

ISSUE 46/DEC 1997

# COMMAND

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY & ANALYSIS

## The End of Empire

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Motte	G.I.	Incap.	Panic!	Rested
Holding Fire		BAR	??	0
Fetters	G.I.	Hurt	Panic!	Rested
Cowering		Garand	AP	128



To do in Holland:



secure bridgeheads.



"Look ol' boy, ignore everything  
I say and you'll do smashingly."



mortar or flamethrowers...  
mortar or flamethrowers...

Team Classification	MH	Ex	#	\$
Mark VII 'Cromwell'			4	25
Medium Tank				
'Achilles I' (3 inch gun)			4	20
Tank Destroyer				
Mark V 'Stuart'			4	18
Light Tank				
17 pounder anti-tank gun			3	18
Heavy AT Gun				
M21 (81 mm Mortar Carrier)			2	14
41 mm Recoil Mortar				
6 pounder AT gun			5	12
Medium AT Gun				
Flamethrower			2	12
Flamethrower				
3 inch mortar			3	10
Medium Mortar				

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of course  
you want  
to win.

You took the bridge yesterday. That



doesn't mean you'll have it today.

Nothing cleans out a town quite

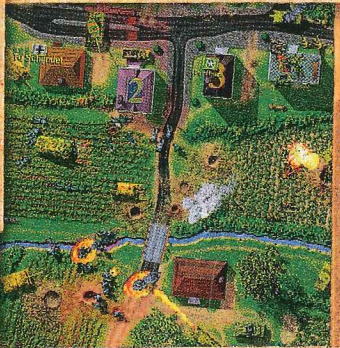


like flamethrowers.



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# COMMAND

## MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY & ANALYSIS

DECEMBER 1997

ISSUE 46

### Features

<b>William Marsh</b>	<b>End of Empire I</b> The Fall of New France	<b>24</b>
<b>William Marsh</b>	<b>End of Empire II</b> The American Revolution	<b>36</b>
<b>R.C. Tessendorf</b>	<b>Spy vs Spy</b> George Washington — Spy Master	<b>48</b>
<b>John Eastman</b>	<b>Benedict Arnold</b> Hero and Traitor of the Revolution	<b>54</b>
<b>Carl O. Schuster</b>	<b>The Royal Navy</b> Failure in the American Revolution	<b>62</b>
<b>Allan Ashworth</b>	<b>The Mongol Horde</b> The World's First Modern Army	<b>66</b>
<b>Carl O. Schuster</b>	<b>Confederate Corsairs</b> Commerce Raiders of the Confederate Navy	<b>72</b>
<b>Jamie H. Cockfield</b>	<b>Russia's Amazons</b> The Women's Battalions of Death in the Great War	<b>80</b>

### Departments

<b>Short Rounds</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Art of War</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>Books, Videos &amp; Multimedia</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>The PX</b>	<b>96</b>

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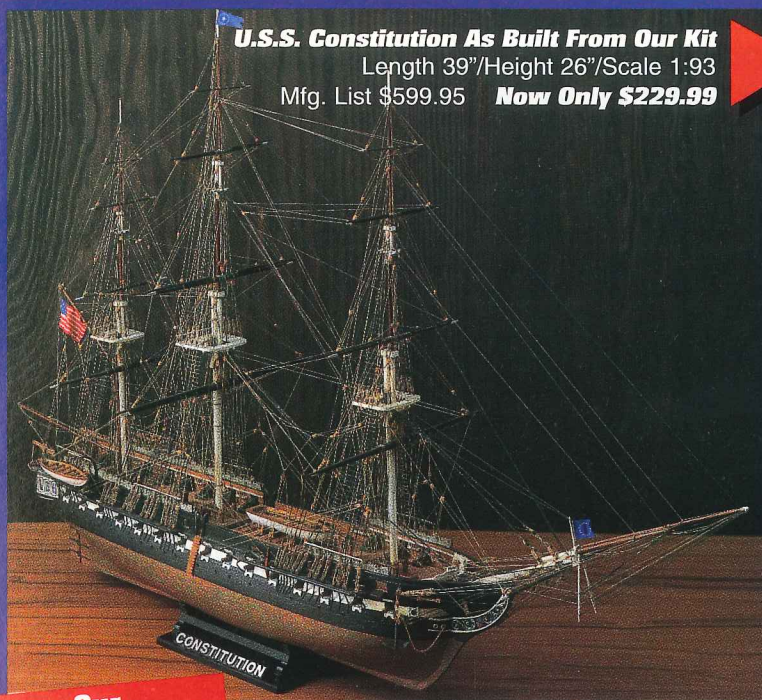
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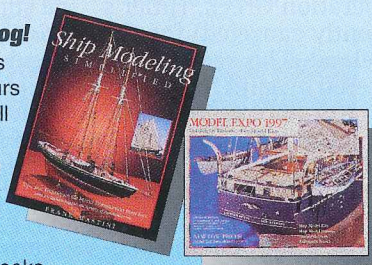
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# SHORT ROUNDS

Historical Perspective...

## Operation Sea Lion's Deception Plan

The Sea Lion deception effort consisted of a series of separate but coordinated operations intended to draw attention and forces away from the main landing area. Deception targets ranged from the Shetland and Faroe Islands through the East Anglian coast to Ireland. Virtually every German command facing Great Britain was involved. Aerial reconnaissance and agent assignments were directed as much against the deception landing beaches as they were against the actual assault area. All deception groups conducted rehearsal landings in areas similar to their "assigned" beaches. In total, the German deception campaign was a complex operation that accounted for some 15 percent of the total effort assigned to Sea Lion.

Though Sea Lion never took place, elements of its supporting deception plan were continued well into 1942. Further, Britain maintained its defenses in East Anglia until late that year, and remained concerned about Ireland's security through mid-1943.

Though the German army and navy were not in agreement on all aspects of the deception effort, they and the air force cooperated well in preparing the plan. In fact, the three services worked better together in executing the deception than they did in planning the actual landing. All the service staffs recognized the navy lacked the strength, even with aerial support, to halt what all believed would be an almost suicidal British effort against the beachhead. What the German navy lacked in strength it could only make up in guile. The basic principle to be applied was a combination of fake and real surface raiding group deployments into the Atlantic, attacks on the British patrol line north of the Shetlands, and deception troop convoys moving out toward the East Anglian and Irish coasts.

The army urged a more daring concept, relying on airborne landings against the Isle of Wight, the Faroes and the Shetlands. The army planners felt those operations had the added advantage of sealing off British ports and potentially bottling up some of the Royal Navy's units in the process. The other two services rejected it as too risky, however, stating any force landed at those places would inevitably be destroyed.

The differences were resolved in a series of meetings held in the last week of August 1940. All the services agreed on the need to use a combination of radio and physical deception units working in concert. The effort was divided into two primary elements, one directed against Britain's western defenses and the other against those in the east. The first element was to use as its foundation the planning and preparations already underway for Operation Green, Hitler's plan (subsequently canceled) for the invasion of Ireland. The second element was centered around the navy's Operation Autumn Journey, directed against East Anglia. A third element consisted of a tactical deception to be executed to the west of the actual landing area.

For its part the army was to cooperate with the other two services by providing realistic landing plans and units for rehearsal landings. *Group 21* in Norway was to coordinate the overall effort, probably because of its experience in working with the navy. In Oslo, *36th Corps* was to provide two infantry divisions, a tank detachment and an anti-aircraft unit, while *31st Corps*, in Denmark, assigned another two infantry divisions and some support troops. In Holland, *37th Corps* allocated the *197th Infantry Division* and an SS division to the effort. *Army Group B*, in northwestern France, was

to continue its joint preparations with Naval Command France for Operation Green. Those troops were to be drawn from *4th* and *7th Armies*.

The staffs were also ordered to plan landing operations against beaches ranging from Edinburgh down to Harwich in the east and to southeastern Ireland in the west. All planners and participating unit leaders were led to believe they were preparing actual operations. The *36th* was given Berwick Upon Tweed as its objective, while the *31st* was assigned to Blyth. Their landings were to be coordinated. The *37th* was ordered to pick a landing area between the Wash and Harwich. Meanwhile *Army Group B* had the Irish beaches between Wexford and Dungarvn as its targets.

The air force supported the planning by conducting extensive aerial reconnaissance against all but the Irish beaches. The German embassy staff in Dublin surveyed those areas and reported the results by diplomatic courier. (Of course, the British embassy staff monitored and reported on their German counterparts' activities.)

The naval part of the plan remained essentially unchanged after its initial proposal in June. The first part involved a break out into the Atlantic by a surface raider and the battlecruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*. The second part involved the assembly and provision of transport units and liaison officers to the respective army headquarters to support their operational planning and landing rehearsals.

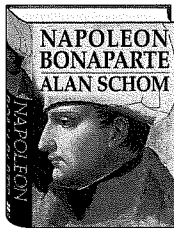
*Army Group B* was the first to receive its transport units because its planning was most advanced due to Hitler having considered an invasion of Ireland as an alternative, not just a supplement, to assaulting England. Four ocean transports and several small steamers were assembled at Bordeaux. The local army engineers also built numerous amphibious ferries and other specialized landing equipment. The plan also called for units of *1st* and *11th Corps* to be embarked at dusk on S minus 3 (S-3, that is, three days before the actual Operation Sea Lion landing on "S Day"), and to sail out of Bordeaux for Ireland. The con-



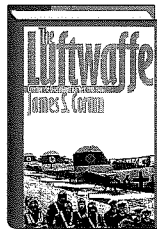
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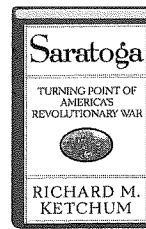
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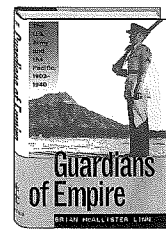
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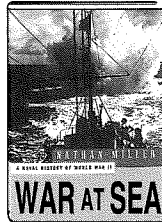
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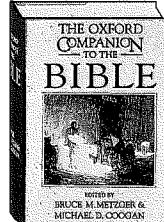
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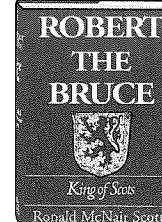
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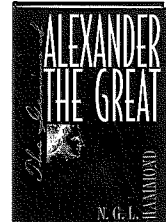
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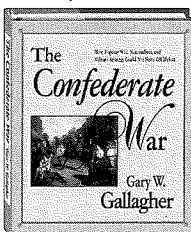
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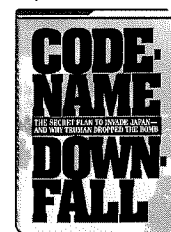
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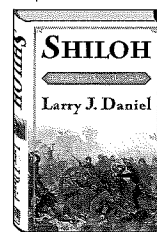
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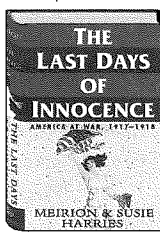
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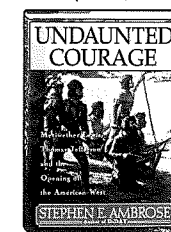
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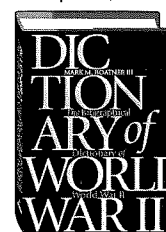
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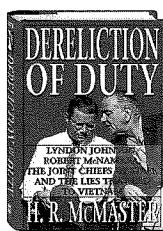
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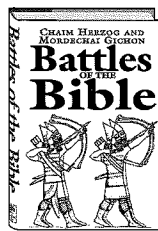
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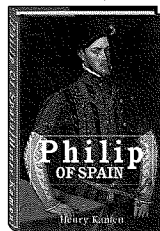
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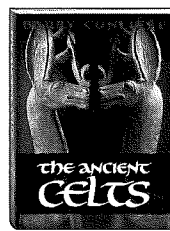
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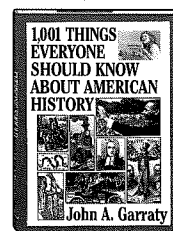
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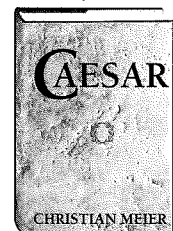
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voy was to have been escorted by minesweepers and fast attack boats; but they were all to turn back at dawn, returning to French coastal waters. At the same time, one or two u-boats were to simulate task force radio traffic off the Irish coast during the pre-dawn hours of S Day, starting seven hours before the actual landings in southern England.

Though Operation Green never took place, the planning and build up for that part of the deception was remarkably successful. The British sent an invasion warning to the Irish government during one of the rehearsal landings in October 1940.

But the largest and most complex

element of the deception effort was Operation Autumn Journey. It involved, in addition to the previously mentioned army deception activities, the coordinated movement of multiple convoys, construction of dummy shipping, and imitative radio reporting. It also called for coordinated air strikes against northern Scotland, along with others against the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Radio deception groups positioned northwest of Iceland and off the Norwegian coast were to support the operation by transmitting fake surface raider and operational fleet messages. The cruiser *Adm. Hipper* was to attempt to break out into the Atlantic to add further to the con-

fusion. Planning and work were fairly advanced by late September 1940.

Seven transports were assembled and modified with fake funnels, false superstructures and enlarged bows to make them appear bigger. Two hospital ships and the high speed liner-transports *Bremen*, *Europa*, *Gneisenau* and *Potsdam* were also brought in. The idea was to give the appearance of a troop convoy carrying at least a corps. Two escort groups, a minesweeper flotilla and a torpedo boat flotilla, were to accompany the troop convoy across the North Sea toward East Anglia supported by an air force bomber group.

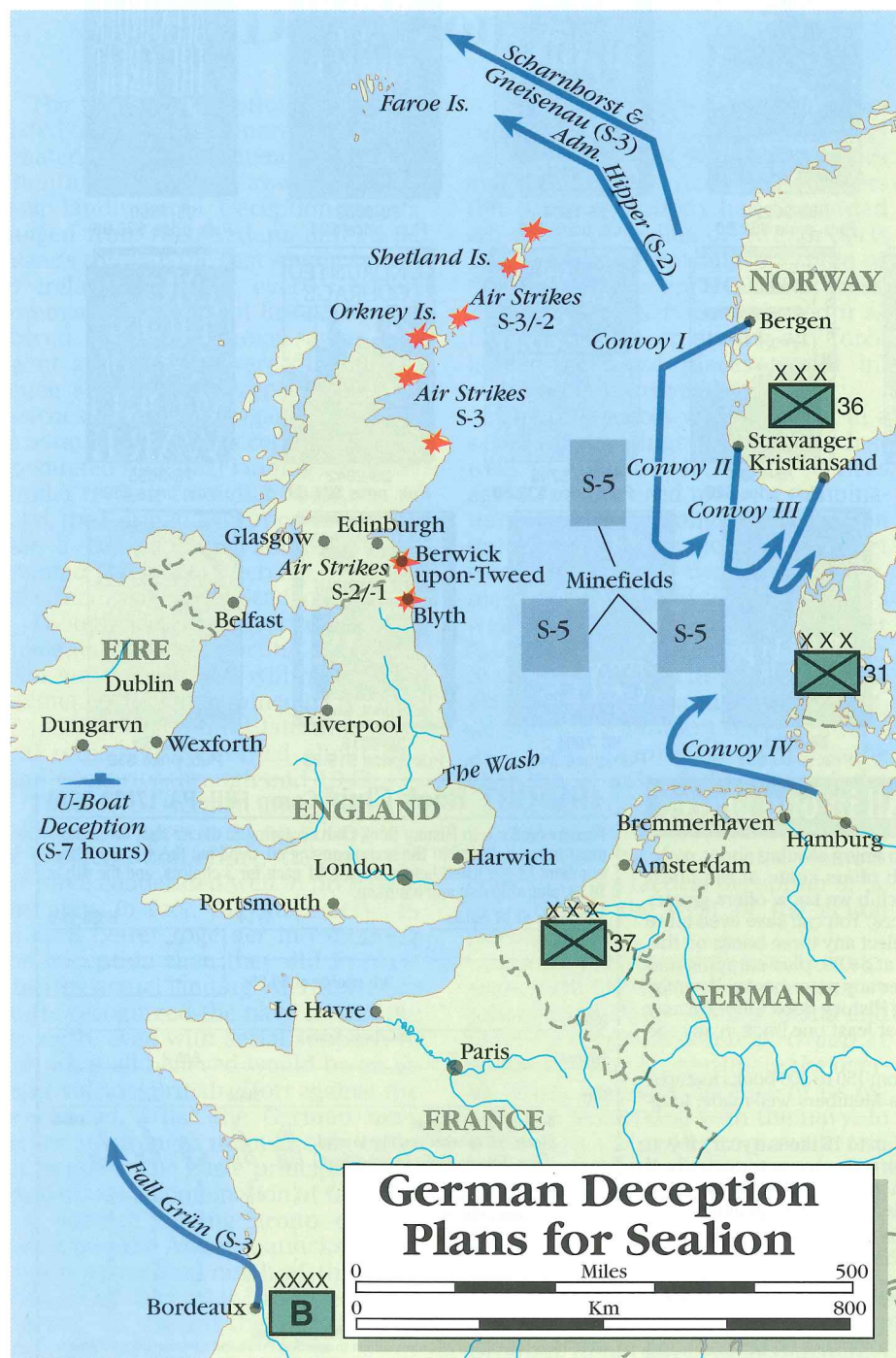
The transports were organized into four convoys. All troops were to be embarked in daylight on S-3, so Allied agents ashore could see their departure. They were then to disembark at a different location at night to mask the fact the ships were steaming empty. The first three convoys were assigned to 36th Corps. Convoy I, composed of three troop transports escorted by four combatant vessels, was to move elements of 69th Infantry Division from Bergen at 7:00 p.m. local time. They would then disembark the troops at Bekkervig at midnight and proceed to their rendezvous in the northern North Sea (see map).

Convoy II also consisted of three troop transports, but was to be escorted by six small combatants and the 7th Torpedo Boat Flotilla. It was also supposed to load its troops, elements of 24th Infantry Division, in Stavanger at 7:00 p.m. local time. The troops were to disembark at Hauge-sund at midnight.

Convoy III was to depart Arendal by 10:00 a.m., with men of the 214th Infantry Division aboard its four transports, disembarking them at an offshore coastal defense base near Kristiansand at 5:00 p.m. Two anti-submarine boats and four old torpedo boats were then to escort the convoy into the North Sea.

All three of those convoys were to disperse, returning to Norway at maximum speed (15 knots), starting at 9:30 p.m. local time the next evening (S-2).

The last and fastest convoy, Convoy IV, consisted of the four high speed liners mentioned earlier and was assigned to 31st Corps. *Europa* and *Bremen* were to simulate troop embarkation operations in Bremerhaven, while the *Gneisenau* and *Potsdam* were to load troops of the 163rd Infantry Division in Hamburg in daylight and unload them in Cuxhaven that night. The four ships were to rendezvous in the German Bight at 8:30 a.m. on S-2 then steam at high speed toward the central North Sea.





# 2 FOR CHRISTMAS

## Semper Fi, Mac! Welcome to Korea!

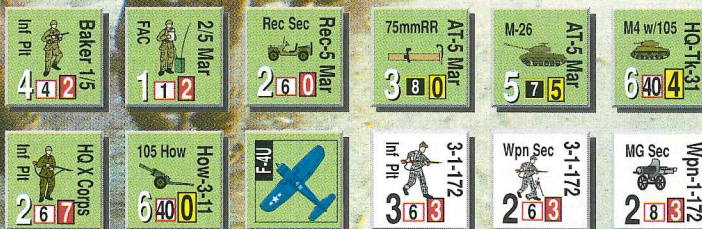
**Semper Fi!** consists of four small maps which comprise several "games" of multiple scenarios each. These small games cover important Marine actions during the Korean War. Two treat the Marines vs. the North Koreans on the Pusan Perimeter (Summer, 1950) and two cover the Marines vs. the Chinese near the Chosin Reservoir (November, 1950). These are:

- a) **Changallon Valley.** The North Korean ambush of an advancing Marine column. 11x17 inch map.
- b) **No-Name Ridge.** A tough Marine assault of dug in North Koreans at the Naktong Bulge. 8.5x11 inch map.
- c) **Fox Hill.** A reinforced Marine Company assaulted by a regiment of Chinese (and they held!). 8.5x11 inch map.
- d) **Hagaru.** The main Marine supply center is attacked by two divisions of Chinese. 17x22 inch map.

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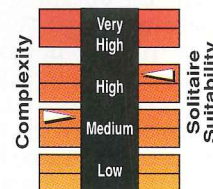
Game No. 11

game designer:  
Lee Forester

series designer:  
Dean N. Essig

### Game Data

- ◆ Die-Cut Counters: 700
- ◆ Full-Color 8.5"x11" Maps: Two
- 11"x17" Maps: Two
- ◆ Playing Time: 1 to 4 Hours
- ◆ Players: 1 or more
- ◆ Unit Scale: Platoons and Ind. Vehicles
- ◆ Turn Length: 20 minutes
- ◆ Hex Scale: 125 yards
- ◆ 1-Map Scenarios: Yes



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Unlike the other convoys, Convoy IV was not to disperse, but would remain in formation and move toward the Skagge Rak after 9:30 p.m. Convoy IV was also different in that its escorts consisted not of operational units but the navy's training squadron, the light cruiser *Emden* and four old torpedo boats. It was felt the liners' high speed would enable them to outrun any major Royal Navy units encountered.

A long range support group consisting of the light cruisers *Nürnberg* and *Köln*, the gunnery training ship *Bremse* and five other minor fleet units was to screen the convoys from Royal Navy interference. The support group was to engage any inferior Royal Navy formations encountered and draw away superior ones. But the support group was to avoid being decisively engaged, even if it meant sacrificing the convoys.

Additional protection was to be provided by three minefields to be laid on S-5 (see map). Finally, if none of the groups were spotted by British forces, a German aircraft was to reveal their presence using captured British codes and an RAF transmitter.

Efforts to get ships for 37th Corps proved more difficult. So many Dutch units had escaped to England that the local navy commander was able to acquire only enough suitable equipment to conduct small scale tactical exercises. Both services tried to compensate for that by using additional radio transmitters to simulate a larger force in their September and October exercises. But British intelligence was misled only briefly by their activities.

Finally, on S-3 all three services were to initiate expanded radio broadcast activities from their ground stations along the French, Dutch, Danish and Norwegian coasts. Naval sea-based transmission stations were also to become active at the same time. The intention was to flood the air waves with so much realistic radio activity Britain's signals intelligence organizations wouldn't be able to distinguish the actual assault convoys from the deception groups via radio traffic analysis. Nor did the radio deception efforts stop there.

One of the key, and most vulnerable components of the German deception effort was its reliance on code breaking and imitative deception. Both the navy and air force interception services had penetrated their enemy counterpart services' encryption systems. For example, in 1940 the German navy was decrypting nearly half the Royal Navy's operational radio traffic for its major surface combatants and auxiliary cruisers. It was also breaking about 10 percent of British submarine signals.

The air force was doing even better against RAF encryption systems. In fact, the Luftwaffe's signals intelligence service had a secret group practicing imitative deception of RAF operational signals. That is, it had personnel who could imitate the transmitting "signatures" of RAF morse code operators. That "radio deception" group had a critical role in the deception effort, particularly during Operation Sea Lion's final hours.

In addition to the aerial reconnaissance sorties and air strikes mentioned earlier, the Luftwaffe had three radio deception units of its own, each involving a single specially equipped and manned aircraft. British radio traffic was to be monitored prior to take off, so the "special radio operators" aboard the planes would know which of their British counterparts they might have to imitate during the flight. The planes carried radio equipment to transmit false enemy shipping reports. They were also supposed to simulate offshore naval engagements and naval gunfire support. They therefore carried small bombs and rockets as well as radio operators for that purpose.

The planes were scheduled to fly from 30 minutes prior to the Sea Lion assault (S-30 minutes) to one hour after the troops went ashore. One aircraft was assigned to each deception effort and one to the main landing. The one assigned to the main landing, "Bluff Heinz," a modified He-111 bomber, was to sow confusion in the assault area by jamming and by transmitting false orders and sightings.

Operation Autumn Journey was to be supported by another He-111 ("Bluff Alfred"), operating between the Thames and Humber River estuaries. Finally, "Bluff Erika," a Focke Wulf 200 from *Kampfgeschwader 40*, was assigned to Operation Green. It carried an additional radio operator to imitate Coastal Command reporting from units conducting anti-submarine warfare searches in the Irish Sea, and to simulate naval formation maneuvers.

Given Britain's cryptologists were reading over 60 percent of the Luftwaffe's operational radio traffic by August 1940, it's unlikely those operations would have achieved strategic surprise. More, neither the Luftwaffe's or the other German services' planners appear to have considered the British radar system. At a minimum that might have led to the early loss of the deception aircraft, but more likely it would have undermined the entire deception effort. Had they survived, however, the aircraft could have caused great confusion among the British defenders at the tactical level.

It's ironic the three German services approached the deception effort with more enthusiasm than they did Operation Sea Lion itself. The level of cooperation and agreement among the service staffs was remarkable. Perhaps that was because the deception plan was prepared at lower, operational headquarters where politics and service prerogatives were not as important as they were to the service chiefs in Berlin, where Operation Sea Lion was developed.

But despite their outstanding efforts, the tide of the "intelligence war" was already shifting against the Germans by the time the deception effort was begun. Britain's cryptologists were penetrating an increasing number of German radio circuits, particularly the Luftwaffe's, which would have enabled them to separate the real radio transmissions from the fake ones. Thus the likelihood of the German deceivers drawing the Royal Navy away from Sea Lion was remote. At best they might have delayed the British warships' arrival off the beachhead by a full day. They might even have disrupted the British defense of the beach itself. But it would not have been enough to secure victory without total and complete air supremacy, both over the beachhead and in the English Channel itself. The outcome of the Battle of Britain denied them that.

— Carl O. Schuster

## Historical Perspective. . .

# Look But Don't Shoot

The United States Army and Marine Corps embarked on a joint-service search for a new observation and reconnaissance aircraft to replace their World War II and Korean War vintage planes late in 1954. The two commands hoped by combining their efforts they could design and build a twin-engine, two-seat aircraft that would take maximum advantage of

rapidly growing aviation technology. The prospects for the potentially lucrative contract attracted bids from six aircraft companies. Their proposed designs were all attractive, but the Grumman G-134 was the one judged to best fit the two services' needs and was accepted in March 1957.

Grumman began building, but then quickly ran into problems when the



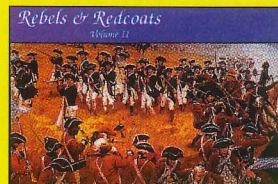
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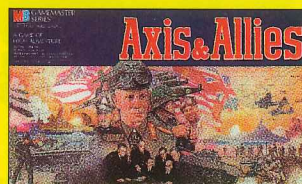
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*An OV-1D, which still serves the Army today. This version of the aircraft can be configured to carry photo reconnaissance, infrared or side-looking radar equipment. (U.S. Army Transportation Museum)*

representatives of the Army and Marines squabbled over specifics. The Army wanted to use the internal bay to carry electronic reconnaissance equipment, while the Marines wanted that area dedicated to bombs and rockets. They also wanted hard points under the wings to allow for carrying even more such weapons. The Army wanted the wings kept clean.

When no final agreement could be reached, the Marine Corps dropped out of the project in September. The Army then directed Grumman to leave the internal bay open for electronics and delete four of the six underwing hard points that had already become part of the design.

The prototype, christened the YAO-1AF, made its maiden flight on 14 April 1959, proving completely air-

worthy. In fact, the plane was able to reach a top speed of 460 miles per hour in test flights. As a result it was immediately scrutinized by the Air Force which, according to one provision of the National Security Act of 1947, actually had responsibility for the mission of providing combat ground support to US land forces. That same act also outlined specifically what type of planes the two services were allowed to maintain. The Army was not to have aircraft weighing over 5,000 lbs., nor any that flew faster than 600 miles per hour or carried offensive armament.

The Air Force command believed the YAO-1AF was close to violating the agreement on several counts. It was already over the weight limit and therefore had to be given an exemption

from the Secretary of Defense. It was also seemingly too fast to be utilized just as a reconnaissance platform, and the remaining wing hard points might be used to carry bombs. The Air Force command became convinced their Army counterparts were trying to undermine the division of responsibility set out by law between their two services; they therefore decided to keep a close eye on the aircraft during the rest of its development.

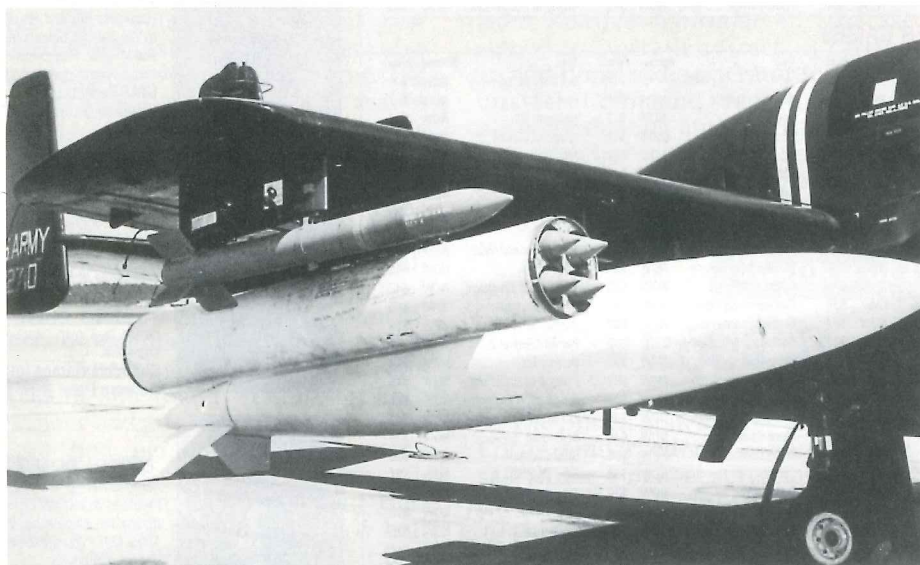
The first production version of the plane that became known as the Mohawk OV-1A had a 42' wingspan, was 41'1.5" long and stood 12'8" high. It weighed 11,023 lbs. empty and had a maximum weight of 15,020 lbs. It was powered by two 1,050 standard horse power Lycoming T-53-L-7 turboprop engines, which gave the plane an official operational top speed of 297 miles per hour, a service ceiling of 25,000 feet and a range of 645 miles.

The OV-1A was outfitted as a photo-reconnaissance platform carrying the KA-60 reconnaissance system, which consisted of a panoramic camera in the fuselage with a photo flare dispenser for night work. The system automatically adjusted for height and speed, while the shutter was controlled by the crew in the cockpit.

The first OV-1As were sent to the US 7th Army in Germany in February 1962, where they performed well flying along the border, keeping track of the forward deployment of communist forces there. Shortly thereafter, the Army advisory team in Vietnam requested a detachment of Mohawks be sent there for evaluation. In July, six of the planes were organized into the 23rd Special Warfare Aviation Detachment (Surveillance) and transported to Southeast Asia. Before they went, the Army replaced the earlier deleted underwing hard points, redesignating the newly modified version the JOV-1A.

The planes were immediately committed in support of the South Vietnamese 9th Infantry Division around Nha Trang, where they began providing a wealth of information about the enemy in the area. The Mohawks' quiet engines allowed them to pass over communist formations before they were detected, and their sophisticated cameras brought back clear photographic evidence of their location, movement and strength.

Soon the aggressive American pilots were doing more than just photographing the communists. If friendly artillery or attack aircraft were in the area, the Mohawks would keep the enemy in view while calling in strikes. The Mohawk pilots worked so well as spotters they nearly tripled the number of artillery barrages being directed from the air.



*A JOV-1 Mohawk armed for combat. The aircraft carries a 5-inch Zuni rocket, a four shot 2.75-inch folding fin rocket pod and a 150 gallon fuel tank. (U.S. Army Transportation Museum)*



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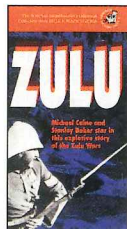
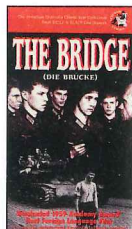
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The Mohawks were so successful the communists began offering the equivalent of a \$1,000 reward to any of their soldiers who could shoot one out of the sky. From that time on the Mohawks' appearance always drew heavy fusillades of anti-aircraft fire, and the pilots had to figure how to defend themselves or risk being driven off their mission.

Under the rules established between the Air Force and Army, aircraft belonging to the latter were allowed to carry machineguns for self-defense. The Mohawk pilots therefore quickly adapted .50 caliber machinegun pods to two of the underwing hard points. Confident they could now adequately defend themselves, they began to extend their action radius. As they flew deeper into Vietnam and farther from South Vietnamese army bases, they also moved out of range of friendly artillery. The Mohawks were still finding the enemy, but more and more the artillery couldn't reach the new targets, and strike planes weren't always immediately available.

The Mohawk pilots then had their planes' remaining underwing hard points fitted with 2.75 inch rocket pods, added a gun sight in the cockpit, and once more set out to find the enemy. The heavily rearmed Mohawks proved an instant success. When they

found enemy units within artillery range they called in the big guns, then also attacked with their own on-board ordnance. If the communists were found outside artillery range, the Mohawks attacked alone, still often inflicting serious damage on the surprised enemy.

The success of their initial strikes motivated the pilots to begin adding all manner of weapons to their arsenal. Minigun pods, 500 lb. bombs and five-inch rockets were loaded to the hard points and used as needed. Ground commanders were ecstatic; they suddenly had "reconnaissance" aircraft that could not only find the enemy and call in support arms, but could also deliver their own attack using their own weapons. The news of these successes soon spread to the Air Force command.

Looked at from the Air Force perspective, the Army was conducting its own ground support missions — a clear violation of the National Security Act. The argument raged all the way from Asia back to the halls of the Pentagon, where the Air Force, backed by the Security document, won the debate. The Mohawks were ordered to disarm; they were again restricted to flying only observation and reconnaissance missions.

*The 23rd Special Warfare Aviation*

*Detachment* ended its tour in Vietnam on 15 March 1963. During 17 months of operations it had flown over 2,000 hours, carried out 785 combat support missions and conducted 27 air strikes. The departing unit turned over its planes to other Army aviation units arriving in country.

The Army continued to utilize the Mohawks in Vietnam. In addition to the photo reconnaissance version, another was developed utilizing infrared sensors and side-looking radar. The Mohawks proved so efficient improved versions still fly with the Army.

Looked at from another perspective, however, we can see the entire argument over arming Army observation aircraft in Vietnam served no good purpose. It was, in fact, just one of a long series of bureaucratic turf fights that interfered with the conduct of sound military strategy in that war. Forbidding certain pilots from attacking the enemy because those flyers belonged to the "wrong" service was folly. Though US involvement in Vietnam would drag on for more than a decade after the Mohawk incident, one aspect of the framework at least partly responsible for the ultimate frustration of that effort — inter-service rivalry — could already be seen to have been firmly established by 1963.

— Timothy J. Kutta

## True Action Adventure...

# The Exploits of Lt. Hellmuth von Mücke

At the outbreak of World War I, German strategists realized Allied naval superiority would make it impossible to hold their isolated Asia-Pacific colonial territories. They decided the limited naval resources they had in that vast area could best be utilized in raiding shipping lanes and destroying communications stations, thereby tying down as many Allied warships as possible for as long as possible. One vessel assigned to that mission was the light cruiser *Emden*. In a period of three months she sank or captured 23 merchant ships, a cruiser and a destroyer, and at one time or other occupied an Allied search-and-destroy force of nearly 80 vessels.

On 9 November 1914, the *Emden* landed a party of 49 men under command of Lt. Hellmuth von Mücke on Direction Island within the Indian Ocean's Cocos Island group. Believing the nearest Allied ship to be over 250 miles away, the commander of the *Em-*

*den* was keen to take the opportunity to destroy the important wireless and cable station located there. But he was forced to abandon the detachment when the Australian heavy cruiser *Sydney* unexpectedly appeared on the horizon. The *Emden* was unable to get up sufficient steam in time to out run the *Sydney*, and in the following action the outgunned and outclassed German vessel ran aground with the loss of 141 officers and men.

From their vantage point on the island, von Mücke and his men observed the fight between the two cruisers; and all knew instantly the *Emden* was up against a superior enemy with heavier guns. Even if she'd been lucky enough to escape, there still would've been no possibility of *Emden's* returning to the island. Eventually some Allied warship was sure to arrive.

Von Mücke saw he had two options. He could entrench and defend the island against the expected enemy land-

ing party, or he could attempt to escape using the small schooner, the *Ayesha*, they'd found moored in the harbor.

Upon inspecting the *Ayesha*, von Mücke decided she represented his best chance to get away and continue the fight against the Allies. He therefore ordered preparations be made to sail. After requisitioning about half the island's total food supply, along with 150 gallons of water and some clothing, the Germans boarded the boat to leave. The island's small staff gave them three cheers in recognition of their good natured and bold behavior.

As it grew dark, the victorious *Sydney* returned to moor off the island. Her captain decided the remaining crew from the *Emden* could wait to be captured the following day. But before dawn the *Ayesha* was well out of sight and into the Indian Ocean with a fresh breeze spanking her sails.

*Ayesha* had been a copra ship, 90 feet long and 25 wide, and was normally manned by a crew of five. The problem of how best to accommodate and feed 50 men was solved by assigning most of them births in the hold, where they made hammocks for themselves out of extra sail and rope and also constructed a makeshift stove for cooking. Drinking water was



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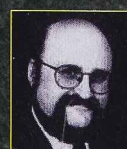
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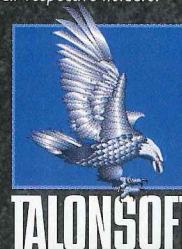
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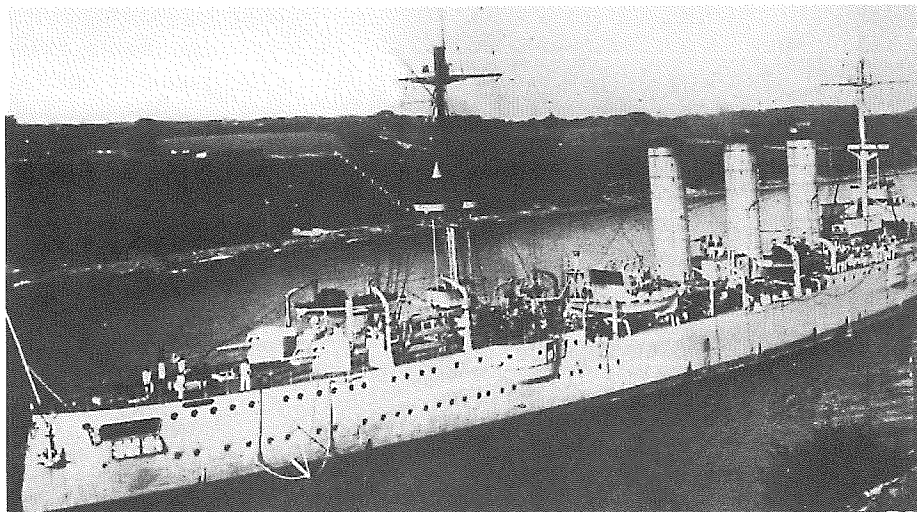
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*The Emden before the war.*

obtained by a sail with a hole cut in it spread across the deck to collect the frequent rain. That, along with the supplies taken on Direction Island, assured the crew were never hungry or thirsty.

Most of the men knew nothing of sailing ships, though von Mücke had spent time training on them when he was a cadet. The few men who came from fishing families proved invaluable in teaching their shipmates about mending and setting sails and rigging, navigating using the stars, and steering by handheld rudder. With the exception of von Mücke, who was 33, all were under 30 years of age.

Von Mücke, suddenly a captain, chose the neutral Dutch port of Padang, some 800 miles away on the south coast of Sumatra, as his initial destination. Armed only with four machineguns, 24 rifles and some pistols, he knew success depended on avoiding all shipping. After surviving a typhoon, a period of being becalmed, and a steamer passing fairly close, the *Ayesha* arrived off Padang on 25 November.

Tense moments ensued when a Dutch destroyer came close to inspect the small vessel, then shadowed her for some time. But eventually the *Ayesha* was allowed to enter the harbor on the 27th. Immediately diplomatic pressure was brought to bear on the Dutch authorities, as both British and Japanese envoys in Padang insisted the Germans be interned. The German consul argued the *Ayesha* was a war prize and therefore now officially a unit of the Kaiser's navy. Any action taken against her by Dutch forces, he warned, would result in serious consequences in Europe.

When the Dutch at Padang got no orders to the contrary from higher up, the *Ayesha* was allowed to reprovision and then sail off again 24 hours later.

Von Mücke also took the opportunity to send messages to the captains of several German ships also in the harbor, in the hope one of them could somehow assist the *Emden's* survivors in getting back to Germany.

On 14 December, while sailing on the course he'd indicated back in Padang that he'd be following, von Mücke spotted the German merchantman *Choisung*. He transferred his crew to the larger vessel. Stripped of her figurehead and wheel, the *Ayesha* was then scuttled to the cheers of the men.

It was no real surprise the *Choisung* was the vessel that answered von Mücke's call for help. Her skipper, Capt. Minkiewitz, was a dedicated German officer and his ship had originally been designated a resupply collier for *Emden*. Only an accidental fire in her coal hold had kept her from an earlier planned rendezvous with the ill-fated cruiser.

Von Mücke's next idea was to steam to German East Africa to link up with the cruiser *Königsberg*. But Minkiewitz advised him that ship was most likely already sunk or had at least been bottled up inside the Rufiji River. His next idea was to take his men to join the German ground force fighting within the African colony. But not knowing the country and having no medical supplies, maps of the interior, guides, or tropical uniforms for the men, that idea, too, had to be given up as impractical. Yet another thought was to sail around the Cape of Good Hope, eventually making their way up the English Channel and into the North Sea. But the possibility of meeting a British warship would be great, and the chance for success slim at best.

Then, discovering from a newspaper aboard the *Choisung* that the Turks had entered the war on the side of Germany, von Mücke finally decided to set course for the Arabian penin-

sula. There he and the men would disembark to travel overland to Turkey, the Balkans and finally back to Germany. Taking on the guise of an Italian ship, the *Choisung* went west, avoiding the popular steamer lanes, and arrived without incident at the Strait of Bab el Mandet, at the head of the Red Sea, on 7 January 1915.

He then chose the commercial city of Hodeida as the landing site, expecting to find a railway operating from there to Constantinople. After disembarking, the *Choisung* was to continue to return over the next few nights, in case the sailors couldn't secure an overland avenue of escape for any reason. After a week the ship would proceed to the still neutral port of Mas-sawa in Italian Somaliland.

After putting ashore a short distance from the city, von Mücke and his men had a tense meeting with a large group of armed Bedouins. Due to the language difficulty, the Germans still had no firm idea who actually controlled the area. But then one of them thought to show the Arabs a coin with the Kaiser's portrait on it, whereupon they happily escorted the sailors to the Turkish-held port. Ordering his men into marching formation, von Mücke unfurled a German flag, ordered present-arms, and marched down the streets singing. Many in the Turkish garrison rushed out to cheer.

After a few days resting, the Germans became keen to continue their journey back to the Fatherland. But it turned out there was no railroad at Hodeida; so the alternatives were a return to the *Choisung* or an overland trek of two months duration to reach one. Choosing the overland option, von Mücke ordered the necessary preparations be made.

After a grueling trip on horses and mules, they reached the town of Sana, the capital of Yemen. By that time, though, 80 percent of the Germans were sick with fever. Advised by the Turkish commander in Sana the next leg of the trip was certain to be even more difficult than that just completed, due to the presence of hostile Bedouins, von Mücke decided to return to Hodeida and risk traveling by sea again.

