

America's Military Adversaries

America's Military Adversaries

From Colonial Times to the Present

By John C. Fredriksen



ABC-CLIO

Santa Barbara, California
Denver, Colorado
Oxford, England

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fredriksen, John C.

America's military adversaries : from colonial times to the present /
by John C. Fredriksen.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-57607-603-2 (Hardcover : alk. paper); 1-57607-604-0 (e-book)

1. United States—History, Military—Dictionaries. 2. Enemies
(Persons)—Biography—Dictionaries. 3. Spies—Biography—Dictionaries.
4. Traitors—United States—Biography—Dictionaries. 5. Heads of
state—Biography—Dictionaries. I. Title.

E181.F83 2001

355'.00973—dc21

2001005293

06 05 04 03 02 01 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an e-book. Visit abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.

130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911

Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911

This book is printed on acid-free paper ♻.

Manufactured in the United States of America

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Preface and Acknowledgments

A persistent failing of American secondary education is its inability to impart meaningful national history on to young minds. Nowhere is this more pronounced than in the realm of military history. Despite a bewildering variety of publications, and burgeoning public interest in the topic, young people usually have to wait until college to encounter such courses, or head to the public library and learn on their own. Given the centrality of warfare to human events, and the dire necessity of understanding war in order to avoid it, this is a sorry lapse, indeed. Moreover, the products available are not always balanced in their treatment of battles and foreign military leaders. Books abound on U.S. personalities, but those touching upon hostile commanders are either nonexistent or so sparsely covered that their utility is extremely limited. All told, this remains a less than salubrious situation, one scarcely addressed by the reference materials extant.

America's Military Adversaries is the first reference book to discuss leaders that have opposed the United States by military force—or other means. It has been specifically designed to address reference deficiencies associated with this topic and, in many respects, closely mirrors the philosophy of my earlier, award-winning effort, *American Military Leaders* (2 vols., ABC-CLIO, 1999). It was conceived with a largely uninformed, high school to undergraduate audience in mind and is delivered in nontechnical narrative prose. The 223 subjects covered represent a wide array of disciplines within military history and are rendered in concise, uniform fashion for ease of use and comprehension. Each essay provides succinct background information, then highlights the person's role or impact within the overall context of U.S. military history. This could assume many forms. Present are generals, admirals, Indian chiefs, warriors, submarine captains, fighter pilots, and spies. Branches of service as diverse as Loyalist ir-

regulars to the Waffen-SS are all represented to underscore the variety of opponents that American forces have grappled with. But more than any other consideration, this book is intended as a starting point for inquiring minds. Each essay contains extensive bibliographic references containing the latest and up-to-date scholarship on a given personality, battle, or campaign. Special effort has been made to include writings by these same individuals to facilitate that mind-to-mind contact so essential to the historical process. Wherever appropriate, entries are cross-referenced to other relevant biographies. Any name that appears in **boldface** type means that person is included in this volume, and separate sections following most entries list cross-references. It thus becomes possible to research and view a given battle or campaign from differing perspectives. In the interest of objectivity—a necessary prerequisite of intellectual honesty—it takes two sides to tell a story. Like its forebear, *America's Military Adversaries* exudes sufficient breadth and depth to inform, enlighten, and, above all, stimulate research on the lives and events chronicled.

Since its inception as a colony, the United States has engaged in numerous wars of survival and expansion. In the course of these conflicts, many leaders of the opposing side stand out as among the best and most talented of their times. Be they Native American, European, or Asiatic, these personalities usually mounted stout and memorable resistance. The victories we achieved over them or, in some instances, the defeats we suffered at their hands all constitute threads in the tapestry of our national military experience. However, the exact number of these belligerent personalities is large and would fill several volumes. Therefore, my goal in writing this book was to assemble a working cross-section of all the significant leaders, as well as a host of lesser-known individuals, who have opposed America by force of arms. This is their story—and ours.

For nearly two and a half centuries, America's most constant military opponents were the Native Americans. Despite varied origins and languages, they were determined to defend their land against European expansion. A succession of capable chiefs, from Canonchet and Sassacus to American Horse and Little Wolf, all tried and failed to stop their more numerous and technologically superior opponents. In the course of these sporadic hostilities, both sides committed unspeakable atrocities and should be condemned for such deeds. Still, Amerindians of every variety did not surrender their homeland peacefully, and they fought with a tenacity and sacrifice that is truly admirable. Collectively, they were formidable opponents.

The French colonialists of Canada also proved a force to reckon with. The noted sailor D'Iberville was the terror of northern Maine during King William's War and Queen Anne's War, and his Gallic counterparts of the decisive French and Indian War like Levis, Bourlamaque, and the immortal Montcalm also fought with distinction. Defeat does not diminish their well-deserved reputations for bravery and technical competence.

In 1775 the burgeoning American colonies, having dispensed with numerous Indian and French obstacles, finally coalesced into a new country—the United States—and declared independence. This act brought them face-to-face with the redoubtable army and navy of Great Britain, which possessed highly trained, rigorously disciplined soldiers and sailors. In turn, they were led by some of the finest tactical minds of their age: Howe, Cornwallis, Clinton, Parker, and Grey. Outnumbered but almost never outfought, the vaunted redcoats came very close to extinguishing a sometimes clumsy American war effort through their unparalleled battlefield prowess. In addition, the numerous professional German soldiers they hired—the Hessians—were also worthy adversaries when led by the likes of Gens. Knyphausen and Riedesel. Fortunately, U.S. forces improved with experience, and the war

was successfully concluded. The British were tough professional adversaries, but they usually subjected themselves to closely prescribed laws of war. The same cannot be said for their Loyalist allies, for whenever Americans fought Americans the result was usually desperation and slaughter. In this respect the American Revolution more closely resembles a civil war and all the animosity such contests engender.

With independence won, the new United States became a player on the world stage, although lacking a major army or navy to protect its interests. The Barbary pirates of North Africa were quick to sense such weakness, and their rapaciousness stimulated the first American military expedition abroad. Shortly after, the United States found itself embroiled in the War of 1812 against England—itsself an outgrowth of the larger Napoleonic conflagration. Again, the badly trained and poorly led American levies were pitted against splendid professionals—with predictable results. On land, Isaac Brock remains hailed as the savior of Canada, whereas the lesser-known but equally capable Gordon Drummond performed similar work against American forces that were much better prepared. At sea, the Royal Navy was initially surprised by the vitality of the small but highly effective U.S. Navy. But within a year, Captain Philip Broke ended a string of American naval victories by capturing the USS *Chesapeake*. Shortly after, British army and naval forces under Admirals George Cockburn and Alexander Cochrane made their presence felt throughout Chesapeake Bay—and even burned the U.S. capital. If anything, the War of 1812 underscored America's dire necessity for adopting rational defense schemes and maintaining trained forces that were second to none. It was a lesson painfully learned.

Ironically—and tragically—America's most bitter enemies came from among its own citizens. The Civil War of 1861–1865 was eventually suppressed, but it resulted in higher casualties than any other conflict in U.S. history.

This was largely because the Confederate States of America enjoyed a wealth of military talent. John C. Breckinridge, a former vice president, and John B. Gordon, a former lawyer, lacked formal training yet proved themselves first-rate divisional and corps commanders. Their success underscored that the American reliance on amateur “citizen soldiers” could produce outstanding military leaders. Still, the Confederates also employed blackguards like William C. Quantrill and “Bloody Bill” Anderson, who spread a trail of murder and mayhem throughout Missouri. Between the two extremes fall men like John Imboden, Turner Ashby, and James J. Pettigrew, fine commanders who distinguished themselves in minor theaters. But regardless of how one feels about the politics and policies of the Confederacy, the honor, gallantry, and sacrifice of its soldiers are beyond dispute.

Having consolidated its hold on North America, the bustling young republic began expanding its interests—and grasp—toward its neighbors to the south. The Mexican forces under Santa Anna fought bravely but in vain trying to stem an Anglo invasion and the loss of nearly half their domain. Similarly, Spanish admirals like Cervera and Montojo fulfilled their sense of honor by losing two dramatic, lopsided engagements against more modern American fleets. In a similar sense, the peasant uprisings of Mexico and Nicaragua produced wily opponents like Pancho Villa and Augusto Sandino. They could not tackle American forces head-on in the conventional sense, so they resorted to classic guerrilla warfare. Curiously, these two men—who had gained international celebrity by thwarting the Yankees—died at the hands of fellow countrymen.

Victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 subsequently catapulted the United States to the front of the world stage, and with it came entanglement in European affairs. American entry into World War I found U.S. forces encountering German troops for the first time since the Hessians during the

Revolution. The kaiser’s army may have been on its last legs in 1918, but under the capable leadership of generals like Max von Gallwitz, it made the amateurish and enthusiastic newcomers pay heavily for their victory. Two decades later, the German Wehrmacht of World War II made even greater technical and tactical strides and championed a new form of warfare—the blitzkrieg—with legendary efficiency. In their first brush with the enemy, U.S. forces suffered disastrously at the hands of Erwin Rommel, the “Desert Fox,” but they rebounded and within four months captured the entire Panzer Armee Afrika. By 1944, the U.S. Army proved capable of meeting the superbly trained and equipped divisions of Kluge, Balck, and Blaskowitz on equal terms. They also felt the sting of merciless fighting forces such as Hitler’s dreaded Waffen-SS, as well as men like Peiper and Dietrich, who committed atrocities as a matter of course. All fought with desperate courage but were finally vanquished.

With the acquisition of the Pacific Coast in 1848, the United States increased its trade contacts—and ambitions—in the Far East. Victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 resulted in the acquisition of the Philippines—and America’s first guerrilla war in Asia. Emilio Aguinaldo was finally defeated after many months, but he demonstrated that land war in the Far East was no simple task. The Boxer Rebellion was also a warning that Chinese armies, well-trained and motivated, could be dangerous to tackle. Within four decades, the United States became engaged with the fanatically brave but brutal forces of Imperial Japan. For many months into the Pacific War, the Japanese army, navy, and air forces seemed unstoppable and driven mindlessly—or so it seemed to Western observers—by the ancient samurai code of victory or death. But in time the imperial enemy proved less than invincible, and Admiral Yamamoto met his fate during an aerial ambush by U.S. warplanes. This was the result of American breakthroughs in decoding en-

rypted messages, rather than martial prowess, but it decapitated the head of a phenomenally determined opponent.

No sooner had the United States triumphed militarily in World War II than its mettle was tested again during the Cold War against the fiendish ideology of communism. In June 1950, the maniacal dictator Kim Il Sung attacked South Korea, sweeping aside all opposition. America was once more unprepared for war, but its forces nonetheless quickly turned the tide. Then the brilliance of General Douglas MacArthur was undone by his own arrogance, and in December 1950 waves of Chinese infantry under General Peng Dehuai pushed the UN forces back. Overhead, Russian-built and -flown MiG-15 jet fighters battled daily with the U.S. Air Force, and one pilot, Yevgenij Pepelyaev, became the war's leading ace. For the first time in its history, America's military was forced to accept a draw.

Within a decade, America was embroiled in another war on the Asian mainland, this time in the divided country of Vietnam. Regardless of the fantastic firepower available to U.S. forces, the communist guerrilla armies of Vo Nguyen Giap simply absorbed their losses and outlasted their impatient adversaries. At sea, the Cold War also assumed new and more chilling dimensions as the Russian navy, traditionally a shallow water force, spread itself over the oceans at the behest of Admiral Sergei Gorshkov. But democracy prevailed over tyranny, and the United States eventually emerged as the sole surviving superpower. Nobody learned this faster—or harder—than Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein during the 1991 Gulf War. So, despite the loss of limited wars in Korea and Vietnam, the United States remains one of the greatest military powers in all of human history. The biography of America's enemies affords numerous and useful historical lessons. But more important, it

proffers lasting testimony to our country's resilience, tenacity, and success.

In the largely male world of military victory and defeat, women should certainly not be neglected. Only a handful of women became true enemies of the United States, but their efforts in the overall scheme of American military history are unique and worthy of discussion. Margaret Arnold possessed steely resolve and an appetite for danger. Had her more-famous husband succeeded in his scheme to turn over West Point to the British, it may have affected the final outcome of the Revolutionary War. Frederika Riedesel was another trooper who willingly endured all the travails of campaigning and captivity to be with her husband. During the Civil War, Belle Boyd was a successful female intelligence agent whose career became celebrated by both sides. And the Dowager Empress Cixi was only the second woman in history to rule China, but she proved herself a masterful—if ruthless—practitioner of Machiavellian politics. For this reason alone, and not simply her defeat in the Boxer Rebellion of 1890, she merits greater attention. Finally, the ill-fated Iva Toguri, aka Tokyo Rose, was more a victim of circumstance than a bona fide menace, but she is nonetheless part of the cultural legacy of World War II, and became a legal cause célèbre afterward.

It is hoped that *America's Military Adversaries* will call national attention to the numerous and talented enemies that America has struggled with and, in most cases, vanquished. May it serve to enhance appreciation of the freedom we enjoy, as well as the eternal vigilance we pay to preserve it.

The author would like to acknowledge Henry Sakaida, Brendan Morrissey, Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Peter Harrington, Bill Smy, and Christopher T. George for their assistance in locating portraits.

America's Military Adversaries

Aguinaldo, Emilio

(March 23, 1869–February 6, 1964)

Filipino Guerrilla

Banty, little Aguinaldo championed Philippine independence, whether this entailed fighting Spain or the United States. Eventually defeated and captured, he never abandoned his lofty goal of national home rule.

Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy was born near Cavite, Luzon, on March 23, 1869, the son of Chinese and Tagalog (Malay) parents. He was educated by Franciscan monks at Santo Tomas University in Manila and, like his father before him, served as major of Cavite Viejo. The Philippines by this time had been subject to Spanish colonialism for three centuries, and mounting resentment induced Aguinaldo to join a secret revolutionary movement called the Katipunan (Supreme Worshipful Association of the Sons of the People) around 1895. This organization, founded by Andres Bonifacio for the express purpose of expelling Spain from the islands, commenced an uprising in August 1896. Aguinaldo, in the course of 52 days of fighting, distinguished himself in combat and rose to prominence. Ominously, he also displayed a ruthless streak by having Bonifacio arrested and executed for treason. This rendered him the undisputed leader of the rebellion. However, the Spanish government, not wishing to have its tenuous hold on the Philippines weakened further, agreed to a peace settlement. All fighting subsequently stopped, and Aguinaldo was exiled after receiving a sum of 400,000 pesos. The former guerrilla leader then set up residence in Hong Kong to purchase weapons for future fighting. However, during the impasse, war broke out between the United States and Spain on May 19, 1898, and he negotiated with Adm. George Dewey for his return to the islands. The admiral assured him that the United States harbored no designs upon the Philippines, especially as a colony. Dewey then departed for his fateful

encounter at Manila Bay before Aguinaldo could join him, but the restive young fighter managed to return home later that spring.

Once the fleet of Adm. **Patricio Montojo** had been defeated, Aguinaldo helped recruit a large force of 30,000 insurgents who besieged Spanish forces in Manila. To underscore his determination for freedom, he formally announced the country's independence from Spain on June 1, 1898. He also designed a national flag, composed a national anthem, and ordered public readings of a Philippines Declaration of Independence. By August a small force of American soldiers under Gen. Wesley Merritt had arrived, and Aguinaldo, who considered the newcomers allies, assisted them in the siege of Manila. The Spanish were decisively defeated, and three centuries of colonial oppression came to an abrupt end. Moreover, Aguinaldo summarily proclaimed the creation of the new Republic of the Philippines, with himself as president, and established a new capital at Malolos on September 9, 1898.

Unfortunately for Aguinaldo, the United States became bound up in its first-ever imperialist surge and had no intention of releasing the Philippines. In fact, Spain "sold" its former province to the Yankees for \$20,000. President William McKinley thereafter refused to recognize Aguinaldo's authority and forbade his soldiers from occupying Manila. Incensed by the betrayal, Aguinaldo urged the national assembly to declare war against the United States on February 4, 1899. Heavy fighting between insurgents under Gen. Antonio Luna and American forces resulted in considerable losses to both sides. Beaten back by superior firepower, the rebel cause was also hindered by Aguinaldo's distrust of Luna, as they were potential rivals. Eventually, the capable Luna was assassinated by soldiers loyal to Aguinaldo. In their divided condition, Filipino forces could not stop the fall of Malolos to

Gen. Arthur MacArthur on March 31, 1899. Aguinaldo could no longer afford costly confrontations with better equipped enemy forces, so he fled north to continue guerrilla warfare from the mountains.

Over the next two years, MacArthur systematically reduced rebel strongholds while pacifying the population with goodwill and public works. This spirit of generosity and benevolence helped undermine support for rebel forces, who occupied smaller and smaller regions of northern Luzon, the Visayan Islands, Mindanao, and Sulu. However, fighting, when it did occur, was heavy and costly to both sides. At length a new commander, U.S. Col. Frederick Funston, resorted to a ruse to end the war. Enlisting the aid of a friendly Filipino contingent, he was taken to Aguinaldo's camp as a prisoner until, without warning, the so-called captives drew their weapons and captured the elusive rebel leader. Under intense pressure, Aguinaldo agreed to swear allegiance to the United States and help end the war. Thousands of his rebels, bereft of his leadership, then summarily laid down their arms, although contingents on Batangas and Samar held out until May 1902. On July 4, 1902, a new American president, Theodore Roosevelt, ordered Aguinaldo released, and the rebel leader returned to a life of seclusion. His insurrection cost the lives of 4,200 Americans, 20,000 Filipino soldiers, and upward of 200,000 civilians.

Following his release, Aguinaldo lived a law-abiding existence, but in public appearances he donned a black bow tie symbolizing his mourning of Philippine independence. "My capture, together with the treachery and betrayal that accompanied it, left me deeply angered, then distressed, then almost completely numbed," he later wrote. But the readiness with which Aguinaldo bowed to U.S. pressure cost him considerable standing among his former adherents, and thereafter he functioned only as a political figurehead. In 1935, he was spurred to run against Manuel Quezon for the presidency of the commonwealth government, only to be soundly de-

feated. Aguinaldo then resumed his self-imposed exile until 1941, when Japanese forces under Gen. **Masaharu Homma** invaded and commenced a long and cruel occupation of the Philippines. To the surprise of many associates, Aguinaldo allied himself with the invader and called for Filipino and American forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur to surrender. He also lobbied the Japanese to name him president of their puppet wartime republic, but they ignored him. After MacArthur's reconquest of the Philippines in 1945, Aguinaldo was arrested for collaborating with the enemy and briefly jailed. He was subsequently freed on an amnesty granted by President Harry S. Truman. However, after 35 years of struggle, the Philippines finally acquired complete independence on July 4, 1946. Aguinaldo's long-cherished goal had finally been achieved. He consequently remained a spokesman for Philippine nationalism and democracy for the rest of his long life. This implacable enemy of colonialism, whose reputation was somewhat diminished by his collaboration with Japan, died in Manila on February 6, 1964. Although unsuccessful in his personal crusade, he had given the Americans their first taste of protracted guerrilla conflict in Asia.

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Alexander, Edward Porter

(May 26, 1835–April 28, 1910)
Confederate General

The versatile Alexander was the South's ablest artilleryist and did much to enhance the efficiency of the Confederate artillery arm. His services proved so valuable that he became one of a handful of officers that Gen. **Robert E. Lee** refused to transfer from his staff. After the Civil War, Alexander distinguished himself in a variety of engineering, educational, and diplomatic capacities.

Edward Porter Alexander was born in Washington, Georgia, into a relatively affluent family. He gained admittance to West Point in 1853 and four years later graduated third in his class of 38 as a second lieutenant of engineers. He also studied at a time when cadets were under the aegis of Superintendent Robert E. Lee. Alexander showed great promise as a young officer, and for several months thereafter he functioned as an academy instructor. In October 1858, he rose to first lieutenant and traveled west as part of Col. Albert Sidney Johnston's expedition



Edward Porter Alexander
Library of Congress

against the Mormons, but he subsequently returned to the academy when that maneuver was canceled. Back at West Point, Alexander next cooperated with Maj. Albert J. Myer and helped pioneer a new system of signaling. The "wigwam," or semaphore, system employed a series of flags or lanterns to communicate information between army units and over vast distances. Although primitive by today's standards, it proved perfectly functional and was widely employed by both sides during the Civil War. Shortly after, Alexander transferred to the West

Coast and spent several months performing garrison duty at Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory. By this time the first wave of Southern secessions began wracking the American polity. Alexander never advocated secession from the Union, but once the process began in the spring of 1861, he resigned his commission and tendered his services to the Confederacy. "My people are going to war," he de-

clared. "If I don't come and bear my part, they will believe me to be a coward." He followed his conscience and thereafter became a leading figure in all major campaigns of the eastern theater.

On March 16, 1861, Alexander was commissioned a captain of Confederate engineers. In this capacity he was appointed to the staff of Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard as a signals officer. From his observation tower near the Van Pelt House, he provided critical information about Union flanking movements prior to First Bull Run (July 21, 1861) and contributed to the Southern victory there. He performed similar work in the spring of 1862 during the Peninsula campaign against the army of Gen. George B. McClellan, and during the Battle of Gaines Mill he became one of the first Confederate officers to man an observation balloon. Alexander also displayed considerable expertise in artillery affairs and penned several organizational plans for that arm. Command of the Army of Northern Virginia had since passed over to General Lee, who came to lament the presence of Gen. William N. Pendleton, an incompetent head of the Ordnance Department. Unable to find a polite way of easing Pendleton from his staff, Lee appointed Alexander to serve as de facto head of ordnance in the field. Consequently, he gained promotion to major of artillery in April 1862 and lieutenant colonel the following July. It was from this point forward that Alexander gained renown through his close association with the "long arm of Lee." He demonstrated his talents aptly in December 1862 during the Battle of Fredericksburg and proved critical in the sighting of Confederate cannons on Marye's Heights. His artillery consequently inflicted heavy losses upon the army of Gen. Ambrose Burnside and contributed to a lopsided Confederate victory.

General Lee was so pleased with Alexander's performance that in March 1863 he received promotion to colonel and command of an artillery battalion in Gen. **James Longstreet's** I Corps. He was then detached

to accompany Gen. **Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's** corps on its celebrated flanking march during the Chancellorsville campaign in May 1863. Alexander spent nearly an entire night expertly sighting and massing 30 cannons for an attack upon Hazel Grove that drove off Union forces in confusion. But his most celebrated role occurred two months later while directing Confederate counterbattery fire during the climactic third day at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. There he orchestrated a prolonged, two-hour bombardment of Union lines by 140 artillery pieces prior to a suicidal assault by Gen. George E. Pickett. Owing to the good defensive position of Union forces, Alexander's fire proved ineffectual in silencing the enemy artillery. Moreover, when Northern cannons suddenly slackened their fire to conserve ammunition, Alexander naturally assumed they had been knocked out of action. He then urged Pickett to advance immediately where, at close range, Union gunners recommenced their deadly bombardment. Within 20 minutes Pickett's charge had ended in a bloody repulse. Later that summer, Alexander accompanied Longstreet's I Corps westward as part of the Army of Tennessee under Gen. **Braxton Bragg**. He arrived too late to participate in bloody fighting at Chickamauga but did serve as artillery chief during the ill-fated siege of Knoxville. Bragg's successor, **Joseph E. Johnston**, desired Alexander to remain behind as his chief artillery officer, but Confederate President **Jefferson Davis** refused, citing General Lee's great partiality for him.

In the spring of 1864, Alexander was promoted to brigadier general and resumed his position as chief of artillery in Longstreet's I Corps back in Virginia. His guns had a full measure of service in the bloody Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, where the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was inexorably maneuvered back into defensive positions around Richmond. Alexander next oversaw the placing of batteries throughout the ensuing siege of Cold Harbor and Petersburg, which bloodily repulsed Union attacks

along the line. During these operations, Alexander also predicted that Union forces would break the stalemate by sinking mine shafts beneath their positions and urged Lee to commence countermining operations. He was on hand for the Battle of the Crater, which began, as he predicted, with the explosion of a mine sunk beneath Confederate lines. Shortly after, Alexander was wounded in the arm by a sniper and left the frontlines to recuperate. Weeks later, when General Lee was finally forced to abandon Richmond and fled west toward Appomattox, Alexander remained one of the handful of stalwarts who urged him not to surrender. Alexander nonetheless laid down his arms on April 9, 1865, with the rest of Lee's army. This last act concluded the military career of one of the finest artillery officers in American history.

After the war, Alexander found employment as a mathematics and engineering instructor at the University of South Carolina. He subsequently acquired great renown and wealth for his demonstrated expertise in the railroad business and penned several well-regarded texts on the subject. In 1885, President Grover Cleveland appointed the former Confederate artillerist to serve as director of the Union Pacific Railroad. Alexander also utilized his surveying skills as an arbitrator during the boundary dispute between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A gifted writer, he contributed several erudite essays about the Civil War to numerous publications. His own memoirs appeared in 1907 and were widely applauded for their objectivity—and willingness to criticize Lee and Longstreet for their generalship. This behavior alienated many of his former subordinates but is a good indication

of Alexander's commitment to intellectual honesty and pristine military analysis. He died on April 28, 1910, in Savannah, Georgia, a multifaceted leader of considerable merit.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.; Longstreet, James

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Alligator

(ca. 1795–December 26, 1861)

Seminole War Chief

Although physically diminutive, Alligator loomed large as one of the craftiest, most respected warriors of Florida's Second Seminole War. He eventually viewed resistance as futile, accepted deportation, and became a vocal proponent for better treatment of his people.

Alligator (Halpatter Tustenuggee) was born probably in southern Alabama around 1795 as part of the larger Creek Indian nation. Under increasing pressure from white settlers, many Creek families, and a number of runaway slaves, migrated to Florida to form a new tribe, the Seminoles. It is not known exactly when Alligator's family made the exodus, but by 1835 he had risen to prominence among his people on account of his fierceness in battle and overall shrewdness. Accordingly, he served as principal war chief of the Alachua band under Chief **Micanopy** and also advised the Mikasuki band in similar matters. White Indian agents and military officers who dealt with Alligator commented upon his short stature, easygoing manner, and obvious intelligence. Conversant in English, the chief was almost always present during important consultations with whites and proved quite popular with them.

After the War of 1812 and a punitive expedition by Gen. Andrew Jackson in 1818, friction started mounting between Seminoles and whites living in Florida. The tempo of events accelerated in 1835, following the Treaty of Payne's Landing, which stipulated the removal of Seminoles from Florida and their relocation to reservations out in the Arkansas Territory (now Oklahoma). In January 1833, by dint of his tribal standing, Alligator was among those Seminoles dispatched to examine the new lands, but he returned unimpressed. Vocal dissatisfaction increased along with tribal determination to forcibly resist relocation, even at the risk of war. Events cli-

maxed following another treaty in April 1835, which reaffirmed the U.S. government's stated intent to remove the Indians from Florida, one way or another. When the celebrated **Osceola** killed a Seminole chief sympathetic to removal on December 28, 1835, Alligator and Micanopy commenced fighting the Second Seminole War. On that very same day he led 180 warriors who expertly ambushed an American convoy of 108 men under Maj. Francis L. Dade marching from Fort Brooke to Fort King. Only three soldiers survived the ensuing massacre. Three days later, on December 31, Alligator joined forces with Osceola to oppose a new force commanded by Gen. Duncan L. Clinch. As the Americans attempted to cross the Withlacoochee River in dribbles, the Seminoles massed on the riverbank and resisted fiercely. After heavy fighting and considerable losses, both sides withdrew. Thereafter, the Second Seminole War was punctuated by hit-and-run activities by the Indians, with vengeful columns of soldiers and militia following in their wake.

Despite the odds, the Seminoles could successfully conduct pitched battles. On February 27, 1836, Alligator, commanding upward of 1,000 warriors, managed to pin a like number of Americans under Gen. Edmund P. Gaines in a bend of the Withlacoochee River. For several days he closely besieged the defenders, inflicting considerable losses, but the Indians were finally driven back by a relief column. The Seminoles under Alligator and **Wildcat** then resumed their guerrilla tactics until December 1837, when a large force under Col. Zachary Taylor confronted them at Lake Okeechobee. As always, Alligator skillfully held the center line, but the relentless American onslaught forced them to withdraw. By now the Seminoles suffered from exposure and lack of food, and Chief Micanopy was induced to surrender on December 3,

1837. Alligator, faced with dwindling amounts of warriors and supplies, resisted as long as possible, but he too finally abandoned the struggle. On March 24, 1838, he and his followers strolled into the camp of Gen. Thomas S. Jesup and surrendered.

Alligator and his band were dutifully packed off and relocated to new homes in the Arkansas Territory, where they coexisted uneasily on land also occupied by the Cherokees. Living conditions there were deplorable and a direct violation of treaty terms. Alligator underscored his discontent in the spring of 1842 when he wrote the War Department, declaring, "I have no guns to kill squirrels and birds with to feed my children, no ax to cut my firewood, no plow or hoes with which to till our soil for bread." Seminole misery was so pervasive that in 1844 Alligator and Wildcat journeyed to Washington, D.C., to demand redress and their own allotment of tribal land. This land grant was not finally approved until August 1856, and until then Seminoles endured misery at the hands of their hostile Cherokee and newly arrived Creek neighbors.

Alligator faded from the scene until 1861, when the U.S. Civil War commenced. Despite the neglect his people had suffered at the hands of the Indian Department, he remained loyal to the government and opposed Confederate sympathizers within the Seminole nation. Assisted by another noted warrior, Billy Bowlegs, he led several families and war

bands north into Kansas to reach Union territory. En route they were intercepted by Seminoles supporting the Southern cause, and Alligator was killed at Shoal Creek, Kansas, on December 26, 1861. Thus one of the greatest warriors in Seminole history died at the hands of his own kinsmen.

See also

Osceola

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American Horse

(ca. 1830–September 9, 1876)

Sioux War Chief

American Horse was a noted Sioux participant in various plains wars of the 1860s and 1870s. He fought victoriously at Little Bighorn and was also among

the first victims of retaliation to follow that surprising Indian victory.

American Horse (also known among his people as Iron Shield) was born probably into

the Oglala branch of the Lakota Sioux tribe around 1830. He was the son of Chief Old Smoke; his aunt, Walks-as-She-Thinks, was the mother of the famous **Red Cloud**. Little is known of American Horse's youth and early manhood, but he was apparently a brave and astute warrior. This fact was confirmed in 1865 when he was elevated, along with his close friend **Crazy Horse**, to the elite rank of "shirt-wearer." In this capacity he functioned as an aide-de-camp to elder chiefs and proffered advice as a tribal councilor in matters of war and peace. Consistent with his position, American Horse was granted the right to wear a shirt made from bighorn sheep hides, lavishly decorated with feathers, quillwork, and the scalps of enemies taken in battle.

Around this time the nomadic life of the Lakota Sioux was being challenged and compromised by a massive influx of white settlers and prospectors. The discovery of gold in Montana in 1850 accelerated the pace of intrusion, which in turn produced violent, deadly encounters. American Horse apparently first fought American soldiers during the wars along the Bozeman Trail in Montana. In a series of successful raids, Chief Red Cloud thwarted white ambitions to construct several forts in the heart of Lakota buffalo country. In 1866, Col. Henry B. Carrington arrived and induced several of the hostile chiefs to confer with him at Fort Laramie. However, Red Cloud and others stormed out of the talks when the whites refused to dismantle their fortifications, and Fort Laramie became the object of many harassing raids. Companies of cavalry were frequently dispatched to engage the elusive raiders, and on December 21, 1866, Capt. William J. Fetterman trotted off, swearing he could ride through the entire Sioux nation with only 80 troopers. En route, he was lured by Crazy Horse and American Horse into the Peno Valley and directly into the hands of Red Cloud's waiting warriors. Fetterman's entire command subsequently perished in the biggest defeat suffered by the U.S. Army thus far. Two more years of internecine skirmishing ensued before the American government ca-

pitulated and abandoned the recently erected forts along the Bozeman Trail. It was a stunning Indian victory and proof of the Lakota Sioux's fighting prowess.

In 1868, American Horse accompanied Red Cloud on a mission to Washington, D.C., for further treaty talks. There Red Cloud became awed and alarmed at the apparent strength of the Americans and thereafter reluctantly agreed to place his part of the Lakota people on a reservation. More militant factions, led by American Horse and Crazy Horse, however, remained determined to maintain the nomadic lifestyle of their ancestors and refused to move. In 1874, a reconnaissance conducted by Gen. George A. Custer discovered gold in the Black Hills of South Dakota, a region regarded as sacred to the Sioux. They rebuffed every attempt by the Americans to purchase the land, and in December 1875 the government issued an ultimatum requiring all Sioux to report to reservations or face military action. Again, militant factions under **Sitting Bull** and others refused to yield. The stage was now set for a dramatic confrontation between the two cultures.

By the summer of 1876, two large columns of American soldiers were converging on the Sioux encampment at Little Bighorn from the west and north. On June 25, 1876, Custer made his famous attack on Sitting Bull's camp and was wiped out in the ensuing riposte by American Horse, Crazy Horse, and Gall, among others. The magnitude of the defeat only spurred the U.S. government to undertake greater efforts, however, and a continuous stream of mounted forces was sent against them. Soon, the various Sioux and Cheyenne tribes broke up their encampment and traveled separate routes. But their dispersal did not dissuade the U.S. forces from exacting revenge. On September 7, 1863, a party of cavalry from George Crook's column under Capt. Anson Mills accidentally blundered upon American Horse's camp at Slim Buttes and returned undetected. Considering the traditional vigilance of Sioux encampments, it is difficult to account for this lapse of security. Nonetheless, two days later

an early-morning attack surprised the Indians, who abandoned their lodges and fled to the shelter of some neighboring caves. The battle then continued in earnest once the main force under Crook arrived, and after more hard fighting, small bodies of Sioux came forward to surrender. Among them was American Horse, so badly wounded in the stomach that he held his intestines in place as he walked. An army surgeon attempted to operate and offered chloroform to kill the pain, but the proud warrior refused, preferring instead to stoically bite down on a piece of wood as the process continued. American Horse died shortly thereafter, the first of many victims to fall after Custer's defeat.

See also

Crazy Horse; Red Cloud; Sitting Bull

Anabuki, Satoshi

(1921–)

Imperial Japanese Army Fighter Pilot

The youthful Anabuki emerged as the leading ace of the Imperial Japanese Army's (IJA) air force during World War II, one of only a handful of pilots to be publicly decorated. During his most intense combat he single-handedly shot down three B-24 bombers and two P-38 fighters over Burma.

Satoshi Anabuki was born in Japan in 1921, the son of farming parents. Like many young men of his generation, he expressed interest in flying and passed through the Army Youth Preparatory Flight Program. It should be noted that the imperial army (*rikugun*) maintained its own aerial service, totally independent from the better-known naval (*kaigun*) air arm. Anabuki gained admittance to the Tokyo Army Aviation School in April 1938 and three years later was assigned to the 50th Sen-

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tai on Formosa as a fighter pilot. At that time his squadron was equipped with the Nakajima Ki 27, a slow but highly maneuverable fighter craft. Allied intelligence assigned it the code-name *Nate*. When World War II commenced, Anabuki participated in the air campaign against American forces stationed in the Philippines. On December 22, 1941, he claimed his first kill, a Curtiss P-40 belonging to the 17th Pursuit Squadron. American fighter pilots such as Ed Dyess and Boyd D. Wagner fought bravely but were outnumbered and outgunned by Japanese aviators. On February 9, 1942, Anabuki shot down two more P-40s, one of the handful of American fighters still operational. Shortly after, he transferred back to Japan and transitioned to a new and better aircraft, the Nakajima Ki 43 *Hayabusa*

(Peregrine Falcon), better known to the Allies as *Oscar*. Anabuki dubbed his machine *Kimikaze* after his wife, Kimiko.

In June 1942, the 50th Sentai transferred to Rangoon, Burma, then the principle theater of IJA air operations. This meant almost daily contact with aircraft of the Royal Air Force staging out of India. In time Anabuki acquired the reputation of a shrewd fighter pilot who possessed excellent flying skills and fanatical bravery. On December 24, 1942, while taking off in response to a British raid upon his airfield, Anabuki's *Hayabusa* was damaged and had to fight with its landing gear still extended. Nonetheless,

in the ensuing fray he managed to claw down three British Hawker *Hurricane* fighters. As the months rolled by, American air strength in the China-Burma-India theater also increased, and the Japanese found themselves locked in combat with aircraft that were more modern than their own. On January 24, 1943, Anabuki destroyed his first Consolidated B-24 *Liberator*; a massive four-engine bomber that was heavily armed and dangerous to engage. But despite their losses, the Americans kept showing up in ever greater numbers.

The defining moment in Anabuki's flying career occurred on October 8, 1943, over Rangoon. The 50th Sentai was scrambled to meet an incoming raid by American aircraft, but Anabuki's fighter was delayed by faulty spark plugs. Several minutes later, he roared skyward alone, only to lose sight of his compatriots in the heavy mist. Flying on, he looked around in vain until encountering a force of 11 B-24s and two Lockheed P-38 *Lightning*



Satoshi Anabuki
Author's Collection

fighter escorts. Anxious to engage the enemy, young Anabuki single-handedly dove *Kimikaze* straight down upon the enemy formation. Four successive passes then added two of the lumbering bombers and both fighters to his tally. However, Anabuki severely injured his left hand, and gasoline vapors began filling *Kimikaze's* cockpit. He remained determined to fight. "To go into combat now may mean my demise," Anabuki reflected. "Mother forgive me! But then I thought I heard her say 'Charge, Satoshi, and the way will open.' I had no regrets. The enemy was there. I will charge." Struggling for consciousness, he

made a final ramming attack upon a third B-24, hitting the giant bomber's tail, bouncing off, and landing on the rear of its fuselage! *Kimikaze* flew piggyback in this manner for several minutes, and Anabuki confessed, "I was seriously worried about being carried to their base like this!" The fighter slid off its opponent's back and the bomber began spiraling to the ground. Anabuki managed to restart his struggling fighter before crash-landing on the beach. He was the first Japanese pilot to down so many American aircraft in a single action.

The norms of Japanese military behavior are predicated upon group effort, with little attention to individuals. Therefore, awards for bravery were usually granted to entire units, rather than pilots, although individuals who die in combat might be commemorated posthumously. However, Anabuki became an object of such public acclaim that the High Command singled him out for good con-

duct—a distinction rarely accorded to live individuals. He thus became the first IJA pilot to receive a certificate of merit. They also reasoned that a pilot of such prowess would be better utilized as an instructor. Anabuki protested his rotation back to Japan, but in 1944 he joined the Akeno Fighter School with a rank of master sergeant. There he was credited with imparting a personal tactic known as the “Anabuki run,” whereby a Japanese pilot would climb, roll into an inverted position, and suddenly dive upon enemy aircraft, firing at a range of 300 feet. He also frequently served as a ferry pilot, bringing badly needed Nakajima Ki 84 *Hayates* to army units stationed in the Philippines. The Americans were then approaching those islands with their carrier forces, and in the course of several skirmishes Anabuki bagged six of the formidable Grumman F6F *Hellcat* fighters. After the fall of the Philippines, he commenced home-defense duties flying the superb Kawasaki Ki 100, one of Japan’s best interceptors. He was closely engaged in combat until the end of the war, including among his final kills a giant Boeing B-29 *Superfortress* for a total of 51 kills in 173 missions. This established him as the leading IJA

air ace, although Anabuki’s score has since been pared down to 39.

After the war, Japan was stripped of military forces and forbidden to possess military aircraft. This policy was amended in the wake of the Korean War (1950–1953), and the Japan Self-Defense Force was created in the mid-1950s. Like many former army personnel, Anabuki was allowed to join, and he flew helicopters for many years. Retired from service, he lives in Japan.

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Anderson, Richard Heron

(October 7, 1821–June 26, 1879)

Confederate General

“**F**ighting Dick” Anderson was one of **Robert E. Lee’s** favorite and most trusted commanders, almost never defeated in battle. His skilled night march to Spotsylvania Court House saved Richmond for the Confederacy and baffled superior Union forces.

Richard Heron Anderson was born in Statesburg, Sumter District, South Carolina, the grandson of an American Revolutionary

War officer. He was admitted to the U.S. Military Academy in 1838 and graduated fortieth in a class of 56 four years later. Anderson was then commissioned a second lieutenant in the First U.S. Dragoon Regiment and, after training at the Cavalry School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was posted to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1843. After three years of active service on the frontier, Anderson joined Gen. Winfield Scott’s army during the final phases of the

Mexican War. He landed with Scott's army at Vera Cruz, fought his way inland, and won brevet promotion to first lieutenant for distinguished service at St. Augustin Atlapulco on August 17, 1847. After the war, Anderson transferred north as a cavalry instructor at Carlisle until 1852. That year he joined the Second U.S. Dragoons, rose to captain in 1855, and fulfilled routine garrison duty at various posts in Texas, New Mexico, and Kansas until 1857. Following a brief return to Carlisle, Anderson next accompanied Col. Albert Sidney Johnston on an expedition against the Mormons in Utah in 1858–1859. The following year he was posted to Fort Kearney, Nebraska, where he remained until the eve of the Civil War.

South Carolina seceded from the Union in December 1860, an act placing Anderson's family under tremendous strain. Although a Southerner, he disapproved of slavery and was lukewarm toward secession. However, peer pressure convinced him to resign his commission in February 1861 and support the Confederate cause. Accordingly, he became colonel of the First South Carolina Regiment and was present under Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard during the fateful bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. The following month he succeeded Beauregard as commander at Charleston, was raised to brigadier general, and then ordered to Florida under Gen. **Braxton Bragg**. On October 9, 1861, Anderson directed a moderately successful night attack upon Union forces outside Fort Pickens, although he sustained an arm injury. In the spring of 1862 Anderson's military fortunes greatly advanced when he was ordered to Virginia as part of a division commander by a former West Point classmate, Gen. **James Longstreet**. He was now part of the soon-to-be legendary Army of Northern Virginia.

Throughout the spring of 1862, Anderson's brigade was heavily engaged in fighting around Richmond, the Confederate capital. He skillfully directed his troops during defensive actions at Williamsburg on May 5, 1862, and at Seven Pines, three weeks later, his men

scored the deepest penetration of Union lines. "The attack of the two brigades under Gen. R. H. Anderson was made with such spirit and regularity as to have driven back the most determined foe," Longstreet reported. "This decided the day in our favor." Having further distinguished himself during the Seven Days battles against the army of Gen. George B. McClellan, Anderson gained promotion to major general as of July 14, 1862, and also assumed command of the division under **Benjamin Huger**. He was in the thick of fighting at Second Manassas in August 1861, where Union forces under Gen. John Pope were routed, and also accompanied Gen. **Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's** movement against Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. With that vital objective secured, Anderson next conducted a rapid forced march to rejoin Robert E. Lee's army at Antietam on September 17, 1862. His troops were welcome reinforcements for the hard-pressed forces of Gen. **Daniel H. Hill**, but he was only on the field for a few minutes before sustaining serious injuries. Anderson recovered within weeks and was present at the December 13, 1862, Battle of Fredericksburg, although lightly engaged. However, his actions of the previous year established him as a fine battle captain. Anderson was roundly praised by fellow generals for aplomb under fire, and they gave him the simple but effective sobriquet "Fighting Dick."

In May 1863, Anderson's three brigades proved instrumental in fending off the advance of Gen. Joseph Hooker at Chancellorsville and later contributed to the defeat of the Union VI Corps. Lee reorganized his army following the death of Stonewall Jackson (who was accidentally shot by his own troops at Chancellorsville), and Anderson's division was shifted over to a corps commanded by Gen. Ambrose P. Hill. In this capacity he was heavily engaged in the second day of fighting at Gettysburg. After much hard fighting, Anderson's men swept Gen. Daniel Sickles off Seminary Ridge and briefly occupied the strategic heights of Cemetery Hill before being repulsed. On the climactic third day of

fighting he supported Gen. George E. Pickett's unsuccessful thrust against the Union center and subsequently withdrew to Virginia with the survivors of Lee's forces.

The spring of 1864 witnessed the advent of a new adversary, Ulysses S. Grant, who launched an ambitious drive to capture Richmond and end the war. Heavy fighting—and losses—ensued for both sides at the Wilderness, where Longstreet was wounded. Anderson received temporary promotion to lieutenant general to succeed him and performed his greatest work at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House. On May 7, 1864, his deployment at a strategic road junction proved critical, for by dint of hard marching he arrived just ahead of Union forces converging there. This prevented Union troops from cutting off the bulk of Lee's forces from Richmond. Once committed to combat, Anderson's men were also active in repulsing superior forces under Gens. John Sedgewick and Gouverneur K. Warren in another bloody stalemate. Longstreet returned to the field that October, and Anderson received command of the new Fourth Corps of two divisions. With it he gained additional distinction in the trenches before Petersburg and Richmond. Once Lee was finally forced to abandon the Confederate capital in April 1865, it fell upon Anderson to cover his withdrawal. Unfortunately, he was set upon by superior Union forces under Gen. Philip H. Sheridan at Saylor's Creek and soundly defeated on April 6, 1865. Anderson managed to cut his way back to Lee's lines, but a last-minute consolidation of Confederate units left him without a command. Lee then allowed "Fighting Dick" to retire from the army and return home, sparing him the final indignity of Appomattox.

After the war, Anderson failed to make a living as a planter and found himself in desperate straits financially. For months there-

after he had no recourse but to work as a common laborer with the South Carolina Railroad in Camden. Modest and uncomplaining, he lived in poverty with his ailing wife until 1875, when political allies secured him an appointment as state phosphate inspector. This brought him a small measure of financial security, but Anderson died in near obscurity at Beaufort, South Carolina, on June 26, 1879. His battlefield record establishes him as one of the finest divisional leaders among the Confederate armies.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Lee, Robert E.; Longstreet, James

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Anderson, William

(February 2, 1837–October 27, 1864)

Confederate Guerrilla

“**B**loody Bill” Anderson was among the cruelest and most barbaric rebels of the Civil War. A leader of Confederate “Bushwhackers,” his raid on Centralia, Missouri, was one of the war’s great atrocities and secured its perpetrator an infamous reputation.

William Anderson was born probably in Kentucky on February 2, 1837; having lived briefly in Missouri, his family relocated to a settlement near Council Grove, Kansas. The frontier at that time still reeled from the effects of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed territories to join the Union as either a free state or slave state according to the will of the inhabitants. This well-intentioned legislation triggered a wave of hatred and bloodshed between pro- and antislavery factions. Gunfights, abductions, and murders were commonplace and contributed to the general sense of lawlessness. For good measure, the local criminal element openly partook of these proceedings, enriching themselves under the guise of the slavery issue. The ensuing rancor and bloodshed bequeathed to the territory an uncomely reputation as “bleeding Kansas.”

Anderson’s father enjoyed something of a shady reputation, and in March 1862 he was gunned down in a squabble with a pro-Union settler. Anderson himself, who had matured into a tall, handsome young man, also acquired a reputation as a horse thief and brooked no delay in accelerating his reputation for banditry. Once the Civil War commenced in April 1861, groups of former antagonists divided up into two separate camps based upon their prior political affiliations. Northern marauders were known as “Jayhawkers,” their Southern counterparts “Bushwhackers.” Both sides were utterly ruthless toward the other and frequently committed crimes against innocent civilians, their property, and anybody else who got in their way.

Initially, Anderson parleyed his criminal talents by fighting—and plundering—for the antislavery forces in Kansas. After his father’s death he relocated the rest of his family to western Missouri before changing sides. He was by now little more than a frontier hooligan, but in 1863 his career and activities took a spectacular leap into barbarism. The catalyst for Anderson’s behavior was the apparent arrest of his two sisters on the suspicion that they were aiding Southern guerrillas. They, and a number of other women, were kept confined in a dilapidated jail in Kansas City. On August 13, 1863, the building collapsed, killing one of Anderson’s sisters and gravely injuring the other. This accident, which Anderson believed to be deliberate, intensified his hatred for Unionists and prompted him to join a guerrilla band under Capt. **William Clarke Quantrill**. By dint of guile and mercilessness, he eventually rose to become one of Quantrill’s leading lieutenants.

On August 21, 1863, Anderson accompanied Quantrill on his bloody raid against Lawrence, Kansas. They were accompanied by such future outlaw luminaries as Frank James, Cole Younger, and others. The raiders lined up and executed nearly 200 men and boys before burning Lawrence to the ground. Anderson’s initiation in the affair was grim: He later bragged about killing no less than 14 victims. Six weeks later Anderson dressed his men in captured Union clothing. Thus garbed, they lured an unsuspecting militia patrol into ambush at Baxter Springs before wiping them out. The raiders next wintered in Texas, where Anderson was married and was commissioned a lieutenant by Quantrill. However, he soon broke with that infamous leader over the issue of executing one of his men for desertion. Anderson then culled dissident elements together and formed his own band of marauders. Furthermore, he remained determined to carry on his personal

war against the state of Missouri and—if possible—even outdo Quantrill in bloodshed.

Commencing in the spring of 1864, Anderson led a band of some 50 guerrillas on a plundering expedition across central Missouri. Handfuls of Union soldiers and pro-Union civilians were systematically robbed and gunned down without mercy. The violence climaxed on September 27, 1864, when Anderson, reinforced by gangs under Thomas Todd and Si Gordon, stormed the frontier settlement of Centralia, Missouri. Having robbed the bank and several stage coaches, they then torched a large section of the town. Anderson also noted a railroad schedule that listed an incoming train later that day. The raiders bided their time until it arrived, killing the engineer, looting the safe, and capturing 24 Union soldiers. All but one were summarily put to death, with the single survivor being exchanged for one of Anderson's men held as a prisoner. Shortly after the Anderson gang rode off, a Union militia force arrived and galloped after the raiders. Anderson cleverly baited them into an ambush, surrounded them, and took about 100 prisoners. As before, these captives were cruelly forced to watch as the entire group was systematically executed in batches. At one point Anderson bragged that he had murdered so many soldiers that he "grew sick of killing them."

Bloody Bill Anderson's notoriety did not prevent Gens. **Sterling Price** and Jo Shelby from employing his men as scouts during the Confederates' ambitious 1864 invasion of Missouri. This effort came to grief at Westport on October 23, 1864, a battle that finally secured Missouri for the Union. Anderson, meanwhile, had also met his demise. He was patrolling outside the town of Orrick, Missouri, on October 27, 1864, when an ambush was sprung by

vengeful Jayhawkers. Anderson, reviled as "the blood-drenched savage," was killed in the first volley, and his men were unable to recover his body. The victorious Northerners, elated by the demise of this hated outlaw, engaged in a few macabre practices of their own. They propped up Anderson's body for public exhibition, then photographed it holding a pistol in both hands and bedecked in a striped "guerrilla shirt." The corpse was subsequently decapitated by vengeful militiamen, with Anderson's head being impaled upon a telegraph pole; his body was dragged through the streets behind a horse. The remains were subsequently buried in an unmarked grave. Such was the grisly end for one of the Civil War's most merciless Bushwhackers. With the likes of outlaws Frank and Jesse James and others trained by Anderson in the military arts of reconnaissance and ambush, his legacy lived on.

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Andre, John

(May 2, 1750–October 2, 1780)

English Army Officer; Spy

The youthful John Andre was a dashing officer, accomplished soldier, and exceptionally talented individual. He certainly deserved a better fate than being hung for the likes of **Benedict Arnold**, but he nonetheless met his demise with commendable courage and placidity.

John Andre was born in London on May 2, 1750, the son of a Swiss businessman. His father was descended from a long line of French Huguenots who fled to Geneva to escape religious persecution. Young Andre received an excellent education at the University of Geneva, although he was recalled to London before graduating to work in his father's counting house. Andre disliked business and chafed incessantly until his father died in 1769. He then took his considerable inheritance and immersed himself in the cultural and literary life of Hanoverian England. The young man excelled at poetry and art and, while studying, fell madly in love with a young compatriot, Honora Sneyd. However, when she unexpectedly rejected him for another suitor in 1770, Andre felt compelled to join the military and forget her. The following spring he purchased a second lieutenant's commission in the 23rd Infantry (the famous Royal Welsh Fusiliers). Soon after, he transferred to the Seventh Royal Fusiliers as a first lieutenant before traveling to Germany to finish his military education. Being fluent in English, French, and German, and possessing graciously polished manners, Andre moved easily within the inner circles of the military elite. However, orders soon arrived directing him to join his regiment at Quebec, and he reached that city during the winter of 1774.

Andre's appearance in Canada coincided with the onset of the American Revolution. He was initially employed in constructing fortifications at St. John's on the Sorel River, in anticipation of an American offensive there.

That fall a rebel force under Gen. Richard Montgomery besieged Fort Chambly, and on November 5, 1775, Andre was taken prisoner. He languished for several months at Lancaster and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, before being paroled and exchanged the following November. Andre was next stationed at New York for several intervening months, where he gained promotion to captain of the 26th Regiment of Foot. In this capacity he came to the attention of Gen. **William Howe**, the English commander in chief, who recommended the youthful gentleman as an aide to Gen. **Charles Grey**. This brusque, no-nonsense leader took an immediate liking to Andre and accepted him as his confidant. Andre subsequently accompanied Grey in campaigns through New Jersey and Pennsylvania during the British drive on Philadelphia. He fought at Brandywine and Paoli in September, and Germantown the following October, acquitting himself well. That winter General Howe tendered his resignation, and Andre demonstrated his theatrical skills by scripting and staging an extravagant entertainment christened *Mischianza* in Howe's honor. The young dilettante also immersed himself in the center of Loyalist society and befriended Margaret "Peggy" Shippen, who would later become **Margaret Arnold**, the wife of Benedict Arnold.

By June 1778 the command of British forces in North America fell under the aegis of Gen. **Henry Clinton**, a sparsely spoken, aloof individual. Both Andre and Grey followed their commander that August as the British abandoned Philadelphia and marched across New Jersey for New York, pausing only to fight an inconclusive battle at Monmouth. In September, Andre was present in several hard-fought forays against American units in neighboring White Plains, New York, and Connecticut. General Grey then retired

back to England, and he praised his young aide, declaring, "I do not think a better principled young man exists." At that juncture, General Clinton, who had dropped **Francis Rawdon-Hastings** as his aide-de-camp, adopted the young man into his own military family. In short order, Clinton elevated him to assistant adjutant general with the rank of major. Andre accompanied Clinton on his successful expedition against Charleston, South Carolina, in May 1780 and returned in the fall. Clinton was so impressed by his intelligence and dedication to detail that Andre next gained appointment as the chief military intelligence officer. He was 28 years old at the time.

In his role as intelligence officer, Andre was responsible for maintaining contact with the network of English spies and Loyalist sympathizers. However, since May 1779, he had also conducted a clandestine correspondence with American Gen. Benedict Arnold, who was testing the waters for a possible defection. Their connection was probably made at the instigation of his former acquaintance Peggy Shippen, still at Philadelphia and whom Arnold had wed. Arnold had been growing dissatisfied with his lack of recognition from Congress, his financial problems, and charges of financial impropriety leveled against him. By September 1780 General Clinton was convinced of Arnold's sincerity to change sides, and so he authorized Andre to schedule a clandestine rendezvous. As a precaution, he explicitly ordered his young charge to cross into American lines under a flag of truce wearing only a British uniform. If caught, this would preclude any charges of espionage and its concomitant death sentence. On September 20, 1780, Andre sailed up the Hudson River aboard the sloop HMS *Vulture*, was rowed ashore, and met with Arnold at Haverstraw, New York. There the disgruntled American handed Andre detailed plans about the defenses of West Point, a vitally important installation, with suggestions on how to capture it. The young British officer then tried returning to the *Vulture* on September 22, only to

discover the ship had moved downstream to avoid cannonading by a nearby American battery. When his barge crew refused to row him farther, Andre found himself marooned behind enemy lines with incriminating correspondence. He did, however, secure a safe-conduct pass from Arnold under the name of "John Anderson."

Rather than be captured, Andre spent the night with Joshua Smith, a Loyalist attorney, and donned civilian attire—against orders. He then saddled up and rode south, accompanied by Smith, for British lines in the vicinity of Tarrytown, New York. Andre had nearly reached his destination when Smith departed, and he rode on alone. His goal was in sight when he suddenly stumbled upon three American militiamen, one of whom was wearing a British uniform. Rather than display his pass, Andre submitted to some intense questioning and, being convinced that his captors were actually Loyalists, announced his real identity. The three men then arrested Andre, searched him, and found Arnold's secret documents in his boots. Andre was then brought before the local colonel who, being rather perplexed by the whole affair, notified both Gen. George Washington and General Arnold of his find. Once informed, Arnold quickly bolted for British lines and defected, just as Washington arrived at his headquarters to question him about it. Arnold subsequently found employment as a British brigadier general and conducted several destructive raids. Andre's three captors, meanwhile, each received a silver medal and a pension from Congress for their vigilance.

Meanwhile, the romantic tragedy surrounding John Andre was approaching its final act. On September 29, 1780, a military tribunal of high-ranking Americans convened at Tappan, New York, for the purpose of trying young Andre on charges of espionage. Anticipating his fate, the young officer calmly and coolly admitted his complicity in the scheme and was found guilty. The Americans were visibly taken by his candor, yet Andre, in accordance with the statutes of

military law, was sentenced to be hung as a spy. Washington then refused the prisoner's appeal that he be shot instead, to die the death of a soldier. To comply would cast doubt on the legality of his prior conviction. However, Andre so favorably impressed his captors that many officers felt he ought to be spared. General Clinton was likewise eager to save the life of his young aide, and he offered to exchange him for any American prisoner in his grasp. Washington would hear none of it. Unless Clinton handed over Arnold—something the British commander was clearly unwilling to do—then Andre must die. On October 2, 1780, the young Englishman was led to the gallows and executed. He behaved with his accustomed serenity, declaring, "I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." The ignominious passing of this talented, amiable individual was much regretted by both sides. In recognition of his sacrifice to England, a monument was erected in Andre's honor at Westminster Abbey. Several years later, in 1821, his remains were reinterred at the same spot. He was much more a victim than a villain and ended up wearing a noose better intended for Benedict Arnold.

Arbuthnot, Marriot

(ca. 1711–January 31, 1794)

English Admiral

Arbuthnot was a coarse, blustering commander for the Royal Navy during the American Revolution whose attitude was inimical toward joint army-navy operations. His vacillating leadership severely compromised British naval superiority on several occasions and is ample proof of the Royal Navy's decline since the Seven Years' War.

Marriot Arbuthnot was born in Weymouth, England, around 1711. Little is known of his parentage or upbringing, but he apparently joined the Royal Navy in 1729. He rose to lieu-

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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tenant in 1732 and made captain 15 years later. During the Seven Years' War (1755–1763) he commanded the ship-of-the-line HMS *Portland* and was present during the Royal Navy victory over the French fleet at Quiberon Bay on November 2, 1759. Soon after, Arbuthnot shifted his flag to the HMS *Cumberland*, which he commanded until being tasked as head of the naval base at Portsmouth, England, in 1771. Four years later, he transferred as naval commissioner at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and also served as lieutenant governor of that province.

The American Revolution had broken out in April and was spreading northward. In this capacity Arbuthnot dispatched troops to the relief of Fort Cumberland, then besieged by American Patriot forces, and also guarded against American privateers by arming private vessels. On January 23, 1778, Arbuthnot was promoted to rear admiral and recalled to England for consultation. There this anonymous and relatively undistinguished officer learned of his promotion to commander of the North American station. This critical assignment is difficult to account for, as seapower was viewed by the English government as a strategic asset in its war against the United States, requiring leadership that was dynamic, far-seeing, and determined. Considering Arbuthnot's conspicuous lack of such qualities, his appointment to this vital post can only be ascribed to the ineptitude of Lord Sandwich and the British Admiralty.

In his capacity as naval commander, Arbuthnot was required to display both cordiality and patience with his army equivalent, the thin-skinned and highly irascible Gen. **Henry Clinton**. The admiral, unfortunately, was cut much from the same cloth, being tactless and overly sensitive about his own reputation. And despite a long career, he had acquired little more than a reputation as a self-centered bully. Worse, his grasp of strategy was questionable and seemed punctuated by long periods of indecision and inactivity. Arbuthnot arrived at New York in May 1779 and replaced the aggressive and highly capable Commodore **George Collier**. As predicted, the admiral and the general developed a thinly disguised mutual loathing, which militated



Marriot Arbuthnot
National Maritime Museum

against the close cooperation necessary to win the war. Arbuthnot remained inactive at New York throughout the winter and spring of 1778 and was stirred to action only by the reputed approach of French Adm. Charles Hector Theodat d'Estaing. The French were expected to launch a major amphibious attack upon Newport, Rhode Island, but Arbuthnot, ignoring repeated pleas from Clinton, hesitated to either reinforce or evacuate the British garrison there. Fortunately for the English, d'Estaing made an ineffectual attack

upon Savannah, Georgia, in 1779, then withdrew. Arbuthnot's reluctance to seek out the enemy made Clinton privately long for a cooperative leader in the mold of the recently departed Adm. **Richard Howe**.

In December 1779, Arbuthnot roused himself from lethargy and transported a large part of Clinton's army from New York to Charleston, South Carolina. The tottering admiral tried mending fences with Clinton by pledging his complete cooperation and landed a number of artillery pieces to support land operations. The ensuing blockade and siege culminated in the surrender of Continental forces under American Gen. Benjamin Lincoln that May. Arbuthnot then transported Clinton back to New York, leaving southern operations in the capable hands of Lord **Charles Cornwallis**. However, the two leaders failed to strike up cordial relations, or even mutual accord, over what was required from their respective forces. This impasse, in turn, militated against the bold strokes necessary to defeat the Americans.

By June 1780, the British were alerted by the traitor **Benedict Arnold** that a large French

fleet under Adm. Louis d'Arsac de Ternay was bearing down upon Newport with the army of the Comte de Rochambeau—6,000 strong—in its holds. Clinton again exhorted his naval opposite to sail and reinforce the garrison before the enemy landed, but Arbuthnot responded with his usual vacillation and awaited reinforcements. The following month a strong squadron of ships under Adm. **Thomas Graves** arrived, and the combined British fleet took blockading stations off Newport, then besieged by the French. Clinton pressed strongly for a decisive action of some kind, but Arbuthnot demurred and merely watched French activity from the safety of Long Island Sound. Such passivity drove General Clinton to distraction, and he made repeated requests to the government for Arbuthnot's replacement. Worse, while on station, Arbuthnot received a letter from the distinguished Adm. Sir George Rodney, who had arrived from the West Indies, that he was taking command. Arbuthnot, furious at being leap-frogged by a man many years his junior, loudly and publicly remonstrated his displeasure to superiors. When the admiralty indelicately supported Rodney, Arbuthnot summarily tendered his resignation for medical reasons. Before action could be taken, Rodney had returned to the West Indies in pursuit of the French and the matter was dropped. Arbuthnot remained in control, but his overreaction to the entire episode did little to enhance an already sagging reputation.

Despite a strong start by Cornwallis, Britain's strategic position in the southern theater was slowly deteriorating by December 1780. Clinton then resolved to launch a diversion in Virginia on his behalf under Gen. Benedict Arnold. The following March, word arrived that the French fleet, under Adm. Charles-Rene Destouches, had departed Newport, and Clinton feared that it might trap Arnold's force in Chesapeake Bay. He then prevailed upon Arbuthnot to seek out and engage the enemy in open combat—and secure Arnold's safety. Amid much grumbling, the old admiral sortied his entire fleet on March 10, 1781, looking for the French. He found

Destouches waiting for him near Cape Henry, Virginia, six days later. The two fleets were evenly matched in strength, and the French were uncharacteristically full of fight. By comparison, Arbuthnot's uninspired, textbook approach to battle cost the British heavily. With a strong wind to their backs, British vessels could not open their lower gun ports without taking on water and were thus outgunned by the French. The ships of the English van therefore sustained a heavy battering they could not adequately return. Arbuthnot then compounded his errors by failing to hoist the signal for close action, and the bulk of his squadron failed to engage. The wily Destouches, sensing this indecision, suddenly double-backed against the British line, hitting them hard again. With three of his ships crippled, Arbuthnot could not pursue his quarry, and the French returned safely to Newport. The poor British performance at the Battle of Cape Henry proved Arbuthnot's undoing. Spurred by a mounting stream of criticism, Lord Sandwich finally relieved the old admiral, and he was succeeded by Adm. Graves on July 4, 1781.

Arbuthnot was never officially censured for his dismal performance during the American Revolution. In fact, he was promoted to full admiral in February 1793, but he never again held an active command at sea. The garrulous Arbuthnot died in London on January 31, 1794, having done little to win the war in America; in fact by dint of stubbornness and timidity, he contributed greatly to its loss. His tenure represents a dark period in the history of the Royal Navy and its hallowed tradition of vigorous, aggressive leadership.

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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Arnim, Hans-Jurgen

(April 4, 1889–September 1, 1962)
German General

A stiff, archetypical Prussian nobleman, Arnim was an outstanding tactician and a humane adversary of the old school. He succeeded the legendary "Desert Fox"—**Erwin Rommel**—as commander of German troops in North Africa, becoming one of the highest-ranking military captives in Western hands.

Hans-Jurgen Theodor Arnim was born in Ernsdorf, Silesia, on April 4, 1889, into an illustrious military tradition. His aristocratic Prussian family had provided generations of soldiers since 1388, so an army career for the young man was almost inevitable. Arnim (called "Dieter") joined the prestigious Fourth Prussian Foot Guards in 1908 and rose to second lieutenant the following year. In this capacity he fought throughout World War I, rendering distinguished service on both fronts. He ended the war as a captain and became one of only 4,000 officers se-



Hans-Jurgen Arnim
Bettmann/Corbis

lected to remain in the greatly reduced Reichswehr. An excellent officer, Arnim performed well over the ensuing decade, serving in the Defense Ministry (1924–1925) and as commander of the elite 68th Infantry Regiment (1935). He acquired a reputation for enterprise and devotion to the service, even if reticent by nature and dourly disposed. Arnim nonetheless rose to major general in 1938 and was slated to succeed the outgoing divisional commander, but his career hit an unforeseen snag. A true Prussian professional, Arnim was bound

by an iron oath of loyalty to his superior—regardless of whom that was. He was therefore completely apolitical and, while not enthusiastic about the Nazi party, did not condemn it. This apathy grated upon his regional commander, who sought only ardent, anti-Nazi officers for his department. He distrusted Arnim's silence. Consequently, instead of tak-

ing charge of a division, the surly, tight-lipped aristocrat assumed control of a supply dump—a distinct demotion. Arnim, true to form, simply carried on as ordered, much to the consternation of high-ranking associates back in Berlin. By the advent of World War II, Arnim's friends ended his political exile and arranged for him to command the 27th Infantry Division as a lieutenant general. It was an inauspicious debut for such a fine battle captain, but Arnim, as usual, made little comment.

Arnim failed to see any fighting in Poland and France yet was still considered an outstanding leader. For this reason, in October 1940 he was entrusted with the 17th Panzer Division, an arm in which he had no training. Nonetheless, during **Adolf Hitler's** invasion of Russia in June 1941, Arnim accompanied Gen. Heinz Guderian's Second Panzer Group and fought with distinction. He stormed Slonim, his initial objective, in only two days and was seriously wounded. Returning to the front by September, Arnim proved instrumental during the Kiev encirclement by seizing bridges over the Desna River intact. Their capture sounded the death knell of the Soviets' Yyazma-Bryansk pocket, which surrendered 700,000 prisoners on October 17, 1941. Lunging forward, Arnim was then promoted to general of panzer troops and headed up the 39th Panzer Corps with Army Group North. However, in December 1941, Soviet forces launched a major winter offensive that threw the Germans back 100 miles. Arnim performed well in the face of this disaster, stabilizing the line and blunting Russian advances in his sector. In the spring of 1942, he was summoned to mount a desperate relief operation to save German troops trapped at Kholm. Braving stiff resistance, his men linked up with the garrison on May 5, 1942, rescuing them intact. By now Arnim was widely hailed as a tactical virtuoso, and in November 1942 he was tapped to lead the Fifth Panzer Army in Tunisia, North Africa. While visiting Berlin, he received Hitler's personal assurance of receiving all the supplies and reinforcements necessary to ensure victory.

The German position in North Africa had steadily deteriorated in the face of recent events. After the defeat of legendary commander Erwin Rommel at El Alamein in Egypt, and the landing of American forces in Algeria under Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Hitler's forces were being squeezed between two large armies. Arnim arrived at his Tunisian bridgehead on December 9, 1942, and immediately launched a punishing attack against British units within 25 miles of the city. In time, he was joined by the lead elements of Rommel's famous Afrika Korps, which were retreating west one step ahead of the British. However, once Rommel had united with Arnim's Fifth Panzer Army, a counteroffensive seemed possible. By January 1943, Gen. **Albert Kesselring**, supreme commander of German Mediterranean forces, authorized a two-pronged offensive against American forces west of Tunis. Arnim and Rommel were tasked with landing their respective columns in a coordinated assault through the mountains to capture the port of Bone, on the Algerian coast. This would effectively cut off the British First Army from its supply base and send the Allies scurrying back before Gen. Bernard Montgomery's Eighth Army arrived from Egypt. It was an excellent plan and conducted by two seasoned, capable commanders, but unfortunately for the Germans things unraveled immediately.

In truth, Arnim and Rommel had been acquainted since they were young infantry captains, but they disliked each other intensely. Arnim—the aristocrat with impeccable family lineage—and Rommel—the common son of a schoolteacher—simply did not mesh personally. Furthermore, Arnim, the reserved, detached professional, strongly resented the outspoken flamboyance and international fame of the Desert Fox. Rommel, in return, railed against Arnim's conservative, stodgy approach to strategy. Thus, when the battle commenced, Arnim granted Rommel only minimal cooperation. This personal animus boded ill for German fortunes in North Africa. Given the sheer disparity of men and equip-

ment pouring into the continent, they were probably doomed anyway.

The attack kicked off as planned on February 14, 1943, with Arnim striking from the north while Rommel advanced from the south. In both instances, the green, untrained Americans were soundly thrashed at Kasserine Pass and elsewhere. But as Allied resistance stiffened, Rommel requested reinforcements from the Fifth Panzer Army, which could have decisively smashed the Americans. Arnim, however, flatly refused to come: He had no intention of furthering the renown of a man he detested. In fact, it took a direct order from Kesselring—who had flown in from Italy to personally rebuke the recalcitrant officer—before Arnim would send Rommel any reinforcements or supplies. Consequently, Allied forces in Tunisia were roughly handled, but they escaped intact. By March, Rommel's declining health necessitated his removal to Italy, and Arnim became commander of a new force, designated Army Group Africa, with orders from Hitler to hold out to the last. Arnim, badly outnumbered in tanks and aircraft and almost totally unsupplied, realized his days were numbered. But like a true Prussian knight, he determined to make his last stand a valiant one.

Over the next two months the Germans fought splendidly in the face of superior odds and dwindling supplies. On several occasions, units under Arnim and **Hasso von Manteuffel** caught and severely punished American and British columns straying too close to German lines. But Arnim's tanks were so low on fuel that the Germans began distilling Tunisian wine to obtain some. Eventually, the general had no recourse but to ensconce his troops at Tunis and await the Allied onslaught. By mid-May, Eisenhower and a new general, George S. Patton, were hammering away at paper-thin German defenses while Allied aircraft bombed and strafed every ship in the harbor. At one point, British warplanes attacked an Italian warship carrying 700 British prisoners of war. Arnim hastily cabled British Gen. Harold Alexander, apprised him of the

situation, and the attack was suspended. This chivalrous intervention spared several hundred British lives, and afterward Alexander personally thanked the old Prussian. By the time Arnim surrendered 350,000 men on May 12, 1943, the German presence in North Africa vanished forever. He had fought exceedingly well, but, outnumbered and unsupplied by superiors too cowardly to reproach Hitler, the best he could do was to honorably surrender. Harold subsequently cabled Prime Minister Winston Churchill, declaring, "We are masters of the North African shores."

Arnim was subsequently taken to England, the highest-ranking German prisoner after Rudolph Hess. The British were painfully polite to their distinguished captive, housing him in a comfortable cottage and even letting the old general congratulate his daughter on her wedding day by telegram. Arnim was finally freed in 1947, but his home in Prussia was in the Soviet sphere and had been confiscated by the communists, so he resettled in West Germany. Crusty, proud "Dieter" died in Bad Wildungen on September 1, 1962. His squabble with Rommel was a serious blot on an otherwise meritorious career, but this gallant anachronism fought with courage and humanity—to the great credit of German arms.

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Kesselring, Albert; Manteuffel, Hasso von; Rommel, Erwin;

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Arnold, Benedict

(January 14, 1741–June 14, 1801)
Army General/Traitor

Benedict Arnold was unquestionably the finest tactical commander in the Continental Army and directly responsible for several important American victories. However, his tempestuous, mercurial disposition alienated friends and superiors alike and culminated in the most notorious episode of treason in U.S. history.

Arnold was born into a prosperous family in Norwich, Connecticut, on January 14, 1741. In 1758, he served briefly with the New York militia during the French and Indian War. Following the death of his parents, he relocated to New London, Connecticut, and established himself as a wealthy merchant. In April 1775, news of the Battle of Lexington prompted Arnold to lead a company of militia to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and he convinced the Committee of Public Safety to mount an expedition against Fort Ticonderoga, New York, where valuable munitions and ordnance were stored. Permission was granted, but en route the newly commissioned Lieutenant Colonel Arnold encountered a force under Colonel Ethan Allen engaged in



Benedict Arnold
National Archives

the same object. Arnold joined the force, and when Ticonderoga was subdued on May 10, he personally mounted an expedition up Lake Champlain that captured the outpost at St. John's, Quebec. The weakness of Canadian defenses encouraged Arnold; returning to Cambridge, he prevailed on the new commander in chief, Gen. George Washington, to allow him to mount an attack against Quebec City.

In September 1775, Arnold, now a full colonel, led 1,100 men through the trackless Maine wilderness on an epic march. Despite incredible hardships, he pushed 700 survivors onward and surrounded Quebec on November 8. The weakened, exhausted men were in no condition to attack, so Arnold settled in for a siege until reinforcements arrived. The following month he was joined by 300 men under Gen. Richard Montgomery, and they decided to storm the city on the night of December 31, 1775. Although covered by a blizzard, the attack floundered badly when Montgomery was killed and Arnold sustained a severe leg injury. He reinstated his siege to await develop-

ments. Despite this initial failure, Congress promoted him to brigadier general on January 1776.

Arnold's position deteriorated rapidly in the spring when British reinforcements under Gen. Sir **Guy Carleton** arrived at Quebec and slowly pushed the Americans out of Canada. An assault on Albany, weakly defended, seemed imminent, but Arnold conducted a brilliant delaying action by building a fleet of gunboats on Lake Champlain to contest Carleton's advance. The Americans were defeated at Valcour Island on October 11–13, 1776, but Carleton sustained such heavy losses that his invasion was postponed indefinitely. Once again, Arnold had distinguished himself in battle, but Congress callously promoted five brigadier generals with less seniority than Arnold for political reasons. Stung by this lack of recognition, he threatened to resign, but Washington convinced him to persevere. Feeling unappreciated, Arnold returned to Connecticut, where on April 25, 1777, he repulsed a British attack on Danbury. Congress finally relented and promoted him to major general, but without seniority. Arnold again threatened to leave the army, but Washington interceded and persuaded him to stay a second time.

Arnold sulked inactively until July 1777, when a British Army under Gen. Sir **John Burgoyne** advanced down the Champlain Valley into New York. Arnold hastily joined the army of Gen. Philip Schuyler and marched to the relief of a besieged Fort Stanwix. Arnold's approach sent a British and Indian force under Col. **Barry St. Leger** in full retreat, and he marched back to join the main army. However, in his absence, the command of the Northern Department had passed to a new leader, Gen. Horatio Gates, and the two men formed an immediate dislike for each other. Burgoyne, meanwhile, continued advancing until the Battle of Freeman's Farm on September 19, 1777, where Arnold stopped him cold. However, Arnold was convinced that reinforcements that could have won the battle were deliberately withheld by Gates.

Relations between the two leaders plummeted until Gates relieved Arnold of his command. Nevertheless, Arnold remained in camp until the decisive engagement at Bemis Heights on October 7. Upon hearing that the battle was going badly, Arnold left his tent, rallied the men, and drove the British back to their camp. He sustained a second serious leg injury, crippling him for life, but Burgoyne's fate was sealed and he surrendered soon after. Consequently, Congress finally restored Arnold's backdated seniority and appointed the general commander of the Philadelphia garrison.

Arnold was comfortably situated in Philadelphia, but—brimming with indignation over his past treatment—he continued making enemies. Allegations of financial impropriety had always dogged him, and in 1779 he became the object of a congressional investigation. Although eventually cleared of all but two minor charges, Arnold received a written rebuke from his erstwhile benefactor, George Washington. At this point, he began weighing his involvement with the Revolution. Arnold's behavior seems to have been fueled by genuine resentment at being unappreciated and unrewarded for his sacrifices. Partly out of financial distress and partly because of his new wife, **Margaret Arnold** (the 18-year-old Margaret "Peggy" Shippen), the daughter of a well-known Loyalist, Arnold began secretly corresponding with British Gen. Sir **Henry Clinton** in New York. When the unsuspecting Washington appointed him commander of the strategic post of West Point, New York, he offered to betray it for a 10,000 pounds. The British dispatched Maj. **John Andre** as a spy to conclude formal negotiations, but when Andre was caught and hanged, Arnold fled to the safety of a British warship. He concluded his military career as brigadier general in the Royal Army and conducted successful raids into Virginia and Connecticut. In 1782, Arnold was forced to sail to England, where he met King George III and received a pension for services to the English Crown.

Arnold's life in exile was a lonely one because his reputation as a traitor preceded him. Despite his best efforts, he was neither accepted nor trusted by his new peers. Over the next two decades, he tried and failed to conduct merchant affairs in Canada and the West Indies. Arnold died in obscurity in London on June 14, 1801, friendless, countryless, and unmourned. He remains the consummate American traitor.

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Arnold, Margaret

(June 11, 1760–August 24, 1804)

Loyalist Spy

Beguiling and winsome, Peggy Arnold was once the belle of Philadelphia society. But her graceful and lilting persona belied a steely resolve and an appetite for danger. Completely devoted to England during the American Revolution, she convinced her husband, Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, to change sides.

Margaret Shippen was born in Philadelphia on June 11, 1760, into one of America's foremost colonial families. Her father, Judge Edward Shippen, was a merchant of some repute and chief justice of the colony of Pennsylvania. Margaret matured during the turbulent decades just prior to the American Revolution, and her father, a stout Tory, imbued her with a sense of loyalty to the English Crown. She was also studious, highly attentive, and excelled at mathematics, so she was instructed in bookkeeping, accounting, and real estate. It was unusual for a woman, at this time in American history, to be running a

business. Just as striking was her profound beauty, and men she encountered, particularly young military and naval officers, were captivated by her lilting persona. Shippen was just acquiring her reputation as the belle of Philadelphia's genteel society when that city was occupied by British troops under Gen. **William Howe** in the fall of 1777. At that time she met and apparently fell in love with Maj. **John Andre**, a dashing young blade who returned her attention with witty conversation, gifts, and pencil portraits. By April 1778, the British had decided that Philadelphia was too exposed to a French attack from the sea, so they withdrew to New York. Before departing, General Howe was feted in an extravagant farewell called *Mischianza*, which was cleverly staged by Andre. Margaret and her sisters were also featured in the outlandish ensemble, bedecked in lavish costumes reminiscent of a Turkish harem. Before parting a last time, Andre bequeathed her a token she carried for

life—a lock of his hair. They also maintained, at great personal risk, a steady and secret correspondence.

By May 1778, the Americans reoccupied Philadelphia, seat of the Continental Congress. A military governor, Benedict Arnold, was then appointed by Gen. George Washington to oversee city affairs. Arnold sought this appointment, as he still needed to convalesce from injuries sustained at Saratoga in October 1777. It was not long before the heady general encountered the alluring Margaret Shippen at a party and—like most men in her company—was smitten. The 19-year-old lady was apparently also taken in by this dark, ruggedly handsome general, and the two fell in love. They were married on April 8, 1779, over her father's objections. Nonetheless, once vows were exchanged, Peggy Shippen became Mrs. Benedict Arnold, wife of the most despicable traitor in all of American history.

For many months previously, Benedict Arnold smarted over what he considered a deliberate lack of recognition from Congress. Worse, while military governor, he came under charges of profiteering and was investigated by a court of inquiry. His young bride, an ardent Loyalist, apparently became a co-conspirator in convincing him to defect to the British. Given her close contact with Andre, now head of British military intelligence at New York, she was well-placed for such perfidious work. For a year and a half, the two plotted and schemed while Arnold dithered about making the break. Margaret, using all the charms and guile she could muster, kept encouraging him to reconsider. A turning point was reached when Arnold underwent a formal court-martial for his behavior and General Washington, his longtime benefactor, stood aloof. Margaret, meanwhile, composed several carefully encrypted letters to Andre, explaining her husband's intention to defect when the opportunity arose. Arnold subsequently provided the British with secret information about troop deployments in the vicinity of West Point, a strategic strong point on the Hudson River. When the general finally de-

clared his intention to defect, Andre wrote back confirming that they would meet his price: 10,000 pounds and a general's commission in the English army.

By April 1780, Arnold was ready to embark on the road to treachery. Feigning disability, he declined Washington's offer to command the left wing of the American army and suggested that he take charge of West Point—a highly flattering post given its significance. Washington gladly obliged his old friend, and Arnold arrived there on August 4, 1780. Margaret then came up from Philadelphia, following the birth of their first child, and joined him. On the evening of September 22, 1870, Arnold arranged a clandestine meeting with Andre and passed along more secret information about West Point's defenses. He also informed the British that Washington was due in the region shortly and that they should send some cavalry and try to capture him and his entire staff. Such a move might bring the entire rebellion to a halt—and considerable lucre to the Arnolds from a grateful king. Fortunately for the Americans, Andre was unexpectedly caught returning to British lines. Arnold, when innocently informed of this development, hastily consulted with his wife and bolted out the door to escape. Margaret then feigned hysteria as a cover. When news of Arnold's defection was made public, she was subsequently banned from Philadelphia. Washington believed her teary story of innocence throughout these proceedings, and she was permitted to rejoin her husband in New York. There she learned for the first time that her friend and first love, the gallant Major Andre, had been executed as a spy. For several weeks thereafter she was unable—or unwilling—to attend social festivities hosted by British commander in chief **Henry Clinton**.

After the war, the Arnolds relocated to London, where Margaret was introduced to King George III and Queen Charlotte. The queen was so impressed by her daring deeds on behalf of England that she arranged Margaret to receive a pension of 1,000 pounds a year for life. This made her the highest paid

British spy of the American Revolution. Her husband, unfortunately, remained a pariah, with few friends and fewer prospects for success. For many years he worked abroad in Canada and as a privateer while Margaret struggled to raise their five children. The former general was heavily in debt, but his wife, a talented business manager, paid these off by the time he died in 1801. She herself died from cancer in London on August 24, 1804, a loyal British subject to the end. Not surprisingly, her four sons became officers in the British army, and her daughter married a general. The devoted spymistress also kept Andre's lock of hair as a lifelong memento of her lamented, lost friend.

Ashby, Turner

(October 23, 1828–June 6, 1862)

Confederate General

Impetuous and disdainful discipline, the gallant Turner Ashby was one of the most talented Confederate cavalry leaders of the Civil War. He rendered exemplary service throughout the famous Shenandoah campaign, only to die in a minor skirmish.

Turner Ashby was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, on October 23, 1828, the son of a prosperous planter. He matured into a quiet, unobtrusive individual, possessing distinctly piercing black eyes and a flowing black beard. Ashby was also a first-class horseman and, naturally, drawn to the mounted arm. When abolitionist John Brown staged his famous raid upon the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in October 1859, Ashby, a strident Southerner, raised a volunteer cavalry company to help suppress it. Brown's insurrection was put down before Ashby's men arrived, but they subsequently performed picket duty in Charles Town, West Virginia, during Brown's trial and execution. When the Civil War erupted in April

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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1861, Ashby helped originate a plan to seize Harpers Ferry for the South, although this was thwarted when the Union garrison burned it to the ground. In June 1861, his brother Richard Ashby was subsequently killed in a skirmish with soldiers of the 11th Indiana Regiment under Col. Lew Wallace. Having closely examined the corpse, Ashby became convinced that his brother had been bayoneted while trying to surrender. Thereafter, he nursed a growing hatred for Yankees and grim determination for revenge. Eventually, his energetic service came to the attention of Col. **Thomas J. Jackson**, the legendary "Stonewall" Jackson, who continually employed Ashby's men as cavalry scouts and screens. Jackson ultimately prevailed upon Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** to commission Ashby a lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Virginia Cavalry, which was accomplished on July 23, 1861.

In short order, Ashby became renowned as one of the South's most daring cavalry lead-

ers. On several occasions he disguised himself as a horse doctor, rode for miles behind Union lines, and carefully noted enemy troop dispositions. He was also employed to protect the lower Shenandoah Valley from Union incursions and performed useful service by destroying railroad tracks between Harpers Ferry and Martindale. In March 1862, Ashby advanced to colonel of the Seventh Virginia, which ballooned in size to 27 companies—around three times the size of the average Confederate cavalry unit. He was also entrusted with raising the first company of Confederate horse artillery. Such a large force proved impossible for one man to train and discipline properly, and Ashby's men acquired a poor reputation for battlefield performance. Such lax behavior outraged the spit-and-polish Jackson, who at one point broke up the Seventh and distributed them among other units. Ashby strongly protested this move, stormed into his superior's tent, and threatened to resign immediately. Jackson, fearful of losing his talented cavalier, relented, but only on the condition that Ashby properly train and instruct his men. He agreed and was promoted to brigadier general on May 23, 1862. In this capacity he functioned capably throughout Jackson's famous campaign in the Shenandoah Valley.

Ashby may have discounted military discipline, but he and his men were full of fight. For several months they successfully skirmished with Union cavalry and outposts, invariably prevailing against superior numbers. However, Gen. Ashby committed two conspicuous errors. The first occurred on May 23, 1862, when he reported to Jackson that Kernstown was occupied by a handful of infantry companies. On the basis of this faulty intelligence, Jackson felt encouraged to move up and attack—and ran headlong into an entire division commanded by Gen. James Shields! The ensuing repulse turned out to be the only defeat of Jackson's illustrious military career. Ashby's second blunder transpired in the wake of Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks's hurried retreat from Winchester on May 25, 1862. Ashby

was ordered north to pursue and possibly cut off Banks's retreat, but he failed. Apparently, his men were more interested in plundering the supply wagons they captured, so the federal troops escaped intact.

At length Jackson began an orderly withdrawal from the Shenandoah Valley in the direction of Port Republic. Ashby provided the rear guard, and he constantly thwarted the advance of Gen. John C. Frémont's troops. On June 6, 1862, a Union cavalry charge upon Ashby was also repulsed at Chestnut Ridge near Harrisonburg. However, the enemy then brought up infantry reserves in support. Ashby did likewise, and a heavy skirmish developed. Seeking to inspire his men, the general dismounted and led a charge on foot, shouting, "Forward, my brave men!" Ashby was then suddenly shot through the heart and killed. Jackson, who valued the services of his gallant aide, regretted his demise. "As a partisan officer I never knew his superior," he wrote. "His daring was proverbial; his powers of endurance almost incredible; his tone of character heroic; and his sagacity almost intuitive in divining the purposes and movements of the enemy." Ashby's remains were originally interred at the University of Virginia cemetery, but in 1866 he was finally laid to rest with his commanding officer at the Jackson Cemetery in Winchester. Despite his complete disregard for drill and discipline, Ashby was revered by the men under his command, who referred to him as the "White Knight of the Valley." He fell before his full potential as an officer could be realized.

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Bacon, Nathaniel

(January 2, 1647–October 26, 1676)

Colonial Rebel

Bacon led the quixotic disturbance known as Bacon's Rebellion against Virginia's colonial authority in 1676, a miniature civil war interspersed with campaigns directed against friendly Indians. To this day, scholars are still divided over his intentions and whether or not he should be viewed as a champion of liberty or simply an ambitious demagogue.

Nathaniel Bacon was born in Suffolk County, England, a relative of Sir Francis Bacon, the noted lord chancellor. He was educated at St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and subsequently studied law at Gray's Inn. Bacon possessed both talent and ambition, being described by his tutor as a young man of "very good parts, and a quick wit." However, he also displayed a streak of malfeasance that characterized his later life. Bacon apparently eloped and married Elizabeth Duke in such a manner that her father, Sir Edward, Duke of Benhall, disinherited her, and the two never spoke again. Shortly after, Bacon was implicated in a scheme to defraud a neighbor of his money, and his father promptly shipped the listless youth off to the Royal Colony of Virginia. It was anticipated that there his elder cousin, Nathaniel Bacon Sr., could oversee his rise to responsible adulthood.

Once in Virginia, the elder Bacon arranged the young man's comfortable transition into

colonial society. In fact, Governor Sir William Berkeley was related to him by marriage, and Bacon also received the distinct honor of being appointed to the governor's council. Thus situated, Bacon established himself on a sizable plantation at Curles, about 50 miles above Jamestown, where he attempted to settle into the life of a gentleman farmer. Unfortunately, Virginia at this time was experiencing a period of economic and social distress. Due to a dramatic fall in the price of tobacco, the colony's principal export, a severe depression had lingered for several months. For tenant farmers eking out a marginal existence, this usually meant the liquidation of one's property to pay off debts. Many others were forced into indentured servitude—with the accompanying loss of freedom—until their outstanding debts were paid. Furthermore, there was growing resentment among many colonists that Berkeley, and the oligarchy that ran Virginia, did so for their own exclusive good. Bacon, despite his many advantages, was not immune to such hardships, and at length he tried raising additional money by trading with the Indians. However, Native American discontent over white encroachment on their lands led to an outbreak of frontier violence in 1675; this, combined with pervasive dissatisfaction among the colony's inhabitants, precipitated a major upheaval.

Governor Berkeley, who had ruled Virginia for more than three decades, recalled the destructive Pamunkey Indian Wars under Opechancanough in 1644 and sought peaceful accord with his neighbors. But in July 1675, following a raid by Doegs upon a settler's house, the militia mistakenly slaughtered a group of innocent Susquehannocks in retaliation. This, in turn, induced the enraged tribesman to strike back at numerous plantations along the frontier. By March 1676 Bacon had emerged as a vocal opponent of what he and other frontiersmen considered appeasement by Berkeley. He demanded a commission authorizing him to undertake official punitive measures against "the Indian enemy." Berkeley and the colonial assembly refused, fearing that such a move might trigger a massive uprising like King Philip's War then unfolding in New England. However, they did agree to construct nine forts at strategic locations along the frontier to curb future violence. When this scheme failed to halt raids, Bacon, a lawyer by training with excellent oratory skills, was made commander of the ad hoc frontier rebels by popular acclamation.

If the governor would not comply with frontier demands, Bacon determined to conduct a private war without authorization. The English militia apparently made no attempt to distinguish between friendly and hostile tribesmen, tragically, and they marched directly upon Occaneechi territory in southwestern Virginia. The Occaneechi tribe, previously friendly, was more than happy to assist in the destruction of the neighboring Susquehannocks, something they accomplished with relish. However, when a dispute over the division of war booty arose, Bacon's men attacked their erstwhile allies, killing upward of 50 warriors. Bacon returned to Jamestown in triumph and demanded that Berkeley grant him a commission. Instead, the aged governor had Bacon declared an outlaw and arrested. Once brought before Berkeley, Bacon rather shamelessly got on his knees and apologized, swearing loyalty to the administration. The governor, wishing to restore order, pardoned

him for these near-treasonable offensives, and he departed. It was hoped the affair would end there.

No sooner had Bacon returned home, however, than he gathered up 500 followers and marched en masse upon Jamestown. At swordpoint, the rebels demanded that Bacon be granted a commission with full military discretion to call out the militia for war. "God damme my blood," he thundered. "I came for a commission, and a commission I will have before I goe." The governor and the assembly, clearly intimidated by this show of force, granted Bacon's request, and off he went back to the frontier. Another fruitless campaign was then conducted against friendly Indians, in this instance the Pamunkeys, who had been nominal and cooperative allies since the close of the 1644 uprising. But in Bacon's absence, Governor Berkeley again declared him a rebel and began raising a force of his own. Virginia was now threatened by the twin specters of civil strife and an all-out Indian war.

Bacon's men plunged headlong into the Dragon Swamp, where they chased and cornered the Pamunkey Indians, killing upward of 50. When Bacon learned of Berkeley's activities back at Jamestown, he regrouped his forces and marched back, intent on a military showdown. Berkeley, meanwhile, having called out the militia and discovering that it was mostly sympathetic to Bacon, perceived his position as precarious and fled by boat to the Eastern Shore. He returned soon after, only to be besieged by Bacon's forces. As a measure of protecting his battery against the governor's forces, Bacon ordered the wives of several prominent Loyalists to be placed on the ramparts as a shield against their fire. Some half-hearted fighting then ensued, and Berkeley fled a second time. The rebels then occupied Jamestown amid mock triumph in September 1676.

Once in control, Bacon made several appeals to the people of Virginia for their continuing support against what he characterized as a corrupt governor and his circle of rich friends. Apparently, many colonists began

questioning the wisdom of Bacon's action, for they began deserting him in droves. With his defenses beginning to unravel, Bacon ordered Jamestown abandoned—although the town was callously burned to the ground beforehand. He also began recruiting from the ranks of indentured servants and African American slaves to bolster his flagging forces. These moves shocked many colonists into rejoining Governor Berkeley's camp, whose forces had reoccupied the remnants of Jamestown in anticipation of campaigning inland. Fortunately, Virginia was spared the specter of further violence when, on October 26, 1676, Bacon died suddenly of dysentery. His successors were far less capable in cobbling together the discontented factions, and by January 1677 the rebellion had petered out.

Order had finally been restored to Virginia, but repercussions ensued for all involved. Surviving rebel leaders were summarily executed and their property confiscated by the ruling elites, actions that did little to endear them to the lower classes. Furthermore, in the spring of 1677 several British ships arrived bearing 1,000 soldiers sent by King Charles II to restore order. These were the first-ever regular British soldiers to be stationed in the colonies, however briefly, but a precedent had been set. Moreover, their commander, Sir Herbert Jeffreys, carried a royal commission of investigation. Having assessed Berkeley's behavior as arbitrary and provocative, he dismissed the governor and returned him to England for possible trial. Thus, Berkeley's unbroken tenure of 36 years as governor ended under a cloud, and he died before his reputation could be cleared. Jeffreys subsequently appointed himself gover-

nor and attempted to hear grievances and make reparations, but the bitterness engendered by Bacon's Rebellion endured for years. Apparently, the rebel leader and his followers espoused little ideology beyond helping themselves to the property of Loyalist opponents. For this reason, historians remain in disagreement over assessing Bacon's Rebellion as an attempt to address genuine economic grievances—and thereby a precursor to the American Revolution a century hence—or simply as the actions of an rabble-rousing opportunist.

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Balck, Hermann

(December 7, 1893–1982)

German General

Leading from the front, Balck became one of the Wehrmacht's consummate tactical wizards of World War II. He enjoyed striking success along the Eastern Front but failed to stop U.S. Gen. George S. Patton from occupying Lorraine and was sacked.

Hermann Balck was born in Danzig-Langfuhr on December 7, 1893, the son of Wilhelm Balck, a distinguished German general. He enrolled at Hannover Military College in February 1914 and four years later served as a junior officer in the final year of World War I. Brave and accomplished, he was wounded no less than seven times and received the Iron Cross for bravery. Balck was retained in the postwar Reichswehr, where he befriended the brilliant panzer theorist Heinz Guderian. For many years thereafter, their careers intertwined. Balck served briefly as a staff officer in the 1930s but, thereafter, declined further appointments in that capacity. His stated preference was to be a combat officer.

Shortly after the outbreak of World War II, Balck assumed command of a motorized infantry regiment in Guderian's army during the Battle of France. He singularly distinguished himself under fire by seizing a bridgehead across the Meuse River, whose possession allowed German tanks to sweep across and crush the enemy at Sedan. Afterward, he orig-



Hermann Balck
Imperial War Museum

inated a combined arms concept that came to be known as the *kampfgruppe* (battle group) formation. Here, tanks and infantry worked and moved in close coordination, instead of deploying separately. This became a standard German tactic and gave Nazi forces a considerable edge over more rigidly controlled adversaries. The dashing 47-year-old lieutenant colonel consequently received the prestigious *Ritterkreuz* (Knight's Cross) for his fine performance. In subsequent fighting around Reithel, Balck further distinguished himself by personally seizing a set of French regimental colors. He was then promoted colonel of the Third Panzer Regiment, Second Panzer Division,

and accompanied the successful German occupation of Greece. On April 9, 1941, Balck's battle group outflanked New Zealand forces near Mount Olympus and turned their entire line. By July, he was back at army headquarters as inspector of panzer troops, but he yearned for more combat. Balck had nonetheless gained a reputation for daring leadership and innovative tactics.

In the summer of 1942, Balck advanced to major general and assumed command of the 11th Panzer Division in Russia. Balck was a master of fluid, mobile warfare, and his unit was credited with the destruction of more than 500 Soviet tanks in only two months of

action! During operations around Stalingrad later that year, his prompt actions saved the First and Fourth Panzer Armies from encirclement in the Caucasus, whereupon he received oak leaves to his Knight's Cross and promotion to lieutenant general. In March 1943, he garnered additional fame by surprising and literally destroying the Soviet Fifth Shock Army, winning the coveted swords to his Knight's Cross. In November 1943, Balck was elevated to general of panzer troops and successively commanded the 48th Panzer Corps and the Fourth Panzer Army. In August 1944, he performed brilliant work in smashing a dangerous Soviet bridgehead at Baranov on the Vistula River. Further attacks gained additional ground for the Germans at Pulawy, stabilizing the Eastern Front momentarily and averting a major disaster. This heroic achievement, performed against superior forces, won him the coveted diamonds to his Knight's Cross. He remains one of only 26 soldiers so decorated.

Hitler was singularly impressed by Balck and personally selected him for service along the Western Front. There Allied forces had broken through German lines surrounding the Normandy landing beachheads in July 1944 and were spreading unchecked across eastern France. Balck arrived at Army Group G headquarters in late September, replacing the now disgraced Gen. **Johannes Blaskowitz**. His orders were to stop American forces from occupying the province of Lorraine, but Balck spent several days visiting, organizing, and inspiring his dispirited soldiers beforehand. In rapid succession he ordered all rear elements closer to the front, brought existing units up to strength, and awaited the enemy's approach. In October, the U.S. Third Army under Gen. George S. Patton had been refueled and resupplied since its mad dash across France and was steadily advancing across Lorraine in determined fashion. Balck met the Americans head-on, as per the Führer's orders, but they were too numerous and continually reinforced. At length, the Germans were forced back out of Lorraine, despite Hitler's raging.

The Americans now began probing the German defensive lines known as the Westwall. On October 13, 1944, the U.S. First Army under Gen. Courtney Hodges brought its forces to bear upon Aachen, an ancient city that once served as the capital of Charlemagne's empire. Balck's men waged a fierce, street-by-street defense, and both sides lost heavily. After eight days of bloody fighting, Hodges finally prevailed, and an important psychological barrier had been breached: a German city had been captured for the first time. Hitler, possibly at the instigation of Heinrich Himmler, then summarily replaced Balck with the previously disgraced Blaskowitz.

By December 1944, Balck was back on the Eastern Front with the Sixth Army in a desperate attempt to stave off Soviet advances. Between January and February 1945, he tried relieving the German garrison at Budapest, but he failed. Russian armies by now were too large and too well equipped to be defeated easily. Balck then withdrew his skeleton forces westward, surrendering in Austria on May 8, 1945. He was one of Germany's best panzer leaders and a leading exponent of that arm.

Balck was imprisoned until 1947 and then lived quietly in Stuttgart. Eventually, he was sought out by U.S. Army historians, who brought him to America for an extended series of interviews. The talented Balck, still recognized as a consummate tank commander, died in Stuttgart in 1982. Many of his victories over Russian armor are still closely scrutinized at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

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Bär, Heinz

(May 25, 1913–April 28, 1957)

German Fighter Pilot

With 220 confirmed kills, Heinz "Pritzel" Bär was the fifth-ranking German ace of World War II. He downed 15 of his victims while flying a Messerschmitt Me 262 jet, becoming the leading scorer for that type of aircraft. This peerless aerial tactician survived more than 1,000 combat sorties, only to die in a tragic accident.

Heinrich (or Heinz) Bär was born in Sommerfeld, Germany, on May 25, 1913, the son of a farmer. Like many youths of his generation, he was intensely drawn to the burgeoning field of aviation and took glider lessons at an early age. This inspired him to be a pilot for Lufthansa, the national airline. However, Germany imposed very strict qualifications on commercial pilots, and no less than three licenses were required. The hardships of the Depression era precluded any chance of Bär acquiring such experience, so in 1937 he decided to join the newly formed Luftwaffe. His intention was to obtain all necessary pilot certificates in the military, then retire from service and join Lufthansa. He proved himself a natural in the cockpit and by 1938 was serving as a noncommissioned pilot officer. Tragically for Bär, and millions of other young Germans, **Adolf Hitler** was about to embark on a war of aggression against neighboring countries.

Bär's desired military discharge became impossible by that juncture.

Shortly after World War II commenced, Bär, now flying sleek Messerschmitt Me 109 fighters, scored his first kill on September 25, 1939, when he downed an American-built Curtiss P-36 flown by the French air force. By the summer of 1940 France itself had been overrun, and the Luftwaffe under Marshal **Hermann Göring** concentrated its efforts against the British Isles. Flying with *Jagdgruppe* (fighter group) JG 51, Bär emerged with 17 kills, making him the highest-scoring sergeant-pilot of the campaign. This was done the hard way, for Bär, like many German pilots, had yet to appreciate the danger of matching turns with nimble Supermarine *Spitfires* in combat. Consequently, on at least six occasions, Bär had to nurse his badly shot-up Me 109 back to base. Once while he was limping home with an overheated engine, a lone *Spitfire* shot him down over the English Channel. Swimming several hours before being rescued, a rather dejected Bär was hauled before Marshal Göring, then touring the aerodrome. When Göring inquired what he could have possibly been thinking while swimming, Bär replied, "Your speech, Herr *Reichsmarschall*, that England is no longer

an island!”—a typical response for an audacious fighter pilot.

The Germans handily lost the Battle of Britain, and Hitler subsequently turned his attention east toward Russia. When this was invaded in June 1941, Bär accompanied his unit to the front, racking up another 43 kills in quick succession. For this he received the prestigious *Ritterkreuz* (Knight’s Cross) with oak leaves—and was finally commissioned a lieutenant. Daringly aggressive, Bär disregarded orders and foolishly pursued Russian aircraft far over enemy territory. In this manner he was shot down again on August 31, 1941, parachuted behind Russian lines, and fractured his spine in two places. But Bär, ignoring intense pain, spent two agonizing days dragging himself 30 miles back to German lines. Hospitalized for several months, he returned to Russia and brought up his total score to 90 victories by February 1942. He then acquired swords to his Knight’s Cross before leaving the Eastern Front with a total of 107 kills. By the spring of 1942, Bär had been transferred to JG 77 in Sicily, where he led a squadron. He spent the next several months fighting numerous British and American air units across North Africa and the Mediterranean. Another 45 enemy planes fell to his able marksmanship before he was finally rotated to Germany for defense of the homeland.

At this time, the U.S. Army Air Force under James H. Doolittle and Carl A. Spaatz had embarked on massed precision daytime bombing of German industrial targets. Almost daily, huge fleets of heavily armed Boeing B-17 *Flying Fortresses* and Consolidated B-24 *Liberators* were slowly pounding the Nazi heartland into scrap metal. Bär, a *kommodore* with JG 1 and then JG 3, transitioned to an even deadlier fighter, the radial-engine Focke-Wulf Fw 190. He also learned how to tackle the heavily armed Allied bombers, eventually shooting down a total of 21. After January 1944, the Americans began deploying large numbers of North American P-51 *Mustangs* and Republic P-47 *Thunderbolts* as escort

fighters, and German losses rose exponentially. Bär was now pitted against such aeronautical mavens as Francis S. Gabreski, Don S. Gentile, Robert S. Johnson, and Hub Zemke, all accomplished fliers. The battle was joined in earnest, and Bär was shot down a total of 18 times. However, on April 22, 1944, he became only the seventh Luftwaffe pilot to reach 200 kills, confirming his reputation as one of Germany’s great fliers. But the attrition rate suffered by veteran pilots was great, and Bär began leading larger and larger numbers of inexperienced men into combat.

Prospects looked increasingly grim for the Third Reich until the advent of the Messerschmitt Me 262, the world’s first jet fighter, in August 1944. Hitler was gambling that such new wonder weapons could wrest control of the air from Allied hands, so he ordered the creation of special all-jet squadrons flown by experienced aces. In January 1945, Bär was appointed instructor of the Jet Fighter School at Lechfeld. The following month, while flight-testing the Me 262, he established a new air-speed record of 645 miles per hour and an altitude record of 48,000 feet. Shortly after, he was transferred to Gen. **Adolf Galland’s** *Jagdverband JV 44*, the elite Squadron of Experts. In this capacity Bär quickly mastered the nuances of jet combat and went on to score 15 additional kills in the Me 262. On April 22, 1945, he succeeded Galland as commander of JV 44, ending the war with a total tally of 215 victories. He was also the lead scorer among Me 262 pilots, an aviation first.

Bär’s career is unique among German aces, for he flew combat missions during the entire war and in every theater. He survived more than 1,000 combat missions against virtually every type of aircraft the Allies could throw against him and won—usually. “A very good pilot in any of these aircraft was tough to handle, and if he had the tactical advantage, he had a good chance to win the fight,” Bär observed. “You see from my own eighteen experiences as someone else’s victory that they often did win.” However, his reputation as a leading jet ace militated against him in the

postwar period, for Lufthansa would not hire anyone whom they considered to be a militarist. It was not until 1950 that Bär found work supervising the German Aero Club, an organization founded to promote sport flying. On April 28, 1957, Bär was demonstrating a light plane specifically designed for safe flying—when it inexplicably spun in and crashed, killing him. Having survived five and a half years of nonstop combat, his demise in a civilian airplane seems all the more tragic.

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Barboncito

(ca. 1820–March 16, 1871)

Navajo War Chief

The eloquent Barboncito was a successful warrior, a forceful spokesman for the Navajo nation, and the last of his tribe to surrender to the United States. When his military efforts failed, he took his case to the government and won a new reservation on traditional Navajo lands.

Barboncito, also known as Hastin Dagma (Man with the Whiskers), was born into the Coyote Pass clan of the Navajo nation around 1820. His birthplace was Canon de Chelly in present-day northeastern Arizona, a sparse, rugged region that was sacred to Native Americans living there. Barboncito matured into a man with a powerful voice and great natural eloquence, talents that ensured his selection as the tribal religious singer. Like their near-relatives, the Apaches, Navajos were mounted raiders by nature, traditional enemies of the neighboring Ute, Hopi, and Zuni Indians. Concurrently, however, the Navajos

were also in constant conflict with Mexican authorities, who frequently dispatched expeditions into their territory for the purpose of acquiring slave labor. The Navajos were therefore greatly relieved in 1846 when a U.S. expedition under Col. Alexander William Doniphan drove the hated oppressors out of Arizona following the commencement of the Mexican-American War. Barboncito had by this time advanced to the position of subchief and used his influence to council friendly relations with the newcomers. Both sides initially profited by trade, but as the pace of white migration increased, so did inevitable conflicts over the use of land.

By 1850, sporadic warfare had broken out between white settlers and various groups of Navajos. Barboncito was at the forefront of peace negotiations in 1853, which temporarily suspended hostilities. The crisis seemed defused for the moment, until new frictions

erupted over disputed land near Fort Defiance, Arizona Territory. When settlers shot Navajo horses, raided their villages, and finally killed several natives, war chiefs Barboncito and **Manuelito** gathered upward of 1,000 warriors for a retaliatory strike in April 1860. The Navajos closely pressed the defenders of Fort Defiance for several days before being driven off by a relief column. When the soldiers pursued the fleeing Indians into the mountains, the latter resorted to time-honored hit-and-run guerrilla tactics that stymied all attempts to capture them. Eventually, Barboncito prevailed upon other chiefs to resume peaceful relations with their white neighbors, and the fighting momentarily stopped. He then persuaded other chiefs to conclude another peace treaty with Gen. Edward R.S. Canby in February 1861, and tranquility was soon restored. However, a new commander, the brusque Gen. James H. Carleton, had recently arrived in Arizona from California. Carleton had previously defeated Apache forces en route and was equally determined to eliminate any opportunities for Navajo misbehavior. In 1862, he summarily ordered the entire tribe to relocate to the Bosque Redondo Reservation, New Mexico, or face immediate military action. Furthermore, Carleton threatened to treat any armed Navajo not responding to his demand as an enemy—with serious consequences resulting. The threat initially carried little meaning, as the Civil War was unfolding farther east and many of the nearby army garrisons were greatly reduced in strength. But ultimately, Carleton's actions culminated in the infamous so-called Long Walk of 1864, whereby nearly 8,000 men, women, and children were forced across 350 miles of barren plains for purposes of resettlement. Because Barboncito and other chiefs refused to leave their sacred homeland and held out, there was little Carleton could do initially. Therefore, a new and effective Native American enemy—army scout Christopher “Kit” Carson—made his debut.

Realizing the futility of trying to outrun or outmaneuver the crafty Navajos in their

mountainous enclave, Carson initiated a deliberate scorched-earth policy to deny the Indians food and shelter. This form of warfare was something that the Indians had never previously experienced. Over the next few months, Carson's New Mexico Volunteers burned villages and crops, shot cattle, and in every possible way worked to deprive the Navajos the necessities of life. Furthermore, warriors from the neighboring Ute and Hopi tribes were encouraged to make war against the Navajos. The impasse continued for several months, but gradually cold weather and deprivation forced the Indians to surrender in larger and larger numbers. They were then trundled up for resettlement at Bosque Redondo, where conditions were equally harsh. At length Manuelito and his band of followers surrendered in September 1866. Barboncito and 21 followers held out in the Canyon de Chelly until the following October, before he became the last major Navajo figure to give up.

Finding living conditions at the Bosque Redondo Reservation appalling, Barboncito escaped with a group of 500 followers in June 1865. All were captured and returned after another year of fighting. Barboncito then marshaled all his natural eloquence and religious authority to bolster Navajo morale during their long ordeal. He and other tribal leaders also continuously and forcefully appealed to the U.S. government for redress. At length Barboncito, accompanied by Manuelito and others, formed a deputation that ventured to Washington, D.C., to discuss these grievances. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, representing the government, was so impressed by the Navajos' plea that he agreed to allow them to leave the hated Bosque Redondo Reservation for new homes in Oklahoma. Barboncito recoiled at the thought, declaring, “I hope to God you will not ask us to go to another country except our own. It might turn out to be another Bosque Redondo. They told us this was a good place when we came here, but it is not.” Moreover, when other areas were then offered to the Navajo, Barboncito

declared, "We do not want to go to the left or to the right, but straight back to our country." At length Sherman was persuaded by these entreaties, and he allowed the tribe to reside in a greatly reduced portion of its native land. By 1868, a new treaty was signed, and the exiles resettled on familiar territory surrounded by the four sacred mountains. Happily, they remain situated there to present times. Barboncito subsequently renounced violence and resumed his role as the tribe's religious singer. He died at Canyon de Chelly, his place of birth, on March 16, 1871, a hero to his people and widely respected by his American adversaries.

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Barclay, Robert Heriot

(September 18, 1796–May 8, 1837)
English Naval Officer

The one-armed Barclay was a capable veteran of the Napoleonic Wars who commanded the British naval forces on Lake Erie during the War of 1812. Although lacking guns, supplies, and manpower, he came close to defeating a squadron under Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry.

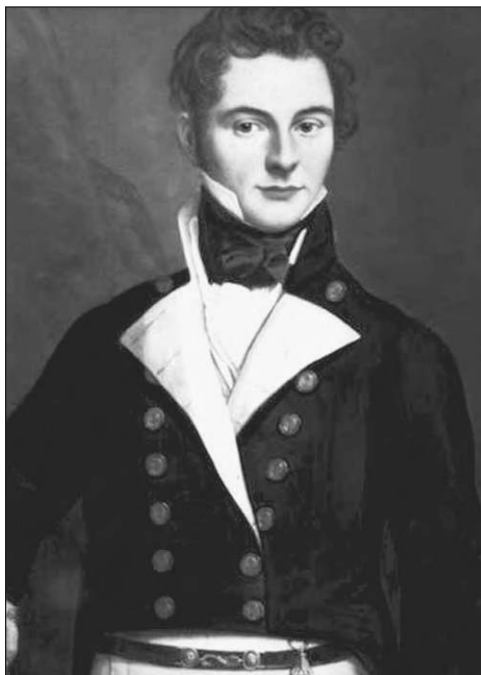
Robert Heriot Barclay was born in Kettle Manse, Fifeshire, Scotland, on September 18, 1796, the son of a minister. He joined the Royal Navy in 1798, aged only 11 years, and by 1805 functioned as a midshipman aboard Adm. Horatio Nelson's flagship HMS *Victory*. In February of that year Barclay received a promotion to acting lieutenant on board HMS *Swiftsure*, and in this capacity he fought at the dramatic victory of Trafal-

gar on October 21, 1805. After the battle, his vessel was assigned to take the captured French warship *Redoubtable* into tow, and during a severe gale his actions rescued 170 prisoners before that vessel sank in heavy seas. Up through 1808 Barclay served with distinction on a succession of warships, rising to the rank of second lieutenant. In February 1809, while attacking a French convoy, he sustained injuries that resulted in the loss of his left arm. This may have dissuaded a less determined man from further service, but Barclay returned to active duty within a year, and between 1810 and 1812 he completed several cruises while attached to the North American Station at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Within months of the American declaration of war against Great Britain in June 1812, Barclay was sent overland with a group of sailors and seamen from Halifax to the new strategic naval base at Kingston, on Lake Ontario. He arrived on May 5, 1813, and gained appointment as acting commander of British naval forces on the Great Lakes. Within days, however, Barclay was superseded by Capt. Sir **James Lucas Yeo** and offered command of the St. Lawrence River gunboat squadron. He declined and was subsequently posted to Amherstburg, near Detroit, as senior naval commander. In this

capacity Barclay assumed control of a small squadron tasked with keeping Lake Erie out of American hands. The ships and crews he commanded were not part of the Royal Navy establishment but rather a hodgepodge collection of men and vessels from the Canadian Provincial Marine force and various militia units. His assignment proved an exceedingly tall order for any officer to fulfill, for Yeo refused to dispatch additional manpower from his own Lake Ontario squadron. Furthermore, what few supplies and equipment the commodore did manage to forward were excruciatingly hauled over land to Amherstburg, there being no direct water route.

In contrast, the American naval establishment at Presque Isle, Pennsylvania, was well situated to receive men and supplies through an intricate network of roads and rivers stretching as far away as New York City. In the spring of 1813, Capt. Jesse Duncan Elliott was authorized to commence construction of a powerful squadron to take control of the



Robert Heriot Barclay
Metropolitan Toronto Library

lake. Several keels had been laid for two powerful brigs and numerous other warships, when a new commander, Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry, arrived that summer to supervise events. This proved a turning point in the war.

Barclay was conscious of his material and manpower inferiority, but he nonetheless assumed an aggressive posture. On June 15, 1813, his squadron hovered off Presque Isle to observe the status of Perry's fleet, still under construction. It was well known that the harbor there was partially obstructed by a large sandbar that forbade deep-draft vessels, like fully

armed brigs, from entering or leaving. Because such warships would have to be stripped of armament and floated over the sandbar, the British cruised off shore several days to attack the moment this maneuver was attempted. Inexplicably, on July 29, 1813, Barclay returned with his squadron to Amherstburg to oversee construction and outfitting of his own new warship, the 300-ton corvette *HMS Detroit*. During this interval, Perry managed to strip his warships and work them over the bar by the time Barclay resumed his station on August 4, 1813. However, rather than attack, he was content to blockade the Americans, citing to Yeo poor wind conditions and the presence of numerous fortifications guarding the enemy fleet. Feeling too weak to engage the powerful, nine-ship American squadron so close to shore, Barclay then withdrew a final time to Amherstburg to await developments. Historians still debate why Barclay relinquished his blockade of Presque Isle when he did. Moreover, his failure to at-

tack Perry once his ships had just cleared the sandbar and were still unarmed sealed his fate. When the American squadron emerged on Lake Erie the following month, it would be larger and mounting heavier armament than Barclay's.

Throughout the summer of 1813, the British strategic position in the western theater declined precipitously. British and Indian forces under Gen. **Henry Proctor** and the Shawnee Chief **Tecumseh** had evacuated Ohio following their repulse at Fort Stephenson on August 2, 1813, taking with them thousands of Native American refugees. Their presence made an already serious supply situation nearly untenable. On September 9, 1813, the near lack of food finally forced Barclay to depart Amherstburg a final time, and he sailed in search of the enemy. He found Perry waiting for him the following day near the Bass Islands. In every respect the odds were stacked against the British. Barclay's squadron mustered only six vessels: the corvettes *Detroit* (11 guns) and *Queen Charlotte* (17 guns), the schooner *Lady Prevost* (13 guns), the brig *General Hunter* (10 guns), and the sloop *Little Belt* (3 guns). These were arrayed against the brigs *Lawrence* and *Niagara* (20 guns each), the schooner *Somers* (2 guns), the sloop *Trippe* (1 gun), and the gunboats *Tigress*, *Porcupine*, *Scorpion*, and *Ariel*. Perry's fleet also threw a heavier combined broadside of 1,536 pounds to Barclay's 887 pounds. Furthermore, although the British enjoyed a slight edge in long-range cannons, the Americans possessed a far higher percentage of short-range, ship-killing carronades. In fairness, both sides were hobbled by a ramshackle assortment of sailors, soldiers, and militia to outfit their respective ships, but here the Americans also enjoyed a higher proportion of trained, professional seamen.

On the fateful afternoon of September 10, 1813, as the two antagonists approached to give battle, the wind, which had favored Barclay, suddenly shifted to Perry's advantage. This negated Barclay's intention to conduct a long-range duel with the Americans and thus

neutralize their heavier armament. Nonetheless, Perry was somewhat sloppy in his dispositions, and he failed to directly order Elliott's *Niagara* to close with the enemy. That officer, either out of spite or incompetence, stood back and aloof as Perry advanced unsupported, and the entire British fleet pounded his *Lawrence* into matchwood. After several hours, Perry fired the last working cannon himself before ordering the vessel to surrender. He then heroically and dramatically transferred his flag to the unscathed *Niagara*. Barclay, meanwhile, was reeling from the effects of two serious wounds, but he remained on deck directing the battle until the loss of blood forced him below. This spared him the agony of observing the powerful *Niagara* break the British line with several broadsides, forcing the fleet to surrender in turn. Barclay's losses were 41 killed and 94 wounded to an American tally of 27 killed and 96 wounded. But despite the glaring disparities between these well-matched contestants, British bravery and determination (every Royal Navy officer involved was either killed or wounded) rendered the Battle of Lake Erie an extremely close call.

American control of Lake Erie was now assured, and the American army under Gen. William Henry Harrison then crossed into Canada, forced Proctor's fleeing forces to give battle at the Thames, and decisively defeated them that October. This outcome was the direct result of Barclay's unexplained failure to keep the American squadron bottled up at Presque Isle behind the sandbar.

After the battle, Barclay remained a prisoner for several months before being exchanged. He returned to England soon thereafter and endured a general court-martial for losing his squadron. Barclay was quickly exonerated, but the stigma of defeat overshadowed his subsequent naval career. Lake Erie was the first time in history that a squadron belonging to the Royal Navy had surrendered to an enemy, and—unofficially, at least—Barclay was never forgiven. Despite numerous appeals, he remained without much to do

until 1822. That year he secured command of the small bomb vessel HMS *Infernal*, which he held for two years. Barclay finally made captain in October 1824, but he failed to secure another active command for the next 13 years. He died at Edinburgh on May 8, 1837, a heroic and all but forgotten naval figure from an overlooked war.

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Baum, Friedrich

(d. August 18, 1777)

Hessian Army Officer

Baum, a tough professional soldier, was entrusted with the vitally important mission of securing food and transportation for the British army in New York during the early stages of the American Revolution. However, he underestimated the determination of the New England militias to resist his designs and came to grief at Bennington, Vermont.

By 1775, the government of Great Britain realized that even though it possessed a well-trained, professional army, its numbers were far too small to crush the rebellion in America. It therefore resorted to the time-honored and typically European expedient of hiring foreign auxiliaries to augment its military strength. In strictly legal parlance, foreign auxiliaries were distinct from mercenaries inasmuch as they were hired directly from the government of a willing state (i.e., the soldiers were not hired individually). At this time, Ger-

many consisted of more than 300 states and principalities, each with its own dynasty and army. Various princes, eager to raise money for their own purposes, gladly rented out soldiers at a fixed rate. Moreover, monarchs were entitled to recompense for each soldier wounded in action, greater sums if one were killed. Therefore, between 1775 and 1782, the British hired an estimated 30,000 soldiers from Germany for service in America. They originated mostly from six small principalities: Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Anhalt-Zerbst, and Waldeck. As a group, German soldiers were savagely disciplined in the strict Prussian manner, bravely led, and they acquired a reputation for coolness and ferocity under fire. Regardless of their state of origin, all became collectively known as "Hessians" by their adversaries and were hated as symbols of tyranny.

One such hired soldier was Lt. Col. Friedrich Baum of the Brunswick Dragoon Regiment (mounted infantry). Nothing is known of his birth and prior background, but he was clearly a long-term professional who knew his business. Baum departed Germany in February 1776 with a large Brunswick contingent commanded by Col. **Friedrich von Riedesel**. He commanded 336 cavalymen in his regiment, a colorful lot sporting bright-blue jackets and bicorn hats, armed with both swords and muskets. Horses had yet to be procured, yet Baum's command, being trained as dragoons, was equally adept fighting on foot or in the saddle. The Brunswick contingent arrived in Quebec that summer as part of an ambitious military operation to be headed by Gen. **John Burgoyne**. Here an army of 8,000 British, German, and Loyalist troops, assisted by large numbers of Native Americans, would invade northern New York via the Lake Champlain corridor. Burgoyne's goal was to seize Albany, the state capital, as its capture would cut off New England from the rest of the country. The government entertained high expectations for Burgoyne and fully expected to end the war in a single campaign.

Burgoyne's juggernaut began rolling southward into New York that June, quickly captured Fort Ticonderoga, and brushed aside a large militia force at Hubbardton on July 7, 1777. Pressing onward, the British advance then became bogged down thanks to bad terrain and rear-guard actions by small groups of determined Americans. By August, Burgoyne could barely manage a snail's crawl toward Albany. He was running short on supplies and, furthermore, lacked the necessary draft animals to move his huge column of cannons over the broken terrain. Because the Americans were enacting a scorched-earth policy—destroying all livestock and foodstuffs they could not carry—the British were hard-pressed to meet their needs. Eventually, Burgoyne was alerted to the fact that farmlands in the neighboring New Hampshire Grants (Vermont) were as yet untouched by war and thus were a potential source for draft animals,

cattle, and other valuable commodities. The British especially needed horses to mount Baum's dragoons. Accordingly, on August 8, 1777, Burgoyne instructed Baum (who spoke no English) to take 800 men through central Vermont, gather up the requisite supplies, and invite Loyalist sympathizers in the region to flock to his colors. It was considered an important but not overly complicated mission, and little difficulty was anticipated.

Baum departed the British camp on August 11 with 374 Brunswick Dragoons, 30 artillerymen, 50 jaegers (riflemen), and roughly 300 Loyalists, Canadians, and Indians. His movement through the woods was leisurely, and occasionally—in good German fashion—Baum would halt to redress the ranks and ensure an orderly procession. The following day his column trudged into Cambridge, where shots were exchanged with some militiamen. Baum's scouts also reported that a large party of rebels was thought to be in the area, so he sent a dispatch back to Burgoyne requesting reinforcements. He then resumed his casual march, somewhat perturbed that the expected surge of Loyalist recruits did not materialize.

