Caesar quickly achieved favorable recognition in the Populares party. His military career began on a high note. While serving on the staff of a military legate in 78 BC, Caesar was awarded a civic crown, the second highest military decoration bestowed upon a Roman citizen, for saving the life of a citizen in battle.

An incident in his early career illustrates both his fierce determination and his brutality. In 76 BC Caesar set out by boat for Rhodes, where he planned to gain skill in oratory by studying with a famous teacher living on the Aegean island. He was captured by Cilician pirates who held him for ransom. Caesar warned them that once he was free he would hunt them down and crucify them. They dismissed his threat, but he remained true to his word. When the Roman praetor in charge of Rhodes failed to administer satisfactory punishment to the pirates, Caesar took the matter into his own hands. He crucified them in the customary Roman fashion of execution.

Gauls of the Suevi tribe (left) are depicted on Trajan's Column. The Germanic cavalry (right) employed by Caesar was considered superior to Roman cavalry and played a pivotal role in Caesar's victory at Alesia.

In 72 BC Caesar was elected a military tribune, and three years later he became quaestor of Further Spain. During this time, he assisted fellow Populares party member Pompey in obtaining supreme command of Roman forces in the East where the Romans were engaged in stamping out piracy, as well as in a protracted struggle with Mithridates VI, the king of Pontus and Armenia Minor. In Pompey's absence, Caesar was recognized as the de facto head of the Populares party. In 61 BC Caesar became proconsul of Further Spain.

Caesar was a favorite of the masses and spent lavishly to entertain them. But his flashy style did little to endear him to the more conservative elements in Roman politics. He was sympathetic to the rebellious Roman Senator Catiline, who conspired against the Roman Republic. When he advocated mercy for Catline and the conspirators, he further enraged his opponents in the Optimates party.

Caesar returned from Further Spain in 60 BC eager to become a consul. In light of the opposition to him in the senate, though, he needed strong allies. Despite the best efforts of his political enemies, Caesar won a great political victory when he formed a coalition in 60 BC with Pompey and Marcus Licinius Crassus.

The coalition, which comprised Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, became known as the First Triumvirate. In forming the coalition, Caesar agreed to support the interests of both men if they helped to get him elected consul. Despite heavy opposition from the Optimates led by senator Marcus Porcius Cato, Caesar was elected consul in 59 BC.

Caesar met his end of the bargain. He pushed through the legislative agenda of his two fellow triumvirs. In return, he received a generous five-year appointment as governor of Cisalpine Gaul, Transalpine Gaul, and Illyricum.

Pompey's conquests in the East had enabled him to celebrate three triumphs and had made him one of the Roman Republic's greatest generals. Crassus was revered for having crushed slave leader Spartacus and his army during the Third Servile War. Caesar was jealous of their victories. He hoped that victory in Gaul would help him gain the military laurels he so desperately desired and restore his flagging fortune.

No sooner had he obtained his appointment as governor than a crisis developed. The Helvetii, who lived in what is now Switzerland, were tired of living on the harsh and barren terrain in the Alps. They sought warmer, more fertile lands. They chose for their new home the fertile region of the Saintonge, which lay 600 miles west of their existing lands.

As they began their migration, they violated the territory of the Aedui tribe of Gauls. The Aedui were allies of Rome who lived in what is now Savoy. The Aedui were a key ally in part because they contributed large numbers of auxiliary troops to the Roman army.

Caesar moved his existing forces into a blocking position while he returned to Italy to recruit additional manpower. His troops constructed a 19-mile-long rampart and a parallel trench to slow the Helvetii columns. In the meantime, Caesar raised two additional legions, Legio XI Claudia and Legio XII Fulminata, in Italy to supplement his existing four legions and returned to the battlefront.

Caesar attacked the Helvetii rear guard and then fell upon their main force. The Helvetii main force soundly repulsed his attack, though. Caesar then switched over to the defensive and awaited the enemy's next move.

Using their superior numbers, the Helvetii launched a frontal assault to pin the Romans in place while also assailing the Roman flanks. The Roman third line of infantry split into two sections with each section changing face to counter the flank attack. In the ensuing battle, the Helvetii suffered heavy casualties trying to break the Romans. The Romans counterattacked and cap-

ABOVE: Caesar systematically conquered the tribes in the Gallic borderlands before turning his attention to the interior. Just when Gaul seemed pacified, Vercingetorix led an uprising that led to many desperate battles and culminated in the epic siege at Alesia. RIGHT: Caesar parlays with Helvetii tribal leader Divico in 58 BC at the outset of the Gallic wars. The Helvetii sent troops to support Vercingetorix during his uprising.

tured the enemy camp. The two sides then parlayed. Having lost to the Romans, the Helvetii agreed to return to their old homeland.

The victory had shown the Aedui that Caesar was a trustworthy and invaluable ally. He also came to the assistance of the Gallic tribes living along the upper Rhine River when Germanic tribes invaded their territories.

Another battle brewed when Ariovistus led 70,000 Germanic troops against the Romans. When the Germanic forces threatened to cut Caesar's supply line, he took advantage of their superstitious nature to defeat them.

German seers had prophesied that their warriors should not fight before the new moon. Caesar advanced on the enemy camp before the new moon appeared, goading them to attack. In the ensuing bloody encounter, the Romans prevailed.

The Roman victory was due in part to the superb actions of Publius Licinius Crassus, who committed reserves on his own initiative at just the right time to swing the battle in the Romans' favor. The Romans then drove the Germans back to the east bank of the Rhine. Ariovistus avoided capture, but he lost two thirds of his men. The victory ensured a long period of stability for the Gauls living on the west bank of the middle and upper Rhine.

About this time Caesar resolved to undertake a complete conquest of the Gauls. But first he planned to extend his conquests north to encircle Gaul from the east. He raised two additional legions, Legio XIII Gemina and Legio XIV Gemina, increasing the number of legions under his command to eight.

Caesar continued campaigning north in an effort to encircle the tribes of the interior of Gaul from the east. In 57 BC Caesar came to the aid of the Remi by defeating the Belgae near Bribax. He then marched farther north to engage the Nervii and the Aduatuci. The fierce Nervii ambushed the Romans at the Sabis River. The ensuing hand-to-hand fight nearly resulted in the annihilation of Caesar's army; however, the superior discipline of the Romans and the timely arrival of reinforcements saved Caesar's army from destruction.

While Caesar fought the Nervii, Publius Licinius Crassus led an independent command against the Veneti, who lived between the Seine and Loire estuaries. The Veneti submitted to the Romans with little bloodshed. Crassus' westward march continued the process of encirclement. In addition, it secured the northern coast of Gaul for a Roman invasion of Briton, which Caesar had long been contemplating.

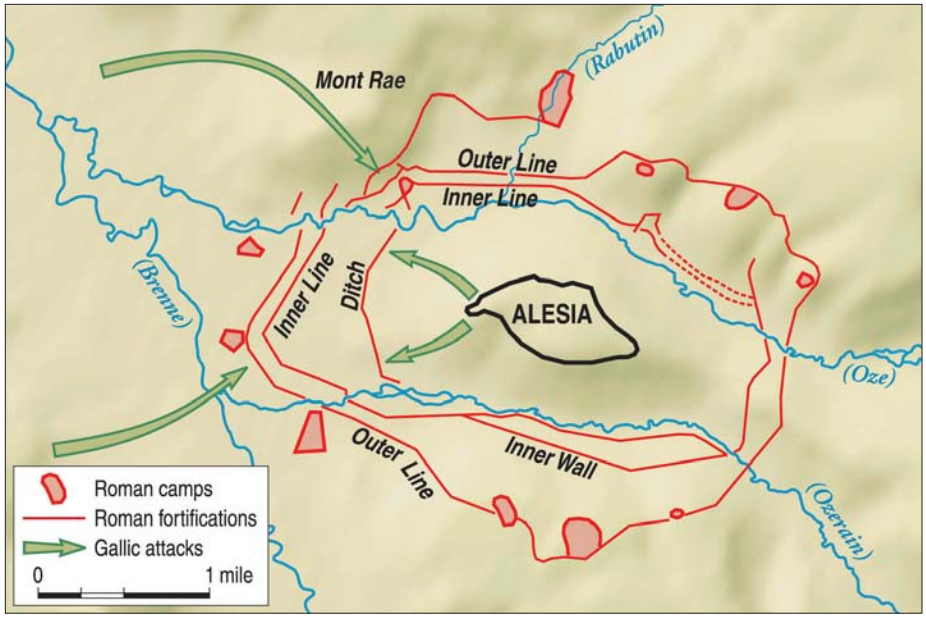
Caesar's troops began building transport vessels and warships in 56 BC for the invasion. Although Caesar lost many of his boats to storms and rough seas in the crossing undertaken in 55 BC, he successfully secured a landing site on the east coast of modern Kent.

The following year five legions sailed from a location in modern Pas-de-Calais. Cassivellaunus, a Briton chief, led the main opposition against the Romans. Caesar marched against his lands, which lay north of the Thames River. He captured Cassivellaunus's stronghold and defeated the Britons in battle. Afterward, Cassivellaunus waged a costly guerrilla war against the Romans. The Romans compelled the Britons to agree to pay tribute, but whether they ever did is uncertain.

By this time, the Romans were firmly entrenched in Gaul. Caesar also had increased the size of his forces to 10 legions. Initially, the Gallic tribes considered the Romans as their protectors, but they began to realize that the Romans intended to stay on a permanent basis. What is more, they grew tired of supporting the Roman army. The Romans not only requisitioned supplies from the Gauls under threat of force, but also forced the Gauls to furnish auxiliary troops against their will.

In the winter of 54-53 BC, the Gallic tribes of northeastern Gaul rose up against the Romans. Because of a shortage of corn as a result of sustained drought, Caesar ordered seven legions in northeastern Gaul to winter among the local tribes. Caesar deliberately placed all of the camps within 100 miles of each other so that they might furnish mutual support in a crisis.

The Eburones deeply resented having to share a major part of their meager harvest with the Romans. Ambiorix, the king of the Eburones, who lived between the Meuse and the Rhine Rivers, through a well-planned ruse persuaded one and a half legions to leave their winter camp near mod-



ABOVE: The map shows the path of Gallic attacks against the inner and outer lines at Alesia. The relief army determined that its best opportunity to breach the lines was where the Romans had left a gap in their defenses at the base of Mont Rae. BELOW: A reconstructed section of the Alesia siege fortifications conveys their daunting appearance. The Romans placed obstacles and traps in front of the walls to impede the enemy's attack.

ern Liege to avoid being annhiliated. They informed the Romans camped in their midst that not only had all of the Gallic tribes risen in rebellion, but the Germanic tribes were planning a major incursion.

A dispute arose between Quintus Titurius Sabinus and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, the former arguing for a withdrawal to another Roman camp and the latter arguing against it. Sabinus won out. The retreat was planned without Caesar's knowledge. The Eburones waited until the retreating Roman column had entered a defile, and then it annhiliated it.

When Caesar learned of the disaster, he vowed not to shave or cut his hair until his troops were avenged. The Nervii also rose up against the Romans. But Quintus Tullius Cicero, who commanded the troops threatened by the Nervii, showed more courage than Sabinus. He refused to leave his fortified camp.

The Nervii decided to give the Romans a bit of their own medicine. They began building a fortified ring around the Roman camp. In just three hours they had constructed a line three miles in circumference. It consisted of a 10-foot-high rampart protected by a trench 15 feet wide. As the siege progressed, they built mobile siege towers. Although many of the messengers that Cicero sent with a dispatch to Caesar describing his predicament were intercepted, one Nervian ally in the Roman camp was able to slip through undetected. Caesar assembled two understrength legions and his Germanic cavalry and marched to the relief of Cicero's legion. When the Nervii and their allies learned that relief was on its way, they broke off the siege and marched to meet Caesar with a large army. Caesar, who reconnoitered the enemy host, decided to entrench and fight a defensive battle. Although a great battle was in the offing, a show of force by Caesar's Germanic cavalry was enough to disperse the enemy.

Caesar proceeded to burn the lands of the rebellious Belgic tribes. Only the Eburones refused to submit. With little recourse left to him, Caesar invited the neighbors of the Eburones to plunder their lands. The ploy worked. Large bands of freebooters descended on the Eburones, killing them and carrying off their property.

As 53 BC drew to a close, Gaul appeared to be pacified. As Caesar prepared to return to Italy to keep tabs on political developments in Rome, he arranged his legions in winter camps that were more concentrated than they had been the previous winter. He placed two in the lands of the Treveri, two in the lands of the Lingones, and six in the lands of the Senones.

Caesar had good reason to be cautious. Rebellion was once again in the air, and this time it would not be the scattered uncoordinated rebellions of the previous year. The Gauls would act in concert.

Vercingetorix emerged as the leader of this movement. Older leaders initially opposed him, but he eventually overcame their resistance and was proclaimed king. The new monarch set about raising troops from the tribes of western and central Gaul. His strength lay in his organizational skills; specifically, he was able to pull together a tight-knit army.

Vercingetorix's attack on the Romans at Cenabum (Orleans) in late 53 BC was a signal for the general uprising to begin. The Romans they massacred were mostly civilians, merchants, and traders. The capture of Cenabum gave Vercingetorix one of the largest Roman grain stockpiles in Gaul. The Arverni and Carnutes were joined by the Aulerci, Cadurci, Lemovice, Parisii, Pictones, Senones, and Turones. In some cases, he compelled reluctant tribes, such as the Bituriges, to join the rebellion. As for the Aedui, they remained staunch allies of Rome.

The Gauls now marched against Transalpine

Gaul, the Roman province in southeastern France. Caesar began planning a winter campaign. His quick return to Transalpine Gaul came as an unpleasant surprise to Vercingetorix. The Roman commander rendezvoused with two legions stationed in the Lingones territory, as well as his cavalry, and headed north. He called the other legions to join him. In a short time he had united all 10 of his legions. Caesar obtained grain supplies from the loyal Aedui, and he then marched against Vercingetorix, whose army had besieged Gorgubina, a city of the Boii tribe in modern Burgundy. The Romans captured Cenabum, which compelled Vercingetorix to abandon Gorgubina.

Next, the Romans soundly defeated the Gauls in a pitched battle at Noviodunum. Caesar committed his German auxiliaries and swept the field. Noviodunum surrendered, and the Romans besieged the Biturges' fortified oppidum of Avaricum (Bourges). Oppida were proto-towns in which some Gauls lived. Some were located on hilltops, while others were located in valleys. The hilltop oppida were sited to take advantage of the defensive nature of the surrounding terrain and therefore served as strong natural fortresses.

The Gauls were nearly always defeated in a pitched battle with the Romans. For that reason, Vercingetorix sought to avoid a pitched battle. The king of the Gauls instituted a scorched-earth policy to deny the Romans forage during the lean winter months. "We should also burn all of the towns except those which are rendered impregnable by natural and artificial defenses," Vercingetorix told the Gallic chieftains. The Gauls began withdrawing before the Roman advance, burning towns and crops as they fell back. The Biturges torched 20 of their own towns in a single day, but they balked at destroying Avaricum, which was regarded as one of the most beautiful cities in Gaul. The Biturges begged Vercingetorix not to require them to destroy such a magnificent city, and he relented.