On 14 March, von Mücke set sail again, this time in two newly purchased sailing boats. His force had by this time grown to 70, after having been reinforced by some German-speaking Arabs who knew how to navigate the tricky coastline. Still, one of the boats struck a reef and sank, taking with it all the spare clothing and medical supplies.

The remaining vessel arrived at the town of Kunfuda, a point about half way up the Arabian peninsula. There



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they met a traveling Turkish official and his wife, who were eager to join the group for the protection it offered. In return the official got them a larger boat. But the next leg of the journey was short, as it was soon discovered from a local merchant the British had set up a blockade nearby and were stopping and searching all shipping. At El Lith the Turk organized a 90 camel caravan, and the group set off overland again on 28 March. One sailor had meanwhile died of typhus and was buried at sea before the boat was abandoned.

On the 31st the caravan was attacked by about 800 Bedouins. Forming a circle with the camels and machineguns, the Germans dug in. Von Mücke refused several offers to surrender, believing he and everyone else

would be massacred once they'd laid down their arms. After three days of fighting, their ammunition was just about exhausted, their water gone and rations reduced to some rice and hardtack. Forty camels had also been killed by that time. At the last minute relief came when the Emir of Mecca, who'd heard about the ongoing battle, sent 70 camelborne soldiers under the personal command of his son to rescue the Germans and bring them into Jidda.

After resting at Jidda the party secretly boarded another boat to attempt a new run up the Red Sea. They soon reached the port town of El Weigh, where they disembarked for a further overland move to the railhead at El Ala. That leg also went by without incident, with the Germans reach-

ing the station to find a special train waiting, along with numerous officials, several bags of mail, newspapers, and crates of wine.

They traveled by train for 17 days to Damascus. There they were issued fresh naval uniforms from the stores of the warship *Breslau*, along with presents, messages of congratulation and various medals. On 25 May, at the rail station of Haidar Pasha, the men stepped off the train to be greeted by Adm. Souchon, commander of the Mediterranean division of the German navy. Von Mücke ordered his men to attention, gave the salute and addressed Souchon: "I report the return of the landing party from the *Emden*: five officers, seven petty officers and 30 men."

— Marc Phillips

## Historical Perspective...

# Grenada's Scrappy Little Army

The US invasion of Grenada in 1983 provided a welcome foreign policy victory for the Reagan Administration, even as the dust settled from the deadly bombing of the Marine barracks in Lebanon. Government and media reports at the time emphasized the involvement of the Cubans on the island and downplayed the Grenadan role. The invasion — Operation Urgent Fury — was officially termed a "rescue mission" to liberate hostage American medical students and free the Grenadan people from communist domination.

But a close look at the fighting that took place reveals a more complex story, and shows the main and deadliest opponent the Americans faced was not the Cubans, but the small Grenadan armed forces.

A Marxist and good friend of Cuba's Fidel Castro, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Grenada's leader early in 1983, was a truly popular politician. While he had attempted to make over Grenada into a communist state with Cuban and Soviet help, he'd been careful not to push his people too far too fast. But that caution then proved his undoing, when his doctrinaire and dour second-in-command, Bernard Coard, became impatient with the incremental pace of change and jealous of Bishop's "cult of personality."

The simmering feud within Grenada's ruling circle erupted in October, when Coard led the more radical elements of the New Jewel Party in a coup that removed Bishop from power, jailing him and his allies on the 13th.

Coard misjudged the people's temper, however, and a few days later, on the 19th, Bishop and his colleagues were freed from prison by a massive crowd of civilians. Coard's faction counterattacked using three armored personnel carriers and troops. Scores of people were killed and Bishop was recaptured. Shortly thereafter, he and seven of his associates were cut down by a firing squad's machinegun in the courtyard of Fort Rupert, in St. George's, the island's capital.

The US Administration was, of course, concerned with the new communist state evolving in the Caribbean. The build up of the Grenadan military and the growing influence of the Cubans bothered many in Washington. Of particular concern was the construction of a 9,000 foot runway near St. Georges. Ostensibly created to boost tourism, the facility had obvious strategic potential, and captured documents later revealed the Soviets and Cubans did indeed have plans for its military use.

Bishop's execution, then, and the revulsion it caused across the Caribbean, gave the United States the opportunity to move to rid the island of its communist regime. An invasion force was quickly gathered.

The Grenadans, well aware of the growing US enmity, had also been considering how best to use their small army to defend their island. Their hope was to hold out long enough for world opinion to come to the rescue, forcing a premature halt to any attack.

The largest part of their armed forces was the People's Militia, several thousand strong. Besides filling six infantry battalions, the militia men and women were also to bolster several of the regular army units. But that approach had to be scrapped when the fighting at the jail and Bishop's execution deflated the regime's popular support. Fewer than 250 militia eventually reported for duty.

Another blow to the Grenadan communists' cause was the generally passive stance adopted by the Cuban construction troops and military advisors. Since Bishop had been a personal friend as well as a political ally of Castro, the Cuban dictator was appalled by his murder. He also foresaw the US was soon thereafter likely to intervene and there was little he could do to stop it. For political reasons Castro couldn't openly abandon a socialist ally state, but he had no stomach for throwing more resources into a lost cause.

The only reinforcement Castro sent was a lone officer to take charge of the Cuban mission on Grenada. He was given orders to "uphold the honor of Cuban arms," but nothing more. The Cuban construction troops and military advisory mission, about 700 troops in all, were ordered to defend their encampment but not to fire unless fired on. So the single largest body of troops on the island were thus put under orders to merely defend themselves and not to cooperate in any defensive schemes put forward by the Grenadans.

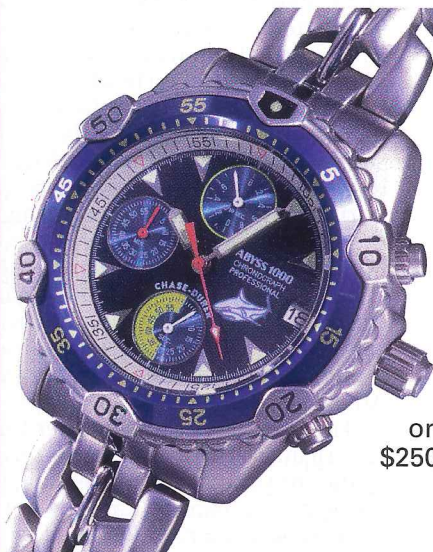
The major combat element of the Grenadan army was the Permanent Battalion, which consisted of four companies and some platoon-sized support elements, totaling 475 men and women. Spread around St. Georges and other sites in small de-



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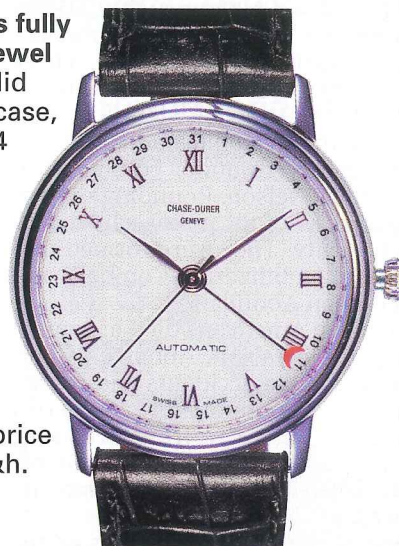
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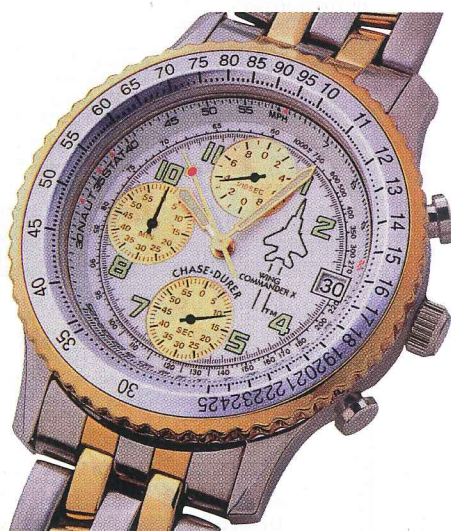
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tachments was the Security Company, under command of Capt. Lester Redhead, who'd played a lead role in Bishop's death. Also manning positions around the town were the regulars of the Anti-Aircraft Company and some militia, under Lt. Cecil Prime. The People's Revolutionary Army Reserve was massed at Fort Frederick, and consisted of the Motorized Company, organized into two platoons with BTR-60 armored personnel carriers and another truck-mounted platoon. There was also the Mobile Company, with yet another three truck-mounted platoons. Both the Mobile and Motorized Companies were under command of Lt. Raeburn Nelson. Rounding out the force were 80 of the militia who did report for duty. They were formed into the Rapid Mobilization Company under Lt. Iman Abdullah.

Nineteen Americans died in combat during the invasion. About half perished in combat accidents and friendly fire incidents, but nearly all the rest were done in by fire from Grenadan defenders. Several of the most notable fights solely involved Grenadan defenders.

One of the initial objectives of the invasion force was the Richmond Hill Prison in the capital. Five UH-60 Blackhawk helicopters were supposed to land there carrying Delta Force com-

mandos whose mission was to liberate the political prisoners being kept inside. Driven off by heavy fire from the anti-aircraft guns sited around the prison, the Blackhawks made a second attempt that resulted in one chopper going down, killing the pilot and wounding 11 other soldiers. The prison wasn't liberated for more than a day.

Another special forces target in the initial assault was Government House, home of British Gov. Gen. Sir Paul Scoon, who was to form the post-invasion government. While the comandos succeeded in reaching him, they were then pinned down by Grenadan fire and unable to leave. It was only after Marines, led by tanks, approached the next day that the siege was broken. One of the elements called in to help the beleaguered SEAL team consisted of a pair of Marine Cobra helicopter gunships. Anti-aircraft fire from the Fort Frederick battery succeeded in downing both of them, killing three of the four crewmen.

A third special forces target was the transmitter station at Beausejour. While the commando team succeeded in capturing their objective, they were soon faced with a counterattack by a scratch force led by Prime and consisting of one BTR-60, and 82mm mortar and a 20 man platoon from the Mo-


bile Company. Prime's men drove off the Americans but didn't kill any.

The decisive fight was at the Point Salinas airfield. Two battalions of Rangers dropped from dangerously low altitude to capture the facility and attack the nearby Cuban encampment. While no Rangers were killed in the initial drop, one later died in the fighting to expand the airhead. Both Grenadan and Cuban troops were in the area, so it's unclear who fired the fatal bullet.

The main Cuban position was in the hills north of the airfield, and it was soon brought under attack by elements of the US 82nd Airborne Division, who'd flown in to reinforce the Rangers. One Marine officer was killed during a night-time reconnaissance of the Cuban lines, and he was the only fatality known for certain to have been caused by those forces. The Cuban camp was finally taken in a violent assault the next day. Sixteen of those defenders were left dead, but no more Americans were killed.

The biggest combat disaster for the Americans came during the afternoon of the first day, when a five-man, jeepborne recon team of Rangers got lost while scouting a road leading from the airfield. They drove into an ambush set by the militia of the Rapid Mobilization Company in which four of the Rangers were killed.


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The largest counterattack launched against the Americans was conducted by a BTR-60 platoon from the Motorized Company. All three vehicles were quickly destroyed by light anti-tank weapons and gunship fire. It was, in the words of one US soldier who observed it, a "valiant, heroic, but stupid move."

By noon of the second day it was clear the Americans had arrived in overwhelming force. The Cubans had surrendered, and soon the still surviving elements of the Grenadan army simply began melting away, trying to blend in among the populace. While the Americans reported occasional sniper fire for days afterward, no more invaders were killed by enemy fire.

The small Grenadan army had managed to kill in action at least eight Americans, wounded scores more and shot down several helicopters. Despite their limited resources, they also managed to launch several counterattacks, including one that temporarily succeeded. Looked at another way, if Saddam Hussein's army had been proportionately as effective in 1991, the Coalition would have suffered tens of thousands of casualties, rather than hundreds, in Operation Desert Storm. And in contrast, though they received most of the press attention, the 700 Cubans on Grenada killed just one or two Americans.

— Seth Owen

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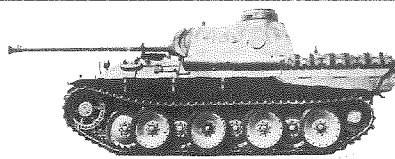
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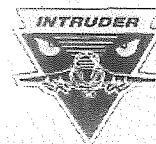
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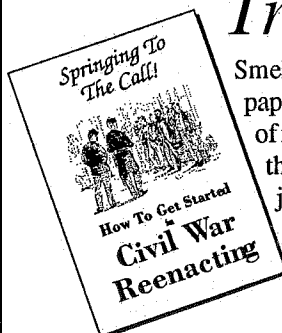


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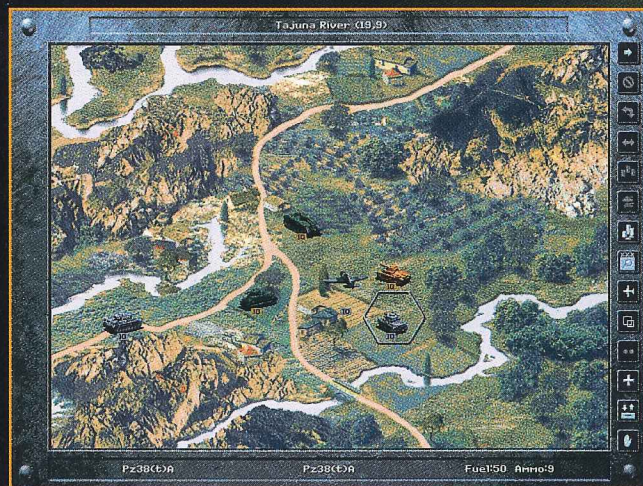
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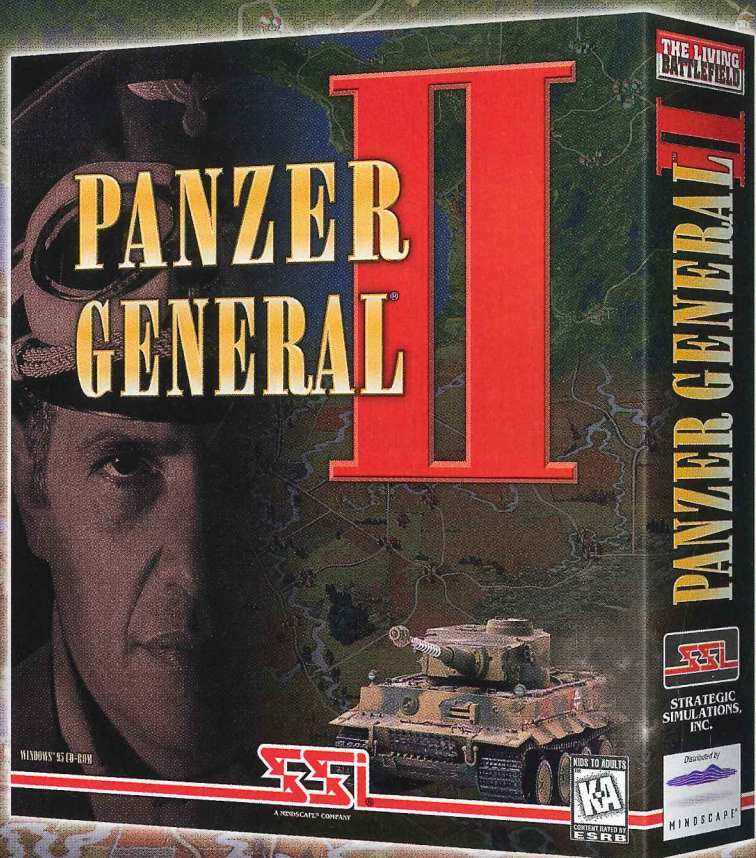
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# The Fall of New France

In 1753 France was the dominant world power. The armies of Louis XIV had mastered Europe, and Bourbons also sat on the thrones of Spain and Naples. The French army was reckoned the finest in the world, and her navy was a serious rival to England's. The French colonial empire stretched from India to the West Indies, and they effectively laid claim to all of North America outside Mexico and a narrow strip on the Atlantic seaboard. A mere 10 years later that entire power structure was no

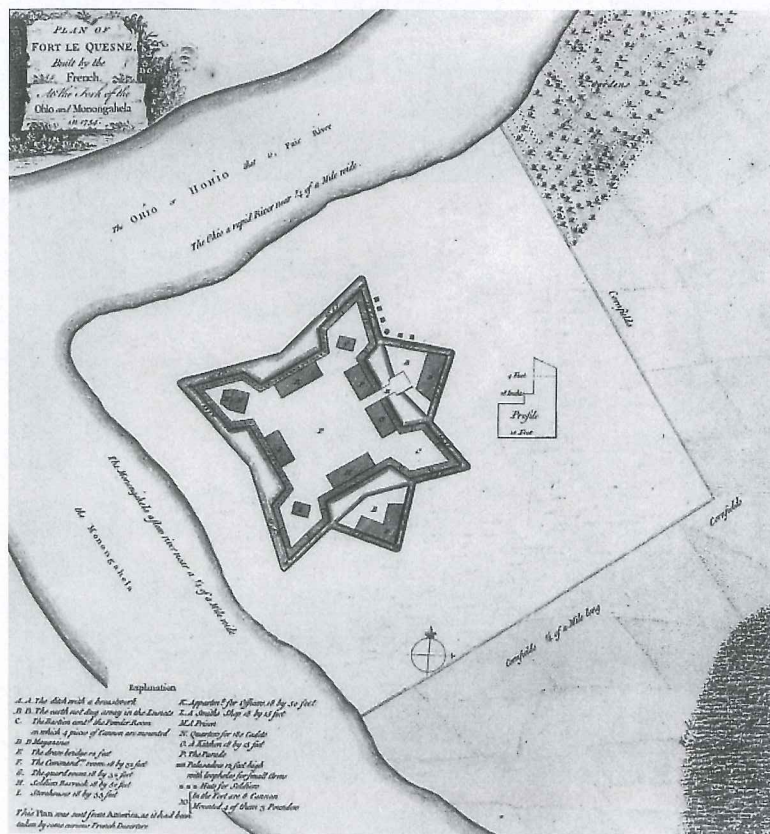
more, with England positioned to become the new super power dominating the next 150 years. That collision with destiny was probably predictable.

For many years Britain had exported her religious dissidents to the colonies, where their enthusiasm was turned toward permanently subduing and settling new lands. France, on the other hand, persecuted dissidents at home, refusing to allow them to emigrate. The populace of France's holdings in North America, dubbed "New France," therefore came to consist mostly of traders, trappers and aristocrats more interested in exploiting the resources of the land for profit, hoping to return to Europe enriched.

The English North American colonies began to grow with a birth rate that astounded everyone. New France's population hardly rose at all. Those demographics alone would probably have been enough to make all-out conflict inevitable. In fact, the major circumstance preventing decisive English expansion taking place sooner than it did was, again, the fact most of her settlers were dissidents: they had trouble cooperating among themselves and with the mother country.

The increasing pressure of English expansion was not lost on the French at the time. When the Marquis Duquesne became governor of Canada in 1752, he realized the first thing he needed to do was secure the colony's borders. The following spring he sent a 1,500 man expedition to begin constructing a chain of forts along the Ohio River to connect Quebec with the upper reaches of the Louisiana colony on the Mississippi. That year the first two forts in the chain were founded: Presque Isle, on the site of modern day Erie, Pennsylvania; and Fort Le Boeuf, on the upper Allegheny River.

For their part, the English didn't acknowledge French claims to the west. London's claims were based on those of the Iroquois, who'd taken the Ohio region by conquest prior to the arrival of any Europeans. The French had recognized those Indians as British subjects in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, and



24



the British had in turn purchased the Iroquois' rights to the area in the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster.

But all that was really only the theoretical business of map makers until English settlers began pushing into and across the Appalachian Mountains. In 1749 the Virginia-based Ohio Company built Fort Cumberland and began to trade with the western tribes. By 1752 they'd become influential enough to call a council of those tribes at Logstown, near modern Pittsburgh, to have them reaffirm the purchase made in the 1744 treaty. Obviously, the plans of the Ohio Company were in conflict with those of the French.

In October 1753, 21-year-old George Washington was sent with a small party to deliver a letter from Virginia Gov. Robert Dinwiddie in which he demanded the French abandon their new posts. The demand was refused, prompting Dinwiddie to dispatch Washington again, this time with 120 militia, to protect the workmen building a fort at the Forks of the Ohio (modern Pittsburgh). Washington encountered the workmen enroute, after they'd been preemptively evicted from the Forks on 17 April. He determined to push forward, ambushing a French advance party near modern Uniontown on 28 May.

The French had meanwhile also begun construction of Fort Duquesne. When word got back to the commanding officer there, Capt. Claude Pecaudy de Contrecoeur, he sent a party of 700 French and Canadians, along with an unknown number of Indian allies, to defeat the threat from Virginia. Washington fled before the superior force until his men became so exhausted they could retreat no farther. He then hurriedly strengthened a makeshift log stockade, Fort Necessity, at Great Meadows, to make his stand.

The French attacked immediately. They surrounded the stockade and used two nearby hills as vantage points from which to keep up continuous fire for nine hours. Nearly out of ammunition, Washington surrendered and was allowed to march back to Virginia under the "honors of war."

Prior to Washington's defeat, the colony of Virginia had in effect been fighting France alone. Even Pennsylvania and New York had refused to recognize French control of the Ohio Valley represented a threat. But the young officer's defeat put a new light on Virginia's efforts; a few other colonies agreed to begin contributing funds for their common defense. At the same time, Dinwiddie began sending repeated appeals to England for arms and men. Tensions were further raised when Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts accused (incorrectly) the French of making expansive moves in his direction.

In his speech opening Parliament in the fall of 1754, British King George II called on the ministers to act to "protect his possessions." Shortly thereafter Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock was dispatched from Ireland to Virginia with the 44th and 48th Regiments of Foot.

News of that reinforcement soon made its way to Versailles, moving the French government, while still reaffirming their peaceful intentions, to prepare a counter expedition. Six battalions under the German veteran Baron Dieskau were ordered to board ships at Brest and Rochefort. The British in turn dispatched 11 ships-of-the-line to intercept them. The French and Indian War (called the Seven Years War in Europe) had its broader beginning, then, when those ships engaged off Newfoundland and three French vessels carrying eight companies were captured.

As soon as Braddock arrived in North America, he convened a council at Alexandria, Virginia, to lay out

his four-fold plan of attack. His men, together with Washington's, would again march from Fort Cumberland to the Forks of the Ohio. The 50th and 51st Regiments, reconstituted from the last war and under command of Gov. Shirley, would move on Fort Niagara from the Albany area, while provincials gathered from New York, New Jersey and New England, led by William Johnson, were to press north to take Crown Point. Last, all three regiments of regulars garrisoning Nova Scotia, after being reinforced by Massachusetts provincials, would seize Fort Beausejour, thereby securing Acadia.

No official declarations of war had yet been exchanged between Paris and London. The pretext for these actions — all being conducted while the two mother nations were still technically at peace — was that all these French posts were on British soil, even though they'd been occupied by Frenchmen for many years.

## Braddock's Plan in Action

Braddock had little use for Washington's Virginians and none at all for Indian allies. His redcoats cut





a road through the wilderness for all the heavy baggage they were accustomed to taking on campaign in Europe. They nearly made it to Fort Duquesne; but on 9 July, shortly after crossing the Monongehela River, they were blocked across their path by 250 French and Canadians while some 650 Indians deployed along their flanks in the surrounding woods.

Lt. Col. Thomas Gage led Braddock's advance party, quickly forming them into line. Several of their volleys routed the Canadians, with their French commander Capt. Daniel Beaujeu struck dead. At the same time, Braddock's main body deployed into com-

bat formation, but the savages they faced would not fight like civilized men. Individual warriors fired from all sides while hiding behind trees and bushes. The redcoats could see no enemy against which to direct their volleys.

Gage's men moved back to support the main body, where soon the entire force fell into panic. Only the despised Virginians dispersed from the mass to lay down a covering fire that prevented complete annihilation. The few redcoats who attempted to copy the Americans' tactics were beaten back into line by their officers' swords.

## *The Earlier Colonial Wars*

American students have long been told their country's military history began on Lexington Green in 1775. But the colonists who resisted tyranny that year didn't think of themselves as having begun something at that time. Many had fought the French 15 years before; some had fought alongside the British at Havana in 1762; a few had been at Louisbourg in 1745, and all of them had been told stories since childhood about how "Americans" had succeeded in wars in which "British" efforts had failed.

And it was not only New Englanders who'd taken part in notable military exploits prior to 1775. Georgia and South Carolina men could recall their attempt on St. Augustine made in 1740. And some 3,500 men from several of the colonies, including George Washington's half-brother Lawrence, had served in William Gooch's "American Regiment" that took part in the assault on Cartagena in 1741.

Unless we understand there was an organized, unique American military tradition already in place well before 1775, it's impossible to comprehend that generation's willingness to confront their era's super power, Great Britain. The following summaries describe the significant military operations undertaken by "Americans" prior to the political birth of the United States of America.

### *The Thirty Years War (1618-48)*

Not too many Europeans had settled in North America by the 1620s, and most of those who had were more concerned with survival than military strategy. It's interesting to note, though, the British did temporarily capture Quebec in 1629, and that same year also deported a settlement of Jesuits from Port Royal, Acadia. Much later bloodshed would have been averted had they retained those gains.

### *King William's War (1689-97)*

Following the Glorious Revolution in England, the new Protestant sovereign, William of Orange, fought the first of many conflicts with France when that nation's Catholic King Louis XIV supported ousted King James' attempt to regain the English throne. Known as the War of the League of Augsburg in Europe, in America the conflict began when the governor of New France, Count Frontenac, was ordered to expel the English from New York. But military operations were limited because he had only 750 soldiers in all of Quebec. He managed to launch border raids into Maine, New Hampshire and New York, and the Dutch settlement at Schenectady suffered but survived.

In 1690 the English colonists in New York and Connecticut gathered a force of 800 militia at Albany to march on Quebec. They were joined by the Iroquois, who themselves had nearly succeeded two years earlier in a single handed attempt to destroy all French outposts around Montreal. The expedition was defeated not by the French, but by smallpox.

Meanwhile Gov. Sir William Phips of Massachusetts planned his own strike for Protestantism. After determining his

colony couldn't muster a seaborne attack directly against Quebec, he decided to try to capture Acadia instead. On 11 May 1690 he put ashore 500 men at Port Royal, Acadia, and soon thereafter accepted the surrender of that entire colony. Thrilled by the easy triumph and undeterred by the lack of British support, Phips returned to Boston and raised 2,200 more men for an assault on Quebec.

They reached the area of Quebec City in mid-October, and were successful in their initial landing downstream, getting as far as the St. Charles River. Unfortunately Phips' vessels engaged the guns of the French fortress at extreme range, shooting off most of their ammunition to no effect. Consequently the expedition was forced to withdraw to Boston.

The rest of the war in America degenerated into a series of inconsequential border raids, since neither side had the resources at hand to launch any major efforts. The most notable event of the period was the French destruction of Fort William Henry (at Pemaquid) in 1696, which resulted in the depopulation of the Maine frontier.

As was often the case in the colonial wars, the gains the Americans made on their battlefields were later restored to the French at the peace table.

### *Queen Anne's War (1702-13)*

The administrators of New France took advantage of the peace after King William's War to reorganize their colony's militia. All able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 60 were required to train and serve. Thus, though the English colonies' total population outnumbered that of the French by 20:1, the English colonists remained mostly untrained farmers, relying on volunteer enthusiasm to fill out their units upon the outbreak of hostilities. Further, the excellent French colonial militia was reinforced by the *Compagnies Franches de la Marine* beginning in 1683. They were originally French regular troops who volunteered for colonial service, settled there, and in so doing became the hard core for the forces of Canada, Acadia and Louisiana.

The advent of this war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe, brought a resumption of frontier raiding into New York and New England. The most notable was the Deerfield Massacre of 1704. That outrage motivated New York and Connecticut to raise a force of 1,500 at Albany to strike at Montreal via Lake Champlain. The New Englanders raised another 1,200 men at Boston to join a promised five British regiments supposedly being sent for a decisive advance to Quebec. Those British were expected in May, but it wasn't until October word finally came the units had been diverted to Portugal at the last minute. Hoping to salvage something, the Americans asked the few British frigates on hand to support them in recapturing Port Royal, but were refused.

The next year the British again promised to send help, specifically 500 men and four frigates to arrive by March. But the colonists' enthusiasm had meanwhile waned, and



Two-thirds of the British soldiers and 80 percent of their officers fell that day. Braddock himself was mortally wounded just as he finally ordered a full retreat. By luck or providence, Washington lost three horses but came through unharmed. With his Virginians as the core, he held all the survivors together. Braddock's dying words were to curse his redcoats and praise the "Blues" of Virginia.

With Braddock's death, command of the expedition fell to Col. Thomas Dunbar, who'd been with the rearguard until then. He saw fit to burn all the wagons and supplies and make haste back to civilization.

when 400 Royal Marines and five frigates finally appeared in Boston harbor in July 1710, there were no colonial units there to join them. But a 1,500 man militia unit was assembled over the next two months, and on 25 September the combined force arrived at Port Royal. The French governor there quickly decided resistance by his 250 man garrison was futile and accepted the honors of war. French Acadia was no more, and Port Royal was renamed Annapolis.

The new year saw a Tory government come to power in Britain. Since they couldn't hope to match the victories the Duke of Marlborough had recently won in Europe for the Whigs, they decided to do something unique: evict the French completely from Canada. Seven regiments of foot and 600 marines under Adm. Sir Hovendon Walker arrived in Boston in 71 ships, where they were joined by 1,500 colonial militia.

On 22 August, because of the fog shrouding the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the good admiral confused the north shore with the south and thereby ordered his ships to sail directly into a leeward coast. Over 1,000 perished when the ships hit the rocks. Despite still having 11,000 effectives, Walker lost his nerve and sailed for home. For some still unexplained reason, Walker's flagship exploded shortly after he put in at Spithead and went ashore.

With that debacle the Tories became eager to end hostilities. The resultant Treaty of Utrecht brought peace to the colonies for 31 years.

### *The War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-43)*

Part of the War of the Austrian Succession, as it was called in Europe, this was the only imperial war to directly involve the southern colonies, and the only one besides the American Revolution fought between Britain and Spain in North America. In Georgia, when war broke out, Gov. James Oglethorpe raised 2,000 men and invaded Florida. His force included the 42nd Regiment, the first regular army regiment raised in America, as well as a company of Scottish Highlanders. His siege of St. Augustine in 1740 failed when Spanish reinforcements arrived there from Havana. But a larger Spanish invasion was in turn foiled three years later when Oglethorpe convinced their commander of the imminent arrival of a non-existent British fleet.

More consequential in the long run was the fate of the *American Foot*, a 3,500 man regiment formed from men of 11 of the colonies to assist a planned British attempt on Cartagena. They were first shipped to Jamaica, where they found no tents, provisions or pay. Two-thirds were soon impressed into the Royal Navy. The rest were issued scaling ladders instead of weapons, and the British command registered disgust when they ran under fire. Perhaps 400 survived to take their disillusionment home with them, including Lawrence Washington, half-brother of the more famous George.

### *King George's War (1744-1748)*

The French in Canada again took advantage of the peace to improve their strategic situation, this time by building

They marched to Philadelphia, going into "winter" quarters in August.

The other three operations had meanwhile also gone ahead. Most successful was Lt. Col. Robert Monckton's force in Acadia, which captured Fort Beauséjour nearly bloodlessly when a lucky shot from one of their supporting vessels' cannon killed all the French officers while they were at the breakfast table.

That was the only real British offensive success of the year, and was itself marred in that it set in motion a tragic episode. That is, because his provincial troops had only enlisted for a year, Nova Scotia Gov.

the great fortress of Louisbourg on Isle Royale. The new fortress was initially garrisoned by eight companies of marines and one 300 man company of the *Régiment Suisse de Karrer*. When war came again, the French colony received the word before the English and promptly invaded Nova Scotia. Ninety-four regulars and 400 Micmac Indians attacked Annapolis, but were defeated by the timely arrival of reinforcements from Boston.

To achieve retribution, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts raised 4,200 men from the New England colonies. William Pepperrel was then three times commissioned a lieutenant general by Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. Aid was then also requested of Commodore Peter Warren of the Royal Navy, commanding a three ship squadron off Antigua. At first he refused to come, but arrived in Boston anyway after receiving instructions from England to protect the New England fisheries.

Still lacking sufficient cannon to support a direct assault on Louisbourg, the provincial officers proposed capturing the fortress' detached Grand Battery, then using those guns against the rest of the French position. They even took along a supply of cannon balls sized to be used by the cannon they expected to capture. The entire force set sail on 24 March 1745.

Fortunately for the Americans, the French at Louisbourg were not in good condition. The marines had in fact mutinied the previous December, due to poor living conditions, and they were in no shape to fight when the New Englanders arrived. The plan to seize the Grand Battery should really not have succeeded, but it did when the already demoralized French within it fled as soon as the invaders set ablaze a storehouse nearby. Col. William Vaughn quickly moved in, and with 13 men held the Grand Battery with muskets alone against a French counterattack.

Seth Pomeroy was placed in charge of the effort to restore the cannon to working order, and one day later those guns were turned against the other parts of the French position. The greatest fortress in North America then withstood a mere three week siege, whereupon the French asked for terms.

Shirley and Pepperrel were rewarded by being given authorization to recruit two regular regiments, the 50th and 51st, entirely in America, to garrison their new conquest. Eight British regiments were promised to join them there to make an eventual assault on Quebec but, as the colonists had by that time come to expect, they failed to appear.

The French were not content to accept the loss of their great fort. So on 20 June 1746 some 6,000 men were sent from France to recapture it. Struck by Atlantic storms and by typhus enroute, the force was decimated before it even reached North America. A second expedition was caught and destroyed in mid-Atlantic by the Royal Navy the following year. But what French generals and admirals could not achieve in the field, British diplomats gave them: Louisbourg was returned to the French in the Treaty of Aux-la-Chapelle in 1748.



## British Failures

1754-1758

- Braddock's road
- British advance
- - - British retreat
- x Battle site
- British fort
- French fort



Charles Lawrence didn't believe his regulars were sufficient in number to control the hostile populace while also blocking any French attempt to reoccupy Acadia. So the peaceful Acadians, who'd actually refused to take up arms against the English invaders, were forcibly deported from the area in November and December 1755. Few ever saw their homes again. Many moved to Louisiana, where they formed the basis of today's "Cajun" (from "Acadian") population.

Gov. Shirley got as far as Oswego when he realized any further move he made toward Fort Niagara could easily be countered by a threat to his rear from Fort Frontenac. He therefore decided to stop, dig in and move no farther.

Last, while Johnson gathered his force of provincials on the Hudson to move on Crown Point, a copy of Braddock's overall plan had fallen into French hands at the Battle of the Monongehela. The documents were conveyed to Baron Dieskau, who saw no sense in waiting to be attacked. He hastily moved with the *Languedoc* and *La Reine Regiments*, plus some Canadians and Indians, to intercept Johnson's invasion. Johnson had meanwhile halted at Lake George to construct a fort.

At that moment Dieskau had about 1,500 men on hand, while Johnson had some 2,500 effectives. For reasons unknown, Johnson sent 1,000 of them forward under Col. Ephraim Williams. That force blundered ahead without scouts, marched directly into Dieskau's regulars and routed after receiving one volley. The French followed in hot pursuit, but were delayed by some Mohawks and New Englanders who formed an *ad hoc* rear-guard.

Hearing the sound of combat nearby, the rest of Johnson's men hastily constructed a breastwork of logs, wagons and bateau. Dieskau's pursuit continued directly into that position, when he found he

couldn't hold back his Canadians and Indians. He bravely led his regulars in a futile frontal assault. Falling wounded, the German was captured by Seth Pomeroy, who'd taken over command of what was left of Williams' force.

Thus in 1755 little was accomplished while both sides lost their senior commanders. True, the British had captured Fort Beausejour and began the ethnic cleansing of Acadia. The French, though, had repulsed three other offensives, decisively crushing the major one, and had also encouraged the Indians under their influence to begin again the savage frontier raids that characterized all the colonial wars. In Europe the French had taken Minorca, and fighting had also erupted in India.

Both sides regrouped and sought allies. England welcomed Frederick the Great's pledge to defend George II's other kingdom, Hanover, against the French on the continent. But France's allies, Austria and Russia, had meanwhile promised to invade Prussia. Thus the American war would go on, but now transformed to become part of a world-wide conflict. The obvious became official when England issued a declaration of war against France on 18 May 1756.

## 1756

The British, before doing anything further in North America, had first to deal with an embarrassing matter of protocol. Shirley, who'd become at Braddock's death commander-in-chief of all British forces in the theater, couldn't be left in that position. Official policy was that even the lowest ranking regular British officer was considered to outrank even the highest provincial officer — an attitude that rankled the provincials.

Further, to confuse the paper trail and thereby block the evolution of any disturbing precedent in such matters, an elaborate and round about scheme was set in motion to relieve Shirley. Col. Daniel Webb was sent to order Shirley back to London. Maj. Gen. James Abercromby then arrived in June to relieve Webb. But not until July did the Earl of Loudon finally land to announce he was the official new commander-in-chief. Naturally the whole overwrought process impeded planning for operations in 1756. Loudon contented himself with starting to raise the forces needed for a naval assault on Quebec to be conducted the following year.

The French, of course, also needed to recreate their command structure. They made an excellent choice in Maj. Gen. Louis Joseph, the Marquis de Montcalm-Gozon de Saint-Veran, a 44-year-old veteran of fighting in Bohemia and Italy. With him came two superb subordinates: Brig. Francois Gaston de Levis and Col. Francois Charles de Bourslamaque. And with them all came two more regiments of regulars, the *La Sarre* and *Royal Roussillon*. They arrived in the St. Lawrence in May, just as the ice was breaking.

The French were thus poised to take the offensive. Levis was sent to take command of the recently completed Fort Carillon (known to the English as Ticonderoga). Montcalm went to Fort Frontenac, then on 4 August moved on Fort Oswego with the *La Sarre*, *Guinee* and *Bearn Regiments* supported by some Canadians and Indians. During the night of the 19th he established a battery of 20 cannon overlooking the position. As dawn broke he swept the British entrenchments with grape and roundshot. The British surrendered, yielding 1,600 prisoners in one stroke. Montcalm's Indians clamored for blood, but were satisfied when Oswego's rum stores were opened to



Brig. Gen. Edward Braddock.



them instead. Having eliminated the threat to his communications with the west, Montcalm was free to concentrate his whole force at Carillon.

The English had suffered a defeat in America, and their forces in Hanover under the Duke of Cumberland fared no better. The resultant political clamor brought William Pitt to power in December 1756; but he was opposed by the king and the Whigs, and his government fell the following April. For 11 weeks in the turmoil of a world war, England was without a government. The British remained disorganized through 1757.

But Pitt was in office long enough to have a major impact on Britain's shortage of troops. For years the British had feared the Scottish Highlanders, who'd rebelled against the Hanoverians in favor of the Stuarts in 1745. But those men were fierce fighters and could be relied upon in overseas service. Pitt therefore raised the first two regiments of Highlanders, ordering them to America.

## 1757

The campaign of 1757 began early. British Fort William Henry, on Lake George, was garrisoned primarily by Irish troops. The French governor of Quebec, Pierre de Vaudreuil, was jealous of Montcalm's success, so he sent his brother Rigaud at the head of a force of 1,600 Canadians to surprise the fort on St. Patrick's Day. But they failed because a provincial force of Rangers, also at the fort, remained sober. The French therefore withdrew without pressing the assault.

Loudon, meanwhile, still wanted to assault Quebec in 1757, but had come to realize to do that he'd first have to capture Louisbourg. He gathered his forces at Halifax, but expected reinforcements from England were delayed by the government crisis going on there. That allowed a French fleet of 22 ships-of-the-line under Adm. Dubois de La Motte to reach Louisbourg first, bringing with them the *Cambis* and *Volontaires Etrangeres Regiments* to reinforce the *Artois* and *Bourgoyne Regiments* already there. By the time the British expedition was finally ready in August, their commanding Adm. Francis Holbourne had to admit the French had a commanding naval superiority in the area. Loudon had to abandon his goal and sail with his troops back to New York. Holbourne was less fortunate; his fleet was caught in a hurricane on the way back to Europe.

Montcalm then took advantage of the absence of Loudon's men to lead a more impressive expedition back to Fort William Henry that same month. To do that he'd concentrated the *La Reine*, *La Sarre*, *Royal Roussillon*, *Languedoc*, *Guyenne* and *Bearn Regiments*, further supplementing them with a force of 1,600 Canadians and Indians. British Maj. Gen. Daniel Webb had been left at William Henry to defend New York. But on 2 August, when he learned Montcalm was only 16 miles away, he decided retreat to Fort Edward was the prudent course. At the same time he called on all colonial governors to rush him reinforcements.

That left Col. George Munro and his *35th Regiment* at Fort William Henry, with a mere 1,100 men fit for duty. They offered a gallant defense until 9 August, when Montcalm delivered a captured letter that had been intercepted from Webb on its way to Munro. The letter explained there would be no reinforcements sent until the colonies had raised more units. That demoralized the provincials in William Henry, who declared they were going home. Munro capitulated

and was granted the honors of war by Montcalm.

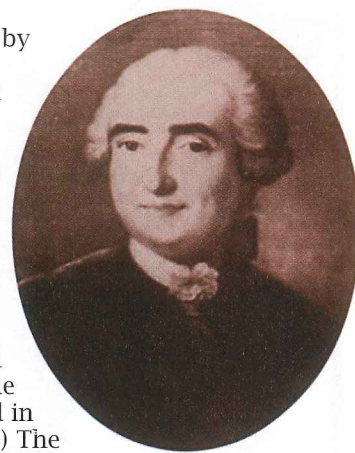
Disarmed, and refused protection by the Canadians sent to escort them, the retreating column was first plundered of its baggage by the French-allied Indians. Captured British rum soon overcame their will to obey Montcalm's orders to let the British pass. The Indians first began snatching at the clothing and weapons of the soldiers, then also began grabbing and kidnapping individual women and children from the column. (This episode dramatically but incorrectly portrayed in the recent film, *Last of the Mohicans*.) The British column began to lose cohesion, scattering into another force of Canadians who also refused to protect them.

Montcalm was not able to completely reestablish order until the next day, when, to his credit, he managed to recover and free about half those who'd been seized by the rampaging Indians. Under strong French guard this time, the reduced British column set out again for Fort Edward on the 15th.

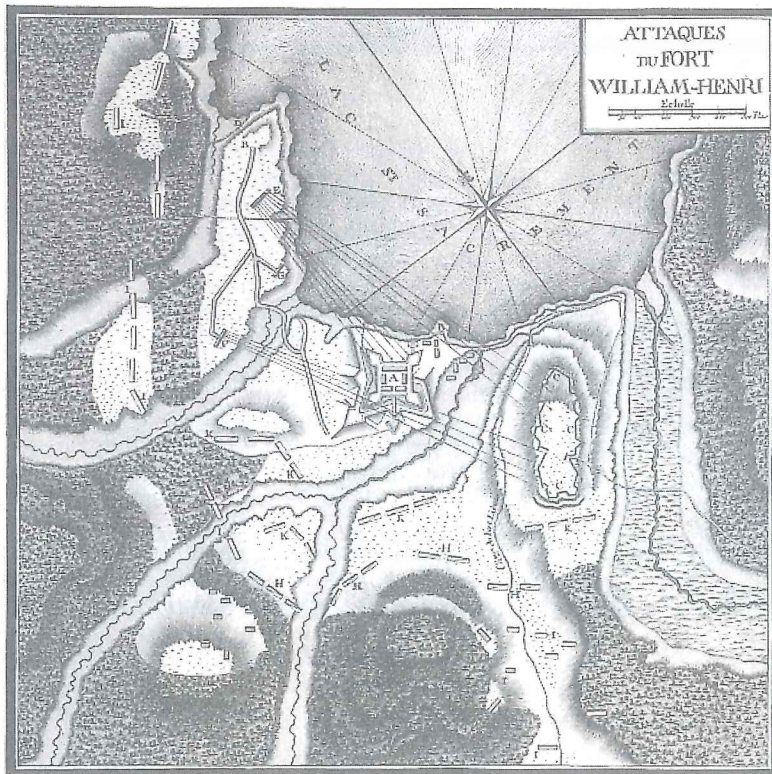
## 1758

The French made ambitious plans for 1758. Montcalm planned to capture Fort Edward while Levis sought to rally the Iroquois to major new efforts. Then they'd jointly close in on Albany.