Unknown to Baum, Gen. John Stark of the New Hampshire militia was en route to Bennington with 1,400 men, many of whom were crack shots and veterans of various Indian wars. He carefully observed Baum's men digging small redoubts and establishing a defensive perimeter, so he determined to attack the Hessian the moment his own troops were positioned. Baum and several of his outposts were aware of the movement of Americans on the periphery of his camp, but repeatedly Baum had been assured that they were actually groups of Loyalists intent on joining him. Stark took advantage of this mistaken belief, sending several spies into the camp who, feigning friendship, observed the German defenses closely and reported back. On the morning of Saturday, August 16, 1777, Stark's command had nearly enveloped the unfortunate Baum, and he gave the order to attack.

The ensuing Battle of Bennington was over in two hours, a complete victory for the Amer-

icans. The disciplined regulars of Baum's command fought ferociously, but they were outnumbered and hopelessly surrounded. Stark's men massed and picked off the German defenses piecemeal, for they were not placed in mutually supporting distances of each other. Baum attempted to make a last stand at his redoubt on what the Americans dubbed "Hessian Hill" until his ammunition gave out. Collecting the dragoons, he then ordered the men to draw sabers—and charged into the astonished militiamen to cut their way out. However, only seven dragoons ever reached Burgoyne's camp. Baum was mortally wounded while bravely leading his men and was captured. He died two days later.

Meanwhile, a relief column of 640 Germans under Lt. Col. Heinrich Breymann made its appearance toward the close of the action. He had been dispatched by Burgoyne following the receipt of Baum's letter, but rain and bad roads prevented him from reinforcing Baum at the critical moment. Pressing ahead, Breymann was suddenly assailed on both flanks by militia under Col. Seth Warner and was routed. This last action concluded the victory at Hubbardton, which cost Stark less than 100 casualties, including a handful of dead. In return, he accounted for 200 German killed, 700 prisoners, and four brass cannons. More important, the defeat of Baum's foraging expedi-

tion ensured that Burgoyne lacked the food and draft animals he so desperately needed. It was the first nail in the coffin that ultimately buried British aspirations at Saratoga two months hence.

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Bayerlein, Fritz

(January 14, 1899–January 30, 1970)

German General

Stocky, little Bayerlein was a resolute panzer leader with distinguished service in four theaters during World War II. By the time American units encountered him, he commanded one of the Wehrmacht's most powerful units, the dreaded Panzer Lehr Division.

Fritz Bayerlein was born in Wurzburg, Bavaria, on January 14, 1899, and joined the army at age 16 to serve in World War I. As part of the Second Jaeger Battalion (1916–1918), he fought against British troops. Bayerlein then mustered out, but he was allowed to re-join the postwar Reichswehr in 1921 on the

basis of merit. He then passed through the general staff college before joining the embryonic panzer (tank) force. Rising steadily through good performance, Bayerlein was a major when World War II commenced and saw service in Poland. Thereafter, he was attached to the staff of Gen. Heinz Guderian as operations officer during the lightning conquest of France. The following year he accompanied Guderian throughout the invasion of Russia, fighting bravely and acquiring the reputation as a competent tactician and staff officer. The turning point of Bayerlein's career occurred in October 1941, when he was transferred to the Afrika Korps as chief of staff.

Bayerlein remained in North Africa for the next 19 months and enhanced his reputation for promptness and efficiency. For a professional soldier steeped in European tactics, he found desert warfare a unique experience. "Here everything is in flux," Bayerlein recorded. "There are no obstacles, no lines, no water or woods for cover; everything is open and incalculable." In December 1941, he was closely engaged at the Battle of Al Agheila, winning the coveted *Ritterkreuz* (Knight's Cross) for bravery. Promoted colonel, he next served as Gen. **Erwin Rommel's** chief of staff, commencing in May 1942. That August he temporarily commanded the Afrika Korps during initial phases of the Battle of Alam Haifa until Rommel arrived to take over. He then prevailed upon his superior to maneuver around the flank of British armored forces until superior firepower drove them back. Following the decisive defeat at El Alamein in November 1942, Bayerlein again commanded the Afrika Korps during its long retreat out of Egypt. Rommel, who had also been removed due to illness, expressed relief that Bayerlein was remaining behind with the army. The general subsequently sustained severe injuries while in action, and he too was finally evacuated before Tunis surrendered in May 1943.

Bayerlein gained additional laurels by fighting in the defense of Sicily and won promotion to major general. Shortly after he

transferred back to Russia, commanding the Third Panzer Division under Guderian again. At this point in the war, the Germans were experiencing a shortage of experienced personnel to man their tank formations. Hitler then ordered the creation of a new division—the Panzer Lehr—which was composed of instructors culled from the various tank schools. Given the exceptional quality of the crews, and their priority assignment of new Tiger and Panther tanks, Panzer Lehr became one of the toughest and most feared outfits in the already formidable Wehrmacht. Upon Guderian's personal recommendation, Bayerlein was chosen to head this elite formation as of January 1944. Promoted lieutenant general the following May, he led his division to France to participate in the defense of Normandy. There he formed part of the First SS Panzer Army under Gen. **Josef Dietrich**.

Normandy proved another bitter learning experience for Bayerlein. Unlike Russia, where the Germans enjoyed at least some degree of local air superiority, the British and Americans completely controlled the skies. As the Allies' Operation Overlord, the invasion of France, commenced on June 6, 1944, they unleashed thousands of heavily armed fighter-bombers against German armored formations. To reduce losses, Bayerlein moved only at night and instructed his troops to employ camouflage and concealment during the day. Nonetheless, Bayerlein himself had been badly injured in his staff car during an air attack. While its commander recovered, Panzer Lehr performed heroic work against British troops at Caen on the Normandy beachhead, although it was severely pummeled by air strikes. Bayerlein's unit was then taken out of line in late July and redeployed around Saint-Lô in the American sector. There, on July 25, 1944, the Allies hit his position with the entire U.S. Eighth and Ninth Air Forces—upward of 1,500 aircraft. Panzer Lehr, assailed by more than 3,000 tons of bombs, sustained losses totaling 70 percent of its entire strength! A badly shaken Bayerlein described the landscape as "looking like the surface of the moon. After an

hour I had no communications and all my forward tanks were knocked out.” This attack signaled the commencement of Operation Cobra, the long-anticipated breakout from Normandy. The U.S. Third Army under Gen. George S. Patton advanced mightily upon Saint-Lô with five fresh divisions, but the surviving Panzer Lehr veterans restricted their advance to only three miles after fierce fighting. Field Marshal **Gunther von Kluge** then forbade Bayerlein from retreating further, and the exasperated general declared, “You may report to the Field Marshal that the Panzer Lehr Division is annihilated!” On July 26, 1944, Patton brought up the U.S. Second Armored Division, which shattered the German line, and the race across France began. Bayerlein quickly cobbled together his surviving troops and led a fighting retreat back to the German borders. En route, Panzer Lehr was caught in the closing Falaise Gap and had to run the gauntlet, losing heavily in men and equipment. The ensuing fall of France was a disaster that cost Hitler a half-million troops and several thousand tanks and other vehicles.

After several weeks of resting and refitting his outfit, Bayerlein became part of the Fifth Panzer Army under Gen. **Hasso von Manstein** during the December 1944 Ardennes offensive. After heavy fighting, he led Panzer Lehr around the American strong point at Bastogne and pushed to within 10 miles of the German objective, the Meuse River. American counterattacks soon forced the Germans back to their starting point—minus 100,000 casualties—and Bayerlein left Panzer Lehr to head up the 53rd Corps in the defense of the Ruhr Valley. Stubborn resistance there availed the Germans nothing, and Bayerlein was cap-

tured, along with the bulk of his troops, on April 15, 1945.

After the war, Bayerlein returned to civilian life. There he functioned as an unofficial military historian, writing frank and scathing appraisals of German strategic conduct and its senior commanders. He also cooperated cheerfully with editors of the U.S. Operational History Section, which compiled one of the first official accounts of the war. The feisty, outspoken Bayerlein died at Wurzburg on January 30, 1970, acclaimed by many as one of Germany’s leading panzer commanders.

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Bee, Barnard Elliott

(February 8, 1824–July 22, 1861)
Confederate General

A distinguished veteran of the Mexican War, Barnard Bee proved instrumental in securing the Confederate victory of First Bull Run, the Civil War's initial major engagement. He paid for this triumph with his life, but not before originating one of the most celebrated nicknames in American military history.

Barnard Elliott Bee was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on February 8, 1824. He subsequently accompanied his family to the Republic of Texas, where his father held a prominent position in government. At that time Texas, although independent of Mexico, was not legally part of the United States. Therefore, it took considerable political maneuvering before Bee could attend the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and overcome his status as a foreigner. He graduated thirty-first in a class of 41 in 1845, was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Third U.S. Infantry, and reported back to Texas for garrison duty. In this capacity Bee participated in the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), initially accompanying the army of Gen. Zachary Taylor. He fought well at the Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma in May 1846, winning brevet promotion to first lieutenant. The following year Bee transferred to Gen. Winfield Scott's army, landed at Vera Cruz, and accompanied the advance upon Mexico City. He subsequently distinguished himself at Cerro Gordo (April



Barnard Elliott Bee
Library of Congress

1847) and during the storming of Chapultepec (September 1847), winning a second brevet promotion to captain. After the war, Bee returned to Texas for additional garrison duty, rising to full captain of the newly created 10th U.S. Infantry in 1855. However, following South Carolina's secession from the United States in December 1860, Bee, like many professional officers of Southern birth, struggled over what to do next. He retired to his brother's ranch in Texas to contemplate events and finally resigned his commission on March 3, 1861. He then became a major

in the Confederate service.

The failure to reach political compromise between North and South meant that issues could be resolved only by force. Ironically, despite much bellicose posturing beforehand, both sides lacked the means for sustained conflict. Therefore, throughout the spring and early summer months of 1861, Northern and Southern recruits arrived at army camps to be trained and drilled in the business of soldiering. Bee, who enjoyed an excellent reputation, was promoted to brigadier general on June 17, 1861, as part of larger forces under Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** in the Shenandoah Valley. The following month, a Union force of 38,000 soldiers under Gen. Irvin McDowell had gathered at Washington, D.C., for an advance upon the Confederate capital in Richmond. That city was defended by 20,000 men

under Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard, who requested that Johnston reinforce him. Bee formed part of the forces sent to bolster Beauregard on July 20, 1861. He was positioned on the Confederate left flank at Bull Run and angrily commented that the hardest fighting would most likely occur on the right. Unknown to him, McDowell had selected his very position as part of a strategic enveloping maneuver.

Throughout the day on July 21, 1861—as onlookers picnicked nearby to relish in the anticipated Northern victory—the two amateur armies collided and fought. From his position at Henry House Hill, Bee’s men, greatly outnumbered, held back superior numbers of federal troops but were quickly being annihilated. At length Bee’s brigade gave way and streamed past the brigade of Gen. **Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson** on the reverse slope of the hill. In exasperation, Bee exclaimed to his men, “There stands Jackson like a stone wall. Rally behind the Virginians!” Historians have debated ever since whether that comment was intended as a compliment to Jackson for holding firm in the face of the enemy, or an insult implying he had failed to advance to the support of his colleagues. In any case, the moniker stuck and has since passed into legend. Bee’s initial stand took the steam out of the initial Union advance, and once the Confederates rallied, he launched a counter-attack. His charge, however, carried him di-

rectly into Union artillery fire, and Bee fell mortally wounded. He was then carried from the field.

First Bull Run ended in a Confederate rout, and the bulk of McDowell’s forces stampeded from the field in disorder. Union losses were 2,706 killed, wounded, and missing, to a Confederate tally of 1,981. Among them was the brave Bee, who died from his injuries the next day. Throughout this first great clash, he exposed himself recklessly, kept his raw troops in line, and contributed to the Confederate victory. Bee also enjoys the melancholy distinction of becoming the first general-grade officer to fall in defense of the Confederacy, a brave man in a lost cause.

See also

Jackson, Thomas J. “Stonewall”; Johnston, Joseph E.

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de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne

(baptized February 23, 1680–March 7, 1767)

French Naval Officer; French Army Officer; Colonial Governor

Bienville was a successful French military and administrative figure with a decided flair for Native American diplomacy. He helped to guide the colony of Louisiana through its most difficult periods

and proved instrumental in the founding of New Orleans.

A native Canadian, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne was born in Montreal around 1679, one of 12 children sired by Charles Le Moyne, a provin-

cial nobleman. In 1691, the young man assumed the title *sieur de Bienville* following the death of an older brother. Bienville came from a military family, so in 1692 he joined the French navy as a midshipman. In this capacity he accompanied several older brothers throughout King William's War against English settlements to the south. He distinguished himself in combat along the New England coast, Hudson's Bay, and Newfoundland, sustaining a severe head injury in 1697. Afterward, he voyaged with his famous brother, **Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville**, to France, for the first time. He was favorably received by the French court, and in 1698 Bienville was authorized to help found a French colony along the Gulf of Mexico (present-day Louisiana).

Bienville arrived off the Gulf Coast in the spring of 1699 and helped to explore the lower reaches of the Mississippi River. He was among the first white men to ascend that mighty waterway from its mouth. Subsequently, he also gained appointment as commander of Fort Maurepas, near present-day Biloxi, as the French continued their surveying efforts. Although a young man, Bienville exhibited extremely bold and audacious leadership. In 1699, accompanied by only five men in two canoes, he confronted an English warship in the Mississippi River. The youthful officer, disregarding the odds, then summarily ordered its captain to leave French territory immediately, lest he be destroyed by superior forces. Capt. William L. Bond was so nonplussed by this display that he departed, whereby the river bend was christened, and remains known as today, the English Turn. In



Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville
National Archives of Canada

1701, Bienville, in his brother's absence, became the highest-ranking provincial official in Louisiana. The following year he was officially commissioned royal lieutenant and de facto governor, and he also relocated the main colony to Mobile. For the next 10 years he was forced to confront disease, corruption, and Indian hostility, all of which threatened the well-being of nascent Louisiana. Fortunately, Bienville was adept as a linguist, became fluent in Choctaw, and was well versed in the cultural nuances of Native American

diplomacy. Through his efforts, these numerous and potential enemies were converted into friends of France, and they proved instrumental in driving English traders from French territory.

In 1712, King Louis XIV, strapped for cash, relinquished control of Louisiana to wealthy financier Lamothe de Cadillac, who was appointed governor and also introduced slaves from Africa. Bienville worked poorly with this arrogant aristocrat, who frequently sent him on dangerous missions in a blatant attempt to have him killed. Bienville, however, cleverly used danger to advance his reputation. Audacious as always, he once marched 34 men into the heart of the Natchez Indian tribe, which was capable of fielding 800 warriors, used threats and entreaties to secure Indians responsible for the murders of French settlers, and also coerced the tribe into helping construct a fort on their territory. Such aplomb did not go unrewarded, and in 1718 Bienville was appointed temporary governor following the recall of Cadillac. He then added further luster to his name by successfully capturing the Spanish settlement of Pensacola. The fol-

lowing year Bienville accomplished his most legendary feat, establishing a new city at the mouth of the mighty Mississippi: New Orleans. In time this strategic city would control the ebb and flow of trade up and down the Mississippi Valley, and it proved a great strategic asset once acquired by the United States in 1803. For all these efforts, Bienville received the prestigious Order of St. Louis.

Bienville could be something of a crass, opinionated figure himself, and his disposition occasioned several powerful enemies among the colonial elite. In 1724, they arranged to have him transferred back to France for “consultation”; following his arrival, he was stripped of rank. In his absence, friction with the neighboring Natchez Indians exploded into war and necessitated his return. Bienville was promptly rehabilitated in 1732 and sent back to Louisiana as full-fledged governor of the newly restored royal colony. Back in power, he began tackling the familiar problems of administration, disease, and war, with good effect. However, old age had begun to take its toll on his performance as a military field commander. In the wake of a successful war against the Natchez, the powerful Chickasaw tribe—nominal allies of the English—refused to surrender any fugitives. Angered by such defiance, Bienville ordered a military campaign against them, the conduct of which immediately went awry. The commander of the first French column foolishly attacked the Chickasaw villages and was disastrously defeated. On May 26, 1736, Bienville himself assaulted the village of Ackia, only to likewise be repulsed. Angered by this expensive setback, the French colonial ministry ordered Bienville to mount another attack in 1739–1740, which also proved indecisive. At this juncture Bienville recognized that French colonial power was unequal to the task of subduing the Chickasaws, and he thought it more prudent to sign a peace treaty that demanded only minor concessions from them.

After this dismal performance, Bienville stepped down as governor in anticipation of being recalled. His replacement, **Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, finally succeeded him in May 1743, and Bienville returned to France. He spent the rest of his life in Paris, where he lived and died in relative comfort. One of his last official acts was to protest the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, through which ownership of Louisiana temporarily passed to Spain. In his long career, he amassed the enviable reputation as one of France’s leading agents of Gulf Coast colonization, and he laid the foundation for Louisiana’s long and successful period as a French colony. Curiously, one of his longest-enduring contributions was the Code Noir, a set of laws regulating the status of Louisiana slaves and mulattoes up through the American Civil War.

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Bisshopp, Cecil

(June 25, 1783–July 16, 1813)

English Army Officer

Adashing leader, Bisshopp served as an infantry officer as well as inspector general of the Upper Canada militia during the War of 1812. He conducted numerous successful raids along the Niagara frontier before losing his life in a protracted skirmish.

Cecil Bisshopp was born in Parham House, West Sussex, on June 25, 1783, the son of a baronet and former member of Parliament. He belonged to an ancient, landed family and, as the only surviving son, stood to inherit an impressive fortune. However, Bisshopp was drawn quite early to the military profession, and in September 1799 he obtained an ensign's commission in the prestigious First Foot Guards. Over the next 10 years he functioned capably, serving as private secretary to Adm. Sir John Borlase Warren at St. Petersburg and accompanying expeditions to Spain and the Netherlands. By dint of good service, Bisshopp rose to brevet major in January 1812, and the following month he transferred to Canada as inspecting field officer of the Upper Canada militia. That distant region was considered a backwater compared to military theaters in Europe, and assignment there was most unwelcome to ambitious young officers. But Bisshopp muted his disappointment and shouldered his responsibilities dutifully, declaring, “Were it not for the extensive command I have and the quantity of business I have to do, I should hang myself.” When the War of 1812 against the United States commenced on June 18, 1812, the young soldier

suddenly found himself with more than enough work to keep him occupied.

After passing several months at Montreal, Bisshopp was transferred to the Niagara frontier attached to British forces under Gen. **Roger Hale Sheaffe**. He was tasked with commanding regular and militia forces stationed between Chippewa and Fort Erie near the southernmost end of the Niagara Peninsula. On November 28, 1812, an American invasion force under Gen. Alexander Smyth had gathered at Black Rock, New York, for the purpose of crossing into Canada. To facilitate this invasion, an advanced party of several hundred men landed the previous night to spike the guns and destroy a bridge over Frenchman's Creek. Bisshopp, however, successfully engaged the marauders in a confusing night battle and managed to drive them off with loss. Later that day, Smyth sent him an ultimatum demanding his surrender to “spare the effusion of blood,” but Bisshopp contemptuously declined. The American leader then suddenly and inexplicably ordered his force to disembark and return to their tents, much to the surprise and delight of the British defenders. Thus far, Smyth's efforts at Niagara amounted to little and culminated in his removal.

In May 1813, the calm along the Niagara frontier was shattered by the American capture of Fort George at the northern end of the peninsula. Bisshopp, acting under the orders of Gen. **John Vincent**, abandoned Fort Erie to the enemy and rapidly withdrew his men to

Burlington Heights. The Americans under Gen. John Chandler and William H. Winder mounted a slow pursuit, which was attacked in camp by Col. **John Harvey** at Stoney Creek on June 6, 1813. Bisschopp was present, commanding the reserves, but saw no fighting. Both Chandler and Winder were captured, and the leaderless invaders withdrew back to Fort George with British forces shadowing their every move. On June 25, American Gen. John Boyd dispatched a force under Lt. Col. Charles Boerstler, 14th U.S. Infantry, to burn a cache of British supplies at the DeCou House. En route, they were surrounded at Beaver Dams by a smaller force of Indians under Lt. **James Fitzgibbon**. Bisschopp at that time was stationed at Twelve Mile Creek with a strong picket, and he rushed two light companies of the 104th Foot and one from the Eighth to Fitzgibbon's assistance. His prompt arrival at the height of the battle convinced Boerstler that he was both surrounded and outnumbered, so he capitulated his entire force. This disaster ended fighting in the vicinity of Fort George for the rest of the year and resulted in the resignation of Gen. Henry Dearborn.

The British had thus far successfully contained various American forays, but their position was perpetually undermined by severe supply shortages, notably salt, which was essential for preserving meat. On July 11, 1813, Bisschopp became apprised of a great quantity of salt stored at Black Rock, across the Niagara River, and he resolved to launch a raid to acquire it. Early that morning he assembled 200 regulars and 44 Canadians under Fitzgibbon, then landed on the New York side unannounced. Surprise was complete, and the British very nearly captured Gen. Peter B. Porter of the militia, a former "war hawk" congressman who had helped precipitate the War of 1812. Clad only in his nightgown,

Porter hastily mounted a horse and fled down the street while Bisschopp began supervising removal of salt, "a scarce and most valuable article." His men also began burning various warehouses and the 50-ton schooner *Zephyr* anchored in the river. During these actions, however, Porter was actively rallying his dispersed militia for a counterattack. The Americans received timely and welcome assistance from a body of Seneca Indians under Farmer's Brother and Young King, who attacked the British as they loaded booty onto their boats. Bisschopp managed to escape under a galling fire, but he was hit three times. Twenty-seven British soldiers were also killed or wounded.

Bisschopp lingered in great discomfort for several days before dying from his injuries on July 16, 1813. To his dying gasp he accepted full responsibility for his defeat and was visibly tormented over the loss of so many men. In light of his great popularity among British soldiers and Canadian militiamen, Bisschopp's passing was lamented. He was a most valuable officer, brave, devoted to the well-being of his men, and preferred to serve his country than dine on riches and enjoy the inheritance awaiting him at home.

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Black Hawk

(ca. 1767–October 3, 1838)
Sac and Fox War Chief

Black Hawk (Makataimeshekiakiak) was a distinguished warrior in the War of 1812 and an inveterate foe of American expansion. Two decades later he waged the last Indian war of the Old Northwest to curb white encroachment upon his homeland.

Black Hawk was born around 1767, a member of the Thunder clan of the Sac (Sauk) and Fox Indians, and he grew up at Saukenuk in north-eastern Illinois. He joined his first war party at the age of 15 and fought in successive wars and raids against the neighboring Osage and Cherokee tribes. A chief since 1788, Black Hawk had resented American interference in Indian affairs and became stridently pro-British in outlook. This conflicted directly with most tribal elders, who were friendly toward the United States and received gifts and annuities in return. By 1804, Black Hawk's dislike turned to hatred when then Indiana territorial Governor William Henry Harrison persuaded several Sac and Fox chiefs to sell most of their land east of the Mississippi River. Black Hawk refused to sign the treaty and remained at his village of Saukenuk. When the War of 1812 erupted eight years later, his warrior band joined **Tecumseh's** pantribal alliance in its struggle against the whites. However, real Indian unity proved fleeting. Despite Black Hawk's best efforts, the Sac and Fox nation split into the "British band" under himself and a pro-



Black Hawk
Library of Congress

American faction allied to Chief Keokuk.

Black Hawk fought and helped defeat Gen. James Winchester at the Battle of Frenchtown in January 1813 and subsequently attended the unsuccessful siege of Fort Meigs that May. However, when British forces failed to dislodge Maj. George Croghan from Fort Stephenson in August 1813, he grew disillusioned and withdrew to his homeland for the winter. Black Hawk reentered the fray in July 1814 when his warriors ambushed and defeated a detachment of the First U.S. Infantry on Campbell's Island in the Missis-

issippi River. In September Black Hawk enjoyed similar success when he drove off a similar expedition under Maj. Zachary Taylor at Rock River, Illinois. Black Hawk was therefore very upset with his British allies when they signed a peace treaty and abandoned all their western conquests to the United States. Throughout the spring of 1815, he raided several settlements near Fort Howard, Missouri, in protest. His warriors defeated a pursuing party of rangers at the Battle of the Sinkhole in June 1815, the final skirmish of the War of 1812. The following year Black Hawk sullenly concluded a peace treaty with the United States, the last war chief to do so.

For the next 20 years, Black Hawk lived in an uneasy truce with his white neighbors at Saukenuk, but by 1829 the Illinois state gov-

ernment applied pressure on the Indians to migrate. When the old chief refused, Governor John Reynolds called out the militia in June 1831 to evict them by force. Bloodshed was averted, however, when the Sac and Fox tribe slipped quietly across the Mississippi River into Iowa, enduring an uncomfortable winter on the other side. Black Hawk had come under the influence of White Cloud, a Winnebago prophet who urged action against the whites, and Black Hawk decided to reclaim his ancestral home. On April 5, 1832, the tribe, numbering 1,400 men, women, and children, crossed back into Illinois for the stated purpose of occupying Saukenuk. It was hoped hostilities could be avoided.

Predictably, the Americans reacted by summoning the troops of Gen. Henry Atkinson and Col. Henry Dodge, who immediately marched against them. The Indians, having received no pledge of assistance from the neighboring Winnebago and Potawatomi tribes, decided the odds were too steep and tried to surrender. When two of their peace envoys were killed by Illinois militia, the Battle of Stillman's Run erupted on May 12, 1832, and Black Hawk was again victorious. The Indians then reached the Mississippi River and prepared to cross. They were in the act of building rafts when they were attacked by the steamboat *Warrior* on August 1, 1832. Again the Indians tried to signal their surrender, but to no avail. After inflicting considerable losses, the *Warrior* withdrew because of a lack of fuel just as Atkinson's column arrived. An intense battle ensued in which 150 Native Americans were slain and a like number captured. Several survivors made their

way across to the western bank of the Mississippi, where they were immediately attacked by Sioux war parties. Black Hawk was eventually captured and taken east by Lt. **Jefferson Davis** to meet with President Andrew Jackson. After several months of confinement at Fort Monroe, Virginia, he was released into the custody of his rival, Chief Keokuk.

Back in Iowa, Black Hawk dictated his memoirs, a stinging indictment against white injustice, to Indian agent Antonine LeClaire. When published in 1833, they became a national best-seller. Black Hawk continued living quietly for another five years and died in Keokuk's village on October 3, 1838. His defeat signaled the collapse of Native American resistance to white expansion east of the Mississippi.

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Black Kettle

(ca. 1803–November 27, 1868)
Cheyenne Peace Chief

Black Kettle was steadfastly friendly toward the United States and strove to accommodate white demands in the interest of peace. These good intentions notwithstanding, he fell victim to two of the worst atrocities ever inflicted upon Native Americans by white soldiers.

Black Kettle (Moka-ta-va-tah) was born in the Black Hills region of South Dakota around 1803, a son of Cheyenne chief Swift Hawk Lying Down. When that migratory nation split into two factions around 1832, Black Kettle accompanied the portion that become recognized as the Southern Cheyenne. Little is known of his youth, but he was apparently a skillful warrior of some repute. He distinguished himself in campaigns against his traditional Ute, Pawnee, and Comanche enemies, and he was rewarded with his first wife. As Black Kettle's reputation soared, so did his responsibilities within the tribe, which included carrying the sacred Medicine Arrows into combat against neighboring Delaware Indians. However, in the summer of 1857 he encountered a new enemy in the form of U.S. soldiers. The Cheyennes had recently begun skirmishing with settlers encroaching upon their lands, and an expedition under Col. Edwin V. Sumner was dispatched against them. On July 29, 1857, Black Kettle witnessed or participated in a battle in which U.S. cavalry, sabers drawn, scattered the Cheyenne warriors. This was admittedly a minor affair, but it underscored the military strength of the white man. Thereafter, Black Kettle became convinced of the necessity of cultivating friendly relations with these seemingly innumerable invaders from the east.

In 1860, Black Kettle's reputation for bravery and sagacity resulted in his elevation to peace chief of the Southern Cheyenne. As the title implies, it became his sacred responsibility to act with prudence, restraint, and caution

while deliberating matters of war. He first came to the attention of frontier authorities in 1861 by signing the Treaty of Fort Wise, which secured a tenuous truce for the region. But Black Kettle's attempts at mediation were complicated by the rise of the Dog Soldiers, a militant warrior sect intolerant toward white encroachment and quick to respond with violence. But by 1864, both sides were weary of incessant conflict, and the chief sent out peace feelers to Maj. Edward Wynkoop, commander at nearby Fort Lyon. Wynkoop, who entertained a Cheyenne deputation, declared he had no authority to conclude hostilities and suggested that the chiefs appeal directly to Governor John Evans of the Colorado Territory. Black Kettle, eager for harmonious relations, demonstrated his goodwill by purchasing the freedom of several white prisoners with his own ponies and called for a peace conference.

On September 28, 1864, Black Kettle met with Governor Evans and John Chivington, newly appointed colonel of the Colorado militia. He declared with great eloquence the need for peace, mutual respect, and toleration, and as a sign of good faith he instructed his party to surrender their weapons. "All we ask is that we may have peace with the whites," Black Kettle declared. "I want you to give all the chiefs of the soldiers here to understand that we are for peace, and that we have made peace, that we may not be mistaken for enemies." But Evans, desiring access to Indian lands for mining and settlement, waxed indifferently as to a treaty and warned the Indians that the Southern Plains would soon be swarming with soldiers. However, he informed the Cheyennes that they would be safe from attack once relocated to Sand Creek, about 40 miles from Fort Lyon. The trusting Black Kettle agreed to those terms and departed, relieved that hostilities were approaching an end.

The Cheyennes dutifully encamped at Sand Creek as requested. As a further sign of submission, Black Kettle flew a large American flag and a white flag over his tent in friendship. However, Chivington, a bible-thumping Indian hater, had intended to attack the tribe all along. On the morning of November 29, 1864, his Colorado militia came streaming out of the nearby woods, guns blazing. Black Kettle, convinced the assault was a mistake, continued waving the American flag until his wife was shot down beside him. Leaving her for dead, he narrowly escaped as the soldiers mercilessly shot and bayoneted every inhabitant of the camp they encountered. By the time they finished, more than 200 Cheyenne—men, women, and children alike—had been murdered. Chivington had thus chastised the Indians, but white settlers would pay heavily for his indiscretion. Once word of the Sand Creek Massacre filtered back to other tribes, they went on a vengeful rampage across the Southern Plains, killing hundreds. It was not until 1867 that peace could be restored with the vengeful Cheyenne Dog Soldiers.

Black Kettle secretly returned to camp that night to secure his wife's body, only to discover her still alive. Chivington's men had vengefully shot her nine times—but she survived. Such wanton brutality would have hardened the hearts of most men, but Black Kettle remained determined to fulfill his role as peace chief. When the American government eventually came forward with an apology and reparations, he readily embraced the possible end to hostilities. "My shame is as big as the earth," he told treaty commissioners. "Although wrongs have been done me I live in hopes." But Black Kettle took this stance at extreme danger to his life, for the Dog Soldiers despised whites more than ever and considered him a traitor. At one point 300 of these restless, young warriors surrounded his lodge and threatened to steal his horses as a sign of contempt. Nevertheless, Black Kettle prevailed, and a new treaty was concluded in October 1867. Peace had been restored, but the Cheyennes were also required to surren-

der their traditional hunting grounds for relocation to new homes in Kansas.

For nearly a year an uneasy truce prevailed between the whites and Indians, but in the wake of a railroad being built through prime buffalo land—a violation of the treaty—minor skirmishes escalated into open warfare by 1868. This time, the Cheyennes faced a determined, three-pronged offensive led by Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, who was determined to break the spirit of the Plains Indians once and for all. Realizing he could not control the Dog Soldiers, Black Kettle hastily relocated his band near Fort Cobb and sought assurances from the local commander that they would not be attacked. This was given, and Black Kettle settled his people along the neighboring Washita River to await the outcome of events. On November 27, 1868, the Cheyenne camp was discovered by a cavalry column under Col. George A. Custer. That officer, fresh from a successful Civil War career and eager to garner new laurels as an Indian fighter, hastily launched an attack on the settlement without pausing to ascertain whether or not these Cheyennes were hostile. Black Kettle, surprised for a second time, desperately rode out to parley with the soldiers, but he and his wife were shot down and killed. By the time the rampaging ceased, the camp had been destroyed and 100 Indians, mostly women and children, were dead. Custer won his victory and was publicly applauded by Sheridan. But Black Kettle, to his lasting reputation, died unyielding to the notion of peaceful coexistence.

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Blaskowitz, Johannes

(July 10, 1883–February 5, 1948)

German General

A spit-and-polish soldier of the old school, Blaskowitz incurred **Adolf Hitler's** wrath by denouncing SS (*Schutzstaffeln*, or protection squads) atrocities in Poland. This defiance cost him any significant commands until late in World War II, yet he still rendered useful service in France and Holland. But, having displayed an unwelcome degree of independence, Blaskowitz never received his well-deserved marshal's baton.

Johannes Blaskowitz was born in Peterswalde, Silesia, on July 10, 1883. He commenced his military career by becoming a cadet at age 16, subsequently serving with the 18th Infantry Regiment. He fought throughout World War I, commanded an infantry company by 1918, and received the Iron Cross for bravery. Blaskowitz's good performance secured him a place in the postwar Reichswehr, through whose ranks he



Johannes Blaskowitz
Imperial War Museum

rose for two decades. His honesty and professionalism held him in good stead in 1938, when Adolf Hitler, now running Germany, sacked virtually all his senior generals yet retained him. Blaskowitz never joined the Nazi Party, but he apparently admired the Führer, even shaving his long mustache to resemble Hitler's. Early in 1939 he commanded German forces that occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia. He was then promoted to general of infantry and granted command of the Eighth Army just prior to World War II.

When hostilities commenced in September 1939, Blaskowitz led the Eighth Army during the advance across southern Poland. His movements were masterful, but Hitler grew displeased when he retreated slightly in the face of a Polish counterattack. Nonetheless, Blaskowitz received the prestigious *Rit-*

terkreuz (Knight's Cross), gained promotion to colonel-general, and was installed as commander in chief of occupied Poland. In dealing with civilians, this proud, traditional soldier kept a tight rein over his men. For this reason, he was shocked and outraged when SS units, over which he had no control—or respect—began murdering Jews and plundering Polish shops. Stung by these atrocities, Blaskowitz composed a harsh memorandum protesting SS misbehavior and demanding the units be prosecuted for war crimes. He repeated this request in February 1940 and was especially keen on pressing charges against Hitler's henchman, **Josef Dietrich**. However, the general's complaints were coolly received in Berlin, and Chief of Staff **Alfred Jodl** dismissed them as naive. When knowledge of Blaskowitz's misdeeds became known to the Führer, the general found himself on a military blacklist. To Hitler, the last thing the Third Reich needed was generals questioning Nazi sensibilities.

After the fall of France in May 1940, Blaskowitz was slated to receive command of the Ninth Army for occupation purposes, but Hitler vindictively blocked the appointment. Instead, Blaskowitz obtained a relatively minor position as governor of northern France. That fall he transferred south to another insignificant command, that of the First Army on the southwestern coast between Brittany and the Spanish border. Blaskowitz possessed strategic and tactical talents of a high order, but thanks to his political unreliability, he had no outlet for their employment until 1944. That May, following the appointment of **Gerd von Rundstedt** as commander in chief in the west, Blaskowitz became head of Army Group G. With this relatively small command, consisting of the First and 19th Armies, he was tasked with defending southern France from an imminent Allied offensive. The invasion of northern France commenced on June 6, 1944, with the landings at Normandy, and two months later a similar effort was mounted against Blaskowitz.

On August 15, 1944, the Allies unleashed Operation Anvil/Dragoon against the Riviera

coastline. The 7th Army under Gen. Alexander M. Patch stormed ashore and quickly overcame weak German resistance. Blaskowitz, knowing he was badly outnumbered—and lacking control of the air—brought up units, stabilized his front, and led a tenacious fighting withdrawal northward to prevent encirclement. His performance was masterful and prevented the VI Corps under Gen. Lucian K. Truscott from cutting off his retreat. Still, the August 23–28 Battle of Montelmar was a bloodbath, and the Germans departed southern France after losing 75,000 prisoners and 4,000 vehicles. The Americans then hotly pursued Blaskowitz up through the Vosges Mountains before pausing to regroup. There the Germans were also reinforced by the 5th Panzer Army under Gen. **Hasso von Manteuffel**. Blaskowitz correctly wanted to entrench his battered forces, but Hitler ordered him to counterattack Gen. George S. Patton's Third Army immediately. Both Manteuffel and Blaskowitz realized the futility of this directive, but the Führer had spoken. Their attack caught the Americans in disarray, following their recent charge across France, and pushed them back to the vicinity of Luneville on September 18–20, 1944. At that point, resistance stiffened and the attack was suspended. Hitler, furious over this failure, summarily relieved Blaskowitz and replaced him with another skillful leader, Gen. **Hermann Balck**.

Blaskowitz remained unemployed for several months into the winter, until Hitler suddenly recalled him in December 1944. His orders were to attack in the vicinity of Alsace-Lorraine in support of the ongoing Ardennes offensive. On New Year's Day 1945, Blaskowitz did as ordered against tremendous odds. Army Group G hit Gen. Jacob Dever's 7th Army, and severe fighting erupted before this last German offensive in the west was finally contained. Subsequently, American maneuvers brought about the creation of the so-called Colmar pocket, wherein thousands of German troops were trapped. However, Blaskowitz was suddenly transferred at

the height of battle and sent to Holland, where he succeeded Gen. **Kurt Student** as commander of Army Group H. For the next three months, he conducted a stubborn fighting withdrawal against the British 8th Army, receiving from Hitler the swords to his Iron Cross. To the bitter end he also ruled his troops with an iron hand, threatening to execute any soldier for desertion. But the general also demonstrated great humanity by allowing Allied airdrops of food and medicine to the starving Dutch population. Blaskowitz finally surrendered on May 8, 1945, having instructed his troops to destroy their own minefields. He was unique in being the only senior German general of this talent not elevated to field marshal. Hitler's grudge thus deprived the Third Reich of one of its finest military leaders.

After the war Blaskowitz was taken into custody and charged as a minor war criminal for executing deserters. He died on February 5, 1948, hours before his trial, when he apparently threw himself out of a second-story window. The manner of his demise has given rise to theories that he was actually murdered by former SS officers, still resenting complaints he filed against them in 1939. Blaskowitz was nonetheless a fine strategist, an outstanding tactician, and was regarded by many historians as the "field marshal without baton." His handling of Army Group G on its 500-mile retreat from France, pursued by superior enemy

forces with complete control of the air, remains a military masterpiece.

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de Bougainville, Louis-Antoine

(November 12, 1729–August 20, 1811)

French Army Officer; French Naval Officer; Explorer

Bougainville made his reputation as an active officer in the French and Indian War. He received some blame for the fall of Quebec but went on to gain distinction as a high-ranking naval officer and world-famous explorer.

Louis-Antoine de Bougainville was born in Paris on November 12, 1729, the son of a noble king's councilor whose family lineage dated back to the fourteenth century. He studied law and briefly practiced in the Parlement of Paris, but young Bougainville developed a

passion for mathematics. Declining his parents' wishes to enter politics, he expressed interest in military service and joined the elite Mousquetaires Noirs in 1750. Bougainville proved himself a dedicated young officer and within three years secured a transfer to the Picardy Regiment as adjutant. He nonetheless maintained his avid interest in math and in 1754 published a two-volume set on integral calculus. This achievement was roundly hailed by the prestigious Royal Society of London, which voted him a member. Bougainville's reputation also



Louis-Antoine de Bougainville
National Archives of Canada

brought him to the attention of General Chavert, who made him aide-de-camp. Fluent in English and highly refined, Bougainville next ventured to England as secretary to the French ambassador in 1756. That same year he also rose to captain and was selected for service in Canada as aide-de-camp to Gen. **Louis-Joseph de Montcalm.**

North America was then gripped by the onset of the French and Indian War, the final showdown between England and France for control of the New World. Bougainville quickly established himself as one of Montcalm's favorite officers, and that August he distinguished himself in fighting around Oswego, New York. Capture of this fort subsequently gave the French control of Lake Ontario and the strategic initiative along the northern frontier. The following month Bougainville was actively employed in reconnoitering British positions in the Lake Champlain region, and he also partook in operations resulting in Montcalm's capture of Fort William Henry in August 1757. On July 8, 1758, Bougainville was closely engaged in Gen.

James Abercromby's disastrous repulse at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) and was wounded. Despite these impressive victories, even Montcalm's spirited generalship could not turn the strategic tide of battle, which inexorably turned in favor of England. Therefore, he ordered Bougainville to France in the fall of 1758, with orders to explain the grave situation facing New France if men and materiel were not dispatched immediately. He was politely received, but because France was then heavily committed to military operations against Prussia, the requested

supplies could not be spared. Dejected, Bougainville returned the following spring to Quebec with 20 supply vessels. On board were all the reinforcements that the French government was willing to send, a mere 300 men. As compensation, Bougainville had also been promoted to colonel and awarded the prestigious Order of St. Louis.

By the time of Bougainville's return, the war in Canada had reached its climax. Quebec was about to be besieged by a British army and fleet in the St. Lawrence River under Gen. James Wolfe. To forestall this development, Bougainville was entrusted with 1,200 grenadiers and handpicked Canadian militia, the elite of Montcalm's army, with orders to prevent the English from landing upstream from the city. Throughout August, he managed to repulse four landing attempts. However, on September 13, 1759, Wolfe detected an area carelessly guarded by another officer and successfully gained a foothold. The crisis for New France had arrived, and Montcalm mustered his forces to meet the enemy on the Plains of Abraham. However, he

did so before Bougainville's forces could arrive on the battlefield to assist, and both Montcalm and Wolfe were slain on September 13, 1759. The ensuing fall of Quebec sealed the fate of France in Canada, although fighting sputtered on for four more years.

As an independent officer, Bougainville continued to serve with efficiency and distinction. The French Governor-General **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, who had previously quarreled with Montcalm over military matters, dispatched Bougainville to defend the fort at Isle Aux Noir on the Richelieu River, a key to Montreal's defenses. He ably repulsed a British attack there on August 22, 1760, but British reinforcements continued arriving. Finally, deserted by his Indians and surrounded on three sides, Bougainville skillfully extricated himself from the island on the night of August 27 and proceeded to Montreal. Time had run out for New France, however, and on September 8, 1760, Bougainville entered into negotiations with the English for the unconditional surrender of Canada. Following a brief internment, both he and the surviving garrison were returned to France.

Defeat, fortunately, did little to diminish Bougainville's standing. In 1761, he served as aide-de-camp to the Duke de Choiseul, and so distinguished himself in combat that the king awarded him two captured enemy cannons. His career took an entirely new turn in 1763, however, when he accepted a captain's commission in the French navy. In this capacity he led an aborted colonizing expedition to the Falkland Islands but withdrew over the objections of Spain. Between 1766 and 1769, Bougainville made history by becoming the first French naval officer to circumnavigate the globe. He accomplished this with only two ships, the frigate *Boudeuse* (26 guns) and a supply vessel. Beyond its scientific merits, Bougainville paid careful attention to the various island peoples he contacted and left particularly useful descriptions of Tahitian culture and society. Receipt of this information triggered much intellectual debate as to the relative advantages of "savage" and "civilized"

worlds. Bougainville subsequently published his multivolume account of the cruise in 1771, which excited much interest and was translated into English and German.

Following French entry into the American Revolution in 1778, Bougainville, promoted to rear admiral, was assigned to the fleet of Adm. Charles-Henri Jean-Baptiste d'Estang and saw action during unsuccessful operations off the coast of Georgia. He next transferred to the fleet under François-Joseph Paul de Grasse and played a conspicuous role in the defeat of Adm. **Thomas Graves** in Chesapeake Bay in September 1781. Bougainville was also present when the French fleet itself sustained a disastrous reverse at the hands of Adm. Sir George Rodney during the Battle of the Saintes on April 12, 1782. He managed to save his own vessel and several ships within his division, but in 1784 a court-martial nonetheless reprimanded his performance.

Bougainville spent the rest of his military career dabbling in scientific research and as a newly appointed member of the French Academy of Sciences. He declined to accept command of the Brest squadron in the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789. He rose to vice admiral in February 1792, shortly before retiring into civilian life. His outspoken Royalist sympathies resulted in a brief imprisonment during the Reign of Terror, but Emperor Napoleon appointed the old soldier-scientist to the senate and also made him a count of the empire. Bougainville died in Paris on August 20, 1811, one of the most celebrated military officers, scientists, and explorers of his generation.

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de Bourlamaque, François-Charles

(1716–June 23, 1764)

French Army Officer

Bourlamaque was by turns the third- and second-highest ranking French officer in Canada during the French and Indian War. He distinguished himself in several major actions and is regarded as one of the most competent officers of his grade.

François-Charles de Bourlamaque was born in Paris around 1716. His father, Jean-François Bourlamaque, a French officer of Italian descent, served as a captain of grenadiers in the Dauphin Regiment and died at the Battle of Parma in 1734. Bourlamaque joined his father's regiment five years later, rose steadily through competence, and became a captain in 1745. Although an infantry officer, he apparently developed an intimate interest in, and understanding of, military engineering. It is for accomplishments in this field that he is best remembered.

Over the course of several years, Bourlamaque was actively employed during the War of the Austrian Succession and participated in the Battles of Fontenoy in 1745 and Rocourt in 1746. In 1755, he received a monetary award for helping to improve infantry drill-books. On March 11, 1756, Bourlamaque gained promotion to colonel and was assigned to service in New France. In this capacity he became the third-ranking officer of regular forces in Canada, behind Gen. **Louis-Joseph Montcalm** and Brigadier **François Levis**. After receiving the prestigious Cross of St. Louis, he departed Brest in April 1756 and arrived at Quebec the following May.

By this time British and French forces had commenced operations in the French and In-

dian War, which closely paralleled Europe's Seven Years' War (1754–1763). No sooner had Bourlamaque arrived than he accompanied Montcalm to Oswego, New York, to invest several British forts in the vicinity. These so-called forts were actually little more than wooden and earthen stockades, a poor match for the scientific siegework as practiced by the French army. Bourlamaque handled his duties competently, and the British surrendered on August 12, 1756. Montcalm followed up his success the following year by pushing forces down the Lake Champlain corridor and investing Fort William Henry on Lake George. Bourlamaque, as usual, directed siege operations, and on August 9, 1757, it too surrendered. Reputedly, he risked his life in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the Indians from massacring the prisoners. When Montcalm proved unable to follow up on his victory, he withdrew back to the head of Lake Champlain and instructed Bourlamaque to reinforce the post at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), New York. This he did handily, and in July 1758 a large British force under Gen. James Abercromby advanced upon Carillon and attacked. The ensuing action pitted 15,000 British against 3,500 French. The Highlanders bravely attacked the abatis (lines of fallen trees) repeatedly on July 8 but were repulsed with heavy losses. Bourlamaque commanded the left wing and was closely engaged throughout most of the day until disabled by a severe shoulder wound. It was not until September that he was well enough to convalesce at Quebec. Moreover, with this

victory Montcalm had bought the French additional time, but little else.

The war entered its crucial phase in 1759 when New France, despite Montcalm's impressive performances, was systematically attacked by superior British forces. While the decisive campaign was being waged at Quebec, Bourlamaque, now a brigadier general, was entrusted with the defense of Isle Aux Noir in the Richelieu River. To accomplish this he had only 4,000 regulars, Indians, and militia to oppose 11,000 men under his old adversary Abercromby. The British resumed their advance in July and slowly pushed French forces toward Montreal, their immediate objective. Rather than risk being engulfed by superior numbers at Carillon, Bourlamaque left a small delaying force to blow up the fort once he withdrew the bulk of his army. At Crown Point, Fort St. Frederic was similarly abandoned and destroyed, and the French made preparations for a last stand at Isle Aux Noir. Preliminary skirmishing resulted in the loss of several French vessels on Lake Champlain, but Gen. Jeffrey Amherst abandoned the campaign after news of Quebec's surrender was received. Montcalm's death there now made Bourlamaque the second-ranking French officer in Canada.

Bourlamaque's inability to stop Amherst—an impossible task—occasioned much criticism from Governor-General **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, but General Levis, now senior commander, felt this talented subordinate discharged all duties “with the greatest distinction.” In the spring of 1760 Bourlamaque led French forces back to Quebec to explore the possibility of retaking it. He joined Levy in an aborted attack on the city that April, helped defeat British forces in the vicinity of Sainte Foy, and sustained a leg wound. Quebec, however, proved unassailable, and over the course of the next four months French forces continually gave ground to superior numbers. Once encircled at Montreal, the end was drawing near, and on September 9, 1760, New France was finally surrendered by Vaudreuil. Both

Levis and Bourlamaque strongly protested the governor's decision to agree to terms they considered humiliating to forces under their command.

Bourlamaque was quickly exchanged and returned to France in 1761, enjoying a reputation as one of the most capable French commanders of the war. To that effect he was elevated to commander within the Order of St. Louis and subsequently dispatched on a military mission to Malta against the Ottoman Turks. He also spent considerable time writing an official memoir of events in Canada, strongly intimating that it should be recaptured in some future conflict. In 1763, Bourlamaque was promoted to major general and appointed governor-general of Guadeloupe, which had recently been returned by the British. He died serving in that capacity on June 24, 1764, at the age of 48. His passing was a genuine loss to the French army, for few contemporaries of this period could match his performance or determination in field operations.

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Boyd, Belle

(May 9, 1844–June 11, 1900)
Confederate Spy

Vivacious Belle Boyd was the most celebrated Confederate intelligence agent of the Civil War. Equal parts Southern charm and female audacity, she daringly gathered military information and passed it along to Southern authorities for three years.

Maria Isabelle Boyd was born near Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), on May 9, 1844, the daughter of a store owner. She was educated at the Mount Washington Female College in Baltimore; an ardent Southerner, she returned home after the Civil War commenced in April 1861 to raise funds for the Confederacy. Her activities turned a dramatic corner the following July when Union troops occupied Martinsburg. Several soldiers decided to hang the Union flag outside the Boyd residence, and when Mary Boyd, Belle's mother, protested, she was vulgarly accosted by a Union officer. This so infuriated the 17-year-old Belle Boyd that she shot and killed him. The local high command exonerated her for defending her property, declaring she had "done perfectly right," and Boyd commenced her long career as an intelligence agent. That fall the patriotic teenager gained official recognition by becoming a courier for Gens. Pierre G.T. Beauregard and **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson**. This entailed slipping past Union guards and patrols at regular intervals, at great risk of being caught. Put simply, Belle seemed to thrive on



Belle Boyd
Archive Photos

danger, and it spurred her on to greater activity.

Over the intervening months, Boyd operated as an unofficial spy, befriending Union officers and using Southern charm and feminine guile to extract useful information from them. Having gathered this intelligence, she initially employed none-too-subtle means of delivering them to nearby Confederate headquarters—usually on horseback, for she was a skilled rider. Boyd's inexperience also manifested in her use of uncoded, unciphered messages that she either delivered in person or through a courier. She was caught in the spring of 1862 and received only

a reprimand, as social honor would not permit the execution of a female spy. Unperturbed, Boyd continued her espionage activities, was arrested again, and spent several days at a Baltimore jail. She was released after another brief detention, admonished, and allowed to live with her aunt at Front Royal, Virginia, then under Union control.

By May 1862 Boyd perfected her eavesdropping to the point where she regularly overheard Union staff meetings held by Gen. James Shields. On one occasion, she spurred her horse at midnight, galloped 15 miles through Union picket lines, and delivered information to Col. **Turner Ashby**. Soon after, she learned of Union plans to destroy several bridges over which the advancing Confederate army would have to pass. As the troops of

Stonewall Jackson approached Front Royal town, she dashed through Union lines to meet them, informed the general of Yankee intentions, and helped thwart their execution. The general then personally expressed his gratitude for her activities, which she resumed once Union forces reoccupied the town later that summer. Boyd was by that time reviled in the Northern press as something of a “Cleopatra of Secession.” Consequently, she was arrested again, this time on the orders of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Boyd then languished for an entire month at the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., before gaining her freedom in a prisoner exchange. During her confinement she impressed many inmates and authorities with her wit, intelligence, and selfless devotion to the cause. Belle Boyd had become a Confederate celebrity.

Boyd next returned to her native Martinsburg, which had been reoccupied by Southern troops. However, when the town was subsequently recaptured by the North, she was arrested again and sent to Carroll Prison in Washington, D.C. Boyd endured close confinement for several months, languishing under the effects of typhoid, before she was banished to the South in December 1863. Poor health convinced her to abandon her espionage activities, and she next gained an appointment as a diplomatic courier and was ordered to sail to England. When the blockade runner she traveled upon was captured at sea, Boyd fell into custody again and was banished to Canada. From there she eventually made her way to England. There Boyd married none other than Samuel Wylde Hardinge, who had commanded her captured vessel and was himself under investigation for allowing Boyd to escape. While in England she also

basked in the limelight of her notoriety, and following the death of her husband, she penned a famous set of memoirs, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*. She was only 21 at the time.

After the war ended, Boyd remained in London, where she worked as an actress. She married and divorced several times before returning to the United States. Finding her fame little faded, Boyd then resumed acting and also appeared on the postwar lecture circuit for additional income. There Boyd waxed unapologetically for her behavior but concluded her seminars with appeals for spiritual rapprochement between North and South. Flamboyant Belle Boyd died of a heart attack in Kilbourn, Wisconsin, on June 11, 1900, at the age of 56, while touring. She was one of scores of female intelligence agents employed by the Confederacy, but none had so totally captivated the public as this “Cleopatra of Secession.”

See also

Jackson, Thomas J. “Stonewall”

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Bragg, Braxton

(March 22, 1817–September 27, 1876)

Confederate General

A personal favorite of Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**, Braxton Bragg was a fine organizer and a strategist of real ability during the Civil War. However, his lack of nerve under stress, coupled with a garrulous, combative personality, limited his effectiveness for field command and cost the Confederacy several key victories.

Bragg was born in Warrenton, North Carolina, on March 22, 1817, the son of a wealthy plantation owner. As a youth, he attended a local military academy and in 1833 gained admission to West Point. An apt pupil, he graduated fifth in his class of 40 in 1837 and received a second lieutenant's commission with the 3rd U.S. Artillery. Bragg proceeded to Florida and fought in the Second Seminole War until its conclusion in 1842. Four years later, his artillery company joined Gen. Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation in Texas, and he fought with distinction in the Mexican-American War. Bragg masterfully handled his cannons and won three consecutive brevet promotions for gallantry at the Battles of Fort Brown and Monterrey in 1846 and the decisive victory at Buena Vista in February 1847. His cannons, double-shotted with grape and canister, proved decisive in repulsing the Mexican attacks of Gen. **Antonio López de Santa Anna**. Bragg departed Mexico as a brevet lieutenant colonel and for the next five years served at the Jefferson Barracks in Missouri and various other posts along the frontier. He advanced to major in March 1855 but, disliking garrison duty, resigned his commission the following January and retired to a sugar plantation in Louisiana.

After the outbreak of the Civil War, Bragg appeared to be one of the more promising officers of the Confederacy when he was commissioned brigadier general on February 23, 1861. A strict disciplinarian, he quickly sorted

out the coastal defenses between Pensacola and Mobile and received promotion to major general in January 1862. Bragg ventured west in this capacity to command a corps in the Army of the Mississippi under Gen. Albert S. Johnston and distinguished himself during the attack on Shiloh on April 6–7, 1862. Union reinforcements prompted a Confederate withdrawal, but in June, Bragg succeeded Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard as commander of the newly renamed Army of Tennessee. That August he launched an audacious invasion of neutral Kentucky in an attempt to bring that state into the Confederate fold. However, Bragg failed to prevent a Union force under Gen. Don C. Buell from occupying Louisville and on October 8 he fought Union forces to a standstill at the bloody but indecisive Battle of Perryville. This ended Bragg's invasion, and he withdrew through the Cumberland Gap into Tennessee, pursued by the army of Gen. William S. Rosecrans. Sensing an advantage, the Army of Tennessee suddenly turned and pounced on Rosecrans at Murfreesboro on December 31, 1862, inflicting heavy losses. By battle's end, the Confederates held commanding positions of the field, but Bragg inexplicably failed to press his advantage and ordered a retreat. Hereafter, Bragg's leadership received intense criticism from fellow officers, but because he still enjoyed the confidence of Davis, his command was secure.

For several months into 1863, the Army of Tennessee sat idle while Bragg bickered with Gen. Leonidas Polk and Gen. William J. Hardee over what to do next. At length, Rosecrans advanced into Tennessee and both he and Bragg engaged in months of maneuvering for position. Union forces had the better of it, and by September Bragg abandoned Chattanooga without firing a shot. He fell back to the mountains of northern Georgia awaiting

reinforcement by a corps commanded by Gen. **James Longstreet**. When Rosecrans resumed his cautious advance, the Confederates suddenly turned and attacked, routing him at the Battle of Chickamauga on September 18–19, 1863. Both sides suffered heavy losses, but the heroic stand of Gen. George H. Thomas saved the remnants of the Union army. Nonetheless, Bragg squandered this, the only major Confederate victory in the west, by failing to pursue the enemy. Instead, he elected to besiege Chattanooga while simultaneously weakening his army by detaching Longstreet's corps and other forces and sending them to fight in a futile campaign in eastern Tennessee. Soon after, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant arrived at Chattanooga with sizable reinforcements, and he routed Bragg's remaining army on November 23, 1863. The Confederates fell back to Dalton, Georgia, where Bragg was formally relieved and replaced by **Joseph E. Johnston**. He then spent several months as military adviser to Jefferson Davis at Richmond. Bragg was eventually dispatched to take command of remaining units in North Carolina, but when Fort Fisher was attacked and captured in January 1865, he made no effort to aid in its defense. He ended the war commanding a division under Johnston and surrendered with him in April 1865.

After the war, Bragg served as commissioner of public works in Alabama for many years before moving to Galveston, Texas, to work as chief engineer of the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe Railroad. He died in Galveston on September 27, 1876. His brother, Thomas

Bragg, had been the Confederate attorney general.

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Brant, Joseph

(ca. 1742–November 24, 1807)

Mohawk War Chief

Joseph Brant was the most significant Native American leader during the American Revolution. Having supported the losing side, he devoted the rest of his life to improving the welfare of his people.

Brant, born Thayendaneagea around 1742, was the son of Nikus Brant, chief of the Wolf clan of the Mohawk Indians. His people were part of the six-nation assembly known as the Iroquois Confederation, which dominated much of New York and eastern Ohio. Brant spent most of his childhood in the household of Sir William Johnson, the superintendent of Indian affairs, who arranged his education at several Christian academies. Foremost of these was Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, a forerunner of Dartmouth College. In 1755, the 13-year-old Brant accompanied Johnson in the French and Indian War and fought at the September 8 victory at Lake George. Soon after, his sister Molly married Johnson in an Iroquois ceremony, and in 1763 Brant fought with a Mohawk contingent that sided with Great Britain during Pontiac's Rebellion. Although married to the daughter of an Oneida chief in 1765, Brant formally converted to the Anglican Church and assisted the missionary efforts of Reverend John Stewart by translating religious tracts into the Mohawk tongue. When Johnson died in 1774, his successor was Sir



Joseph Brant
National Archives

Guy Johnson, who appointed Brant his personal secretary and interpreter. That same year he was selected as a Pine Tree Chief on account of his wisdom and bravery. In 1775, Brant ventured to England amid much fanfare, had his portrait painted, and received a commission as captain of Indians. He returned to America in 1776, fully committed to the British cause during the American Revolution.

Brant hurriedly mobilized the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga tribes because he feared that an American victory would spell doom for the Indian way of life. However, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras enjoyed friendly relations with the United States and enforced their neutrality. Commencing in 1777, Brant accompanied the column of Col. **Barry St. Leger** out of Canada, and on August 6 he successfully ambushed the American column of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer at Oriskany. The battle was technically a British victory, but the Indians also sustained heavy losses. Brant was thereafter reluctant to follow British orders too closely and preferred trusting his own good judgment. His Mohawks subsequently staged a series of lightning raids into lower New York and Pennsylvania with a contingent of Loyalist rangers. Brant had considerable success orchestrating a devastating raid on Cherry Valley, New York, on November 11, 1778, which was marred by

a massacre of prisoners by both Indians and Loyalists under Maj. **Walter Butler**. He then had another successful encounter at Minisink, New York, in July 1779. These defeats so alarmed the Americans that a large punitive expedition was organized under Gen. John Sullivan. The Indians were unable to confront such military strength in the field, and it devastated lands and villages throughout upper New York. Nonetheless, Brant rose to become colonel of Indians in 1779, and he successfully thwarted attempts by rival Seneca Chief Red Jacket to obtain a separate peace with the enemy. By war's end, however, the United States controlled most of the Indian lands of western New York. When a favorable settlement was not forthcoming, Brant sullenly relocated his people to Upper Canada.

For the rest of his life Brant worked at pacifying the frontier and improving the welfare and safety of the tribe. In 1785, Brant made a second pilgrimage to England to seek compensation for his losses and received land grants along the Grand River at present-day Brantford, Ontario. He advised tribes of the northwest to seek peace with the United States following their defeat at Fallen Timbers in 1794, spending the balance of his life working on behalf of the Mohawks. A devoted

Christian, Brant's many accomplishments include translating the bible into Mohawk and establishing the first Anglican church in Upper Canada. He died on his personal estate on November 24, 1807.

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Breckinridge, John Cabell

(January 16, 1821–May 17, 1875)

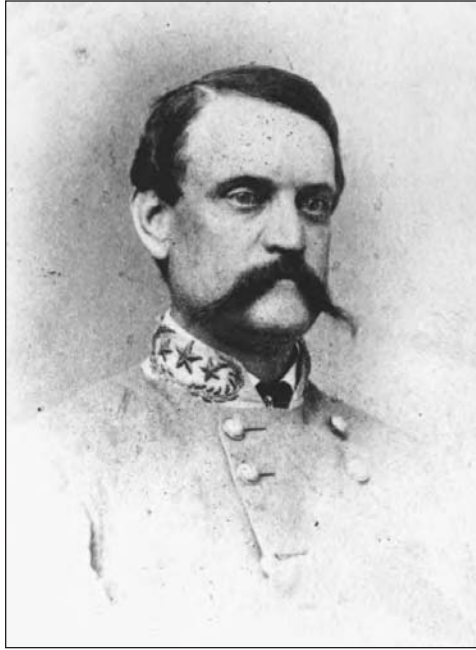
Confederate General; Confederate Secretary of War

Breckinridge, a onetime vice president of the United States, lacked formal military training but became one of the most accomplished Confederate leaders of his grade. His victory against superior numbers at New Market in 1864 preserved the Shenandoah Valley for the South and is enshrined in the lore of the Virginia Military Institute.

John Cabell Breckinridge was born near Lexington, Kentucky, on January 16, 1821, the scion of an illustrious political family. The Breckinridge name enjoyed a long association with American history and politics dating back to the American Revolution, with many prominent politicians, judges, and lawyers represented. Not surprisingly, Breckinridge studied law at Centre College, the College of

New Jersey (Princeton), and Transylvania University, while being groomed for a life of public service. He opened a law office in Kentucky but interrupted his practice to secure appointment as a major in the Third Regiment of Kentucky Volunteers during the Mexican-American War in 1846. Breckinridge failed to see any combat, but he served as legal adviser to Gen. **Gideon J. Pillow** during his dispute with Gen. Winfield Scott. Back home, he gained election to the state house of representatives in 1849 as a Democrat and capitalized upon his growing popularity by winning a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1851. Breckinridge was handsome, articulate, dynamic, and well liked in political circles, so in 1856 he was tapped to run as vice-presidential candidate alongside President James Buchanan. Aged but 35 years, Breckinridge remains the youngest individual to occupy that office. In 1859, a year before his term expired, the Kentucky state legislature also chose him to serve in the U.S. Senate as of March 4, 1861.

The country at this time was being torn apart by debate over the incendiary issues of slavery and states' rights, with secession from the Union a real possibility. Breckinridge, a former slave owner, supported slavery but remained unenthusiastic toward secession. In fact, he worked tirelessly to secure a compromise solution between extremist elements on both sides to prevent the onset of hostilities. Ultimately, Breckinridge's popularity among fellow Southerners resulted in his receiving the Democratic Party's nomination for president in 1860. He thus became closely identi-



John Cabell Breckinridge
National Archives

fied with fire-breathing Southern secessionists, although he had traditionally distanced himself from that position. The four-way race was overwhelmingly won by Abraham Lincoln, who inherited a nation of the verge of violent sectional upheaval. Breckinridge, for his part, opposed Lincoln's war measures in the Senate and defended the theoretical right of Southern states to secede—but again cautioned against it. All these efforts came to naught, unfortunately, and open conflict commenced in April 1861. By September, Kentucky, which had been studiously neutral,

declared for the Union, and state officials ordered Breckinridge's arrest for treason. He then fled Washington, D.C., for Virginia and tendered his services to the Confederacy. "I exchange, with proud satisfaction, a term of six years in the Senate of the United States for the musket of a soldier." But privately, he always confided to friends that the South could not win the war. The Senate formally sanctioned his disgrace by formally expelling him on December 2, 1861.

As a reward for his loyalty, Breckinridge was commissioned a brigadier general in November 1861, and he established himself as one of the South's most effective commanders in the western theater. He also obtained command of a force of hard-fighting, Southern-sympathizing Kentucky expatriates, the so-called Orphan Brigade. Breckinridge subsequently accompanied Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to the Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862) and commanded the reserves. Despite his lack of professional military training, Breckinridge performed with distinction and

won promotion to major general. He then briefly cooperated with Gen. **Earl Van Dorn** in an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Baton Rouge, Louisiana, before marching north to join Gen. William J. Hardee's corps in the Army of Tennessee. However, Breckinridge, like many other commanders, despised his commanding officer, Gen. **Braxton Bragg**, a personal friend of Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**. Although Bragg was a fine strategist and an outstanding logistician, many officers resented both his irascible disposition and willingness to cite others for military failure. Breckinridge's brigade had been bloodily repulsed at the Battle of Murfreesboro (December 31, 1862—January 3, 1863), and Bragg blamed him for this defeat. Outraged, many friends urged the general to confront Bragg in a duel of honor. Fortunately, Breckinridge transferred west before personal animus resulted in bloodshed.

Throughout the spring of 1863, Breckinridge formed part of the army of Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston**. He fought well in the siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi, but Confederate efforts proved unavailing, and by late August he was back with Bragg under the immediate command of **Daniel H. Hill**. He performed well at the startling Confederate victory of Chickamauga on September 19–20, 1863, and later commanded a corps on Lookout Mountain during the Battle of Chattanooga on November 25, 1863. This last action was a resounding Union victory that led to Bragg's dismissal and sent Confederate forces reeling back to Tennessee. Beforehand, Bragg spitefully accused Breckinridge of being drunk on the day of battle and removed him from command. To avert a possible collision between the two leaders, President Davis authorized Breckinridge's transfer east as head of the Department of Southwestern Virginia. It was here that he performed his most memorable service to the South.

Breckinridge was now responsible for protecting the famous Shenandoah Valley, long renowned as the "breadbasket of the Confed-

eracy" for its meat and grain supplies. However, he experienced manpower shortages and mustered a scant 4,500 soldiers—buttressed by the addition of youthful cadets from the nearby Virginia Military Academy in Lexington. In May 1864, a force of 6,500 Union soldiers under Gen. Franz Siegel entered the Shenandoah with a view toward conquering it. Breckinridge, even though outnumbered, rushed his men northward and confronted the invaders at New Market on May 15, 1864. Despite superiority in numbers, Siegel refused to attack and thus forfeited the initiative. Breckinridge, bolstered by Gen. **John D. Imboden** and 247 youthful and enthusiastic cadets, then ordered an all-out assault against the reluctant federals on Bushong Hill. Surprisingly, their charge carried them all the way to the top, and the cadets even managed to capture a cannon. Siegel then commenced a disorganized withdrawal that ultimately cost him more than 800 men. Confederate losses were roughly 600, including 10 cadets dead and 47 wounded. Breckinridge's performance against superior numbers confirmed his reputation as a capable commander and also secured Confederate control of the Shenandoah for several months.

Shortly after New Market, Breckinridge was transferred to the famous Army of Northern Virginia under Gen. **Robert E. Lee**. By dint of hard fighting he helped to stop the advance of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Cold Harbor, Virginia, in June 1864. He then returned back to the Shenandoah under Gen. Jubal A. Early to partake in the latter's famous raid against Washington, D.C. By the fall the tables had turned, and Union forces under Gen. Philip H. Sheridan drove the remaining Southerners out of the valley for good. In the waning days of the Confederacy, President Davis saw fit to appoint Breckinridge his Secretary of War as of February 1865. He always realized the hopelessness of the Southern cause but did his best to facilitate its final stand. Breckinridge also proved instrumental in dissuading Davis from pursuing widespread guerrilla warfare against Northern occupiers

to bring the struggle to an honorable conclusion. "This has been a magnificent epic," he advised. "In God's name let it not terminate in a farce." Following the fall of Richmond in April 1865, Breckinridge fled south to join General Johnston in North Carolina, where he served as legal counsel during surrender negotiations with Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman. Fearing he would be charged with treason, Breckinridge then fled the country and sought asylum in Cuba and England.

Breckinridge remained abroad until December 1868, when he returned home under a general amnesty advanced by President Andrew Johnson. He then resumed his legal career in Lexington, Kentucky, advocated economic development of the state, and served as a voice for national reconciliation. To that end he denounced Ku Klux Klan violence and advocated allowing former African American slaves to testify in court. Breckinridge died at Lexington on May 17, 1875, mentally and physically exhausted by his previous exertions, aged but 54 years. During his brief time in uniform, he managed to bring additional luster to this most famous of Kentucky families.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Davis, Jefferson; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Brock, Isaac

(October 6, 1769–October 13, 1812)
English General

Widely hailed as the "savior of Upper Canada," Brock was an enterprising, highly successful military officer who served in the War of 1812. His decisive, inspiring leadership thwarted two American invasions and preserved Canada for the British Empire. Brock consequently remains Canada's

most revered military hero, and his memory is perpetuated by a towering monument.

Isaac Brock was born in St. Peter Port, Guernsey, on October 6, 1769, into a moderately well-to-do family. He was commissioned an ensign in the famous Eighth Regiment of Foot (the King's Own) in 1785, rose to lieu-

tenant two years later, and then transferred to the 49th Foot as a captain. It was with this regiment, which he ultimately transformed from one of the worst to among England's best, that he acquired his military reputation. Brock performed service with the 49th at Barbados and Jamaica and, by 1797, had risen to senior lieutenant colonel. As an officer Brock was a strict disciplinarian but kindly disposed toward his men and therefore respected by them. Together they experienced their baptism under fire while part of Gen. Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to the Netherlands in 1799. Two years later Brock's regiment formed part of an amphibious expedition against Copenhagen commanded by Adm. Horatio Nelson. In neither engagement was Brock seriously engaged, although he was slightly wounded. The turning point of his career occurred in 1802, when he was shipped off to the land for which his renown is indelibly associated—Canada.

Canada, which had been of growing importance to the British Empire since the end of the American Revolution, had yet to coalesce as a country, or even as a colony. It consisted of some Loyalist refugees from the United States, a potentially hostile collection of French-speaking Canadians, and large numbers of Native Americans. Vast, heavily forested, and thinly populated, it was a military backwater for career officers like Brock, who yearned for distinction by fighting Napoleonic France. "You who have passed all your days in the bustle of London," he complained to his brother in 1811, "can scarcely conceive the uninteresting and insipid life I



Isaac Brock
National Archives of Canada

am doomed to lead in this retirement." Nonetheless, for a decade Brock threw himself into the task of defending Canada against a possible American invasion. His military leadership consistently exhibited two benchmark characteristics: energy and determination.

Brock, a full colonel since 1805, oversaw construction of numerous fortifications and gun emplacements at strategic places throughout both Upper and Lower Canada (now Ontario and Quebec). Promoted to major general in 1811, Brock also gained appointment as military administrator of Upper Canada during

the absence of Lieutenant Governor Francis Gore. In this capacity he prevailed upon a balky provincial assembly for two military programs that would prove essential to Canadian survival in the War of 1812. The first was the implementation of better management for the Provincial Marine, which in turn provided a trained nucleus for naval forces in Upper Canada. Second and more important was the creation of elite flank companies for each of the provincial militia battalions. These formations were strictly formed by volunteers, were better trained than most militiamen, and served as a useful adjunct to the small core of British regulars in Upper Canada. Brock also strongly disagreed with the defensive strategy outlined by his superior, Sir **George Prevost**, the governor-general of Canada. Prevost was pessimistic about Canada's chances for survival in a war with the United States and prepared to sacrifice large portions of the country to preserve Montreal and Quebec. The aggressive Brock, by comparison, felt that the only military option was to mount local offen-

sive actions and keep potential invaders off-balance. Foremost among these was a quick thrust against the island of Mackinac on Lake Huron, whose capture would undoubtedly stimulate Indian enthusiasm for British endeavors. Brock was also realistic enough to appreciate that the small garrisons of Canada, without Native American help, would eventually be overwhelmed before reinforcements were dispatched from Europe. In the spring of 1812, Brock finally received permission to leave Canada to seek greater fortune in Europe. However, as the storm clouds of war with the United States were gathering, he forsook his hunt for military glory and remained to await developments.

The War of 1812 commenced on June 18, 1812, and offensive operations commenced when a force of 2,000 regulars and militia under Gen. William Hull (who was also governor of the Michigan Territory) crossed the Detroit River and threatened Amherstburg. Canadian reaction to this development ranged from pessimism to indifference to outright defeatism, as no one reasonably expected the colony to last long. No one except Isaac Brock, that is. "Most of the people have lost all confidence," he wrote. "I however speak loud and look big!" Discounting the odds—and Prevost's orders not to provoke a fight—he authorized a surprise attack on Mackinac by Capt. Charles Roberts, commander of the garrison at Fort St. Joseph. The Americans, unaware that war had been declared, were totally surprised and surrendered without a shot.

As anticipated, this bloodless victory galvanized Native Americans throughout the region, and they began flocking to Britain's standard. Brock then concluded an unsuccessful meeting in York (now Toronto) with the legislature, which refused to suspend habeas corpus as a hedge against treason. Unperturbed by the lawmakers' lack of cooperation, he pushed the York volunteer militia westward before rounding up soldiers and militiamen from the Niagara region. Gen. **Roger Hale Sheaffe** was directed to command the fron-

tier in his absence. Brock then energetically directed his little army of 1,400 men to Amherstburg, where he learned that Hull had withdrawn from Canada and timidly shut himself up at Detroit. Arriving in mid-August, he joined up with forces commanded by his able subordinate, Col. **Henry Proctor**.

While at Amherstburg, a conference with various Indian tribes, united under the leadership of the noted Shawnee **Tecumseh**, was concluded. The amiable Brock, towering over six feet tall and resplendent in his scarlet tunic, made an indelible impact upon Tecumseh, who declared, "This is a man!" He cemented the alliance by promising not to negotiate peace with the United States unless it agreed to an Indian homeland underwritten by British protection. Brock also enjoyed an intelligence windfall when the Provincial Marine captured the American vessel *Cuyahoga* in the Detroit River, thus acquiring all of General Hull's personal papers and baggage! From them, Brock learned the exact strength and composition of the American force opposing him and—more important—Hull's irrational fear of Indians. Thus armed, he took to the offensive, surrounding Detroit and demanding immediate surrender. As a ruse, he also formally warned Hull that in the event of battle he would be unable to control his Indian allies. The specter of a massacre so unnerved the tottering Hull that he capitulated 2,000 men, with vast stores of supplies and weapons, to Brock's smaller army on August 16, 1812. Audacity—and good luck—had prevailed. Brock had thwarted American military ambitions, and the headstrong general became universally hailed as the savior of Upper Canada. All these salutary results transpired because Brock took the initiative both against Hull—and his own orders!

The unexpected victory at Detroit electrified Canadians, who now came to believe that their native land could be defended and began joining the militia in increasing numbers. It also solidified Indian support for the British, and they became a vital battlefield factor over the next two years. However, Brock had little

time for celebration, as intelligence arrived of another impending invasion at Niagara. He hurried back and was greeted by timely reinforcements under General Sheaffe at Fort George. To circumvent possible American control of Lakes Erie and Ontario, Brock proposed to lead attacks against Buffalo and Sackets Harbor, New York, but the timid Prevost refused to sanction offensive operations. In fact, he contrived to arrange an armistice with Gen. Henry Dearborn for the suspension of hostilities. For several weeks into the fall, Brock watched helplessly as Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer built up an army of 3,000 men opposite Queenston Heights.

Brock and Sheaffe disagreed over where the blow would eventually fall, with Sheaffe arguing that Queenston Heights was the most logical place for a crossing. Brock, however, felt that either Fort George or Fort Erie, at opposite ends of the Niagara Peninsula, were the intended targets. On the morning of October 13, 1812, Van Rensselaer tipped his hand by crossing at Queenston with an enthusiastic but badly trained army. After several hours of fighting, he managed to cross with 1,000 soldiers as the bulk of his force—militia—refused to follow. Brock, meanwhile, felt that the attack was a ruse, but in the morning hours he departed Fort George with some regulars and militia companies. He arrived on the scene and galloped up to a battery position overlooking the landing zone. Suddenly, a group of American soldiers under Capt. John Ellis Wool attacked and drove the British downhill. Brock, recovering his composure, rallied his scattered men and led a handful of companies back up the hill. His impetuous attack, bravely executed, was repulsed with loss. Worse, leading from the front, Brock was a conspicuous target for American sharpshooters, and he was shot dead with a single bullet through the heart. Another counterattack mounted by his aide, Lt. Col. John Macdonell, met with a similar fate and Macdonell was also felled. It appeared that the Americans were about to prevail when Sheaffe suddenly ap-

peared with reinforcements, along with Native American forces under **John Norton**. They resumed the battle, drove the surviving Americans off the heights in a massive flank attack, and compelled them to surrender. Brock had played only a minor role in the fighting at Queenston Heights, but his strategic dispositions, quick reaction to invasion, and—above all—the offensive spirit he instilled in his men all proved vital factors in the victory. A second American invasion had been stopped cold in its tracks, although at terrible cost.

The victory of Queenston Heights was tempered by the loss of a beloved leader. Brock was subsequently interred at Fort George with full military honors; as a token of respect for a brave enemy, American cannons at Fort Niagara were also fired in salute. Canada never forgot its debt to Brock, for without his able, decisive leadership the entire province of Upper Canada—and possibly the entire colony—would have fallen to the United States. His loss was also acutely felt in England, where church bells tolled in sympathy, and back in Guernsey his family crest was amended to reflect the close alliance he forged with Native American warriors. He was also posthumously made a knight of the Order of Bath—England's highest honor. But it fell upon Canadians, who owed their very existence to the fallen general, to pay the highest tribute. In 1832, a 130-foot monument was erected near the spot where he was killed, with the remains of both Brock and Macdonell reinterred at its base. When this towering structure was destroyed by a gunpowder blast in 1840, it was restored 12 years later—only 52 feet higher! But perhaps Brock's greatest contribution transcends military affairs. The War of 1812 eventually taught Americans and Canadians to resolve subsequent differences peacefully. Consequently, the Brock monument, still one of the most imposing historical landmarks in Canada, straddles the longest undefended border in the world—and world history.

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Broke, Philip Bowes Vere

(September 9, 1776–January 2, 1841)
English Naval Officer

Broke was one of the Royal Navy's finest officers during the War of 1812, an enlightened disciplinarian who stressed accurate gunnery above everything else. His unexpected victory over the USS *Chesapeake* ended an unbroken string of American victories at sea and provided a great boost to British morale.

Philip Bowes Vere Broke was born in Ipswich, Suffolk, on September 9, 1776, and enrolled at the Royal Navy Academy, Portsmouth Dockyard, at the age of 11. In 1792, he was posted with the sloop HMS *Bull Dog* as a midshipman and



Philip Bowes Vere Broke
National Maritime Museum

completed several Mediterranean cruises. Broke was present at the siege of Toulon in 1794 before rising to third lieutenant on board the HMS *Southampton*. In that capacity he fought under Adm. Samuel Hood during the Battle of Cape St. Vincent on February 14, 1797, and also participated in the destruction of a French squadron off the Irish coast in 1798 under Adm. John Borlase Warren. An excellent officer, Broke rose to commander the following year and finally made captain on February 14, 1801, but nearly five years lapsed before his next command arrived. In

1805, he took charge of the HMS *Druid* for service in the English Channel, and in September 1806 he acceded to command of HMS *Shannon*, an 18-pounder cannon frigate. It was while at the helm of this vessel that Broke was to immortalize himself and his crew and rehabilitate the fighting traditions of the Royal Navy.

Since the commencement of hostilities with revolutionary France in 1792, the Royal Navy displayed complete tactical mastery over its French counterpart. A succession of easy triumphs during the next two decades made the British somewhat complacent, if not a little smug, about their sense of naval superiority. Consequently, levels of drill were not standardized among British warships, and gunnery practice was scarcely a concern. It was in this single instance that Broke stood head and shoulders above contemporaries. He was a firm but fair disciplinarian, adored by his crewmen. Furthermore, he stressed accurate gunnery to the exclusion of nearly all other shipboard concerns. Gunnery drills were undertaken daily, and Broke went so far as to purchase gunners' sights and quadrants at his own expense. Consequently, the *Shannon* gained a reputation as being among the best-handled frigates in the Royal Navy, whose marksmanship was second to none. Broke subsequently cruised several months in the North Atlantic, protecting the whaling fleet off Spitsbergen, before participating in the 1807 reduction of Madeira. The *Shannon* then patrolled off the coast of Brest and Plymouth for the next four years until 1811, when Broke was transferred to the squadron of Vice Adm. Herbert Sawyer at Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was thus present following the onset of war with the United States on June 18, 1812. Shortly after, Broke formed part of a small British squadron that unsuccessfully chased Capt. Isaac Hull of the frigate USS *Constitution* for several days. Then Broke, like many British commanders, settled down for a long interval of uneventful blockade duty off the American coast.

Given Britain's relatively easy experience defeating the French and a host of lesser navies, the second war with America came as a distinct shock to the haughty Britons. The U.S. Navy was, in fact, as skilled and capable as the Royal Navy and even possessed a small fleet of "superfrigates" that were more than a match for the best British vessels of comparable size. In quick succession, the frigate *Constitution* under Hull and William Bainbridge, and the frigate *United States* under Stephen Decatur, inflicted three sharp defeats on HMS *Guerriere*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*. The brave but scandalously poor performance of British crews threw the naval ministry into an uproar, and British frigate captains were ordered not to engage the Americans in one-to-one combat. It was against this background that Broke and the *Shannon* assumed blockading positions off Boston in the spring of 1813. He was aware that several American warships were sequestered there and sent a cordial challenge ashore to Capt. James Lawrence, who had won a resounding victory over the sloop HMS *Peacock*, to engage in battle. This was against naval ministry orders, but Broke was supremely confident in his men and ship. More than anything—especially after 18 months of uneventful blockade duty—he wanted to prove the Americans could be beaten in an equal engagement.

On June 1, 1813, Broke received his chance. That afternoon, Lawrence sailed from Boston commanding the 38-gun frigate USS *Chesapeake*, a vessel nearly the same size and displacement as the *Shannon*, but with a slightly larger crew and heavier armament. Like Broke, Lawrence was a talented sailor and tactician, but he was also headstrong and impatient. He had never received Broke's challenge, but that mattered little: Lawrence was looking for a fight, despite the fact that his crew was relatively new and had neither trained nor fought together, and was anxious to engage the enemy on any terms. This impetuosity might have prevailed against any other British vessel in the fleet save for the *Shannon*, then the best ship of its class. As the

Chesapeake boldly approached, Broke called his men to the quarterdeck and calmly harangued them, "Don't cheer, go quietly to your quarters. I feel sure you will all do your duty; remember you have the blood of hundreds of your countrymen to avenge." At length, the *Chesapeake* pulled alongside the *Shannon*, missing an opportunity to assume a raking position, and prepared to receive the first British broadside at only 50 yards. This was the moment of truth for Broke's emphasis on gunnery. *Shannon's* first broadside ripped through the American vessel, inflicting 100 casualties. The steering was also severely damaged, and several officers killed or incapacitated.

Despite Lawrence's best efforts, he quickly lost control of events. Unable to steer, the *Chesapeake* stopped its forward movement and slowly drifted back onto its antagonist. Meanwhile, Broke's carefully aimed broadsides wreaked havoc among the Americans, who returned heavy but inaccurate fire. At this critical juncture, Lawrence was shot and mortally wounded by a bullet and taken below. Chaos reigned as nearly every officer had been killed or wounded. At last the two vessels fouled each other's rigging, and Broke ordered them lashed together. Calling for boarders, he shouted, "Follow me who can!" and leapt upon the *Chesapeake's* deck. A brief but bloody battle ensued between 60 British sailors and the remaining American crewmen. Broke, conspicuous in his tophat, was singled out for combat and received a serious blow to the head. However, the decks were soon cleared of resistance and the *Chesapeake* soon surrendered. The American flag was struck, and the Union Jack hoisted, only 15 minutes after the first gun had been fired.

Broke's victory was a stunning reversal of fortunes that shattered the myth of American invincibility. The battered *Chesapeake* had been holed by 362 shot and sustained 67 dead and 97 wounded—grim testimony to the ef-

fectiveness of Broke's training. *Shannon*, by comparison, had been hit 158 times with a loss of 33 dead and 50 wounded—nearly a two-to-one advantage. Once the prize was secured, both vessels sailed for Halifax, where they received a deliriously joyous reception. Captain Lawrence died of his wounds at sea and received all the military honors befitting a worthy adversary. Broke was too severely injured to partake in any festivities, but his unexpected victory excited public imagination and gratitude. Consequently, he was elevated to a baronetcy, enrolled as a Knight in the Order of Bath, England's highest honor, and received a gold medal struck in his honor.

Broke returned to England soon after to convalesce, but his injuries prevented him from holding an active command again. Despite extreme suffering, he managed to compose several tracts on naval artillery and rose to rear admiral on July 22, 1830. Broke eventually sired 11 children, but he endured considerable physical disability for nearly three decades. He then ventured to London for some primitive brain surgery to relieve his suffering on January 2, 1841. The brave Broke died shortly after the operation. He was England's greatest naval hero of the War of 1812, a model of naval efficiency and courage.

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Brooke, Arthur

(1772–July 26, 1843)
English Army Officer

Brooke was a stalwart leader of the noted 44th Regiment of Foot, spending his entire military career with that outfit. He defeated a large body of American militia at North Point in September 1814, but ultimately he decided against attacking the city of Baltimore.

Arthur Brooke was born in Colebrooke County, Ireland, in 1772 and joined the army as an ensign in the 44th Regiment of Foot in 1792. He rose to lieutenant the following year and campaigned in Flanders under Lord Moira between 1794 and 1795. Promoted to captain, Brooke next accompanied Gen. Ralph Abercromby to the West Indies, where he remained until 1798. He then fought in Egypt in 1801, acquired some distinction, and had accumulated sufficient wealth to purchase a major's commission the following year. In 1804, Brooke also purchased his lieutenant colonelcy and remained with the 44th at Malta until 1812. He then advanced to colonel in 1813 and was ordered to participate in the Peninsula campaign against Napoleonic France. As a senior colonel, he assumed command of an infantry brigade and led it capably during several battles throughout Spain and southern France. Napoleon's abdication followed in the spring of 1814. By this time the War of 1812 with the United States was also entering its final phases, and the British government, intent on punitive measures, began reassigning some of its very



Arthur Brooke
American Folk Park Museum

best units to fight in America.

Brooke subsequently sailed from Bordeaux as part of a small veteran force commanded by Gen. **Robert Ross** and was transported to Chesapeake Bay. In August 1814, Adm. **George Cockburn** landed Ross's army at Benedict, Maryland, and commenced an overland march against Washington, D.C. On August 24, the British engaged a large militia force of 7,000 men under Gen. William Winder at Bladensburg. Ross, who commanded only 4,000 veteran troops, immediately gave battle. Brooke commanded a brigade consisting of the Fourth and 44th Regiments, which occupied the right wing of the army and contributed materially to Winder's defeat. Shortly after, the British occupied the capital, burned it, and returned to their fleet unmolested. Brooke, who had enjoyed his full share of fighting, boasted, "Certainly on the whole it [was] an affair as fine a thing as any done during the war, and a sore rub to the Americans that can never be forgotten."

The next British objective was the city of Baltimore, Maryland, a large commercial center with a highly active privateering community. In view of his excellent service, Ross appointed Brooke to serve as his second in command. Cockburn subsequently transported the army and landed it a few miles from the city. However, on September 11, 1814, Ross was killed in a minor skirmish and

Brooke assumed command of the entire army. He pushed his light troops forward to North Point, only to discover sizable militia forces under Gen. John Stricker in his path. Maryland militia troops wore especially gaudy uniforms at this time, so Brooke perceived himself to be confronted by large numbers of regular soldiers. He therefore delayed attacking further that day, withdrew, and made detailed preparations for a decisive encounter the following morning.

On September 12, 1814, Brooke ordered his army against Stricker's line. The Maryland militia may have looked formidable, but it was no match for the British Peninsula veterans, and they gave ground readily. Brooke carefully placed his artillery to neutralize the numerous American cannons, he deliberately employed noisy Congreve rockets to demoralize the defenders, and enacted a turning movement to encircle Stricker's left wing. All these activities induced Stricker to order a general retreat back to Baltimore, with a loss of two cannons and 163 casualties, so the Battle of North Point was a British victory. However, Brooke declined to follow up decisively and did not order an advance upon the city itself. Baltimore was then heavily fortified with entrenchments, batteries, and a garrison reputedly numbering 20,000 men under Gen. Samuel Smith. The British forces at that time consisted of the Fourth, 21st, 44th, and 85th regiments, with a combined strength of scarcely 5,000 men. The sheer preponderance of American defenses forced Brooke to ponder his next move very carefully.

On September 13, 1814, Brooke pushed his light troops forward into Godly Wood and conducted a personal reconnaissance of the city's defenses. Upon closer inspection, he decided it could not be safely assailed from any quarter during daylight. He then contemplated launching a night attack in concert with Adm. **Alexander Cochrane's** fleet, but, as the latter proved unable to reduce Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor, the Royal Navy could not mount a diversionary attack against

the city. Judging discretion the better part of valor, Brooke finally capitulated to the inevitable and ordered the army to break camp and withdraw. The past four days had been an ignominious display of military futility on the part of England, especially in light of events at Washington, but the American defenses were too well manned. In Brooke's own words, "If I took the place, I should have been the greatest man in England. If I lost, my military character was gone forever." The British army and fleet then departed on September 15, 1814, leaving the Americans to celebrate their victory. And well they might, for the heroic defense of Fort McHenry induced a local lawyer, Francis Scott Key, to compose a poem entitled "The Star Spangled Banner"—the future national anthem.

Brooke sailed south with the fleet and was superseded at sea by Maj. Gen. John Keane. He subsequently fought in the campaign for New Orleans that winter and returned to England in the spring of 1815. Four years later he gained promotion to major general and, in 1822, became governor of Yarmouth. However, his failure before Baltimore seems to have put a damper on his rising military expectations, for he never received another active command, despite a promotion to lieutenant general in 1837. Brooke died in London on July 26, 1841, largely regarded in military quarters as an excellent regimental grade officer, insufficiently daring to command a brigade or higher.

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Buchanan, Franklin

(September 17, 1800–May 11, 1874)
Confederate Admiral

Franklin Buchanan made history by initiating the world's first battle between wooden and iron warships. An aggressive leader with an appetite for administration, he achieved impressive results with the limited resources at his disposal during the Civil War.

Buchanan was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 17, 1800, and in January 1815 commenced his long naval career by becoming a midshipman. He cruised the Mediterranean for two years under Comdr. Oliver Hazard Perry and was promoted to lieutenant in January 1825 following a decade of sea and shore assignments. He was named a commander in September 1841. Buchanan then commanded the steam frigate *Mississippi* and sloop *Vincennes* until 1844, when Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft asked him to draft a proposal for the new Naval Academy at Annapolis. The secretary was so impressed by Buchanan's scheme that he appointed him its first superintendent in 1845. In this capacity Buchanan imparted his strict, no-nonsense attitude on academy administration and gave the institution a successful start.

Following the onset of war with Mexico in 1846, Buchanan petitioned for active duty and in March 1847 received command of the sloop *Germantown*. Buchanan cruised with the



Franklin Buchanan
Library of Congress

squadrons of David Conner and Matthew C. Perry in the Gulf of Mexico, and he helped capture the towns of Vera Cruz, Alvarado, Tuxpan, and Tabasco. Five years later, Buchanan commanded Perry's flagship *Susquehanna* during the expedition to Japan in 1853. He advanced to captain in 1855 and directed the Washington Navy Yard for several years until April 1861. That spring, Buchanan resigned his commission in the mistaken belief that Maryland would secede from the Union. When that state remained loyal, he tried to retract his resignation, but the Navy Department declined to reinstate him. After four months of inactivity, the aggressive Buchanan visited

Richmond, Virginia, and tendered his services to the Confederacy.

Buchanan was commissioned a captain in the Confederate Navy in September 1861 and was posted as chief of the Bureau of Orders and Details. He performed well but chafed in an administrative role and requested a more active command. Accordingly, in February 1862 Buchanan took charge of the Chesapeake squadron and spent several weeks supervising reconstruction of the former Union frigate *Merrimac*. Converted into a steam-powered ironclad, it emerged off Hampton Roads on March 8, 1862, as the CSS *Virginia*, with Buchanan at the helm. Undeterred by a blockading Union

squadron, Buchanan rammed and sank the wooden frigate *Cumberland* with little difficulty, although the *Virginia* lost its ram. He next engaged the frigate *Congress*, a ship on which his brother was serving, and ran it aground to burn. Buchanan characteristically exposed himself to danger throughout the battle and sustained a serious leg wound. Consequently, he missed the next day's historic encounter with the newly arrived Union ironclad *Monitor* and spent several months recuperating. His actions nonetheless announced the dawn of a new age in naval warfare.

Promoted to admiral as of August 1862, Buchanan became the Confederacy's senior officer for the rest of the war. He assumed control of Confederate naval forces at Mobile, Alabama, and directed construction of a new ironclad, the CSS *Tennessee*. Within two years his vessel was ready for action, but on August 5, 1864, the Union fleet under Admiral David Farragut broke the defenses of Mobile and entered Mobile Bay. Buchanan would probably have had better luck in mooring his fleet to the shore as floating batteries, but his temperament would not allow such passive behavior. He therefore sortied against the intruders and, heavily outnumbered, repeatedly tried ramming Farragut's flagship, the *Hartford*. At length, the *Tennessee* was disabled and Buchanan was wounded and taken pris-

oner. He remained in captivity until March 1865 and, after being exchanged, reported back for duty at Mobile. Buchanan surrendered there a second time in May and was mustered out of the navy. He subsequently served as president of Maryland Agricultural College (now the University of Maryland) and died at his home in Talbot County, Maryland, on May 11, 1874.

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Burgoyne, John

(February 24, 1723–August 4, 1792)

English General

Adapper sophisticate of some ability, "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne conceived a plan to win the American Revolution for England in a single campaign—or so he boasted. Had Burgoyne in fact been properly supported, and cognizant of the geography and enemy opposing him, he may

very well have prevailed. However, his capitulation at Saratoga was one of the most decisive defeats in history and led to French intervention on America's behalf.

John Burgoyne was born in London on February 24, 1723, the son of a Lancashire aristocrat. He was educated at the Westmin-

ster School and joined the army at the age of 15 as a brigadier (corporal) of the Third Horse Guards. Burgoyne subsequently transferred to the 13th Light Dragoons as a coronet (cavalry ensign), rising to lieutenant in 1741. Two years later the young man had a tryst with 15-year-old Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of the Earl of Derby, and eloped. This act so enraged the father that he summarily cut off his daughter. The couple lived happily in London over the next three years before Burgoyne's gambling debts forced him to sell his commission and live in France. Possessing a polished, inquisitive mind, Burgoyne immersed himself in French language, literature, and culture. Despite his military background, the young man had always aspired to be a playwright.

By 1755, France and England were edging closer to war, and Burgoyne moved his family back to England, where a reconciliation with his father-in-law was concluded. Thereafter, the Earl of Derby used his political influence to arrange Burgoyne's appointment as a captain in the 11th Dragoon Regiment and, subsequently, as a lieutenant colonel in the elite Coldstream Guards. During the Seven Years' War (1755–1763), Burgoyne participated in several amphibious raids along the French coast in 1758–1759 and also raised the 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons. This was one of the first such "light cavalry" outfits created for the British army, especially trained for screening and outpost duty. Burgoyne capitalized on his rising reputation to gain election to Parliament in 1762, and the following year he distin-



John Burgoyne
National Archives

guished himself by fighting in Spain at the behest of Portugal. The young soldier led several gallant charges that routed several Spanish camps, and he even captured an enemy general. As a leader, Burgoyne also stood out from contemporaries by insisting that officers treat their soldiers with humanity and respect. He returned to England a popular war hero and spent the next decade gambling, socializing, and writing plays. In 1773, this attractive, if somewhat pompous, individual advanced to major general.

On the eve of the American Revolution, Burgoyne was dispatched to Boston along with Gens.

Henry Clinton and **William Howe**. He was on hand to witness the costly Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, and wrote several letters critical of his superior, Gen. **Thomas Gage**. Burgoyne's only real activity was to compose proclamations to the rebels, which were verbose and openly ridiculed. Seeking more active employment, Burgoyne then returned to England and lobbied his political friends. The following spring he transferred to Canada to serve under Gen. **Guy Carleton** as a lieutenant general. He actively campaigned in the defense of Quebec and on June 8, 1776, directed forces that drove Gen. **Benedict Arnold** away from the Trois Rivières district. However, Burgoyne disliked subordination under the stodgy Carleton, and, furthermore, recent successes stirred up his considerable military ambition.

After much pondering, the general returned again to England that fall and advanced his strategy for winning the war. He had since

drawn up a detailed plan of operations entitled “Thoughts for Conducting the War from the side of Canada” that he felt would decide the issue with a single blow. Burgoyne consulted closely with government officials under Lord **George Germain** and advocated detaching New England—then the hotbed of rebellion—from the rest of the colonies. He proposed leading 8,000 soldiers from Canada, down the Lake Champlain Valley, to capture Albany, New York. This would effectively sever New England’s lines of communication and cripple the revolution. Success, however, required a large British force under General Howe that would march north from New York City to rendezvous with him at Albany. Finally, a third column of Loyalists, regulars, and Native Americans directed by Lt. Col. **Barry St. Leger** would also march from Oswego and advance upon Fort Stanwix as a diversion. This ancillary movement would be assisted by a large contingent of Indians under **John Johnson** and **Cornplanter**, which constituted the first offensive use of Native Americans in the war. The overall plan appeared sound on paper, and the ebullient, supremely confident Burgoyne posited himself as just the man to lead it. The British government did, in fact, formally embrace the overall strategy, but Lord Germain failed to issue strong instructions to the various commanders involved. In effect, they were asked to assist Burgoyne’s main effort if possible, without actually being subordinated to the plan. As events proved, this lapse of command authority brought dire consequences for Burgoyne—and the entire war effort.

Burgoyne arrived back at Quebec in May 1777 and began assembling his army, unquestionably the finest British force ever dispatched to America. He counted among them 7,500 regular soldiers, 400 Indians, and 100 Loyalists, and he was ably seconded by a large Hessian contingent under Baron **Friedrich von Riedesel**. Consistent with the traditions of the time, more than 2,000 camp followers and noncombatants, including women and children, were taken in tow. Bur-

goyne also took along an extensive baggage train of his own, replete with fine clothing, expensive furniture, and a personal stock of champagne. Such arrangements were commonplace on the battlefields of Europe, but they appeared curiously out of place in the North American wilderness. The British column commenced trudging south that June and by month’s end had forced the abandonment of Fort Ticonderoga. However, American forces under Gen. Philip Schuyler made good their escape, despite losing their baggage train at Hubbardton on July 7, 1777. The red-coated juggernaut continued rolling forward as far south as Skeensborough (Whitehall, New York) before Burgoyne made his first strategic mistake. Rather than employ Lake George and the various other waterways for transportation, he opted to continue marching overland through incredibly dense forest and hills. It took no less than four weeks of cutting to cover the next 22 miles, a fatal delay that gave the Americans time to regroup and reinforce under a new leader, Gen. Horatio Gates. Gates initially hung back from open combat but added to British discomfiture by felling trees and sending clouds of snipers to harass the invaders. Worse still, General Howe felt empowered to totally disregard Germain’s instructions and attacked Philadelphia to the south. His subordinate, General Clinton, also made a half-hearted effort to march up the Hudson Valley, captured a few minor fortifications, then returned to New York. Even St. Leger’s column came to grief after defeating the American militia at Oriskany; deserted by his Indians, he abandoned the siege of Fort Stanwix and withdrew. Burgoyne’s exposed column was thus effectively abandoned to its fate.

Having underestimated the geography arrayed against him, Burgoyne’s supplies began running low, and on August 16, 1777, he dispatched a large-scale foraging expedition into Vermont under Col. **Friedrich Baum**. His 700 Hessians were scouring the countryside for food when they were set upon by Gen. John Stark and 2,000 New Hampshire militia and

badly defeated. Burgoyne at this juncture would have been justified by withdrawing back to Canada, but he refused. Instead, he insisted on proceeding as planned and crossed the Hudson River near Saratoga. There, on September 19, 1777, the British attacked Gates's dug-in forces at Freeman's Farm and were bloodily repulsed by Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, losing 600 men compared to an American loss of 300. Burgoyne, clearly outnumbered and running short of food and ammunition, entrenched himself in the vain hope that Clinton or St. Leger would arrive. The British position nonetheless grew untenable, so on October 7, 1777, Burgoyne directed an attack upon Bemis Heights to dislodge the besiegers. This move was repulsed by riflemen under Col. Daniel Morgan with an additional 600 casualties, including Gen. **Simon Fraser**. Burgoyne, now reduced to 5,700 effectives, faced an enemy more than twice his size that was slowly encircling him. Effectively abandoned by Howe and Clinton, the beleaguered general had no recourse but to enter into negotiations with Gates for his surrender. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne formally capitulated a fully intact British army, an event that had never previously happened. Beyond the obvious personal humiliation to Burgoyne, the ramifications of this act were immense for Britain. The kingdom of France, still smarting from its loss of Canada to England in 1760, now granted formal diplomatic recognition to the fledgling American government. This move was necessary for America to secure financial aide, military supplies, and—ultimately—direct French intervention. For all these reasons, and the ultimate outcome they engendered, Saratoga was one of the most decisive victories of military history.

By the terms of his "convention" with Gates, Burgoyne was allowed to return to England, but his army remained behind in limbo. Congress was incensed that Gates agreed to allow the British soldiers to proceed to Boston and be pardoned en masse, so it renegeed on the deal and ordered the entire force imprisoned. Back in England, Burgoyne

was greeted with derision by government officials, who were equally culpable for what had happened. Furthermore, he was refused a court-martial to clear his name, and King George III stripped him of every military title held, save his rank. Burgoyne, abandoned by both the military and the Tories, countered by joining the opposition Whig Party. When the Whigs returned to power in 1781, he was appointed commander in chief of Ireland. However, the Tories regained control the following year and forced Burgoyne from office, and so he formally withdrew from political life. Over the next decade he worked dutifully to rehabilitate his reputation, and also established himself as a minor playwright of note. He died suddenly in London on August 4, 1792, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Many still blamed him for the loss of his army—and ultimately America. In sum, "Gentleman Johnny" was a capable military leader, but his inexperience in fighting under New World conditions, coupled with the refusal of other generals to assist him, doomed his grandiose scheme from the start.

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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Butler, John

(April 28, 1728–May 13, 1796)

Loyalist Officer

Butler was one of the most effective Loyalist leaders to serve Great Britain throughout the American Revolution. He held considerable sway over his Indian allies, directed them effectively, and also commanded the dreaded Butler's Rangers in many successful actions.

John Butler was born in New London, Connecticut, on April 28, 1728, the son of an army officer. His father had previously commanded at Fort Hunt and Oswego, New York, during various wars with France, so around 1742 he relocated his family to the Mohawk Valley. There young Butler became immersed in the language and culture of the neighboring Iroquois Indians. At length he became fluent in their tongue and sensitive to the nuances of Native American affairs, so he was hired by Indian Department Superintendent Sir William Johnson to serve as an interpreter. The French and Indian War commenced in 1754, and the following year Butler accompanied Johnson as a lieutenant of Indians during the expedition against Fort Saint Frederic (Crown Point). There, on September 8, 1755, the combined British-Indian force defeated the



John Butler
National Archives of Canada

French under Baron **Jean-Armand Dieskau** after a hard-fought action. Promoted to captain, he next saw active service under Gen. James Abercromby at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) and was also present at the capture of Fort Frontenac under John Bradstreet. In 1759, Butler was reunited with Johnson when they besieged and captured Fort Niagara in western New York, a crushing defeat for France. The following year he commanded a large detachment of Iroquois warriors recruited to assist Gen. Jeffrey

Amherst's advance upon Montreal with similar success.

Following the French and Indian War, Butler resumed his work with the Indian Department as an interpreter. He also acquired a large estate near Johnstown, New York, and served as lieutenant colonel of the local militia regiment commanded by **Guy Johnson**, Sir William's nephew. Tensions between Great Britain and its colonies exploded into warfare during 1775, and rebel activity forced Butler and Johnson to evacuate the Mohawk Valley for refuge in Canada. Butler had to abandon his wife and several children, who were taken

by the Americans and held captive at Albany for nearly five years. Once in Canada, Guy Johnson disputed the intended role of the Indians with the governor-general, Sir **Guy Carleton**, and he departed for England to resolve the issue at London. In his absence, Butler was appointed acting superintendent with explicit instructions from Carleton to keep the Indians at Fort Niagara neutral but friendly to Great Britain. Given his great tact and ease in dealing with Native Americans, Butler accomplished this handily, and the following year he was accorded greater responsibility over these unpredictable allies.

By 1777, the British government had decided to employ the Iroquois in offensive operations to assist Gen. Sir **John Burgoyne's** operations in northern New York. Accordingly, Butler recruited a force of 350 Senecas who were attached to the column under Lt. Col. **Barry St. Leger**, assisted by Chiefs **Joseph Brant** and **Cornplanter**. The British then departed from Oswego intending to link up with Burgoyne in the vicinity of Saratoga. However, St. Leger met and defeated a militia force at Oriskany, New York, on August 6, 1777, but casualties among Butler's Indians were particularly heavy. The dispirited Native Americans were further disheartened when American Gen. **Benedict Arnold** sent an insane person in their midst, claiming that the rebels opposing them "outnumbered the leaves on the trees." Native Americans, who regarded persons with such affliction as sacred, began deserting the British despite Butler's best efforts. In light of all these difficulties, St. Leger abandoned his siege of Fort Stanwix, which was a contributing factor in the surrender of Burgoyne that fall. Butler subsequently traveled back to Quebec to confer with Carleton, who now commissioned him a major in the British army. Furthermore, he gained authorization to raise a provincial ranger battalion from Loyalist refugees. In time, this unit became feared throughout New York and Pennsylvania as the notorious Butler's Rangers.

The frontier regions of the American Revolution were far removed from laws governing

conventional warfare and were, consequently, the scene of considerable atrocities by both sides. In July 1778 Butler commanded his force, a Loyalist regiment, and 500 Iroquois under Old King during a celebrated sweep of the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. During this operation, the Loyalists and their Indian allies defeated a patriot force under Col. Zebulon Butler, killing 300 men and chasing the survivors into nearby Fort Forty. When that place was subsequently stormed, Butler was unable to control the Indian force, who tortured and murdered another 60 men. This event, reviled as the Wyoming Massacre, exuded military consequences, for it forced the Americans to divert badly needed resources from elsewhere and concentrate them against the Iroquois. Happily, the hostages taken during son **Walter Butler's** subsequent Cherry Valley Massacre allowed John Butler to exchange them for his own wife and children, whom he had not seen for five years.

In the summer of 1779 a major punitive expedition was launched from Pennsylvania to western New York under Gen. John Sullivan. Butler's Rangers and Joseph Brant's Mohawks, badly outnumbered, gave battle to the invaders at Newtown on August 29, 1778, but were driven off. Once the Americans devastated the region, the surviving Indians were forced to relocate to Fort Niagara for British rations. However, Sullivan made no advance upon Fort Niagara, and by 1780 Butler, promoted to lieutenant colonel, was back harassing American settlements ranging from New York to Kentucky. After the war ended in 1783, he disbanded his force and set up residence near Fort Niagara. When treaty negotiations later gave that entire region to the newly independent United States, it fell upon Butler to explain to his helpless Iroquois allies that their traditional homelands were gone forever.

In June 1784, Butler and many of his former soldiers were settled in the region of Newark, Ontario. As compensation for the property lost in New York, the Crown awarded him 500 acres of land and half-pay of a lieutenant colonel for life. Butler remained active in community affairs, alternately serving as a militia

colonel and justice of the peace. As deputy superintendent of the Six Nations, he also proved himself a staunch ally in helping secure better living conditions for the Mohawks, who had lost nearly everything in their support of England. Butler died at Newark on May 13, 1796, and received an Indian-style funeral. The great Joseph Brant also eulogized him, declaring, "Our loss is the greater, as there are none remaining who understand our manners and customs as well as he did." Despite John Butler's close association with military affairs, Canadian historians also regard him as one of the founding fathers of Upper Canada.

See also

Arnold, Benedict; Brant, Joseph

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Butler, Walter

(1752–October 30, 1781)

Loyalist Officer

The infamous Walter Butler was one of the most feared Loyalist officers during the American Revolution. In 1778, his notorious Butler's Rangers led a devastating attack upon the Cherry Valley in New York, reviled ever since as one of the war's worst atrocities.

Walter Butler was born near Fonda, New York, in 1752, a son of **John Butler**, a British Indian Department interpreter. His family was closely connected to Sir William Johnson and, as part of a privileged elite, amassed a considerable fortune in land throughout the Mohawk Valley. Butler displayed great interest in military affairs as a young man, and in 1768 he was appointed an ensign in the militia. How-

ever, in 1770 he relocated to Albany to study law and remained there until the outbreak of the American Revolution in April 1775. Loyal to the king, Butler and his father then fled New York for Montreal, although his mother and sisters were caught by Patriots and interned at Albany. Once in Canada, he tendered his services to the Crown and was allowed to join a mixed militia-Indian force. On September 25, 1775, Butler led his force into action at Longue-Pointe near Montreal, capturing the noted American leader Ethan Allen. Buoyed by this success, he gained permission to visit England that year, returning the following spring with an ensign's commission in the Eighth Regiment of Foot. Montreal at that

time was still surrounded by American forces, and Butler was conspicuously engaged at the Battle of The Cedars in May 1776, which drove the besiegers off. He was then promoted to lieutenant and posted with his father at Fort Niagara with instructions to keep the Seneca Indians neutral but friendly toward England.

In the summer of 1777, the British government authorized a major offensive under Gen. Sir **John Burgoyne**, intending to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies. As part of this plan, a large British-Indian force under Lt. Col. **Barry St. Leger** would decamp from Oswego, New York, and march overland with reinforcements for Burgoyne. The Butlers, father and son, were assigned to accompany a large force of Seneca Indians under Chiefs **Joseph Brant** and **Cornplanter**. While besieging Fort Stanwix, St. Leger was apprised of an American relief force under Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, and he sent Walter Butler with his Indians and light forces to intercept them. On August 6, 1777, the Seneca successfully ambushed Herkimer's column at Oriskany, New York, and a bloody, protracted fight developed. Both sides sustained heavy losses, but at length the Indians grew discouraged and began drifting away from St. Leger's column. Soon after, Burgoyne's column was surrounded and captured at Saratoga, and British operations in New York momentarily ceased. However, the legacy of heavy losses at Oriskany inflamed the passions of both sides. Thereafter, the struggle for the Mohawk Valley became a civil war characterized by no quarter, fire, and sword.

Shortly after Oriskany, Butler volunteered to carry out one of the most daring feats of the war. Unarmed and under a flag of truce, he reentered the Mohawk Valley to recruit sulking Loyalists for the British cause. During a midnight meeting he had called at Shoemaker's House, American militiamen suddenly surrounded the place and took Butler prisoner. On August 21, 1777, he was tried by court-martial, found guilty of espionage, and sentenced by Gen. **Benedict Arnold** to be

hung. Fortunately, many Continental officers who knew Butler before the war, including Gen. Philip J. Schuyler, interceded on his behalf and the sentence was commuted. He spent the next several months imprisoned at Albany before arranging a daring escape in April 1778 with the help of Loyalist sympathizers. Butler then made his way back to Fort Niagara in western New York, now a staging area for some of the war's bloodiest raids.

In Butler's absence, his father had been authorized to raise a provincial battalion of light infantry, or rangers, to fight in concert with their Indian allies. This was a handpicked force of mobile sharpshooters, adept at forest warfare and clad in green jackets and black caps. Butler himself was commissioned a captain in the outfit, which soon gained infamy as Butler's Rangers. However, he was visiting Quebec when his father conducted a successful raid in the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, whereby prisoners were murdered by Indians, crops were burned, and livestock was destroyed. Following his return that fall, it fell upon Walter Butler to command a similar foray against the Cherry Valley in New York, as his father had been taken ill. On November 11, 1778, Butler's 200 rangers, accompanied by 600 Senecas under Brant, successfully attacked and burned the village, although they lacked artillery to storm the nearby fort. Worse, many Indians, still seething over their losses at Oriskany, savagely murdered 31 civilians, including women and children. Their wrath proved so uncontrollable that neither Butler nor Brant could stop them. The Americans subsequently placed the blame squarely on Walter Butler for what transpired and branded him an outlaw, but in several official letters he denied any personal responsibility for the massacre. "I have done everything in my power to restrain the fury of the Indians from hurting women and children, or killing the prisoners that fell into our hands," he remonstrated. "My conscience acquits me." It was nonetheless one of the war's great atrocities. Fortunately, Butler did manage to take several hostages alive and subsequently

exchanged them for members of his own family held at Albany.

Butler's notorious success in New York could not go unanswered, so in the summer of 1779 a large punitive expedition was launched from western Pennsylvania under Gen. John Sullivan. Butler was on hand during the Battle of Newtown, in which the Loyalists and Indians were defeated and the Mohawk villages destroyed. Falling ill, he was sent back to Montreal to recuperate and did not return to Fort Niagara until the summer of 1781. Another large-scale raid was then assembling under Maj. John Ross, and Butler took command of his Rangers, as usual. In October 1781, they combed the much-ravaged Mohawk Valley again, destroying farms and villages, but were finally stopped at Johnston after a hard fight with militia under Col. Marinus Willett. Outnumbered, Ross ordered a withdrawal to be covered by Butler's Rangers. During the crossing, over West Canada Creek on October 30, 1781, an American patrol fired upon the fleeing British, mortally wounding Butler. An Oneida Indian fighting for the Americans thereupon scalped him as he lay. Thus perished one of the most hated figures of the Revolutionary War. He remains a figure much vilified in the annals of American history, but in reality Butler was a frontier officer of real ability who, like many

contemporaries, could not restrain the Indians under his command.

See also

Arnold, Benedict; Brant, Joseph

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Campbell, Archibald

(August 24, 1739–March 31, 1791)

British Army Officer; Colonial Governor

The relatively inexperienced Campbell was a brave soldier and a talented administrator. His success in capturing Savannah, Georgia, was unexpected, and he subsequently acquired a distinguished military and civil reputation in the West Indies and India.

Archibald Campbell was born in Inveraray, Argyllshire, Scotland, on August 24, 1739, the son of a probate judge. As a young man he joined the Corps of Engineers, serving in such far-ranging locales as Guadalupe, Dominica, and Bengal. In 1768, the British East India Company appointed him chief engineer, a

post he occupied until 1772. The following year Campbell returned to Scotland, where he acquired an estate and represented the Stirling Burghs in Parliament. In 1775, he became lieutenant colonel of the newly raised Fraser's Highlanders (71st Regiment of Foot) and sailed to fight in the American Revolution. However, his transports arrived at Boston on June 16, 1776, three months after the British army under Gen. **William Howe** had departed, and he and 400 men were taken prisoner. Relations were initially cordial, and Campbell was at liberty to reside in Reading with servants and have complete freedom of movement. But conditions changed drastically in December 1776, when word was received that American prisoners Charles Lee and Ethan Allen were being mistreated in captivity. Consequently, the Continental Congress ordered all British prisoners be kept in "safe and close custody." Campbell was accordingly transferred to the jail in Concord, New Hampshire, where he languished under difficult conditions. He wrote several pointed letters to Gen. George Washington in protest and secured a transfer to a room in the jailer's tavern. Campbell's lot improved dramatically as of August 1777, when he obtained a parole from Concord and was allowed to move freely within the city limits. In March 1778, he traveled to New York City and was formally exchanged for Ethan Allen the following May.

By this time the American Revolution was at a strategic impasse in the north, and the ministry of Lord **George Germain** decided to direct offensive efforts farther south. In November 1778, Gen. **Henry Clinton** dispatched Campbell from New York with an amphibious armada of 3,000 men. His goal was Savannah, reputed to be lightly defended. It was hoped that in the course of conquest he would be aided by British troops in Florida, friendly Native Americans, and Loyalists hiding in the backwoods. Campbell was a curious choice, given his relative lack of experience, but he was probably the only ranking officer that the hard-strapped Clinton could spare. He did so only reluctantly,

and privately confided that the expedition was probably headed for disaster. The fleet sailed on November 8, 1778, endured a storm-tossed passage, and arrived at its destination that December.

To everybody's surprise, Campbell conducted himself with a consummate skill that belied his relative inexperience. He was opposed by a small force of 650 Continental soldiers and 93 militia under Gen. Robert Howe, who stationed his troops at Fairlawn Plantation. There Howe repeatedly had been advised to flood the nearby rice fields and to place strong pickets along various trails skirting the American right flank. Howe demurred, however, and simply awaited the approach of the British. Once ashore, Campbell quickly overwhelmed a small American picket and marched inland. A captured slave then relayed information about Howe's position at Fairlawn Plantation, and Campbell set out for Savannah with half his troops. As expected, the Americans were deployed and awaiting his appearance, so he personally climbed a tree and carefully ascertained their position. On the morning of December 29, 1778, another slave then guided part of Campbell's men through the woods, around the enemy right flank. At a given signal, Campbell and his flanking party then charged the American line, routing it. For the loss of two British killed and 10 wounded, the town of Savannah was taken, along with several hundred American prisoners and many cannons. The town, and most of Georgia itself, was to remain under British control until the end of the Revolution. Furthermore, as the southern campaign unfolded, Savannah served as a valuable base of operations against Charleston and points farther north.

Having consolidated his position, Campbell was also commissioned to serve as the civil governor. Georgia thus became the only part of the United States reannexed as a colony. In fulfilling his affairs as head of state, Campbell proved to be an enlightened leader. He ordered his officers to treat the inhabitants leniently while encouraging Loyalists to

flock to the colors. However, in January 1779 he was reinforced and replaced by Gen. **Augustin Prevost** of Florida. That same month Campbell was detailed with 900 men and ordered to capture Augusta, Georgia, deep in the interior of the state. He did so by the end of January, but the anticipated influx of Loyalist sympathizers never materialized. American guerrilla forces commenced attacking his supply lines as the nearby Creek and Cherokee Indians remained aloof, so Campbell had little recourse but to abandon Augusta and return to Savannah in February. He next sailed back to England on administrative leave, receiving a promotion to colonel as well as the hand of Amelia Ramsay, daughter of noted artist Allan Ramsay.

In 1779, Campbell was transferred to Jamaica as a brigadier general and ordered to prepare its defenses against an anticipated French attack. He did so in quick order, even going to great lengths to organize a regiment of free African American slaves. Consequently, the French squadron under the Comte d'Estaing deliberately avoided Jamaica and attacked Campbell's former base at Savannah instead. Campbell continued administering his affairs capably and with little fanfare until 1784, when he was promoted to major general. He resigned shortly thereafter and returned to England to receive appointment in the prestigious Order of Bath in 1785. The following year Campbell ventured abroad as the new governor of Madras, India, where he served under Governor-Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**. There he secured a controversial treaty with the Nabob of Arcot regarding the payment of his debts, which

was criticized by the East India Company for its overall tone of leniency. However, the high-minded Cornwallis lent his official weight to the document, which remained in force. In 1789, a lengthy bout of illness induced Campbell to sail for England one final time. After serving a brief stint in Parliament, he died in London on March 31, 1791, and was buried at Westminster Abbey. Although largely forgotten today, Campbell was an effective British soldier and administrator during the American Revolution.

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Canonchet

(d. 1676)

Narragansett War Chief

Haughty Canonchet peaceably led the biggest Indian tribe of southern New England until forced into a destructive war against English settlers. His ensuing demise signaled the end of Indian sovereignty throughout that region.

Canonchet was born probably in the late sixteenth century in what is present-day southern Rhode Island. He was a son of Miantonomo, destined to be chief of the Narragansett Indians. This was an influential tribe of Algonquin-speaking peoples, among the oldest settled cultures of the region. By dint of numbers, they extended their influence into Connecticut and neighboring Long Island. The Narragansetts were also among the first Native Americans encountered by European explorers, who commented upon their tall stature, fine physiques, and friendly dispositions. Like most Native Americans, they greeted the newly arriving English colonists amicably and entered into profitable trade relations with them. However, by the 1650s the incessant English demand for land and settlement drove a wedge between these otherwise harmonious relationships.

The year 1675 was a fateful one for Anglo–Native American relationships, for the Wampanoags under King Philip staged a violent and bloody uprising against their European neighbors. He was roundly supported by numerous tribes throughout the region, but the mighty Narragansetts stood aloof. This was because Canonchet, who had succeeded his father as chief, had signed a treaty of friendship with the Puritans in Boston. The Wampanoags were a traditional enemy of the Narragansetts, and Canonchet's reluctance to take sides dispirited many of Philip's allies. However, the English were hard-pressed to hold their own against the rampaging Indians, and they viewed Canonchet, who commanded upward of 4,000 warriors, as a potential threat.

Accordingly, he was respectfully requested to travel to Boston and renew a treaty of friendship with the colonies. Canonchet willingly complied, and on June 15, 1675, he reaffirmed his pledge to remain an ally. In exchange, the tall, imposing chief was feted and received an elaborate silver-laced coat for his cooperation.

As the year wore on, the colonials were still struggling against the elusive Philip and his hard-hitting band of raiders. Furthermore, consistent with the treaty of friendship, the Narragansetts were obliged to surrender any Wampanoag Indians or their allies who might seek refuge in their territory. Canonchet had agreed to this provision, but he apparently entertained second thoughts. When the English learned that several Wampanoag women and children were being sheltered by the Narragansetts, they immediately demanded their surrender. Canonchet, mindful of his reputation among fellow Indians, regarded this request as a violation of Narragansett sovereignty and politely but firmly declined to comply. A stream of threats and entreaties followed, but the big chief thundered back, "Not a Wampanoag will I ever give up. No, not the paring of a Wampanoag's nail!" Despite this defiance, the Narragansetts made no overt hostile moves toward the settlers.

At this juncture, it appeared to the Puritans that Canonchet's recalcitrance stemmed from a secret alliance with King Philip. The settlers were then hard-pressed to contain the Indians, and the sheer number of Narragansett warriors available could lead to a decisive defeat. Rather than wait for the hatchet to fall upon them first, the New England Confederation resolved upon a preemptive strike to take as many of Canonchet's men out of the war as possible. A force of 1,000 well-armed soldiers, assisted by several hundred Mohegan Indians, then marched southward from Boston into Rhode Island. Their objective was the princi-

pal Narragansett town, situated on an island in the middle of a swamp in present-day South Kingston. On December 16, 1675, in the dead of wintry weather, the force under Governor Josiah Winslow of Plymouth and noted Indian fighter Benjamin Church surrounded the fort and attacked. The Indians, stoutly barricaded behind their walls, resisted fiercely, but at length the English managed to set several dwellings on fire. As flames consumed the fort, many Indians sought to escape, only to be cut down in droves. By the time the Great Swamp Fight concluded, more than 600 Narragansetts had been slain and another 400 captured as slaves. English losses amounted to only 20 killed and 80 wounded. Worse, the fighting deprived the tribe of its stock of corn for the winter, so that the refugees were threatened with starvation.