At the same time, the rebellious Gauls began ambushing Roman foraging parties. Vercingetorix's new tactics paid off. Rations were short, and the Aedui, whose support was wavering, were lax in sending grain. Caesar encountered considerable difficulty keeping his army fed.

Avaricum was surrounded on three sides by marshes and was only approachable from the spur of a ridge; however, even that approach was well protected. A deep depression served as a natural moat between the spur and the city walls. Caesar ordered the construction of a massive earthen ramp to bridge the depression and serve as a platform for siege towers to be moved up against the walls. The Romans completed a ramp that was 80 feet high and 330 feet wide.

Vercingetorix's army initially bivouacked 16 miles from Avaricum to monitor the Romans' siege efforts. He soon became emboldened, though, and shifted his encampment to a strong position closer to the besieged city. He offered battle, but Caesar refused to take the bait. Vercingetorix managed to slip a large number of reinforcements into the town, and the garrison launched a ferocious sortie that temporarily drove the Romans back.

Caesar noticed during a rainstorm that the walls were more weakly manned than usual. Moving quickly to take advantage of the situation, the Romans stormed the city. The Roman soldiers had endured great hardship during the campaign and were in no mood to show mercy. Moreover, they wanted to avenge Cenabum. They slaughtered nearly everyone in the city. They found vast stores of grain inside Avaricum, and the ravenous troops gorged themselves on the provender.

As he continued the campaign, Caesar took pains to ensure the protection of his grain supply. At one point, he had to deal with treachery by a rebellious faction of the Aedui.

The rebel leaders sent 10,000 warriors ostensibly to guard Caesar's supply lines, but in reality to reinforce Vercingetorix. Labienus marched against the Aedui and held them to account for their actions. He was able to reconcile the situation, and the loyal Aedui purged their tribe of the conspirators.

Caesar then turned south to attack Gergovia, the chief oppidum of the Arverni, in central Gaul with six legions. He sent Titus Labienus with four legions on a simultaneous thrust against the

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The two lines of fortifications the Romans constructed to invest Alesia and prevent its relief took one month to complete. The Romans undertook the lengthy manual labor project with pickaxes, turf cutters, and entrenching tools.

Senones and the Parisii. Caesar encamped before Gergovia and pondered its strong defenses. In the meantime, he issued orders for some of his troops to attack Gallic camps below the plateau on which the city was situated.

The attack was a success and the Romans captured several key positions; however, some of the Roman troops continued advancing up to the city walls. The Gauls took advantage of the confusion to launch a stunning counterattack on the lightly defended Roman camp. Caesar sent Legio X and part of Legio XIII to stabilize the situation, but not before he lost 700 legionnaires.

Shortly thereafter, Caesar decided to raise the siege and join up with Labienus. It was a wise move since splitting his army was fraught with risk. For his part, Vercingetorix benefited greatly from the Roman debacle at Gergovia. While Caesar called Labienus to him, more troops flocked to join the young warrior king. Caesar was in desperate need of a major victory if he were to suppress the rebellion.

Caesar turned east to engage the Lingones and Sequani in early August. As the Roman columns marched, Vercingetorix attacked them with his cavalry. The Germanic horsemen won a decisive victory over their Gallic counterparts, capturing the top commanders of the Gallic cavalry.

Having witnessed the destruction of much of his cavalry, Vercingetorix decided to make a stand

at Alesia, an oppidum of the Mandubii, whose lands adjoined those of the Sequani to the east. The town was located on a plateau that rose 500 feet above the surrounding terrain.

Caesar followed and made plans to invest the town. Vercingetorix had 80,000 men to hold the position, but he was encumbered by a large number of noncombatants. Caesar's 55,000-strong army comprised 40,000 Roman foot, 10,000 auxiliary foot, and 5,000 Germanic horse.

While the Romans toiled on their fortifications with pickaxes, turf cutters, and entrenching tools, Vercingetorix sent the remnants of his cavalry through the unfinished siege lines to their homes with instructions to bring all remaining troops to relieve the siege.

When the relief army arrived, it camped on a hilltop three miles southwest of Alesia.

The relief force consisted of approximately 100,000 Gauls. They were led by chieftains Commius, Viridomarus, Eporedorix, and Vercassivellaunus.

The Romans constructed an 11-mile fortified line of contravallation (inner line) and a 14-mile fortified line of circumvallation (outer line). In some areas there were substantial gaps where Caesar decided that mountainous terrain would be sufficient to deter a Gallic attack. He established seven camps between the two lines that would serve as strongpoints, as well as 23 redoubts intended to reinforce the siege lines. The construction of the inner and outer lines took one month.

The inner and outer lines consisted of a four-meter-high rampart made from excavated dirt and palisade reinforced every 33 yards with towers made of wood felled from trees in the surrounding land. The fortified line was protected by a six-yard-wide outer ditch 437 yards from the double ditch in front of the palisade. Each of those ditches was five yards wide.

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The Romans constructed three types of obstacles in front of the contravallation lines to inflict casualties and, more importantly, break the momentum of the charge. Large sharpened stakes were in rows at the foot of the rampart. In front of these were round camouflaged pits arranged in a checkerboard pattern that contained smaller sharpened stakes. Farthest away from the contravallation line were rows of short logs with barbed iron spikes hammered into them. Only the very tip of the spike protruded from the ground. These defenses were designed not only to inflict casualties through grievous wounds, but also to slow the momentum of an assault by forcing the Gauls to advance slowly and cautiously.

While the Romans were busy building their siege lines, Vercingetorix decided that he had only enough grain to feed his warriors. For that reason, he ordered the women, children, and old men to leave the oppidum, but first they had to pass through the Roman lines. The Romans would not accept them nor let them depart. As a result, the noncombatants were trapped in no-man's-land without food and very little water. They soon began perishing from starvation.

The Gauls sent out their cavalry and the Romans responded. The cavalry battle ebbed back and forth before the Germanic cavalry drove off their Gallic counterparts. The relief force also made its first assault on the second night after it arrived. They bundled sticks together to create fascines to fill in the ditches and they constructed ladders of rope and wood. Beginning at midnight under cover of darkness, they launched a major attack against the west end of the Roman siegeworks. Although the fighting was bitter, the Romans repulsed the attack. Roman commander Marc Antony distinguished himself in this phase of the battle.

With winter fast approaching, the scarcity of grain and the fate of the wretched noncombatants trapped between the armies lent an air of urgency to the situation. The Gallic relief army had to break through to relieve the siege as soon as possible.

Having tested the defenses, the Gauls began planning a larger assault. They conferred with locals and carefully reconnoitered the Roman defenses. They decided that the weakest area was in the northwest corner where the Roman defenses ran along the base of Mont Rae.

The Romans had left the gap in their siege lines just west of their camp at the base of the hill.

Vercassivellaunus led 30,000 hand-picked men on a night march to the reverse slope of the hill. He instructed his men to rest through the remainder of the night and through the morning. He was to wait while a diversionary attack went forward that morning. Then, when the Romans were hard pressed, Vercassivellaunus would lead an attack with his concealed troops designed to breach the gap in the Roman defenses. The attackers would benefit from attacking downhill.

The diversion went forward as planned in the morning, and then Vercassivellaunus launched the main attack at noon. The furious assault caught the Romans by surprise. Thousands of wild-eyed Gauls streamed down the mountain toward the Romans, who were bracing for the attack. When they struck the Roman line, it bent but held. But the hard-pressed Romans at Mont Rae desperately needed reinforcements.

Caesar observed the Gauls from his command post east of Mont Rae. From that vantage point he could reinforce threatened points in his siege lines by shifting troops from one

ABOVE: Vercingetorix is depicted as a gallant hero in a romantic painting by French painter Lionel-Noel Royer. The leader of the Gallic rebellion was held for five years in Rome so that he could be displayed in Caesar's triumph. OPPOSITE: Roman soldiers used their pila as spears at Alesia to contain the furious assaults of the Gallic relief army. When the Gauls made their final assault against the siege lines, Caesar personally led four cohorts to reinforce the hard-pressed defenders.

point to another.

The Gauls launched a furious assault. As they advanced, they filled in the trenches with fascine bundles, covered the spike traps, and tried to clear the Roman ramparts with a storm of arrows and javelins. When they had cleared a section of the palisade, they attempted to pull down the wall with ropes. The Romans had only a limited supply of javelins themselves and began to run low. The Gauls, with their immense numbers, replaced tired units with fresh ones as needed.

To stretch the Roman defenses, Vercingetorix led his men north across the River Oze to strike the inward-facing defenses of the Roman camp at the base of Mont Rae. He directed his men against areas of the inner siege lines that were lightly manned. Fighting for their lives, Vercingetorix's frantic warriors toppled a wooden tower with their grappling ropes. Caesar dispatched Decimus Brutus to reinforce the inner lines; legate Caius Fabius also led reinforcements to the threatened sector. Keenly aware that defeat meant certain annihilation, the Romans fought with fury and desperation.

Although the Romans were hard pressed, Caesar ordered reserves to bolster the western defenses. During the siege he had instructed his legates to commit reserves in their sector when they saw fit rather than wasting time getting his approval.

When the Gauls began fighting their way into the camp, Caesar ordered Labienus to take six cohorts and reinforce the camp. Caesar had instructed Labienus to hold the walls as long as possible, but once it seemed they were to going to be breached, he should call together all of the soldiers manning the walls and counterattack beyond the walls. Labienus sent Caesar a message informing him that he was preparing to counterattack. Labienus also informed Caesar that he had assembled an additional 11 cohorts to participate in the counterattack.

Caesar then personally led four cohorts drawn from nearby redoubts to the Roman camp at the foot of Mont Rae to support Labienus. Just before he marched off to join the fight, Caesar issued orders for half of the Germanic cavalry to reinforce the camp at the foot of Mont Rae and the other half to attack Vercassivellaunus's force from the left flank and rear. When Vercassivellaunus's men, who were exhausted from hard fighting, saw the enemy cavalry assailing them from behind, they broke and fled the battle.

Clad in his purple cloak, Caesar was readily visible to his troops. His presence stimulated them to great feats. They did not even bother to throw their javelins; instead, they engaged the attackers with their swords.

Caesar's cavalry pursued and killed or captured huge numbers of the besiegers. The Gauls lost 74 standards. The Gallic relief army abandoned their camp. Those who had survived the battle returned to their tribes.

Unfortunately for Vercingetorix, he and the trapped garrison had nowhere to go. Knowing they could not defeat the Romans alone, they fell back to the safety of the hilltop. The Gallic commander sent envoys to meet with Caesar, but the victorious Roman commander felt no need to offer any terms other than unconditional surrender.

"Vercingetorix, the supreme leader in the whole war, put on his most beautiful armor, had his horse carefully groomed, and rode out through the gates," wrote Plutarch. "Caesar was sitting down and Vercingetorix, after riding round him in a circle, leaped down from his horse, stripped

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The Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava in 1854 was by no means a blunder. Despite the heavy losses, the brave horsemen helped derail the Russian attack.

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON

IMMORTAL CHARGE

SIX BATTALIONS OF RUSSIAN INFANTRY, 30 CANNONS, AND A cavalry force deployed in the North Valley east of Sevastopol near the town of Balaclava. They occupied three sides of the valley, looking down on it. The other end was in the hands of the British Army. Spread across the valley floor were thin lines of horsemen belonging to Great Britain's Light Brigade. The 674 men and officers looked resplendent in their blue and red uniforms, trimmed in gold around the chest and shoulders. They clutched their lances and swords and eyed in the distance the Russian guns that they were ordered to capture.

At their head sat Maj. Gen. James Brudenell, Lord Cardigan, an English nobleman with a reputation as a bad-tempered, impulsive man. He took position in front of his brigade. Despite his faults, he did not lack courage. Without a trumpet call, he urged his horse forward and the brigade followed at a trot. Some distance behind and to their right, the Heavy Brigade trailed them. It was a spectacle as foolhardy and pointless as it was courageous and heroic. The Charge of the Light Brigade would go down in history and verse, but the ill-fated attack was only one act of bravery and determination that would occur on the morning of October 25, 1854.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

Lord Cardigan gallantly leads the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. The advance resulted from a series of misunderstandings that resulted in a garbled version of Lord Raglan's original order.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

The Crimean War see-sawed back and forth in its first year. The Turks held their own on land, but in November 1853 a squadron of Russian warships destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope in northern Anatolia. Two months later an Anglo-French naval force entered the Black Sea. On March 28, 1854, the European powers declared war on Russia. Britain and France decided to attack the Russian base at Sevastopol, on the southern coast of the Crimea. The stronghold was Russia's principal naval base in the Black Sea. Its capture or destruction would cripple Russia's ability to continue the war.

The Allies assembled an army of 50,000 troops and landed unopposed on September 13 at Calamita Bay. The landing force advanced toward Sevastopol, and a sharp clash occurred at Alma on September 20. Although the Allies won the battle, they failed to press their advantage. The result was that the Russians were able to regroup. They retreated to the safety of the Sevastopol fortress to await the inevitable Allied siege.

The Allies marched around Sevastopol and secured several small harbors capable of handling their logistical needs. The British occupied Balaclava, which had a long narrow inlet. By possessing Balaclava, the British ensured that they could easily receive supplies by sea given that the siege lines were only seven miles from the harbor.

General Prince Alexander Menshikov, the Russian commander in chief, plotted a counterattack to the exploit vulnerability in the British lines. He believed it was possible for a Russian force to sever the Allies' thin line of communication to the port. At the very least, an attack would force the English to divert forces, thus weakening the Allied right flank surrounding Sevastopol. He assigned Lt. Gen. Pavel Liprandi to lead the attack. Liprandi's 12th Infantry Division had just arrived from the Danubian front. Liprandi had 25,000 infantry, 3,400 cavalry, and 78 cannons. This was more than enough to capture the port if the Russians moved quickly and forcibly without hesitation.

The British forces deployed around Balaclava contained some of England's best troops but, tragically, also some of its poorest commanders. At the time of the Crimean War officers gained their commands through the purchase system; that is, wealthy noblemen bought a position within a particular regiment. Moreover, they also paid for promotions. Membership in many regiments incurred great expenses for uniforms and the officer's mess. This limited commissions for the most part to wealthy aristocrats. Many of these high-born individuals considered themselves superior by dint of birth. Unfortunately for their troops, they had little or no interest in learning their craft.

Men of lesser means often took positions in the Indian Army, a less expensive proposition; however, due to their lower status and wealth they were generally snubbed as inferior by officers of home units. This social divide meant Indian officers, often more experienced and competent than their England-based brethren were kept from positions where they could be effective. Despite the purchase system's flaws, most regiments had a core of solid officers.

The real weakness of the British Army during the Crimea War was in its top leadership. General FitzRoy Somerset, First Baron Raglan, was the commander in chief of the British forces. He had served on the Duke of Wellington's staff during the Napoleonic Wars. He was selected to lead the British forces during the Crimean War largely because of his association with Wellington. Yet he had never led troops in battle, nor did he command the respect of his subordinates.

The British expeditionary force contained five infantry divisions, four led by sexagenarians, and one led by Queen Victoria's 35-year-old cousin, Prince George, Second Duke of Cambridge. Many brigade commanders and staff officers also were elderly. As for the rank and file, they were steadfast, loyal, and brave. The most famous unit at Balaclava was the Cavalry Division, commanded by the ill-tempered Lt. Gen. George Bingham, Third Earl of Lucan. Considered a martinet, Lucan's first command was the 17th Lancers, which he had purchased for 25,000 pounds when he was 26. Unlike Raglan, he had campaign experience. Lucan had served with the Russians during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. His command of the Lancers was marked by constant

drill, smart uniforms provided at his own expense, and draconian discipline.