But the English had finally resolved their leadership crisis. Pitt was firmly in charge in London and was resolved to achieve in the colonies the victory over France that eluded him in Europe. He recalled the incompetent Loudon, replacing him with Gen. Abercromby. He brought Jeffrey Amherst from Germany, promoted him from colonel to major general,

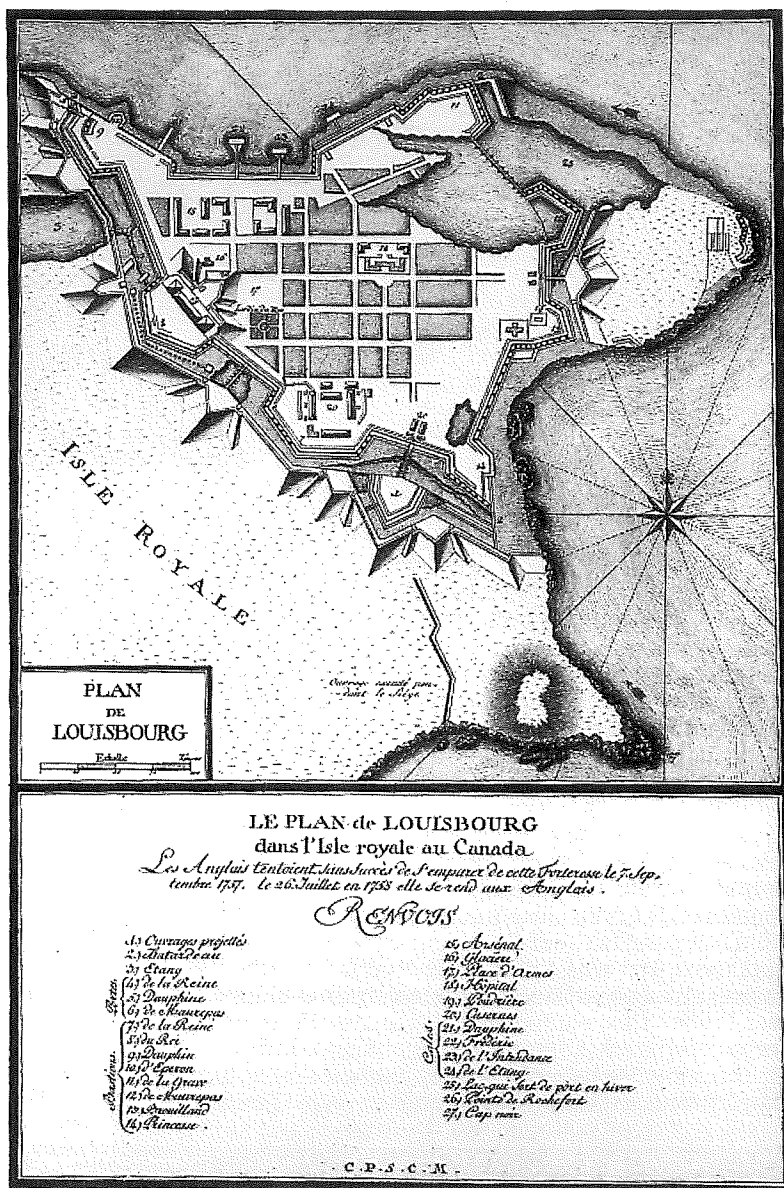


Gen. Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon.



A French map of the attack on Fort William Henry.





Plan of the fortress of Louisbourg.

and put him in charge of a new, enlarged Louisbourg expedition. Under him he put a young brigadier, James Wolfe, who'd shown promise in the previous year's amphibious assault on Rochefort. He also dispatched another competent brigadier, John Forbes, to lead a third expedition to the Forks of the Ohio, where the entire war had begun. And finally, he got the Royal Navy prepared for combat much earlier than in previous years.

Before winter was over, two fleets had put to sea. One, under Adm. Osborn, was to blockade French Adm. de la Clue's Toulon squadron at the Straits of Gibraltar to prevent their moving to Brest or Canada. The second, under Adm. Edward Boscawen, would support the Louisbourg expedition. A third fleet, under Sir Edward Hawke, intercepted a French squadron sailing from Rochefort that was attempting to carry more troops to New France. During the coming year of war, then, the one that would prove decisive, it was the British and not the French who would hold the initiative.

Amherst and Boscawen arrived off Louisbourg on 2 June. They had 11,000 British regulars and 500 New England Rangers to fight a mere 2,900 French. Thus a great portion of the might of the entire British Empire was brought to bear against a single fortress.

Still, the French managed to hold out until 26 July before surrendering. Their stand was long enough to ensure Amherst could neither push forward to Quebec that year nor reinforce other operations to the south in time to make a difference.

Meanwhile, Abercromby had gathered 6,300 regulars and 9,000 provincials, marching them back to Lake George. The sheer size of the force compelled Montcalm to abandon his own planned offensive. Brigadier Lord Augustus Howe was to lead the advance with his 55th Regiment, accompanied by the 27th, 42nd, 44th, 46th, 60th and 80th Regiments, while two divisions of provincials were deployed to guard the flanks. Montcalm had only eight battalions to oppose them.

Howe was killed in action on 6 July, as his advance guard was routing a French reconnaissance force. The British advance then continued with only Abercromby and his unimaginative new second-in-command, Col. Thomas Gage, to lead.

For a time Montcalm was unsure where to make a stand, finally deciding to fall back into the prepared works at Carillon. At that moment Abercromby could probably have bloodlessly defeated the French using either of two strategies. He could have simply bombarded their position from Mount Defiance, as Burgoyne would do in 1777, thereby rendering it untenable. Or he could have detached a force to take Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point), thereby blocking Montcalm's resupply from Canada at the narrows of Lake Champlain.

Instead, on 8 July Abercromby ordered his regulars to take the French fortifications with the bayonet. Six times they moved forward and six times they were driven back. Finally, at 7:00 p.m., further efforts were called off. The provincials and Rangers then maintained a cover fire while the regulars carried off their wounded. Some 1,600 British fell as casualties that day, the bloodiest battle of the war. During the night the entire force withdrew to Fort Edward.

But though Abercromby and his regulars had failed, by their effort they'd succeeded in creating opportunity elsewhere. That is, Montcalm had been compelled to concentrate his entire force of regulars at Lake Champlain; but Abercromby, under pressure to do so from Howe, had detached 3,000 provincials under Lt. Col. John Bradstreet to make an attempt on Fort Frontenac. On 26 August they arrived at that French bastion to find it defended by a mere 110 men. The fort surrendered the next day, and with that New France had effectively been cut in two.

The third prong of Pitt's 1758 offensive also moved forward, deliberately and inexorably. By July, 1,700 regulars of the 60th and 70th Regiments had gathered in Pennsylvania along with 5,000 provincials. They began cutting a new road across that colony's interior wilderness, and by 3 September had gotten half way to Fort Duquesne, where they paused to construct Fort Ligonier. For a time they considered wintering at the new fort, but then pushed on instead. Maj. James Grant led an advance party of 840 as far as the hill, which now bears his name, overlooking the French fort. But he then gave up the element of surprise by having his Highlanders beat their drums to sound reveille, and he was in turn soon ambushed by a mixed force of Canadians and Indians.

Still, the main British body came on. On 24 November, as they reached a point one day away from Fort Duquesne, they heard a tremendous explosion. The French commander, having just found out he'd been



effectively cut off from the rest of Canada by Braddock's seizure of Fort Frontenac, had decided there was no point in trying to make a stand. Abandoned by his erstwhile Indian allies, he blew up the supplies at Fort Duquesne and moved back to Presque Isle. Braddock had been avenged.

Forbes' victorious force threw up a temporary stockade that was replaced the following year by Fort Pitt, named for the prime minister. But the rigors of the campaign ultimately proved too much for Forbes; he died the following March in Philadelphia.

Following the fall of Louisbourg, Amherst sailed for Boston with six regiments, intending to reinforce Abercromby at Lake George. But when he finally arrived the season was too advanced for further campaigning that year.

## 1759

The new year, 1759, was another critical one. For the first time Britain was to achieve decisive naval superiority over the French. That happened as a result of three battles fought in Europe.

First, George Rodney and his fleet entered Le Havre in July and over a period of 52 hours destroyed the transports the French had been assembling there to threaten invasion of England. Second, Boscawen engaged de la Clue's squadron as it attempted to sail through the Straits of Gibraltar at night. The British captured three French ships-of-the-line, sank two others and chased the remaining seven into Cadiz harbor. Finally, and decisively, in November at Quiberon

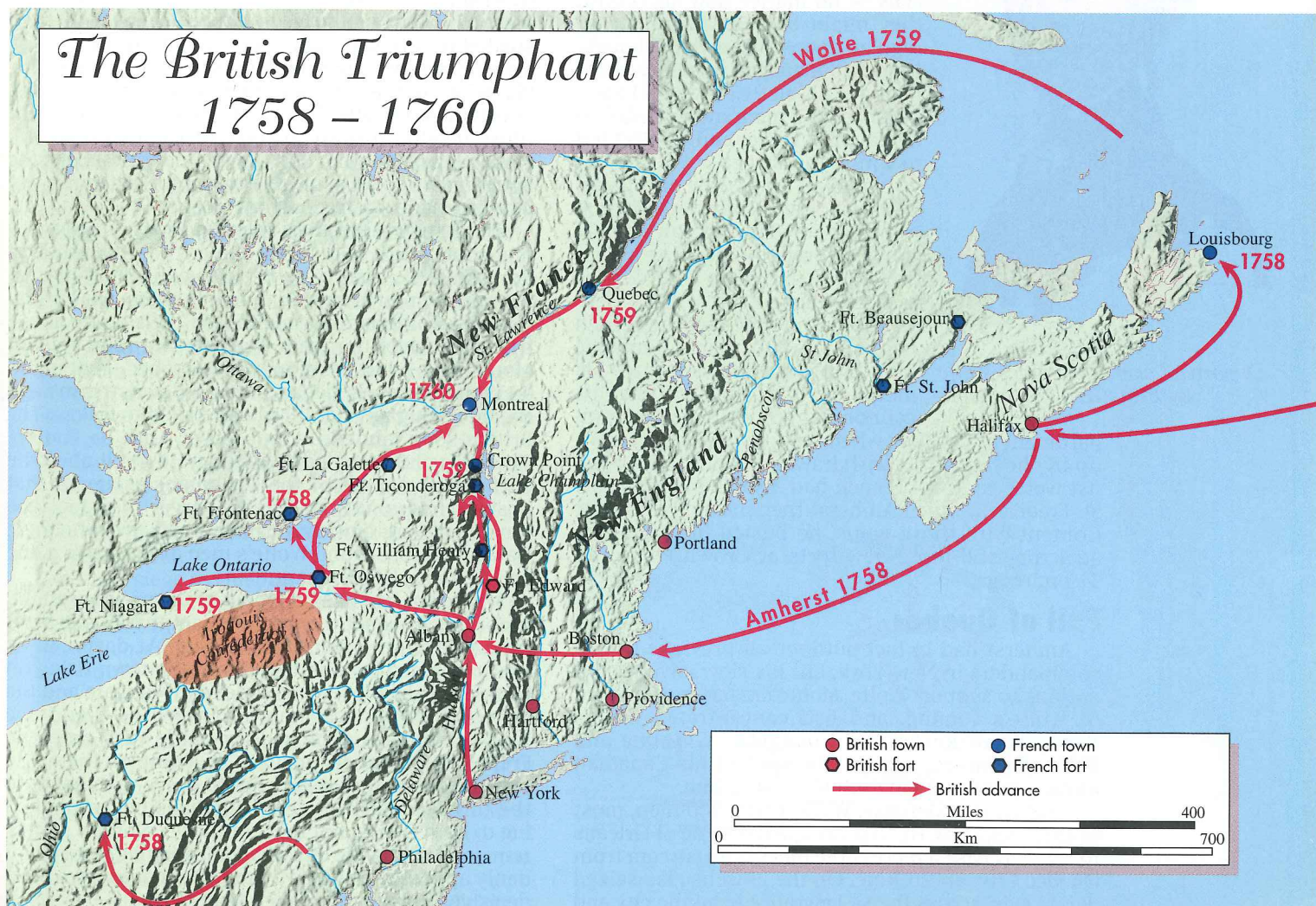
Bay, Adm. Hawke chased the Brest squadron onto a lee shore in a storm, thus breaking the power of the French navy for the rest of the war. It was a victory more decisive than Trafalgar; only three of the French ships engaged were ever fit for sea again.

New France was thus on its own. No more reinforcements would be coming from Europe.

In British America, Amherst took personal command of Abercromby's army and was ordered by Pitt to advance into Canada by 1 May, either by way of Lake Champlain, or by bypassing that area to push on to the St. Lawrence. He was also to send a secondary expedition to capture Fort Niagara. Wolfe, meanwhile, having been promoted to major general, was to land at Quebec with the remaining forces from the Louisbourg expedition.

Amherst elected to attempt all those advances, but according to his own order of priority. The first effort to get under way consisted of 3,000 regulars under Brig. John Prideaux, reinforced by 1,000 Iroquois. After reoccupying Oswego, they landed near Fort Niagara on 4 July. By the 17th, Niagara was besieged and under constant bombardment. Prideaux was killed by a shell fragment on the 19th, but provincial Col. William Johnson took over command and continued the assault. A French relief effort toward the Forks of the Ohio, consisting of forces brought in from Illinois, was redirected to Niagara; but they too were defeated on 25 July.

With that Fort Niagara surrendered, allowing Johnson to take his men back to Oswego to regroup for a







*The capture of Quebec, "shewing the manner of debarking the English Forces, and of the resolute scrambling of the light Infantry up a Woody Precipice."*



*A portrait sketch of James Wolfe by Brig. Gen. Townshend.*

new drive on La Galette. There he was rewarded for his success by being relieved of command by Gage. The British still couldn't countenance the idea of provincials — no matter how successful they might be — in command of regular troops. Meanwhile, though, Levis had managed to gather 1,800 men at La Galette. Gage reckoned he lacked the manpower needed to defeat that force, and so decided to winter in Oswego.

While all that was unfolding, Amherst had collected 11,000 troops at Fort Edward. But he only crawled forward, spending an entire month building Fort George near the ruins of Fort William Henry, and despite the fact the French had only 3,000 men to oppose him. But Amherst kept to his methodic pace, just getting his cannon set to begin a new bom-

bardment of Carillon, when that great fort was blown up by the last of the withdrawing French. On 1 August word came the French had also abandoned Fort St. Frederick, which Amherst then moved to occupy. Content with those gains, he busied his men constructing still more new forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

## Fall of Quebec

Amherst had in fact outdone all previous British commanders in New York, but his slow advance did nothing to support Wolfe. Montcalm had gotten word of Wolfe's coming, and had concentrated the *La Sarre*, *Royal Roussillon*, *Languedoc*, *Guyenne* and *Bearn Regiments*, along with most of his Canadian units, a total force of 16,000, to stop him.

Against that defense, Wolfe had 9,000 men, most of them regulars. He first occupied the Isle of Orleans to serve as base a mere three miles downstream from Quebec City, on 26 June. On the 29th he also seized Point Levis, across the St. Lawrence from the city and

within cannon range. Wolfe quickly got a battery into action and, more importantly, also got boats across at Point Levis, which allowed him to threaten Quebec from upstream.

On 8 August, Wolfe landed the brigades of Townsend and Murray, totaling 3,000 men, downstream from Quebec and occupied the Heights of Montmorenci. On the 18th, favored by a fair wind and covered by guns on Point Levis, the ship-of-the-line *HMS Sutherland* passed the French batteries unscathed. Wolfe now also threatened Quebec's southern flank. On the 20th, Col. Guy Carleton landed upstream at Pointe-aux-Trembles, which allowed the British to begin threatening the area from which most of the French-Canadian militia had come.

Still, Montcalm did not come out to fight, which convinced Wolfe he would have to keep pressing in, even if that meant finally engaging on the Frenchman's terms. On 31 July, three regiments, the *15th*, *60th* and *78th*, launched an assault just north of Montmorenci. They were handily repulsed, suffering 443 casualties. Montcalm thought that would end the British campaign, but Wolfe was not yet out of ideas.

Lacking anything more decisive to do, he sent his Rangers and Highlanders across the countryside to burn any and all French settlements they could reach. Through August he also continued to parry at Quebec with the rest of his force, but could find no point in the French defense where success seemed possible.

On 10 September the British naval commander determined that due to the growing lateness of the season his fleet had to leave without delay. Wolfe persuaded him to stay only long enough for him to try a desperate move to scale the cliffs leading up to the Plains of Abraham, via a route that had just been discovered. Montcalm had entrusted the defense of those heights to a small force of colonial regulars, while placing another 3,000 men under Col. Louis de Bougainville so as to be able to reinforce against any landing made upstream from Quebec.

The British sailed their ships and rowed their landing boats back and forth above the city, causing Bougainville's reserve to become exhausted marching and countermarching to match them. On 12 September, Wolfe had his men board their boats above the town while the main fleet made a feint toward Montcalm's main position below Quebec. That night, as Wolfe's vessels began moving downstream with the tide, Bougainville's tired men failed to follow. The British soon landed unopposed at Anse de Foulon. Then 24 volunteers led by William Howe climbed the cliffs to find most of the Canadians assigned that position had gone home for the harvest. The few who remained were quickly surprised and overwhelmed. Dawn therefore found Wolfe's men drawn up in a line on the Plains of Abraham.

Montcalm had been up most of the previous night, preparing to repel the expected amphibious assault coming from the main British fleet. At daybreak he was awakened by a battery above the town firing on some English ships. As he rode to investigate and the Plains of Abraham came into view, he could see Wolfe's redcoats deployed for battle with only one French regiment in position in front of them. He ordered four other regiments to move with haste to the forming battle. A few Canadians began deploying to both flanks, but most of those colonials simply remained inside the city. Had Bougainville's men suddenly appeared to Wolfe's rear, they could have been decisive, but they too failed to arrive.



Wolfe thus stood between Montcalm and his source of supply. About 10:00 a.m. Montcalm ordered his available force forward to try to do something about that. Wolfe had his men hold their fire until the French closed to within 40 yards, whereupon he ordered them all to volley into the attackers. That stopped the French advance; then a second volley made them start running back. Wolfe gave the order to charge and led it himself. Three times he was struck by musket balls. The third hit was mortal, killing him at the moment of his triumph. Montcalm also died that day, being hit just as he approached the walls of the city.

Gov. Vaudreuil took command on Montcalm's death, but proved even less of a commander than his brother Rigaud. He marched the main French force up the far side of the St. Charles, then circled west to join Bougainville's men at Beauport. He then summoned Levis to come in from Montreal to take command of the army. Meanwhile Brig. James Murray had taken command of Wolfe's army and committed it to laying siege to the fortress of Quebec. But he didn't have to do so for long; the city surrendered on 17 September as soon as the food within it had run out.

## 1760

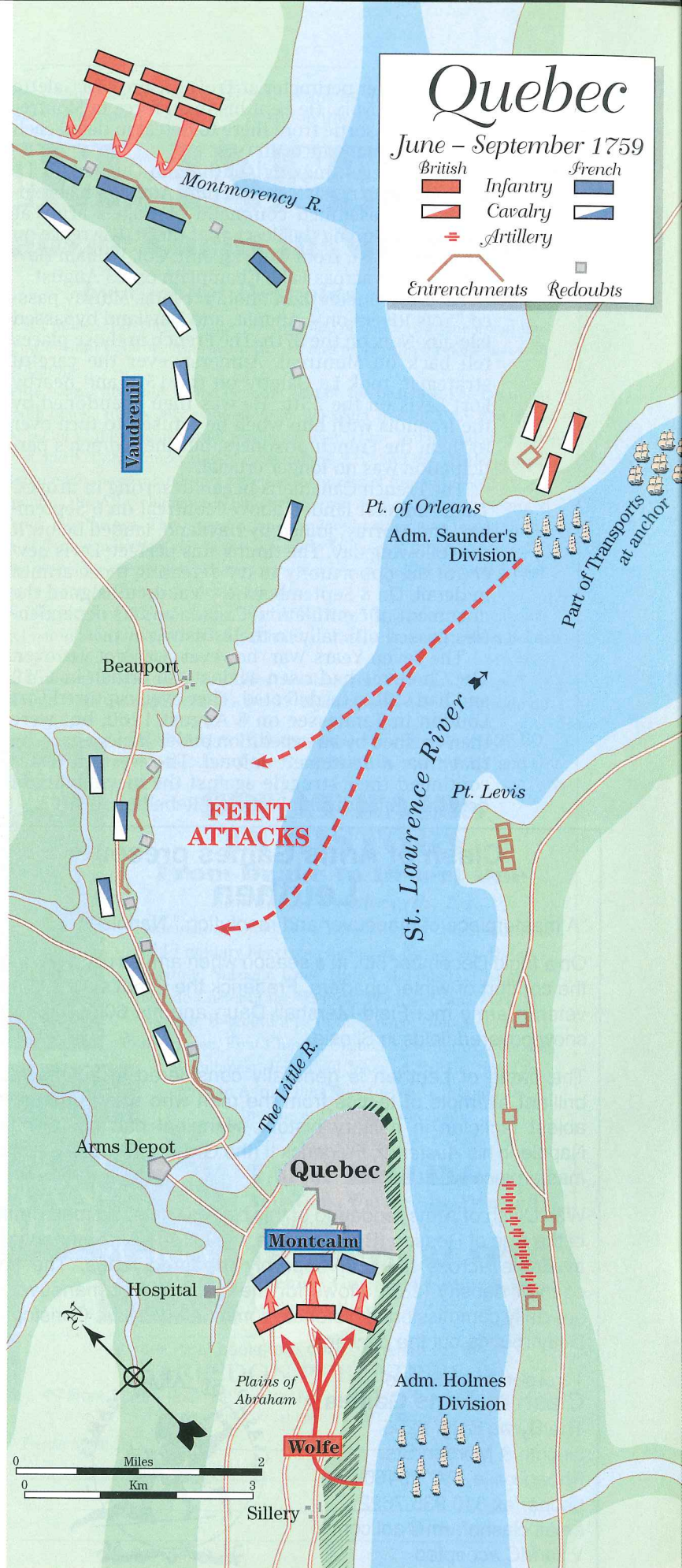
Levis was an excellent commander, and he gathered all the French battalions and two full battalions of marines (the colony regulars) at Montreal for an attempt to retake Quebec the following spring before the British there could be reinforced. They moved out from Montreal on 16 April 1760. But Murray got word of their approach and decided to meet them outside the walls of the city because he didn't trust the place's defenses to hold up against a serious bombardment. So on 28 April the British drew up at the same place Montcalm had defended the year before.

Levis' advance party took position on the right rear of the Anse du Foulon, but his following units lagged in their deployment. Murray saw that as his opportunity to defeat the French in detail, ordering an advance. Levis attempted to pull back to get into better cover in a nearby wood, prompting Murray to push the British advance farther. The British advance guard began to become mired in the mud and snow on the lower ground, and those same conditions slowed resupply of their cannon, which then fell silent. Then the redcoats began to feel the effects of the French defensive fire and, since the French had gone to ground among the trees, the British return fire became less effective.

To their credit, the British held their advance position for nearly two hours, but eventually they broke. Murray was forced to abandon his cannon, but got the rest of his force back into Quebec City in relatively good order.

Levis laid siege to Quebec, but was unable to bring any cannon to bear until May. Both forces ran low on supplies, and it began to seem whichever fleet first appeared coming up the St. Lawrence after the ice broke would finally decide the issue. On 9 May a frigate appeared in the basin below the town, and when the red cross of St. George broke from her masthead Murray knew he'd withstood the siege. A week later the ships Levis had been counting on to resupply him from Montreal were destroyed by the British navy. That night the French fell back to Montreal.

The French situation in North America became truly desperate as three British armies moved to encircle their last stronghold. Levis deployed small forces





along his inner perimeter at Trois Rivières, La Galette and Isle-aux-Noix. He kept his main force in Montreal, hoping to sortie from there to defeat in detail each of the British advances in turn.

Murray began moving south from Quebec on 15 July, hoping to reach Montreal first. Amherst had reinforced and assumed command of Gage's army at Oswego, beginning the descent of the St. Lawrence on 10 August. Last, from Crown Point, Col. William Haviland set out across Lake Champlain on 23 August.

Levis' perimeter didn't hold for long. Murray passed Trois Rivières on 4 August, and Haviland bypassed Isle-aux-Noix on the 27th. The French in those places fell back on Montreal. Amherst, ever the careful strategist, took La Galette on the 15th and nearby Fort Levis on the 25th. He was then abandoned by the Iroquois with him when he refused to turn over to them the French prisoners, but the redmen's participation was no longer crucial.

The French Canadians began deserting in droves. Then Amherst landed above Montreal on 6 September, and Murray, joined by Haviland, landed below it the following day. The timing was perfect; Levis never got the opportunity to try defeating those armies in detail. On 8 September Gov. Vaudreuil signed the document of capitulation; Canada and its dependencies passed officially to the British Crown.

The Seven Years War, however, was not yet over. The Cherokee had risen against the British in 1759 and had still to be defeated. They even captured Fort Loudon in Tennessee on 8 August 1760, but were then crushed by an expedition under James Grant, by that time a lieutenant colonel. The western tribes continued their struggle against the inevitability of demographics during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763.

And not all of New France was in fact conquered. The French could still seek to control the Illinois country from Louisiana. In fact, the *Angoumois Regiment* arrived in New Orleans in April 1762 to secure that remainder of New France, serving there until July the following year.

In 1762 France also managed to entice Spain to enter the war, promising Louisiana as a reward. But then Havana fell to a joint Anglo-American expeditionary force in June, the last time they would fight as allies until World War I. That move allowed Britain to gain Florida in exchange for returning Cuba, all made official in the Treaty of Paris, signed on 10 February 1763.

The last French regulars to leave, a company of the *Regiment Suisse de Karrer*, departed New Orleans early in 1764. Antonio de Ulloa arrived to become the first Spanish governor of Louisiana on 5 March 1766. The Louisiana militia mutinied and raised the French flag one last time in 1768, but the once great empire was fallen; New France was no more. ★

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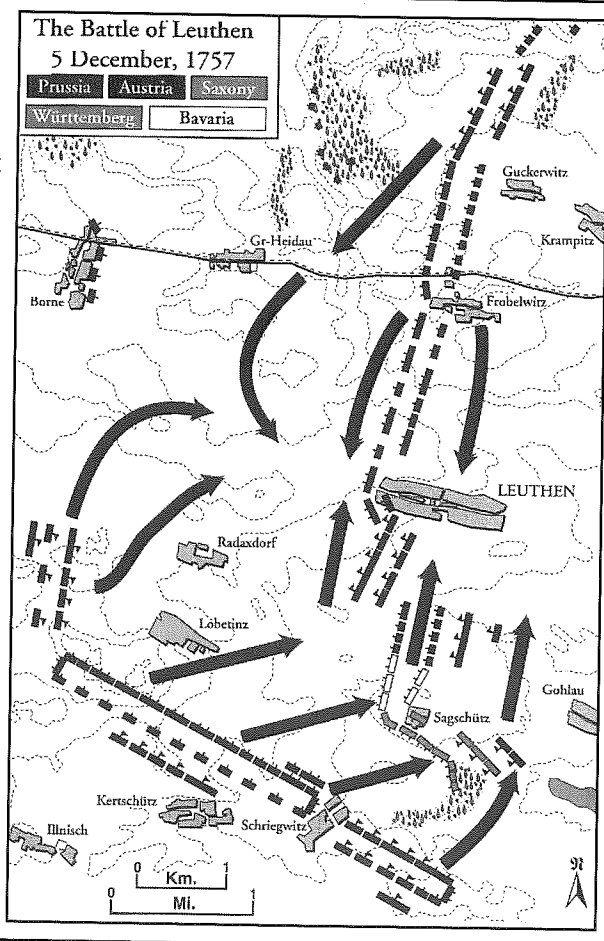
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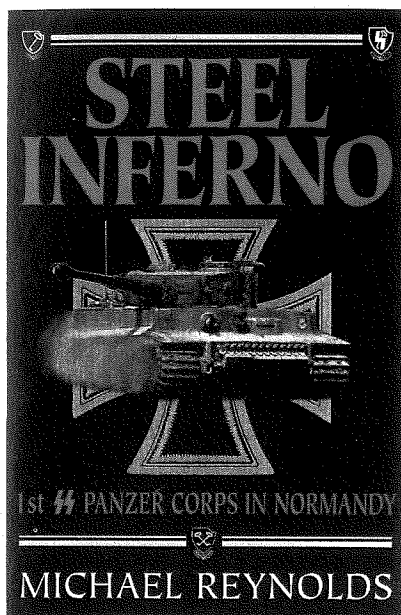
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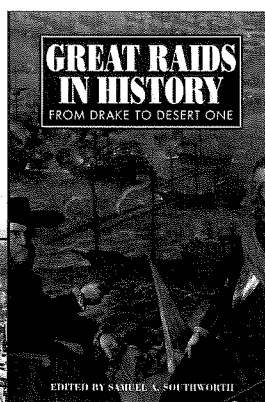
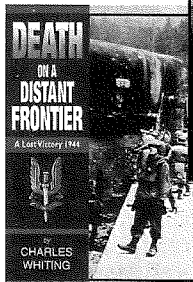
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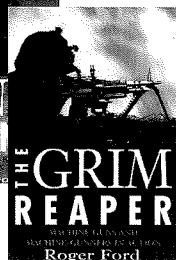
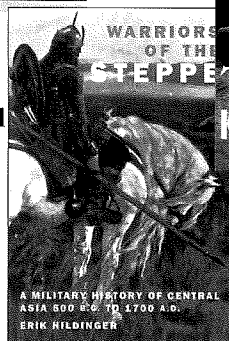
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*End of Empire, Part II*

# The American Revolution

by William Marsh

By 18 April 1775, Boston had been occupied by British troops for seven years. In fact, the majority of British regiments in North America had been removed from the frontier and Canada to reinforce that city's garrison. British Commander-in-Chief in North America, Gen. Thomas Gage, had relocated his headquarters there from New York and also taken over personally as royal governor of Massachusetts.

For over a year the British and the provincial militia had faced each other on the verge of open war. Gage had seized the main Massachusetts munitions store at Charlestown the previous September, which in turn motivated the provincials to retaliate by capturing Crown stores in New Hampshire and Rhode Island. In February a British advance on Salem to capture provincial cannon kept there was blocked by the militia without bloodshed. But tension had risen to the point where every time the British marched out of Boston the militia turned out. Only restraint on both sides could keep the peace.

But on 18 April, Gage sent a force of 700 to seize the American guns stored at Concord. As usual, the militia turned out. Seventy "minutemen" under Capt. Jonas Parker met the British light infantry under Maj. John Pitcairn at Lexington Green. The two forces lined up facing each other; but when Parker saw he was hopelessly outnumbered he ordered his men to disperse. Then Pitcairn ordered the Americans to also lay down their arms before leaving. With that a shot rang out — probably a misfire — and one British platoon immediately fired a return volley. Pitcairn tried to stop his men, but other volleys also rang out. The peace was over. The British marched to Concord, where the militia withdrew out of town when they saw they were still badly outnumbered. After damaging two cannon and destroying some

*The Lexington militia disperse after a volley from Major John Pitcairn's advance guard. The engraving is by Amos Doolittle, a Connecticut militiaman who arrived soon after the battle.*

stores, Pitcairn moved his command across Concord bridge to engage the 400 or so militiamen he saw congregating there. A brief skirmish left 12 regulars dead, which was enough to convince the British commander he'd fulfilled the letter of his orders and the time had come to return to the safety of Boston.

A mile out of Concord the real battle began. From every town in the colony, the militia had turned out. Without organization, but with deadly intent, individuals sniped at the British column from behind trees and stone walls. Mile after mile the fighting went on. Exhausted and almost out of ammunition, the British survivors met a fresh force of redcoats at Lexington under Earl Percy. But even that link up wasn't enough to hold off the colonists. The British were harried until after sundown, when they finally reached refuge on the Charlestown peninsula.

The peace had ended, but war was not yet begun. Unorganized minutemen do not really make an army, and they returned home nearly as rapidly as they'd turned out. But then, under the noses of the British, Massachusetts Gen. Artemas Ward raised a real army. Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire also organized standing units, and some were sent to the Boston area to cooperate with Ward.

Despite some close incidents, an unofficial truce held for two months. But when Ward moved to fortify the Charlestown peninsula to preempt a British move to fortify Dorchester Heights, the bloody Battle of Bunker Hill was the result. A total of 1,054 British regulars fell to prove Americans would not run at the first sight of British bayonets. That ended all possibility of negotiation; it was war.

Events were meanwhile occurring elsewhere that ensured it would be a war fought across all the colonies, not just New England. Three days after Lexington, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, seized the colonial powder stores at Williamsburg.



Gen. Thomas Gage, commander of Britain's forces in North America 1763-1775





Benedict Arnold.

Patrick Henry assembled the Virginia militia, prompting Dunmore to flee his capital for Norfolk on the 8 June. His attempts to raise troops, especially *Lord Dunmore's Ethiopians*, a unit of slaves promised their freedom in exchange for military service, enraged the Virginians and brought the war south.

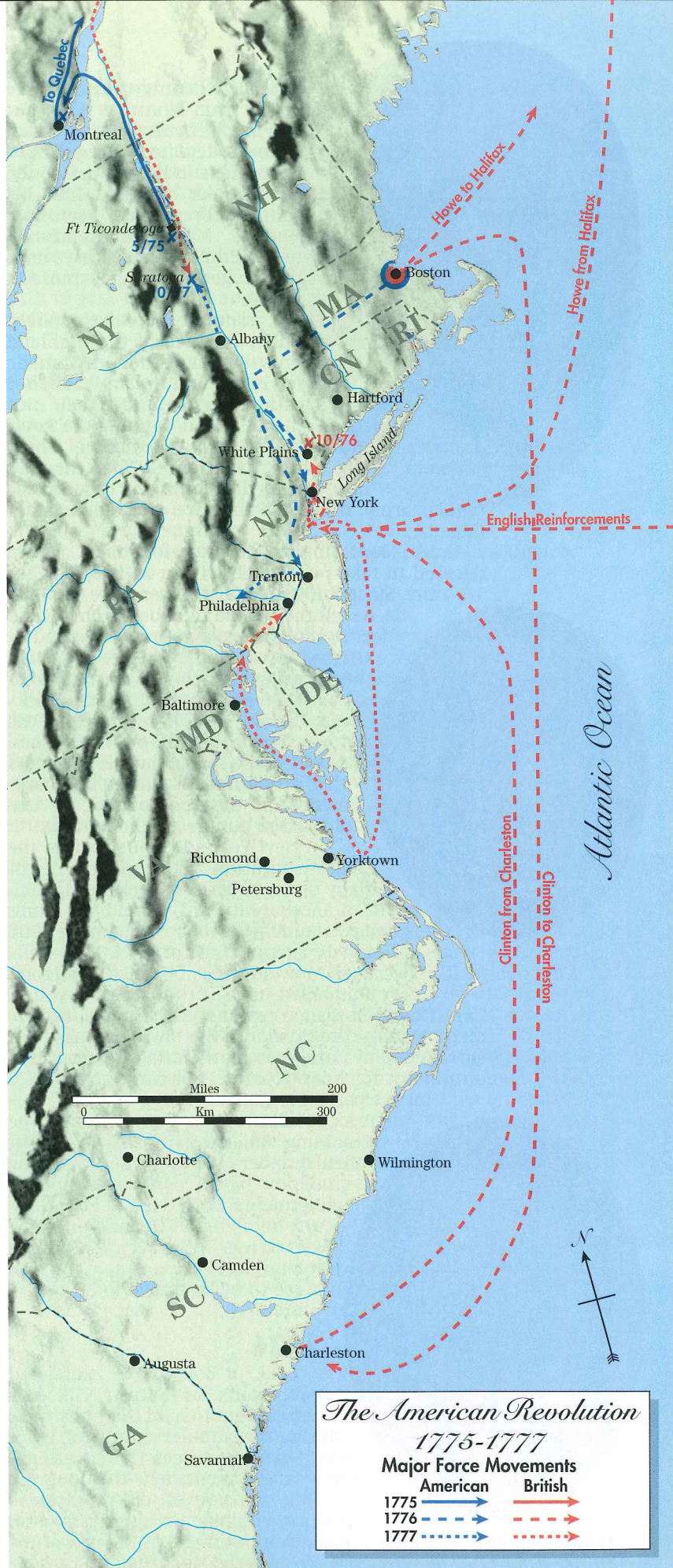
Meanwhile farmers from the Hampshire Grants (modern Vermont) had seized old Fort Ticonderoga and the cannon there on 10 May, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Actually, though, it wasn't really clear who they served. They refused the authority of Benedict Arnold, who'd originally been commissioned by the Massachusetts legislature to take the fort. And they soon replaced their initially elected commander, Ethan Allan, with Seth Warner.

## Into Canada

But the primary move that worked to expand the war in 1775 was the American invasion of Canada. At first Congress had been reluctant to try to compel the Canadians to join the revolution. But then Ethan Allan presented himself before the assembly on 23 June to argue for what he believed would be any easy conquest: reportedly the British, under Sir Guy Carleton, had only 550 regulars in all of Canada. Four days later Congress directed Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler of New York to move to Ticonderoga to organize an invasion.

Richard Montgomery, Schuyler's subordinate, became the expedition's *de facto* leader due to the senior officer's poor health. The force set out at the end of August. The British stronghold at St. Johns held out until November, but then Montgomery swept down the Richelieu valley to Montreal. Two excellent regiments of Canadians, many of them veterans of Montcalm's units, were promptly recruited to join the Continental Army.

Benedict Arnold had also remained determined to find glory in Canada. He'd returned to Cambridge where he convinced Washington to send another force up the old Abenaki invasion route into Canada. Washington sent him with 1,050 men and, after an arduous wilderness journey, on 9 November they emerged from the Maine woods to view the fortress of Quebec across the St. Lawrence. A month later they







Sir Guy Carleton,  
governor of Canada.

were joined by Montgomery's force descending from Montreal. That put Carleton in a difficult position: Canada had been depleted of regulars to reinforce Gage in Boston before the fighting broke out, and half his remaining forces had been lost defending Montreal. Reinforcements couldn't possibly arrive until the ice broke in the St. Lawrence in late April.

But Carleton resourcefully sought to reenlist the men of the Highland regiments who'd settled in Canada after the French and Indian War. They came back into service under their own leader, Allan Maclean, forming the *Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment*. There were more experienced men in that "new" regiment than in any other in the regular army; it became the core of the defense of Canada.

Unlike Montcalm and Murray before him, Carleton decided to take refuge behind the walls of Quebec city. Since 1,400 of his 1,800 men were raw militia, he felt they would fight best from behind fortifications. Arnold at first responded by attempting a standard siege, climaxing on 10 December when in the middle of a snow storm a bastion of ice blocks was thrown up 700 yards from the town. But British 32-pounders soon silenced the American 12-pounders that attempted to start a bombardment from the new position, so Arnold had to pursue another course.

On New Year's Eve, just before the mass expiration of the enlistments of many of the Americans, and in the middle of another blizzard, Arnold and Montgomery launched their remaining 900 effectives against the fortress. The walls were taken by surprise, but then Montgomery was killed in the first defensive volley. Capt. Daniel Morgan, commanding the largest detachment, managed to push into the town, but was then surrounded by Carleton's counterattack. They waited until dawn for help to arrive, but surrendered (426 men) when none came.

A siege of sorts was maintained by the remaining Americans until spring, but their numbers had been decimated by smallpox, battle losses and expiring enlistments. Carleton had little difficulty retaking all Canada once the winter was fully over. The "14th colony" would never again come so close to being drawn into the revolution.

## 1776

Back in Boston the exhausted combatants of Bunker Hill had been content to hold their positions during the summer and fall of 1775. The American forces there were adopted as Continentals by the Congress on 25 July. As a result of compromise politics, Virginian George Washington was given command of the new army. He recognized insufficient powder

was on hand to allow for an assault into the city, and therefore was content to merely maintain the land blockade. But he was soon also faced with the problem of mass expiration of enlistments in December. Those departures in fact necessitated the complete reorganization of his army, so the New England states' militias had to be called out again while that went on.

The British also changed their leadership after Bunker Hill. Gage was recalled to England in October, ostensibly to "advise" the Home Office. Under ordinary procedure, the senior officer left in North America, Sir Guy Carleton in Canada, would have become the next commander-in-chief. But he was out of favor in London, so his Canadian command was split from that of the 13 colonies in order that William Howe could be made c-in-c there. At first Carleton was given authorization to pursue the American forces retreating from Canada after their failed attempt on Quebec, but shortly thereafter that authorization was rescinded. The new scheme was to leave all operations across the border to John Burgoyne, who did not have the rank to over turn Howe's authority. That division of command would prove fatal to the British cause in 1777.

All the senior British officers in Boston had become convinced the casualties suffered at Bunker Hill were indicative of the poor base of operations Boston offered. Burgoyne put it best by summarizing: "Look...upon the country near Boston — it is all fortifications."

The British had in fact become intimidated by the many granite walls that crisscrossed the fields and paralleled the roads of New England. Shortly after Howe took command in October, he determined to change base to New York City. Unfortunately for him, he had only 23,570 tons of shipping capacity available rather than the 35,172 he needed to make for a smooth move of his entire army. The British had to stay put until spring.

In North Carolina, meanwhile, the Scotch-Irish settlers of the back country, who'd first quarreled with the royal governor, now rose up against the government of the patriots. Maj. Gen. Henry Clinton was dispatched from Boston on 20 January 1776 with two companies of light infantry to try to take advantage of the opportunity seemingly presented by the disunity among the southern colonists. They were to rendezvous with seven regiments being sent directly from England.

Washington reacted by sending Maj. Gen. Charles Lee south to organize resistance to Clinton's force. Both men reached the New York City area on 4 February. Lee had two Connecticut regiments with him and immediately moved in to prevent the city's seizure as a new British base of operations. He had his men begin to prepare defensive works on Long Island and Manhattan. In actuality, Clinton had only stopped to consult with the royal governor there, William Tryon, who'd previously also been governor of North Carolina. Fighting was then averted because Clinton chose not to land any troops in response to the American move. But Congress also chose to ignore Lee's advice the city was ultimately indefensible.

Lee and Clinton then continued their separate ways south, but the fate of the North Carolina loyalists was already out of their hands. Those Tories, marching on their own against Wilmington, were met at Moore's Creek Bridge by an entrenched force of three newly formed Continental regiments. Undaunt-



King George III



Lord North, British Prime  
Minister from 1770 to 1782.



ed, they launched a classic Highlander charge, throwing aside their rifles to wield broadswords and dirks. Shot to ribbons and repulsed, they would not be a factor in the fighting again until 1780.