Canonchet, who had not been present, struck back furiously at what he deemed an unprovoked attack. Hovering near the rear of the withdrawing English, he managed to surprise a detachment of 40 militiamen under Capt. Michael Pierce on March 26, 1676, and wiped them out. This was one of the biggest disasters to befall the English during the conflict. Successful raids against Warwick, Providence, and Pawtucket were also staged, with many homes and farms burned and settlers slain. However, the Indians were short on food, and so Canonchet was forced to forage. While Canonchet was encamped in the Pawtucket Valley to gather seed, a mixed English-Indian force under Captains James Avery and George Denison surprised the marauders, and Canonchet was captured by an Indian scout. Refusing to make peace, he was summarily bound over to English authorities in Stonington, Connecticut, for trial. The tall chief remained defiant and indifferent to his capture, then scoffed at his death sentence, declaring, "I like it well; for I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have spoken anything unworthy of myself." Canonchet was then turned over to

representatives of the Pequot, Mohegan, and Niantic tribes, who shot and beheaded him. His head subsequently became a grisly trophy, placed on display in Hartford. Canonchet's death marked a turning point in King Philip's War, for it robbed the Indians of a talented leader and also marked the Narragansetts' decline as New England's most powerful tribe. With the defeat of King Philip later that year, the entire region passed firmly into the control of English settlers.

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Captain Jack

(ca. 1837–October 3, 1874)
Modoc Subchief

Captain's Jack's refusal to settle on a reservation triggered an embarrassing episode for the United States that witnessed the only U.S. Army general to be killed by Indians. The Modocs then conducted an epic stand in the lava beds along the Oregon-California border, but they would pay a heavy price for success.

Kintpuash (He Has Water Brash; i.e., indigestion) was born along the Lost River near the California-Oregon boundary, the son of a local Modoc subchief. In his dealings with white settlers, he subsequently acquired the sobriquet "Captain Jack" on account of a fondness for army clothing and decorations. The Modocs at this time had enjoyed relatively peaceful relationships with the tide of white settlers that flooded Northern California after the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). However, tensions began to rise as more and more Indian land was confiscated by the new residents. Sporadic fighting ensued and Captain Jack's father was killed in a deliberate ambush by vengeful whites. Taking his father's place within the tribe, Jack thereafter advocated peaceful relations between Modocs and settlers. Little upheaval occurred in Northern California until 1864, when Chief Schonchin, under great pressure, signed a treaty stipulating the surrender of prime Modoc land in exchange for a reservation in Oregon. Unfortunately, this arrangement placed the Modocs, a small tribe, in the



Captain Jack
National Archives

very lap of their hostile Klamath neighbors. For nearly six years, the Klamaths bullied and harassed the Modocs in a squabble over scarce resources; the local Indian agent refused to intervene or assist. At length, Captain Jack decided he had endured enough abuse, and in April 1870, accompanied by 150 Modoc warriors, women, and children, he departed the Klamath reservation for his former Modoc home near Tule Lake in Northern California.

The Modocs lived peaceably for two years on their old land before settlers demanded their removal. When threats and entreaties failed to convince Captain Jack to return to Oregon, on November 28, 1870, the army dispatched a troop of 36 soldiers under Capt. James Jackson to persuade them by force. A heated argument ensued in the camp and a fight broke out, leaving several soldiers and Indians dead. This skirmish was the opening volley of the so-called Modoc War, an expensive and all-around embarrassing episode in the history of Indian removal. Captain Jack, fearing the inevitable retaliation was coming, hastily relocated his small band to the lava beds south of Tule Lake. At length he was joined by another group under Hooker Jim, who had massacred 18 white settlers en route. The position chosen by Captain Jack was sparse, but as it was marked by caves, fissures, and other obstacles, it formed an excellent defensive position if held with determination. Within weeks, the

holdouts were approached by 500 soldiers under Lt. Col. Frank Wheaton, and a siege began in earnest. To everybody's surprise, Captain Jack's 50 warriors repulsed an attack on January 17, 1873, killing 11 soldiers and wounded an additional 26. The Indians, well protected by their volcanic surroundings, suffered no losses.

Such defiance spurred the army to greater efforts, and shortly thereafter Gen. Edward R.S. Canby, military commander of the Department of the Columbia, arrived with reinforcements. Rather than attack outright, Canby, who was sympathetic to the plight of Native Americans, chose to negotiate first.

A series of unsuccessful parleys ensued, but when Captain Jack began leaning toward surrender, the militants under Hooker Jim derided him as weak and threatened to kill him. They demanded that Captain Jack murder General Canby in an attempt to demoralize the Americans. Accordingly, when the parties next met on April 11, 1873, Captain Jack and others pulled out hidden weapons, killing Canby and wounding two others. Thus, the good-intentioned Canby became the only regular army general to fall during the Indian Wars. Naturally, the nation was enraged by this act of treachery, and efforts to extricate the Modocs were redoubled.

At length a new leader, Col. Jefferson C. Davis (no relation to the Confederate leader), launched a new assault with 1,000 men and artillery on April 26, 1872, only to have it bloodily repulsed. Moreover, a band of warriors under another chief, Scarface Charley, ambushed a cavalry patrol, killing 25 additional men. However, as food supplies dwindled, dissension arose in Modoc ranks and morale began to waver. Slowly, small parties of Indians began surrendering to the Americans. Davis judged the moment correct and then systematically advanced in great force, driving the stubborn Modocs from their stronghold. When the party under Hooker Jim was captured, he betrayed his former compatriots by offering to assist in tracking down Captain Jack. In fact, when the elusive

leader was finally captured on June 1, 1872, Hooker Jim agreed to stand as state's witness against him.

The surviving Modoc leaders were brought to Fort Klamath, Oregon, and tried by court-martial. As promised, the former militant Hooker Jim testified against Captain Jack and four others in exchange for amnesty. All were found guilty for the murder of federal peace commissioners and sentenced to hang, which was carried out on October 3, 1873. Betrayed by his former ally, Captain Jack went to the gallows a very bitter man. In a macabre twist, graverobbers subsequently abducted his body, embalmed it, and set about touring several eastern cities. As for the surviving band of Modocs, their fight for freedom culminated in exile in Oklahoma until 1909, when they were permitted to join their brethren in Oregon. But Captain Jack's epic stand, whereby 80 warriors stood off 1,000 well-armed soldiers for nearly seven months—at the cost of nearly 100 federal casualties and \$500,000 in expenditures—proved an embarrassing episode in U.S. Army history.

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Carleton, Guy

(September 3, 1724–November 10, 1808)
English General; Colonial Governor

The earnest, efficient Carleton was among Britain's ablest military leaders during the American Revolution. His adroit handling of an indifferent French Catholic population, coupled with sound military action against a serious invasion, preserved Canada as part of the British Empire. He laid the seeds of Canada's transformation from a conquered French province into a prosperous English colony.

Guy Carleton was born in Strabane, Ireland, on September 3, 1724, the son of Protestant, landholding parents. His early exposure to a large Catholic population there apparently inoculated him against religious bias and prepared him for events later in life. Carleton joined the British army as an ensign in May 1742, transferring to the elite First Regiment of Foot Guards as a lieutenant colonel nine years later. In this capacity he ventured to America and fought at the siege of Louisbourg under Sir Jeffrey Amherst in 1758. Shortly after, Carleton transferred as lieutenant colonel of the 78th Regiment of Foot and accompanied Gen. James Wolfe, a personal friend, during the campaign against Quebec. He fought bravely at the decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759, and was wounded. After recovering, Carleton returned to Europe as an acting brigadier general and performed well during the siege of Belle Isle off the coast of France in 1761. He was wounded again at Port Andro shortly thereafter, gained promotion to full colonel, served capably during the siege of Havana in 1762, and was wounded a third time. In recognition of his sterling service to the Crown, and his marked administrative abilities, Carleton became lieutenant governor of Quebec in September 1766. The following year he advanced to full governorship.

Canada had only recently been captured from France, and the inhabitants were only

sullenly cooperative. But Carleton played a vital role in bringing this important territory firmly into the British fold. Despite his Protestant background, he entertained no prejudice against the overwhelmingly Roman Catholic population, and he took active measures to protect their religious practices. This was done over the protest of a small but vocal English community, who demanded preferential treatment as in England. Carleton rather wisely catered to the ruling provincial elites of Quebec, carefully cultivating their friendship. Thus, when he departed for England in 1770, he had secured the loyalty and cooperation of the French-speaking upper classes and the Catholic Church—no small feat in an age of religious intolerance. Back home, Carleton's good conduct resulted in his promotion to major general in 1772, but he continued working vigorously on behalf of Canada. He became a vocal proponent of the Quebec Act of 1774, through which the English government granted full recognition to the Catholic faith, along with economic rights to the French-speaking population of Canada. Furthermore, this authority extended far beyond the boundaries of Quebec and as far away as the Mississippi Valley. The act served to further shore up Canadian loyalties, but it set off alarm bells in the largely Protestant American colonies farther south, whose inhabitants now believed the English government was hatching a "Popish" plot against them. It was the latest in a series of British official missteps that helped hasten the onset of the American Revolution. Carleton returned to Canada in late 1774, where he was warmly greeted, and the following spring he gained appointment as governor of Quebec.

Carleton's arrival coincided with the onset of the American Revolution, which had been brewing in the city of Boston. The British commander there, **Thomas Gage**, felt his

available manpower inadequate to the task of maintaining order, and so he directed reinforcements be brought down from Canada. Accordingly, Carleton stripped Quebec of all but 800 regulars and shipped them south. This left the province in a weakened condition, but Carleton felt that the French population would rally to England if the Americans attempted to invade. He was sadly mistaken. Carleton's previous effort placated French sympathies but scarcely endeared the French to England; hence, relatively few militiamen stepped forward to serve. Although not overtly hostile, most Frenchmen were content to simply remain on the sidelines. Furthermore, many officials within the Indian Department, such as **Guy Johnson** and **John Butler**, openly advocated unloosing Native Americans against American settlements. But Carleton, formally trained in the art of "civilized" warfare, would hear none of it. He thereupon expressly ordered all Native Americans to be kept on a short leash—under strict control and supervision—to prevent atrocities. This was a noble gesture, firmly grounded in the general's altruism, but did little to enhance Canadian security.

The consequences of French apathy and the reluctance to employ Indians was underscored when the American forces under Gens. Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery invaded Canada in the fall of 1775. Badly outnumbered, Carleton gave up ground slowly and was forced to abandon Montreal without a fight. He then fell back and entrenched himself at Quebec, where Montgomery received timely reinforcements under Gen. **Benedict Arnold**. Carleton was backed against the wall, but he proved grimly determined to resist. On December 31, 1775, Montgomery gambled on an all-out assault against Quebec in a blinding snowstorm and very nearly succeeded, but Carleton's small, professional garrison repulsed him with heavy losses. Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and a body of riflemen under Daniel Morgan was captured. The Americans then settled upon a loose siege of the city

while Carleton held fast and awaited reinforcements from England.

In May 1776, newly arrived British forces under Carleton began rolling back the American invaders. The following month he expertly defeated 2,000 Americans under Gen. William Thompson at Trois Rivieres, and Gen. John Sullivan abandoned Montreal to the advancing British. Carleton then prepared to invade northern New York and ordered a small flotilla of warships constructed upon Lake Champlain. An American fleet was also built under the guidance of General Arnold. The opposing forces clashed at Valcour Island and Split Rock in mid-October and the Americans were completely defeated, but not before inflicting heavy losses upon Carleton's men. Rough terrain and the impending onset of winter convinced him to abandon his offensive and return to Canada. His operations had been criticized by some for a lack of dash, but he permanently secured the province for the remainder of the war. Carleton was subsequently knighted and promoted to lieutenant general for his good conduct.

By the summer of 1777, the British government had adopted an offensive strategy based in Canada, aimed at winning the war outright. Part of this entailed using various Native American tribes offensively, unleashing them across the frontier to wreak havoc and mayhem. This was accomplished over Carleton's protests, for he considered such tactics to be uncivilized. Moreover, the new army would be led by Gen. **John Burgoyne**, who would retrace Carleton's steps in northern New York and capture Albany, thereby severing New England from the rest of the colonies. The fact that the relatively inexperienced Burgoyne was selected over the veteran Carleton was the work of Lord **George Germain**, secretary of state for the colonies, who hated Carleton and wished to see him discredited. Carleton, taking the hint, angrily resigned his governorship, although he lent as much field support to Burgoyne's operations as possible. Following Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in October 1777, Carleton was recalled to En-

gland to serve as governor of Armagh, Ireland, and was succeeded by Gen. **Frederick Haldimand**. However, his open and scathing criticism of Lord Germain made it impossible to employ him as long as that official still held power.

By 1781, the defeat of Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** at Yorktown ended the war in American victory and caused the fall of the north government. Once a new ministry under Lord Rockingham assumed power, Carleton was called out of retirement to succeed Gen. **Henry Clinton** as commander in chief of British forces in America and was also authorized to seek political reconciliation with the rebels. However, after arriving in New York, Carleton concluded that no effort, diplomatic or military, would curtail the colonial drive toward independence. He therefore spent the bulk of his time organizing an orderly withdrawal of British forces; he also assisted the departure of thousands of Loyalists. In 1786, Carleton was created Lord Dorchester and dispatched to Canada for a third time. As previously, he made sincere gestures toward accommodating French aspirations and helped implement a new system of government for this vast territory. That entailed creating two new provinces, Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec), along with their respective legislative assemblies. He departed Canada for the last time in 1796, having played a large and successful role in the founding of that country. The distinguished Carleton spent the rest of his life in retirement and died on November 10, 1808,

one of the most capable military administrators of his age. The viability of Canada as a nation, and its independence from the United States, remain his greatest legacy.

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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Cervera, Pascual

(February 18, 1833–April 3, 1909)

Spanish Admiral

Admiral Cervera commanded the forlorn Spanish squadron during the Spanish-American War of 1898. Hopelessly outnumbered and outgunned, he was decisively defeated by superior U.S. Navy forces at Santiago Bay, Cuba, then was treated as a honored guest.

Pascual Cervera y Topete was born in Medina-Sidonia, Spain, on February 18, 1833, the son of an old aristocratic family. He entered Naval Cadet School at San Fernando, aged but 12 years, and graduated in 1851. Cervera proved himself an able junior officer and saw service in Morocco, on an 1862 expedition to Indochina, and as a naval attaché in Washington, D.C. He had risen to captain by the time war with Peru erupted in 1866, performed blockade duty in Cuba during the Ten Years' War, and also rendered useful service in the Second Carlist War. In 1883, Cervera assumed command of the ironclad *Pelayo*, and in 1891 he subsequently attended a London naval conference as aide-de-camp to the Queen's Regent. Two years later he gained appointment as naval minister, rising there to rear admiral, but he resigned when badly needed reforms were not implemented. In October 1897, Cervera took control of the Spanish squadron based at Cadiz in anticipation of war with the United States. In his professional estimation, this dreaded scenario could have but one outcome.

At the time, Spain was embroiled in bloody civil struggle on the island of Cuba. Harsh measures were imposed to restore order, which in turn created tensions with the United States. When war seemed inevitable, Cervera complained repeatedly to the naval minister that the Spanish navy was in utterly no condition to fight the Americans on equal terms. Not only were the majority of his vessels old and poorly functioning, but Spain also lacked adequate coaling stations and re-

pair facilities in the New World. These warnings, unfortunately, were dismissed out of hand. Cervera also observed that the government was utterly deficient in war-planning should conflict arise. He bluntly predicted disaster should a stand-up fight occur and advised the government that his fleet would be better deployed protecting the Canary Islands from attack. This defensive posture would preclude any chance that the Americans would seize the Canaries for operations against the Spanish mainland. Again, his sound advice was rejected.

When war was finally declared in May 1898, the naval ministry ordered him to take his four armored cruisers to the Cape Verde Islands to be joined by a torpedo boat flotilla. Cervera performed as ordered and, once reinforced, hoped he would be directed to the Canary Islands. The admiral realistically considered Cuba as already lost and, hence, not worth sacrificing his fleet. However, the government saw fit to dispatch his small squadron to Puerto Rico, where he was to attack Key West, Florida, and blockade the U.S. East Coast! Cervera realized the impracticality of his instructions and disclaimed responsibility for what might happen, but like a good sailor he obeyed orders.

He arrived at Santiago, Cuba, on May 19, 1898, nearly out of coal and with several vessels needing serious repair. He hoped to re-supply and depart as quickly as possible before the Americans could blockade him there, but on May 27, 1898, Commodore Winfield Scott Schley's squadron arrived outside the port. As he predicted, Cervera was now trapped inside. Shortly after, Schley was joined by additional forces under Adm. William T. Sampson, further steepening the odds. From a military standpoint, the Spanish position was relatively hopeless. But rather than run a gauntlet of American warships,

Cervera ordered his crew to disembark, and they filed into the trenches of Santiago as part of the city's defenses. Previously, both Cervera and his captains had already concluded that a pitched engagement was nothing less than suicidal. He was fully prepared to scuttle his ships rather than lose them—and his crews—in battle against a superior enemy.

Within days the Americans landed troops and occupied the high ground overlooking Santiago, threatening Cervera's anchored fleet with artillery fire. At this time the naval minister had placed his squadron under the control of Ramon Blanco y Erena, captain-general of Cuba, who ordered Cervera to sortie from Santiago. Blanco apparently believed it was better to lose the squadron in battle for the sake of national pride than to simply surrender it. The hapless admiral bluntly declared he was less concerned with national pride than the lives of his men, yet he had no recourse but to obey. On the morning of July 3, 1898, Cervera assembled his ships and sent them out, single file, into Santiago Bay.

The American squadron offshore had been anticipating a Spanish sortie for some time. Commodore Schley exercised command of the squadron, as Admiral Sampson had departed to confer ashore with Gen. William Shafter. Cervera's squadron consisted of four heavy cruisers—*Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Vizcaya*, *Cristobal Colon*, and *Almirante Oquendo*—plus the torpedo ships *Pluton* and *Furor*. Arrayed against them were the American battleships *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Oregon*, and *Texas*, the heavy cruiser *Brooklyn*, and three



Pascual Cervera
Library of Congress

armed yachts. As the Spanish vessels cleared the channel, a running battle developed around 9:00 A.M. Accuracy on both sides proved abysmal, but the older Spanish vessels took several hits that riddled them. Within four hours Cervera's entire squadron had been either run aground or sunk outright. It was an impressive victory for the U.S. Navy, which suffered one killed and two wounded compared to 323 Spanish killed and 1,720 prisoners taken. Sampson, rather embarrassed, arrived toward the close of the battle. Santiago Bay proved one of history's most decisive naval engagements, for it eliminated Spain's

ability to contest American movement around Cuba. It also engendered a long-standing, angry debate between Sampson and Schley as to which officer, precisely, was responsible for the victory.

After the battle, Cervera and his staff were rescued by the yacht *Gloucester* and brought aboard the battleship *Iowa*. There Capt. Robley D. Evans saluted the unlucky admiral as a worthy adversary and offered him personal funds for any convenience he required. Cervera thanked Robley for his generosity, but politely declined. He was then conveyed to Annapolis, Maryland, and comfortably interned at the U.S. Naval Academy. There he was feted as an honored guest and enjoyed complete freedom of the town until he was paroled in September. Moreover, the totality of Cervera's defeat, the bravery with which he faced it, and his own chivalrous nature led to a generous outpouring of sympathy from the American public. Back in Spain, Cervera was court-martialed for the loss of his fleet, honor-

ably acquitted, and restored to service. He rose to vice admiral in 1901 and the following year was promoted to naval chief of staff. In 1903, Cervera was further honored by being made a senator for life. He died in Puerto Real, Spain, on April 3, 1909, a gallant but tragic figure, embittered by the disaster that he repeatedly warned would happen.

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Cixi

(November 29, 1835–November 15, 1908)
Chinese Dowager Empress

For nearly half a century, crafty Cixi was a central figure in China's palace politics, only the second woman in history to rule that enormous country. Faced with a massive upheaval against foreigners, she channeled the Boxer Rebellion to her own ends, although at great cost to China.

Cixi (or Ts' u-Hsi) was born under the name Yehonala (Orchid) in Beijing on November 29, 1835, the daughter of a minor Manchu bureaucrat. The Manchus, who originated from the plains of northeastern Asia, had ruled China since 1644 under the aegis of the Qing (or Ch'ing) Dynasty. In the course of the usual court politics, Yehonala became a minor concubine of Emperor Xianfeng at the age of 16. Normally women, even those close to the centers of Chinese authority, were excluded from politics owing to deep-seated Confucian precepts against

them. However, Yehonala was intelligent, ambitious, and wielded her beauty like a weapon. A master of manipulation, she proved herself charming, astute—and utterly ruthless. In 1856, her growing importance to the imperial court was confirmed when Yehonala gave birth to the emperor's only surviving son. Thereafter, she was regularly allowed to participate on matters of state and handled official papers. When the decadent Xianfeng died in 1861, a council of eight advisers was installed as regents to his son. However, they failed to anticipate Yehonala's guile, for she conspired with Prince Gong, an important Manchu official, who had the advisers either arrested or executed. Thereafter, Yehonala, who assumed the title Cixi (Dowager Empress), was installed as co-regent of her son with Cian, the emperor's wife.

In time Cixi revealed herself a master of court intrigue and a power broker to reckon with. She resided in luxurious isolation in the imperial palace within the so-called Forbidden City, where commoners were prohibited. Cixi herself was forbidden from showing her face in public, so she received visitors and dignitaries from behind a yellow-silk screen, listened to their presentation, and barked commands. Her son came of age in 1874 and was crowned Emperor Tongzhi, but he died three years later. Moving quickly, Cixi managed to have his four-year-old cousin installed in his place. This was a direct violation of Qing succession rules, since he was not of the same generation as Tongzhi. But through artful deceit and coercion, Cixi made the usurpation stand. Moreover, when he came of age in 1886 to become Emperor Guangxu, Cixi refused to give up the regency until his marriage 23 years later. Thereafter, she ruled the weak-willed emperor as her personal puppet, using every possible maneuver to increase her own power and authority. When coregent Cian died in 1881, she became the *de facto* ruler of China.

China at this time could ill afford such self-centered policies, for it was being besieged by numerous foreign powers intent upon colonizing and controlling it. Attempts at modernization, unfortunately, were thwarted and defeated by court conservatives like Cixi, who viewed change as a threat to their rule. When the government raised large sums of money to build and acquire modern warships, Cixi appropriated the funds for her own use, re-



Cixi
Archive Photos

building the lavish Summer Palace with, among other attractions, a steamboat entirely carved from marble! The effects of such neglect were clearly apparent during the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), wherein the efficient, modern Japanese navy swept antiquated Chinese vessels from the sea. Emperor Guangxu, alarmed by this continual foreign encroachment, instituted a series of reforms to update Chinese political and economic institutions, the so-called Hundred Days. These changes only peripherally threatened Manchu control of the country, but Cixi arranged a coup whereby the emperor was placed under house arrest, and six leading reformers were executed. “Old Buddha,” as she came to be known, now assumed the regency for life.

reformers were executed. “Old Buddha,” as she came to be known, now assumed the regency for life.

In 1900, the stress of war, natural disasters like famine and flooding, and rising resentment against foreign intrusions all culminated in a violent, xenophobic outbreak known as the Boxer Rebellion. This upheaval was led by a secret organization, the Society of Righteousness and Harmony, an exponent of traditional Chinese martial arts (hence, “Boxers”). They also drew upon Chinese mysticism, invoking spells and potions that would allegedly protect them against European bullets. Furthermore, propelled by their hatred of foreigners, the Boxers initially included the Manchu Dynasty on their violent agenda. However, Cixi was herself repelled by Westerners, and after some contemplation she openly supported the goals of the uprising. The Chinese government subsequently de-

clared war against all foreign powers on its soil. Whether the Dowager Empress did this to rid the foreigners—or to simply deflect public anger away from her regime—is speculative, but troops of the regular Chinese army began fighting alongside the insurgents.

In the summer of 1900, Chinese forces laid siege to the various foreign legations quartered in Beijing, a grim trial of endurance that lasted 56 days. This attack spurred eight nations—Japan, England, Germany, Italy, Russia, France, Austria, and the United States—to mount an international relief force to rescue their diplomats. The American contingent was headed by Gen. Adna Romanza Chaffee, who proved instrumental in clearing out rebels in the coastal city of Tianjin. Once this was accomplished, the allied column, numbering 20,000 men, clawed its way toward Beijing. On August 14, 1900, Chaffee's men stormed the city's gates and helped rescue the diplomats. Afterward, U.S. forces were assigned the task of capturing the Forbidden City. In the course of the fighting, Sergeant Dan Daly of the U.S. Marines single-handedly defended his post against innumerable Boxers and won the Congressional Medal of Honor. The allies, given their superior firepower and technology, completely crushed the Boxers, and naughty Cixi, disguised as a peasant, fled the city and set up her court in Shaanxi Province. The erstwhile infallible manipulator had grossly miscalculated Western military prowess, and the victors felt disposed to impose harsh peace terms upon China. These included huge indemnities as well as additional territorial concessions, including the acquisition of Manchuria by Russia. Cixi's beloved Summer Palace was also burned to the ground to avenge the slaughter of several diplomats. Imperial China had reached its lowest ebb in history.

The firsthand experience of war and defeat seems to have tempered the Dowager Empress's penchant for self-indulgence. Thereafter, she allowed many of the modernization

reforms first espoused by the emperor, and she also welcomed foreigners to her court. Naturally, Old Buddha charmed Western observers with her intelligence and grace. But the Qing Dynasty was by then on its last legs, and rebellions against the hated Manchus continued up through 1908. Cixi died on November 15, 1908, one day after Emperor Guangxu—apparently poisoned at her command. Her passing was little mourned, but she was a remarkable woman. By rising from concubine to empress of China, she controlled the destinies of more than 400 million people for half a century. Three years later, in 1911, the Qing Dynasty was finally overthrown by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who declared the creation of the Republic of China. Divested of medieval trappings, China finally set itself on the path of modernity—and among the community of nations.

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Cleburne, Patrick Ronayne

(March 16, 1828–November 30, 1864)
Confederate General

“**F**ighting Pat” Cleburne, the Irish-born druggist-turned-soldier, was popularly known as the “Stonewall of the West.” Adored by men and officers alike, he seemed destined for high Confederate command—until he suggested using African Americans as soldiers. This remark halted his advancement, yet Cleburne nonetheless served as the highest-ranking foreign-born officer in the South.

Patrick Ronayne Cleburne was born in County Cork, Ireland, on March 16, 1828, the son of a respected Protestant druggist. Cleburne tried following into his father’s profession by pursuing pharmacology at the University of Dublin, but he failed his entrance exams. Ashamed by this lapse, he joined the British army in 1846 by enlisting in the 49th Regiment of Foot, the famous Green Tigers from the War of 1812. Cleburne served three years as a private, but he grew tired of performing constabulary work in Ireland and purchased his release in 1849. He migrated with his family to the United States the following year and briefly worked as a clerk at a drugstore in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1850, he was offered a similar post in Helena, Arkansas, where he settled. His outward, Hibernian disposition won him many friends, and in 1855 he became a naturalized citizen. Having also studied law, Cleburne opened a successful legal practice in 1855 and prospered. By 1860, the storm clouds of Southern secession were gathering, and he helped organize a militia company, the Yell Rifles. He was promptly elected captain, and when it joined nine other companies to form the First Arkansas Infantry Regiment, Cleburne gained appointment as colonel on May 14, 1861. Within weeks the regiment was amalgamated into a larger force commanded by Gen. William J. Hardee, a long-term professional soldier, and the two men be-

came fast friends. In many respects, Hardee’s subsequent success as a Confederate leader became closely tied to Cleburne’s.

By the fall of 1862, Cleburne accompanied Hardee’s command to Bowling Green, Kentucky, where they fell under the jurisdiction of Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston. There Cleburne took command of a brigade within Hardee’s division with the rank of brigadier. Subsequent Union maneuvers forced the Confederates to fall back on Corinth, Mississippi, until the Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862). This was the first large encounter of the war, and Cleburne singularly distinguished himself by driving Union forces out of their camp right up to the Tennessee River. The following day a counter-attack by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant forced the Confederates from the field. But the gallant rear-guard action by Cleburne’s brigade—reduced by losses to only 800 effectives—prevented the withdrawal from becoming a rout. His total casualties were 1,013 out of 2,700 men present, but Cleburne’s fine performance and coolness under fire garnered him a promotion to major general in November 1862. This act made him the highest-ranking soldier of foreign birth in Confederate service.

Shortly after, Cleburne joined the newly formed Army of Tennessee under Gen. **Braxton Bragg**, then marched north for an invasion of Kentucky. In this capacity he commanded a division fighting under Gen. Edmund Kirby-Smith at the Battle of Richmond (August 30, 1862). The Confederates were victorious, but Cleburne was seriously wounded in the jaw. Fortunately, he rejoined the army in time for the severe engagement at Perryville on October 8, 1862, where he broke the enemy line and was twice more wounded. Two months later Cleburne again distinguished himself in the bloody Battle of Murfreesboro (December 31, 1862–January 3,

1863), where his men routed the Union right wing and drove it back four miles. He then accompanied Bragg's retreat back to northern Georgia the following spring and summer. Like many other officers, Cleburne came to despise Bragg, who was a close friend and personal confidant of Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**.

On September 19–20, 1863, Cleburne confirmed his reputation as an outstanding combat leader at the bloody Battle of Chickamauga. He so ferociously assailed the Union position that its commander, Gen. William S. Rosecrans, pulled units from other parts of the field to reinforce it. This, in turn, enabled the corps of Gen. **James Longstreet** to come crashing through the center, routing the entire force. Cleburne scored an even bigger success during the Battle of Chattanooga (November 25, 1863). With his single division he prevented Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's force of four divisions from advancing. General Grant then authorized the feint up Missionary Ridge by Gen. George Thomas's corps, and the entire Confederate line fell back, but Cleburne's command assumed the rear guard. On November 27, 1863, he violently repelled Gen. Joseph Hooker's Corps at Ringgold Gap, allowing Bragg and the remnants of his army to escape toward Dalton, Georgia. This performance enshrined Cleburne's reputation as the "Stonewall of the West," and the Confederate Congress twice voted him its thanks. During the bleak winter of 1863–1864, his advancement to high command seemed all but assured.

Cleburne's sterling reputation took a decided and unexpected turn for the worse in January 1863. Faced with the prospect of growing manpower shortages, he innocently and rather naively proposed that the South should abolish slavery and recruit African American slaves to fight in exchange for emancipation. Cleburne may have been Southern in outlook and allegiance, but he was no racist. In fact, during his entire tenure in Arkansas, he never owned slaves. His suggestion was based more on practicality than

outright altruism: Such a move would potentially tap half a million new soldiers as well as facilitate British and French diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy, which in turn held the potential of direct military intervention on the South's behalf. It was a common-sense suggestion, one that the Confederacy ultimately adopted in the waning months of the war. However, at this juncture Southern leaders were shocked by his proposal, and it remained stillborn. Moreover, Cleburne forfeited whatever reputation he had previously enjoyed with President Davis, who had Cleburne's suggestion officially quashed. Worse yet, Davis took steps to deliberately withhold him from a corps command.

Cleburne continued functioning effectively as a division commander throughout the bloody and decisive Atlanta campaign. He helped Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** repulse Sherman's main attack at Kennesaw Mountain on June 27, 1864, and performed similar work at Bald Hill on July 22. Command then changed over to the aggressive Gen. **John Bell Hood**, who made repeated and futile attacks against Sherman's superior forces. When Atlanta was evacuated on September 1, 1864, Cleburne accompanied Hood on an ill-fated campaign against Sherman's lines of communication in Tennessee. On November 30, 1864, the ragged Confederates prepared for an all-out assault against dug-in Union positions at Franklin. Cleburne's division, as usual, would spearhead the attack, only this time across two and a half miles of open terrain. Losing heavily at every step, the surging Confederates nonetheless overran the two lines of Union works. Cleburne, who had two horses shot from under him, led the final charge on foot—sword in hand—when he was struck and killed. He became one of six Confederate generals to fall that day. Greatly mourned, Cleburne was initially buried at Rose Hill Cemetery in Columbia, Tennessee; after the war his remains were relocated to Helena, Arkansas. He tactical adroitness rendered him, quite possibly, the finest Southern divisional commander of the Civil War.

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Bragg, Braxton; Davis, Jefferson; Hood, John Bell; Johnston, Joseph E.; Longstreet, James

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Clinton, Henry

(April 16, 1730–December 23, 1795)

English General

A talented yet unpredictable officer, Clinton served longer as English commander in chief than any leader of the American Revolution. His unfortunate combination of personal shyness and aggressive presentation grated upon superiors and subordinates alike, ruining what might have been an outstanding military reputation.

Henry Clinton was born in Newfoundland, Canada, on April 16, 1730, the son of Adm. George Clinton, then governor of that province. He accompanied his father to New York when the latter was made governor, and he joined the militia. In 1751, Clinton ventured to England, where his personal connections to his cousin, the Duke of Newcastle, resulted in a lieutenant's commission with the elite Coldstream Guards. He rose by good conduct to captain and then lieutenant colonel, and he was committed to combat during later stages of the Seven Years' War (1755–1763) in Germany. As aide to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, Clinton was con-

spicuously engaged and wounded at Johanisberg on August 30, 1764. He won considerable applause for bravery under fire and advanced to full colonel of the 12th Regiment of Foot in 1766. By 1772, Clinton had risen to major general and fell back upon the political patronage of his cousin to gain election to Parliament. However, that year he also endured a personal tragedy when his young wife died suddenly, plunging him into profound depression. It took nearly three years before Clinton could resume active military service, and by that time the American Revolution had commenced in earnest. Again, through the intercession of the Duke of Newcastle, Clinton secured a high-ranking appointment. He arrived in Boston in May 1775, accompanied by Gens. **William Howe** and **John Burgoyne**, and reported for duty under Gen. **Thomas Gage**.

No one questioned Clinton's military skill as an officer or bravery under fire, but as a high-ranking subordinate he was beset by a

lack of interpersonal skills. Intensely shy, he was unable to express his ideas succinctly, usually resorting to a forceful, overbearing manner to compensate. His genuine good intentions were thoroughly masked by a disposition that was querulous, self-centered, and suspicious of others. Gage was consequently unimpressed by his advice and chose to ignore his very sound suggestion to storm Dorchester Heights. However, during the fateful June 17, 1775, attack on Bunker Hill, Clinton performed exceptionally useful service. Disregarding strict instructions not to expose himself, he personally led the final assault upon the American barricades that won the battle. Consequently, Clinton was promoted to acting lieutenant general and made second in command after Howe when Gage was recalled that October. Unfortunately, the two men differed completely in temperament and strategic vision, working poorly together over the next three years.

Howe disliked Clinton so intensely that he dispatched him on an amphibious attack against Charleston, South Carolina, just to be rid of him. Clinton sailed in company with a fleet commanded by Adm. Sir **Peter Parker** and arrived at their destination on June 28, 1776. Clinton tried landing his men on an island to await the outcome of a duel between the British fleet and American defenders on Sullivan's Island. However, the garrison's fire proved so heavy, and the ships suffered so much damage, that the expedition was called off and withdrew to New York. Clinton was discouraged by events thus far and returned to England determined



Henry Clinton
R. W. Norton Art Gallery, Shreveport, Louisiana

to tender his resignation, but the government convinced him to remain. He then rejoined Howe in time to engage the main American army under Gen. George Washington at the August 27, 1776, Battle of Long Island. There Clinton conceived and expertly executed a turning movement that outflanked Gen. Israel Putnam and sent the Americans scampering back in defeat.

After helping to drive Washington out of New York and across New Jersey, Clinton then clashed with Howe over what strategy to pursue next. The former wanted to

keep the destruction of Washington's army the main priority, whereas the latter sought to occupy as much territory as possible. Then Howe, determined to rid himself of his annoying subordinate, dispatched him on another amphibious expedition against Newport, Rhode Island. Clinton effectively captured this objective with a complicated and smooth operation in December 1776. But as he feared, Washington rallied his scattered forces and beat the British in two sharp engagements at Trenton and Princeton that same month. Disgusted by Howe's leadership, Clinton again ventured to England and threatened to resign, but Lord **George Germain**, suffering from a shortage of experienced senior officers, prevailed upon him to remain. As an additional sop, he arranged for Clinton to be knighted and advanced in rank to full lieutenant general.

Sir Henry Clinton arrived back at New York City in the summer of 1777, fully anticipating a major role in the upcoming campaign. Much to his chagrin, he was instructed to remain on the defensive while Howe led the bulk of the

army against Philadelphia. Clinton was aghast to learn that Howe pursued a personal war against Washington while failing to support the impending Canadian offensive by Gen. **John Burgoyne**. Burgoyne's success largely depended on an offensive launched north from New York City, and in October 1777 Clinton scraped together his resources and successfully attacked Forts Clinton and Montgomery in the New York highlands. However, the British war effort was staggered by word of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, and the British cabinet decided to shake up the high command. Accordingly, Howe resigned in May 1778 and was succeeded by Clinton. It remained to be seen if this change of command—and temperaments—would halt the decline of British fortunes in America.

Clinton took over Howe's army at Philadelphia and decided he lacked the resources to defend it against the French fleet. After a failed attempt to trap the Marquis de Lafayette at Barren Hill in May, he made preparations to proceed overland back to New York City. En route, the British were attacked by an invigorated Washington at Monmouth on June 28, 1778, and an inconclusive battle was fought. Clinton then resumed his march and took up defensive positions for nearly two years. By this time France was offering money and military support directly to the Americans. Clinton, in contrast, became saddled with Adm. **Marriot Arbuthnot**, a stubborn, quarrelsome commander who did his best to obstruct combined operations. Worse yet was the elevation of Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** to a senior command position. The ambitious Cornwallis was a superb battlefield leader but lacked clear strategic sense, and he hotly debated Clinton over how to break the impasse. Clinton and Germain originated the idea of commencing a gradual conquest of the South, and in December 1779 he again attacked Charleston. This time the British siege, conducted between February and May, succeeded entirely, and Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's army of 5,400 men was captured. It was Clinton's greatest triumph of the

war and a perilous strategic loss for the Americans. Continuing operations were then handed off to Cornwallis and his force of 8,000 men.

Clinton retired to New York to await developments and keep a watch on the army of George Washington, which was hovering nearby. His remaining tenure there was unremarkable beyond a series of destructive raids committed by former Governor **William Tryon**, as well as the defection of Gen. **Benedict Arnold**. That coup, unfortunately, was tempered by the arrest of Clinton's trusted aide, Maj. **John Andre**, who was subsequently executed as a spy.

Cornwallis initially enjoyed considerable success and gave the British their longest string of victories since the war started. However, he squandered his slender resources in a series of futile campaigns against Gen. Nathaniel Greene and was forced to retreat to the coastal enclave of Yorktown, Virginia. There he dug in and begged Clinton for reinforcements. Clinton initially balked, until he learned that Washington had cleverly stolen a march on him and was already pressing toward Yorktown. Clinton then boarded 8,000 men on the fleet and sailed, but he arrived in Chesapeake Bay eight days *after* Cornwallis's surrender on October 24, 1781. The British colonial government fell as a consequence, and in May 1782 a new ministry appointed Gen. Sir **Guy Carleton** to replace Clinton as commander in chief. It had been a frustrating four years.

Clinton returned to England dejected and angered over being blamed for the loss of America. But he refused to be scapegoated and published memoirs to absolve himself of the blame. Saddled by indifferent superiors like Gage and Howe, unruly subordinates like Cornwallis, and uncooperative allies like Arbuthnot, he argued there was nothing more that he could have done. Clinton subsequently lost his Parliament seat in 1784 but regained it six years later. He also continued in the military, eventually rising to full general in 1793. The following year he

gained appointment as governor of the strategic post of Gibraltar, a good indication of how far his reputation had been salvaged. Clinton died there in this capacity on December 23, 1795, a talented general, but a flawed ranking commander.

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Arnold, Benedict

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Cochise

(ca. 1812–June 9, 1874)

Apache War Chief

A master of hit-and-run tactics, Cochise became the most feared Native American warrior of the Southwest. For 10 years, he kept the Arizona and New Mexico Territories in turmoil until the U.S. Army employed Apache scouts against him.

Cochise (Hardwood) was born around 1812 in present-day Arizona to the Chiricahua tribe of the Apache nation. During his youth, he distinguished himself in several battles against the Mexicans and by 1835 had emerged as a significant leader of the Chokonen Apache band. Traditionally, the Apaches were bitter adversaries of the Mexicans, but when the United States acquired the Arizona Territory in 1848, Cochise desired friendly relations with the newcomers. He permitted the establishment of several stagecoach stations in his territory, where the Native Americans worked for and traded with their new neighbors.

These peaceful arrangements ended in 1861, when a renegade band of Apaches raided a settlers' outpost and abducted a child. The local military authority, Lt. George N. Bascom, summoned Cochise to discuss the affair. The Indian chief freely stepped forward to clear his name and denied any knowledge of the deed. Furthermore, he offered to help locate the child, but Bascom attempted to arrest him. In the ensuing melee, Cochise escaped, but several family members were seized. The Apaches wasted no time in securing hostages of their own and proposed an exchange, but when negotiations broke down both sides executed their prisoners. Cochise, angered by this betrayal, joined his father-in-law **Mangas Coloradas** of the Mimbreno Apaches and took to the warpath.

For 10 years, Cochise and his band (never numbering more than 600 warriors) raided towns, attacked stagecoaches, and killed as

many white settlers as possible. Their actions closed down Apache Pass, the only route to California from southern Arizona. The military was hard-pressed to contain these depredations because the Civil War had commenced and many garrisons had been withdrawn. At length, Gen. James H. Carleton advanced with 3,000 California volunteers and attempted to reopen communications with the east. In July 1862, his men moved into Apache Pass, where Cochise and Mangas awaited them behind breastworks. The Apaches stoutly resisted and retreated only after being dislodged by howitzer fire. When Mangas was captured and executed by the Californians in 1863, Cochise became the principal war chief of the Apache nation.

From his stronghold in the Dragoon Mountains of southern Arizona, Cochise continued raiding settlements with impunity. The Apaches were masters of mobile hit-and-run tactics; they would strike like lightning out of nowhere, then seemingly disappear into the desert without a trace. However, in June 1871 Gen. George Crook arrived as head of the Department of Arizona. He immediately began the novel and highly effective tactic of employing pacified Apache scouts against the raiders. Cochise, once cornered, agreed to negotiate with Crook, but only with the understanding that his people would not be deported to a reservation in New Mexico. Crook agreed initially, but when this condition could not be met, Cochise denounced him and fled back to the mountains with a small band of followers.

In 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant dispatched Gen. Oliver O. Howard to Arizona as his personal peace envoy. Howard took the unusual measure of sending scout Thomas J. Jeffords, a former friend of Cochise, into his camp. Cochise respected bravery and listened to Jeffords's appeal. After several days of negotiations, he agreed to parley with Howard. When the general promised to allow the Apaches to remain on their ancestral homeland in Arizona, with Jeffords as their agent, the fighting stopped. Cochise lived peacefully for two more years and died on the reservation on June 9, 1874. Cochise County, Arizona, was named in his memory. His successor was the more militant **Geronimo**.

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Cochrane, Alexander Forester Inglis

(April 22, 1758–January 26, 1831)

English Admiral

As commander in chief of the North American naval station, Cochrane helped orchestrate an ambitious am-

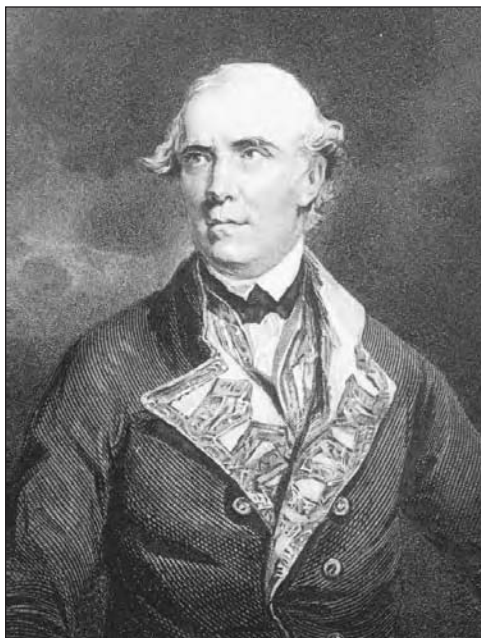
phibious campaign against America's coastal cities during the War of 1812. Although successful in the capture of Washington, D.C., his

efforts singularly failed before Baltimore and New Orleans.

Alexander Forester Inglis Cochrane was born on April 22, 1758, a son of the Eighth Earl of Dundonald, Scotland. He joined the Royal Navy while very young and by 1778 had risen to lieutenant. After distinguished service in the American Revolution, he was placed on half-pay and remained unemployed until 1790, when command of the frigate *HMS Hind* was tendered. Over the next 20 years, Cochrane performed capably in his appointed duties, which included the suppression of French privateers, service with the Channel Fleet, action at Quiberon Bay, and the successful invasion of Egypt. Cochrane also held a seat in Parliament throughout this period, and by 1804 he had risen to rear admiral. In this capacity he performed useful service against France throughout the Caribbean, and he received command of the Leeward Islands.

Cochrane particularly distinguished himself at the Battle of Santo Domingo on February 6, 1806, and was created a knight of the Order of Bath. In January 1810, he helped direct the capture of the island of Guadeloupe, was appointed governor, and remained so situated until the spring of 1814. He then succeeded Adm. John Borlase Warren as commander in chief of the North American station and was authorized to take offensive operations against the United States. In his private correspondence, Cochrane waxed contemptuously toward Americans and believed they would fight poorly—if at all.

The abdication of Napoleon in April 1814 had profound repercussions for the United



Alexander Forester Inglis Cochrane
National Maritime Museum

States, for great quantities of British military and naval assets were now freed for use in the ongoing War of 1812. Previously, a Royal Navy squadron under Adm. **George Cockburn** had been harassing shipping and coastal villages throughout Chesapeake Bay, but these operations, while embarrassing, were mere pinpricks. Cochrane wanted to expand the role of the navy by launching large-scale strategic offensives, not merely raids. This would not only bring the war home to the American public but also relieve military pressure on Canada. He subsequently

transported a brigade of Wellington's Peninsula veterans under Gen. **Robert Ross** from Bordeaux, France, to Bermuda in June 1814, then began drawing up operational plans against Washington, D.C. To further increase pressure on the United States, he also issued a controversial directive aimed at emancipating slaves, with a promise of freedom and a chance to fight if they would desert their owners. Only about 300 African Americans managed to take up the admiral's offer, but Southerners became sufficiently alarmed to accuse Cochrane of fomenting a slave insurrection. He also advocated arming the Creek and Seminole Indians in Florida for similar purposes, prompting similar criticism.

Once situated in Chesapeake Bay, Cochrane directed the August 1814 landing at Benedict, Maryland, of Ross's army, which proceeded to march overland against the American capital. Following the rout of American forces at Bladensburg on August 24, 1814, Ross and Cockburn occupied Washington and burned all the public buildings before

withdrawing back to the waiting fleet. While these events were unfolding, Cochrane also directed naval units in New England waters to step up their attacks along the coast. The most obvious object of British attention was the offshore island community of Nantucket, Massachusetts, which was closely blockaded from receiving food and fuel supplies. With winter approaching, no battle was necessary, for the inhabitants agreed to sign a pledge of neutrality with England and to withhold paying taxes to the American government. Meanwhile, Cochrane's next target was Baltimore, Maryland, a leading commercial center and home port to scores of privateers. In view of American performance thus far, the admiral anticipated no serious resistance.

On September 11, 1814, Cockburn landed Ross's army at North Point while several warships under Cochrane's direction entered Baltimore Harbor to bombard Fort McHenry. All day throughout September 12 and well into the night, his 16 warships and gunboats flailed away at the fortification, without much effect. At dawn the American flag was still flying defiantly, and the British were forced to draw off. Cochrane's ambitious gamble had failed. Curiously, an American lawyer, Francis Scott Key, was visiting the fleet at that time and was so inspired by Fort McHenry's defiance that he composed a poem entitled "The Star Spangled Banner," destined to become the American national anthem. With Ross being killed the first day of battle and his successor, Col. **Arthur Brooke**, unwilling to attack Gen. Samuel Smith's elaborate defenses, Cochrane agreed to reembark the army and withdraw. This retreat became a cause for national celebration and, more important, bolstered American bargaining positions during peace negotiations in Ghent, Belgium.

Defeat at Baltimore did little to dampen Cochrane's enthusiasm for the offensive. Since June, he had urged the British Admiralty to allow an amphibious descent upon New Orleans, Louisiana. This was an obvious target of great commercial significance, but the city, being situated at the mouth of the

Mississippi River, a major interior waterway, was also of great strategic significance. Cochrane felt that British possession of New Orleans would enhance British bargaining power at Ghent, with a view toward obtaining land concessions from the United States. In the fall of 1814, Cochrane's ambitious plan was authorized, and he received army reinforcements under Gen. **Edward Pakenham**. The British fleet departed Bermuda and arrived in the Gulf of Mexico in December 1814. However, Cochrane regarded the usual approaches to New Orleans as too heavily guarded, so he substituted an indirect northern approach via Lake Borgne. Through this expedient he hoped to catch the American defenders, led by Gen. Andrew Jackson, by surprise.

Cochrane's strategy was sound but risky. First he had to eliminate a gunboat squadron under the command of Lt. Thomas ap Catesby Jones, which was accomplished after a stiff fight on December 14, 1814. A large portion of the British army under Gen. John Keane was then landed and forced to partially march and partially row its way through miles of swampland to reach its objective. Despite enduring incredible hardships, which reflects great credit upon the professionalism and toughness of "Wellington's Invincibles," the ploy very nearly succeeded. Keane had advanced unannounced to within seven miles of New Orleans before Jackson's army attacked the British in their camp on the night of December 23, 1814. The Americans were driven off, but Keane halted his advance until the arrival of Pakenham and the balance of the army. Once reinforcements arrived, the British engaged in a series of futile attacks and probes against the American line, which culminated in a bloody repulse on January 7, 1815. Pakenham was killed, and the survivors had to retrace their steps through the swamps back to Cochrane's waiting fleet. To raise the army's morale, the admiral then landed British forces under Gen. John Lambert outside of Mobile, Alabama Territory. There, on February 11, 1815, they managed to subdue the garrison of

Fort Bowyer after a brief siege before news of the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, arrived the following day. Cochrane returned to England shortly thereafter, but under a cloud. No less authority than the Duke of Wellington castigated his entire naval strategy, concluding it had been conceived solely for the purpose of obtaining plunder. The lopsided victory at New Orleans also electrified the American public, who came to believe in time that the United States had actually “won” the War of 1812!

Back home, Cochrane advanced to full admiral in 1819, but he remained without an active command until 1821, when he gained appointment as commander in chief of Plymouth Harbor. This concluded his active career; he died in Paris on January 26, 1831.

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Cockburn, Sir George

(1772–August 19, 1853)

English Admiral

Cockburn was an audacious naval leader in the Royal Navy during the War of 1812. A skilled practitioner of amphibious warfare, his devastating raids along America’s coastlines culminated in the destruction of the nation’s capital.

George Cockburn was born in 1772 and went to sea at the age of nine as a captain’s servant on board the frigate HMS *Resource*. He rose to lieutenant in 1793 while serving under Capt. Horatio Nelson on the HMS *Victory* and, thereafter, embarked upon a singularly distinguished naval career. Commencing in 1790, when he received the sloop HMS *Speedy* as his first command, Cockburn

served on a succession of larger warships and rendered distinguished service throughout the Mediterranean theater. He participated in several actions off Toulon and, in December 1796, assisted in capturing the Spanish frigate *Sabina*. The following year he received command of the frigate HMS *Minerve*, accompanied the fleet of Adm. Sir John Jervis, and fought at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent on February 14, 1797. Thereafter, he spent several years cruising the Mediterranean and securing several privateer prizes. When war with France recommenced in 1803, Cockburn was performing duty in the East Indies, and he subsequently assisted in the capture of

Martinique in 1808. He spent the next four years off the coast of Spain, providing valuable service to forces resisting Napoleon's invasion. In light of his excellent seamanship and daring, Cockburn rose to rear admiral in August 1812. His fortunes took an auspicious turn that fall, when orders arrived transferring him to Bermuda as part of Adm. John Brolase Warren's squadron. Furthermore, he was instructed to raid the shores of Chesapeake Bay, destroy supplies, and in every way increase American discomfiture.

Cockburn arrived at Chesapeake Bay in February 1813, and the following April he successfully raided the port of Frenchtown, Maryland. Resistance was slight, but the British tars and marines were allowed to burn and loot the various warehouses located there. Cockburn then set his sights upon another easy target, Havre de Grace, Maryland, which he successfully stormed on May 2, 1813. The town was largely undefended save for the exertions of a lone, elderly Irish artilleryman, who was captured. Cockburn chivalrously allowed his prisoner to be freed, then summarily burned most of the town. Consequently, the admiral was roundly condemned for allowing his men free reign once ashore, and editor Joseph Gales of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, D.C., published several scathing commentaries in particular. Unfazed by criticism or growing notoriety, Cockburn subsequently rendezvoused with Warren for a joint assault against Craney Island, Virginia, on June 22, 1813. However, the large militia garrison,



Sir George Cockburn
National Maritime Museum

son, assisted by the crew and guns of the frigate USS *Constellation*, resisted gamely, and the British drew off with considerable losses. The expeditionary force then proceeded to Hampton, Virginia, which was taken after a brief struggle on June 25, 1813.

Hampton proved to be one of the war's most controversial actions. When Cockburn, as usual, permitted his men to loot and raze the town, soldiers of the Canadian Chasseurs (former French prisoners of war fighting for England) went on a rampage, raping and murdering several individuals. The American press exploded in denunciation of Cockburn and his piratical practices, which also came under criticism from the English government.

Nonetheless, the admiral, reveling in his unpopularity, always carefully gleaned captured newspapers while ashore, making note of what was being said about him in the American press. In light of the *National Intelligencer's* unceasing vitriol, he hoped to arrange a close encounter with editor Gales, whom he contemptuously called "Josey."

The tempo of Cockburn's raiding activities increased exponentially in the summer of 1814, when he was reinforced by Adm. **Alexander Cochrane** and a brigade of Wellington's Peninsula veterans under Gen. **Robert Ross**. At that time the British government adopted an official policy of punitive measures against public property in retaliation for American depredations committed in Canada. Thus, Cockburn's marauding activities anticipated by several

months what would follow on a much larger scale.

On August 15, 1814, Cockburn, Cochrane, and Ross settled upon a strategy of large-scale raiding, coupled with a possible thrust against Washington, D.C., known to be lightly defended. The army was landed at Benedict, Maryland, on August 19, 1814, while Cockburn's fleet proceeded up the Pautuxent River in search of a gunboat squadron commanded by Commodore Joshua Barney. Barney, cornered by superior forces, obligingly destroyed his vessels and marched his men overland to assist the defense of the capital. Cockburn, his blood up, also came ashore and raced pell-mell to join Ross's advance. At this time instructions from Cochrane arrived, ordering both men to return to the fleet, but the admiral's sense of timing was never more apparent. He convinced Ross to continue advancing upon the enemy capital, which was done after routing Gen. William H. Winder's larger force of American militia at Bladensburg on August 24. The only real resistance came from a handful of sailors and marines under Commodore Barney, who was wounded and captured. Cockburn was so impressed by this brave display that he immediately paroled his prisoner. Ross and Cockburn then occupied Washington, and the admiral brooked no delay in paying his respects to the offices of the *National Intelligencer*. Not only did he order the building torn down, he also instructed his men to destroy certain letters in Gales's type press. "Make sure that all the C's are destroyed," he ordered, "so that the rascals can have no further means of abusing my name." Cockburn then leisurely rode around Washington on his white horse, thoroughly enjoying his escapade, and carefully supervising soldiers and sailors as to what they could and could not loot. The British expedition then retraced its steps back to Benedict, reembarked unmolested, and sailed away. The capture and destruction of Washington, conducted largely at the instigation of Cockburn, was the most audacious operation of the war. It was also the greatest American humiliation in that conflict and gained its architect the undying enmity of

the nation. Cockburn shrugged off the entire affair, counting it simply as the latest in a long series of successful actions ashore.

The next target on the British agenda was the important commercial center at Baltimore, long despised by the British because of its flourishing privateer industry. On September 11, 1814, Cockburn landed with Ross at North Point and accompanied the march inland. However, the general was killed in a slight skirmish, which largely dampened subsequent military operations. When Cochrane was unable to reduce Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor, he called off the invasion, and Cockburn was only too happy to comply. Cochrane next sailed off to attack New Orleans, and Cockburn followed only as far south as Cumberland Island, off the Georgia coast, which he captured on January 1, 1815. The British then established a base of operations and began fanning out along the Georgia coastline. The town of St. Mary's was raided on January 13, and Cockburn was in the act of preparing for a full-scale assault against Savannah when word of peace arrived. As part of his overall strategy, the admiral was apparently intent on provoking a mass uprising by African American slaves to facilitate the British conquest. The American press quickly excoriated these intentions as more proof of his apparent ruthlessness.

Cockburn returned to England in June 1815. It then fell to his responsibility to transport Napoleon, recently defeated at Waterloo, into exile on the remote island of St. Helena, where Cockburn also briefly served as governor. Sailing home in 1816, Cockburn was promoted to vice admiral in 1819 and rose successively through the ranks until reaching the stellar grade of Admiral of the Fleet in 1851. He died on August 19, 1853, quite possibly the most hated Englishman of the War of 1812, but also among its most daring and effective naval commanders.

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Collier, George

(May 11, 1738–April 6, 1795)
English Admiral

George Collier was easily the most effective Royal Navy commander of the American Revolution. He rendered brilliant service on several occasions but, lacking patronage and political connections, never rose far in the stodgy, aristocrat-dominated officer corps. Following this near-complete lack of recognition, Collier tendered his resignation in disgust.

George Collier was born in London on May 11, 1738, of common origin. He joined the Royal Navy in 1751 and three years later, by dint of good service, received a lieutenant's commission. Following several cruises in the West Indies and elsewhere, he advanced to captain in 1762. A succession of



George Collier
National Maritime Museum

warship commands followed, and in 1775 Collier was dispatched on a secret mission to North America just prior to the Revolutionary War. The exact nature of this errand has never been discovered, but he was knighted by King George III as a consequence. Furthermore, in May 1776 he took command of the 42-gun frigate HMS *Rainbow* and was dispatched under Adm. **Richard Howe** for service in American waters.

Collier, an officer who exuded leadership ability, quickly distinguished himself in action. In August 1776, he helped the Howe brothers land a large British army on Long Island, New York, a force that soundly defeated the Americans under Gen. George Washing-

ton. However, Collier declared his “inexpressible astonishment and concern” when the fleeing Americans escaped by boat to New York City, without any interference from the Royal Navy. He was not aware of, and certainly did not agree with, Lord Howe’s attempts to mollify the rebels by going easy on them. Perhaps for this reason, the admiral dispatched Collier and a naval squadron to Nova Scotia to organize naval defenses there. Within months his ships were responsible for the seizure of 76 American vessels, and in July 1777 Collier capped his success by the signal capture of the new 32-gun American frigate *Hancock*. At length, he also became involved with events on land by forwarding a squadron with reinforcements to relieve Fort Cumberland, New Brunswick, then under siege. The following June, intelligence arrived regarding an impending rebel attack against Nova Scotia by troops concentrated at Machias (in present-day Maine). Collier reacted swiftly by sending six vessels crammed with soldiers who landed and quickly dispersed enemy forces. Many vessels were burned, and large quantities of military stores were also taken.

Collier’s excellent reputation held him in good stead in April 1779, when he replaced Adm. James Gambier as acting commander in chief with the rank of commodore. He was also unique among naval commanders in American waters for his uncanny ability to get along with Gen. **Henry Clinton**, the prickly senior military commander at New York. That May, Collier prevailed upon Clinton to lend him 2,000 troops for an ambitious foray into Chesapeake Bay. Clinton was duly impressed by the plan and assigned Gen. Edward Mathew to the task. On May 10 the two men attacked and burned Fort Nelson before also putting the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk to the torch. Over the next two weeks Collier cruised the lightly defended coastline, burning ships, supplies, and anything useful to the enemy. By the time the endeavor ended in June, Collier had accounted for 28 vessels and more than 1,000 hogsheads of tobacco, a vital cash crop. He then returned to New York and

shortly after assisted Clinton in the capture of Fort Lafayette (present-day Verplanck, New York). He subsequently provided material assistance throughout a protracted raid along the Connecticut coast for several weeks. Compared to his unpopular predecessor, Collier was an extremely aggressive, cooperative naval leader. Clinton came to value his cooperation highly—and would miss it dearly when he departed.

Collier’s greatest contribution to the British war effort occurred in August 1779, when he learned that a major American naval expedition had entered Penobscot Bay, Maine. Mustering every vessel that floated, he left New York and sailed quickly, hoping to trap the enemy in place. On August 13, his squadron captured two American vessels before they could get out an alarm, then sealed the entire expedition of 38 vessels inside the bay. The Americans quickly sortied up the Penobscot River, where they beached and then burned their flotilla. In one fell swoop, Collier single-handedly annihilated the largest American amphibious effort of the Revolutionary War. It was a humiliating rebel defeat, and the captain was roundly praised by King George III. The Royal Navy, then headed by the Earl of Sandwich, was desperate for aggressive, competent naval commanders. However, Collier suffered a major disappointment when he returned in triumph back to New York. There he learned, much to his disgust, that he had been replaced by the aging and indecisive Adm. **Marriot Arbuthnot**. Incensed by this continuing lack of recognition, Collier sought and obtained an immediate transfer home. The British Admiralty, then under the indolent Sandwich’s sway, apparently had no place for a man of his caliber.

Back in England, Collier resumed his naval career by serving in the Channel Fleet, and in 1781 he assisted in a major relief effort at Gibraltar. On the return trip, he captured the Spanish frigate *Leocadia* after a stiff engagement. However, Collier never again held an independent command, and this gratuitous neglect prompted his resignation.

Collier's problem was his family pedigree: Lacking an aristocratic background, money, or influence, Collier never enjoyed the political patronage necessary to secure a high rank or important commands. This was especially tragic for the Royal Navy, which, being saddled by men of the likes of Arbutnot and **Thomas Graves**, very much needed men of Collier's quality. However, he opted instead for a political career and was elected to Parliament in 1784. Collier continued there in obscurity for nearly a decade before rejoining the navy as a rear admiral in 1793. Clearly, his best years were behind him, but in 1794 the government saw fit to raise him to vice admiral.

The following year Collier became commander of the naval base at Nore and died while visiting London on April 6, 1795. Considering his skill and decisiveness—the finest traditions in the Royal Navy—his employment during the American Revolution was altogether too brief, a wasted opportunity.

Cornplanter

(ca. 1735–February 18, 1836)
Iroquois War Chief

Cornplanter was a fierce Iroquois warrior who ravaged New York's frontier during the American Revolution. Afterward, he became firmly wedded to the idea of peaceful coexistence with the United States, a stance that brought him great wealth—but also the enmity of his own people.

Cornplanter (Gyantwackia, or “By What One Plants”) was born in Conawagus (Avon, New York) into the Wolf clan of the Seneca nation. His mother, Gahhononeh, was a full-blooded Seneca woman, but his father, John O'Bail, was a white Indian trader stationed at Albany who subsequently abandoned them. The Seneca, as part of the six-nation Iroquois

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confederation, were a matriarchal culture, in which lineage and prestige were traced through one's mother. Because Gahhononeh's brother was Guyasuta, an important chief, Cornplanter thus enjoyed direct ties to the Seneca's innermost power circles, despite his half-breed origins. He matured into a respectable young warrior, though teased somewhat on account of his fair complexion. In 1754, the Senecas threw their lot in with France during the French and Indian War, and Cornplanter may have participated in Braddock's defeat at the Forks of the Ohio. Over the next two decades, he rose to prominence within his tribe and, by the onset of the Amer-

ican Revolution in 1775, was a respected leader of some consequence.

The ensuing war between Great Britain and the United States placed the Iroquois confederation in a difficult and dangerous position. Repeated intertribal meetings were held and hot debate ensued as to what course of action to take. The Mohawk faction under **Joseph Brant** was firmly in the English camp and called upon the six tribes to fight the Americans. However, the Senecas, being closer to American settlements—and hence more vulnerable to American military power—were undecided. Cornplanter and his half-brother Handsome Lake, soon celebrated as a religious prophet, argued forcefully and with great conviction that the tribes should not become ensnared in a squabble between white people. He strongly argued in favor of neutrality. Cornplanter was consequently and bitterly denounced as a coward by Brant. After further deliberations, the bulk of the Six Nations opted to align themselves with the British in 1777. Cornplanter, good warrior that he was, then took up the war hatchet on behalf of his people and against the United States. He was subsequently elected a war chief to assist the elderly Chief Old Smoke.

Cornplanter and Old Smoke led a party of Seneca warriors that accompanied the expedition of Col. **Barry St. Leger** against Fort Stanwix, New York, in August 1777. He was presented during the violent repulse of a relief column under Col. Nicholas Herkimer at the Battle of Oriskany, in which the Senecas sustained 35 of 50 Indian casualties; American losses were estimated to between 200 and 500 killed or wounded by comparison. Nonethe-



Cornplanter
New York Historical Society

less, Seneca war parties could not sustain such losses, and thereafter Cornplanter avoided pitched battles in favor of frontier raiding. He was present under Col. **John Butler** during the large raid against the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, on July 3, 1778, in which more than 300 Americans were killed and eight forts destroyed. Cornplanter distinguished himself in action and subsequently led a war band that repulsed an American raid at Wyalusing the following month. In November 1778, his warriors were present during Maj. **Walter Butler's** bloody foray

against the Cherry Valley, New York, one of the war's worst atrocities. This activity only stimulated a stiff response from the Americans, and throughout the summer of 1779 a large force under Gen. John Sullivan attacked and ravaged Seneca lands in western New York. Having defeated a combined Indian-Loyalist force at Newtown on August 28, 1779, Sullivan proceeded to torch 40 Seneca, Cayuga, and Delaware villages. The Americans hoped that by such retribution the Iroquois would rethink their alliance with Great Britain and remain neutral.

Sullivan's raid did great damage to and inflicted considerable hardship upon the Iroquois, but it did nothing to sway Cornplanter's resolve. The tribesmen regrouped and hit back at their antagonists the following summer with a vengeance. Cornplanter helped orchestrate a violent raid against the Schoharie Valley on August 2, 1780, burning grain fields, stealing livestock, and taking many white prisoners. One of them, apparently, was Cornplanter's father, John O'Bail. He was brought before the war chief and questioned closely—

Cornplanter spoke fluent English—and was immediately released. The chief then gave his father the choice of retiring in luxury with the Senecas or returning to civilization. “If you now choose to follow me and live with my people I will promise to cherish your old age with plenty of venison and you shall live easy,” he told him. However, when his father chose to leave, Cornplanter detailed an escort of warriors to ensure his safe return.

By the time the American Revolution ended in 1783, Cornplanter’s dire predictions had come true. Great Britain more or less abandoned its Indian allies through the Treaty of Paris, and the Six Nations were left to face an angry United States, now victorious and well-armed, on their own. As a consequence of the Senecas’ siding with Britain, the Americans demanded and received large tracts of Native American land throughout New York and Pennsylvania. Cornplanter was usually at the center of these negotiations and did his best to forestall the inevitable losses. His principal tribal adversary was Red Jacket, who stridently opposed land sales and used the rising tide of resentment to increase his own political standing. Between 1784 and 1797, Cornplanter signed five treaties that handed over more and more land to the restless Americans, but war was averted and he received promises of better conduct toward his people. When transgressions occurred, Cornplanter traveled to New York to address his grievances to Congress. In 1790, he ventured to Philadelphia to confer with newly elected President George Washington and complained about the strong-arm tactics employed to obtain Indian land. The president was impressed by the sincerity of his guest and convinced Congress to better regulate white behavior toward Indians. In 1792, Washington then asked Cornplanter to visit the Ohio Valley and intercede on behalf of the United States. It was hoped a chief of his stature could convince the Miami Indians to cease their military resistance to white expansion. However, Chief **Little Turtle**, fresh from his impressive victory over Gen. Arthur

St. Clair the previous year, roundly rebuffed Cornplanter and his delegation, causing them to flee for their lives. Failure here did nothing to diminish the chief’s status among whites, however, and in 1802 Cornplanter visited Washington, D.C., to confer with President Thomas Jefferson.

As a consequence of his willingness to sell land, Cornplanter became a popular figure among white politicians, who paraded him as a “good Indian.” But this compliance carried a stiff price by creating great internal dissent among the Senecas, and Cornplanter’s life was generally endangered. He later admitted that “the Great God, and not man, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own people.” Nevertheless, in 1792 he received a square-mile land grant in western Pennsylvania, just below the Allegheny River, where he spent the rest of his life. It was on this tract in 1799 that Handsome Lake, his half-brother, experienced a series of visions calling for the renewal of traditional Iroquois religion and customs. Cornplanter, who had converted to Christianity, welcomed Quaker missionaries on Seneca land, and quarreled with Handsome Lake over religious matters. Handsome Lake then departed with his followers to Coldwater on the Allegheny reservation. The aged chief willingly offered his services to the United States in the War of 1812, which were politely declined, but his son, Henry O’Bail, received an army commission. Toward the end of his long life Cornplanter experienced visions that called upon him to renounce Christianity, his white friends, and to destroy all their material gifts to him. He also railed against the widespread use of alcohol, thereby becoming one of the first temperance lecturers in America. Cornplanter, nearly a century old, died on February 17, 1836, and was buried on his grant. In 1871, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania raised a marble shrine atop his grave, allegedly the first such monument ever erected to a Native American. In 1964, the United States government forsook the memory of their former ally by erecting the Kinzua Dam, which flooded and completely submerged the

site of Cornplanter's land grant. His grave and marker were relocated to higher ground beforehand.

See also

Brant, Joseph; Little Turtle

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Cornstalk

(ca. 1720–November, 1777)

Shawnee War Chief

Cornstalk was a capable warrior but is best remembered for his efforts to keep peace along the Ohio frontier. His murder at the hands of vengeful settlers triggered a war that lasted 20 years and consumed hundreds of lives.

Cornstalk (Hokoleskwa, or "Blade of Corn") was born probably in western Pennsylvania around 1720 into the Mekoche division of the Shawnee nation. He matured into a capable warrior during a period of escalating violence and hostility with English settlers along the frontier. For this reason, his tribe sided with France throughout the French and Indian War of 1756–1763, in which Great Britain was ultimately victorious. He also distinguished himself during **Pontiac's** Rebellion (1763–1765), initiated by the Ottawa chief.

When this, too, was crushed, he became a formal hostage and was briefly interred at Fort Pitt. Cornstalk managed to escape from captivity and returned home to his village near present-day Scioto, Ohio. Thereafter, this veteran warrior acknowledged the relative weakness of the Shawnee nation and, whenever possible, sought peaceful accommodation with whites.

In response to Indian complaints, the English government issued the Proclamation of 1763, which strictly forbade European emigration over the Appalachian Mountains. Enforcement of the decree, unfortunately, proved another matter, and over the next decade whites continued encroaching upon Indian lands. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the region now called Kentucky,

traditionally a prime hunting and battle ground for the Cherokee and Shawnee peoples. The Indians repeatedly warned the settlers not to cross the Ohio River into their homeland, and they massacred illegal surveying parties whenever they were encountered. These acts only served to stir up the cauldron of racial hatred, and settlers frequently murdered parties of Indians, whether hostile or not. By the spring of 1774 both sides anticipated an all-out frontier war of unprecedented scope and violence.

To stop the mounting bloodshed, Cornstalk offered to parley with **John Murray** (Lord Dunmore), the royal governor of Virginia. Despite several provocative attacks against the Shawnee, the chief deliberately restrained his warriors until he determined “whether it is the intention of the white people in general to fall on us.” Lord Dunmore responded with a full-scale mobilization of the militia in preparation for war. As a final insult, when Silver Heels, Cornstalk’s brother, approached Fort Pitt as a friendly emissary, he was shot and killed. At this juncture the young Shawnee braves were calling for vengeance, and Cornstalk had little recourse but to prepare his people for war.

So intensely did the colonists covet Kentucky that they carefully orchestrated a diplomatic offensive to keep the Shawnee isolated. Noted Indian agent Sir William Johnson dutifully kept the mighty Iroquois Confederacy placated, while others bought off Cherokee Chief **Oconostota**’s neutrality. Cornstalk’s only aid was in the form of 500 Mingo warriors commanded by Chief **James Logan**, whose family had been recently murdered by whites. Opposing him were two columns of Virginia militia. The first, 1,500 strong, was commanded by Lord Dunmore and approached the Shawnee villages from the east. The second, smaller force of 1,000 militia, under Col. Andrew Lewis, was approaching from the south. Rather than be caught in a pincer movement, the outnumbered Cornstalk decided to strike out against the smaller column. On October 10, 1774, he ambushed

Andrews at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha River, and a tremendous conflict ensued. Losses were heavy on both sides, but the Shawnee, having come close to victory, were finally beaten off and withdrew. Seeing the hopelessness of his situation, Cornstalk then sued for peace. He later signed the Treaty of Camp Charlotte, near Chillicothe, Ohio, whereby the Shawnee renounced all claims to Kentucky and recognized the Ohio River as the new boundary of their nation.

Within a year, colonial resentment over tightening British rule boiled over into the American Revolution. Through astute frontier diplomacy, the British brought many of the Northwest Indian tribes over to their side. Cornstalk, sharing a common border with the Americans, decided war would be too hazardous and remained stridently neutral despite the clamoring of prowar factions. Furthermore, over the next two years he strove to keep his former antagonists apprised of British machinations in Indian country and made other peaceful gestures. Nonetheless, attacks upon Indian parties, and the inevitable retribution that followed, kept the frontier in turmoil. In the fall of 1777, Cornstalk felt compelled to visit Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant to ascertain if the Americans intended to make war against him. The garrison commander promptly arrested the chief, his son Allanawissica, and two others, imprisoning them. During this impasse, a vengeful party of Shawnee killed a militiaman in the nearby woods. Enraged, a body of soldiers stormed the jail and executed Cornstalk, his son, and the hostages in cold blood. Reputedly, the chief’s last act was telling his son “not to be afraid for the Great Spirit above sent him there to be killed.” Cornstalk’s untimely death inflamed the Shawnee against the United States and was especially resented by warriors like Blue Jacket and **Tecumseh**. These men and their followers precipitated a bloody frontier struggle that lasted two decades, one that was not quelled until the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1795.

See also

Pontiac; Tecumseh

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Cornwallis, Charles

(December 31, 1738–October 5, 1805)

English General

The aggressive, hard-charging Cornwallis was arguably the most formidable British battle captain of the American Revolution. He was a master of set-piece engagements but failed to adjust to the strategic realities of guerrilla warfare as practiced by his Continental adversaries. Ultimately defeated, he completely rehabilitated his military reputation by distinguished service in Ireland and India.

Charles Cornwallis was born in London on December 31, 1738, into an old aristocratic family. He was educated at Eton and formalized his military training by attending a military school in Turin, Italy. Like many young men of his social class, Cornwallis sought appointment in the elite First Regiment of Foot Guards and purchased an ensign's commission in 1756. He served with distinction throughout the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) by accompanying the British army into Germany, fought well at Minden in 1756, and befriended the controversial **George Germain**,

Lord Sackville. While on a trip home in 1760, he was also elected to the lower house of Parliament and subsequently gained admittance to the House of Lords in 1762 following the death of his father. Cornwallis was serving as a colonel of the 33rd Regiment of Foot by 1766 when he garnered additional notice as the aide-de-camp to King George III. Despite his close ties to the monarchy, Cornwallis was politically inclined toward the opposition Whig Party, and he was very sympathetic toward the American colonies. He vociferously opposed imposition of the Stamp Act in 1765 and actively sought its repeal the following year. Cornwallis nonetheless remained a favorite of King George, who appointed him constable of the Tower of London in 1770 and a major general in 1775. As a Whig, Cornwallis opposed British imperial policy toward the colonies, but when the American Revolution erupted in April 1775, he felt honor-bound to his monarch and tendered his services to the British Empire. Nonetheless, before giving up

his seat in Parliament, he denounced the government's behavior toward its colonies.

Cornwallis arrived in America on board the fleet commanded by Adm. Sir **Peter Parker** in February 1776. He accompanied Gen. **Henry Clinton** on the abortive attack against Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor that July, then withdrew to New York. Under Gen. **William Howe**, Cornwallis commanded the rear guard during the successful Battle of Long Island on August 22, 1776, and proved instrumental in chasing Gen.

George Washington's army from New York City. Howe was pleased by his performance and directed him to lead the pursuit of American forces into New Jersey. Like many British generals, Cornwallis was overconfident and not terribly impressed by the Americans. Therefore, he let his soldiers spend the winter in detached garrisons across the state and was himself preparing to embark for England when Washington suddenly turned and attacked. Brushing aside a Hessian garrison under Col. **Johann Rall** at Trenton on December 24, 1776, the Americans encamped as Cornwallis prepared a counterstroke. But during the night, the "Old Fox" left his campfires blazing, stole a march on the British, and annihilated Cornwallis's rear guard at Princeton. Cornwallis then suffered the indignity of enduring a midwinter retreat before the invigorated rebels. General Clinton was enraged by Cornwallis's failure and accused him of the most "consummate ignorance." Such criticism did little to endear that general to his testy superior.

Following a brief return to England, Cornwallis accompanied Howe on his campaign



Charles Cornwallis
National Portrait Gallery

against Philadelphia. He displayed great tactical merit at Brandywine on September 11, 1777, when he delivered a flanking attack upon Washington's line and sent him reeling back in confusion. He also bore a conspicuous role in blunting the American counterthrust at Germantown on October 4, 1777. Cornwallis then departed to England again to confer with his friend Lord Germain, now secretary of state for the colonies. Both men were united in their distaste for the sullen, uncommunicative Henry Clinton, and Germain privately

sought to have Cornwallis promoted over him. To this end, he was elevated to lieutenant general prior to returning to America in May 1778, still a subordinate, but anxious to assume an independent command. Cornwallis then fought brilliantly at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28, 1778, during Clinton's withdrawal back to New York City. Once the British took up comfortable defensive positions, Cornwallis, disgusted by what he perceived as Clinton's timidity, ventured back to England a third time to attend his dying wife. Her passing grieved him and only whetted his appetite for further military distinction.

By the time Cornwallis returned to New York in the spring of 1780, Clinton and Germain had originated a southern strategy to break the strategic impasse. He based it upon securing South Carolina and Georgia to capitalize on the perceived Loyalist sympathies of those states. That February, Clinton and Cornwallis left New York and were transported to Charleston by Adm. **Marriot Arbuthnot**. A successful siege concluded on May 12, 1780, resulting in the capture of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln and his entire army. Clinton, always anx-

ious for the security of New York City, then departed, leaving Cornwallis with his much-desired independent command of 8,000 men. Beforehand, Clinton carefully instructed his subordinate to secure the two southernmost states for the British cause before proceeding northward.

Cornwallis, probably with Germain's blessing, was disinclined to follow Clinton's sound advice. Advancing inland with 2,400 men, he encountered the larger army of Gen. Horatio Gates at Camden on August 16, 1780, and gave battle. With tactical wizardry, Cornwallis managed to turn both American flanks simultaneously and literally destroyed Gates's command. Moreover, he unleashed his mounted troops under Col. **Banastre Tarleton**, who conducted a miniature campaign of terror to make the rebels cower in submission. On August 18, 1780, Tarleton surprised and annihilated a guerrilla band under Col. Thomas Sumter at Fishing Creek.

With American resistance crumbling everywhere around him, Cornwallis chose to deliberately ignore Clinton's directives. He launched an all-out advance into North Carolina, even though resistance, thanks to Tarleton's barbarity, was stiffening. On October 7, 1780, an American force of militia attacked and wiped out Col. **Patrick Ferguson's** Loyalist column at King's Mountain, depriving the British of many useful light troops. Cornwallis temporarily suspended his offensive and fell back. Then a new American commander, Gen. Nathaniel Greene, arrived and daringly divided his command, sending half under Col. Daniel Morgan to tackle Tarleton's marauders. At Cowpens on January 17, 1781, the Americans fought brilliantly and destroyed Tarleton as a fighting force. This defeat spurred Cornwallis to pursue the elusive Americans, and after two months of hard marching he finally cornered the elusive Greene at Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781.

The ensuing conflict pitted 4,400 Americans, largely militia, against 1,900 hard-bitten British veterans. Aware of his qualitative disadvantage, Greene arrayed his militia in two

lines, with orders to fire three volleys and fall back upon his third line of steady Continentals. Disregarding the odds, Cornwallis and Gen. **Alexander Leslie** attacked head-on, taking heavy losses but driving the Americans back. When Greene's third line suddenly charged and brought the Guards Brigade of Gen. **Charles O'Hara** to a halt, Cornwallis ordered his artillery fired into the struggling mass, killing many of his own men. This infusion of firepower prompted Greene to retreat in good order. Cornwallis had triumphed again, but at a terrible cost: 93 British were killed and 439 wounded, nearly a third of his entire army. Greene, by comparison, had sustained only 78 killed and 183 wounded. Staggered by such losses, Cornwallis felt he had no choice but to abandon North Carolina, so he marched into Virginia to join British forces under Gen. **William Phillips**, already there. Before departing, he assigned **Francis Rawdon-Hastings** to command the handful of outposts remaining in the Carolinas. This move, again, was in direct contradiction of Clinton's orders, but the general could count on support from Lord Germain for political cover.

Cornwallis reached the outskirts of Petersburg in May 1781, united with Phillips, and attempted to bring American forces under the Marquis de Lafayette to battle. Adroit maneuvering by that young leader thwarted all endeavors to trap him, although Cornwallis managed to ambush Gen. Anthony Wayne at Jamestown Ford on July 6, 1781. The British were then advancing upon Portsmouth when Cornwallis received positive instructions from Clinton to secure an enclave on the Virginia coast and await reinforcements by sea. Cornwallis obliged and entrenched at Yorktown with 7,000 men, closely observed by Lafayette at a discrete distance.

When General Washington, then at New York, was alerted to these developments, he organized a brilliant secret march and moved the bulk of his army southward. By the time Clinton realized he was gone, Washington had been joined by large French forces under

General Rochambeau and they besieged Cornwallis within his works, trapping him there. The outnumbered British resisted for several weeks awaiting the promised reinforcements, but the completion of allied trenches, and the appearance of Admiral de Grasse's fleet in Chesapeake Bay, convinced Cornwallis that his position was hopeless. This point was underscored on September 5, 1781, when the Royal Navy under Adm. **Thomas Graves** failed to defeat de Grasse at the Second Battle of the Virginia Capes. Rather than sacrifice his army, Cornwallis capitulated to Washington on October 19, 1781. As an indication of his grief, Cornwallis feigned illness and requested his second in command, **Charles O'Hara**, to present his sword. Washington refused to accept the snub gracefully and authorized his own second in command, the recently exchanged General Lincoln, to accept it on his behalf. Six days later General Clinton made his belated appearance with a relief force of 7,000 men, then withdrew back to New York. For all intents and purposes, the American victory at Yorktown ended the war, and Cornwallis was paroled and repatriated in May 1782.

Surprisingly, Clinton received all the blame for losing the war while Cornwallis emerged as a national hero. His easy willingness to disregard his superior's directives became the center of a bitter dispute, and a war of pamphlets ensued between the erstwhile brothers in arms. In February 1786, Cornwallis was promoted to field marshal and appointed governor-general of English possessions in India, where he vigorously stamped out corruption and instituted much needed legal and social reform. He then personally directed a lengthy and difficult campaign against Tippu Sahib of Mysore, which witnessed the storming of Bangalore and the surrender of Seringapatam. England consequently acquired half of Tippu's holdings. Cornwallis subsequently returned to England in 1794, when he was made a marquis and installed as the master of ordnance. He was also the only military figure seated on the king's cabinet.

Four years later Cornwallis gained appointment as commander in chief and governor-general of Ireland, where he helped defuse a major rebellion by Tone Wolfe and also contained a small French invasion. Cornwallis, however, was publicly criticized for his lenient treatment of the Irish; he resigned when George III refused to allow Catholic emancipation. In 1802, the aged marquis was tapped to conduct peace negotiations with Napoleonic France and secured the short-lived Treaty of Amiens. Cornwallis then gained reappointment as governor-general of India, but he died at Ghazipur shortly after arriving there. Although the Americans regard him chiefly as a formidable Revolutionary opponent, Cornwallis's real sphere of achievement was in the civil and military administration of India and Ireland.

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Coulon de Villiers, Louis

(August 10, 1710–November 2, 1757)

French Army Officer

Coulon de Villiers was a capable army officer who humbled George Washington outside the walls of Fort Necessity. Having avenged his brother's death, he was magnanimous enough to allow the Americans to leave French territory alive.

Louis Coulon de Villiers was born in Vercheres, Quebec, on August 10, 1710. As a young man he entered military service as a cadet in his father's command at Fort Saint Joseph in present-day Michigan. In 1733, Coulon participated in a bloody attack upon a Fox Indian village and was wounded, having also suffered the loss of his father and elder brother, both of whom were killed. The following year he was commissioned a second ensign in the colonial regulars and was dispatched to Louisiana. There, in 1739, he accompanied **Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville's** unsuccessful expedition against the Chickasaws. Coulon returned to Canada soon after and was posted to Fort Frederic (now Crown Point), New York, in anticipation of King George's War. In 1748, he rose to lieutenant and two years later assumed command of Fort des Miamis (now Fort Wayne, Indiana). There he gained great renown for his ability to work with the neighboring tribe, the Miamis, and used his influence to isolate them from English influence. Following his return to Montreal in 1753, Coulon advanced in rank to captain.

By 1754, the Ohio Valley had become the locus of confrontation between France and England, primarily through the relentless advance of American settlers and land speculators onto Indian and French territory. In the spring of that year, a party of 500 Virginians under Lt. Col. George Washington had encroached themselves on French territory. When a party of 30 Canadian soldiers led by **Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville**, Louis's younger brother, attempted to serve

an eviction notice, he was ambushed and killed along with several men. At this time, Louis Coulon was advancing upon Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) with reinforcements. He arrived just as the commander, Capt. **Claude-Pierre Pecaudy de Contrecoeur**, was about to lead a large expedition against Washington's men to remove them by force. Stung by the loss of his younger brother, Coulon demanded and received the right to lead the expedition and extract revenge. He then departed with 500 men and a large body of Indians, heading southeast.

As the French column traversed miles of wilderness, they encountered the site of Jumonville's ambush and buried several corpses that had been scalped and left exposed. This grisly find only heightened Coulon's resolve, and he continued advancing upon the enemy. On July 2, 1754, his scouts discovered Washington's men hunkered down behind a crude log redoubt christened Fort Necessity (near Farmington, Pennsylvania), for obvious reasons. Outnumbered and fearing bloody retaliation, American morale was low. Coulon promptly surrounded Fort Necessity and commenced a withering fusillade over the next nine hours. The result of this exchange was three French killed and 17 wounded against a loss of nearly 100 American casualties. French ammunition was running low; combined with fears of American reinforcements, this induced Coulon to offer the garrison terms of surrender. Accordingly, on July 4, Washington was allowed to depart with honor and returned to Virginia unmolested. This was quite magnanimous of Coulon, considering the recent loss of his brother, but he had achieved his objective without further bloodshed. Moreover, the Americans were forced to agree to return all prisoners and abandon all fortifications west of the Alleghenies in exchange for two hostages. Unwit-

tingly, Washington, who signed the articles and could not read French, inadvertently agreed that he was responsible for the “assassination” of Jumonville. The Virginians conducted their withdrawal carelessly, and Washington’s personal papers and baggage were captured and employed by the French as further proof of his complicity. Washington subsequently violated his year-long parole by accompanying the ill-fated expedition of Gen. Edward Braddock against Fort Duquesne that fall.

Coulon returned to Fort Duquesne in triumph, having fully vindicated French honor. In 1755, when hostilities erupted into the French and Indian War, he gained further renown by waging a guerrilla war along the westernmost Pennsylvania frontier, capturing Fort Granville (near Lewistown). As part of the army under Gen. **Louis-Joseph Montcalm**, he next fought at the captures of Oswego and Fort William Henry. Coulon was widely praised by Governor-General **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, who recommended him for the prestigious Cross of St. Louis because “the family of the Sieur de Villiers has always distinguished itself in the service. There is not one of them who has not died in

action against the enemy.” Unfortunately, Louis de Coulon de Villiers contracted smallpox and died at Quebec within hours of receiving the award on November 2, 1757. “It is sad,” Vaudreuil reported, “that such an excellent officer should succumb to that malady after having exposed himself to the greatest dangers.”

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Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph

(September 8, 1718–May 28, 1754)

French Army Officer

Young Jumonville lost his life in an attempt to remove Americans illegally squatting on French territory in southwestern Pennsylvania. His death hardened attitudes on both sides and helped precipitate the French and Indian War.

Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville was born in Vercheres, Quebec, the son of an army officer, one of six brothers to serve in the military of New France. He apparently en-

tered the service in 1733 as a cadet and was present at Baie-des-Puants (modern-day Green Bay, Wisconsin) when his father and one brother were killed in an attack upon the Fox Indians. He next completed an uneventful decade of service on the frontier, and it was not until 1739 that he saw active fighting in **Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville**’s campaign against the Chickasaw Indians. Jumonville finally gained his ensign’s commis-

sion in 1743, and two years later, following the onset of the War of the Austrian Succession, he rose to second ensign. Throughout the ensuing King George's War against New England he saw minor action in a contest of frontier outposts.

No sooner had King George's War concluded in 1748 than the stage was set for the final contest between France and England for control of North America. Immediately, English fur traders and land speculators began drifting into the Ohio Valley, dispossessing the Indians living there. The French, given their vested interest in the region, strongly contested these claims. In 1753, they commenced building numerous forts along the frontier wilderness to underscore their determination. Sir **John Murray** (Lord Dunmore), the governor of Virginia, then dispatched Lt. Col. George Washington of the state militia to order the French off the lands. Washington was received politely, but was rebuffed. Furthermore, the French then constructed Fort Duquesne at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers (Pittsburgh) to consolidate their hold. At this juncture, competing national interests and an equally stubborn unwillingness to compromise or to honor previous agreements meant that a showdown was inevitable.

In the spring of 1754, Washington returned to the frontier as the head of 400 militia with orders to assert British sovereignty. Furthermore, even though the two countries were officially at peace, Washington was granted full discretionary powers to use force as necessary. Back at Fort Duquesne, Capt. **Claude-Pierre Pecaudy de Contrecoeur** became apprised of Washington's intentions and was equally determined to stop him. On May 23, 1754, he dispatched young Jumonville and an escort of 30 men to locate the Americans and issue a formal summons to evict them. His small force was in fact an armed diplomatic mission, not dissimilar to the one Washington undertook the previous year. For this reason Jumonville had no reason to anticipate hostility or military action against him.

Washington, when alerted by his Indian scouts of Jumonville's approach, decided to take the initiative rather than be attacked. Taking 40 men, he stole upon Jumonville's camp during the night of May 27, 1754, surrounding it. Shortly after dawn the following day, the Americans opened fire upon the Canadians as they prepared breakfast. According to some French sources, Jumonville ran toward American lines, desperately trying to read his official summons, and was shot down. When the firing stopped, the Canadians had suffered 10 killed, one wounded, and 18 captured. Only one man escaped back to Fort Duquesne to tell the tale. Washington's men then looted the camp while his Indians scalped Jumonville and the other corpses. These grisly trophies were then relayed to the Miami Indians, with an invitation to join England and the Iroquois in a war against France. The Americans, meanwhile, withdrew from the battlefield, leaving the bodies of Jumonville and his slain compatriots to be devoured by wolves.

A wave of anger swept the French garrison at Fort Duquesne. They regarded Washington's attack upon a diplomatic mission as a gross violation of international law, and a counterstroke was prepared. Pecaudy himself was preparing to lead it save for the timely appearance of **Louis Coulon de Villiers**, Jumonville's older brother. His force subsequently attacked Washington in his ramshackle redoubt dubbed Fort Necessity and forced the American to surrender. The death of young Jumonville and the ensuing humiliation of the Virginia militia only widened the rift between England and France, which would explode the following year as the French and Indian War. In many respects young Jumonville was the first of many to fall in that conflict.

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Crazy Horse

(ca. 1840–September 7, 1877)
Sioux War Chief

A fearless warrior, Crazy Horse was an implacable foe of white encroachment and the reservation system. His annihilation of American forces at Little Bighorn in 1876 established him as the most able Native American tactician.

Crazy Horse (Tashunka Uitko) was born near Rapid Creek, South Dakota, around 1840, a member of the Oglala Sioux nation. As a young man he accompanied horse-stealing raids against the Crows and other neighboring tribes and became renowned for fearlessness and guile. His quiet nature, refusal to take scalps, and penchant for mystical visions made him unique among his people, and they appointed him war chief around 1858. Apparently, Crazy Horse's first contact with army troops came as a result of punitive raids by Gen. William S. Harney against Sioux villages in 1855; he thereafter displayed a hostile, uncompromising attitude toward whites. Crazy Horse subsequently distinguished himself in **Red Cloud's** war against settlers along the Powder River road in the late 1860s and enjoyed great success using feinting and decoy tactics. On December 21, 1866, he lured a detachment of 80 soldiers under Capt. William J. Fetterman up a ravine and wiped them out. He also fought well at the Wagon Box Fight of August 2, 1867, and refused to abide by the

Fort Laramie Treaty, which was signed in 1868. Rather than settle on a reservation, Crazy Horse led his tribe west onto traditional ranges, where they hunted buffalo, raided Crow villages, and attacked prospectors looking for gold. In 1873, Crazy Horse skirmished at Yellowstone River with a party of cavalry led by a future nemesis, Gen. George A. Custer, before riding north to join a group of Sioux and Cheyenne under **Sitting Bull**.

In 1875, gold was discovered in the Black Hills of South Dakota, a region the Sioux regarded as sacred. The government offered to buy the land, but when tribal leaders refused, it threatened to shoot any Indian not on a reservation by January 1876. This threat pushed the Indians into open defiance and imparted a sense of unity and cohesion lacking in prior encounters; by springtime they mustered several thousand warriors. On March 17, 1876, an army column under Gen. George Crook mistakenly attacked what he thought was Crazy Horse's village. Instead, it turned out to be a Cheyenne encampment, and the survivors threw themselves into the swelling ranks of other tribesmen. The extent of Indian resolve became apparent on June 17, 1876, when Crook's 1,300 men attacked Crazy Horse's 1,500 warriors at Rosebud River. The whites sustained heavy losses and, by being

forced to withdraw, handed the Indians a strategic victory. Crook took no further action in the campaign, while the victorious warriors returned to their main encampment along Little Bighorn River to await developments.

On June 25, the main Indian camp was attacked by elements of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry under Custer, who was promptly driven off. Once the Hunkpapa Sioux under Chief Gall had pinned the Americans frontally, a large body of Indians under Crazy Horse turned their flank and took them from behind. Twenty minutes later, Custer and his 261 troopers were annihilated. Thus, in the span of a week Crazy Horse had defeated two of the preeminent Indian fighters of the time. Despite their success, achieved largely through tribal unity, the Indian bands broke up their encampment and dispersed. But unlike Sitting Bull and Gall, who took their bands to Canada for safety, Crazy Horse determined to remain behind and fight to the end.

Custer's defeat stimulated greater efforts on the part of the army to crush the Indians. Throughout the winter of 1876, a column under Gen. Nelson A. Miles relentlessly hounded Crazy Horse's band, and on January 7, 1876, he destroyed the remaining Sioux village at Wolf Mountain in southern Montana. The tribesmen, hungry and freezing, began surrendering in small groups to the army. Crazy Horse, however, held out until the spring, when emissaries from Red Cloud arrived and entreated him to surrender. When Crook assured him of his own reservation on the Powder River, the chief led 800 exhausted followers to Fort Robinson (present-day northwestern Nebraska) on May 5, 1877.

Unfortunately for all involved, Crook could not fulfill the terms of his agreement, and

Crazy Horse was constrained to the Red Cloud Agency. Older chiefs, including Red Cloud himself, resented the adoration given Crazy Horse by younger braves, and they urged Crook to confine him. Crook was apparently taken in by rumors that Crazy Horse was plotting a rebellion and ordered his arrest on September 7, 1877. Crazy Horse was bayoneted by Indian agency police during the attempted arrest and died as he had lived—defiantly. He remains an enduring symbol of human resistance to oppression, commemorated by Korczak Ziolkowski's gigantic sculpture on the very Black Hills for which he gave his life defending.

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Crittenden, George Bibb

(March 20, 1812–November 27, 1880)

Confederate General

Crittenden was a potentially useful Confederate leader whose military career was sidelined by heavy drinking. Consequently, he lost his only Civil War engagement and thereafter served as a volunteer aide.

George Bibb Crittenden was born in Russellville, Kentucky, on March 20, 1812, the son of a prominent politician. He was admitted to West Point in 1827 and four years later graduated twenty-sixth out of a class of 45. Crittenden served as an infantry lieutenant during the war against **Black Hawk** in 1832 and subsequently performed routine garrison duty throughout Georgia and Alabama. Disenchanted with military life, he resigned his commission in April 1833 to study law at Transylvania University. Crittenden then abandoned this pursuit in 1842 by volunteering for military service with the Republic of Texas. That region had won its independence from Mexico in 1836, but an ongoing border war was still being waged. In December 1842, Crittenden accompanied the expedition of Col. William S. Fisher to the village of Ciudad Meir. Unfortunately, he was captured along with his whole company and taken to Mexico City.

After several weeks on confinement in a filthy prison, the desperate Texans staged a failed escape attempt. Mexican authorities forced the survivors to draw lots to determine that every tenth prisoner would be executed. Crittenden drew a white bean, signifying that he would live, and handed it to a fellow Kentuckian who was married with children. Luckily, he drew another white bean on his second try and thus escaped the firing squad. Crittenden spent nearly a year in prison before being released through the intercession his father, U.S. Senator John J. Crittenden, and Daniel Webster, the U.S. secretary of state.

Crittenden volunteered for military service when war with Mexico erupted in 1846, and he was commissioned as a captain in the U.S. Mounted Rifle Regiment. In this capacity he accompanied Gen. Winfield Scott on the overland drive against Mexico City, distinguishing himself at the Battles of Contreras and Churubusco. As a brevet major, he was allegedly one of the first American soldiers to enter Mexico City following its surrender. In the course of the war, Crittenden acquired the reputation of a brave soldier, but one overly fond of alcohol. In 1848, he was readmitted into the U.S. Army as a major, then court-martialed and suspended due to excessive drinking. Nonetheless, his influential father, then serving as governor of Kentucky, intervened and arranged for reinstatement. Crittenden served for several more years at isolated posts along the frontier, rising to lieutenant colonel in 1856. He was a ranking officer in the New Mexico Territory when the Civil War erupted in April 1861.

Like many families from the border states, the Crittendens faced a crisis within their own household. Back in the senate, John J. Crittenden sponsored last-minute compromise legislation in Congress to avert the onset of hostilities. His younger son, Thomas L. Crittenden, joined the Union army and rose to the rank of general. But George, despite entreaties from family members, reaffirmed his reputation as a black sheep by siding with the Confederacy. In June 1861, he was made a brigadier general and placed in command of rebel forces at Knoxville, Tennessee. The following November, Crittenden was elevated to major general and ordered to supersede Gens. Felix K. Zollicoffer and William H. Carroll as head of Confederate forces in southeastern Kentucky. As such, he commanded 4,000 soldiers entrenched at Beech Grove on the northern bank of the Cumberland River. Ken-

tucky, studiously neutral thus far, was about to receive increasing attention from both sides.

In January 1862, Crittenden was apprised that a force of 7,000 Union soldiers under Gen. George H. Thomas was advancing upon his position. Rather than wait to be attacked, he rounded up all his forces and marched, hoping to strike first while the enemy columns were separated. On January 19, 1862, both sides met in a costly and confusing conflict at Mill Springs. The Confederate attack drove Thomas's men hard, but they grew disheartened by the death of the popular Zollicoffer. Badly pressed in turn, Crittenden managed to extricate the bulk of his army across the rain-swollen Cumberland River, but he had to abandon all his baggage and artillery in the process. Retiring southward, he finally established a base camp near Murfreesboro. Though small, Mill Springs proved a significant defeat for Southern fortunes. Not only did it expose eastern Tennessee to invasion, but, in concert with the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson the following month, it also contributed to an opening of defenses in the Confederate heartland.

Almost immediately, Crittenden was assailed in the Southern press for being intoxicated at Mill Springs. However, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston appointed him to command a reserve corps he was assembling in northern Mississippi. Crittenden seemed capable of rehabilitating his reputation until April 1, 1862, when Gen. William J. Hardee arrived at Iuka, found his troops in disarray, and Crittenden deep in his cups. For this offense he was summarily arrested and court-martialed. However, in light of the political importance attached to his family name, the matter was

subsequently dropped. Crittenden never again held a field command. He resigned his commission in October 1862 and spent the remainder of the war as a volunteer staff officer under Gen. John S. Williams.

Crittenden returned to Kentucky after the war and lived in Frankfort, the state capital. In 1867, friends in the legislature arranged for his appointment as state librarian, a post he held until 1874. He died in obscurity at Danville, Kentucky, on November 27, 1880, one of the lesser lights of the Confederate war effort.

See also
Black Hawk

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d'Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne

(July 20, 1661–July 9, 1706)

French Naval Officer; Explorer

D'Iberville was an outstandingly successful military leader of New France with an impressive record against numerous English forts and settlements. He gained even greater renown for exploring the Mississippi River and for founding the colony of Louisiana.

Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville was born in Ville-Marie (Montreal) on July 20, 1661, one of 11 brothers and two sisters. His father, Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, came to Canada as an indentured servant to the Jesuits, worked hard as a merchant and Indian translator, and died in 1685 one of the province's richest men. Pierre acquired the title d'Iberville through his father's practice of granting names from regions surrounding his native Dieppe in France. D'Iberville joined the French navy in 1675 at age 14 and acquitted himself well. In 1683, Governor-General Le Febvre de La Barre chose him to carry royal dispatches back to France, a singular honor for such a young man. His military reputation commenced in 1686, when he was selected to accompany the Chevalier Pierre de Troyes on an expedition against English settlements dotting James Bay. In a series of small but savage encounters, wherein quarter was neither asked for nor granted, he helped orchestrate the captures of Moose Fort and Charles Fort, and he successfully cut out the trading vessel *Craven* with a handful of determined followers.



Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville
National Archives of Canada

Troyes was so impressed by his youthful subordinate that he appointed d'Iberville commander of the captured installations. When promised reinforcements failed to arrive the following spring, d'Iberville sailed directly to France and appealed for help. Consequently, he secured command of the warship *Soleil d'Afrique* and returned for the protection of French interests along James Bay. He was subsequently blockaded there by three English warships of greater size, but d'Iberville successfully evaded capture over the next few months. Moreover, he constantly interfered with the English crews' ability to hunt for fresh food and

awaited the inevitable onset of scurvy to occur. Once this debilitating malady had weakened the English crews, d'Iberville attacked and captured all three vessels. He then returned to Quebec in triumph on October 28, 1688, with prisoners and booty in tow.

In 1688, King William's War between Britain and France erupted and the governor-general of New France, **Comte de Frontenac, Louis de Buade**, ordered several offensive actions against nearby English settlements. D'Iberville and several of his brothers then accompanied the French and Indian raid against Corlaer (now Schenectady), New York. On the night of February 18, 1689, he participated in the destruction of that town and the massacre of many inhabitants. He then returned to Hudson Bay to assume

command of three small warships and seized the important fur-trading post of New Severn in August 1690. Over the next seven years he raided and plundered the vicinity of Hudson Bay with near impunity, capturing fur posts, seizing valuable cargoes, and thwarting repeated attempts by superior forces to capture him. In the course of this work, conducted with the utmost, Indian-style cruelty, he killed an estimated 200 settlers and captured 700 more.

But d'Iberville's greatest battle and most celebrated victory occurred while at the helm of the 44-gun frigate *Pelican*. On September 4, 1697, he encountered three British warships and, by dint of superior sailing skills, sank one, captured the other intact, and drove off the survivor. Once reinforced, d'Iberville then besieged York Fort, Maine, which fell to him on September 13, 1697. It was here that his younger brother, **Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville**, was severely wounded. When France and England concluded the war by signing the Treaty of Ryswick, all of these captured posts were returned to their former owners, but d'Iberville had become renowned as New France's greatest warrior.

D'Iberville's reputation for courage and dash did not go unnoticed by the Count de Pontchartrain, Louis XIV's minister of marine. Having returned to France in November 1697, d'Iberville was selected by the minister to lead an expedition to the Gulf of Mexico for the purpose of founding a new French colony. In October 1698, he sailed from Brest with his younger brother, four warships, and 200 settlers. The following February he dropped anchor off the mouth of the Mississippi River, a goal that had eluded the famous explorer La Salle 16 years earlier, and commenced laying the foundations of Louisiana. Probing upstream, he explored the Mississippi Valley and also established friendly contacts with numerous Indian tribes of the interior. D'Iberville proved far-sighted in his treatment of Native Americans, realizing that France could not acquire, let alone govern, such a vast tract without their explicit friendship. He therefore ad-

vocated that young French boys be placed among them to learn their language and help bridge the two cultures. The government was also strongly advised to reward the Indians with yearly gratuities to cement their allegiance to France. D'Iberville then authorized construction of Fort Maurepas (present-day Biloxi, Mississippi), the first French settlement in Louisiana, before returning to France in May 1699. There he received the prestigious Cross of St. Louis, becoming the first native-born Canadian to hold this distinction.

D'Iberville subsequently made two more ventures to Louisiana, in 1699 and 1702. Each time, he was engaged with either exploration, fort construction, or diplomacy to strengthen French ties to the Indians. In these affairs he was assisted by his brother Bienville, who was also fluent in several dialects. For all his military prowess, d'Iberville did not despise cash, and in 1700 he arrived at New York City with 9,000 animal skins that he illegally sold to the English at great profit. He then returned home in 1703, gaining at that time an appointment as Louisiana's first governor-general. However, d'Iberville never lived to fulfill the responsibilities of that office.

When Queen Anne's War with England broke out in 1702, d'Iberville became commander of an eight-ship naval squadron. Bouts of malaria kept him sporadically sidelined over the next three years as he was unable to accomplish much. By 1706, d'Iberville had recovered sufficiently to assume control of a 12-ship task force, and he was detailed for the capture and reduction of British possessions in the West Indies. In April 1706, his forces captured and sacked the island of St. Nevis, taking upward of 6,000 slaves. D'Iberville then began pressing superiors for permission to attack New York and the New England coastline, but he died of yellow fever at Havana on July 9, 1706. A final blot on his otherwise sterling reputation occurred soon after, when it was revealed that he had embezzled funding from his recent expedition. His widow was obliged to make amends to the state. Save for this transgression, the cruel,

audacious d'Iberville remains highly regarded as Canada's greatest colonial hero, a naval commander of real ability.

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Davis, Jefferson

(June 3, 1808–December 6, 1889)

Confederate President

A talented political leader, Jefferson Davis could not overcome the inherent military deficiencies of the Confederate States of America during the Civil War. He remains an enduring, if controversial, symbol of the Southern states' lost cause.

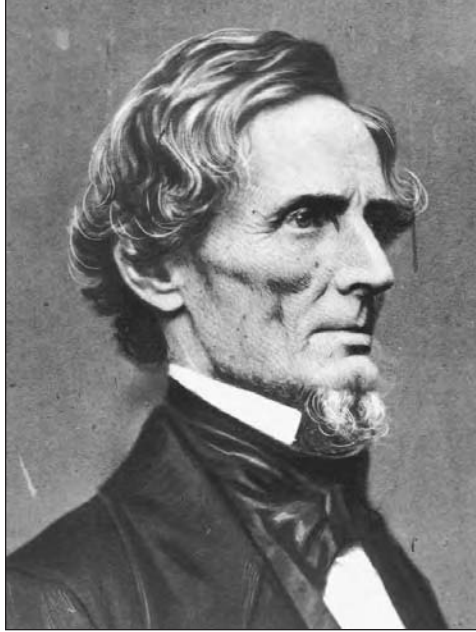
Davis was born in Christian County, Kentucky, on June 3, 1808, and raised in Mississippi. From there he gained appointment to West Point in 1824 and four years later graduated as a second lieutenant in the First U.S. Infantry. Davis concluded several years of routine assignments in the Old Northwest and in 1832 fought in the Black Hawk War. The aged Sauk Chief **Black Hawk** was entrusted to him as a prisoner, and Davis escorted him from Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, to Jefferson Barracks in Missouri. Promotion to first lieutenant followed in May 1834, when he transferred to the First U.S. Dragoons. While at Fort Crawford, Davis fell in love

with Sarah Knox Taylor, daughter of Col. Zachary Taylor, and the two were married over her father's objections. He resigned from the army in May 1835 and took his bride to a family plantation in Mississippi, where she died of malaria six months later. Much saddened, Davis withdrew from society for nearly a decade until 1844, when he entered state politics. That year, he gained election to Congress as a representative and served two years before the Mexican-American War prompted his resignation.

While in Congress, Davis had been elected colonel of the First Mississippi Volunteers, a battalion of marksmen armed with the latest percussion-cap rifles. He caught up with his men at New Orleans, and together they joined the army of his former father-in-law, Taylor, at the mouth of the Rio Grande. During September 20–24, Davis's Mississippians bore a conspicuous role in the victory at Monterrey,

where they stormed a battery and distinguished themselves in house-to-house fighting. The volunteers were one of the few units that remained with Taylor when his regulars marched to Vera Cruz to join Gen. Winfield Scott. In February 1847, a large Mexican army under General **Antonio López de Santa Anna** marched north to engage the weakened Taylor and found him waiting at Buena Vista. During the bloody battle of February 22, the Mississippi Rifles again distinguished themselves by repulsing several infantry and cavalry attacks. At one point, Davis received a musketball through his foot but remained in the saddle to lead a charge, which saved the artillery of Capt. **Braxton Bragg** and Capt. George H. Thomas from capture. He returned home a war hero, and in 1848 the state legislature appointed Davis to fill an unexpired term in the U.S. Senate.

At this juncture, regional acrimony over the issue of slavery began tearing at the very fabric of the nation. Through it all, Davis was deeply divided between his identity as a Southerner and his pride in being an American. Then U.S. President Franklin Pierce, in an attempt to curry Southern political favor, appointed Davis secretary of war in 1853, and he proved himself both competent and innovative. Drawing on his own frontier experience, Davis tried introducing camels as a mode of army transportation in the desert. He also oversaw introduction of mass-produced rifles, which replaced the smooth-bore muskets of an earlier age. Furthermore, infantry tactics were updated, wooden gun carriages were replaced by iron ones, and the ordnance of coastal fortifications was modernized. By



Jefferson Davis
Library of Congress

the time he left the War Department in 1857, Davis was considered one of the most successful secretaries of the nineteenth century.

In the spring of 1857, Davis easily won reelection to the Senate and served as an eloquent champion of slavery and states' rights. However, in contrast to other Southern firebrands, Davis urged moderation and restraint to preserve the Union. When reconciliation became impossible following the election of Abraham Lincoln and the secession process began, he delivered a sad and eloquent parting address to the Senate on January 21, 1861. Davis then returned to Mississippi and offered his services to the newly formed Confederate States of America.

Once home, Davis received appointment as major general of state forces and fully expected to be employed in a military fashion. To his surprise, on February 9, 1861, he was elected president of the Confederacy and inaugurated nine days later in Montgomery, Alabama. To keep a wavering Virginia firmly in the Southern camp, he subsequently moved the capital to Richmond and took the oath a second time. Initial Union blunders in the Civil War, culminating in the rout at First Bull Run that July, gave the Confederacy an appearance of strength that belied its weaknesses. In fact, Davis had inherited a collection of disunified states that were unprepared for war and confronted an enemy enjoying distinct advantages in manpower and industry. The Confederate war effort was further hindered by Davis's own shortcomings as commander in chief. He displayed a marked tendency to visit armies in the field and med-

dle in the affairs of subordinates, which hindered operations. More serious, Davis was blind to the incompetence of generals like Bragg and Leonidas Polk, simply because they were his friends. Worst of all, he publicly feuded with such competent figures as Pierre G.T. Beauregard and **Joseph E. Johnston**, relieving them of command at inopportune times.

As the tide of war swung against the South, Davis lacked the authority to effectively mobilize and shift manpower from one threatened sector to another because the political nature of the Confederacy—with its emphasis on states' rights—prevented him from doing so. Regardless, Davis came to embody the aspirations of his people and, until the end, remained their defiant spokesman. He was among the last Confederate officials to abandon Richmond before it fell, at which point he fled west for the trans-Mississippi region, where he hoped to carry on the war. However, on May 10, 1865, Davis was captured in Irwinville, Georgia, by Gen. James H. Wilson's cavalry. The dream of Southern independence had come to an ignominious end.

After the war, Davis was transferred to Fort Monroe in Virginia, where he was manacled by the commander, Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Public outcry necessitated better treatment, and Davis, although indicted for treason, was never brought to trial. Two years of imprisonment lapsed before he returned to Mississippi, where he engaged in various commercial pursuits while writing his memoirs. He fully and vehemently blamed men like Beauregard and Johnston for Southern defeat, minimizing his own role in the debacle. Davis

died in Beauvoir, Mississippi, an embittered symbol of the lost cause. To his dying day, he never sought to have his citizenship restored, but in 1978 President Jimmy Carter, himself a Southerner, arranged its reinstatement.

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Dieskau, Jean-Armand

(1701–September 8, 1767)

French Army Officer

Dieskau was the capable French second in command during initial phases of the French and Indian War. However, by violating strict instructions not to divide his army, he was beaten by the British at the Battle of Lake George and captured.

Baron Jean-Armand Dieskau was born in the German state of Saxony in 1701 and joined the military at an early age. Like many German mercenaries he journeyed to France in 1720; he was appointed aide-de-camp to Maurice de Saxe, the great French marshal. For the next two and a half decades, Dieskau accompanied de Saxe in his numerous campaigns and was present at the victory of Fontenoy in 1745 as a cavalry colonel. Dieskau was apparently a thoroughly competent professional soldier, and in 1747 he made major general and gained appointment as military governor of Brest, an important French naval base. Prior to the onset of the French and Indian War in 1755, he was dispatched to Canada as second in command under Governor-General **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**. He arrived at Quebec that March, being in control of French regular forces, but completely subordinate to Vaudreuil in matters of military strategy.

The defeat of British Gen. Edward Braddock at Monongahela in July 1755 resulted in the capture of his official papers. Through them, the French were alerted to forthcoming British offensives and drew up plans of their own to counter them. Vaudreuil considered an anticipated British assault upon Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point, New York), particularly menacing to New France, so he instructed Dieskau to preempt enemy plans by reducing British forts at Oswego. While assembling an army of 4,000 regulars, militia, and Indians at Fort Frontenac (present-day Kingston, Ontario), Dieskau learned of an impending British attack against Fort St. Fred-

eric conducted by Col. William Johnson. Vaudreuil promptly recalled Dieskau to Montreal in August 1755 and dispatched French forces down the Richelieu River to intercept the Americans near Lake George. Prior to departing, Dieskau was specifically advised by the governor-general to keep his force united to ensure maximum military effectiveness.

En route, Dieskau paused briefly to erect a new fort at Carillon (Ticonderoga) before proceeding with 1,500 regulars, 1,000 militia, and 600 Indians. Johnson approached from the south at the head of 3,000 militia and 300 Mohawk Indians. Once informed of Dieskau's activities, Johnson fortified the head of Lake George by erecting a primitive work that later evolved into Fort William Henry. Dieskau watched British movements carefully, and he anticipated that the bulk of Johnson's forces were divided. Intelligence was received that only 500 regulars protected his main base at Fort Edward, 14 miles below the lake. Seeking to capture the fort's garrison while possibly isolating Johnson at Lake George, Dieskau thereupon ordered an immediate advance. It was an audacious move, yet he divided his army against orders, advancing with only 200 regulars, 600 militia, and 700 Indians. The bulk of his forces, 1,300 regulars and 400 militia, remained behind at Ticonderoga to protect it from attack. The French commander was acutely aware that regular soldiers were a precious commodity and could not be easily replaced, so he sought to preserve them. Historians today attribute this fatal parceling to Dieskau's disdain for the colonial troops opposing him.

Approaching Fort Edward, the French Indians grew skittish and stated that they would not attack there owing to the presence of many large cannons. Dieskau had little recourse other than to suggest hitting Johnson's main force at Lake George, which was then

only partially entrenched. When the Indians agreed, the French march resumed, and on September 8, 1755, Dieskau's forces took up ambush positions along the wagon road. Johnson, meanwhile, had dispatched 1,000 militia and Indians, under Col. Ephraim Williams and Mohawk Chief Theyanoguin, back to Fort Edward for additional security. The Americans had nearly walked into the French trap before the Indians sprang it prematurely. A confused but deadly firefight then erupted, and Dieskau's force routed its opponent, killing both Williams and Theyanoguin. The French and Indian force hotly pursued the fleeing colonials right up to their camp, which Johnson hastily fortified with overturned wagons, boats, and anything else that provided cover. A decisive French victory seemed looming.

The error of Dieskau's earlier mistake now became clear. With his militia and Indians dispersed and fatigued, he had only 200 regulars available to attack Johnson's entire camp. Badly outnumbered, these professional soldiers marched in perfect formation to within musket range, then traded volleys with more numerous defenders for several hours. Both sides sustained heavy losses, and Dieskau, directing the action under fire, sustained three leg wounds. He nonetheless continued directing the battle while propped up against a tree. Unable to sustain the stalemate further, he finally ordered a complete withdrawal. Dieskau himself, however, refused to fall back, preferring death or capture to defeat. After being shot one more time by a French renegade, the Baron was taken and the action concluded.

The British claimed a great victory at Lake George, and William Johnson was knighted as a consequence. They had bested the French in

a stand-up fight and, more important, captured the second-highest-ranking French officer in Canada. However, Lake George proved itself a hollow victory, for Johnson's offensive was permanently derailed while French forces remained strongly entrenched at Ticonderoga. Furthermore, within a year they would advance down the Champlain Valley again and capture Fort William Henry under the aegis of a new general, **Louis-Joseph Montcalm**, Dieskau's successor. Dieskau survived his injuries and was eventually transferred to London. He was finally repatriated to France in 1763 and died near Paris on September 8, 1767.

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Dietrich, Josef

(May 28, 1892–April 21, 1966)

German Waffen-SS General

A coarse, two-fisted brawler by nature, “Sepp” Dietrich owed his high rank more to friendship with **Adolf Hitler** than to his abilities. He was nonetheless an inspirational fighter who carried devotion, loyalty, and ferocity in his justly feared troops. This former butcher’s apprentice was also Hitler’s favorite and most trusted general.

Josef Dietrich was born in Hawangen, Bavaria, on May 28, 1892, the illegitimate son of a German servant girl. He grew up into a stocky, powerfully built street fighter, quick to take offense and quicker still to use his fists. After passing through a series of menial jobs, including butcher’s apprentice, he joined the Germany army in 1911, rising to the rank of master sergeant in the artillery. By 1918, he had been decorated for bravery and was among a handful of soldiers manning the 25 tanks of Germany’s embryonic panzer force. After the war, Dietrich functioned briefly as a policeman in his native Bavaria but was soon embroiled in street fighting occasioned by the rise of right-wing paramilitary outfits. In 1923, he joined the Nazi party, where his appetite for violence brought him to the attention of Adolf Hitler. Hitler, the charismatic demagogue, and Dietrich, the burly street tough, formed an immediate and deeply abiding friendship.

The future Führer openly expressed admiration for Dietrich’s “mixture of cunning, ruthlessness, and hardness.” Dietrich initially served as Hitler’s bodyguard and chauffeur, but in 1933 he became tasked with raising the first element of the dreaded SS (*Schutzstaffeln*, or protection squads)—which was known as the *Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler*—as a praetorian guard. These were ruthless men, sworn to blind obedience of Hitler and steeped in Nazi ideology. Dietrich neatly encapsulated their attitude—and his own—when he declared, “Human life matters little

to the SS.” He clearly demonstrated this creed in 1934, during the so-called Night of the Long Knives, whereby the rival SA Nazi faction was arrested and executed in jail by the SS. Hitler consequently rewarded Dietrich by promoting him up the party hierarchy, once his elite organization was expanded into a purely military force, the Waffen-SS. By 1939, the *Leibstandarte* had grown tenfold from 120 men into a full regimental combat team. When World War II broke out in September 1939, Hitler entrusted Dietrich to lead his hand-picked killers into combat.

Dietrich had thus far acquired a reputation for being brutish and unintelligent, but he soon proved himself an exceptional combat commander. He accompanied his men with distinction during the attack on Poland, and Hitler was impressed by their performance. The SS troops also committed some of the very first atrocities of the war against Jews, and Gen. **Johannes Blaskowitz** wanted to have Dietrich arrested as a war criminal. But in light of their combat success, the *Leibstandarte* was expanded to a *kampfgruppe* (combat group) in time for the May 1940 invasion of France. Dietrich and his men acquitted themselves with fanatical bravery, so the Führer authorized expansion of his command to a lavishly equipped brigade. Hard fighting in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Russia brought the SS additional laurels, as well as its reputation for outright brutality. In August 1941, during the occupation of Kharkov, Dietrich learned that the Soviets had tortured and killed seven of his SS men. Over the ensuing three days, he summarily executed more than 4,000 captive Russians in retaliation. The professional officers of the Wehrmacht remained aghast by such behavior, but because these actions were sanctioned by Hitler, criticism remained muted. In June 1942, the *Leibstandarte* was taken out of line and refitted in France as an

elite motorized panzer grenadier division. Dietrich then returned to Russia for more hard fighting under Gen. **Paul Hausser** until March 1943, when he gained command of the First SS Panzer Corps. This mighty formation consisted of the original Leibstandarte and two newcomers, the Das Reich and Totenkopf Panzer Divisions. This elite combat formation of the Third Reich fought with brutal efficiency in southern Russia, reaffirming the SS's reputation as having some of the most formidable soldiers anywhere.

In September 1943, Dietrich's command was recalled to Italy for an "important" assignment. He was to rescue Clara Petacci, mistress of **Benito Mussolini**, from imprisonment and restore her to the arms of Il Duce. That done, his SS troops were assigned to transport Allied prisoners from Italy to Germany, and in none too subtle a manner. Dietrich next arrived in France as part of German forces under Gen. **Gerd von Rundstedt**, a sneering aristocrat who had little respect for the low-born Dietrich, and pronounced him "decent but stupid." There, on June 6, 1944, the First SS Panzer Corps was heavily engaged in Operation Overlord, the Allied landing at Normandy. Dietrich was in the thick of fighting as usual, this time against British forces in the vicinity of Caen. The SS troops attacked with their customary vigor, but even these hard-bitten troops wilted before Allied airpower and naval gunfire. "I'm being bled white and I'm getting nowhere!" he complained to Gen. **Erwin Rommel**. Driven back with heavy losses, Dietrich entrenched and managed to contain British breakout attempts well into July. He then fought a losing battle trying to contain the rapidly expanding beachhead, which broke lose at Saint-Lô on July 25, and was later heavily repulsed in a major German counterattack at Mortain. The Germans were then badly mauled at the Falaise Pocket before falling back to their own frontiers. For his combat leadership at Normandy, which had been brave—if tactically clumsy—Hitler promoted Dietrich to colonel general and awarded him the diamond clasps to his Iron

Cross. Only 27 men received such distinction during World War II.

In the fall of 1944, the Third Reich was in desperate straits, so Hitler gambled everything on a surprise offensive through the Ardennes to capture Antwerp and cut off the Allies from their supplies. Dietrich was then assigned control of the Sixth SS Army, which would attack in tandem with the Fifth Panzer Army under Gen. **Hasso von Manteuffel**. His mission was to lead the northern wing of the advance over heavily wooded terrain with very few roads. The difficulties to be surmounted would have daunted the most experienced commander, but Dietrich, who lacked talent for handling large bodies of troops, received it for political reasons. At this stage of the war, the old SS hand was one of few senior commanders that Hitler still trusted. The choice of Dietrich may have been politically reassuring, but it held dire military consequences for the Third Reich.

Commencing on December 17, 1944, the Germans attacked American forces along a 50-mile front. Surprise was complete, and the defenders fell back in confusion for several miles. Significantly, Dietrich's Sixth SS Panzer Army was spearheaded by Lt. Col. **Jochem Peiper**, who massacred 71 American prisoners at Malmedy. News of this affair only stiffened American resolve, and at length Dietrich's force was stalled in heavy fighting at Monshau, Elsenborn Ridge, and the Ambleve River. The 82nd Airborne Division under Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway proved particularly unmovable. However, Manteuffel, with far fewer troops, attacked more diligently and made much greater progress. His Panzer Lehr Division under Gen. **Fritz Bayerlein** was on the verge of reaching the Meuse River and called for reinforcements from the Sixth SS Army, but neither Hitler nor Dietrich consented. Thus, the entire offensive collapsed for want of shifting readily available reserves, and within a month the weakened and exhausted German forces were back at their original starting point. The noose around the Third Reich drew tighter.