The Cavalry Division was divided into two brigades. Brig. Gen. James Scarlett led the Heavy Brigade, and Brig. Gen. James Brudenell, Seventh Earl of Cardigan, led the Light Brigade. Scarlett was a capable man who had the respect of his troops. He had never seen combat, but he had the wisdom to acquire the services of a few veteran British officers who had served in India to assist him. The brigade's five regiments used larger, heavier horses and carried carbines in addition to swords. They were intended as shock troops, which if used properly could punch a hole in an enemy line.

The British typically employed the horsemen of the Light Brigade as scouts. Armed with lances and swords, they could move quickly around a battlefield on their smaller, lighter mounts. Like the Heavy Brigade, the Light Brigade also contained five regiments. Cardigan, who was irascible and overbearing, had been removed from his first command in 1832 for incompetence; nevertheless, his wealth and influence allowed him to return to active service.

Cardigan was Lucan's brother-in-law. The two men did not get along, and Cardigan often acted as if his brigade was a separate command. They argued constantly and were frequently observed bickering over matters normally handled by sergeants.

The system of orders used by British commanders to direct units in action was simple; however, it was vulnerable to missteps and confusion. Commanders could often see the entire battlefield and would give orders to a chief of staff who recorded them. An aide-de-camp would carry the orders to the relevant subordinate. Sometimes verbal orders would accompany written ones, which the aide-de-camp also relayed. By the rules of the time, verbal orders allowed for latitude by the lower commander while written ones were adhered to exactly and immediately. If the aide-de-camp was able to clearly and accurately relay orders, the system worked; if not, there was the risk of disaster.

Raglan had realized the potential threat to his supply line and had taken steps to address it. He had deployed troops in various strongpoints to protect the road that led from the harbor north through the village of Kadikoi to Sapoune Heights. Beyond Kadikoi to the northeast was a plain that sprawled to the distant Fediukhin Heights. To the south of the Fedioukine Hills lay Causeway Heights, which divided the low ground into the North Valley and the South Valley.

Raglan's troops had hastily dug six redoubts to guard against attack. Redoubt 1 was situated at the eastern end of the ridge on Canrobert's Hill, which was named for a French commander. The rest were situated at half-mile intervals to the west. Redoubt 1 was manned by a battalion of Turkish troops and contained three 9-pounder naval guns.

The Turkish troops were colonial Tunisians who the Ottoman army had pressed into service with the Allies. They were raw troops who lacked formal training. Worse yet, they had not received rations that comported with their Muslim diet, and therefore they were sorely famished. Redoubts 2, 3, and 4 were manned by a half battalion of these Turkish troops and a pair of guns. Redoubts 5 and 6 had not yet been built. Each of the four manned redoubts had a British artillery noncommissioned officer overseeing the gun crews.

The Cavalry Division's encampments were located at the far west end of Causeway Heights. Lucan dispatched patrols from that location to monitor the Russians on the high ground north of the Chernaya River.

Raglan intended the redoubts as tripwires. If the Russians launched an attack toward Balaclava, he expected them to delay the enemy until reinforcements arrived from the main siege lines. In addition to the Turks in the redoubts, he also stationed the 93rd Highland Infantry Brigade, which was commanded by Maj. Gen. Sir Colin Campbell, just north of Kadikoi. Raglan had entrusted Campbell with the overall defense of the strategic port. The Highlanders were supported by a battery of artillery. In addition, a force of 1,000 Royal Marines was stationed a mile behind the Highlanders. Altogether, the British had approximately 5,000 troops in place to delay a Russian thrust toward Balaclava until reinforcements arrived.

Rustum Pasha, the commander of the Turks, learned from a spy on October 23 that the Russians planned to attack the following morning. He relayed the information to Lucan and Campbell, who in turn informed Raglan. But Raglan was loathe to take action because he had sent 1,000 men to Balaclava three days earlier in what proved to be a false alarm. So when he received the information, he instructed his subordinates to keep him apprised of the situation.

[Left to right]: Russian commander General Prince Alexander Menshikov; Lt. Gen. George Bingham, Earl of Lucan; and Maj. Gen. James Brudenell, Lord Cardigan. Lucan led the British Cavalry Division, and Cardigan commanded the Light Brigade. OPPOSITE: British firepower dealt the Russians a stinging defeat at Alma one month before the clash at Balaclava.

Lucan rode out to inspect his vedettes deployed in South Valley at dawn on the day of the expected attack. Accompanying him was Colonel Lord George Paget, who was in temporary command of the Light Brigade given that Cardigan routinely slept on Raglan's luxury yacht *Dryad* anchored off Balaclava.

At sunrise the party observed a pair of flags flying above Redoubt 1. Only one of Lucan's staff remembered that this was the signal for a general advance by the enemy. Just moments later the guns of the redoubt fired, thereby removing any doubt of the situation.

As the distant guns thundered, one of the vedettes arrived and reported three Russian divisions crossing the Chernaya River beyond the distant Fedioukine Hills. One division ascended the hills, another was moving toward Causeway Heights, and yet another was in the process of attacking Redoubt 1. The Russian general hoped he could advance quickly enough to take the British flank before reinforcements arrived. He expected the advance to take three hours. If the Russians could

capture Balaclava beforehand, it would threaten the entire siege.

The Allies responded quickly. Raglan ordered his 1st and 4th Divisions to move onto the plain. The Duke of Cambridge, who commanded the 1st Division, complied immediately, but it took him 30 minutes to get his troops moving. Maj. Gen. Sir George Cathcart, who commanded the 4th Division, took longer to get his troops in motion. He grumbled that his men had just returned from trench duty. The aide-de-camp, who was aware of the seriousness of the situation, persisted and Cathcart ultimately obeyed even though it took him a full hour to get his division marching. The French sent Maj. Gen. Pierre Bosquet with two infantry brigades and two regiments of Chasseurs D'Afrique, which were elite light cavalry, to assist the British.

While British infantry moved slowly toward the sound of battle, the Russians stormed Redoubt 1 at 6 AM. The five battalions of Russian infantry participating in the attack were supported by 30 guns. To their credit, the 500 Turks manning the redoubt held on until 7:30 AM. They significantly delayed the Russians at the cost of 170 of their men. Many of their casualties were essentially executions by the Russians once they had breached the defenses. The British artillery NCO escaped after spiking the guns.

British infantry and cavalry stationed nearby made no move to assist the Turks and only one British battery opened fire on the Russians attacking the redoubt. The Turkish troops in the remaining three redoubts watched eight Russian infantry battalions advancing. The advancing Russian infantry were supported by artillery and cavalry, including the dreaded Cossacks.

Upon observing the retreat of the Turks from Redoubt 1, the Turks manning the other redoubts immediately fled their positions. The Russian guns had a greater range than the British guns, and the British batteries withdrew to prevent their destruction. As the Turks fled, screaming Cossacks chased after them and gored some of them with their lances. Although some of the Turks fell in beside the Highlanders, others ran for the port in a state of pure panic shouting "Ship! Ship!" The NCOs in the other three redoubts also spiked their guns before retreating.

The French arrived on Sapoune Heights shortly after 8 AM and unlimbered their guns. Raglan also arrived with his staff and established a superb observation post 500 feet above the plain from which to observe the battlefield. Raglan watched as the Russians unlimbered their guns on the eastern slope of Causeway Heights. At the east entrance to the North Valley, Russian horse soldiers advanced at the head of 20 guns and additional infantry.

The British Cavalry Division was deployed on Raglan's right. The Cavalry Division prepared to strike the flank of the advancing Russians, but Raglan believed they were too isolated to successfully carry out their planned attack. He therefore sent orders to Lucan instructing him to "take ground to left of second line of redoubts occupied by Turks."

Lucan was confused by this order as he saw only the one line of redoubts running along the Causeway Heights. By that point, the Turks had fled and the redoubts were unmanned. Raglan's aide-de-camp explained the order meant for Lucan to move his cavalry to the western end of the heights so that the horse sol-

diers could be covered by the French artillery. Lucan reluctantly complied, fearing the move would be seen as cowardly. While Lucan was prevaricating, Cardigan arrived on the field.

Four squadrons of Russian cavalry ascended Causeway Heights. Observing the move, Raglan realized the Russians' objective was Bal-

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Sir Colin Campbell's 93rd Highland Regiment successfully repulsed a determined Russian cavalry charge early in the battle, thereby preventing the Russians from reaching the port of Baladava. The expression "Thin Red Line" was a condensed version of the lyrical description of them by war correspondent James Russell.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

ABOVE: British commander Lord Raglan and his staff survey the battlefield from the Sapoune Heights. Raglan was horrified by his cavalry's charge through a gauntlet of enemy artillery, but could do nothing to stop it once it was underway. LEFT: An officer of the French light cavalry Chasseurs D'Afrique. The elite unit advanced to cover the withdrawal of the Light Brigade.

aclava. Because of this, he needed to reposition his cavalry. "Eight Squadrons of Heavy Dragoons to be detached towards Balaclava to support the Turks, who are wavering," he ordered. The order made sense, except that it was the unwavering 93rd Highlanders they were to support. It took 30 minutes for the aide-de-camp to reach Lucan with the order.

The Russian cavalry descended from Causeway Heights into South Valley and advanced toward the 93rd Highlanders. Campbell ordered his men to lie down on the reverse slope to avoid incoming artillery fire. Either the Russians did not see them or they underestimated the brigade's numbers. Five hundred men defended the knoll. When the Russian cavalry was 900 yards away Campbell ordered his men forward. Believing the small force of Russian cavalry advancing against him to be little threat to his veteran troops, Campbell decided to forego deploying them in a square. He felt that the awesome power of his riflemen firing the Minie ball was sufficient to stop the Russian cavalry. He therefore deployed his men in a thin line two deep.

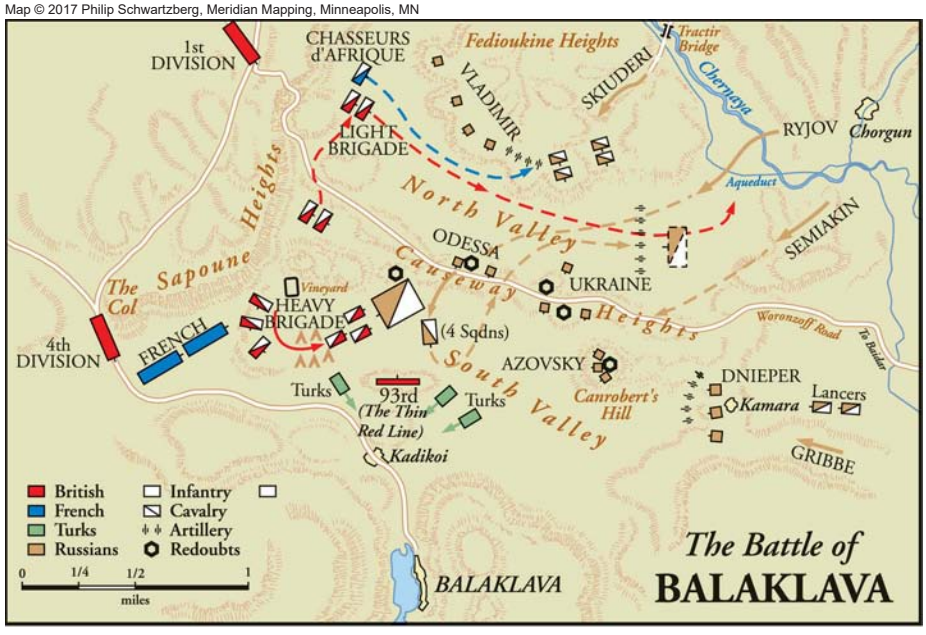
Lieutenant General Ivan Ryzhov's 500 cavalry in blue and light grey uniforms charged the Highlanders. Moments before Campbell had spoken firmly to his soldiers. "Remember men, there is no retreat from here," he said. "You must die where you stand!" The cocky soldiers laughed heartily and then broke into a loud cheer. They were eager for the confrontation.

Lucan watched from the escarpment as the Russian cavalry charged the brave Scots. At 600 yards the Scots fired a rolling volley that inflicted little damage but bought time for them to reload. British guns behind them opened in support. Cannonballs opened gaps in their line, but the Russian horsemen dressed ranks and continued forward. When the enemy was 350 yards away, the Scotsmen fired a second volley. The Scots were surprised that the Russians wheeled left even though the volley felled only a small number of horsemen.

The Scottish troops wanted desperately to charge down the knoll and attack the apparently fleeing horsemen, but Campbell would not allow it. It was a sound decision because the Russians were trying to outflank the Highlanders. Campbell quickly sent his grenadier company to engage them. The grenadiers rushed down the slope and fired a third volley into the Russian horsemen, toppling a few more from their saddles. The Russians, having decided they had lost enough men, galloped back to their lines.

The Russians' precipitous retreat puzzled the Scots because it did not seem to them as if they had inflicted enough losses to repulse the charge. They later learned that the last two volleys inflicted more casualties than was apparent. Many of the wounded Russians clung to their saddles afraid to fall on the field and risk capture or death. The spirited Scots had held their ground. They were "a thin red streak tipped with a line of steel," wrote eyewitness William Russell, special correspondent for *The Times of London*. His description later was incorrectly reproduced as "Thin Red Line."

The rolling terrain handicapped both sides equally. Raglan could see enemy formations mov-



The offensive movements of the British army in the north and south valleys are clearly shown. The Light Brigade was fired on by Russian guns on Fedioukine Heights, as well as those to their front against which they charged.

ing about from his elevated position and send orders to subordinates to counter them; however, his subordinates positioned on lower ground often could not see their opponent's movements. This caused them to doubt the orders they received. The officers of the Cavalry Division in particular became deeply frustrated.

When he received his orders, Lucan instructed Scarlett to lead his Heavy Brigade toward Kadikoi to support the 93rd Highlanders. He gave specific orders to Cardigan to maintain his position as instructed by Raglan; however, he added that he was to attack "anything and everything that shall come within reach of you, but you will be careful of columns or squares of infantry."

After giving these orders Lucan rode onto Causeway Heights with his staff. They arrived in time to see the Russian cavalry attacking the 93rd Highlanders to their right. To their left, the main body of the Russian force was walking up the opposite side of the ridge directly toward the flank of the Heavy Brigade. Lucan's aides rode to warn the British horsemen, but Scarlett already had spotted the Russians on the crest of the heights with the steel tips of their lances gleaming in the morning sun. He ordered his men to wheel left. They formed into squadrons for battle.

Watching the mass of Russians moving over the heights, Scarlett ordered his command to the right to avoid the abandoned camp and a local vineyard. He wanted room for his cavalry to maneuver. Ryzhov observed the same obstacles and shifted his command to the left so that the opposing sides faced each other. Scarlett pulled the three squadrons nearest him into a more compact formation to increase their shock effect, but before they could complete that movement, the Russians struck. With a sound of trumpets 3,000 horses and riders thundered down the slope toward the much smaller British formation. A few moments later a second trumpet call brought them to a halt, with the outer edges of the formation slightly forward. The British were only 400 yards away. British officers dressed the ranks of their squadrons as though oblivious to the enemy. A few Russian cavalrymen took potshots at the British, but otherwise there was a lull in the action.