Still wanting to accomplish something, Clinton changed his objective. Gov. Dunmore of Virginia wanted him to recover his colony for the Crown, but Gov. William Campbell of South Carolina convinced him Charlestown was a more important target. He was met there again by Lee, who now had with him Continentals from Virginia and North Carolina to reinforce the South Carolina state regiments. Lee fortified Sullivan's Island, another position he judged to be ultimately indefensible, at the insistence of the governor.

Clinton, unfamiliar with the local geography, landed his men on what turned out to be another island entirely, leaving them unable to advance and attack. The climax came when the British ships undertook to bombard Lee's position. To everyone's surprise, they got the worst of it when three of them ran aground. The loyalist colonial governor was hit and killed as he tried to help fire the cannon, and Clinton ordered a withdrawal.

By this point the appreciation of the war was changing back in London. It was coming to be viewed as a full-blown conventional struggle against a determined enemy. And it was understood such an undertaking would require large resources committed to win it. The trouble was, at the time England had few additional units to send to America; the home island had already been stripped of every effective unit except the Guards. Five regiments were then sent from the Irish garrison, despite the fact the move left the remaining force at about half the strength normally estimated to be needed to keep the peace there.

Five regiments of the Royal Hanoverian Army were also taken into British service to relieve regulars at Gibraltar and on Minorca for service in America. Catherine the Great was asked to provide 20,000 Russian mercenaries for service in Canada, and negotiations were also begun with various German states to find even more manpower.

As the Crown cast about for reinforcements, Washington determined to force Howe's evacuation of Boston. On 4 March 1776, Gen. John Thomas led 2,000 men to fortify Dorchester Heights, south of Boston, in a surprise move similar to the one the prior summer. Howe briefly considered another bloody assault upon the new rebel works, but then simply decided to get out of town on the 17th.

On 25 June, after a brief stay in secure Halifax to regroup, Howe arrived in New York harbor and shortly thereafter established his base on Staten Island. Throughout the summer he received substantial reinforcement. On 12 July his brother, Adm. Lord Richard Howe, arrived with a fleet bringing more men from England. Then Clinton returned from his abortive effort against Charleston. On 12 August the Guards and the first contingent of Hessians arrived. The British force at New York, by that time numbering



Gen. George Washington.

## Financing Revolution

About two-thirds of the cost of the revolution was financed on the American side by printing paper money. There was precedent for that, since as early as the 1690 Massachusetts expedition to Quebec colonial troops had been paid with issues of scrip. But never before was so much issued over so long a time. In 1775 Congress issued \$6 million paper dollars. A further \$19 million were printed the next year, and \$13 million more during 1777.

Benjamin Franklin summed up the addiction to printing press finance: "This currency as we manage it is a wonderful machine. It performs its office when we issue it; it pays and clothes troops and provides victuals and ammunition, and when we are obliged to [print] a quantity excessive it pays itself off by depreciation."

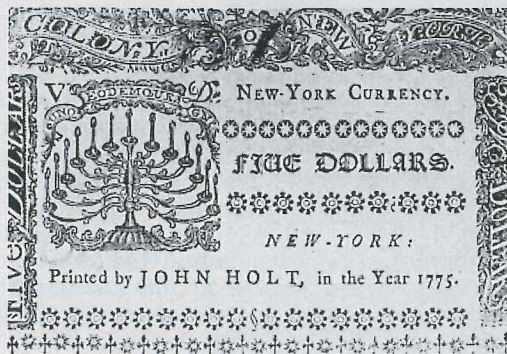
But predictably, the "Continental" began to lose value. To continue to meet expenses, Congress increased the money printed to \$63 million in 1778 and \$140 million in 1779. By 1780, American paper money was practically worthless, bringing into the language the saying, "Not worth a Continental," and the new nation was on the verge of financial collapse.

The inflation directly affected the soldiers in Washington's army. In 1775 a private received the respectable monthly salary of seven dollars. By May 1778, that same amount of paper scrip was only worth \$1.50 in hard, coined

currency. Thus, despite numerous pay increases, inflation reduced a private's monthly pay to the equivalent of only 33 cents in 1775 money by August 1779.

Various attempts to sustain the army by drafting supplies, rather than money contributions, from the states also proved unsuccessful. For example, in January 1780 Washington divided New Jersey into 11 districts and forcibly collected provisions from their inhabitants. On 1 January 1781 all the Pennsylvania units mutinied, marching on Philadelphia to demand food, clothing and pay. Anthony Wayne managed to bring the situation back under control, but half the men had to be discharged and the rest consolidated into new units. The leniency set a precedent that encouraged the New Jersey troops to similarly mutiny on 20 January. This time Washington wasn't so easy; the new revolt was crushed by a loyal force of New Englanders and the leaders were executed by firing squad.

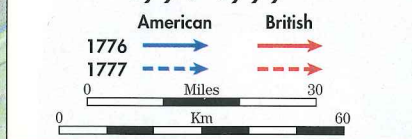
Even so, as the war dragged on the dependability of Washington's army became more and more tenuous. Passing through Philadelphia en route to Yorktown the soldiers again revolted, demanding a month's pay in hard currency before they'd move on. Rochambeau's war chest saved the day by providing \$20,000 in gold to hold the army together. Without French gold the victory at Yorktown could not have taken place.



Paper currency issued by New York State.



## The War in New York & New Jersey 1776-1777



32,000, thus came to represent the largest expeditionary force ever sent out from England to the New World.

### Battle for New York

Washington determined to defend the city Lee had termed indefensible. He divided his army of five divisions, placing Putnam's, Spencer's and Sullivan's divisions at the southern tip of Manhattan, Heath's division at the north end of that island, and Nathaniel Greene's division across the East River on Long Island. When Greene fell ill, Israel Putnam assumed his command.

On 22 August, when the British landed on Long Island, most of Putnam's division was soon effective-

ly pinned in place by feints. Maj. Gen. James Grant's two brigades came up the Gowanus Road, while Gen. von Heister's Hessians pushed in from Flatbush. Then 10,000 redcoats under Howe's direct command completed a night march around the Americans' eastern flank to fall on Putnam from behind. The routing Americans fell back to the previously fortified Brooklyn Heights. Howe could probably have overrun the entire position, perhaps also capturing Washington, who'd crossed over from Manhattan to assess the situation, if he'd committed to a hasty assault. Instead, however, he chose to build counter-entrenchments for a siege. That allowed Washington the time he needed to accomplish an evacuation back to Manhattan during the rainy night of the 29th/30th.

Howe still had a chance to trap Washington on the island of Manhattan, but delayed for two weeks attempting to negotiate. Finally, on 15 September, Clinton crossed over. Washington's main force took up a blocking position on Harlem Heights, again allowing Putnam's division to get away.

Howe then paused yet again, allowing Washington to regroup. On 12 October he attempted a long flanking maneuver, sailing up Long Island Sound to land at Pells Point. But Washington again withdrew in good time, north to White Plains, where another general engagement was fought on the 28th. This time Howe turned Washington's western flank, but again the Continentals fought well enough to allow them to make a withdrawal northward.

When Howe chose not to pursue Washington any farther, contact was broken between the two armies. No longer knowing the exact whereabouts of the British, in an attempt to cover all possibilities, the American commander split his army. Lee was left north of White Plains, at Castle Hill, with 6,000 men to shield New England and the Hudson highlands. Washington himself crossed the Hudson and moved to Hackensack, New Jersey, with 3,000 men.

Howe reappeared on 16 November to assault and capture Fort Washington on the northern tip of Manhattan, just before the American force there could be evacuated. Gen. Cornwallis then took a detachment across to the Jersey shore to capture Fort Lee two days later. The remnants of that defense fled to join Washington in Hackensack, after which the combined force was pursued across New Jersey until Washington finally crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

### British Logistics

The greatest obstacle to the British effort to secure their American colonies was not the Continental Army, it was the necessity of supplying their own forces from across the Atlantic. Canada and the West Indies didn't have the internal resources at hand to even be able to support their own defensive garrisons, much less serve as supply heads for a force large enough to conduct offensive operations against the rebels.

Gen. Gage's army in Boston was already under considerable logistical strain in 1775. That was at first viewed as nothing more than a temporary difficulty that would end after adequate foraging areas outside the cities had finally been secured. But the entire British army in the rebellious colonies mostly remained confined to coastal beachheads throughout the war, and thus had to rely on provisions shipped directly from England. Each year every redcoat required one-third ton of food shipped across the Atlantic. For example, exclusive of the weight of the casks, 29,000

tons of supplies were sent from Britain to America in 1782.

All this amounted to an unprecedented logistical effort that absorbed a record amount of shipping and manpower. The Treasury Department in London sent its agents to scour northern Europe for vessels to rent, lease and purchase. Some 120,000 tons of transport were needed just to supply the army in 1782, in an era when each such vessel had only 250 to 400 tons displacement.

In particular, Halifax, Nova Scotia, became a critical supply depot for British trans-Atlantic shipping. The many victuallers also had to sail most of their ships individually and unescorted, because when the Navy Board tried to institute a convoy system the ensuing organizational delays caused unsustainable shortages to occur among the forces on the ground in the colonies. Thus British supply ships became highly vulnerable to French naval interdiction once that nation joined the war.



From the British point of view it had been a remarkably successful campaign. An excellent base had been established for the next year's effort; a cordon had been created along the Delaware, and the troops were well placed to go into secure winter quarters.

But Washington was persistent even in defeat. Knowing most of the enlistments within the army he'd reformed around Boston were due to expire on the first of the new year, he determined to use that force while he still had it. Reinforced by some Pennsylvania militia and 2,000 men from Lee's division, he recrossed the Delaware on Christmas Day to successfully ambush Johann Rall's Hessian brigade. That victory, and the fortuitous arrival of some freshly printed Continental dollars, allowed him to convince the New Englanders to stay on for another six weeks.

On 2 January, Washington crossed the Delaware yet again, evading a force under Cornwallis sent to intercept him, and successfully ambushed another three regiments at Princeton. Those two American victories forced Howe to evacuate New Jersey for more secure winter quarters at Amboy and New Brunswick. Washington's exhausted army finally went into winter quarters at Morristown.

Once again Washington was faced with the need to reorganize his army. By this time, though, men were being enlisted "for three years or the duration," so he knew his regiments would not again begin to evaporate at some critical moment. By May, 43 new regiments (most well under strength) had arrived at Washington's main camp.

## 1777

The year 1777 would prove to be the critical one. Howe believed that with 35,000 effectives he could direct operations northward in a decisive way. His plan was to use 8,000 men to cover against Washington's possible maneuvering, and another 7,000, each, to hold New York City and Newport, Rhode Island. The remaining manpower would then form the basis for two offensives: one moving from New York up the Hudson, and the second going from Newport toward Boston. Gen. Burgoyne would simultaneously lead an advance south from Montreal.

On 20 December, however, Howe — by that point convinced the entire rebellion was near disintegration — changed his plan in order to strike south for Philadelphia, leaving just a 3,000 man defensive force on the Hudson. But Burgoyne continued to operate assuming the original plan was still in operation; the stage was set for a British disaster.

Howe began the new campaign in June, by attempting to engage Washington's army at Morristown. But the American commander had positioned his forces behind a series of low ridges in northern New Jersey, where he adeptly managed to avoid a battle throughout the month. From that Howe came to understand the overland communications between his base at New York and his objective of Philadelphia could not be secured. So he again reembarked his striking force on his brother's fleet, taking the sea route around Washington's force.

On 13 June — still mistakenly believing the original scheme of securing the Hudson valley in order to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies was in operation — Burgoyne began moving. He took Ticonderoga on 5 July, then, rather than follow Montcalm's old route along Lake George, he headed directly south toward long-abandoned Fort Anne. His reasons for doing so remain obscure; though it's pos-

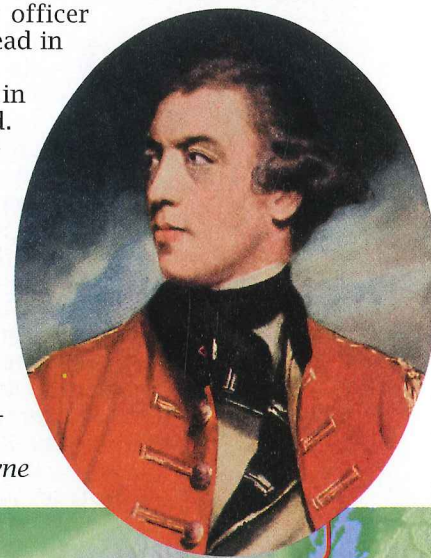
sible the prominent loyalist Col. Philip Skene, who stood to profit from a new road built between the Hudson and his estate, was influential in swaying the British general into the change in direction. Burgoyne finally reached Fort Edward on 29 July. Only four days later did he receive word from Howe there would be no army to meet him at Albany.

Burgoyne was thus faced with a hard choice. He couldn't hold where he was, in the middle of a hostile wilderness with insecure lines of supply. He could keep pushing south, hoping to reach the navigable portion of the Hudson and the Royal Navy. Or he could move back to Montcalm's old base at Ticonderoga and winter there. Rationally, one must wonder why he chose the riskiest option of continuing south; but he was a cavalry officer and had been taught to push ahead in the face of danger.

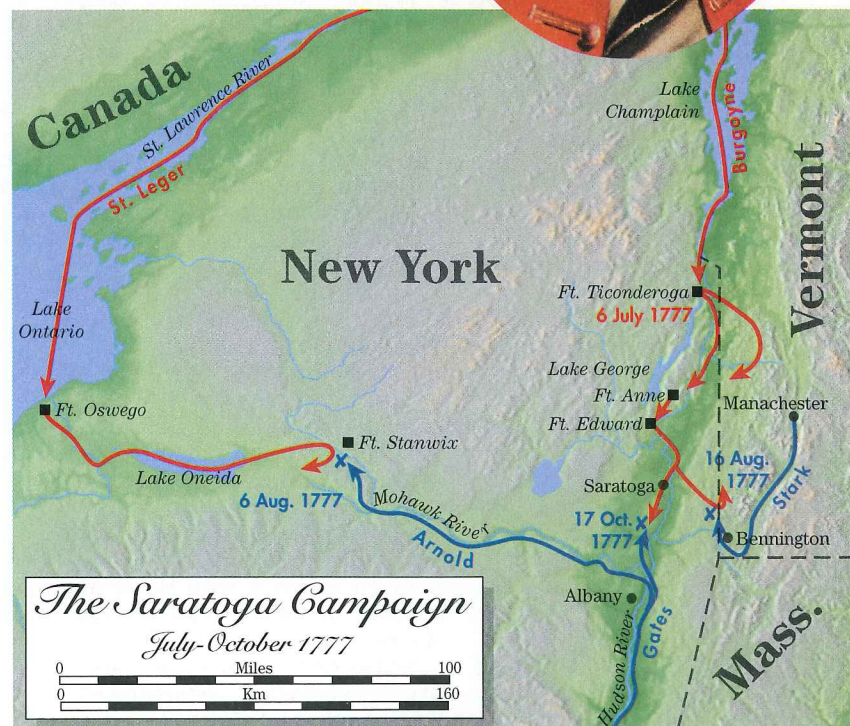
American units began to close in on the British force as it moved. Burgoyne suffered his first reverse at Bennington, where Vermont militia and New Hampshire state regulars under John Stark repulsed a foraging party under the Brunswick Col. Friedrich Baum. Soon thereafter he ran into Gen. Horatio Gates with 7,000 men well entrenched across his line of advance. Twice Benedict Arnold and Daniel Mor-



Sir William Howe wearing the Order of the Bath, awarded for his victory in the Battle of Long Island.



Gen. John Burgoyne





gan skirmished with the British advance guard in densely wooded terrain, while Gates held his main force back in their entrenchments.

Surrounded and running out of supplies, Burgoyne finally attempted to turn back on 7 October. Within a week he was forced to try to salvage a semantic victory when the military kind eluded him: he agreed to sign a "convention" rather than a capitulation. Of course, no one was fooled. The British and Hessians

taken were held as prisoners of war until Parliament finally ratified the convention — after the war was over.

All the while Howe conducted his operations against Washington's army as if nothing else were going on. On 25 August he landed at Head of Elk, the northern terminus of Chesapeake Bay. Halfway to Philadelphia by 11 September, he engaged the Americans along the Brandywine River, forcing them back

## Regiments

### THE BRITISH, HESSIANS & TORIES

British regiments in both the French and Indian War and American Revolution had a consistent structure of 10 companies per battalion. Most regiments in turn consisted of only one battalion, with authorized, on-paper strengths of 809. But that figure was rarely achieved, with most regiments going into the field with about 500 effectives.

Two companies in each battalion consisted of picked men who were frequently detached for independent operations. One of those companies, the grenadiers, was chosen from among the largest and strongest individuals; the other elite company, the light infantry, was drawn from the best marksmen. A few regiments entirely of light infantry were raised during the French and Indian War in imitation of the colonial Rangers, but none were kept together long enough to see action in the Revolution.

The *Royal American Regiment* (60th) was an anomaly in that it consisted of four battalions, each of which was about twice the size of the usual British battalion. Hessian regiments were modeled after those of Prussia, consisting of two battalions of five companies each, along with a grenadier company.

Those German mercenaries who fought for the British during the Revolution, and who've been universally known to the generations of American school children since as "Hessians," actually came from six different German states. Most of them were professional soldiers, and as such they tended to be more immediately concerned with self-preservation in battle than British army regulars. There was a decided tendency among the rank and file to desert, sometimes to defect to the Continental Army. In one respect they proved superior to their British brothers-in-arms in that their light infantry, rifle-armed, were found to be especially effective at countering American riflemen.

The largest and best-trained contingent came from the state of Hesse-Cassel, which provided a corps of 12,000 men consisting of four grenadier battalions, 15 infantry regiments, and a light infantry unit that began as two companies but gradually grew in size. They came to America with Howe at the time of the British invasion of New York.

Brunswick sent the next largest contingent, consisting of a battalion of grenadiers and another of light infantry,

along with four regiments of infantry and a dismounted dragoon regiment. They served with Burgoyne's army until Saratoga.

Anspach-Bayreuth contributed two infantry regiments, along with one light infantry and one artillery company. Hesse-Hanau dispatched an infantry regiment reinforced by an artillery company. Waldeck also provided such an augmented infantry regiment;

but it turned out to be a poor-performing unit, since that small state's best men, eight regiments, were already off in Dutch service at the time.

Anhalt-Zerbst sent a single, two-battalion infantry regiment. But unlike the other German units, this one was organized along Austrian, not

Prussian, lines. Considered substandard, it was deployed only to garrison Quebec City. Additionally, Hanover, ruled directly by George III, sent other troops to relieve British regulars elsewhere, freeing them for service in America.

It remains difficult to find much hard data on the various loyalist, or Tory, units that served the British in the Revolution. We do know three battalions served in Louisiana and Florida against the Spanish. Another battalion, raised in Jamaica, became a refuge for Yankee POWs defecting to escape from the hell of captivity on British prison hulks. The 82nd and 84th Regiments were raised in Canada and Nova Scotia from among veterans of the previous war's Highland regiments and proved among the best units fielded in the war on either side.

Of the remaining Tory units, five in particular were outstanding, becoming designated the "American Establishment" in May 1779. At that time *The Queen's Rangers* of Robert Rogers became the 1st American Regiment; *The Volunteers of Ireland* became the 2nd American Regiment; *Delancy's New York Volunteers* became the 3rd American Regiment; *Fanning's King's Americans* became the 4th American Regiment, and most famous of all, *Tarleton's British Legion* became the 5th American Regiment.

Those five units were completely professional and were generally considered the equal of any British regular outfit. But the remaining Tory units raised during the war tended to be under-trained, under-armed, under-supplied and under-motivated, and were considered little better than militia by the British high command.

### THE FRENCH

French regiments in Canada in 1755 usually consisted of one battalion each, like their British counterparts, except for the *Berry Regiment*, which held two. Each battalion consisted of one grenadier and a dozen fusilier companies. There were no light infantry companies. Total complement at full strength was 31 officers and 525 enlisted.

French regular army regiments in New France were often kept up to strength through the enlistment of considerable



British 9th Foot



British 5th Foot



British 33rd Foot



Hessian Rgt.



with another of his well executed flanking maneuvers. Washington withdrew northeast along the Delaware, but Howe headed north, crossed the Schuylkill River at Valley Forge and circled behind him to enter Philadelphia, the American capital, from the north on the 26th.

The British general repulsed the American counterattack at Germantown on 4 October, then spent the rest of the campaigning season clearing the Delaware

forts in order to reopen his sea lines of supply. Washington took up winter quarters at Valley Forge.

Despite their continued reversals in the middle colonies, the entire complexion of the war had improved for the Americans with their victory at Saratoga. The most obvious change came with France's diplomatic recognition of the United States and entry into the war. Even more important was the threat the French fleet suddenly represented to



numbers of Canadians. For instance, there were 1,297 men in the *Berry Regiment* in April 1760; of those, 519 were actually Canadians. Thus French "regular" regiments tended to perform better than British when engaged in unconventional style combats, due to their larger numbers of men in the ranks already familiar with wilderness fighting techniques.

After their 1763 defeat, the French reorganized their army. By 1776 all regiments had two battalions, and each battalion held six companies: one of grenadiers, one of light infantry and four of fusiliers. The size of each company was also considerably enlarged, to the point each battalion had an authorized total strength of 963 officers and men. (Montcalm would have gladly traded his regiments for those of Rochambeau.)

#### THE AMERICANS

Not surprisingly, American regiments in both the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War were generally patterned after those of the British, though there was some individual variation.

The first regiments raised in and around Boston in 1775 were relatively uniform in structure. Each had a paper strength of 600 men, set up as a single battalion divided into 10 identical companies. But the Connecticut regiments, reflecting an older British regimental structure, had twice as many men, though they were still divided into only 10 companies.

All of those original units were armed primarily with muskets, as rifles were exceedingly rare in New England.

As the war spread outside its New England area of origin, the Continental Regiments became more diverse in structure. For example, the *1st Pennsylvania Regiment* (known earlier as the *Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment* and the *1st Continental Regiment*) was designated the senior unit of the Continental Army and therefore was allowed a unique structure reflecting its origin as a group of independent rifle companies. Several other units were also organized as rifle regiments.

Canadian regiments raised for the Continental Army were also unique, reflecting their French origins. The *2nd Canadian Regiment*, called "Congress' Own," in particular consisted of four battalions, each representing a battalion from Montcalm's army.

The various organizational structures didn't make Washington's job any easier, so in 1776 most regiments were switched to a uniform structure of eight musket companies. By the following year the new structure was adopted almost universally, and in 1779 a ninth company of light infantry was added. Like the British, the Americans often detached their light infantry into separate elite units, but did so on more a more temporary, *ad hoc* basis.

The following table shows the origin of Continental Army regiments in 1777:

State	Pop.	Inf. Regts. Raised	Arty Regts. Raised	Light, Dragoon & Other Regts. Raised
N.H.	100,000	3	0	0
Mass.	350,000	18	1	0
R.I.	58,000	2.5	0	0
Conn.	200,000	9.5	.5	1
N.Y.	200,000	5.5	.5	0
N.J.	130,000	6	0	0
Penn.	300,000	16	1	1
Del.	30,000	1	0	0
Maryland	250,000	8	0	0
Virginia	400,000	18	1	2
N.C.	200,000	10	0	0
S.C.	200,000	4	1	1
Georgia	25,000	4	0	1
Other	-	3	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>2,443,000</b>	<b>108.5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>





Gen. Charles Cornwallis.

British overseas communications. The expanded war threw England into an impossible to manage manpower shortage. Marine units had to be withdrawn from coastal positions to man the expanding fleet. Ten regiments had to be diverted to the strategic Caribbean, then a further 11 of the new regiments raised in the Scottish highlands had to be sent to defend Jamaica.

## Into the South

The new British commander-in-chief, Gen. Henry Clinton, realized his force in Philadelphia was exposed to Washington's army on land and the threat of French naval intervention at sea. He therefore decided to reconsolidate his position in the more easily defended port of New York. As a result of the move, the largest battle of the war was fought to a draw at Monmouth on 28 June 1778. With that the war in the northern colonies was essentially over.

About half of all British trade with the colonies prior to the outbreak of the revolution had been with those in the south, principally in tobacco, indigo and rice. Hoping to at least salvage that most economically useful area, the British resumed offensive operations in 1780, with Henry Clinton again descending on Charleston.

This time he knew better than to try to force the channel by sailing directly into the port. Instead he landed south of the city, which he then approached from the land-

ward side. The defending Americans, under Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, tried to take refuge inside a city from which they had no escape route. Clinton drew up siege lines in the classic manner and, predictably, Lincoln was forced to surrender on 12 May. It was the single greatest defeat of the war for the Americans in that it left all the southern colonies open to occupation.

Then Cornwallis moved into the Carolina back country where the Tories had been defeated in 1776. Horatio Gates, hero of Saratoga, moved to block his advance at Camden, which resulted in another American army being destroyed on 16 August. Worse, large numbers of southern loyalists began to come in from the countryside to join the king's army.

The tide only began to turn again after a series of small, though hard fought, engagements. A Tory regiment was destroyed at King's Mountain on 7 October 1780. Then Daniel Morgan defeated the Tories' best at Cowpens on 17 January 1781. But Cornwallis was determined, so he burned his baggage to increase his speed and hurried northward, chasing Morgan out of North Carolina. Morgan in turn linked with Greene's main body at Guilford Court House on 6 February. Cornwallis continued to press, only giving up the chase after the Americans crossed the lower Dan River, taking all the available ferry craft with them.

Cornwallis moved back to Hillsboro, a position from which he could defend all three reconquered southern colonies from rebel assault, for a much needed rest. Short of manpower and running low on supplies, he called for all His Majesty's "faithful and loyal subjects" to rally to him, bringing "their arms and 10 days provisions." This time not one man came forward; the perception the tide had indeed turned was spreading.

On the other side of the Dan, Nathaniel Greene was abundantly resupplied and also reinforced by 400 new Virginia Continentals, as well as militia from



Gen. Nathanael Greene.

## Spain: Forgotten Ally

France is always recalled as America's ally in the revolution, but Spain certainly contributed as much militarily to the victory. In fact, Bernardo de Galvez, Spanish governor of Louisiana, was probably the single most successful commander on either side. Even before Spain had officially entered the war, he began funnelling supplies from New Orleans up the Mississippi River to help sustain the American rebels. When Spain's entry became inevitable, rather than merely looking to his own colony's defense, Galvez organized for an offensive before his counterpart British commander in West Florida even knew he was at war.

Initially Galvez's forces consisted of a regiment he formed from among resident French settlers, a second unit recruited in Mexico, and a single regiment of Spanish army regulars. With those scant forces he conducted a surprise attack on the British forts at Baton Rouge and Manchac in September 1779. Other forces under his direction successfully defended St. Louis from British attack on 26 May 1780. He sent other expeditions striking as far north as the British post at St. Joseph on Lake Michigan.

At first denied reinforcement from Havana, Galvez went after the key British position at Mobile anyway. On 14 March 1780 that place was surrendered to the Spanish. A British relief force dispatched from Pensacola was also turned back the following day.

Galvez then immediately began to plan a move against that capital of British West Florida, by this point with the full support of the Spanish colonial authorities in Havana.

His first attempt moved out on 7 March 1780, but had to be abandoned when the Spanish naval commander decided his ships couldn't successfully bombard the British forts. He tried again with a larger force on 16 October, but this time the ships were struck by a hurricane that scattered them all along the Gulf coast.

Finally, on 13 February 1781, a third expedition was gotten off. Upon arrival at Pensacola, the Spanish naval commander again insisted the British forts were impregnable. But this time Galvez took personal command and sailed into the channel. As a result, the entire British colony of West Florida was surrendered to Spain on 8 May.

Galvez then turned to planning a combined Franco-Spanish invasion of Jamaica, though the scheme had to be dropped after the Battle of the Saintes returned naval superiority to the British. But even the loss of his own nation's naval support didn't entirely stop Galvez. He launched one more expedition, to New Providence in the Bahamas, escorted by a lone American frigate when no other ships could be found. Again successful, on 8 May 1782 the British colony of the Bahamas Islands was surrendered to him.

After the war Galvez became viceroy of all New Spain, while also retaining his titles of governance over Cuba, Florida and Louisiana. For a time it appeared his able leadership might rejuvenate the entire Spanish colonial empire in the New World, but he died in Mexico City on 39 November 1786 at the age of only 38.



there and North Carolina. Not wanting to give Cornwallis a similar chance to regroup, Greene recrossed the Dan and moved to a battle site he'd reconnoitered during his earlier retreat, Guilford Court House. Cornwallis engaged on 15 March, driving the Americans from the field in what amounted to a Pyrrhic victory: he lost so many men (530) he had no choice but to pull back to the coast at Wilmington.

Greene had lost another battle, but he was nonetheless a superb strategist. He moved south to Camden, and in so doing cut off Cornwallis from his southern base. Greene then went on to lose more battles at Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs, but in such a way as to back the British into two coastal enclaves at Charlestown and Savannah, where they stayed until the war's end.

At Wilmington, Cornwallis was in a truly difficult situation. If he pushed back south he would be crossing a region already depleted by foraging, and such a retrograde move would probably also work to encourage still more men to join the rebel cause. But he also knew other British forces were conducting raids into Virginia, and therefore "resolved to take advantage of Gen. Greene's having left the back part of Virginia open and march immediately into that province."

Within Virginia, though the British had initially abandoned Norfolk on 1 January 1776, they'd returned three years later with a raid on Portsmouth in May 1779. The American turncoat Benedict Arnold, now in British service, arrived in Hampton Roads on 30 December 1780 to begin leading a series of raids up the James River as far as Richmond. His main purpose was to destroy military stores and prevent further reinforcement from reaching Greene in the south.

But Arnold was probably the worst general the British could have had in that place at that time. Washington was determined to capture and hang the traitor, predicting it would be "an event particularly agreeable to this country." He therefore set up a plan with French Lt. Gen. Rochambeau, by that time based at Newport, Rhode Island, to undertake a joint operation to catch Arnold. Gen. Lafayette was therefore sent southward with three elite light infantry regiments, while the ships from Newport, under Adm. Destouches, were sent to the Chesapeake (though they were initially driven off by a British squadron under Adm. Arbuthnot).

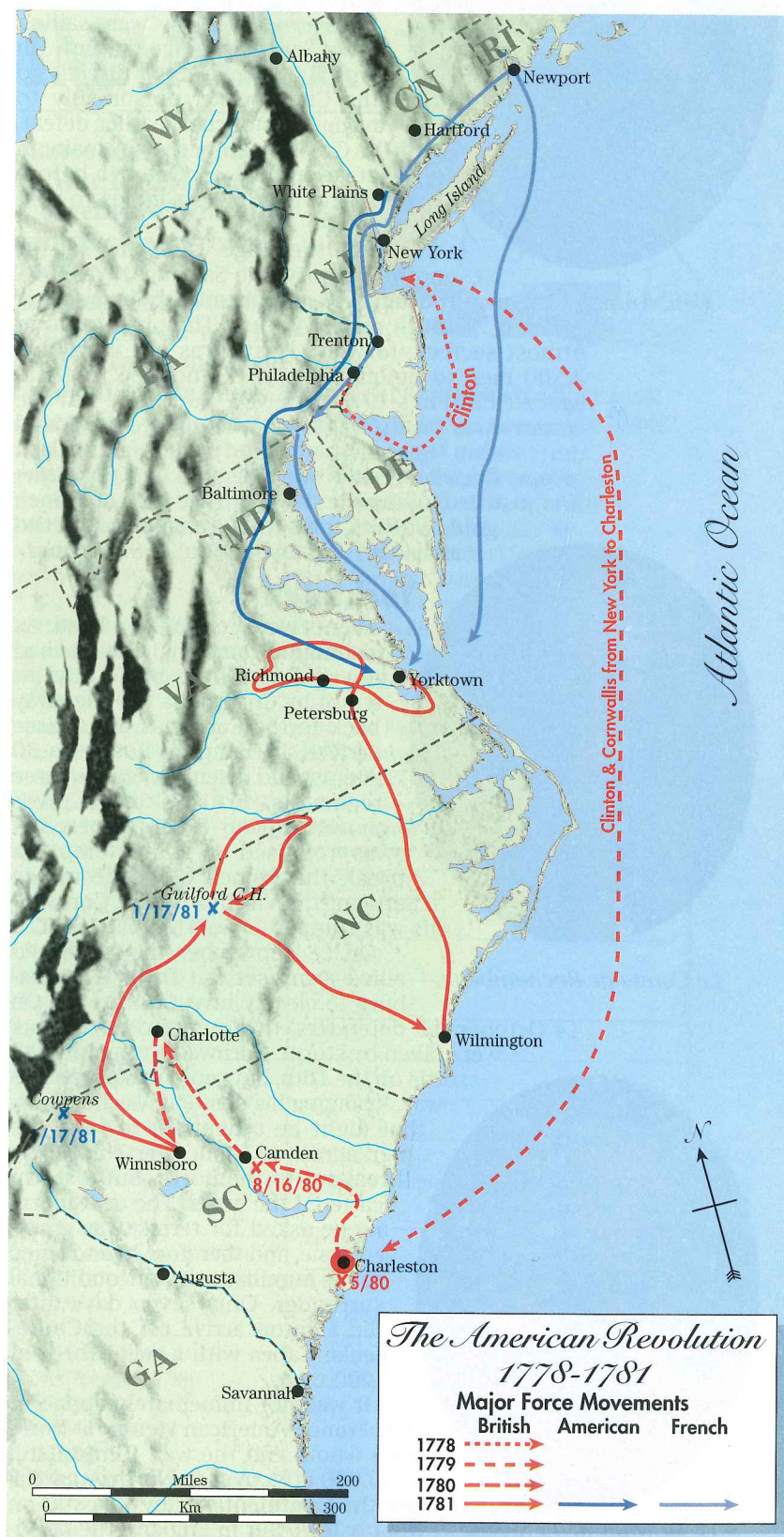
Clinton had meanwhile decided to try to reinforce success by sending Maj. Gen. William Phillips with 2,600 men to supersede Arnold in command. That combined force looted Petersburg, where they linked with Cornwallis on 20 May. Lafayette was concerned he faced too large an enemy force, and wrote to Washington: "Were I to fight a battle, I should be cut to pieces...were I to decline fighting, the country would think itself given up."

He was in fact soon forced back as far as Ely's Ford on the Rapidan, near what would later be the site of the Civil War Battle of Chancellorsville. But help was on its way. On 10 June, Anthony Wayne arrived with three more regiments of Continentals from Pennsylvania, while von Steuben shortly raised 425 new regulars from within Virginia. Then three brigades of Virginia militia also joined the growing army.

At the same time Clinton ordered Cornwallis to transfer 3,000 of his men back to New York, where he was expecting a combined attack by Washington and Rochambeau. Cornwallis' force was heading back to Portsmouth to embark when Lafayette fell on them while crossing the James River. The Americans were

repulsed but fought well enough that Cornwallis declined to pursue, allowing Lafayette to move to Richmond to await developments.

Cornwallis spent the rest of the summer receiving conflicting orders from Clinton. On 8 July he was told to send the originally ordered 3,000 men to Philadelphia instead of New York. On 12 July new orders came redirecting them to New York once again. On the 20th he was instructed to instead move his entire





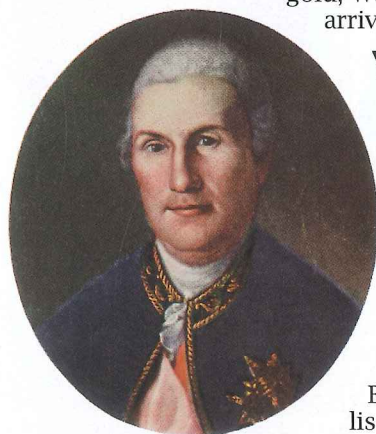


Gen. Anthony Wayne.

force to Old Point Comfort, which was soon found unsuitable, then to Yorktown.

Washington and Rochambeau had indeed been contemplating operations against New York City, despite the fact the British would outnumber them there by almost two to one. Then on 14 August a letter arrived from Adm. de Grasse stating he was sailing from Santo Domingo on the 13th with 3,000 men to go directly to the Chesapeake, presumably to avenge Destouches' earlier defeat. De Grasse planned to remain in that area until 15 October before returning to the West Indies to winter.

Hoping the stage was being set for another victory like Saratoga, Washington and Rochambeau began moving south on 21 August. They had to go in utmost secrecy, for Gen. Heath was left with only 2,500 men to defend New York and New England against Clinton's 17,000 in New York City. But the country was on the verge of economic collapse and units within the army had already mutinied for lack of pay: decisive results were needed and the situation justified taking the risk. With the help of French gold, Washington's army remained intact to arrive at Williamsburg on 26 September.



Le Comte de Rochambeau.

## Yorktown

Events were coming to a head. As Washington came on, Lafayette had moved forward to block any attempt by Cornwallis to slide away back to the Carolinas. De Grasse arrived at Hampton Roads on 30 August and disembarked his three regiments. British Adm. Graves showed up on 5 September, but was repulsed in his attempt to break the French blockade in the Battle of the Virginia Capes. Cornwallis was trapped.

On 28 September the combined allied army set out from Williamsburg to closely invest Yorktown. On 14 October the defenders' two outermost redoubts were taken by storm. Cornwallis attempted to sortie on the 16th, but could make no headway. Realizing his position was hopeless, that night he attempted to ferry his men across to Gloucester Point for a breakout to the north, but a storm scattered the boats. The next morning he asked for terms, was granted none, and therefore had to agree to the humiliation of unconditional surrender. Only seven days later did Clinton arrive off the Chesapeake Capes with a relief force of 7,000 men.

It was not immediately apparent the Franco-American victory at Yorktown would end the war. Clinton still had 30,000 effectives in North America, and the Continental army was still on wobbly legs. But in England the politi-

cal repercussions were enormous. The summer had brought a seemingly unending string of British defeats: West Florida had fallen to the Spanish; Minorca had fallen to the French; Gibraltar was under siege; and the combined Franco-Spanish fleets were expected to appear in the Channel at any moment. The government survived a vote of confidence on 27 November, two days after the news of Yorktown had arrived, but that couldn't change the gravity of the moment.

On 8 December the cabinet decided to concentrate forces in Jamaica in the hope of saving that colony. On 14 December Lord North declared no more funds were available to pay for a continued war in America. Parliamentary deadlock then paralyzed the government until the opposition Rockingham ministry took over on 27 March. That ended the political basis for continuing the war in America. England would attempt to make a separate peace with the Yankees in order to be able to continue her efforts to retain the other parts of the empire. ❖

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# George Washington — Spy Master

*by R.C. Tessendorf*

When John Honeyman was a young man in north Ireland's County Armagh during the 1750s, a unit of the occupying English army came to his village, surrounding it. The officers then inventoried its male populace. Honeyman, a burly 6'4", stood out as a prize recruit and was taken away as a forced enlistee.

Though young Honeyman had the normal Irish resentment against English overlords, he decided to make the best of his impressment in hope of eventually being discharged and allowed to get on with life. He became an exemplary soldier in a regiment sent to take part in the British conquest of Canada during the French and Indian War. During the crossing, Pvt. Honeyman chanced to save one Col. Wolfe from accidental death. When the latter became 32-year-old Gen. James Wolfe, he remembered and rewarded his savior by making Honeyman his personal bodyguard.

At Quebec in 1759 occurred the battle that won Canada for England. But to the British soldiers serving there, all of whom adored their commander, it was a hollow victory because Wolfe was among the killed. Honeyman was one of those who helped carry the fatally wounded officer from the field.

Following his discharge, Honeyman stayed on in British North America, first as a cattle trader and butcher, later as a weaver. He married an Irish girl he met in Philadelphia and became a settled man. By 1775, of course, that city had become the political locus of the opposition to Great Britain, and George Washington was there named commander of the new Continental Army by Congress in its second session.

Soon thereafter Honeyman sought and got a private meeting with Washington. It was the testimonial letter he still carried from Wolfe that got him inside. There was brief small talk about both men's earlier service for England in the French and Indian War, then Honeyman advanced his purpose. He said his Irish resentment at English tyranny fired his desire to help in the new American fight for freedom. Though he'd pledged loyalty to Gen. Wolfe, he saw that as a personal matter ended nearly 20 years in the past. He believed, having reached the age of 46, his best possible service to the Continental Army would be as a spy. Because of his British army record, all who knew him believed him to be a Tory, a loyalist to the Crown. He emphasized to Washington he'd never declared his true patriot feelings to anyone.

Looking over Honeyman's army papers, the American commander-in-chief sized up the unusual volunteer. He agreed Honeyman's earlier British army

ties would likely given him the cover needed to be accepted anywhere among the enemy as one of their own. Another big plus came from the fact Honeyman's army experience would enable him to understand and pass on important military data. It also seemed likely the taciturn Irishman could be depended on to remain silent even in difficult circumstances. Considering those to be three prime qualifications for a successful spy, Washington agreed to take on Honeyman as his own confidential agent.

Thus was created George Washington — spy master. Because of the lack of many detailed sources on this aspect of the man, few are today aware of this important talent in the father of our country. But he was undoubtedly one of the best intelligence directors to ever serve the cause of the United States.

The economic simplicity of Washington's spy system shielded its secrecy. There was no intelligence agency bureaucracy; hence there could also be no second-guessing, slips of lips, or "moles" burrowing in. His spy network and all its activities were recorded only in Washington's brain, supported by sparse and cryptic reminder notes he jotted, mostly concerning expenditures. Historians scrutinizing them have found little understandable detail. For example, they contain not a word about John Honeyman, one of his stars.

A spy, of course, was of no value in patriot territory; and if Philadelphia fell soon, it would likely signal the end of the war. But New Jersey lay in the middle of the colonies, a corridor state likely to become an avenue for marching armies. At Washington's suggestion, the Honeyman family (his wife was taken into confidence) moved to Griggstown in central New Jersey, where they bought a farm. Honeyman saw to it he soon became known throughout the area as a staunch Tory.

In 1776 the patriot cause first flared brightly with the forced British evacuation of Boston and July's Declaration of Independence. But by late summer the news began to sour, and then became ominous indeed as Washington's troops were ousted from New York City by Gen. William Howe's redcoats. Still further defeats sent the shrinking American Army fleeing across northern New Jersey in the late fall, their sole hope to get over the Delaware River and attempt to hold on behind that water barrier.

Honeyman, no sunshine spy, left home and managed to meet again with Washington. The general ordered him to become mobile by resuming his former cattle and butcher trade. He was to establish himself as a beef supplier to the enemy opposite the



Americans along the Delaware. When he got important information he was to privately report it to Washington.

Washington successfully accomplished his retreat behind the Delaware, but only a tattered force of about 5,000 men remained, many of them unfit for combat. They camped in the early snow without tents or wool garments; many were shoeless. Faith in the patriot cause flickered low. Congress declared their steadfastness, then on the following day voted again with their feet, falling back from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

As was customary in those days, campaigning shut down for winter. Howe retired to New York City, leaving subordinates out in the New Jersey cold to man a forward supply base at New Brunswick and another farther south at Princeton. Along the Delaware, however, the guard against the shivering Americans opposite was assigned to German mercenaries, the troops commonly called "Hessians." They'd fought well at New York, and were pleased to be allowed a season to plunder the patriot civilians within their reach.

Cattleman Honeyman soon ingratiated himself with Col. Rall, commander of the Germans based at Trenton, the enemy troop concentration nearest to Washington's camp across the river. At about noon on 22 December 1776, Honeyman, cattle whip in hand, walked out of Trenton village on an apparent search for stray beef on the hoof. Once into the snowy countryside he angled toward the river, knowing he could probably find a few American scouts along its east bank. Soon he saw his opportunity: two men in Continental blue, with horses, were sitting on a log among some bushes, while a cow stood in a nearby pasture. Striding to the animal, Honeyman cracked his whip and drove the decoy toward the men.