In January 1945, Dietrich's command relocated from Belgium to Hungary to confront a huge Soviet offensive. Once he cleared the Hron bridgehead of Soviet troops, common sense dictated that his troops should have dug in. Hitler, however, furious over recent Russian gains, ordered the emaciated Sixth SS Panzer Army to recapture Budapest. Dietrich did as ordered and was badly repulsed with heavy losses. This sacrifice did nothing to appease the Führer, who then accused his own SS troops—the cutting edge of Nazism—of cowardice. He then summarily ordered them to strip off the “Adolf Hitler” armbands of their uniforms in disgrace. Dietrich, rather disillusioned, did as ordered, but only under protest. Subsequent Russian offensives pushed the exhausted Germans back to Vienna, where Dietrich tried cooperating with forces under Gen. **Hermann Balck**. That city was likewise abandoned, and by the time the war ended in May 1945, Dietrich withdrew to the Alps and surrendered his command to the Americans.

After the war, Dietrich found himself arrested and charged with war crimes. An American court found him responsible for the Malmedy Massacre, and he was sentenced to life in prison. This was subsequently commuted to 25 years, and he gained early release in 1955. One year later a German court found him culpable for the murder of the SA faction in 1934, and he served another 18 months. Dietrich, old and ill, was finally released in 1959 and lived the rest of his life in obscurity. His record as a general was mixed at best, but he was a soldier's soldier and highly popular with his troops. When Dietrich died in Ludwigsburg on April 21, 1966, his funeral was attended by more than 6,000 former SS soldiers. But no battlefield accolades, however well deserved they might be, can expunge the bloody

legacy that even today stalks Dietrich and the Führer's Waffen-SS.

See also

Balck, Hermann; Blaskowitz, Johannes; Hausser, Paul; Hitler, Adolf; Peiper, Jochem

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Dönitz, Karl

(September 16, 1891–December 24, 1980)

German Admiral

The scourge of British and American shipping, Dönitz was a brilliant submarine strategist and progenitor of the deadly wolfpack tactics. Twice during World War II his U-boats nearly brought England to its knees and wrecked havoc off the American coastline. By war's end he was handpicked to lead the crumbling Third Reich as its final führer.

Karl Dönitz was born in Grunau, near Berlin, on September 16, 1891, the son of an engineer. After graduating from the Realgymnasium, he displayed interest in a naval career and joined the imperial navy in 1910. He rose to lieutenant two years later and performed service aboard the light cruiser *Breslau* in 1913. When World War I commenced the following year, the *Breslau* dodged pursuing British forces and sought refuge in neutral Turkish waters. Dönitz then weathered nearly two years of inactivity before transferring to the U-boat service. He served as a watch officer on several submarines until 1918, when he received command of his own vessel, UB-68. On the night of October 4, 1918, Dönitz engaged a British convoy, was forced to surface because of mechanical difficulties, and was captured. He was exchanged shortly after the war ended; despite his mishap, Dönitz remained impressed by the potential of submarines in wartime.

During the interwar period, Dönitz stayed in the navy, awaiting the day when Germany



Karl Dönitz
Sovfoto/Eastfoto/PNI

could operate submarines again. The Treaty of Versailles, however, forbade their possession for the next 16 years, and he reverted back to surface vessels. Dönitz proved himself an excellent officer and, after a stint of commanding torpedo boats, transferred to naval headquarters in 1923. Four years later he returned to sea duty in the Baltic and rose to command a destroyer flotilla in 1930. He subsequently functioned as head of the Admiralty Staff Division with the North Sea High Command until 1934, when he took charge of the heavy cruiser *Emden*. Dönitz's

destiny was dramatically altered after January 1933, when the Nazi regime of **Adolf Hitler** came to power. One of Hitler's first official acts was to renounce the Treaty of Versailles and commence a total rearmament of air, land, and sea forces. Dönitz figured prominently in this scheme when Adm. Erich Raeder appointed him head of the newly resurrected U-boat force in September 1935. Dönitz threw himself into his task with energy and enthusiasm. Because no textbooks existed for underwater warfare, he authored several training manuals based upon his own wartime experiences. However, it was in the realm of tactics that Dönitz proved himself to be a genius. Throughout World War I, U-boats had frequently suffered heavy losses because they were arrayed singly against Allied convoys in broad daylight. Henceforth, German

submariners were instructed in group tactics, whereby “wolfpacks” of submarines, linked by short-wave radio, converged upon a single target. Dönitz’s reasoning was obvious: When tackling a convoy attended by heavily armed escorts, there was greater safety—and success—in numbers. Furthermore, he specified that torpedo attacks should be made from the surface at night, not while submerged in daylight. This change improved both the accuracy of torpedoes and the survival rate of U-boats.

Dönitz placed great faith in submarines as strategic weapons and felt they were the only effective foil to counter the large, well-equipped Royal Navy. Furthermore, he realized that the submarine exerted its greatest effect by attacking commercial, not military, targets. In the event of a future war with England, he advocated throwing a ring of steel around the British Isles and starving them into submission. Dönitz also assisted in helping develop new classes of U-boats that were faster, more heavily armed, and deeper-diving than the leaky tubs of World War I. He aspired to have at least 1,000 such vessels deployed should war commence, but interservice rivalry made U-boat procurement a very low priority. Consequently, when World War II erupted in September 1939, Dönitz possessed only 56 submarines—half of them obsolete—to fulfill his strategy. Such scant numbers belied their effectiveness, however, for Germany’s submarines were well equipped and manned by brave, capable crews.

In the first few months of the war, the U-boat packs were amazingly successful at sinking Allied merchant vessels. Their labors were abetted by confusion within the Royal Navy, which had forgotten the lessons of convoying ships from World War I. Consequently, this was the “happy time” of the submarine war; by December 1940, U-boats accounted for 400 Allied ships weighing 2 million tons. By the fall of 1941, Britain had very nearly been starved out. Furthermore, among Dönitz’s many victims was the American destroyer USS *Reuben James*, which was inadvertently

sunk in a war zone. Thereafter, President Franklin D. Roosevelt directed naval chief of operations Adm. Ernest J. King to wage a clandestine, undeclared war against German submarines. This action proved a harbinger of things to come.

German submariners enjoyed even greater success following the declaration of war against the United States in December 1941. The nation was unprepared for unrestricted submarine warfare, and within six months the U-boats sent 585 vessels weighing 3 million tons to the bottom. Such losses impeded Great Britain’s ability to wage war, and for a second time Dönitz’s strategy nearly succeeded. But as the Battle of the Atlantic raged, new technology helped the Allies gradually gain the upper hand. Unknown to Dönitz, American and British intelligence agencies had decoded his messages and were alerted to the location of each wolfpack. Existing detection technology such as sonar was also refined and enhanced, and U-boat losses mounted. The perfection of microwave radar, once mounted on airplanes and blimps, also allowed U-boats to be stalked at night once they surfaced to recharge their batteries. By 1943, German losses at sea were prohibitive, and Allied convoys enjoyed almost unfettered access to English ports. “The enemy knows our secrets and we know none of his,” Dönitz sadly conceded. He nonetheless kept a steady stream of ships and crews flowing into the Atlantic to delay the inevitable Allied onslaught for as long as possible.

By January 1943, Hitler was increasingly dissatisfied with his navy’s performance, so he sacked Admiral Raeder and placed Dönitz at the helm. As commander in chief, Dönitz placed greater emphasis on the development of new boats to counter recent Allied gains. He had pushed this concept for years, but Raeder, a supporter of the surface strategy, refused to allocate the resources. Eventually, the highly advanced Type XXI submarine evolved, which was three times faster than conventional U-boats; by using a snorkel, it could recharge while still submerged. The

Germans acquired more than 100 of these magnificent machines, but it was far too late. By the spring of 1945, nothing Germany did could contest command of the sea. The final statistics were grim: of 1,168 U-boat commissioned, 784—more than half—were lost to Allied countermeasures. This figure represents the deaths of 28,000 men.

By war's end, Dönitz was also forced to assume an unexpected political role. The admiral had never joined the Nazi Party, but he had enthusiastically supported the regime and enjoyed Hitler's implicit confidence. Therefore, after Hitler committed suicide in April 1945, his will stipulated that Dönitz would succeed him as head of the Third Reich. "I had never received any hint on the subject from anybody else, nor, I believe, had any other of the other leaders ever thought of such a possibility." Nonetheless, the admiral took office and tried negotiating a separate peace with the Western Allies to forestall Soviet occupation of Germany. Failing that, on May 7, 1945, Dönitz and Gen. **Alfred Jodl** signed the articles of capitulation. Three weeks later—and much to his surprise—Dönitz was arrested by the authorities and charged with war crimes. Throughout his trial he maintained simply that he was a professional naval officer carrying out the instructions of his superiors. Tried and convicted, he was spared the death penalty; he spent a decade behind bars at Spandau Prison. Dönitz wrote his memoirs while incarcerated and finally gained his freedom in October 1956. He spent the rest of his life in seclusion, still revered by his former crewmen, before dying at Ammuhle on December 24, 1980. Dönitz was certainly one of the most brilliant naval strategists in military history. Had Hitler accorded him sufficient re-

sources to conduct U-boat warfare as he envisioned, Germany might have prevailed in World War II.

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Hitler, Adolf; Jodl, Alfred

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Drummond, Gordon

(September 27, 1772–October 10, 1854)
English General

Drummond was the first native-born Canadian to hold both military and civil commands during the War of 1812. He proved himself an extremely capable administrator and also possessed a “bulldog” tenacity in combat. Drummond’s stubborn refusal to retreat won the Battle of Lundy’s Lane and helped blunt the most serious invasion of Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) ever mounted by the United States.

Gordon Drummond was born in Quebec on September 27, 1772, the son of an army paymaster. He was educated in England and joined the army in 1789 as an ensign in the First Regiment of Foot, the famous Royal Scots. In service young Drummond proved a most enterprising officer, and rapid promotion followed. He became a lieutenant in 1791, a captain in 1792, then transferred as a major in the Eighth Foot (King’s Own) in 1794 before rising to lieutenant colonel that same year. Drummond first experienced combat during the siege of Nijmegen, Netherlands, in 1794 and subsequently distinguished himself during the reconquest of Egypt in 1801. Having completed several tours of garrison duty in the Mediterranean, he rose to major general in 1805 and, three years later, returned to Quebec under Governor-General Sir James Craig. His rapid rise notwithstanding, Drummond had seen real combat only on two occasions and



Gordon Drummond
McCord Museum

lacked real combat experience. Nevertheless, in 1811 he gained promotion to lieutenant general after 22 years of dedicated service; he temporarily replaced Craig as commander in chief of British forces pending the arrival of Sir **George Prevost**. In October of that same year, Drummond transferred to northern Ireland and was absent when hostilities erupted between England and the United States in June 1812.

Drummond remained in Ireland until August 1813, when Prevost requested his presence in Canada. He arrived that fall and replaced Gen. **Francis de Rottenburg** as governor-general of Upper Canada. Drummond found the province in disarray owing to recent American victories on Lake Erie and Ontario’s Thames River. Moreover, much of the population was openly sympathetic to the United States, and both the military and civilian sectors were beset by acute supply shortages. His were daunting tasks, but Drummond threw himself into them with characteristic abandon. He felt that the military situation was critical and had to be addressed first.

Reaching the Niagara frontier on December 16, 1813, he orchestrated the surprise capture of Fort Niagara three days later, along with vast quantities of prisoners, supplies, and ammunition. He then directed a subordinate, Gen. **Phineas Riall**, to conduct punitive

raids along the length of the Niagara River in retaliation for the burning of Newark, Upper Canada. In short order, Black Rock and Buffalo were reduced to ashes, and British control of the Niagara frontier was firmly reestablished. Drummond next sought to maintain the strategic initiative by hitting Presque Isle (Erie), Pennsylvania, where the Americans' Lake Erie fleet was frozen in place, but the onset of warm weather thwarted his ambitions. By February 1814, he finally felt at leisure to return to York (Toronto) to convene a session of the provincial legislature. He enjoyed better luck than Gen. **Isaac Brock** in having the writ of habeas corpus suspended as a wartime expedient to suppress collaboration with the enemy. This, in turn, led to the largest civil trial for treason in Canadian history, with 15 defendants being tried and eight ultimately hanged.

But an even more pressing issue before Drummond was the question of food. Previously, the general had warned Prevost that Upper Canada might have to be abandoned simply to prevent the troops from starving! His supply situation remained poor because farmers refused to sell products to the army, and Drummond, like de Rottenburg before him, felt obliged to impose martial law as a final recourse. It was an unpopular move politically, but it did allow the military to obtain the necessary goods at fixed prices. Hence, a supply crisis, long neglected, was averted.

With the military, political, and supply situations in hand, Drummond relocated to Kingston to confer with Commodore Sir **James Lucas Yeo**, commanding the Lake Ontario squadron. Both men believed that British control of Lake Ontario was absolutely essential for the preservation of Upper Canada, and they desired to attack Sackets Harbor, home of the American fleet. However, the governor-general felt the strategy too risky and declined to send reinforcements. Drummond and Yeo then rummaged about for an easier target, and on May 5, 1813, their combined forces stormed Oswego, New York, stoutly defended by the Third U.S. Ar-

tillery under Lt. Col. George E. Mitchell. This well-conceived and -executed preemptive strike failed to seize the heavy cannons and other naval supplies intended for Commodore Isaac Chauncey's ships, but it did upset his ship construction timetable by several weeks. Drummond and Yeo then both repaired to Kingston to await the outcome of events on the American side. Canada was undergoing a surge of confidence it had not experienced since the heady days of Isaac Brock.

In July 1814, the campaign season commenced when troops under American Gen. Jacob Brown crossed the Niagara River and captured Fort Erie. Unlike previous American invasions, in which soldiers and generals alike were ill-trained and bordering on amateurish, his Left Division was disciplined and had been placed in a high state of readiness by Gen. Winfield Scott. On July 5, Scott's brigade met and soundly defeated Riall's troops at the Battle of Chippawa, the first American victory over British troops on an open plain. Riall then retreated to Fort George, with Brown in hot pursuit. The Americans subsequently waited near the mouth of the Niagara River in the hopes that Commodore Chauncey would deliver men and supplies. Two weeks lapsed before Brown realized Chauncey was not coming, and he sullenly fell back upon Chippawa. Drummond, meanwhile, collected numerous men and supplies, sailed from York, and arrived at Fort George on July 24, 1814. He fully planned to drive down the peninsula and give battle to Brown once various elements of his army, scattered throughout Niagara, had been united. To divert American attention, on July 25 he dispatched a raid from captured Fort Niagara down the American side of the river. As it turns out, neither side was seeking a decisive engagement on that sultry July day.

Brown's forces were resting at Chippawa in anticipation of a sudden advance upon Burlington Heights, which would cut off the peninsula. However, when news of the British raid arrived, he surmised that the British were actually intending to attack his main supply

depot at Schlosser, New York. He reacted by sending General Scott's brigade northward as a feint against Fort George, to lure the British back. Scott had proceeded only as far as a road junction called Lundy's Lane when he encountered the forces of Riall, who had been shadowing the Americans at a respectful distance for several days. The aggressive Scott thereupon deployed to attack and Riall retreated, only to run headlong into Drummond's column, marching south to join him. After a few frantic moments, Drummond sorted out his men and reoccupied the heights of Lundy's Lane about six o'clock that evening. A battle of tremendous proportions then erupted. Scott battered his brigade against the British line for nearly two hours, suffering heavy casualties. By the time he drew off it was nightfall, and Drummond was convinced he had won the battle. What he did not know—and could not see—was that the balance of Brown's army had arrived in the darkness and was preparing to renew the contest.

At length the brigade of Gen. Eleazar W. Ripley deployed below Lundy's Lane and advanced to storm a British battery posted on the heights. Drummond, who had failed to post any scouts to his front, received his first indication of trouble when Col. James Miller suddenly burst out of the darkness and captured the British cannons. Additional forces under Col. George M. Brooke arrived to assist, and all of the British lines recoiled downhill in confusion. A third militia brigade under Gen. Peter B. Porter also arrived and deployed across the heights. Drummond's predicament was truly lamentable; from a perceived sense of victory he had suddenly lost both his cannons—and then his entire position—to a seemingly more numerous enemy (the actual numbers were 2,800 Americans and 3,200 British). Nonetheless, he rallied his shaken men and personally led them back up the slope. Three times the British charged in the dark, and three times they were blasted back. Casualties were heavy on both sides, with Brown, Scott, and Drummond all sus-

taining serious wounds. Drummond finally called off the attack at midnight and prepared to retreat. Unknown to him, Brown had also ordered a withdrawal back to Chippawa, and the captured cannons were abandoned. In the early hours of July 26, British forces suddenly reoccupied Lundy's Lane and claimed a victory. This was confirmed later that afternoon when American forces under Ripley marched up to the field but failed to initiate combat. Brown then took the battered remnants of his army and fell back to Fort Erie.

Lundy's Lane was the costliest and hardest-fought battle of the War of 1812 in Canada, with 858 American casualties to a British total of 878 killed and wounded. Drummond's stubborn refusal to yield the field, even though he was clearly defeated, paid immediate dividends. At great cost he had blunted the most serious American offensive of the war. The battle also revealed serious shortcomings in his generalship, but where brilliance failed, perseverance triumphed.

The British army was incapable of resuming operations for several weeks after Lundy's Lane, and not until August 2 could Drummond advance upon Fort Erie. This formerly vulnerable post had been transformed by the defenders into an extremely formidable position. Drummond, who lacked adequate supplies and siege cannons, tried an end run around the fort by throwing a handpicked force of light infantry across the river in an attempt to capture American supplies at Buffalo. This daring gambit was foiled at Conjocta Creek by the elite American Riflemen under Maj. Ludowick Morgan on August 3, 1814. This setback forced Drummond to undertake a formal siege for which his troops were ill-prepared. For several days his small battery of light guns hammered away at the American defenses, inflicting what he viewed as serious damage. On the night of August 14, 1814, he directed a complicated three-pronged attack against the defenders, but the American commander, Gen. Edmund P. Gaines, was alert for such a move and ready to receive it. Throughout the early-morning

hours, British troops valiantly charged prepared American positions and suffered heavily. A small party of British managed to storm Fort Erie itself, but an accidental magazine explosion wiped them out. By dawn the assailants withdrew in confusion, having lost 906 men to an American total of 84. This was the biggest British defeat in Canada during the entire war. But despite this tremendous setback, for which Drummond blamed foreign troops of the DeWatteville Regiment, he remained grimly determined to maintain the siege.

Incessant rains during late August increased the hardships of the troops and deteriorated the health of both armies. Drummond himself was suffering from the effects of his Lundy's Lane wound, but he stubbornly disregarded the advice of his adjutant, Col. **John Harvey**, to retire. The impasse was broken only when General Gaines was wounded by a cannon shot and General Brown, still hobbled by wounds, arrived to take command. Working stealthily at night, he managed to transport several thousand New York militia across the Niagara River. On the rainy afternoon of September 17, 1814, Brown then staged a violent and successful sortie against British siege lines. Drummond, who had been forewarned by deserters, took no special precautions against attack and consequently lost two of his three batteries. Casualties in this savage encounter were also heavy, amounting to 511 Americans and 611 British. But the combination of poor health, worsening weather, and determined resistance finally compelled Drummond to abandon Fort Erie in late September.

The following month, Brown was reinforced by a large army commanded by Gen. George Izard, and Drummond dug in his battle-weary survivors behind Chippawa Creek in defiance. Izard, however, refused to frontally attack such strong positions, and he was further dissuaded when Commodore Yeo took control of Lake Ontario that fall. The Americans subsequently abandoned Fort Erie without a struggle that November and re-

turned to New York. Word of peace arrived the following February, and Drummond, although severely handled, could look upon events of the past summer with satisfaction. Through his efforts, not a square inch of the Niagara Peninsula was in American hands by the time hostilities ceased. It was a performance worthy of Brock himself.

After the war, Governor-General Prevost was recalled back to England, and Drummond reassumed civil administration duties back in Quebec. There the general oversaw the transfer of previously captured regions back to the United States, in accordance with the Treaty of Ghent. He remained so situated until May 1816, when he returned to England and was named a knight of the Order of Bath in reward for distinguished services. Drummond rose to full general in May 1825; at the time of his death in London on October 10, 1854, he was the most senior general in the British army. With the possible exception of Isaac Brock, Drummond was the most effective military leader and administrator to serve in Canada during the War of 1812. He was not the most able tactician of that conflict, but his combination of natural aggressiveness and gritty determination thwarted a possible conquest of the Niagara frontier.

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Dull Knife

(ca. 1810–1883)
Cheyenne War Chief

Formerly a fierce Dog Soldier, Dull Knife is best remembered for leading his people on an epic winter trek back to their homeland. Despite great suffering and loss of life among the Cheyennes, perseverance paid off when the survivors finally secured a reservation on their own territory.

Morning Star (Tash-mela-pash-me) was born near the Rosebud River, Montana, around 1810. He was a member of the Cheyenne nation, but in the course of many military campaigns against the Pawnees and Shoshones, he became closely associated with the Oglala Sioux, who called him Dull Knife. In his youth he proved himself an adept warrior and was selected for membership into the elite band of fighters known as the Dog Soldiers. Dull Knife was also well-respected for his intelligence and bearing, so around 1854 the Cheyenne Council of Forty-Four elevated him to the exalted position of Old Man Chief of the Ohmeseheso (Northern Cheyenne) band. In this capacity



Dull Knife
National Archives

Dull Knife was expected to render sagacious advice in matters pertaining to peace and war. Around this time, the Cheyenne people were experiencing their first conflicts with the U.S. Army, whose cavalry began patrolling the Northern Plains. In the wake of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre—the slaughter of **Black Kettle** and his followers in Colorado Territory—Dull Knife accompanied his warriors in many vengeful raids against American frontier settlements. In 1866, he accompanied **Crazy Horse** and **American Horse** in their successful ambush of Capt. William J. Fetterman's command. However, Dull Knife soon concluded that it would be better for his people to enjoy peaceful relations with these powerful intruders. He first came to the attention of whites on May 10, 1868, when he signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie, which ended the Bozeman Trail War under **Red Cloud**.

Despite the best efforts of many other peace chiefs, resentment over white encroach-

ment, and the inevitable violence it spawned, led to continuous warfare with the United States. In January 1876, the famous Sioux uprising commenced, and Dull Knife's band of warriors was inevitably drawn into the conflict. Despite many threats against his life, he nonetheless advocated peace. Many of his braves were present during the June 1876 Rosebud victory against Crook and Custer, and his son Medicine Lodge was apparently slain at Little Bighorn, but Dull Knife—true to his word—did not participate. Nonetheless, retaliation was swift in coming, and on November 25, 1876, a column of U.S. cavalry under Col. Randall S. Mackenzie stormed into the Cheyenne encampment along the Powder River. Dull Knife's band was routed, losing their village and all supplies and clothing. Throughout the winter, U.S. military forces routinely harassed and attacked the surviving bands in zero-degree temperatures. Faced with the prospect of freezing to death, the Cheyennes had little recourse but to surrender to American authorities at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, which they did in the spring of 1877.

While at Fort Robinson, Dull Knife was told that his band of 937 men, women, and children were destined to be relocated to new homes in Oklahoma. However, the Cheyennes were unable to make the transition smoothly. As nomads, they were unwilling to take up farming; worse yet, the warm weather occasioned much disease and death among their already depleted ranks. Moreover, they were forced to compete for scarce resources with large bodies of Southern Cheyennes, already present, who were implacably hostile to their kinsmen. Having buried 50 children, Dull Knife curtly informed the Indian agency that he would move his remaining 353 Cheyennes back to their ancestral homeland. The authorities scoffed at him, but on September 9, 1877, Dull Knife's band made an early-morning exodus for freedom. The ensuing pursuit by army units ultimately involved 13,000 men from three different military departments.

Dull Knife, accompanied by **Little Wolf**, followed the Texas Cattle Trail through

Kansas, skirmishing with soldiers along the way. The chiefs tried to restrain their young braves from violence, but at one point 40 white settlers were massacred, which only spurred the military to greater efforts. Once the Cheyennes reached Nebraska, Dull Knife and Little Wolf parted company, the former heading for the Cheyennes' traditional homestead in northern Montana, the latter striving to reach the Red Cloud Agency at Fort Robinson. On October 23, 1877, Dull Knife's band was surrounded by American soldiers in a blizzard and forced to surrender. The fugitives were then taken to Fort Robinson, where they were told to return to Oklahoma. When Dull Knife and other leaders flatly refused, the garrison commander, Col. Henry Wessells, had the entire band imprisoned in a cavalry barracks without food or heat. Unperturbed by confinement, the Indians began secretly arming themselves for a mass breakout. Six days later, in the early morning darkness of January 3, 1878, the braves began firing as a diversion, while women and children pushed themselves out into the winds and snow. The soldiers responded in kind, killing many Indians, but death could not impede the tribe's chance for freedom. A small party of Cheyennes under Dull Knife resumed their march, until being caught by cavalry again about 40 miles from the fort. Many more were killed or captured in the ensuing fight, but Dull Knife and his family escaped and remained hidden in crevices. For 18 days they braved frigid weather and survived by eating their own moccasins. At length Dull Knife's emaciated party reached Pine Ridge, where they were hidden by some Sioux families encamped there.

The stoicism and determination displayed by the Cheyennes on this 1,500-mile exodus is legendary and evoked great national sympathy for them and their plight. It was a performance rivaling the Nez Percé flight under Chief Joseph. In March 1878, Gen. Nelson A. Miles arranged for Dull Knife and the remaining Indians to transfer back to better homes in Montana's Rosebud Valley. The old chief lived out

the rest of his days there and died in 1883, much embittered over the loss of most of his children and friends. Perhaps in recognition of this sacrifice, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation was formally established on their former homeland in November 1884.

See also

Crazy Horse; Joseph; Red Cloud

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Evans, Nathan George

(February 3, 1824–November 23, 1868)

Confederate General

“Shanks” Evans was a brave and capable leader with an unfortunate fondness for liquor. After rendering distinguished service at Bull Run and Ball’s Bluff, he fell into disrepute and saw little fighting.

Nathan George Evans was born in Marion, South Carolina, on February 3, 1824. After studying at Randolph-Macon College, he gained an appointment to attend the U.S. Military Academy in 1844 through the influence of U.S. Senator John C. Calhoun. There he apparently acquired the nickname “Shanks” on account of his spindly limbs. Unimpressive as a student, and something of a gruff, self-serving personality, Evans graduated thirty-fourth out of a class of 38 in 1848. He next joined the First U.S. Dragoons as a newly minted second lieutenant, then commenced a wide-ranging tour of western posts. On the frontier Evans

gained attention for bravery in a number of battles against the Comanche Indians. By 1855, he had transferred as a first lieutenant to the newly raised Second U.S. Cavalry, in which many future Civil War generals served. He subsequently fought at the Battle of Wachita Village on October 1, 1858, as a captain and distinguished himself by killing two noted chieftains in hand-to-hand combat. For this feat his state legislature voted him an elaborate sword. But in the wake of South Carolina’s secession from the Union two years later, Evans resigned his commission as of February 1861. He then rejoined the army of his native state with the rank of cavalry major.

Evans served as adjutant general of South Carolina forces when Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard bombarded Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor on April 12, 1861, an act precipitating

the Civil War. Two months later he rose to lieutenant colonel of the Fourth South Carolina Regiment and, later, assumed command of an infantry brigade under Beauregard at Manassas Junction, Virginia. On July 21, a Union force of 38,000 men under Gen. Irvin McDowell launched its drive upon the Confederate capital of Richmond. To accomplish this, McDowell attempted a flanking movement of 17,000 men intended to turn Beauregard's left flank, crushing him. Evans, positioned at a stone bridge with only 5,000 soldiers, perceived this maneuver and advanced without orders to meet it. Greatly outnumbered, he was forced to withdraw until reinforced by Gen. **Barnard Elliott Bee** and Col. Wade Hampton. They too were driven back, but Evans's prompt actions sufficiently delayed the Union advance in time for Confederate reinforcements to arrive and win the day. Consequently, Evans reinforced his reputation as a fighter and won promotion to colonel. Politically speaking, South Carolina was an extremely important state to the Confederacy, and Evans was among its earliest military heroes. Therefore, military officials conveniently overlooked the fact that the hard-drinking Evans always went into battle accompanied by an aide whose sole function was to carry a gallon jug of whiskey.

In the fall of 1861, Evans's brigade assumed defensive positions in the vicinity of Leesburg, Virginia. On October 21, a smaller Union force under Col. Edward D. Baker, a former politician, advanced against the Confederates in piecemeal fashion at Ball's Bluff. Evans, sensing an opportunity, boldly attacked, pinning the enemy up against a precipitous river bank and destroying them. Baker was killed, along with 237 of his men; an additional 714 were taken prisoner. Confederate losses numbered only 149 men. It was a relatively small action, but for Union forces the disaster at Ball's Bluff exercised influence far out of proportion to its military significance. Thereafter, a military committee under fiery abolitionist Sen. Benjamin F. Wade formed the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the

War. This political watchdog was then empowered to scrutinize the activities of Union generals at will. Few could escape Wade's attention, and he became the bane of most ranking leaders. The Confederate congress, meanwhile, awarded Evans its thanks, while the South Carolina legislature voted him a gold medal. He also received a promotion to brigadier general in October 1861.

Such was Evans's reputation that his brigade was allowed to function with near autonomy. It marched around constantly and was seen at so many locations that it became popularly heralded as the "Tramp Brigade." Evans returned to South Carolina in December 1861 with his men, where he took control of the Third Military District. There he conducted several sharp, successful encounters with Union forces on the coast. In the summer of 1862 he reported back to the York Peninsula, Virginia, to observe the movements of Union forces under Gen. George B. McClellan. Shortly after, he was assigned to the corps of Gen. **James Longstreet** and fought well at the victory of Second Manassas in August 1862. Evans subsequently accompanied Gen. **Robert E. Lee's** invasion of Maryland, where he assumed temporary command of a full division. In this capacity he was closely engaged at South Mountain and Antietam that November. His men performed well but took exceptionally heavy losses, and rumors of Evans's possible intoxication began surfacing. He then returned to North Carolina with the Tramp Brigade to guard the coastline against enemy incursions. On December 13, 1862, he repulsed an attack led by Gen. John G. Foster at Kinston but subsequently withdrew without orders to Wilmington, North Carolina. At this point, Evans was charged with being intoxicated, court-martialed, then acquitted. However, he began losing the confidence of the government, especially General Beauregard, his immediate superior. When reports of unfavorable conditions in the Tramp Brigade reached his ears, Beauregard relieved Evans from duty pending further investigation. Acquitted

of all charges, he was later restored to duty by summer.

In June 1863, Evans and his brigade were assigned to Gen. **William Wing Loring's** division in Mississippi. The following month he fought in the unsuccessful defense of Jackson by Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** before reporting back to the East Coast for garrison duty at Savannah, Georgia. Beauregard, still in nominal command, distrusted Evans and refused to grant him serious responsibilities. However, when that officer transferred north to Virginia, Evans became commander of the First Military District of South Carolina. He had barely assumed control of his troops before falling off his horse, suffering injuries that incapacitated him for the rest of the war. In 1865, following the capture of Richmond by Union forces, Evans accompanied President **Jefferson Davis** on his flight through South Carolina. This last act concluded an otherwise dismal military career.

After the war, Evans relocated to Midway, Alabama, where he became a school principal. He served in that capacity until his death

there on November 30, 1868, a potentially useful officer rendered dissolute by alcohol.

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.; Longstreet, James

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Ferguson, Patrick

(ca. 1744–October 7, 1780)
English Army Officer

Ferguson was a talented, innovative leader, among the best marksmen in the British army. He invented an impressive new weapon and performed useful service as a light infantry officer before coming to grief at King's Mountain. For all his fine military qualities, Ferguson could not surmount his condescension toward American fighting abilities—and thereby lost his life.

Patrick Ferguson was born in Scotland in 1744, the son of a leading Scottish jurist. He received his military education at an academy in London and, in 1759, became a coronet in the Royal North British Dragoons, the famous

Scots Greys. Ferguson subsequently shipped to Germany and participated in major campaigning before illness forced his retirement in 1761. He convalesced for nearly seven years before his physical constitution was restored, but by 1768 Ferguson felt fit enough to purchase a captain's commission in the 70th Regiment of Foot. He subsequently saw active duty in the West Indies before sickness again forced him from the active list in 1770. While recuperating back in Scotland, he became intrigued with the idea of a viable breech-loading rifle for light infantry use. Such a weapon enjoyed obvious advantages over conven-

tional muzzle-loading ordnance, for users could both load and fire while in a prone position. After much tinkering, he invented such a weapon in 1775. The new Ferguson rifle could fire six rounds per minute, as opposed to two shots per minute with a musket. Furthermore, possessing a rifled (grooved) barrel that made the ball spin in flight, it was highly accurate at ranges up to 100 yards. The weapon was so well designed that it was reliable even in wet weather, whereas muskets were inoperative. Its tactical implications were immense. By March 1776, Ferguson had perfected his device, applied for a patent, and gave successful demonstrations of his rifle at the Woolwich Arsenal. The commanders present were suitably impressed and authorized 100 of the weapons constructed for military trials in the field. They also ordered Ferguson to recruit a special company of sharpshooters for service in the American Revolution.

Ferguson arrived at New York in May 1777 with an outfit culled from the light companies of other regiments. All were by necessity crack shots in order to qualify for membership. However, due to an administrative oversight, Gen. **William Howe**, the British commander in chief, was never informed about the experimental nature of his men or weaponry. After some preliminary skirmishing at Short Hills, New Jersey, the riflemen were packed on board a transport and shipped south as part of the amphibious attack on Philadelphia. After landing in Maryland, Howe's army marched inland, and the Americans under Gen. George Washington confronted them at Brandywine Creek on September 11, 1777. Ferguson was then assigned to the British right wing under Gen. **Wilhelm von Knyphausen** and closely engaged his American counterparts. At one point, Washington had ridden to within range of Ferguson, who had no idea who this tall, imposing figure was. However, consistent with prevailing norms of civilized warfare, which discouraged mounted officers from being singled out, the marksman let his mark go unscathed. The riflemen performed very

well at Brandywine, but Ferguson was badly wounded when a musket ball shattered his right elbow. Moreover, Howe was angered that new weapons were being tested without his authorization or knowledge; he ordered the rifles stored, and Ferguson's company disbanded. It was the sorry end of a promising military experiment.

Ferguson's injury healed slowly, and it was not until the spring of 1778 that he reported for duty under a new commander in chief, Gen. **Henry Clinton**. Clinton expressed great fondness for the young man and appointed him his intelligence officer. In this capacity Ferguson learned about rebel locations and intentions, planned preemptive raids, and participated in actions against them. He fought well at Little Egg Harbor in October 1778 and at the storming of Stony Point in July 1779 to the complete satisfaction of superiors. He was subsequently allowed to recruit a unit from disaffected Loyalists, informally known as the "American Volunteers." Ferguson then accompanied Clinton on his expedition against Charleston, South Carolina, in December 1779, as a major of the 71st Highlanders. He was conspicuously engaged in various skirmishes throughout the siege and frequently fought in company with two other partisan officers of note, **Banastre Tarleton** and **John Graves Simcoe**. After the city's surrender, Ferguson was authorized to expand his command by recruiting local Loyalists, and he also served as inspector general of the Carolina and Georgia Loyalist militia. For several months he actively sought recruits who had been cowed into submission by rebel activity, and many came forward entertaining prospects of revenge.

In the summer of 1780, Ferguson commanded 1,100 men who constituted the left wing of the army under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**. Cornwallis, against orders, had decided to invade North Carolina and dispatched Ferguson deep into the interior to find more recruits. As a rule, the British leadership overestimated the extent of Loyalist sympathies in the backwoods and usually discounted Patriot

sentiments altogether. Moreover, Ferguson was disdainful toward Americans as soldiers. Once firmly ensconced in the western part of the state, he issued dire warnings for all “over-the-mountain men” to submit to British rule—or else. Furthermore, Ferguson underscored his contempt by burning and plundering homes and farms whenever the opportunity allowed. These depredations had the effect of galvanizing the opposition, and by October 1780 more than 1,300 rifle-toting frontiersmen had gathered under Isaac Shelby and others to give battle. Ferguson, contemptuous as ever of American fighting abilities, made no attempt to withdraw. In fact, having selected a natural strongpoint on King’s Mountain, he allowed them to approach unmolested.

On October 17, 1780, the Americans completely enveloped Ferguson’s force—which also consisted entirely of Americans—and began moving up the slopes. Ironically, it was the frontiersmen who enjoyed the advantage of rifles, as Ferguson’s command utilized muskets and bayonets. Within an hour the Loyalists were shattered by accurate fire, and Ferguson himself was shot down and killed. British losses were 157 killed, 163 wounded, and 698 prisoners, to an American tally of 28 killed and 64 wounded. Consistent with the nature of backwoods partisan warfare, several of the captives were either hanged or cut down after surrendering. Ferguson’s death

also deprived Cornwallis of an active and enterprising light infantry officer, just when his talents were needed most. Consequently, the general suspended his offensive into North Carolina for several months while the victorious Americans consolidated their strength. King’s Mountain may have caused Ferguson his life, but in a larger sense it also proved a turning point of the bloody and protracted southern campaign.

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Fitzgibbon, James

(November 16, 1780–December 12, 1863)
English Army Officer

One of Britain’s famous “Green Tigers,” Fitzgibbon was an audacious light infantry officer during the War of 1812. By dint of fast marching and expert bluffing, he captured a much larger American detachment at the Battle of Beaver Dams. Thereafter, he contributed to the stability of

Upper Canada by suppressing various social upheavals.

James Fitzgibbon was born in Glin, County Limerick, Ireland, on November 16, 1780, the son of a farmer. His family was relatively poor, and consequently, he was indifferently educated. At the age of 15 Fitzgibbon never-

theless joined the Knight of Glin Yeomanry Corps, a local militia unit, and quickly made sergeant. In 1798, he transferred to the Tarbert Infantry Fencibles, which soon after was incorporated into the British army as the 49th Regiment of Foot. This unit, whose red coats were adorned by green coatee collars and cuffs, soon became known as the Green Tigers on account of ferocity in battle. In 1799, Fitzgibbon first experienced combat while campaigning in the Netherlands, and two years later he won the Naval General Service Medal while acting as a marine during the Battle of Copenhagen. In 1802, he accompanied the regiment to Canada, where he was to remain for the next 45 years. After 1805 the famous **Isaac Brock** became the regimental colonel, and he took particular interest in Fitzgibbon's military career. Given his common background and lack of education, Fitzgibbon lacked the money to purchase a commission in the officer corps. Nonetheless, Colonel Brock, overlooking his coarse, somewhat uncouth manners, felt he had the makings of a fine company-grade officer and encouraged him to study reading, writing, and etiquette. Education and hard work paid immediate dividends in 1809, when Fitzgibbon gained promotion first to ensign and adjutant in 1806, then lieutenant in 1809. By 1812, he had resigned his adjutant responsibilities to facilitate further study, but this activity was interrupted by the onset of war with the United States in June.

For several months into the war, Fitzgibbon was preoccupied with the mundane but essential work of convoying supplies from Montreal to Kingston down the St. Lawrence River, usually in full view of the Americans. In January 1813, he undertook the transport of 45 food-laden sleds from Kingston to distant Niagara without incident. Having fulfilled all these duties competently, Fitzgibbon was allowed to join the 49th Regiment as a combat officer. On June 6, 1813, he served under Col. **John Harvey** at the Battle of Stoney Creek, where he distinguished himself. Prior to the battle, Fitzgibbon disguised himself as a butter ped-

dlar, boldly entered the enemy camp, and carefully noted troop and gun dispositions. The Americans, whom the British surprised while sleeping, that night beat off their assailants but subsequently fell back to Fort George when Gens. John Chandler and William H. Winder were captured. A strategic stalemate then settled over the Niagara frontier. To keep American forces tied down, and in recognition of his bravery and skill in partisan tactics, Fitzgibbon received command of a select company of men to function as guerrillas. This group, the self-styled "Bloody Boys," waged a constant war over outposts with a like number of American partisans under Dr. Cyrenius Chapin of Buffalo. At length, Gen. **John Vincent** ordered Fitzgibbon's command to establish itself as an advanced picket post at DeCou House, about 25 miles from the American position at Fort George. His nearest assistance was a slightly larger outpost at Twelve Mile Creek commanded by Lt. Col. **Cecil Bisshopp**. Both officers were directed to closely observe enemy movements.

Back at Fort George, Gen. John Boyd sought to end the blockade of Fort George by Indian forces by launching an attack at against DeCou House. He then selected Lt. Col. Charles Boerstler, 14th U.S. Infantry, with about 600 men from his and other regiments to accomplish the task. Boerstler had no sooner set out than a large force of 400 Mohawks under **John Norton** ambushed his force and commenced a costly running fight at Beaver Dams. Meanwhile, little of note transpired at DeCou House until the morning of June 24, 1813, when Fitzgibbon was informed by **Laura Secord** that an American expedition was heading his way. He then adroitly marched his 46 men rapidly to the scene of the fighting and approached the Americans under a white flag. A force so small could not make much of a contribution to the battle in progress, so the wily lieutenant resorted to a clever ploy. Having accosted Boerstler in person, Fitzgibbon claimed that British forces numbered in excess of 1,500 men and 500 Indians, then de-

manded his immediate surrender. Moreover, he warned the Americans that his Indians could not be controlled should a battle develop, and they were all subject to massacre. Boerstler refused at first, demanding to see the British forces in the field, when 200 additional redcoats under Col. Bisshopp suddenly arrived. This infusion of new troops convinced Boerstler that his position was hopeless, and he surrendered his remaining 484 unwounded soldiers to a force less than half their size. It was a stunning bluff reminiscent of the one employed earlier by General Brock at Detroit. It forced the Americans to constrict their lines ever closer to Fort George and allowed General Vincent to conduct raids directly across the Niagara River into western New York.

The victory at Beaver Dams had immediate repercussions on the American side, for it prompted Secretary of War John Armstrong to relieve the tottering theater commander, Henry Dearborn, of his post. Fitzgibbon, meanwhile, was widely hailed for his achievement and received a gold medal as well as promotion to captain within the Glengarry Fencibles, an elite light infantry force. However, a minor controversy arose when that officer failed to give his Mohawk allies proper credit for their role at Beaver Dams. In the words of Chief Norton, "The Caughnawaga fought the battle, the Six Nations got the plunder, and Fitzgibbon got the credit." It was not until 1818 that Fitzgibbon filed the correct military papers acknowledging the contributions of Native Americans and the dispute was resolved. He also spent the balance of the war performing screening and outpost duty, with none of the fanfare of his earlier accomplishments.

After the war, the Glengarry Fencibles were disbanded and Fitzgibbon retired on half-pay. He became a militia colonel in 1826, but his advance up the social ladder of Canadian politics was always thwarted by a lack of

social standing. Nonetheless, Fitzgibbon remained loyal to the established order and rendered useful military service during the so-called Patriot War of 1837. This was a violent uprising by lower classes against the so-called Family Compact, an elite group of rulers who literally controlled the entire colony. But despite his own humble origins, Fitzgibbon faithfully served the established political order. Moreover, his quick actions helped disperse several groups of rebels, but he received little recognition for these efforts. Disgusted by official neglect and burdened by debts, he finally left Canada in 1847 and never returned. He managed to secure a small allowance as a military knight at Windsor Castle and used his Canadian pension to pay off his debts. Fitzgibbon died there somewhat embittered by his lack of social advancement on December 12, 1863. However, his victory at Beaver Dams 50 years earlier remains one of the most cherished episodes in Canadian military history.

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Floyd, John Buchanan

(June 1, 1806–August 26, 1863)

Confederate General

Floyd was a ranking Confederate leader with enviable political connections, yet he was utterly devoid of military talent. His indecision and flight from Fort Donelson was a disgrace that cost the Confederacy dearly—and occasioned his removal from high command.

John Buchanan Floyd was born in Smithfield, Montgomery County, Virginia, on June 1, 1806. He attended South Carolina College, graduated in 1829, and commenced a career in planting and law. In time he parleyed his skills into a viable political career, and in 1848 he gained election as governor of Virginia. Once in office, Floyd became a proponent of states' rights and a vocal defender of slavery, although he never fully embraced the secessionist movement. He was nonetheless an artful politician. In 1856, newly elected President James Buchanan sought a Virginian to round out his cabinet, so he appointed Floyd secretary of war. Floyd, lacking the barest scintilla of military experience, proved unsuccessful in office, and his tenure became mired in charges of corruption and favoritism. These accusations arose out of his mishandling of Indian trust funds and channeling the profits into the hands of friends and relatives. Floyd also stirred up controversy in 1860 when he appointed Col. **Joseph E. Johnston**—his brother-in-law—as quartermaster general of the army, over the heads of more experienced officers like **Robert E. Lee** and Albert Sidney Johnston.

By 1860, the rising tide of secessionist activity began casting Floyd's actions in a treasonable light. At that time he authorized the transfer of 125,000 small arms into Southern arsenals, a move viewed suspiciously by many Northerners. Many politicians then charged Floyd with granting secessionist states immediate access to government weapons, but Floyd countered that he was

simply making room for new stocks of rifled weapons expected soon. A congressional committee investigated this matter closely in February 1861 and cleared Floyd of any misbehavior. But two months earlier, Floyd had quit his post over the military state of affairs at Charleston, South Carolina. There a small Northern garrison under Maj. Robert Anderson surreptitiously transferred his garrison from Fort Moultrie, on land, to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Floyd denounced the transfer as provocative and demanded that Anderson resume his former post. When President Buchanan refused to order Anderson to do so, Floyd resigned on December 29, 1860. The following May he joined the Confederacy with the rank of brigadier general.

In August 1861, Floyd took charge of the Army of the Kanawha in western Virginia. In this capacity he commanded about 3,500 men and was charged with protecting the lower Virginia Allegheny front from Union incursions. To that end he fought a number of minor skirmishes at Cross Lanes and Carnifex Ferry without decision. But despite Floyd's political background and his demonstrated lack of skill in handling troops, he became part of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston's forces in Kentucky that fall. This was a most important assignment, for Johnston had been tasked with protecting the Confederate heartland from a major Union invasion. Floyd, meanwhile, was entrusted with a force of 16,000 men who garrisoned Forts Henry and Donelson at the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. His arrival coincided with a major Union offensive conducted by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Adm. Andrew Hull Foote. On February 6, 1862, Union forces scored a major victory by capturing Fort Henry through gunboats alone, while Grant marched rapidly overland to capture Fort Donelson.

For several days, Floyd and his two major subordinates, Gens. **Gideon J. Pillow** and Simon Bolivar Buckner, dithered over how to confront the threat. Grant invested the fort as planned, but on February 6, 1862, Floyd's artillery drove Foote's flotilla back upstream. The following day, the Confederates launched a determined sortie against Union lines in an attempt to escape, but Floyd remained behind and took no part. Pillow very nearly succeeded in breaking Grant's line, but then he inexplicably called off the attack before a sharp Union counterattack sealed off the Confederates within their works. The crisis was suddenly at hand for Floyd. After considering another breakout, he finally decided that the Confederate position was hopeless. Moreover, he resolved to escape from Fort Donelson before it surrendered, leaving General Buckner behind to face inevitable defeat. Floyd and Pillow then disgraced themselves by fleeing on two steamboats with 2,500 men. Grant tightened his siege lines, and on February 16, 1862, Buckner surrendered 16,000 badly needed infantry. The entire affair so angered one commander, **Nathan Bedford Forrest**, that he defied orders and cut through Union lines. Nonetheless, Grant's success opened up the major riverine invasion route so feared by the Confederate high command. The seeds of destruction had been planted.

Floyd made his way to Nashville, where Johnston authorized him to direct the impending evacuation. Reaching Nashville, he learned of President **Jefferson Davis's** decision to relieve him on March 11, 1862, for deserting his command. This embarrassment should have closed his career, but Floyd's po-

litical connections ran deep. In April 1862, the Virginia state legislature *promoted* him to major general of state forces, and he spent the balance of the year guarding the important saltworks and rail lines of southwestern Virginia. Floyd, suffering from poor health, died in Abingdon, Virginia, on August 26, 1863. His political ambitions far exceeded his talent for military command. Moreover, his performance disgraced his former reputation and harbored serious consequences for the South.

See also

Forrest, Nathan Bedford; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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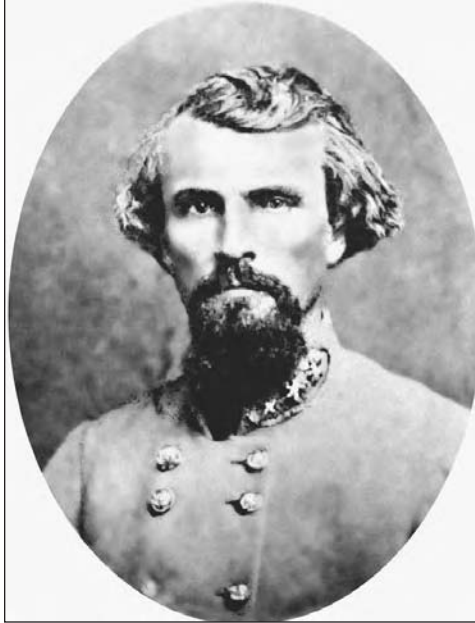
Forrest, Nathan Bedford

(July 13, 1821–October 29, 1877)
Confederate General

A self-taught military genius, “that Devil” Forrest rose from private to lieutenant-general and in the process sustained four wounds, killed more than 30 men, and lost 29 horses shot from beneath him. He was the best and most audacious cavalry raider of the Civil War, and his famous maxim—“Get there first with the most men”—reflected established military principles.

Nathan Bedford Forrest was born in Chapel Hill, Tennessee, on July 13, 1821, the son of a poor frontier blacksmith. The family moved to the wilderness of Mississippi, and when his father died in 1837, Forrest became responsible for feeding a large family. He endured a hardscrabble existence for many years but displayed the singular determination that characterized his whole life. Deprived of an education, Forrest taught himself how to read and write; traded in cattle, cotton, and slaves; and made a fortune.

Forrest was a millionaire by the time the Civil War began in April 1861, and he joined the Seventh Tennessee Cavalry as a private. However, when Forrest used his personal wealth to raise and equip a cavalry regiment on his own, he became its lieutenant colonel in August 1861. He fought several skirmishes along Tennessee’s Cumberland River and in February 1862 escaped from Fort Donelson rather than surrender. Promoted colonel, Forrest next fought at the Battle of Shiloh in April 1862, covered the rear guard with distinction, and was



Nathan Bedford Forrest
Library of Congress

severely wounded. He subsequently advanced to brigadier general in July 1862 and joined the army of Gen. **Braxton Bragg** in Tennessee.

As Bragg’s army commenced its invasion of Kentucky, Forrest was dispatched on several raids, which established his reputation as a brilliant cavalry commander. In July 1862, his brigade stormed Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where it outfought and bluffed a 1,200-man Union garrison into surrendering. Bragg, however, viewed Forrest as little more than a partisan, removed him from command, and ordered

him to raise a new force. Forrest readily complied, and from December 1862 to January 1863, he raided Gen. Ulysses S. Grant’s supply lines with such effect that Grant’s assault on Vicksburg, Mississippi, was postponed for weeks. Between April and May 1863, Forrest then operated in northern Georgia, where he blunted a cavalry raid by Union Col. Abel Streight, relentlessly pursued him for three days, and captured his entire command. Meanwhile, Bragg evacuated Tennessee in the fall of 1863 but turned and won an important victory at Chickamauga in September. Forrest again distinguished himself in the fighting but argued bitterly with Bragg when the latter failed to mount an effective pursuit. When Bragg then stripped him of his command once again, Forrest angrily resigned from the army. Finding his services to the Confederacy indispensable, President **Jefferson Davis** arranged an inde-

pendent command for Forrest in Mississippi with the rank of major general.

Forrest's career now assumed its most accomplished phase. With slender resources, he cleared northern Mississippi of Union troops and preserved an important granary for the Confederacy. The only serious blot on his sterling performance occurred during a raid against Fort Pillow, Tennessee, on April 12, 1864. When that post refused to surrender, Forrest's men stormed it, lost control, and murdered the African American soldiers in the garrison. In June his 2,900 troopers engaged 8,200 Union cavalry and infantry under Gen. Samuel G. Sturgis and Col. Benjamin Grierson at Brice's Crossroads, Mississippi, routing them. The following month, Forrest defeated another superior force at Tupelo but was badly wounded in the fighting. In October, he launched a brilliant raid against Gen. William T. Sherman's supply base at Johnsonville, Tennessee. The damage done to Union supplies and railroads was extensive, and thereafter Sherman referred to him as "that Devil Forrest." He next served as cavalry commander in the army of Gen. **John Bell Hood** and fought well at the disastrous Battle of Nashville on November 10, 1864. During the Confederate retreat, Forrest brilliantly conducted the rear guard and preserved much of the army from destruction.

Forrest was promoted to lieutenant-general in February 1865. He was no stranger to steep odds on the battlefield, but they had

now become insurmountable. On April 2, 1865, a large force under Gen. James H. Wilson drove Forrest's men from Ebenezer Church and captured Selma, Alabama. He finally surrendered on May 9 and returned to his ruined plantation in Mississippi.

After the war, Forrest settled down in Memphis, Tennessee, where he served as a railroad president. He also helped found the Ku Klux Klan and functioned as its first Grand Wizard until 1867, then renounced his membership when the group turned to violence. Forrest died in Memphis on October 29, 1877. He was, in Sherman's estimation, "the most remarkable man our Civil War produced on either side."

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Fraser, Simon

(ca. 1729–October 6, 1777)
English General

The heroic Fraser was a capable light infantry leader of the British invasion of New York in 1777. His bravery at Bemis Heights was conspicuous, and marksmen were deliberately ordered to single him out.

Fraser's untimely demise marked a turning point in British fortunes at Saratoga.

Simon Fraser was born in Balnain (Inverness), Scotland in 1729 and embarked upon a military career at an early age by joining the

Dutch army. In 1747, he served in Drumlanrig's Scots-Dutch regiment during the siege of Bergen-op-zoom and was wounded. Fraser then transferred to the British service in 1755 as a lieutenant in the famous 60th Regiment of Foot. The following year he served with the 78th Highlanders as a captain-lieutenant and in 1758 was present at the capture of Louisbourg. As a captain, Fraser next accompanied the expedition of Gen. James Wolfe against Quebec in 1759, where he garnered additional laurels. Service in North America, however, convinced him of the need for effective skirmishing, screening, and outpost work, and thereafter he functioned as a light infantry specialist. In 1760, Fraser campaigned in Germany, where he gained an appointment as an aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He then assumed command of a body of light infantry, consisting of volunteers from line regiments, which was informally christened "Fraser's Chasseurs." He demonstrated his tactical mastery of light infantry on several occasions, and at Wezen on November 9, 1761, Fraser drove off 400 French infantry with only 50 handpicked troops. In 1763, he was elevated to major of the 24th Regiment and, five years later, rose to become their lieutenant colonel. In recognition of his fine services, Fraser became an aide-de-camp to Jeffrey Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1770 he took on additional responsibilities as Irish quartermaster general. Fraser also drilled his 24th in the maneuvers established by Gen. **William Howe**, thereby becoming one of few regular British outfits capable of light infantry tactics.



Simon Fraser
New York Historical Society

In April 1776, Fraser commanded five regiments that were shipped from Ireland to fight in the American Revolution. He arrived at Quebec that May and joined the garrison under Gen. **Guy Carleton**, then besieged by American troops. Once reinforced, the British drove off their assailants and pursued them out of Canada. On June 7, 1776, Fraser's 2,000 men were attacked by a like number of Americans under Gen. John Sullivan and Anthony Wayne at Trois Rivières. Following stiff fighting and some adroit maneuvering, he defeated the enemy and drove them into the woods. Carleton then elevated

Fraser to temporary brigadier general and appointed him commander of the Advanced Corps. This consisted of his own 24th Regiment along with light and grenadier companies of other regiments pooled to form a separate battalion. By October the British had pursued the fleeing Americans down the Lake Champlain corridor as far as Chimney Point. At this point Carleton, wary of the onset of winter and ill-prepared for a siege of Fort Ticonderoga, fell back to Canada. For the next several months, Fraser commenced drilling various troops in the skirmishing and woodland tactics essential for warfare in North America. Under his tutelage they became as adept as their rebel counterparts.

In the spring of 1777, ambitious plans were afoot in Canada. Gen. **John Burgoyne** had arrived intent on leading 8,000 men into New York for the purpose of capturing the state capital at Albany. Such a blow would effectively isolate New England from the rest of the country and, he anticipated, end the war.

To achieve this, Burgoyne would be assisted by Fraser, still commanding the Advanced Corps, Gen. **William Phillips** of the artillery, and Hessian Gen. **Friedrich von Riedesel**. The campaign began in June 1777, when Burgoyne advanced down the Lake Champlain corridor, and Fraser did essential work scouting and driving back enemy light troops. His command then consisted of 1,200 regular soldiers, 300 Indians, and 12 cannons. These proved instrumental in seizing Mount Defiance, a position southwest of Fort Ticonderoga that the Americans considered too steep to mount cannons. But Fraser thought otherwise and, assisted by Phillips, dragged up several pieces by hand overnight. This move induced Gen. Arthur St. Clair to abandon Fort Ticonderoga without a fight.

With the fort secured—Fraser himself personally ran up the British flag—his light infantry scampered off in pursuit of the Americans, and on July 7, 1777, he surprised three militia regiments under Gen. Seth Warner at Hubbardton, Vermont. Confused fighting followed, and Fraser, outnumbered, was on the verge of being surrounded when Riedesel's Hessians appeared on the field to assist. Losses were heavy on both sides, but three American regiments were shattered and 200 prisoners taken. Fraser then resumed the point on July 20, 1777, and the following month Burgoyne's army had crossed over the Hudson River and entrenched itself at Saratoga.

By late summer, the British were in dire straits, being low on supplies and badly outnumbered by the invigorated Americans. On September 19, 1777, Burgoyne dispatched several columns forward in an attempt to force Gen. Horatio Gates into decisive battle. A spirited action was fought in and around Freeman's Farm, and Fraser, committed to a wide circling movement, was only lightly engaged on the right wing. There he engaged and drove off a body of riflemen under Col. Daniel Morgan and was roundly praised by Burgoyne for his actions. The Americans subsequently withdrew, but Burgoyne failed to

pursue them despite Fraser's urging. He remained in place while Gates slowly drew a noose around his army. By the time Burgoyne finally ordered an attack on October 5, the Americans were entrenched and waiting.

A heavy fight then broke out in the vicinity of Bemis Heights, and Fraser's Advanced Corps was attacked by overwhelming numbers. The German column was also attacked in turn, and Fraser set about rallying his forces to cover their retreat. To accomplish this, he calmly rode about the lines on his prancing stallion, steadily surveying the chaos about him. This brave display caught the eye of newly arrived Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, who then ordered Colonel Morgan to shoot him down. According to legend, Morgan turned to Timothy Murphy, a legendary rifleman, and declared, "That is a gallant officer; but he must die." Murphy then climbed a tree for a better view and, at extreme range, fired three shots. The third one hit Fraser in the chest, and he had to be helped from the field. He was subsequently tended to at Baroness **Frederika von Riedesel's** tent for several hours, but he died the next morning.

Fraser's passing was lamented by Burgoyne and his fellow officers. They buried him at 6 P.M. on a knoll overlooking the Hudson River, amid solemn proceedings. The Americans, unaware of the ceremony, threw several cannon shots at the burial detail—but immediately ceased fire when they learned what was happening. General Gates subsequently ordered his cannons fired to salute a fallen enemy. The lamented Fraser died as he had lived, fearlessly, and always at the head of his men. With Burgoyne having lost his best light infantry leader, his military position steadily worsened until he surrendered to Gates on October 17, 1777. Historians have since speculated that had Fraser lived, the British might have fought their way back to Canada and safety.

See also
Arnold, Benedict

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Frontenac, Comte de, Louis de Buade

(May 22, 1622–November 28, 1698)

French Colonial Governor

Frontenac was the legendary governor-general of New France, a quarrelsome individual who alienated all the authorities within that province with his imperious ways. However, his defense of Quebec in 1690 was decisively effective, and he left New France in far stronger shape than he inherited it.

Louis de Buade was born in Saint Germain-en-Lave on May 22, 1622, the scion of an aristocratic family long distinguished by military service to the Crown of France. His father was then colonel of the Navarre Regiment, so highly regarded by King Louis XIII that he stood as young Louis's godfather. After receiving an excellent education, Frontenac (a title he inherited) joined the army and fought with distinction throughout the internecine Thirty Years' War. He rose to colonel of the Normandie Regiment in 1643 and was roundly praised as a brave and effective soldier. However, Frontenac also exhibited a capricious streak. He tended to live extravagantly and racked up numerous debts that could not be repaid. A stormy marriage to Anne de la Grange, the daughter of a wealthy judge, also failed to produce the windfall anticipated when her father disinherited her. Having artfully dodged his creditors for many years,

Frontenac then managed to wrangle a lieutenant general's commission in the Venetian army. He was dispatched to the defense of Crete against the Turks, but his quarrelsome disposition resulted in a dismissal. By 1672, Frontenac was literally penniless and, with creditors closing in on all sides, managed to obtain a new appointment as governor-general of New France.

Frontenac, for all his military experience, had no real background in administration or personal diplomacy. He therefore no sooner landed in 1672 than arguments began with any or all who dared to oppose him. His less than taciturn demeanor alienated the clergy, the Sovereign Council, and his civilian counterpart, the Intendant. Having been educated as a young man by the strict Jesuit order, he proved relentlessly belligerent toward them as well. Furthermore, Frontenac wanted more than his share of revenues from the lucrative fur trade, so he was instrumental in establishing Fort Frontenac (present-day Kingston, Ontario) to reduce the dominance of Montreal merchants. This move enraged many of the economic elites, but whenever they or anybody else protested, Frontenac had them summarily arrested. Many others were shipped back to France over protests.

The outcry against Frontenac's tendency toward despotism set off alarm bells at home, for no less than Jean Baptiste Colbert, the French secretary of state, repeatedly warned the governor-general to relent. Moreover, to curb Frontenac's excesses, Colbert carefully enumerated and defined his powers—with strict instructions to observe them. None of this meant very much to Frontenac, who continued running New France as his personal fiefdom. When he failed to heed even the warnings of King Louis XIV, the volatile governor-general was recalled to France in 1682 and dismissed. Completely broke, he spent several years wrangling with creditors over past debts. His wife's family considered him an outcast and an embarrassment, offering no succor whatsoever.

It was not until April 1689 that Frontenac received an opportunity to salvage what little reputation he retained. In his absence the Marquis of Dentonville, a new governor-general, had enraged the Iroquois Indians (nominal allies of English colonies to the south), and they conducted ruinous raids throughout New France. In desperation, the king sent Frontenac back to Canada to retrieve the colony from impending destruction. His reappointment coincided with the onset of King William's War (1689–1697) against England. Soldier that he was, Frontenac immediately seized the initiative upon arrival. He canceled an advance against Albany, the Iroquois capital, deeming it as too risky. Instead, he ordered three different raids against Schenectady, New York, Fort Loyal, Maine, and Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, in the dead of winter. All three operations succeeded, resulted in the deaths and capture of several English colonists, and raised French morale. However, they also raised the ire of the colonists, who then embarked upon their first concerted effort to remove the French from Canada. In August 1690 an expedition of more than 30 ships left Boston under the command of Sir William Phips. Having captured Port Royal (now Annapolis Royal, Newfoundland), they pressed ahead down the St. Lawrence

River toward Quebec. Considering the wafer-thin defenses of that province, surrender seemed inevitable.

Frontenac had been inspecting the defenses of Montreal when word reached him of Phips's impending approach. Despite his advanced age he returned speedily to that town, arrived three days ahead of the British, and commenced defensive preparations. For all his bluster, Frontenac was anything if not a soldier, and his steely resolve proved infectious. Above all he inspired the Canadians to resist. Phips's fleet anchored off Quebec on October 16, 1690, and an English emissary was landed, blindfolded, and hauled before a defiant Frontenac. When ordered to surrender, the governor-general unflinchingly shot back, "I have no reply to make to your general other than the one from the mouths of my muskets and cannon!" The English fleet, badly outgunned by the city's defenses, made a few feeble attempts at bombardment but was beaten off. Attempts at landing troops also came to naught, so within days Phips took his fleet back to Boston in disgrace. Had it not been for the timely appearance of Frontenac, Quebec might very well have been cowed into surrendering. Now he was hailed as the savior of New France.

There remained the problem of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, who occupied what today is most of New York State. In 1696, Frontenac, at the age of 74, rounded up men and several hundred friendly Indians and conducted an expedition against the Iroquois. Little fighting occurred, but several Onondaga and Oneida villages and crops were burned, and the Iroquois sued for peace. New France had thus weathered the strongest challenge to its existence yet mounted, owing to the unyielding obstinacy of this strutting, arrogant aristocrat.

Frontenac did not enjoy the fruits of peace long, however, for he died at Quebec on November 22, 1698. His greatest legacy was in revitalizing the military establishment of New France, thereby rendering that thinly peopled province better able to cope with the more

populous English colonies. He remains one of the most colorful figures in the European colonization of North America.

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Fuchida, Mitsuo

(December 3, 1902–May 30, 1976)
Japanese Bomber Pilot

Fuchida gained fame for spearheading the brilliant Japanese air assault against Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. He survived the calamitous Battle of Midway seven months later and, after the war, converted to Christianity. In the course of intense church work, Fuchida also became a U.S. citizen.

Mitsuo Fuchida was born in Nagao, Nara Prefecture, on December 3, 1902, the son of a farmer. In 1921, he gained admittance into the prestigious Imperial Naval Academy, where he befriended another cadet, Minoru Genda. In 1924, Fuchida graduated at the top of his class as a lieutenant before accompanying a



Mitsuo Fuchida
Bettmann/Corbis

Japanese warship to San Francisco. He toured the American fleet anchored there and then departed, convinced that war between the two nations was inevitable. In 1927, Fuchida commenced flight training and learned all the technical nuances of naval aviation on board the carrier *Kaga*. He soon established himself as an excellent pilot and navigator and was reassigned to the Yokosuka Air Corps as a horizontal bombing specialist. Fuchida subsequently completed another stint of active duty before returning to Yokosuka as an instructor. He then perfected a special nine-plane formation intended to saturate an enemy ship

with bombs. This became a standard Japanese aerial tactic of World War II, proving highly effective. In 1939, Fuchida served aboard the carrier *Akagi*, one of the Imperial Japanese Navy's crack ships, as a squadron leader. After two more years of intense training and inspired leadership, he was singled out by Genda, now a leading staff officer, to lead a possible attack against American naval installations at Pearl Harbor.

The United States and Japan had been at cross-purposes since the Marco Polo Bridge incident of 1937, which triggered a Japanese invasion of China. Tensions were exacerbated in 1941 when Japanese troops occupied Southeast Asia following the defeat of France by Nazi Germany. President Franklin D. Roosevelt consequently imposed an economic embargo against Japan until its forces were withdrawn from the continent. This the government of Prime Minister **Hideki Tojo** was unwilling to do, even in the face of coercion. Because Japan, as an insular nation, was completely dependent on foreign sources for supplies of raw materials, the Japanese High Command decided to fight the United States and Great Britain rather than see the country slowly throttled. The failure of last-minute negotiations in November 1941 was the last straw, and a decision was made for Japanese naval forces to attack and destroy the American fleet at Pearl Harbor.

The ensuing attack was the product of meticulous training, planning, and attention to detail. Virtually nothing was overlooked. Special armor-piercing bombs were developed from 16-inch battleship shells, and the torpedoes sported special tailfins that allowed them to run in shallow water. In mid-November, six carriers—with 370 aircraft—and attendant vessels under Adm. **Chuichi Nagumo** secretly slipped out of Hokkaido and steamed east. On December 7, 1941, Fuchida climbed aboard his Nakajima B5N2 bomber and led the first wave of 184 aircraft. En route, his radio picked up jazz music broadcast from Honolulu station KGMB, and he followed the beam to the target. Arriving over Pearl Harbor at dawn, he was sur-

prised but pleased to find the American fleet at anchor and utterly defenseless. Fuchida then issued his famous call sign "Tora, Tora, Tora!" (Tiger, Tiger, Tiger!), announcing his attack to Nagumo, indicating that surprise was achieved.

The Japanese onslaught, fiercely and professionally delivered, cost the United States four battleships sunk and another four severely damaged. It also lost 200 aircraft, and 2,300 were killed or wounded. Japanese losses amounted to only 29 aircraft and crews shot down. But while tactically successful, this astutely planned and executed maneuver failed in one critical respect: The American aircraft carriers had not been hit. This gave the United States a small but very real ability to fight back at a later date. Neither were the repair facilities at Pearl Harbor seriously damaged by the first two waves. After landing back on the *Akagi*, Fuchida became alarmed that the cautious Nagumo refused to launch a third strike. Despite continuing protests from both him and Genda, the Japanese armada turned westward and headed back home in triumph. Fuchida was then summoned to make a personal report of the attack to the emperor himself.

Pausing only for a brief refit, the Japanese carriers next steamed southward to continue their raids. In January 1942, Fuchida took part in a devastating attack against Port Darwin, Australia, that sank several Allied vessels and destroyed 18 aircraft. In a subsequent move against Sulawesi, however, his plane was shot down and he spent three days in the jungle before being rescued. Fuchida then accompanied Nagumo into the Indian Ocean, where on April 4, 1942, his planes sank the British heavy cruisers HMS *Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall* in a brief action. Five days later he led a heavy strike against British naval installations at Trincomalee, Sri Lanka, which also sank the carrier HMS *Hermes*. Subsequent maneuvering brought Japanese task forces into the Coral Sea region, where on May 7, 1942, they fought a smaller American force to a draw, with heavy losses to both sides. Fuchida was by then suffering from a stomach ailment, however, and missed the fighting. The bat-

tered fleet then returned home to rest and re-arm. Japanese military fortunes were now at their zenith.

In June 1942, the Japanese High Command opted to expand its defensive perimeters by attacking Midway Island. It was widely anticipated that by luring the remaining American carriers out in the open they could be easily destroyed by superior Japanese forces. Fuchida, who had complained about the onset of “victory disease” (complacency) among senior naval leaders, was himself smitten by appendicitis and grounded during these operations. From the decks of *Akagi*, he witnessed American dive bombers screaming down from above, sinking all four Japanese carriers. Fuchida was severely wounded in the attack, and he sailed home again to recuperate. Midway had been a disaster for Japan, for the cream of its naval aviation—in the span of only five minutes—had been annihilated. The tide of the war began turning.

Once back on his feet, Fuchida fulfilled a number of staff positions at Yokosuka and became actively involved in planning future operations. The fortunes of war were swinging irrevocably against Japan, however, and he agonized over the dwindling resources available to the Japanese navy. After extended tours of the Marianas and Philippines, Fuchida was ordered home to help prepare a last-ditch defense of the homeland. Ironically, he was in Hiroshima one day before Col. Paul Tibbets dropped the first atomic bomb on August 6, 1945. A second atomic bomb over Nagasaki three days later finally convinced the Japanese government to surrender. On September 2, 1945, Fuchida attended capitulation ceremonies aboard the battleship USS *Missouri*. Moreover, of 70 aviation officers present at the Pearl Harbor raid, he was the only survivor.

After the war, Fuchida embarked on a rather unusual personal crusade for a former warrior. He settled at Nara as a rice farmer and converted to Christianity. Fuchida took great inspiration from his newfound faith and became a nondenominational preacher, lecturing to Japanese and Americans alike. In 1959, Fuchida visited America on a speaking tour and befriended Billy Graham, the famous evangelical. The two became fast friends, and he published an account of his religious experiences. “Christianity has opened my eyes,” he confessed, “and I hope through Christ to help young people of Japan learn a great love of America.” By 1966, Fuchida’s religious impulses moved him to relocate to the United States, where he became a citizen, along with his two children. This daring aviator died while visiting Kashiwara, near Osaka, Japan, on May 30, 1976.

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Gage, Thomas

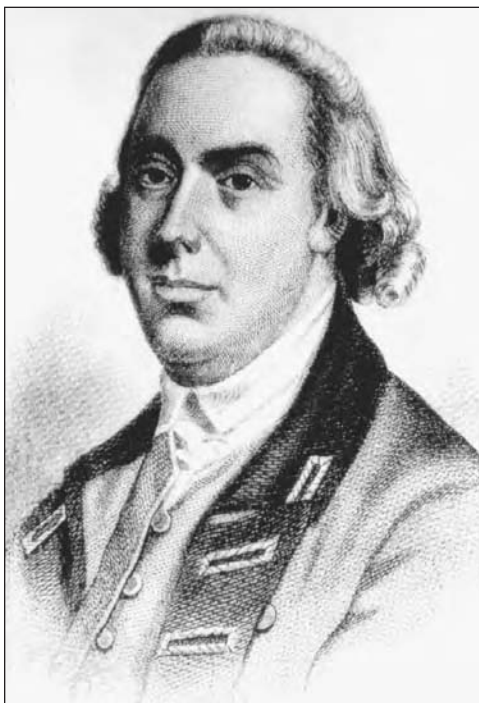
(1719–April 2, 1787)

English General; Colonial Governor

Gage was an efficient, mild-mannered military bureaucrat, well liked for his moderate tastes and kindly disposition. However, he had the misfortune of trying to impose imperial will on an unruly colonial people, without sufficient resources to ensure success. His inability to control events in Boston led to violence and the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Thomas Gage was born in Firlie, Sussex, in 1719, the son of Irish aristocrats who forsook Roman Catholicism for the Anglican Church and thereby enhance their political fortunes. He was educated at the prestigious Westminster School and attended with such future luminaries as **George Germain** and **William Howe**. Gage opted for a military career in 1741 by purchasing a lieutenant's commission in the 48th Regiment of Foot. The following year he transferred as a captain to Battersau's Irish Corps and also tendered his services as an aide-de-camp. In this capacity Gage accompanied the Earl of Albemarle at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745, and then the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden in 1746, and returned once more to France in 1747. He gained a reputation as an excellent regimental grade officer, and in 1751 Gage was installed as colonel of the 44th Foot.

In 1755, Gage and his regiment ventured to America to participate in the French and Indian War (1755–1763). His first command was



Thomas Gage
Yale Center for British Art

to lead the advance guard of Gen. Edward Braddock's disastrous expedition against Fort Duquesne in western Pennsylvania. Gage fought bravely during the ambush at Monongahela on July 9, 1755, but his troops, trained to fight in the conventional European manner, failed to effectively counter the woodland tactics of the French and Indians. During the retreat he formed a brief friendship with Col. George Washington of the Virginia militia and corresponded with him for several years thereafter. In 1756, Gage accompanied Gen. Daniel Webb's failed attempt to relieve British forces garrisoned at Oswego, New York, and the experience prompted him to reevaluate British infantry tactics.

Two years later, on his own initiative, Gage raised and trained a new regiment, the 80th Foot, which was the first British unit capable of employing woodland skirmishing tactics. He led his men into combat during Gen. James Abercromby's disastrous attack upon Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) and was heavily repulsed by Gen. **Louis-Joseph Montcalm**. Gage fought well nonetheless and was promoted to brigadier general in 1759. That year he assumed command of an expedition to capture Fort La Galette (now Ogdensburg, New York) from the French, but he retreated after considering his forces inadequate. This incident branded Gage with a reputation to-

ward overcautiousness, and the following year Gen. Jeffrey Amherst assigned him command of his rear guard, a less-demanding role. Montreal fell in September 1760, and Amherst, overlooking Gage's previous blunder, allowed him to serve as governor of that city for the next three years. Tactful, honest, and courteous, he went to great lengths to befriend the French upper classes and ensured a smooth and peaceful transition to British rule. In many respects the good feeling he generated carried over into the regime of the next governor, **Guy Carleton**.

Gage's reputation as a competent military administrator held him in good stead when, following Amherst's return to England in 1763, he was promoted to major general and selected to serve as acting commander in chief for North America, headquartered at New York City. The following year, when Amherst declined to return, Gage was officially nominated for the post. Over the next decade he managed military affairs during the suppression of **Pontiac's** Rebellion in 1763, the regulation of the fur trade and westward colonial expansion, and the most cost-effective manner of maintaining and paying for sizable British garrisons in the New World. He was also responsible for advising various royal governors on military affairs, as well as overseeing enforcement of imperial policy relating to colonial rule. Gage again acquitted himself competently and without controversy; however, storm clouds were appearing that he could have scarcely anticipated, let alone controlled.

Colonial resentment over the issue of taxation without parliamentary representation began in earnest with the Stamp Act of 1765 and fluctuated up and down over the next 10 years. Each succeeding attempt to impose taxes triggered a chorus of condemnation and mounting civil disobedience. The commercial center of Boston soon emerged as a hotbed of resistance to various taxation schemes and culminated in the so-called Boston Tea Party of December 1773, whereby British merchandise was dumped

into the harbor. The government responded with a variety of harsh measures that were especially repugnant to colonial citizens. The Quartering Act, for example, allowed for British soldiers to be fed and housed in private homes. The Port Act sought to punish Boston for its belligerence by closing it with military force. Far from intimidating the colonies, this measure served as a rallying point for what was perceived as a British conspiracy against personal liberty. Gage, a staunch supporter of imperial will, felt that the colonies should pay the taxes necessary to maintain the army in America. As early as 1767, he also recommended using force, if necessary, to obtain compliance. However, Gage himself was unwilling to resort to violence without first securing permission from civilian authority. Meanwhile, colonial citizens across America started arming themselves and enrolling in militia companies for self-defense. To many on either side, it seemed as if an armed confrontation with the motherland was inevitable.

Gage was on leave during these proceedings from 1773 to 1774, when he visited England to attend to personal affairs. The distinguished Swiss mercenary, Gen. **Frederick Haldimand**, served as acting commander in chief during his absence. Gage, meanwhile, was cognizant of what was afoot, and he warned the monarchy that stronger measures—and the means to enforce them—were needed to keep the colonies in line. The government was pleased with his performance as commander in chief, along with his vocal support for civilian authority, which he truly respected and tried to uphold. For this reason, the ministry saw fit to install Gage as royal governor of Massachusetts to replace the outgoing Thomas Hutchinson. He now became responsible for the imposition of the so-called Intolerable Acts, as they became known in Boston, but the government anticipated that his tact and common sense would go far to defuse the mounting crisis. Gage arrived at Boston in May 1774 and was warmly received by officials. His popularity, unfortu-

nately, was undermined by the very policies he arrived to enforce. Eventually, open defiance to British authority was encouraged through patriotic groups like the Sons of Liberty, led by John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Gage dutifully tried to alert the home government that events were spinning beyond his control to handle peacefully and requested an additional 20,000 soldiers to bring New England to heel. Having installed him at the center of the storm, the government chose to ignore his advice.

The crisis nobody wanted erupted in the spring of 1775. That February an expedition to Salem was dispatched under Gen. **Alexander Leslie** to seize several cannons, but violence was averted. Shortly after, Gage was ordered to arrest Hancock and Adams and seize American military stores gathered at Lexington and Concord. However, on April 19, 1775, a column of soldiers under Lt. Col. **Francis Smith** inadvertently engaged a force of militiamen at Lexington, firing the first shots of the American Revolution. The redcoats under Col. **Hugh Percy** then endured a fighting withdrawal all the way back to Boston, losing heavily to the militia.

Gage now found himself in a state of war, possessing only 7,000 men and surrounded by an angry mob three times his size. The British were effectively bottled up, and he took no further action until June, when reinforcements finally arrived, commanded by Gens. William Howe, **John Burgoyne**, and **Henry Clinton**. However, the impasse was broken when a detachment of militia under Artemas Ward occupied and fortified Bunker Hill overlooking Boston Harbor. If cannons were planted there, British lines of supply to the sea would be imperiled. This act stirred Gage to order a full-scale attack against the Americans on June 17, 1775. The ensuing Battle of Bunker Hill, led by Howe and Clinton, was a hard-fought affair and a British victory, but at a staggering cost. When word of events trickled back to London, Lord George Germain,

while sympathetic, realized Gage was “in a situation of too great importance for his talents.” The general was consequently ordered back to England for “consultations” in October 1775 and never returned. He was replaced by General Howe.

Despite his mishandling of American affairs, Gage was allowed to remain in the service. In 1781, he joined General Amherst’s staff and assisted preparing the defenses of Kent against a possible French invasion. The following year he was elevated to the rank of full general. Gage died at his home in London on April 2, 1787, an earnest, efficient servant of the Crown and a tactful agent of imperial administration. However, he lacked the foresight—along with the troops—to contain colonial aspirations for independence.

See also

Pontiac

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Galland, Adolf

(March 9, 1912–February 14, 1996)
German Fighter Pilot

The strutting, no-nonsense Galland was Germany's general of fighters during World War II, the youngest officer ever to hold that rank. An accomplished ace, he later commanded the world's first all-jet combat squadron—as a lieutenant general!

Adolf Joseph Ferdinand Galland was born in Westerholt, Westphalia, on March 9, 1912, the son of a real estate manager. His family was originally of French Huguenot descent. As a youth Galland became fascinated by flying, and he became a noted glider pilot at the age of 19. In 1933, he joined the German airline Lufthansa as a pilot, but the following year he transferred over to the embryonic Luftwaffe. This organization, which theretofore had functioned under the covert designation "Aero Club of Berlin," was officially unveiled in March 1935. Galland, now a lieutenant, trained on Heinkel He 51 biplane fighters and specialized in ground-attack tactics. In 1938, he volunteered for service in the Spanish Civil War with the Condor Legion, a select group of Germans supporting dictator Francisco Franco. Galland logged 280 combat missions, scoring no kills, but befriended an influential young pilot, Werner Molders. He departed Spain in 1939, leaving Molders in charge of the squadron, and transferred to antiquated Henschel Hs 123 biplanes flying ground-support roles.



Adolf Galland
Imperial War Museum

When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Galland flew many combat sorties, winning the Iron Cross and a promotion to captain. However, he yearned to be a fighter pilot, and within two months Galland underwent training in sleek Messerschmitt Me 109s as part of *Jagdgruppe* (fighter group) JG 27. In this capacity he finally scored his first two kills over Belgium on May 12, 1940. Galland demonstrated superb combat skills as a fighter pilot, rose quickly to major, and commanded Group II of JG 26. With France quickly overrun, the Luftwaffe under Marshal **Hermann Göring** turned its attention to the skies of Great Britain,

where Galland and other German pilots received a distinct shock. Not only did British pilots of the Royal Air Force enjoy the advantages of primitive radar, but their nimble Supermarine *Spitfires* and Hawker *Hurricanes* could outturn existing German fighters. The Luftwaffe struggled mightily, but it lost the ensuing Battle of Britain. Galland scored 57 kills and emerged as the Luftwaffe's top killer. This came about harder than its sounds. The Royal Air Force resisted gamely, and on June 21, 1941, Galland was shot down twice on the same day! And as a group leader, he was incensed by Göring's insistence that fighter pilots stay shackled to bomber formations as escorts instead of being turned loose on the

enemy. "Their element is to attack, to track, to hunt, and to destroy the enemy," he explained. "Tie him to a narrow and confined task, rob him of his initiative, and you take away from him the best and most valuable qualities he possesses: aggressive spirit, joy of action, and the passion of the hunter." This proved a painful lesson he never forgot.

Galland remained behind in France when the bulk of German fighter units were transferred to the Russian front in June 1941, but excellent flying skills soon boosted his total score to 94. Now Galland was the Luftwaffe's leading ace, and when **Adolf Hitler** personally decorated him with diamonds to his Iron Cross, he became only the second recipient of 27 so honored. His good friend Molders, another top flier, was killed in a plane crash in November 1942, and Galland succeeded him as general of the Fighter Arm. In November 1942, the 29-year-old officer was elevated several ranks to major general, now Germany's youngest.

Galland was tasked with defending German air space against Allied aerial attacks, a feat that became increasingly hard after 1942. The United States was now an enemy after Hitler rashly declared war in December 1941, and it dedicated large segments of the wartime economy to constructing massive fleets of strategic bombers. More important, Galland found himself struggling with his own superiors. As a military leader, Hitler was maniacally obsessed with the offensive and directed Germany industry to concentrate on bombers, not fighters. Göring, as Hitler's ranking lackey, endorsed this strategy without a murmur. But the outspoken Galland was nobody's lackey. He realized that Germany needed vast quantities of new and better fighters to defend itself—anything less would be suicidal. At times he appeared less than diplomatic in stressing this need to superiors, which did little to endear him to them. For the next two and a half years, the debate over what and how much to build drove a deep wedge between the Luftwaffe chief and his youthful general. It soon became a huge chasm.

Despite his high rank, Galland refused to be tied to a desk in Berlin and defied prohibitions against flying. In February 1942, for example, when the German battle cruisers *Prinz Eugen*, *Gneisenau*, and *Scharnhorst* sailed from Brest for home waters, Galland devised Operation Thunderbolt to provide air cover along the enemy-controlled English Channel. The mission succeeded completely, to the great embarrassment of England, which lost 60 aircraft without scoring any major hits. In July 1943, Galland also flew and directed fighter sweeps during initial stages of the Allied invasion of Sicily. His performance in all these endeavors confirmed his reputation for brilliance as an aerial strategist, and in November 1944 he gained a promotion to lieutenant general. The dark, handsome Galland became widely hailed as a national hero, and the German people counted on him to protect their homes and factories. He also cultivated his fighter pilot image by smoking imported cigars, drinking expensive wine, and accompanying glamorous women. Theatrics aside, he wanted to fly—and fight.

Galland had championed many technical innovations for the fighter service, such as heavy cannons and rockets, but by 1944 Germany's aerial fortunes were waning fast. Thanks to Hitler's indifference and Göring's interference, fighter production did not keep pace with need. Now swarms of American heavy bombers hit German cities by day, with complimentary raids by the Royal Air Force at night. Gen. James H. Doolittle also allowed what Galland wished to do in 1941: release the fighters from escort duty. Free to hunt, the Allies shot down and killed nearly 1,000 Luftwaffe pilots between January and June 1944. The Luftwaffe was hard-pressed to supply readily trained replacements, so German pilots were acquiring less training and experience as the war ground on. This in turn led to even greater losses. Göring also opposed Galland's call for a large fighter reserve in central Germany, to be committed only en masse against the bomber swarms. Instead, the *Reichsmarschall* insisted on spreading his fighter force across the map,

where they were disadvantaged. In December 1944, Göring also ordered the strategic fighter reserve into action during the Ardennes offensive, where superior Allied firepower decimated them. By January 1945, Luftwaffe fighter pilots had endured enough stupidity. Accompanied by Galland, they stormed into Göring's office, demanding changes in tactics. *Der Reichsmarschall* angrily refused to alter anything, demoted the entire lot, and sacked Galland as fighter general. That officer, rather than be associated with Göring's incompetence any longer, welcomed the change.

It took Hitler's personal intervention to preserve Galland's career. In February 1945, he was authorized to form and lead *Jagdverband JV-44*, the world's first all-jet fighter squadron. It was equipped with the revolutionary Messerschmitt Me 262, a craft that had first flown in 1943. Galland was on hand to test the prototype that year, and he was utterly astonished by it. "This is not a step forward," he exclaimed, "this is a leap!" Incredibly, Göring greeted this fast and potentially war-winning weapon with indifference. Hitler, moreover, saw it only as another bomber, ordered it modified as such, and delayed its production by a year. Now it was too late. Galland nonetheless flew with JV-44 for several weeks and scored several more kills, bringing his final tally up to 104 aircraft. He later joked that he started his career as a lieutenant leading a fighter squadron and ended it a lieutenant-general commanding the same! It was a spectacular rise and fall unmatched by any other fighter general of the war. On April 26, 1945, having downed his last two victims, Galland was wounded in action and crashed upon landing. Command of JV-44 subsequently reverted to **Heinz Bär**, another distinguished pilot. Galland then surrendered to the American forces in May 1945, disillusioned and discouraged.

Galland remained imprisoned for nearly two years and was released in 1947. It is significant that he was one of a handful of senior German commanders untainted by the specter of war crimes. Unable to find work in Germany, he relocated to Argentina and spent several years as

a technical adviser to that country's fledgling air force. He returned to Germany in 1955 and worked as a business executive and aerospace consultant. Friendly and dynamic, he held no grudges against his erstwhile enemies and became a common sight at fighter pilot reunions in the United States and England.

In 1982, he read the obituary at the funeral of British wing commander Douglas Bader, a hero of the Battle of Britain, at the family's request. The dashing Galland died on February 14, 1996, in Oberwinter, Germany, aged 83 years. As a measure of his lasting popularity, and a tribute to his tremendous reputation among other pilots, his passing was mourned by friends and former enemies alike.

See also

Bär, Heinz; Hitler, Adolf

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Gallwitz, Max von

(May 2, 1852–April 17, 1937)

German General

Tenacious Gallwitz stood directly in the path of American and French offensives during the final months of World War I. He eventually yielded to superior Allied numbers and resources but extracted a heavy price for the victory along the Western Front.

Max von Gallwitz was born in Brelau, Germany, on May 2, 1852, into a family of common origin. He joined the army in 1870 and that year saw service in the Franco-Prussian War as an artillery officer. After the impressive Prussian victory, which led to the unification of Germany as a single nation, his prospects for advancement seemed grim. Not only was he a commoner in an officer corps dominated by glittering aristocrats, but he also practiced Catholicism in a predominately Protestant army with long traditions of bias against his creed. Nonetheless, Gallwitz proved himself an outstanding junior officer, and he rose steadily through the ranks on merit. In 1896, he gained a promotion to colonel and shortly after received the appointment of chief of artillery in the War Ministry. He became a major general in 1902 and lieutenant general commanding the 16th Division three years later. Good performance, sound judgment, and attention to detail then led to his appointment as inspector of field artillery with the rank of full general in 1911. Two years later Gallwitz's acceptance was confirmed when Kaiser Wilhelm I elevated him into the ranks of Prussian nobility.

When World War I commenced in August 1914, Gallwitz commanded the elite Guard Reserve Corps on the Western Front. After distinguished fighting at Namur, Belgium, his forces transferred to the east, where they fought in the decisive victory at the Masurian Lakes in September 1914. By dint of excellent service, Gallwitz was elevated to command an army group bearing his name in February

1915. Having crossed the Narev River in Poland after heavy fighting, he took 111,000 Russian prisoners in a series of battles around Pultusk. That fall Gallwitz transferred south as head of the 11th Army and helped orchestrate the conquest of Serbia in September 1915. He was preparing for an all-out assault against the Allied bridgehead at Salonika, Greece, when orders arrived transferring him back to the Western Front. Successively leading troops in the Verdun and Somme sectors, his Fifth Army was renamed Army Group Gallwitz with the addition of troops from Army Division C.

After the defeat of **Paul von Hindenburg's** and **Erich von Ludendorff's** spring offensive, German forces were increasingly placed on the defensive. By the fall of 1918, it fell upon Gallwitz to hold a defensive line in the Meuse-Moselle region against increasing numbers of newly-arrived American troops. The recent failure also ushered in Allied counterattacks across the Western Front, and German forces were hard-pressed to contain them. However, the U.S. commander, Gen. John J. Pershing, was determined to keep the American Expeditionary Force intact and not parceled out to assist French and British efforts elsewhere. For his first target he selected the St. Mihiel Salient, a large pocket of German forces south of Verdun. On the flank of the critical Meuse-Argonne sector, it posed a threat to any advances toward the German border. Pershing received permission to attack, although only after haggling with senior French commanders, who wanted American forces concentrated for the upcoming Meuse-Argonne offensive. Pershing nonchalantly agreed to participate in both operations once he had neutralized the salient. On September 12, 1918, 550,000 American doughboys, aided by an additional 110,000 French, attacked Gall-

witz's men along a 50-mile front. Preparations were intense and included bombardment by 2,900 artillery pieces, sorties by 1,500 aircraft, and support from 267 tanks. German resistance was fierce and professional, but the Allied advance scored impressive gains. However, Pershing's progress proved deceptively easy. Gallwitz had already concluded that Allied advances elsewhere made St. Mihiel untenable, and he ordered a strategic withdrawal to straighten out the German line. Making excellent use of the terrain, the badly outnumbered Germans fell back in good order, fighting a series of tenacious rear-guard actions. By the time Pershing ordered a halt on September 16, the St. Mihiel Salient, which had existed since 1914, was finally erased. Furthermore, Pershing had proved a point to both Allies and Germans alike: that his inexperienced Americans could fight effectively. To that end they captured 15,000 prisoners and 450 artillery pieces at a cost of 7,000 casualties. The doughboys had made an auspicious debut.

The next trial of strength came at Meuse-Argonne, a critical sector on the Western Front. It was also heavily defended, as the Germans had three years to prepare numerous and interlocking fields of fire, several belts deep. Gallwitz's forces may have been bled white from months of continuous combat; being well-trained, experienced, and professionally led, however, they still evinced plenty of fight. At length Pershing massed upward of 600,000 French and American troops, 500 cannons, nearly 500 tanks, and a 500-plane strike force under Gen. William "Billy" Mitchell. Logistical arrangements for the entire operation were entrusted to a lowly colonel, George C. Marshal, who subsequently gained renown for his efforts. Pershing intended this final battle to be a fight to the finish.

The offensive kicked off on September 26, 1918, into terrain that was heavily forested and favoring the defense. The inexperienced Americans charged manfully into prepared German positions and were mowed down by intense machine-gun fire. The process was

slow and costly, but Gallwitz simply fed a continuous stream of reserve divisions to threatened points, and the Germans held. Casualties mounted as the Allies inched north toward the Belgium border, but four days later Gallwitz's defenses had completely derailed the offensive. Pershing then frantically reorganized and resupplied his battered divisions before resuming the attack on October 4, 1918. The exhausted Germans gave ground slowly and in good order, making the Americans pay heavily at every step. But the end was in sight. After four years of continuous warfare, Germany was at the breaking point, and the arrival of millions of American troops underscored the futility of further combat. All fighting ceased on November 11 when the Armistice was signed. The Americans had made better progress during the later phase of the campaign, which cost them 117,000 men in 47 days of intense combat. German losses were nearly as heavy and included upward of 20,000 prisoners.

The Meuse-Argonne offensive was the most important operation ever mounted by U.S. forces in World War I and was a direct factor in the collapse of Germany. Once again, Pershing demonstrated the value of his enthusiastic but inexperienced men. But if the victorious Yankees could claim that they had "learned to fight by fighting," the indomitable Gallwitz proved to be a stern teacher. He was subsequently one of a handful of diehards who opposed the Armistice and urged the government to rally the people for a defense of the homeland. As an indication of how highly Gallwitz was regarded, many politicians spoke of him as a successor to the now disgraced Hindenburg.

After the war, the general mustered out and parleyed his popularity into politics. From 1920 to 1924 he completed several terms in the Reichstag (national assembly) as a deputy of the German National People's Party. He died in Naples on April 17, 1937, the most accomplished enemy that America encountered during World War I.

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Germain, George Sackville

(January 26, 1716–August 26, 1785)

English Secretary of State for the Colonies

The abrasive Lord Germain capably oversaw the raising, transport, and deployment of the largest British army ever sent overseas to that time. It was a Herculean effort, well-handled, and merits recognition as such. However, he underestimated the difficulties of trying to win the American Revolution at such a great distance from England. His refusal to adapt strategy to the political and military realities of the New World factored largely in Britain's defeat.

George Sackville was born in London on January 26, 1716, the youngest son of the First Duke of Dorset. Like many aristocratic youths, he received an excellent education at the Westminster School and later obtained a degree from Trinity College, Dublin. Sackville then joined the army in 1737 as a captain in the Seventh Irish Horse (his father at that time being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), and he later rose to serve as colonel of the 28th Regiment of Foot. He also was elected to Parliament in 1741. Sackville commanded his regiment throughout the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and particularly distinguished himself at the Battle of Fontenoy

on May 11, 1745. He charged so impetuously that his regiment careened right into the French army's headquarters! His wounds were subsequently treated in the personal tent of King Louis XIV. In light of his good service, Sackville transferred as colonel to the 20th Foot and 12th Dragoons in succession, and he rejoined the Irish establishment. During his father's second tenure as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he also functioned as a personal secretary.

Sackville's star seemed on the ascent in 1755 when he was elevated to major general in time for the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). He fought well during the abortive expeditions against Saint Malo and Cancale on the French coast before transferring to the staff of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. His military merits notwithstanding, Sackville had by this time also acquired a well-deserved reputation as a sarcastic and acerbic individual. King George II disliked him intensely but accorded him high rank on account of his family ties. For these reasons Sackville functioned poorly with Prince Ferdinand, and their dispute came to a head during the famous Battle of Minden

on August 1, 1759. After several hard charges, the allies had penetrated the French center and the prince ordered his cavalry forward to clinch the victory. Sackville, commanding the reserves, refused to advance on the grounds that his orders were too vague, and the French withdrew intact. This single act of defiance forever stained Sackville as militarily incompetent, and he was removed from command and publicly humiliated. In 1760, he demanded and received a court-martial, which pronounced him guilty of disobedience and “unfit to serve His Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever.” Sackville was then cashiered; to underscore his displeasure, George II summarily ordered the verdict written into every orderly book in the English army! Stung by the king’s vindictiveness, Sackville worked the next 15 years trying to erase this blot from his personal reputation.

By 1770, Sackville had made major gains in rehabilitating his public standing when he inherited property from Lady Betty Germain—on the grounds that he change his name accordingly. Thereafter, he was formally known as Lord Germain. He also gained a political respite following the accession of King George III to the throne, and the two men became close friends. The British Empire at this time was being wracked by political dissent arising over the issue of taxation, and the American colonies were brewing with resentment. The conservative Tories could not fathom the depth of opposition to imperial policies in America, and many statesmen insisted upon coercive measures to enforce them. Germain was among the most outspoken and eloquent proponents of the hard line. He allied himself with the faction supporting Frederick, Lord North, another strong supporter of imperial policies, and George III. Germain finally achieved his dramatic vindication in November 1775. Previously despised as a coward, he now succeeded Lord Dartmouth as secretary of state for the colonies, then in revolt against the Crown. Thus Germain, still reviled in some quarters for his behavior at Minden, now conducted military af-

fairs intended to bring America back into the English fold.

Germain has long been vilified for his role in directing the war against America and—because England lost—was commonly regarded as incompetent. In truth, despite profound shortcomings in terms of tact and personal diplomacy, Germain functioned efficiently in his appointed role. He certainly displayed more tenacity and conviction in his opinions than did Lord North, another vilified figure, who displayed caution and indecision when confronting major decisions in the war. Over the next six years Germain, more than any other individual, bore responsibility for raising 65,000 soldiers, shipping them to the New World, and overseeing their logistics. This would have taxed the abilities of any minister operating in Europe, but in this instance British forces were operating at the end of a 3,000-mile supply line. The system Germain worked out was by no means perfect, and there were occasional lapses, but overall Crown forces in America were well supplied and adequately manned. Major problems arose, unfortunately, in exactly how to employ them.

Germain’s shortcomings as a war leader were legion. His principal failure was in strategic conception, a trait shared by virtually all senior British commanders assigned to America. To the very end he refused to accept that the colonists were unfaithful to England. In fact, he believed that the majority of American’s citizens were Loyalists by nature and only cowed by the lack of a visible British military presence. Neither was Germain above personal politics. He openly despised several senior leaders, among them **William Howe**, **Guy Carleton**, and **Henry Clinton**, either from their previous service in Germany or because of disagreements over strategy. For this reason, Germain appointed the tractable but inexperienced **John Burgoyne** to command the decisive 1777 campaign (which came to grief at Saratoga, New York) over the more experienced Carleton. More important, his instructions to other commanders were vague

instead of explicit, hence Burgoyne received almost no support from the armies of Howe and Clinton. This, it turns out, would have proved essential to British success.

Three years later, Germain helped conceive the excellent southern strategy, which came close to detaching that part of the colonies from the United States. But again, personal politics undercut his own success. Disliking Clinton, Germain favored the aggressive **Charles Cornwallis** as a senior commander, encouraged insubordination toward Clinton, and provided political cover for Cornwallis when he was insubordinate. For this reason Germain bears great responsibility for disasters like Saratoga and Yorktown, outcomes that precluded any chance for British victory.

By 1782, the loss of America was impending, and public sentiment demanded that Germain step down. The haughty minister again found himself a despised figure and the butt of public humor. He secured the peerage of Viscount Sackville from George III, which enabled him to sit in the House of Lords. Germain remained an unhappy, unpopular figure, living in relative obscurity thereafter. He died at Withyham, England, on August 26, 1785, roundly remembered as the man who lost America.

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Geronimo

(ca. 1829–February 17, 1909)
Apache Warrior

A pivotal figure during the final phase of the Apache wars, Geronimo was a skillful, fearless guerrilla warrior who thwarted thousands of American soldiers. His very name, once the inspiration of much terror, became the unofficial battle cry of U.S. paratroopers: When jumping from a plane, they invariably scream out "Geronimo!"

Geronimo (born Goyakla, or "One Who Yawns") was born near the headwaters of the Gila River in Arizona around 1829, a member of the Chiricahua Apache band. He matured during a period of increasing hostilities between Native Americans, Mexicans, and Americans, and in 1856 a band of Mexican soldiers murdered his mother, wife, and children at Janos, Chihuahua. Swearing revenge, Goy-

akla raided Mexican settlements so ferociously that he was dubbed Geronimo (Jerome), the Spanish transliteration of his Apache name. Although not a hereditary chief in the tribal sense, Geronimo was an important leader at the band level and was also regarded as an accomplished shaman, or medicine man. With these attributes, he participated in the wars of **Cochise** against the Americans and won renown among fellow Indians for his intelligence, guile, and ruthlessness.

When the Apaches were initially subdued by Gen. George Crook, Geronimo followed Cochise onto the San Carlos Indian Reservation, where he lived peacefully for many years. By 1875, however, the American government reneged on its promise to the Apaches and began relocating them to San Carlos, Arizona, for reasons of economy. Geronimo started chafing over the loss of his nomadic existence, and in 1878 he left the reservation with a small band of warriors to resume a traditional lifestyle of raiding and roaming. In 1881, his band stormed back into the San Carlos Reservation, freeing a number of Apaches who desired to leave.

Geronimo's band next fled to Mexico, where they raided and massacred settlers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. He operated with such impunity that in 1883 Crook was recalled from the northern Plains to contain him. Aided by Apache scouts, Crook chased Geronimo's band into the Sierra Madre Mountains. That May, while Geronimo was away raiding, the soldiers captured his



Geronimo
National Archives

base camp, with all the women and children. Concern for his people forced the Apache chief to meet with Crook, who arranged his peaceful surrender in February 1884. The captives and their families were transported back to San Carlos, where Geronimo, restless as ever, tried and failed to adapt to a sedentary lifestyle. When the authorities tried to stop the Native Americans from brewing *tizwin*, an Apache alcoholic drink, Geronimo broke out again with his renegades in May 1885.

An exasperated Crook pursued Geronimo once more to his Sierra Madre refuge. There he convinced Geronimo to give up in March 1886, with the understanding that he and his kinsmen would be shipped off to Florida as punishment. The Apache leader agreed at first, but en route to the surrender area the Indians encountered a whiskey trader, got drunk, and entertained second thoughts. Two days after giving his word, Geronimo escaped a third time with 41 followers.

At this point, the government replaced Crook with the unsympathetic Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Contemptuous of his predecessor's practice of employing Apache scouts, Miles called out 5,000 soldiers and militia to search for the elusive shaman. Geronimo eluded them for five months, ranged freely through his homeland, and struck terror in various white settlements. Miles was finally compelled to employ Apache scouts under Lt. Charles B. Gatewood, who parleyed with Geronimo in May 1886 and induced him to

surrender a third time. For the loss of 13 Indians, white deaths amounted to 95, with a similar number of Mexicans. Geronimo's 35 survivors were then rounded up and sent off to Fort Pickens, Florida. They arrived there in chains on the express orders of President Grover Cleveland.

Geronimo finally adapted to captivity; he took up farming and became a Christian convert. In 1894, the government accepted an offer from the Comanche and Kiowa tribes, traditional enemies of the Apaches, to allow the survivors to resettle on their land. The aged shaman then became something of a national celebrity, selling autographed pictures of himself, dictating his memoirs, and attending the inauguration of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. Nonetheless, he remained a prisoner for the last 27 years of his life and was never again allowed to visit his ancestral homeland in Arizona. Geronimo died at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on February 17, 1909, a potent

symbol of one man's determination to live free.

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Giap, Vo Nguyen

(August 25, 1911–)
Vietnamese General

The short-statured, steely-eyed Giap was the preeminent military strategist behind Vietnam's 30-year struggle for national unification. By deftly combining conventional and guerrilla warfare, along with blatant indifference to heavy losses, he bested both France and the United States in two lengthy wars. Giap remains one of the great military minds of the twentieth century, as well as a potent symbol of Vietnamese nationalism.

Vo Nguyen Giap was born in An Xu Village, Quang Binh Province, Vietnam, then known as French Indochina. His family sacrificed so that he could be well-educated, and he attended a private school. There Giap was exposed to strident anticolonial sentiments and

became politically active as a teenager. In 1930, he channeled his nationalist sentiments into action by joining the Vietnamese Communist Party, established by Ho Chi Minh, and found himself arrested for revolutionary agitation. Like many Vietnamese of his generation, he viewed France as an oppressor and grew determined to oust them by any means possible. Following his release from prison, Giap attended the University of Hanoi, taking degrees in law, and became a history teacher. He was especially fond of military history and closely studied the campaigns and persona of Napoleon, after whom, many claimed, he modeled himself. In 1939, Giap fled to southern China once French officials outlawed the

Communist Party, and he formally joined forces with Ho. During this same period his wife was arrested by the French and tortured to death in prison. His sister-in-law was also guillotined for alleged terrorist activities. Such losses embittered Giap toward France, and he redoubled his efforts to free Vietnam of French influence. By then he had also acquired a reputation as a quiet but mercurial man whose glaring, icy exterior masked a tendency toward sudden outbursts. Ho Chi Minh, who came to depend on Giap entirely, nicknamed him “Núi Lửa,” the “volcano under snow.”

When France was defeated by Germany in 1940, its colonial possessions in Southeast Asia were turned over to Japan. With the help of Chinese communists, Giap and Ho founded the League for the Independence of Vietnam, or Viet Minh, to fight these latest invaders. This ragtag band of desperate men formed the nucleus of a successful, conquering army. They were skillfully trained as guerrillas; instilled with Giap’s personal brand of ruthlessness, they slaughtered anyone perceived as an adversary. Commencing in 1944, Vietnamese guerrillas staged surprise attacks on Japanese outposts and helped rescue and retrieve downed American airmen. Following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Viet Minh forces under Giap occupied Hanoi, and Ho declared Vietnam’s independence. France, however, refused to recognize such claims or relinquish its grip. In a display of force, French warships shelled Hanoi indiscriminately, killing an estimated 6,000 people, and rushed men



Vo Nguyen Giap
Agence France Presse/Archive Photos

and materiel into its former colony. The communists declared a national war of resistance, with Giap as commander in chief of the army and minister of defense. A costly eight-year struggle ensued.

Knowing that his forces were outgunned and outequipped by the French, who also enjoyed complete air superiority, Giap invoked a classic campaign of guerrilla warfare to harass, ambush, and disperse his enemy. To accomplish this he drew upon the precepts of Mao Tse-tung but also added elements of conventional warfare to seek a decisive victory. Up through 1950 the Viet

Minh were roundly successful in thwarting French military objectives in the field, and the following year Giap decided to go over to the offensive. During 1951 he launched series of conventional attacks against French strong points in the Red River Delta near Hanoi, but he was severely pummeled by superior firepower. Communist losses totaled nearly 100,000 men before he called off his attacks and admitted his strategy was a mistake. The Viet Minh then reverted back to its time-honored guerrilla tactics, which the French, rigidly bound to conventional modes of warfare, could not neutralize.

At length a new commander, Gen. Henri Navarre, sought to lure Giap’s forces out into the open where they could be destroyed. In the spring of 1954 he air-dropped 15,000 soldiers and Legionnaires at a plateau named Dien Bien Phu, near the Laotian border—and Giap’s lines of supply—challenging him to dig them out. The Viet Minh, now bolstered by Russian and Chinese arms, did just that. Giap

promptly surrounded the French position with 80,000 men and painstakingly brought up 100 heavy cannons—literally piece by piece—onto the mountains surrounding Dien Bien Phu. The French, who had considered such a move militarily impossible, suddenly found themselves bombarded and cut off by land and air. Throughout a 55-day siege, waves of Vietnamese peasants sacrificed themselves against French fortifications while slowly wearing down the garrison. Giap's established disregard for heavy losses was never more manifest. But on May 7, 1954, the Viet Minh scored a resounding victory when Navarre's men capitulated, which signaled the end of French efforts to dominate Vietnam. Viet Minh losses were estimated to number 25,000 dead and wounded, but the toll was willingly paid by the Vietnamese communists to liberate their country.

By the terms established by the 1954 Geneva Peace Accord, Vietnam was free of French control but now divided into two countries. North Vietnam was controlled by the communists while South Vietnam remained an independent republic. This arrangement evolved through the insistence of the United States, which gradually supplanted France as the leading Western power in Southeast Asia. Nonetheless, no sooner had Ho and the Communist Party consolidated their hold on North Vietnam than they commenced a campaign of subversion and guerrilla war against the South. Giap at this time functioned as commander of the newly created People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), which over the years was increasingly committed southward on behalf of the Vietnamese communists, or Vietcong, in the South. By 1964, the communists were posting such gains throughout the South that its fall seemed imminent, and the United States felt impelled to intervene directly. Giap and his guerrilla hosts now faced off against one of the richest and most powerful nations on earth.

A realist, Giap told the politburo that it would take years of sacrifice and hundreds of

thousands of deaths before unification could finally be achieved. However, he was determined to make the Americans pay heavily for their interference. Commencing with the Battle of Ira Drang in 1965, Vietcong and PAVN units met the new invaders head-on and suffered excruciating losses. Some historians allege that Giap deliberately sacrificed thousands of his men simply to gauge how the Americans fought and thereby draw up appropriate countermeasures. American naval forces under Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt also took to the rivers and deltas of the South in a successful effort to interdict Vietcong activities with gunboats and hovercraft patrols. Thereafter, North Vietnamese infiltration was almost totally reliant upon the Ho Chi Minh Trail ranging the Cambodian border, which was lengthy and arduous but almost impossible to interdict. Moreover, when Giap's confrontational tactics failed, he reverted to guerrilla warfare to disperse and confuse his enemies.

By 1967, it appeared that the Americans had finally gained the upper hand. Gen. William C. Westmoreland waxed triumphantly that a corner had been turned and that the communists were either defeated or on the verge of collapse. But the United States, for all its massive firepower, proved no more successful than France in containing the wily Vietcong. Giap underscored this reality in January 1968, when he launched the ambitious Tet offensive (so named in honor of the Vietnamese New Year). Over 100,000 Vietcong guerrillas and PAVN regulars stormed out of the jungles and attacked villages, hamlets, fire bases, and even the American embassy in downtown Saigon. U.S. forces quickly overcame their initial surprise and fought back viciously, inflicting horrific losses that nearly wiped out the Vietcong and its cadre. Again, the impetuous Giap had miscalculated; even though suffering a tactical defeat, he acquired a strategic victory—the Americans had grown weary of the war. It is probably no small coincidence that Giap, having decimated the Vietcong's leadership at all levels, could now re-

place them with PAVN cadre, who were better indoctrinated and, hence, more easily controlled. Giap's ruthlessness apparently extended to his own side as well.

By 1968, most American political leaders had concluded that the war was unwinnable; prodded by a growing peace movement at home, President Richard Nixon commenced an orderly withdrawal from Vietnam. He also began the process of "Vietnamization" under Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, whereby South Vietnam shouldered increasing responsibility for its own defense. But the Americans were finally on their way out. Through patience and a willingness to absorb countless casualties, Giap had triumphed again. In 1972, most American combat units had been withdrawn, but their airpower remained a viable element of South Vietnam's defense. However, Giap, having made good his losses with a massive influx of Soviet tanks, artillery, and other equipment, was determined to topple the tottering regime. In April of that year he discarded guerrilla tactics altogether and launched a tank-led conventional assault against the South. Communist officials were counting heavily on a mass uprising against the American-backed government that failed to materialize. Not only did the South Vietnamese, backed by massive American air strikes, fight heroically, but they inflicted heavy losses on PAVN units. Of particular import was the presence of American helicopter gunships, such as the Bell AH-1 *Cobra*, which wreaked havoc on communist armored columns. Having made some territorial gains at a cost of nearly 100,000 men, the Communist Party grew disenchanted with Giap's military direction of the war. He was therefore respectfully eased out with the final phase of national unification, passing the baton to Gen. Van Tien Dung. But it was Giap who had laid the groundwork for final victory.

By the time the Vietnam War ended in 1975, it had claimed 58,000 American lives, and upward of 1 million Vietnamese lives, North and South. Giap's determination to ignore the human cost of war was insensitive and bru-

tal—but ultimately successful. For the first time in a century, Vietnam was free from foreign domination or interference of any kind.

Between 1976 and 1980 Giap served as Vietnam's national defense minister and as the country's deputy prime minister. He also remained a full member of the politburo and Vietnamese Communist Party through 1982. However, following Ho Chi Minh's death in 1969, his influence among younger party members, unable to recall the heroic days of fighting Japan and France, was clearly on the wane. In 1977, he tried unsuccessfully to dissuade party members not to invade neighboring Cambodia with conventional forces, as they would be susceptible to guerrilla warfare. His sound advice was ignored, and the Vietnamese spent nearly a decade fruitlessly chasing the Khmer Rouge around the jungle. But having been entrenched in the highest circles of power for two decades, Giap had grown dogmatic and unresponsive to changing economic times, which did little to endear him to younger, less ideological leaders.

He was stripped of power, and ill health prompted his retirement from public life in 1982. Today, Giap lives in quiet retirement in Hanoi, revered in public eyes as a "national treasure," but somewhat distrusted by the government that he served so diligently. In military annals he remains highly regarded as a single-minded, intensely determined military strategist. Vietnam owes its independence to the sacrifice of millions of soldiers, but also to the iron hand that guided them to victory.

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Girty, Simon

(1741–February 18, 1818)
Loyalist Partisan

During the American Revolution, Girty gained infamy as the notorious, hard-drinking “White Savage” of battlefields along the western frontier. His legendary reputation for cruelty and barbarism notwithstanding, he was an expert guerrilla leader and saved many lives from Indian excesses.

Simon Girty was born near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1741, a product of the rough-and-tumble frontier environment of colonial America. As such he acquired no formal education and was illiterate throughout his life. Girty was only 10 years old when his father was killed in a drunken duel, and during the course of the French and



Simon Girty
Library of Congress

Indian War his entire family was captured by Delaware Indians. They were forced to watch their stepfather being burned at the stake, but he and his three brothers were subsequently divided up among nearby villages. Girty ended up with the Senecas, or Iroquois, who adopted him into the tribe. In such dire circumstances, Girty survived by immersing himself in the culture and language of his captors. He also displayed considerable linguistic skill for such a young man, becoming fluent in Iroquois, and was favorably disposed toward Indian ways. After eight years Girty was released at Fort Pitt in 1759, but the experience of Indian cap-

tivity was indelibly impressed upon him. He became much sought after as a translator and was actively employed by the British Indian Department in and around Fort Pitt. In this capacity he fought in Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 and befriended the famous scout Simon Kenton. Apparently, it was Girty who interpreted Mingo Chief **Logan's** famous lament for posterity.

After the American Revolution commenced in April 1775, Girty and his brothers George and James took an oath of loyalty to the United States. He then resumed his familiar activities as an interpreter and was frequently among the tribes of the Ohio Valley to secure their neutrality. However, Girty, a wild, restive figure, much given to drinking and fighting, was eventually discharged from his position on account of "ill behavior." In March 1778, apparently smarting from such treatment, Girty, Matthew Elliott, and others defected to the British and made their way to Detroit. Brothers James and George joined them soon afterward. At this time Lieutenant Governor **Henry Hamilton** was actively soliciting Indian tribes for the war against America, and he reappointed Girty to the Indian Department. There Girty proved instrumental and highly effective in shoring up tribal support for Great Britain. He was personally fearless, fluent in several dialects and—at six feet tall, strongly built, with black hair and dark eyes—physically striking. Moreover, he readily spoke like an Indian, danced like one, and even fought like one. Whatever suspicions Native Americans may have harbored about white men in general, they readily accepted Girty as one of their own and trusted his judgment.

Commencing in 1779, Girty led several raids throughout the frontier that made him an object of fear and loathing from Pennsylvania to Kentucky. In 1779, he commanded a detachment of rangers, Mingos, and Wyandots that attacked and massacred a relief party sent to beleaguered Fort Laurens, Ohio. That fall he repulsed a determined attack by Kentucky militia against the Shawnee village at

Chillicothe, Ohio, before destroying Capt. David Rogers's flotilla of transports as they moved up the Ohio River to Fort Pitt. Throughout the spring of 1780, Girty accompanied the expedition of Maj. Henry Bird into Kentucky, burning two forts and netting more than 300 prisoners. Bird, however, a no-nonsense regular, cared little for the Girty brothers' freewheeling attitude and lack of discipline. "James Girty is sulky," he reported, "and Simon Girty is useless." The following year Girty's unpredictable disposition resulted in an altercation with Mohawk Chief **Joseph Brant**, who slashed his forehead with a sword. Such transgressions did little to diminish his standing among the Indians, however, and in August 1782 Girty scored his greatest triumph by ambushing a pursuing column of Kentuckians at Blue Licks. It was a major defeat for the Americans, who lost 70 out of 200 men, including a son of noted scout Daniel Boone.

The most notorious episode in Girty's long history of frontier violence occurred in August 1782. That month his warriors defeated a body of Pennsylvania militia under Col. William Crawford, who was captured. Eyewitness accounts vary, and some maintain that Girty did nothing to spare the life of Crawford, who was slowly tortured and burned alive at the stake. Girty himself declared that he did everything possible to spare Crawford and ceased only when his own life became jeopardized. Thereafter, he was reviled in frontier folklore and literature as the "White Savage"—a traitor to both his country and his race. Girty was, in reality, no more cruel than many frontier contemporaries on both sides of the border. In fact, by some accounts he managed to rescue no less than 27 American hostages from imminent death. Among these was his former friend Simon Kenton, captured earlier during operations against Col. George Rogers Clark in Illinois. Several other young men also claimed to have been spared by his efforts. Girty nonetheless remained a pariah to frontier Americans, who placed a bounty on him for the rest of his life.

After the American Revolution concluded in 1783, Girty had no recourse but to relocate to Detroit, where he married a former captive and raised a family. Over the next 10 years, he continued venting his hatred of Americans by ceaselessly working to bind Indian tribes of the Old Northwest into a firm alliance against the United States. Being the only white man allowed at intertribal conferences, he spoke out in favor of unity and frontier warfare in an attempt to keep white settlers below the Ohio River. When peace talks with the American government invariably failed, no doubt thanks to Girty's interference, he was always willing to take up arms. Girty fought with the Miami Chief **Little Turtle** at the disastrous defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair in 1791 and is credited with ordering the death of captured Gen. Richard Butler, the highest-ranking American officer to die at the hands of Native Americans. Three years later Girty supported the Shawnee chief Blue Jacket in a confrontation with Gen. Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers, where the Indians were badly beaten. In the wake of this disaster, Girty watched in disbelief as British-controlled Fort Miami slammed its gates in the face of his retreating allies.

By the terms of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, Detroit passed over to the United States, and Girty hurriedly relocated to Amherstburg, Ontario. He spent the next two decades performing his usual Indian Department work, although he grew increasingly melancholy and alcoholic. In the fall of 1813 the retreat of British Gen. **Henry Procter** from Amherstburg forced the aged Girty, now lame and nearly blind, to abandon his home and seek shelter with the Grand River Mo-

hawks. He returned home in 1815, old, worn-out, but still thoroughly despised by his fellow Americans. Girty died at Amherstburg on February 18, 1818, and was buried there with full military honors. He was a brutal man who lived and fought in a brutal age, but he was apparently less savage than his portrayal in American history suggests.

See also

Brant, Joseph; Little Turtle

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Gordon, John Brown

(February 6, 1832–January 9, 1904)
Confederate General

Trained as a lawyer, Gordon overcame military inexperience to become an outstanding general of the Civil War. He was wounded eight times, and his meteoric rise was unsurpassed by any commander of the Confederacy. Afterward, Gordon further enhanced his reputation by becoming a leading spokesman for national reconciliation and economic development.

John Brown Gordon was born in Upson County, Georgia, on February 6, 1832, and in 1851 he commenced studying at the University of Georgia. Gordon performed well but grew disenchanted with academics, dropped out, and studied law. In 1854, he opened up a practice in Atlanta, but eventually he returned to his family's ancestral home in northwestern Georgia. There he engaged in developing coal mines until the advent of the Civil War in April 1861.

In the wake of the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, Gordon raised a company of mountaineers who dubbed themselves the "Raccoon Roughs." When Georgia authorities declined to accept their services, Gordon, elected company captain, marched them across the state line into Alabama as part of the Sixth Alabama Infantry. Despite his lack of prior military training, Gordon adjusted well to military life, performed his duties competently, and by April 1862 had risen to colonel of the Sixth Alabama. In this capacity he fought in the Penin-



John Brown Gordon
National Archives

sula campaign, receiving his baptism of fire at Seven Pines (May 31–June 1, 1862). There the Sixth Alabama suffered a casualty rate of 60 percent. The following month he succeeded to the command of Gen. Robert Rodes's brigade at Malvern Hill when that officer was wounded. Gordon's fine reputation induced Gen. **Robert E. Lee** to allow him to spearhead the Confederate invasion of Maryland that fall. There Gordon performed his most heroic work during the bloody Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862) as part of Gen. **Daniel H.**

Hill's division. His regiment occupied the Sunken Road in the center of the Confederate line and was repeatedly attacked by superior Union forces. However, Gordon stood his ground dutifully, beating off every attack, and refused evacuation after being hit four times. However, his fifth wound—a bullet through the right cheek—knocked him unconscious, and he collapsed face-first into his cap. Fortunately, a bullet hole prevented him from drowning in his own blood. As a consequence of the exemplary performance at what would also become known as Bloody Lane, Gordon received a promotion to brigadier general in November 1862. However, injuries kept him detained from active service until the spring of 1863.

Throughout the Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns, Gordon commanded a brigade of Georgia troops in Gen. Jubal A.

Early's division. He performed to his usual high standards, handling his men well and winning additional praise. The following year, during the overland campaign against Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, he rendered especially important work. On May 12, 1864, during the bloody Battle of Spotsylvania, Union troops under Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock managed to break Lee's line at an area known as the Mule Shoe. Losses proved so horrific to both sides that the site was more aptly rechristened Bloody Angle. But Gordon, at a critical juncture, counterattacked and drove the disorganized enemy back. This single action saved the entire Confederate army from impending destruction. Consequently, Gordon rose to major general and accompanied General Early throughout his campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. He fought in a succession of victories over Union forces during the raid upon Washington, D.C., including the defeat of Gen. Lew Wallace at Monocacy. Gordon also rendered useful service during the successful counterattack at Cedar Creek, which nearly drove Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's army out of the valley. Gordon's division subsequently rejoined Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and occupied siege lines around Petersburg, Virginia, and there he assumed command of the II Corps.

Curiously, Gordon was not promoted to lieutenant general, but he nonetheless became one of only five Confederate leaders who attained corps-level command without formal military education. It was also during this time that he became a close confidant of General Lee, who trusted his military judgment. Gordon's last action of the war occurred on March 25, 1865, when he launched a skillful night attack that temporarily captured Fort Stedman, Virginia. Fresh Union troops then forced him back, and he accompanied Lee's retreat out of the Richmond area. Gordon conducted a tenacious rear-guard action to buy Lee extra time, but he was finally overwhelmed at Saylor's Creek on April 6, 1865. The surviving Confederates were then surrounded at Appomattox, and

Gordon was requested to draw up documents outlining Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant. This final act was performed with great solemnity on April 12, 1865. Given his renown and personal popularity, Gordon was chosen by Lee to lead the ragtag Confederates out of camp to stack their arms. While performing this act, the Union troops under Gen. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain presented their arms in a salute of respect—which was as quickly returned. Having concluded this final military gesture with dignity and reserve, Gordon harangued his men to accept defeat and return home peacefully.