Scarlett was pleased with his lines. He positioned himself in front of them. Standing with him was aide-de-camp Alexander Elliott, Trumpet Major Thomas Monks, and orderly Sergeant James Shegog. Scarlett ordered Monks to sound the charge. Three squadrons of British cavalry slowly started forward up the gentle slope toward the waiting Russians, who likewise advanced. Scarlett wore a dragoon's helmet, while Elliott wore the cocked hat of an English officer. Because of this, the Russians mistook Scarlett's aide for the commander and one Russian officer charged toward him.

The two masses collided. Elliott dodged the assault by the Russian officer and buried his own sword to the hilt in his attacker. The mortally wounded Russian was knocked from his horse. Just behind him Scarlett lashed about with his own blade, fending off numerous attacks. Sergeant Shegog stayed with Scarlett, deflecting attacks aimed at his commander while dealing deadly blows in return. The rest of the brigade hit the Russians with shouts and cheers.

Since the charge was uphill and the Russians were barely moving again, their closing speed was only about eight miles per hour. When the second British line crashed into the Russians, it pierced their formation to a depth of five files. The fighting quickly became a frenzied melee. The two sides were so tightly packed that some of the slain remained upright in the saddle. The British riders quickly discovered Russian greatcoats were excellent protection against the slashing of their sabers; for that reason, they began aiming for the heads of their foe. Some even grabbed Russians by the throat and dragged them from their horses to be trampled under hoof. The Russian lancers found themselves at a decisive disadvantage because they lacked room to use their weapons effectively.

Still, the Russians resisted hard, even against the superior swordsmanship and aggressiveness of the British, many of whom survived due to the bluntness of the Russian blades. The outer ends of the Russian line began to curve inward and it appeared the smaller British formation, which was deeply mixed with the Russian center, might be surrounded and overwhelmed. A squadron of the dragoons crashed into the Russians' curving left wing. Meanwhile, another aide brought forward the 4th Dragoon Guard, which slammed into the Russian right wing. They were followed closely by the Royals, who rode into the rest of the right wing.

The effect on the Russian force was jarring. Receiving so many hammer blows from different directions shattered their morale. The left rear of the formation turned and fled. Within moments the rest of the Russian horsemen wheeled about and rode for their lives. A few dragoons pursued but soon British trumpeters sounded the rally. Officers raised their swords and their troopers sought them out. Within a short time the regiments reformed. The entire action lasted only five minutes. The British suffered 78 casualties compared to at least 200 for the Russians.

While the Heavy Brigade rode to glory, 500 yards away the men of the Light Brigade waited and watched. Cardigan sat at their head but gave no orders to support the other brigade. One of his regimental commanders almost led his unit alone to the fight, but Cardigan ordered him to stay put, stating their last orders were to remain in place. Actually, Lucan had sent a trumpeter toward the Light Brigade to sound the charge, but the unit had not budged. Lucan then sent a note to Cardigan reminding him it was his duty to attack the enemy in the flank when his divisional commander was engaged to the front. Cardigan's reasoning remains a mystery to this day.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

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ABOVE: The Light Brigade suffered heavy losses charging uphill into the teeth of the Russian guns. For all of the carnage suffered by the British, Balaclava was a draw. LEFT: Light Brigade Coronet Henry John Wilken of the 11th Hussars survived the Light Brigade's ill-fated charge.

By10:30 AM the battle was decided. The defeat of the Russian cavalry meant Liprandi lacked a screen for his advance across the South Valley. He decided to withdraw back to the eastern end of the North Valley, where his guns had moved to provide cover. The cavalry fell back in order to reform, and the infantry stood idly by. A small Russian force still held the Causeway Heights, but it began to withdraw when British infantry appeared. It did so after blowing up the magazines of Redoubts 3 and 4.

But Raglan was not finished fighting. He did not want the British guns captured in the redoubts to be taken away by the Russians. In his mind, this was tangible proof of Russian victory. He wanted those guns retaken. His intent was for two infantry divisions to advance along the South Valley and Causeway Heights while the cavalry screened them. He quickly composed his third order to Lucan. "Cavalry to advance and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights," he instructed. "They will be supported by the infantry which have been ordered to advance on two fronts."

It made no sense to Lucan. Which heights did Raglan mean? Where was the infantry? Which two fronts were they to advance on? The aide-de-camp could offer no explanation, so Lucan decided to wait until the infantry arrived and moved his cavalry to the western end of the North Valley since the South Valley was empty of Russians. From his elevated position, though, Raglan could see Russian artillerymen readying their limbers. They were actually preparing to withdraw their own guns, but Raglan feared they would take the captured British guns. He then wrote his fourth order admonishing Lucan to advance rapidly to prevent the Russians from withdrawing the captured British guns. The order informed Lucan that the French cavalry was on his left in a position to support him.

Raglan instructed Captain Lewis Nolan to deliver the order even though Nolan disliked Lucan and Cardigan. Nevertheless, he was regarded as the best horseman in the army. Raglan knew he would be sure to deliver the order. Nolan exited at a gallop along a narrow trail and soon found Lucan. Since the latest order made little more sense than the previous one, Lucan asked for more information. Showing his disgust, Nolan informed him that he was to attack immediately.

"Attack? Attack what? What guns?" Lucan asked angrily. Nolan angrily waved his arm in the direction of the far end of the North Valley. "There, my Lord, is your enemy! There are your guns!" replied Nolan. His actions and statements were insubordinate, but rather than arrest Nolan, Lucan looked across the valley and the task he thought assigned to him. Nolan also insulted Cardigan, who promised to have him court-martialed, that is, if they lived.

Russian guns lined Fedioukine Heights to the left. More Russian guns were deployed on Causeway Heights to the right. Straight ahead lay more guns. These were the ones that he was supposed

to attack. Enemy infantry also massed nearby along with the reformed Russian cavalry behind the guns. It seemed mad to charge down the valley where fire would assail them from three directions. Rather than demand clarification, Lucan ordered the Light Brigade to advance with the Heavy Brigade in echelon to its right rear.

The Light Brigade formed into three lines for the charge. The first contained the 13th Light Dragoons and 17th Lancers. Behind were the 11th Hussars in the second line, and the third contained the 8th Hussars and 4th Light Dragoons. Cardigan took position in front at 11:10 AM. "The Brigade will advance," he shouted. "First squadron of the 17th Lancers direct!" He set off at a walk followed by the brigade, which soon increased its pace to a trot. Participants in the charge later recalled being deathly afraid of letting down their fellows. Discipline held, and the brigade stayed coherent and focused.

Nolan chose to ride with the Light Brigade and took a position with the 17th Lancers. After the formation covered about 200 yards, he took off diagonally across the brigade's front, shouting and waving his sword toward Causeway Heights. It is believed he realized the brigade was off course, and that Raglan had intended them to scale the heights toward Redoubt 3. This was the closest fort containing captured British guns. Nolan may have been trying to direct them toward their assigned objective, which he failed to do earlier.

Before Nolan could make his intent clear, though, a Russian shell exploded nearby, sending a shard of metal into his chest. His sword fell from his hand, his arm still raised. A moment later he slipped lifelessly from his mount, which fled back through the ranks of the Lancers.

The brigade rode past Nolan's body just before receiving the command to draw swords. They did so with a cheer and moved forward through a storm of shell and shot. Each time a rider was brought down, those remaining closed ranks toward the center. Cardigan kept them in tight formation. The Light Brigade, mounted on smaller, faster steeds drew ahead of the Heavy Brigade, now far behind and to the right. Like their brethren in the Light Brigade, they were taking artillery fire. Within a short time the heavy cavalrymen suffered more casualties than they had in the South Valley just minutes before.

Lucan accompanied the Heavy Brigade. When he looked left he could see the trail of broken men and horses left behind the Light Brigade as it charged. "They have sacrificed the Light Brigade!" he said to his adjutant. "They shall not have the Heavy if I can help it!" With that he ordered the brigade to halt. The trumpeter sounded the call and the Heavy Brigade slowed to a halt before wheeling away out of cannon range.

On the Sapoune Escarpment British and French officers watched in horror as they realized the tragic mistake unfolding below. Some wept. "My God, what are they doing?" cried one French officer. "I am old, I have seen many battles, but this is too much!" Bosquet was horrified. "It is magnificent, but it is not war," he said. Determined to help, he ordered the 4th Chasseurs d'Afrique to assault the Fedioukine Heights and take the Russian guns there. He knew the survivors of the charge would return down the same killing ground in the valley and hoped to improve their chances.

The Light Brigade came within range of the Russian infantry and their cohesion slipped. The formation opened up as horses went to a gallop. Corporal James Nunnerley of the 17th Lancers saw the headless body of a sergeant still in the saddle, gripping his reins with his lance pointed straight ahead. His horse went another 30 yards before the corpse slid off the mount. His surviving comrades raced ahead. The Russian gunners rammed double charges into their cannons. When the Light Brigade was 50 yards away they let loose a stunning volley. Flames lit from the muzzles, sending clouds of powder smoke into the air as a hail of metal tore into the British horsemen. Almost the entire front rank of the brigade went down. Nunnerley's horse was hit in a leg, felling him as well.

It was a terrible moment of carnage and violence, but then the cavalry was upon the Russian batteries. Within seconds they cut down most of the gunners in a furious storm of sword and lance. Behind the first line the 4th Light

Dragoons and 11th Hussars charged into the left and center of the Russian position and slaughtered the remaining cannoneers. "The flame, the smoke, the roar were in our faces," wrote Corporal Thomas Morley of the 17th Lancers, who said it was like "riding into the mouth of a volcano."

Russian infantry stationed nearby were shocked by the ferocity of the attack and formed a square for defense. The British cavalry instead made for their Russian counterparts, who were still affected by their earlier defeat. The Russian riders broke and fled eastward for the Chernaya River. They did not stop until they were in sight of it. Meanwhile, the 8th Hussars stopped near the defeated battery and created a rallying point for the brigade.

Cardigan became separated from his troops and was surrounded by Cossacks. He was saved by nearby Russian Prince Radziwill, who actually knew Cardigan before the war. The prince offered a reward for Cardigan's capture, so the Cossacks contented themselves with jabbing at the Englishman with their lances. Moments later he was saved by the arrival of some of his troopers, who helped him escape. Afterward he shamed himself forever by riding away without even trying to rally his men and lead them back. Instead, his second in command, Lord Paget, and the surviving officers and noncommissioned officers gathered those remaining and began withdrawing back down the valley.

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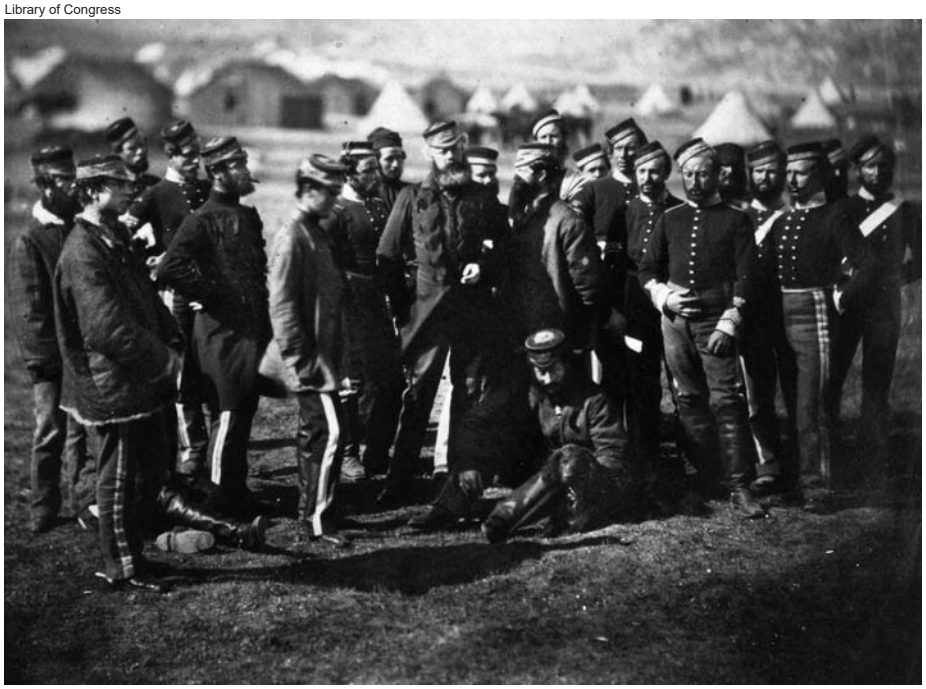


ABOVE: Officers and men of the 13th Light Dragoons who survived the Light Brigade's famous charge sit for a photograph. They served the British Crown heroically at Balaclava. LEFT: The melancholy aftermath of the Charge of the Light Brigade is captured in Lady Elizabeth Butler's haunting painting.

Russian cavalry behind them had rallied and now made weak attempts to counterattack. Liprandi sent a regiment of lancers down into the valley from the Fedioukine Heights to block their retreat. This forced the survivors, many of whom were on foot, to move closer to Causeway Heights, where they endured more artillery fire. Cannon fire cut down more men while Russian lancers ran through others. Those in groups were able to force their way out from the enemy cavalry, but most of the stragglers were lost. The only respite was that the French cavalry managed to drive off some of the Russian guns, reducing the fire.

As each party of survivors returned, the Heavy Brigade cheered them. Cardigan acknowledged the cheers while Paget and his officers openly sneered at him. Only 195 men answered the roll call. Paget later wrote a formal letter complaining about Cardigan's conduct and resigned his commission. Back in the valley, 40 men were taken prisoner by Cossacks, who beat and dragged them before turning them over to the Russians. When Liprandi asked how much alcohol they had been given to make such a charge, Private William Kirk of the 17th Lancers said their officers had not given them any. "By God, if we had so much as smelt the barrel we would have taken half Russia by this time!" he said.

Raglan made no further moves, abandoning the plan to advance along Causeway Heights. The Russians eventually withdrew at dusk, ending the battle. Lucan was held responsible for the costly attack, but his career did not suffer. Indeed, he was eventually promoted to the rank of field marshal. Raglan died of cholera the following June. As for Cardigan, he was exonerated as having followed orders and returned home to a hero's welcome. But when stories later came out describing how he abandoned his men, his reputation did suffer. All shared the blame for the Light Brigade's heavy losses. The glaring defects of the British army during the Crimean War eventually led to reforms that improved the military branch.

The Russians, who needed a morale boost after the defeat at Alma, celebrated the battle as a victory even though they had not even come close to capturing Balaclava. Their timidity in the battle probably stemmed from their fear of the firepower of the British infantry. Liprandi's troops paraded through Sevastopol with the captured British guns and other trophies gathered up from the battlefield. Their limited success at Balaclava encouraged them sufficiently to launch a probing attack against the British position atop Mount Inkerman outside Sevastopol the following day.