When they stepped out to question him, Honeyman turned and ran as if he'd just gotten his first sight of them at that instant. He contrived to slip on some ice and fall. The pair leaped and scuffled with their quarry until he was overcome. Then the prisoner gasped out he was only John Honeyman, a simple farmer. But Gen. Washington, as part of a scheme to allow Honeyman to come in, had earlier put out a reward for "John Honeyman — notorious Tory spy." The two soldiers were elated; the spy reward would be theirs.

Shortly the captive was hauled before a grim-faced Washington, who growled he would question the traitor privately. In the next half hour, agent Honeyman described the lax discipline of the Hessians at Trenton and the military layout of their encampment. Col. Rall had completely ignored English orders to fortify the village. He'd said if any Yankees appeared he'd run them off with one bayonet charge. Thus the Hessians were ripe to be taken by sudden attack; and Honeyman believed Christmas presented the needed opportunity because there was sure to be excessive feasting and drinking among the Germans.

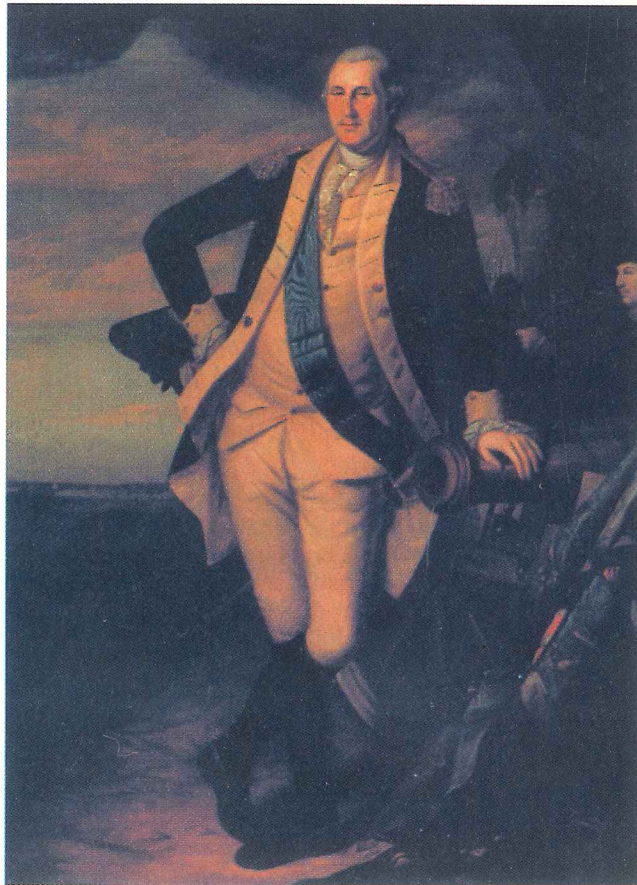
Afterward Washington escorted the spy to be shoved into a windowless cabin. Its door was locked and a guard posted outside. The general then scheduled a trial for the next morning, stating execution by noon would most likely be the result. But in the night a mysterious fire ignited in the headquarters area. The guard, satisfied the prisoner was securely locked in, responded to the alarm. A glimpsed running figure shortly drew a few shots, but got away cleanly. Honeyman had gotten out of his prison with

a key provided by spy master Washington, who'd also arranged the blaze to draw off the guard.

Honeyman got across the ice-choked river, jumping and splashing his way until eventually taken in by Hessian sentries. Brought before Col. Rall, he told his German friend of his adventure — that is, telling just what Washington wanted his enemies to know. He spoke at length of the wretched condition of the Continental troops, saying about one in three wrapped their feet in rags, and explained the mass expiration of enlistments that would occur with the start of the new year. Soon, he said, there would be no American army. Finished talking, he was allowed to return to his home.

When his staff came into headquarters on the morn of 23 December, they found Washington writing in a state of absorption. He'd decided to hit the Trenton base in the pre-dawn darkness of the 26th, when Hessian heads would still be heavy from their Christmas spree. He intended a three-pronged attack over the river. A southern force would cross and block reinforcement from other German bases. A small center group would move to seize the bridge on the village's south side, sealing escape. Washington would himself lead the main strike, sweeping directly into Trenton. Absolutely committed, Washington announced the password for the day: "Victory or Death!"

A nasty "nor'easter" blew into the Delaware valley on Christmas Day, and the river was formidably ice choked. The southern and middle American commanders decided at the last not to go, believing their chief would certainly also have to cancel. But with grim fortitude, Washington went ahead despite the consequences of river ice slowing the ferrying to the



*George Washington just after the Battle of Princeton.*





*John Trumbull's painting of the Hessian surrender at Trenton. Washington offers his hand to the mortally wounded Gen. Rall. On the white horse at right is Gen. Nathanael Greene.*

point his intended schedule was entirely ruined. Two soldiers fell asleep and froze to death during the crossing delay. And when Washington's "corps" of 2,400 men finally sighted their objective it was 8:00 a.m. and broad daylight.

Fortunately it turned out not to matter. Rall had spent most of Christmas night at cards and drinking. A Tory friend, observing the American crossing, hastened to Trenton and clamored to see the German colonel, but couldn't gain admittance to the card room. Desperate, he wrote his intelligence on a note that was promptly delivered but was then as promptly stuck into a pocket where it was left unread.

Thus on all counts Rall really had it coming, and the American attack was launched into a Hessian force in total disarray. There were no American combat losses, fewer than 30 German deaths and hosts of prisoners. Rall got belatedly into action but was soon hit, later dying of his wounds. At the last, fingering the vital message in his pocket, he said: "If I had read this, I would not be here."

Since the end of the previous summer, patriot residents of New Jersey had been quiet under occupation. After Trenton and the follow-up victory at Princeton, Gen. Howe pulled back his forces into a tighter defensive ring nearer New York City. Thus across much of New Jersey it became pay back time against the local Tories. What John Honeyman had helped accomplish, then, had repercussions for him and his family.

A crowd of Griggstown patriots collected and marched to his farm, surrounding the house and calling for Honeyman to come out. Mrs. Honeyman appeared to declare her husband wasn't home; she'd not seen him recently and knew not where he might be. Unsatisfied, the crowd began to threaten to ransack the place. Mrs. Honeyman then called for a leader to come forward, someone who could read. A young man, Abraham Baird, stepped up and was handed a letter that had been penned by Washington in November when he and Mr. Honeyman had conferred in northern New Jersey:

*To the good people of New Jersey, and all others whom it may concern: It is hereby ordered that the wife and children of John Honeyman, of Griggstown, the notorious Tory, now within the British lines and probably acting the part of*

*a spy, shall be and hereby are protected from all harm and annoyance from every quarter, until further orders. But this furnishes no protection to Honeyman himself. Geo. Washington, Com.-in-Chief.*

When the crowd heard it read, along with Baird's opinion the document seemed genuine, their ardor cooled and they dispersed. Even so, during the remaining years of the war being part of the family of John Honeyman was social poison in New Jersey.

Of the other triumphs of spy John Honeyman there appears no detailed record; but it must be surmised he remained active and successful. In 1777 he was arrested and charged before a New Jersey court. He was found guilty of treason, but was then released after a representative from the headquarters of the Continental Army arrived to give testimony. Pulled in again the next year for "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," he was once again quietly released after intervention from higher authority. In 1779 all his property was for a time listed for public sale by state authorities, but the auction never occurred.

Then, with the peace, came proud days for the embattled Honeyman family. Patriot celebrities, including George Washington, came to them and publicly praised John for his stealthy and vital wartime service. Thus Honeyman rose from suspect-traitor to patriot-hero. There was also a monetary settlement. Living to 93 as a prosperous farmer, the close-mouthed Honeyman seems never to have spoken outside his family about his activities in the dangerous days when Washington needed a spy on the Delaware.

Any perceptive student of military history soon recognizes the larger flow of events is often channeled by critical "hinge" occurrences that sometimes completely reverse the prospect of fortune. Recognizing the importance of such happenings, statesman/historian Winston Churchill titled one on his World War II volumes *The Hinge of Fate*. Certainly, then, the events taking place near the end of 1776 in the Delaware valley qualify as a hinge of great consequence.

In that December it appeared July's bright new republic would expire with the old year along with the enlistments of most in the Continental Army. Dispirited patriots expected it; reassured Tories planned their revenge. Washington wrote to a relative at the time: "The game is nearly up." But, then, two weeks before his army's approaching discharge-oblivion, Washington determined to go over to the offensive. Plans were laid; then a spy brought essential intelligence from the enemy base in Trenton. To boost morale, the ringing words penned by the patriot propagandist Thomas Paine were read out to the scarecrow men in the ranks:

*These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.*

The men were stirred by the words, as well by knowing a fight was coming that would at least end their freezing inactivity. Gen. Washington was never a kiddier, and he had given the grim password: "Victory or Death."



And so it was victory. Desperate maneuvers succeeded, with the enemy thrown into virtual panic by the Christmas strike over the Delaware into Trenton and the follow-on victory that allowed the Continental Army to stay in New Jersey. Patriot morale was restored. Enlistments in the state militias and the Continental Army soared. Financial credit abroad stabilized when for the first time it was realized the revolution might amount to something. The French court began to consider America as a possible ally against its old foe.

Six more dreary and crisis-filled years still lay ahead in the Revolutionary War, but affairs would

never again sink to that sad level of December 1776. Then some 2,400 good men, led by George Washington, who was informed by a lone spy, lifted and carried all America over the river. ☼

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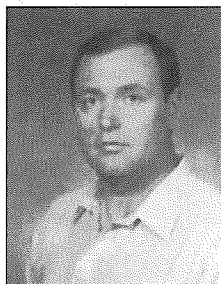
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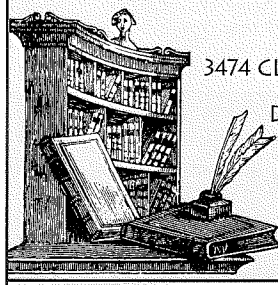
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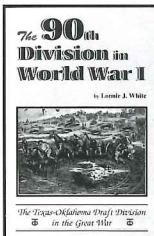
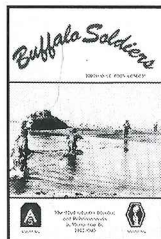


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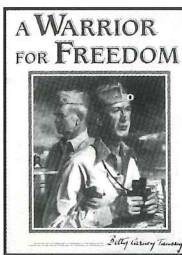
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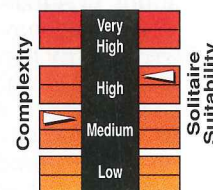
Bob Runnicles & Nigel Roberts

series designer:

Dean N. Essig

## Game Data

- ◆ Die-Cut Counters: 980
- ◆ Full-Color Maps: Two
- ◆ Playing Time: 1 to 16 Hours
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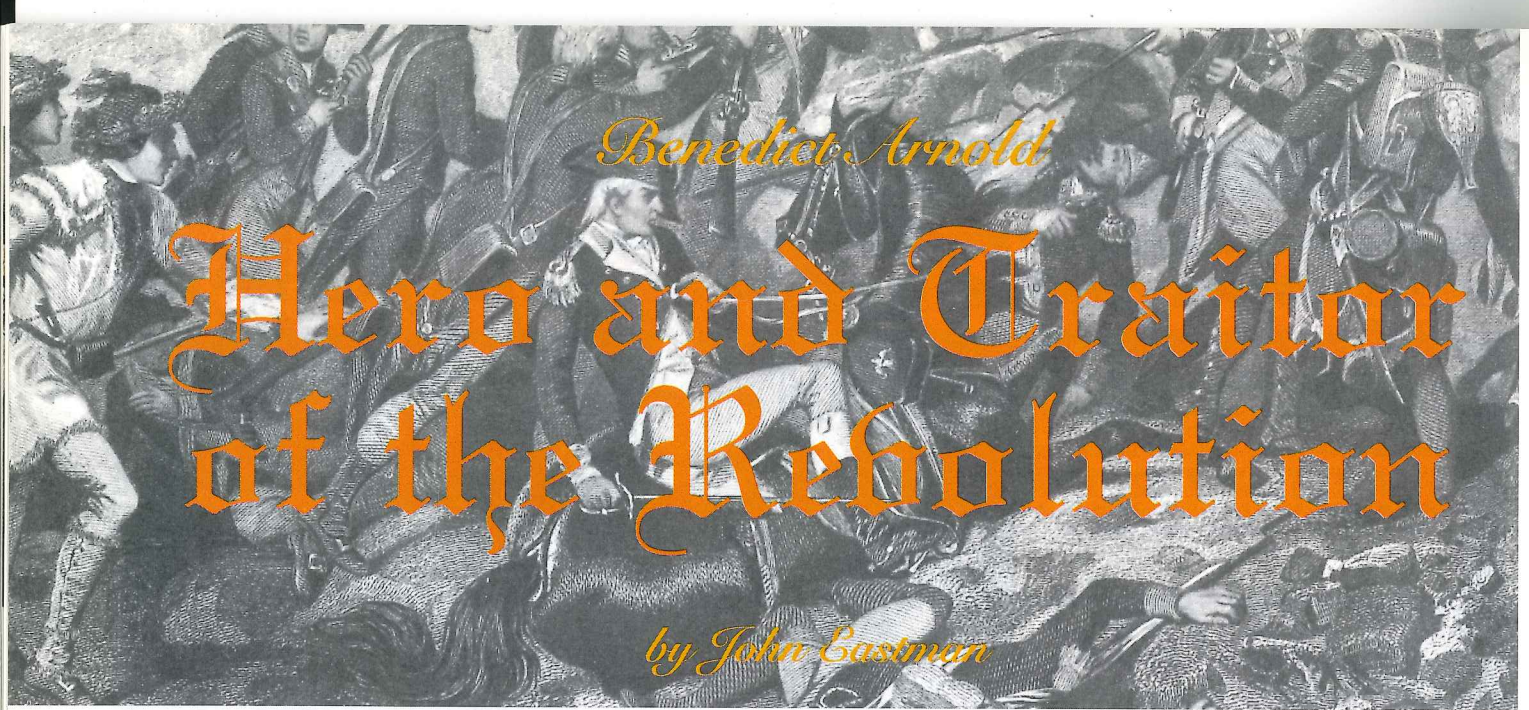
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Even today, the people of Norwich, Connecticut, would just as soon disown him. No marker indicates his birth place near the corner of Washington Street and Arnold Place. "It would be vandalized immediately," according to one local resident. "If only he'd gotten killed before going bad; we'd have a hero and it would all be so much easier."

The problem child of Norwich became our first national disgrace. And over two centuries after his cash deal with the British, we still reserve a special niche of righteous disgust for Benedict Arnold. Incompetence, weakness, even an honest shift in sympathies, Americans could have accepted in time. But Arnold was nothing if not competent, and he was anything but weak. What made his name into an epithet was that the heavy chip he always carried on his shoulder finally rode there as a marketable commodity. In an ideological war he remained a horse trader who offered a bargain sale on his loyalty — for about \$1,440,000 in current dollars.

He may have been — indeed, probably was — wronged by his American superiors after having been grievously wounded in battle. For he'd fought for his country like a nine-lived wildcat. But the vengeance he weighed out on his own scales seems altogether disproportionate to the slights he'd endured.

Historians tend to reevaluate him every generation; he so sticks in the national craw. Yet any attempt to reform his reputation or redeem his character must collide with the enigma of how a man usually so adept and rational could come to be governed by rash impulse. Still, much as the good people of Norwich despised the fact, the American Bicentennial celebration two decades ago would've been incomplete without him. To pretend the Norwich villain hadn't existed is to ignore one of the salient facts of 1775: Benedict Arnold was a good man to have on your side — maybe even the best man. He was a mean one to tangle with, and he tangled at the slightest provocation.

Arnold was, in fact, the fiercest, most skillful field commander George Washington had. Never one of Thomas Paine's "summer soldiers" or "sunshine patriots," he was a highly visible American hero when it counted, during the Revolution's dirtiest, most miserable days — exactly when the country most needed heroes. The hardest irony of all, then, lies in the fact the American Revolution would probably have

*Benedict Arnold unhorsed at the Battle of Saratoga.*

failed without him, either in 1776 or the year after. In 1780, when he bolted to the other side, most of the crucial battles were already past.

Arnold stood about 5'9", and was a tanned, stocky martinet who held himself with considerable military bearing. He had a Hermann Göring-like taste for blindingly bright uniforms with gaudy epaulets. One biographer has likened his exhibitionist style to that of World War II Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. Both were flamboyant and famously short-tempered; both drew reprimands from their commanders for conduct unbecoming an officer; and both inspired almost hypnotic allegiance from the men they led.

The outbreak of the Revolution stirred an ambition in Arnold that would soon abrade sparks of resentment from his better-trained military peers. Years later, after his defection, hosts of hindsight critics easily labeled him reckless and self-serving. Until 1780, however, valor was the word most often attached to his name.

As an American combat commander, Arnold performed feats that, for brazen courage and daring, have never been equaled by any later US general. Not much science was involved; his strategies were usually spontaneous, characterized by sudden, unexpected moves plotted on the instant in the midst of the smoke and noise of battle. He studied war only at first hand, behaved according to no professional code, and his most successful tactic was simply to wade in like a one-man whirlwind, tearing up the scenery, exposing himself to hails of enemy fire. On the field he was a blur of movement. Bullets often came close, tore his hat or killed his horse, but Arnold, shouting like a madman, always survived. His uncanny facility for survival quickly gained him legendary status in the bivouacs of both redcoat and rebel.

Born of an old colonial family, Arnold began his career as a druggist in New Haven. The local folk respected his shrewd business sense but deplored his rowdy tendency to brawl. He dispensed pills at his shop, then began trading in horses, sailing his own cargo ships up and down the Atlantic coast (privateering, some said). At the outset of the revolution, he soon got command of the New Haven militia. He drilled his Yankee soldiers with the strut and bluster



typical of enthusiastic, new citizen soldiers. But most important for his career, he caught the attention of George Washington, who liked Arnold's way with his men.

## Quebec

Arnold's first major campaign was one of the most ambitious, though ultimately futile, actions of the entire Revolutionary War. The 1775 plan to seize Quebec had been hatched by George Washington. Intelligence sources told him the French Canadians were chafing under British rule. A timely strike into Canada might tip that unrest into outright rebellion, depriving the British of a vital base of operations. The move was also intended to divert British pressure from Lake Champlain.

Arnold's expedition was to serve as one arm of a pincer movement. The other arm, led by Col. Richard Montgomery, would proceed up the Lake Champlain route to the St. Lawrence River, meeting Arnold for a final closure on Quebec City. Though the success of such a combined operation depended on many unknowns, Washington considered the gamble worth taking, if only as a morale booster. He needed a daredevil commander to lead the right claw of the pincer.

Earlier in 1775, Arnold had shared command with Ethan Allen in the raid that resulted in the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in New York. Despite a quarrel with Allen's Vermonters that had for a time threatened to wreck the whole boozy venture, Arnold also raided two other weak British garrisons on Lake Champlain. Afterward, aching to lead troops into larger battles, he actively sought command of the Maine portion of the expedition to Quebec. Introduced to Washington by Gen. Horatio Gates, Arnold presented his plan. Washington liked it, commissioned him a colonel in the regular army, and told him to enlist his own troops. He soon assembled 1,100 volunteers.

From Agry Point in Maine, where the expedition began, the ramparts of Quebec City stood 180 miles north through Appalachian wilderness. That was crow mileage; actual distance by meandering river and overland portage trail was closer to 300 miles. Capt. John Montresor, a British army engineer, had in 1761 mapped a network of waterways and trails leading to Quebec, but his survey was sketchy and first hand information was vague. Neither Arnold nor anybody with him really knew anything certain about the route ahead. He therefore planned a 20 day march but took along food for 45.

The volunteers' enthusiasm for heroic high-jinks faded fast upon actual sight of the rugged country that was already ablaze in autumn colors. It was not to be a pleasant jaunt. The flat-bottomed bateaux had to be hauled against the Kennebec River's avalanching current. Rapids chopped the fast river, and the steep overland portages were cruel work. Several boats smashed on the rocks, leaked and sank; food spoiled, vital supplies perished. Then the weather lashed, and men began to drop from fatigue and disease. With their food gone, they chewed boots, pieces of string and the raw flesh of woodpeckers.

North of Solon, Maine, a marker today identifies "Cross Over Place," where Arnold's route left the Kennebec. Heading overland toward Dead River, the men lugged the heavy boats through the woods. Arnold moved tirelessly up and down the miles of strung-out army, promising, cajoling, lending a shoulder, fiery in his confidence that not even the worst of circumstances could stop the advance. Success of our

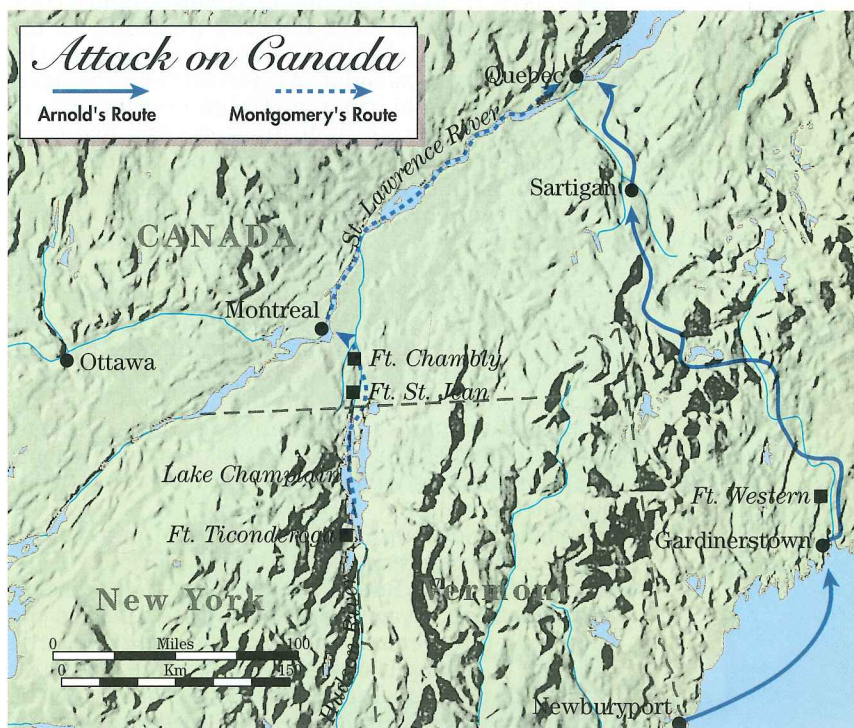
American Revolution was the message he preached — and, for all anyone knew in that bleak year, he might have been right.

But circumstances continued to worsen. An early winter storm hurled sleet and rain with hurricane force. Near today's Cathedral Pines Historic Site on Flagstaff Lake, they camped on high ground while the ordinarily placid Dead River swelled into a rushing chute of uprooted trees and tumbling rocks. Morale held as long as Arnold made himself visible to his men, but the companies began to straggle miles apart, the commander ranged miles ahead, and 300 starving men turned back amid curses and catcalls from the others.

The rest plunged forward, climbing through Chain of Ponds to the height of land at Coburn Gore. There gaped a four-mile mountain pass full of snowfields and jagged rocks. For many who'd made it that far, the pass became the pit of final despair. Bogs, downed trees and ice water pools up to the armpits greeted them on the other side. Disoriented men wandered at wit's end into the swamps and dense thickets, losing their bearings and then their senses. Many left their bones in those tangles and mires.

For those who kept to the track, however, the Canadian portion of the journey became easier. Arnold, now far in front, had brought in supplies from settlers on the Chaudiere River, and he sent cattle back to feed the oncoming stragglers. Some 675 tattered men composed the army that finally assembled at Point Levis on the St. Lawrence. After 46 days of wilderness travel, it was a pathetic troop in flapping rags and with hollow bellies who gathered there. None of them could know they'd already accomplished the greatest deed of the campaign. The warmth of a city beckoned from across the river; surely the good French folk would open the gates to such dogged liberators.

The best moment for the attack was the immediate one. Unknown to Arnold, though, a British contingent had reinforced the city's defense only a few days previously. Indeed, his troops had stumbled out of the wilderness at the very last moment for a pos-







*An engraved portrait of Benedict Arnold painted soon after his ill-fated attack on Quebec, which can be seen in the background.*

sibly successful assault. But with deficient weapons, powder and men, he instead set up a week-long blockade, hoping to seduce the defenders into accepting battle outside the city walls. But a rousing yell, orchestrated from gaunt throats by Arnold himself, only provoked some contemptuous cannon fire from the garrison. The episode was a stunning anticlimax. The humiliated force shambled upstream to await Col. Montgomery at Neuville.

That officer, having occupied Montreal, arrived in a few days. He joined his 300 men with Arnold's command, but the new siege failed as miserably as the first. The colonial short-timers suddenly began to be conscious of the calendar. With enlistments expiring in the burning cold, troop discipline became as brittle as the ice glazing their muskets. The two commanders decided Quebec had to be taken — if it could be taken at all — by sudden, direct assault.

They began their attack from two sides of the lower town in a New Year's Eve blizzard. Fighting was fierce and bloody. A cannon blast riddled Montgomery. At the corner of Saint Jacques and Sous-le-Cap Streets, just below the old ramparts, a bullet tore Arnold off his feet. Near fainting from pain and loss of blood, he insisted on standing upright as long as his men pressed forward. But the high town couldn't be taken; it's garrison outnumbered the Americans by two to one. The British took 426 prisoners, leaving the remnants of a wrecked American army scattered outside the walls.

Arnold ended up in a convent three miles away, trying to direct a renewed stationary blockade of the city from his bed. But as winter dragged on, disease and starvation ravaged the demoralized men in the camps. Reinforcements arrived, but were too little too late. By spring it was evident even the stalemate was too costly to maintain. The key to American success had always been the French-Canadian residents

of the city; but they remained in their homes and comfortable, not at all as interested in liberation as Washington had hoped.

The defeated Americans withdrew up the St. Lawrence and from there down to Lake Champlain. Arnold himself limped aboard the last boat to leave as a hero. His tenacity in the face of defeat had adorned him with braver colors than any easy victory could have; his wounded leg was his badge of honor. But the final departure of the remnant army, which had crossed the Appalachians in a bad season only to shrivel at Quebec in a worse one, created a heavy feeling in the gut of the "Dark Eagle," as the Maine Indians had come to call Arnold.

His journey across Maine forged a bond between Arnold and the people of the area that even the later disgrace couldn't destroy. Today one can travel all along the marked "Arnold Trail" in Maine without seeing any posted reminder he eventually became a turncoat. Devotion is also evident in the meticulous work of the Arnold Expedition Historical Society, headquartered in Gardner, which has labeled the old campsites along US 201 and state highways 16 and 27. The advent of new towns, highways and dams have covered parts of Arnold's route, but most of the rugged country remains today as it was. And the tough, independent-minded people of the region are not disposed to consider one betrayal excuse for another.

## Lake Champlain

On the heels of the American retreat out of Canada, the British commander there, Sir Guy Carleton, launched a counterattack. His strategy was no secret, since the easiest British passage into the northern colonies had to follow Arnold's route of retreat from Quebec: the Lake Champlain corridor. Carleton intended to push east from there to the Hudson highlands, then south to link with British forces on the lower Hudson. The Continental forces in the area were in shambles. They could only hope to harass and delay, not stop, the British advance. Arnold received an order to, in effect, help buy time.

Newly promoted to brigadier general, his next command was a navy. Before the war, as an experienced sailor and seagoing merchant, he'd navigated his own vessels as far as Quebec and the West Indies. Now he began overseeing the building and launching of lake ships at Whitehall, New York. He drove his boat builders hard, and by early September had launched 15 small "gundelos" onto the lake.

Watching for signs of the British vanguard at the Richelieu River mouth, he first anchored off Windmill Point near Alburg, Vermont. Small advance parties of Indians and redcoats soon appeared in the shoreline foliage. Arnold put a detachment ashore on Isle La Motte to cut saplings for gunwale barricades, but the enemy main body was closer than he'd thought. A sudden ambush ashore killed five of his men, making Arnold hastily move his fleet south.

Seven miles south of Plattsburgh, New York, he anchored behind Valcour Island, off the lake's western shore. At that point he still had no definite strategy in mind. But then a British fleet of 29 vessels suddenly drove fast down Lake Champlain, bypassing Valcour Island. They'd run two miles south when Arnold pulled back their attention with a lure vessel. Tacking around, 17 of the British boats beat upwind into the little bay.

Battle began as flash and explosion billowed smoke and battered the cove for almost eight hours.



The Americans' little lake boats lurched under the recoil and impact of cannon fire. Masts and men fell as the British ships pounded them. When darkness ended fighting for the day, Arnold counted 60 casualties among his badly shot up fleet. His decks were blood-slippy, his ammunition low. Not one of his boats had escaped damage; the splintered *Royal Savage* had careened into the southern tip of the island, and the *Philadelphia* lay on the bottom.

Only three enemy vessels had been disabled. At evening, they lined across the bay's south end, awaiting dawn to level the rest of the nuisance force before them and then move on to seize Fort Ticonderoga.

The bleak night passed in silence, but only one navy's sailors slept. In the heavy, predawn fog, Arnold gambled his last resources on a fantastic maneuver, one of the greatest escape feats of naval history. Hanging shaded lanterns in each stern, his splintered, tilting boats single-filed with hardly a creak through the left flank of the British line and fled south on the open lake. When the British awoke to find themselves alone on the peaceful bay, outrage and chagrin were served for breakfast. They hoisted sail, tacked and cursed their way into hot pursuit.

Arnold, not many miles ahead, pushed desperately to outrun the superior fleet, but several of his boats were too badly smashed to gather much speed. When the British had almost caught up, he drove his flagship, the *Congress*, plus four other limping vessels, aground at what is now Button Bay State Park on the Vermont side. There, with flags defiantly raised, he burned his boats to the water line. His crews peppered the British with small arms fire until the beached craft were flaming, then headed south along the wooded shore to Chimney Point. Other Americans rescued them there, and Arnold learned six of his boats had managed to out race the British.

Carleton's fleet advanced to Fort Ticonderoga, which looked stronger than it was. If the Valcour Island fight was a foretaste of what he could expect, Carleton's fleet was in trouble and he knew it. Instead of attacking, he withdrew back to Canada. Thus Arnold's amazing performance on Lake Champlain may well have been what prevented the Americans from losing the Revolution in 1777. In having to stop to form and then reform a flotilla of his own, Carleton didn't have time to take Ticonderoga and also push on to Albany before winter began. Parliament in London was not pleased with the whole episode.

Today the retrieved keel and ribs of the *Congress* are displayed at Barnes House, an old inn near Addison, Vermont. Other remnants of Arnold's scuttled boats lie in Fort Ticonderoga's museum. The best preserved is the gundelo *Philadelphia*, raised from the floor of Valcour Bay in 1935 and now exhibited in the Smithsonian. Lifted with it came a trove of tools and the bones of some brave men.

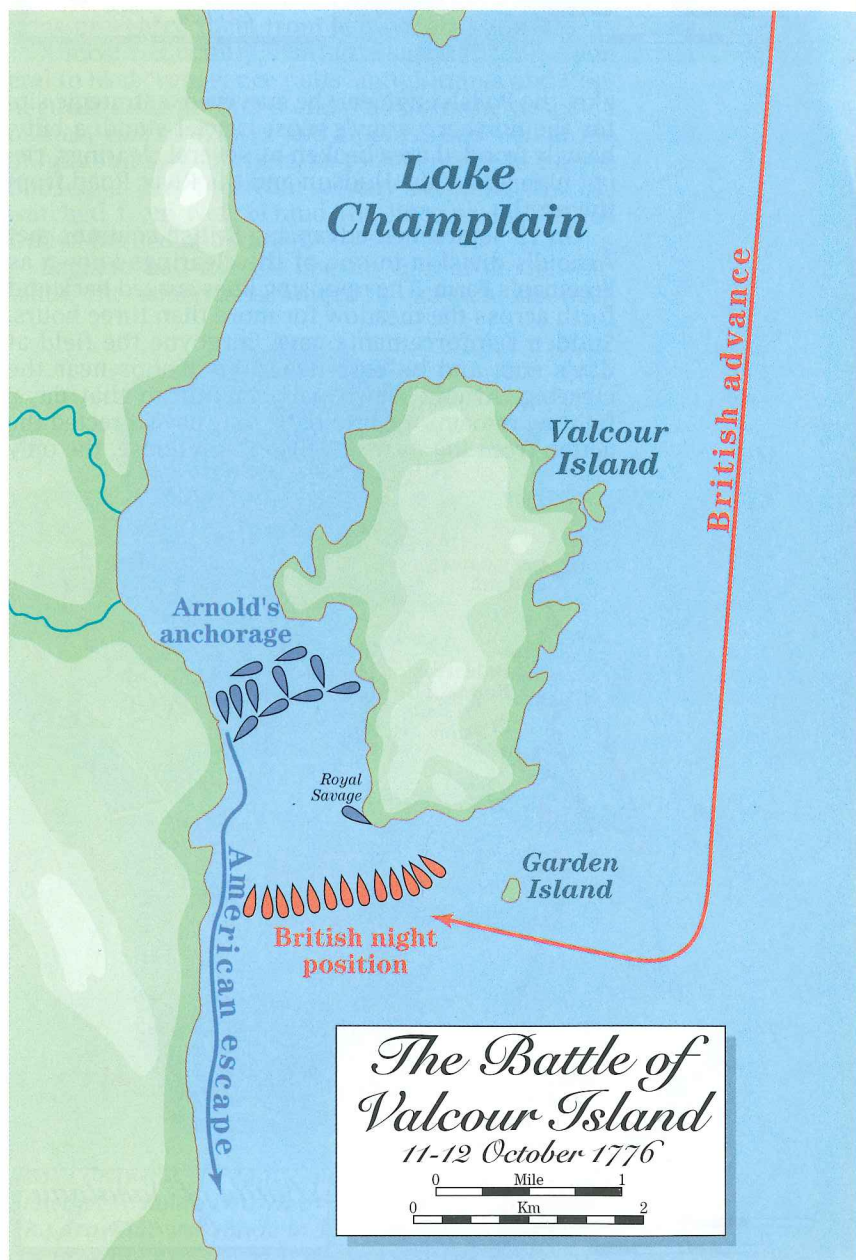
## Saratoga

The hero of Quebec and Valcour Bay was paraded and acclaimed. Shock waves of his sudden fame washed over the gloom of the Continental Army's camps, raising morale. The cause, it was marveled, had found a genuine combat general, a slippery, cocky fighter who made British regulars look bumbling.

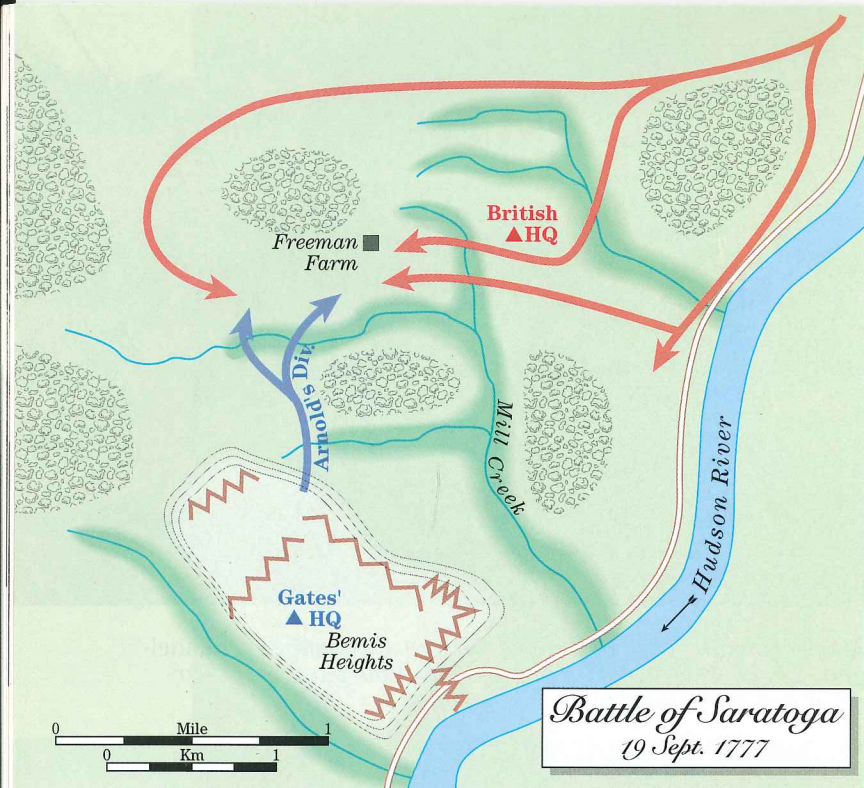
By the summer of 1777, the British offensive had resumed under Burgoyne, who pressed south along the Hudson. Arnold was ordered to join the American forces assembling under Gen. Horatio Gates, his old mentor, at Stillwater, New York. Along with Koscius-



A view from the deck of a replica of Arnold's gunboat *Philadelphia*, anchored at Lake Champlain Maritime Museum in Vermont. (photo by author)

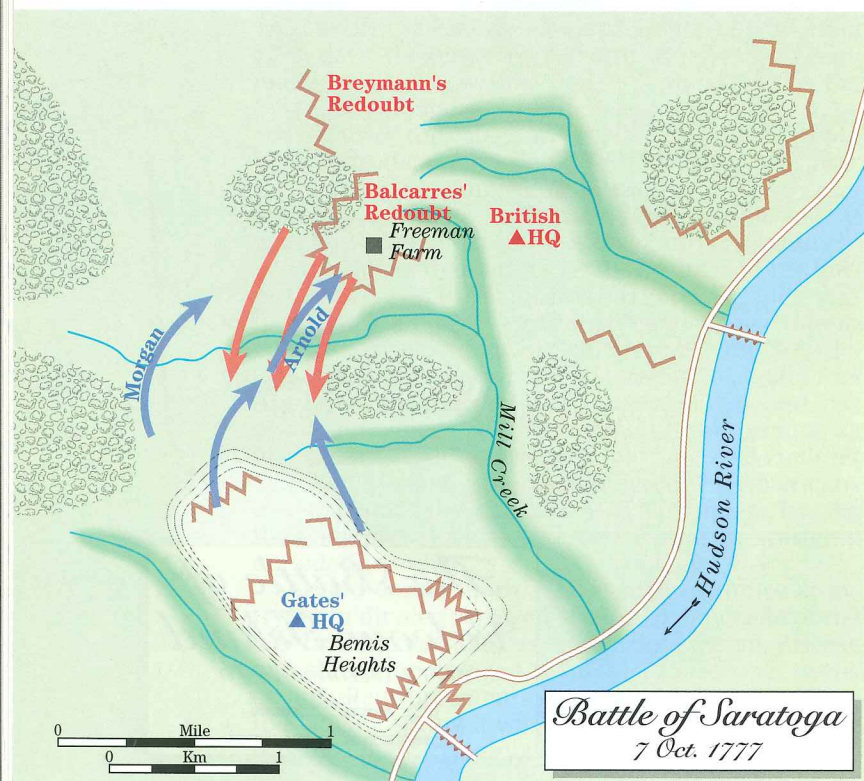






zko, the Polish engineer, he surveyed a strategic site for the northern army's most crucial stand: a hilly, heavily wooded area broken by several clearings, rising high above the Hudson and the River Road from the north.

On 19 September, advancing British columns met Arnold's division in one of the clearings known as Freeman's Farm. The opposing lines surged back and forth across the meadow for more than three hours. Sudden reinforcements gave Burgoyne the field at day's end, and he entrenched his troops near the clearing. Arnold's own participation in that day's fighting remains uncertain. He may have directed the action from the nearby Neilson farmhouse, the only



original building still standing in Saratoga National Historical Park.

Many historians have concluded Arnold could have won a decisive victory in that first Saratoga battle if Gates hadn't insisted on containing the action. Apparently Arnold himself thought so. For as troops from both sides patrolled and sniped and slept that night, a frosty council of war took place on the American side. Gates, wrongly anticipating attack from another British force that was actually far to the rear, had hatched a conservative defensive scheme, refusing to gamble the commitment of his total force. He grew impatient with Arnold's compulsive sweat to take to the field and lead the attack.

Arnold, furious, felt hamstrung by a caution he thought at least needless, if not cowardly. Harsh words passed, political intriguing among some staff members complicated matters, and Gates finally relieved Arnold of command. Arnold paced and fumed, wrote angry notes to Gates, and daily announced his imminent departure. But he delayed, feeling Burgoyne had to soon make a move that would bring matters to a new head. And on 7 October the British attacked.

Eyewitness accounts diverge on the details of Arnold's sudden entry into battle that day. Some say he and Gates reached an accord that allowed Arnold to go out to reconnoiter the action. Others insist he was clearly insubordinate following a final explosion of tempers in Gates' tent. Still others claim Gates studiously ignored his sidelined subordinate, and that it was the large amount of liqueur Arnold imbibed that finally brought on his mad dash to the scene of the fighting. All accounts agree, though, his appearance there was sudden and unexpected.

Yelling for volunteers to follow him, he galloped into the thick of the fighting directly west of Freeman's Farm. The British flanks were already in trouble when Arnold began forcing their center back toward their fortified starting position. So excited he whacked the flat of his sword on one American captain's head to get the man out of the way, Arnold led an assault on Balcarras Redoubt, the strongest of the British positions. He and the men with him charged repeatedly in savage but futile attacks.

Then, through a withering crossfire, Arnold wheeled north to join the attack on the hilltop Breyman Redoubt. That breastwork, a 200 yard long wall of logs on the British far right, was Burgoyne's key position. While Arnold's assault battered against that wall, a messenger from Gates came riding out with a stern warning for him to get off the field. By the time he'd caught up with Arnold, however, the Battle of Saratoga had been decided. Breyman Redoubt was taken; all that remained was mopping up.

The messenger found Arnold himself beyond caring. As he'd stormed through a sally port, a Hessian defender had fired pointblank at his horse, which reared and fell heavily on its side, pinning Arnold's left leg underneath. The Hessian then tried to give up, but was about to be shot when Arnold yelled from the dirt: "Don't hurt him! He's a fine fellow. He only did his duty."

Arnold soon lay fainting in a stupor of pain. When stretcher bearers retrieved him, he said: "I wish that bullet had pierced my heart." Within three years, most of his countrymen would wish the same. If he'd died at Saratoga, history would revere him as an American hero without peer.

A strange monument today marks the site of Breyman Redoubt — a booted left leg cut in stone. The inscription, bearing no mention of Arnold's name,



reads: "In memory of the most brilliant soldier of the Continental Army, who was desperately wounded on this spot, the sally port, in Burgoyne's Great Western Redoubt, 7 October 1777, winning for his countrymen the decisive battle of the American Revolution and for himself the rank of Major General."

## Traitor

The Continental Congress, never slow to identify with Arnold's triumphs, took its time to grant him that coveted rank. With his smashed leg locked in a fracture box, he lay in a foul mood for weeks at Albany. The forced inactivity bothered him worse than the wound. Even in good times, when there was no opposition to batter, Arnold's body had often battered itself in cyclic agonies of gout. Unhorsed, his spirits seethed. He brooded and fretted over his promotion, judging its delay a deliberate slight. Seldom has a sulk had such dire results. It was probably during that mind-festering convalescence the seeds of his treachery were planted.