Gordon's postwar services as a popular soldier-statesman proved of equal importance to the South. Drawn to politics, he was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Democrat in 1873, becoming the first former Confederate to preside over that body. He also quickly established himself as a leading voice for national reconciliation. As such he urged fellow Southerners to accept defeat and work wholeheartedly for unification. He also prevailed on Northern politicians to end the period of military government known as Reconstruction and allow for restoration of home rule. In his role as an articulate spokesman for the "New South," Gordon proved instrumental in convincing Georgians to embrace technology, accept industrialization, and end the region's traditional dependence on agriculture. Gordon resigned his Senate seat in 1879 to pursue business in railroads, but in 1886 he was elected governor. Two years later he was back in the U.S. Senate, and he finally retired from politics in 1897. Even in his final years, Gordon devoted himself to healing old wounds and actively traveled the lecture circuit. When the United Confederate Veterans was established in 1890, he was unanimously appointed its first commander in chief, a position he held until his death in Miami, Florida, on January 9, 1904.

Whether leading a charge on the battlefield or pursuing a national dream in politics, Gordon was fearless, tenacious, and uniformly successful. His career embodied the Ameri-

can dream, and he served both his country—and his state—with equal distinction.

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Lee, Robert E.

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Göring, Hermann

(January 12, 1893–October 15, 1946)

German Marshal

Pompous and portly, Göring was an influential Nazi leader during Germany's rush toward rearmament, as well as a close confidant of **Adolf Hitler**. But as head of the feared Luftwaffe, he committed several strategic mistakes that ultimately hastened the downfall of the Third Reich.

Hermann Wilhelm Göring was born in Rosenheim, Bavaria, on January 12, 1893, the son of the German consul-general to Haiti. As a youth he attended the Karlsruhe Military Academy in 1905 and then the Cadet School at Lichterfelde in 1909, graduating with honors. In 1912, Göring was commissioned an infantry lieutenant, but the onset of severe arthritis resulted in his transfer to the air service prior to World War I. As a fighter pilot, he was shot down and severely wounded in 1916, but he recovered and rose to squadron commander the following year. The high point of Göring's military career occurred in July 1918, when he succeeded to head the late Baron von Richthofen's Flying Circus. In this capac-

ity he flew an all-white Fokker D.VII and was credited with 22 aerial victories. For his skill and bravery in combat he received the Pour le Merite, imperial Germany's highest decoration.

After the war ended in 1918, Göring migrated to Sweden, where he served as a test pilot for the Fokker Aircraft Company. Three years later he returned to Germany and enrolled at the University of Munich, where he first encountered a sullen war veteran named Adolf Hitler. Like many former soldiers, Göring resented Germany's mistreatment by the victorious Allies, and he joined Hitler's Nazi Party (nationalist socialist) as an expression of rage. A large, imposing figure, Göring quickly gained control of the paramilitary wing of the party, the Brownshirts (*Sturmabteilung*), who were thugs employed for street fighting. He thus figured prominently in the failed 1923 beer-hall putsch against the Bavarian government and was severely wounded. Göring then fled to Austria to recu-

perate and developed a lifelong addiction to morphine and other pain-killing drugs.

In 1927, a general amnesty was extended to putsch participants, and Göring resumed his Nazi Party functions by Hitler's side. The following year he gained election to the Reichstag (lower assembly) and worked energetically to advance the party agenda. Four years later, as the Nazis slowly became the dominant party, Göring functioned as president of the Reichstag. In 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor by the elderly President **Paul von Hindenburg**, and Göring's influence and responsibilities increased commensurately. Among his many appointments were that of *Reichsminister*, minister of the interior, and Prussian prime minister. More ominously, he had a direct role in the creation of the dreaded Gestapo, the German secret police, and also helped create the first concentration camps for political prisoners. These gruesome responsibilities were subsequently handed off to a willing Heinrich Himmler in 1935, after Hitler appointed Göring head of the newly created German air force—the Luftwaffe.

By the terms of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, Germany was expressly forbidden from possessing military aircraft. Undeterred by such legalities, but not yet wishing to excite foreign attention, Hitler directed that German military aircraft be covertly developed in the Soviet Union. It thus became Göring's responsibility to establish and organize new state industries capable of developing and supporting a modern air force. By 1935, Hitler chose to ignore the Versailles constraints alto-



Hermann Göring
Library of Congress

gether, the Luftwaffe was formerly announced, and once again Göring effectively discharged his duties. By 1939, his charge was the most modern and best-equipped air force in the world. Furthermore, its tactical doctrine was closely integrated with support for armored, or panzer, forces. Thus was born the concept of blitzkrieg warfare—a lightning tank advance covered by swarms of air cover. However, both Göring and the German general staff blundered by failing to develop heavy bombers for strategic bombardment. Because future European wars were anticipated to be short, most German

aerial thinkers—Göring included—did not view such expensive, ornate weapons as absolutely necessary. As events unfolded, the Third Reich paid heavily for this neglect. However, Hitler remained pleased by Göring's performance, and in 1939 he designated Göring to be the Führer's heir apparent.

In September 1939, Hitler's aggressive foreign policy culminated in an attack on Poland, which precipitated the onset of World War II. As envisioned, Göring's Luftwaffe spearheaded the aerial onslaught, clearing the skies of Polish resistance and then assisting land forces. Poland was crushed within weeks, as was France in June 1940. Consequently, Göring was elevated to *reichsmarschall*, Germany's highest rank. However, the Luftwaffe's very success on the continent now brought it head-to-head with a brand new adversary—the Royal Air Force. At Dunkirk, the British air arm defeated Göring's declared intention to bomb fleeing Allied units into submission, and they escaped intact. The ensuing Battle of

Britain also tested German machines and crews to the limit, with Göring boasting that he could eliminate enemy opposition within days. Again, he miscalculated badly.

For the next five months, waves of lightly armed German bombers were committed over the British Isles, where they did considerable damage but also suffered great losses at the hands of Royal Air Force (RAF) pilots in their nimble *Spitfires* and *Hurricanes*. Embarrassed by this setback, Göring frequently toured German aerodromes in France and always inquired of his men what they needed to win. At one session, a frustrated Maj. **Adolf Galland** responded, "Give us a squadron of *Spitfires*!" Göring also committed a gross strategic error when he shifted over his offensive from RAF bases to British cities. The Germans were making steady progress toward eliminating aerial opposition when Hitler, enraged by a British raid upon Berlin, ordered German bombers to concentrate on London. Göring, as supreme air commander, did nothing to contest this change. Consequently, the British received a badly needed respite; they regrouped, won the battle, and canceled Hitler's planned invasion of England. The Luftwaffe's—and Göring's—reputations for invincibility were badly stained.

In June 1941, Hitler committed his war machine to invading the Soviet Union, another colossal blunder. By the winter of 1942 the German Sixth Army was trapped at Stalingrad by Russian forces, but Göring personally assured the Führer that his Luftwaffe could resupply them by air. A large and expensive resupply effort was then mounted at considerable cost in crews and machines, but it failed. After Stalingrad surrendered, Hitler's trust in Göring plummeted, and his influence waned. Neither did the *reichsmarschall* succeed in curtailing Hitler's maniacal quest for new and better offensive weapons, such as jet fighters, the V-1 buzz bomb, and the V-2 rocket. Development of these exotic devices consumed vast resources, far out of proportion to their actual usefulness. Germany was then experiencing methodically strategic

bombardment by fleets of British and American bombers, weapons that Göring had declined to produce in the 1930s. Under the inspired leadership of Gens. James Doolittle, Ira C. Eaker, Nathan Twining, and Carl A. Spaatz, Germany's entire national economic infrastructure began collapsing under an incessant hail of bombs. German fighter pilots like Maj. **Heinz Bär**, equipped with the latest jet fighters, fought back furiously, but their sacrifice could not stem the tide. Germany desperately needed more aircraft and better leadership, but Göring—politically disfavored and increasingly detached due to drug abuse—offered no solutions. The end of the 1,000-year Reich was at hand.

By the spring of 1945 the once mighty Luftwaffe had all but ceased to exist. All the while, a heavily addicted Göring contented himself by amassing a personal fortune in plundered artwork and building lavish estates. He also commandeered badly needed resources for his own personal Luftwaffe Army, which he used to guard his possessions. With the Third Reich collapsing around him, Göring proffered himself as Hitler's immediate replacement. Hitler was so enraged by the suggestion that he stripped Göring of rank and arrested him. He was thus situated when American troops arrested him again on May 8, 1945, after Germany's surrender. Göring was subsequently brought up on charges as a war criminal at the Nuremberg trials. He was found guilty and sentenced to hang, but the once flamboyant, jovial *reichsmarschall* cheated fate by poisoning himself on October 15, 1946. Possessing neither strategic sense nor direction, Göring undermined the very Luftwaffe he had worked so hard to create.

See also

Bär, Heinz; Galland, Adolf; Hindenburg, Paul von; Hitler, Adolf

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Gorshkov, Sergei Georgievich

(February 26, 1910–May 13, 1988)
Russian Admiral

For three decades the brilliant, charismatic Gorshkov supervised the construction of Soviet naval forces. Under his able direction the Red Navy blossomed from a coastal defense force to the world's second-largest deepwater fleet. Ably manned and outfitted, it was a serious challenge to the United States during the last half of the Cold War.

Sergei Georgievich Gorshkov was born in Kamenets-Podolski, Ukraine, on February 26, 1910, the son of a teacher. In 1927, he joined the Red Navy and passed through the Frunze Naval Academy at Leningrad in 1931. Adept as an officer, he quickly secured command of a patrol boat with the Black Sea Fleet before moving up to destroyers in the Pacific. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June



Sergei Georgievich Gorshkov
Naval Photographic Center

1941, Gorshkov, now a rear admiral, commanded the Azov Flotilla on the Black Sea. He spent the next four years rendering useful service in that theater, closely cooperating with Red Army units in their drive to oust the hated Nazi invaders. In 1943, Gorshkov planned and orchestrated military landings throughout the Crimean Peninsula, which resulted in its recapture. The following spring he took charge of the Danube Flotilla and provided naval support during the conquests of Belgrade and Budapest.

By the time World War II ended in 1945, the Soviet Union possessed one of the largest and most powerful armies in the world, but its naval forces were decidedly inferior to American and British counterparts. The Soviet naval forces appeared to be fixed as the junior part-

ner to traditional land forces and burgeoning Soviet airpower.

After the war, Gorshkov continued rising through the Soviet naval hierarchy, becoming chief of staff of the Black Sea Fleet in 1948, its commander by 1951. In December 1956, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev elevated him to commander in chief of the Red Navy. In this capacity he began agitating for greater emphasis on naval construction, but he was largely ignored by Khrushchev. The premier felt that the greatest path to Soviet security lay with the construction of nuclear missiles, which received the highest priority in defense appropriations. However, in the wake of the 1961 Cuban Missile Crisis fiasco, whereby the Soviet Union was forced to remove missiles from Cuba thanks to an American naval blockade, Khrushchev's approach to military defense became entirely discredited. It became apparent to most Soviet war planners that more ships were necessary to confront the United States at sea, as well as to project Soviet power and influence around the globe. After Khrushchev was deposed by Leonid Brezhnev in 1964, the politburo gave Gorshkov free reign to expand Soviet naval capabilities as necessary. He proved just the man for the task.

The Russian navy has an impressive fighting tradition dating back three centuries to the time of Peter the Great, and at one point it even employed the distinguished American naval commander John Paul Jones. However, Russia itself is preponderantly a land power, lacking warm-weather ports for year-round operations. These historic and geographical circumstances always militated against the growth and expansion of naval forces to anything beyond coastal defense. However, Gorshkov, taking his lead from American naval theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan, argued that a large navy is one of the trappings of a great power. Also, as a superpower, the Soviet Union faced global responsibilities lying beyond the Eurasian landmass. Using great skill and charm, the admiral overcame centuries of strategic conditioning and bureaucratic in-

transigence to convince army and air force leaders that the navy deserved a greater share of defense appropriations—even at the expense of building fewer tanks, missiles, and aircraft. The politburo was swayed by his new strategy, and over the next 12 years Gorshkov orchestrated a fourteen-fold increase in the size of the Red Navy.

Soviet naval expansion was not limited to surface vessels. For many years previously, Russia watched in trepidation as American Adm. Hyman G. Rickover successfully pioneered the concept of nuclear-powered submarines. Once armed with nuclear missiles, they constituted a considerable security threat to the Soviet Union's very survival. Gorshkov therefore placed particular emphasis on the development and acquisition of newer nuclear-powered craft that were capable of launching nuclear-tipped missiles at the United States or stalking aircraft carrier battle groups. Gorshkov, however, did not favor one weapon type over the other, and by 1970 he began agitating for a balanced, all-purpose fleet in the mold of the United States Navy. He therefore promoted new generations of missile-equipped conventional warships with deepwater capacity for global cruises. These would prove essential for projecting Soviet power far beyond Russia's landlocked borders—and underscored to the United States that the world's oceans were no longer its domain.

In 1976, Gorshkov codified his theories into a book entitled *The Sea Power of the States*, which was published abroad in several languages and accorded great respect from Western naval thinkers. Between 1964 and the 1980s, impressive and numerous Russian ships plied the seas in regions previously dominated by Western powers, such as the African coast and the Indian Ocean. His buildup of naval assets also triggered alarms in the United States, which rushed to develop new classes of submarines and surface vessels to counter them. Heated debate ensued in Washington when Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, another nontraditional naval reformer, proposed

that the American navy mothball many of its older, expensive oceangoing vessels for greater numbers of smaller, cheaper warships. For successfully invigorating the Red Navy, Gorshkov received no less than five Orders of Lenin and the title Hero of the Soviet Union. He oversaw his naval expansion programs without serious interruption until November 1985, when Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, a determined political reformer, replaced him with Adm. Vladimir N. Chernavin. Gorshkov then lived in quiet retirement until his death in Moscow on May 13, 1988. The invigorated Red Navy never fired a shot in anger at its American equivalent and thus remained untested by war. In fact, since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia's entire military infrastructure has undergone drastic restructuring and reductions.

Many of Gorshkov's finest warships remain portside, rusting away for lack of funds to operate them. However, his tenure at the helm of Soviet naval strategy marked the first time that Russia strove to be a military colossus at sea as well as on land.

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Grant, James

(1720–April 13, 1806)
English General

The corpulent Grant was a cheerful, capable administrator but a mediocre battle commander. He remained contemptuous of American forces during the Revolution, although they outwitted him on several occasions.

James Grant was born in 1720 at Ballindalloch, Banffshire, and studied law until 1741,

when he joined the British army. Grant transferred as a captain in the First Regiment of Foot, the famous Royal Scots, and fought with them at Fontenoy in 1745 and Culloden Moor in 1746. After serving in the Flanders campaign of 1747–1748, he completed several years of garrison duty. By 1757, he had joined the newly raised 77th Highlanders as a major

and arrived in America for service in the French and Indian War (1755–1763). In 1758, Grant participated in a botched attempt to reconnoiter French-held Fort Duquesne in western Pennsylvania. Evenly dividing his force of 800 men, he maneuvered to bring the enemy into an ambush but was himself attacked and captured, one of 295 casualties suffered that day. Grant arrived in Montreal a prisoner but was subsequently exchanged in 1760 and promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 40th Regiment of Foot. The following year he ended up in South Carolina, and there he conducted a large-scale raid against the Cherokee Indian villages of **Oconostota**. In 1764, Grant proceeded south to East Florida, a territory only recently acquired from Spain, and replaced **Frederick Haldimand** as governor. He proved himself an affable, competent administrator of this wild and backward region, but he perpetually squabbled with other officials. Ill and weary of being the “commissioner of mildew,” as he termed it, Grant returned to England in 1771 and became lieutenant colonel of the 40th Regiment. Two years later he gained a seat in Parliament and was present during the early debates on the American Revolution. Grant, who had served in America and was personally acquainted with many militia officers, simply discounted colonial fighting abilities. At one point he allegedly claimed that he could march from one end of the continent to the other with only 5,000 men—a statement he later denied making.

Grant rejoined the army in December 1775 as a colonel of the 55th Regiment, and the following summer he arrived in New York as



James Grant
William L. Clements Library

part of Gen. **William Howe**'s army. In the ensuing campaign on Long Island he commanded two brigades and provided a diversion in front of Gen. George Washington's lines while Howe slipped other troops around his flank. That fall, the advance guard of British forces under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** closely pursued the retreating Americans into New Jersey before halting for the winter. Cornwallis then entrusted command of his scattered units to Grant and departed for England. Grant, whose disregard for American soldiery was stronger

than ever, assured Col. **Johann Rall** at Trenton that the ragged and shivering Americans were no threat to his advanced post. However, on Christmas Eve Washington suddenly struck back, annihilating Rall's forces at Trenton and also defeating Cornwallis at Princeton. This sudden turn of events nonetheless did little to improve Grant's opinion of his opponents. A large, heavy man with a ravenous appetite for good food, he was content to remain in his headquarters all winter, dining on goose and other delicacies.

In the summer of 1777, Howe launched his campaign to capture Philadelphia from the sea. After landing in Maryland, he marched overland and defeated Washington at the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Grant was present and actively engaged on both occasions, performing his assigned missions well. The British remained ensconced at Philadelphia until the spring of 1778, when Howe was preparing to resign as commander in chief. However, he was alerted that a large force of Americans under the youthful Marquis de Lafayette had been detached from

Washington's main army to observe British movements. As a final parting gesture, Howe resolved to trap the young Frenchman and take him back to England as a prisoner. British forces then marched on the American position at Barren Hill from the front, while Grant was directed to conduct a circling movement intended to catch the enemy from behind. Inexplicably, once Grant positioned his men behind Lafayette, the surprised American commander bluffed him into thinking he was launching an attack. Rather than close the door on the Americans, Grant remained stationary while Lafayette skillfully side-stepped the trap set for him. Howe was appreciably furious, and during the march back to Philadelphia many officers were so enraged by Grant's lethargy that they declined conversation with him.

In June 1778 the new British commander, Gen. **Henry Clinton**, decided to abandon Philadelphia and march overland back to New York. He specifically charged Grant with protecting his rear guard if attacked by Washington, who was known for sudden strikes. When Washington did in fact attack Clinton's column at Monmouth on June 28, Grant was unable to arrive in time. The battle was a draw, but Clinton decided to rid himself of this fat, tardy general. Accordingly, in December 1778 he dispatched Grant with 5,800 men to capture and fortify the island of St. Lucia in the West Indies. Grant handled himself surprisingly well and later defended the island against a determined attack by Admiral d'Estaing.

The easygoing Grant then returned to England in 1779, where he was raised to major general three years later. By 1787, he had resumed his seat in Parliament, and in 1796 he gained a promotion to general. Thus, Grant was one of few men in the British army who advanced very far by performing very little. He died at Ballindalloch on April 13, 1806, immensely fat and soon forgotten.

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Graves, Thomas

(October 23, 1725–February 9, 1802)

English Admiral

Graves was a competent naval leader but beset by a cautious and conservative leadership style. His fumbling at the Second Battle of the Virginia Capes sealed the doom of British forces trapped at Yorktown and lost the American Revolution for England.

Thomas Graves was born in Thanckes, Cornwall, around 1725, a son of Adm. Thomas Graves (d. 1755). He went to sea at an early age and in 1739 volunteered for service with the squadron of Commodore Henry Medley at Newfoundland. Soon after he transferred to the frigate *HMS Norfolk* under his father and participated in the aborted expedition against Cartagena (Colombia) in 1741. Graves proved himself a capable sailor, so in 1743 he rose to lieutenant and committed himself to the study of seamanship and French. He rose to captain by 1755 and went on to serve with a succession of warships during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). On the night of December 26, 1756, while commanding the 20-gun frigate *HMS Sheerness* off the coast of France, he espied a large French vessel that appeared to be a larger ship-of-the-line. When the majority of his officers agreed with this assessment, Graves declined to initiate combat with his unknown visitor. However, the admiralty subsequently concluded that the vessel was, in fact, a large East Indiaman (transport), and they castigated Graves for not investigating his



Thomas Graves
National Maritime Museum

quarry aggressively. A court-martial sentenced him to a public reprimand, and he resumed active sea duty. In the summer of 1761 Graves assisted in repelling a French squadron off Newfoundland, and he spent the next three years serving as governor of that province. After a long stint of uneventful service in home waters and the West Indies, he was elevated to rear admiral in 1779.

In the spring of 1780 Graves conveyed six ships-of-the-line into North American waters and reinforced Adm. **Marriot Arbuthnot** at New York City. He arrived at his

destination in record time on July 13, 1780, but just missed intercepting a French squadron under Charles Louis d'Arac de Ternay, then anchoring at Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island. Unfortunately for the British, these ships were transporting the artillery train intended for the expeditionary force of General Rochambeau. The episode, though not entirely Graves's fault, was the first of many missteps that dogged his Revolutionary War service. After refitting in New York, Graves participated in Arbuthnot's timid blockade of Rhode Island waters for several months. He next accompanied his superior to Chesapeake Bay and was closely engaged at the First Battle of the Virginia Capes on March 16, 1781. There a French fleet under Admiral de Grasse rebuffed the British. By then Arbuthnot was ill and requested to be re-

lieved. When permission was granted on July 4, 1781, he departed, and Graves became the commander of the North American station pending the arrival of Adm. Robert Digby. Graves accepted the appointment of Digby, his junior, without dissent, but he suspected that politics were at work against him. The probable cause was his marriage to the sister of Lord North, whose political fortunes were on the wane, while Digby associated with the Earl of Sandwich, head of the British Admiralty. It was an awkward arrangement at best, typical of the Royal Navy's muddled leadership during the war.

At this juncture, British fortunes in North America hinged on events in Chesapeake Bay. A British army of 8,000 men under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** was trapped at Yorktown Peninsula with its back to the sea, besieged by a combined Franco-American army led by Rochambeau and George Washington. Gen. **Henry Clinton**, the British commander in chief, wished to mount an expedition to relieve Cornwallis and possibly evacuate him. To accomplish this, the Royal Navy would first have to contend with the powerful French squadron under Admiral de Grasse, already at Chesapeake Bay. Graves dithered in New York until reinforced by the West India squadron of Adm. Samuel Hood and finally sailed the last week of August. Much valuable time had been lost. During this impasse, the French fleet at Newport slipped past the British and delivered Rochambeau's siege artillery. This was another lost opportunity for Graves.

On September 5, 1781, Graves and his squadron of 19 ships engaged de Grasse's 24 vessels at the Second Battle of the Virginia Capes. As in the previous encounter, British tactical leadership was exceptionally uninspired and clumsy. The respective fleets drew up parallel battle lines, then clashed head-on, exchanging broadsides as they passed. Unfortunately for Graves, his van was closely engaged, but the rest of his line began shearing away from the French and fired ineffectually from a distance. Consequently, the French reformed their line for another pass, but the

four leading British ships had been badly shot up. Graves at this juncture broke off his attack and repaired to New York City. The battle was a draw, but the British needed a decisive victory. This was something that Graves's timid leadership proved incapable of providing. Cornwallis consequently remained bottled up at Yorktown as American siege lines drew closer.

On September 24, Admiral Digby arrived at New York from England with three additional warships and orders for Graves to depart for Jamaica. In view of ongoing operations, he declined to supersede Graves and diplomatically allowed him to complete his mission without interruption. On October 18, 1781, Graves and Clinton reembarked from New York with 7,000 men in a last-ditch effort to relieve Cornwallis. The British expedition arrived in Chesapeake Bay on October 24, only to learn of Cornwallis's surrender eight days earlier. The game being up, Graves took his fleet back to New York a second time and left for Jamaica to join Adms. George Rodney and Samuel Hood. In view of the recent events in Virginia, both men treated him shabbily. Worse, while conducting several prizes back to England in July 1782, Graves's flagship was badly damaged by a squall and sank. The hapless admiral eventually arrived at Cork aboard a transport vessel.

Graves was never officially blamed for his defeat at the Virginia Capes, but his failure to relieve Cornwallis clouded his public image. In truth, based on results, his defeat there was one of the most decisive naval actions in history. He assumed it accounted for the long period of inactivity that followed. Graves served in minor capacities for the next five years before rising to vice admiral in September 1787 on the basis of seniority. In this capacity he commanded the Channel Fleet and rose again to full admiral in April 1794. He then partially redeemed himself by fighting conspicuously under Lord **Richard Howe** at the "Glorious First of June" and was made Baron Graves of the Irish peerage. However, severe wounds sustained there necessitated

his retirement, and Graves resigned. He died on February 9, 1802, a competent sailor who had the misfortune of commanding at the most decisive British naval defeat of the American Revolution.

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Grey, Charles

(1729–November 14, 1807)
British General

In terms of bald-faced results, redoubtable "No Flint" Gray was the best British tactician of the American Revolution. His stunning victories at Paoli and Old Tappan caught the rebels by surprise and ensured his reputation for ruthlessness on the battlefield. The derision was undeserved, however, for Grey was simply the war's most successful exponent of surprise attacks.

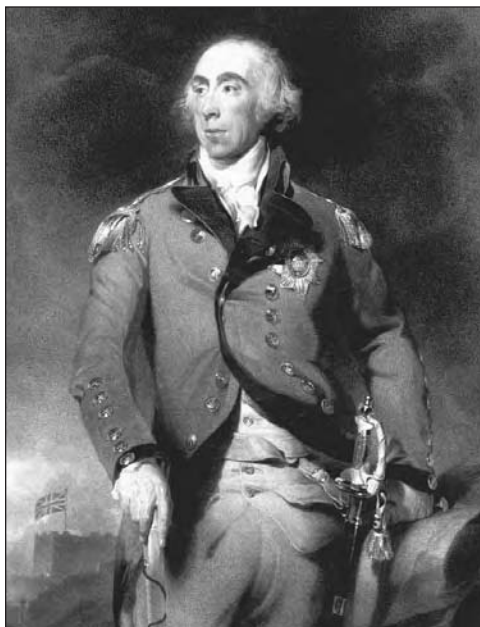
Charles Grey was born in Howick, England, in 1729, the son of Sir Henry Gray, baronet of Northumberland. Charles joined the army in 1748 by obtaining an ensign's commission, and by December 1752 he was serving as a lieutenant in the Sixth Regiment of Foot. An enterprising young officer, he subsequently raised a company of men on his own and was allowed to join the famous 20th Regiment, in which James Wolfe served as lieutenant colonel. Grey then ventured to Ger-

many during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and was selected to serve as an aide-de-camp to Ferdinand, the Duke of Brunswick. He distinguished himself in this capacity at the 1757 Battle of Minden and was wounded again at Campen in 1760. Consequently, Grey was elevated to lieutenant colonel of the 98th Foot in January 1761, and he accompanied the successful reduction of Belle Isle off the coast of Brittany. He subsequently fought with distinction during the 1762 capture of Havana before being put on half-pay the following year. Grey still enjoyed a reputation for daring and efficiency and seemed destined for high appointment. Accordingly, in 1772 he reentered the service as a full colonel and aide-de-camp to King George III.

Grey's exemplary services at the court caused him to miss the early stages of the American Revolution, and it was not until

June 1777 that he reported for duty at New York. He then joined the army of Gen. **William Howe** in preparation for an advance upon Philadelphia and was appointed commander of the Third Brigade with a local rank of major general. Howe also introduced him to his celebrated aide-de-camp, Maj. **John Andre**. Grey subsequently accompanied Howe's army during its amphibious descent upon Elk River, Maryland, as the march overland began. His troops remained in reserve during the Battle of Brandywine, in which the American army under Gen. George Washington was outflanked and rolled back, and they saw little combat. As Howe resumed his advance upon Philadelphia, he was closely followed by an observation corps commanded by Gen. Anthony Wayne. The British leader was wary of crossing the Schuylkill River with American forces to his front and rear, so he directed Grey to eliminate Wayne as a threat. He made his choice on the basis of Grey's reputation as an outstanding tactical leader. Events would bear out this judgment.

On September 20, 1777, local Tories informed Grey as to the exact location and composition of Wayne's force at nearby Paoli, Pennsylvania. The following evening, he gathered together a strike force consisting of light infantry culled from the 42nd and 44th Regiments, as well as a detachment of the 16th Light Dragoons. En route to his objective, Grey demanded complete tactical silence to ensure that his approach remained undetected. As a further precaution, he ordered the removal of all musket flints to prevent an accidental firing. This rendered them useless as firearms, but



Charles Grey
Anne S. K. Brown Collection, Brown University

Grey intended to settle the issue by cold steel and steady nerves alone. The British departed at 10 P.M. and stealthily approached their quarry. Grey was not aware of it, but Wayne had been forewarned of a night attack, and several regiments were on alert. He also anticipated being reinforced that evening by the Delaware Continentals. During his approach, Grey eliminated several knots of sentries, some of whom fired their guns and fled. The Americans ignored these warning shots until the British were literally upon them—when Grey sounded the charge.

His men then fell on the unsuspecting enemy with a yell, bayoneting their way through the entire camp. Wayne, to his credit, overcame his initial surprise and managed to get off his entire artillery train, although the bulk of his army fled and abandoned their camp to Grey. At the cost of a few lives, the British inflicted an estimated 200 American casualties, the majority of them killed. An additional 70 prisoners, grievously injured, were also taken.

The encounter at Paoli was brief and lopsided. Grey achieved near complete tactical surprise, and Wayne's force had been eliminated as a threat to Howe's rear. The Americans deemed the entire affair a "massacre" owing to the ruthless behavior of Grey's men, but in essence it was a well-planned attack, decisively delivered. It also garnered Grey the infamous nickname "No Flint." Afterward, Howe successfully captured Philadelphia on September 26, 1777. Washington then sought to engage him at Germantown on October 4, 1777, with an overly complex attack that went awry. During the confusion, Grey's brigade came up, and he personally led a counterat-

tack down Germantown Avenue that rescued British soldiers trapped in Chew House. The Americans then drew off for a miserable winter at Valley Forge, while the British enjoyed the relative comfort of Philadelphia. During his stay, Grey occupied the former dwelling of noted scientist Benjamin Franklin. He also criticized Howe for being too circumspect in his treatment of the rebels. Grey firmly believed that only through the direct and severe application of military force could the rebellion be crushed.

In the spring of 1778, Howe was replaced by Gen. **Henry Clinton**, who declined to remain in Philadelphia. Fearful of being trapped there by the French fleet, he directed an overland withdrawal back to New York City that was intercepted by Washington at Monmouth in June 1778. Grey saw little action in this, the last major engagement of the war in the north, and was subsequently posted at Bedford, Long Island. That September his brigade was committed to a series of raids along the New England coastline. During September 6–8, Grey's command hit and ravaged their objectives, burning 70 vessels, destroying upward of \$300,000 worth of property, and seizing 10,000 sheep on Martha's Vineyard alone. At the end of the month, while operating under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**, Grey marched north into the New York highlands on a foraging raid. A cavalry force under Col. George Baylor continually shadowed their movements, and Cornwallis tasked Grey with eliminating them.

On the night of September 28, Grey took his light infantry, the Second Grenadiers, the 33rd and 44th Regiments, and about 50 dragoons toward Old Tappan, New Jersey. Baylor's command consisted of 103 men from his Third Continental Dragoons. As at Paoli, security was somewhat lax, and Grey's men swooped upon the unsuspecting Americans before they could rally. The Third Dragoons were literally wiped out to a man, and Baylor was fatally wounded and captured. The American later claimed that no quarter had been granted to prisoners; as proof of Grey's ex-

cesses, the rampaging British even bayoneted 70 horses to death! In retrospect, the charges originated from being on the receiving end of a viciously efficient bayonet attack. "No Flint" Grey had again confirmed his reputation as a peerless tactician.

In the fall of 1778 Grey was recalled to England, where, four years later, he became a knight of the Order of Bath and a lieutenant general. He also received an appointment as commander in chief of North America, but the war ended before he could arrive to take charge. Historians pale to think of the outcome of events had a man of Grey's single-minded ferocity been in charge at the onset of hostilities. He subsequently soldiered on during the wars against revolutionary France in the 1790s and led a successful expedition to relieve Nieupoort, Holland, in 1793. After similar success in the West Indies, Grey returned to England in 1794, where he obtained the rank of general and privy counselor.

He continued in service by commanding the defenses of England's southernmost districts before retiring in 1799. In 1801, he was awarded the title Baron Grey de Howick, and five years later he became Viscount Howick and the first Earl Grey. This resolute and highly capable soldier finally mustered out of life at Howick on November 14, 1807. In terms of formulation of strategy, tactical preparation, and battlefield execution, "No Flint" Grey was perhaps the greatest warrior of the American Revolution.

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Haldimand, Frederick

(August 11, 1718–June 5, 1791)

English General; Colonial Governor

Haldimand was a scrupulously honest, thoroughly professional soldier with considerable experience in civil and military administration. Despite his reputation for bravery and efficiency, British prejudice against foreigners prevented him from commanding significant bodies of troops, and he occupied a succession of minor posts.

Frederick Haldimand was born in Yverdon, Canton Vaud, Switzerland, on August 11, 1718, the son of German-speaking émigrés. Intent upon a military career, he joined the Prussian army in 1741 as a lieutenant of the Margraf Heinrich Regiment and fought capably at the Battles of Mollwitz, Hohenfriedberg, and Kesseldorf. In 1748, he affected a transfer to the Dutch army by joining the Swiss Guards, rising to lieutenant colonel of that regiment by 1750. At this juncture, Haldimand availed himself of



Frederick Haldimand
National Archives of Canada

the opportunity to serve in the British army, which was experiencing a shortage of trained officers and sought professional mercenaries for service in America. Accordingly, on January 4, 1756, he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel, Second Battalion, of the 60th Regiment of Foot, soon to be famous as the Royal Americans. This was a unique light infantry unit, well suited for the forested conditions of North America. In this capacity Haldimand fought at the unsuccessful July 1758 attack upon Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), where British forces under Gen. James Abercromby were disastrously repulsed by Gen. **Louis-Joseph Montcalm**. He was nevertheless roundly praised for bravery and assigned to rebuild British forts at Oswego, New York. By 1759, Haldimand again fulfilled his task efficiently and also repelled a determined attempt by

4,000 Frenchmen to storm his works. In 1760, Gen. Jeffrey Amherst accorded him the honor of taking possession of the captured city of Montreal, where, being fluent in French, he also served as a liaison officer to the former French-Canadian government under **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**.

The onset of peace in 1763 did not confer upon Haldimand commensurate recognition for the fine services rendered. He advanced to colonel in February 1762, but his status as a foreigner precluded the holding of a higher office. Largely for this reason, Gen. **Thomas Gage** became governor of the Montreal district, while Haldimand served as second in command. In compensation, he gained an appointment as the civil administrator of the Trois Rivieres District in 1762 and performed well over the next two years. In 1765, he succeeded Gen. Henri Bouquet as military commander of the Southern District, headquartered at Pensacola, Florida. Haldimand took office in March 1765 with a rank of brigadier general and remained in Pensacola until the spring of 1773. Prior to his final year there, he was promoted to major general and installed as acting commander in chief of British forces in New York during the absence of General Gage, then visiting England. Haldimand subsequently relocated to Boston in 1774 when Gage returned as the royal governor of Massachusetts. He thus oversaw military administration while Gage was preoccupied with political issues.

Following the onset of the American Revolution in April 1775, Haldimand was easily one of the most experienced senior officers in North America, yet as a foreigner he was not trusted with positions of high authority. Accordingly, following Gage's recall that October, he too was put on administrative leave and ordered back to London. There he was feted, flattered, and appointed inspector general of the West Indies in 1776, a token promotion. This transfer also took him out of consideration for a major military command, which subsequently went to **William Howe**, **John Burgoyne**, and **Henry Clinton**, men of less

talent and experience. Haldimand was quite aware of the indignities being heaped upon him, but he bore them stoically and without complaint. His resolve was finally rewarded in the spring of 1777 when Lord **George Germain** provoked the resignation of Sir **Guy Carleton** as military commander in Canada. Haldimand was then tapped to replace him as captain general and governor in chief of the province of Quebec. Canada at this time was under no threat of invasion, so the appointment was viewed as militarily safe.

As governor-general, Haldimand was tasked with the defense and administration of a vast, thinly inhabited country containing a population whose loyalty was dubious at best. He nonetheless set about his duties with energy and foresight. Although strict with his French-speaking subjects, he played no favorites with the tiny English minority and won their goodwill. He was also scrupulously honest and respectful in dealing with civilian authorities. The garrison of Canada at this time consisted of only 6,500 professional troops, parceled out in too few numbers to afford adequate defense. Therefore, Haldimand was quick to employ Native Americans as military auxiliaries and openly encouraged their use along the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers. In concert with Loyalist forces commanded by **John Butler** and **John Johnson**, the Indians under **Joseph Brant** and **Cornplanter** were instrumental in fomenting fear along frontier settlements and kept the Americans too busy to invade Canada. His only military failure was to ignore warnings of an impending American offensive against the Senecas in western New York. This was conducted by Gen. John Sullivan throughout the summer of 1779 and occasioned much hardship among the Indians. By 1780, Haldimand was responsible for feeding and housing at Fort Niagara 5,000 Indian refugees, who in turn resumed their raids against the Mohawk Valley the following summer. However, he grew disturbed by reports of financial irregularities within the Indian Department and, upon investigation, demanded the resignation of **Guy Johnson** in 1782.

A curious sideline to Haldimand's activities was his clandestine correspondence with American Col. Ethan Allen over the issue of Vermont. Possession of that tract of land was hotly contested by New York and New Hampshire, but Allen and many residents wanted independence from both. When it became apparent that the Continental Congress was too busy with more pressing matters to address their grievances, Allen opened treasonable negotiations with Haldimand over the possibility of Vermont as an independent Crown colony. Discussions commenced in 1779 and continued over the next two years, ceasing only after the surrender of **Charles Cornwallis** at Yorktown.

In 1782, the new government of Lord Shelburne, fearing the possibility of a renewed French attack against Canada, wished to remove Haldimand from authority there. Despite his good service, they distrusted the judgment of a foreigner in the defense of a British province, and Carleton was reassigned as governor-general. Haldimand politely but firmly declined to serve under that officer a second time, but inasmuch as Carleton was detained at New York City on other issues, Haldimand was allowed to retain his office until 1785. Once back in England, he received the prestigious Order of the Bath for three decades of conspicuous service to the Crown. However, he was shocked that the government had completely abandoned its Indian allies during peace negotiations with the United

States, and he labored ceaselessly to acquire just compensation for them. Haldimand then retired from the service and spent many years shuttling between London and his native birthplace. He died at Champettit, Switzerland, on June 5, 1791, one of the most competent British leaders of the American Revolution and—fortunately for the United States—one of the least employed.

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Brant, Joseph

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Hamilton, Henry

(ca. 1734–September 29, 1796)

English Colonial Governor

Widely disparaged as the hated "Hair-buyer," Hamilton was an effective colonial officer of the Old Northwest who encouraged Indian raids on American

frontier settlements. He performed exceptionally well in that capacity—until running afoul of an expedition headed by Col. George Rogers Clark.

Henry Hamilton was born probably in Dublin around 1734. Classically educated, he became an ensign in the 15th Regiment of Foot in 1755 and arrived for service in America three years later. Hamilton proved himself brave and adept as an officer, with distinguished service at Louisbourg in 1758, Quebec in 1759, Montreal in 1760, and Havana in 1762. He then returned to Canada, where in 1767 he gained a promotion to captain and took command of the Trois Rivieres and Crown Point garrisons. During this period Hamilton also traveled south to Philadelphia, where he struck up cordial relations with Sir **Guy Carleton**, becoming his brigade major. In his official correspondence with superiors, Carleton spoke favorably of Hamilton and recommended him highly for civil service.

In consequence of the Quebec Act of 1774, the British government extended that province to include a large part of the area sandwiched between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. This was a region sparsely settled by Native Americans, French trappers, and English fur traders, a place nearly devoid of British authority. A candidate was needed to fulfill the role of lieutenant governor to restore order and impose British law, so Carleton and Lord Dartmouth, the American secretary in London, enthusiastically endorsed Hamilton for the position. Despite his military background, Hamilton was intellectually and philosophically interested in civilian government, so he resigned his commission and accepted the post. He arrived at his new home, the frontier settlement of Detroit, on November 9, 1775.



Henry Hamilton
Houghton Library

Detroit at this time was a dirty, squalid frontier community numbering about 1,500 French-speaking inhabitants, or *habitants*. But because his arrival coincided with the onset of the American Revolution, Hamilton wasted no time in strengthening Detroit with a stockade and organizing the militia. This proved an exceedingly tall order, as the local French inhabitants were indifferent to both England and the United States, being content for the most part to be left alone. Hamilton sought to counter this indifference by attracting English-speaking settlers to the region to shore up his population base. He

also realized that the neighboring Indian tribes were his only real military asset, and he went to great lengths to win their support with gifts and fur-trade concessions. For two years Hamilton effectively defended Detroit from rebels and Spanish intruders, with almost no assistance or advice from Carleton, now governor-general. His position remained tenuous given his sparse resources, but by 1777 the British government felt it necessary to assume offensive operations along the western frontier. Hamilton, eagerly disposed and centrally located at Detroit, would figure largely in those plans.

In the spring of 1777, Lord **George Germain** authorized Hamilton to collect and organize as many local Indians as possible for the purpose of raiding American frontier settlements throughout the Ohio Valley. Through this expedient, he anticipated that the Americans would be forced to allocate energy and resources to that distant region while Sir **John Burgoyne** undertook a major

offensive from Canada. Hamilton dutifully complied and also recruited the services of frontier renegades such as **Simon Girty** to assist him. However, he insisted that the warriors be kept on a short leash to minimize atrocities. The very nature of frontier war mitigated against such precautions, unfortunately, and Americans condemned Hamilton as the “Hair-buyer” for allegedly offering bounties for scalps. This despicable practice had, in fact, a long and pervasive history. If Hamilton did pay for scalps, he was no worse than scores of American, British, and French officials before him who encouraged the practice and did the same. As it was, Hamilton had only enough resources to support a major raid against Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), in September 1777 before most of his warriors were withdrawn in support of Burgoyne.

The tempo of confrontation in the west accelerated dramatically on July 20, 1778, when an American expedition under Col. George Rogers Clark of Virginia captured the settlement of Vincennes in the Illinois Territory. Hamilton reacted promptly to this threat by organizing an expedition of his own to reclaim it. On October 7, 1778, he departed Detroit with 500 Indians and frontiersmen and commenced a difficult midwinter journey. Braving snowdrifts and flooded rivers, he expertly led his force to Vincennes and recaptured it without a struggle on December 17. It was an impressive foray achieved under trying conditions. But Hamilton mistakenly assumed it was too cold for further enemy activity, so he dismissed the force save for a garrison of 80 men under his immediate command. The governor did not reckon with the resolve of Colonel Clark, unfortunately. Upon hearing of Hamilton’s activities, Clark rounded up another 200 rough-hewn frontiersmen and set out for Vincennes in February 1779—the dead of winter. The Americans braved horrific conditions, but their sudden arrival completely surprised Hamilton. After a brief siege of several days, he surrendered to Clark on March 8, 1779, and was marched to

Virginia as a prisoner of war. His capture was a serious setback for British power in the Great Lakes region.

Hamilton’s reputation as the “Hair-buyer” preceded him, for, contrary to the laws of war, he was treated with the utmost contempt and harshness following his arrival at Williamsburg in June 1780. Upon the orders of no less an authority than Governor Thomas Jefferson, he was clapped in irons and confined to a 10-foot-square dungeon in solitary confinement. Following British protests, and the personal intercession of Gen. George Washington, the irons were removed, but Hamilton remained closely held until August 1780. That fall he signed a parole and was dispatched to New York City, then under British control, and returned to England the following year.

Despite his unsavory—if unfounded—reputation, Hamilton remained highly regarded by the British government and, following the recommendation of Governor-General **Fredrick Haldimand**, gained the appointment as lieutenant governor of Quebec in June 1782. Unable to weather the differences between competing French and British factions there, his tenure in Quebec was stormy, even after assuming complete control of the province in 1784. Continuing political friction resulted in his recall in August 1785, but three years later he found more accommodating work as the governor of Bermuda. He served with high-minded distinction for six years, and the island’s capital, Hamilton, was subsequently named in his honor. His last appointment was as governor of Dominica, which he assumed in 1794. The much-abused “Hair-buyer” died on an official visit to Antigua on September 26, 1796.

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Harvey, John

(April 23, 1778–March 22, 1852)

English Army Officer; Colonial Governor

Hard-charging John Harvey was a brave and efficient staff officer from the War of 1812. His crowning achievement was leading the nighttime attack on Stoney Creek, wherein two American generals were captured and an invasion thwarted. Afterward, a lack of money and family connections stunted his rise in the military, but Harvey distinguished himself by capably administering no less than four Canadian provinces.

John Harvey was born in England on April 23, 1778, the son of an impoverished Anglican clergyman. His father prevailed upon Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger to grant his son an army commission and thus enable him to escape a life of grinding poverty. Accordingly, Harvey joined the 80th Regiment of Foot as an ensign on September 10, 1794, but the lack of wealth and social status created additional



John Harvey
National Archives of Canada

obstacles. At a time when most well-connected officers could always obtain promotions by purchasing them, Harvey always lacked that option. Consequently, his slow but gradual advancement became predicated upon hard work, fortitude, and initiative—singular traits he displayed throughout his lifetime. He then embarked upon a wide-ranging career that included service in the Netherlands, France, South Africa, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Egypt. In 1803, Harvey reported for duty in India and distinguished himself in combat against the Marathas. Such behavior brought him to the attention of

his commander, Lord Lake, and before leaving India in 1807 Harvey married Lake's daughter. This arrangement proved fortuitous, for it finally brought the young officer a measure of social status and financial security. More important, the young couple

were devoted and remained happily married their entire lives.

In time Harvey gained a reputation as a brave soldier and an efficient administrator. He was performing garrison duty in England when on June 25, 1812, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and posted as a staff officer to Gen. **John Vincent** in Canada. Vincent was a longtime regular soldier with relatively little combat experience, and he came to rely upon Harvey's sound tactical judgment explicitly. Harvey himself arrived at Halifax that December but was so eager to report for duty that he strapped on snowshoes and trudged across New Brunswick in the dead of winter. By spring he had joined Vincent's staff as a deputy adjutant general at Niagara, soon to be the object of an American invasion. In this capacity he arranged for the parole of several American officers, including Winfield Scott, whom he later befriended. In May 1813, Harvey witnessed the fall of Fort George to Gen. Henry Dearborn, and he accompanied Vincent's retreat back to Burlington Heights. The Americans were slow to follow, and it was not until early June that two brigades under Gens. John Chandler and William H. Winder—3,000 strong—stumbled along in pursuit. On June 5, 1813, they carelessly encamped along Stoney Creek for the night, intent upon attacking the outnumbered British at Burlington Heights within a few days. But Harvey resolved to strike them first.

Realizing that the British were unable to be reinforced anytime soon, and that a further withdrawal would concede the Niagara frontier to the invaders, he conducted a daring and dangerous personal reconnaissance of the American camp, assisted by Lt. **James Fitzgibbon**. He concluded that the artillery was poorly posted for defense and that various parts of the army were not positioned in mutually supporting distances. Armed with such information, Harvey prevailed upon Vincent to attack the camp, their only other option being to abandon most of Upper Canada. Vincent agreed, and on the night of June 5 Harvey led his 700

men to within striking distance of Stoney Creek. He was aided by the youthful Canadian scout Billy Green, who knew the region intimately. It was a dangerous, all-or-nothing proposition, but John Harvey was just the officer to lead it.

Early on the morning of June 6, 1813, Harvey positioned his soldiers to strike the unsuspecting Americans, who were asleep in their camp. Unfortunately, one drunken soldier began shouting too soon, and the commotion roused the defenders to life. But with sword in hand, Harvey led his soldiers on and carried the center of the encampment along with the artillery park. In the confused fighting that followed, the Americans rallied and, finding the British backlit behind their campfires, shot them down in droves. However, before the marauders could be driven off, both Chandler and Winder were taken prisoner. The action finally concluded around daybreak, with the British suffering around 250 casualties to an enemy tally of 200. However, the loss of all senior leadership paralyzed the surviving Americans, who elected to fall back to Fort George. Thus, at a stroke Harvey's desperate action at Stoney Creek saved the Niagara Peninsula from being overrun. It was one of the decisive British victories of the War of 1812.

After Stoney Creek, Harvey served as a staff officer under Col. **Joseph Wanton Morrison** at Crysler's Farm that fall, winning a medal. He next accompanied Gen. **Gordon Drummond** back to Niagara and rendered useful service at the storming of Oswego, the Battle of Lundy's Lane, and the siege of Fort Erie. On August 6, 1814, he was wounded outside the fort by an American cannonball, but he declined hospitalization and remained in the field. By the conclusion of the war that Christmas, Harvey was heralded as among the best staff officers then serving in Canada. His leadership style was a unique combination of decisive action, personal bravery, and clerical succinctness.

After the war Harvey returned to England, where the old problem of social status militated against his finding much employment.

Promotion during peacetime was slow, being based on seniority, and he did not make full colonel until 1825, following 31 years of selfless devotion to the military. In 1828, he managed to secure a posting as inspector general of police in Leinster Province, Ireland, which allowed him a chance for further distinction. That country was being wracked by violence associated with the approach of Catholic emancipation, but Harvey worked capably to smooth ruffled feathers on both sides, winning respect and applause from Protestants and Catholics alike. Consequently, he was also knighted by the government and received an appointment as lieutenant governor of Prince Edward Island, Canada's smallest province, in 1836. As previously, Harvey inherited a post splintered by religious and economic dissent, but he managed to arbitrate among the feuding parties and restored social harmony. During the next 15 years, he performed similar work in New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, none of which brought him overt recognition by the English government. Furthermore, in 1837 the so-called Aroostook War, a territorial dispute between Maine and New Brunswick, threatened to escalate into armed conflict between the United States and Great Britain. Harvey, knowing full well the cost and consequence

of war, met with his old adversary-turned-friend Gen. Winfield Scott and quickly concluded an amicable settlement that was fair and far-sighted. When Harvey, the military bureaucrat, died at Halifax on March 22, 1853, he was virtually forgotten in England. However, he is fondly remembered in Canada as the hero who turned back an invasion at Stoney Creek, among the most enlightened colonial governors that country ever possessed.

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Hashimoto, Mochitsura

(1909–October 25, 2000)

Japanese Submarine Captain

Hashimoto is credited with sinking only one American warship during World War II, the cruiser USS *Indianapolis*. This was the last U.S. Navy warship lost during the war and one of the biggest disasters to ever befall American sailors. Later, Hashimoto was called to testify against the captain of that ill-fated vessel!

Mochitsura Hashimoto was born in Kyoto, Japan, in 1909, the son of a Shinto priest. He entered the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy in 1927 and graduated as an ensign four years later. Hashimoto volunteered for submarine service in 1934 and spent considerable time on destroyers and subchasers before attending the Navy Torpedo School in 1939. The

following year he was selected to pass through the Submarine School, and in 1941 he was billeted aboard the submarine I-24. At this time, Japan was preparing for war with the United States to obtain badly needed raw materials being denied by an economic embargo. The first step of Japanese strategy entailed an attack against Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, by carrier forces as well as submarines. For several months up to December 1941, Hashimoto and the I-24 were rigorously trained in the transport and deployment of miniature submarines. His was commanded by Sub-Lt.

Kazuo Sakamaki, a bright and enthusiastic young officer. At midnight on December 6, 1941, I-24, in concert with 27 other such vessels, launched miniature submarines against the American fleet anchored in the harbor. However, none scored any hits, and all were destroyed. Worse, when Sakamaki's vessel floundered, he managed to escape and swim to the beach—becoming the first Japanese prisoner of war! Nonetheless, Hashimoto returned to Japan, and the following spring he gained assignment to advanced courses at the Submarine School. This meant that a vessel—and a command—of his own was in the offing.

In July 1942, Hashimoto assumed control of the RO-44, a small submarine designed specifically for coastal patrol work. Over the next two years he tirelessly honed and perfected his skills as a commander, waiting for the day when a large, fleet-class vessel would be his. Hashimoto's patience and persistence paid off in May 1944, when he transferred to the I-58 with the rank of lieutenant commander. The newly launched I-58 was a most impressive



Mochitsura Hashimoto
U.S. Naval Institute

warship. At 355 feet in length, 30 feet across the beam, and displacing 2,140 tons, it was nearly twice the size of Germany's vaunted U-boats. Furthermore, it possessed a cruising range of 15,000 miles and carried no less than 19 of the deadly oxygen-powered Long Lance torpedoes. These were the most effective ship-killing weapons anywhere, far more potent than their American equivalents. However, as the months passed by, the I-58 was also rigged to carry a new, more sinister device—the *kaiten*. These were one-way suicide

subs manned by a crew of two. The men chosen, usually fanatically trained college students, could enter the *kaiten* only from within the submarines carrying them, then were sealed off. Their mission at that point was to strike an enemy vessel or die. In January 1945, Hashimoto led the I-58 out on its maiden combat patrol and headed for Guam. There he launched several *kaitens* without results—and the experience of sending young men to their doom affected him profoundly. Thereafter, he swore not to launch any more of these ludicrous weapons unless success was absolutely assured.

By the summer of 1945, Japan was on its last leg, having lost the war badly. Its surface navy had been crushed, and American advances in sonar and other detection devices had sunk the majority of I-boats. This represented a great personal loss to Hashimoto, for of the 15 highly trained individuals in his submarine class, only five survived. Hashimoto's I-58 was one of only a handful of submarines still operational. In July 1945, he was dispatched to perform one of the last Japanese

underwater missions of World War II. He was ordered to cruise the well-traveled route between Guam and Leyte, in the Philippines, looking for targets. Bad luck seemed to plague I-58. It cruised the region for several days without making any contacts with the enemy. Hashimoto had all but given up and was about to return home when, at midnight on July 26, 1945, he espied a large warship on the horizon. Peering through his periscope, he watched in disbelief as it appeared to be sailing directly toward him and—inexplicably—was not taking evasive action. He ordered the I-58 to battle stations and loaded six torpedoes—much to the disappointment of his *kaiten* crew! When the target had sailed to within 1,500 meters, Hashimoto loosed a salvo at the darkened object, beautifully silhouetted against the moon, which he guessed was an *Idaho*-class battleship. Several explosions were heard, and within 15 minutes the target disappeared beneath the waves. Amid much rejoicing, the persistent submarine captain ordered I-58 batten down, and he headed home for Japan. The unidentified visitor was Hashimoto's only sinking of the war, but he was relieved to have accomplished something. His was the last Japanese naval victory of World War II.

Unknown to Hashimoto at that time, his victim was the heavy cruiser USS *Indianapolis*, a big warship with a distinguished past. Launched in 1935, it had battled across the Pacific and even once served as the flagship of Adm. Raymond Spruance. In 1945, command had fallen upon Capt. Charles B. McVay III, a highly decorated combat veteran. *Indianapolis* had been in San Francisco undergoing repairs when, by dint of its excellent reputation, it was specially selected for a very secret mission. Sailing in July 1945, McVay was tasked with transporting parts of the atomic bomb to the island of Tinian, from where the new weapon would ultimately be dropped on Hiroshima. He arrived and delivered his cargo on July 27 as scheduled, then weighed anchor and steamed for Leyte to join the American fleet gathered there. McVay had not been warned of any Japanese submarine activity in the region of Guam

(some had been reported); at this stage of the war, none was expected. On the fatal evening of July 28, 1945—heavily overcast with poor visibility—McVay ordered *Indianapolis* to stop zigzagging to shorten its arrival time at Leyte. The night crew was specifically instructed to resume the maneuver should the weather improve; then he retired. This decision was reasonable and completely within the captain's discretion. Within an hour the *Indianapolis* was struck amidships and sank in 12 confusing minutes—before an SOS could be dispatched. The big vessel went down quickly, taking an estimated 300 crewmen with it, and few lifeboats or rafts could be secured. This left 900 sailors swimming in the open ocean. They remained there four days because nobody at Leyte noticed that the *Indianapolis* was overdue or missing, and rescue missions were not dispatched. Meanwhile, McVay's survivors suffered from exposure, exhaustion, and lack of freshwater. Worse, their splashing and bleeding attracted great numbers of sharks, who gorged themselves on human flesh. It was not until August 2, 1945, four days later, that a PBY seaplane touched down to rescue the survivors. By this time only 316 men were still alive.

As the I-58 slowly wended its way home, a message was received by radio on August 15, 1945, suggesting that Japan had surrendered. Hashimoto dismissed it as some kind of American ploy, and he remained combat-ready. When the truth finally emerged, both the captain and his crew were shocked. Hashimoto then dutifully turned in his sword and surrendered to American authorities as ordered. In December 1945, the captain was further dismayed to learn that he was being flown to Washington, D.C., as a witness for the prosecution in a court-martial. Captain McVay, who previously enjoyed a sterling reputation, was being court-martialed for the loss of his ship. The introduction of an enemy officer at American court-martial proceedings was unprecedented, and it caused a public outcry. Nevertheless, Navy Chief of Staff Ernest King insisted that he held accountable for the loss of his ship. Speaking through an interpreter,

Hashimoto acknowledged that the *Indianapolis* was not performing evasive actions when he attacked. But he also stated that it mattered little, for at such close range he would have sunk the cruiser anyway. Regardless, the court found McVay guilty of not zigzagging—even though as captain he possessed discretionary power to cease such movements as deemed necessary. This more or less closed McVay's naval career, and Hashimoto returned to Japan without ceremony.

Little is known of Hashimoto's civilian pursuits, only that he died in Kyoto on October 25, 2000, a capable and determined enemy. Sadly, Captain McVay preceded him to the grave by many years. He was the first American naval officer ever court-martialed for losing his ship in combat, and he keenly felt a sense of shame. Tormented by the loss of his ship and crewmen, this fine officer shot himself in 1968. The *Indianapolis* had claimed its final victim.

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Hausser, Paul

(October 7, 1880–December 21, 1972)
German Waffen-SS General

“Papa” Hausser was the first SS officer to lead a field army and was also an extremely competent panzer commander. Despite his close affiliation with the Waffen SS, he proved ambivalent toward Nazi politics. This independence from Hitler led to his embarrassing dismissal in the last days of the war.

Paul Hausser was born in Brandenburg on October 7, 1880, and he settled upon a military career while still young. Passing through

the Prussian cadet schools, he joined the army in 1899 and received further education at the Infantry School and the *Kriegsakademie* (war college). Hausser evinced considerable skill as a staff officer, and throughout World War I he functioned capably on both the Eastern and Western Fronts. He acquired a sterling reputation for efficiency and was thus retained in the greatly reduced Reichswehr after the war. Hard work and talent carried him up the chain of command, and

Hausser eventually served as chief of staff for Military Area II. He retired as a lieutenant general in January 1932, a stiff-necked, efficient Prussian officer.

The interwar years occasioned the rise of **Adolf Hitler** and Nazism, which many disaffected army veterans found appealing. In 1933, the year Hitler became chancellor, Hausser joined the ranks of the *Sturmabteilung* (storm troopers), who were employed by the party as street thugs. However, one year later he enrolled in a new formation, the SS (*Schutzstaffeln*, or protection squads), which functioned as a distinctive military bodyguard for Hitler. As the decade progressed, the SS was expanded to the point where it formed a military force quite independent of the regular Wehrmacht. As such it was characterized by extreme discipline, robotlike obedience, and utter ruthlessness toward opponents. After a tour with special-duty units, Hausser was tasked in 1935 with establishing officer cadet schools of the SS. Here he combined the regular discipline of the Wehrmacht with the ideological fanaticism of Nazism. To further promote unit esprit de corps, SS troops were clad in black uniforms and received priority in procuring equipment. Hitler was pleased and promoted Hausser to major general and commander of all SS troops. By 1939, this comprised only two infantry divisions, but Hausser began pressing Hitler to supply tanks and other heavy ordnance.

When World War II commenced in September 1939, Hitler initially balked at employing his SS units alongside regular troops in Poland. But at Hausser's urging, the two infantry divisions were released for service against France, where they fought with skill and fanatical courage. This success prompted the Führer to expand their ranks into an army—the Waffen SS. Within a year, Hausser received command of the Second SS Motorized Division, the formidable Das Reich. He fought furiously during the initial phases of the Russian invasion, winning high praise for tactical skill but also losing an eye in combat. However, his SS troops

fought so ferociously that Hitler determined to supply them with all the tanks and offensive weapons of a regular army. Naturally, this preferential treatment incurred considerable resentment from the regular Wehrmacht, but by now the SS had become a permanent fixture of the Third Reich—and an essential part of Hitler's security apparatus. Hausser, meanwhile, had acquired the nickname "Papa" on account of his age (he was 61), as well as his fatherly demeanor.

In 1942, Hausser received command of the II SS Corps, which consisted of the First Leibstandarte, Second Das Reich, and Third Totenkopf Divisions. Attached to Army Group B, he was surrounded at Kharkov in January 1943 and was ordered by Hitler to fight to the death. Rather than sacrifice his men capriciously, Hausser disregarded instructions and fought a skillful fighting withdrawal, escaping intact. This enraged the Führer, but his displeasure was mitigated the following February when Hausser counterattacked, driving the Russians out of Kharkov with heavy losses. This marked the last offensive victory by German arms in the East. In July 1943, the II SS Panzer Corps figured prominently in the decisive Battle of Kursk. Hausser, outfitted with new Tiger and Panther tanks, was arrayed against several belts of Soviet defenses. He attacked with gusto, as usual, but the sheer depth of Russian defenses overwhelmed him, as did seemingly endless numbers of Russian T-34 tanks. The climax of the struggle occurred on July 5, 1943, when the II SS Panzer Corps blundered headlong into the Soviet Fifth Guards Army at Prokhorovka in a dense fog. Hausser's veteran tankers flailed away at point-blank range for several hours, inflicting—and suffering—heavy losses. In the end Kursk was a strategic defeat for Germany, and Soviet armies passed over to the offensive for the rest of the war. But Hitler remained duly impressed by the performance of his SS Panzer Corps and ordered a second formation raised. "Papa" had fulfilled his duties well.

The II SS Panzer Corps was sent off to France to rest and refit, but by the spring of

1944 they were back in Russia, gaining additional laurels during the Ternopol campaign. Here Hausser brilliantly orchestrated the largest breakout operation of the entire war, which saved thousands of German troops from capture. After a brief rest in Poland, the II SS Panzer Corps was dispatched to France again in anticipation of an Allied invasion. Hausser replaced Gen. Friedrich Dollman as head of the Seventh Army, becoming the first SS general to command such a force. While operating under the aegis of Gen. **Hans von Kluge**, Hausser's Seventh Army thwarted every attempt by British forces to break out of the Normandy beachhead. But constantly assailed by air power and naval gunfire, the Germans could not advance to crush them. The impasse was broken on July 25, 1944, when American forces broke free at Saint-Lô and the Germans struggled to contain them. Hitler, furious, ordered Kluge to attack at once and seal the breach. That general had no alternative but to send four outnumbered and rundown panzer divisions forward, including Hausser's. On August 7 they engaged American forces in a battle around Mortain but were beaten back with stiff losses. Meanwhile, the Third U.S. Army under Gen. George S. Patton, in concert with Canadian forces farther north, caught the retreating Germans in the Falaise Pocket. This proved a deathtrap ringed with fire, and the Germans lost 50,000 infantry and around 9,000 vehicles of every description. Among the casualties was Hausser, who recklessly exposed himself and was evacuated on the back of a tank. By January 1945, he had recovered sufficiently to take charge of Army Group G on the Rhine with a rank of colonel general, but this was a force in name only. Steadily pressed back by superior Allied numbers, Hausser steadily gave ground despite orders to stand. Hitler, angered by this final act of defiance, removed the hard-charging SS general on April 2, 1945. It was a humiliating finish for one of the Third Reich's best combat officers.

After the war Hausser was detained by the Allies but never implicated in any war crimes.

Following his release he wrote the first history of the SS and vainly tried to expunge its reputation for mass murder and brutality. He was unsuccessful, for blood-stained SS troops are indelibly associated with the running of Hitler's death camps and the mass murder of civilians and military prisoners. Hausser also worked ceaselessly to have SS members given pensions and veteran status, arguing they were simply "soldiers like any other." After some reluctance, the postwar German government granted them parity with regular army veterans. "Papa" Hausser died at Ludwigsburg on December 21, 1972, the best and most accomplished Waffen-SS general.

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Heth, Henry

(December 16, 1825–September 27, 1899)
Confederate General

Heth was a solid, capable divisional commander and reputedly the only Confederate officer whom **Robert E. Lee** addressed by his first name. He is best remembered for an impetuous meeting engagement in Pennsylvania that precipitated the Battle of Gettysburg.

Henry Heth was born in Blackheath, Chesterfield County, Virginia, on December 16, 1825, the son of a former naval officer. Heth was accepted into the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1843 and graduated at the very bottom of his class four years later. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the First U.S. Infantry, Heth journeyed south to participate in the final phases of the war against Mexico but saw little action. Over the next 12 years he fulfilled wide-ranging military service along the Western frontier. Heth rose to captain in 1855 with the 10th U.S. Infantry and that year finally experienced combat in the destruction of a Brule Sioux Indian village at Blue Water, Nebraska. Two years later he penned a manual entitled *A System of Target Practice* that was officially adopted by the army, and in 1858 Heth accompanied Col. Albert Sidney Johnston on the Mormon Expedition. In his career thus far, he had acquired the reputation as a dependable soldier who was brave in battle and attentive toward the needs of his men. Heth was also not particularly active politically, but when Virginia seceded from the Union in April 1861, he followed suit and tendered his services to the Confederacy.

In August 1861, Heth became a lieutenant colonel in the quartermaster service and was initially stationed in western Virginia under Gen. **John Buchanan Floyd**. There he rose to colonel of the 45th Virginia Infantry and fought in the minor action at Carnifex Ferry on September 10, 1861. President **Jefferson Davis** initially wanted to post him as commander of

Confederate forces in Missouri, but several politically appointed generals, resenting his West Point background, blocked the transfer. Nonetheless, Heth rose to brigadier general in January 1862 and took control of the Lewisburg Military District. In this capacity he fought several successful skirmishes against Union forces, but on May 9, 1862, he was beaten by Col. George Crook at Lewisburg. He then transferred to Chattanooga to serve in the division of Gen. Edmund Kirby-Smith and accompanied the invasion of Kentucky. Shortly after, he received command of the Department of Eastern Tennessee, where he suppressed Unionist activities until February 1863. Heth, however, resentful of being detained in what he considered to be a military backwater, requested and received a transfer to the Army of Northern Virginia under Gen. Robert E. Lee. This minor administrative adjustment proved a fateful decision for the South.

In the spring of 1863 Heth assumed command of a brigade in Gen. Ambrose P. Hill's division, itself part of the I Corps under Gen. **Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson**. On May 2, 1863, Heth accompanied Jackson's famous flank march around the Union right at Chancellorsville. The Confederates were victorious, but Jackson was shot by his own troops and mortally wounded. Heth himself was also slightly wounded in the fighting but refused to quit the field. Later that month he was accorded the rank of major general and granted a division of his own. Unquestionably brave but with a tendency toward rashness, Heth was now singularly positioned to decisively influence upcoming military events.

Victory at Chancellorsville induced General Lee to invade Pennsylvania to seek a decisive victory on Union soil that would make the North sue for peace. However, Union forces under Gen. George G. Meade were still full of fight and pursued him closely. At length

Lee ordered a general concentration of forces in the vicinity of Gettysburg, an important road junction. Heth's division was in the advance but under strict orders not to precipitate an action until the rest of the army had concentrated. On the morning of July 1, 1863, Heth ordered a brigade under **James Johnston Pettigrew** into Gettysburg to acquire shoes for his barefoot soldiers. En route, this force encountered a brigade of dismounted Union cavalry under Gen. John Buford and was summarily pushed back. Disregarding orders, Heth brought up the balance of his division and renewed the contest. Anxious for a victory, he attacked recklessly without proper reconnaissance and was checked a second time. The increasing din of conflict led other units to congregate in the vicinity, and a major confrontation began unfolding. By the end of the day Lee had won a solid tactical victory, having pushed Union forces out of the town, but they simply retreated to the nearby heights and dug in. Thus, the Confederates were committed to fighting an enemy on the ground of their own choosing. This unhappy circumstance was the direct result of Heth's impetuosity, which resulted in heavy losses for his division and a serious head wound for Heth. Reputedly, the general survived only because he had stuffed his hat, which was too large, with paper to make it fit. Heth recovered two days later and helped cover the Confederate withdrawal back to Virginia.

Despite Heth's mishandling of affairs, he was still a popular leader and was closely engaged at Bristoe Station on October 14, 1863. The following summer he rendered useful service at the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, and in the trenches of Petersburg, Virginia. Heth won a surprising victory against the ailing Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock at Ream's Sta-

tion on August 24, 1864, capturing 2,000 prisoners. He remained with Lee right to the very end, surrendering along with the rest of the army at Appomattox in April 1865.

After the war Heth settled in Richmond, Virginia, to pursue business. He was largely unsuccessful and eventually found employment with the government. He was also active in veterans' affairs, giving speeches, writing articles, and penning extensive memoirs about the war years. Heth died in Washington, D.C., on September 27, 1899, and was buried in Richmond. His tombstone was engraved with an appropriate epitaph—"In Action Faithful and In Honor Clear."

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"; Lee, Robert E.

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Hill, Daniel Harvey

(July 12, 1821–September 24, 1889)
Confederate General

DH. Hill was a gifted, hard-hitting Confederate corps commander who distinguished himself in many battles. However, his abrasive disposition and outspoken nature worked against his advancement, and he ended the Civil War only partially employed.

Daniel Harvey Hill was born in the York District, South Carolina, on July 12, 1821, the son of a farmer. His father died while Daniel was an infant, and he was raised by a stern, inflexible, Presbyterian mother. Hill was also struck by a childhood spinal ailment, from which he suffered intermittent pain throughout his entire life. However, he gained admittance to West Point in 1838 and graduated four years later in the middle of his class. Hill was subsequently commissioned a second lieutenant in the First U.S. Artillery, and over the next four years he performed routine garrison duty in the Southwest. During the Mexican-American War he accompanied the army of Gen. Winfield Scott's in a march upon Mexico City and was brevetted twice for gallantry at Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec. His native state also voted him an elaborate gold sword as a token of appreciation. But despite a promising military career, Hill resigned his commission in February 1849 to teach mathematics at Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. In this capacity he helped secure **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's** appointment at the nearby Virginia Mili-



Daniel Harvey Hill
Library of Congress

tary Institute; Jackson later became his brother-in-law. In 1854, Hill was appointed a professor at Davidson College in North Carolina, and he proved instrumental in raising disciplinary and academic standards there. In 1859, he left Davidson to perform similar work at the newly created North Carolina Military Institute in Charlotte.

In the spring of 1861 North Carolina seceded from the Union, and Hill gained an appointment as colonel of the First North Carolina Volunteers. On June 10, 1861, he led his regiment to victory over Gen. Benjamin F. Butler at Big Bethel, Virginia, one of the Civil War's first major engagements. The following month he was rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general and command of the Pamlico District of his native state. In the spring of 1862 he reported back to Virginia as a major general and fought initially under Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** during the Peninsula campaign. He was closely engaged at Seven Pines and later distinguished himself at Malvern Hill under Gen. **Robert E. Lee**. However, Hill's irascible disposition alienated the general when he openly criticized Lee's leadership over the costly repulse at Malvern Hill ("It wasn't war, it was murder"). Moreover, he endured a minor controversy during the invasion of Maryland that fall by allegedly allowing a copy of Lee's secret instructions (Special Order No. 191) to fall into enemy hands. This could have proven potentially disastrous, for

the note outlined Lee's dispositions, strength, and strategic intentions. Hill vehemently denied any role in the mishap, but the bitterness with which he pursued vindication did nothing to cultivate better relations with Lee. Chronic back pain may have contributed to his acerbic disposition, along with the inevitable complaining, or "croaking," that he seemed always ready to indulge in.

Despite these missteps, Lee recognized Hill as an outstanding combat commander. On September 13, 1862, with only 5,000 men, he delayed the advance of Gen. George B. McClellan's 80,000 men at South Mountain for four hours. This stand enabled Lee to concentrate his scattered forces behind Antietam Creek. On September 17 he was also conspicuously engaged at the bloody Battle of Antietam, holding his position at the famous Sunken Road against superior numbers. However, when Lee reorganized the Army of Northern Virginia the following October, he chose not to recommend Hill for promotion to lieutenant general. Ill and feeling unappreciated, he threatened to resign his commission outright but was dissuaded by Stonewall Jackson to remain. By February 1863, Hill was back commanding the defenses of North Carolina, but Lee summoned him to Virginia during the Gettysburg campaign. Hill became entrusted with the defenses of Richmond, the Confederate capital, and he easily threw back a major Union attack. His good performance did not go unnoticed by Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**, who nominated him to lieutenant general and transferred him to the western theater as a corps commander.

As part of the Army of Tennessee, Hill became subordinated to Gen. **Braxton Bragg**, an officer equally renowned for his bad disposition. On September 19, 1863, Hill fought conspicuously in the bloody Confederate victory at Chickamauga, contributing to the success of Southern arms. However, as always, Hill was impolitic in criticizing his superior's leadership. Furthermore, he joined several other generals in a petition to have Bragg removed as commander. Bragg was infuriated

by Hill's insubordination, and he pleaded with his good friend, President Davis, to have him removed. In the end both men were reassigned, with Bragg becoming Davis's military adviser and Hill stranded without a command. Worse, a vindictive Davis deliberately withheld Hill's nomination as lieutenant general to the Confederate Congress for approval. For nearly a year, Hill served as a voluntary aide to Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard at Petersburg, Virginia. In the spring of 1865 he was finally granted command of a division in Johnston's army and fought valiantly at the Battle of Bentonville, North Carolina (March 19–21). He surrendered with Johnston at Durham Station the following April.

Hill returned to Charlotte after the war and resumed his teaching activities. However, he became well known throughout the South as the editor of a monthly magazine, *The Land We Love*, and a weekly newspaper, *Southern Home*, which strove to vindicate the Confederate cause. Hill also remained one of few Confederate commanders willing to criticize Lee, now enshrined as a sectional hero, for his wartime leadership. In 1877, he moved to Fayetteville, Arkansas, to serve as president of the Arkansas Industrial University (now the University of Arkansas). Fighting poor health, he transferred to the Middle Georgia Military and Agricultural College (present-day Milledgeville College) to serve as president in 1885. He was regarded as an excellent instructor and administrator; he was also active in Confederate veterans' affairs by composing many essays on Civil War history—usually defending his own actions. By the time Hill died at Charlotte on September 24, 1889, he was regarded as one of the South's foremost educators. He was also one of the best divisional commanders of the Confederacy, a talented leader whose advancement was compromised by tactless demeanor.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Davis, Jefferson; Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Hindenburg, Paul Ludwig von

(October 2, 1847–August 2, 1934)

German Staff Officer

The imperturbably calm and close-cropped Hindenburg was the epitome of Prussian military professionalism, an exacting combination of duty, hard work, and overall sagacity. In concert with **Erich von Ludendorff**, he directed Germany's war effort during the second half of World War I. His policies virtually guaranteed U.S. intervention on behalf of the allies, but he gambled on winning a decisive victory before American troops arrived.

Paul Ludwig Hans Anton von Beckendorff von Hindenburg was born in Posen, Prussia, on October 2, 1847, part of an ancient Junkers family whose roots date back to the Middle Ages. Given the circumstances of his birth and caste, the young man was preordained for



Paul Ludwig von Hindenburg
Bettmann/Corbis

military service to the Prussian state. He joined the army as a cadet in 1858, served with distinction as a company officer in the Austro-Prussian War (1866), and received the prestigious Iron Cross for bravery during the Franco-Prussian War (1870). Afterward, Hindenburg embarked on the career of a typical German staff officer. Having attended the General Staff College (*Kriegsakademie*) in 1872–1875, he fulfilled a number of staff and line assignments, rising to major general in 1897 and lieutenant general in 1900. At no time was Hindenburg considered a particularly brilliant or imaginative officer, but he was capable, even-tempered, and totally dedicated to his work. Neither was he particularly diplomatic in his relations with

superiors. During the 1909 war games, his forces “defeated” troops commanded by the thin-skinned Kaiser Wilhelm II, something the latter took as a personal insult. Upon further reflection, Hindenburg concluded that this slight effectively ended his military career, and in January 1911 he retired to be a private citizen.

The onset of World War I ended Hindenburg’s lifelong obscurity when he was summarily recalled from retirement. In August 1914, East Prussia was being invaded by two large Russian armies, and he hastily assumed command of German forces opposing them. He was seconded by a brilliant and rash staff officer, Erich von Ludendorff. Their two minds, so divergent yet so complementary, worked in tandem to forge a powerful strategic combination. In short order they smashed the invaders at the Battles of Tannenburg and the Masurian Lakes (August–September 1914), and Hindenburg received a promotion to field marshal. He thus became the most popular man in Germany and remained highly esteemed for the rest of the war. In the spring of 1915 a succession of new victories drove Russian armies almost completely out of Poland, and Hindenburg requested additional troops to attack and knock the czarist state out of the war. But at this critical juncture, German war planning became ensnared by conflicting strategic priorities. The chief of staff, Erich von Falkenhayn, insisted on winning the war in the West, and he co-opted several of Hindenburg’s divisions to fight in the senseless slaughter at Verdun. After that effort failed, British forces counterattacked along the Somme while Russia mounted a new offensive in Galicia, and it became clear that German military leadership had not surmounted the strategic dilemma of a two-front war. Therefore, in August 1916 Falkenhayn stepped down and Hindenburg was appointed chief of staff. Assisted by Ludendorff, Hindenburg resolved to end the war in the east before finishing it off in the west.

Given his astronomical popularity, and the reluctance of the kaiser or the chancellor to

question him, Hindenburg ruled Germany like a virtual dictator. Accordingly, he ordered defensive positions held in the west for the meantime. This entailed constructing a huge series of fortifications that the British christened the “Hindenburg Line” and that helped bloodily defeat several Allied offensives. He also waged unrelenting war against Russia, now teetering on the brink of collapse, which finally occurred following the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. Russia’s fall now freed half a million German troops for service on the Western Front. But Hindenburg’s most fateful decision came at sea. Convinced that a six-month naval blockade by U-boats would bring England to its knees, in January 1917 he authorized the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare against neutral powers. Thenceforth, any vessel plying the ocean was subject to attack—even those of the United States. Hindenburg realized from the onset that this virtually ensured American entry into the war at the behest of England, but it was a calculated risk. The United States did, in fact, declare war in April 1917. Hindenburg and Ludendorff, however, were smug in their conviction that Germany would defeat the Allies long before America mobilized its military resources. Victory was thus predicated upon a race against time. It proved a grave miscalculation and, consequently, both men bear responsibility for what transpired next.

In the spring of 1918 German forces, reinforced and specially trained in storm trooper tactics, launched an all-out offensive against the British and French armies. This was a desperate gambit to win the war in a single blow. Initial phases of the plan worked brilliantly and sent Allied forces reeling back for miles. By April German soldiers again stood at the Marne River, the point of their farthest advance in 1914. But history then repeated itself. British and French forces, though battered, never broke, and they slowed and eventually stopped Ludendorff’s offensive by June. Germany thus assumed a defensive posture, just as millions of American soldiers, enthusiastic but inexperienced, landed

in France. That August, Gen. John J. Pershing launched the first American offensive of the war by easing Gen. **Max von Gallwitz** out of the St. Mihiel Salient in August. This was followed up by an all-out offensive along the Western Front, and German forces, bled white by earlier fighting, could not stem the tide. American troops fought with distinction in the Meuse-Argonne offensive of September, and this influx of new manpower proved decisive. By November it became Hindenburg's melancholy task to inform the kaiser that the war was lost and that he must abdicate. For the rest of 1918 he also orchestrated the return of German forces home and their demobilization. The fact that the war ended before Germany was invaded, and that Germany's armies were still intact, gave rise to a legacy of political betrayal. This perception came to haunt the newly-created Weimar Republic.

Defeat did little to dim national veneration of Hindenburg. After living in retirement for seven years, the trusty old general was elected president of the Weimar Republic in 1925. It was an odd turn of events for Hindenburg, a staunch monarchist who despised democracies. However, he was a calm, reassuring figure in swirling seas of change and served his nation as he always had—with dignity, bearing, and devotion. The 85-year-old general subsequently won a second term in 1932 by defeating **Adolf Hitler**. However, owing to economic chaos caused by the Great Depression of 1929, the German polity paid increasing attention to the upstart Nazi leader, and eventually Hindenburg was maneuvered into appointing Hitler chancellor in January 1933. He thoroughly detested Hitler, a common Austrian, but felt too enfeebled to

oppose him. Hindenburg died in Potsdam on March 21, 1933, a fine military strategist but unable to surmount Germany's difficulties in a two-front war. Nonetheless, by virtue of personal dignity and strength of character, he remains Germany's most renowned hero of World War I.

See also

Gallwitz, Max von; Hitler, Adolf; Ludendorff, Erich von

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Hindman, Thomas Carmichael

(January 28, 1828–September 27, 1868)

Confederate General

The fiery, diminutive Hindman was an effective Confederate leader of the Trans-Mississippi West. Strutting and dictatorial by nature, he made scores of political enemies and was ultimately cut down by an assassin's bullet.

Thomas Carmichael Hindman was born in Nashville, Tennessee, on January 28, 1828. His father, a federal Indian agent, subsequently relocated to Ripley, Mississippi, where he operated a large plantation. Hindman was educated at private schools near Princeton, New Jersey, and he returned home just as the war with Mexico erupted in 1846. Although only 18 years old, he was attracted to military service and helped raise an infantry company as part of the Second Mississippi Regiment. Hindman served as a captain for several months without seeing combat and returned home in 1848 to study law. He gained admission to the bar in 1851 and shortly after developed an appetite for politics. Hindman campaigned vigorously on behalf of **Jefferson Davis's** gubernatorial candidacy, displaying genuine talent as a rabble-rousing orator. Two years later he parleyed this ability into politics, gaining election to the Mississippi state legislature.

In 1856, Hindman moved to Helena, Arkansas, to practice law. A newcomer in the political arena, his ambitions were blocked by the old political establishment, which resented this upstart outsider. The fact that



Thomas Carmichael Hindman
National Archives

Hindman, barely five feet tall, overcompensated for his shortness with an aggressive, overbearing demeanor won him few friends. However, he was a first-class orator and unafraid of political rows, and in 1858 Hindman was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat. He thus became identified with the radical secessionist faction of the party, which demanded Southern rights and the expansion of slavery. Throughout the pivotal presidential election of 1860, he also championed the cause of **John Cabell Breckinridge**, who carried the state but lost the election.

Following the secession of South Carolina from the Union in December 1860, Hindman strongly agitated for Arkansas to do likewise. The final break transpired following the Confederate attack upon Fort Sumter in April 1861, and Hindman set about raising the Second Arkansas Infantry at his own expense with himself as colonel. His subsequent rise up the Confederate command hierarchy was surprisingly rapid.

Hindman's energy, previous military experience, and forceful personality culminated in his promotion to brigadier general on September 28, 1861. He was serving under Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston in Mississippi when the rank of major general was conferred on him in April 1862. Soon after, Hindman fought well in the bloody Battle of Shiloh under Gen. William J. Hardee and was wounded in fight-

ing around the Hornet's Nest. He then transferred back to Arkansas as commander of the newly created Trans-Mississippi Department in May 1862. He proved instrumental in transforming Arkansas from a military backwater to a garrison state, bringing in arms, recruiting troops, and ultimately raising 18,000 soldiers almost from scratch. However, Hindman was tactless and dictatorial in his dealings with the public. No respecter of constitutionality, he instituted conscription and martial law to achieve his desired ends. The state was consequently well prepared to repel a Union invasion under Gen. Samuel Curtis that fall, but incessant complaints about Hindman resulted in his replacement by Gen. Theophilus H. Holmes. Holmes diplomatically kept most of Hindman's reforms in place and allowed him to perform military functions. On December 7, 1862, he marched 10,000 men to Prairie Grove in the northwestern corner of the state, did battle with a similar-sized Union force, and was repulsed. Thereafter, he requested a transfer out of Arkansas and back to the Army of Tennessee.

Hindman was transferred, but for many months he idled without a command. His most notable service was in heading a court of inquiry investigating the behavior of Gen. **Mansfield Lovell** at New Orleans. In July 1863, Hindman was finally transferred to the Corps of Gen. Leonidas Polk at Chattanooga. On September 11, 1863, Hindman fought well and was seriously wounded at the bloody Confederate victory of Chickamauga, but Gen. **Braxton Bragg** relieved him for failing to attack as ordered. Bragg was in turn replaced by **Joseph E. Johnston**, and Hindman still remained without an active command. In January 1864, he further compromised his reputation by supporting Gen. **Patrick R. Cleburne's** suggestion that African American slaves be emancipated to fight for the South. This idea sent shudders

through the Confederate high command, was roundly condemned by Jefferson Davis, and did little to enhance Hindman's standing with the government. He subsequently participated in the opening phases of the Atlanta campaign against Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, but an eye injury again necessitated his removal from command. He spent the final months of the war at home in Helena, Arkansas.

After the war Hindman and other Confederate veterans left the United States and settled in Mexico to grow coffee. He returned to Arkansas in 1867, resumed his legal practice, and resurrected his interest in politics. A committed Democrat, he was an outspoken critic of the postwar Republican administration and actively opposed the politics of Reconstruction. On September 27, 1868, Hindman was assassinated in his home, probably for political reasons. The murder was never solved.

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Johnston, Joseph E.

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Hitler, Adolf

(April 20, 1889–April 30, 1945)

German Dictator

Hitler was a charismatic, forceful leader who led Germany down the path to bloody ruin. In a failed bid for world conquest, his Third Reich overran most of Europe and North Africa, but at a terrible price to humanity. For many survivors of World War II, Hitler remains the personification of evil.

Adolf Hitler was born in Brannau, Austria, on April 20, 1889, the son of a customs clerk. Indifferent and sullen as a student, he dropped out of high school to work as an aspiring artist, but he failed to enter the prestigious Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. The onset of World War I finally gave him an outlet for venting his anger, and he enlisted in the 16th Bavarian Infantry. For four years Hitler performed the dangerous work of messenger, and he received four decorations for bravery, including the prestigious Iron Cross. At one point he was seriously injured in a gas attack and spent several months recuperating. Hitler finally mustered out of the German army in 1919 with the rank of corporal.

As a consequence of losing the war, Germany accepted the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which imposed harsh economic penalties. This resulted in economic dislocation and social distress for the German people, along with lingering resentment toward the democratic Weimar Republic. Like many disenfranchised army veterans, Hitler found solace in the ranks of the German Workers Party,



Adolf Hitler
Bettmann/Corbis

which he later expanded into the National Socialist German Workers Party—the Nazis. Hitler finally found his calling as a fiery, right-wing demagogue, intent upon usurping the German nation for his own evil ends. On the evening of November 8, 1923, his thugs attempted to overthrow the Bavarian government during the famous beer-hall putsch, which was crushed by the police. Hitler was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment at Landsberg Prison. He served only nine months before being paroled, using this

interval to outline his political beliefs in a work entitled *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). This book outlined his virulent anti-Semitism, along with Germany's dire need for *lebensraum*, or "living space." The book was often ridiculed by observers, who found its logic confused and disjointed—but its warning was overlooked. Racial hatred had found a powerful, eloquent spokesman in the guise of Adolf Hitler.

After prison, Hitler acquired a degree of political respectability, and he henceforth resolved to subvert the government by working within the system. His soaring rhetoric and appeals to national fervor, combined with economic unrest, led to increasing Nazi representation in the Reichstag (the German parliament). Hitler's quest for political dominance was abetted following the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, and Germans began turning to him for leadership during this national

crisis. By 1932, the Nazis crossed a major political threshold when they became the majority party in government. Hitler's promise of jobs, security, and—above all—a resurgent nation resonated strongly with the electorate, and in 1933 aging President **Paul von Hindenburg** felt obliged to appoint him chancellor. When Hindenburg died the following year, Hitler succeeded him to power. More ominously, by deftly combining the offices of president and chancellor, he became the undisputed führer (leader) of the German nation.

Once empowered, Hitler suspended civil rights (then constitutionally legal) and took steps to invigorate the moribund German economy. On the evening of June 30, 1934, he further consolidated power by ordering SS commander **Josef Dietrich** to liquidate Hitler's opponents within the Nazi Party. He also scuttled the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and embarked upon a vigorous national rearmament. As a supreme commander, Hitler was versed in the basic nuances of military history and exhibited a keen grasp of emerging military technology such as tanks and aircraft. Both those weapons, once combined to work in tandem, formed the basis of the famous blitzkrieg tactics of World War II. Their procurement became a priority issue within the industrial sector, as well as major factors in Germany's military might. Fortunately for the Allies, Hitler neglected the acquisition of submarines and heavy bombers, both of which would play major roles in the coming world war.

As Germany grew stronger, Hitler acted more boldly on the international stage. He also began routinely ignoring his military advisers, whose perceived timidity he dismissed with open contempt. Hitler seized control of military authority in 1938; thus new senior staff appointments like **Wilhelm Keitel** and **Alfred Jodl** reflected the need for obedience, not advice. In 1936, Hitler ordered his troops to occupy the Rhineland, previously occupied by France, and restored it to Germany. The lack of a concerted response from the West emboldened him further, and in 1938 he ordered the annexation of Austria. France and

Britain continued vacillating over how to respond. At the Munich Conference of September that same year, the Führer bullied the Western powers into allowing him to annex the Sudetenland (an area of western Czechoslovakia inhabited by ethnic-speaking Germans). Afterward, he decided to seize the entire country, with all its highly advanced technology and munitions factories. By now France and England realized Hitler had territorial ambitions on most of Europe, and they finally cemented an alliance. But in 1939 Hitler stunned them—and the world—by announcing a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union's Josef Stalin, which ensured the security of his eastern border. The lack of political resolve by Western powers thus far only stoked Hitler's thirst for bloodless expansion. By 1939, he felt ready to make additional conquests by force.

In September 1939, German forces unleashed their blitzkrieg war against Poland, overrunning it within weeks. Stalin also bit off the eastern part of that hapless country for his own empire. France and England finally declared war on Germany, but for nearly a year they took no offensive action. Hitler capitalized on this lethargy to move his armies, flush with victory, against them. By June 1940, France had been overrun in a blitzkrieg campaign, and British forces were run off the continent at Dunkirk. Fortunately, owing to the ineptitude of *Reichsmarschall* **Hermann Göring**, the once-mighty Luftwaffe was defeated in the skies over England. Losing the Battle of Britain led to the cancellation of Hitler's invasion plans, and he focused his attention on other parts of Europe. The strategic British Isles subsequently functioned as the "unsinkable aircraft carrier" for attacks against Germany, as well as a springboard for the planned Allied invasion of Europe. It was the first of Hitler's many strategic blunders, but given Hitler's aura of military infallibility, the German general staff dared not question his judgment.

Throughout the spring of 1941, Hitler's legions conquered Greece and Yugoslavia with

little difficulty. When the Italian forces of **Benito Mussolini** were defeated by the British in North Africa, Gen. **Erwin Rommel** was dispatched with the nucleus of what became the famous Afrika Korps. But in June 1941 Hitler committed his biggest military blunder of the war. Against the advice of his senior military advisers, he gambled everything on an invasion of the Soviet Union. This became a colossal struggle, waged along a 1,000-mile front, that consumed the lives of tens of millions of soldiers and civilians. Initial Russian losses were staggering; the vaunted Red Army yielded territory but never broke. When Hitler refused to allow his forces to fall back and consolidate for the winter, Russian divisions staged a surprise offensive outside Moscow, sweeping the invaders back 100 miles. This was the first serious defeat sustained by the Wehrmacht, and the veneer of German invincibility had acquired its first cracks. Hitler was so enraged by this reversal that he sacked all of his most experienced commanders and appointed newer, more compliant ones. By usurping control of the strategy-making process, thereafter he directed the war effort personally.

Shortly after, Hitler made another blunder with unforeseen military consequences. In December 1941, Japanese air units attacked the U.S. Navy installation at Pearl Harbor, dragging the previously neutral United States into the fray. Hitler then congratulated Japan on its subsequent conquests and casually declared war on America. Germany was now at war with the world. And as a sign of growing detachment from reality, he began turning more to astrology than military advice when making major decisions.

In addition to waging a war of overaggression, Hitler also carried out threats he first espoused in *Mein Kampf*. Having embraced the notion of a racially pure (Aryan) nation, the Führer turned his hatred of Jews into a policy of mass extermination. His specially trained political army, the dreaded SS (*Schutzstaffeln*, or protection squads), commenced

operating death camps through Eastern Europe. Jews, gypsies, and dissenting Christians were all deported from occupied countries, used as forced labor, and then murdered en masse in gas chambers. An estimated 6 million Jews and 7 million Christians, whom the Nazis regarded as either subhuman or simply undesirable, perished as a result of Germany's final solution. This deed, reviled in history as the Holocaust, is universally acknowledged as among the blackest events ever recorded. Man's inhumanity toward man was never pursued with more vigor, single-minded determination, and clinical detachment. It was a monstrous manifestation of hatred and genocide.

The Third Reich's days were numbered. Commencing in late 1942, Allied forces under Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower landed in North Africa, and within six months they forced the surrender of German forces under **Hans-Jürgen Arnim**. Another large Germany army also perished in the snows of Stalingrad as the Russian steamroller continued gaining strength. The following year witnessed the invasion and collapse of Italy, and a major Soviet victory at Kursk enabled the Red Army to assume the offensive. In June 1944, combined British and American forces under Gen. Omar N. Bradley successfully stormed the beaches of Normandy, and Russian forces destroyed more than 100 German divisions at the Battle of Korsun. Overhead, fleets of heavy bombers under Gens. Ira C. Eaker, Carl A. Spaatz, and James H. Doolittle were pounding German industry and cities into ashes. Nazi Germany began buckling under the assault, and on July 20, 1944, dissident elements within the army hatched a bomb plot against Hitler to spare the nation further agony. It failed—and resulted in the deaths of hundreds of military officers, including General Rommel. But Hitler's empire was collapsing around him, and he embarked on a desperate ploy to stave off defeat. He authorized the development of numerous superweapons such as jet fighters, pilotless bombs, and guided missiles. This arsenal represented new technology that was years ahead

of contemporaries, but it arrived too late and in too little quantity to affect events.

In December 1944, Hitler gambled his last reserves in a spectacular but futile bid to defeat Allied ground forces in the Ardennes region. The ensuing Battle of the Bulge cost Germany 100,000 casualties plus hundreds of tanks and other equipment that could not be replaced. By April 1945, a vengeful Red Army had all but surrounded Berlin, and Hitler was a captive in his bunker. He had repeatedly declared that Germany was prepared to fight "until five past midnight," but on April 30 the maniacal dictator and his lifelong mistress, Eva Braun, committed suicide. He was replaced by Adm. **Karl Dönitz**, who finally signed articles of capitulation with the Allies. Thus Hitler's vaunted Third Reich, which the Nazis boasted would last a millennium, collapsed in ruins after only 12 years.

See also

Arnim, Hans-Jürgen; Dietrich, Josef; Dönitz, Karl; Göring, Hermann; Hindenburg, Paul von; Jodl, Al-

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Hoke, Robert Frederick

(May 27, 1837–July 3, 1912)

Confederate General

At 27, the quiet, unpretentious Hoke was the Confederacy's youngest major general. He acquired a sterling military reputation until the last year of the war, when he became promoted beyond his abilities.

Robert Frederick Hoke was born in Lincoln, North Carolina, on May 27, 1837, the son of a politician. Hoke was only 17 and attending the Kentucky Military Institute when his father died, prompting him to quit school and return home to run the family's cotton mill and iron

founndry. In May 1861, North Carolina seceded from the Union, and he joined Col. **Daniel Harvey Hill's** First North Carolina Infantry as a second lieutenant. In this capacity he accompanied Hill to Virginia and was present at the June 10, 1861, victory at Big Bethel, one of the Civil War's first major actions. Hoke distinguished himself, according to Hill, by his coolness, judgment, and efficiency. He continued rising through the ranks and by the spring of 1862 returned home as a lieutenant colonel in

the 33rd North Carolina. On March 14, 1862, Hoke fought conspicuously at the defeat of New Bern, North Carolina, and was the only officer to acquire any distinction. His regiment then shuttled back to Virginia as part of Gen. **Robert E. Lee's** forces. Hoke fought aggressively through the Peninsula campaign against Gen. George B. McClellan, and at Glendale on June 30, 1862, his men captured a federal battery. He performed similar work at Second Manassas that summer and at Antietam in the fall, winning high praise. Hoke was rewarded with a promotion to colonel of the 21st North Carolina Infantry, then part of Gen. Jubal A. Early's division. On December 13, 1862, he rendered extremely useful service at the climactic Battle of Fredericksburg, when, commanding the entire brigade of Gen. Isaac R. Trimble, he repulsed Union troops under Gen. George G. Meade and sealed off a break in the Confederate line. Pursuing vigorously, the surging North Carolinians went on to capture 300 additional prisoners. In recognition of this fine performance, Hoke became a brigadier general as of January 19, 1863. He was then but 26 years old.

In the spring of 1863 Hoke returned home for the express and unsavory task of rounding up deserters in the North Carolina backcountry and the suppression of banditry. He subsequently fought well in the opening phases of the Chancellorsville campaign and was severely wounded in the arm. Hoke consequently missed Gettysburg, although his brigade was present and fought well. Returning to North Carolina to convalesce, Hoke performed recruiting duty while also directing statewide sweeps for deserters and other undesirables. In January 1864, he joined a force under Gen. George E. Pickett that had been detailed for the reduction of New Bern, still in Union hands. Pickett's attacks failed, but several weeks later Hoke received permission to commence operations against another coastal garrison at Plymouth, on the southern bank of the Roanoke River. Backed by the mighty ironclad ram *Albatross*, Hoke forced Gen. Henry W. Wessels to surrender on April 21, 1864, with nearly 3,000 prisoners. It

was a startling victory for such a young soldier, and Hoke received the thanks of the Confederate Congress. President **Jefferson Davis** also personally authorized his promotion to major general, the South's youngest.

Hoke enjoyed a sterling reputation as a regimental-grade officer and a brigadier general, and the Army of Northern Virginia entertained high hopes for his future performance at the head of a division. He fought well enough under Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard at Bermuda Hundred (May 10, 1864) and helped bottle up the army of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. Unfortunately, the young leader's talents seemed to have been stretched to the limit with increasing amounts of troops and responsibilities. In a succession of battles from Drewry's Bluff to Cold Harbor, his attacks lacked their usual dash and decisive effect. More serious, Hoke seemed incapable of coordinating his efforts with those of other commanders. During the siege of Petersburg on June 24, 1864, he launched a mistimed attack that recoiled with great loss. Three months later, Hoke unsuccessfully tried three times to recapture Fort Harrison away from federal troops. By December 1864, his division had been pulled out of line and sent home. There Hoke joined up with Gen. **Braxton Bragg** for the defense of Fort Fisher, a massive fortification guarding the entrance to Wilmington, North Carolina. When Union forces finally stormed the works, Bragg prevented him from launching attacks that may have recaptured it. Hoke last saw combat as part of **Joseph E. Johnston's** army at the Battle of Bentonville (March 19–21, 1865). There Confederate forces failed to stop the advance of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, and Hoke surrendered with Johnston the following month.

Despite his justly won celebrity, Hoke lived modestly and quietly during the postwar era. He overcame poverty and dislocation to run several iron mines, and he also functioned as the director of the North Carolina Railroad. The dashing, capable Hoke died in obscurity at Raleigh on July 3, 1912, not perfect but cer-

tainly one of the better Confederate leaders of his grade. His memory was perpetuated by the creation of Hoke County, North Carolina, in 1911.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Davis, Jefferson; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Homma, Masaharu

(November 27, 1888–April 3, 1946)

Japanese General

The cultured, intellectual Homma was the most Westernized senior Japanese leader of World War II. He conquered the Philippines in 1942, although he had been assigned insufficient forces in an attempt to disgrace him. After the war Homma gained lasting infamy as the officer held responsible—guilty or not—for the Bataan Death March.

Masaharu Homma was born in Niagata prefecture on November 27, 1888, the son of an affluent landowner. After graduating from the Imperial Military Academy in 1907, he served competently for several years as a line officer. In 1915, Homma was selected to pass through the Army Staff College and, being fluent in English, subsequently joined the British Expeditionary Force three years later as an observer. By 1922, he had risen to major and gained an appointment as a resident officer in British India. Homma advanced to lieutenant colonel

in 1926 and taught several years at the Army Staff College as an authority on English and American armed forces. Despite his reputation for being decisively Western-oriented, he fulfilled all his assignments with distinction, and in 1927 he became a military aide to Prince Chichibu, younger brother of Emperor Hirohito.

By 1930, Homma was a full colonel and Japanese military attaché in London. In this capacity he accompanied the Japanese delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1932, convened in the hopes of averting large-scale warfare between nations. Thereafter, he was billeted as chief of the press section with the Army Ministry, a regimental commander, and a major general. He received his first combat command in 1938 as head of an infantry division during the Sino-Japanese War. This came about despite his denunciation of the conflict and secret at-

tempts at negotiating peace. In his final pre-war assignment, Homma directed the blockade of foreign concessions at Tientsin and negotiated with British authorities throughout 1939.

Homma's extremely Western sympathies and outlook caused him to be viewed suspiciously by the government of Prime Minister **Hideki Tojo**. Therefore, when Japan declared war on the Western powers in December 1941—a stance that Homma opposed as suicidal—he was appointed commander of the 14th Army based on Formosa (present-day Taiwan). This consisted of the 16th and 48th Divisions totaling 50,000 men. Homma was then tasked with the conquest of the Philippine Islands, defended by 23,000 U.S. soldiers and 107,000 poorly trained and equipped men of the regular Philippine army. The general clearly lacked sufficient resources for an early knockout blow, yet the Imperial High Command granted him only 50 days to secure his objective—an impossible task. Clearly the militarists were intent upon disgracing him for his views. The campaign commenced with a surprise attack on American airfields on December 8, 1941, and Homma landed the bulk of his forces on northern Luzon three weeks later. As Japanese forces began a relentless drive toward Manila, the American commander, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, failed to stop their advance. He then declared Manila an open city and—rather than surrender—withdrew in good order to the mountainous Bataan Peninsula. This was a move that the High Command had not anticipated.

Homma had seized Manila in only 22 days as ordered, but its capture did not signal the end of hostilities. The bulk of American and Filipino forces were still intact and strongly entrenched at Bataan. Worse, Homma's best division, the 48th, was subsequently siphoned off to assist in the conquest of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). Throughout the months of January and February 1942, the remaining Japanese forces threw themselves savagely upon MacArthur's lines, suffering heavy

losses and making few gains. Homma then suspended the attack without orders—unprecedented for a Japanese officer—to allow his tired men to rest and regroup. He also realized that MacArthur's men were low on supplies and being ravaged by disease. Time was certainly on his side, but Tojo and the High Command castigated him for what they considered timidity in the face of the enemy. Homma was also upstaged by the lightning victory of Gen. **Tomoyuki Yamashita** at Singapore, and his failure before Bataan became a source of national embarrassment. To numerous enemies in Tokyo, it also afforded ample proof of incompetence. But the High Command grudgingly acquiesced to the general's call for reinforcements. They sent him the 65th Brigade, a small force consisting entirely of elderly veterans, and insisted he resume the campaign.

On April 3, 1942, Homma recommenced his attack upon MacArthur's defenses, now decimated by hunger and disease. Several breakthroughs were scored, and the entire American position was on the verge of collapse. MacArthur was evacuated to Australia by boat, and on April 9, 1942, Gen. Edward P. King surrendered all American forces on Bataan. Homma had triumphed at last, but there still remained the heavily fortified island of Corregidor in Manila Bay. The Japanese had little recourse but to bring up heavy siege guns and commenced a month-long bombardment. Homma then committed his men to a costly amphibious assault before Gen. Jonathan Wainwright finally surrendered. This act secured the Philippines for Japan, but Homma was four months behind schedule and, hence, disgraced. His tardy conquest became a convenient pretext for removing him, and by August 1942 he was back in Japan on the reserve list.

After the downfall of the Tojo government in 1944, Homma was chosen minister of information in the new government of Kiso Kuniaki. But as a professional soldier, far removed from the front, he still resided in semidisgrace. Worse, and apparently unknown to him, many

junior officers took it upon themselves to brutalize American and Philippine prisoners of war during what became known as the Bataan Death March. Some 60,000 prisoners were rounded up from Bataan and Corregidor and forced to march 90 miles in extreme heat, without food or water, to Camp O'Donnell. Those who could not complete the march were brutally dispatched by bayonet, and an estimated 10,000 men perished. Homma first became apprised of these facts in September 1945, following Japan's surrender, when he was arrested as a war criminal. "Things don't look very good for me," he told his wife. "The case is quite hopeless." During his trial he professed innocence and denied any knowledge of these ghastly proceedings. A military court found him responsible for failing to control his troops and to provide proper treatment for prisoners of war, both serious charges. He received a death sentence, but as scant consolation, Homma was granted the dignity of dying like a soldier, before a firing squad. General MacArthur rather vindictively refused to hear any last-minute appeals, and Homma was executed at Manila on April 3, 1946. The cultured, intelligent Homma, whose hobbies included writing plays and poetry, was officially exonerated of war crimes by the Japanese government in 1952.

Hood, John Bell

(June 1, 1831–August 30, 1879)

Confederate General

Aggressive, impulsive, and hard-hitting, John Bell Hood was one of the Civil War's best divisional leaders, but he proved unsuited for higher command. When he failed to abandon his favorite tactic of frontal assaults, the Army of Tennessee suffered heavy losses and was destroyed.

Hood was born in Owingsville, Kentucky, on June 1, 1831, and in 1849 he gained admit-

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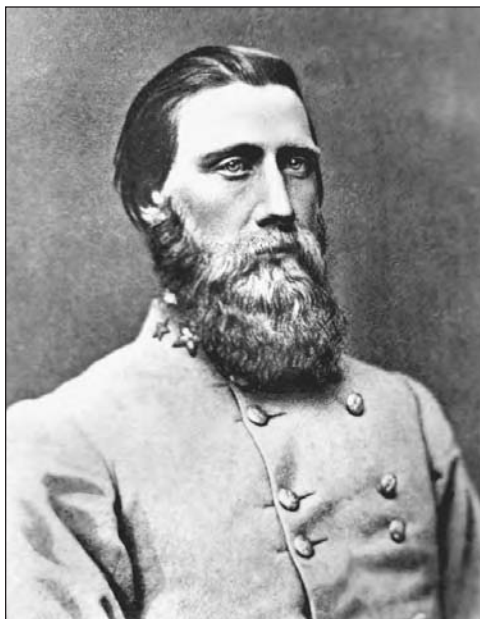
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tance to the U.S. Military Academy. A mediocre student, he was commissioned a second lieutenant with the Fourth U.S. Infantry in 1853 and spent several months policing the California frontier. Two years later, Hood transferred to the newly raised Second U.S. Cavalry in Texas. He distinguished himself in several skirmishes against the Comanche Indians, winning praise from his su-

perior officers, Albert S. Johnston and **Robert E. Lee**. Unlike many contemporaries, Hood showed no hesitation about resigning his commission in April 1861 and offering to take up arms for the South. However, when his native state of Kentucky opted for neutrality, he entered the Confederate service from Texas.

Hood spent the first few months of the war as a cavalry instructor in Yorktown, Virginia, where he won praise as a disciplinarian. In October 1861, he became a colonel of the Fourth Texas Infantry, and the following February he gained promotion to brigadier general. His command was a newly raised formation, the Texas Brigade, composed entirely of troops from that state. By setting a personal example, ruling with an iron hand, and carefully explaining to his rowdy recruits the necessity for order and discipline, he transformed them from an armed mob into the shock troops of the Confederacy. In four years of combat, the Texas Brigade became renowned for gallant conduct—and atrocious casualty lists.

Hood fought with distinction throughout the 1862 Peninsula campaign and acquired a well-deserved reputation as a “fighting general.” At Gaines Mills on June 27, he led a frontal assault that crashed through Union lines and took several cannons. It was a simple, brutal affair, but Lee considered it the most courageous attack he had ever witnessed. The Texans subsequently distinguished themselves at Second Manassas in August and were successful in holding off two Union corps at Antietam that September, although they were nearly annihilated in the process. Consequently, Hood ad-



John Bell Hood
Library of Congress

vanced to major general in October 1862 and was assigned a division in Gen. **James Longstreet**'s corps. He fought well on the second day of Gettysburg, July 2, 1863, but suffered crippling wounds to his left arm. After several weeks of rehabilitation, Hood transferred with Longstreet to Gen. **Braxton Bragg**'s Army of Tennessee, where he led a successful charge at Chickamauga on September 20 and lost his right leg. Thereafter, the aggressive Kentuckian had to be strapped to his saddle while in the field, but in February 1864 Hood acquired a promotion to lieutenant general and gained command of a corps in the army of Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston**. This appointment, however prestigious, proved his undoing.

Hood, a devotee of the assault, did not work well with Johnston, a master of defensive tactics. He criticized his superior for falling back in the face of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's advance on Atlanta and may have helped orchestrate President **Jefferson Davis**'s dismissal of Johnston in July 1864. Disregarding superior Union resources, Hood immediately took to the offensive and was heavily repulsed by Sherman at Peachtree Creek and Ezra Church. This behavior induced Gen. William J. Hardee, one of Hood's best corps commanders, to seek an immediate transfer to another theater. Deft Union maneuvering then forced Hood to abandon Atlanta on September 1, but instead of retreating to the coast, the Army of Tennessee circled left and threatened Union supply lines. When Sherman refused to take the bait and marched to the

sea, Hood advanced northward into Tennessee and against two former West Point classmates. On November 30, 1864, the Confederates confronted the army of Gen. John M. Schofield at Franklin, where Hood characteristically attacked head-on and was repulsed with heavy losses. The Army of Tennessee then sidestepped around Franklin and made for Sherman's major supply depot at Nashville, defended by Gen. George H. Thomas. On December 15–16, 1864, Thomas allowed Hood to squander his strength against entrenched troops before launching a massive flanking action that routed the Confederates. The Army of Tennessee simply dissolved in retreat, and Hood was relieved of command at his own request in January 1865. He finally surrendered in Natchez, Mississippi, that May.

After the war, Hood retired to New Orleans, where he failed at several business ventures and lived in poverty. He also penned a vitriolic set of memoirs in which Bragg and Johnston were blamed for the disasters in the west while his own role was downplayed. His recollections were published posthumously after Hood died during a yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans on August 30, 1879.

Howe, Richard

(March 19, 1726–August 5, 1799)

English Admiral

“**B**lack Dick” Howe was among the most accomplished British naval officers of the eighteenth century, the first to receive the prestigious Order of the Garter. He rendered brief, if useful, naval service during the American Revolution, but he is best remembered for his attempts at peaceful reconciliation.

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Richard Howe was born in London, the scion of a landed family and elder brother of **William Howe**. In 1740, at age 14, he joined the Royal Navy and was assigned to HMS *Severn* under Adm. George Anson. Howe accompanied Anson on his attempted circumnavigation of the globe that year and returned to England after storms damaged his ship while

rounding Cape Horn, Africa. Despite his youth he proved adept as a sailor, and in 1745 he advanced to lieutenant. In 1747, while commanding the sloop HMS *Baltimore*, he daringly engaged two larger French privateers, was severely wounded, and won a promotion to captain at the age of 21. A succession of commands followed, along with useful service in the West Indies and Mediterranean. By 1755, he commanded the ship-of-the-line HMS *Dunkirk*, with 60 guns, and captured the French warship *Alcide* in the first naval action of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

He next served under Adm. Edward Hawke at the Battle of Quiberon Bay, November 20, 1759, and gained distinction by commanding the lead vessel. At this time he learned of the fate of his eldest brother, George Howe, who died during the bloody repulse at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), New York. The colony of Massachusetts subsequently erected a monument to his memory at Westminster Abbey in London, a gesture that indelibly impressed the younger brother. George's death also made Richard next in line for the family title, so he became Viscount Howe and nominal head of the family.

Despite his commanding presence, Howe was an intensely taciturn, quiet man who did not suffer fools gladly. During the 1758 raid against St. Malo on the French coast, he came to despise the army commander, George Sackville (later **George Germain**), and the two remained estranged for life. He was also a strict disciplinarian with his crews, but he was also extremely fair and a popular figure below the decks. The men christened him "Black Dick" on account of his swarthy complexion and would willingly follow him into



Richard Howe
National Maritime Museum

combat anywhere. Howe gained election to Parliament as a Whig in 1762, rose to serve as a member of the admiralty board in 1763, and two years later became treasurer of the navy. He became a rear admiral in 1770, a vice admiral in 1775, and was widely regarded as one of the Royal Navy's rising figures.

True to his Whiggish inclinations, Howe evinced great sympathy toward the colonies during the political unrest that preceded the American Revolution. In 1774, he was introduced to Benjamin Franklin at his sister's

house and tried secretly negotiating a political reconciliation. Both he and brother William expressed no enthusiasm over the prospect of fighting their fellow Englishmen, but they felt honor-bound to serve the empire as needed. In February 1776, Lord Germain, with the backing of King George III, selected the Howe brothers to serve as commanders in chief of British military and naval forces in America. Moreover, probably at their insistence, they also received authorization to act as peace commissioners. Admiral Howe then shepherded the largest British expeditionary force ever dispatched abroad. He arrived in the summer of 1776 and, after consulting with William, who had all but abandoned the notion of negotiations, sent out peace feelers to Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and George Washington. However, insomuch as the Declaration of Independence had been signed and ratified in July, the brothers resigned themselves to the inevitability of combat. They probably hoped, after a few sharp defeats, that the Americans would come to their senses.

Admiral Howe's first task was to land William's army on Long Island, New York, in order to drive Washington's army from the region. This was accomplished in August 1776, and the resulting Battle of Long Island forced the Americans from the field. At this juncture, a few well-placed warships in the Hudson River would have cut off Washington and trapped him on Long Island, but this was never attempted. Historians have debated ever since whether or not Admiral Howe, by withholding his fleet, was deliberately sparing his adversaries the humiliation of total defeat. When this magnanimous gesture failed to bring about the desired result, Howe afforded naval support during the attack on Manhattan, which resulted in the captures of Fort Washington and Lee. Here Gen. **Henry Clinton** insisted that part of the army be landed at King's Bridge, a natural choke point that would have trapped the fleeing army, but again the Howe brothers relented. This gesture also failed to induce the Americans to sit down at the conference table. Subsequent landings at Throg's Neck and Pell's Point also threatened Washington with destruction, but British forces, having won the field of battle, were strangely lax in their pursuit. Despite these sound thrashings, all attempts at negotiations came to naught, even when the brothers dispatched captured Gen. John Sullivan as an envoy to Congress. General Howe then pursued the Americans deep into New Jersey, while the admiral led a brief expedition to Rhode Island to secure deepwater moorings for the winter. They viewed their endeavors, from a strictly military standpoint, as completely successful.

All winter and well into summer, Howe and his brother planned and prepared an ambitious amphibious assault against Philadelphia. This was a major manufacturing center and the largest English-speaking city outside of London, in addition to being the home of the Continental Congress. In August 1777, Howe transported his brother's army to the mouth of the Elk River, where they landed and marched inland. Philadelphia fell soon afterward, but

their success was mitigated by shocking news of Gen. **John Burgoyne's** surrender at Saratoga, New York, in October. Lord Germain openly blamed the Howe brothers for failing to support Burgoyne from New York and pursuing operations farther south. Both the admiral and the general, fed up with what they considered erratic direction of the war, tendered their resignations. However, the American victory at Saratoga meant that France had now entered the war, and Howe remained behind to direct fleet operations until Adm. James Gambier replaced him. Meanwhile, a large French expeditionary force under Admiral d'Estaing was threatening New York, the major British entrepôt in North America. Howe, though badly outnumbered, boldly threw his ships in a line across Sandy Hook and defied the enemy to attack, which they declined. D'Estaing next attacked and besieged Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1778. Howe sallied forth and, although possessing fewer ships, mounted a direct challenge. Bad weather intervened and forced the opposing fleets to depart, but Howe's action convinced the American forces to relinquish their siege of Newport. Shortly after, Howe tendered his resignation and sailed for England.

Once home, Howe refused to serve longer while the inept Earl of Sandwich remained head of the British Admiralty. King George thereupon offered him the post, but he declined to accept unless Lord Germain retired from the War Department as well. The king dismissed this request as unreasonable, and Howe returned to Parliament as part of the opposition Whigs. However, the fall of Germain's ministry in 1782 led to Howe's appointment as head of the Grand Fleet. In this capacity he conducted a brilliant resupply effort to the closely besieged island of Gibraltar, outmaneuvering various French and Spanish fleets and reaching his objective without combat. This resulted in Howe's promotion to First Lord of the Admiralty, where he remained until 1788. Following the outbreak of war with Revolutionary France in 1793, Howe, by now almost 70, next conducted a

successful action against the Brest Fleet heralded as the Glorious First of June (1794), wherein 26 enemy ships were dismasted. Consequently, George III made him Knight of the Garter, the first naval officer so honored for his exploits. Three years later Howe undertook the hazardous duty of quelling the dangerous mutiny by the Channel Fleet at Spithead. Apparently, “Black Dick” was the only officer that the sailors considered trustworthy, and the trouble subsided. Howe died, probably near Bath, on August 5, 1799. His role as a mediator in the American Revolution was relatively minor—and doomed from the start—but the conviction with which he pursued it was consistent with the man.

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Howe, William

(August 10, 1729–July 12, 1814)

English General

Prior to the American Revolution, “Billy” Howe enjoyed a reputation as one of the finest officers in the British army. He drubbed the Yankees hard on several occasions, but his inability to close and clinch complete victory remains a mystery. Historians have puzzled ever since over his controversial performance: Was he grossly negligent—or simply unwilling to destroy a cause he secretly sympathized with?

William Howe was born in England on August 10, 1729, into a wealthy and politically well-connected family. This background held

him in good stead when, following an excellent education at Eton, he joined the prestigious Duke of Cumberland’s Light Dragoons as a coronet in 1746. Over the next decade Howe proved himself to be an exemplary officer who thoroughly trained and disciplined the men under his command. By 1755, he was lieutenant colonel of the 55th Regiment of Foot and part of the army under Gen. Jeffrey Amherst. Howe participated in the reduction of Louisbourg in July 1758 and, following the death of his brother George Augustus at Ticonderoga, New York, acquired his seat in

Parliament. In 1759, Howe accompanied the army of Gen. James Wolfe during the epic campaign against Quebec. On the night of September 12, 1759, Howe, leading a forlorn troop of 25 men, secretly scaled the heights leading to the Plains of Abraham, thus enabling Wolfe's army to follow. He also distinguished himself in the next day's fighting that witnessed the death of both Wolfe and **Louis-Joseph Montcalm**. Howe's good performance resulted in his gaining command of an infantry brigade under Gen. James Murray, and he directed the advance during the capture of Montreal in 1760. Howe then returned to Europe, where he was conspicuously engaged in the capture of Belle Isle on the coast of Brittany in 1761. The following year he gained additional laurels as adjutant general of British forces during the successful capture of Havana in 1762. Howe ended the Seven Years' War with an enviable reputation—and a seemingly bright future still to come.

In the decade that followed, Howe continued to display his military expertise, particularly with respect to training soldiers. Service in America taught him the value of light infantry suitable for skirmishing, and in 1772 he devised a drill manual especially designed for such troops. King George III was so impressed that he authorized every regiment in the army to raise a light company of its own. In recognition of his contributions, Howe was elevated to major general. This royal patronage was flattering but did not measurably alter Howe's political convictions, which placed him in the opposition Whig party. Like many others, he strongly opposed the imposition of taxes and other coercive acts upon the colonies. In fact, Howe looked favorably upon the colonies ever since Massachusetts constructed a memorial to his slain brother at Westminster Abbey in 1758. When troubles within that colony began escalating toward violence, Howe publicly declared he would never fight against his former comrades in arms. However, after close consultation with the king and Lord **George Germain**, secretary of state for the colonies, he changed his tack and agreed to serve. As a pre-

condition, he and his brother, Adm. **Richard Howe**, were authorized to negotiate a settlement with the rebels.

In May 1775, Howe arrived in Boston with Gens. **John Burgoyne** and **Henry Clinton**. There he reported to Gen. **Thomas Gage**, the commander in chief of British forces. The angry colonials were in no mood to negotiate with Gage, Howe, or anybody else, and when the British seized American military supplies stored at Lexington, fighting erupted. Within weeks, an estimated 15,000 colonial militia surrounded Boston, effectively sealing off Gage's 7,000 soldiers. The British did their best to avoid a confrontation until June, when the militia constructed fortifications atop Charlestown Heights, overlooking the harbor. If artillery was posted there, the British would be cut off from the sea, so Gage felt he had no choice but military action. Accordingly, on June 17, 1775, Howe drew up plans for a frontal assault against prepared colonial positions on Bunker Hill. It seemed reckless, but the British were determined to mount an unmistakable display of military might to intimidate the rebels. The sight of a steady wall of advancing, red-coated infantry was calculated to unnerve the skittish Americans, but to everyone's surprise the rebels blasted back two determined charges. Against orders, both Howe and Clinton then led the final third charge in person, just as the colonial position ammunition supply gave out. Howe's inspired bravery carried the day, but British losses were upward of 1,000 men—nearly half his force. But the colonial militia convincingly demonstrated their resolve to fight, and Howe never again attempted a direct confrontation.

Gage's failure to appease the Americans led to his recall that October, and Howe succeeded him as commander in chief. Boston was then formally invested by colonial forces under Gen. George Washington, and Howe concluded it was futile to defend the city further. On the night of March 17, 1776, he expertly disengaged and removed his army by ship to Halifax. Three months later he landed at Staten Island, New York, in anticipation of

being reinforced by his brother, Admiral Howe. The general had all but abandoned negotiating a peace settlement, but Richard prevailed upon him to persevere. Furthermore, having apprised himself of the rebel defenses, and with the memory of Bunker Hill still painfully fresh, Howe adopted a strategy based on maneuver, not attack. The two brothers then embarked on a controversial campaign to evict the Americans from the New York City region. Commencing on August 2, 1776, 30,000 British were landed on Long Island, where they promptly outflanked and defeated Americans under Gen. Israel Putnam. Washington had no choice but to withdraw to New York City, but Howe's army followed at a discreet distance. Royal Navy units also remained out of the Hudson River and did not interfere. Washington was thus allowed to escape intact, ostensibly to spare him the humiliation of a crushing defeat. This option was clearly within Howe's ability, but he chose to apply military pressure only to secure peace negotiations. Thus a pattern of tactical victory, followed by dilatory pursuit, emerged.

By November the Americans had been forced out of New York entirely, losing more than 2,000 men and vast quantities of supplies, but Howe never contested their withdrawal. The onset of winter convinced him that military operations should be suspended, and his army was deployed in a number of advanced posts throughout New Jersey. Suddenly, on Christmas Eve, 1776, Washington's ragged forces struck back at Trenton and Princeton, defeating the forces of **Johann Rall** and **Charles Cornwallis**. By this swift, brilliant stroke the Americans kept their tottering revolution alive. Howe's reluctance to completely crush the rebel army—in the hopes of promoting peaceful negotiations—finally backfired with devastating effect.

Despite this reversal, Howe was knighted by George III for his recapture of New York City, which remained in British hands until the end of the war. The following spring, both he and his brother conceived ambitious plans for a complex amphibious assault against

Philadelphia, a commercial center and home of the Continental Congress. This was part of an overall offensive British strategy, which also entailed a major invasion from Canada into New York under General Burgoyne. Howe would have done well to support this effort wholeheartedly, but his orders from Germain were discretionary, and he chose to ignore them. On August 25, 1777, the British disembarked at Elk River, Maryland, and pushed inland. Washington attempted to make a stand at Brandywine Creek on September 11, but Howe expertly outflanked him again, inflicting a punishing defeat.