Despite the heavy losses in life suffered by the Light Brigade, their bold and brash attack had unnerved the Russian cavalry supporting the guns they attacked. When viewed in this light, the Light Brigade's attack was a total success. If Raglan had shifted to the attack, he might have scored a decisive victory against the Russians that day that would have shortened the siege. □

THE LOGS AND BOULDERS CAME TUMBLING DOWNHILL, GAINING SPEED BEFORE THEY reached the bottom of the hillsides in the mountain pass. They knocked down horses and men and even sent some of them tumbling into the lake. Swiss foot soldiers armed with halberds, swords, and flails charged downhill into the tightly packed ranks of Austrian foot and horse. They waded into their stunned foe with a fury born from hatred and resentment. Unable to charge, the Austrian horse was helpless against the furious attack. The dead piled up quickly as the Austrians sought to escape the slaughter. The Swiss were on their way to a stunning victory at Morgarten Mountain that would send shock waves throughout the Holy Roman Empire.

Pope Leo II crowned Charlemagne king of the Lombards and the Franks in Rome on December 25, 800; in so doing, he revived a title not used since the fall of the Western Roman Empire. Charlemagne united most of central and western Europe into an empire that at one time encompassed territories of at least 14 modern-day countries. For all intents and purposes, the empire was a multi-ethnic superpower.

In the centuries following Charlemagne's reign, the empire developed into a decentralized elective monarchy presiding over a system of autonomous kingdoms, duchies, principalities, and free imperial cities. Members of the highest nobility, called prince-electors, elected one of their peers to the title of the King of the Romans; however, only upon coronation by the pope, a practice eventually discontinued in the 16th century, would the king of the Romans become the Holy Roman Emperor.

AMBUSH AT MORGARTEN

The Swiss prepared a trap for Duke Leopold I of Austria at Morgarten in 1315. The victory signaled their ascendancy as a premier force of heavy infantry.

BY VICTOR KAMENIR

The elected office of the emperor traditionally was dominated by the German-speaking noble houses of Europe. In this environment, the emperor often had a male relative elected to succeed him after his death. The title was held in conjunction with the titles of king of Germany and king of Italy. Technically, this individual was the "first among equals." The emperor's power depended on his ability to form political alliances and gather an army loyal to him.

The lands of the Holy Roman Empire were classified as feudal or allodial. In a feudal arrangement, a noble house held hereditary estates, a fief, from the empire in exchange for allegiance and certain duties, primarily military. The fief provided its lord with the income and resources of the land and labor of peasants bound to it. In contrast, an allodial territory was one for which no feudal contract existed. It was subject to the emperor as sovereign but not to the emperor as overlord. Communities enjoying the allodial status exercised significant control over their own affairs.

While prevalent throughout the rest of Europe, the feudal system did not completely take hold among the fiercely independent free farmers and shepherds of the Swiss highlands. The largely subsistence-level economy of the high mountain districts, or cantons, did not produce sufficient economic surplus to fully support the feudal system of local overlords. Particularly stubborn and independent-minded were the highlanders of the confederated cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which collectively were known as the Forest Cantons.

Soldiers of the Swiss Confederation send logs and rocks cascading down on the hapless Austrians as they march through the defile between the steep bank of Lake Ageri and Morgarten Mountain. The Swiss devised the ambush to nullify the strength of the Austrian heavy cavalry.

AKG Images

The canton of Schwyz was typically at the forefront in the Swiss struggle for independence and, until modern times, the word "Schwyz" in English was synonymous with "Swiss." "The Schwyz are completely armed and quite free," wrote Italian historian Nicolo Machiavelli. "To the lords and gentlemen who live in that region they are entirely hostile, and if by chance any come into their hands, they put them to death as the beginning of corruption and the causes of all evil."

The Forest Cantons were located in the central part of Switzerland near the southern reaches of Lake Lucerne, a relatively quiet backwater of central Europe. The situation changed drastically in the first half of the 13th century. In the southern portion of the canton of Uri lies the St. Gothard Pass, linking Switzerland with northern Italy. Until the 1220s, the route was navigated only by a treacherous roundabout trail passable only on foot; however, after a wooden bridge was constructed in 1230 to span the Schollenen Gorge above the Reuss River, the roads through the backwater cantons of Uri and Schwyz became strategically important roadways between Germany and Italy.

The movement of goods through the Forest Cantons as a result of increased trade between Germany and Italy in the Late Middle Ages brought a steady income stream into the imperial coffers. To prevent any individual noble house from attempting to grab this important real estate, Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII of the House of Hohenstaufen (not to be confused with Henry VII of the House of Luxembourg) declared the cantons of Schwyz and Uri as free from Imperial authority in 1240 and 1243, respectively.

Granting the canton of Schwyz allodial status brought Imperial interests into conflict with the House of Hapsburg. Starting from modest beginnings in the northern Switzerland district of Swabia in the modern-day canton of Aargau, by the turn of the 14th century the House of Hapsburg was a major player in imperial politics. While shifting their power base to the duchies of Austria and Styria, which formed the core of the future Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Hapsburgs maintained their extensive landholdings in Switzerland. But they thirsted for more.

Through patronage and proxy, the House of Hapsburg exercised control over multiple properties in the cantons of Unterwalden and Schwyz. To counter the encroachment by the Hapsburgs, representatives from Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, on August 1, 1291, established a mutual defense pact known as the Everlasting League, or League of the Three Forest Cantons. The purpose of the league was to protect the interests and guarantee the liberties of the three cantons in relation to the Holy Roman Empire. The following year Zurich and Bern allied themselves informally with the league for protection against the Hapsburgs.

The new political entity did not have a single leader and was governed instead by cooperation among various local interests. In defense of their freedom, all able-bodied men were expected to be enrolled in the cantonal militia, organized around old clans. Mountainous terrain and lack of economic resources prevented the effective use of cavalry in the Forest Cantons, leading instead to development of highly motivated and capable militia infantry, which was expected to train regularly and provide its own weapons.

Since the death of Conrad IV in 1254, no Holy Roman Emperor was crowned for almost 20 years, a period called the Great Interregnum, which led to independent rulers attaining greater regional power.

The election of Rudolf IV as the first Holy Roman Emperor from the Hapsburg dynasty brought the interregnum to an end in 1273. Before this, Rudolf spent much of his life violently and cleverly accumulating land for his family. The Hapsburgs held their possessions collectively, unlike other families that split their lands among their progeny, often resulting in the disappearance of both the family and its inheritance. Rudolf inherited seven lordships, and by the time of his death he had obtained nearly 50 lordships through various means, including conquest, marriage, purchase, and pressure. Upon hearing of Rudolf's ascension to the throne, the Bishop of Basle famously said, "Hold onto your seat Lord, or else Rudolf will surely grab it."

Upon the death of Emperor Henry VII of the House of Luxembourg on August 24, 1313, an armed power struggle occurred between Louis IV of the House of Wittelsbach of Bavaria and Frederick the Fair of the House of Hapsburg. Fearing the expanding power of the Hapsburgs, the three Forest Cantons threw in their lot with Louis IV. Only a spark was needed to ignite the smoldering conflict between the Forest Cantons and the Hapsburgs.

Such a spark was provided by the long-standing conflict between the Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln in northern Schwyz and the rest of the canton. In 1274, Rudolf I in his capacity as king of the Romans granted the abbey allodial status. Blurring the lines between the imperial authority and familial allegiances, the House of Hapsburg continued to exercise patronage and protection over the abbey.

The Einsiedeln Abbey owned the village of the same name and the lands in its immediate vicinity. Besides being a noted center of learning, the abbey became a burgeoning hub of large-scale cattle raising. The abbey's steadily expanding grazing lands led to inevitable conflict with the small subsistence-level farmers and shepherds of Schwyz valleys, igniting a conflict over grazing rights that lasted almost two centuries.

Mutual complaints exploded into violence when on January 6, 1314, a large group of Schwyz men, who were led by their magistrate, Werner Stauffacher, attacked the Einsiedeln Abbey. The attack violated established norms. Stauffacher's 300 men plundered the abbey's food stores and residences and drank the monks' wine. They also smashed altars and holy relics. After they had desecrated the church, they burned the abbey's documents and took nine monks with them as prisoners.

It is possible that this incident took place with the tacit approval, if not active support, of the Imperial Reeve of the Forest Cantons Count Werner von Homberg. An experienced warrior who participated in the Livonian Crusades, Homberg inherited his mother's lands around the town of Rapperswil in the northern part of Schwyz in 1289. It did not take long for Albert I of the House of Hapsburgs to lay claim to von Homberg's lands, causing him to side with the residents of Schwyz. His exact role in the Einsiedeln affair is unclear, but he must have played some part since he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Constance along with Stauffacher. Upon Louis IV's ascension to power in 1315, the excommunication was lifted.

While the stage was set for an armed confrontation, it took almost two years for Frederick the Fair, who also was known as Frederick the Handsome for his long, flowing, golden locks, to turn his attention to Schwyz. Compared to Frederick's struggles with other powerful aristocratic families, the Forest Cantons were apparently low on his priority list.

Turning his attention to the Forest Cantons in late 1315, Frederick delegated his younger brother, Duke Leopold I of Austria and Styria, the task of teaching a lesson to the upstart peasants. An energetic and capable man, sometimes called Leopold the Glorious and nicknamed the Sword of the Hapsburgs, Duke Leopold arrived at the city of Baden in the northern canton of Aargau in October 1315. Born and raised in Austria, the 25-year-old duke was accompanied by a contingent of heavily armored Austrian knights and their retainers. It is likely that Leopold took only the mounted men-at-arms on his more than 400-mile journey from his family's Austrian possessions to the city of Baden.

Duke Leopold called upon all of the towns under his authority to send the required number

Alamy

Swiss troops armed with halberds repulse a counterattack by the Austrians at Morgarten. A single-minded disregard for their own lives and those of their foes made the Swiss dreaded opponents.

of troops for service. In addition, he instructed the nobles who were allies of the House of Austria to join his army. Their objective would be to attack the Forest Cantons and Schwyz in particular. The forces were to rendezvous on November 14 at Zug.

Leopold held the Swiss in contempt. He considered them to be not much better than an armed rabble. He proclaimed his intentions to crush the unruly rustics under his feet. Since he was an experienced and professional commander, he made some tactical dispositions.

The duke planned to lead the main attack against Zug himself. The duke tasked Count Otto von Strassberg, the Magistrate of Oberland in the canton of Bern, with conducting a diversionary raid through Bruning Pass against the canton of Unterwalden, and the militia of Lucerne with outfitting and launching a small armed flotilla to threaten Schwyz from the headwaters of Lake Lucerne. These ancillary movements were designed to isolate the Swiss from the two other cantons. For the time being, Leopold planned to leave Uri unmolested. He believed that the defeat of the men of Schwyz would bring about its ultimate submission.

Word of the upcoming invasion quickly reached the leaders of the Forest Cantons. While Leopold was gathering his forces in Baden, the Forest Cantons began preparations of their own. Their representatives unsuccessfully appealed to Count Strassberg and the city fathers of Lucerne to remain neutral. Their appeals did bear some fruit. Unterwalden was able to reach an agreement with the city of Interlaken in the canton of Bern, closing down the pass between Lakes Thun and Brienz, while the town of Arth broke away from the Hapsburgs and joined the Forest Cantons.

The canton of Uri, lying south of Schwyz and Unterwalden, was not directly exposed to Leopold's attack, while the canton of Unterwalden's primary threat came from the west, through the Bruning Pass. The canton of Schwyz, however, was greatly vulnerable to attacks from multiple directions, including amphibious landings from Lake Lucerne. Overland approaches to the heart of the canton, the city of Schwyz, were along Lake Zug through the town of Arth, along Lake Ageri through the town of Sattel, and from the direction of Einseideln through Rothenthurm to Sattel.

The real defensive strength of Schwyz rested not on the walls of its towns and cities, but in the difficult mountainous terrain. To further enhance the defensive advantages of narrow valleys and steep hillsides, the Swiss had a tradition of building earth and log fortifications, reinforced with stone guard towers, across the valley floors. These fortifications were called Letzi and some of them were quite substantial. The Letzi near the town of Arth was close to three miles long and 12 feet high with gates and three strong towers.

While the majority of able-bodied men of the Forest Cantons were mobilized, the bulk of the Unterwalden and Uri militias remained in their home districts. Numerous approaches by land and water had to be guarded and garrisoned. Moreover, a chain of outposts had to be established to keep in constant communication. The canton of Schwyz, being the most threatened, staged its field force of 1,300 men north of the town of Schwyz, reinforced by 300 men from Uri and 100 from Unterwalden.

Leopold's scouts reported that the roads through Arth and Rothenthurm were blocked by Letzen and garrisoned by the Confederates; however, the road through Sattel at the foot of Morgarten Mountain was left open. It was guarded only by a watchtower in the hamlet of Schornen, north of Sattel. Unlike the defensive towers at Arth and Rothenthurm, the 40-foot-tall tower at Schornen was purely for observation, as it was not reinforced by a Letzi.

The hamlet of Schornen lies at the foot of a spur of the Morgarten Mountain, astride the road to Sattel. There the valley is approximately half a mile wide, with Morgarten Mountain on the east and Wildspitz Mountain on the west. The southern edge of Lake Ageri lies approximately half a mile to the north, where the Trombach Creek flows into the lake, creating a wide stretch of marshy terrain. Schornen lies immediately inside the border of the canton of Schwyz, while the hamlet of Morgarten lies immediately inside the canton of Zug, its houses scattered along the narrow road along Lake Ageri. Doubtless, any construction of a Letzi at Schornen would have been quickly spotted by

men of Zug and reported to Duke Leopold.

It would seem that leaving the pass at Schornen undefended was an unlikely oversight, especially taking into the account that positions at Arth and Rothenthurm were strongly defended. Stauffacher had crafted a clever battle plan.

Even though Stauffacher left the trap door open at Morgarten, he still had to position his field force at a location equidistant to Letzen at Arth and Rothenthurm in case Duke Leopold did not fall for the ruse. Swiss success depended on the ability of its scouts to correctly observe and report the route of Austrian advance and the ability of the Swiss field force to reach the threatened location in time to set up an ambush.

In the early morning hours of November 15, 1315, the column under Duke Leopold left the city of Zug. Leopold had 2,000 cavalry and 6,000 foot soldiers. The core of Leopold's mounted forces consisted of heavily armored Austrian knights. The Austrian knights were supplemented with knights from the noble Swabian families of northern Switzerland within the Hapsburg sphere of influence. Most of the knights wore full suits of plate armor and carried lances in keeping with the best traditions of medieval chivalry. The infantry, some of it possessing quality arms and armor, was levied locally from the cantons of Zurich, Luzern, and Zug. A knight on campaign was responsible for providing rations and supplies for himself and his retainers. For that reason, the invading force assembled a large wagon train full of supplies.

The road from Zug to Sattel taken by Duke Leopold ran along the east bank of Lake Ageri. The road was narrow and the cavalry could not advance more than three abreast. The infantry trudged behind the cavalry and the wagon train brought up the end of the column. Despite the chilly weather

EON Images

At the Battle of Laupen, the Swiss seized the high ground, which enabled them to launch a devastating downhill charge.

and icy road, the mood of the Austrian knights was light, resembling a hunting foray rather than a military campaign. Their helmets, hauberks, and weapons glinted in the sunlight. They were still in friendly territory and did not yet expect opposition. The road south was hemmed in between the steep bank of Lake Ageri and the rolling foothills of Morgarten Mountain. As the Hapsburg force passed through the hamlet of Haselmatt and continued south along the lake toward Morgarten, it would have noted that the hillsides were becoming much steeper.