Washington's personal efforts finally brought the promotion. He then assigned Arnold an invalid's position, the military governorship of Philadelphia. But Arnold was no administrator. In Philadelphia, moreover, sat the Congress he was convinced had worked overtime to ruin his reputation. Lionized at first, he soon rubbed wrong in many quarters. Calculated or not, his swagger and his crude manners offended official decorum. He hobbled around the city, barking orders, partied openly with known British sympathizers, married the spectacularly beautiful daughter of a political neutral and slid into disastrous financial debt.

His grievances against Congress weren't wholly the torture of his own imagination. Those politicians feared military influence in the new nation's government. Allegations also began to circulate Arnold had diverted army funds and supplies to his personal accounts as far back as the Quebec expedition. He swore he'd transacted only in fair exchange for services; he was a soldier, he said, not a bookkeeper. But everyone knew, of course, in civilian life he'd been a most efficient bookkeeper.

Also weighing against him was the fact virtually every American general, Washington included, likewise indulged in loose financial reporting practices. But the real situation, Arnold raged, was the reverse: Congress owed him money he'd spent out of pocket for field operations. And when that assembly put him off, he insisted on a court martial to clear matters.

The tribunal found Arnold guilty of two minor infractions, sentencing him to receive an official reprimand from Washington as punishment. Washington, in turn, worded that rebuke as gently as possible, but it was still a bitter insult to a fragile ego. Arnold dwelled at length on the abuse handed him by an ungrateful nation whose future, he now rationalized, looked less than promising.

Washington finally pulled him out of Philadelphia, assigning him command — the first — of recently fortified West Point on the Hudson. The transfer was by Arnold's request, for his plan to hand over that place to the British was already well advanced.

The circumstances of that betrayal and his defection have been oft told, and make a tale too incredible for fiction. The sale of his loyalty for gold coin and a British commission, his long, coded correspondence and midnight rendezvous with his wife's old beau, the ambitious British Maj. John Andre, Arnold's wild flight down the Hudson, and Andre's cap-

ture and execution — all form the almost mythic ingredients of an epic American drama.

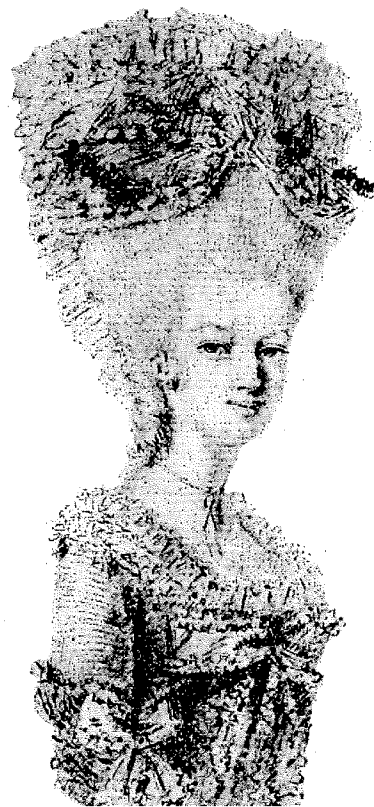
On that September day in 1780, when Arnold dashed from his house in Garrison, New York, and raced down the Hudson to a vessel full of astonished redcoats, a storm broke. It was "treason of the blackest dye," Washington fumed.

Arnold's name transformed overnight to a howled curse. Frustrated mobs in Norwich desecrated his father's grave. The many effigy lynchings and burnings inversely measured his former stature. Washington, shaken to his boots, had a bad moment of paranoia: "Whom can we trust now?" he asked Lafayette. That French soldier owed his very presence in North America to Arnold, for it was the Saratoga victory that had impressed the French sufficiently to bring them into the war as an American ally.

The British resented and grieved the popular Andre's loss, and Arnold's welcome among them was distinctly muted. When it became certain Andre would hang as a spy, Arnold proposed to exchange himself for the young redcoat. Both Washington and Sir Henry Clinton would have liked nothing better, but the British policy of encouraging American defections prevented them from betraying a betrayer.

Almost reluctantly, Clinton assigned his new general to lead "vengeance raids" into Virginia and Connecticut until the war's end. Fallen to the despised military role of pillager and arsonist, and well aware of his countrymen's hate, he took care not to expose himself at the forefront of any more battles. He watched from well behind the lines as his British troops burned and looted.

England had no real use for him after the war. While the Americans longed to stretch his neck



*Pencil drawing of Peggy Shippen (the future Mrs. Benedict Arnold). Drawn by then Capt. John André. The drawing was made in 1778 in Philadelphia, at the time the British Army occupied the city.*



(though generously giving his left leg a decent burial), Londoners hissed and avoided him. He spent the rest of his life as a trader in England and Canada, scheming, wandering, begging George III for something important to do. He died in 1801, having outlived most of his American peers. Preachers and patriots still like to cite the story of his bitter regret expressed in old age at having given up the Continental blue for a red uniform. But no actual evidence exists he ever made such statements or, indeed, that he suffered so much as a twinge of remorse about anything.

Still, Arnold has no lack of recent defenders. In addition to the earlier mentioned long memory of those in Maine, one Vincent Lindner of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, an Arnold advocate, attracted headlines in 1979. After long study of Arnold's court martial, Lindner concluded it had been politically rigged, and that "if this case were brought today, it wouldn't stand up for a moment." He calculated the Pentagon owed Arnold \$698,148,187 in back pay (compounded at six percent interest).

Lindner also claimed Arnold's betrayal at West Point was actually a desperate act of loyalty because he feared a French takeover of America after the war, and therefore believed coming to some settlement with England was vital.

But America's final verdict shows through the void of historical markers in Norwich and in Arnold's nameless monument at Saratoga. He apparently regarded the betrayal as mutual. His act was the consequence, not the cause, of disgrace — which demonstrates an axiom he was fond of using: "If you stab me, prepare to bleed." Arnold's refusal to identify his

cause as being separate from American patriotism revealed his highest loyalty — to his own ambition.

In England, Heather Mayhew, a fourth-generation granddaughter, spoke like a true Arnold at his London tomb in 1975: "I get aggressive when I hear on television programs that say Benedict Arnold was a traitor. He was a very great general."

And some of Arnold's male descendants have also distinguished themselves in military careers. As American allies in later wars, they did much to mend the wound of his defection. Maj. Gen. Theodore E. Stephenson, for example, commanded the British 65th Division in World War I.

Perhaps ultimate closure was best provided in 1969, when Margaret Cameron Arnold, an American descendant, wed Lt. Stephen F. Davis in a military ceremony at West Point. ✪

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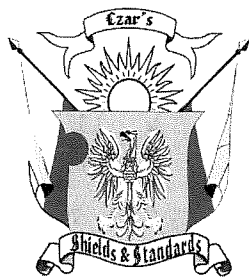
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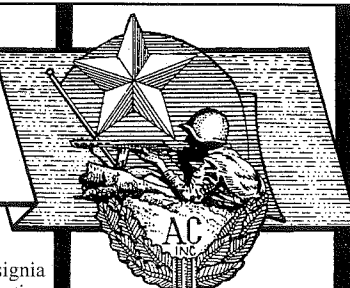
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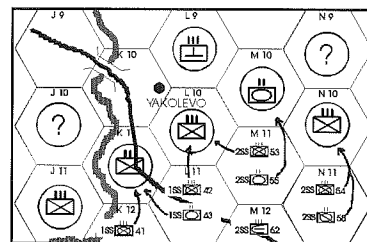
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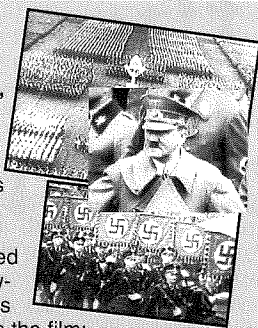


# NEW VIDEO RELEASES

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### FESTIVE NUREMBERG

**(Festliches Nürnberg) (Germany, 1937):** Picking up where *Triumph of the Will* leaves off, this film features highlights from the Party rallies at Nuremberg in 1936 and 1937. An extended aerial sequence, showing Nuremberg in all its gothic splendor, opens the film; Hitler's airfield arrival and triumphant motorcade into town commence its grand ceremonies. Subsequent scenes at the Zeppelinfeld demonstrate the colossal scale and military precision of National Socialist pageantry, while capturing the escalating quotient of spectacle at Nuremberg over the 1930s. A growing variety of pageantry is also suggested, from mass folk-dance performances in rural costume, to a sensational sequence of Wehrmacht exercises conducted at Zeppelinfeld: parachute drops, cavalry, infantry and Panzer formations, artillery fire and live explosions. Throughout its spectacular sequences—night rallies, torchlit marches, massed throngs and fireworks—the film argues its case for an ever-growing bond between party and nation. **B&W, 21 minutes, German commentary, English subtitles. (29.95) #686**



**LAH IM EINSATZ: (Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler in Action) (Germany, 1941):** On the warpath with Hitler's bodyguard regiment in the fierce battles of Rotterdam and Dunkirk, and the invasions of France, Yugoslavia, and Greece.

SS front-line cameramen capture the spirit of the early victorious campaigns as experienced by a single regiment of the Wehrmacht. Scenes of camp life, ceremonies, and combat convey a graphic impression of the comradeship, pride, and élan of this legendary formation. **B&W, 39 minutes, German commentary, English subtitles. (29.95) #507**

**FAMOUS THIRD ARMY (USA, 1950): (ETO August 1st, 1944 - May 7th, 1945)**

General George S. Patton commanded the US Third Army during 281 days of incessant combat with the Germans in 1944 and '45. This film is a record of the Third Army's drive through France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Here's a documentary with a fast-moving narrative of the strategy and tactics employed by the only American general considered by the Germans to be the equal of their best Panzer generals! **B&W, 24 minutes, (19.95) #704**



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**(Germany, 1993):** Joseph Vilsmaier's 20-million-dollar-budget feature film, made to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the greatest and bloodiest battle in military history, follows the tradition of Wolfgang Petersen's *Das Boot* (1981). Vilsmaier's panoramic epic draws on photos, films, war documentation, and eyewitness accounts to tell the story of the defeated German 6th Army from the standpoint of the common foot soldier. The Eastern Front: Winter 1942: The 6th Army is encircled by almost 600,000 men in the bombed-out city of Stalingrad as the temperature drops to minus 58 degrees Fahrenheit. The fight for bare survival has begun for soldiers Fritz, Hans, Rollo, and GeGe. Bullets and rocket launchers are only part of the sheer madness in the midst of which most lose the battle against hunger and cold. The holding-out orders of the Führer suddenly lose all meaning as everything they believed in collapses in front of their eyes. Only one desire exists: the desire to die! **Color, Widescreen format (letterbox), 150 minutes, German dialogue, English subtitles. (39.95) #R452 (Available Nov. 11, 1997)**



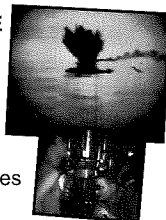
### RED BULL DIVISION: 34TH INFANTRY DIVISION

**(USA, 1953): (North Africa and Italy, 1943-45)** The lot of the common infantryman is hardship, suffering, cold, heat, rain, and death in many forms. This authentic documentary will chill the viewer with its depiction of stark misery in the mountains of Italy. Colonel Quinn shows army awards and medals. **B&W, 29 minutes, (19.95) #708**



### THE SILENT SERVICE: THE STORY OF SUBMARINE WARFARE IN THE PACIFIC

**(USA, 1946):** The compelling account of America's successful submarine campaign in WW2. Japan's initial victories had created a vast overseas empire, but one whose supply lines were especially vulnerable to submarine warfare; by the end of the war, American subs had destroyed some 63 percent of Japan's merchant marine. Due to security considerations, America's submarine force was the "silent service" during the war; after victory, this film was made in belated commemoration. Several recreations of underwater combat were staged, combining authentic detail, gritty camerawork and actual combat footage. **Color, 37 minutes (19.95) #705**



### GENERAL MARSHALL STORY (USA, 1963):

General George C. Marshall became the professional head of the US Army on September 1st, 1939. He was in charge of creating an army of more than eight million men that would eventually defeat the armed forces of Germany, Japan, and Italy. After the war he played an important part in managing the cold war with communism. **B&W, 29 minutes, (19.95) #706**



### ADMIRAL NIMITZ STORY (USA, 1963):

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### GENERAL BRADLEY STORY (USA, 1963): (USA, North Africa, Italy, France: 1942-45)

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# Failure in the American Revolution

*by Carl O. Schuster*

**T**he Royal Navy (RN) was ill-prepared to fight the American Revolution. With training and traditions geared toward decisive engagement of the enemy's main battle fleet, it initially faced a foe who had neither a fleet nor bases in which it could be blockaded. More, the nature of the war changed more quickly than the Admiralty's moribund bureaucracy could react. What began as a local conflict centered around a few coastal trading centers in the northeast soon expanded inland and southward until it encompassed nearly the entire eastern half of the North American continent.

By the time the Admiralty and the on-the-spot RN commanders formulated a basic strategy to aid in fighting the war ashore, the fight had expanded to Britain's sea lanes. Worse, European powers began to enter the fray, threatening England's entire maritime empire and the home country itself. The naval situation, in fact, eventually came to seem impossible to manage and contributed to the London government's decision to grant America independence.

If, however, the RN had employed a well considered strategy based on the recognition of the mission ashore, it might have helped contain the conflict by operating to crush the Continental Army early on. But Admiralty policy virtually precluded that outcome from happening. The Admiralty considered America a secondary theater, assigning its major units and best officers accordingly. The poor quality of many of the RN officers sent to North America, who were often appointed more for their political connections than their tactical or strategic abilities, worked to ensure the structure and training of the force there would be inadequate. None of the four admirals who commanded the North America Squadron during the war were men of vision or initiative.

It wasn't until after the Battle of Bunker Hill the first of those men, Vice Adm. Samuel Graves, gave some consideration to deploying shallow water vessels to patrol the colonies' coastal waters. But neither he nor his successors ever gave much thought to the idea of penetrating the colonies' many rivers, which were so vital to local commerce. Controlling the rivers would have required a leap in thinking for a naval leadership geared toward a broad ocean war, but that is what the RN needed in the war's early days.

Saddled with a primitive, underdeveloped road network, the colonies' internal communications were dependent on the navigable rivers and coastal waters. But the RN made no real effort to disrupt those communications until the war's final years, and even then it limited itself to interdicting coastal trade. In fact, the RN's only serious foray into colonial inland

waters came during the Saratoga campaign, when British naval supremacy on Lake Champlain enabled Burgoyne's army to advance from Canada.

One reason for this strategic blindness came from the legal status of the colonies and their internal waterways. That is, the territorial waters of "Crown Colonies" came under the jurisdiction of the Customs & Inland Revenues Service. Many within the RN therefore considered operations in those areas to be a law enforcement rather than a military function. There was also a financial angle in that enemy vessels and contraband seized by the RN (called "prizes") on the open ocean were auctioned off by the Admiralty Court. The monies so raised were then divided among the officers and crew involved. But since the colonies belonged to the Crown, prizes taken within their territorial waters came under the immediate control of the aforementioned revenue service. The cut they took greatly reduced the prize money left to be distributed among the RN participants. Thus RN officers saw little to be gained directly from coastal or inland operations.

Colonial leaders, on the other hand, suffered under no such bureaucratic or strategic constraints. They completely understood their dependence on river and coastal transportation: every colony had its own navy and riverine units. Many of those ships were oared galleys, which enabled them to maneuver up rivers independent of the wind.

George Washington, in particular, understood and exploited riverine mobility whenever possible. As a result the colonial armies were always able to move by river, either to escape the British army (as after the defeat on Long Island in 1776), or attack Canada (1775), or launch a surprise offensive (as at Trenton in 1776). He also quickly formed a squadron of sloops to attack British and Loyalist coastal shipping. More significantly, it was the rapid waterborne transport of reinforcements into southern Virginia that enabled him to hold the British at Yorktown until the French fleet arrived. The Maryland Navy played a particularly important role in that move, ferrying troops and supplies down the Potomac River and Chesapeake to Williamsburg.

The RN's failure in the American Revolution, then, highlights the problems a major naval power faces when fighting a revolutionary movement ashore. It's a challenging and frustrating task that requires talents and tactics different from those used in standard maritime operations. The enemy is not clearly identifiable, and many actions that seem prudent in conventional naval warfare become counter-productive when applied against a revolutionary movement



whose issues and ideals must be defeated as well as its armies.

Initially ordered to support local efforts to impose the British government's policies on the increasingly dissident colonial populace, Vice Adm. Graves employed a combination of local blockade and gunboat diplomacy in an effort to bring the rebels to heel. For that task he at first had only nine warships: his flagship *HMS Preston* (a 50-gun ship-of-the-line), seven sloops-of-war and a converted merchantman used on survey missions.

An arrogant and indolent man, he never rose above his prejudices. He believed the rebellion was led only by "local troublemakers" who would wilt in the face of British power. Further believing the revolution to be centered only in Boston, he deployed his flagship and a marine detachment to that city and imposed a blockade. The move had exactly opposite the effect intended. Instead of deterring further dissidence, his action encouraged wider rebellion. Food, ammunition, tools and other critical supplies flooded into Massachusetts from the other colonies.

He then began a series of coastal raids to gather supplies for the British army and his own forces, as well as to punish communities that had demonstrated rebellious tendencies. Within a year his actions had united the colonies against the Crown to a degree the rebellion's political leaders had previously been unable to achieve. Still more supplies flowed into the blockaded areas and, more importantly, American privateers began to harass British shipping.

Graves asked for reinforcement in June of 1775, a request that caught the Admiralty at a particularly bad time. Less than half the fleet's 123 ships-of-the-line were in serviceable condition, and all the Royal dockyards were strikebound. But the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Sandwich, immediately sent what he could: two sloops-of-war and four frigates. The king soon thereafter directed the dispatch of six 50-gun ships-of-the-line to inflict a "smart blow" on the rebels. Indeed, the Admiralty decided a 50-ship force would be needed to blockade the coast, display the proper level of force to deter further rebellion and inflict the king's called for "smart blow." But even 50 ships were not enough.

Having failed to quell the rebellion after 18 months of futile operations, Graves was relieved on 30 December 1775. He had, at the end, recognized what was needed and requested more shallow-draft ships to help effectively blockade the American coast. But still no thought was given to acquiring galleys such as those used by the colonists. Such an RN force might have been able to penetrate the upper Hudson, Delaware and Fall Rivers. But such significant reinforcement required more resources than the government was willing to spend; it seemed more expedient to simply go for a decisive victory entirely on land.

There was also a political element to the government's thinking. That is, riverine blockades offer little opportunity for battle and therefore have little potential for generating the kind of good news that inspires the people back home to be willing to go on paying for the war. More important, the North American colonies, though certainly recognized at the time as having immense potential value for the future, were even before the outbreak of the revolution costing the Crown more to defend than they provided in commercial profit and tax revenues.

England's possessions in the Caribbean, on the other hand, at the time provided over half her entire

overseas trade. The perception of the Caribbean's greater strategic importance was only further reinforced when American privateers began raiding against British commerce heading in and out of those tropical waters. French intervention after Saratoga further strengthened the perception of the Caribbean's paramount strategic importance when, almost immediately, they began making efforts to overturn the British position there.

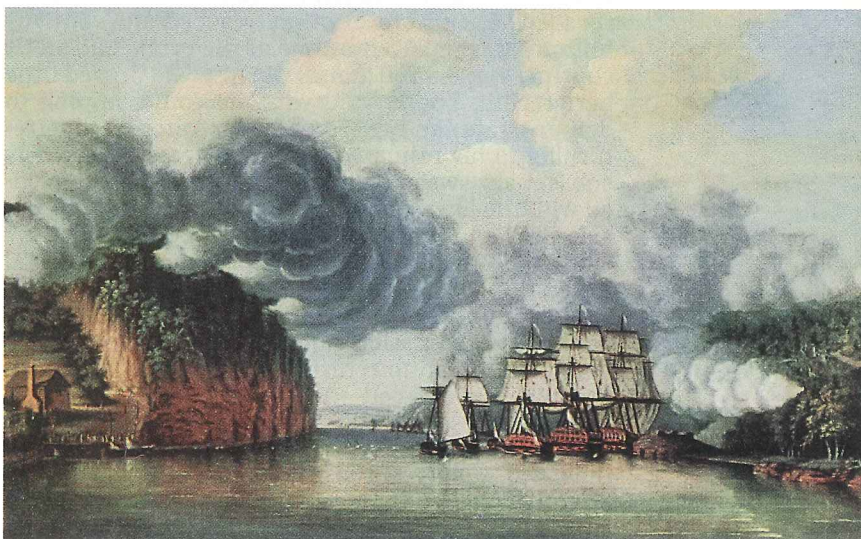
Faced with an expanding war, worldwide commitments and limited resources, then, the Royal Navy off North America found itself tasked to isolate the colonies from foreign support, suppress dissidence by shows of force, and protect Britain's vital Caribbean trade — and even the English coastline itself — from the depredations of the newly formed Continental Navy and its colonial-privateer counterparts.

America's 3,000 nautical mile coastline was dotted with small bays and inlets that prohibited close blockade with the limited forces available to the RN's North American Squadron. The task became entirely impossible once France and Spain joined America's cause. The mobilization of the French and Spanish fleets, plus political tension with Holland, forced the North American Squadron's needs far into the background as the Royal Navy as a whole had to begin concentrating simply to ensure Britain's national survival.

The increasingly desperate situation did have one benefit for the RN in as much as it forced Lord Sandwich to give up his preference for placing sycophants in command and recall a great leader from retirement. In 1779 he appointed Adm. Sir. George B. Rodney to command British Naval Forces in the Leeward Islands. It was a fortuitous choice that nearly had a decisive impact on the course of the war.

A man of great vision, ability and energy, Rodney defeated the Spanish at Cape St. Vincent, off Portugal, while escorting a convoy enroute to assuming his post in the Caribbean. He then moved aggressively to shut down the French and Dutch ports that supplied the rebels, while also attempting to combine his forces with those of the commander of the North American Squadron, Vice Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot.

Fortunately for the Americans, Arbuthnot, a corrupt political hack, had neither keen judgement nor



*The frigates Rose and Phoenix and their tenders force the Hudson River passage in October, 1776. The view is to the north, with Fort Lee on the left and Fort Washington the right.*





*In June 1776, the Royal Navy bombarded Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, which guarded the approaches to the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina.*

strategic vision. Like his predecessors, he'd been chosen more for his loyalty to Sandwich than for his ability at sea. Fearful of meeting a larger French force, he concentrated his ships in New York harbor and limited their operations to that vicinity. That allowed a French squadron of four ships-of-the-line to enter Rhode Island, giving the rebels control of that area. He also failed to inhibit the activities of the colonial privateers. His lethargy became a growing irritant to the British army commanders, and it was in that atmosphere Rodney arrived in New York to argue for better strategy.

Undoubtedly the best of the British admirals involved in the war, Rodney advocated a full blockade strategy by stationing ships off every colony to choke them off from their overseas sources of supply. He also wanted an amphibious assault sent to recover Rhode Island. His energetic approach clashed with Arbuthnot's apathy. Afraid Rodney's seniority would work to reduce his share of any prizes the new strategy might gain, Arbuthnot stalled and refused to cooperate.

That led Rodney to join Gen. Clinton's effort to have the North American Squadron Commander recalled. They were eventually successful, but Arbuthnot was replaced by one of the prime minister's cousins, Vice Adm. Thomas Graves, who proved little better. Still, Rodney did what he could, hoping to demonstrate the benefits of his strategy, while returning to his primary station in the Caribbean. His subsequent sweep along the Carolina coast coincided with the lowest ebb of the Americans' fortunes. It also proved a boon to Clinton's "southern strategy" when the British took control of that area's coastal waters.

Unfortunately for the British, a French fleet had penetrated the Caribbean in Rodney's absence, and he therefore had to return there. Once on station he became preoccupied with seizing the Dutch and French possessions that were supplying the rebellion and handled American trade. That proved critical to the naval balance of the war. Not only did the southern rebels begin to receive supplies again, but while Rodney's ships-of-the-line were busy seizing enemy colonies, French Adm. Comte de Grasse entered the Caribbean with a fleet of 23 ships-of-the-line and 150 transports. After fighting an inconclusive battle with Adm. Hood near Fort Royal, Martinique, de Grasse

moved to America where he linked with the French squadron from Rhode Island.

The French thus gained the preponderance of naval power over the British (28 ships-of-the-line versus nine) in North American waters. The kind of conventional naval battle so eagerly sought by the Admiralty might now occur, but the North American Squadron had neither the forces nor the leadership to win it.

Rodney recognized the danger and dispatched Hood to New York with 14 ships-of-the-line. Hearing from spies on Cuba that De Grasse had hired Chesapeake Bay pilots and purchased charts of that area, Rodney then ordered Hood to intercept the French to prevent them entering the bay. Not finding De Grasse there, Hood went on to join Graves in New York, which allowed the latter's continued timidity to be Britain's undoing in the entire war. Graves refused to sortie from New York harbor without clear information on French intentions, fearing he couldn't risk losing that city, Britain's primary base on the coast.

Thus the combined British fleet in New York didn't leave until 31 August 1781, a day after the French arrived in Chesapeake Bay. Shortly thereafter De Grasse disembarked nearly 6,000 French troops to reinforce Washington's army. The British fleet under Graves arrived a week later.

The decisive naval engagement, previously the goal of all RN operations, occurred in American waters at 5 September 1781. At the Battle of Chesapeake Bay, however, Graves failed to obtain the decisive victory his service so desperately needed by that time. The inconclusive two day battle left the French in control of that strategic waterway; it also isolated Cornwallis' army ashore. Facing a rapidly strengthening Franco-American army, and denied both resupply and evacuation, Cornwallis had no choice but to surrender. His capitulation effectively ended Britain's hopes of retaining the colonies. Rodney's later victory over De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints in 1782 came too late to change the war's outcome.

Though the American Revolution was won on land, the roots of the British defeat can be found in the Royal Navy's flawed strategy for fighting the war. North America's immense size and the great distance between England and those colonies from the start mitigated against a British victory in the revolution. Their best hope therefore lay in a maritime strategy that supported an effective policy ashore by isolating the colonies from outside support. Rodney's sweep through the south proved the efficacy of such an approach, but was of too short a duration to have lasting impact. Patrolling the rivers and lakes, particularly if done with ships manned by loyalist crews, would have contributed greatly to the Crown's cause by inhibiting colonial commerce and military movements without unnecessarily inflaming passions ashore.

In fairness, there was little the RN could do alone to decide the political and military struggle on land. Still, the lack of a coherent maritime strategy, combined with Britain's divided military command structure, severely and needlessly limited the RN's potential effectiveness. That limitation was exacerbated by the rapid turn over of naval commanders in North America (four in six years). More, Britain's political leadership was as divided as its military, and continually attempted to pursue quick solutions — an attitude common among political leaders conducting an unpopular war. ★



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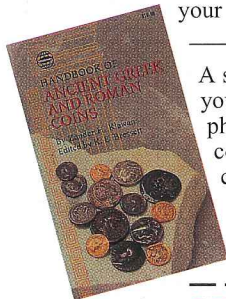


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## The Mongol Horde

# THE WORLD'S FIRST MODERN ARMY

by Allan Ashworth

*"The horde of the Tartars is numberless. When one is killed, another 10 spring from the hell whence he came. Each of them has the head of a dog, and carries with him sufficient weapons for three or four warriors."*

*Benedict the Pole — The Tartar Relation, 1240*

In that way did the battered enemies of the Mongols excuse their defeats. They'd been overcome, their valor overturned, by immense hordes of savage beings who were not even entirely human. Conquered men from China to Persia, from the scorched plains of the Indus River to the frozen steppes of the Volga basin, failed to understand what they'd been up against. In their confusion and hatred, they attributed their defeats to sheer numbers and savagery.

In fact, the Mongols defeated their enemies using a thoroughly modern and well disciplined army led

by some of the most brilliant commanders the world has yet seen. For almost a century, from the acclamation of Genghis Khan as leader of a united Mongol confederation in 1206, to the first major setbacks suffered by his grandsons Kubilai and Hulegi in 1281, the Mongols rolled over all opposition. That the Mongols were indeed a modern force can be seen in the fact every important attribute of 20th century ground forces — from a corps of engineers to military staff colleges — had at least its prototype within their military administration.

### Legend of the Horde

The word "horde" has come to mean in modern English "a vast host." In fact, it originally derived from the Turkish word *ordu*, simply meaning a tented encampment. Thus the size of the Mongol army, though relatively large by the standards of those times, was by no means out of scale in comparison to its enemies and was often exaggerated. Take, for instance, the reputed 800,000 men with which Genghis Khan is supposed to have launched his attack on Kwarismia in 1219. Not only would such a figure have meant every man, woman and child in Mongolia had been conscripted for the invasion, but an area roughly three times the size of the one being attacked would have been required simply to keep the horses in fodder. The true figure for the size of the invasion force was probably closer to 100,000 — still large, but not nearly as large as the quarter of a million men who were levied by the Kwarismian Shah to deal with the Mongol threat.

When Genghis Khan died in 1227, his field army has been calculated to have numbered approximately 130,000, with supporting garrison troops and military policemen (mainly guarding communications posts) adding a further 60,000 at most. And even the figure of 130,000 for the cavalry field army has to be treated carefully. Not only was it impractical and strategically ill-advised to assemble the entire host for any one campaign (the empire was vast, with many dangerous borders to watch), but not all of those cavalrymen were Mongols. Ever since the unification of

*In this picture (from a 15th century Persian manuscript, as are the other color illustrations in this article), Genghis Khan greets the representatives of the Kwarismian Shah. In a few months, Kwarismia (modern day Persia, along with parts of Iraq and Afghanistan) would be devastated and the Shah killed.*





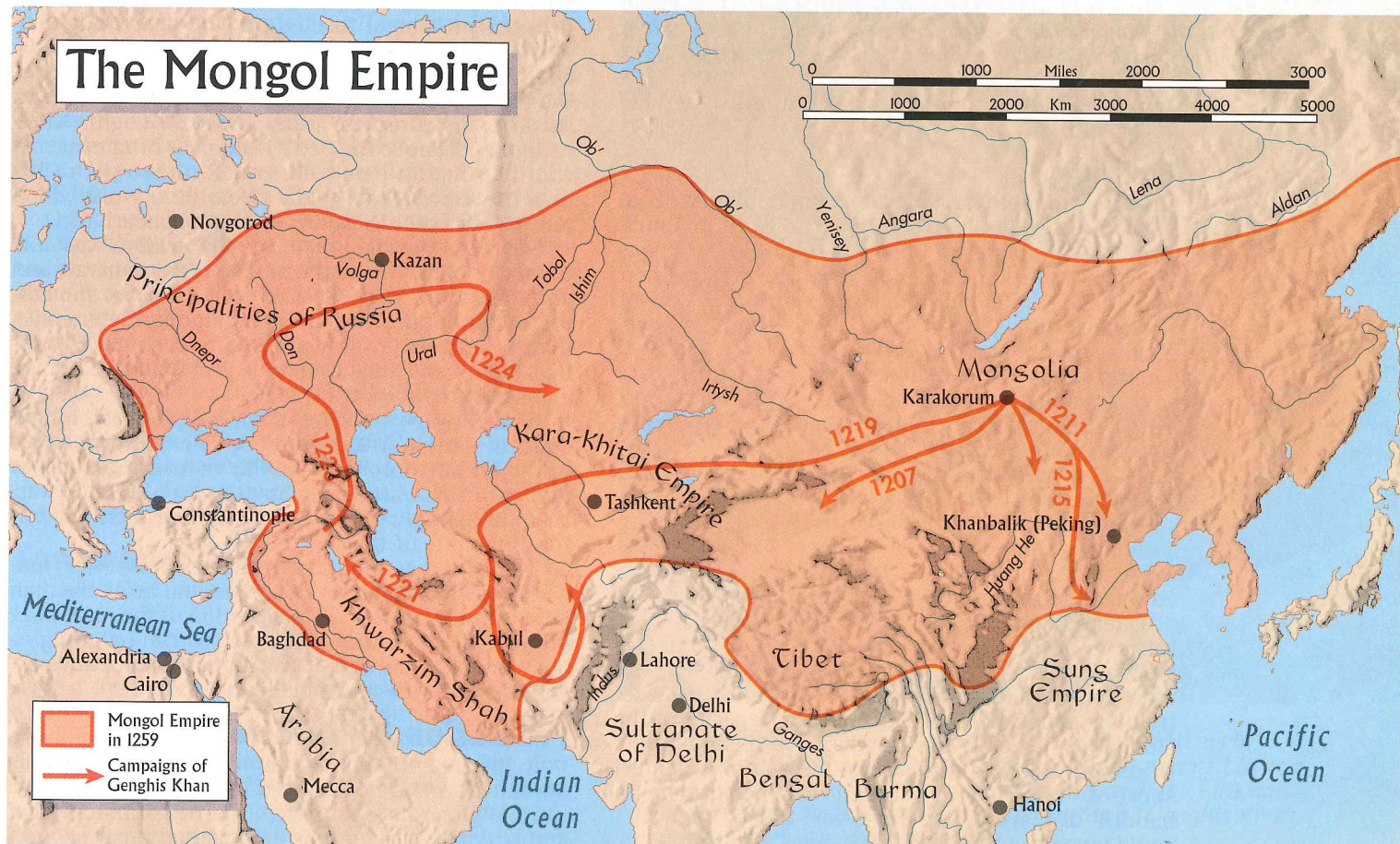
the steppe lands under Genghis in 1206, the "Mongol" army had attracted a widening array of recruits — some completely voluntary, some less so — mainly from the Turkish and Caucasian steppe tribes of Chinese Turkestan and what is now eastern Russia.

Compare the size of the Mongol horde with the 100,000 men King Bela of Hungary assembled in the face of their threat in 1241, or the multitudes available to the Kin (northern Chinese) emperor for the same purpose in 1211 — probably a million and a half soldiers, according to one modern estimate. Thus it's clear whatever were the reasons for Mongol invincibility, overwhelming numbers were not among them.

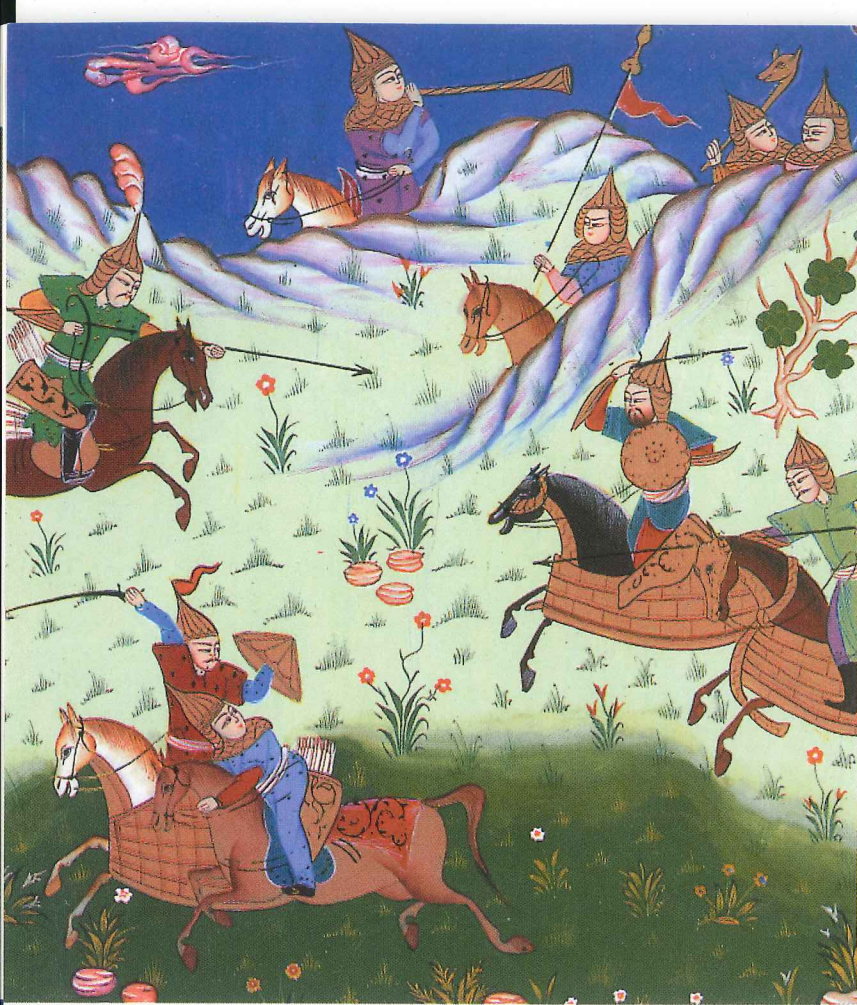
There is, however, one reason (apart from the excuses offered by beaten foes) why the number of Mongols was often overestimated: they deliberately sought to create the impression they were more numerous than they really were. Their speed and mobility helped to generate such an idea. So too did the custom of each Mongol warrior taking up to four horses on lengthy campaigns. Deliberate dust trails, raised by branches tied to the tails of horses, was a tactic commonly used during an approach to contact. And mounting spare horses with dummies was another ploy used more than once. The night before the Battle of Chakirma'ut in 1204, each Mongol was told to light five campfires in full view of the enemy.

But even more effective than those subterfuges was an even more simple form of deception. Genghis Khan told all ambassadors let into his camp that his

*Polo is one of the surviving legacies of the Mongols. In the steppes of Mongolia, however, the game was a far less formal affair than nowadays. Entire tribes were often involved, and the game was a training ground for warfare.*







*Mobility was key to Mongol success. The armies of conquest were, in the early years, exclusively cavalry. Their primary arms were the bow, lance and saber. The armor shown here is of a later date, but the Mongols themselves used a form of lamellar armor and rode horses protected by sheets of leather or padded cloth.*

army was indeed numberless. Apparently they believed him.

## Training

Every Mongol warrior was trained, almost from birth, in the skills he would need to fulfill his military obligation later in life. A child of four who was uncomfortable on horseback was a rarity in their society. Stock keeping honed not only the skill of horseback riding, but of searching, herding, and eyeing the country and the weather. No army could field a better scout than a man who'd spent his formative years tracking lost sheep over miles of open steppe, watching for every movement that might signal the approach of a predator or friend.

Archery was another skill learned almost at the breast. Hunting with a bow was not only a way of subsistence, but a sport. The boredom of endless days on an endless steppe was alleviated by the thrill of the chase, often in the company of friends who generated the additional excitement of competition.

Later such training came to be formalized. Mongol warriors in the service of the il-Khans of Persia are shown in paintings shooting arrows at clay pots set atop poles, while they ride past at a gallop. Another training game, and one of the modern legacies of the Mongol conquest of the Eurasian continent, is polo. Of course, Mongol polo was not the relatively genteel sport of today, played between teams comprising a handful of players, but was a vast mock battle that could involve entire tribes over miles of terrain.

From time to time the Great Khan would decree a *nerge*, a hunt on the grandest of scales. Tens of thousands of warriors, over days and sometimes weeks, would take part. A vast circle would be formed, with all the game being driven toward its center. Any man who allowed a beast to pass out of the circle through his allotted space was punished. When the animals were trapped in an area of a few hundred square yards, the slaughter would begin with the Khan making the first kill.

The battle skills honed by individuals in such hunts are obvious, but the Great Khan had still another purpose. His commanders learned the techniques of judging distance and scale, of coordinating forces over hundreds of miles, and learning the speeds with which cavalry could move across different types of terrain. The *nerge* was thus the nursery school for Genghis Khan's able subordinates.

## Recruitment

Laws that prohibit discriminatory practices are not a new phenomenon arising only in 20th century western cultures. From the beginning of his rule, Genghis Khan promulgated regulations outlawing discrimination on the grounds of race or religion. He insisted only that his subjects obeyed the law and gave their loyalty to the Golden Family, and not that they worshipped in any particular way. Indeed, the harmony that prevailed throughout the Mongol lands following conquest was, at least in part, a consequence of the decreed religious toleration. Division and conflict in the time of Genghis Khan's grandsons arose only when that toleration — among Nestorian Christians, Zoroastrians, Moslems and Buddhists — was allowed to give way to zealotry.

Some ethnic groups were broken up during Genghis Khan's path to power and their warriors distributed piecemeal throughout the army, but they were the tribes that had opposed him at one time or another. More commonly, ethnic Turks, Kwarismians, Uighurs, Chinese and many others were enroled in the army as complete tribal groups. Genghis Khan recognized, above the petty jealousies of internecine conflict, that all men were equal in the eyes of his own preferred deity — the Great Blue Wolf, which represented the sky and everything beneath it.

For those reasons, then, the Great Khan was able to take into his service the best soldiers, generals and administrators, regardless of their religious and ethnic backgrounds. The divisions among the enemies of the Mongols, even within major religious groupings (Sunni and Shia, Orthodox and Roman Catholic, etc.), stood in stark contrast.

Women were accorded a special place in Mongol culture. Many warriors could be released for service in the armies only because the women took charge at home. There are also many stories of female warriors, not simply riding alongside their menfolk, but forming units of their own.

Such anti-discrimination practices meant the Mongol Khans could call on the maximum available man (and woman) power. The proportion of the male population thereby made available for campaigning — more than 60 percent — was higher than in any other society, before and since.

## Promotion & Preferment

In the area of military administration the Mongols operated a genuine meritocracy. Their famous and terrible generals — Borguchi, Jelmei, Subatei, Jebei and Mukhali — achieved their exalted positions not



by dint of connection or blood, but by ability. Those in the Great Khan's immediate family did command warriors, but not as generals-in-chief. They were not even given the titular commands of armies, but learned their command craft by serving under those who'd already proven themselves.

The only institution dominated by blood relations was that of the imperial family itself. And even there the great men of the Mongol nation, common and noble, had a say in the election, from within the ranks of the Golden Family, of each new Great Khan.

Another habit of Genghis Khan, copied many centuries later by Napoleon, was to observe his followers in action and promote on the spot those he judged to be intelligent and courageous.

The higher command positions were filled from Genghis Khan's own staff college. Part of his personal bodyguard, the *Keshik*, was composed of young men who showed merit. Those warriors, kept close to the Khan and his entourage, learned not only how to direct men in battle, but also all the other vital skills needed by good generals: supply, intelligence, operations, diplomacy, strategic planning, etc. Not until the 19th century in western Europe and the United States would the education of officers for staff duties again be put on such a formal footing.

## Military Discipline

"The sentry who is inattentive will be killed. The arrow-messenger who gets drunk will be killed. Anyone who harbors a fugitive [from justice] will be killed. The warrior who unlawfully appropriates booty for himself will be killed. The leader who is incompetent will be killed."

Those dictates are all from the *Yasak*, the code of law formalized by Genghis Khan. That law preceded his rule, so it's difficult to know how much of it was extant before him and what portion came from him. Military and civil law are inextricably mixed in the *Yasak*, because those functions and duties were also inextricably mixed in Mongol society. Even so, we can see in the code a medieval attempt to set out what was expected of a soldier, long before other cultures did so, having forgotten the need for codes of military discipline when the Roman Empire collapsed.

One draconian measure within Mongol military law decreed all members of a unit of 10 (a squad) suffered the same punishment as any one of their number who actually committed an infraction. And the law applied to low and high alike; it's recorded a member of the Great Khan's own family was demoted to the ranks for the infringement of disobeying orders.

Another military regulation called for the payment of dues into a fund used for the benefit of disabled and aged warriors — a practice that was not heard of again in a military context for many centuries. That one example alone tells how far the Mongols actually were from their traditional image as barbarian mob.

## Communications

Under Gen. Subatei, two Mongol armies lanced into Europe in 1241. Hungary and Poland were devastated. The two armies acted as one force, turning and swooping together like birds of prey in flight. They were often more than 200 miles apart, yet their operations remained so perfectly coordinated it seems a feat only possible with modern radio equipment.