Philadelphia fell on September 26, and the general easily repulsed Washington's counter-attack at Germantown on October 4. The Howe brothers then spent several weeks mopping up along the lower Delaware River, which was successfully cleared at great cost to the Americans. As impressive as this string of victories was, it paled alongside the loss of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in October. That disaster was partially Howe's fault, for he pursued his own objectives instead of coordinating the war effort northward. But Lord Germain, also guilty of issuing vague orders, launched a political tirade against the Howe brothers. Stung by what they considered to be a governmental smear campaign, William and Richard both tendered their resignations. Howe then wintered in Philadelphia amid much extravagance until May 25, 1778, when he turned over command of the army to Henry Clinton and returned to England. He also dispatched Gen. **James Grant** in an attempt to trap forces under the youthful Marquis de Lafayette, but that attempt failed. Whatever his failings as a strategist, "Sir Billy" was an extremely popular officer with the rank and file, and Maj. **John Andre** feted him with an infamously elaborate send-off party, the *Mischianza*.

Once home, Howe demanded a parliamentary investigation that was both heated and inconclusive. Many former subordinates, including Cornwallis and Gen. **Charles Grey**, stepped forward to testify on his behalf. He

also engaged in a fierce war of pamphlets between himself, Burgoyne, and Lord Germain. Howe subsequently spent the next four years in political limbo until the Germain cabinet resigned in the wake of Yorktown in 1782. That year he partially redeemed his military standing by becoming lieutenant general of ordnance. In 1783, Howe advanced again to full general and received several important commands in the wars against revolutionary France. Following his brother's death in 1799, Howe inherited his title as earl. His health had begun declining at this point, so in 1803 Howe resigned from the military altogether. He died while serving as governor of Plymouth on July 12, 1814, possibly the most controversial British general of the American Revolution.

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Huger, Benjamin

(November 22, 1805–December 7, 1877)
Confederate General

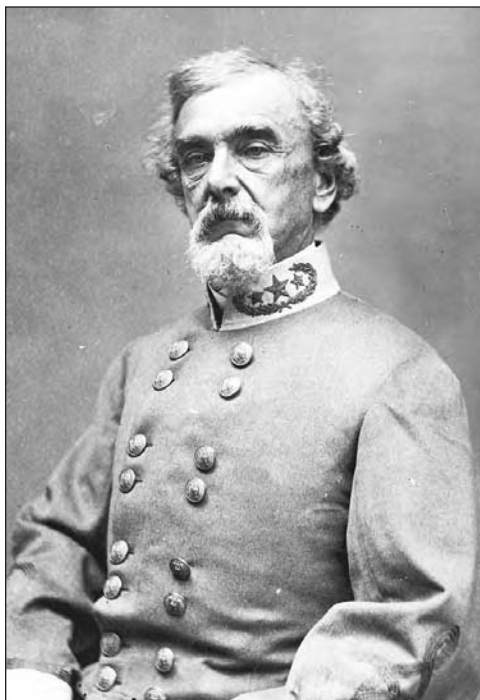
Huger was a moderately successful officer of the antebellum army and one of few Mexican-American War veterans to win three brevet promotions. Old and infirm by the Civil War, his lackluster performance resulted in exile to secondary assignments.

Benjamin Huger was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on November 22, 1805, into a distinguished Southern family of Huguenot descent. His father, Francis K. Huger, an army officer, was formerly an aide-de-camp to Gen. James Wilkinson in 1800 and also served as adjutant general during the War of 1812. His

mother was the daughter of Gen. Thomas Pinckney of the American Revolution. Huger gained admittance to West Point in 1821 and four years later graduated eighth in a class of 37. He was subsequently commissioned a second lieutenant in the Third U.S. Artillery; he performed topographical duty until 1828 before visiting Europe on a leave of absence. Huger joined the Ordnance Department upon his return, rising to captain in 1832. In this capacity he commanded the garrison at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, for 12 years while also serving on the ordnance board for seven years.

Following the commencement of the Mexican-American War in 1846, he joined an army forming under Gen. Winfield Scott, who appointed him to command the artillery train. His placement of guns during the siege of Vera Cruz in 1847 was masterful and resulted in brevet promotion to major. Huger then accompanied the advance upon Mexico City and was closely engaged in fighting at Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, winning two more brevets to lieutenant colonel and colonel. Huger thus became only one of a handful of Mexican-American War soldiers to receive three promotions for gallantry.

After the war, Huger resumed his usual range of ordnance duties. These included membership on a board tasked with preparing a new artillery system, as well as successive command of federal armories at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Pikesville, Maryland. He services were so esteemed that in 1854 the South Carolina legislature voted him an elaborate sword. Huger's final army rank was major of ordnance. The old soldier did not immediately resign his commission when South Carolina seceded from the Union in December 1860, but waited until after the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861. Just prior to that incendiary event, Huger was dispatched to Charleston to confer with garrison commander and fellow Southerner Maj. Robert Anderson. Little came of these discussions, as Anderson had already resolved to stay loyal to the Union. Only then, when military confrontation proved inevitable, did Huger finally tender his services to the Confederacy.



Benjamin Huger
Library of Congress

In June 1861, Huger gained an appointment as a brigadier general, and the following October he advanced to major general. He was then entrusted with the command of the Department of Southern Virginia and North Carolina, headquartered at the port of Norfolk. Huger functioned reasonably well until the following spring, when Union forces made a surprise amphibious descent upon Roanoke Island, North Carolina, on February 8, 1862. As Huger made no attempt to reinforce the small garrison, it surrendered. It was an embarrassing loss to the South and prompted the Confederate Congress to begin an official investigation. In April the huge Union army of Gen. George B. McClellan began landing upon the Virginia Peninsula, and Huger, greatly outnumbered, hastily abandoned Norfolk and Portsmouth. In the course of this flight, he ordered the destruction of the Navy Yard and, with it, the famous ironclad ram CSS *Virginia* (nee USS *Merrimac*). Despite this rather tepid display of leadership, Huger received command of an infantry division at Richmond and, in concert with Gens. **James Longstreet** and **Daniel Harvey Hill**, constituted the new Army of Northern Virginia under Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston**.

For several weeks into the Peninsula campaign, McClellan sat idly before a line of entrenchments near Yorktown commanded by Gen. **John Bankhead Magruder**. Johnston then conferred with Confederate President **Jefferson Davis** about what to do next, and it was resolved that Johnston would join Magruder's forces and stop McClellan's advance.

Johnston did as ordered but, being outnumbered, fell back to Richmond with Union forces in slow pursuit. Several severe skirmishes ensued in a futile attempt to stop the Yankee juggernaut, and Huger's division was closely engaged. However, in virtually every encounter he moved slowly while getting his troops in motion, especially during the critical clash at Seven Pines on May 31, 1862. That is where Johnston hoped to crush the isolated Union corps commanded by Gen. Erasmus Keyes, which was isolated from McClellan's main force. However, Huger's deployment proved hopelessly inept, and his men completely entangled Longstreet's division. A large battle slowly developed, and Union forces, though roughly handled, escaped intact. Longstreet, unsupported in battle by Huger, roundly criticized his dilatory movements; Johnston, seeking to cover himself, declared, "Had Major General Huger's division been in position and ready for action when those of Smith, Longstreet and Hill moved, I am satisfied that Keyes' Corps would have been destroyed instead of being merely defeated." Huger, stung by such criticism, demanded a court of inquiry, but none was ever convened.

Johnston, being wounded, was then replaced by the aggressive Gen. **Robert E. Lee**, who launched an immediate counterattack across the line. The so-called Seven Days' Battle commenced, in which Huger fought actively but failed to perform satisfactorily. Lee's complaints, coupled with the congressional report about the loss of Roanoke, led to his dismissal from field activities on July 12, 1862. Thereafter, he functioned in the less-de-

manding role of inspector of ordnance and artillery in the western theater. The elderly soldier performed capably in this military backwater, and in 1863 he was appointed chief of ordnance of the Trans-Mississippi Department, another minor post. He remained so employed with little fanfare until the end of the war.

With peace restored, Huger returned to Fauquier County, Virginia, where he became a farmer. He lived out the remainder of his life in relative obscurity and died at Charleston, South Carolina, on December 7, 1877. Although a soldier of demonstrated experience and technical expertise, Huger was clearly past his prime and, hence, only marginally effective.

See also

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Hussein, Saddam

(April 28, 1937–)

Iraqi Dictator

Hussein, a ruthless political survivor, conducted the 1991 Gulf War against the United States and its allies in the United Nations (UN). He was then totally defeated in a lightning campaign, one of the most lopsided military operations ever conducted. Despite this setback, Hussein still remains firmly in power, an international pariah.

Saddam Hussein was born near the village of Tikrit, Iraq, on April 28, 1937. His name, which means “He Who Confronts,” would certainly be borne out in his lifetime. Hussein lost his father shortly after birth and was partially raised by his stepfather, a cruel man who denied him schooling in favor of forced farmwork. Hussein then ran away at the age of 10 and was subsequently raised by a schoolteacher, a former military officer who imbued him with a sense of duty and Arab nationalism. Having relocated to Baghdad as a young man, Hussein joined the secret Arab Socialist Ba’ath Party in 1957 and entered the shadowy world of Iraqi politics. He proved adept at conspiracy and participated in several failed coup attempts against the monarchy. In 1958, when the king was disposed by Gen. Abdul Karim Kassen, Hussein next entered into several intrigues against him. This resulted in his forced exile to Egypt until 1963, following the death of Kassen, when Hussein returned and resumed his backroom machinations to power. Once the Ba’ath Party formally took control of the government in 1969, he was running the state security apparatus, which he wielded brutally to eliminate enemies and possible rivals. Within a decade Hussein was in position to take total control of the country, and as of July 17, 1979, he declared himself president. His rise to power was marked by a clever understanding of national politics—and utter ruthlessness toward all enemies, real or imagined. Having ce-

mented the loyalty of the military and secret police, and by surrounding himself in office with family members, his authority seemed unassailable.

Hussein’s tenure in office was marked by a unique dichotomy of purpose. He rigorously instituted compulsory education for all children, created wide-ranging health care services, and crash-built a modern economy based on oil and petrochemicals. Literacy increased and national health improved, but dissent was crushed outright. His draconian measures succeeded in large measure, and this otherwise bloody dictator enjoyed a measure of genuine popularity. But Hussein also allocated large portions of the public largesse for military expenditures and was intent upon making his nation a dominating regional power. He also kept a tight lid on rebellious activities tearing at the fabric of Iraqi nationhood, executing large numbers of Kurdish rebels in the north and Shi’ite revolutionaries in the south. Within 10 years Hussein had accomplished all his goals, and Iraq had been transformed from an impoverished, backward country into a modern industrial state. Its armed forces were also among the largest and best-equipped in the region.

In 1979, the political stability of the Persian Gulf region was threatened by the rise of the fundamentalist regime of Ayatollah Khomeini. Long-standing political and border problems between Iran and Iraq were further exacerbated by religious ones, as the Shi’ites of Iran and the Sunnis of Iraq have a long and bloody history of enmity. Hussein, perceiving the Iranians as militarily weak, ordered a full-scale invasion on September 9, 1980, to secure additional territory and oil fields. However, the Iranians, fired up by militant Islam, fought back with fanatical bravery and sacrifice, bringing the Iraqi advance to a halt. A costly two-year stalemate ensued until May 1982,

when the Iranians recaptured the strategic city of Khorramshahr. This conquest signaled an Iranian resurgence along the entire front, and the Iraqis were pushed back to their own borders. By June 1982, Hussein offered an immediate truce and troop withdrawals, but the Ayatollah insisted that his removal from office was a necessary precondition to any peace talks. He refused to step down. The war then dragged on, with six years of bloodshed and gradual Iranian gains. Hussein, realizing that he lacked the population base to overcome his enemy, sought advanced weapons and financial assistance from neighboring Gulf states (which deplored Persians) and the West. He also established close ties with the Soviet Union to ensure a steady flow of modern weapons from that quarter of the world.

Through clever use of oil diplomacy, the Iraqi leader bolstered his sagging military fortunes. By 1988, the Iranians had finally expended their manpower in a series of costly and futile offensives, and a sudden Iraqi counterattack threw them back several miles. On August 20, 1988, a UN cease-fire brought this costly conflict to a close. Both sides had lost an estimated 250,000 lives and billions of dollars in military equipment. Hussein also sullied his reputation in the West with widespread use of chemical weapons against Iran and the Kurds—a violation of international law. Nonetheless, he had gambled against Iran and lost—yet still survived. Iraq emerged from the contest stronger than before.

Hussein managed to survive his initial blunder because both the West and the Gulf states perceived revolutionary Iran as the greater hazard to global security. Money and important military intelligence were freely given to him at the time. However, with peace at hand, the Gulf states demanded the money lent to be paid back. Moreover, under the aegis of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (known more commonly by its acronym, OPEC), Arab states refused to raise the price of oil on the worldwide market. Now saddled with huge monetary debts, Hussein began leaning hard on his tiny neigh-

bor to the south, the emirate of Kuwait, for control of offshore islands, concessions on the repayment of loans, and higher oil prices to boost Iraq's income. Kuwait dug in its heels and flatly refused such coercion, and Hussein threatened it with invasion. Few governments in the Gulf region—or, for that matter, the world—considered the dictator's behavior as anything more than a bully's bluff.

Yet Hussein was not bluffing. On August 2, 1990, he ordered his armored columns south, and tiny Kuwait was overrun in hours. This move placed a powerful and unpredictable dictator directly astride the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, a region of strategic concern to Europe, Japan, and the United States. Consequently, the United Nations quickly adopted Resolution 660, calling for the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. This was followed by Resolution 661, which imposed worldwide economic sanctions against Iraq. When neither of these measures induced Hussein to relent, U.S. President George Bush instigated Operation Desert Shield, a buildup of American forces in Saudi Arabia. Hussein countered by digging in 650,000 heavily armed troops in and around Kuwait and taking several hostages to use as "human shields" around important Iraqi installations. On November 29, 1990, the United Nations issued Resolution 678 calling for the release of all hostages and the evacuation of Kuwait. The Iraqis were given a January 15, 1991, deadline to comply, at which point the use of military force was authorized. Hussein did eventually free his "guests," as he termed them, but otherwise refused to budge. A military confrontation, on a scale not witnessed since World War II, seemed imminent.

On January 17, 1991, a coalition of American, British, French, and Arab forces began a concerted aerial bombardment campaign against the Iraqi infrastructure and war machine. Hussein's elite Republican Guard, which also functioned as a praetorian guard, was singled out for punishment. Hussein retaliated by launching several Soviet-made SCUD missiles against targets in Kuwait and

Israel. He hoped that by provoking a retaliation from Israel the conflict would widen, and Arab nations would desert the American-led Coalition. Fortunately, calmer heads prevailed, and Israel remained neutral. By February 22, Coalition air forces had flown 70,000 sorties against bridges, highways, factories, and a large segment of Hussein's ground forces. Allied losses were 21 planes lost to gunfire, while the Iraqi air force lost 30 in air-to-air combat. But the dictator proved intractable and still sought to provoke an even wider action—something he could ill afford to do. On January 29, 1990, he ordered his army forward to capture the Saudi border towns of Khafji and Wafrah to demonstrate that country's weakness. This thrust was then summarily defeated, with heavy losses for Iraq, by U.S. Marines and Saudi and Qatari forces, which only underscored Hussein's lack of military ability. Meanwhile, President Bush watched these events closely, being advised by his chief of staff, Gen. Colin L. Powell. On February 22, 1992, Bush gave Hussein a final ultimatum to withdraw from Kuwait before the Coalition commenced a potentially costly land war. When the insufferable dictator scoffed at the notion, Operation Desert Storm commenced the following day.

By February 23, 1992, Coalition land forces numbered about 500,000 men, 3,000 tanks, and 1,500 combat aircraft under the command of Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. The invasion kicked off at 4:00 A.M. and proceeded uninterrupted for the next three days. Iraqi units, already pummeled by Coalition airpower, were completely routed by forces touting the very latest weaponry. Kuwait City was quickly liberated, and a wide flanking movement penetrated Iraq right up to the Tigris River. Iraqi casualties were staggering, estimated to range between 50,000 and 100,000 men, plus thousands of tanks and other equipment. Allied losses amounted to 95 killed and 368 wounded. President Bush called a halt to the slaughter after only 100 hours of combat, when the last Iraqi unit had departed Kuwait. He has since been criticized for not victori-

ously advancing upon Baghdad and removing Hussein by force. This action, however desirable, would have exceeded the UN mandate and violated the very international laws Bush was trying to enforce. The world would have to be content with a stunning victory over an unreasonable despot.

No sooner had the Coalition ceased fire than Hussein began reconsolidating his grip on power. A revolt in the north by Kurdish separatists was brutally put down by force, as was a Shi'ite uprising in the Gulf region. After the Gulf War, Iraq was theoretically bound by cease-fire terms that allowed UN inspectors to investigate facilities throughout the country for nuclear and biochemical weapons, but Hussein deliberately and continually obstructed these inspections. Moreover, the so-called no-fly zones, designed to constrain the Iraqi air force, did not keep Hussein from bombing the Kurds in the north. Hussein's defiance has since resulted in several retaliatory bombing strikes from American and British aircraft, but these pin-pricks have done nothing to undermine his bloody regime. He remains in power to this day, carefully and deliberately rebuilding his shattered military, and clandestinely acquiring the capacity to build nuclear and biochemical weapons. Given the sheer cunning and durability of this maniacal dictator, any Western hopes for his impending political demise are probably premature. The world awaits his next miscalculation.

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Imboden, John Daniel

(February 16, 1823–August 15, 1895)
Confederate General

Imboden was a bold and capable partisan fighter in the Shenandoah Valley. In 1863, he led one of the Civil War's most destructive raids into West Virginia, capturing great amounts of food and supplies for the hard-pressed Confederacy. That same year he also distinguished himself by protecting **Robert E. Lee's** supply column after the Battle of Gettysburg.

John Daniel Imboden was born near Fishersville, Augusta County, Virginia, on February 16, 1823, and attended nearby Washington College (present-day Washington and Lee College) in 1841–1842. He subsequently taught school for a time before studying law and opening a practice at Staunton. Developing a taste for politics, Imboden was elected to the Virginia state legislature and served two terms. He was a staunch secessionist but was unable to win a seat in the state convention that mulled over and finally passed the secessionist ordinance in 1861. Previously, Imboden had taken great interest in military affairs, and he helped organize a local company, the Staunton Artillery. The moment Virginia seceded from the Union, both he and **Turner Ashby** immediately marched to Harpers Ferry and helped capture the federal arsenal there on April 19, 1861. Promoted to colonel, Imboden with his unit next served under Gen.

Pierre G.T. Beauregard at Manassas Junction, where on July 21, 1861, the famous Battle of Bull Run occurred. Imboden's artillery was closely engaged supporting the troops under Gen. **Barnard Elliott Bee** and proved instrumental in assisting the stand at Henry Hill House. He next helped organize a cavalry unit, the First Partisan Raiders, in the spring of 1862. With these men he accompanied the brilliant Shenandoah campaign of Gen. **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson** and played conspicuous roles in the Battles of Cross Keys and Port Republic that June. He subsequently joined Gen. Robert E. Lee's ill-fated invasion of Maryland that fall and assisted in capturing the Union garrison at Harpers Ferry in September.

Imboden was promoted to brigadier general on January 28, 1863. Despite his lack of formal military training, he displayed considerable flair for independent command. On April 20, 1863, he led a force of 3,200 cavalry into the hills of West Virginia, assisted by a similar-sized force under Gen. William E. "Grumble" Jones. Over the next 37 days the raiders covered 400 miles, cut the vital Baltimore and Ohio Railroad lines by tearing up 170 miles of track, and eventually seized large quantities of badly needed livestock. They then attacked the Kanawha Valley petroleum

fields near Oiltown, setting fire to more than 150,000 barrels of oil. By the time the Imboden Raid concluded on May 14, 1863, the Confederates were enriched by the capture of 5,000 cattle and 1,200 horses. Moreover, they had also burned 24 bridges, captured 1,000 small arms, and inflicted 800 Union casualties at little cost to themselves. It was one of the great cavalry raids of the war.

Returning to Virginia, Imboden once again campaigned under General Lee by screening the Army of Northern Virginia's left flank as it advanced into Pennsylvania. He arrived at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, just as the Confederates were withdrawing, and assumed command of the rear guard. His greatest military action occurred on July 6, 1863, once Lee's army was trapped up against the flooded Potomac River. While in the act of conveying hundreds of wagons and thousands of wounded soldiers back to Virginia, his column was set upon by Union cavalry leaders John Buford and Judson Kilpatrick at Williamsport, Maryland. "Our situation was frightful," he later wrote. "We had probably ten thousand animals and nearly all of the wagons of Gen. Lee's army under our charge, and all the wounded, to the number of several thousand, that could be brought from Gettysburg." Badly outnumbered, Imboden scraped together men from his brigade, the teamsters, and all the walking wounded who could carry a gun. He then deployed his meager forces well in the face of a determined attack, beat off marauding Union soldiers, and spared Lee the crippling loss of all his baggage and wounded. Once the cavalry brigades under Fitz-Hugh Lee and Wade Hampton made their appearance, the veteran Union leaders finally gave up and retired. "A bold charge at any time before sunset would have broken our feeble lines," Imboden declared, "and then we should have all fallen an easy prey to the Federals." It was an impressive display of leadership from an officer untrained in conventional battle tactics.

In October 1863, Imboden advanced into the mountains of West Virginia again, captur-

ing the entire Ninth Maryland Infantry—500 strong—at Charles Town. This act won him a written commendation from Lee. The following spring he joined forces with Gen. **John Cabell Breckinridge** in defense of the Shenandoah Valley. In May his 1,500 troopers were closely engaged at the Battle of New Market against Gen. Franz Siegel and contributed to the Confederate victory there. On May 11, he surprised and captured another Union force of 454 cavalry at Port Republic. The following month Gen. Jubal A. Early arrived and commenced his famous advance upon Washington. Imboden provided useful service during the Confederate advance up the Shenandoah Valley and its subsequent retreat at the hands of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. Before the year was out he contracted typhoid fever, which restricted his remaining wartime activities. Imboden ended the war commanding the Confederate prison at Aiken, South Carolina.

After the war, Imboden resumed his legal practice in Washington County, Virginia. He was also active in Confederate veterans' affairs, and he published a number of essays on his wartime experiences. In his spare time he proved a vocal proponent of developing the coal and iron resources of his native state. This intrepid partisan leader died in Damascus, Virginia, on August 15, 1895, one of the outstanding personalities of the Shenandoah region.

See also

Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"; Lee, Robert E.

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Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"

(January 21, 1824–May 10, 1863)

Confederate General

"Stonewall" Jackson was one of the Civil War's great battle captains. Pious and uncommunicative, he possessed an uncanny, intuitive grasp of Confederate Gen. **Robert E. Lee's** orders, almost before they were issued. His untimely death robbed the Army of Northern Virginia of its cutting edge and undoubtedly hastened the Confederacy's downfall.

Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born into a life of poverty in Clarksburg, Virginia (present-day West Virginia), on January 21, 1824. Orphaned at an early age, he was raised by his uncle. In 1842, he gained admission to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Jackson possessed only a rudimentary education and was unprepared for the academic rigors he encountered. Nonetheless, he worked diligently and graduated seventeenth out of a class of 59 four years later. Jackson then joined the army of Gen. Winfield Scott as a second lieu-



Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson
National Archives

tenant of artillery in 1847, and he won consecutive brevet promotions to major during the Mexican-American War for gallantry at the Battles of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, and Chapultepec.

After the war, Jackson performed routine garrison duty in Florida and New York, but he resigned in February 1852 to teach artillery tactics and natural philosophy at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI). Uninspiring as a teacher, his stern, inflexible, and methodical nature made him unpopular and reinforced his reputation as an eccentric religious fanatic. At this stage in his life, he was referred to by many students as "Fool Tom Jackson." He studiously

avoided public life, but in 1859 he commanded the VMI Cadet Corps at the hanging of abolitionist John Brown. When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, Jackson, who did not support secession, sided with his state and gained appointment as a colonel. His first

service was to take the well-trained VMI cadets and employ them as drillmasters in the newly formed Confederate army.

In June 1861, Jackson was promoted to brigadier general in the army of Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston**, and the following month he distinguished himself at the Battle of Bull Run against Gen. Irvin McDowell. He made a rapid transfer from the Shenandoah Valley on trains, marking the first time combat troops moved to a battle by railroad. His staunch defense of Henry House occasioned Gen. **Barnard Elliott Bee** to remark, "There is Jackson standing like a stone wall!" The nickname stuck. Promoted to major general in October, he then returned to the Shenandoah Valley and conducted one of the most brilliant campaigns of the entire war. Between March and June 1862, Jackson's bedraggled 17,000 men outmarched, outfoxed, and outfought a combined Union force of 60,000. Gens. James Shields, Nathaniel Banks, and John C. Frémont were all defeated in a series of battles that prevented the army of George B. McClellan, menacing Richmond, from being reinforced. Success came with a price: Jackson gained the reputation as a harsh and secretive taskmaster. Furthermore, he quarreled with such competent leaders as Ambrose P. Hill, whom at one point he arrested. In September 1862, Jackson crowned his success with the capture of 12,000 Union troops at Harpers Ferry. Orders then arrived directing him to join Johnston's successor, General Lee, in Virginia.

In June 1862, Jackson's fatigue and unfamiliarity with the terrain resulted in a lackluster performance at White Oak Swamp. However, he recovered his step in time to fight brilliantly against Gen. John Pope at Second Manassas. By concluding a 51-mile march in only two days, his command captured Pope's supply base at Manassas Junction and became thereafter known as the "foot cavalry." In September 1862, Jackson again distinguished himself at Antietam and the following month received a promotion to lieutenant general and command of the II Corps, half of Lee's army. In this capacity he commanded

the left wing of the Army of Northern Virginia at Fredericksburg in December 1862, and he assisted in the bloody repulse of Gen. Ambrose Burnside. On many a far-flung field, the functional rapport between Lee and Jackson proved an unbeatable combination.

Jackson reached his operational zenith during the Chancellorsville campaign of May 1863, when the Confederates were outnumbered two-to-one. Having lured the army of Gen. Joseph Hooker into a false sense of security, Lee divided his army in half and sent the II Corps around the Union's right flank. On the morning of May 2, Jackson fell like a thunderbolt on Gen. Oliver O. Howard's XI Corps, routing it and forcing a Union retreat. Victory was complete, but while returning from the only scouting foray of his entire career, Jackson was mistakenly shot and wounded by his own men. He lingered for eight days before dying of pneumonia in Guinea Station, Virginia, on May 10, 1863. "I know not how to replace him," bemoaned Lee. "I have lost my good right arm." Command of the II Corps passed to the talented but erratic Richard S. Ewell. The Army of Northern Virginia went on to fight heroically for two more years, but it was never quite the same without "Stonewall" Jackson at the point.

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Jodl, Alfred

(May 10, 1890–October 16, 1946)
German Staff Officer

The highly efficient Jodl was one of **Adolf Hitler's** most trusted advisers during World War II and nominal head of the general staff. He was thus partly responsible for the strategies that led to Germany's defeat. Despite disasters on every front, Jodl remained a slave to Hitler's manic persona to the bitter end.

Alfred Jodl was born in Würzburg, Bavaria, on May 10, 1890, into a family better known for producing lawyers, philosophers, and priests than soldiers. He was educated at Munich but, undistinguished as a student, embarked on a military career in 1910. During World War I, Jodl served as an artillery officer along the Western Front and was wounded in action. After the war he seriously considered studying medicine but was thwarted by mediocre grades. He therefore opted to remain in the Germany army, now reduced to only 100,000 men due to peace-treaty provisions. But Jodl was one of a handful of promising young officers selected to pass through the general staff course, and by 1923 he was a staff officer at Munich. That same year his destiny took a fateful turn when he encountered Adolf Hitler—and became utterly enthralled by him. Curiously, Jodl remained

aloof toward Nazi ideology, but he remained convinced that only Hitler's genius could rescue Germany from its disgrace.

By dint of good performance, Jodl was eventually appointed to the operations section of the Wehrmacht. This also made him a member of the secret German general staff, which had been outlawed by the Treaty of Versailles. In 1935, he rose to become chief of the national defense section in the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW, the Wehrmacht High Command) as a major general and functioned under Gen. **Wilhelm Keitel**. Three years later, Jodl participated in the Anschluss, the forced annexation of Austria and western Czechoslovakia to Germany, commanding an artillery detachment. However, disliking field service, he resumed his activities with OKW. His fellow officers regarded him as talented, if overtly ambitious, but Hitler valued his company and advice. Consequently, in 1939 Jodl rose to chief of the army's prestigious Operations Branch, a post he occupied for the next six years. This rendered him Hitler's most trusted and important military adviser throughout World War II.

During the war years, Jodl worked closely with Hitler on every major military operation,

save for the Eastern Front against Russia. The conquest of Poland, as well as the fall of Norway and France, all bore the unmistakable stamp of his prompt and efficient planning. He also shielded Hitler from bad news or anything that looked potentially unsettling. In 1940, when Gen. **Johannes Blaskowitz** criticized German atrocities in Poland, Jodl rebuked him and dismissed his report as “uncalled for.” He also sided with the Führer in general discussions of strategy. Hitler rewarded this devotion by promoting him to general of artillery in 1940 and colonel general in 1944. Following the defeat of German armies outside Moscow in December 1941, Hitler grew dissatisfied with his generals, and he usurped OKW entirely, becoming the sole strategic authority on the Eastern Front. Hitler’s stubbornness, unrealistic expectations, and all-around incompetence as a strategist harbored disastrous consequences for Germany. Jodl, a highly competent military thinker, was well positioned to question some of Hitler’s more outlandish decisions, but he never mustered the courage to try. As the tide of the war ground inexorably against Germany, Jodl steadfastly refused to confront Hitler about his delusional directives. At best, he did manage to constrain Hitler’s ranting excesses and partially mitigated some of his strategic disasters.

Like many senior German commanders, Jodl seriously miscalculated where the Allies would land in Europe and in what force. In January 1944, he was dispatched to Normandy to review beach defenses with Gen. **Erwin Rommel**, concluded they were inadequate, and convinced Hitler to increase supplies and resources to that theater. He was stunned by the strength of the D-Day invasion at Normandy on June 6, 1944, then refused to wake a sleeping Hitler while Gen. **Gerd von Rundstedt** pleaded for reinforcements. Not surprisingly, Jodl was by Hitler’s side during the failed bomb plot of July 1944 and was slightly wounded. Then, with German forces having been stampeded out of France, he planned and authorized Hitler’s Ardennes of-

fensive in December 1944. This ill-advised undertaking, better known as the Battle of the Bulge, consumed the final German reserves, but Jodl castigated fellow officers for not embracing Hitler’s abilities. “I must testify that he is the soul not only of the political but also of the military conduct of the war,” he declared, “and that the force of his willpower and the creative riches of his thought animate and hold together the whole Wehrmacht.” Following the dictator’s suicide that April, Jodl was authorized by Adm. **Karl Dönitz**, head of the provisional government, to serve as his representative at Rhiems. There he signed the articles of capitulation on May 8, 1945.

Shortly after Germany’s surrender, Jodl was arrested by Allied authorities and charged with war crimes. During his trial at the International Military Court at Nuremberg, he was found guilty on four counts and sentenced to be hanged. The placid general simply responded that, as a good soldier, he was simply following the orders of his superior. Jodl was led to the gallows on October 16, 1946. However, five years later, a German war-crimes court reviewed his case and concluded that he had, in fact, restricted his activity to military affairs and not broken the law. Jodl thus became one of few senior Nazi officials posthumously exonerated of war crimes, a dubious distinction. Although a competent soldier and staff officer, Jodl could not detach himself from Hitler’s megalomania—and paid the ultimate price.

See also

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Johnson, Guy

(ca. 1740–March 5, 1788)

Loyalist Officer

Despite his famous name, Guy Johnson was a self-serving and generally inept superintendent of Indian affairs throughout most of the American Revolution. He was absent constantly from his department, feuded openly with subordinates, and made very little use of his splendid Iroquois allies.

Guy Johnson was born in County Meath, Ireland, around 1740, a son of John Johnson. His uncle was Sir William Johnson, the famous Indian agent and colonial militia officer. In 1756, Johnson arrived in New York and was immediately taken into his uncle's household. Being trained as a cartographer, he produced many useful maps for the British government, and Sir William also allowed him to attend several important Indian conferences. When the French and Indian War commenced in 1757, Sir William used his influence to secure a lieutenant's commission for Johnson, who then commanded a ranger company in the employ of Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst. In this capacity he distinguished himself during the capture of Fort Niagara in 1759, and he also bore increasing responsibility for affairs within the Indian Department. In December 1762, Sir William prevailed upon him to resign his commission and become both an officer of his department and a personal representative to the Six Nations, or Iroquois Indians. In

1763, he cemented his relationship by marrying Sir William's daughter and received a square mile of property along the Mohawk River as a wedding gift. Johnson then built a lavish baronial estate, immodestly named "Guy Park." He also continued advancing his fortunes in the local militia and state affairs, rising to both regimental colonel and a judge of the common pleas by 1772. That year Governor **William Tryon** appointed him to the provincial assembly, and in 1774 Gen. **Thomas Gage** elevated Johnson to acting superintendent of Indian affairs following the death of Sir William. As a bearer of the Johnson name and its legacy, he got along well enough with the Iroquois, who christened him Uraghquadirha (Rays of the Sun Enlightening the Earth). But Johnson, the product of patronage and his own ambition, demonstrably lacked the talent and persuasiveness that rendered his uncle so famous and valuable to the Crown. In contrast, he ceaselessly used his position and prestige to enrich his holdings. By 1775, Johnson had amassed great wealth and was a figure of considerable import throughout western New York. His overt Loyalist sympathies, often indelicately expressed, also made him a target for nearby revolutionary activity.

When the American Revolution commenced in April 1775, the Tryon County Com-

mittee of Safety voted several resolutions in favor of the Continental Congress, an act that enraged many neighboring Loyalists. Johnson's court retaliated with a grand-jury declaration against that body, which in turn excited sympathies of the Mohawk Valley against him. That May, Johnson, assisted by his brother-in-law **John Johnson**, organized a 500-man militia force of tenants who forcibly broke up several committee assemblies. Moreover, he employed them to take control of all roads leading in and out of Tryon County in order to monitor and control Patriot activities. However, following the May 1775 capture of Ticonderoga, New York, by Col. Ethan Allen of the Vermont militia, and by virtue of his own obnoxious behavior, rumors circulated of Johnson's own impending capture. Taking the hint, he fled with his family and several hundred followers to Oswego, New York. There Johnson conducted an important conference with the Iroquois, with more than 1,000 Indians in attendance, and performed useful work convincing them to remain loyal to England. This was his principal and most enduring contribution to the British war effort.

Eventually, Johnson relocated with many warriors and followers to St. John's, where they partially delayed the advance of an American column under Gen. Richard Montgomery. Soon after, he arrived at Montreal and became engaged in a simmering dispute with Gen. **Guy Carleton**. Johnson had strongly represented to the general that his Native American allies could be useful as raiders, terrorizing the New York frontier and tying down Americans supplies and forces. Carleton, a consummate professional soldier, would hear none of it and restricted the Iroquois to reconnaissance duties only. Disliking Johnson, he also appointed Maj. John Campbell to oversee Indian affairs in Canada. The disgruntled acting superintendent departed for England in November 1775, accompanied by Mohawk chief **Joseph Brant** and **Walter Butler**. He was determined to have his title legitimized and, hence, exert greater influence over the employment of his charge.

Johnson returned to America in the spring of 1776 with a royal commission from Lord **George Germain** officiating his position as Deputy of the Six Nations and Neighboring Indians. The Native Americans of Canada remained beyond his control to placate Carleton, but he did secure complete authority over Iroquois matters. However, despite having achieved the pinnacle of his authority, Johnson chose to remain in New York City, far away from the scene of military activity. Nominal control of the Iroquois in the field subsequently fell upon **John Butler**, who wielded them with terrible effect. Furthermore, his commanding officer, Gen. **William Howe**, had little use or patience for Indian warfare, so Johnson lingered for several months without employment beyond staging and directing plays. He remained conspicuously idle until the fall of 1778, when Gen. **Frederick Haldimand** summoned him to Montreal for a conference with the Iroquois. There it was determined that the Indians, in concert with Loyalist forces under John Johnson and the notorious Butlers, would begin a systematic series of raids along the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers. The arrangement worked fine with Guy Johnson absent, but once united, these three ambitious men worked poorly together.

Johnson was present at Newtown in 1779, when a retaliatory strike by Gen. John Sullivan dispersed the Indians, but he remained in the rear. He subsequently established his headquarters at Fort Niagara, where until the end of the war he helped instigate various Indian raids against white settlements—without ever participating in them. Largely for this reason, as well as charges of corruption, he was replaced as superintendent by John Johnson in 1782. After the war ended in 1783, Johnson bore responsibility for feeding and housing several thousand Indians and their dependents who had been displaced by the fighting. Johnson's own New York property had been confiscated by the American government, and in 1784 he ventured back to England to press for compensation. Penni-

less and lacking authority or patronage, Johnson died in London on March 5, 1788, a talented administrator, but too self-absorbed to be of much use to either England or the Iroquois.

See also

Brant, Joseph

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Johnson, John

(November 4, 1741–January 4, 1830)

Loyalist Officer

Johnson was an active partisan leader in New York's Mohawk Valley and responsible for several destructive raids. Afterward, he became a leading figure of Canadian settlement and an outspoken champion of dispossessed Native Americans.

John Johnson was born near Amsterdam, New York, the son of Sir William Johnson, the legendary Superintendent of the British Indian Department, and Catherine Weissenberg, a German servant. Despite his illegitimacy, Sir William decided to raise his son as his rightful heir and educated him at home for many years. At the age of 13, young Johnson accompanied his father as a volunteer in the French and Indian War and also attended several important Indian conferences. In 1757, he was packed off to continue his studies at Benjamin Franklin's College and Academy of Philadelphia, although he proved a mediocre student, more interested in military affairs than his studies. By 1760, he was back home and commissioned a captain in the local militia. In this

capacity Johnson fought in **Pontiac's** Rebellion through most of 1763, acquitting himself well. In 1765, his father sent him on a grand tour of the British Isles at the behest of Lord Adam Gordon, who sought to expand the young man's social horizons. There he was introduced to King George III, who knighted him, and he returned to New York in 1767 as Sir John Johnson. This honor was not a reflection of his abilities, which until that point had been mediocre, yet the title was his hereditary right as the son of a baronet. Nonetheless, he remained a staunch supporter of the king and the British Empire for the rest of his life.

Johnson eventually settled on the old family estate of Fort Johnson, New York, and lived with a common-law wife, Clarissa Putnam. They raised several children, but in 1773, at his aged father's insistence, he formally married into the New York aristocracy by taking Mary Watts as his bride. However, Johnson artfully dodged the opportunity to succeed his father as superintendent of In-

dian affairs, preferring instead to pursue the life of a country gentleman. In the aftermath of Sir William's death in 1774, Johnson relocated to Johnson Hall and inherited a baronetcy of 200,000 acres. He thus assumed responsibility for several hundred Scottish tenants living on his property and also functioned as a major general of the district militia.

Johnson's economic and political fortunes declined precipitously following the outbreak of the American Revolution in April 1775. Loyal to the Crown, he began fortifying Johnson Hall, arming his Scottish tenants, and enthusiastically offered to organize Loyalists throughout the Mohawk Valley for Governor **William Tryon**. These moves brought him the suspicion and ire of nearby rebel communities, and the Continental Congress, wishing to circumvent a large Loyalist enclave in western New York, authorized Gen. Philip Schuyler to arrest him. Johnson initially negotiated with Schuyler and agreed to disarm his tenants, but in May 1776 he abandoned his pregnant wife and fled to Canada. An act of attainder was then issued against him by the state legislature, by which his massive property and wealth were confiscated.

Johnson arrived penniless in Montreal and immediately sought a military commission. Governor-General Sir **Guy Carleton** then appointed him lieutenant colonel of a ranger formation called the King's Royal Regiment, more commonly referred to as the "Royal Greens." This was a hard-hitting unit of expert marksmen who were well versed in the ways of Indian-style warfare. Johnson found filling the ranks difficult, however, at one point even contemplating recruits from prisoners of war.



John Johnson
National Archives of Canada

At length the regiment was brought up to strength, and Johnson accompanied Lt. Col. **Barry St. Leger's** expedition against Fort Stanwix, New York. A lengthy siege developed before a relief force under Col. Nicholas Herkimer was ambushed and defeated at Oriskany, New York, on August 6, 1777. When an even larger force under Gen. **Benedict Arnold** advanced to relieve the fort, the British withdrew, and Johnson's Royal Greens were roughly handled in a last-minute American sortie from the fort.

For the next three years, Johnson became busily occupied with the arduous task of resettling hundreds of displaced Loyalists and their families. Commencing in 1779, he subsequently gained notoriety by leading several raids against his formerly beloved Mohawk Valley, often in concert with Col. **John Butler** and Mohawk Chief **Joseph Brant**. His men did considerable damage to areas surrounding his home at Johnson Hall and, at one point, even recaptured it from the rebels. The neighboring settlements of Schoharie, Caughnawaga, and Fort Hunter were similarly laid to waste in 1780. These tactics, though ruthless, were vital, for they denied vast quantities of food and other supplies to Continental forces, and regional militias became tied down to thwart future incursions. Most military operations ceased following the American victory at Yorktown in 1781, so the following year Johnson departed for England to renew his ties with the government and to press for compensation.

Johnson returned to Montreal as a brigadier general in the English army. Moreover, in light of his excellent service to the king, he was also given large tracts of land as

restitution for property lost in New York. He also fulfilled his father's dying wish by supplanting brother-in-law **Guy Johnson** as superintendent of Indian affairs. The bulk of his activities were civilian and not military, however, and Johnson thereafter personally orchestrated the resettlement of American Loyalist refugees at Cataraqui (now Kingston). He also gained appointment to the Council of Quebec in 1786 and labored endlessly to meet the needs of displaced Native Americans loyal to the Crown, whose lands had been seized by the United States. Johnson executed his responsibilities in an exemplary manner and was widely hailed as one of Canada's most respected inhabitants. He was therefore severely disappointed in 1791 when governorship of the newly created Upper Canada (Ontario) went to another distinguished veteran, **John Graves Simcoe**. So over the next four decades, Johnston became closely identified as a leader among the United Empire Loyalists and as a champion of the rights of local Indian tribes. Johnson died in Montreal on January 4, 1830, and was buried with an extravagant military funeral. A large detachment of 300 Indians also attended, and they tearfully bid farewell to what one orator deemed their "friend and fellow warrior." Like John

Butler, another raider-turned-settler, Johnson is regarded as a significant figure in the early days of Canada's founding.

See also

Arnold, Benedict; Brant, Joseph; Pontiac

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Johnston, Joseph E.

(February 3, 1803–March 21, 1891)

Confederate General

“**O**ld Joe” Johnston possessed excellent leadership qualities and was popular with troops throughout the Civil War. However, Confederate President **Jefferson Davis** blamed him for the fall of Vicksburg and relieved him at a critical juncture in the Atlanta campaign.

Joseph Eggleston Johnston was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, on February

3, 1803. His father, Peter Johnston, was a Revolutionary War veteran who had fought under Henry Lee in the south. In 1829, Johnston graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, ranked thirteenth in a class of 46, and became a second lieutenant in the Fourth U.S. Artillery. He fought in the Black Hawk War of 1832 and in Florida's Second Seminole War as a first lieutenant with the Corps of Topo-

graphical Engineers. Johnston rose to captain in 1846, and the following year he accompanied Gen. Winfield Scott's army on its approach to Mexico City during the Mexican-American War. He distinguished himself in battle, being wounded twice at Cerro Gordo and three times at Chapultepec.

Johnston ended the war a brevet major and subsequently served as chief of topographical engineers in Texas. He next rose to lieutenant colonel of the First U.S. Cavalry in 1855, and he accompanied Albert S. Johnston during the Mormon Expedition of 1857–1858. By June 1860, Johnston had gained an appointment as quartermaster general of the army with a rank of brigadier general. However, he functioned in that role for less than a year before resigning to fight for the Confederacy in April 1861.

That May Johnston was made brigadier general and commander of the Army of the Shenandoah. In July 1861, he skillfully employed the cavalry of **Jeb Stuart** to evade superior Union forces and hastily reinforced Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard by rail in time for the Battle of Bull Run. Johnston fought well at this important victory and gained promotion to full general, although his quarrelsome nature and insistence on greater rank alienated Davis. The president's antipathy for the general manifested itself during the initial phases of the 1862 Peninsula campaign when Johnston slowly gave ground before the superior numbers of Union Gen. George B. McClellan. Regarding Richmond as threatened, Davis and others clamored for him to stand fast. When McClellan divided his army into two forces, the Confederate soldiers turned and pounced at Fair Oaks (Seven Pines) in May 1862, defeating him. Johnston, unfortunately, was severely wounded. As fate would have it, his replacement, Gen. **Robert E. Lee**, would command the Army of Northern Virginia for the rest of the war. Johnston, a talented and senior military figure, remained unemployed for several months.

Eventually, Davis assigned Johnston to head up the Department of the West with the armies of **Braxton Bragg**, **John C. Pemberton**, and Edmund Kirby-Smith in May 1863. At

that time, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant had commenced operations against strategic Vicksburg on the Mississippi River. Unable to reinforce the city in time, Johnston directed Pemberton to withdraw before he was trapped, but Davis countermanded the order. On May, 14, 1863, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman drove Johnston away from his base at Jackson, Mississippi, and, Vicksburg, left unsupported, surrendered two months later. Davis personally blamed Johnston for the debacle and restricted him to minor duties until the next crisis arrived. In December 1863, Grant and Sherman smashed the Army of Tennessee at Chattanooga, which resulted in Bragg's resignation. With some reluctance, Davis appointed Johnston to succeed him.

Throughout the spring of 1864, Johnston entrenched himself at Dalton, Georgia, with 62,000 men. In May Sherman advanced on him with 100,000 soldiers and expertly maneuvered the defenders out of their positions. The Confederate general nevertheless fell back slowly and in good order toward Atlanta. Johnston's defensive skills exasperated Sherman, who was goaded into attacking at Kennesaw Mountain in June 1864 and badly repulsed. Unfortunately, Johnston's Fabian tactics angered Davis, who accused him of failing to halt the enemy, and in July 1864 he was relieved of his command. **John Bell Hood**, who succeeded him and may have played a role in his dismissal, promptly counterattacked across the line and decimated the Army of Tennessee. Atlanta ultimately fell to Union forces that September.

Johnston, marooned again without a command, remained idle until February 1865, when Lee reinstated him as commander of the greatly reduced Army of Tennessee. His mission was to prevent Sherman from attacking the Army of Northern Virginia from the rear, and Johnston, outnumbered four-to-one, resorted to his usual defensive tactics. He fought and lost a final engagement to Sherman at Bentonville, North Carolina, in March 1865 and finally surrendered to him at Durham Station on April 26.

After the war Johnston sold insurance before winning election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1879. Six years later, he was appointed railroad commissioner by President Grover Cleveland and, while living at Washington, D.C., befriended his former antagonist, Sherman. Johnston also found time to pen his memoirs and excoriated Davis and others for losing the war. He died in Washington, D.C., on March 21, 1891, from pneumonia contracted while attending Sherman's funeral.

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Joseph

(ca. 1840–September 21, 1904)
Nez Percé Chief

With only a handful of warriors, Chief Joseph and his band of 800 Nez Percé conducted one of the most epic retreats in military history. Crossing 1,700 miles of difficult terrain, they evaded 10 columns of army troops for four months and beat them in 18 skirmishes. Within sight of their goal, the Native Americans succumbed only to exhaustion.

Joseph was born Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekt (Thunder Rolling Down from the Mountains) in the Willowa Valley, Oregon, around 1840, the son of a Cayuse father and a Nez Percé mother. His father, known as Chief Joseph the

Elder, was a Christian convert. In 1855, the elder Joseph signed a treaty with the Americans that ceded large tracts of their land to settlement in exchange for the preservation of their remaining homelands. This placated settlers until 1861, when gold was discovered in the Willowa Valley and intense pressure was placed on the Indians to sell off more land. The elder Joseph flatly refused to comply, and the threat of violence proved sufficient, for the time being, to keep homesteaders off Indian lands. When his father died in 1871, the younger Joseph succeeded him. Joseph also steadfastly refused to surrender

any more of his ancestral homeland or be moved onto a reservation. The Nez Percé won a temporary respite in 1873, when President Ulysses S. Grant declared the Wallowa Valley to be a reservation. Two years later, political considerations forced the president to reverse his decision.

An uneasy truce existed for six years until 1877, when Gen. Oliver O. Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, delivered the nontreaty bands of Nez Percé an ultimatum. Henceforth, they had 30 days to report to the Fort Lapwai Reservation in Idaho or be attacked. Joseph, who was not a war chief and wished to avoid hostilities if possible, advocated a policy of passive resistance. However, when despondent members of the tribe became drunk and massacred 15 settlers, conflict became inevitable.

Howard responded to the murders by dispatching a troop of the First U.S. Cavalry under Capt. David Perry, with orders to shadow the Nez Percé and possibly capture them. On June 17, 1877, Joseph tried to parley with Perry at White Bird Canyon, but when soldiers fired on his truce flag, a pitched battle ensued and 34 soldiers were killed. This proved to be one the first of several embarrassing encounters for the U.S. Army.

The Nez Percé War had commenced in earnest, and the various nontreaty bands consolidated their strength into a single group. Tribal elders, of which Joseph was only one, decided to move through the interior rather than fight the soldiers directly. As part of their marching discipline, they dictated that any



Joseph
Library of Congress

white civilians encountered were to be left unharmed. Howard responded by pursuing the 800 refugees along the banks of the Salmon River with 1,900 men. The troops were bested again at the Battle of Clearwater on July 11, at which point the majority of bands elected to flee to the Bitterroot Mountains and ally themselves with the Crow nation.

From Idaho, the bands slipped into Montana through Lolo Pass, but on August 9 they were surprised in their camp at Big Hole River by a detachment under Col. John Gibbon. The soldiers were initially successful, but the Native Americans rallied and counterattacked. At length, Gibbon was forced to take up defensive positions and await reinforcements, having had 33 soldiers killed and 38 wounded. Howard, meanwhile, continued his pursuit of the elusive bands, and on August 19 he finally caught up with them at Camas Meadows. Rather than run, a party of 29 Nez Percé snuck into his camp that night and ran off with a number of pack mules. When a party of angry soldiers tried to recover their missing animals, a battle developed and they withdrew with a loss of one killed and seven wounded. Flushed by this latest triumph, Joseph continued on his trek eastward.

Continuing on through the Absaroka Mountains, Joseph learned that the Crow Indians, far from sympathetic to his plight, were actually providing scouts to the army pursuing them. The council then decided to head north through Montana and seek refuge among **Sitting Bull's** band in Canada. On

September 13, they beat off an attack by troops of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry under Col. Samuel Sturgis at Canyon Creek. Two weeks later the hungry Indians raided an army depot at Cow Island on the Missouri River to obtain food. The garrison was left unharmed and the Nez Percé continued on.

Hungry and weary, they encamped on Snake Creek in the Bearpaw Mountains, 30 miles from their goal. On September 30, the Indians were suddenly surrounded by Col. Nelson A. Miles and 600 soldiers. Despite the loss of their pony herd, the Nez Percé dug in and defended themselves ferociously. Nelson employed howitzers and Gatling guns in an attempt to pry the warriors out of their positions, but a stalemate ensued. After six days in freezing weather, Joseph, one of the last surviving chiefs, surrendered 414 members of his band on October 5, 1877. "Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired; my heart is sick and sad," he eloquently declared. "From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever."

Despite government promises, the Nez Percé Indians were refused access to the Wallowa Valley. This occurred despite the pleas

of Howard and Miles, who came to respect and admire so worthy a foe. Nonetheless, the Indians were interned at reservations in Oklahoma and Washington. Joseph seemed resigned to his fate and encouraged education and abstinence from alcohol among his people. He died in Nespelem, Washington, on September 21, 1904, a heroic symbol of Indian resistance.

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Kamiakin

(ca. 1800–1877)

Yakima War Chief

Kamiakin was a strident opponent of white settlement in the Pacific Northwest and instigated the Yakima War of 1855–1858. He also attempted to resurrect a pan-Indian confederation reminiscent of **Little Turtle** and **Tecumseh** but, ultimately, failed to preserve his homeland.

Kamiakin (He Who Says No) was born near present-day Starbuck, Washington, around 1800, into fortuitous tribal circumstances. His mother was a Yakima woman but his father, Chief Kiyiyah, was a Nez Percé. This familial arrangement endowed him with considerable

influence among both tribes. Kamiakin developed into a tall, strong man, over six feet in height, and reputedly one of the best warriors and buffalo hunters in his band. He was also highly regarded by peers for stirring oratory and an enterprising nature. Reputedly, Kamiakin was the first chief to introduce agriculture among his people. He was also kindly disposed toward the handful of white missionaries in the region and openly solicited Catholic priests to visit and teach. As chief, he consulted with Capt. Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, who

was most favorably impressed. Eventually, Kamiakin became wealthy enough to support five wives, each of a different tribe, which angered Yakima relatives but also established him as a political force beyond tribal borders. Moreover, despite an increase of white migration following the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848, Kamiakin strongly advised neutrality toward their new neighbors during the Cayuse War of 1847–1850. If given a choice, Kamiakin inevitably advocated peace.

The discovery of gold in the Pacific Northwest proved a disastrous catalyst for change. White miners and explorers flooded onto prime Indian land without permission, which engendered resentment and not a few murders. Indian alarm increased following Capt. George B. McClellan's 1853 survey of a new railroad through Naches Pass, which would result in even greater migration. Slowly, an antiwhite confederation began coalescing around the strong personality of Kamiakin. In 1855, the governor of the newly created Washington Territory, Isaac I. Stevens, initiated the Walla Walla Council for the purpose of acquiring prime Indian land through purchase. In exchange the natives were promised new homes elsewhere and annuities from the government. Many chiefs eventually signed on to the scheme, although Kamiakin declared he would never sell his land. However, several tribes pressured him to do likewise, although the chief reputedly bit his lip so hard while signing the treaty that it bled. This agreement stipulated a two- to three-year period for tribal relocation, but to the Indian's surprise Stevens declared their



Kamiakin
Washington State Historical Society

lands open for settlement after only 12 days! Kamiakin and other dissatisfied chiefs tried desperately to have the treaty negated, without success. This sense of betrayal led to the murder of several miners by Yakima braves, as well as the death of Indian Agent A. J. Bolon. When Governor Stevens then began a general mobilization of the militia in retaliation, Kamiakin realized that war had become inevitable.

Kamiakin, by dint of astute diplomacy and his own tribal reputation, emerged as the principal war chief of the so-called Yakima War. He could draw upon the man-

power of several previously disunited tribes, including Palouses, Shahaptians, Cayuses, and various Salish-speaking peoples, who were now unified through their hatred of whites. They mustered around 2,000 warriors from as far away as southern Alaska. With such an imposing force, the Indians easily brushed aside several militia forces and rampaged through frontier settlements. On October 6, 1856, Kamiakin also roughly handled a detachment of regular soldiers under Maj. Granville Haller, who was forced to retreat back to Fort Dalles. Success only emboldened the Indians, and at one point they attacked the town of Seattle, which was saved only by the landing of sailors and marines! The situation had grown so unpredictable that the government directed veteran army officer Gen. John E. Wool to supervise affairs.

Wool's strategy was to establish strong points throughout Yakima territory and then sweep between them with strong columns of infantry and artillery. The Indians continued

resisting gamely, however, and in May 1858 they defeated another detachment under Col. Edward J. Steptoe. Kamiakin next personally directed an attack on army troops commanded by Col. George Wright at Four Lakes and Spokane Plains in Washington Territory in September 1858, although this entailed confronting the soldiers in an open field—an army specialty. The Yakimas and their allies were thus soundly defeated in both encounters, which spelled the beginning of the end for their confederation. Kamiakin himself was badly stunned when an artillery shell dropped a heavy branch on his head, and he was evacuated by family members.

Closely pursued, the fleeing Indians broke up into smaller and smaller bodies and were defeated in detail. Numerous chiefs were then rounded up, tried, and executed, although Kamiakin managed to escape to British Columbia. He lived there for several years among the Palouse Indians, before finally retiring to the newly created Yakima Reservation around 1860. The government tried to make amends by offering him a \$500 annuity, but he flatly refused all overtures. Kamiakin continued living in obscurity until his death in 1877, a deeply embittered man. As a final insult, vengeful settlers dug up his body, decapitated his head, and displayed it as a trophy for several years.

Karamanli, Yusuf

(1770–August 4, 1838)
Barbary Pirate

The Tripolitan Bey Yusuf Karamanli commanded a fleet of pirate vessels that were the scourge of the Mediterranean. His appetite for tribute and hostages was rapacious, leading to the first punitive naval expedition ever mounted by the United States.

Yusuf Karamanli was born in Tripoli in 1770, part of an Arab dynasty that had ruled

See also

Little Turtle; Tecumseh

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that coastal enclave since 1711. The family was originally Turkish in origin and part of the Ottoman Empire, but in reality Tripoli, along with neighboring states like Tunis and Algiers, were run like personal fiefdoms. Since the sixteenth century, the primary income of the so-called Barbary states was piracy against Western shipping. Ships, once

seized, were then held for ransom along with their crews. To discourage such fate, the local powers advised Christian countries that it was better to pay annual sums of tribute for safe passage. Many countries, powerless in naval terms, readily complied. Great Britain was a notable exception, for the Royal Navy, on more than one occasion, thoroughly chastised the Arabs for their barbaric practices. However, after 1783 a new player on the world scene emerged—the United States, which had successfully rebelled from England. But independence carried a price: American vessels were no longer subject to protection from the Royal Navy. Nobody appreciated this better than the Barbary pirates, and they availed themselves of this weakness.

Meanwhile, Yusuf Karamanli reached manhood fully versed in the intrigue and treachery of Tripolitan palace politics. Being the youngest of three brothers, he would normally be excluded from high government positions; ambitious and ruthless, the prince entertained other ideas. In 1780, he assassinated the current ruler, his eldest brother Hassan, in his mother's apartment. Hamet, the next brother in line to the throne, then came to power, but in 1796 Yusuf sponsored a coup that drove him into exile. Having firmly claimed Tripoli for himself, Karamanli began plying his piratical trade against vessels belonging to the United States. This aggression moved President John Adams to found the U.S. Navy in 1794, but within three years friction with revolutionary France deflected American attention away from North Africa. It was then deemed more prudent to pay annual tribute to various states than fight them with limited means. This pattern of institutionalized extortion continued unabated until the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800. The president would have contentedly paid off the pirates, but Karamanli suddenly increased the amount. When Jefferson refused to meet such unreasonable demands, the bey ordered the American flag cut down from the U.S. Consul's flagpole on May 14, 1801. A state of war now existed between the two nations. An

angry Jefferson then asked for—and received—permission from Congress to outfit a naval expedition to humble the Tripolitan pirates and rescue American honor.

Jefferson's resolve to resist Karamanli's state-sponsored extortion culminated in a series of episodic naval encounters known as the Barbary War. Commencing in June 1801, a naval squadron of four warships under Commodore Richard Dale departed Norfolk, Virginia, en route for Tripoli. By September he had captured one enemy vessel and established a loose blockade around Tripoli harbor, but Karamanli waxed defiantly. He was safely sequestered behind walls 30 feet high, 20 feet thick, and mounting 115 cannons, and he felt disinclined to negotiate. In April 1802, a relief squadron of six vessels under Commodore Richard V. Morris left Hampton Roads, Virginia, sailed to Morocco to resolve some minor piracy issues, and then proceeded to Tripoli. Morris then relieved Dale, but he proved himself a timid, indecisive commander, and little was accomplished. The impasse remained until September 1803, when a new commander, Commodore Edward Preble, arrived to take the helm.

Unlike Dale and Morris, Preble was an irascible, headstrong personality, ready to fight. Pausing at Morocco to "remind" the rulers of their treaty obligations to America, he pressed on to Tripoli with a vengeance, imposing a tight blockade. However, disaster struck when the frigate USS *Philadelphia* under Capt. William Bainbridge struck an uncharted reef in the harbor and was captured, crew and all. Preble offered to ransom Bainbridge and his men for \$60,000, but Karamanli scoffed—and demanded \$3 million! Undeterred by adversity and determined to deny the Arabs use of the ship, on February 16, 1804, Preble authorized a cutting-out expedition led by Lt. Stephen Decatur. In short order, Decatur captured the *Philadelphia*, burned it under the guns of Karamanli's castle, and added new luster to America's growing naval tradition. Adm. Horatio Nelson was singularly impressed when informed of De-

captur's raid and pronounced it "the most bold and daring act of the age." Buoyed by success, on August 7, 1804, Preble led his ships into the harbor and commenced a two-hour bombardment of Tripoli. This act affected no change. But when coercion failed to convince Karamanli to sue for peace, the Americans then resorted to outright subterfuge. Taking a captured Tripolitan vessel, renamed *Intrepid*, Lt. Richard Somers loaded it with explosives and set sail, intending to ignite the charge once under the bey's castle. However, disaster struck when the ship exploded prematurely, killing Somers and his 12-man crew. Shortly after, Preble was relieved by Capt. Samuel Barron, a less aggressive officer, and the Barbary War slipped into a stalemate.

Jefferson, however, was determined to undermine Karamanli's regime by any means possible. In November 1804, he conferred with William Eaton, a former diplomat, who proposed raising an army in Egypt, overthrowing Yusuf Karamanli, and reinstalling Karamanli's brother, the deposed Hamet, to the throne. Thus was born one of the more quixotic episodes of American military history. Eaton arrived in Egypt, linked up with Hamet, and began recruiting an army. He ended up with a motley assortment of 1,000 Arabs and Greek mercenaries, stiffened by an eight-man contingent of U.S. Marines under Lt. Presley O'Bannon. Eaton subsequently led his comic-opera force 600 miles across burning sand to the port of Derna, east of Tripoli. The city fell to a combined assault of Eaton's adventurers and a small naval squadron under Capt. Isaac Hull, on April 27, 1805. The following month, the conquerors handily repulsed 3,000 of Karamanli's supporters, and it appeared that Eaton's outlandish strategy might succeed after all. Nobody was more aware of this than the bey himself, who after the fall of Derna decided it would be wiser to negotiate with the Americans. His compliance was undoubtedly hastened by a prolonged bombardment of Tripoli by the American fleet on June 1–3, 1805. Much to Eaton's outrage, the American Consul Tobias Lear then signed a peace

treaty with the bey that recognized the legitimacy of his rule and ransomed the *Philadelphia's* crew for \$60,000. In exchange, he promised to forgo tribute payments and stop harassing American shipping. Both sides were apparently pleased by the result. Hamet, meanwhile, accused the Americans of negotiating in bad faith and returned to exile in Egypt. As a final concession to peace, Yusuf allowed Hamet's wife and children, held in prison, to accompany him.

The Karamanli regime observed the terms of the peace treaty until the War of 1812 erupted between England and the United States. With the navies of both countries tied down in other theaters, the pirates resumed their freebooting activities. Their fun ceased on August 5, 1815, when a powerful American squadron under Stephen Decatur—now a commodore—anchored into Tripoli Harbor. Karamanli, who so vigorously resisted puny American forces 10 years earlier, now blanched before the prospect of a rematch. This time, he paid out \$25,000 for seizing American ships and again promised to cease piratical activities. Four years later a combined British-French armada paid him a call for similar reasons and secured the release of several thousand Christian slaves. The bey then continued to rule his subjects with an iron hand until 1835, when, faced by the prospects of civil unrest, he abdicated in favor of his children. However, that year a resurgent Ottoman Empire dispatched a strong squadron to Tripoli, and they disposed of the corrupt and unpopular Karamanli dynasty altogether. The entire family was then deported in chains to Istanbul, with the exception of Yusuf. In light of his advanced age, he was allowed to live as a prisoner in his own castle, dying there on August 4, 1838.

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Kato, Tateo

(1904–May 22, 1942)

Japanese Army Fighter Pilot

Popularly hailed as the "War God," Kato was the most celebrated pilot of the Imperial Japanese Army Air Force in World War II. He put up formidable opposition to the famous Flying Tigers in Burma before losing his life in a minor skirmish.

Tateo Kato was born in Japan in 1904, the son of a soldier. His father, Tetsuo Kato, was killed in the Russo-Japanese War of that year, which spurred his orphan son to himself seek a military career. Accordingly, Kato graduated from the Imperial Army Military Academy in July 1925, with dreams of becoming a pilot. He next underwent flight training at Tokorozawa in May 1927 and proved so gifted a flier that he performed demonstration flights for the graduating audience. Kato was then



Tateo Kato
Author's Collection

posted with the Sixth Hiko Rentai (flight regiment) in Pyongyang, Korea. For several years thereafter, he served as a flight instructor at several fighter schools, and by 1936 he had advanced to squadron commander. The Sino-Japanese War erupted in July 1937, and Kato, flying Kawasaki Ki 10 biplanes, distinguished himself by downing four Russian-made Polikarpov I-15s on March 25, 1938. Soon after, his unit was equipped with the modern Nakajima Ki 27 monoplane fighters and Japanese air supremacy over China was complete. By May 1938, Kato's unit had claimed 39 enemy craft for a loss of only three Ki 27s—

with Kato himself claiming four more kills. He then rotated back to Japan with a final tally of nine, which made him the leading ace of the

war. Kato spent the next two years attending the Army Staff School and also visited Europe to inspect the German Luftwaffe.

Prior to the Pacific War in December 1941, Major Kato became head of the 64th Sentai (fighter group), soon renowned as one of Japan's best outfits. At this time the unit was equipped with brand-new Nakajima Ki 43 *Hayabusa* (Peregrine Falcon) fighters, which Allied forces later designated the "Oscar." This was a radial-engined, lightly built craft equipped with special butterfly flaps and legendary maneuverability. Kato himself was a fearless, charismatic individual, unique among officers of his grade for accompanying his men into combat. Without exception, he always led by example and was highly prized by squadron mates. Kato began the war by escorting naval vessels to Malaysia in preparation for the conquest of Singapore. Over the next few weeks the 64th Sentai skirmished repeatedly with Hawker *Hurricanes* and Brewster *Buffalos* of the Royal Air Force (RAF), driving them from the sky. However, Japanese aerial units were particularly hard-hit over Rangoon, Burma, defended by aircraft of the American Volunteer Group (AVG) of Gen. Claire L. Chennault, better known as the Flying Tigers. For this reason, the 64th Sentai was transferred 2,000 miles from Malaysia to Bangkok, Thailand, as reinforcements. On December 23, 1941, he escorted several heavy bomber formations on a large raid over Rangoon—and straight into an AVG trap. In the ensuing scrape, the Flying Tigers claimed 16 bombers and two Ki 43 fighters in exchange for four British and two American craft, a stunning reversal. The secret of Chennault's success lay with his tactics: Knowing that his heavier Curtiss P-40 *Warhawks* could not dogfight their more nimble adversaries, he instructed his pilots to climb high, then dive upon their intended targets. This was a tactic that the Japanese—including Kato himself—never countered. Soon after the Rangoon debacle, the 64th Sentai transferred back to the East Indies for additional fighting, but they

would settle old scores with the AVG soon enough.

Throughout February 1942 Kato's men performed sterling work eliminating British and Dutch aircraft from Sumatra and Java. He then gained a promotion to lieutenant colonel in March, and his aerial exploits caused such public adoration that Kato became hailed as the "War God." This is a singularly unusual tribute for a culture that traditionally discounts individual acts in favor of the group—but also a good indication of his national celebrity. Kato subsequently flew back to Chang Mai, Thailand, where the AVG was still active and giving Japanese aviation fits. This was underscored on March 24, 1942, when a flight of six P-40s staged a surprise attack upon Chang Mai, destroying several aircraft. But two could play at this game, and on April 8, 1942, Kato led 11 fighters on a stately raid against Loiwing, the main AVG base. Chennault by that time had perfected an early-warning network to alert him to Japanese attacks, so several Flying Tigers were scrambled and awaiting Kato's approach from high altitude. A sharp fight erupted over the field, and four Ki 43s were shot down without loss. Both sides then paused to receive reinforcements before renewing the struggle.

On April 10, Kato again led eight *Hayabusas* against Loiwing, only this time on a nighttime flight over the mountains. Arriving over the American airbase at dawn, the Japanese repeatedly strafed long rows of Allied aircraft, inflicting some damage, before flying home without loss. That same afternoon the 64th Sentai made another appearance over Loiwing, but Chennault this time was ready for them. A swirling dogfight erupted, and two Japanese craft and two RAF *Hurricanes* were downed. The AVG, as usual, took no losses. The final slap occurred on April 29, 1941, Emperor Hirohito's birthday, when Chennault anticipated that the Japanese would mount a major effort against Loiwing in his honor. He guessed correctly, and that afternoon Kato led 20 *Hayabusas* and 24 Ki 21 heavy bombers on a

run. The AVG ambushed them again, shooting down two fighters and several bombers. But the day after, Japanese ground forces captured nearby Lashio, forcing the Americans to abandon Loiwing altogether. In their repeated skirmishes with the 64th Sentai, the AVG had the better of it, shooting down 11 Ki 43s for a loss of six P-40s. It was a display of skill and sacrifice reflecting the greatest merit to both sides.

By comparison, the Japanese land campaign in Burma was startlingly successful. To stem the Japanese advance, the RAF frequently sortied light bombers from airfields in India to harass them. On May 22, 1942, a flight of three Bristol *Blenheims* took off to attack Akyab airfield, but mechanical problems forced two to abort. The final craft approached low over the Bay of Bengal and dropped its bombs, triggering a quick Japanese response. Several flights of the 64th Sentai were on hand to intercept this lone intruder, which pluckily beat them off. At length Kato arrived in company with two other *Hayabusas*. The three made raking passes at the British aircraft, but as Kato pulled up from his dive, the British tailgunner sent a long burst into his exposed belly. The Ki 43 started burning, and Kato realized that his craft would never make it back to Akyab. Without hesitation, he quickly half-looped the stricken craft and dove directly into the ocean, killing

himself. His death came as a shock to the Japanese people, who perpetuated his memory through the song “Kato Hayabusa Sentoki Tai” (Kato’s Fighter Air Group). At the time of his passing, Kato was credited with 18 kills. The “War God” was also posthumously elevated two grades to major general, a standard Japanese practice. More important, the lessons he taught the 64th Sentai allowed it to continue fighting successfully without him. It would emerge as the most famous Japanese army air force unit of World War II.

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Keitel, Wilhelm

(August 22, 1882–October 16, 1946)
German Staff Officer

The tall, ponderous Keitel was Germany’s highest-ranking officer of World War II. His shameless subservience to Adolf Hitler proved disastrous for German strategy and garnered him the nickname “Lakaitel” (*lakai*, lackey).

Wilhelm Bodewin Johann Gustav Keitel was born in Helmscherode, Hannover, on Au-

gust 22, 1882, into a family of farmers. The Keitels were distinctly nonmilitary in outlook, and his father, when drafted into the army, was not allowed to wear his uniform in the house. In 1900, Keitel broke with family tradition by becoming an artillery officer. He initially served as a battery commander during World War I, but his intelligence and diligence

marked him for staff work. Thereafter, he remained disinclined toward field service and subsequently established himself as a staff officer of some repute.

After the war, Keitel circulated among the many paramilitary organizations terrorizing the streets of the Weimar Republic and was eventually readmitted into the ranks of a greatly reduced peacetime establishment. A dull, if competent, administrator, he rose steadily through the ranks and, in 1929, gained appointment as head of the Army Organization Department. By 1933, his good performance landed him a position within the secret German General Staff, which had been outlawed by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Germany at that time was covertly rearming itself, and Keitel took the necessary precautions to maintain secrecy. "No document must be lost, since otherwise enemy propaganda will make use of it," he warned. "Matters communicated orally cannot be proved; they can be denied." Keitel again demonstrated his competence by performing smoothly, and in 1937 he advanced to general of artillery. This promotion arose despite the fact he had never commanded anything larger than a battery! That same year, Keitel's career took a fateful turn when he married the daughter of army Chief of Staff Werner von Bloomberg. When Hitler sacked Bloomberg in 1938 to consolidate his control over the military, he learned of Keitel and inquired about him. Once informed he was nothing but an efficient, colorless secretary, the Führer shot back, "That is exactly the kind of man I am looking for." Thus, the non-



Wilhelm Keitel
Imperial War Museum

descript Keitel suddenly found himself as head of the army's General Staff—and part of Hitler's inner circle.

Keitel's ensuing relationship to Hitler quickly became one of complete and utter subservience. Despite his rank as nominal head of the armed forces, he never questioned or challenged any of the Führer's directives. His main role was trying to make strategic sense of Hitler's ravings and adjust the military means necessary to implement them. As time went by, this became increasingly more difficult. Not surprisingly, Keitel's supine compliance incurred the contempt of fellow generals, who nicknamed him

"Lakaitel" from the German word for lackey. His obedience ultimately exerted disastrous consequences for Germany's military fortunes, for Keitel deliberately suppressed bad news from reaching Hitler. This, in turn, undermined the effectiveness of the General Staff in its ability to plan for war and ensured that strategic control of any future conflict passed directly into Hitler's misguided hands. Nevertheless, Keitel repeatedly declared that the Führer's rise to power was "the greatest revolution in all world history."

World War II commenced in September 1939, when German forces invaded and overran Poland. Keitel functioned as Hitler's key military adviser, but his real role was that of military spokesman for the High Command. Hitler usually ignored most advice, but he prized deference and promoted Keitel to field marshal after the fall of France in 1940. Keitel was then authorized to negotiate an armistice with French leaders, which he accomplished

with arrogance and insensitivity. As the war progressed, Keitel, in concert with Gen. **Alfred Jodl**, the head of army operations, basically rubber-stamped any operational whim Hitler cared to impose upon the military, regardless of the circumstances. Only once, when he threatened to resign over the impending invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, did Keitel display any independence. Worse, his servile demeanor also led to complicity in numerous and horrific war crimes. Foremost among these was the famous *Nacht und Nebel* (Night and Fog) directive, which held that any German citizen perceived as an enemy of the state was liable to suddenly disappear—without any explanation to the next of kin. Keitel also acquiesced to the brutal Commissar Directive, which encouraged special SS units (Hitler's private army) to execute men, women, and children in occupied territories when deemed necessary. Not surprisingly, Keitel was at Hitler's side during the failed bomb plot of July 1944—and was among the first to congratulate him for surviving. He subsequently played a prominent role in the Army Court of Honor that sentenced hundreds of innocent officers to death for their alleged collusion. After Hitler's suicide in April 1945, Keitel worked briefly for the provisional government of Adm. **Karl Dönitz**, and on May 9, 1945, he formally signed Germany's surrender to the Allies in Berlin.

Within days, Keitel was arrested by Allied authorities and charged with crimes against humanity. During his trial at Nuremberg, the former general matter-of-factly explained that he was only following orders issued by his superior, and like a good soldier, he was compelled to obey. The court found him

guilty on several counts and issued a death sentence. Keitel apparently experienced second thoughts, for he admitted his guilt and requested to be shot like a soldier. When the request was denied, the tall, melancholy sycophant went to the gallows on October 16, 1944. He was a model staff officer, but also a willing accomplice in some of the greatest crimes of world history.

See also

Hitler, Adolf

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Kesselring, Albert

(November 20, 1885–July 16, 1960)

German General

Jovial Kesselring was an accomplished defensive tactician who contested U.S. forces for possession of Italy during World War II. He was also the only senior German commander whom **Adolf Hitler** did not remove from command. His success on land is even more impressive considering that Kesselring was previously an aerial strategist.

Albert Kesselring was born in Marktshett, Bavaria, on November 20, 1885, the son of a schoolmaster. After attending the Classical Grammar School, he joined the army as an artillery officer in 1904. Throughout World War I, Kesselring performed staff functions and was also trained as a balloon observer. He was subsequently retained by the postwar Reichswehr and by 1932 had advanced to colonel. His open, friendly demeanor led to the less-than-flattering sobriquet of “Smiling” Albert. The turning point in Kesselring’s career happened in 1933 following the ascent of Adolf Hitler to power as Germany’s chancellor. Hitler commenced a covert rearmament that year, and by 1935 a new air force—the Luftwaffe—was born. Kesselring, acknowledged as a brilliant administrator, was then tapped to serve as a high-ranking official within that organization, and he acquired his pilot’s license at the age of 48. In 1936, he became Luftwaffe chief of staff following the death of Gen. Walter Wever in a plane crash. As such he promoted new classes of bombers



Albert Kesselring
Imperial War Museum

and fighters that made Germany’s air arm the most advanced in the world. More important, he helped pioneer and codify the close-air support tactics necessary to assist land units—the essence of blitzkrieg warfare. By 1937, his exceptional performance resulted in a promotion to general, and he departed staff functions to command *Luftflotte I* (Air Fleet) the following year.

World War II commenced with a German attack upon Poland, and Kesselring’s aircraft played a decisive role throughout that successful campaign. His bombers wreaked havoc ahead of German tank columns, and he developed the mass-bombing tactics that gutted Warsaw. In the spring of 1940, Hitler’s attention turned west, and Kesselring, now commanding *Luftflotte II*, became actively engaged in the campaign against the Low Countries and France. Both were speedily overcome thanks in part to his excellent aircrews and equipment. However, the Luftwaffe was stunned after encountering British Supermarine *Spitfires* over Dunkirk, which extracted a heavy toll from Kesselring’s previously unstoppable armadas. Consequently, thanks to Marshal **Hermann Göring**’s mismanagement of airpower, the British escaped from Dunkirk with their army intact. That summer the Luftwaffe was pitted against the Royal Air Force (RAF) for control of the skies over England. Both sides fought with mar-

velous tenacity and courage, but German losses were approximately twice as large as England's. Kesselring originated the strategy of bombing RAF airfields as a direct way of stripping British aerial defenses, but, with Göring, he eventually approved Hitler's shifting of priorities from military to civilian targets. This proved a gross strategic miscalculation, for it granted the hard-pressed British Fighter Command the time needed to regroup and finally win the battle. Consequently, the Germans canceled their intended invasion of England. Hitler was nonetheless pleased by Kesselring's performance as an air chief, and in July 1940 he was elevated to field marshal. The following spring he transferred his refurbished command to Poland in anticipation of invading Russia. Throughout the summer and fall, waves of his bombers spearheaded Gen. Fedor von Bock's armored columns during the drive to Moscow. His talents were suddenly required on another front, and in the fall of 1941 Kesselring established new headquarters at Rome.

Now situated as commander in chief South, Kesselring accepted responsibility for conducting the war in North Africa. His mission also included shoring up the flagging defenses of Italian dictator **Benito Mussolini**, as well as coordinating supplies and offensive moves by German forces. His brilliant but mercurial subordinate, Gen. **Erwin Rommel**, proved difficult to restrain at a distance, yet the British were nearly run out of Egypt. But lengthening supply lines posed difficult problems, and Kesselring advocated capturing the British-held island of Malta. He then began an 11-day aerial offensive against airfields, port facilities, and defenses, but Hitler suddenly canceled the invasion, sending most of Kesselring's aircraft to Russia. Within six months, U.S. forces under Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower had landed in Algeria and began pressing east while victorious British forces under Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery advanced to the west. Rommel was caught between the pincer, and Kesselring helped orchestrate an effective rear-guard action. How-

ever, an ambitious and possibly decisive counterblow was lost when Rommel's attack through Kasserine Pass was not properly supported by forces under Gen. **Hans-Jürgen Arnim**. By May 1943, it no longer mattered, as Allied forces captured the whole of Tunisia and all German forces stationed there. The focus of war now shifted to Italy.

Given the gravity of the situation, Kesselring arrived in Sicily to direct its defense personally. When the Allied invasion materialized that July, it proved unstoppable, but he nonetheless executed a brilliant fighting withdrawal whereby 100,000 German soldiers and 10,000 vehicles were evacuated to the mainland. He then spent several weeks preparing for the defense of Italy, a rugged, mountainous peninsula that neutralized most Allied advantages in tanks and manpower. Over the next 20 months, Kesselring proved himself a master at defensive tactics. American forces under Gen. Mark Clark landed at Salerno on September 9, 1943, which partly caught the defenders by surprise, but Kesselring rushed men and tanks to the threatened zone and nearly pushed the Allies into the sea. For the remainder of the war, German forces gave ground slowly and in good order, making their enemy pay heavily for every inch of terrain. Snug in their positions along the well-prepared defensive position designated the Gustav Line, Kesselring's men defied several hard-pressed attempts to evict them. From November 1943 to May 1944, the strong points around Monte Cassino under Gen. **Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin** were an embarrassing thorn in Clark's side. Frustrated by a lack of success, the Allies tried mounting an end run around the Germans by landing at Anzio, near Rome. Kesselring reacted with his usual promptness and the beachhead was contained. It was not until May 1944 that the Germans forcibly abandoned the Gustav Line, which enabled the Americans to finally enter Rome. The defenders, meanwhile, fell back to prepared positions called the Gothic Line, and the entire bloody process repeated itself. Despite numerical superiority and command of

the air and sea, the Allies would not push the remaining Germans out of Italy until war's end. Kesselring's excellent eye for defensive terrain, and his masterful shifting of resources, were decisive factors in maintaining that agonizing pace.

In March 1945, Hitler summoned Kesselring from Italy to succeed **Gerd von Rundstedt** as commander in chief West. His orders were to hold everywhere and drive the Allies back, but Germany's position was essentially hopeless. Following a few stiff rear-guard actions, Kesselring surrendered to the Americans at Saalfeld on May 6, 1945. By that time he was one of few high-ranking German officials that Hitler had not sacked. After the war, Kesselring was imprisoned and charged with war crimes. Apparently, several units under his command executed 332 Italian citizens in retaliation for partisan activities. Kesselring was found guilty and condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by Prime Minister Winston Churchill. This was done apparently at the behest of several Allied commanders. He gained an early release on account of poor health in October 1952 and retired to private life to write his memoirs. Kesselring died at Bad Nauheim on July 16, 1960, hailed by his former enemies as one of

Germany's top commanders. His far-sighted aviation policies as the Luftwaffe's chief administrator should not be overlooked.

See also

Arnim, Hans-Jurgen; Göring, Hermann; Hitler, Adolf; Rommel, Erwin; Rundstedt, Gerd von; Senger und Etterlin, Fridolin von

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Kim Il Sung

(April 15, 1912–July 8, 1994)
North Korean Dictator

For nearly half a century, maniacal dictator Kim Il Sung ruled North Korea with an iron fist. His obsession to unify the divided Korea Peninsula led to a confrontation with the United States and the first armed conflict of the Cold War.

Kim Sung Ju was born in the Korean village of Pyongan-namdo on April 15, 1912, the son

of a schoolmaster. This was two years after Japan had formally annexed Korea into its burgeoning overseas empire. Several harsh policies, intended to erase the ancient Korean culture and language, were then instituted, and the entire populace was treated little better than slaves. Resentment arising from such cultural imperialism pushed many Koreans,

including Kim, into joining anti-Japanese societies, which in turn triggered even greater oppression. In 1925, Kim fled with his family to Manchuria, where he completed his education and joined the Chinese Communist Party. He then participated in guerrilla activities for several years until 1941, when Japanese military action forced him to retreat into the Soviet Union. There Kim was further educated and indoctrinated at the Soviet party school in Khabarovsk, and he joined the Red Army. His wartime activities are unknown, but by 1945 he had risen to the rank of major and was assigned to accompany Soviet occupation forces to Korea that October. He had also adopted the name “Kim Il Sung” after a noted anti-Japanese guerrilla.

Shortly after the war Korea was partitioned: The Soviet Union maintained troops in the northern half of the peninsula while the United States occupied the south. Each sphere of influence then went about installing political regimes reflecting their respective political philosophy. For North Korea, this meant the creation of a Stalinist-style dictatorship with Kim Il Sung as premier. By the time the North Korean People’s Republic was established in September 1948, Kim had liquidated or suppressed all political opposition and grasped the reigns of power. He then spent the next two years preparing for what became a lifelong ambition: the unification of both Koreas under his regime.

Kim’s Soviet sponsors withdrew from North Korea in 1948, but beforehand they laid the foundation for a large and modern military establishment. By 1950, the North Korean



Kim Il Sung
Bettmann/Corbis

People’s Army numbered around 120,000 frontline troops equipped with vast quantities of tanks, heavy artillery, and other offensive weapons. In contrast, the United States, which decamped South Korea in 1949, had set up the 65,000-man strong Republic of Korea (ROK) army as a constabulary, with very few heavy weapons. Moreover, as the political battle lines between East and West solidified during initial phases of the Cold War, U.S. President Harry S. Truman declared that Korea lay outside U.S. security interests.

This proved to be just what Kim needed to hear. By May 1950, he had counseled Soviet dictator Josef Stalin about his intended conquest of South Korea and assured him it would take about three weeks after the first bullets were fired. After some hesitation—Stalin feared a direct confrontation with America—he agreed to lend political and logistical support. Apparently, Kim did not see fit to inform his giant neighbor, the newly founded People’s Republic of China under Mao Tse-tung, about his intentions until the very brink of war. Thereafter, he continually—and masterfully—played the two superpowers against one another in the name of communist solidarity.

On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces stormed across the 38th Parallel separating the two Koreas. The communist forces encountered only scattered resistance, which their heavily armed columns brushed aside, and within 48 hours the South Korean capital of Seoul was occupied. However, such overt aggression signaled that the Cold War had suddenly run a lot hotter, and President Truman, backed by the United Nations, commit-

ted American forces to the defense of South Korea. Task Force Smith was landed at Pusan and proceeded north under Gen. William F. Dean, but it was defeated at Taejon on July 20, 1950. If American forces were militarily unequal to the struggle, they were even less prepared for the atrocities that followed. On several occasions, the North Koreans bound up several groups of American prisoners and brutally executed them. Within weeks, however, such ruthless behavior would be returned in kind. Kim's armored columns then knifed southward until they had confined the South Korean regime to a pocket of land around the port of Pusan. There, throughout August and September, American and ROK forces under Gen. Walton H. Walker made a heroic—and perilous—stand against great odds, fighting the communists to a standstill. Angered by this last-minute setback, Kim ordered attacks against Pusan renewed, despite repeated warnings from Russia and China that the Americans were preparing a massive counterstroke at Inchon Harbor to the north. On September 15, 1950, a task force under Gen. Douglas MacArthur accomplished exactly that by landing large forces and marching inland to recapture Seoul. This threatened to cut the North Korean supply line, and Kim's forces hastily scrambled back to the border with Walker in close pursuit. By October, United Nations forces had crossed over the 38th Parallel, and North Korea, for all intents and purposes, ceased to exist.

Kim, now a fugitive in his own country, pleaded with China for assistance, and Mao complied. The following month, 500,000 Chinese "volunteers" entered the fray under Gen. **Peng Dehuai**, and they rolled the invaders back to the border. A stalemate, punctuated by savage fighting, ensued for two more years before an armistice was signed in June 1953. The fighting stopped but, technically speaking, North Korea and the United States still remain at war. The toll was also immense: 33,000 Americans, 1 million Chinese, and an estimated 4 million Koreans from both sides were killed.

Kim's quixotic gamble had failed miserably, and he now faced the daunting prospect of rebuilding his shattered nation. However, here he proved himself to be both resolute and resilient. Kim quickly stifled dissent and criticism of his wartime leadership by arresting and executing several political adversaries. Then, in true Stalinist style, he began deliberately and carefully orchestrating a cult of personality centered upon himself. Kim thus became nationally heralded as the "Great Leader," and praise for him and his achievements became a national mantra. One of the visible facets of this state-sponsored megalomania was the erection of giant statues of Kim around the country. He also espoused an indigenous version of socialism called *juche*, or "self-reliance," which required the long-suffering North Korean people to make further sacrifices for the state. Between 1953 and the 1970s, Soviet-style heavy industry became the staple of Korean economic activity, as did vast collectivized farms. Private property or possessions disappeared completely. Kim's plan did mark impressive economic gains, and for a while it actually eclipsed economic performance in the capitalist-oriented South Korea. However, North Korea remained an oppressive Stalinist police state—long after Stalin had departed. For many years it remained a pariah on the international scene.

In truth, Kim never really abandoned his desire to unify Korea. Commencing in 1968, he launched several guerrilla attacks against the South Korean government in an attempt to destabilize it. He also remained an implacable enemy of the United States and brooked no opportunity to humiliate America whenever possible. In January 1968, his forces seized the U.S. intelligence ship USS *Pueblo* in international waters and held its crew hostage for 11 months. That same year, North Korean warplanes downed a U.S. Navy EC-121 reconnaissance aircraft, again in international airspace. The U.S. response to this outrage was tepid, as President Lyndon B. Johnson, occupied with a war raging in South-

east Asia, did not want a second conflict with North Korea. His reluctance seemed to embolden the aging Kim even further, for in the 1970s his agents were apparently responsible for bombing several airliners and political gatherings with heavy loss of life. In the 1980s, the South Korean navy captured several miniature North Korean submarines in their waters, apparently trying to land commandos ashore. But by the 1990s, the specter of a militant, aggressive North Korea shook the world scene when Kim flirted with the development of nuclear weapons. The country also began backsliding economically, beset by intense famines, floods, and a defense budget that consumed nearly 25 percent of the gross national product! This most brutal and unpredictable of dictators died at Pyongyang on July 8, 1994. True to form, Kim broke all political conventions associated with Marxist-Leninism by appointing his son, Kim Jong Il, to succeed him as the “Dear Leader.” North Korea thus enjoys the peculiar distinction of being the first communist country ruled by a family dynasty.

Kluge, Gunther Hans von

(October 30, 1882–August 19, 1944)
German General

“Clever Hans” was one of Hitler’s ablest battle captains, one of the few senior officers he trusted. Even though a professional soldier, he was torn between loyalty to his superior and halting the inevitable destruction of Germany. Unable to bring himself to formally join the resistance, he took his own life rather than face the Führer’s wrath.

Gunther Hans von Kluge was born in Posen, East Prussia, on October 30, 1882, part of an old aristocratic family. He joined the im-

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perial army in 1901 as an artillery officer and served through World War I performing staff functions. In 1918, he was seriously injured at Verdun but was viewed as promising enough to be retained in the greatly reduced postwar Reichswehr. Over the ensuing decade Kluge fulfilled a variety of staff and line positions, gaining a reputation as an active and intelligent officer. In this capacity he acquired the well-deserved moniker *die kluge Hans* (the Clever Hans). In 1933, he advanced to major general and inspector of signal troops and,

three years later, rose to general of artillery. Kluge's smoothly advancing career hit an unforeseen bump in February 1938 when **Adolf Hitler**, intent upon seizing control of the military, charged the incumbent commander in chief, Werner von Fritsch, with homosexuality. Fritsch was subsequently sacked, and Kluge, as one of his vocal defenders, was dismissed along with him. However, Hitler could not dispense with trained professional leaders while on the verge of going to war, and Kluge was recalled within months. Just prior to the outbreak of World War II, he also assumed command of the Fourth Army.

During the invasion of Poland in September 1939, Kluge demonstrated his mastery of blitzkrieg warfare by easily overcoming all opposition. He repeated this performance in France the following summer, gaining a promotion to field marshal. Kluge again commanded the Fourth Army during the ill-fated attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. He drove his tanks literally to the gates of Moscow before a sharp Russian counterattack threw the Germans back in December 1941. Kluge then expertly orchestrated the construction of strong defensive lines that checked Soviet advances. Hitler was so pleased by his performance that he gave the general 250,000 reichsmarks for his sixtieth birthday in 1941. Kluge subsequently replaced Gen. Fedor von Bock as commander of Army Group Center during the upcoming campaign, becoming a highly visible military figure. For this reason, feelers were sent out to Kluge by key elements of the anti-Hitler re-



Gunther Hans von Kluge
Imperial War Museum

sistance, soliciting his support. Kluge, never an ardent Nazi, expressed interest in their machinations but could not bring himself to make a commitment. He then resumed campaigning on the Eastern Front for the next two years, expertly defeating determined Soviet offensives in the wake of Kursk in July 1943. Again, Kluge's demonstrated competence reaffirmed his reputation as one of Germany's most skillful commanders. Hitler, who generally despised military leaders, was delighted by his performance. Tragedy struck in October 1943 when Kluge was badly injured in an automobile crash, which required several months of convalescence.

He was still recuperating in July 1944 when Hitler summoned and dispatched him to France as commander in chief of the Western Front. Before departing Berlin, a grateful Kluge assured the Führer he that could contain Allied forces, which had landed at Normandy the previous June and were since bottled up on the beachhead. But Kluge, now a key military figure, was again approached by members of the anti-Hitler movement. They tried—and failed—to win him over. Kluge was sympathetic toward the conspirators, but he still lacked the intestinal fortitude to abandon the Führer.

Kluge arrived in France on July 1, 1944, and relieved Gen. **Gerd von Rundstedt** as theater commander. He was especially leery of Gen. **Erwin Rommel**, a fellow anti-Hitler conspirator, and the two men waged a personal dispute over the conduct of military affairs. However, when Rommel was injured

during an air attack, Kluge also assumed control of his Army Group B. Kluge, unfortunately, inherited a front on the verge of collapse: Germans troops had not been replaced after weeks of internecine fighting, while the Americans and British continued pouring in waves of fresh troops and tanks. Disaster struck on July 25, 1944, when the Allies threw 1,500 airplanes against Gen. **Fritz von Bayerlein's** Panzer Lehr Division at Saint-Lô. German positions simply evaporated under the onslaught, and Gen. George S. Patton, commanding the newly created Third Army, raced through the gap with seven divisions. Heading south and then east, Patton, it appeared, intended to come up on Army Group B and attack from behind. Back in Berlin, Hitler was outraged by this development and ordered Kluge to counterattack immediately with eight panzer divisions. His objective was to capture Avranches on the French coast, which would cut off Patton from his supplies, marooning him inland. Kluge, cognizant that the Americans outnumbered him on the ground and enjoyed complete air superiority, considered this sheer folly. Moreover, if the attack failed, it would be impossible to concentrate overextended German forces for an orderly withdrawal across the Seine River. But he dared not question Hitler's directives and, against his better judgment, ordered the tanks forward.

One reason for Kluge's mindless compliance was the failed July 20, 1944, bomb plot against Hitler. Scores of military officers, guilty or not, were soon to be rounded up and executed for their alleged role. Kluge was determined not to be one of them; pinning his hopes on this attack, he might regain the Führer's esteem. Unfortunately, the Germans could muster only four worn-down panzer divisions for this all-important operation. On August 7, they engaged parts of the 30th U.S. Infantry Division at Mortain, which stubbornly refused to give ground. Over the next four days, fighting raged in the vicinity of Hill 317, a strategic position overlooking the German advance, but the outnumbered defenders

drove back their assailants with heavy losses. Kluge then and there should have asked Hitler for permission to withdraw, but he blanched, and the fighting continued. Meanwhile, Gen. Omar N. Bradley saw an opportunity for catching Kluge's entire army between Patton's Third Army and British forces under Gen. Bernhard Montgomery. The Normandy front then began collapsing around Kluge. Unable to make progress and under a rain of bombs, he consulted with Seventh Army commander Gen. **Paul Hausser**, and both men agreed to retire immediately—whether the Führer agreed or not. The entire Mortain operation did little beyond increasing German casualties and accelerating the loss of France to the Allies. Kluge was masterfully withdrawing from the rapidly closing Falaise Pocket when Gen. **Walter Model** arrived unannounced at his headquarters on August 17, 1944. Model carried orders for him to report to Berlin immediately, which—given the failed bomb plot—meant only one thing.

Kluge was apprehensive that conspirators in Hitler's hands had implicated him. Fearing the hangman's noose, on August 19, 1944, the general ordered his aide to drive past the old Verdun battlefield, where Kluge had fought and been wounded in 1918. Then, spreading out a blanket on the ground, he calmly took a cyanide capsule, killing himself. In a final letter to his master, Kluge declared his admiration and loyalty for Hitler but entreated him to end to the war. "I depart from you, my Führer, as one who stood nearer to you than you perhaps realized," he explained, "in the consciousness that I did my duty to the utmost." Hitler vindictively ordered the remains of his former favorite interred without military honors. It was a sorry ending for so capable a soldier, but rather than make a moral stand, "clever Hans" continually played both sides off against each other. In the end, he was fatally caught between.

See also

Hitler, Adolf; Model, Walter; Rommel, Erwin

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Knyphausen, Wilhelm von

(November 4, 1716–December 7, 1800)
Hessian General

The grim-faced Knyphausen was senior commander of German auxiliaries throughout most of the American Revolution. He was one of few foreigners held in high esteem by British military leaders, and even the Americans lauded him for displays of honesty and kindness. His calm detachment in battle and polished courtesy in personal affairs made him a study in military professionalism.

Wilhelm von Knyphausen was born in Lutzburg, East Friesland, Hanover, on November 4, 1716, the son of an army officer who had served under the Duke of Marlborough. After studying at the Berlin Gymnasium, he entered the Prussian service in 1734 and rose steadily through the ranks. By the advent of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Knyphausen was a major of grenadiers and closely engaged in a number of severe actions. His final wartime rank was lieutenant colonel, at which time he appears to have passed back into the service of his monarch, Prince

Friedrich II of Hesse-Kassel. Knyphausen by this time had acquired a reputation as a taciturn, humorless individual who almost always projected a grave demeanor. Yet he was as brave as a lion in combat, strict but fair with his men, and kindly disposed toward captives and civilians. One of his long-standing eccentricities was buttering bread with his thumb, a common practice given the lack of silverware in the field. Following commencement of the American Revolution in April 1775, the government of Great Britain hired large numbers of German auxiliaries to augment their own standing forces. Knyphausen at this time held the rank of lieutenant general in the margrave's army, so the following spring he was selected to lead the second division of 4,000 Hessian troops to North America.

The 60-year-old Knyphausen was transported by the Royal Navy to New York and arrived on October 18, 1776. There he joined the First Hessian Division under Gen. Leopold von Heister, with a combined strength of 8,500

men. As part of the larger British army under Gen. **William Howe**, Knyphausen formed a rear guard during the last phases of the successful New York campaign. The American army under Gen. George Washington had been trounced repeatedly and driven from New York City save for a large earthwork called Fort Mifflin on the northern tip of Manhattan Island. On November 16, 1776, Howe ordered Knyphausen to storm the work, which was strongly posted upon rugged, elevated terrain and guarded by riflemen. Undaunted, Knyphausen formed his men into two assault columns, one under Col. **Johann Rall** and the other under himself, and led them, sword in hand, up the slopes. Accurate rifle fire shot down scores of Germans, and the general worked at tearing down parts of the palisade with his bare hands before a final charge carried the outer work. Other British forces under Gen. **Hugh Percy** also made their appearance. At this point the American commander, Col. Robert Magaw, parleyed for terms. Knyphausen reputedly displayed no emotion as he accepted Magaw's surrender but calmly took out his pipe and smoked. Hessian troops, however, were angered by their losses, but the general forbade any atrocities against the prisoners. The fall of Fort Mifflin was one of the biggest disasters to befall the Americans thus far, for they lost 2,800 prisoners, along with vast quantities of supplies. The Hessians, by comparison, suffered 58 killed and 202 wounded. Howe was so impressed by this performance that he ordered the post christened Fort Mifflin to honor its conqueror.

Knyphausen remained in New York and played no role in the pursuit of Washington's army into New Jersey, which culminated in the surprise American victory at Trenton around Christmas. Rall's Hessian brigade was surprised and captured, which led General Howe to press for the retirement of General Heister. By the summer of July 1777, Knyphausen had replaced Heister as commander in New York by Gen. **Henry Clinton**, and he ventured to Philadelphia as part of

Howe's army. He bore a conspicuous part in the victory at Brandywine on October 10, 1777, by pinning Washington's army frontally while a detachment under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** turned the American flank. Ever the disciplinarian, he also took strong measures to prevent Hessian troops from plundering the hapless citizenry. His pluck in battle and competence in management also rendered him one of few foreign generals trusted and respected by the British. Howe's army subsequently occupied Philadelphia, and, over the winter, Knyphausen occupied the house of American general John Cadwalader. By the time the British evacuated the city eight months later, Knyphausen allowed Cadwalader's agent to carefully inventory the house for missing items prior to his departure. A thorough check turned up nothing gone, and the elderly general then compensated his host by paying rent for the time involved. In such a manner did Knyphausen become a respected figure among both his allies and enemies.

As the British evacuated Philadelphia in August 1778, a major battle was fought at Monmouth, New Jersey, but Knyphausen was not closely engaged. Thereafter, and until the end of the war, he was headquartered at New York City as General Clinton's second in command. Over the course of the next few months, he participated in many large-scale raids against Patriot outposts, and Clinton, like Howe before him, came to trust his military judgment implicitly. Knyphausen was one of few foreign leaders allowed to attend high-level councils of war, and when Clinton departed for Charleston, South Carolina, Knyphausen succeeded him as commander of the New York region. He was the only Hessian officer of this war so honored.

During his tenure as commander, Knyphausen was bombarded by advice by his subordinate, former Governor **William Tryon**, who convinced him that Loyalist sympathies in neighboring New Jersey were deeper than they actually were. In May 1780, the general was also told that Washington's army was ex-

periencing dissension, and he decided to attack them while they were still demoralized. Taking 6,000 men, Knyphausen advanced into New Jersey as far as Connecticut Farms, where, instead of finding Loyalists, he was harassed by swarms of angry militiamen along his entire march; he returned to Staten Island in good order. Shortly thereafter, Clinton resumed command, and he ordered Knyphausen on another foray to prevent Washington from attacking New York in conjunction with the French fleet. The result was another stirring of the hornets' nest, this time at the Battle of Springfield on June 23, 1780. Once again, the New Jersey militia, backed by regulars under Gen. Nathaniel Greene, fought competently, and Knyphausen saw fit to withdraw again intact. Springfield proved his final field operation, for failing health necessitated constant medical attention. By May 1782, Knyphausen, old and infirm, sailed back to Germany and was replaced by Gen. Friedrich von Lossberg.

Having done the reputation of his state and prince great honor in America, Knyphausen was appointed military governor of Kassel by Prince Friedrich II. He died while serving in that capacity on December 7, 1800, a consummate professional soldier. Of all the German soldiers sent to America, only Knyphausen proved competent enough to win the trust of

his employers—and chivalrous enough to command the respect of his enemies.

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Lee, Robert E.

(January 19, 1807–October 12, 1870)
Confederate General

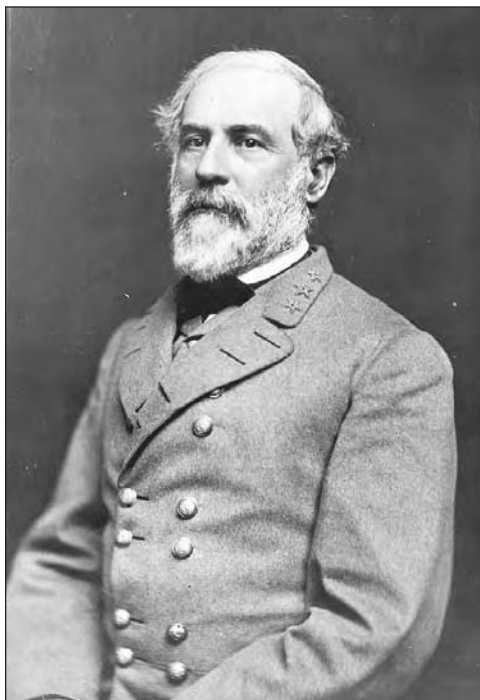
Always outnumbered but never outfought, “Bobby” Lee was one of the most brilliant tacticians in American military history and the embodiment of Southern military prowess during the Civil War. The Confederate States of America could not have lasted as long as it did without his

battlefield virtuosity. For three years, he defied and outmaneuvered superior numbers of Union troops, even though his Army of Northern Virginia was perpetually short of men, equipment, and supplies. Furthermore, Lee’s humanity, high sense of duty, and utter selflessness made him a popular figure, respected

in the North and revered throughout the South.

Robert Edward Lee was born in Stratford, Virginia, the third son of American Revolution hero Henry Lee. He gained appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1825 and graduated second in his class four years later without a single demerit. Lee subsequently joined the elite Corps of Engineers as a second lieutenant, rose to captain in 1838, and distinguished himself in a variety of engineering tasks along the Mississippi River. During the opening phases of the Mexican-American War, he accompanied Gen. John E. Wool's campaign to Saltillo and in 1847 joined the army of Gen. Winfield Scott during the advance on Mexico City. Lee fought with distinction at Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo, where his daring reconnaissance determined Scott's flanking movements. After additional fighting at Churubusco and Chapultepec, where he was wounded, Lee gained a brevet promotion to colonel and returned home.

In 1852, Lee was appointed superintendent of cadets at West Point, a post he felt unqualified for, but he revitalized and tightened the school's curricula. Furthermore, he was a strict disciplinarian and nearly expelled his own nephew, Fitzhugh Lee, on account of poor grades and behavior. In 1855, Lee left the academy to become lieutenant colonel of the Second U.S. Cavalry under Albert Sidney Johnston, a unit renowned for training large numbers of future Confederate officers. In 1859, while on a furlough home, Lee was called on to suppress abolitionist John Brown's uprising at Harpers Ferry, which he



Robert E. Lee
Library of Congress

did bloodlessly with a company of marines. Lee advanced to colonel of the First U.S. Cavalry and was commanding the Department of Texas in 1860 when the specter of civil war awakened a crisis of loyalties.

As a soldier, Lee supported neither secession nor slavery, but he felt deeply obliged to support his native state of Virginia. When President Abraham Lincoln offered him command of all federal armies, he respectfully declined and tendered his resignation in April 1861. By May, he was made a lieutenant-general of Confederate forces by President **Jefferson Davis**. Lee, however, bungled his initial assignment to subdue the western counties of Virginia, due mostly to uncooperative subordinates like **John Buchanan Floyd**. Consequently, he became known in some circles as "Granny Lee." Davis, however, recognized his potential and assigned him to shore up the defenses of the southern Atlantic coast. Before long, Lee was back in Richmond as Davis's military adviser. In this capacity Lee relieved Union pressure on the Confederate capital of Richmond by dispatching Gen. **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson** on his famed Shenandoah Valley campaign.

Lee's fortunes, and the Confederacy's, changed dramatically when he assumed command of the Army of Northern Virginia after Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** was wounded at Seven Pines in May 1862. He had never commanded in battle before but immediately launched what became his tactical trademark—a relentless series of hard-hitting and punishing attacks. This offensive, known as

the Seven Days Battle, pushed the huge army of Gen. George B. McClellan away from the gates of Richmond. The Union forces were never seriously defeated, and Confederate losses were heavy, but Lee had correctly gauged McClellan as overly cautious. In August 1862, Lee and Jackson caught another Union force under John Pope at Second Manassas in a pincer attack and nearly routed it.

Having gained the strategic initiative, Lee then carried the war north into Maryland and on September 17, 1862, fought McClellan again at Antietam. The battle was a near-disaster for the South, but Lee's army was saved by Union bungling and the last-minute appearance of Ambrose P. Hill's division. It was the bloodiest single day of the entire Civil War, with 12,400 Union and 13,700 Confederate casualties, and a strategic defeat for the South. Nevertheless, when McClellan failed to pursue the enemy, Ambrose Burnside was appointed his successor. Burnside cornered Lee into strong defensive positions at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December 1862. He then resorted to unimaginative frontal assaults against entrenched Confederate positions and was repulsed with heavy losses. The year ended with the Army of Northern Virginia enjoying high morale, world renown, and an aura of invincibility. Lee himself had become an object of veneration to his men—and genuinely beloved.

In the spring of 1863, a new Union commander, Joseph Hooker, decided to force Lee into a decisive battle. He succeeded in outflanking the Confederates in a brilliant march but lost his nerve and fell back to a wooded area known as the Wilderness. Observing this hesitancy, Lee boldly divided his army in half, sending Jackson on a wide sweep around the Union right, which caught Oliver O. Howard's XI Corps on the flank, routing it. The ensuing Battle of Chancellorsville was another major Confederate victory, but the gallant, strategically perceptive Jackson was mortally wounded by his own men. For the rest of the war, Lee was forced to depend on less reliable subordinates.

Taking advantage of Union confusion and demoralization, Lee took the war north again into Pennsylvania. The contending armies collided near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 1, 1863, but Lee, deprived of intelligence when Gen. **Jeb Stuart** took most of his cavalry on a deep raid, could not fight to advantage. Gen. Richard S. Ewell also failed to take the high ground behind the town while Union Gen. George G. Meade took up strong defensive positions and defied every attack thrown at him. Gen. **James Longstreet** and Gen. George E. Pickett were repulsed with heavy losses on July 2 and 3, and Lee retreated back to Virginia. Having lost the most decisive engagement of the Civil War, the high tide of the Confederacy had crested.

In the spring of 1864, Lee was confronted by a new adversary, Ulysses S. Grant, whose Army of the Potomac numbered 120,000. The Army of Northern Virginia scarcely mustered 60,000. When Grant advanced on Richmond, Lee bested him in a series of battles at Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor, inflicting 50,000 casualties. But unlike his predecessors, Grant did not retreat. When confronted by insurmountable Confederate resistance, he simply sidestepped and inched closer to Richmond, forcing Lee to pursue. In this manner, the Army of Northern Virginia became fixed near the Confederate capital, and Union forces under Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman broke through Georgia and advanced on Lee from behind. To relieve pressure on his front, Lee dispatched Jubal Early on a famous, but futile, campaign down the Shenandoah Valley. Early's defeat in the fall of 1864 signaled the coming collapse of the Confederacy.

For nearly a year, Lee maintained his dwindling army in the trenches before Richmond and Petersburg. In February 1865, he was appointed general in chief of all Confederate forces, but by then the Southern cause was breathing its dying gasps. The impasse ended on March 31, 1865, when Gen. Philip H. Sheridan broke through Confederate lines at Five Forks. His position untenable, Lee abandoned

Richmond and made a run for North Carolina to link up with Joseph E. Johnston's army. Grant, however, pursued vigorously, and the Army of Northern Virginia was cut off by Sheridan's cavalry at Appomattox. Lee, realizing the game was finally up, surrendered there with great dignity on April 9, 1865, to spare his ragged, hungry troops further bloodshed.

After the war, Lee turned down lucrative employment offers and served as president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. He accepted defeat gracefully and urged his former compatriots to work for a restored Union. Following his death in Lexington, Virginia, on October 12, 1870, the college renamed itself Washington and Lee University in tribute. Lee occupies a conspicuous niche in the pantheon of American heroes on account of his brilliance, tenacity, and genuine humility. His citizenship was officially restored by an act of Congress in 1975.

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Leisler, Jacob

(1640–May 16, 1691)

Colonial Rebel

Wealthy and well-connected, Leisler was an unlikely candidate to lead a rebellion against English authority. He nonetheless took control of New York City for two years, demonstrating a real strategic grasp in military affairs, but proved unable to consolidate his political base before being disposed.

Jacob Leisler was born in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, the son of a Protestant minis-

ter. He received religious instruction as part of the French Reformed congregation and also attended a Protestant military academy in Hanau. In the wake of the recently ended Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), he also acquired a deep hatred for, and suspicion of, the Roman Catholic Church. After relocating to Amsterdam in 1659, Leisler found employment with the Dutch West India Company as a

translator of English documents. Shortly after, he gained an appointment as an officer of troops being sent to New Netherlands (New York) and arrived with a company of men in 1660.

Young Leisler, originally a poor soldier, took full advantage of the opportunities confronting him in the New World economy and society. He entered the fur and tobacco trade, made a small fortune, then cemented his alliance with the city's elite by marrying Elsie Tymens van der Veen, a rich widow, in 1663. This placed him at the very center of the city's power elite, and he used his influence to become one of New York's largest landowners. In August 1664, he signed a declaration that urged Governor Peter Stuyvesant to surrender the city to the English and openly swore allegiance to the new regime. He was rewarded by allowing to serve as a juror and arbitrator within the English legal system. Leisler, given his military background, was also active in militia affairs, and by 1680 he was the most senior officer present in the city. In 1685, he parleyed his wealth and political influence into helping found the settlement of New Rochelle for Huguenot refugees who had fled France after King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes and effectively ended religious toleration there. Being generous and kindhearted toward the poor, he proved especially endearing to the lower classes, most of whom were of Dutch extraction.

At this time the English colonies were being convulsed by the religious and political turmoil then sweeping England. The Catholic monarch, James II, was on the verge of being overthrown by the Protestant William of Orange and his wife, Mary. In July 1688, the king formally annexed New York into the Dominion of New England, thereby centralizing government control over the region. This move was widely resented by the inhabitants of New York and further intensified antipathy toward this openly Catholic monarch. When word of James's overthrow (in the so-called Glorious Revolution) was received, the Dominion of New England collapsed and Gover-

nor-General Sir Edmund Andros was arrested and deported in April 1689. In New York City, Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson, a Catholic sympathizer, refused to acknowledge the new king, and he called upon Leisler to ready the militia to thwart any domestic unrest. Nevertheless, the New York militia revolted, declared Leisler their leader by acclamation, and Nicholson beat a hasty retreat from the province. Now leaderless, a provincial committee of safety was summoned in June 1689, which appointed Leisler captain of the fort, a ranking position within the city militia. Two months later he was elevated to commander in chief of the province of New York. By default this former soldier had become head of the most prosperous settlement of North America.

Leisler was no dictator, for he called for new local elections, improved the city's defenses, and also codified New York's laws for the first time. However, many of his former friends within the elite viewed these and other reforms as pandering to the lower classes. In December 1689, royal letters arrived that were addressed to Nicholson "or in his absence, to such as for the time being takes care for preserving the peace and administering the laws." Leisler conveniently seized this correspondence as further proof of his political legitimacy and assumed the new title of lieutenant governor. In this capacity he dismissed many political enemies from the government and, seeking to shore up relations with the multitudes, called for a provincial assembly. This move further alienated many of the city's wealthy, who had previously enjoyed greater power and influence under Nicholson. Critics of the regime, however, more often than not found themselves arbitrarily jailed.

The threat of Catholic military menace occurred in February 1690, when French and Indian forces massacred the inhabitants of Schenectady, New York. Leisler responded by calling the first convention of colonial governments in American history. His avowed purpose was to devise a plan to eliminate the

French threat originating from Quebec, and he authored a practical, two-pronged attack from land and by sea. When this plan was ratified by the convention, Leisler had become the de facto commander of a new military union within the colonies. However, this operation also resulted in conscription to increase available manpower, as well as increased taxation to support them. When the actual campaign, entrusted to Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, failed miserably due to lack of colonial cooperation, criticism of Leisler and his increasingly autocratic ways continued to mount.

New York's political crisis crested in January 1691, when a ship arrived from England bearing two companies of soldiers under Capt. Richard Ingoldsby. He demanded that Leisler surrender the city's main fort in anticipation of the arrival of Governor Henry Sloughter, his replacement. Leisler refused without authorization from the proper civilian authorities, of which there were currently none. A tense impasse continued for several weeks, with friction and violence growing between Leisler's supporters and opponents. Sloughter finally arrived on March 17, 1691, having been delayed by administrative difficulties. When Leisler surrendered the following day, he was immediately arrested and charged with treason.

Within weeks a court was convened for Leisler's trial. However, inasmuch as the jury was composed of all his aristocratic enemies, the outcome was never in doubt. Leisler, angered by this treatment, refused to speak out in his own defense and was found guilty. On May 16, 1691, this most unlikely of rebels was

hanged and then beheaded without ceremony. However, the wanton execution of Leisler, a Dutch national, shocked Europe, and the Netherlands government pressured King William into reviewing the case. In 1695, Parliament was induced to reverse the New York court's decision, legitimize Leisler's administration, and vote an indemnity to his heirs. Leisler's rule, trial, and death nevertheless cast a pall over New York City politics, and bitter feelings—especially between the English and Dutch communities—persisted well into the eighteenth century. In a twist of fate, the two-pronged military strategy he so strongly advocated against Quebec was eventually adopted in the French and Indian War, ensuring the fall of New France in 1763.

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Leslie, Alexander

(ca. 1731–December 27, 1794)

English General

Leslie was a senior-ranking British officer of the American Revolution but a relatively plodding performer. His march upon Salem, Massachusetts, anticipated what would follow at Lexington and Concord by several months, but he handled himself adroitly and without violence. He was then entrusted with several important missions and directed the evacuation of southern ports by war's end.

Little is known of Alexander Leslie's youth or upbringing, other than he was born in England around 1731, eldest son of the Fifth Earl of Leven and Melville. In March 1755, he was commissioned a captain of the 50th Company of Royal Marines at Portsmouth, and the following year he joined the army as a captain of the 11th Regiment of Foot. He rose to major of the 64th Foot in June 1759 and lieutenant colonel as of August 1766. Having performed a stint of garrison duty at Halifax, Nova Scotia, Leslie then accompanied his regiment to Boston in 1772. That city was a center of growing resistance to imperial rule, and by 1775 stronger measures were necessary to enforce order. It had come to the attention of Massachusetts Governor Gen. **Thomas Gage** that there was a large store of cannons and ammunition at Salem. Therefore, on February 26, 1775, Leslie was dispatched with the 64th Foot to seize the ordnance and destroy it. His men were disgorged by ships at Marblehead Bay that afternoon and proceeded to march inland. News of the British approach alarmed the militia gathered there, and a detachment under Col. Timothy Pickering deftly removed 19 cannons and hid them. By the time Leslie arrived in Salem, the cannons were gone, the draw bridge over the North River had been lifted, and a large body of citizens was obstructing his path. A few tense moments ensued, and Leslie threatened to open fire if his way was not cleared. But an agreement was

reached whereby the British would cross the bridge—then turn around and withdraw. Leslie's comic opera farce ended peacefully, and armed conflict was averted for the moment.

The Revolutionary War erupted the following April, but Leslie does not appear to have been engaged in combat prior to the August 1776 Battle of Long Island under Gen. **William Howe**. He fought bravely as a brigadier general but without displaying good tactical sense. Consequently, his men suffered heavy losses at the ensuing Battles at Harlem Heights and White Plains. By December, the Americans under Gen. George Washington had been chased out of New York and were fleeing across New Jersey. Leslie, as part of the advanced guard Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**, was entrusted with several command posts and ordered to remain vigilant. This he clearly failed to do. Throughout the freezing night of December 26, 1776, Washington's army recrossed the Delaware River, stole past within three miles of Leslie's position at Maidenhead, New Jersey, and went on to defeat Cornwallis's rear guard at Princeton. His last recorded activity up north was as part of the July 1780 attack upon Newport, Rhode Island.

Leslie was promoted to major general as of February 1780, and that fall Gen. **Henry Clinton** directed him to raid the James River along the Virginia coast. Through this measure it was hoped that rebel supplies to the southern frontier would be disrupted and that Loyalists there might be encouraged to flock to the colors. Leslie commanded a force of 2,200 men that was conveyed by ship to Portsmouth, Virginia, and landed. However, when the anticipated Loyalist surge failed to materialize, along with necessary guides needed to navigate the James River, he moved southward to ravage the Suffolk region instead. Meanwhile, Clinton had received news

of Maj. **Patrick Ferguson's** defeat at King's Mountain, and he summoned the raiders back to New York. Leslie promptly complied and sailed on November 22, 1780, having accomplished a great deal of marching—and little else.

Once at New York, Clinton dispatched Leslie and his men to Charleston, South Carolina, as reinforcements for General Cornwallis. He commanded a sizable force, including a Guards Brigade, the Hessian von Bose Regiment, the King's Americans, some provincial light infantry, and detachments of dragoons and artillery. Leslie disembarked at Charleston on December 14, 1780, and marched overland to Camden. Continuing onward, he eventually linked up with Cornwallis in January 1781 and joined in the pursuit of American forces under Gen. Nathaniel Greene. Apparently, while fording the Catawba River on February 1, 1781, his horse lost its footing and Leslie nearly drowned. The following month he was closely engaged at the bloody victory at Guilford Courthouse, commanded the right wing, and supported Gen. **Charles O'Hara** in the final assault. Leslie did not accompany Cornwallis's subsequent foray into Virginia but instead returned to New York to recover his health.

After the surrender of Yorktown in October 1781, Leslie was sent south one last time as head of the southern command. The war by this time had all but petered out, and there was little for the British to do but mark time. Leslie advanced to temporary lieutenant general in January 1782, and the following summer he ordered the evacuation of Savannah. He then orchestrated the British withdrawal from Charleston in December 1782 and returned to England.

After the war, Leslie returned to England, where he gained a promotion to lieutenant general and also obtained an honorary

colonelcy in the Ninth Regiment of Foot. By 1794, he was at Edinburgh as second in command of all military forces stationed in Scotland. Leslie was present during a mutiny in December of that year and proved instrumental in helping to quell the disturbance. Unfortunately, having obtained the surrender of the ringleaders, he was struck by an object hurled at him by a mob and fatally wounded. He died at Edinburgh on December 27, 1794, a dedicated professional soldier. Leslie's relative anonymity is also unusual considering his high rank and active service record, which encompassed most of the American Revolution.

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Levis, François-Gaston

(August 20, 1719–November 26, 1787)

French Army Officer

Levis was probably the most accomplished French military leader of the French and Indian War, with several impressive victories over the English to his credit. Had he commanded French forces in Canada at the beginning of that conflict, the inevitable outcome might have been contested much longer.

François Levis was born in Limoux, Languedoc, France, into an impoverished branch of an old aristocratic family. He joined the army at the age of 15 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Regiment de la Marine on March 25, 1735. For such a poor Gascon cadet, he enjoyed impeccable bloodlines and counted among his relatives the Duke of Levis-Mirepoix, soon to be a French marshal, who appointed him to his staff. From the onset, Levis proved himself a gallant and able soldier. He fought continuously and with great distinction throughout the War of the Polish Succession, rising to captain in 1737. Levis subsequently participated in numerous battles of the War of the Austrian Succession and also fought at Dettingen in 1743. After campaigning in Italy in 1747, he left his regiment to serve as a staff officer with a brevet rank of colonel and appointment as assistant chief of staff under the Prince de Conti. This position not only conferred greater respect on the young soldier but also afforded him greater pay. Nonetheless, Levis lacked the money to raise and equip a regi-



François-Gaston Levis
National Archives of Canada

ment of his own and was forced to look elsewhere for military and monetary advancement. In 1765, he volunteered to accompany Gen. **Louis-Joseph de Montcalm** to Canada and gained appointments as brigadier general and second in command of French regulars there.

No sooner had Levis arrived at Quebec in May 1756 than he became embroiled in the cross fire between Montcalm, his superior officer, and **Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, the governor-general. As a professional soldier, he studiously avoided personal politics, and the doughty Vaudreuil eventually came to express a great fondness for him. Levis was nonetheless carefully discreet in his dealings with the governor-general, however, lest the appearance of favoritism raise the ire of Montcalm. When the latter went off to successfully besiege British forts at Oswego, New York, Levis received an independent command along Lake Champlain. Little fighting occurred during this period of Levis's career, but he became thoroughly acquainted with New World military tactics, including bush fighting with light infantry, Native Americans, and other irregular forces. In the spring of 1757, he accompanied a raid against Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George, New York, and the following summer accompanied the campaign against it. There Levis commanded the siege train, the transport boats, and the advance guard with consummate skill, but Montcalm's

inability to follow up his victory angered the governor-general. Again, Levis remained diplomatic toward both parties and astutely steered a neutral path. In fact, Vaudreuil was so impressed by his performance that he advised superiors back in France to promote Levis to major general.

In the spring of 1758, Vaudreuil conceived a strategy whereby Levis and 3,000 men would be dispatched into the heart of Iroquois territory. His mission was not so much an attack as an attempt to cow that tribe into changing its alliance from England to France. However, Levis had no sooner embarked on his mission than he was speedily recalled back to reinforce Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) in New York. He arrived just as an English army of 15,000 men under Gen. James Abercromby was positioning itself to attack. Levis was posted to the exposed right flank, which Abercromby made no attempt to turn, and was conspicuously engaged in the disastrous repulse of July 8, 1758. When Montcalm again gave the appearance of being unwilling to follow up on a victory, Vaudreuil demanded his recall back to France and replacement by Levis. Levis was, in fact, promoted to major general, but when the government decided to leave Montcalm in command, he graciously accepted his continuing role as a subordinate.

The tempo of events quickened in the summer of 1759 when an army and fleet under Gen. James Wolfe arrived off Quebec. Levis argued strenuously with Montcalm that French forces should not remain in the city and be trapped there. At length, he was allowed to take a picked force to guard the shoreline from St. Charles to Montmorency. Levis's foresight was rewarded on July 31, 1757, when Wolfe made an attempted landing at Montmorency and French forces defeated him handily. Subsequent British gains at Fort Niagara in western New York then convinced Montcalm that a possible offensive against Montreal was in the offing, and in August he dispatched Levis to that city with 800 men.