The precise location where Stauffacher sprung his ambush is still a subject of debate. It is likely that the Swiss leader did not want his opponents to reach the open area south of Lake Ageri, which would allow the Austrian force to at least partially deploy before approaching the watchtower in Schornen, on the Schwyz side of the border with the canton of Zug. The distance between the town of Zug and Schornen is approximately 16 miles, taking roughly three hours to travel, and Stauffacher must have had sufficient advance warning to move his men into the ambush position on the slopes of Morgarten Mountain above the road to Schornen.

Approaching the hamlet of Morgarten, still in the canton of Zug, the Austrian column came upon a small barricade of logs and rocks barring the road. As a number of leading horsemen dismounted to pull aside the obstacle, 50 Schwyz crossbowmen rose up from behind the barricade and on the hillside above. Fired with devastating effect at close range, the bolts toppled men and horses in a tangled mess. Some Austrians attempted to clamber up the hillside to get around the barricade, but slowed by their armor and steep terrain, they were picked off the hillside by Schwyz crossbowmen.

While the fighting started at the head of the column, more Austrian men-at-arms began arriving and bunching up in front of the barricade. The previous day the Swiss had felled trees and positioned logs and rocks which were pushed downhill on the enemy.

The heavy material toppled horses and their riders, killing and maiming large numbers in the process. Others were crushed and pinned by the heavy materials or knocked into the lake below. The event caused great confusion up and down the entire Austrian column. Horses reared and kicked, injuring their riders, adding to the general confusion.

Several men of Uri blew large war horns called Harsthorner as encouragement to their fellow soldiers. The main body of Swiss mountaineers charged downhill from their hidden position on the ridgeline and fell upon the armor-clad men-at-arms that were bunched together in the narrow pass. Wielding their powerful halberds, the Swiss hacked at their foe.

Despite the frozen and slippery ground, the surefooted mountaineers appeared not to have difficulty navigating the treacherous terrain. Very few of the Swiss had any armor, only a scattering of steel caps and breastplates. Most wore only leather jerkins marked with the white cross of Schwyz or the black bull's head of Uri. Their unheralded secret weapon was the crampon, consisting of metal spikes driven through a piece of hard leather and attached to the bottom of the mountaineers' shoes. While the armored men and horses of Duke Leopold's column had difficulty keeping their footing on the icy road, the men of the Forest Cantons plunged into them. They cleaved right and left with their halberds, long swords, and simple clubs cracking open skulls, dismembering limbs, and causing other grievous and fatal wounds.

The mounted knights in the front rank were bunched so tightly together following the attack by the Swiss that they could neither bring their lances to bear in a horizontal position nor spur their horses for a change. The Swiss slayed them in short order. Leopold's army was bottled up in

the narrow pass unable to advance or retreat.

At one point, the remaining mounted troops decided to turn back and ride through their infantry. In the confusion that followed, hundreds of foot soldiers were pushed over the lip of the road and fell into the deep water on the left. Most of those knocked by logs or by their fellow soldiers into the lake drowned. The small number of mounted troops who made their way to the back of the pass attempted to flee to safety, but the Swiss soon came pouring down from the hillsides to attack the rear of the column. Between the fear and confusion, the Austrians put up little resistance. The Swiss dealt out great slaughter without meeting much resistance at all.

"This was not a battle, but a mere butchery of Duke Leopold's men; for the mountain folk slew them like sheep in the shambles: no one gave any quarter, but they cut down all, without distinction, till there were none left to kill," wrote 14th-century chronicler Johannes of Winterthur, whose father survived the ambush and later described the slaughter to him. "So great was the fierceness of the Confederates that scores of the Austrian footmen, when they saw the bravest knights falling helplessly, threw themselves in panic into the lake, preferring to sink in its depth rather than to fall under the fearful weapons of their enemies."

The "fearful weapons" of the Schwyz mentioned in the account were halberds, capable of puncturing and crushing the full plate armor that was common in the 14th century. Mounted on a long pole, the straight-edge axe head featured a spear point on top and a spike or a hook on the back to pull a mounted warrior off of his horse. At the time of Morgarten, halberds were the primary melee weapons of Swiss mountaineers, inexpensive to produce and employed with devastating effect by powerful men. Another fearful close-combat weapon used by the Swiss at Morgarten was the military flail, a staff weapon set with iron spikes. The flail combined the offensive effectiveness of the mace with the long reach of a spear.

Leopold attempted in vain to rally his men, but there was no saving the day as vicious the halberds of the Swiss continued to rise and fall. Count Wilhelm II von Montfort-Tettang, the commander of the Austrian vanguard, perished along with most of his men. The Austrian column dissolved into a disordered mob as the men fled, discarding their weapons and armor, trampling those who fell in the tight press of the rout. Cutting through the Austrian cavalry, men of the Forest Cantons fell upon Leopold's Swiss levy infantry, quickly and bloodily routing them as well. In his flight, Duke Leopold had to fight his way through his own ranks to escape the trap.

Wikimedia Commons

The Battle of Sempach was the event that transformed the Old Swiss Confederacy into a serious military power. The Austrians, who had learned little from their previous defeats, once again suffered a major defeat at the hands of the Swiss.

Leopold was seen riding away from the battle "half-dead from extreme sorrow," wrote Winterthur.

The Confederates continued the pursuit for a short distance, methodically slaughtering Austrian wounded. The defeat suffered by the Austrians was devastating. Leopold lost 4,500 men at Morgarten, including the majority of his knights. In contrast, the Swiss suffered only light casualties. So many men were alleged to have perished in Lake Ageri that according to local legend, the water in the lake turns blood-red at midnight on the anniversary of the battle.

One of the hallmarks of the Swiss victory at Morgarten was the utter lack of mercy with which the Swiss butchered the Austrians, including the wounded. Single-minded disregard for their own and their foes' lives made the Swiss dreaded opponents for the next 200 years. Despite the likely effect of inflating the number of Austrian dead and reducing the number of Swiss fallen, the disaster was devastatingly one sided. News of the defeat spread quickly. The flotilla from Lucerne returned to its city and Count Strassberg retreated through the Bruning Pass, hounded by men of Unterwalden who gave no quarter.

Shortly after the Battle of Morgarten, on December 9, 1315, representatives of the three Forest Cantons met again to reaffirm their mutual defense treaty and outline additional details of cooperation between the signatories. This was the beginning of the modern Swiss state. The resulting document, the Morgarten Letter, saw the first use of the word Eldgenosse, meaning Confederacy, in reference to the new Swiss polity.

The decisive defeat of the Hapsburgs at Morgarten gave significant impetus to the Swiss national movement. Lucerne joined the Everlasting League in 1332. Increased aggression against other cantons increased their desire to seek the safety in numbers that the league furnished to its members.

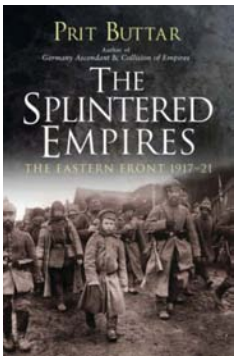
When Bern began expanding its boundaries in the late 1330s it earned the animosity of the rival town of Fribourg 18 miles to the southwest, as well as the excommunicated Emperor Louis the Bavarian and the bishops of Basel and Lausanne. The Kiburg family controlled Fribourg, and they were avid supporters of the Hapsburgs. In anticipation of an attack from the direction of Fribourg, the Bernese improved the fortifications of Laupen. The village had previously belonged to the Kiburgs until the Bernese annexed it.

The Fribourger army co-commanded by Rudolf von Nidau and Gerard de Valengi consisted of 3,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry. In addition to local mounted knights, many Burgundian and Austrian knights had come to the support of the Fribourgers. They besieged the village of Laupen on June 10, 1339, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. It was a major operation given that the Fribourgers had an artillery train consisting of catapults transported by horse-drawn carts. The lords, knights, and men-at-arms of the Hapsburg-Burgundian force were resplendent in their armor and surcoats. "They gloried in their multitude and power and in the many decorations of their new and costly vestments,"

Continued on page 70

By Christopher Miskimon

Old empires and new nations struggled for survival and supremacy in Eastern Europe in World War I.



German troops embark for the West Estonian Archipelago in 1917 with the intent of seizing three islands from the decaying Russian Empire.

RUSSIA WAS IMPLODING IN OCTOBER 1917. THE WAR COMBINED with the numerous internal stresses of the nation, culminating in a civil war and Russia's withdrawal from the greater war. This created both opportunities and challenges for the German and Austro-Hungarian powers in the East. Although the defeat of Czarist Russia was a boon to the Central Powers, the East contained vast swaths of territory that would have to be secured by them to take full advantage of the Russian capitulation. Because of that, the German Army undertook a number of operations designed to place it in an advantageous position.

Operation Albion was the German land and naval operation in 1917 to occupy the West Estonian Archipelago. The operation aimed at the capture of three islands off the coast of Estonia: Hiiumaa, Muhu, and Saaremaa. Holding these islands would open a maritime invasion route to Petrograd and perhaps even all of Estonia from the sea. A fleet of 20 battleships and cruisers along with support vessels sailed into the area to prepare for a landing by General Ludwig von Estoff's 42nd Infantry Division. The Russian 107th Infantry Division held the islands. Its troops had entrenched themselves admirably; however, desertions took their toll on the division.

The Germans sent zeppelins to pelt the Russian coastal batteries in advance of an invasion. One successful zeppelin attack destroyed a magazine and killed 107 Russians. Before the Germans could make an amphibious assault, the German Navy had to clear the waters around the islands of mines. Weather interfered significantly with this process. But the Germans launched their attack anyway because they feared that any protracted delay would doom the operation.

On October 12, 1917, German battleships approached Saaremaa, the largest of the three islands, to support a landing at Tagga Bay. A pair of battleships struck mines, but the fleet successfully silenced the shore batteries. German troops waded ashore against light resistance. The Germans pushed deep inland. The Russians on the island fought a delaying action and waited anxiously for reinforcements.

A brigade of German bicycle troops soon captured the causeway leading to Muhu Island. This cut off the Russians on Saaremaa. Russian destroyers tried to harry the German fleet and deploy additional mines but were largely unsuccessful in their efforts. Retreating Russian troops, many with their families, tried to leave the island, but the German bicycle troops drove them back. The Germans eventually ran low on ammunition and withdrew. At that point, some of the Russians made it over the causeway to safety.

Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1970-074-24, Photo: Unknown

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The Russians who escaped ran into the reinforcements and infected them with their panic. Many of the reinforcements fled as well.

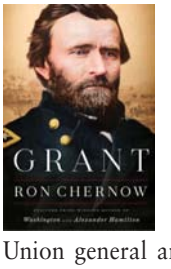
The operation continued until October 20. By that point, Russian resistance had crumbled. The Russians simply could not stand up to the more disciplined and confident Germans. Although the fighting continued, it was clear to both sides that the Germans would emerge victorious. The Germans suffered approximately 400 casualties. Although it is difficult to precisely estimate the Russian casualties, their losses were staggering because the initial garrison had numbered 24,000. Most of the garrison troops on the archipelago were either killed, captured, or missing, although a small number escaped to the mainland.

The end of World War I in the East was a chaotic jumble of competing interests, independence movements, and desperate gambles. Nations tried to retain what they had and perhaps take useful territory from their opponents.

While the war in the West ground to a halt in late 1918, the fighting in the East continued for several years even though for Russia the Great War officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. Fighting continued off and on for several more years. Territorial disputes existed that helped set the stage for World War II.

Many of these events are not well known in the West, but they are brought to light in ***The Splintered Empires: The Eastern Front 1917-21*** (Prit Buttar, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2017, 480 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $30.00, hardcover).

This is the final work in the author's four-volume history of World War I in Eastern Europe. The author ends on a high note, concluding the saga in an admirable fashion. Like the previous volumes, this book is chock full of the compelling stories that, when taken on the whole, give a comprehensive picture of the fighting. The author is an established authority on the Eastern Front in both world wars, and his depth of knowledge and ability to weave a coherent and interesting narrative shine through in the conclusion of this series.

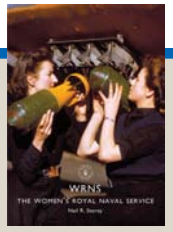


Grant (Ron Chernow, Penguin Press, New York, 2017, 1036 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $40.00, hardcover)

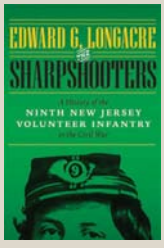
At the end of his life, Ulysses S. Grant, the great Union general and former president of the United States, sat pained by cancer, dictating his memoirs in a desperate bid to complete them before he died so that his family would not be left penniless.

It was a sad end for a great man who was hero to so many Americans, but his life had been plagued by such highs and lows. Since his death many have focused on those peaks and valleys. On the downside, he was a failed businessman, drunkard, and an inept politician. On the upside, he was the general most directly responsible for the Union victory over the Confederacy.

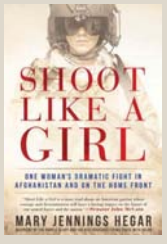
SHORT BURSTS



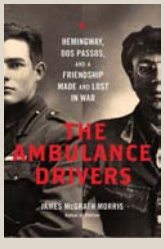
WRNS: The Women's Royal Naval Service (Neil R. Storey, Shire Books, 2017, $14.00, softcover) This concise history of the Wrens, as they were known, shows both their origin in World War I and their expansion during World War II.



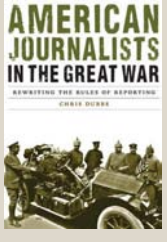
The Sharpshooters: A History of the Ninth New Jersey Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War (Edward G. Longacre, Potomac Books, 2017, $34.95, hardcover) This regiment took part in 42 battles in three states. After its initial enlistment expired, the entire unit re-enlisted for the duration of the war.



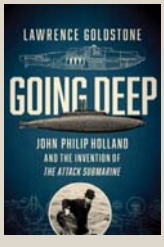
Shoot Like a Girl: One Woman's Dramatic Fight in Afghanistan and on the Home Front (Mary Jennings Hegar, New American Library, 2017, $26.00, hardcover) Hegar was an Air National Guard helicopter pilot. She was shot down on her third tour there and later fought to enable women to serve in combat units.



The Ambulance Drivers: Hemingway, Dos Passos, and a Friendship Made and Lost in War (James McGrath Morris, Da Capo Press, 2017, $27.00, hardcover) Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos both drove ambulances during the Great War. Each would go on to write novels about the war from his own perspective.

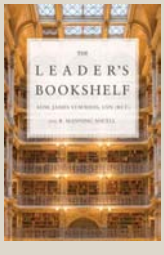


American Journalists in the Great War: Rewriting the Rules of Reporting (Chris Dubbs, University of Nebraska Press, 2017, $34.95, hardcover) This is the story of how American reporters covered World War I in Europe. Their articles, reports, and personal anecdotes are all included.

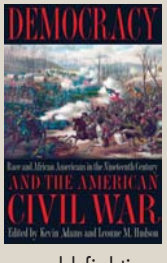


Going Deep: John Philip Holland and the Invention of the Attack Submarine (Lawrence Goldstone, Pegasus Books, 2017, $27.95, hardcover) Holland was a brilliant, self-taught inventor. After decades of effort, he succeeded in creating an effective submarine design.