Mongol battlefield communications were conducted using colored flags and, at night, colored lanterns. Over longer distances the "arrow riders" took over the communications function. They were riders,

the pick of the light cavalry, given the pick of the available horseflesh, who one source attributes as being able to ride as much as 120 miles in a day. Marco Polo, though guilty of exaggeration in other matters, claimed that figure was actually closer to 300. That's probably too much to believe, but the distances certainly were astounding. And we do know Subatei, when summoned by the Khan, rode 1,200 miles in eight days.

Strategic communications were likewise the responsibility of arrow riders, but here with the benefit of staging posts across the empire, usually some 30 miles apart. In an early prototype of the Pony Express, each such post was a source of food, shelter and spare mounts, with up to 100 horses stabled at each. Each post was also permanently garrisoned, and interference with their function was a capital offense.

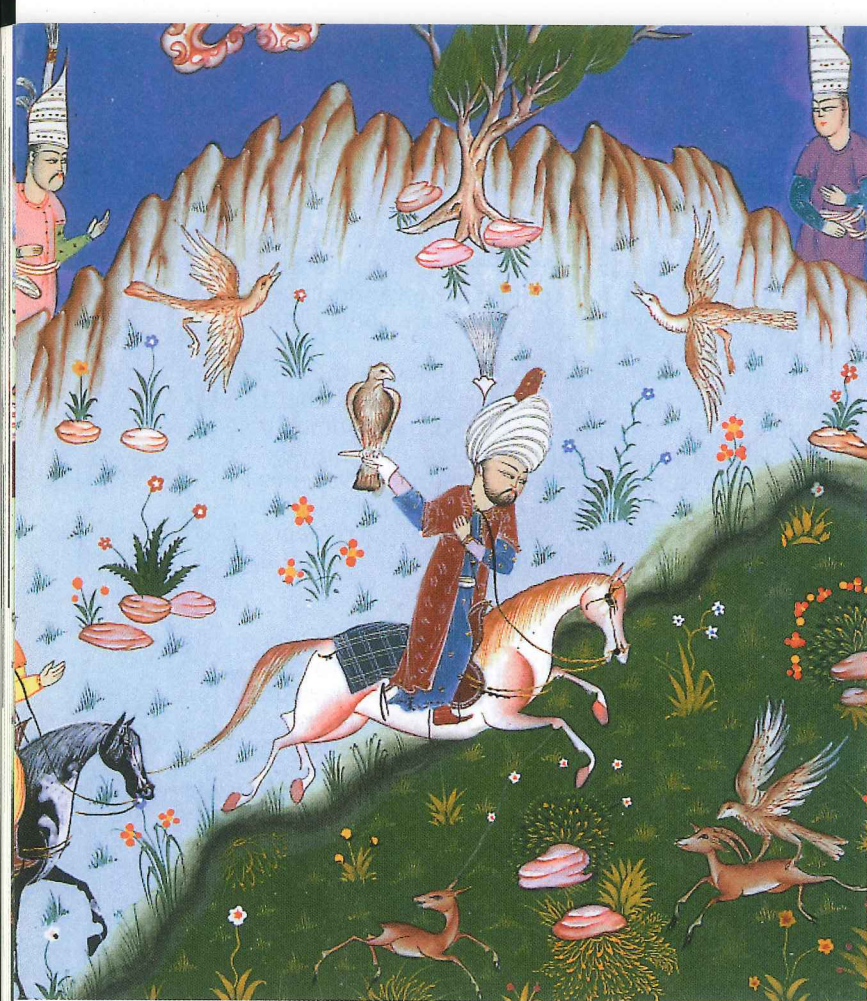
## Support Functions

Just as the Mongol leadership declined to discriminate on the basis of color or creed, neither did they shun lessons to be learned from foreign peoples. After early failures in the business of besieging



Formal training sometimes took the form of competitions in which mounted archers attempted to shoot a pot perched atop a tall pole. This illustration shows the Mongol warriors of Il-Khan of Persia, a state founded by Hulegi, grandson of Genghis Khan, engaged in such a contest.





*Hunting skills were an important part not only of steppe culture in general but also of Mongol training for war. Mongol warriors learned from it the art of judging distance, survival in alien terrain, coordinating with comrades, along with the mundane skills of archery and horsemanship. Hunting with hawks, shown in this illustration, was also a favorite technique.*

fortified cities, Genghis Khan learned those skills from his enemies. Chinese and Persian engineers were employed to fashion siege engines to do the job. The Great Khan's entire corps of engineers was in fact recruited from among defeated enemies.

Writing, so essential to good communications, was learned from the Christian Uighurs. All military records were kept in their script by their scribes, the first modern military clerks.

Other ideas of army administration were taken from China. For instance, under Chinese influence, the supply service was put on a regularized footing, partly through the appointment of an officer called the *cherbi*, or chief supply official. Quartermasters didn't die out with the end of Classical civilization in Europe.

Hulegi Khan, the first Il-Khan of Persia and a grandson of Genghis, is known to have had a hospital train with his army's baggage.

Other combat-support functions were also provided. Though the heart of the Mongol army was its light cavalry, the Khans realized those men could be profitably supported by other types of troops. Thus came crossbowmen and rocketeers from China, armored cavalry from Armenia, more crossbowmen from Crusader Syria, and elephants from the jungles of Indo-China in the time of Kubilai Khan.

## Total War

The whole concept of Mongol warfare can best be summarized in the phrase "Total War," a concept lit-

tle heard of before the 20th century. Modern managers of industrial enterprises are taught the principle of "management by objective;" that is, a focus on the desired outcome and on nothing else. Those managers need look no further than Genghis Khan and his generals for a prime example of that principle in practice.

The Mongols in all their campaigns had the prime — indeed, sole — objective to destroy the capacity of the enemy to fight. When they besieged and sacked cities it was never done as an end in itself. In fact, cities were attacked only when an enemy force was bottled inside. Never diverted from their objective, the Mongols were successful for decades.

The mere occupation of land was never a consideration in campaign planning. That was not new for steppe warriors, but the classical Romans, for example — coming from a cramped Europe were agricultural land was the main thing worth fighting for — were often amazed the Parthians would retreat in front of them, surrendering thousands of square miles before choosing the time and place to turn on their thirsty and tired pursuers. The Romans never understood the Parthians, descended of nomads, carried their wealth with them and didn't count land as a possession. The Crusaders likewise failed to understand their occupation of land meant nothing to their nomadic Turkish enemies.

So it was with the Mongols. Retreats across vast expanses of steppe were a common tactic, always drawing in their bewildered western opponents. But it was inevitable in such situations that sooner or later the Mongol horsemen would turn and engage. Their horse archers would be followed, after they'd conducted the requisite softening up, by a devastating charge of lancers. The only variable was the exact timing.

The ideal of total war, naturally, had sad consequences for those civilians who found themselves in realms opposed to the Mongols. The proud Samurai of Japan, with their tradition of individual combat, were shocked by the Mongol armies that destroyed everything in their path during the invasions of 1274 and 1281. In Europe the medieval tradition of single combat between champions was of no use in the face of an enemy who cared for only one thing: the total annihilation of opposition by any means. The samurai/knightly experience was repeated from one end of the Eurasian land mass to the other.

## Conclusion

From field hospitals to staff colleges, from military clerks to military regulations, from formal training to meritorious promotion, the Mongols were, in every important sense, a modern army. It took some 600 years for the western military establishment to catch up with ideas that were not only generated by a "barbarian," but were put into devastating practice by his "horde." ★

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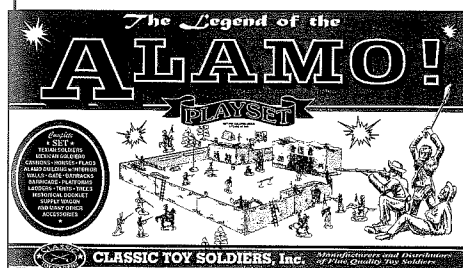


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# Confederate Corsairs

by Carl O. Schuster

*The Shenandoah's ensign. The last Confederate ensign of the war, struck in Liverpool harbor.*

**T**he Confederacy started the Civil War with no navy, merchant marine or shipbuilding industry, and with a manufacturing base too small to properly begin their construction. Despite those shortcomings, however, Confederate Naval Secretary Stephen R. Mallory realized he had to create a fleet if the South were to survive.

Both the Confederate and Union economies were dependent on overseas trade, but the South's was especially so. Its agricultural exports fueled its economy, while its lack of industry made it almost totally dependent on imported weaponry for its armies. Given the North's capacity to expand its fleet, the Union-declared blockade could potentially choke off all Confederate maritime commerce. Thus Mallory evolved a two-fold naval strategy: build ironclads to keep the South's critical ports open, and employ a small force of corsairs against the Union's sea trade.

The story of the ironclads is well known (see *Command* no. 45, pp. 62-65), but Mallory's corsairs, which were successful beyond his wildest expectations, are less so. The nine cruisers he commissioned nearly destroyed the Union merchant marine, reducing its carrying capacity by nearly a million tons. Fortunately for the United States, it was still not enough to win the war for the South.

Mallory's target, the US merchant marine, was a lucrative one. In 1860 the United States had the largest merchant marine in the world, carrying nearly 70 percent of global trade. American ships were fast-

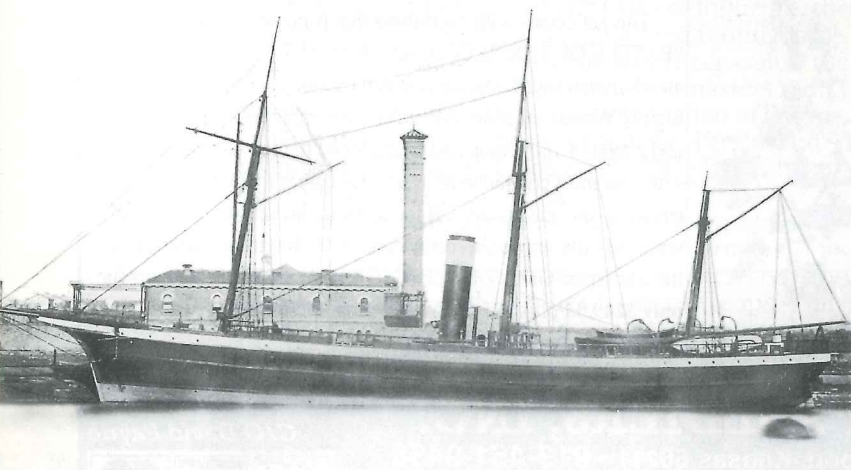
er and carried cargo at a lower cost than their foreign rivals. Their success brought hard currency into the Union economy and made the shipping companies' owners as politically powerful as they were wealthy. Inflicting heavy losses on them might pressure the Union government to either end the war or, more likely, transfer ships from blockading Southern ports to searching the seas for Rebel corsairs. Every Union vessel drawn away from the blockade made it that much more likely Confederate blockade runners would make it through.

Mallory's strategy had little chance of achieving success, however, if he couldn't first acquire ships. Since America's rise to dominance in world maritime trade had come at the expense of the British and French merchant marines, he expected his ships would be permitted to find shelter in those nations' ports and those of their colonies. He also hoped to build vessels in their shipyards, since the South's were clearly inadequate. In fact, all but two of his corsairs were built in England, though making the necessary arrangements took over a year.

But Mallory sought to put his strategy into effect immediately by authorizing Confederate privateers, under "letters of marque," to prey on Union shipping until he could sortie his naval force. They were to prove disappointing, though, and were swept from the seas in less than a year (see sidebar).

Meanwhile Mallory dispatched James D. Bulloch and famous oceanographer, Cdr. Matthew F. Maury, to go overseas to purchase ships. He also asked the commander of the Louisiana State Navy, Comm. Lawrence Rousseau, to build or convert suitable ships in New Orleans. Rousseau's efforts led to the commissioning of the Confederate navy's first ocean raiders, the *CSS Sumter* and *CSS McRae*. Both were former passenger steamers whose frames and decks were strengthened to handle heavy armament. Unfortunately for the South, *McRae's* defective boilers limited her service to harassing Union forces around the lower Mississippi.

The *Sumter*, on the other hand, enjoyed a short but illustrious career under Cdr. Raphael Semmes, better known for commanding the Confederacy's most famous raider, *CSS Alabama*, later in the war. Recognizing the 437-ton *Sumter* lacked the speed and firepower to break through the Union's blockading squadron outside New Orleans, Semmes snuck out during a late night rain squall on 1 July 1861. He burned his first prize, the brig *Golden Rocket*, two days later, embarking its crew as prisoners. He captured six more ships before pulling into Cienfuegos, Cuba, five days later, but Spanish officials refused to sell the prizes, returning them to their owners instead.



*The Sumter, the first Confederate Navy commerce raider.*



Undeterred, Semmes refueled, reprovisioned and departed. He cruised throughout Caribbean and Latin American waters over the next two months, but never again enjoyed the success of his first week. All Dutch ports were closed to Confederate warships and privateers, and no nation would buy his prizes or their cargoes. So he torched or bonded them, depending on their value. His actions had some success, though, in that Union Naval Secretary Welles detached five ships from blockade duty to find and destroy the *Sumter*.

Semmes crossed the Atlantic in December, entering Cadiz, Spain, on 4 January 1862. He'd hoped to find more Union commerce, fewer Union warships, and wanted to get *Sumter's* hull and boilers some needed repairs in a European shipyard. To his disappointment, Spanish officials not only denied him access to repair facilities, but ordered the *Sumter* to depart. He moved on to Gibraltar, destroying or capturing three Union ships along the way. Once there, he found himself blockaded by the *USS Kearsarge* and the *USS Tuscarora*. More significantly, British officials would also not allow him to repair his ship, nor would the local merchants sell him coal. Semmes therefore abandoned the *Sumter*, which was subsequently auctioned off, and traveled to Great Britain. In six months the *Sumter* had taken 18 Union vessels, destroying seven in the process.

The only other corsair active during that early period of the war was the sidewheel steamer *CSS Nashville*. Her entire four month career was spent in European waters. Despite a 1,200 ton displacement and brand new boilers, the speedy former passenger liner was too light to carry more than two small cannon. Departing Charleston on 26 October 1861, she survived a North Atlantic gale to seize a prize off Ireland before pulling into Southampton, England. Fol-

lowing two months of repairs in the shipyard, she returned to Morehead City, North Carolina, destroying a small Union schooner enroute. She then spent a short time as a blockade runner before being destroyed by the Union monitor *Montauk* on 27 February 1863.

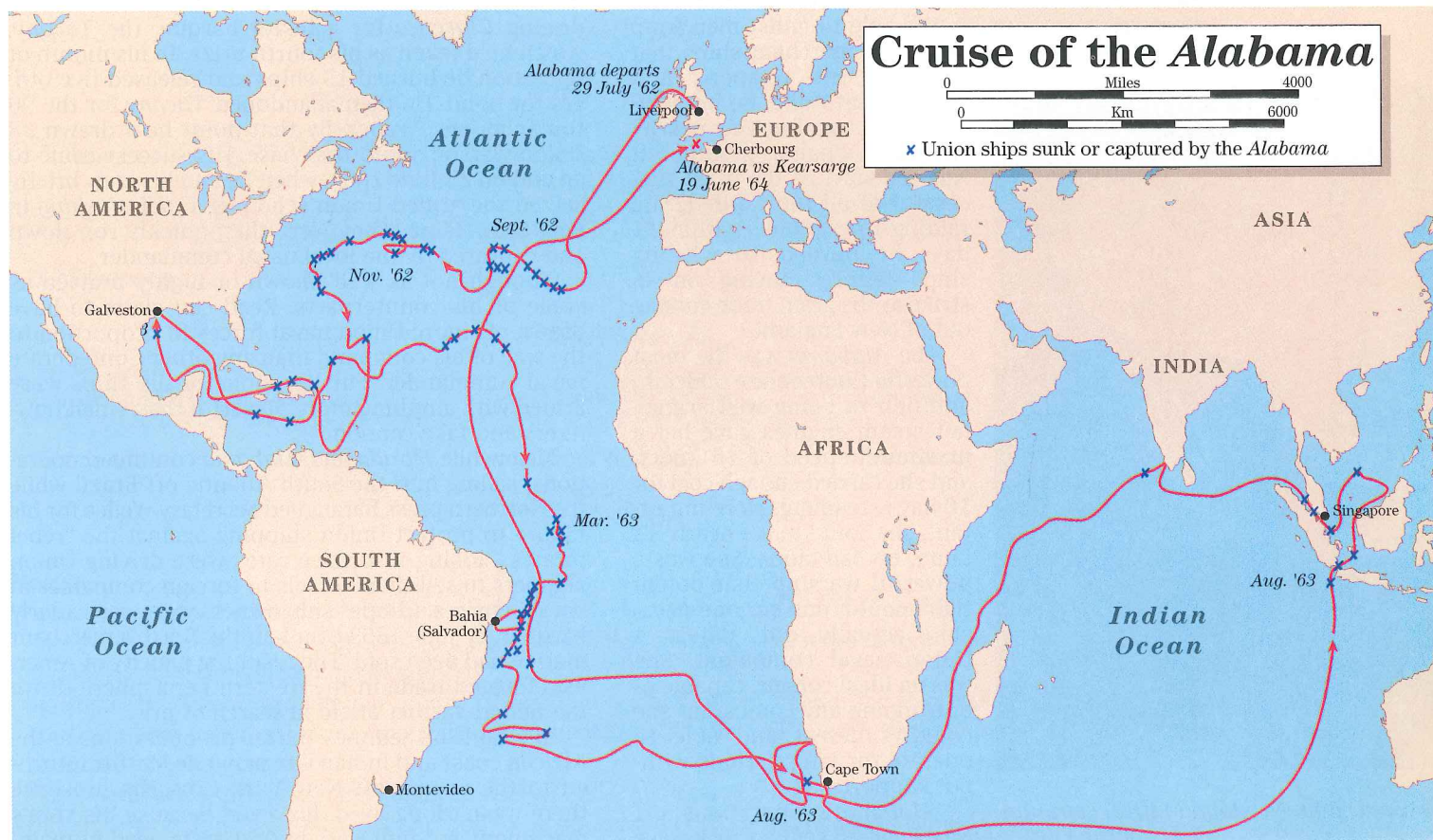
Thus went the careers of the Confederacy's only home-built naval corsairs. The remainder were constructed clandestinely in England, were initially crewed there, and were armed either in neutral waters or a Confederate port.

Bulloch's acquisitions were the most successful. The first two, the *CSS Florida* and the *CSS Alabama*, were officially ordered built as mail packets to disguise their actual purpose. Nonetheless their construction in Liverpool came to the attention of Union agents who alerted British authorities. But since both ships were launched and tested without armament, Royal inspectors couldn't find any legal basis for seizing them, since English shipyards were actually only forbidden to construct *warships* for belligerent powers.

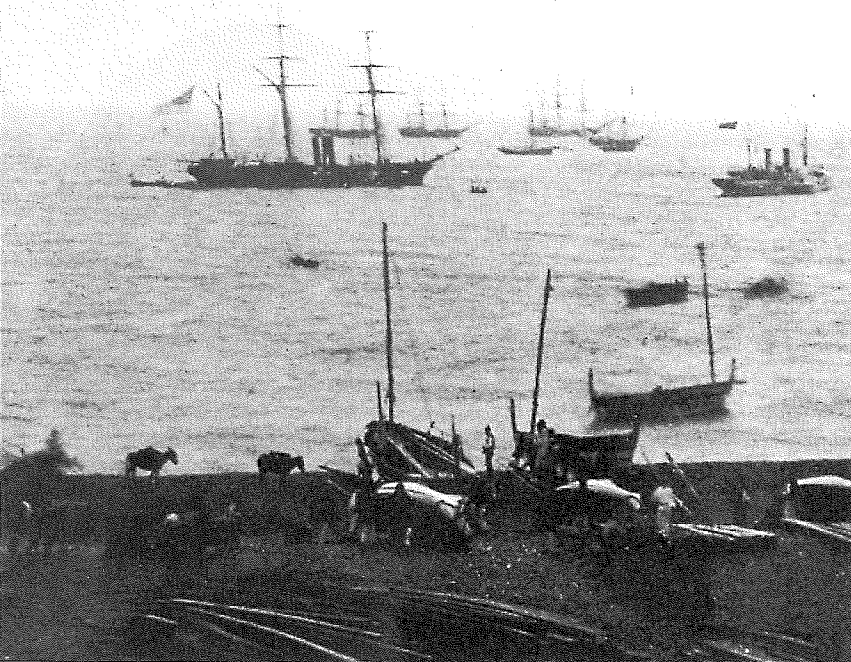
The *Florida* was first to be commissioned, and her captain, Lt. John Maffitt, a former blockade runner skipper, went aboard just before sea trials and took her to Nassau, Bahamas, to acquire a crew and weapons. But a yellow fever outbreak, combined with the presence of a Union squadron, forced him to depart the Caribbean for Mobile, Alabama, after only a few



Capt. Raphael Semmes, commander of the *Alabama*.







The Florida takes on coal and provisions in Madeira in February 1864. The USS St. Louis (upper right) is at anchor awaiting the departure of the Confederate vessel. But the Federal sloop, lacking wind for pursuit, was unable to follow when the Florida steamed away.

weeks. He reached that port on 4 September 1862, making a daring daylight dash past three Union warships to do so. Four months later, with final work completed and a new crew embarked, he ran past the 11 ship Union blockading squadron into the Gulf of Mexico, where he then destroyed three ships during the following week.

Meanwhile Semmes had taken *Alabama* out of Liverpool in late July, commissioning her in the Azores three weeks later. Like Maffitt, he still had to recruit more crewmen, but he was able to enlist men from among the crews of the British merchant ships that

delivered his weapons and stores. That done, he immediately set out for the nearby American whaling grounds. It was the start of the most successful of all the Confederate raiding operations. Within 11 days he burned 10 whaling ships before moving on to strike at the grain trade coming out of New England.

The *Alabama* was the most powerful Confederate raider. In addition to being well armed, her steam engines gave her a maximum speed of 16 knots, and she carried enough coal for 18 days steaming. More important, she could make nearly 13 knots on sail alone. She was a powerful warship that potentially could, and on one occasion actually did, defeat a Union naval combatant. She was an ideal corsair, capable of outrunning any combatant she couldn't defeat and able to operate for long periods without support.

*Alabama's* operations off New England sent a shock wave

through that region's coastal communities. Semmes captured two ships within days of his arrival, and took seven more over the next two weeks while Union warships were still scouring the Azores for him. Once Welles learned of the raider off New England, he sent several gunboats to Nova Scotia, believing that port to be the *Alabama's* base. But by then Semmes had moved southward to attack shipping operating out of New York. He remained in that vicinity for only two weeks, taking two prizes before the need for coal forced him to sail to the Caribbean for replenishment. Refuelling off Martinique in November, he next entered the Gulf of Mexico.

Semmes hoped to attack the Union troop transports reportedly enroute without escort to take Galveston, Texas. He took three prizes in the Gulf before arriving off that city on 11 January 1863. There were no transports, but he did find three Union warships shelling the place. Lighting off his boilers, Semmes lured one of the Union gunboats, the *USS Hatteras*, away from the squadron by acting like an unarmed blockade runner. He opened fire just after dusk, virtually destroying the smaller nine-gun craft. The other ships were over 20 nautical miles away by that time, and so could do nothing as Semmes picked up the crew and sailed away to Jamaica.

The *Florida* arrived in Nassau a week later, staying only briefly to refuel before sailing to Hampton Roads. Maffitt converted one of the four prizes he took there, the coal-carrying bark *Lapwing*, into a tender, arming her with a single 12-pounder cannon for protection and a larger wooden decoy gun for affect. He also commissioned a captured brig, the *Clarence*, as a commerce raider under Lt. C.W. Read.

Read proved a resourceful, though rash, commander. Armed with a few real and a dozen fake cannon, the *Clarence* set sail for Hampton Roads. There Read destroyed three Union merchant ships before abandoning *Clarence* for a faster barque, the *Tacony*, which he'd taken as his fourth prize. In his month of operation he burned 15 ships and released five others for bond. He then abandoned *Tacony* for the 90 ton schooner *Archer*. By that point he'd drawn 38 Union warships into the chase. His success came to an end on 26 June 1863, when he and his crew briefly seized the armed Union schooner *Caleb Cushing* in Portland, Maine. They were then quickly run down and captured by the local naval commander.

Though not as well known or highly praised as some of his counterparts, Read can claim to have drawn off more Union naval forces in proportion to the size of his command than any other Confederate naval commander. Further, none of his ships were armed with anything more powerful than small howitzers and fake cannon.

Meanwhile *Florida* and *Alabama* continued operations, sailing into the South Atlantic off Brazil while the Northern press harangued Secretary Welles for his failure to protect Union shipping against the "rebel pirates." Rising insurance rates were driving Union shippers to sell their vessels to foreign companies at bargain prices. Clipper ship owners were particularly hard hit. By June 1863 over half the North's merchant marine had been sold. The resulting paucity of American-flagged trade in the western hemisphere drove the raiders farther afield in search of prey.

In June 1863 Semmes shifted his operations to the African coast and Indian Ocean, while Maffitt returned to the waters off New York City. His presence there wasn't long-lived, however, because his ship's machinery and hull were in desperate need of main-



Capt. John Newland Maffitt, commander of the Florida



tenance. Since the only available shipyards were in Europe, he sailed across the Atlantic, arriving at Brest, France, on 23 August, after a total cruise of eight months. In that time he'd burned 19 prizes and bonded six others, and in combination with Read's activities had diverted nearly 50 Union warships from blockade duty. Two more Union warships were detailed to watch him in Brest. Meanwhile Semmes departed Africa and sailed into the Pacific.

The only other raiders to operate in 1863 were the *CSS Georgia* and *CSS Tuscaloosa*. The latter was commissioned by Semmes himself from a captured barque, and was employed both as a tender and a scout. She took only one prize before British authorities in South Africa seized her in January 1864. The *Georgia*, on the other hand, had been built in England by Cdr. Maury, the Confederacy's other agent in Europe. A 500-ton iron-hulled ship, *Georgia* only carried auxil-

## Technical Details of the Confederacy's Corsairs

Name	Displacement	Guns	Propulsion	Max Speed
<i>Sumter</i>	437 tons	one 8" Pivot four 32 pdrs.	Sail-Steam	9.5 knots
<i>Nashville</i>	1,200 tons	two 6 pdrs.	Steam-Sail	16.5 knots
<i>Florida</i>	700 tons	two 7" rifles six 32 pdrs.	Sail-Steam	15 knots
<i>Clarence</i>	300 tons	one 6 pdr.	Sail	6 knots*
<i>Tacony</i>	300 tons	one 6 pdr.	Sail	8 knots*
<i>Archer</i>	90 tons	small arms	Sail	8 knots*
<i>Alabama</i>	1,040 tons	one 7" rifle one 68 pdr. six 32 pdrs.	Sail-Steam	15 knots
<i>Tuscaloosa</i>	348 tons	two 12 pdrs.	Sail	8 knots
<i>Georgia</i>	500 tons	two 100 pdrs. two 24 pdrs. one 32 pdr.	Steam-Sail	14 knots
<i>Tallahassee</i>	700 tons	one 6" rifle one 7" rifle one Parrot rifle	Steam	17 knots
<i>Chickamauga</i>	700 tons	one 6" rifle one 7" rifle one Parrot rifle	Steam	17 knots
<i>Rappahannock</i>	500 tons	None	Sail-Steam	12 knots#
<i>Shenandoah</i>	1,100 tons	four 68 pdrs. two 6" rifles two 12 pdrs.	Sail-Steam	15 knots

### Notes:

Weapons are listed by weight of shot for smoothbore and diameter of shell for rifled cannon. That is, for example, a 68 pounder fired a round shot down a "smooth" (unrifled) bore. Rifled cannons were more accurate and fired explosive shells that inflicted much more damage on the target.

The propulsion systems are listed in priority of use. That is, "Sail-Steam" means the ship could operate as well under sail as it did on steam and spent more time sailing than steaming. "Steam-Sail" means the ship moved primarily under steam and handled poorly under sail.

\*These were former prizes commissioned as raiders under Lt. Read of the *Florida*.

#This wooden ship had a rotten hull and had to be abandoned before she was ever armed.



itary sails and was virtually immobile without her steam plant. Requiring steam power to run down her prey, and with coal difficult to obtain, she took only nine prizes in her seven months of service.

Maury commissioned only one other vessel, the *CSS Rappahannock*, a decommissioned Royal Navy screw gunboat whose condemned hull made her unseaworthy. She was abandoned by her crew and auctioned off in Brest without ever seeing action.

*Alabama's* time in the Pacific was marked by a lack of action and prizes. Facing more restrictive policies in neutral ports, in desperate need of maintenance, and hearing of the British impoundment of the *Tuscaloosa*, Semmes decided to sail for Cherbourg, France. Arriving there on 10 June 1864, he hoped to have his hull scraped, boilers and condensers refurbished and — most important of all — purchase new powder and shot.

His shell and powder supply was not only low, but was becoming increasingly unreliable. Only half the shells he'd fired over the previous five months had exploded, and uneven powder combustion was affecting the accuracy of his shots. Unfortunately, the *USS Kearsarge* arrived off Cherbourg before repairs could be made. For reasons known only to himself, Semmes chose to sail out to engage the faster and more heavily armed *Kearsarge* on the morning of 18 June. Two hours later the *Alabama* was no more.

That loss left the *Florida* as the South's only remaining surface raider. Newly repaired, refurbished and under the new command of Lt. Charles Morris, she'd escaped into the open Atlantic in February 1864.

Morris found only slim pickings in the Caribbean, but things improved off Cape Hatteras. But the arrival of several Union warships forced him back to the southern Caribbean, where he took what turned out to be his last prize, the barque *Mandamis*. Finding few other American-flag ships, Morris moved to Bahia, Brazil, on 4 October 1864. In eight months he'd destroyed 11 and bonded two Union merchant ships.

In Bahia he found the *USS Wachusett* waiting. Since the port was neutral, Morris didn't expect to fight the Union warship, taking her presence only as a temporary impediment to his again reaching open ocean. But he hadn't reckoned on the determination of the *Wachusett's* captain, Cdr. Napoleon Collins. Further, Brazilian authorities forced Morris to unload his guns upon docking.

At 3:00 a.m. on 7 October, Collins slowly glided past several Brazilian warships to ram the *Florida* in her starboard quarter. He then also fired a two gun broadside into her. Morris was ashore at the time, and the duty officer, Lt. Porter, surrendered, having only small arms at hand to counter the attack. Collins took *Florida* under tow to the United States where she was sunk under mysterious circumstances on 9 November. The resultant diplomatic furor echoed back and forth, with Secretary Wells placating the Brazilians by court martialing Collins for having violated their neutrality.

Though the year 1864 saw the destruction of the Confederacy's two most famous corsairs, it also heralded the commissioning of three others. The first two, the *Tallahassee* (later renamed the *Olustee*) and

## Confederate Privateers

Privateering, the government issuance of "letters of marque" authorizing private individuals to attack enemy commerce at sea, had been practiced for centuries prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. It was a long recognized means for a nation with little naval power to quickly raise a force to attack its enemies' maritime commerce. American privateers had preyed on British commerce in both the Revolution and the War of 1812. The Confederates hoped to do the same against Yankee shipping, issuing over 57 letters of marque during the war.

The first such commission was given on 10 May 1861 to the 30 ton schooner *Triton* in Brunswick, Georgia. But the majority of the letters were issued in New Orleans and Charleston, the South's two major ports. The privateers saw some success in the war's early months, but their fortunes declined as the Union blockade tightened. By 1862 only a handful remained at sea. Ironically, the most successful privateers were those who in 1864 attacked Union commerce on the Mississippi River, but they never amounted to more than an expensive nuisance.

The Confederate privateer's vessels ranged in size from the *Triton's* 30 tons to the 1,644 tons of the steamer *Phoenix*. There was even one small three-man submarine, the *Pioneer*, built in New Orleans in the hope of winning the Confederate bounty offered for sinking Union warships. It was scuttled when the Union fleet assaulted the port. The majority of the others were sail-powered, but several also employed mixed steam-sail propulsion. There were even a few pure steamers, but they proved impractical.

Their primary area of operation was in the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico and the waters off Cape Hatteras. Unlike their naval counterparts, the privateers mainly conducted short forays into waters close to their home ports and generally followed their prizes back into those harbors. Their operations became increasingly restricted and their

profits fell as the Union blockade tightened. The last ocean-going privateer returned home on 29 May 1862.

In a year of operations the Confederate privateers took 103 Union merchant ships with over 18,000 tons of shipping capacity. But actual Union shipping losses were much lower because most of the prizes were eventually recaptured after they'd been taken into port for sale. The Union, by the way, also authorized nine privateers, but there was little Confederate commerce for them to seize so they too were soon out of service.

Unexpectedly, then, it was found changes in maritime technology and international law had come together to end the day of the privateer by the time of the Civil War. That is, the advent of high speed sailing ships, steam transports and steam-powered warships made it virtually impossible for a sailing privateer to succeed. On the other hand, steam-powered privateers cost twice as much as sail-driven ones. Additionally, steam-powered ships require larger crews, which works to reduce the prize shares for all concerned, and such ships also suffer from the expense of periodic refueling.

But the true death knell for privateering came from changes in international law pertaining to the sale of the prizes they seized. The Paris Declaration of 1856 officially abolished privateering, and its signatories — all European nations — were thereafter prohibited from buying or selling ships or cargoes seized by maritime raiders. Thus the privateers prizes has to be taken through the Union blockade into a Southern port before a profit could be realized from their auction.

All those added expenses and risks, coupled with the reduced probability of reward, ran the Confederate privateers out of business. Thus the American Civil War became the last war in which privateers were employed against international maritime trade.



the *Chickamauga*, were sister ships originally built in England as blockade runners. Well armed and fully crewed, they were among the fastest warships in the world. But they were also entirely dependent on steam for propulsion and their boilers required high quality coal, a commodity hard to come by in Confederate or neutral ports.

Nevertheless, they steamed out of Wilmington, North Carolina, in the summer of 1864. Both ships' operations consisted of a series of short duration raids against the New England shipping lanes. Between them they destroyed 27 vessels, mostly small schooners, bonding three others. The *Tallahassee* returned to sea in the fall, taking six more prizes before being reconverted to a blockade runner. Fast, well armed and powerful, the ships were too reliant on coal to be effective raiders even though they were otherwise formidable. *Tallahassee* was the most successful raider of 1864.

The last Confederate raider to see service, *CSS Shenandoah*, destroyed the American whaling fleet, though she actually sank most of those ships after the war had officially ended. Built in Liverpool as the packet *Sea King*, she was purchased from her British owners in October 1864, and set sail from England unnoticed by several nearby Union warships. But her captain, Lt. Waddell, lacked the charisma needed to enlist foreigners into Confederate service. That character flaw left him with only 20 crewmen and 23 officers to operate a ship that should have had 150. In time he got more men to come on, but his entire complement never exceeded 60 at any one time.

Other problems surfaced as the cruise went on. It took three weeks to find the ship carrying the raider's weapons, and only the smallest of those guns, two

## Union Shipping Losses in the Civil War

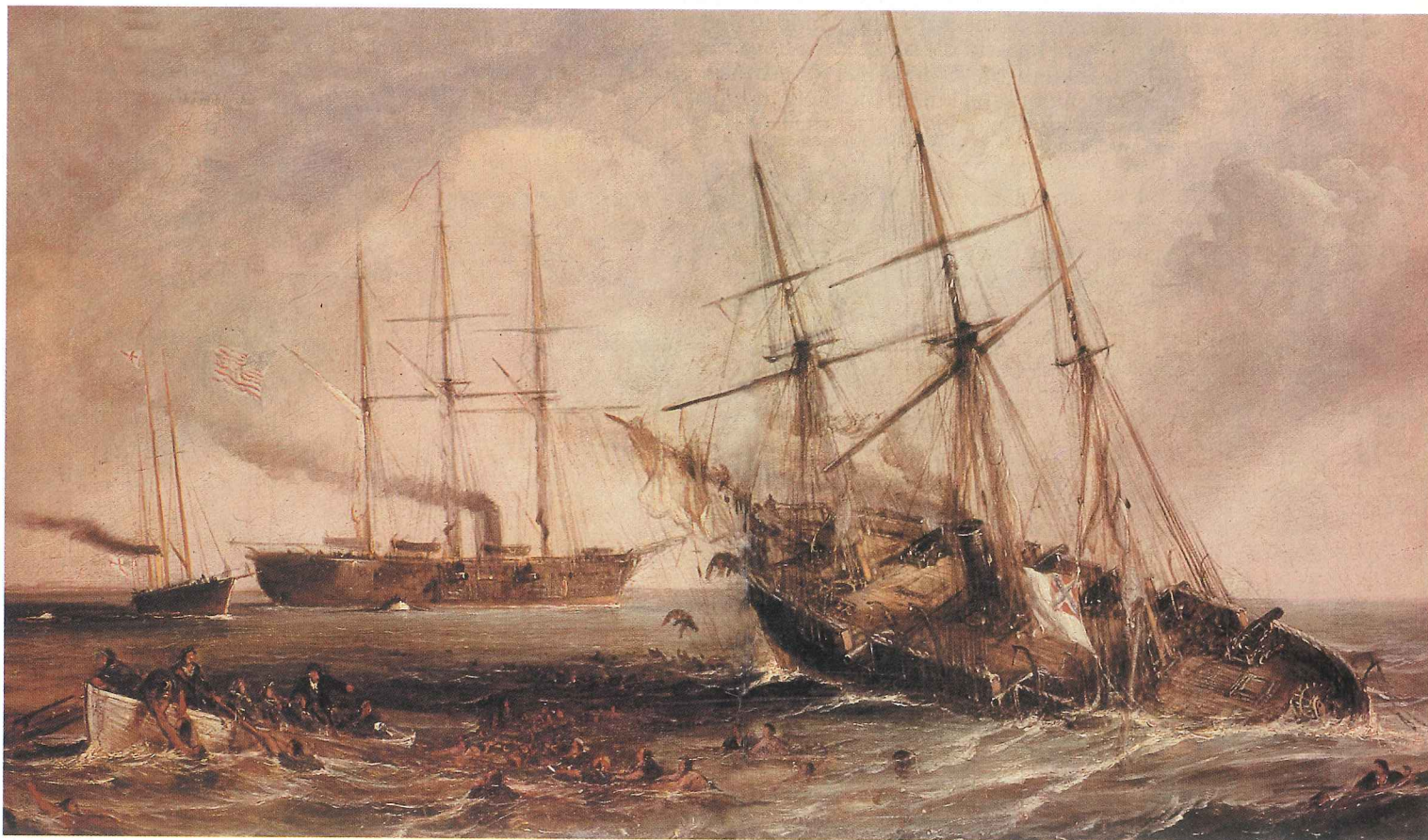
	Number	Tonnage
A. In Service in 1860:	7,000 ships	2,500,000*
B. Losses		
(1) To Confederate Service:	425 ships	300,000*
(2) To Confederate Privateers:	60 ships	7,210*
(3) To Confederate Corsairs:	177 ships	68,311
(4) Sold to Other Countries:	2,000 ships	800,000*
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>2,662 ships</b>	<b>1,175,521</b>
C. New Construction:	500 ships	200,000
D. In Service in 1865:	4,938 ships	1,524,479#

### Notes:

\*These are approximate figures.

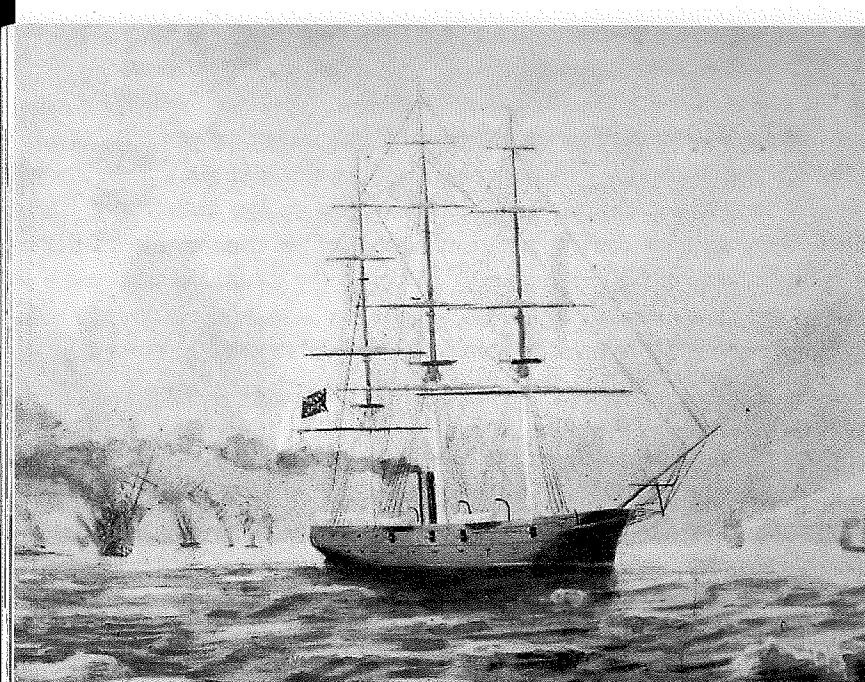
#Over half of these ships were idled in foreign ports waiting for the war to end. By 1870 the American merchant marine had declined to 700,000 tons.

12-pounders, could be fired safely because the gun tackles hadn't been sent. Without gun tackles to absorb the recoil, the main guns couldn't be fired. But Waddell then acquired the needed equipment off his first prize, the bark *Alina*. He also recruited seven crewmen from that ship and several more from a clipper ship taken 10 days later. Nonetheless, the crew and equipment shortage still meant no more than two guns could be fired simultaneously. But that would be enough unless a warship was encountered.



Confederate sailors abandon ship as the *Alabama* sinks beneath the waves. In the background is the *USS Kearsarge*.





Shenandoah was still destroying whalers in the Bering Sea in June 1865. Capt. Waddell was unaware the war had ended in April.

Finding little American traffic off Latin America, Waddell sailed past Cape Town to Melbourne, Australia. He spent over two weeks there, conducting minor repairs and recruiting 40 new crewmen. Departing on 18 February 1865, he set sail for the North Pacific whaling grounds. Most prudent observers had expected him to go south toward South America's Pacific coast. As a result, Waddell found the American whaling fleet unprotected and unsuspecting. He took his first prizes in May, then destroyed 21 whaling ships over the next two months, all after the war had ended. Once aware of the war's end, Waddell fled to Liverpool, where he paid off his crew in November.

Thus, though the Confederacy's corsairs didn't bring the Union to its knees, the repercussions from their operations lasted long after the war. America's

merchant marine didn't regain its dominant position in world trade until after World War II.

US and British relations were also strained by the corsairs' activities. But, satisfied at having recovered a preeminent position in world commerce, British authorities then sought to defuse the tensions with the US caused by the raiders having been built in British yards. The resulting 1871 Treaty of Washington marked the first international dispute referred to an international tribunal for adjudication. The tribunal awarded the United States \$15.5 million in compensation and specified the rights and responsibilities of neutrals in future conflicts, thereby shaping the nature of surface raiding well into this century. ★

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## The Corsairs' Scores

Name	Years of Operation	Prizes Sunk	Bonded	Union Tonnage Destroyed*
Sumter	1861-62	7	1	2,624
Nashville	1861-62	2	0	1,682
Florida	1862-64	30	4	17,816
Clarence	June 1863	2	1	800
Tacony	June 1863	12	5	1,520
Archer	June 1863	0	0	0
Alabama	1862-64	52	8	24,991#
Tuscaloosa	1863	0	1	0
Georgia	1863	3	6	2,400
Tallahassee	1864	32	5	4,908
Chickamauga	1864	5	2	1,400
Shenandoah	1864-65	32	6	10,170
<b>Totals:</b>		<b>177</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>68,311</b>

### Notes:

Union owners sold nearly 800,000 tons of shipping to foreigners at discount prices to avoid losing their vessels to Confederate raiders. Union merchants also began to ship their cargoes in neutral ships to avoid the high insurance premiums that came to be charged for cargoes in Union hulls. All that combined to reduce the American merchant marine from over 1 million gross registered tons in 1860 to less than 150,000 tons in 1866.