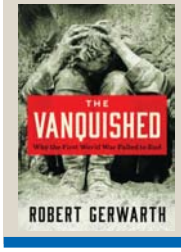
Viking Warrior versus Anglo-Saxon Warrior: England 865-1066 (Gareth Williams, Osprey Publishing, 2017, $20.00, softcover) These two warrior groups clashed for centuries, fighting for control of England. This book summarizes their tactics, weapons, and battles.



The Leader's Bookshelf (Adm. James Stavridis, USN (Ret.) and R. Manning Ancell, Naval Institute Press, 2017, $29.95, hardcover) This book reveals the reading libraries of more than 200 four-star generals and admirals. They are presented as works used to learn the art of leadership in war.



Democracy and the American Civil War (Edited by Kevin Adams and Leonne Hudson, Kent State University Press, 2016, $24.95, softcover) This book contains five essays discussing race, equality, and democracy during the war and in its aftermath.



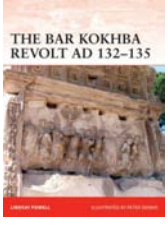
The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End (Robert Gerwarth, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017, $28.00, hardcover) The author maintains that November 11, 1918, was a meaningless date because for many around the world fighting continued without pause.

All things considered, his magnificent accomplishments seem undervalued. During the American Civil War he realized his potential. Grant was often derided as a butcher, but this seems deeply unfair. The Union suffered heavy casualties throughout the four years of the war, not just when Grant was in charge. He was the commander who recognized that victory would come at a high cost in lives, and he had the courage stay the course to achieve victory.

His two-term presidency was plagued with scandal, but he was not corrupt. Afterward, he was ruined financially by a swindler, but he dug his way out of penury by creating a memoir of more than 275,000 words in less than a year. What is more, he wrote his epic memoir while fighting cancer.

The author is a noted biographer with several prize-winning books to his credit. This work continues that tradition. He uses clear prose to make his subject come to life for the reader. The book is a well researched and engaging look at one of America's greatest heroes.

The Bar Kokhba War AD 132-136: The Last Jewish Revolt Against Imperial Rome (Lindsay Powell, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2017, 96 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, $24.00, index, softcover)



In AD 132, a Jewish rebel leader named Shim'on ben Koseba assumed leadership of a restive Judean populace and led it into open revolt against the might of Imperial Rome. He assumed the name Shim'on bar Kokhba, which means "Son of a Star" and aimed to liberate Jerusalem and create an independent Jewish state. Ambushing Roman patrols from rooftops and hiding in caves scattered about the countryside, the Jewish fighters managed to resist the best Roman soldiers that Emperor Hadrian could muster for nearly four years. Eventually Roman determination and harshness overcame the resistance and the short-lived Jewish state was again brought under the Roman heel. The Jewish people suffered greatly during the war, enduring staggering casualties and seeing many of their towns and villages destroyed. The Romans even banned Jews from entering Jerusalem.

The Bar Kokhba War, which occurred six decades after the more famous Jewish revolt of AD 66-74, suffers from a lack of contemporary popular histories on the subject. This concise new edition fills that gap nicely. One of its strengths is its excellent visual aids for which the publisher is renowned. The author is an expert on ancient warfare, and he has succeeded marvelously in writing a book that brings to life the actions, participants, and effects of this ancient conflict.

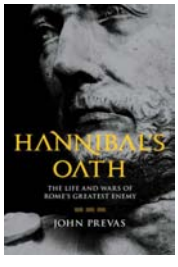
Prisoners and Escape: Those Who Were There (Rachel Bilton, Pen and Sword, South Yorkshire, UK, 2017, 177 pp., photographs, index, $19.95, softcover)

On August 24, 1914, Harry Beaumont was near Mons, Belgium, when an artillery shell exploded nearby. It shattered a brick wall next to him. He slumped to the ground with a concussion and a slight wound. He lay where he fell for a full day before Belgian civilians found him and took him to a hospital. When Beaumont recovered from the concussion a week later, he learned that he was trapped behind enemy lines. The Germans had taken possession of the hospital.

Each day a German officer would check the prisoners and send those who were fit to Germany. Warned by Belgians as to when the officer planned to visit, Beaumont deftly avoided being in his bed each day. He eventually escaped. He and another wounded man moved from house to house with the assistance of sympathetic Belgians. In May 1915 he crossed the border into Holland and returned to England.

Beaumont's story is one of 11 in the book. Each chapter contains one gripping tale and is recounted in the subject's own words. Some of the tales do not have happy endings, though. The book includes photos and background information on each subject and also tells what happened to them afterward.

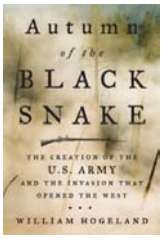
Hannibal's Oath: The Life and Wars of Rome's Greatest Enemy (John Prevas, Da Capo Press, Boston, MA, 2017, 336 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover)



The spring flowers had barely bloomed when the great Carthaginian leader Hannibal set his army of more than 100,000 men and 37 elephants to march against the Roman Republic. From their starting point in Spain they would cross the Alps before they could descend upon the Italian peninsula and gain the vengeance they felt justified in taking. It was an arduous task that would cost thousands of lives, but it would secure Hannibal's place as one of history's greatest generals. Hannibal would defy Roman attempts to bring him low for years, despite the disadvantages of being on Rome's home soil. Even today his skill, sense of strategy, and leadership abilities are studied and admired by soldier and scholar alike.

This latest biography of Carthage's famed commander covers Hannibal's life from his childhood, when legend says his father dipped his hand in blood and made him swear to be an enemy of Rome forever, to his death as an exile, when he chose to die rather than suffer the ignominy of captivity. The author combines information taken from the traditional sources with personal observations made as he visited many of the important places in Hannibal's journey through life. Although Hannibal ultimately failed to conquer Rome, his story is worthy of retelling because of his astounding military victories.

Autumn of the Black Snake: The Creation of the U.S. Army and the Invasion That Opened the West (William Hogeland, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 2017, 448 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $28.00, hardcover)



The guns of the American Revolution had barely gone cold when the fledgling United States needed them again. Settlers were moving into the lands west of the Ohio River, an act they felt they had an absolute right to do. The Native American tribes in the area resisted these moves into what they believed was their territory and the stage for conflict was set. This led to an American rout at the Battle of the Wabash on November 4, 1791. A thousand American casualties were sustained in that engagement, the most ever suffered at the hands of Native American warriors. This compelled President George Washington to create a standing U.S. Army that would continue the campaign against the native tribes. The Northwest Indian War ended with the Battle of Fallen Timbers fought on August 20, 1794.

This new work sheds light on an important event in American history that has faded from popular memory. This was the closest a Native American force ever came to stopping the westward expansion of the United States. The author employs clear and engaging prose to pull the reader into a gripping period of American history. He identifies the errors and complexities both sides made. His work is a balanced one in that it describes the motivation of each side without making either side into a villain. Instead, he presents the story as one of competing peoples caught in an inevitable clash

WAR GAMES EXPANDS ITS FOCUS, FROM THE REALISTIC STRATEGY OF *STRONGHOLD 2* TO THE CUTESY WARFARE OF *BOMBER CREW.*

STRONGHOLD 2: STEAM EDITION

It's been 12 years since the original version of *Stronghold 2* followed up the first game, so it's time to pay it a return visit in the form of *Stronghold 2: Steam Edition*. Those who haven't had a chance to dig into the series before will find an abundance of strategy to get lost in, while those who have will either be pleased or miffed to find some very familiar visuals at the forefront. That's because *Stronghold 2: Steam Edition* is an enhanced re-release, not a full HD remaster. Thankfully, though, there's still plenty going on below the surface.

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As you may have surmised from the title, *Stronghold 2* is all about protecting your keep and the lord within it. That means you need to develop a mighty base, which is definitely one of the strong suits of the experience. Once you establish the essentials like your keep, granary, and stockpile buildings, you're free to go in pretty much any direction you desire within the specific scenario's constraints. The trick comes in balancing defensive structures with construction and resource management that benefits your peasants and keeps both the general populace and your soldiers happy. You also have to watch out for the Honor system, in which Honor points are generated through events and activities that please your peasants. Accrue enough points and you'll be able to put them toward hiring more troops, buying land for autonomous resource-generating villages, and so on.

Balancing this and other methods of currency and power is one of the most engaging aspects of *Stronghold 2,* so it's disappointing to note the same can't be said about combat. Taking part in sieges can be kind of a mess, and the AI of your units leaves something to be desired. Strategies

PREVIEWS

BOMBER CREW

PUBLISHER CURVE DIGITAL
GENRE STRATEGY
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There's nothing adorable about war, but games like Runner Duck's *Bomber Crew* certainly do a good job of lightening the mood through colorful, tastefully implemented visuals. The latest WWII game to don a cartoony coat of paint, *Bomber Crew* is billed as a "strategic survival sim" that tasks players with commanding the crew of a Lancaster bomber. Every member of the team gets their own job assignment, from piloting to blasting away at enemy fighters and even boldly (or foolishly) stepping out onto the wings to put out potentially catastrophic fires.

Design-wise, *Bomber Crew* is reminiscent of *Cannon Fodder,* with gameplay elements that occasionally bring FTL to mind. The reality is somewhere in between, and it definitely seems like chaos reigns supreme whenever things start to go wrong for your crew. That's one of the main hooks here, because the crew you go out on missions with is a procedurally-generated bunch, offering up a different experience every time you play. That also means—you guessed it—death is permanent, giving players more incentive to be as careful as possible when soaring through the unforgiving skies.

At the time of this writing, *Bomber Crew* just hit Steam, so we'll have to wait for a deeper dive of its high-flying strategic action. so far this seems like a war game that might be worth looking into if you're on the hunt for lighter fare that still offers a sizable challenge and incentive for multiple playthroughs.

ORIENTAL EMPIRES

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Taking us back to a more grounded historical depiction is *Oriental Empires*, which is finally available after spending a year in Steam's Early Access program. Any Chinese history buffs out there no doubt had their interest piqued at the title alone, and *Oriental Empires* aims to deliver on the promise of taking your nation from its humble beginnings all the way through its expansion into a full-blown empire.

Oriental Empires takes place in ancient China and Mongolia, starting in 1500 BC and barreling across 3,000 years of progress in the realms of

also take a hit when, as long as you have the relatively meager funds to do so, you can pump out Archers and line the castle walls and towers for almost effortless defensive measures. This is great news for you if you're doing the protecting—especially since archers even seem to have superior range to catapults—but it's a real drag when a crafty opponent happens to have the same idea.

Despite the lack of truly upgraded visuals, *Stronghold 2: Steam Edition* does support widescreen and a handful of other nice additions. The user interface has been greatly improved, six new maps have been added, and the release features Steam Workshop support for custom map making and sharing. This version also marks the return of multiplayer, which is where most of your hours are likely to go. The original Gamespy Arcade service that provided multiplayer for the old version went down in 2014, so the return of this mode will be worth celebrating for long-time players.

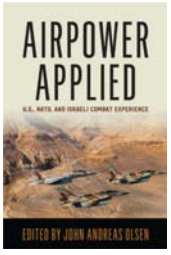
Fans of the series will want to jump on this, especially those who no longer have *The Stronghold Collection,* which was previously the only way to get it on Steam. *Stronghold 2* may not look quite as glorious as it did in 2005, but building elaborate castles, raising armies, and defending against would-be sieges are all activities worth engaging in today.

military advances, cultural development, and technological innovations. Over that extended period of time you'll have to persuade other factions to bow to your rule through diplomatic means or pure military force; whichever strikes your fancy at the time or seems the best strategic option, really. Each of the game's 16 factions have their own unique bonuses or penalties, and the large-scale battles take place on a sprawling, historical map of China, or on your custom campaign's own randomly-generated maps.

Your work doesn't end when you become Emperor, of course. As the leader of the land you'll need to balance power through the establishment of various laws, edicts, and decrees, while deciding whether you want to conquer the world with others or betray those who foolishly chose to create an allegiance with you. This dynamic will be especially potent in the multiplayer portion of *Oriental Empires,* which supports up to 15 players. As with any board game or online war game, this sounds like a great way to make friends ... and quickly turn them into enemies.

for control of a vast resource-rich land.

Airpower Applied: U.S., NATO and Israeli Combat Experience (Edited by John Andreas Olsen, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2017, 432 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $49.95, hardcover)



The U.S. Air Force delivered 9,500 troops to Panama in less than 36 hours during Operation Just Cause in December 1989. The refueling tankers that supported the aerial bridge came from 23 squadrons that transferred 860,000 gallons of fuel per day. Cargo planes carried more than 20,650 tons of supplies. C-130s dropped Rangers on Rio Hato airfield while F-117 fighters supported them. While there was a friendly fire incident at Rio Hato, the support from the stealth fighters helped them seize the airfield by demoralizing the Panamanian defenders. AC-130 gunships fired on Panamanian positions alongside Army attack helicopters.

When Manuel Noriega finally surrendered, U.S. troops put him into a Special Forces MC-130 to be returned to the United States for trial. The invasion succeeded in large part due to this complex weave of air support, transport, and cargo operations.

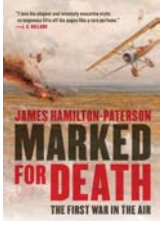
The history of airpower is full of examples, not all of them success stories. This new work analyzes a number of separate air campaigns from World War II to the present. For each campaign, the author gives a concise summary of the event and the factors that contributed to it. He also analyzes the effectiveness of each air campaign in achieving its desired goals. Last but not least, the work examines how airpower can be used in a way that is consistent with political objectives.

Curse on This Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan (Danny Orbach, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 2017, 384 pp., notes, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

The soldiers of the Japanese Empire went into World War II with a reputation for being automatons who were blindly obedient to orders and slavishly loyal to the emperor. While this may have some truth for the common soldier who was inculcated with obedience as a cultural and military imperative, the leadership was more inclined to disobey the Japanese government. There were numerous instances of military officers staging coup d'états, including one against the emperor when he tried to end World War II. Japanese officers often initiated military operations in spite of orders to the contrary, such as in China in the 1930s. Assassinations also occurred. The result was a decades-long journey for Japan as it slowly succumbed to fascism and suffered defeat in a global war.

Japan's descent into military madness is closely chronicled in this detailed study. It begins with Japan's chaotic rise into the contemporary modern world during the late 1800s and follows its imperialistic rise, which extended into the 20th century. It uses primary source material from five languages. The author weaves a compelling narrative of Japan's road to both victory and defeat in World War II.

Marked for Death: The First War in the Air (James Hamilton-Paterson, Pegasus Books, New York, 2016, 384 pp., photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $$27.95, hardcover)



The first war fought in the air was almost a death sentence for those who battled in it. World War I pilots had a 70 percent casualty rate, the equal of even the hard-pressed infantrymen of the time. Despite these odds, there was never a shortage of men willing to go aloft and take on their counterparts in aerial duels.

Aircraft were a new invention, only a decade old and far from a mature technology. Aircrews died in accidents and through malfunctioning equipment as much as by enemy bullets. The risk was worth it to them. They were doing things no one had done before, creating a legacy that would endure through to the 21st century. It was dangerous, thrilling, brutal, and glorious to flyers of the era. Those who survived came home as heroes of a new age, and those who died in aerial combat received top honors.

A quote from aircraft designer and pilot Anthony Fokker serves as the title of this new work. It referenced the peril every pilot voluntarily put himself in when he went aloft. The author does a superb job of bringing to life both the thrill and the terror of being a World War I combat pilot. The author includes many journal entries and other writings from pilots of the period. The firsthand accounts enable the reader to know the thoughts and fears of these brave airmen. The work charts the progression of air power from the start of the war to the final armistice. □

Alesia

Continued from page 47

off his armor, and sat at Caesar's feet silent and motionless until he was taken away under arrest, a prisoner reserved for the triumph."

The captives were numerous. Each Roman soldier was given one to sell into slavery. In the aftermath of the victory, the Senate decreed 20 days of public thanksgiving.

The victory at Alesia broke the back of the Gallic rebellion. When a minor outbreak occurred the following year, the Romans crushed it in their customary manner. They reacted quickly and savagely to contain it. When the Romans captured the town of Uxellodunum on the Dordogne River in southwestern Gaul, they severed the hands of the defenders to discourage others from taking up arms against Rome.

At that point, the conquest of Gaul was complete and the Gallic tribes pacified. Upward of one million Gauls perished and another million were sold into slavery during the Gallis Wars. Nearly all of the Gauls were forcibly relocated. It was a staggering toll given that the approximate population of Gaul was 15 million.

As for Caesar, the remainder of his career is well known. While he was fixated on the conquest of Gaul, the political situation in Rome sharply deteriorated. Crassus died in 53 BC when his army campaigning in Upper Mesopotamia was destroyed by the Parthians at Carrhae. Pompey, the other surviving member of the Triumvirate, was deeply jealous of Caesar's victory in Gaul. He orchestrated an appointment as sole counsel, and then demanded that Caesar return to Rome without his army or risk being branded as a traitor to the Roman Republic. In one of the most famous episodes of his impressive career, Caesar crossed the Rubicon on January 11, 49 BC. Pompey fled to Greece, and Caesar pursued him. On August 9, 48 BC, Caesar outfought Pompey at Pharsalus. Pompey evaded capture, but was assassinated by Roman tribune Lucius Septimius, who stabbed him to death as he attempted to land by boat in Alexandria, Egypt.

After his victory over Pompey, Caesar systematically crushed the remaining resistance in a series of battles fought throughout the Mediterranean region. Vercingetorix was imprisoned in Rome. Caesar intended to display him during his triumph that the Senate approved. However, the protracted civil war delayed the triumph for many years. Following the glorious triumph held in 46 BC, Vercingetorix was executed. It was the coda to Caesar's illustrious and bloody Gallic Wars. □

Morgarten

Continued from page 63

according to the *Conflictus Laupensis,* a 14th-century chronicle.

When they learned that Laupen was under siege, the town leaders of Bern held a council of war. They resolved to march immediately to the aid of the beleaguered 600-man garrison for fear it might be slaughtered if the village was captured. Bernese knight Rudolf of Erlach led a Crusader-like army of zealous foot soldiers who marched under banners bearing a dark cross on a white background. Moreover, each man had sewn a white cross on his clothing.

The full levy of Bernese turned out. On June 20 it rendezvoused with the Confederates of the Forest Cantons at Bumplitz three miles west of the city. The Swiss found the enemy encamped in a strong position on a wooded hilltop known as the Bramberg. Erlach and his captains ordered their troops to form into two columns. The right column consisted of Bernese troops and the left column of men from the Forest Cantons.

The right column, which deployed at the top of a steep slope, faced the Fribourg foot, and the left column, which was arrayed on a gentler slope, faced the imposing Hapsburg and Burgundian knights. Erlach, a veteran of many local wars, planned to charge down on the Fribourg foot.

The Fribourgers attacked on the afternoon of June 21. The Fribourg infantry advanced on the Bernese in two divisions. Bernese slingers showered the enemy with stones as they advanced. The Fribourg foot proved no match for the Swiss. The Swiss of the right column formed into a wedge, charged downhill into the enemy, and drove deep into their formation. They slashed their way with determination toward the enemy banners. The Fribourg foot lost their sense of cohesion and fled the field.

The Bernese of the right column, although exhausted from the fighting, nonetheless went to the aid of the hard-pressed left column. The combined weight of the two divisions of Confederated Swiss foot drove off the Hapsburg and Burgundian cavalry.

When it was over, the Fribourgers had suffered 4,000 casualties to the Bernese 1,500 casualties. The victorious Bernese triumphantly took home 27 captured banners.

Bern, Glarus, Zug, and Zurich joined the four original cantons in 1353 to create the Confederation of the Eight Cantons. Like Bern, Lucerne also embarked on an aggressive policy of expansion, entering into alliances with the towns of Entlebuch, Sempach, Meienberg, Reichensee, and Willisau. Not surprisingly, the Austrian dukes saw this as an infringement on their territorial interests. By the end of 1385, the Swiss Confederation engaged in active harassment of the Hapsburg city of Rapperswil and other localities that were sympathetic or allied to Austria.

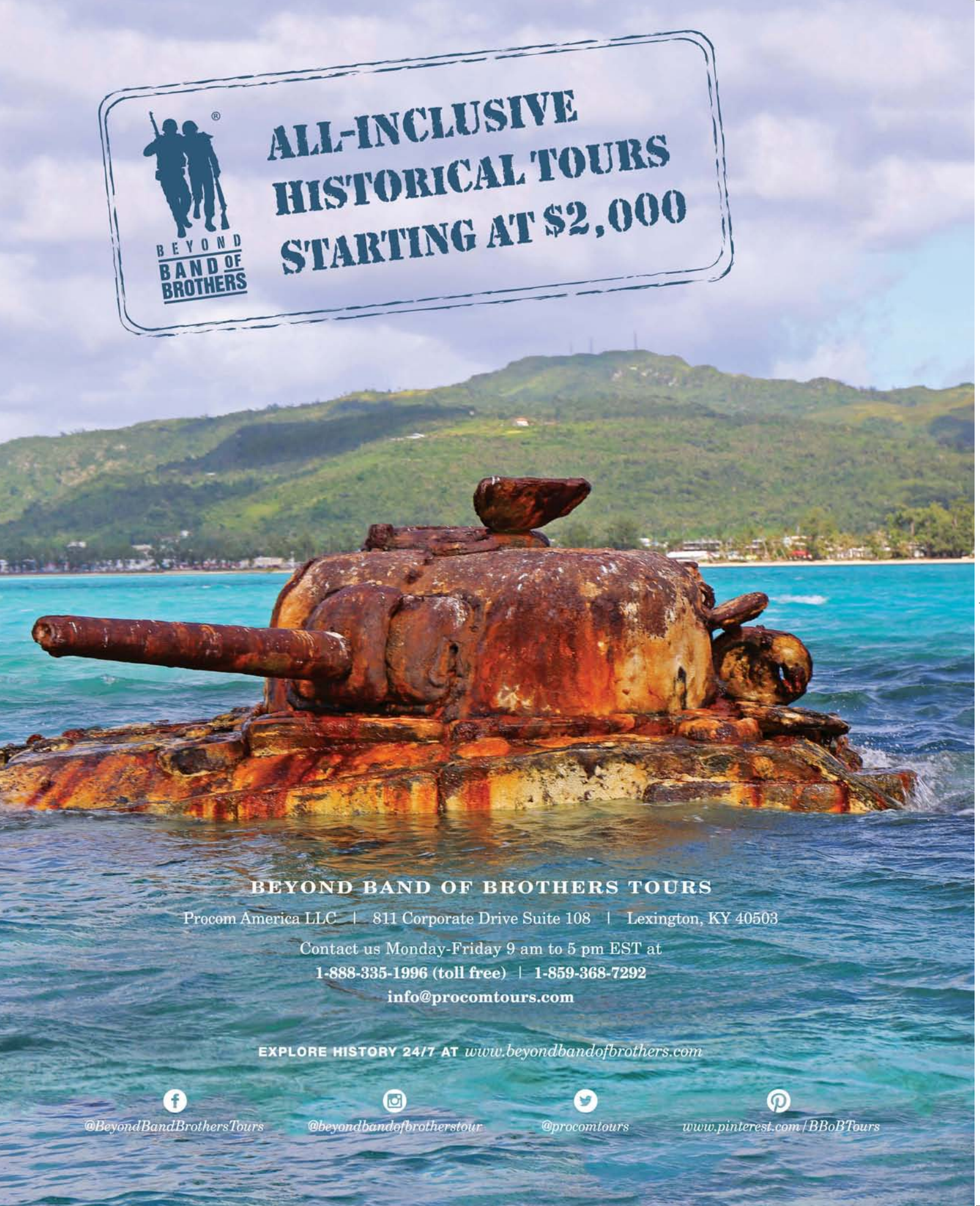
Unable to resolve the matter through diplomacy, Austrian Duke Leopold III assembled an army drawn from his vassals in Swabia, Tyrol, and Alsace. To round out the army, he instructed various Austrian towns to furnish additional troops. The 4,000-strong Austrian army assembled at Brugg in late June. The majority of the force was mounted.

The presence of the Hapsburg forces at Brugg seemed to indicate to the Confederacy that Zurich was its intended objective, given that it was the closest major town. The Swiss Confederacy assembled a force consisting of troops from Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. Initially they prepared to take up a position to defend Lucerne, but when they realized that Leopold's army was marching south toward Lucerne rather than east toward Zurich, they countermarched. The 3,000 Swiss foot were led by Petermann von Gundoldingen, a wealthy resident of Lucerne.

On July 9, 1386, the two sides meet near the town of Sempach, which was situated nine miles northwest of Lucerne. The Austrian knights leveled their lances and charged downhill into the force of Swiss pikemen and halberdiers, inflicting heavy losses. But the Swiss were far from beaten. During the course of the ensuing bloody melee, the Swiss gained the upper hand and Leopold was slain. The Austrians suffered 1,000 casualties compared to 200 Swiss casualties.

The Battle of Sempach was the event that transformed the Swiss Confederacy into a serious military power. It would be more than a century before the last battle between the Swiss and the House of Hapsburg was fought during the Swabian War of 1499.

The Swiss struggle for an independent national identity was the clarion call for the eventual disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire. The glue holding the empire together was the Catholic Church, with the crowning by the pope giving legitimacy to the Holy Roman Emperor. The armed struggles between Protestant and Catholic states in Europe, especially in Germany, culminating with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, ended the supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire. Under the terms of the treaty, Switzerland gained its independence, outliving both the Holy Roman Empire and its successor Hapsburg monarchy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. □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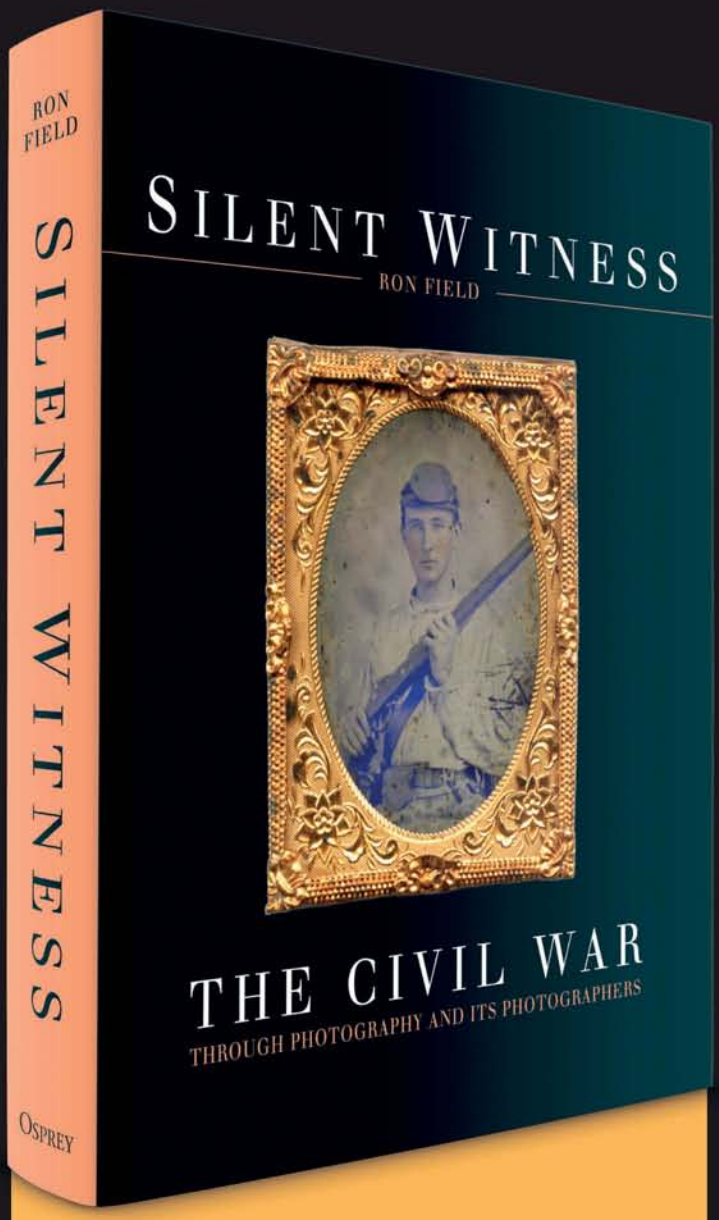

SILENT WITNESS

The Civil War Through Photography and Its Photographers

BY RON FIELD

Osprey Publishing
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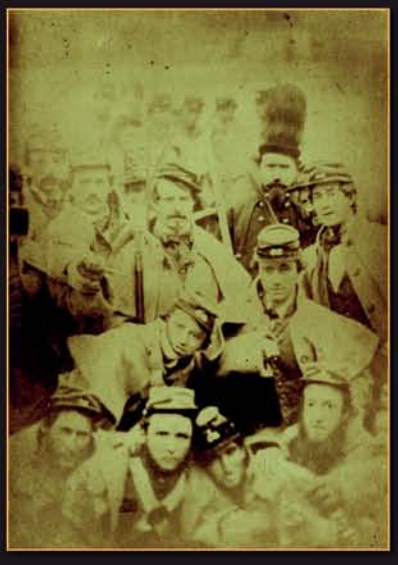
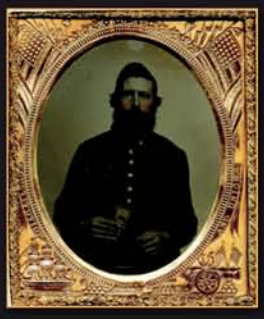
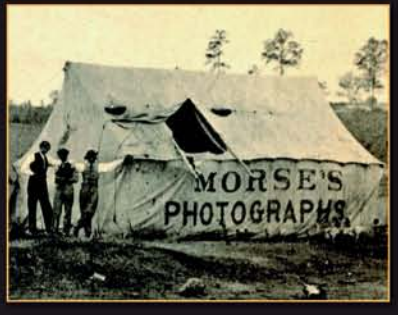
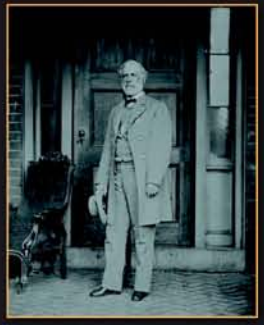
Displaying many rare images unearthed by acclaimed Civil War historian Ron Field, ***Silent Witness*** explores not only how the camera bore witness to the dramatic events of the Civil War, but also how the innovative work of the photographers shaped the outcome of the war itself and beyond.









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