\*This includes ships sold, burned, scuttled or returned to a Confederate port.

#Semmes sold one 484-ton brig to South African merchants.



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# The Women's Battalions of Death in the Great War

by Jamie H. Cockfield

The current controversy surrounding women serving in the American armed forces is not new in military history. For example, one of most prominent commanders at the Battle of Salamis, fought almost 2,400 years ago, was a woman. In the Middle Ages, women often donned armor and flailed away atop castle walls when their husbands were off on campaign and the home was threatened. Every American school child knows about Revolutionary War hero Molly Pitcher, who took over the firing of a cannon from her exhausted husband. Polish women helped defend Warsaw from Soviet attack during the Russo-Polish War of 1920-21.

Yet the first instance of the organizing of an all-female military unit expressly intended as a combat force occurred in the Russian revolutionary army of 1917, when several such units, called "Russian Women's Battalions of Death," were put together. They had their embodiment in the fierce fighting spirit of one unusual female, Maria Bochkareva, a Russian "Joan of Arc," whom the great English feminist Emmeline Pankhurst called the "greatest woman of the century." For a time she was internationally famous, was featured in articles by well known journalists, and dined with prominent world leaders, including Theodore Roosevelt.

Born in Siberia, near Tomsk, in 1889, the third child of a poor peasant family, Maria was a small, plain but strong woman. According to Robert Long, an Associated Press war correspondent in Russia, she looked, when among other soldiers, as nothing more than an "ugly boy of 25." The accounts of her early personal life are contradictory, but she seems to have moved from an abusive home into several abusive relationships with men.

Having seen death by starvation and disease in her village even before the Great War, she tried to escape such a fate by enlisting in the Russian army in November 1914, only to be turned down. But the next year, when the Russian military began admitting some females into the ranks, she was allowed to join. She took the *nom de guerre* of Yashka, and during 1915 was wounded several times, then again — this time seriously — in the fall of 1916, whereupon she was awarded the high honor of the Cross of St. George medal and was promoted to NCO status.

She welcomed the February revolution, but the rapid disintegration of the army that came with it, along with the officers' loss of authority, disturbed her greatly. In her memoirs she tells of having been most deeply shaken when a soldier refused her order to take up duty at a listening post. He said he was now free and had no intention of taking direction from a woman. "I was painfully stunned," she wrote. "Why, this very same soldier would have gone through fire for me a week before."

To use Lenin's description, "The army voted with its feet — it went home."

The Russian soldiers indeed began leaving the war in droves, and she hated it. When her unit was visited by Mikhail Rodzianko, the former president of the Russian parliament, she met him and eventually became his friend and patron. She went to Petrograd, where Rodzianko suggested she meet with a group of "soldiers' deputies." When asked what would solve the growing discipline problem in the army, she told them a force of 300 women like her at the front would shame the men back into the trenches: "We will go wherever the men refuse to go. We will fight when men run. The women will lead men back to the trenches."

The idea caught on as she continued to meet with various military leaders, including the commander-in-chief of all Russian forces, Gen. Aleksei Brusilov. He endorsed the concept to Alexander Kerensky, then minister of war, on 20 May 1917; it was decided the formation of such a unit would be announced the next day at a fund raiser for the Home of Invalids at the Marinskii Theater. Bochkareva would be a featured speaker. Thus by 21 May her picture was all over Petrograd, printed above text announcing she intended to lead a battalion of women to fight for the survival of the Russian nation.

In her speech that day she called on all women "whose hearts are crystal, whose souls are pure, whose impulses are lofty," to join what had become designated as the *1st Women's Battalion of Death*. By women setting the example, she explained, "You men will realize your duty in this grave hour."

All volunteers were required to take an oath to fight to the death for Russia. By the next day some 2,000 women had signed up.

The composition of the unit was heterogeneous. Rheta Dorr, a journalist who traveled to the front with them, told of Red Cross nurses, a woman doctor, clerks, office workers, factory girls, servants, farm women, and some others who, like Bochkareva herself, had already fought in men's units, making up the battalion. There was one Russian girl of Japanese descent, and one Polish Jew. There was even a princess in the ranks. As a group they were well educated, having a literacy rate of 90 percent, which was a much higher figure than that of the general male population at the time. Half had completed high school and 25 percent had at one time or another been enrolled in a university.

One of the volunteers was Maria Skrydlova, the daughter of an admiral and an accomplished musician who'd studied abroad and spoke several languages. She'd also done hospital work and had seen, despite her efforts to save him, an invalided general beaten to death by unruly soldiers. That same day



she traded her nurse's uniform for that of a soldier, telling her father: "Women have something more to do for Russia than binding men's wounds." When she went to enlist, her proud father accompanied her. She eventually rose to become Bochkareva's second in command.

Addressing the volunteers on their first day of training at the Kolomensk Women's Institute on Petrograd's Torgovaya Street, Bochkareva stressed their service would not be easy. Only iron discipline would be tolerated in the unit. There would be no "soldiers' committees" to interfere with official authority: "It is the purpose of this battalion to restore discipline in the army. It must, therefore, be irreproachable in character."

From the start she weeded out those she felt were not fully committed. When a Bolshevik agitator managed to enter the barracks to encourage the women to demand formation of a soldiers' committee, Bochkareva discharged all who voted for one. Despite her severity, however, she loved her charges, always referring to them as "my girls."

The beds in the barracks were stripped of mattresses, and the women had to sleep on boards with only a soldier's great coat as blanket. Any found giggling or in any way taking lightly any part of the training regime were immediately mustered out and sent home. Any who hesitated obeying an order were likewise expelled. All of their personal property and clothing was taken from them except their bras.

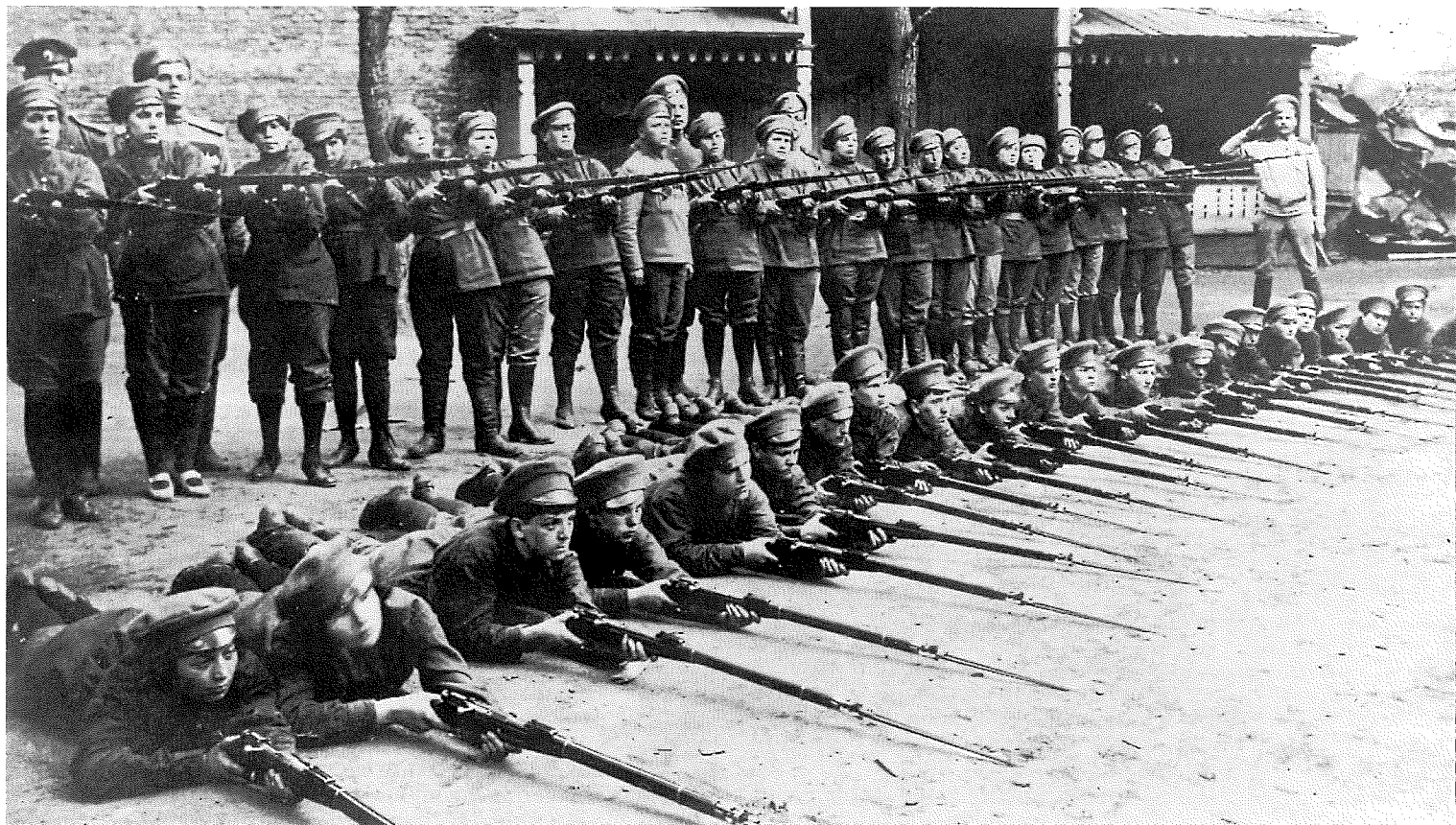
On the first day of instruction all recruits had their heads shaved. Sergeants from the *Volynsky Regiment* conducted their military education, the same given male recruits, including marches with the standard 65 lb. field pack. Bochkareva herself administered physical punishment to any found taking the training



*With revolution came disarray within the army. Here an NCO tries to stop two deserters.*

lightly. When the exhausted women had difficulty rising the next day, she roughly threw them out of bed. During that first day of training 30 were cut, and more fell out the next day. From the 2,000 volunteers of the first day, Bochkareva finally boiled down her unit to the 300 highly disciplined, dedicated fighting soldiers she'd projected for it when she first got the idea.

Not surprisingly, not all were pleased with idea of this kind of female participation in the war. Everywhere they met with derision and ridicule from men. Crowds assembled outside their barracks to throw stones and shout insults. Once, while entering the



*The 1st Russian Women's Battalion of Death in training, with Bochkareva standing in the center.*





Kenensky and Kornilov (center left and right) in Petrograd early in 1917.

barracks area, Bochkareva was attacked and had to be rescued by "her girls."

The right-wing military paper, *Army and Fleet of Free Russia*, condemned the whole concept, telling its readers: "Now is not the time to make pretty gestures. It is necessary to take every means to care for the men [already] in the army, and not to form a musical comedy army of women."

*Worker and Soldier*, a propaganda sheet of the Bolsheviks, opined the women of Bochkareva's unit could better serve the country as laundresses. Even Catherine Breshko-Breshkovskaia, an ardent revolutionary and political activist known as the "Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," had "nothing good to say" to journalist Long about the battalion. And French Ambassador Joseph Noulens, whose country desperately needed the pressure to be kept up in the east against the Germans, could not bring himself to take the women seriously. When they marched by the embassy he noted they "marched in step, affecting a martial spirit which was obviously contradicted by their plump figures and their feminine waddle."

They were, however, better received in some circles. A newspaper article written at the time of the completion of their training noted that when the creation of the unit had first been announced: "Some ... could not suppress their smiles. But it must be acknowledged that they smile no longer when once they have seen them marching through the streets ... these noble and proud young women who are deliberately sacrificing their lives for their country."

American Ambassador David Francis, hardly a champion of women's equality, donated 1,000 rubles to the unit. He was in fact quite taken with them and wrote his son Perry he thought they might well "have the effect of making the Russians who refuse to fight ashamed of themselves."

Within the unit the women themselves found a new sense of freedom and independence. When asked by Rheta Dorr about the suggestions that had been put forward the unit be switched to non-combat

status, one of Bochkareva's soldiers replied: "Why should I be obliged to patch up wounds? It's much easier to make them."

One recruit, Nina Krylova, published her memoirs in Belgium in 1940. Decades before the modern women's rights movement, she wrote:

*[After the revolution, no] woman would ever again permit her rights to education, to her own life, to her own heart, to the opportunity of giving birth when SHE [capitals in original] wanted to, to construct a life according to her own plans and not according to the plans of a man. And we would soon see who was morally superior: man, with his crude mind and callous soul, or woman, with her understanding, sensitivity and humanity.*

Having completed training, the unit was assigned to the 172nd Infantry Division belonging to the Russian 10th Army at Molodechno, about 50 miles from the Belorussian city of Minsk. At the time of their departure for the front on 21 June, a religious ceremony was held for them at the Kazan Cathedral in Petrograd. Many dignitaries were there, as well as thousands of citizens and soldiers. Two archbishops and a dozen priests officiated the overflow crowd.

Gen. Lavr Kornilov, who'd replaced Brusilov as commander-in-chief, gave Bochkareva a revolver and saber with handles of gold. Kerensky himself pinned on the epaulets of a lieutenant, thereby making her a commissioned officer. She was carried out on the shoulders of the crowd, a majority of whom were women.

But late on 24 June, at the railway station at the time of their departure, the women were harassed by Bolshevik peace agitators who doubtless feared they might indeed manage to restore the will to fight of the men in the army. The women had to force their way through to the train platform listening to taunts of: "Who fights for the damned capitalists? Who fights for the English bloodsuckers?"

As their train passed through towns along the way it was greeted by enthusiastic crowds cheering them on. The journey became something of a triumphal procession. At stops, throngs of people called out to see Lt. Bochkareva, whose fame now preceded her.

But when they reached Molodechno a different reception awaited them. The camp there was full of deserters and was characterized by general disarray. On both sides of the tracks there was a virtual sea of Russian soldiers awaiting the women's arrival, not out of joy, but with emotions ranging from curiosity to hostility. Dorr looked in horror at the mob outside the train and said to Bochkareva: "You may have to fight those men before you fight the Germans."

Picking up the revolver and sword given her by Kornilov, Bochkareva answered: "I am ready to begin fighting anyone."

As she emerged from the train the mass didn't move. Bochkareva walked into the crowd of gawking men, shouting in a powerful command voice: "Get the hell out of my way and let my unit pass!" With that, like the Red Sea in the book of Genesis, the soldiers parted to let the women through to their barracks.

After an unpleasant night of harassment from male soldiers, the women marched the next day toward the front lines some distance away. They were placed in a section of the trenches lying between two small woods, which were both full of Russian soldiers who didn't want to attack. On 8 July they fought in



the Battle of Smorgen, the only offensive engagement against Germans in which they would participate.

When the moment came to advance, the women yelled at the men on the flanks, calling them cowards and traitors along with every other epithet they could think of. Then Bochkareva called out: "Come on, brothers, we'll go first if you'll only follow."

Some men from both flanks yelled back in agreement, so the women advanced led by Bochkareva and Skrydlova. One of the women later ecstatically told Dorr: "We would have followed them anywhere!"

The men on the flanks joined the attack, and the first and second German trench lines were soon taken. Some 2,000 surprised Germans, who hadn't believed there was any fight left in the Russian army, were taken prisoner. One German captain who couldn't accept he'd been captured by female soldiers tried to kill himself rather than face the humiliation.

In the second trench line, however, an unexpected enemy was come upon: caches of vodka and beer. The men immediately forgot there was an attack going on and began to get happily drunk, even as Bochkareva attempted to destroy the alcohol. She ran back and forth among them, appealing to them to advance to seize the last German trench line, but to no avail.

A German counterattack was broken with bayonets, but many of the men retreated, leaving the women's battalion with its flanks exposed. The Germans then pushed in against their right, but were repelled by artillery and machinegun fire. The ranks were stretched so thin each woman had to cover yards of trench. A summons for reinforcement was answered by news the entire 9th Corps was coming up, but by sunrise not a single new soldier had yet arrived. Inquiries sent back as to the whereabouts of the corps came back with the revelation those men were holding a debate in the very trenches from which the women had started the attack. The final outcome of the argument was that 9th Corps would hold its ground but would not advance toward the enemy.

During a lull, Bochkareva saw one of her girls slip behind some trees with a male soldier. Investigating, she found them making love. In her memoirs she claimed she bayoneted the woman to death for the infraction, but the man managed to get away.

Seeing their situation was becoming hopeless, Bochkareva disengaged and retreated her unit without the Germans becoming aware of it. During the fighting, though, both she and Skrydlova had been wounded, Bochkareva seriously by shrapnel. Ironically, as the women came back they were taunted both by the men who'd retreated earlier and those of the 9th Corps who'd refused to move up to help. The conservative newspaper *New Times* was more charitable, telling its readers: "The battalion suffered some losses, but had won a historic victory for the name of women. The best soldiers looked with esteem on their new fighting comrades."

The same paper also added, however, that no male deserters had been motivated to return to fighting, so the real goal of the women's force had not been attained. The writer concluded, patronizingly: "We must take care of these dear forces and not give too much consideration to new formations of this kind."

A memorial service was held for those who'd been killed in the action. The officiating priest called the fight a "terrible yet glorious hour for Russia. Sad it is, and terrible beyond expression, that men have allowed women to die in their places for our unhappy country, but glorious will it ever be that Russian women have been ready and willing to do it."

The ubiquitous Dorr visited several of the wounded in the hospital and found them an upbeat group. One proudly held out the spiked helmet she'd taken from a German officer she'd killed. Then, weeping, she spoke of her sisters who'd died. Another told of how they all feared they would perish and thought sadly about the ones left behind at home. Yet another proudly said: "It was a good fight. Not a woman faltered, not one."

Recovered from her wounds, Bochkareva was greeted wildly in a return trip to Petrograd. She made the rounds of the dignitaries, who praised her and her work. Kerensky tried to draw her into politics, but she wanted none of that. She left him to go to Moscow to review another women's battalion that had been formed there by the Society of Russian Women to Help the Country, an organization that wanted to recruit between 10,000 and 20,000 females in order to scatter them throughout the army to add backbone. The idea of women's units had taken hold and a number of such battalions sprung up all over Russia.

But without Bochkareva's leadership, the new units came up lacking. When she visited the one in Moscow, for example, she found many of them wearing makeup and fancy stockings. They were also apparently having casual sex with male soldiers. Bochkareva leveled on them, provoking a riot in which she was severely beaten. From there she happily returned to the front and the women she'd personally recruited and trained.

But she found the front fallen into complete disarray. Male soldiers fraternized with the Germans, often crossing over to visit the enemy trenches and get drunk. Even in areas they didn't make such direct contact, many stuck their bayonets in the trench parapets in full view of the Germans, sending a signal that had come to mean: "We won't fight if you won't."



*Maria Bochkareva, in uniform, with the English women's rights activist Emmeline Pankhurst.*





*Members of the Fromenko Women's Battalion on Palace Square in Petrograd in late October.*

When Bochkareva fired on some Germans crossing no man's land, she was nearly killed by nearby Russian soldiers who feared her action might upset the equilibrium in that area of the front. She tried to get her unit transferred to a more disciplined sector, but there really was none. When the Bolsheviks seized power in the October revolution, she and her girls were attacked for their loyalty to the old regime and had to flee the trenches. Some were caught and lynched, but most got away safely, first to Molodechno then into the surrounding countryside.

Seeing it was useless to try to keep the unit together, Bochkareva disbanded the battalion. Dividing all the food and money available, she sent off her soldiers in different directions in ones and twos. Thus the women's battalion, which had begun with such high hopes, ended not with a bang but a whimper. In her memoirs Bochkareva wrote: "It was a pitiful finale to a heroic chapter in the history of Russian womanhood."

But there was one final episode in the story of Russian women's military role in the war. A female university student named Fromenko had formed a women's unit in Petrograd that had the good fortune to become both well equipped and well trained. It was composed of about 1,000 women, including a machinegun detachment and a troop of 20 female cossacks. They were stationed at a camp near Petrograd.

More homogeneous than Bochkareva's group, they were drawn almost exclusively from peasant and working class stock. Many were illiterate, and when one was discovered kissing her rifle and was asked why she said: "I love my gun because it carries death...I love all things that carry death to the enemies of my country."

On the eve of the October revolution, a group from this new unit were reviewed by Kerensky, who wanted to have them guard the Winter Palace. In the end, 135 of them were assigned to protect the government automobiles kept there. When the Bolsheviks surrounded the area during the early morning of 7 November, the women suddenly found themselves caught up in the political struggle. They were told if they surrendered to the Reds they were certain to be

raped. Then they heard Gen. M.V. Alexeev, the former Czarist commander-in-chief, was being held prisoner in the general staff headquarters building across the street. They moved out intent on freeing him, but were soon surrounded, disarmed and captured themselves.

In the days immediately after the Bolshevik seizure of power they couldn't yet stifle all opposition, so for a while the anti-communist press continued to function. There were reports published saying the women had all been raped and subjected to other atrocities. A commission composed of prominent non-Bolsheviks investigated the charges and learned some of the women had indeed been taken by the Red Guard to the Pavlovksy Barracks, where they'd been raped. Though a few had managed to get away to scatter across the city, most had returned to their camp.

On 4 December the Military Revolutionary Committee formally dissolved the Fromenko women's battalion. The funds in its coffers were distributed among the members so they could buy civilian clothes. Thus disguised they passed back into the general population, and the last women's battalion evaporated just like the first.

But the women's battalions of death had been significant. For the first time in the modern era a woman's unit had been used to fight and did so with great distinction. Had they not been let down by the male units on their flanks, their efforts would likely have brought success. The journalist Boris Souvorin, while calling the Battle of Smorgen "an eternal shame for our time," also noted it would "again and again adorn Russian women with an unexpected garland."

To Nina Krylov it had clearly proved that "a woman can be a worthy soldier."

Bochkareva, according to her memoirs, had many frightful experiences after disbanding her unit, once being captured by the Bolsheviks and nearly executed. She refused Lenin's offer to join the communist cause, instead siding with the Whites, not for political reasons, but simply because the Reds were making peace with the hated Germans. She believed such a peace could only be catastrophic for Russia.

A general (she doesn't name him) encouraged her to try to obtain help in America to go on fighting the Germans. So disguised as an English woman she sailed from Vladivostok to arrive in the US to great acclaim in May 1918. She was feted by many prominent figures, becoming a favorite of the press. She still wore men's clothing, and so drew crowds wherever she went. She eventually gained an audience with President Woodrow Wilson, during which she literally threw herself at his feet to beg for help for her prostrate country.

She returned to the White-held area around the White Sea called the Government of North Russia and offered her services. But she was told women had no place in the army and was stripped of her uniform. After that she vanished from the stage of history, with the exact place and time of her death still unknown. One recent work claims she was captured and executed by the Reds. The women's battalions, however, clearly remain a sign of the times. ❖

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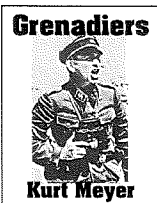


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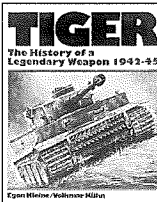
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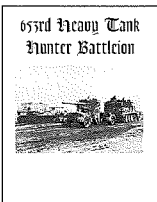
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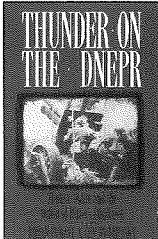
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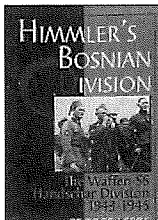
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# ART of WAR

## Military Artists of the 19th Century

by Robin Bates

Art comes to us in many forms and military art is no exception. In the previous issue, we briefly examined the commercial roots of the military genre in the 19th century, namely commissions and the increasing sophistication and demands of the news and publishing media.

During the same period two other

elements existed which demand our attention. These are the miniature and the panorama, both an extension of established art forms and in themselves not new to 19th century eyes. However both forms, particularly the panorama, achieved new artistic heights and as the century progressed, offered the artist an increasing

choice of military scenarios which lent themselves to large display. Such heroic works also served the purposes of propaganda and self-aggrandizement, two motives never far below the surface where military art was concerned.

The miniature painting had a different motivation, and at its best showed the skill of the artist to particular effect. Many such works would remain in private hands never to be seen by a wider public, the portrait miniature in oil being the most familiar of this form. Hundreds, if not thousands of these were painted during the Napoleonic wars, to be kept as mementos of loved ones and family. These are still to be found, often in original frames, painted on ivory, wood, or in some cases, card. The illustration shows a portion of a group of nine portraits of *Napoleon and his Family*, oil on ivory, all signed Pronoier, c.1840.

The other important function of the miniature was to provide illustration for books or works of reference. In the last quarter of the century the prolific German artist Richard Knotel painted many wonderful miniatures of battle scenes and events. A superb series of nine watercolor paintings depicting the life of the Prussian poet and patriot, Theodor Korner, (1791-1813) is in the possession of this writer.

Panoramas had long been a feature in the illustration of books, although until the 19th century, such illustration was mainly used for maps, city views and the houses and formal gardens of the aristocracy. Wonderful early examples of such works are still obtainable from the best antique dealers. They would be produced with multiple impressions, each representing a section of the whole, to be aligned and glued together, then folded to conform to the size of the book. As the century progressed and printing techniques advanced, panoramic fold-out illustration became a common feature of news publications, in



*Napoleon Crossing the Alps. This is a superb copy of the original J. L. David painting by Canadian artist, David Atko. The image is 28 x 30 inches available as a limited edition print (100 copies only) and as a canvas transfer from Red Lancer Fine Art.*





Gettysburg - Repulse of Longstreet's Assault. An original handcolored copper engraving from the painting by James Walker. Engraved by H.B. Hall and published by James Drummond, Boston, 1876. The image is 14 1/4 x 35 1/4 inches. Currently available for purchase from Red Lancer Fine Art, tel: (602) 964-9667.



Napoleon and his Family. Napoleon and his favorite sister, Pauline. Two of a series of nine portraits, oval 3 1/2 x 2 1/2 inches. Each portrait oil on ivory, the antique frame scrimshaw ivory and Mother of Pearl, 16 1/2 x 13 inches, c.1840.

England notably the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*. Many fine examples of these fold-out supplements are still to be found today.

However, it is the panorama or heroic portrait which attracted most public attention throughout the century. There are numerous examples of such endeavors, the portrait of Napoleon Crossing the Alps, by French artist Jacques Louis David, being easily recognized. This painting was an exercise in pure propaganda, as Napoleon crossed the Great St. Bernard pass on foot and, where possible, on the back of a donkey. Several examples of the painting are known.

It is something of a curiosity that panoramas became so popular during this period, for today, apart from public buildings, few are produced by contemporary artists. The film medium and television have probably been the main cause of this demise yet, as a record; of battle, the panorama executed by a gifted artist has no peer. Although those at the battlefields of Waterloo and Gettysburg are well

known, numerous other examples exist, though not necessarily on such monumental scale.

The painting by James Walker, *Gettysburg - Repulse of Longstreet's Assault*, today usually referred to as "Pickett's Charge", is a case in point. This offers the viewer a General's view of the battle, the confusion of the action only brought into focus by the white smoke of the rifles fired by attackers or defenders. The artist has made interesting use of white not only to delineate the position of the two sides but also to attain depth and perspective. In the center foreground the reflection of dust and smoke isolates and enhances the mounted Standard Bearers and, in the background, shell bursts and columns of smoke ensure a sense of three-dimensional depth.

For further information on the above and other period artwork contact Robin Bates, President, Red Lancer Fine Art, P.O. Box 8056, Mesa, AZ 85214. Tel: (602) 964-9667; Fax (602) 890-9495.

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## BOOKS

### THE SEVEN WEEKS WAR

by H.M. Hozier. 416 pages, paperback, Absinthe Press ([www.winter-net.com/~absinthe](http://www.winter-net.com/~absinthe)), Minneapolis, 1995. \$24.95

Originally published shortly after the war (Austro-Prussian War, 1866) in two volumes this classic work by Hozier is, in one word, awesome! The 1866 campaign is one of the most fascinating yet under-appreciated campaigns in modern history. In seven hard fought weeks Austria's domination of central Europe and the Federal Diet took the back seat to the up and coming warrior nation Prussia. Von Moltke's plans of operation were near perfect, and had to be, against the combined might of Austria and her many Federal allies. The battles fought (Nachod, Gitschin, Trautenau, Skalitz, etc.) were quick, bloody affairs, fought with some of the most modern equipment of the day; the campaign climaxed at the mega-battle Königgrätz. Absinthe Press; edition is replete with a dozen maps (many of which fold out) and most welcome orders of battle, unit organizations and the entire campaign is covered including the Western theatre, Italian front and naval activity (treaties are even included!) This books is a military history enthusiasts' paradise.

### RUSSIAN VOLUNTEERS IN HITLER'S ARMY,

by Wladyslaw Anders, Axis Europa Books, \$18.00

Axis Europa's latest addition to their line of fascinating books on the history of the Axis forces is a classic study, written by a Polish officer who fought on the Allied side. The editor has justly seen fit to expand this edi-

tion by including scarce and little-known data that has not seen publication before, in addition to bringing Mr. Anders' classic study in full.

This new information is carefully weaved into the fabric of the original text so smoothly that you do not feel the editor's careful additions, which are placed throughout this excellent text.

This classic work describes the rise and ultimate failure of the Russian anti-Communist volunteer movement. The reasons for the initial, almost spontaneous response, years of struggle, and ultimate failure of the ROA, headed by General Audrey Andreyevich Vlasov are considered must reading.

The publisher has produced this book in paperback using flat spines, and a high quality, glossy cover. The front cover features an extremely rare photograph of an ROA tank crew atop a captured T-34c! The back cover features the full color illustrations of the Russian volunteers. Five rare photos, one detailed map, some very good tables, and an incredible officer roster (with postings!) round out this latest effort by the Axis Europa staff. A must for any serious student of the Russian front.

### THE CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA 1914-1918,

by Brig. F. J. Moberly, 412 pages, 3 photos, 9 maps, The Battery Press, \$49.95

Originally published by His Majesty's Stationary Office between 1923 and 1927 at the request of the Government of India, this four volume British official history set by Brigadier F. J. Moberly covers military operations of Indian Army units against the Turks in what is present day Iraq. Volume I, scheduled for release in May 1997, begins with a general description of the theater of operations and a historical summary of Turks in Meso-

potamia. This is followed by a discussion of British political policy in the region. There are chapters on pre-war military preparations and the actual initiation of operations in early November 1914 at Basra. The capture of Zurna and the defeat of the Turkish counter offensives is covered in detail. Also described are operations in Arabistan and the capture of Amara, operations on the Euphrates and, most importantly, the initial battle for Kut in September 1915. Kut and its eventual siege remain the most famous battle of this campaign.

### ARMY MUSEUMS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, by Fred L. Bell, 320 pages, The Hellgate Press, \$17.95

Covers 23 museums in forts and military posts that convey the colorful history of the American West. In addition to driving instructions and contact data, entries in this well-researched guide relate the complete military history of each location and profile the significant commanders. Museums are located in Texas, Kansas, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Louisiana, California, Utah, New Mexico, Washington, and Hawaii. An annotated catalog of artifacts on display is provided for every site.

### STEEL INFERNO

I SS Panzer Corps in Normandy by Michael Reynolds. Sarpedon Publishers. 352 pages, \$27.50.

Readers of General Reynold's first book, *The Devil's Adjutant*, and anyone fascinated by accurate, in-depth combat histories, will welcome his most recent offering in which he painstakingly follows 1st SS Panzer Corps—the Leibstandarte AH and Hitlerjugend divisions—during its hard-fought actions in the aftermath of the Normandy landings.



The author first gives a brief history of the organization and weapons of the German tankers, and then launches into a careful consideration of the 1st SS Panzer Corps' actions from June 6 to August 25, 1944. Overwhelmed numerically and with the Allied air forces in control of the skies, the SS panzers nonetheless managed to score many tactical victories as they were forced back around Caen. Partly this was due to the SS's vast experience in Russia and other locales, but some of their success was owed to the green Canadian, British and American units who pushed forward with more bravery than brains.

Using not only the official histories of the various units involved, but also such overlooked sources as the radio and telephone logs and daily reports of Headquarters Army Group 'B' and Seventh Army and an intimate knowledge of the specific terrain, Reynolds makes clear the larger movements of the armies while also telling the stories of such legends as Sepp Dietrich, "Pantermeyer," and Michael Wittmann. These men were exceptional armored leaders with the drive and nerve to strike the Allies hard while being forced back inexorably. In *Steel Inferno* Reynolds has written the definitive account of his subject and confirmed his own reputation as one of the most meticulous and gripping authors of WWII history.

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**FOLKLORE FIGHTS THE NAZIS**  
Humor in Occupied Norway, 1940-1945, by Kathleen Stokker  
University of Wisconsin Press

Armed with jokes, puns, and cartoons, Norwegians tried to keep their spirits high and foster the Resistance by poking fun at the occupying Germans during World War II. Despite a 1942 ordinance mandating death for the ridicule of Nazi soldiers, Norwegians attacked the occupying Nazis and their Norwegian collaborators by means of anecdotes, quips, insinuating

personal ads, children's stories, Christmas cards, mock postage stamps, and symbolic clothing.

In relating this dramatic story, Kathleen Stokker draws upon her many interviews with survivors of the Occupation and upon the archives of the Norwegian Resistance Museum and the University of Oslo. Central to the book are four "joke notebooks" kept by women ranging in age from eleven to thirty, who found sufficient meaning in this humor to risk recording and preserving it. Stokker also cites details from wartime diaries of three other women from East, West, and North Norway. Placing the joking in historical, cultural, and psychological context, Stokker demonstrates how this seemingly frivolous humor in fact contributed to the development of a resistance mentality among an initially confused, paralyzed, and dispirited population, stunned by the German invasion of their neutral country.

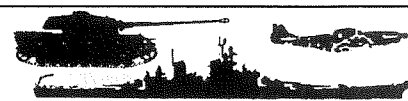
**HEAVEN AND HELL:**  
The War Diary of a German Paratrooper, by Martin Poppel, 256 pages, hardcover, 136 B/W photos, 3 maps, glossary, Spellmount Publishers, \$34.95

From Hitler Youth to German paratrooper to prisoner of war in England, the author shares his experiences in Poland, Holland, Norway, Crete, Russia, Southern Italy, Normandy, and the Rhine during World War II. Experience a parachute drop in Holland, the Russian winter, Normandy and the Allied invasion, and captivity in England through the eyes of a man who saw and recorded it all.

Martin Poppel (deceased) lived in Munich, Germany.

**WHY DIDN'T YOU GET ME OUT?**  
Betrayal in the Viet Cong Death Camps, by former Vietnam POW Frank Anton, Hard Cover, 240 pages, B&W photographs, Summit Publishing, \$22.99

For five years, POW Frank Anton anxiously waited for a rescue party. Though the United States government knew where he was being held captive, no attempts were made to get him out. Twenty years later, Anton reveals the truth about his experience as a POW in *Why Didn't You Get Me Out?* Also, Anton exposes the questionable military tactics of the United States government during the Vietnam War, and their stance on POW's and MIA's. This is a story the United



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States government told him to never tell... or else.

Anton tells of his experience of death, disease and inhumane treatment while being held as a prisoner of war in the jungles of South Vietnam. He paints a clear picture of his prison conditions and the treatment by his captors. One of those captors happened to be Bobby Garwood, a US Marine who was a POW, but joined forces with the Viet Cong. *In Why Didn't You Get Me Out?* Anton shares the real story behind this unfaithful and unloyal former Marine.

During his captivity, Anton witnessed American soldiers looking at him through binoculars and helicopters coming into plain view of the death camps - so close he could read the rank and division of the military personnel on board. However, these occasions did not once result in an attempt to rescue. Why did the American government let these prisoners, American soldiers, die in the jungles? After five long years as a POW, Anton was released in 1973 during Operation Homecoming. Following his release, Anton was debriefed by top military officials. Anton was told to never speak of his debriefing - or else. He learned that military intelligence had known of his whereabouts and had photographed him and his prison camp on several occasions. They actually showed him these photos. Some of those photographs are included in *Why Didn't You Get Me Out?*

**WHEN SOLDIERS QUIT:**  
**Studies in Military Disintegration, by**  
**Bruce Allen Watson, Praeger Publishing. 216 pages, \$59.95**

After an introduction showing three examples of military disintegration, the author examines six historical occurrences in depth: The India Mutiny of 1857; the 1917 French Army mutinies; the depredations following the British siege of San Sebastian, 1813; the surrender of the U.S. 106th Infantry Division in 1944; the Sand Creek Indian Massacre, 1864; and the My Lai massacre in 1968. The final chapter begins with a recapitulation of the four processes shown to be the foundations of disintegration - leadership failure, collapse of the units' internal primary groups, alienation, and desperation among the troops. The books ends with a brief discussion of the moral dilemma that disintegration imposes on military institutions.

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Surrender: Disintegration of a Division, December 1944; The Sand Creek Massacre, Colorado, 1864; The My Lai Massacre, Vietnam, 1968.

### FRONTSOLDATEN:

**The German Soldier in World War II, by Stephen Fritz, 312 pages, paperback, The University Press of Kentucky, \$19.00**

"I don't believe that today in Germany any artistic feat can equal the performance of a simple soldier, who holds his position under a heavy barrage in a hopeless situation. . . Anonymous, seen by only a few comrades, silent, he dies a lonely death, goes over to the inaccessible, his mortal remains absorbed into the abyss of the east as if he had never existed."

So wrote a German footsoldier to his father in 1942. In *Frontsoldaten* Stephen Fritz explores the mentality and indoctrination of the ordinary Soldier. Fritz studies the fierce camaraderie that allowed these soldiers to withstand difficult fighting conditions and the nationalism that helped them to dehumanize their enemies, particularly on the Russian front. *Frontsoldaten* draws on numerous letters and diaries to give a chilling portrait of the men who were the very foundation of the German war machine.

### WASHINGTON'S PARTISAN WAR, 1775-1783,

**by Mark V. Kwasny, 448 pages,  
Kent State University Press, \$35.00**

George Washington could criticize the militia in the sharpest, most condemning terms, but he also embraced a strategy that depended on them. In *Washington's Partisan War*, Mark V. Kwasny provides new interpretations of Washington's generalship and the importance of the state militia in the middle states around New York City. He shows how militia units controlled local populations while defending coastal towns and enclaves against British raids, and cooperated effectively with the Continental Army, gathering military intelligence, serving as a defensive screen, and at critical times reinforcing the main army.

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tia, and politics at the state and national levels, the author brings clarity to the chaotic and complicated military campaigns. He aptly compares events in the middle states to the better known partisan warfare in the South and thus illuminates the militia's contributions to Washington's victories in the Revolutionary War.

AMERICA IN THE CHINA RELIEF  
EXPEDITION,  
by Brig. Gen. A. S. Daggett, 279  
pages, 29 photos 4 maps, The Bat-  
tery Press, \$34.95

Originally published in 1903, this book remains one of the most important records of American involvement in China at the time of the boxer Rebellion. While not an official history, the author commanded the 14th Infantry Regt during this campaign and uses official sources in his account. The book begins with the Boxer uprising and initial allied response to support Western diplomats and missionaries (about 850) and Chinese Christians (about 3,000) who were surrounded in the legation area of the Forbidden City. When that effort failed, the United States and other interested nations began marshalling forces. The principal U.S. units (Marines, men of the 9th and 14th Infantry Regiments and the 6th Cavalry) were landed at Taku for a first assault on Boxer forces at Tientsen. That battle and the battles for Yangtsun and Peking are described in detail through the use of official after-action reports. Also highlighted are the roles of signal, medical and the famous Reilly artillery battery which supported the American force. There is considerable information on foreign armies as they impacted American operations.

MEDICAL HISTORIES OF UNION  
GENERALS,  
by Jack D. Welsh, M.D., 416 pages,  
Kent State University Press, \$35.00.

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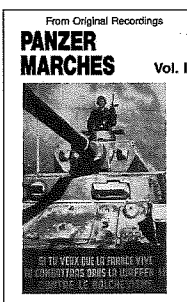
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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct  
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Christopher Perello  
Business Manager

**IN THE NEXT ISSUE:**  
**Scourge of God: Attila  
the Hun, Could Napoleon  
Have Invaded England?,  
The Battle of the Rose-  
bud, and much more.**

medical events, as well as information  
on their outcome. A number of men  
had suffered from medical events be-  
fore the war and three joined the  
army missing an arm and one missing  
a leg.

During the Civil War, the majority  
of these Union generals were afflicted  
by disease, injured by accidents, or  
suffered wounds. Following the war,  
they frequently continued to be af-  
flicted by disease and the effects of  
unhealed wounds.

## MULTIMEDIA

**RAGING STORM,**  
board wargame published by The  
Gamers.

Raging Storm covers the defense by  
the British 1st Infantry Division in the  
Campoleone Salient near Anzio 3-4  
February 1944. This division fought  
off intense German counterattacks,  
the first of which are shown in the  
game. The game covers these actions  
on two maps, with variants which al-  
low Naval Gunfire Support, Hidden De-  
ployment, Surrenders, Railway Guns,  
and even Elephant Tanks! The game  
comes with six scenarios.

**A BRIDGE TOO FAR,**  
Microsoft Corp., CD-ROM for Win  
95, Win NT & Power Mac, \$54.95

A Bridge Too Far is a real-time, his-  
torically accurate World War II strate-  
gy game that puts players in com-  
mand of Axis or Allied powers in a  
desperate fight to control five strate-  
gic bridges. The game features highly  
realistic tactical combat for intense  
"in the trenches" fighting, and adds a  
new strategic layer to challenge play-  
ers to out-think their opponents in  
the war room. A Bridge Too Far in-  
cludes dynamic battle flow, in which  
players can push or be pushed back  
across battle maps, and features real-  
istic soldier behavior and multiplayer  
capabilities.

A Bridge Too Far is based on Opera-  
tion Market Garden, an operation ac-  
tually mounted by the Allies during  
World War II against the German for-  
ces in Holland. Gamers control either  
the Germans or the Allied powers (the  
U.S., British and Polish armies) in an  
attempt to either change or replay his-  
tory. Each Allied army exhibits differ-  
ent fighting abilities and has different  
weapons and ammunition. A Bridge  
Too Far is the sequel to Microsoft's  
award-winning Close Combat.

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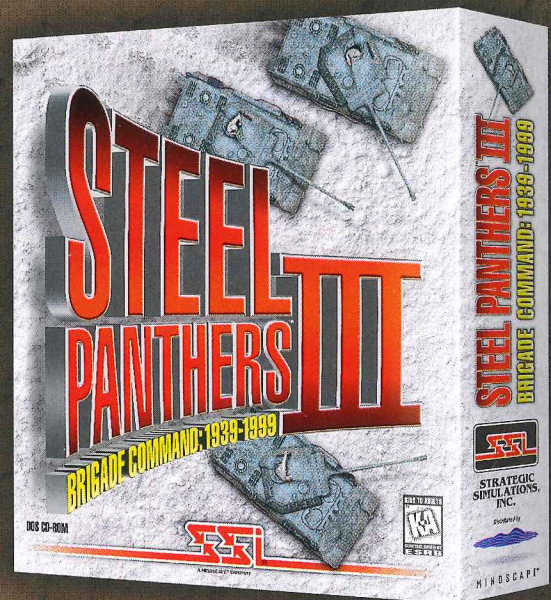
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