Thus, Levis was absent during the decisive British victory over French forces on the Plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759, in which both Wolfe and Montcalm were slain. Levis, now senior commander, hurried back to Quebec to collect the disorganized remnants of French forces and shepherded them back to Montreal. Over the ensuing winter he made great strides in improving morale and integrating Canadian militia with regular forces. Levis also struck up a cordial written relationship with Gen. James Murray, now commanding the English garrison at Quebec. The two erstwhile enemies remained friends for life.

In the spring of 1760, Levis became convinced that Quebec could and should be recaptured at any cost. He authorized an active war of outposts against English forces, prevented them from foraging, and allowed scurvy to do its work. By March, Murray's 7,000-man garrison had dwindled to half its strength, and Levis set out to engage him. On April 28, 1760, Murray's 4,000 soldiers met a similar force under Levis at Saint Foy, not far from where Montcalm and Wolf had died. After a stiff fight, the British right flank was turned, and Murray hastily withdrew back to the city with heavy losses. Levis then laid siege to the town in hopeful anticipation of reinforcements from French ships on the St. Lawrence River. When ships did appear in May, they turned out to be British, so Levis abandoned Quebec and fell back to Montreal. The British responded with a three-pronged advance on that city, which convinced Governor-General Vaudreuil that the war was lost. On September 6, 1760, articles of capitulation were drawn up by Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, but Levis, seeing they denied the French garrison honors of war, strongly protested. He clearly preferred to fight rather than dishonor himself and the men under his command. Vaudreuil, not given to such niceties, commanded him to accept the terms as written. He obeyed, but Levis flatly refused to meet with Amherst or extend any

of the traditional courtesies due a victorious general.

Levis returned to France shortly after his surrender, and he politely and rather generously praised Governor-General Vaudreuil's performance. The French war minister remained impressed by his performance in the field and conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant general. In this capacity Levis fought under the Prince de Soubise and the Prince de Conde, distinguishing himself in several actions against the Prussians. The Seven Years' War then concluded in 1763, and Levis retired from active service two years later to serve as governor of Artois. In 1771, he was selected for the highly honorific post of commanding a Garde du Corps company, tasked with guarding the dauphin, or king's son. In June 1783, the old soldier was elevated to the rank of marshal, France's highest military distinction. Levis died at Arras on November 26, 1787, quite possibly the most effective soldier in the war to preserve Canada for France.

Little Turtle

(ca. 1752–July 14, 1812)
Miami War Chief

A master of ambush and surprise, Little Turtle was responsible for one of the biggest disasters in U.S. Army history. When his own defeat became inevitable, he renounced war and became a loyal ally of the American government.

Little Turtle (Michikinikwa) was born near the Eel River in the vicinity of present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, around 1752. His father was a chief of the Miami, but because his mother was a Mahican, tribal custom dictated that he could not inherit a leadership position. Nonetheless, Little Turtle displayed fine leadership and warrior qualities as a young man, and he was eventually made a Miami chief by the tribal elders. He was pro-British by na-

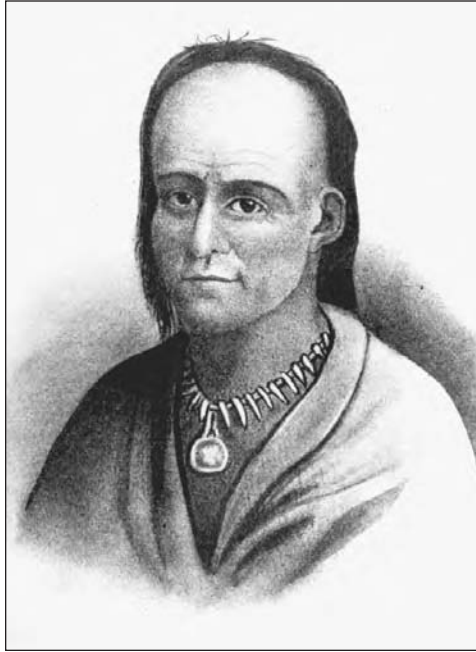
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ture, and in 1780 his warriors attacked and destroyed a French-Illinois expedition under Col. Augustin de la Balme. After the American Revolution, he became a leading spokesperson for resistance to white encroachment north of the Ohio River and helped form a loose confederation of Miamis, Shawnees, Potawatomis, and Ojibwas. In 1787, Congress guaranteed the Indians that their hunting grounds would be respected. But within a few years, a rash of illegal settlement precipitated a fierce border war between the Indians and the frontiersmen. By 1790, when it was apparent the Indians would not accept the squatters, the American government resorted to punitive measures.

The man the Americans initially chose to exact these measures was Gen. Josiah Harmar, who had assembled a force of 1,100 poorly trained Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia, stiffened by 300 army regulars. Little Turtle by this time was principal war chief of the Miamis, and he ordered his braves to feign retreat, luring the Americans deeper and deeper into the countryside. Harmar met no opposition until he reached Little Turtle's village, where the Indians ambushed and mauled two reconnaissance expeditions in October 1790. Having lost 262 men and accomplished nothing, the Americans withdrew back to Kentucky. This victory ensured Little Turtle's subsequent leadership over the Maumee Valley tribes, and they united in time to face an even greater onslaught.

In September 1791, the government dispatched Gen. Arthur St. Clair with a force of 2,300 raw regulars and 300 Kentucky militia against the Indians. Little Turtle commanded a force of similar size, assisted by the Shawnees Blue Jacket and **Tecumseh**. Desertion soon reduced St. Clair's force to 1,500 men; encouraged by this weakness, Little Turtle abandoned his usual defensive tactics in favor of a direct assault. This was something that Native Americans had never tried before. On the morning of November 4, 1791, his warriors stormed the American encampment while the soldiers were breakfasting and routed them. St. Clair, gravely ill, roused himself from bed and attempted to rally the survivors before the entire army was annihilated. A bayonet charge enabled 500 men to escape destruction but at tremendous cost, with more than 600 soldiers killed and 300 wounded. Little Turtle's losses appear to have



Little Turtle
Ohio Historical Society

been negligible, and in November 1792 he also defeated a party of Kentuckians led by John Adair. However, fearing the dreaded "long knives" would attack again, Little Turtle spent the next two years shoring up tribal solidarity and soliciting help from the British.

As feared, the Americans appeared once more, this time with Gen. Anthony Wayne at their head. Wayne spent almost two years training and equipping his force of 2,000 men and advanced carefully, building forts along the way. Little Turtle respected his professional and energetic preparations, calling him "the chief who never sleeps." The Indians harassed his line of supply with impunity, but when they rashly attacked Fort Recovery in July 1794 and were rebuffed, many grew sullen and returned home. Little Turtle took stock of "Mad Anthony" Wayne and counseled other chiefs to seek peace. "We have never been able to surprise him," he warned. "Think well of it. Something whispers to me, listen to peace." Little Turtle was ridiculed and lost command of the Indians to Blue Jacket. On August 20, 1794, Wayne crushed the confederation at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which Little Turtle commanded a few Miamis and played a small role. The following year Little Turtle was a signatory to the Treaty of Greenville, wherein the Indians gave up most of the land that comprises present-day Ohio. Containing his bitterness, he declared, "I am the last to sign the treaty; I will be the last to break it."

From that time on, Little Turtle remained a friend of the United States, and in 1797 he traveled to Washington, D.C., to meet with George Washington and Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who pre-

sented him with a brace of pistols. He was sincere in his quest for peace and made additional land concessions with Governor William Henry Harrison, who built a house for him on the Eel River. He also took the white scout William Wells as his son-in-law and kept the Miamis out of Tecumseh's tribal coalition. Little Turtle succumbed to illness at Fort Wayne on July 14, 1812, and received a military burial.

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Little Wolf

(ca. 1820–1904)

Cheyenne War Chief

Little Wolf was an architect of the famous 1,500-mile Cheyenne trek from Oklahoma to Montana. His tenacity and military skill evaded all attempts at capturing him and resulted in a reservation built on traditional Cheyenne hunting grounds.

Little Wolf (Ohkom Kakit) was born near the confluence of Montana's Eel and Blue Rivers around 1820. Like all Cheyenne youths, he was exposed to Plains warfare at an early age and demonstrated both guile and ferocity against traditional Pawnee and Arapaho enemies. His prowess eventually landed him membership in the Bow String Soldier Society, an elite fighting fraternity. Little Wolf's first contact with whites occurred in 1851, when the Cheyennes signed the Treaty of Horse Creek, guaranteeing wagon trains the right to cross tribal lands in peace. Most Cheyenne, in fact, harbored little ill-will toward their eastern neighbors until 1864, when word of the dreadful Sand Creek Massacre and the subsequent death of **Black Kettle** arrived. United in anguish, most Plains tribes-

men took to the warpath, spreading murder and mayhem across the frontier. The intensity of hatred and conflict escalated in 1866, when the Americans began constructing forts along Montana's Bozeman Trail. This threatened to disrupt the hunting of buffalo, essential to the Indian way of life, and Sioux warriors under **Red Cloud** and **Crazy Horse** fought a successful war to evict them. Many Cheyennes were in complete sympathy, and Little Wolf was among several notable warriors who distinguished themselves at the Fetterman Massacre of 1866. After the Treaty of Fort Laramie was concluded in 1868, the Americans were obliged to abandoned Fort Phil Kearney to the Indians, and Little Wolf repopulated it with his band. They burned it to the ground soon after to follow the migrating buffalo herds.

By 1870, Little Wolf enjoyed a peerless reputation as a warrior, and he also functioned as a major war chief. He was by then in his late fifties yet could still outrun all the younger braves under him. More important, as bearer

of the Sacred Chief's Bundle, Little Wolf bore the highest responsibility for the survival of his tribe. For many years he strove for peaceful accommodations with the whites, but by 1876 the influx of white miners and prospectors triggered a general uprising under the noted Sioux leader **Sitting Bull**. Again, the Cheyennes threw their full weight behind their Sioux allies, and Little Wolf was closely engaged in the decisive Indian victory at Little Bighorn in June 1876. However, the death of Gen. George Armstrong Custer only fanned the flames of white vengeance, and other forces under Gen. George Crook pursued and harried the fleeing Indians well into the depths of winter.

Given their scanty existence, most Indian tribes avoided winter conflict, and this reluctance played directly into Crook's strategy. In November 1876, the combined villages of Little Wolf and **Dull Knife** were surprised by a cavalry column under Col. Randall S. Mackenzie and routed. Around 40 Cheyennes were slain; more significant, the Indians lost all their supplies and winter clothing. After months of exposure in the freezing cold, Little Wolf and Dull Knife had little choice but to surrender to the Americans in order to survive. This they did in the spring of 1877 on the condition of being returned to their homeland, but they were subsequently relocated to new homes in Oklahoma Territory.

The Cheyennes failed to adjust to reservation life, being deprived of promised food and clothing and beset by outbreaks of malaria. Little Wolf and Dull Knife repeatedly complained of these conditions to the resident Indian agent, John A. Miles, who requested a year to meet their demands. The chiefs angrily responded that by then the Cheyennes would all be dead and demanded relocation to their ancestral homelands. When Miles summarily refused, Little Wolf and Dull Knife led 350 Cheyennes on a secret exodus from the hated reservation in September 1878. What followed was a heroic 1,500-mile epic journey. Despite the Cheyennes' head start,

army units quickly tracked the fleeing Indians and skirmished with them. However, under Little Wolf's keen leadership, the tribesmen were uniformly successful and usually managed to evade large numbers of pursuing cavalry. Upon reaching Nebraska, the two bands split, with Little Wolf wintering along the Sand Hills of Montana while Dull Knife sought out the Red Cloud Agency at Fort Robinson. The latter was imprisoned there and had to stage a costly breakout to escape. Meanwhile, Little Wolf's band of 150 men, women, and children successfully eluded pursuers until they reached the mouth of the Powder River. There a patrol under Lt. W. P. Clark induced them to surrender to Gen. Nelson A. Miles at Fort Keogh. The exhausted Cheyennes willingly complied in exchange for food, and Miles also offered Little Wolf the opportunity to work as an army scout. He agreed to be so employed for several months and was rewarded with a new reservation along the Tongue River in Montana, traditional Cheyenne country. His sacrifices were not in vain.

Little Wolf spent the remainder of his life on reservations, where an unfortunate incident occurred. In 1880, after a bout of drinking, he killed a rival in anger and was stripped of his standing as chief. Little Wolf then entered into voluntary exile along the Rosebud River until his death there in 1904. It was a sorry ending for one of the most distinguished leaders of the Cheyenne nation.

See also

Crazy Horse; Red Cloud; Sitting Bull

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Logan, James

(ca. 1720–1780)

Mingo Chief

Logan, at one time friendly to whites, became an implacable enemy following the slaughter of his family by frontier ruffians. He also bequeathed an eloquent philippic that Thomas Jefferson rated as equal to those of the ancient Greek orators.

He was born Soyechtowa around 1720 at Shamokin (present-day Sunbury, Pennsylvania), the son of a Cayuga woman and Shikellamy, an Oneida chief. He belonged to the Mingo tribe, which was actually a part of the famous Six Nations (Iroquois) of New York that lived beyond traditional lands. Soyechtowa was raised on a frontier where Native Americans easily mixed and intermarried with white colonials. His father was a steadfast supporter of colonial Governor William Penn, and the young man developed an abiding respect for his Quaker secretary, James Logan (1674–1751). In keeping with Indian traditions, he adopted the name as his own. Like his father, Logan was extremely friendly and cooperative with his white neighbors and amassed considerable wealth hunting and trapping for them. He was never an important chief among his people, but Logan's skills in battle, fine oratory, and commanding presence rendered him a significant frontier figure in his day. He supported the English during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and again during the 1763–1764 rebellion by the Ottawa chief **Pontiac**. But by 1770, the western frontiers of Pennsylvania had become populated with new settlements, which made

hunting and trapping impractical. Logan therefore relocated his family to a new settlement along Yellow Creek near present-day Chillicothe, Ohio.

Unfortunately for both sides, the traditional spirit and cooperation between whites and Indians were breaking down under the strain of relentless settlement and expansion. It was not uncommon for bands of lawless frontiersmen, eager for land, to randomly murder any group of Native Americans they encountered. Naturally, the Indians responded in kind to such atrocities, and a pallor of outright war cast itself over the frontier. Sometime during April 1774, a group of frontier ruffians under Daniel Greathouse invited a group of Logan's relatives to a drinking party. All were suddenly murdered, and in a stroke, Logan had lost his entire family, sisters, and brothers. This wanton act of cruelty enraged the Mingo chief, and he initiated a one-man war to extract vengeance. Over the course of several years, Logan reputedly took as many as 30 scalps, including a fair share of women and children. The royal governor of Virginia, **John Murray**, Lord Dunmore, took advantage of this unrest to start formal hostilities against the neighboring Shawnees and possibly acquire more pristine Indian land. In the ensuing fracas, Logan sided with Shawnee chief **Cornstalk** in opposing the whites, but Indian efforts faltered at the October 10, 1774, Battle of Point Pleasant. Shortly thereafter, Cornstalk and other warring chiefs saw the

hopelessness of their position and sued for peace.

At length, Lord Dunmore convened a conference at Camp Charlotte, Ohio, in November 1774, to formally conclude hostilities. Logan was among those cordially invited to attend, but he flatly rejected any attempts at conciliation. Instead, he relayed his feelings to Indian agents John Gibson and **Simon Girty**, who translated the speech for the English dignitaries. "I appeal to any white man to say, if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him meat not; if he ever came cold and naked, and he clothed him not," he declared. "During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said 'Logan is a friend of white men.' I have even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man [Daniel Greathouse], the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan—not one!"

In terms of impact and emotion, Logan's speech is considered one of the great soliloquies of Native American history. No less an authority than Thomas Jefferson likened it to the great orators of ancient Greece. "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan." Logan's newfound celebrity was unexpected but of little consolation. Deeply embittered, he continued his one-man war of

raiding settlements for several years, supporting the British throughout the American Revolution. In 1778, he purportedly spared the life of noted scout Simon Kenton, but his grief also forced him to seek refuge in heavy drinking. This, in turn, apparently exacerbated his harshness, and he gained the reputation of an abusive bully. Logan was apparently inebriated while on a visit to Detroit in 1780 when he was murdered by his nephew. The chief's passing went unmourned, as he eloquently predicted, but many years later a statue was erected in his memory at Fair Hill Cemetery in Auburn, New York.

See also

Pontiac

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Longstreet, James

(January 8, 1821–January 2, 1904)

Confederate General

“**O**ld Pete” Longstreet was one of the Confederacy’s most celebrated and controversial soldiers. An aggressive fighter, he was slow to execute orders if he disagreed with them, and many Southern generals blamed him for the loss at the Battle of Gettysburg. After the war, he compounded his unpopularity by joining the Republican Party during Reconstruction and criticizing **Robert E. Lee**.

James Longstreet was born in Edgehill, South Carolina, on January 8, 1821, and in 1838 he gained admittance to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. A mediocre student, he graduated in 1842 as a second lieutenant of the Fourth U.S. Infantry and conducted garrison duty on the Louisiana and Texas frontiers. When the Mexican-American War broke out in 1846, Longstreet was part of Gen. Zachary Taylor’s army, and he fought well at the Battle of Monterrey. The following year he accompanied Gen. Winfield Scott’s march to Mexico City and distinguished himself at Churubusco and Molino del Rey, rising to brevet major. Longstreet was severely wounded at Chapultepec, but after the war he returned to the frontier as a paymaster. He resigned his commission in April 1861 to become a brigadier general in the Confederate Army.

Longstreet distinguished himself during the Bull Run campaign of July 1861, repulsing Gen. Irvin McDowell’s advance guard at Blackburn’s Ford on July 18 and pursuing defeated Union forces almost to the gates of Washington, D.C., on July 21. His fine performance netted him a promotion to major general and command of a division under **Joseph E. Johnston** during the 1862 Peninsula campaign. He was confused by contradictory orders at Seven Pines that May and failed to deliver what might have been a fatal blow to George B. McClellan’s Army of the Potomac. However, he rebounded in the

Seven Days’ Battles under Lee. He next fought with **Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson** at Second Manassas, where Gen. John Pope was severely defeated. Longstreet then acquired a reputation for caution by opposing Lee’s subsequent invasion of Maryland, but he nonetheless fought well at the September 17, 1862, Battle of Antietam. He received a promotion to lieutenant general in October and commanded the I Corps during the bloody repulse of Ambrose Burnside’s army at Fredericksburg, Virginia, that December. From this point on, Lee affectionately referred to the hard-charging general as “my old war horse.”

In February 1863, Lee detached Longstreet’s corps to the Richmond area, where he conducted a lethargic and unsuccessful siege of Suffolk, Virginia. He consequently missed the decisive victory at Chancellorsville in May, but after the death of Jackson he became Lee’s senior corps commander. In this capacity Longstreet rendered controversial decisions that ruined his reputation in the minds of many. As a general, he favored a strategic offensive coupled with a tactical defense to place Union troops at a disadvantage. Lee, however, chose to invade Pennsylvania and attack the army of George G. Meade at Gettysburg. Longstreet cautioned against this offensive, which would prove to be the beginning of the end for the Confederacy. Confederate mishandling of the battle on July 1 enabled Union troops to establish strong defensive positions along Little Round Top, and on the following day Lee ordered Longstreet to attack them head-on. Longstreet’s protests bordered on insubordination, and his slow movements delayed the Confederate assault until four o’clock in the afternoon. His attack, fiercely delivered by **John Bell Hood**’s division, pushed Dan Sickles’s corps back against the main Union line, but the Confederates failed to penetrate Union

defenses. On Little Round Top, Col. Joshua Chamberlain conducted a magnificent defense with the 20th Maine Infantry and defied all Confederate attempts to capture it. On July 3, Lee then ordered Longstreet to launch a frontal assault on Cemetery Ridge involving the II Corps and George E. Pickett's division. As Longstreet predicted, the Confederate offensive failed with staggering losses.

After the Confederate retreat back to Virginia, Longstreet and two divisions were dispatched westward to assist the army of Gen. **Braxton Bragg** in Georgia. Exploiting a gap in the Union line, his attack at Chickamauga on September 20, 1863, shattered William S. Rosecrans's army and sent it reeling. In November, Bragg sent Longstreet to capture Knoxville with Gen. Joseph Wheeler, but, moving slowly, he failed to defeat Burnside's army in the field and settled for an unproductive siege. The approach of Union reinforcements under William Tecumseh Sherman induced Longstreet to retire from his position within a month.

Longstreet rejoined Lee in Virginia to fight in the fierce Battle of the Wilderness in May 1864. He marched to the assistance of Ambrose P. Hill's faltering troops, and his counterattack stopped the army of Winfield Scott Hancock in its tracks. In the confusion Longstreet was shot and severely wounded by his own men. He could not resume campaigning until November, when he took control of Richmond's defenses. Despite the futility of the struggle, Longstreet remained by Lee's side until his surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.

After the war, Longstreet worked as a businessman and gained the undying enmity of his former rebel compatriots by joining the Re-

publican Party. President Grant, a West Point classmate, appointed him surveyor of customs in New Orleans in 1869 and postmaster in 1873. He also briefly served as U.S. minister to Turkey in 1880. Longstreet wrote extensively after the war, and his memoirs are regarded as among the best written by a senior Confederate officer. However, when he criticized Lee's leadership, particularly at Gettysburg, he himself was bitterly assailed in history journals by Jubal Early and Fitzhugh Lee for slowness and insubordination. Longstreet died at his home in Gainesville, Georgia, on January 2, 1904.

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Looking Glass

(ca. 1832–October 5, 1877)
Nez Percé War Chief

Looking Glass helped direct the legendary 1,500-mile flight of the Nez Percé Indians from Oregon to Montana. He was generally a capable war chief, but two strategic mistakes cost him his life and his tribesmen their freedom.

Allalimya Takanin was born around 1832 in the Wallowa Valley of present-day northeastern Oregon state. His father, Apash Wyakaikt (“Flint Necklace”), was chief of the Asotin band of the Nez Percé Indians. Because of his practice of wearing a small mirror around his neck, the elder man acquired the name of Looking Glass.

Young Allalimya Takanin, meanwhile, developed into an accomplished warrior and buffalo hunter. His wanderings over the Great Plains brought him into close contact with the distant Crow Indians, whom he befriended, and helped defeat the neighboring Sioux on several occasions. He thus acquired a practical knowledge of trails and overland routes as far away as Montana. Like many Nez Percé, Allalimya Takanin was initially friendly toward white settlers, but after gold was discovered in 1850 the newcomers displayed insatiable appetites for Indian land. The elder Chief Looking Glass refused to sign the 1855 treaty, which sold millions of acres of land to the U.S. government, although he cautioned against war with whites. After his death in 1863, Allalimya Takanin succeeded him as chief, adopting his father’s mirror and name.



Looking Glass
National Archives

Thereafter, Looking Glass continued the tradition of passive resistance against land sales while preaching peaceful coexistence with surrounding settlers. To underscore continuity in this policy, in 1863 he refused to sign another treaty that conceded additional Nez Percé land to the Americans while consigning many of the Christianized Nez Percé bands to reservations in Lapwai, Oregon. He was joined in his resistance by another notable leader, Chief **Joseph** of the Wallowa band.

The Nez Percé endured a decade of uneasy relations with whites until May 1877, when a new army commander, Gen. Oliver O. Howard, brought the issue to a climax. That month he ordered all nontreaty Nez Percé to evacuate their homes and report to reservations with 30 days. Failing this, army troops would forcibly remove them. While numerous chiefs debated what action to take, resentful young Nez Percé braves murdered several settlers in retaliation for an earlier killing, which touched off the famous Nez Percé War. Looking Glass continued to advocate a peaceful settlement to the crisis until July 11, 1877, when troops of soldiers and militia under Lt. Stephen C. Whipple appeared at his village. Negotiations were in progress when a volunteer shot an Indian, touching off a wild melee that ended with Looking Glass fleeing his village. Soon thereafter, he joined up with Joseph’s band, which had also been attacked

by troops at White Bird Canyon. As large numbers of dispossessed Indians flocked together at Weippe, a council of nontreaty chiefs was held on July 15, 1877, to decide upon strategy. What followed was a minor military classic.

Looking Glass, by dint of his reputation as a warrior and his commanding presence, was approached for military advice. He strongly urged his fellow tribesmen to flee their homeland across the Lolo Trail and make haste for Crow Indian lands in Montana. When the tribal elders agreed, Looking Glass, assisted by Joseph and other ranking chiefs, initiated their 1,500-mile trek for freedom. The Indians brushed aside several of Howard's pursuing units and conducted a safe and leisurely crossing of the Bitterroot Mountains. Concerned for the elderly and convinced that the army troops were not nearby, Looking Glass allowed his people to camp and rest at Big Hole Valley on August 7, 1877. Security was lax, and the Nez Percé failed to post any scouts. Two days later, soldiers under Col. John Gibbon managed to approach undetected and launched a heavy attack on the camp. Despite an initial panic, the Indians rallied under Looking Glass and beat off the intruders. The toll, however, was high: around 90 men, women, and children were killed, including 12 of the tribe's best warriors. In view of this reverse, Looking Glass became discredited and lost his appointment as principal war chief. That post was subsequently accorded to Chief Lean Elk, although Looking Glass remained within the inner circle as a military adviser.

The Nez Percé continued slogging eastward with the army in close pursuit. The Indians were surprisingly effective in several more small encounters, but each had the effect of bleeding away manpower and supplies. When it was determined that an alliance with the Crow Indians would not be feasible, the chiefs then decided to veer northward into Canada to join forces with the Sioux renegade **Sitting Bull**. Through it all, Looking Glass continually argued that the people

were tired and needed rest. He prevailed upon Lean Elk and others to slow the rate of march, as Howard's troops had been clearly outpaced. This was partly true, but, unknown to the Indians, Howard had telegraphed ahead to Gen. Nelson A. Miles at Fort Keogh, Montana, about the intended course of the refugees and ordered him to intercept. At length the Nez Percé crossed the Little Rockies and were entering the Bear Paw Mountains with their final destination less than 100 miles distant. When the exhausted tribesmen grew disillusioned by Lean Elk's relentless pace, he was disposed, and Looking Glass regained his standing as the principal war chief.

The footsore Nez Percé limped to within 40 miles of the Canadian border—and freedom—when Looking Glass allowed them to encamp near the northern flank of the Bear Paws. No danger was perceived at the time, but on September 30, 1877, Miles suddenly appeared out of nowhere and attacked the Indian encampment. Looking Glass directed the defense of the camp admirably and threw back his assailants for four days, but he had clearly been surprised a second time. There was little time for recriminations as the weather worsened and food stocks dwindled. Joseph and other chiefs began discussing the unthinkable, but Looking Glass declared "I will never surrender to a deceitful white chief" and made plans to break away and ride north. Shortly after convening a council on October 5, 1877, scouts announced the approach of a mounted warrior outside the camp. Looking Glass, anticipating that it was a messenger from Sitting Bull, sprang up on the rocks to get a better look. At that moment he was cut down by a sniper's bullet and died, the last casualty of the Nez Percé War. His death disheartened the defenders, and Chief Joseph surrendered to General Miles that same day. In return for their monumental retreat, the Nez Percé endured nearly a decade of exile on reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma. But in 1885, they were finally and permanently relocated to new homes in Idaho, much closer to their traditional lands.

Looking Glass, and the others, had not died in vain.

See also
Sitting Bull

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Loring, William Wing

(December 7, 1818–December 30, 1886)
Confederate General; Military Adventurer

In a military career spanning 53 years, the one-armed Loring served three flags on two continents. "Old Blizzards" was a capable officer with distinguished service ranging from the Pacific Coast to the Nile River.

William Wing Loring was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, and raised in Florida. His military escapades began in December 1835 when he joined the militia to serve in the Second Seminole War. Having fought at both Black Point and Wahoo Swamp, he rose to a second lieutenant by the time hostilities ceased in 1842. Loring then studied law at Georgetown College, was admitted to the Florida bar, and gained election to the state legislature. When the Mexican-American War commenced in 1846, he was directly commissioned a captain in the newly raised Regiment of Mounted Rifles, and the following year he made major. In this capacity Loring fought under Gen. Winfield Scott during the advance upon Mexico City and distinguished himself at Contreras and Chapultepec. In this last encounter, Loring's left arm was badly shattered

and had to be amputated. He allegedly submitted to the procedure without the benefit of chloroform, never uttering a groan. Afterward, the men of his regiment buried the severed limb on a hill, with a finger pointing toward Mexico City. For such conspicuous service Loring gained two brevet promotions to lieutenant colonel and colonel, and—despite the loss of a limb—was retained in the postwar service.

Loring was stationed with his regiment at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, when the famous Gold Rush to the West Coast began. Accordingly, he was tasked with marching his regiment 2,500 miles to Oregon, providing security for a wagon train of 600 vehicles and thousands of settlers. So capably did Loring execute his mission that upon arriving he was appointed head of the newly created Department of Oregon. In 1851, Loring and his men were transferred to Texas and New Mexico, where they conducted periodic skirmishes against the Comanche and Kiowa Indians. In September 1856, Loring transferred his head-

quarters to Fort Union, New Mexico, where two months later he became the youngest colonel in the army. In this capacity he conducted several sweeps through Apache lands in concert with Gen. Benjamin Bonneville. Two years later he accompanied Col. Albert S. Johnston on the so-called Mormon Expedition to Utah. In 1859, Loring acquired a well-deserved leave of absence and traveled to Europe and the Middle East to study military institutions. He returned to New Mexico in 1860 to find himself appointed commander of the Department of New Mexico. By that time Southern states had begun the secession process in anticipation of civil war. Loring did not wholeheartedly agree with the process, but he nonetheless concluded 15 years of army service by resigning his commission in May 1861. The department was turned over to another frontier stalwart, Edward R.S. Canby.

Having offered his service to the Confederacy, Loring was named a brigadier general as of May 1861 at the behest of President **Jefferson Davis**, a former U.S. secretary of war who was familiar with Loring's military reputation. In July 1861, he succeeded Gen. Robert B. Garnett as commander of the northwestern army in the Shenandoah Valley. He was soon joined there by a newcomer, Gen. **Robert E. Lee**, who previously held a lesser rank to Loring in the U.S. Army. The two men worked haltingly together and botched a small offensive at Cheat Mountain that September. Lee was transferred out shortly after, and Loring next came under the command of Gen. **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson**.

During the months of November and December, Jackson and Loring maneuvered their men through snow and sleet in an attempt to capture the desolate Union post at Romney. However, when Jackson withdrew to comfortable winter quarters, he instructed Loring to remain behind in Romney, fully exposed to the elements. This move angered Loring, who decried Jackson's "utter disregard for human suffering." He then violated the closely prescribed chain of command by appealing directly to Confederate Secretary

of War Judah P. Benjamin for redress. When Loring's request was granted and he returned to Shenandoah for the winter, an angry Jackson threatened to resign his commission outright. Loring was subsequently transferred out of the theater to placate Jackson, and he received command of the Department of Norfolk with a rank of major general. Once Norfolk fell to Union forces in May 1862, Loring found himself transferred again to the Department of Southwestern Virginia, where on September 6, 1862, he defeated Union forces in the Kanawha Valley. The following December, with Confederate fortunes farther west in precipitous decline, Loring found himself destined for the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana.

By January 1863, Loring had reported for duty under Gen. **John C. Pemberton**, previously a captain in the prewar army. As with Lee, Loring disliked taking orders from an erstwhile subordinate. The two leaders quarreled incessantly over what Loring viewed as Pemberton's inept leadership. At this time, Union Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was about to embark upon his famous Vicksburg campaign down the Tallahatchie River. Anticipating this move, on March 11, 1863, Loring was posted at Fort Pemberton (Greenwood, Mississippi) with several cannons and a 2,000-man garrison to obstruct them. During a severe exchange of fire, he stood upon the parapet shouting, "Give them blizzards, boys!" The Union flotilla was repulsed, and thereafter Loring became popularly known as "Old Blizzards." The following month, Loring also defeated Col. Benjamin H. Grierson's attempt to capture the town of Enterprise, Mississippi. However, Grant completely outmaneuvered Pemberton, decisively beating him at Champion Hill on May 16, 1863, and shutting him up in Vicksburg. Loring disregarded Pemberton's orders during the retreat and sheared away, not wishing to be captured when the city fell. Vicksburg capitulated on July 4, 1863, and Loring marched southward to Jackson, Mississippi, joining Confederate forces gathering there under Gen. **Joseph E. John-**

ston. Afterward, Pemberton bitterly assailed Loring for his actions, which he characterized as insubordinate.

By the spring of 1864, Loring had been transferred to the corps of Gen. Leonidas K. Polk in the northwestern corner of Georgia. Over the next three months he skirmished with advancing forces of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman during Sherman's March to the Sea, and that June Loring scored several tactical defensive victories over Union forces at Little Kennesaw and Pigeon Hill. Furthermore, when Polk was killed at Pine Mountain on June 14, 1864, Loring assumed temporary command of the Army of Mississippi. The following month he was replaced in turn by Gen. Alexander P. Stewart and rendered useful service at the Battles of Peachtree Creek and Ezra Church in July. Loring was badly wounded at the latter and could not rejoin the army under Gen. **John Bell Hood** until September 1864. He then accompanied Hood's advance into Tennessee to sever Sherman's supply lines. He played a conspicuous role as Hood's second in command at the Battle of Franklin and the terrible defeat at Nashville, where his division conducted a skillful withdrawal under fire. Loring and the remnants of his force made their way to North Carolina, where they joined up with General Johnston. Loring fought bravely at the Battle of Bentonville (March 19–21, 1865) and finally surrendered to Sherman at Greensboro on May 2, 1865.

Loring ventured to New York City after the war to become a banker. In 1869, his career took an exotic turn when he arrived in Egypt and was appointed an inspector general in the army of Khedive Ismail I with the rank of lewan pasha (brigadier general). In 1870, Loring was commandant of Alexandria and responsible for the defense of the coastline. In

1875, he led Egyptian forces south into the Sudan and won the Battle of Kaya-Khor. The khedive especially appreciated his decade of service and awarded him the title of pasha and several lavish decorations. Loring finally returned to the United States in 1879, dividing his time between New York and Florida. He wrote exclusively about his varied military experiences before dying in New York on December 30, 1886. Loring was an excellent soldier and a determined, if stubborn, leader with a colorful background and a service record to match.

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Hood, John Bell; Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Lovell, Mansfield

(October 20, 1822–June 1, 1884)

Confederate General

Lovell was a capable commander, but he had the misfortune of trying to defend weakly held New Orleans against superior Union forces. Officially exonerated for the loss, he was never fully trusted thereafter and spent the balance of the Civil War in minor commands.

Mansfield Lovell was born in Washington, D.C., on October 20, 1822, the son of an army surgeon, Gen. Joseph Lovell. He was admitted to the U.S. Military Academy in 1838 and graduated four years later, ninth in a class of 56. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the Fourth U.S. Artillery, Lovell reported for duty in Texas and performed several years of garrison duty under Gen. Zachary Taylor. When the Mexican-American War erupted in 1846, he accompanied Taylor's invasion of northern Mexico; he was wounded and won a brevet promotion for gallantry at Monterrey on September 18–21. While recuperating he served as an aide-de-camp to Gen. John A. Quitman. The following year Lovell joined Gen. Winfield Scott's column as it advanced upon Mexico City. He fought conspicuously in the storming of Chapultepec on September 14, 1847, receiving a second brevet promotion to captain. He served several more years of frontier duty until 1854, then resigned his commission to work at an ironworks in New Jersey. In 1858, Lovell relocated to New York City, becoming the first superintendent of street im-



Mansfield Lovell
Library of Congress

provement and befriending Gustavus W. Smith, a future Confederate general. When the Civil War commenced in April 1861, Smith departed immediately, but Lovell lingered indecisively at New York for several months. He finally tendered his services to the Confederacy that September, but the delay engendered great suspicion as to his actual loyalty.

Lovell enjoyed a pristine military reputation before the war, so on October 7, 1861, he gained an appointment as a major general. Furthermore, he was entrusted with the command of Department No. 1—the city of New Orleans. This strategic location controlled access of the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico and also obstructed all Union advances up the mighty waterway. When Lovell arrived in New Orleans he was aghast to find that the city's manpower had been stripped for service in other theaters. His command consisted of only 4,500 ill-trained and ill-armed militia and a handful of steamships under construction. Nevertheless, he threw himself into strengthening the defenses of New Orleans with commendable energy. He especially strengthened Forts St. Philip and Jackson, which controlled the approaches on the Mississippi, 75 miles downstream. These were the city's main defenses, and it was hoped their presence would deter a Union fleet from passing. The entire scheme

was far less than satisfactory, but Lovell, given to drinking and boasting, made it clear to the Southern press that the city could be held.

On April 8, 1862, a fleet under Adm. David G. Farragut and Cmdr. David D. Porter appeared in the mouth of the river, apparently intent upon capturing New Orleans. For two days, Porter's gunboats pounded Fort Jackson with little success. Their failure prompted Farragut to run past the forts at night, which was brilliantly accomplished on April 24, 1862. Having then landed a large army under Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, the fleet proceeded upstream and pulled up alongside the unprotected city. Lovell, realizing the hopelessness of his situation, promptly evacuated his troops and marched north. He was roundly criticized in the Confederate press, but several military figures, especially Gen. **Robert E. Lee**, testified to the correctness of his withdrawal. A court of inquiry also cleared him of responsibility for the loss of New Orleans, but a whispering campaign about his alleged disloyalty continued.

By the fall of 1862, Lovell was in charge of I Corps in the army of Gen. **Earl Van Dorn** and also posted as his second command. On October 3–4, 1862, Van Dorn attempted to retake the strategic railroad junction at Corinth from Union forces under Gen. William S. Rosecrans. The ensuing battle was a costly and confusing affair for the Confederates. On the second day, Van Dorn ordered Lovell, who commanded the right wing, to attack superior Union forces in prepared positions. It was a reckless gamble, preordained to failure and heavy losses, so Lovell disobeyed to save the lives of his men. However, two other Confederate divisions went in unsupported and lost heavily; Van Dorn then charged Lovell with insubordination. He partially redeemed himself by performing useful work covering the Confederate withdrawal from Coffeeville, but he was subsequently relieved. Lovell had lost the respect of Confederate authorities, and even

his men began derisively singing the “New Ballad of Lord Lovell,” which satirized the loss of New Orleans—and their general's fondness for liquor. He consequently remained without a field command for the rest of the war. Despite repeated entreaties by Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** and **John Bell Hood**, the Confederate war department refused to grant Lovell any significant responsibilities. However, he did manage to secure a post as a volunteer aide on Johnston's staff and served well throughout the Atlanta campaign. In March 1865, General Lee formally requested that Lovell receive command of a corps, and the government relented. The war ended before he could arrive at headquarters.

Lovell relocated to Georgia after the war, where he lived as a rice farmer. When his estate was wiped out by floods, he returned to New York City and accepted various positions in surveying and engineering. He died there on June 1, 1884, a talented general but underutilized by a government that never really trusted him.

See also

Hood, John Bell; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Ludendorff, Erich von

(April 9, 1865–December 20, 1937)

German Staff Officer

Brilliant but mercurial, Ludendorff possessed one of the best tactical minds of World War I. When coupled with the steadying influence of **Paul von Hindenburg**, they constituted a formidable offensive team. However, Ludendorff proved stubborn and shortsighted in a strategic sense, and his policies actually hastened Germany's defeat in World War I.

Erich von Ludendorff was born in Kruszevnia, East Prussia (modern-day Poland), on April 9, 1865, the son of middle-class parents. Despite these nondescript origins, he decided upon a military career and became a cadet in 1877 at the age of 12. Prospects for men of nonaristocratic birth were usually limited, but Ludendorff proved himself exceptionally adept as an officer. Rising through merit, he breezed through the *Kriegsakademie* (war college) in 1893 and two years later joined the prestigious General Staff as a captain. In this capacity he ultimately headed the mobilization and deployment section of that body. But having arrived at such a high station, Ludendorff began exhibiting two qualities that characterized his later military career: intense brilliance and abrasive impetuosity. In 1913, he drafted extensive plans for expanding manpower and munitions, an excellent scheme that was rejected by the war ministry as too risky. Moreover, when he clandestinely and illegally lobbied several politicians to support his plan, Ludendorff was dismissed and assigned to an



Erich von Ludendorff
Archive Photos

infantry regiment far from Berlin. The following year he rose to brigadier general at Strasbourg just prior to the commencement of World War I.

In August 1914, Ludendorff functioned as deputy chief of staff to Gen. Karl von Bulow's Second Army and accompanied the advance into Belgium. There he distinguished himself in the capture of several strategic forts, winning the prestigious *Pour le Merite*, Germany's highest honor. At this time, large Russian armies were poised to overrun East Prussia, then weakly garrisoned, and Gen. Max von Prittwitz

ordered a hasty withdrawal. To counter this, Ludendorff was teamed with a little-known officer named Paul von Hindenburg as the latter's chief of staff and sent east. From the onset, the two men formed one of the greatest fighting duos of military history, with Hindenburg's gravity and prudence counterbalanced by Ludendorff's impetuous brilliance. In short order, the two men turned around the German Eighth Army, attacking and routing the Russians at Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes in August and September 1914. Throughout the fall and well into winter, Ludendorff continued hammering away at huge Russian armies, capturing thousands of prisoners and pushing the enemy back. Consequently, like Hindenburg, he acquired national acclaim and accorded near-mythic qualities. Both men, furthermore, felt that the

time was right for a massive blow to knock Russia out of the war. This was strategically imperative, for Germany was severely disadvantaged fighting along two fronts. But German planning became ensnared by conflicting strategic priorities. The current chief of staff, Erich von Falkenhayn, sought a decisive victory in the West by taking troops from the Russian front and pouring them into a bloody battle of attrition at Verdun. Hindenburg and Ludendorff strongly protested these transfers, but even with smaller forces they nearly drove Russian forces out of Poland in 1916. When Falkenhayn's strategy failed at Verdun, he was replaced by Hindenburg. The egotistical Ludendorff, who did not wish to be referred to as a mere deputy chief of staff, was also granted the title of first quartermaster general of armies. The conduct of German armies for the remainder of World War I was now in their hands—and they resolved to win at any cost.

Although the junior partner in this dynamic duo, Ludendorff was by far the most influential and aggressive. In the spring of 1917 he planned the successful Caporetto offensive for Austria, which nearly knocked Italy out of the war. His directions then led to the collapse and acquisition of Romania. Meanwhile, the nominally detached Hindenburg contentedly functioned as a figurehead, allowing Ludendorff to implement wide-ranging military and economic policies in his superior's name. A failure of nerve on the part of Kaiser Wilhelm II, who feared and detested Ludendorff, coupled with the reluctance of politicians to question his motives, meant he was literally a military dictator. As such he oversaw the introduction of forced Belgian labor, increases in military expenditures, and conscription to shore Germany's flagging army. He also arrogantly dismissed the thought of a negotiated peace settlement as national weakness. But most important, Hindenburg and Ludendorff felt that a six-month naval blockade by U-boats would bring England to its knees. Therefore, over the objections of Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, who was

sacked at Ludendorff's instigation, Germany reenacted the policy of unlimited submarine warfare at sea. Henceforth, the ships of neutral carriers such as the United States were liable to attack if they traded with England. Like his superior, Ludendorff realized this policy would eventually result in America's declaration of war against Germany, but they felt time was on their side. In October 1917, horrendous Russian losses prompted the Bolshevik Revolution, which forced the giant in the east to sue for peace. This act released thousands of German soldiers for service along the Western Front, where they were needed as reinforcements. Both Hindenburg and Ludendorff optimistically predicted that Germany could crush France and England before the United States mobilized its military resources and manpower against the Fatherland. It was a high-stakes strategic gamble, but one for which Germany—thanks to Ludendorff—was well-prepared.

Through the fall of 1917, Ludendorff oversaw the development of new infantry tactics intent upon breaking the strategic stalemate. This entailed training German troops in the new "storm trooper" tactics, whereby small bodies of highly trained specialists, backed by artillery, would infiltrate along enemy-held strong points and attack rear areas. This was a complete departure from the mass bombardment and mass infantry attacks that had characterized fighting since 1914. This established Ludendorff as a brilliant tactical innovator, whose ideas anticipated what became standard practice in World War II 20 years later. In March 1918, the new German offensive sprang at the Allies along a 50-mile front with resounding success, sending trench-bound French and English forces reeling in confusion. After a series of interrelated offensives, German armies were once again poised to cross the Marne River in June 1918. Ludendorff's gamble thus far appeared successful, but it carried a fearsome price: 500,000 men had been killed and wounded.

Unfortunately for Germany, Ludendorff's faith in the offensive blinded him to the fact

that Germany's manpower resources were exhausted and could no longer sustain such attrition. Furthermore, to Ludendorff's complete surprise, the first American contingents had already arrived in France and fought the last German advance to a standstill at Chateau-Thierry on May 30, 1918. Over the next two months the Allies, battered by Ludendorff's offensive but never broken, steadily pressed back their tormentors. Ludendorff, who never had much regard for tanks, received an abject lesson in armored warfare when a tank-led British assault upon Amiens produced 30,000 prisoners—he subsequently pronounced it the “black day of the German army.” Worse, as greater and greater numbers of American troops were marshaled under the inspired leadership of Gen. John J. Pershing, they conducted several capable offensives on their own at St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne. By October, it was clear that the war was lost; Ludendorff advised the Kaiser to make peace and abdicate. He then backtracked and unrealistically urged Germans to fight to the finish, at which point Prince Max von Baden, head of the provisional government, demanded his resignation.

After the war, Ludendorff fled to Sweden, where he composed his memoirs. He returned to the shattered, postwar Germany to partake of the growing right-wing political movements springing up, and he also dabbled in various Nordic religions. Having embraced extreme racial and national ideology, the former general participated in **Adolf Hitler's** ill-fated Kapp Putsch in Berlin and was arrested. Memory of his previous wartime service spared Ludendorff from imprisonment, and in May 1924 he gained election to the Reichstag (parliament) as head of the new National Socialist (Nazi) deputation. The following year Ludendorff humiliated himself by running as the National Socialist candi-

date for the presidency, winning a scant 1 percent of the popular vote. He then broke with Hitler, accusing him of cowardice and incompetence, and continued his personal war against Jews, Jesuits, and Freemasons. Ludendorff died in Tutzing, Bavaria, on December 20, 1937. His bizarre embrace of radical politics notwithstanding, he was one of the master spirits of World War I, a capable strategist and a brilliant tactician. Had Russia been knocked out of the war in 1916 as he envisioned, Germany might have decisively prevailed in that conflict.

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Macdonnell, George

(August 15, 1780–May 16, 1870)

English Army Officer

“**R**ed George” was an aggressive officer from the War of 1812 who secured British communications on the St. Lawrence River by storming Ogdensburg, New York. Afterward, he performed useful services at the Battle of Chateaugay.

George Richard John Macdonnell was born in St. John’s, Newfoundland, on August 15, 1780, the son of an army officer. He joined the British army as an ensign of the 55th Regiment of Foot in September 1796, rose to lieutenant two years later, and transferred as a captain in the Eighth Regiment in 1805. In service Macdonnell became known as “Red George” on account of his ruddy hair and complexion.

By 1808, Great Britain’s relations with the United States had deteriorated to the point where the government felt it necessary to increase Canadian defenses. Accordingly, Macdonnell accompanied his regiment to Nova Scotia as part of the newly enlarged garrison there. England also sought to bolster thinly populated regions of Canada by encouraging emigration from Scotland. Many of these newcomers had settled in a predominately Catholic region called Glengarry, and in 1811 Macdonnell was tasked with organizing them into a militia force. The resulting unit, the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, were among Canada’s best formations when the War of 1812 commenced. In light of his excellent service thus far, Macdonnell was also granted the brevet rank of major. Recruitment for the Glengarries proved slow, so they were not committed to combat for several months. However, American misbehavior provided them with ideal conditions for a successful combat debut.

Throughout the War of 1812, the mighty St. Lawrence River formed the principal communications and supply route for British army garrisons farther west. Had this vital link been

severed, the province of Upper Canada (now Ontario) would have simply withered away. Curiously, U.S. strategy during this conflict never made a serious attempt to cut the vital artery, but the British remained highly sensitive to any American presence in the region. In the fall of 1812, a company of the U.S. Regiment of Riflemen under Capt. Benjamin Forsyth occupied Ogdensburg, New York, astride the great waterway. This was no great development in strictly military terms, but Forsyth proved himself a highly aggressive raider. In September 1812, he successfully stormed the Canadian village of Gananoque, taking many supplies and prisoners. Forsyth then took the village of Elizabethville on February 6, 1813, for the purpose of freeing American civilians imprisoned there. These activities raised the ire of Macdonnell, now garrison commander of Fort Wellington in nearby Prescott, especially when it was learned that some of Forsyth’s men had stolen horses from a farmer. He sent a message to the American commander demanding that the property be returned. Forsyth denied his men were responsible for the theft, but before ordering the British officer back to Fort Wellington, he challenged Macdonnell to fight it out on the ice with their respective commands. The British did not respond immediately to Forsyth’s suggestion, but Macdonnell began marshaling his forces together for an attempt. Around this time Governor-General **George Prevost** appeared at Prescott while en route to Kingston, and Macdonnell formally requested his permission to attack Ogdensburg. Prevost, a cautious commander unwilling to upset the status quo, disapproved at first but eventually granted conditional permission if the “imbecile conduct of your enemy should offer you an opportunity for his destruction and that of the shipping, batteries, and public stores.” Macdonnell, an enterprising officer

not much given to caution, interpreted this response as an unequivocal “yes.”

On February 22, 1813, Prevost departed Prescott, and Macdonnell drew up his force for the attack. He assembled 800 men, regulars, and militia and for several days drilled them on the ice in full view of the American garrison. That morning, the men were drilled as always—then Macdonnell led them on a sudden dash across the frozen river. Forsyth quickly overcame his surprise and engaged a smaller column of 300 men under Capt. John Jenkins of the Glengarry Fencibles. This gallant officer made repeated charges against the riflemen, only to be blasted back with heavy losses and wounds to both arms. Macdonnell, meanwhile, led a larger column of 500 men directly against the town, where he scattered the militia force defending it. The victorious British then turned toward Forsyth’s riflemen in the fort, attempting to cut off their retreat. Forsyth boldly scoffed at Macdonnell’s summons to surrender and, after more fighting, cut his way out to freedom. But through this bold stroke, Macdonnell had resecured British communications along the St. Lawrence River. Forsyth’s departure was also welcomed by the residents of Ogdensburg who, being Federalists, opposed war with England and resumed open trading with the enemy. Macdonnell, who had been wounded, subsequently received a promotion to lieutenant colonel.

Little transpired in the St. Lawrence region until the fall of 1813, when a large force of 4,000 men under Gen. Wade Hampton advanced up the Champlain Valley in an attempt to attack Montreal. Macdonnell at that time was at Kingston commanding the First Light Infantry Battalion, an ad hoc formation pulled together from several companies of militia battalions. Prevost, apprised of Hampton’s intentions, directed Macdonnell to sail his battalion down the St. Lawrence River to the vicinity of Chateauguay and reinforce Lt. Col. **Charles-Michel d’Irumberry de Salaberry**. Macdonnell performed his task with considerable speed, covering 200 miles in less than

three days without losing a man, and arrived just as the Americans were about to attack on October 26, 1813. Once deployed, he was assigned to protect the rear and flank of the British position. In the course of the day an American flanking force of 1,000 men under Col. Robert Purdy attempted to turn Salaberry’s position in the woods, but the determined stand by several of Macdonnell’s companies turned him back. He otherwise was not closely engaged in the comedy of errors that followed, for after several hours of combat, neither side lost more than 20 men. His presence was a great psychological boost to Salaberry’s defenders, however. Hampton subsequently withdrew back to his base in New York, ending another major threat to British communications. Macdonnell remained as the St. Lawrence’s guardian for the rest of the war, and in the fall of 1814 he also assumed responsibilities as inspecting field officer of the militia. In this capacity he had a direct role in the training and equipping of soldiers from the Stormont, Glengarry, and Cornwall districts. Immediately after the peace he performed similar duties at Niagara, York, and Kingston, before receiving a leave of absence in 1816.

Macdonnell returned to England in 1816, where he married and settled down. He continued as an officer of his old unit, and in 1821 he arranged a transfer to the 79th Regiment. However, he grew dissatisfied by the government’s lack of recognition for his wartime service, and he made repeated appeals for financial compensation to enhance his status. With age he also began circulating widely exaggerated claims about his war experience, insisting that the victory at Ogdensburg was of 100 times more political significance to England than Nelson’s victory at Trafalgar! Moreover, he boasted to have originated the idea for the Rideau Canal at the suggestion of the late Governor-General Prevost, who had promised him a large financial reward for doing so. “Red George” became regarded as little more than a quixotic braggart by the time he died at Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, on May 16, 1870.

Despite a rather vivid imagination, he was an active and intelligent officer who rendered valuable service during the War of 1812.

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Magruder, John Bankhead

(May 1, 1807–February 18, 1871)

Confederate General

“Prince John” was a dashing soldier and cut an impressive figure on horseback. However, his military leadership proved inconsistent, and he wound up employed in secondary theaters out West.

John Bankhead Magruder was born in Port Royal, Virginia, on May 1, 1807, and in 1826 he entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He graduated four years later fifteenth in a class of 42, although his penchant for heavy drinking nearly led to his expulsion. Magruder was initially posted as a second lieutenant with the Seventh U.S. Infantry in July 1830, and the following year he transferred over to the First U.S. Artillery. He served well, gained a promotion to first lieu-



John Bankhead Magruder
Library of Congress

tenant in March 1836, and rendered capable service during the Second Seminole War (1836–1842). Magruder was next billeted in Texas, where he served under Gen. Zachary Taylor in the Army of Occupation. Once the Mexican-American War commenced in 1846, he accompanied Taylor's invasion of northern Mexico and won brevet promotion to captain for gallantry at Palo Alto in June 1846. In 1847, he transferred to the army of Gen. Winfield Scott and garnered further distinction at Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec, winning brevet promotions to major and lieutenant colonel. In

these encounters he served a battery of light artillery under the immediate direction of Gen. **Gideon Johnson Pillow** and was twice

wounded. After the war, Magruder spent a dozen years performing garrison duty at various points along the frontier and East Coast. In 1859, he became the commander of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and also performed artillery instruction. Magruder was in every respect a Southern gentleman, with great dignity, urbane manners, and a flair for social extravagance. In military circles his emphasis on lavish entertainment and free-flowing alcohol resulted in the sobriquet "Prince John."

Magruder was not strongly sympathetic toward secession; nonetheless he resigned his commission in April 1861 and offered his services to the Confederacy. He was initially commissioned as a colonel and posted with troops guarding the vulnerable Virginia Peninsula. There, on June 10, 1861, a small force of Union soldiers under Col. Benjamin F. Butler made a halfhearted attempt to break out of Fortress Monroe. Magruder was on hand to engage them at Big Bethel, defeating them soundly. This, the Civil War's first major engagement, was a skirmish at best, but the Virginia press heralded it as a major victory. Consequently, Magruder became the idol of the Confederacy and was rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general on June 17, 1861. The following October, he advanced to major general in charge of Confederate defenses at Yorktown on the peninsula.

Magruder's biggest test occurred the following spring, in April 1862, when a large Union army under Gen. George B. McClellan landed 55,000 men on the peninsula and advanced against Yorktown. The defenders, who were ensconced behind the Warwick River, scarcely numbered 10,000 men, but Magruder enacted a clever ploy to conceal his weakness. Much given to theatrical displays, he deliberately paraded his infantry and artillery at various points along the line, shouting orders to nonexistent units and giving McClellan the impression that he was opposing much larger forces than was the case. The bluff succeeded at stalling the Union advance for nearly a month, which gave Confederate commander Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** more time to

gather men and consolidate his defenses. However, Johnson was less than impressed with either Magruder or his arrangements, and the two men quarreled. At length Magruder felt compelled to request a transfer to another theater after the current spate of fighting concluded. By the time McClellan finally advanced in May, the Confederates withdrew one step ahead of him. A cautious pursuit ensued that ended at the Battle of Seven Pines. Magruder performed well in a secondary role, and when Johnston was wounded he was succeeded by a new leader, Gen. **Robert E. Lee**.

Lee ordered an immediate counterattack against McClellan's larger forces and slowly drove them back from Richmond. Magruder fulfilled his assigned tasks skillfully, especially at Mechanicsville and Gaines Mill in June 1862. In both instances, he was called upon to provide a bluff to catch McClellan's attention while Lee hit him elsewhere, succeeding brilliantly. However, by the Battle of Savage Station on June 29, 1862, Magruder was apparently suffering from either lack of sleep or combat fatigue, and his performance suffered. He bungled his attack both there and during the climatic Battle of Malvern Hill (July 1, 1862). Lee was angered by these dilatory movements, which he felt allowed McClellan's army to escape intact. When rumors of possible intoxication reached his ears, Lee requested that Magruder be dismissed pending further investigation. Fortunately for the latter, a transfer to the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona was arranged the following October.

Magruder's subsequent activities were competent but anticlimactic. On January 1, 1863, he staged his most impressive feat, recapturing the Texas port of Galveston in a sudden rush. The Union revenue cutter *Harriet Lane* was also taken and the blockading squadron driven off. This was a significant accomplishment, as Galveston was a major port of entry for Southern blockade runners. Furthermore, the victory partially redeemed Magruder's reputation. He thereafter coordinated efforts with Gen. **Richard Taylor** during the Red River

campaign of 1864, which witnessed the expulsion of troops under Union Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks. Magruder then briefly commanded the District of Arkansas in the fall of 1864 before resuming command of Texas the following spring. He surrendered to Union forces at Galveston on June 2, 1865.

Like many disaffected Confederates, Magruder left the country after the war and relocated to Mexico to escape persecution. He tendered his services to Emperor Maximilian and received a major general's commission. He also functioned as chief of the Land Office of Colonization, which was created to encourage Confederate settlement of the border region. Few settlers arrived, so Magruder departed Mexico in November 1866 and, after a brief stay in Havana, sailed to New York City to practice law. Restless "Prince John" subsequently moved back to New Orleans as a public lecturer and finally settled down in Houston. He died there on February 18, 1871, a colorful, if overrated, military figure.

See also

Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Mangas Coloradas

(ca. 1795–January 1863)
Apache War Chief

Fearsome Mangas is considered the greatest war chief of the Apache nation, a giant of a man who spread fear and terror throughout the Old Southwest and northern Mexico. After initial peaceful relations with the United States, he participated in a series of small wars that eventually led to his death.

Dasoda-hae (He Just Sits There) was born probably around 1795 in the southwestern portion of present-day New Mexico. He be-

longed to the Eastern Chiricahua branch of the Apache people. The Apaches had occupied this region of North America since at least the sixteenth century as hunter-gatherers until they acquired horses from Spanish conquistadors. Thereafter, they gained renown as highly mobile, nomadic raiders. As a young warrior, Dasoda-hae accompanied endless raids into the Spanish provinces of Chihuahua and Sonora and acquired a reputation as a fierce and cunning warrior. He was also

striking in person, being well over six feet tall, broad-shouldered, and powerfully built. Dasoda-hae may have built his reputation upon cruelty, but he was also distinguished by high intelligence, generosity, and tribal diplomacy, traits that culminated in his elevation to chief in 1840. Around that time he also changed his name to Mangas Coloradas (Red Sleeves). Mindful of tribal diplomacy and eager to keep his influence strong among other Chiricahua bands, he married his daughters off carefully and counted noted warriors **Cochise** and **Victorio** among his sons-in-law.

True to the traditions of his people, Mangas continued the policy of raiding Mexican farms and villages in search of horses, plunder, and women. After 1821, so desperate were Mexican authorities to contain the Apaches that they offered a \$100 bounty on any Apache scalp brought in. By this time American settlers and prospectors were beginning to test the waters of western migration. In 1837, a party of miners under John Johnson invited a party of Apaches to a feast, only to slaughter them and redeem their scalps for money. An enraged Mangas promptly retaliated by sweeping through the region, killing an estimated 22 civilians before his thirst for blood was slaked. In the summer of 1846, greater numbers of Americans arrived in New Mexico under Gen. Stephen W. Kearney, who conquered that territory for the United States at the onset of the Mexican-American War. Surprisingly, Mangas held no grudge against the invaders and even offered to assist them in their war against Mexico, but Kearney declined. Nonetheless, Mangas sought peaceful relations with the newcomers, signed a treaty to that effect, and resumed preying upon Mexican settlements.

After gold was discovered in 1850, the sheer number of white miners, prospectors, and fortune-seekers began intruding upon traditional Apache hunting grounds. Seeking to keep the peace, Mangas approached one group in April 1851 and offered to show them where precious metals could be found if they would leave his native Santa Rita region

alone. They responded by capturing the chief, tying him up, and horsewhipping him. In the face of such humiliation, Mangas became the sworn enemy of white settlers throughout Apache lands. For nearly a decade his braves swooped down upon unsuspecting wagon trains, stagecoaches, and settlements, killing and scalping innumerable people. The situation grew so untenable that, at one point, the hard-nosed Col. Edwin V. Sumner recommended abandoning New Mexico altogether!

The onset of the Civil War in 1861 only increased Apache resolve. Numerous garrisons of army troops, never large, were withdrawn to participate in fighting back east. Mangas and other chiefs mistakenly attributed this retreat to their own brutal activities. Furthermore, when several of Cochise's relatives were killed by Lt. George M. Bascom, the infuriated Cochise threw his weight behind Mangas's forces. The two bands were so effective at terrorizing travel throughout the Lower Southwest that a military expedition had to be scraped together in California to oppose them. Unfortunately for the Apaches, the leader was Col. James H. Carleton, a gruff, no-nonsense officer with little patience for Indian warfare. As his column advanced into southeastern Arizona through a strategic gap called Apache Pass, he was ambushed by Mangas, Cochise, and other bands on July 15, 1862. The Apaches fought fiercely, firing from behind every available rock and gully on both sides of the pass. The advance guard, commanded by Capt. Thomas Roberts, was hard-pressed at first, but the arrival of cavalry and two army howitzers eventually drove off the raiders. In the course of subsequent skirmishing, Mangas sustained a serious stomach wound and was evacuated by Cochise to the Mexican village of Janos. Cochise reputedly warned the local doctor to heal Mangas or he would torch the entire town. Mangas, though in his seventies, was still a powerful man and made a full recovery.

Within months, it became apparent that there was little even the fierce Apaches could do to rid themselves of the innumerable white

men. Apache losses had also been considerable, and Mangas decided to send out peace feelers to the Americans. However, Carleton was by then commanding the entire Department of New Mexico and would hear none of it. Furthermore, he was determined to execute any Apache males found armed or acting in any hostile manner. Subordinates undoubtedly took this resolve as a cue for subterfuge of their own. In January 1863, Mangas was invited to parley with Capt. Edmond Shirland of the First California Volunteer Cavalry. The chief, acting on good faith, boldly rode into the camp alone under a flag of truce and was seized. He was immediately taken to Fort McLean, Arizona, and imprisoned. Soldiers were quick to extract grisly vengeance upon the hated adversary, and the garrison commander, Gen. Joseph West, turned a blind eye toward abuses heaped upon the aged chief. This included pressing red-hot bayonets to his feet and arms. According to official accounts, Mangas was shot "while attempting to escape," whereupon he was decapitated, his head boiled, and his skull sent back east for examination. The chief's demise angered Apache braves under Cochise and others, who commenced yet another bloody frontier rampage to avenge their fallen leader. To this

day, the death of Mangas is held by the Chiricahua band as "the greatest of wrongs."

See also

Cochise

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Manteuffel, Hasso von

(January 14, 1897–September 28, 1978)

German General

Manteuffel was a giant among Germany's panzer leaders. Aggressive and innovative, he honed his considerable skills during years of fighting on the Eastern Front, then unleashed his veteran forces against American troops during the Battle of the Bulge. Of all German commanders present, it was Manteuffel who made the greatest progress.

Hasso Eccard von Manteuffel was born in Potsdam, Berlin, on January 14, 1897, the descendant of a Prussian general. Although short in height, he possessed an iron constitution and became an Olympic equestrian rider. He graduated from the Royal Prussian Cadet School in 1916 and was posted with the famous Zieten Hussars during 1916–1918. After World War I ended, he was selected to remain

with the greatly reduced postwar Reichswehr as a lieutenant. In 1922, Manteuffel published a treatise on mounted infantry and subsequently taught at the new Armored Corps Training School at Wunsdorf.

When World War II commenced in September 1939, Manteuffel was a lowly lieutenant colonel performing instruction duties. But in August 1941 he gained command of the Seventh Panzer Division with the rank of colonel and accompanied the ill-fated drive on Moscow in the fall of 1941. Crashing through Soviet defenses, his panzers captured a strategic bridge over the Moskva-Volga Canal that November and began probing the defenses of northeastern Moscow. Soon after, a determined Soviet winter offensive threw the Germans back 100 miles, and Manteuffel was transferred to another theater.

In the spring of 1943, Manteuffel arrived in North Africa as part of Gen. **Hans-Jürgen Arnim's** army. There he took charge of a mixed formation informally known as the Manteuffel Division, which attacked and drove the British 46th Infantry Division back 20 miles. It was not until April 1943 that newly arriving French and American reinforcements forced the Germans back through Mateur, where they were surrounded and captured. Luckily for Manteuffel, he fell ill and was evacuated just prior to Arnim's capitulation.

By August 1943, Manteuffel had been promoted to major general and returned to Russia as head of the crack Seventh Panzer Army. In this capacity he boldly outflanked the larger Soviet 16th Army in the vicinity of Zhitomir, routed the enemy, and captured vast quanti-



Hasso von Manteuffel
Bettmann/Corbis

ties of supplies. For this daring feat he was toasted as the “Lion of Zhitomir” and summoned to Berlin for a personal conference with **Adolf Hitler**. There he was further decorated and learned of his appointment as commander of the mighty Grossdeutschland Panzer Division, the Wehrmacht's strongest. Back again in Russia, Manteuffel led his troops with distinction throughout the spring and summer of 1944, inflicting heavy losses upon Soviet troops at Kirovgrad. He then successfully withdrew to Romania, gaining further renown by repuls-

ing a major attack upon the famous oil refineries at Ploesti. By August 1944, the deteriorating German position required Manteuffel to shift his men by rail to East Prussia. In a series of brilliant local counterattacks, he effectively sealed off all Soviet breakthroughs and stabilized the front. His success there was attributed to the clever expedient of forgoing a traditional artillery bombardment, which would have alerted the defenders. Whenever Manteuffel attacked in this manner, his tactical surprise was usually complete. The short but pugnacious panzer general had thus become regarded as one of the outstanding tank generals of the war. His renown did not escape the Führer's attention for long.

In September 1944, Manteuffel was summoned back to Berlin for a conference with Hitler. There he was decorated again, promoted to general of panzer troops, and appointed to succeed Gen. **Josef Dietrich** as head of the Fifth Panzer Army. “I entered the Führer's headquarters a divisional commander,” he recalled. “I was leaving it as an army commander.” Manteuffel then deployed

to the Lorraine under Gen. **Johannes Blaskowitz** and waged a stubborn but unsuccessful attempt to stem the advance of Gen. George S. Patton's Third Army. In early December 1944, Manteuffel was ordered back to confer with Hitler for a final time. The Führer had been planning a grandiose offensive against Allied forces in the Ardennes region that was intended to capture Antwerp and cut off their supplies. Manteuffel was directed to lead the assault in concert with the Sixth SS Panzer Army under Dietrich. However, Manteuffel and Gen. **Walter Model** strongly objected to the attack, citing Allied superiority in numbers and complete control of the air. "It was incomprehensible to me," he emoted, "that not one of the 80 senior officers present dared speak out in order to clarify obvious discrepancies or ask questions, not to mention supporting us in this matter of life and death." Hitler nonetheless insisted, and the attack proceeded as scheduled on December 16, 1944.

Manteuffel proceeded with his usual careful planning and staff work. He was aided by thick fog, which neutralized Allied airpower, and declined to employ an artillery bombardment. Attacking across a wide front with three panzer and four infantry divisions, his troops advance steadily, covering far more ground than Dietrich's Sixth SS Panzer Army. He captured most of the 106th U.S. Infantry Division and, after a stout fight, the important crossroads at St. Vith. American resistance stiffened in the vicinity of Bastogne, another vital junction, which was held by Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe and the 101st Airborne Division. When Manteuffel failed to take Bastogne after several attempts, he surrounded and bypassed the defenders. His leading panzer elements under Gen. **Fritz Bayerlein** came within 10 miles of the Meuse River before the offensive was finally called off in the face of Patton's counterattack. Manteuffel pleaded with Berlin for reinforcements, notably the five panzer divisions sitting idly in the rear of Dietrich's command, but by the time Hitler ordered a transfer it was too late.

The siege of Bastogne ended when an armored column under Col. Creighton Abrams rolled through enemy positions and into town. By January 1945, the Germans had been forced back to their original starting positions, minus 100,000 casualties. Hitler had squandered his last strategic reserves.

Defeat in the Ardennes did not detract from Manteuffel's reputation, and in February 1945 Hitler awarded him with the prestigious *Ritterkreuz* (Knight's Cross) and command of the Third Panzer Army. This was a force in name only, but Manteuffel fought several tenacious rear-guard actions against Soviet forces until finally driven back. In April 1945, he led his forces westward one last time and surrendered to the Americans. Manteuffel was detained in captivity until 1947; following his release, he worked in industry and also served as a municipal councilor at Neuse on the Rhine. In 1953, he parleyed his popularity into politics and won election to the Bundestag (national legislature), where he served until 1957. Manteuffel was also a popular speaker, and he frequently visited the United States to lecture at the U.S. Army War College. Not surprisingly, he won over many former enemies through the same cheerful, friendly demeanor that made him so well liked in Germany. Manteuffel died at Diessen in the Austrian Tyrol on September 28, 1978, one of the most accomplished tank leaders of World War II. In a age of total war, he proved himself a gallant and chivalrous foe.

See also

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Manuelito

(ca. 1818–1893)
Navajo War Chief

For four decades, Manuelito commanded the largest Native American tribe of the Old Southwest. Relentlessly opposed to relocation, he successfully evaded army troops over three years before becoming an agent of accommodation and Indian education.

Manuelito (Hastiin Ch'ilhaajinii) was born probably around 1818 near Bear Ears, Utah, a part of the Bit'ahni (Folded Arms People) band of the greater Navajo nation. This was a large, successful tribe that occupied a wide region stretching across parts of modern-day Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico. They were also quite adept as mounted raiders and were in constant conflict with their Ute, Hopi, and Pueblo neighbors. It was during a raid upon the Hopis that Manuelito killed his first enemy and adopted



Manuelito
National Archives

the military name Hashkeh Naabaah (Angry Warrior). Renown came at an early age; at only 16 he was allowed to marry the daughter of Narbona, an influential Navajo peace chief. Manuelito's political stock rose steadily within his band and was further abetted by his six-foot, two-inch stature, commanding demeanor, and martial prowess.

Traditional Navajo behavior began assuming new and more complicated dimensions following the arrival of American military expeditions to New Mexico in 1846. Col. Alexander William Doniphan was passing through en route to his invasion of Mexico when several settlements called upon him to stop Navajo raids against cattle, horses, and other property. Doniphan proved unable to bring the wily Indians to battle, but he gave them a good chase, and at

length they signed a preliminary peace treaty. Consequently, Gen. Stephen W. Kearney claimed the region for the United States and initiated a peace conference with Manuelito and several other chiefs that resulted in a formal agreement. However, enforcing the provisions proved nearly impossible, and as white emigrants began settling upon Navajo hunting grounds, the Indians resorted to traditional raiding parties for their desired goods. Manuelito also came to hate the new arrivals following the untimely death of his father-in-law, Narbona, at the hands of American soldiers in 1849. He nonetheless declined to resist these powerful invaders provided they remained off of traditional Navajo lands.

Relations between soldiers and Navajos declined rapidly after 1851, following the construction of Fort Defiance in the heart of Navajo country. The Indians had used the surrounding region as grazing land for their livestock for centuries, and when the garrison commander ordered them off, they refused. Tensions continued mounting, and the chief, Zarcillos Largos, resigned over his inability to check the warlike ambitions of his braves. Manuelito then rose to succeed him. However, when soldiers responded to Indian belligerence by killing Navajo horses, the Navajos countered by stealing army mounts to make up for the loss. At one point marauding soldiers attacked and burned the chief's home and despoiled his crops. The Navajos would not tolerate more abuse, and in the spring of 1860 Manuelito, assisted by **Barboncito** and other chiefs, mustered nearly 1,000 warriors to attack Fort Defiance. After a siege of several days, the Indians were finally driven off by a relief column under Gen. Edward R.S. Canby. Canby promptly pursued the fleeing Indians into their rocky refuge but was unable to corner them. A deadly cat-and-mouse game of attack and pursuit ensued for several months before a parley was arranged and Manuelito temporarily suspended hostilities. A rather nervous calm then prevailed.

When the Civil War commenced in April 1861, many army garrisons were depleted or

removed outright. Many Navajo and Apache bands consequently utilized this weakness as a pretext for resuming raiding activities. Chaos reigned in the countryside for nearly two years before a new commander, Gen. James H. Carleton, arrived from California. Carleton had little sympathy for Native Americans and was determined to remove them as a military threat. To this end he ordered any Navajo or Apache male, if found armed, to be put to death, a directive that was wisely ignored by many officers. More important, he insisted that the Navajos leave their traditional homelands for a reservation at Bosque Redondo in southern New Mexico. When Manuelito and other chiefs ridiculed the notion and fled into the sanctuary of the mountains, the famed scout Christopher "Kit" Carson was loosed upon them.

Knowing that he could never match Indian mobility in the mountains, Carson embarked on a ruthless scorched-earth policy to deprive the Navajos of food and shelter. Accordingly, patrols were dispatched that burned crops, shot cattle, and destroyed any available housing. The traditional enemies of the Navajos, the nearby Ute, Hopi, and Pueblo Indians, were also encouraged to attack their neighbors. Eventually this systematic deprivation produced the desired results, and scores of hungry Indians surrendered for relocation. At one point, several thousand Navajos were marching through the desolate plains of New Mexico toward Bosque Redondo amid intense suffering. But warrior bands under Manuelito and Barboncito refused to yield and held out in their mountain refuge. They continued their guerrilla strategy as long as humanly possible and under the most trying conditions, but at length even these stalwarts succumbed. Having lasted longer than any other warrior, Manuelito finally capitulated on September 1, 1866, and was sent to the Bosque Redondo Reservation.

The ordeal of the Navajo people had only begun. Bosque Redondo was an arid, parched strip of land with little capacity for growing food. Worse, the government was slow in pro-

viding promised supplies and farming equipment. As sickness and death mounted, Manuelito and other chiefs repeatedly begged the Indian agency for relief. When this was not forthcoming, he accompanied a deputation to Washington, D.C., to demand redress. The Indians conferred with Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, who, after hearing their tale of woe, agreed to move them elsewhere. Manuelito and the rest then vehemently objected to another forced march, and at length Sherman grudgingly allowed the Navajos to return to their homeland in 1868. When Barboncito died in 1871, Manuelito succeeded him as the tribe's main spokesman. In this capacity he fought for better conditions for his people, also advocating European-style education so that Navajos might better adapt to their new world. Unfortunately, both of his surviving sons died of disease while attending boarding school back east; grief-stricken, the aged chief took to alcohol. He died, old and dispirited, in 1893, widely regarded as the most influential Navajo leader of his generation.

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McGillivray, Alexander

(ca. 1759–February 17, 1793)
Creek Head Chief

The urbane McGillivray was the most influential Creek leader of the eighteenth century, a powerbroker throughout the Gulf Coast region. Rather than confront the new United States in a war he would lose, the chief employed tact and diplomacy to preserve Creek Indian sovereignty.

Alexander McGillivray was born in Little Tassie Village near Montgomery, Alabama, around 1759. His father was Lachlan McGillivray, a noted Scottish Indian trader; his mother was Sehoy Marchand, a half-French, half-Creek woman related to the influential Wind clan. His Creek name was

Hippo-ilk-mico (The Good Child King). McGillivray was raised among the Creek Indians until the age of 14, when his father took him to Savannah and Charleston to be educated. Fluent in English and Creek, he moved easily between both worlds and further distinguished himself by dint of intelligence and social polish. He was initially employed at his father's counting house and obtained an excellent grasp of business and economics.

The onset of the American Revolution in 1775 disrupted McGillivray's personal life when his father, a Loyalist sympathizer, fled the country and returned to Scotland. Vengeful patriots thereafter confiscated his property, and the young man relocated back to Alabama and his tribe. Because the Creek authority was passed down through the mother's side, the tall, handsome young man was eligible to become a chief and did so with little opposition. The ongoing war also served to harden McGillivray's attitude toward the United States. The British commissioned him a colonel and appointed him commissary officer in charge of Indian affairs. Moreover, he led a series of raids against settlements near Augusta, Georgia, to halt—or at least delay—white encroachment. He subsequently rallied some 600 warriors for the defense of English Florida against Spain, and in 1780 his actions were credited with saving Pensacola from capture.

After the war ended in 1783, British influence in the New World diminished. Almost immediately, new waves of American settlers began pressing down upon Native American lands from New York to the Georgia frontier. Although determined to protect the Creek homeland, McGillivray was astute enough to realize that the tribesmen were disunited and at a military disadvantage should full-scale war erupt. Therefore, he used the trading firm of Pantan and Leslie to establish close ties with the Spanish Empire, which now possessed Florida. On June 1, 1784, he signed a treaty with Spain that initiated close commercial ties with the Creek nation and guaranteed a steady supply of firearms and gunpowder to

his warriors. Closer to home, McGillivray exhibited considerable skill in arranging himself to serve as “emperor” of the various Creek peoples, thereby uniting them in a confederation for mutual defense. Part of this involved the creation of an Indian force of “constables” whose purpose was to enforce McGillivray's authority and destroy the property of chiefs who opposed him. Neither was he above playing his potential friends and adversaries against one another. In 1784, he received compensation for his confiscated estates from the state of Georgia and made friendly overtures toward the United States, provided it respected Creek sovereignty. With English money and Spanish weapons, he hoped to keep the Americans at bay.

Despite McGillivray's demonstrated reluctance to initiate hostilities, by 1785 the pace of American encroachment left the chief with little recourse. He unleashed Creek warriors, who attacked and burned settlements across the southern frontier without mercy. The newly independent United States, then hobbled by a weak confederation government, could not muster anything beyond episodic state militias to oppose him. His goal was no less than restoration of the frontier to its 1773 boundaries, and the Creeks may very well have succeeded. Unfortunately, their Spanish allies, fearing that the conflict might spill over onto their own territory, clamped down on McGillivray's gunpowder supplies and forced him to seek a peaceful accord with America. He did so sullenly, but only on the condition that the United States renounce its claims to Creek land. When the Georgian authorities concurred, peace was restored.

The Creek triumph proved short-lived, for in 1789 the United States adopted a stronger central government under the U.S. Constitution. Under this arrangement, the new republic established a standing military establishment better suited for operations along the far-flung frontier. McGillivray watched these developments warily and, concluding that his Spanish allies were unreliable in any future conflict, declared his intentions were peace-

ful. In 1790, he accompanied several Creek chiefs on a visit to the American capital in New York City, where he was introduced to another influential chief, President George Washington. After much wrangling, in August 1790 McGillivray agreed to sell certain portions of Creek land in Georgia to the United States, in exchange for inviolate borders around the remaining Indian lands. The Americans agreed in principle and, to sweeten the pot, granted McGillivray a brigadier general's commission and control over all duty-free trade. Considering the potential military hazards that war posed, McGillivray used his charm and intelligence wisely, defused a possible crisis, and elevated the stature of his people in the eyes of their white neighbors.

Before long, events forced the wily McGillivray to change his tune again. The sale of land belonging to the Lower Creeks alienated those tribesmen, and many of McGillivray's opponents within his own Upper Creek faction also voiced discontent. Gauging the opposition as insurmountable, he thereupon renounced his treaty with the Americans and, for insurance, renewed close ties to Spain on July 6, 1792. However, within six months he died of an illness in Pensacola at the age of 34, leaving a vacuum in Creek leadership that would not be filled again until the ascent of William Weatherford in 1813. Contemporaries said he displayed "the polished urbanity of a Frenchman, the duplicity of the Spaniard, the cool sagacity of a Scots-

man, and the inveterate hate of the Indian." McGillivray skillfully blended and brandished all three traits to ensure the survival of his people and their land.

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Merritt, William Hamilton

(July 3, 1793–July 5, 1862)

Canadian Militia Officer

Merritt was a dashing dragoon and partisan fighter throughout many encounters of the War of 1812. After-

ward, he provided impetus behind building the famous Welland Canal and is today regarded as the father of Canadian transportation.

William Hamilton Merritt was born in Bedford, New York, on July 3, 1793, the son of Thomas Merritt. His father had previously served with the Queen's Rangers under **John Graves Simcoe** in the American Revolution and consequently obtained a land grant at Twelve Mile Creek (present-day St. Catharines, Ontario). Merritt was well educated in mathematics and surveying as a young man, although in 1809 he returned home to farm 200 acres and run a general store. He also joined the Lincoln militia in anticipation of war with the United States and, on June 28, 1812, transferred to the First Troop of the Niagara Light Dragoons. Like many contemporaries, the youthful Merritt was somewhat confused over what to do next, but in his own words, "seeing so noble a spirit of resistance spreading among all classes, I determined to give up every other pursuit and devote my life and time solely to the service of my country."

Merritt's troop initially accompanied Gen. **Isaac Brock** to Detroit in August 1812 and witnessed Gen. William Hull's surrender there. He then retraced his steps to Niagara with the general and fought in the costly victory at Queenstown Heights (October 13, 1812), in which Brock was killed. The following spring the Niagara Light Dragoons were abolished and Merritt gained an appointment as a captain in the newly created Provincial Dragoons. In this capacity he was primarily employed as a scout for British forces throughout the Niagara region. In May 1813, he participated in the fall of Fort George and subsequently accompanied the British retreat to Burlington. On June 6, 1813, Merritt was closely engaged at Stoney Creek and nearly captured. After the battle his command was detached from the army to find the missing Gen. **John Vincent**, who turned up days later. Being clad in a blue uniform like the Americans, Merritt was also frequently mistaken by them as one of their own. In this manner, Merritt rode up to the American lines immediately after the battle and seized two enemy dragoons as prisoners.

Stoney Creek signaled the high tide of American fortunes at Niagara, and the invaders thereafter remained in the vicinity of Fort George. Merritt, on several occasions, was called upon to conduct partisan guerrilla raids against American army pickets. He was especially eager to come to grips with the Canadian Volunteers, a group of renegades under Col. Joseph Willcocks who swore allegiance to the United States. On July 8, 1813, Merritt escorted a party of Mohawk warriors in the vicinity of Fort George, when they surprised and defeated a party of American soldiers under Lt. Joseph C. Eldridge. Much to his horror, the Indians proceeded to slaughter all 40 captives while he looked on helplessly. Merritt resumed his scouting activities for the remainder of the year, and he was among the very first to investigate the ruins of Newark, burned by the retreating Americans in December 1813. Transgressions like this only served to harden Canadians' attitudes against the invaders and redoubled their will to resist.

During the summer of 1814, Merritt's dragoons were actively employed against a large American invasion force commanded by Gen. Jacob Brown. He fought in the initial stages of Lundy's Lane on July 25, 1814, but "I was taken prisoner by six fellows who were sulking from the fire, which then raged with great fury." Merritt was subsequently taken to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he remained for the rest of the war. This concluded his brief but active military career.

In 1815, Merritt established himself as a small businessman at St. Catharines. He was fairly successful, but he evinced the growing realization that the economy of Upper Canada would be enhanced by a canal that linked together Lakes Erie and Ontario. Such a waterway would spare merchants the time and expense of having to utilize the time-consuming Niagara Falls Portage and would also facilitate the passage of local goods to Montreal and Great Britain. For nearly a decade, Merritt lobbied the provincial legislature, and in January 1824 the Welland Canal Company was fi-

nally chartered under his direction. The canal itself opened six years later among great ceremony, and Merritt began toying with the grandiose idea of a system of canals along the St. Lawrence River, linking the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. However, this mode of transportation was shortly superseded by the invention of railroads. Merritt, given his open-minded approach, readily embraced the new technology, and he began promoting plans for the first international suspension bridge over Niagara Gorge to directly link Canada to the United States. The rail link was completed in 1855, and the two nations have enjoyed close and profitable economic ties ever since. Merritt also pursued politics to advance his plans, and he served as president of the Executive Council of the Province of Canada and on the Legislative Council of Canada. By the time he died on July 5, 1862, at Cornwall, West Canada, Merritt was openly hailed as the father of Canadian transportation. In many respects the various systems he built and advocated anticipated the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1958, again with considerable economic success for Canada.

Micanopy

(ca. 1780–January 2, 1849)
Seminole Head Chief

Physically unimpressive but wise in council, Micanopy was a principal tribal leader of Florida's Second Seminole War. Having surrendered to the enemy, he resigned himself to relocation and encouraged a new way of life for his people in distant Oklahoma.

Micanopy (also known as Halputta Hadjo, or "Crazy Alligator") was born probably around 1780 in the vicinity of St. Augustine, Florida. The Seminole people to which he belonged had only briefly before been part of

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the Lower Creek nation of southern Alabama and were still evolving as a distinct culture. They were also unique among Native Americans on account of their treatment of African Americans. Given their close proximity to southern slave-owning states, Florida became a haven for escaped slaves, and many settled among the Seminoles. Runaways were still referred to as slaves and required to work, but they enjoyed a measure of freedom and dignity not accorded them in white society. Furthermore, intermarriage was commonplace,

and several African Americans apparently rose to become chief. This would become one of the undercurrents of war with the United States.

It is not precisely known when Micanopy himself became head chief, but it was apparently a hereditary position. He was a descendant of King Payne, a leading figure of the late seventeenth century who united elements of the Seminole nation into a single people. Micanopy was resourceful, for during his life in Florida he accumulated great wealth in the form of slaves, cattle, and horses. Whites who encountered the short, somewhat pudgy leader walked away regarding him as slothful and indolent. One army officer regarded him as possessing “low, stout, and gross stature, and what is called loggy in his movements—his face was bloated and carbuncled, his eyes heavy and dull, and with a mind like his person.” But looks were deceiving, and Micanopy was not head chief by accident. The Americans were unaware of his ability to mobilize unruly Seminoles into a concerted course of action.

Up until 1813, the United States had little regard and almost no formal contact with the Seminoles, as they resided deep in the forests and swamps of central Florida, then a Spanish province. However, the onset of the Creek War in 1813 brought several punitive expeditions into their midst, as the Americans eagerly punished fleeing bands of Upper Creek warriors seeking refuge there. In 1818, well within Micanopy’s adult experience, the question of runaway slaves triggered the First Seminole War of 1818, in which Gen. Andrew Jackson burned several African American and Seminole villages in retaliation for raids and ambushes. Spain’s sale of Florida to the United States the following year accelerated the trend toward violence. Over the next two decades, increasing numbers of white settlers arrived to displace the Seminoles and their African consorts, who moved deeper and deeper into the swampy interior to escape. When there was nowhere else to settle, whites demanded that the Seminoles evacu-

ate their swampy abode as well. They also began pressing for the return of escaped African Americans, many of whom had since been assimilated into the tribe. This demand struck at the very core of what it meant to be a Seminole.

Events climaxed in 1832 when the American government convinced many Seminole chiefs to sign the Treaty of Payne’s Landing. This stipulated the removal of Seminoles from ancestral lands and their immediate deportation to new homes in the distant Oklahoma Territory. Micanopy was one of a handful of Seminole chiefs to resist such coercion, for he refused to sign. Moreover, his defiance was abetted by militant stances of **Alligator**, Billy Bowlegs, **Osceola**, and **Wildcat**, his nephew. However, unlike these warrior consorts, Micanopy carefully couched his resistance in nonviolent terms. On April 23, 1835, subsequent negotiations at Fort King resulted in another treaty that reaffirmed terms of the first, but again Micanopy refused to cooperate. On the second day of discussions, he simply refused to attend. Agent Wiley Thompson then inquired of Jumper, a leading Seminole, if his chief intended to cooperate or not. Jumper simply shook his head. At that point, Thompson declared that the United States no longer recognized Micanopy as head chief and issued an ultimatum for the Seminoles to move. This action induced militants like Osceola and others to arm and prepare for war. Thompson himself was among the first whites slated to be massacred.

The first conflict of the Second Seminole War occurred on December 28, 1835, when a group of Indians, led by Alligator and Micanopy, ambushed and slaughtered a detachment of 110 soldiers under Maj. Francis L. Dade. Apparently, Micanopy killed Major Dade by his own hand. Several days later he was closely engaged in the Battle of Withlacoochee River against Gen. Duncan L. Clinch, a veteran of the First Seminole War. Thereafter, the conflict degenerated into a series of raids by small parties of Indians, with retaliatory columns of soldiers marching off in pur-

suit. The highly mobile Seminoles usually dodged each American riposte, but many villages and food stores were burned. By 1837, Micanopy began having doubts about the wisdom of this war and the suffering it caused his people, for he surrendered to American authorities on March 18, 1837, without incident. That June, a timely raid by braves under Osceola kidnapped him, for he retained great symbolic significance to the tribe. More fighting followed before Micanopy arranged a parley with Gen. Thomas J. Jesup and declared, "My warriors are all dead . . . we have only women and children . . . I can fight you no longer." Jesup responded by promptly and illegally seizing the chief under a flag of truce. After a brief captivity at Charleston, South Carolina, Micanopy was sent west with about 200 of his people to the Indian Territory.

The Seminoles, accustomed to a wetter, swampy environment, found the transition in hot, arid Oklahoma extremely difficult. Food was scarce, rations and supplies were not delivered as promised, and relations with their closely related Creek neighbors were tense and unfriendly. Most Seminoles felt safer encamped in the vicinity of Fort Gibson than among their fellow refugees. Micanopy was resigned to his fate and did his best to set an example. He took up and encouraged agriculture and urged authorities to create a separate Seminole enclave. However, his perceived collusion with the Americans eventually cost him his position as head chief, and he never en-

joyed his prior success or influence over them. In 1845, he signed a treaty that granted the Seminoles semiautonomy from the Creeks, but self-government was not achieved until 1855, six years after the chief's death on January 2, 1849, following a long sickness and alcoholism. Micanopy was scarcely a warrior of the magnitude of Osceola or Billy Bowlegs, but he perhaps played a more useful role in helping the Seminoles adjust to a new way of life.

See also

Osceola

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Model, Walter

(January 24, 1891–April 21, 1945)

German General

Aggressive and outspoken, Model was one of Germany's best defensive commanders. His talent for reversing critical situations earned him a reputation as "the Führer's fireman." The wiry little general was

also one of few senior officers able to stand up to Adolf Hitler—and prevail.

Walter Model was born in Genthin, near Berlin, on January 24, 1891, the son of a music teacher. He joined the army in 1909 and ful-

filled a variety of staff positions throughout World War I. Recklessly brave, he distinguished himself in savage fighting around Verdun and twice received the Iron Cross. He emerged from the war as a highly promising junior officer, so Model became one of only 4,000 officers retained in the postwar Reichswehr.

The newly established Weimar Republic was immediately beset by political and economic instability. These dislocations, exacerbated by a deep-seated sense of betrayal, led many former military personnel to associate with various antidemocratic right-wing movements. The best known of these was **Adolf Hitler's** Nationalist Socialist Workers Party, or Nazis. Like many veterans, Model joined the party with much enthusiasm, although there is little proof he supported the more extreme elements of party ideology. But with Hitler in power after 1933, Model's good standing with the Nazis ensured his rapid rise through the ranks. In 1935, he rose to command the General Staff's Technical Department, where he pushed for greater emphasis on armored vehicles and mechanization. Model's strong Nazi ties and common background made him the antithesis of aristocratic senior officers, but Hitler remained favorably impressed by his youth and blunt talk. In time, he became one of very few leaders that could criticize the Führer's military directives without fear of reproach. His manifold talents—and Nazi credentials—held him in good stead when he advanced to major general of a motorized corps in 1938.

World War II commenced with the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, and



Walter Model
Collection Violet

Model led his command with distinction. The following April, he was promoted to lieutenant general and head of the crack Third Panzer Division during operations against Holland and France. Model drove his men—and himself—relentlessly, acquiring the reputation of an aggressive, hard-hitting leader. In June 1941, during the initial phases of Hitler's attack on Russia, Model's dynamic leadership on the battlefield was immediately apparent and spectacularly successful. His tanks were rapidly closing in on Moscow by December 1941 when a surprise Soviet offensive forced the Germans to withdraw 100 miles.

Model was then transferred to the Ninth Army and became trapped at Vyasma, where he organized a last-ditch defense and beat off several Soviet attacks. He then flew back to Berlin to confer with Hitler, demanding that a panzer corps be committed to the relief of his men. A stormy session ensued with the Führer, who wanted his tanks to attack elsewhere, but support was finally secured. Model then energetically directed operations that saved the Ninth Army from annihilation. He had also earned Hitler's respect and was promoted to full general.

Model defended the Vyasma Salient for a full year, punishing all Soviet attempts to retake it. However, he severely condemned Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus for surrendering the Sixth Army at Stalingrad, declaring that "a marshal must never surrender." This sentiment would come back to haunt him. In the spring of 1943 he was dispatched south to the Kursk region, where German and

Russian forces were girding themselves for a titanic clash. Like many senior officers, Model deplored what Hitler was planning, but this time the Führer prevailed. From July 5 to 16, Model flailed away at Soviet defenses as ordered, lost heavily, and at length the Soviets successfully counterattacked. Model was then ordered to disengage under fire, rush troops and reinforcements to the rear, and act as a fire brigade. In rapid succession several breaches were sealed, and German lines were restored along the Desna River. Thereafter, Model became known as the Eastern Front's troubleshooter. In January 1944, he was dispatched to Leningrad, where a new Soviet offensive forced the Germans to relinquish their three-year siege. After sharp fighting, Model stabilized the front and established new lines. Now hailed as the "Lion of Defense," Model performed his greatest efforts in the wake of the destruction of Army Group Center at Korsun in June 1944. Here Soviet columns enveloped and destroyed 20 German divisions and penetrated to within 15 miles of the German border. Model, unperturbed, allowed the Russians to outrun their supplies and air cover before striking decisively. The enemy was rolled back and the German line reestablished. It was a bravura performance by a master of defensive tactics.

Officers' dissatisfaction with the war effort culminated in a failed assassination attempt against Hitler on July 20, 1944. Model, however, was among the first officers to congratulate the Führer for surviving, pledged his continuing loyalty to him, and was promoted to field marshal the following August. He was then dispatched to the Western Front, where the German situation was critical. Model arrived unannounced at the headquarters of Gen. **Hans von Kluge**, with orders to dismiss that luckless leader outright and take command of Army Group B. At this time, Allied forces had penned the fleeing Germans in the Falaise Pocket, threatening to engulf them all. Model skillfully ordered his men to break out in August 1944. Results were nearly catastrophic: 50,000 Germans were killed or cap-

tured, with 9,000 tanks and other vehicles destroyed. France was consequently abandoned, but Model's quick reaction allowed 50,000 men and the bulk of their equipment to escape. Shortly after, Hitler reinstated **Gerd von Rundstedt** as theater commander, and Model repaired to Holland with Army Group B. There, in September 1944, the Allies mounted Operation Market Garden in an attempt to seize several strategic bridges. Model was having lunch on September 17, 1944, when he glanced up and saw thousands of British paratroops dropping within a mile of his headquarters. After a hasty retreat, he and Gen. **Kurt Student** organized a mighty counterstroke to crush the invaders before they could consolidate. The British fought bravely at Arnhem but were handily defeated by Model's panzers. His success—Germany's last—ruined any chance that the war would conclude that year.

By December 1944, Hitler had massed powerful forces in Belgium and was determined to throw the Allies back to the sea. Model protested the entire scheme as foolish and wasteful, but at length he was obliged to assume command of the overall operations. On December 16, 1944, **Hasso von Manteuffel's** Fifth Panzer Army and **Paul Hausser's** Sixth SS Panzer Army advanced against unsuspecting U.S. forces in the Ardennes sector. Surprise was near-total, and impressive gains were made, but by month's end the Germans had been forced back to their original positions—minus 100,000 casualties. Model now begged Hitler to allow his weakened forces to dig in behind the Rhine River, but the Führer refused and ordered him to defend the industrial Ruhr Valley to the last man. Having resigned himself to defeat, Model performed as instructed, and for 18 days he held out against tremendous odds. At that point Gen. Matthew C. Ridgway sent him a message, imploring him to surrender and save lives. Model defiantly refused, but the game was clearly up. On April 17 he ordered his army disbanded and sent home. "I would have never thought that I would ever be so disappointed," he con-

fessed. “My only aim was to serve Germany.” Four days later, mindful of his personal dictum that a marshal must never surrender, Model shot himself in the woods outside Duisberg on April 21, 1945. The “Führer’s fireman” certainly ranks as among the most energetic and capable German field commanders of World War II. According to General Mantuffel, “Model stood up to Hitler in a way hardly anyone else dared.”

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Montcalm, Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis of

(February 28, 1712–September 14, 1759)

French General

Montcalm was the legendary French commander of the French and Indian War. Unable to surmount superior manpower and resources of the English, he managed to thwart the impending conquest of Canada for three years. In doing so he established a legendary reputation, despite defeat and death in his final engagement.

Louis-Joseph Montcalm was born near Candiac, near Nimes, France, on February 28, 1712, into an old aristocratic family. He joined the army in 1724 at age 12 as an ensign in the Hainaut Regiment. Nine years later he first experienced combat against the Austrians during the War of the Polish Succession while serving under Marshal de Saxe. Two years later Montcalm inherited his father’s title, and commencing in 1740 he campaigned prominently in the War of the Austrian Succession.

Montcalm fought at the siege of Prague in 1742 before rising to colonel of the Auxerrois Regiment the following year. On June 16, 1746, he and his unit were closely engaged against the Austrians at Piacenza, where he sustained five saber wounds before being captured. Montcalm was exchanged shortly after, promoted to brigadier general, and was wounded again before the close of hostilities in 1748. A devoted family man, he thereafter spent nearly a decade in semiretirement at his home in southern France. However, in the spring of 1756, King Louis XIV tendered him an appointment as major general and commander in chief of French regular forces in Canada to replace the captured Baron **Jean-Armand de Dieskau**. Europe at that time was in the beginning phases of the internecine Seven Years’ War against Prussia,

and the New World was considered by many ambitious military men as the graveyard of reputations. Montcalm was undeterred by this reality, and he willingly accepted the position out of obligation to France. It was this streak of devotion—to family, nation, and soldiers—and the loyalty that it inspired in return that contributed so much to his success in Canada.

Montcalm arrived at Quebec on April 3, 1756, accompanied by a coterie of brilliant young soldiers: **Louis-Antoine de Bougainville**, **François-Charles de Bourlamaque**, and **François-Gaston Levis**. He also enjoyed the solid core of veteran French regiments who were brave, well-trained, and highly motivated. However, Montcalm's position as senior commander was complicated by the command structure in Canada, which rested upon civilian authority. He possessed a formidable adversary in the form of **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, a forceful politician who commanded all Canadian regular and militia forces and who was openly envious and resentful of the authority and discretion that Montcalm had been granted. The two men, full of themselves and their sense of purpose, disliked each other intensely, and their mutual antipathy boded ill for the fate of New France.

Despite his conventional background in European-style tactics and strategy, Montcalm displayed initiative and imagination in adapting to New World conditions. He viewed the heavily forested nature of North America as much less a hindrance than a strategic mask for his operations, whereby supply difficulties could be overcome by careful prepara-



Louis-Joseph Montcalm
Library of Congress

tion and exclusive use of rivers and other waterways. Furthermore, he realized that his Canadian and Native American auxiliaries would be essential tactical assets for woodland combat, and he went to great lengths to cultivate their loyalty and affection. The British had encountered talented French commanders in Canada before Montcalm, but none displayed such an integrated grasp for terrain, supply, and the offensive. He proved particularly adept at achieving tactical surprise and local superiority in nearly all of his operations. Montcalm's demonstrated mastery of all the nuances inherent

in New World warfare proved exceptional and would cause England to pay a heavy price for its ultimate success.

Montcalm had no sooner arrived in Canada than he became fixed in his determination to carry the war to his enemies. This was an essential strategic expedient, as the English enjoyed every advantage in terms of manpower and supplies. The French general correctly gauged that an offensive strategy would keep the British off-balance and delay the feared all-out assault upon New France. Accordingly, he marshaled his forces in August 1756, crossed Lake Ontario, and made a surprise attack upon British fortifications at Oswego, New York. He was careful to bring along a heavy train of siege artillery that battered the 1,000-man garrison into submission on August 14, 1756. This opened an unexpected gap in British lines that took nearly a year to close. The relative ease of the victory also induced numerous Indian tribes, hedging their allegiances, to take up the war hatchet for France.

In the summer of 1757, Montcalm launched another preemptive strike deep into New York to forestall British operations against Montreal. His objective was Fort William Henry, which had been erected by Sir William Johnson at the head of Lake George. Again, the French commander carefully transported a select battery of 30 cannons to reduce the fort, which finally surrendered 2,000 men and 17 cannons on August 9, 1757. Montcalm cordially extended his counterpart, Col. George Monro, the honors of war and allowed the enemy to depart with flags and baggage. En route, however, they were set upon by numerous Indians, who massacred around 50 men, women, and children. When Montcalm realized what was happening, he chivalrously threw himself in defense of the prisoners, exclaiming "Kill me but spare the English who are under my protection!" This celebrated tragedy was subsequently captured in literature as part of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. Montcalm demolished the fort but, lacking greater resources, was unable to push south against Fort Edward. He thereupon withdrew against the orders of Vaudreuil, who vociferously began agitating for his replacement.

Despite Montcalm's tactical successes, the strategic fortunes of New France continued waning precipitously by 1758. To the east, Gen. Jeffery Amherst had taken the mighty fortress of Louisbourg, gateway to the St. Lawrence River. Fort Frontenac (present-day Kingston, Ontario) had also fallen to Lt. Col. John Bradstreet, and on the distant Pennsylvania frontier Fort Duquesne surrendered to Gen. John Forbes. This left only Montcalm, with 3,500 men ensconced at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga, New York), with forces able to resist. That summer a large British column of 15,000 men started up the Champlain Valley under Gen. James Abercromby. The strategic city of Montreal was his objective. Before the British arrived, the French defenders actively strengthened their position with a wooden breastwork and an abatis (lines of fallen trees) and awaited the onslaught. On July 8,

1758, Abercromby committed his men to a series of unimaginative frontal assaults against Montcalm's position and was repulsed with nearly 2,000 casualties. French losses totaled a mere 377. The British were so shaken by their reverse that Abercromby called off his offensive and retired back down the valley. This stunning victory was Montcalm's finest hour and bought New France another year of existence. Yet Vaudreuil continued to despise the man and insisted on his replacement. The French government evinced greater faith than did the governor-general, fortunately, and Montcalm was subsequently promoted to lieutenant general. Being fully occupied in a war with Prussia's Frederick the Great, however, the king declined to dispatch much-needed reinforcements to New France. By comparison, William Pitt, the energetic British prime minister, made victory in Canada a national priority.

The French and Indian War entered its final and crucial phase by 1759. That year the fall of Fort Niagara, in western New York, induced Montcalm to withdraw all his forces from New York, save for a detachment under Bourlamaque at Carillon. Thus, the French controlled only a strip of land along the St. Lawrence River between Montreal in the west and Quebec farther east. Montcalm, still on bad terms with the governor-general, had no authority to command the militia or colonial regulars, so he used his own troops to fortify Quebec against the impending storm. On June 26, 1759, the British fleet made its appearance under Gen. James Wolfe, who made several attempts to land troops on the fortified banks of the St. Lawrence. Montcalm's active defense beat off four desperate attempts to land with considerable loss to Wolfe. Rather than risk his surviving forces in a pitched battle, he was content to let the British wear themselves out against Quebec's defenses before the onset of winter forced them to withdraw. The strategy proved viable for two months until Wolfe, in a final gamble, discovered an unfortified cove leading to the Plains of Abraham above the city. The audacious Briton ex-

exploited this opportunity and landed his entire army on the night of September 12, 1759. The sudden deployment caught Montcalm at a disadvantage, as his men were dispersed over a wide area, with Levis in Montreal and Bourlamaque and Bougainville in detachments along the shore. Furthermore, perceiving that the British force before him was only part of Wolfe's army, he decided to defeat them in detail before they could be reinforced. This uncharacteristically rash action, perhaps from the outrage of finally being trumped by Wolfe, also precluded the arrival of Bougainville with his force of elite troops. The fate of New France now hung in the balance.

Montcalm mustered less than 5,000 men for his assault, an amount roughly equal to Wolfe's force. He could have been augmented by infantry and artillery belonging to the colonial establishment, but Vaudreuil refused to let them leave the city. The French then sortied and attacked the British in deep columns while the latter, deployed in line, enjoyed great advantages in firepower. Several volleys crippled the attack, and in the ensuing confusion both Montcalm and Wolfe were mortally wounded. The French leader was borne back to Quebec, where he died on September 14, 1759. With him passed the fate of New France, for Vaudreuil felt obliged to surrender Quebec to the English. Montcalm's struggle to save Canada may have been doomed from the start given the disparity of forces, but no French general, possibly save for Levis, could have

forestalled the inevitable with such gallantry, determination, and heroism. For all these reasons Montcalm remains a legendary military leader, an enduring icon of Canadian national history.

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Montjojo, Patricio

(September 7, 1839–September 30, 1917)
Spanish Admiral

The cultured, dignified Montjojo commanded Spanish naval forces during the lopsided defeat at Manila Bay in 1898. This decisive loss was clearly not his

fault, but the government made him a scapegoat to cover its own incompetence.

Patricio Montjojo y Pasaron was born in El Ferrol, Corunna, Spain, on September 7, 1839,

and in 1852 he entered the naval school at Cadiz. He became a midshipman in 1855 and within five years had risen to sub-lieutenant. That year he accompanied Adm. Castro Mendez Nunez to the Philippine Islands to fight against Moro insurgents. Four years later he gained an appointment as the admiral's secretary, sailed with him back to Madrid, and found work with the Secretariat of the Admiralty. Montojo was an efficient officer, rising to commander in 1873, and he subsequently commanded a succession of warships in Cuban waters. He advanced to commodore in 1890 and the following year returned to Madrid to receive the rank of general officer. In 1897, his excellent conduct resulted in the receipt of the Grand Cross of Maria Christina and a promotion to rear admiral. That same year, Montojo returned to the Philippines, where he assumed control of all naval installations in the colony. In this capacity he headed up the Far Eastern Fleet and used it to quell an uprising led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**. It was during this same period that Spain and the United States were inching toward war over the suppression of a Cuban uprising.

As commander of Spain's Far Eastern Fleet, Montojo bore overall responsibility for the defenses of the Philippines against an American attack. However, in contrast to the modern and efficient fleet of Adm. George Dewey, known to be anchored at Hong Kong and awaiting a declaration of war, his was a fleet in name only. It consisted only of two unarmored and derelict cruisers, *Reina Cristina* and *Castilla*, and a gaggle of smaller craft. Worse, it lacked modern sighting and



Patricio Montojo
U.S. Naval Institute

range-finding devices, was low on ammunition, and was probably better suited for a museum than for warfare. These deficiencies weighed heavily upon Montojo, and he unleashed a flurry of frantic cables to Madrid, appealing for supplies, ammunition, and men. "I am without resources or time," he warned on April 11, 1898. In return, the admiral received only smug replies insinuating that whatever he lacked in equipment he could compensate with "zeal and activity." Knowing that a stand-up engagement with Dewey would be suicidal, Montojo convened with his captains and weighed all options. Finding that there

were no submarine defenses (mines) or batteries at Subic Bay, he felt his fleet courted annihilation owing to the depth of the water there. Cavite, however, was more shallow, and presumably fewer men would be lost to drowning. He also chose to fight at this locale rather than in the vicinity of Manila Bay, with its excellent harbor, to spare the city any chance of being hit by American shells. All told, Montojo proffered a reasoned response to a hopeless situation, one that lessened the loss of lives and yet fulfilled the demands of Spanish honor.

As expected, the moment war was declared against Spain, Admiral Dewey's East Asiatic Squadron departed Hong Kong and steamed for Manila Bay. He commanded six modern warships, including the four armored cruisers *Olympia*, *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, and *Boston*, the unprotected cruiser *Concord*, and the gunboat *Petrel*. This represented an aggregate of almost 20,000 tons of displacement and 53 heavy guns. Montojo, by comparison,

fielded two antiquated cruisers (one of which was powerless and had to be towed into battle!), two small cruisers, and five small gunboats, representing 12,000 tons of displacement and 37 heavy cannons. Worse of all, only seven of his cannons were modern breech-loading designs—the bulk were obsolete muzzle loaders. On the morning of May 1, 1898, Dewey ran the fortifications and mine belts of Manila Bay, looking for his quarry. He found them drawn up in a line at Canacao Bay off Cavite, awaiting the inevitable clash. As the fleets closed, the Americans opened up at long range and dominated the battle. Spanish casualties mounted as ranges shortened; they mustered a brave but ineffective fire in return. Marksmanship on both sides was abysmal, with the Americans firing 5,859 shells and scoring only 142 hits. Still, within hours Spain's fleet, the pride of the Philippines, was either burning or sunk. Montojo's losses amounted to 75 killed and 210 wounded. Dewey suffered nine wounded and only one dead—lost to heat stroke—an indication of how badly the Spanish were outgunned. The victory at Manila Bay cleared the Philippines of Spanish naval power in a single decisive stroke and made Dewey the first hero of the Spanish-American War. For Montojo, who had fought bravely throughout this hopeless encounter and was severely wounded, an altogether different fate awaited him.

In consequence of losing his fleet, Montojo was summoned to Madrid to face a general court-martial, a standard procedure. He arrived in November 1898 confident that he had defended Spanish honor and would be acquitted. Instead, the luckless admiral was imprisoned until his trial in March 1899. The public reacted furiously to the displays of military incompetence during the recent war and the loss of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. The Spanish government needed a scapegoat—and quickly. In his own defense,

Montojo contacted his erstwhile adversary, Dewey, and requested a letter of support. The American hero chivalrously offered to help, declaring, "The fighting of your flagship, which was singled out for attack, was especially worthy of a place in the traditions of valor of your nation. . . . I very much regret that calumnies have been cast against you, and am confident that your honor cannot be dimmed by them." Regardless, Montojo was found guilty by the court and cashiered, a shameful sentence considering the government's culpability for the disaster. After a life of selfless devotion to Spain, his military career was effectively ended.

Montojo returned to private life where, as a man of letters, he published novels, literary essays, and nautical manuals. Fluent in English, he also translated James Fenimore Cooper's *The Two Admirals* into Spanish. This gallant, forlorn naval figure died in Madrid on September 30, 1917. He deserved a better war—and a better fate.

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Morrison, Joseph Wanton

(May 4, 1783–February 15, 1826)
English Army Officer

Morrison won the hard-fought Battle of Crysler's Farm in 1813 against an American force three times his size. His victory single-handedly turned aside a major attack upon Montreal and was the most dramatic display of British military prowess during the War of 1812.

Joseph Wanton Morrison was born in New York City on May 4, 1783, a son of John Morrison, then deputy commissary general in North America. Following the American Revolution, Morrison relocated back to England with his family, and he was commissioned an ensign in the British army in 1783. After several years on half-pay with an independent company, he joined the 17th Regiment of Foot in 1799 and first experienced combat at Egmond aan Zee, Netherlands. The following year he reported to Minorca for garrison duty, remaining there until 1802. Two years later he was stationed in Ireland as an inspecting officer of yeomanry (volunteer militia), and in 1805 he joined the unit most closely associated with his career, the 89th Regiment. This was an Irish-recruited regiment, distinct in red jackets and black facings (collars and cuffs). After several more years of garrison duty, Morrison transferred with his regiment to Halifax in October 1812. The War of 1812 against the United States was then in full swing, and he marched his battalion to Kingston, Upper Canada (Ontario), as part of the garrison. An excellent drillmaster, he spent several months



Joseph Wanton Morrison
McCord Museum

constantly inspecting his troops, training them, and in every way honing the 89th to a fine tactical edge. Curiously, the 30-year-old Morrison had never personally commanded a battle by himself despite fifteen years of active service.

The fall of 1813 gave rise to an ambitious American strategy for the conquest of Canada, conceived by Secretary of War John Armstrong, which involved two distinct strategic thrusts from the west and south. The first column was under Gen. James Wilkinson, who commanded up to 8,000 soldiers at Sacket's Harbor, New York. His objective was to pile his army onto a vast armada of boats and conduct an amphibious foray down the St. Lawrence River. Meanwhile, a force of 4,000 men under Gen. Wade Hampton would concurrently advance from Plattsburgh, New York, up the Champlain Valley and into Lower Canada. There the two columns would unite in anticipation of a rapid conquest of Montreal. Capture of that strategic city would all but ensure the fall of Upper Canada and points west. It was the largest American offensive conducted thus far in the war, but sheer numbers belied its overall inadequacy. First off, the campaign commenced too late in the fall to have any prospects of success, for the moment winter weather arrived operations would have to cease. Second, the choice of generals to lead this critical conquest was poor, as Hampton and Wilkinson were bitter personal enemies

who refused to cooperate—or even correspond—in reasonable fashion. The third major factor militating against American success was the state of the U.S. Army. The majority of regiments involved had been only recently recruited, and soldiers and officers alike remained poorly trained. Aside from skirmishing and marksmanship, which had been American tactical specialties since revolutionary times, the U.S. Army was singularly unprepared to confront well-led, highly disciplined British regular forces in the field.

In late October 1813, as Wilkinson's armada sailed passed the Kingston garrison, Gen. **Francis de Rottenburg** ordered Morrison to take a corps of observation totaling roughly 1,000 regular troops, militia, and Indians and shadow American movements downstream. Morrison complied and, assisted by a British gunboat flotilla, dogged Wilkinson's heels for several days. That general grew concerned over the presence of so many British troops operating at his rear, so on November 11, 1813, he ordered the army landed and arrayed against its pursuers. Morrison, who had also come ashore, deployed on Crysler's Farm, an open area astride the St. Lawrence. His right flank was secured by the river and gunboat squadron, and his left anchored upon a deep woods. Thus, the Americans had no recourse but to attack head-on, over land that was deeply rutted by ravines and difficult to traverse. Morrison commanded his own 89th Regiment, a battalion of the famous 49th Foot (the Green Tigers), three companies of French-speaking *chasseurs* (light infantry), and about 250 Mohawk warriors. He was also ably seconded by his staff officer, Lt. Col. **John Harvey**, one of the heroes of Stoney Creek four months earlier.

The ensuing Battle of Crysler's Farm constitutes a unique tactical microcosm of the War of 1812, for no encounter more clearly highlights the profound tactical disparities that separated the British and American armies. With Wilkinson being sick, command devolved upon Gen. John P. Boyd, a former mercenary. He deployed three brigades of in-

fantry and one squadron of cavalry, in excess of 3,000 men at his disposal. This was three times the manpower that Morrison possessed, and the American strategy was simply to overwhelm the enemy by sheer numbers. Boyd then made the mistake of committing his brigades piecemeal along different portions of the field. This allowed the British commander to expertly change the facing of his units under fire, confront the stumbling Americans, and blast them back with accurate musketry. In sum, Boyd had been lured into a set-piece battle against highly trained professional soldiers, fighting upon ground of their own choosing. The result was a disaster.

For several hours the Americans fought bravely, but ineptly, and could not drive back the British. The red-coated regulars were exceptionally well drilled and inflicted punishing blows upon their assailants. Once Gen. Leonard Covington had been fatally wounded and his brigade disrupted, Morrison judged the timing ripe and ordered an advance across the field. Boyd's entire army then bolted from the field in confusion, and only a determined charge by the Second Light Dragoons temporarily delayed the surging tide of bayonets. Within 30 minutes, the American force had reembarked upon its boats and was paddling downstream to safety. The thin red line had never been stretched thinner or proved more resilient. British losses were heavy, amounting to 200 killed and wounded, but Boyd lost twice as many casualties, including 100 prisoners. It had been a stirring performance by Morrison in his first independent action—a stinging tactical reversal for the United States!

As a consequence of Crysler's Farm, Wilkinson and his subordinates decided to abandon their offensive and enter winter quarters. This coincided with Hampton's decision to do the same, following his embarrassing defeat at the hands of **Charles-Michael d'Irumberry de Salaberry** at Chateaugay three weeks earlier. Morrison was awarded a gold medal, was voted the thanks of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, and then proceeded back to

Kingston. He remained in garrison until late July 1814 and subsequently accompanied Gen. **Gordon Drummond** to the Niagara frontier. On July 25, 1814, the 89th Regiment was one of the units rushed into action during initial phases of the Battle of Lundy's Lane and inflicted heavy losses upon Gen. Winfield Scott's brigade. However, Morrison was struck down by a bullet early on, and his regiment lost nearly a third of its numbers in combat. After a long convalescence, he saw no further service and returned to England in 1815 with his surviving soldiers.

Back home, Morrison rose to brevet colonel of the 44th Regiment in 1821 and resumed full-time activity. The following year he was shipped off to India and stationed at Calcutta, where he gained an appointment as a local brigadier general and was ordered to mount an expedition to Arakan against Burmese forces gathered there. This campaign was successfully concluded, but the hot climate riddled the British soldiers with dis-

ease, and Morrison fell ill among them. Shipped home in an attempt to improve his health, he died at sea on February 15, 1826. Morrison, unquestionably, was the most accomplished regimental-grade British officer of the War of 1812.

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Murray, John

(1737–February 25, 1809)
English Colonial Governor

A political moderate by persuasion, Murray was the last royal governor of Virginia, and his actions did much to precipitate the American Revolution in that colony. He tried deflecting political friction by generating a successful Indian war but neglected to shore up his support among Virginia's political elite.

John Murray was born in Perthshire, Scotland, around 1737, a distant relative of the Stuart family. Intent upon a military career, he joined the Third Foot Guards in 1749, eventually rose to captain, and later resigned his commission to pursue politics. In 1756, he inherited his father's title as Earl of Dunmore

and four years later was chosen as one of 16 Scottish peers to represent Scotland in the House of Lords. In various and sensitive issues dealing with the American colonies, he displayed moderate sensibilities. However, as the father of 11 children, Murray sought greater financial security; through the influence of his brother-in-law, Earl Gower, he gained an appointment as governor of New York in 1770. He arrived there that year, struck up cordial relations with Sir William Johnson, and quickly began engaging in land speculation to enhance his fortunes. At length he procured 51,000 acres for himself near Lake Champlain, but before he could enjoy the fruits of his

labor, Gower arranged his transfer as royal governor of Virginia. Virginia was then the richest colony in North America, and his position would secure him even greater income, security, and prestige. His New York replacement was **William Tryon**.

Murray arrived at the capital of Williamsburg in September 1771 and generally made a favorable impression upon the local landed gentry, including George Washington. As before, he gravitated toward speculation and sought to ally himself with colonial land interests. However, Virginia at this time was becoming embroiled in larger imperial issues owing to the British policy of increased taxation and restrictions upon westward migration. In his capacity as governor, Murray was remiss in his official duties, for he failed to correctly gauge this delicate political situation. Consequently, the few official reports he filed for the government either ignored or underestimated the rising tide of resentment. Conditions were also exacerbated by his sometimes arbitrary behavior toward the House of Burgesses, the colonial legislature. In 1773, he dissolved it after it proposed forming committees of correspondence to coordinate political affairs with other colonies. In July 1774, he again summarily dismissed it after a vote of sympathy for Boston, then closed it by force following the notorious Boston Tea Party. Resistance to British imperial policy was gaining momentum, but Murray nonetheless expressed other priorities. In an attempt to draw colonial attention away from affairs of state, he began focusing upon what he and his political allies coveted most—land.



John Murray
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

In an attempt to keep peace with Native Americans living beyond the Appalachian Mountains, British policy culminated in the Proclamation of 1763, which severely infringed the westward mobility of many Americans. However, in 1774 Murray chose to stretch this policy to meet his own interests when he enforced Virginia's claims to Pittsburgh and most of western Pennsylvania. Murray's agents in the region, abetted by gangs of lawless whites, then began illegal surveys and the indiscriminate killing of Indians throughout the region. Despite dire warnings from the Shawnee chief, **Cornstalk**, the bandits continued depredations and even killed Mingo Chief **Logan's** family. The result was a brief but victorious Indian conflict—Lord Dunmore's War—which secured land and opened Kentucky to white settlement. This was the last colonial conflict of American history.

Murray was hailed as a hero following the conclusion of his war, and he returned to affairs of state. Unfortunately, the tempo of confrontation with the political establishment of Virginia had increased in his absence. While the governor was campaigning, activists at Williamsburg convened the first Virginia convention, where they placed an embargo upon English goods, recruited volunteer militia companies for defense, and picked a Virginia delegation to attend the first Continental Congress in Virginia. Murray, still convinced that the majority of colonials were loyal to the Crown, began a series of arbitrary measures to constrain rebellious activities. On April 21, 1775, he ordered the Royal Marines to seize

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and confiscate supplies of public gunpowder at Williamsburg and transfer it to ships offshore. This act, coming in the wake of the Battles of Lexington and Concord outside Boston, alarmed radicals and even convinced many moderates that there was, in fact, an imperial conspiracy against them. Murray further compounded his mistakes by threatening to arm slaves and employ them against their former owners. This cost the governor what little support remained among the slaveholding planter class. Men around the colony began taking up arms against the governor, and Murray, fearing for his life, fled the capital on June 8, 1775. He reestablished the seat of government onboard a British warship, HMS *Fowey*, at Norfolk. There he maintained a floating government in exile over the next 14 months.

As other Loyalists drifted into Norfolk, Murray could muster around 3,000 armed followers and a flotilla of 90 boats. From them he recruited the Queen's Own Loyal Regiment and—more significantly—the all-black Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment. This was the first African American military unit in American history. He then assumed the offensive, storming several river plantations and seizing gunpowder and supplies. On November 15, 1775, Murray carried through on his threat and issued his Emancipation Proclamation, which offered freedom to any African American slaves who would flee, join, and fight. He then continued consolidating his position until December 9, 1775, when the main rebel army appeared off Norfolk. During the Battle of Great Bridge, the British and Loyalists were badly beaten when ordered by Murray to cross a narrow causeway raked by Virginian riflemen. The Loyalists had no recourse but to withdraw from Norfolk to their fleet, and they bombarded the town. Subsequent fighting reduced Norfolk to ashes, which only hardened colonial attitudes toward Virginia's erstwhile ruler. Murray took temporary refuge on Gwynn's Island offshore, where he lost another engagement, this time to Gen.

Andrew Lewis, a veteran of Lord Dunmore's War. Unable to obtain British reinforcements, Murray finally departed from Chesapeake Bay on August 7, 1776, taking the last vestiges of imperial rule with him.

Back in England, Murray returned to Parliament, where he remained until 1781. That year he was authorized to raise another Loyalist army and reclaim Virginia, in concert with the army of Lord **Charles Cornwallis**. However, by the time Murray reached his staging area at Charleston, South Carolina, word was received of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. He thereupon returned to England a second time and spent several years working diligently on behalf of fellow Loyalists. In 1786, Murray received an appointment as governor of the Bahamas, where he helped establish a lucrative trade throughout the Caribbean, as well as with the Creek nation under **William McGillivray**. However, he fell from favor when his daughter married the younger son of George III of England, a violation of the Royal Marriage Act, and he was dismissed in 1796. Lord Dunmore retired to private life in Ramsgate, Kent, where he died on February 25, 1809. His inability or refusal to deal forthrightly with moderates in Virginia, along with his provocative political actions, led to the swift and possibly premature collapse of British authority within that vital colony.

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Mussolini, Benito

(July 29, 1883–April 28, 1945)

Italian Dictator

Il *duce* swaggered onto the world’s political stage like a latter-day Julius Caesar, attempting to re-create the Roman Empire in his own image. Bombastic and lacking a scintilla of military sense, his comic-opera regime collapsed after only three years of warfare.

Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini was born in Dovia, Italy, on July 29, 1883, the son of a blacksmith and a schoolteacher. He inherited from his father an abiding interest in the Socialist Party, along with a taste for political extremism. As a young man, Mussolini worked briefly as a schoolteacher, then fled to Switzerland to avoid compulsory military service. Afterward, he worked as a manual laborer, a left-wing agitator, and, after 1912, an editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti*. However, Mussolini grew disillusioned with the socialists and severed ties over Italian intervention in World War I. He strongly advocated Italy to take a more active role in events and joined the army, fighting several



Benito Mussolini
Bettmann/Corbis

years as a rifleman. Mussolini was wounded in 1917 and returned to civilian life. Politically, however, he began mulling the creation of a new right-wing ideology that would dominate his life and country for the next three decades.

Mussolini’s concept of fascism was his own unique blend of nationalism, imperialism, and corporatism—that is, a close government alliance with large business interests. The resulting corporate state he envisioned was to be organized and administered by assigned groups rather than by individuals, as in a democracy. Thus, the government would deal

with blocs of workers and industrialists together, or small farmers and large landowners, rather than with individuals along class lines. This new state structure was intended to carry Italy into the future while recapturing the past glory of ancient Rome. To this end, Mussolini adopted the Roman symbol of authority—the *fascia* (an ax surrounded by a bundle of rods) as the party logo. In 1919, he

formally established the Italian Fascist Party and began his quest for political domination.

As Italy slipped deeper into a postwar economic depression, Mussolini's agitation and rabble-rousing attracted larger audiences. His calls for a strong central authority to restore order was rewarded at the polls, and by 1922 this seemingly pretentious strongman was on the verge of taking control of the government. That year King Victor Emanuel III appointed Mussolini prime minister, and he took charge of a large right-wing coalition. To celebrate his conquest, the fascists carefully orchestrated a staged march on Rome, replete with parades by paramilitary cadres known as Blackshirts. By 1925, he had seized power and was ruling as an absolute dictator.

Mussolini, now officially installed as *il duce* (leader), cracked down on political opposition while laying the foundation for an authoritarian state. He also reorganized the economy on a wartime footing, which created badly needed jobs. Then he embarked on a series of military adventures abroad, consistent with his dream of resurrecting the Roman Empire. In 1935, he attacked Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa, whose conquest spurred world condemnation. When the Spanish Civil War erupted in 1936, the Italians rushed in land and air units on behalf of Gen. Francisco Franco. This timely intervention facilitated the ultimate fascist victory there in 1939. By this time Mussolini also found himself in league with Nazi dictator **Adolf Hitler** of Germany, whom he initially disliked and distrusted. Even though the ideologies of fascism and Nazism were not exactly identical, they proved compatible enough to warrant an alliance against Western democracies. Mussolini hoped that, in event of war, further conquests and the Caesar-like cult he promoted would allow him to abolish the monarchy and institute a totalitarian state. Therefore, in 1937 Italy and Germany concluded the Rome-Berlin Axis Pact, which Japan would join in 1941. Thus, the destiny of Italy became inextricably linked to that of Nazi Germany. To further placate Hitler, Mussolini instituted his

own brand of anti-Semitism that, although less virulent than the Nazi variety, was no less reprehensible.

Over the next few years Mussolini's continuing conquest of Libya, Ethiopia, and Albania made Italy the dominant Mediterranean power. However, his industrial base had not kept pace with that of the West, and Italian military units were saddled with obsolete technology and equipment. In fact, Italy's recent conquests left it forces exhausted and overextended for what would follow. Once Hitler commenced World War II by invading Poland in September 1939—three years before Mussolini felt his nation was ready to fight—he dallied nearly a year before entering the fray. Italy did not commence hostilities until June 1940, when it invaded France; British Prime Minister Winston Churchill denounced Mussolini as a “jackal.” But during this foray and subsequent campaigns in the Balkans, Italian armies fared poorly and had to be rescued by the Germans. Throughout 1941, Italian forces in North Africa were also roughly handled by the British until reinforced by the legendary Gen. **Erwin Rommel** and his Afrika Korps. Oblivious to these shortcomings, Mussolini next committed several thousand men and aircraft to Hitler's ill-fated invasion of Russia in June 1941. Then, in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941), he compounded his strategic weakness by declaring war upon the previously neutral United States.

In the fall of 1942, U.S. forces under Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower successfully landed in North Africa and were marching east to meet British forces under Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery. German and Italian units under Rommel chastised the newcomers at Kasserine Pass in February 1943, but in the end the Afrika Korps surrendered to the Allies. The following summer, a combined American-British task force stormed Sicily, which spelled the end of Mussolini's regime. At the urging of King Emanuel, the Fascist Council voted to strip him of his powers, and he was deposed. Mussolini remained under house ar-

rest in a mountain resort until September, when a secret commando mission under Maj. **Otto Skorzeny** rescued him. He then took charge of a small puppet state in the northeastern corner of Italy, where his most notable accomplishment was the trial and execution of five council members, including his own son-in-law, who had voted to oust him. When German defenses finally collapsed in the spring of 1945, Mussolini and his mistress tried to flee to Switzerland. En route, they were intercepted by Italian communist partisans, who executed him on April 28, 1945. Thus, two decades of ideological bombast drew to an ignominious close. As a final token of disrespect, *il duce's* body was hung upside down in a public square and later interred in an unmarked grave.

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Nagumo, Chuichi

(March 25, 1887–July 6, 1944)

Japanese Admiral

The austere, cautious Nagumo launched the brilliantly successful Japanese air raid against Pearl Harbor that brought the United States into World War II. Ironically, he was a destroyer man with little expertise in aerial strategy or tactics. Nagumo nonetheless enjoyed considerable success in the Pacific and Indian Oceans before a catastrophic defeat at the 1942 Battle of Midway.

Chuichi Nagumo was born in Yamagata Prefecture on March 25, 1887. Intent upon a naval career, he graduated from the Imperial Naval Academy in 1908 and subsequently attended the Torpedo School in 1914. Nagumo became a highly respected torpedo and de-

stroyer specialist and two years later was admitted to the prestigious Naval Staff College. He graduated in 1920, rose to commander by 1924, and completed several tours of the United States and Great Britain. Nagumo next held down several cruiser commands in 1929–1930 before assuming control of a destroyer squadron. He rose to rear admiral in 1935 while commanding the battleship *Yamashiro* and in 1939 gained a promotion to vice admiral and head of the Naval Staff College in Tokyo. Nagumo acquired the reputation of a thoroughly competent, if personally colorless, professional officer. He was held in high esteem by superiors for his technical efficiency,

and in April 1941 the High Command appointed him in charge of the prestigious First Air Fleet, with several of Japan's newest and most effective aircraft carriers. Curiously, these vessels represented a type of warfare for which Nagumo had never trained. Adm. **Isoroku Yamamoto**, the head of the Combined Fleet, openly questioned the sagacity of this appointment, citing Nagumo's well-established reputation for cautiousness. But by this time, he was much too senior a figure to dismiss casually.

At this critical juncture, Japan was girding itself for war with the United States. When last-minute negotiations failed to lift America's embargo of steel and oil, the government of Prime Minister **Hideki Tojo** opted to commence hostilities. Henceforth, the Japanese prepared to take by force whatever they needed. In November 1941, a daring plan conceived by Admiral Yamamoto for a surprise attack against Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Navy base in Hawaii, was put into motion. Nagumo, leading a strike force of four carriers and numerous support ships, secretly steamed out of Japanese waters that month in complete radio silence. Heading east, the admiral positioned his fleet northwest of Hawaii, and on December 7, 1941, he launched Cmdr. **Mitsuo Fuchida** and the first wave of 360 Japanese aircraft. Complete tactical surprise was achieved, and the Japanese sank four American battleships, damaged four others, and damaged more than 200 aircraft. But to Japan's military misfortune, the primary target—three American aircraft carriers—was not at Pearl. The repair facilities and oil staging areas were also not seriously damaged.



Chuichi Nagumo
Archive Photos

Both Fuchida and Cmdr. Minoru Genda, who drew up the actual attack, pleaded with Nagumo for a third air strike, but he dithered. Cautious as ever, he refused to expose his ships to a possible American carrier attack and ordered the fleet back to Japan. This timidity angered the more aggressive officers on his staff, and Adm. Matome Ugaki complained, "He was like a robber fleeing the scene, happy with small booty."

Nagumo returned to Japan in triumph and gave a personal account of the attack to Emperor Hirohito. Soon after, his fleet steamed southward for continued operations against the East Indies and northern Australia. By March 1942, Nagumo's fleet arrived in the Indian Ocean on an ambitious raid. There they sank the British heavy cruisers *HMS Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall*, along with the carrier *Hermes*. Thus Nagumo's First Air Fleet had traversed one-third of the globe, inflicting heavy damage on Allied ships and installations while sustaining few losses. Considering the sheer distances involved, and the inordinate complexity of carrier operations, it was an outstanding achievement. However, other Japanese naval forces subsequently fought a carrier battle with U.S. forces at the Coral Sea in May 1942, a draw with heavy losses to both sides. This action, coupled with a surprise raid on Tokyo by Col. James H. Doolittle, prompted the Japanese High Command to enlarge its already sizable defensive perimeter even farther.

In June 1942, Nagumo's carriers departed Japan again, en route to Midway Island. Admiral Yamamoto hoped that an attack there would lure the remaining U.S. carriers out

into the open, where they could be annihilated by superior Japanese forces. However, both he and Nagumo were unaware that the United States had broken the Japanese naval code—and Adm. Frank J. Fletcher was aware of all pending developments. On June 4, 1942, American aircraft stationed at Midway attacked the Japanese fleet but were shot down without scoring a hit. Nagumo then ordered an air strike against the offending island's airfield and facilities, inflicting great damage. A second wave was requested, and the admiral, mindful of earlier criticism of his caution at Pearl Harbor, consented to a second strike. However, this entailed disarming Japanese aircraft previously armed with torpedoes for antiship operations and refitting them with bombs. While this complex change was under way, American dive-bombers suddenly appeared overhead. In the course of five minutes they sank three of Nagumo's carriers, then returned the following day to finish off the survivor. Losses of such magnitude crippled the Japanese fleet, and the planned invasion of Midway was canceled. Nagumo then sullenly returned home under the specter of defeat. Midway proved a strategic disaster of the first magnitude, for the United States now seized the initiative. Nagumo was also privately criticized for indecision and errors of judgment prior to the battle and for his overall handling of his command. Nonetheless, he was retained in high rank out of respect for seniority.

Nagumo, still commanding carriers, next saw action throughout the bloody Guadalcanal campaign. On August 24, 1942, his aircraft roughly handled an American flotilla in the Second Battle of the Solomon Sea, but he lost the small carrier *Ryujo*. On October 26, 1942, Nagumo's airmen again lashed enemy forces in the Battle of Santa Cruz, sinking the American carrier USS *Hornet* but also sustaining heavy losses. After this last engage-

ment, the High Command had grown impatient with Nagumo's fumbling and removed him from carrier duty. Thereafter, he accepted a series of minor base commands throughout Japan. In the later part of 1943, he was entrusted to lead the 6,000-man garrison on Saipan, in the Marianas, which he prepared against an impending Allied assault. This materialized on June 15, 1944, and the Americans slowly subdued the Japanese fortifications at great cost to both sides. By July 6, 1944, Nagumo and his staff were holed up in a cave, awaiting death. At that point the admiral took out a pistol and killed himself rather than submit to the humiliation of capture. On December 12, 1944, this curiously timid, inefficient figure was posthumously promoted to full admiral.

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Nana

(ca. 1800–May 19, 1896)
Apache War Chief

Nana was among the most ferocious Apache warriors to ever terrorize the Old Southwest. Relentless and hard-hitting, he was never defeated before finally retiring to life on a reservation.

Nana was born about 1800 in the Mimbres country of present-day New Mexico to the Eastern Chiricahua band of the Apache nation. Little is known of his younger days, but he was apparently a skilled and fearless warrior, and he was allowed to marry the sister of **Geronimo**, another Apache stalwart. Commencing in 1858, white intrusions upon Apache lands induced the great warrior **Mangas Coloradas** to initiate a frontier war that lasted, on and off, for nearly three decades. Nana was undoubtedly privy to these events, and he formed a long-lasting relationship with another vaunted fighter, **Victorio**. After the death or capture of **Mangas** and **Cochise**, **Victorio's** was the sole surviving band to offer any armed resistance. Nana, though quite old at this juncture, was apparently his trusted lieutenant—and every bit as ruthless and cunning as the younger braves under him. He accompanied **Victorio** into captivity during the 1870s, but the two men fled with their respective bands to the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico in 1879 and continued raiding their Mexican and American adversaries. In October 1880, Mexican forces cornered and annihilated **Victorio's** forces at the Battle of Tres Castillos, killing him, 62 warriors, and 16 women. A further 68 women and children



Nana
National Archives

were also captured and sold into slavery. Nana was out foraging at the time and survived the massacre. Although old, semilame from dozens of wounds, and suffering from rheumatism and failing eyesight, he was readily accepted by the surviving Apaches as their new chief. The old man was reputedly so lame that he had to be helped into the saddle.

No one could have anticipated what would happen next. Nana may have been old, but his fighting skills were honed by a lifetime of raiding, and he proved himself a fearless fighter, an expert guerrilla strategist, and—in the established norms of Apache warfare—utterly ruthless. In July 1881, he took 15 surviving warriors on a bloody and legendary raid across southwestern New Mexico. Covering 1,500 miles in three months, Nana ambushed civilians, wagon trains, and army patrols with equal abandon. He was undefeated in eight pitched battles with soldiers and militia, killing an estimated 100 whites and capturing upward of 200 valuable horses. The army dispatched several strong cavalry columns against the wily warrior but, insomuch as Nana appeared to know every hill, cave, and valley in New Mexico, most patrols never came within sight of the raiders. When seemingly cornered, the elusive Apache simply disappeared as if into thin air. Nana was later joined by approximately 20 Mescaleros for a total of 40 men. At length the victorious Apaches fled across the Rio Grande River

into Mexico with Col. Edward Hatch's Ninth U.S. Cavalry in hot pursuit. They then merged with another band under Geronimo, himself having recently escaped from the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona. From a military standpoint, the insurgents seemed unstoppable. Nana chose his subjects carefully, approached them stealthily, and hit them decisively. All attempts at pursuit were then artfully dodged.

Nana continued raiding and killing with impunity until May 23, 1883, when he surrendered to Gen. George Crook and was forced back onto the San Carlos Reservation. Two years later, however, he again escaped with Geronimo and managed to elude several thousand pursuers for four months before being recaptured on March 25, 1886. The aged warrior, whom Crook openly regarded as "the brains of the hostile bands," finally became accustomed to a life of peace. He endured a brief stay at Fort Marion in Florida before finally being allowed to settle down at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1894 to take up farming. Nana was almost a century old, defiant as ever toward whites, when he died at Fort Sill on May 19, 1896. Death finally concluded what was in all likelihood the longest fighting career of any Apache chief. Whites who knew this doughty old man ascribed to him "a strong face, marked with intelligence, courage, and good nature, but with an understratum of cruelty and vindictiveness." Nana

was certainly all this—and a legendary Apache warrior.

See also

Cochise; Geronimo

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Nishizawa, Hiroyoshi

(January 27, 1930–October 26, 1944)

Japanese Navy Fighter Pilot

Gaunt, gangly, and unsmiling, Nishizawa is considered the highest-scoring Japanese navy fighter pilot of World War II. He was transcendently superb as a pilot; once strapped into his cockpit of his *Zero* fighter, man and machine fought as one. For

all these reasons, Nishizawa became known to friend and enemy alike as "the Devil."

Hiroyoshi Nishizawa was born in Nagano Prefecture, Japan, on January 27, 1920, the son of a sake brewer. After toiling in a thread mill for several years, he observed a Japanese

naval aviation recruiting poster and enlisted in June 1936. Nishizawa expressed interest in flying, and he graduated sixteenth out of a class of 71 in March 1939. By the time the Pacific War broke out on December 7, 1941, he was flying with the Chitose Air Group in the Marshall Islands as a chief petty officer, first class. Nishizawa's unit was then equipped with the marginally obsolete Mitsubishi A5M fighter, known as *Claude* to the Allies. Nonetheless, having transferred to Rabaul, Nishizawa bagged his first victim, an Australian Consolidated PBY *Catalina*, on February 3, 1942. Shortly afterward, elements of the elite Tainan Kokutai arrived at Rabaul, and he transferred there. He transitioned to the more modern—and more deadly—Mitsubishi A6M, the dreaded *Zero* fighter. At length, Nishizawa came under the tutelage of leading ace **Saburo Sakai**, who instructed him in the finer nuances of aerial combat. He then quickly emerged as a peerless dogfighter and, in concert with Sakai and another leading flier, Toshio Ota, the three became known among fellow pilots as the “Cleanup Trio.” For many months they were the terror of Allied air units over Port Moresby, New Guinea.

On May 1, 1942, Nishizawa commenced his distinguished career by bagging a Bell P-39 *Airacobra* over Port Moresby, the first of 86 kills. Throughout that summer, he rolled up his score by easily shooting down numerous P-39s and Curtiss P-40 *Warhawks*, neither of which was a match for a well-piloted *Zero*. He performed his best work on August 7, 1942, following the American landings on Guadal-



Hiroyoshi Nishizawa
Author's Collection

canal Island, 500 miles east. While escorting a long-range bombing mission, Nishizawa encountered U.S. Navy Grumman F4F *Wildcats* for the first time and flamed six. He continued running up his score that fall, but many of his fellow pilots, Sakai included, were either killed or wounded. This necessitated disbanding the Tainan unit and consolidating the survivors into a new outfit, the 251st Kokutai. On May 14, 1943, Nishizawa was again performing escort duty when he initially engaged Lockheed P-38 *Lightnings*. This large, twin-engined fighter was a fast and difficult

adversary, but Nishizawa quickly added one to his toll. The following month he was closely engaged in combat over the Russells, where he battled U.S. Navy Chance-Vought F4U *Corsairs* for the first time. This was then the best fighter aircraft on either side, but by expert flying he claimed one—the first of 35 F4Us to follow. Consequently, Adm. Jinichi Kusaka presented Nishizawa an elaborate ceremonial sword with the engraving *buko batsugun* (for conspicuous valor). Considering the antipathy of Japanese military sentiment toward individuals, this was a signal honor, indeed.

Tall at five feet, nine inches, Nishizawa was a superb combat flier but, by Japanese standards, a cold, reserved fellow who rarely socialized with fellow pilots. One reason for this aloofness might have been his state of health, which was always poor. Beset by tropical fevers and stomach ailments, Nishizawa usually remained alone until combat beckoned. Then he hurriedly suited up, jumped in his plane, and roared off, oblivious to his ailments.

Pilots who flew with him were astonished by his flying abilities: nobody could throw a *Zero* around the sky—almost as if at will—as Nishizawa did. His “demonic” flying style led to the unenviable nickname of “the Devil.” To Sakai, who knew him well, it appeared that reclusive Nishizawa found peace of mind only while fighting. For this reason, he loudly protested his transfer to a training unit in October 1943.

The attrition of combat upon veteran Japanese pilots had been extremely heavy, and veterans like Nishizawa were culled from combat units to impart their skill upon novices. Although promoted to warrant officer, Nishizawa deplored the assignment, and his performance was barely tolerable. He complained bitterly to Sakai, then recuperating at home, declaring, “Can you picture me in a rickety old biplane, teaching some fool youngster how to bank and turn, and how to keep his pants dry?” Nishizawa was therefore relieved when a transfer to the 201st Kokutai arrived in the fall of 1944.

Nishizawa was next stationed in the Philippines, soon to be the target of an American invasion. To counter this the Japanese resorted to desperate measures, including launching the first kamikaze (suicide) attacks on U.S. Navy vessels. On October 24, 1944, Nishizawa escorted six bomb-laden *Zeros* on their run, claiming two Grumman F6F *Hellcats* en route. His fine flying enabled the kamikazes to pierce American defenses, and they sank the escort carrier USS *Saint-Lô*. However, Nishizawa began experiencing premonitions of death, and he solemnly requested a kamikaze assignment for himself. Given his status as the navy’s leading ace, this was immediately denied. But on October 26, 1944,

the sullen pilot and several comrades boarded a Nakajima Ki 49 *Donryu* bomber at Cebu and headed for Malacat. Their mission was to ferry back replacement *Zero* fighters stationed there. En route, the lumbering bomber was intercepted by two F6Fs of VF-14 (USS *Wasp*), which sent it down in flames. Thus ended the career of “the Devil,” who was posthumously promoted two ranks to lieutenant, junior grade. Although ascribed by various sources to have as many as 200 aerial victories, the modern consensus has pared Nishizawa’s tally back to 86—still an impressive achievement. In the words of his friend Sakai, “He was a genius in the air. I tutored him in dogfighting and he went on to become a great veteran fighter pilot.”

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Norton, John

(1760–1831)

Mohawk War Chief

Norton was an influential Native American leader during the War of 1812. He rendered useful service while campaigning along the Niagara frontier, then brokered a truce between British and American tribesmen.

John Norton was born probably in Scotland around 1760, the son of a Scottish mother and Cherokee father. In 1784, he joined the 65th Regiment of Foot as a private and the following year was dispatched to Quebec and Fort Niagara in western New York. There Norton deserted in 1787 and struck up cordial relations with the nearby Mohawk tribe of the Six Nations, or Iroquois. From there he served as a schoolmaster at the Mohawk settlement near the Bay of Quinte, Ontario, until 1791, when he relocated to join the fur trade at Detroit. He remained so employed until 1794, when the victory of Gen. Anthony Wayne over the western tribes induced him to return to Niagara. At length Norton joined the British Indian department as an interpreter for the Mohawk nation, and he caught the attention of Chief **Joseph Brant**. Brant was impressed by the young man, adopted him as his nephew, and employed him as an interpreter. He eventually acquired the rank of war chief within the tribe. It was while in Brant's service that Norton acquired the name Teyoninhokarawen (Snipe), and he began asserting authority within the Indian Department as a tribal spokesman. This brought him into direct conflict with William Claus, the deputy superintendent, who rejected Norton's claim of solely representing the Grand River settlement. Their dispute initiated a bitter competition that persisted for nearly two decades.

Norton continued working on behalf of the Grand River Iroquois but, despite his obvious affiliation for Native American language and culture, remained a devout Anglican. Conse-

quently, he became closely associated with Christian missionary work and was responsible for translating parts of the Bible into the Mohawk tongue. In 1809, he ventured southward into the United States to visit his Cherokee ancestors and returned the following year. When war between the United States and Great Britain broke out in June 1812, Norton worked assiduously to raise a body of warriors on England's behalf. Having accompanied Gen. **Isaac Brock** to Detroit in August 1812, he returned to the Niagara frontier with a mixed party of Mohawk and western Indians as part of the Fort George garrison. In October 1812, Brock was killed at the Battle of Queenston Heights, but Norton arrived just in time to shore up flagging British positions. That done, he led his warriors on a circuitous route around and behind the American right flank where, from behind the treeline, they opened up a heavy fire upon soldiers commanded by Gen. Winfield Scott. This attack caused confusion in the already disorderly ranks, and the Americans quit their strong position just as Gen. **Roger Hale Sheaffe** arrived with British reinforcements. This last attack routed the surviving Americans, who ran down the nearby cliff with Norton's Indians in hot pursuit. Cut off from the American side of the Niagara River and facing annihilation, Scott surrendered nearly 900 soldiers to Sheaffe. The general then lauded Norton's contribution to the victory and appointed him to the rank of captain of confederate Indians, the exact title Joseph Brant held during the American Revolution. But Claus, meanwhile, resented Norton's newfound popularity and worked clandestinely among other chiefs to undermine his authority. To the Mohawks of Grand River, however, his star was on the ascent.

Throughout the summer of 1813, Norton and his warriors were closely engaged in spo-

radic fighting at Niagara. He was present at the ill-fated defense of Fort George under Gen. **John Vincent** and subsequently accompanied the British retreat to Burlington Heights. His men were apparently engaged during the Col. **John Harvey**'s attack at Stoney Creek (June 6, 1813), then pursued the fleeing Americans back to Fort George. His service to the British proved so valuable that theater commander Gen. **Francis de Rottenburg** recommended that Norton be given discretionary authority to parcel British gifts to the Indians as he saw fit, further angering Claus and the Indian Department. In the spring of 1814, tensions between the two men escalated to the point where Norton was summoned to Quebec to confer with Governor-General Sir **George Prevost**. At length Prevost concurred with Norton's side of the argument, and henceforth Claus and the Indian Department were forbidden from interfering with Mohawk affairs.

Thus far the Iroquois contingent fighting alongside British soldiers had proved a valuable tactical asset, but their alliance was about to undergo an unexpected transformation. Mohawk warriors under Norton and others waged war against the hated Americans with relish, but they were wary about fighting other Native Americans, particularly members of the Six Nations living within U.S. boundaries. However, in the summer of 1813, a British raid upon Black Rock under Lt. Col. **Cecil Bishopp** was repulsed, partly through the aid of Seneca Indians fighting for the United States. In January 1814, a British punitive expedition under Gen. **Phineas Riall** torched the entire Niagara frontier, including a Seneca village, and the entire tribe was persuaded to declare war on Great Britain. The following summer a contingent of 300 warriors under the celebrated sachem Red Jacket joined Gen. Jacob Brown's Left Division at Buffalo and crossed over with them in July 1814. On July 5, just prior to the Battle of Chippawa, Riall pushed forward a party of snipers who attacked Brown's camp and occasioned the deployment of Red Jacket's Indians against them. Norton,

at that time, was at the rear of the snipers with approximately 200 Mohawks. The Senecas, assisted by New York volunteers commanded by Gen. Peter B. Porter, attacked and flushed the enemy, running headlong into Norton's command. A bloody fight then ensued, involving Americans, British, Senecas, and Mohawks. At length Porter's command stampeded back into camp, but only after accounting for 85 British Indians, the majority killed by their cousins, the Senecas. The prospect of Indians fighting Indians demoralized Native Americans on both sides, and in the weeks following this savage encounter Norton met with tribal representatives of the opposing camp and agreed upon a truce. Thereafter, both tribes maintained a cautious neutrality, pledging not to fight the other unless attacked themselves. It was a move taken to prevent the Six Nations—once a formidable warrior nation and now on the brink of extinction—from committing suicide.

Norton himself decided to remain in British service with a small body of western Indians. In this capacity he and his men actively fought under Gen. **Gordon Drummond** at the Battle of Lundy's Lane in July 1814, as well as during the ensuing siege of Fort Erie in August and September. When the hostilities ceased in January 1815, Norton worked on behalf of his fellow tribesmen by supporting claims to the government for losses incurred. The following year he settled down on a large land grant along the Grand River with his wife and child. In 1823, Norton killed an Indian for having an affair with his wife, was fined for manslaughter, and departed on his own for Arkansas. He apparently traveled south to Mexico and west to California, where it is suspected he died in October 1831. For all his intrigue against Indian Department officials, and a tendency toward self-promotion, Norton was a brave warrior—and a valuable British ally on many a hard-fought field.

See also
Brant, Joseph

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Oconostota

(ca. 1710–1783)

Cherokee War Chief

Oconostota, who held the rank of Great Warrior within the Cherokee nation, was a formidable fighter who defeated the English and colonials on several hard-fought occasions. When war could no longer serve the best interests of his people, the old chief became an advocate of peaceful relations.

Oconostota (Groundhog Sausage) was born in Chota (now Monroe County, Tennessee) around 1710. The Cherokee nation to which he belonged was among the most numerous and powerful Indian tribes of North America. Strategically situated in central Tennessee and northern Georgia, they exerted great influence over Creek Indians to the south, white colonials to the east, and even the mighty Iroquois confederacy to the north. Nothing is known about Oconostota's youth, but he grew up into a tall, physically commanding youth with the bravery, guile, and discretion of an accomplished warrior. He first appears in the historical records in 1736 as part of a pro-French faction within the Cherokee nation. Within two years Oconostota rose to become the Great Warrior, or war chief, of the Overhill Cherokee towns dotting the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee Rivers. As an indication of his political astuteness, Oconostota by 1753 managed to expand his military authority to cover the entire Cherokee nation.

The Cherokee's trust in Oconostota was well-founded, for he proved himself a relentless, farsighted strategist. In time he gradually sided with the British and conducted several forays against the Choctaw Indians, then allied to France. In 1755, he led 500 braves in a decisive victory over the Creeks at Taliwa, Georgia. Following the onset of the French and Indian War in 1756, Oconostota promptly attacked Fort Toulouse in the Alabama country, taking several prisoners. Expeditions against French settlements on the lower Ohio River and Illinois River country followed, again with good results.

Despite Oconostota's full-fledged support of Great Britain, English colonials regarded the mighty Cherokees with mistrust and suspicion. In 1759, a fight broke out between Indians and backwoods settlers in South Carolina, which occasioned some loss of life. Eager to head off trouble, Oconostota assembled a large party of chiefs and accompanied them to Charleston for a peace conference. However, Governor William Lyttelton promptly arrested and imprisoned the entire group, demanding that Cherokees turn over those Indians responsible for the recent murders. Oconostota refused and remained captive until the Cherokee peace chief, Attakullakuula, arranged his release. Angered by such treatment, Oconostota returned home and made plans to secure

the release of the remaining 24 Cherokee hostages. In February 1760, he reappeared outside Fort Prince George requesting a parley with its commander, Lt. Richard Coytmore, who was then treacherously shot outside the fort. The enraged British then executed all their Cherokee hostages in retaliation, and a bloody frontier war erupted.

Oconostota next besieged Fort Loudon in Tennessee while a force of 1,200 men under Col. Archibald Montgomerie marched to their relief. The Cherokees intercepted and ambushed Montgomerie at Etchoe Pass on June 27, 1760, and drove the force back with heavy losses. Deprived of food, the garrison at Fort Loudon surrendered with Oconostota's guarantee of safe passage. However, he could not or would not restrain the anger of his braves, who pursued and slaughtered the survivors on October 10, 1760. The following year a larger column of 2,500 men under Col. **James Grant** moved into the Cherokee homeland, laid waste to villages, and despoiled crops. Worse, Grant artfully avoided Oconostota's traps and withdrew in good order. To mitigate further suffering to both sides, a peace conference was formally concluded in the summer of 1761, and hostilities ceased. The Cherokees apparently forgave Oconostota for the destruction they endured; shortly afterward, he relinquished his position as war chief in favor of a higher position as civil chief.

In 1763, Oconostota sought to regain Britain's favor by siding with it during the rebellion of the Ottawa chief **Pontiac**. Three years later both he and Attakullakuula ventured to New York to confer with Sir William Johnson and signed a peace treaty with the Six Nations. Despite his willingness to abide by peace, Oconostota's position was complicated and frustrated by the massive influx of colonialists encroaching upon his lands. The British government tried earnestly to accommodate Indian demands, but settlers openly disregarded the Proclamation Line of 1763, which formally forbade white migration over the Appalachian Mountains. Oconostota nonetheless remained firmly committed to de-

fending his ancestral domain. "We shall give no part of our land away unless we are paid for it," the chief declared, "and indeed we want to keep the Virginians at as great a distance as possible as they are generally bad men and love to steal horses and hunt deer." But thereafter, the relative weakness of his tribe against the innumerable Europeans tempered Oconostota's outlook on war. In the best interest of Indian survival, the former war chief became a staunch advocate for peace.

By 1770, Oconostota refused all invitations of northern tribes to join a coalition against the English, and four years later he also declined to support the Shawnee **Cornstalk** during Lord Dunmore's War. In 1775, he reluctantly agreed to sell an additional 20 million acres of land to North Carolina rather than wage war. However, following the onset of the American Revolution, Oconostota again sided with Great Britain and unleashed his warriors against frontier settlements. For three years the ebb and flow of ambush, murder, and retaliation bloodied the soil of Georgia and North Carolina. In 1776, the Americans captured Oconostota's Overhill towns, forcing him to conclude a peace treaty. The aged chief again proved unable to control his restless warriors, and frontier warfare soon resumed in full fury. In 1780, the Americans under Col. John Sevier and Arthur Campbell launched several punishing attacks against the Cherokee villages, and the tribe then formally withdrew from hostilities. Oconostota, old and infirm, resigned as chief in July 1782 and was succeeded by his son, Tuckesee. He died at Chota the following spring, a legendary Cherokee warrior, unable to stem the tide of European frontier expansion that overpowered his tribe and others.

See also

Pontiac

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O'Hara, Charles

(ca. 1740–February 21, 1802)

English General

The gallant O'Hara was a fine soldier and hero of the hard-fought victory at Guilford Courthouse. At Yorktown he also enjoyed the dubious distinction of surrendering in the place of his commanding officer. A fierce disciplinarian, yet affable and generous, O'Hara was one of the most popular senior officers of his day.

Charles O'Hara was born the illegitimate son of James O'Hara, colonel of Britain's elite Coldstream Guards. Despite his status, O'Hara's father raised him carefully, educated him handsomely, and in 1752 arranged his appointment as a coronet in the Third Dragoon Regiment. O'Hara proved himself an able young soldier, and with his father's connections he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards on January 14, 1756. In this capacity O'Hara served as an aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Granley during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in Germany. He acquitted himself well, and by 1762 O'Hara functioned in Portugal as a quartermaster general with a rank of brevet lieutenant

colonel. Four years later he transferred to Senegal, Africa, as commandant of the Africa Corps, which consisted of military criminals paroled in exchange for lifetime service. By 1769, he was serving as a lieutenant colonel of the Coldstream Guards, his father's old regiment—and among Britain's finest. O'Hara himself was a most impressive individual: he was tall and strongly built and possessed martial qualities, yet he was also friendly and generous toward his friends. Moreover, he was a strict disciplinarian who saw to it that his men were well-trained and taken care of.

O'Hara ventured to America in the spring of 1778 as part of the army under Gen. **William Howe**. At Newtown, Pennsylvania, that April, he performed useful service as part of a three-man commission delegated to negotiate prisoner exchanges. By summer, Howe had been replaced by Gen. **Henry Clinton**, who marched the army from Philadelphia to New York. There O'Hara was entrusted with the defenses of Sandy Hook to guard against attacks by the French fleet. Following two

years of good service, O'Hara was promoted to brigadier general in October 1780 and dispatched south to reinforce Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** in South Carolina. At that time he was the commander the Guards Brigade, an elite, handpicked force chosen from the three most senior regiments of the British army: the Grenadier Guards, the Coldstream Guards, and the Scots Guards. As such, he was allowed the honor of leading the pursuit of Gen. Nathaniel Greene through North Carolina. A heavy skirmish ensued while crossing the Catawba River on February 1, 1781, and O'Hara slipped off his horse and nearly drowned, along with Gen. **Alexander Leslie**. The quick-footed Greene outraced the British and slipped across the Dan River into Virginia, with O'Hara hard on his heels. A month later the Americans reentered North Carolina and took up defensive positions at Guilford Courthouse, daring the British to attack.

On March 15, 1781, Cornwallis took the bait and lunged at Greene's 4,400 men—mostly militia—with 1,900 steely veterans. After heavy fighting and severe casualties, O'Hara, who formed the left wing, pitted his Guards and Grenadiers against Greene's third line—the veteran Continentals. An intense firefight erupted, and O'Hara was severely wounded twice before the British gave ground slowly. At this critical juncture, Cornwallis ordered his own artillery fired into the struggling mass—over O'Hara's objections—but the Americans finally quit the field. The British had prevailed, but it cost them nearly a third of their army. Cornwallis felt obliged to retreat into Virginia, and O'Hara followed him in a litter. Several more months of fruitless maneuvering ensued until Cornwallis entrenched himself at Yorktown to await reinforcements from the sea. The British were then surrounded by American and French forces and forced to capitulate on October 19, 1781. Cornwallis, however, took the humiliation badly and requested that O'Hara, his nominal second in command, surrender his sword. Gen. George Washington refused to accept it from anybody but Cornwallis, so

he authorized O'Hara to pass it along to Washington's own second in command, Benjamin Lincoln.

In February 1782, O'Hara was exchanged and promoted to major general. That spring he reinforced the New York garrison with several regiments transported from the Caribbean. After returning home to England in 1784, he accumulated sufficient debt to require immediate employment, so as of 1787, he functioned as a staff officer on the strategic island of Gibraltar. He went home in 1790 to become colonel of the 74th Highland Regiment, and returned to Gibraltar in 1792 as lieutenant governor. In 1793, O'Hara was promoted to lieutenant general and assigned to command Fort Mulgrave near Toulon, France, where he was wounded again and taken prisoner. After two years of captivity in Paris, he was exchanged for Gen. Jean Baptiste Rochambeau and reassigned as governor of Gibraltar. Sociable and a witty conversationalist, the elderly general was popular with the men and ladies of that island's social circles. The venerable warrior was dubbed the "Cock of the Rock" before dying there on February 21, 1802. Generous even in death, O'Hara bequeathed a large endowment (70,000 pounds sterling) to his two mistresses and numerous illegitimate children. He was a fine example of late-eighteenth-century British military leadership.

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Osceola

(ca. 1804–January 30, 1838)
Seminole War Chief

Osceola was the most celebrated chieftain of Florida's Second Seminole War, a ferocious guerrilla warrior who defied superior numbers of American troops for two years. Unconquered in battle, he was finally taken prisoner by deception, although his people refused to relocate from their ancestral homelands. The fact that Seminoles still live in Florida today is the great legacy of Osceola's defiance.

Osceola (a corruption of the phrase *asi yohola*, or "black drink crier") was born probably along the Tallapoosa River on the Georgia-Alabama border in 1804. His parentage is disputed, with some sources maintaining he was the son of British trader William Powell and Polly Copinger, a Creek woman. Osceola himself maintained he was of full Indian heritage, probably out of contempt for whites, but throughout his youth he was apparently known as Billy Powell. The Creek nation at that time was under



Osceola
National Archives

tremendous stress from white expansion into its territory, and the Creeks split into two groups. One faction, the White Sticks, consisted primarily of Lower Creek tribesmen who sought to sell their land in exchange for peace. The other, more militant faction, the Red Sticks, were unassimilated Upper Creeks who sought to use violence to curtail further encroachment. The ensuing Creek War of 1813–1814 was as much a civil war between Native Americans as a frontier conflict. By March 1814, however, Indian resistance had been effectively crushed by Gen. Andrew Jackson at Horseshoe Bend, and

many of the Lower Creeks fled to Florida, where they intermingled with the Seminole Indians living there.

Young Osceola had fled with his mother to the supposed haven of Florida, which was then a Spanish province. However, continuing tensions between Indians and slaveholding

whites along the Georgia border precipitated the First Seminole War of 1817–1818, in which Jackson again invaded Indian territory, burned villages, and briefly captured Osceola and his mother. In 1819, Florida was acquired by the United States, and to prevent further bloodshed the surviving Seminoles were sent to a reservation deep in the hinterland. By the terms of the 1823 Treaty of Fort Moultrie, they were to be left undisturbed for no less than 20 years. It was during this period that Osceola matured into a fine hunter who exuded a commanding presence. By 1832, he had been elected a *tustenuggee*, or war chief, and became an outspoken critic of white misconduct. Two years previously, Congress had enacted the Removal Bill of 1830, which accelerated the deportation of Native Americans to lands west of the Mississippi, by force if necessary. Jackson, now president, began applying pressure on the Seminoles to cede their ancestral homelands in exchange for a reservation in Arkansas. This was in clear violation of the 1823 treaty, which had nine years yet to run. However, in 1832 the government forced several chiefs to sign the Treaty of Payne's Landing, which mandated their removal to Arkansas. It also stipulated that fugitive African Americans, who had settled into the Seminole nation and intermarried, were to be handed over to the whites as slaves. Apparently, one of Osceola's two wives was a mulatto, and he refused to comply. In 1833, Indian agent Wiley Thompson was dispatched by the government to negotiate the Treaty of Fort Gibson, which would enforce the earlier treaty. During one council meeting, when Thompson demanded his compliance, Osceola allegedly responded by drawing his knife and stabbing the treaty. This led to his immediate arrest, and Thompson held the proud chief in shackles for several days. Eventually, Osceola feigned a change of heart, signed the treaty, and was released. Smarting over this mistreatment, he had no sooner returned to his village than he made preparations for war.

Osceola's first deed was to arrange the murder of Chief Charlie Emathala, who was

sympathetic toward removal. Shortly after, on December 28, 1835, he led an attack against the Indian agency at Fort King and killed Thompson, an army lieutenant, and four employees. That same day, a party of 300 Seminoles under **Micanopy**, Tiger Tail, and **Wildcat** ambushed the 110-man detachment of Maj. Francis L. Dade near Wahoo Swamp and annihilated it. This act precipitated the Second Seminole War, which dragged on inconclusively until 1842. Osceola was an active participant during the first two years of fighting only, but he established himself as a peerless and hard-hitting guerrilla leader. His men attacked settlements, ambushed patrols, and drove off livestock before returning to the relative safety of the Everglades. Osceola repulsed Gen. Duncan L. Clinch at Withlacoochee on December 31, 1835, and his subsequent maneuvers confounded a succession of army leaders, including Edmund P. Gaines, Winfield Scott, and Thomas S. Jesup. However, Jesup, unable to subdue the wily Seminole chief by force, resorted to treachery. By 1837, the Indians were weary of fighting, and Osceola, hit with malaria, declared that he was ready to talk peace. On October 21, Jesup freed and dispatched Chief Wildcat to invite him to camp under a flag of truce. When Osceola and several other chiefs complied, they were immediately seized by militiamen under Gen. J. M. Hernandez and detained at Fort Marion in St. Augustine. Shortly after, the chief, still debilitated by disease, was transported to Fort Moultrie in Charleston, South Carolina. There he languished but refused to yield. Public outcry over the means of his capture was intense, but neither the army nor Jackson consented to his release. Osceola, meanwhile, had become something of a public celebrity. Although slowly dying, he was interviewed by the artist George Catlin, who painted a portrait of Osceola wearing full battle array.

Death claimed Osceola on January 30, 1838, and he was accorded burial with full military honors. It was an empty gesture, con-

sidering the manner in which he had been captured, and his corpse underwent the further indignity of being beheaded by a doctor, who shipped his head to a medical college in New York. It remained on public display until the museum housing it burned to the ground in 1866. Osceola's passing, however, had no impact on Seminole resolve, and they grimly resisted for five more years. In 1842, having deported some 3,000 Native Americans to Arkansas, the government finally ended the struggle by allowing some 300 Seminoles to remain in their swampy abode. Their descendants reside there to this day. Osceola's guerrilla tactics, and the resistance they inspired, cost the United States nearly 1,500 soldiers, roughly one life for every two Indians deported, which makes the Second Seminole War one of the costliest and least productive frontier conflicts in U.S. history. Nonetheless, Osceola remains a popular figure, a fact attested to by the 20 towns, three counties, two

lakes, two mountains, one state park, and one national forest that bear his name.

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Pakenham, Edward

(April 19, 1778–January 8, 1815)
English General

Jaunty Pakenham was one of the Duke of Wellington's most trusted subordinates during the Peninsula campaign against Napoleonic France and the victor of many hard-fought battles. However, this handsome, gifted aristocrat met his match in the rough-hewn frontiersman Gen. Andrew Jackson and came to grief at the Battle of New Orleans.

Edward Michael Pakenham was born in County Westmeath, Ireland, the second son of Baron Longford. Like many youths possessing the advantage of gentle birth, he was admitted into the army at an early age and used family connections and wealth to secure rank and rapid promotion. Pakenham commenced his military career by becoming a lieutenant in

the 94th Regiment of Foot in May 1794, but soon after he purchased a captaincy with the 33rd Light Dragoons. In this capacity he served capably during the Irish insurrection of 1798, rising to lieutenant colonel. Pakenham subsequently commanded the 64th Foot during the West Indian expedition of 1801 and distinguished himself in the capture of St. Lucia. The captured Dutch population of St. Croix was so favorably impressed by their young conqueror that they presented him with an elaborate series of silver cups. However, having sustained two severe wounds, he returned to England in 1803 to recuperate and became brevet colonel of the Seventh Regiment, the famous Royal Fusiliers. In 1806,

Pakenham enhanced both his social and military standing when he married Catherine Wellesley, sister of Arthur, the future Duke of Wellington. He then accompanied the Copenhagen campaign of 1807 and assisted in the capture of Martinique in 1809, before joining his brother-in-law on the Spanish Peninsula.

For England, Spain was the principal theater of operation against Napoleonic France, a costly, ongoing series of battles and sieges that Emperor Napoleon came to lament as the “Spanish ulcer.” Pakenham joined Wellington in March 1810 as deputy adjutant general and also a brigade commander with the First Division. Thus situated, he fought well at Bussaco in 1810 and Fuentes de Orono the following year. In the spring of 1812 Pakenham replaced the wounded Gen. Thomas Picton as commander of the elite Third Division and was closely engaged in the decisive victory at Salamanca on July 22, 1812. He delivered the decisive attack that split the French forces in two, gaining for himself a measure of glory and promotion to major general. “Pakenham may not be the brightest genius,” Wellington conceded, “but my partiality for him does not lead me astray when I tell you that he is one of the best we have.” At the head of the Sixth Division, the young general won additional applause during the Battle of the Pyrenees in 1813, receiving in consequence a knighthood of the Order of Bath. Other successful actions at Nive, Orthez, and Toulouse followed before Napoleon finally abdicated in April 1814.

Despite his aristocratic origins and the rapid promotion they ensured, Pakenham had matured into one of Wellington’s most effective divisional commanders. As such, he was handpicked by the Great Duke to lead an expedition against New Orleans following the death of Gen. **Robert Ross** at Baltimore in September 1814. Pakenham, slated to command 10,000 of Wellington’s Invincibles, had never experienced an independent command of this magnitude before. However, the young general eagerly assented to the opportunity for additional glory because he—like most British military leaders—held American sol-

diery in undisguised contempt. Pakenham had hoped to rendezvous with Adm. **Alexander Cochrane** at Bermuda that fall, but adverse winds detained him and he arrived after the fleet had sailed. Pressing on ahead, he finally landed in Louisiana, marched overland, and reached the advance force under Gen. John Keane by Christmas Eve 1814. His appearance was welcomed by the British, for their camp had recently been attacked by frontier forces under Gen. Andrew Jackson on December 23 and severely handled. Pakenham, who brought with him additional artillery, directed operations that sank one American schooner in the Mississippi River and drove the survivor downstream. He then collected his finely disciplined men, aching from days of wading through swampland, and advanced upon the American position before New Orleans.

Andrew Jackson may have been a proud man and a stubborn fighter, but he realized that his motley assemblage of frontier rough-necks was no match for superbly disciplined British infantry in a stand-up fight. Therefore, acting upon the advice of Col. Arthur P. Hayne, he deployed his men behind the Rodriguez Canal, reinforcing it with cotton bales and cannons. With his right resting upon the mighty Mississippi, and his left extending into a thick cypress swamp, his position could not be easily outflanked and, in all likelihood, would have to be assailed head-on. Pakenham, who had received reinforcements, advanced upon Jackson’s line and did precisely that. On December 28, 1814, he unlimbered his artillery and sent several infantry columns forward. All were blasted back with heavy loss by superior American firepower. Undeterred, he next tried bringing up additional guns, placing them behind dirt-filled sugar casks for cover, and engaged in a long-range artillery duel with Jackson’s batteries. The result was the same: American cannons, well-handled, knocked out most of the British pieces and repulsed a last-minute reconnaissance in force by the infantry. An impasse then settled in as Pakenham pondered what

to do next. He lacked sufficient supplies to attempt a forced march around the American line—which in any event would have dragged him deeper into the swampland. The morale of his command was also suffering due to inactivity and defeat. He finally settled upon the simple, but highly dangerous, tactical expedient of frontally assaulting a prepared position, fully manned. To this end, he received a final reinforcement of 2,000 men under Gen. John Lambert and prepared an elaborate offensive scheme.

Despite all evidence to the contrary, Pakenham still believed his men were far superior to the Americans in the open, confident of victory if he could only close with them. He therefore selected to employ four infantry columns to simultaneously hit Jackson's line at various points. All were equipped with scaling ladders for the purpose of mounting the barricades; if any one of them penetrated the American line, the general felt assured that the enemy would bolt. As added insurance in this risky venture, he directed Col. William Thornton to ferry part of his command across the Mississippi and storm the American batteries located there. Once in British possession, these cannons could be turned against Jackson's right flank and provide a deadly enfilade fire. But timing was crucial: Pakenham instructed Thornton that he must capture the guns quickly before the main assault could be delivered or disaster might result. Yet both commanders, long accustomed to danger and a stiff fight, felt that their prospects for succeeding were good.

On the fateful foggy morning of January 7, 1815, Thornton put his command in motion. However, he was inadvertently delayed several hours owing to the low level of the river; by the time he successfully stormed Gen. John Adair's position, the main British main attack had been under way for some time. In truth, Pakenham's ill-conceived and overly complicated plan fell apart at the onset. The fog was so dense that troops could not deploy with precision and—when it suddenly lifted—marksmen under Gen. William Carroll and

gunners under the pirate Jean Lafitte commenced a heavy, incessant stream of fire upon them. The densely packed British formations wilted from heavy casualties and could make no headway. Pakenham, aghast at their confusion, bravely galloped to the front and urged them on. He was almost immediately stunned by a cannonball that knocked him off his horse. Quickly remounting, he dashed in among his troops yelling, "Shame! Shame! Remember, you're British! Forward, gentlemen, forward!" Suddenly two bullets slammed into the general's chest. More dead than alive, Pakenham was propped against a tree by several aides and issued his final orders for General Lambert—to commit the reserves. Lambert, observing the disaster unfolding before him with horror, assumed command and called off the attack. Wellington's Invincibles, victorious on so many a far-flung field, had bloodily stumbled on a Louisiana bayou—at the hands of fighting men they despised.

Pakenham's desperate gambit was also an outright disaster. In less than an hour the British lost 2,000 splendid troops—to an American tally of only 13! Pakenham and his second in command, Gen. Samuel Gibbs, were among the slain, as were scores of high-ranking regimental officers. Worst of all, within days Lambert received news of the Treaty of Ghent on Christmas Eve that ended the War of 1812. The slaughter had been unnecessary! The British army, though staggered by such losses, was still potentially dangerous, so Jackson prudently allowed them to withdraw unmolested. They took along Pakenham's body, preserved in a barrel of rum, for eventual burial at St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

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Parker, Peter

(1721–December 21, 1811)

English Admiral

Parker is best remembered for commanding the ill-fated expedition against Charleston, South Carolina, in 1776. Intensely brave and a fine sailor, he overcame this defeat to serve as Admiral of the Fleet and was a patron of the famous Horatio Nelson.

Peter Parker was born probably in Ireland in 1721, the son of Adm. Christopher Parker. After serving several years aboard ships as a cabin boy, he followed his father into the naval profession by becoming a lieutenant in 1741. Parker then served with a succession of warships in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, rising to captain in 1747. His first command, the small frigate HMS *Margate*, returned to the Mediterranean for two years before sailing home at the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1749. Parker



Peter Parker
National Maritime Museum

was subsequently placed on half-pay and stationed ashore until 1755, when he directed construction of the HMS *Woolwich* at Bristol. He then conducted that vessel on several successful cruises before returning to half-pay status at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. Parker spent the next decade ashore, receiving a knighthood but scarcely any employment. In 1773, he was placed at the helm of the 50-gun vessel HMS *Bristol* and, three years later, received control of a small naval squadron with the rank of commodore. Parker then departed England for service in American waters during the Revolutionary War.

In February 1776, Parker sailed from Plymouth en route to North Carolina. He conveyed seven army regiments as reinforcements for Gen. **Henry Clinton**, with whom he would rendezvous off the Carolina coast.

Bad weather interrupted his journey for several weeks, and it was not until May 1776 that his squadron reached its destination. Parker and Clinton united for the purpose of landing and establishing a safe haven for numerous Loyalist sympathizers in the region. These forces were supposed to secure a landing zone for the fleet in advance, but in the wake of their defeat at Moore's Creek Bridge, this proved impractical. Parker and Clinton then decided to hit a secondary target, the South Carolina capital of Charleston, which was rumored to be lightly defended. Its seizure would facilitate the reconquest of the South and serve as a rallying point for thousands of Loyalists.

Charleston was, in fact, imperfectly defended. Its major fortification was a small fort on Sullivan's Island in the harbor, commanded by Col. William Moultrie. He directed a small garrison of 26 guns and 430 men. Another 600 riflemen were stationed at either end of the island. The fort itself was only half-finished, being covered with sand and newly sawed palmetto logs. Based on initial appearances, Sullivan's Island did not appear capable of putting up much resistance. Parker and Sullivan certainly concurred when they anchored off Charleston on June 1, 1776. The British armada consisted of nine warships carrying 280 guns, as well as an invasion force of 2,500 soldiers. However, the British lacked navigation charts, and nearly four weeks lapsed before soundings could be taken and the battle commenced. The Americans put this respite to good use by shoring up Sullivan's Island, awaiting the inevitable onslaught.

On the morning of June 28, 1776, Parker's squadron entered the harbor and expertly assumed bombardment positions. The fleet then ladled the American position with a heavy concentration of solid shot and exploding mortar balls. Much to the surprise of both sides, little damage was inflicted upon Moultrie's fort. The sand embankment absorbed much of the exploding shells while the spongy wood of the palmetto logs did the same to the round shot. By comparison, Moul-

trie's gunners kept up a steady stream of heated balls at Parker's vessels, damaging several. One round cut the cable of Parker's flagship, and it drifted around, permitting a raking fire. Numerous shots killed and wounded virtually everybody on the quarterdeck while the crew worked furiously to right the vessel. Parker himself had a very close call when a red-hot ball tore most of his clothes off, burning him. Clinton, meanwhile, tried to land boatloads of troops on the island, but he was repulsed by the riflemen. Worse, three frigates were grounded, and one, the HMS *Acteon*, became lodged and had to be burned. After a lopsided engagement of 10 hours, the twice-wounded Parker finally conceded defeat and withdrew. British casualties numbered upward of 250 men; the Americans sustained just 12 killed and 25 wounded. The defeat at Charleston, minor in military terms, subsequently became a tremendous symbolic victory, a rallying point for the entire nation.

Parker's squadron limped back to New York, where it joined forces with Adm. **Richard Howe**. In this capacity he participated in the landing of British troops on Long Island in August 1776, which resulted in the American abandonment of New York City and vicinity. That December, Parker conveyed Clinton on another expedition against Newport, Rhode Island, which was quickly seized. He remained on station there for several months, until the rank of rear admiral was conferred on April 28, 1777. The following June he gained appointment as commander in chief of Jamaica, and two years later he was promoted to vice admiral. Parker ventured back to England in 1782, conveying the captured French Admiral de Grasse and several of his officers. For his Revolutionary War services he was made a baron. Parker remained in the service for many years thereafter, rising to admiral in 1787 and also serving as commander in chief of Portsmouth Harbor in 1793. There he struck up a cordial relationship with a young naval lieutenant, Horatio Nelson, the future victor of Trafalgar, and facilitated his early career. Parker was one of

the foremost mourners at Nelson's state funeral in 1805. By the time Parker died in London on December 21, 1811, he had been elevated to Admiral of the Fleet following the death of Lord Howe. Parker's unfortunate defeat off Charleston was but a minor episode in a long and distinguished naval career, but it is the incident for which he is best remembered in America.

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Parker, Quanah

(ca. 1845–February 23, 1911)
Comanche War Chief

Fierce Quanah Parker commanded some of the best and most highly skilled Comanche raiders of the Southern Plains. He outlasted all other warrior bands and gained a reputation as a skilled guerrilla raider. Once subdued, however, he became a model of Indian assimilation for more than three decades.

Quanah (Fragrant, or Sweet Smelling) was born near Cedar Lake, Texas, around 1845, under unusual circumstances for a Comanche brave. His father was Peta Nocona of the militant Kwahadie (Antelopes) band, while his mother, Cynthia Ann Parker, was a former white captive. When she was only nine, she had survived a May 1836 massacre of her relatives by Comanches and was subsequently raised by the tribe. Totally assimilated, she was recaptured by her white family in 1860 but refused to renounce Comanche ways.

Cynthia Ann Parker, now known as Naduah, allegedly died of a broken heart soon after. Peta also died around this time, leaving Quanah an orphan. Although taunted for his half-breed origins, the young man quickly learned the skills of a warrior and buffalo hunter, including shooting, horsemanship, and all-around guile. The loss of his mother increased his hatred of white people in general, and he accompanied many raids against frontier settlements. Such was his reputation that Quanah was appointed war chief around 1867, a singular distinction for such a young man.

Like all Plains Indians, the Comanches were under increasing pressure from the United States to abandon their free-ranging, nomadic existence for life on confined reservations. In 1867, a number of chiefs from the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne tribes signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in exchange for new

homes in the southernmost part of the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). However, Quanah flatly refused to acquiesce, and his Kwahadie band continued raiding, stealing horses and livestock. For three years the renegades despoiled frontier settlements, seemingly impervious to defeat, until 1871. That year Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman arrived on the Southern Plains, determined to crush the last remnant of Indian resistance. The Comanches' principal opponent was Col. Randall S. Mackenzie, Fourth U.S. Cavalry, a brilliant leader of mounted troops. However, he met his match in Quanah, terror of the Texas Panhandle. After much indecisive skirmishing, the Comanches bested the troopers in two hard skirmishes, and Mackenzie withdrew for the winter. The following spring, he directed a concerted effort to cut off the Comanches from New Mexican traders who brought them guns and ammunition. In September 1872, the Fourth U.S. Cavalry also won a heavy engagement at McClellan Creek, and the bulk of the Comanche nation sued for peace. Quanah, however, remained defiant and slipped away from his captors back to the Staked Plains.

In addition to direct military action, the traditional Indian way of life was being undermined by the activities of white hunters of buffalo. The lumbering beast was essential to Native American life, providing meat and fur. The hunters were equipped with the latest firearms, and they eviscerated the already dwindling stocks of buffalo. Deprived of food and clothing, Comanches and other Plains Indians were forced to endure deprivation and



Quanah Parker
National Archives

discomfort during the winter months. Since 1872 Quanah had laid low, until he learned that a party of hated buffalo hunters were encamped on the South Canadian River at an abandoned trading post known as Adobe Walls. He then called a council with the Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and his own band to make war. On June 27, 1874, Quanah led several hundred warriors against the interlopers at Adobe Walls. The affair lasted four days, but the 28 hunters, stoutly sheltered and being expert shots, repulsed every assault. Quanah then drew off, having precipitated the first battle of the so-called Red River War. The army responded by dispatching Colonel Mackenzie after the raiders.

After much futile maneuvering, the Americans stumbled upon a previously unknown Indian sanctuary along Palo Duro Canyon, which was deeply recessed in the earth. Apparently, the Native Americans felt so secure against attack that security was lax and no sentries were posted. On September 28, 1874, Mackenzie expertly infiltrated his men into position, and the ensuing attack routed the defenders. Losses proved light on both sides, but the troopers killed upward of 1,000 ponies, robbing the Indians of their mobility. Thus deprived of horses, food, and shelter, the onset of winter finally convinced remaining Comanche bands to surrender. Quanah, as usual, held out the longest, but deprivation and suffering induced him to lay down his arms in June 1875. Shortly after arriving in Indian Territory, he inquired about his mother and, upon learning of her death, adopted Parker as his surname.

For such a dogged warrior, Quanah completely embraced his new surroundings and quickly emerged as a leading spokesman for the now dispossessed plainsmen. Mackenzie, his erstwhile conqueror, was singularly impressed by the young man and became one of his staunchest supporters. Quanah then taught himself English and Spanish and strongly advocated adoption of white ways, especially education and agriculture. He also exhibited considerable business savvy by pioneering the practice of leasing out surplus land to Texas cattlemen for grazing purposes, and he amassed a personal fortune in the process. In his latter years, Quanah also functioned as one of three judges on the Court of Indian Offenses, which tried cases for the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache peoples. He became widely respected by Indian agents and other whites with whom he dealt professionally, and he made nearly 20 visits to Washington, D.C., to secure better conditions for his people. It was during one such trip that he secured the release of noted Apache Chief **Geronimo**, whom he rescued from a lonely exile in Florida to live out his days on Indian territory. (Together, the two men were cordially invited to ride in the 1905 inaugural parade of President Theodore Roosevelt, another political ally.) By 1890, Quanah was universally recognized as the head Comanche chief. He was also the wealthiest Native American in the country.

For all his skill at grafting white civilization onto native culture, Quanah rejected all attempts at conversion to Christianity and instead embarked upon helping to found the Native American Church. Rituals involved heavy use of the hallucinogenic plant peyote, which eventually spread to other tribes throughout North America. "The white goes into his church and talks about Jesus," he insisted, "but the Indian goes into his tipi and talks to Jesus." At length Quanah's wealth and prestige enabled him to build a spacious man-

sion at Cache, Oklahoma, where he resided with five to eight wives and 21 children. In 1897, his refusal to abandon traditional polygamy cost him his seat on the tribal court, but he refused to change. Quanah was also obsessed with trying to secure his mother's remains for burial on his property. The mighty warrior-turned-entrepreneur died at Cache on February 11, 1911, and was interred next to his mother's grave. Such was his renown that nearly 2,000 Comanches and other well-wishers turned out to bid this Native American success story farewell. The North Texas town of Quanah was also named in his honor.

See also
Geronimo

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Pearson, Richard

(March 1731–January 1806)
English Naval Officer

Pearson was an active and enterprising officer with a long history of distinguished action. However, having bested the American frigate *Bonhomme Richard* in a gunnery duel, he learned that its captain had not yet begun to fight.

Richard Pearson was born in Westmoreland, England, in March 1743, and he joined the Royal Navy in 1745 at the age of 12. He completed several Mediterranean cruises aboard a succession of warships, but in 1750 he left the navy to work for the more profitable East India Company. In 1755, war with France appeared looming, so Pearson rejoined, passed his examination, and was commissioned a fourth lieutenant. In this capacity he accompanied Adm. John Pocock to India and was closely engaged at the Bay of Bengal, Negapatam, and Pondicherry (1758–1759). By 1761, he was fighting aboard the HMS *Norfolk* under Capt. Richard Kempenfelt. On one occasion, when a severe hurricane lashed the ship and injured his captain, Pearson took command of the *Norfolk* and sailed it to safety. The following year he was present at the capture of Manila and subsequently served in the West Indies for several years. Pearson had acquired the reputation as an excellent sailor and officer, so in 1773 he obtained a promotion to captain. After the American Revolution commenced in 1775, he performed convoy duty to Quebec and re-



Richard Pearson
National Maritime Museum

mained in the St. Lawrence River until 1778. The following year he received command of the new 44-gun frigate HMS *Serapis*, an unusual warship of its class in that it possessed two gundecks instead of one.

In the fall of 1779 Pearson was entrusted the important duty of escorting a convoy home from the Baltic Sea. He was assisted by the private armed 16-gun vessel *Countess of Scarborough*. By this time the Continental Navy had been all but swept from the sea, save for a handful of vessels operating from French ports, and little trouble was anticipated. On September 23,

1779, Pearson rounded Flamborough Head when he espied a red flag flying from Scarborough Castle, indicating that enemy vessels were nearby. Rather than risk his charge, he signaled the convoy to put into Scarborough for their own safety, but the merchant ships ignored him. Around two o'clock in the afternoon, Pearson observed strange sails approaching from the south. He quickly tacked the *Serapis*, keeping it between the convoy and the enemy, and awaited their approach.

Pearson did not realize it, but he was about to engage a squadron of warships commanded by the noted American raider John Paul Jones. Jones possessed his own leaky East Indiaman, the 20-gun *Bonhomme Richard*, the Continental frigate *Alliance* under French Capt. Pierre Landais, the 32-gun

French frigate *Pallas*, and the 12-gun corvette *Vengeance*. At first glance, the British were badly outnumbered, but Jones exercised very little control over his compatriots, who, as events proved, came and went as they pleased throughout the engagement. Thus, the *Bonhomme Richard*, with a crew of 322 men, was about to tackle the brand-new, coppered-bottomed warship *Serapis*; Jones possessed a crew of equal size and a ship with half the armament. Only a daring sailor would have contemplated such an unequal contest, let alone fight it.

It was nightfall off Flamborough Head before adverse winds allowed the contestants to close within firing range. The two vessels commenced trading broadsides around six o'clock, and Jones suffered a minor disaster when one of his 18-pounders exploded below deck, killing several men and rendering the below-deck guns unusable. With his superior firepower, Pearson directed his cannonade into the American hull, which was slowly being shot to pieces. However, inasmuch as Jones was forced to evacuate most of his crew topside, they suffered relatively few casualties. Seriously outgunned, Jones tried to salvage the fight by boarding, and he maneuvered to entangle both ships. At length, the *Serapis* became ensnared in Jones's rigging, and the two vessels pivoted around each other, firing furiously. Pearson responded by dropping his anchor, hoping that the tide would wrench his frigate free. His gunners, meanwhile, kept firing into *Bonhomme Richard's* hull. Jones, his ship badly battered and beginning to sink, personally lashed the two contestants together with rope and ordered his last few cannons to be charged with grapeshot. This new fusillade swept English sailors from the topdeck, and a handful of Americans began inching across the yard arms, dropping grenades.

At this critical juncture, the frigate *Alliance* made a tardy appearance under Captain Landais, who fired a broadside into both vessels. Three times he circled *Bonhomme Richard* and *Serapis*, indiscriminately blasting

away in the darkness. Many Americans, fearful of having their ship sink beneath them, started calling out for quarter. Pearson then hailed his opposite, asking, "Do you ask for quarter?" But Jones, his blood up, shot back, "I have not yet begun to fight!" He then ordered the lower hatch opened, and 100 British prisoners came topside to man the *Richard's* pumps. Suddenly, a basket of grenades dropped down an open hatch of the *Serapis*, which ignited powder charges along the length of this ship, killing several men. A lucky American cannonball also toppled the British mainmast overboard, and Pearson, for the safety of his crew, ordered the Union Jack struck. At 10:30 P.M. a boarding party under Lt. Richard Dale went aboard and secured the prize. Then Jones, consistent with the naval customs of the day, invited Pearson into his cabin for a glass of wine. The following day, *Bonhomme Richard* sank, and Jones commandeered the *Serapis* and his prisoners to Holland, where they were eventually exchanged.

The slugfest between *Bonhomme Richard* and HMS *Serapis* was one of the most obstinate and costly ship encounters of the eighteenth century. However, in grappling with this impetuous enemy, Pearson allowed the ships of the Baltic convoy—and all their important cargo—to escape intact. Defeat certainly reflected no shame upon the captain, who willingly engaged superior enemy forces in the finest tradition of the Royal Navy. A court-martial subsequently cleared him for the loss of his ship and even lauded him for mounting such stout resistance. He was then knighted by King George III, and he received several awards from the convoy's insurers. "Let me fight him again," Jones later jested, "and I'll make him a lord."

Pearson resumed his naval career in April 1780 when he took command of a new frigate, HMS *Arethusa*. He retired to Greenwich hospital in 1790 and, 10 years later, rose to become lieutenant governor of that facility. He died serving in that capacity in January 1806, a stout naval adversary of the American Revolution.

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Pecaudy de Contrecoeur, Claude-Pierre

(December 28, 1705–December 13, 1775)
French Army Officer

Pecaudy was a significant military official in and around the Ohio Valley during events immediately preceding the French and Indian War. He was a capable servant of the French Crown and afterward functioned as the third most important Canadian in Lower Canada.

Claude-Pierre Pecaudy de Contrecoeur was born in Contrecoeur, Quebec, on December 28, 1705, the son of a French officer serving in the colonial regulars. In 1722, at the age of 16, he followed into his father's profession by becoming a cadet, and within seven years he had advanced to second ensign. Pecaudy proved himself a capable, reliable military figure, so in 1742 he gained a promotion to lieutenant and transferred to a detachment at Fort Frederic (now Crown Point), New York, under his father. In 1748, the rank of captain was conferred, and the following year he was selected to accompany Pierre-Joseph Celoron de Blaineville on an important expedition into the Ohio Valley. In the course of this work Pecaudy assumed command of Fort Niagara (now Youngstown, New York), an important link in the chain of French frontier fortifications. It was his duty to help maintain communications and trade between

distant New France along the St. Lawrence River and other forts and settlements farther west.

These were auspicious times for New France, as it was extending its boundaries westward to the Mississippi River and downward to Louisiana. This entire region, sparsely settled save for indigenous tribes of Native Americans, was also a source of considerable English interest. American colonials had been crossing the Appalachian Mountains in increasing numbers, surveying the land, and building settlements of their own on land previously claimed by France. It was such a dispute in 1754 that sparked the internecine French and Indian War, and Pecaudy bore an indirect role.

In the autumn of 1752, Governor-General Ange de Menneville, Comte de Duquesne, alerted Pecaudy of his intention to mount a 2,000-man expedition into the Ohio Valley for the purpose of building forts and shoring up French claims in that area. A succession of delays and commanders followed, but in January 1754 Duquesne appointed Pecaudy to leave Fort Niagara and head south to the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers. Once there he was to construct a major new

fortification as commander of the region. Pecaudy complied but, en route, became apprised that Ensign Edward Ward with 41 men of the Virginia militia had arrived beforehand and erected a small stockade. On April 16, 1754, Pecaudy summarily ordered Ward out of French territory, tore down his works, and commenced constructing a new and spacious frontier post. It was subsequently named Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor-general and is situated on the site of present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He continued as garrison commander.

The pace of events quickened in May 1754 when Pecaudy learned that an even larger force of Virginia militiamen under Lt. Col. George Washington was also trespassing upon French territory and constructing a fort. He promptly dispatched an enterprising young officer, Ensign **Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville**, and 30 men with a warrant of eviction. This column was subsequently ambushed by Washington, and Jumonville was killed. Enraged by what he considered the assassination of a diplomatic courier, Pecaudy then mobilized 600 men and Indians of his garrison for a retaliatory strike. Before that could transpire, **Louis Coulon de Villiers**, the slain man's elder brother appeared at Fort Duquesne with reinforcements. Claiming the right of revenge, Coulon de Villiers was allowed to march against the Americans, and on July 3, 1754, he induced their surrender and removal. Governor Duquesne felt that by these actions France's claims to the Ohio Valley had finally been secured, and he officially lauded Pecaudy in his official dispatches.

In reality, the aforementioned events were preliminary skirmishes of the French and Indian War, which erupted in full fury the following year. In the summer of 1754, Pecaudy could muster a garrison of around 1,600 soldiers, militia, and Indians, but the English were preparing a 3,000-man expedition against Fort Duquesne under British Gen. Edward Braddock. Seriously outnumbered,

Pecaudy ordered a force of 1,000 militia and Indians under Capt. Daniel-Hyacinthe-Marie Lienard de Beaujeu to ambush and harass the English on their approach. On July 9, 1755, Lienard de Beaujeu totally defeated Braddock at Monongahela, losing his life but fulfilling his mission. Moreover, Braddock's papers had been seized, revealing several impending offensives against targets on Canada. Pecaudy promptly forwarded them to superiors in Quebec, along with a request that he be allowed to retire. He was finally recalled in the spring of 1756, at which time he received the prestigious Cross of St. Louis for lengthy and distinguished service to France.

Pecaudy finally resigned his commission and went on half-pay in January 1759 before retiring to his seigneurie of 6,600 acres. He remained in Quebec following the British conquest of 1763 and swore an allegiance to the British Crown. The old soldier amassed considerable wealth and influence while in retirement, for in March 1769 Governor **Guy Carleton** characterized him as the third most influential Canadian. In recognition of this status, Carleton then appointed Pecaudy to Montreal's Legislative Council in January 1775. He fulfilled one term and died while serving in this capacity on December 13, 1775.

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Peiper, Jochem

(January 30, 1915–July 14, 1976)
German Waffen-SS Officer

Brilliant, daring, and utterly brutal, Peiper was among the best tank commanders and small-unit tacticians of World War II. In 1944, he was personally chosen to spearhead **Adolf Hitler's** Ardennes offensive against American forces, and he was implicated in the Malmedy Massacre.

Joachim (Jochem) Peiper was born in Berlin on January 30, 1915, the son of a World War I officer. He matured in a Germany torn by internal dissent and economic hardships, conditions that occasioned the rise of Adolf Hitler to power by 1933. Peiper, handsome, well-educated, and fluent in French and English, passed through the Hitler Youth and was allowed to join the dreaded SS (*Schutzstaffeln*, or protection squads) in 1934. This was a political force, separate and distinct from the Wehrmacht, the German regular army. It had its origins as Hitler's personal bodyguard and was characterized by black uniforms and fanatical bravery. Peiper, as part of the Leibstandarte-SS, subsequently trained under the direction of **Josef Dietrich**, rising to lieutenant the following year. Curiously, although the SS swore loyalty only to Hitler and was therefore steeped in Nazi ideology, Peiper expressed little interest in politics. Throughout his long association with the SS, he never joined the Nazi Party and was simply intent upon being a good soldier. Peiper therefore applied himself strenuously, and in 1938 he gained distinction by serving as an aide to the infamous Heinrich Himmler, the SS commander.

By 1939, the SS had been expanded into several formations, and Peiper accompanied his company into Poland. He subsequently fought in France as a battalion commander, winning the prestigious Iron Cross for bravery. The following year the ambitious 25-year-old soldier had risen to regimental commander and accompanied the invasion of Russia. This was a no-holds-barred conflict pitting two totalitarian ideologies in a war to the death. Prisoners were only infrequently taken by either side, and the SS reigned as one of the war's most merciless butchers. The extent of Peiper's participation in such slaughter is unknown, but by 1943 he was a battle-hardened veteran with a reputation for speed, cunning, and ruthlessness. This made him an ideal candidate for promotion within the ranks of the SS. As the war in Russia turned against Germany, several desperate actions were fought to stop the surging Russian tide. Peiper was closely engaged at Kharkov in February 1943, where his tanks proved instrumental in stopping the Soviet Third Tank Army literally in its tracks. This brought him to the attention of Hitler, who awarded him the Knight's Cross and, later, the oak leaves for gallantry in action. At the age of 29, Peiper became a lieutenant colonel in one of the world's premier fighting forces.

In the summer of 1943, Peiper's command was transferred to Italy for a well-deserved refit. His orders were also to help disarm Italian forces to prevent them from joining the

Allies once an armistice had been signed. On September 19, 1943, the Italians struck first, ambushing a column of his men near the town of Boves. Peiper reacted furiously, calling in heavy artillery that leveled many houses and killed innumerable civilians. This was the first occasion that Peiper was formally accused of committing war crimes. After another round of combat in Russia, the Leibstandarte-SS deployed to France in anticipation of Allied landings there. This they failed to halt, and in August 1944 Gen. George S. Patton unleashed Operation Cobra, the breakout from the Normandy beachhead. Peiper became closely engaged in a major tank battle at Avranches, but the outnumbered Germans, perpetually harried by tactical airpower, conceded the field. Moving quickly, he barely managed to remove his command from the Falaise Pocket before the jaws closed around the reeling Germans. The campaign in France had been a disaster, but within four months Hitler was determined to strike back.

In December 1944, Peiper was selected to leave the German Ardennes offensive at part of Dietrich's Sixth Panzer Army. This was part of an overall scheme to reach the Belgian port of Antwerp and cut off Allied forces from their supplies. Peiper was entrusted with the command of Battlegroup (*Kampfgruppe*) Peiper, a veteran force consisting of the elite First SS Panzer Regiment and a special, English-speaking commando troop under **Otto Skorzeny**. His mission was to penetrate enemy lines and seize several bridges over the Meuse River so that German armor could cross. Speed was essential to the success of the operation, and Peiper received only 72 hours to reach his objective. On December 15, 1944, his 5,000 men stepped into the deeply wooded region, overrunning several U.S. outposts. Two days later Peiper's men captured Battery B of the 285th Forward Artillery Observation Battalion. His men, veterans of the Russian front and unaccustomed to taking prisoners, promptly rounded up 70 American soldiers in a snowy pasture and shot them. During the subsequent advance, several Bel-

gian civilians were likewise executed. This incident, the so-called Malmedy Massacre, was the biggest outrage ever committed against U.S. forces. Charging ahead, Peiper managed to cross the Salm River before being surrounded. At length, mounting resistance forced Battlegroup Peiper to retreat, its mission unfulfilled. By the time he recrossed back into German lines, Peiper could muster only 800 survivors from his formidable force.

Immediately after the war, Peiper was one of 43 SS officers arrested and charged with war crimes in connection to Malmedy. Peiper and 23 of his compatriots were tried at Dachau by an American military tribunal, found guilty, and condemned to death. However, the military governor of Germany, Gen. Lucius D. Clay, commuted their sentences to life in prison. Peiper remained behind bars for 10 years before being released in 1956. By 1970, he had settled in the French town of Travis in the Jura Mountains. He lived in anonymity, known to local residents only as "the old German," but in the summer of 1976 articles about his past appeared in the communist newspaper *L'Humanite*. Demands for his expulsion resulted along with death threats if he did not evacuate his house by the French national holiday. The old soldier refused to move; he died in a mysterious fire on July 14, 1976—Bastille Day. Peiper was a brave soldier and a clever fighter, but his disregard for human life and the laws of war render him a war criminal.

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Pelham, John

(September 14, 1838–March 17, 1863)
Confederate Army Officer

“**G**allant Pelham” was the Confederacy’s youngest artilleryman and among its most distinguished. Despite his age, he had an uncanny knack for sizing up tactical situations at a glance, dashing to the nearest unfettered terrain, and raining a deadly fire upon enemy forces. Tragically, Pelham was the distinguished veteran of more than 60 engagements when he lost his life in a minor skirmish.

John Pelham was born in Benton (now Calhoun) County, Alabama, on September 14, 1838. In 1856, he was admitted to West Point under the aegis of an experimental five-year program established by Secretary of War **Jefferson Davis**. This was implemented to produce better-trained officers. Pelham, despite his rudimentary education, proved an able student and was about to graduate near the middle of his class when Southern states began seceding from the Union in the spring of 1861. Pelham



John Pelham
Alabama Archives

resigned from the academy that April, just two months prior to graduating, and tendered his services to the Confederacy. He was initially posted at Lynchburg, Virginia, as a second lieutenant of ordnance but subsequently transferred to Winchester as an artillery drillmaster. In this capacity he first came to the attention of **Col. J.E.B. “Jeb” Stuart** of the First Virginia Cavalry. Both Pelham and Stuart were then assigned to serve in the army of Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** in western Virginia. On July 21, 1861, Pelham singularly distinguished himself during

the Battle of Bull Run, providing essential fire support for Gen. **Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson’s** brigade at Henry House Hill. That fall, Stuart arranged Pelham’s promotion to captain and authorized him to organize the South’s first horse artillery, or “flying battery.” This unit, subsequently known as the Stuart Horse Artillery, differed from regular batter-

ies in that it was highly mobile to keep apace with fast-moving cavalry columns. Over the ensuing winter months, Pelham mercilessly drilled his men for teamwork, speed, and precision and was ready for combat by spring-time.

In April 1862, a huge Union army under Gen. George B. McClellan landed on the Virginia Peninsula and began groping inland. Pelham's battery received its baptism of fire at Williamsburg on May 5, 1862, and was continuously engaged throughout the ensuing Peninsula campaign. He rendered especially distinguished service with Stuart's column during the capture of White House, McClellan's main supply depot, and also chased off a Union gunboat. He also acquired a reputation for reckless bravery when—with only two cannons—he bombarded the entire Union army at Malvern Hill. Pelham consequently obtained a promotion to major in August 1862, just prior to the Battle of Second Manassas. Here he was instrumental in providing fire support to General Jackson's corps at Brawner Farm, and later accompanied Gen. **Robert E. Lee's** invasion of Maryland. His battery was actively engaged in desperate fighting around South Mountain (September 14, 1862) and helped hold back a surging Union tide. Three days later at Antietam (the bloodiest single day of the Civil War), Pelham was posted on Lee's left flank, which scythed down ranks of Union soldiers advancing through the cornfield. The young officer's bravery and skill in laying his pieces made him a favorite at Stuart's headquarters. He was also the toast of the Confederate press and hailed as the South's most youthful hero.

In the fall of 1862, Pelham's battery accompanied Stuart on his famous "ride around" the Union army. He then helped cover Lee's retreat from the Shenandoah Valley, skirmishing constantly with pursuing Union cavalry. But Pelham's finest moment as an artillery officer occurred during the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. Posted on the far left of Lee's defensive line, expert fire from two of his cannons impeded the advance of Gen.

William B. Franklin's division for nearly two hours. In the course of the day, he also ended up dueling with a Union battery of 32 pieces, despite direct—and repeated—orders from Stuart to withdraw. Pelham nonetheless held his ground until one cannon was damaged and he was nearly out of ammunition. Rather than rebuke the impetuous officer, Lee reportedly declared, "It is glorious to see such courage in one so young!" Thereafter, he became popularly regarded as "Gallant Pelham."

The dashing Pelham, who was youthful, handsome, and unattached, became a favorite with the belles of Virginia. In March 1863, he ventured to Culpeper to call upon Betsey Shackelford, a romantic interest, when word of an impending cavalry battle arrived. Accompanied by Stuart, he rode to Kelly's Ford on the Rappahannock River, where several columns of Union cavalry were locked in a duel with Gen. Fitz-Hugh Lee's command. Eager for action, Pelham volunteered his services as a cavalry officer and was leading a squadron into the fray when he was suddenly struck by an artillery fragment. His wound, though serious, was not regarded as life-threatening, and he was taken to the Shackelford residence to convalesce. He died there that evening, aged 24 years. Stuart grieved openly and ordered Pelham's body placed in state at Richmond. He also named his daughter Virginia Pelham in his memory. In recognition of his sterling service to Confederate arms, the young soldier was also posthumously promoted to lieutenant colonel. Pelham, once revered as the "boy major," remains enshrined in Alabama folklore, an enduring symbol of courage, sacrifice, and devotion to duty.

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.; Stuart, J.E.B. "Jeb"

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Pemberton, John Clifford

(August 10, 1814–July 13, 1881)

Confederate General

Despite his Northern roots, Pemberton became a high-ranking Confederate military officer. He served capably and diligently but could not defend the all-important river city of Vicksburg, Mississippi. He ended up being a pariah in the North and South alike.

John Clifford Pemberton was born in Philadelphia on August 10, 1814. His father was personally acquainted with President Andrew Jackson, who helped the young man secure an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy in 1833. Pemberton graduated four years later midway in his class of 50 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Fourth U.S. Artillery. He served in Florida's Second Seminole War until 1839 before commencing a wide-ranging tour of garrison duty. Following the onset of the Mexican-American War in 1846, he joined Gen. Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation in Texas and fought well at the Battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterrey. His good service landed him a position as an aide-de-camp to Gen. William Jenkins Worth. The following year he transferred with Worth to Gen. Winfield Scott's army in the drive toward Mexico City, winning additional praise for his performance at Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and

Chapultepec. Pemberton received two brevet promotions to captain and major for bravery in battle, and citizens of his native Philadelphia voted him an elaborate sword. A turning point in his life occurred while he was serving at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, in 1848, when he met and married Martha Thompson, the daughter of a Southern shipping magnate. Over the next 12 years he continued acquitting himself well at various posts along the western frontier, receiving high marks as an administrator and rising to captain in 1850. In 1858, he marched with Col. Albert S. Johnston from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Utah as part of the Mormon Expedition. He was serving at Fort Ridgley, Minnesota, in the spring of 1861 when the tide of Southern secession precipitated the Civil War.

Pemberton favored neither slavery nor secession, but he was a strong advocate of states' rights. That stance, coupled with his wife's ardent sectionalism, convinced him to resign his commission in April 1861 and fight for the Confederacy. This decision was roundly condemned by Pemberton's family back in Philadelphia, and two of his brothers subsequently served in the Union Army. By May 1862, he was commissioned a brigadier general and assigned to the defenses of Nor-

folk and the James River. That November he transferred south to the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, to serve under Gen. **Robert E. Lee**. A skilled engineer, Pemberton labored long and hard with limited resources to improve the security of Charleston Harbor. He was responsible for the construction of Fort Wagner, which later proved invaluable to the defenses of the city. However, Pemberton also undermined his usefulness by declaring, from an engineering standpoint, that Fort Sumter was hopelessly obsolete and might as well be abandoned. That bastion, enshrined in Confederate annals as the starting point of the war, carried great emotional attachment, and the general was assailed in the press for his lack of respect. Worse, Pemberton also declared that if it were up to him he would abandon his department entirely rather than let his small army be captured by the enemy. The very notion of yielding an inch of Southern soil without fighting further alienated public sentiment against him. Pemberton was also rebuked by General Lee for his impolitic remarks, at which point President **Jefferson Davis** removed him from so sensitive a posting.

Pemberton may have been unpopular, and many Southerners continued viewing his Northern origins with suspicion, but Davis acknowledged his military value to the Confederacy. In October 1862, he arranged Pemberton's transfer to the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana with the rank of lieutenant general. His overriding mission was to keep the Confederate bastion of Vicksburg, astride the Mississippi River, from falling into enemy hands. This was strategically essential for two reasons. First, from its position high on a cliff overlooking the river, Vicksburg's cannons prevented Northern vessels from reaching either New Orleans or Memphis. It thus functioned as an immovable obstacle to Union generals trying to shift forces along the western theater. Second, with the recent capture of both those cities by Union forces, Vicksburg was the last remaining rail link to Richmond. As a railhead it was

the sole communications junction with Texas, Arkansas, and western Louisiana. Vicksburg's fall would literally cut the Confederacy in two and hasten its demise.

Pemberton arrived at the city in November and took immediate steps to strengthen its already formidable defenses. That month he dispatched Gen. **William W. Loring** to a bend in the Tallahatchie River to construct Fort Pemberton. The following March, "Old Blizzards" was instrumental in repelling a Union movement down that waterway. In December 1862, Pemberton dispatched cavalry under **Nathan Bedford Forrest** and **Earl Van Dorn**, who ravaged Union communications and supply lines at Holly Springs. The losses incurred there forced Gen. Ulysses S. Grant to postpone an overland march upon Vicksburg for several weeks. That same month, Union forces under Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman advanced against the north-side defenses of the city but were badly repulsed at Chickasaw Bayou. Over the next few months, Pemberton skillfully deployed his forces and thwarted every move by Grant to advance upon Vicksburg in force. It appeared that the Confederates, after months of bloody reverses in the West, would finally prevail.

In April 1863, Grant commenced his Big Black River campaign, arguably one of the most brilliantly fought offensives in all military history. He secretly marched his army down the western bank of the Mississippi River below Vicksburg while directing a gunboat flotilla under Cmdr. David Dixon Porter to run past the city's defenses at night. This was successfully accomplished, as was a major cavalry raid deep inside Mississippi by Col. Benjamin H. Grierson. With Pemberton's attention directed elsewhere, Grant then boarded Porter's gunboats and landed on the eastern bank of the river several miles below Vicksburg. Moving inland with 41,000 men, he quickly drove Gen. **Joseph E. Johnston** out of Jackson, the state capital, severing the Vicksburg rail link. Pemberton, who had been ordered to assist Johnston, also sortied from the city and engaged Grant at Champion Hills and Big Black

River on May 16 and 17. The Confederates were totally defeated and driven back into Vicksburg's fortifications. Johnston repeatedly ordered Pemberton to abandon the city, lest he become trapped within its works, but President Davis countermanded him to remain and fight to the last. Before Pemberton had a chance to sort through these conflicting orders, Grant surrounded the city and commenced a formal siege. In the course of 46 days, Pemberton's pent-up forces bloodily repulsed two determined Union attempts to storm the works. Grant then sat back and calmly let the defenders run out of supplies. By July 4, the garrison had all but been starved; with no chance of being reinforced by Johnston, Pemberton surrendered mighty Vicksburg, 30,000 men, and 600 cannons to Grant. In accordance with the surrender terms, Pemberton was paroled and released. This debacle, coming on the heels of Lee's defeat at Gettysburg the previous day, was a critical point in the course of military events. With the Mississippi River now firmly in Union hands, a corner had been turned, and the Confederacy began its slow descent into ruin. As Abraham Lincoln's eloquently declared, "The Father of Waters now flows unvexed to the sea."

Pemberton had performed well, considering the odds, but his failure to defend the last Confederate bastion in the West made him an object of public loathing. His standing as an outcast was reinforced by General Johnston's public accusations that he disobeyed orders and was directly responsible for the disaster. Worse still, his demonstrated talent for administration could have been valuable elsewhere, but the political climate throughout the South made such an appointment impossible. After waiting eight months without an assignment, Pemberton tendered his resignation and asked to be appointed a lieutenant

colonel of artillery somewhere. His request was granted, and he demonstrated his loyalty to the South by spending the next year and a half as inspector of ordnance in Richmond. In the spring of 1865, he was reunited with Johnston in North Carolina, where he surrendered.

After the war, Pemberton settled down on a farm in Fauquier County, Virginia, where he farmed for several years. In 1876, he relocated with his family back to Philadelphia. He died in nearby Penllyn on July 13, 1881, a talented leader but, by circumstance, one of the most vilified figures of Confederate military history.

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Forrest, Nathan Bedford; Johnston, Joseph E.; Lee, Robert E.

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Peng Dehuai

(October 24, 1898–November 29, 1974)

Chinese General

A tough-talking, burly peasant, Peng Dehuai was one of the great Chinese military leaders of the twentieth century, a founding spirit behind the People's Liberation Army. His skillful infiltration tactics derailed a United Nations advance to the Yalu River in December 1950 and drove Allied forces out of North Korea. Peng's performance in the Korean War proved highly creditable to Chinese arms, but he was ultimately purged and humiliated for criticizing Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary excesses.

Peng was born in Shixiang Village, Hunan Province, China, on October 24, 1898, the son of prosperous peasants. However, when family fortunes declined, he was forced to beg for food in the streets. By 1915, Peng sought to escape poverty by enlisting in the army of a local warlord. He proved adept as a soldier and was allowed to attend the Hunan Military Academy in 1922. Shortly after, he sided with Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces (the Guomindang, or KMT) during the drive to unite China under his rule. In the course of successful fighting against numerous warlords, Peng rose to command a brigade. At this time, the KMT had formed an unholy alliance with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Peng's fellow Hunanese, Mao Tse-tung, to facilitate their success. Fearing communist strength, however, Chiang broke with the communists in 1928 and began a campaign of annihilation against them.



Peng Dehuai
Library of Congress

Peng, impressed with Mao's attention to the plight of peasants, promptly switched sides. He subsequently assumed command of the Fifth Route Army and, in January 1929, defeated Nationalist forces at Changsha. However, Mao's expectations for a mass peasant uprising never materialized, and the communists were forced into Jiangxi Province. Peng distinguished himself by defending the "communist soviet" there between 1931 and 1934 and also figured prominently in the escape of CCP forces from impending Nationalist encirclement.

He then accompanied the legendary 6,000-mile Long March to escape KMT persecution and eventually ended up as deputy commander under the legendary Gen. Chu Teh.

Chiang Kai-shek was poised to move in for the kill in 1937 but postponed his plans when Japanese forces began a war of conquest along the Chinese coast. This provided the CCP valuable time to rest, regroup, and regain its strength. Peng staged several successful battles against the Japanese and rose to command the Third Route Army. By 1940, he had been promoted to lead the famous Eighth Route Army and with it staged the One Hundred Regiments offensive. This occasioned heavy losses for the communists, but their willing sacrifice against tremendous odds endeared them to long-suffering Chinese peasants. Peng subsequently staged smaller attacks upon Japanese forces for the

remainder of World War II, gaining a reputation as among the best of the communist generals.

Following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Guomindang and communist leaders made a halfhearted attempt at reconciliation—while simultaneously preparing for a final showdown. When civil war erupted again in 1947, Peng was entrusted with defending Yan'an, the communist capital. However, his 175,000-man garrison withdrew before the onslaught of a large KMT force, and he gradually abandoned the province. Undeterred, his forces initiated a brilliant rear-area campaign of ambush and interdiction against KMT supply lines, and the enemy retreated in turn. Peng then pursued the fleeing Nationalists and recaptured Yan'an in April 1948. He subsequently directed operations in the distant northwest, which was also conquered by the communists. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and his followers hurriedly fled the mainland for Taiwan, and communist victory was ensured. That September Mao proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of China, and a new chapter was written in Chinese history.

The communist regime had less than a year to consolidate its rule before a new war erupted in neighboring Korea. In June 1950, North Korean Premier **Kim Il Sung** launched an all-out attack against the Republic of Korea to the south, triggering the first military confrontation of the Cold War. Communist forces surged and appeared to be winning until September 1950, when United Nations forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur landed at the port of Inchon. As the Americans pushed inland, threatening to cut the North Korean supply lines, Kim's forces conducted a hasty scramble northward to escape. The withdrawal turned into a rout as MacArthur made a fateful decision to pursue the fleeing communists into North Korea. Such prospects alarmed the Chinese leadership, and Mao was unwilling to tolerate U.S. forces (long allied with his bitter enemy, Chiang) in such close proximity to Manchuria, China's principal industrial zone. Kim had also ap-

pealed to his fellow communists for help, and in October 1950 the Chinese government began dropping veiled hints about entering the war if the Americans approached the Yalu River. MacArthur, after consultation with President Harry S. Truman and other leaders, discounted the notion of Chinese intervention and continued advancing upon the Yalu. The Chinese continued warning that they would fight if American forces approached their border, but MacArthur was not listening.

In October 1950, Peng was selected to command a huge force of Chinese "volunteers" to fight in Korea. The general believed in traveling light, taking for himself only two battered suitcases and a book on butterflies, his hobby. With incredible stealth and skill, he infiltrated 380,000 men across the Yalu River without detection by U.S. reconnaissance aircraft. The Chinese army at that time appeared to be a ragtag affair and, from an equipment standpoint, was woefully deficient compared to the lavishly supplied Americans. MacArthur's army enjoyed distinct advantages in firepower, supply, tanks, and artillery, as well as complete control of the air. However, the Chinese peasants were tough, resilient, and highly trained after a decade of fighting Japan and the Nationalists. They were also experts at nighttime infiltration and small-unit tactics and would have willingly sacrificed themselves in so-called human-wave attacks if so ordered. The Americans began brushing up against Chinese units in mid-October as they approached the Yalu, but MacArthur ignored ominous intelligence of a communist military buildup. Peng, meanwhile, resolved to teach the insolent invaders a lesson. He quickly perceived how the United Nations advance was sloppily conducted and, consequently, weakly strung out. On October 25, 1950, the Chinese launched several concentrated attacks against exposed American and South Korean units. They roughly handled several of MacArthur's best divisions, then suddenly broke contact and disappeared back into the hills. Peng, with Mao's backing, initiated these attacks as a

final warning to MacArthur not to test Chinese resolve. The general responded by launching his “Home by Christmas” offensive, intending to place United Nations banners on the banks of the Yalu. “The enemy has learned nothing,” Peng observed. “They continue to advance recklessly.” At this juncture, the Chinese leadership felt it had no recourse but to launch an all-out offensive to drive the Americans from the Korean Peninsula. Not surprisingly, their efforts were abetted by MacArthur’s towering arrogance.

On November 25, 1950, elements of the Ninth, 13th, and 38th Army Groups attacked in midwinter, overrunning the American Eighth Army under Gen. Walton H. Walker and the X Corps under Gen. Edward Almond. On the western side of the peninsula, Walker, with great difficulty, managed to extricate the bulk of his forces behind the Chongchon River after fierce fighting and heavy losses. Farther east, Almond also managed to fight his way southward, but the First Marine Division under Gen. Oliver P. Smith was surrounded and trapped. Peng ordered the marines destroyed, but Smith conducted a magnificent fighting withdrawal throughout a howling blizzard and reached the port of Hungnam. The Chinese forces also suffered heavy losses during this successful offensive, but on December 1, 1950, United Nations forces were ordered below the 38th Parallel in South Korea. Peng scored a major propaganda victory when Chinese forces, in hot pursuit, recaptured the North Korean capital of Pyongyang. The surprising swiftness of Peng’s offensive stunned the world, for it seemed unimaginable that his ill-equipped peasant soldiers could fight, let alone defeat, modern mechanized armies. By January 1951, Chinese forces had recaptured the South Korean capital of Seoul, but Peng’s mighty offensive ground to a halt. His extended supply lines were being ravaged by United Nations airpower, and a new commander, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, managed to consolidate his defenses. Pressing forward, the Americans recaptured Seoul from the exhausted

Chinese on March 15, 1951, and readvanced to the 38th Parallel, where the war began. Peng then launched several massive and costly counteroffensives to dislodge them but failed, and the front stabilized by June 1951. Both sides then dug in where they were.

For the next two years, communist and United Nations forces staged a bloody, see-saw war of attrition from trenches and defensive lines not unlike that of World War I. Peng’s soldiers fought magnificently but, being poorly equipped for close, static warfare, sustained heavy losses. Following the death of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin in February 1953, the communist side softened its stance toward peace negotiations, and on July 19, 1953, Peng signed an armistice agreement with Gen. Mark W. Clark. The Korean War, which cost the lives of 33,000 Americans, 1 million Chinese, and 4 million Koreans, had ground to its inconclusive ending. However, the war was viewed as a great moral victory in China, for it had stood up to a hated, more modern adversary, fought to a draw, and restored North Korean independence. For his role, Peng was highly decorated by Kim Il Sung and received a hero’s welcome in Beijing. As a consequence of his good performance, Peng was also made minister of national defense the following year.

The war in Korea had highlighted how undersupplied and ill-equipped the People’s Liberation Army was for conducting modern warfare. Peng therefore set about reorganizing and reequipping it along Soviet lines. To accomplish this, he was also willing to dispense with the romantic notions of guerrilla warfare that so dramatically carried the communists to power. Ranks and uniforms, previously forbidden by Mao, were introduced to raise morale and unit esprit de corps, and professional instruction was stressed. Peng himself was elevated to the rank of field marshal. However, his efforts at modernization were criticized by Gen. Lin Biao, a high-ranking party official who felt that weaponry was irrelevant—what counted in war was correct ideology. Against this widening political chasm,

Mao began to look askance at Peng's reforms—and began to view them as a threat. He then authorized the creation of large-scale militias, which were highly indoctrinated, to serve as a political counterweight to the regular establishment. Chinese military weakness was further underscored during the confrontation with well-equipped Nationalist forces on Dachen Island in 1958, which further damaged Peng's reputation. Unfortunately, relations with Chairman Mao came to a head during the famous Party Congress at Lushan. There Peng boldly and bluntly criticized the chairman for embarking on his radical and ill-fated Great Leap Forward—an attempt at mass collectivization and mass industrialization—that nearly gutted the economy. This unprecedented belligerence was perceived by Mao as a direct assault upon his regime, and backed by party radicals like Lin, the chairman stripped Peng of his office and forced him into political exile. Overnight, China's most famous general became a “nonperson.” Peng lived quietly in political limbo until 1965, when he was tapped to serve as chief of military construction in Sichuan Province. The following year Mao sought to mute mounting criticism of his unsuccessful economic reforms by unleashing his radical Cultural Revolution. Peng found himself summarily arrested and roughed up by Red Guards and made to confess to nonexistent crimes against the state. The old soldier endured nearly a decade of physical and mental abuse before dying from lack of medical attention on November 29, 1974. Fortunately, in 1978, two years after Mao's death, his reputa-

tion was formally resurrected. The unpretentious, blunt-speaking Peng certainly deserved a better fate, and his place is securely fixed in the pantheon of Chinese military heroes.

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Pepelyaev, Yevgenij

(March 18, 1918–)
Russian Fighter Pilot

Pepelyaev is generally regarded as the highest or second highest Soviet ace of the Korean War. He includes among his total no less than 14 of the superb North American F-86 *Sabre* jets.

Yevgenij Georgiyevich Pepelyaev was born near Irkutsk, Russia, on March 18, 1918. He enlisted in the Red Army in 1936 and two years later attended the Odessa Military Flying School. Having acquired his wings by 1939, Pepelyaev joined the 300 IAP (fighter squadron) in the Soviet Far East, rising there to squadron leader.

He remained on garrison duty until November 1943 before shipping east to fight the invading Germans along the Byelorussian front. After logging 12 missions in Yakovlev Yak 7 fighters (scoring no kills), he transferred back to the Far East in time to fight the Japanese in August 1945. There, as commander of his old 300 IAP, he conducted 30 ground-support missions flying Yak 9s and was credited with one locomotive destroyed. By 1947, Pepelyaev had advanced to colonel of the 196 IAP and was selected for training on new jet aircraft.

After World War II ended, the Soviets inherited a trove of advance German technology, especially relating to jet aviation. Josef Stalin, dictatorial head of the Soviet Union, was fearful of trailing the West in its applications, so he demanded the creation of new jet fighters of the Red Air Force. By 1946, engineers at the Mikoyan-Gurevich (MiG) design bureau conceived an ultramodern design with



Yevgenij Pepelyaev
Tomás Polák

highly swept wings and tail and heavy bomber-killing cannon armament. However, Soviet efforts were beset by the low-thrust German jet technology then available. But in 1947, the incredibly naive British Labor Party arranged for the export of several Rolls-Royce *Nene* jet engines, then the world's best. This technological windfall allowed the Soviets to copy them as the new VK-1 jet engine. Once installed in the new MiG 15 fighter, the Red Air Force possessed a world-class jet interceptor that was faster and could outclimb

or outrun virtually any aircraft in the world. Within a few years, the MiG 15 proved itself an uncomfortable surprise for the West.

The Cold War between democracy and communism was about to get considerably hotter by the summer of 1950. North Korean dictator **Kim Il Sung**, a Soviet puppet, advanced the notion that he could conquer South Korea, an American ally, with one swift invasion. Stalin gave his blessing to the project and starting transferring several MiG 15 fighter regiments to the Far East as a precaution. On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces crashed over the demilitarized zone separating the two countries, and the Korean War began in earnest. However, what started as a simple invasion quickly expanded into a potential Cold War flashpoint when the United States, backed by the United Nations, intervened to expel the aggressors. When allied forces subsequently invaded North Korea,

communist China entered into the equation and warned United Nations forces not to approach its border. Gen. Douglas MacArthur blatantly ignored this warning, and the Chinese dispatched Gen. **Peng Dehuai** and 380,000 men to expel them. Around this time, Stalin also clandestinely introduced Soviet MiG 15s and pilots into the fighting. They quickly demonstrated superiority over all United Nations aircraft in the theater until December 1950, when the first shipment of North American F-86 *Sabrejets* hurriedly arrived to counter them. The two aircraft were more or less evenly matched, and the fight was on for control of Korean skies.

Pepelyaev and the 196 IAP staged out of Antung, Manchuria, just across the Yalu River, in January 1951. This, in turn, formed part of the 324th Fighter Aviation Division under famed World War II ace Ivan Kozhedub. But Stalin intended to keep the presence of Soviet pilots a closely guarded secret, and great lengths were taken to deceive the Americans. For example, while flying in combat, Russian pilots were ordered to converse on the radio in Korean! "It was impossible psychologically in the heat of battle to use a foreign language you hardly knew," Pepelyaev confessed. "So after a week or two we just decided to ignore the order. The top brass started complaining, so I told them, 'Go and fight yourselves!'" Pepelyaev quickly demonstrated his skills as a fighter pilot by downing several F-86s in combat. This was deliberately done at the instigation of Stalin himself, who wanted a fallen *Sabrejet* examined by Soviet engineers. In a lengthy scrape on October 6, 1951, Pepelyaev accomplished just that. "I damaged the *Sabre*, and the pilot tried to coax the plane out over the water where helicopter rescue would be possible. He didn't make it but managed to put the plane down on a sand bank near the coast." A furious fight then ensued as the Americans tried to destroy the intact aircraft, but it was eventually covered by the tide. That night Chinese work parties cut off the wings and transported the F-86 to the Russian airfield. It was destined to be shipped immedi-

ately to Moscow on Stalin's orders, but Pepelyaev deliberately delayed it a week so that he and other MiG pilots could examine their formidable adversary themselves. Russian pilots were especially impressed by the spacious, well-laid-out cockpit interior of the *Sabre*, which contrasted with the cramped arrangement characterizing MiG aircraft.

By the time Pepelyaev rotated back to Russia in February 1952, he had completed 108 combat missions and claimed 23 air-to-air victories. No less than 14 of the splendid F-86s fell before his guns, but he modestly admitted, "I am absolutely certain of only six of my kills and I saw just two of those actually crash. Too much was going on to follow everything." Under his expert command, the 196 IAP also acquitted itself well, claiming 104 kills for a loss of five pilots killed and 24 MiG 15s lost. However, there is some dispute as to whether Pepelyaev or another Soviet pilot, Nikolai Sutyagin, is the highest ace, with the former's tally reduced to 19 kills and the latter's listed as 22. In any case, both men eclipsed by one-fourth the tallies of the leading American jet aces from Korea, Joseph C. McConnell and James Jabara. The Russians also claimed a total of 1,300 American planes shot down in exchange for a grand total of 350 MiGs lost, along with 200 pilots. This contrasts with an American tally of 823 Russian aircraft down for the loss of 139 planes lost in air-to-air combat (the rest being lost to anti-aircraft fire). The exact figure may never be known. As Pepelyaev candidly admitted, "After both the hunt and combat, that's when the tales begin."

Pepelyaev had performed exceedingly well in Korea, demonstrating that the Red Air Force was a match for the well-trained, lavishly equipped U.S. Air Force. For this reason he was selected to pass through the General Staff Academy in 1958. The Korean War's highest-ranking ace concluded his career in 1973 and is now retired and living in Moscow. It is hoped that one day the complete story of Russian pilots in Korea will receive the historical scrutiny it richly deserves.

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Percy, Hugh

(August 28, 1742–July 10, 1817)

English General

The humane, altruistic Percy was the only British officer to distinguish himself during the disastrous retreat from Concord in 1775. In this and subsequent actions, he proved to be a capable combat officer, but mounting disillusionment finally prompted his resignation.

Hugh Percy was born on August 28, 1742, the son of Hugh Smithson Percy, the First Earl of Northumberland. As a youth he exhibited a sickly disposition, which carried over into adulthood as a predisposition toward gout, painful and disabling. Nonetheless, Percy was attracted to a military career, so in May 1759 he became an ensign in the 24th Regiment of Foot. Using his family influence, he managed to purchase a captaincy in the 85th Regiment four months later. By April 1762, he was serving as lieutenant colonel of the 111th Regiment and, in this capacity, campaigned with Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Percy fought well at the Battles of Bergen and Minden, rising to lieutenant colonel of the Grenadier Guards in 1762. Two years later he gained an appointment as colonel and aide-de-camp to King George III. In 1763, Percy

gained election to the House of Commons, where his Whig beliefs placed him at odds with the government, especially over hard-line policies adopted toward the colonies. The following year he married the daughter of Lord Bute, the king's personal tutor, and thus enjoyed access to the innermost circles of power. Like many well-situated aristocrats, Percy did not hesitate to enhance his standing through political connections. Hence, in November 1768 he became a colonel of the Fifth Regiment of the Northumberland Fusiliers at age 26 and was criticized for buying his way into authority. In this instance, however, the advancement was merited. Not only was Percy a competent soldier; he was also one of the first officers of his grade to abolish corporal punishment. Through humane treatment, and by careful attention to the needs of his men, he successfully bridged the vast, traditional social gulf between them. In May 1774, Percy accompanied his unit to Boston as part of the overall military buildup there. He remained opposed to British imperial policy but felt obliged to support his monarch if asked.

While at Boston, Gen. **Thomas Gage**, British commander in chief, placed Percy in

charge of the British camp with the local rank of brigadier general. Within a year, lingering resentment over British taxation policies culminated in open defiance of British authority. Wishing to prevent hostilities from arising, Gage felt it necessary to confiscate caches of military stores that the colonial militia had accumulated. On April 19, 1775, he dispatched Lt. Col. **Francis Smith** on his fateful march to Concord. The first shots were fired on Lexington Green that morning, and by the time Smith's column reached Concord that afternoon swarms of angry colonials lined the road, firing at them. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the British unit survived the return march to Lexington, but Smith's command was at the point of collapse.

Fortunately, Smith had earlier requested reinforcements from Gage, and Percy was entrusted with a relief force to meet him. Curiously, he had been up with his assembled command since four o'clock that morning but spent several hours waiting for the Royal Marines to arrive. Those troops, in turn, were delayed as the aide sought to deliver orders to their commander, Maj. **John Pitcairn**—not realizing he had accompanied Smith's column. It was not until 9 A.M. that Percy decamped Boston Common and marched through Cambridge, now eerily deserted. His force at that time consisted of the Fourth, 23rd, and 47th Regiments, backed by an additional 450 marines and two small field pieces (around 1,400 rank-and-file). Percy finally rendezvoused outside of Lexington around 3 P.M. with Smith's disorganized column, which was



Hugh Percy
Lexington Historical Society

exhausted and near the breaking point. He then halted and allowed the men to regain their composure. During this interval, even greater numbers of colonial militia came up and began sniping, but fresh volleys and cannon fire kept them at bay. Percy was now confronted by one of the most difficult military maneuvers of all: a fighting withdrawal under fire. Using the redcoats' vaunted discipline, Percy kept his rear guard leapfrogging each other by company, while light infantry flanked and scoured the road of militiamen. "We retired for 15 miles under an incessant fire," he later reflected, "which like a moving circle

surrounded and followed us wherever we went." The Americans sustained their share of casualties yet kept up a desultory stream of musketry. Percy's column continued taking losses, and at one point his enraged soldiers burned several houses suspected of harboring snipers. Having persevered as far as Menotomy, Percy then made the fateful decision not to retrace his tracks back through Cambridge, which in all likelihood was swarming with militia. Instead, he ordered his column to veer northeast toward Charleston, a route five miles shorter and, as he correctly assumed, less well guarded. This adroit maneuver saved the British column from impending annihilation. Percy's men wearily trudged into Charlestown around sundown, exhausted but intact. British casualties were in excess of 260 killed and wounded, against American losses half as large.

Percy's performance on this occasion cannot be underestimated. Smith had so totally

mishandled his assignment that defeat had to be literally snatched from the jaws of disaster. Percy himself was also taken aback by the sheer ferocity of the colonial militia. "Whoever looks upon them as an irregular mob will find himself much mistaken," he wrote. "For my part, I never believed, I confess, that they would have attacked the King's troops or have had the perseverance I found them in yesterday." Having concluded a masterful retreat under fire, Percy was roundly praised by Gage in his official reports, and he was promoted to major general as of July 11, 1775. However, Percy proved less amiable toward Gage's new subordinate, Gen. **William Howe**, and was either ill or unwilling to participate in the Battle of Bunker Hill that June. There the Fifth Regiment was badly shot up during a series of frontal assaults against militia in prepared positions. In the wake of that disaster, Percy further distinguished himself by the humanity he displayed toward his wounded soldiers. Furthermore, he paid for all transportation to ship the regiment's widows home and granted them a small cash endowment to resettle back in England. It was a kindness seldom seen in this war.

Percy subsequently accompanied Howe, who had succeeded Gage, to Halifax following the evacuation of Boston. Once reinforced, Howe invaded Long Island, New York, and Percy was entrusted with a division of the army's right wing. Apparently, he agreed with the decision not to assail the formidable colonial defenses on Brooklyn Heights and favored the less costly strategy of maneuver. At length the Americans under Gen. George Washington were entirely driven out of New York, save for Fort Washington on Upper Manhattan. On November 16, 1776, Percy commanded a division that helped capture Fort Washington in concert with Hessian forces under Col. **Wilhelm von Knyphausen**. He helped overcome desperate resistance and was allegedly the first man of his division in the American works. For this action he received a promotion to lieutenant general.

Despite these successes, Percy remained at odds with Howe over the conduct of the

war. Not surprisingly, he next found himself sent away on an expedition to Rhode Island with another unpopular figure, Gen. **Henry Clinton**, in December 1776. He then assumed command of Newport when Clinton returned to England for the winter. In January 1777, another dispute with Howe arose over the question of available forage for his army in New Jersey. Percy was highly offended when Howe took the word of a logistics officer over his own and then officially admonished him. As it turned out, the major was incorrect in his estimates, and the reprimand was unwarranted. Percy, perhaps suffering from gout, was irascibly disposed toward his superior and requested permission to leave. Howe was more than willing to rid himself of a difficult subordinate, and Percy departed America in May 1777, never to return. Considering his obvious military talents, his premature removal was a genuine loss to the British war effort.

Back home, Percy settled in as the new Duke of Newcastle following the death of his father in 1784, and he began dabbling in politics. He also pursued military affairs part-time, and in 1784 he accepted command of the Second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, the future Second Life Guards Regiment. By 1793, he had advanced to full general and commander of the Percy Tenantry, a militia regiment raised from his sprawling estates. However, he was beset by health problems and an irritable temperament, both of which limited his participation in political and military circles. For the most part, Percy took solace in his role as a benevolent landowner who was very generous with his subjects, treated them kindly, and enjoyed great local popularity. He died in Northumberland on July 10, 1817, the hero of Concord and one of the most underrated British commanders of the American Revolution.

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Pettigrew, James Johnston

(July 4, 1828–July 17, 1863)
Confederate General

The intellectually inclined Pettigrew was a brilliant scholar and among the Confederacy's best-educated officers. Having rendered distinguished service at Gettysburg, he lost his life three days later in an insignificant skirmish and was greatly mourned.

James Johnston Pettigrew was born in Tyrell County, North Carolina, on his parents' plantation. He was universally addressed by his middle name. Pettigrew proved an exceptionally brilliant young man, and in 1842 he gained acceptance into the University of North Carolina, aged but 14. He graduated four years later as class valedictorian and was invited to spend six months as a professor at



James Johnston Pettigrew
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

the U.S. Naval Observatory in Washington, D.C. In 1850, Pettigrew ventured to Germany, where he spent two years at the University of Berlin studying law. He also traveled throughout Europe, becoming enamored of the cultures of Spain and Italy. Although still relatively young, he also became fluent in six languages, including Hebrew and Arabic. In 1853, Pettigrew moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where he opened a successful law practice and entered politics. Plantation-born and -bred, he nonetheless opposed the resumption of the slave trade. He was, however, an ardent secessionist and convinced that war with the North was inevitable. Pettigrew

therefore immersed his considerable intellect in the study of military science by joining the local militia. In 1859, he ventured to Italy to participate in the war for independence against Austria, but hostilities concluded before he arrived. Pettigrew then returned home and published a book about his experiences.

South Carolina seceded from the Union in December 1860. Pettigrew, widely regarded as an authority on military affairs, gained an appointment as an aide to militant Governor Francis W. Pickens. He also functioned as colonel of the First South Carolina Rifles. On December 26, 1860, the Union garrison at Charleston under Maj. Robert Anderson secretly ensconced itself at Fort Sumter in the middle of Charleston Harbor, and it fell upon Pettigrew to deliver Governor Pickens's note of protest. Over the ensuing five months he became a common sight in the camps and troop assemblies as South Carolina mobilized for war. He was on hand to witness the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, and declined future participation on military boards in favor of active field service.

Despite his influence upon South Carolina military affairs, Pettigrew failed to receive a command of his own. Eager for action, he then joined Wade Hampton's legion as a private. After arriving in Virginia, he learned of his election as colonel of the 22nd North Carolina Infantry. Pettigrew subsequently spent several months drilling and disciplining his men and assisted in the blockade of the Potomac River. His popularity at home led to a promotion to brigadier general, which he graciously declined, citing his lack of experience. Nonetheless, he finally relented and accepted a promotion to command rank as of March 1862. In this capacity Pettigrew fought against the forces under Union Gen. George B. McClellan during the Peninsula campaign (April–June 1862). Pettigrew's brigade, composed of units from North Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, and Virginia, was part of Gen. Gustavus W. Smith's division and closely engaged at Seven Pines on May 31, 1862. However, Pettigrew sustained a serious injury when he was shot

through the throat. Refusing to be moved to the rear, he was left behind when his command retreated; he was taken prisoner the following day.

By August 1862, Pettigrew had recovered and was exchanged. He then assumed command of a new brigade composed entirely of North Carolina troops. He remained in southeastern Virginia and eastern North Carolina, fighting small actions around New Bern, until May 1863. That fateful year, he was transferred to **Robert E. Lee's** Army of Northern Virginia as part of a division under Gen. **Henry Heth**, in Ambrose P. Hill's III Corps. After the stunning victory at Chancellorsville, Lee led his men on an ambitious invasion of Pennsylvania while a Union force commanded by Gen. George G. Meade shadowed him closely. On July 1, 1863, Heth advanced upon the road junction of Gettysburg while foraging for shoes and encountered a cavalry division under Union Gen. John Buford. Heavy fighting ensued as the Confederates repeatedly tried and failed to push Union forces off McPherson's Ridge. Once Heth sustained a head injury, Pettigrew assumed command of the division and led it to final victory by day's end. Casualties among North Carolina troops had been severe, with the 26th North Carolina Infantry sustaining a loss rate of 72 percent—the highest of any regiment in the Civil War. Heth's division was accordingly taken out of line to rest and missed the bloody and inconclusive fighting on July 2. However, on the third day, Pettigrew mustered his men to assist the famous attack of Gen. George E. Pickett against Cemetery Ridge. The attack failed, his troops suffered horrendous losses, and Pettigrew was wounded in the hand. Once again he refused to leave the field. In the wake of this unexpected reverse, Lee sullenly withdrew his battered army back to Virginia.

Despite its recent decimation, Pettigrew's brigade was called upon to act as a rear guard. On July 14, Union cavalry engaged his force at Falling Waters, Maryland, where Pettigrew was shot in the stomach. Critically

wounded, he refused to be taken prisoner a second time and insisted on moving with the troops. He lingered three days before dying at Bunker Hill, Virginia, on July 17, 1863. His passage was lamented by Lee and other leading generals, who came to respect his intelligence, courage, and devotion to the cause. Historian Douglas Southall Freeman concluded that “for none who fought so briefly in the Army of Northern Virginia was there more praise while living or more laments when dead.” North Carolina certainly did not forget his sacrifice, for in 1939 his family plantation was incorporated into Pettigrew State Park.

See also

Lee, Robert E.

Phillips, William

(ca. 1731–May 13, 1781)

English General

The aggressive Phillips was the finest British artillery officer to serve in the American Revolution. He accomplished a number of military firsts for that arm before dying of illness during a secondary operation.

William Phillips was born in England around 1731, presumably into a middle-class background. Because he lacked the money to purchase a military commission, he enrolled at the Woolwich Military Academy in 1746 as a gentleman cadet. The Royal Artillery at this time was a distinct, technical branch of the British army, with civilian roots dating back to the late Middle Ages. Compared to the infantry and artillery, whose officer corps was traditionally dominated by the landed gentry, the artillery had a distinct middle-class outlook, virtually the only military occupation where officers of modest background could acquire distinction. Phillips acquitted himself well and became quartermaster of the Royal Artillery Regiment in April 1750. He fulfilled

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those duties for six years, rising to first lieutenant in 1756 and transferring as an aide-de-camp to Sir John Ligonier, lieutenant general of ordnance. That year Phillips was entrusted with raising a company of miners and sappers for use during the siege of Minorca, but this was subsequently absorbed into the artillery regiment as a regular company. He was consequently advanced to captain outside of the usual line of seniority, an act engendering great resentment from his fellow officers.

During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) Phillips fought in Germany with the main British army and emerged as the greatest artilleryman of his generation. He commanded three artillery companies at the August 1, 1759, Battle of Minden and performed so satisfactorily that Prince Ferdinand of Prussia rewarded him with 1,000 crowns. The following year Phillips singularly distinguished himself at the Battle of Warburg (July 30, 1760). Heretofore, artillery had traditionally been

sited and emplaced before military engagements, owing to its great weight and unwieldiness. However, Phillips disregarded the rule book by trotting his cannons forward for five miles before deploying on the field in midbattle. His fire proved so galling to a group of French cavalry that they withdrew without combat, and a French commander, the Marquis de Ternay, officially praised the performance of British guns. Phillips also proved instrumental in establishing the Royal Artillery's first musical band to enhance unit esprit de corps. After the war he continued climbing the ladder of rank and responsibility, rising to lieutenant colonel in August 1760 and full colonel in May 1772. Phillips, despite his modest origins, was becoming a rising star within the British officer corps.

In 1768, Phillips ventured to America to take command of Fort Niagara. He remained there several years before returning to England in 1771 to raise a new artillery company. Phillips then arrived at Montreal in 1776 with another newcomer, Gen. **John Burgoyne**. Phillips commanded the garrison at St. John's for a year and was accorded the local rank of major general. In the spring of 1777, Phillips became second in command of Burgoyne's new army, 8,000 strong, for the purpose of invading New York and capturing Albany. As the British column moved southward, its first objective was Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, a large fortification commanded by Gen. Arthur St. Clair. Preparations were being made for an assault, but Phillips, assisted by Gen. **Simon Fraser**, made a personal reconnaissance of neighboring Mount



William Phillips
New York Historical Society

Defiance, heretofore viewed as too steep for the employment of artillery. On the night of July 4, 1777, he carefully worked and positioned several pieces up the slopes, and St. Clair, his position compromised, abandoned Fort Ticonderoga without a fight. This success clearly reflected a personal dictum of Phillips: "Where a goat can go, a man can go, and where a man can go, he can drag a gun." The invasion was off to a promising start.

By August, Burgoyne's column was mired in the hills and forests around Saratoga, and he elected to attack the Americans and drive them off. Phillips commanded the left wing of the British army at the Battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights, where he handled his guns with aplomb and inflicted scores of rebel casualties. During the latter engagement, he personally rallied the 29th Regiment and stabilized a rapidly crumbling British line. However, Burgoyne's moves were continually thwarted by the outstanding combat leadership of Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, another outstanding tactician. At this critical juncture, nothing but massive reinforcements could rescue Burgoyne, and when these failed to arrive, he surrendered to Gen. Horatio Gates on October 17, 1777. By the terms of a convention reached with Gates, Burgoyne was free to leave for London while Phillips commanded the so-called Convention Army on its march to Boston. Congress subsequently refused to honor the agreement, so the entire force passed into captivity as prisoners of war. It was during his tenure as a prisoner that Phillips gained the reputation for impudence and arrogance—principally over the shoddy

treatment of his men—and grew so annoying to his captors that he was arrested and placed in confinement. He finally gained his parole in November 1779 and, the following fall, was formally exchanged for Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, captured at Charleston.

Phillips next reported to Gen. **Henry Clinton** in New York. In March 1781, Clinton directed him to command a 2,000-man expedition, land in Rhode Island, and prevent French troops under General Rochambeau from reaching Virginia. He thus became the first Royal Artillery officer to head up a major force in the field. Later that month, Phillips was ordered to Virginia, where he was to join up with none other than his former adversary, Benedict Arnold, now fighting for the British. He was accordingly conveyed to Portsmouth, marched overland, and captured Williamsburg on April 20, 1781. Once united with Arnold, Phillips commanded 3,500 soldiers in the middle of a rich and thinly populated state. He then trudged southward, intending to link up with the main British army under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**. En route through Virginia, Phillips and Arnold burned the Chickahominy shipyard before attacking and defeating Baron von Steuben at Blandford on April 25, 1781. Moving on to Petersburg, the roving British captured and burned large quantities of military supplies. The British then scored their biggest success of the raid by attacking Osborne's Wharf, on the James River, two days later. There, in a fine display of gunnery, Phillips's cannons engaged a small fleet of warships belonging to the Virginia state navy, gathered there in anticipation of attacking Portsmouth. Trapped by gunfire, the vessels were all subsequently scuttled to avoid cap-

ture. The marauders then continued south, burning Chesterfield Court House and tobacco warehouses at Manchester. When word was received of Cornwallis's approach, Phillips next decided to march on to Petersburg and await him there while Arnold moved upriver. Thus far, the raid had been a masterly display of planning and movement on behalf of these former adversaries. However, Phillips suddenly contracted typhoid fever and tried running operations from his ambulance bed. He died shortly after reaching Petersburg on May 13, 1781, and was buried there. Regardless of his haughty disposition, Phillips was easily the most accomplished artilleryman of the American Revolution. His talents would be sorely missed at the forthcoming siege of Yorktown.

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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Pigot, Robert

(1720–August 2, 1796)

English General

Pigot was a soldier celebrated for his bravery and frequently lampooned for his short stature. At Bunker Hill and Newport he handled his men aggressively and with great skill.

Robert Pigot (or Pigott) was born in 1720 at Patshull, Staffordshire, and elected to pursue a military profession. He first saw combat at Fontenoy in 1745 as a lieutenant in the 31st Regiment of Foot before completing several tours at Minorca and Scotland, rising to captain in 1751. Seven years later his battalion was amalgamated into the 70th Regiment, and he was appointed major. By 1764, Pigot had transferred to the 38th Regiment as its lieutenant colonel and performed several years of garrison duty in Ireland and southern England. Following a long deployment in the West Indies, he next accompanied his men to Boston in 1774 as part of the buildup of British forces there under Gen. **Thomas Gage**. Flank companies of the 38th Regiment were present during the disastrous Battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775, although Pigot remained behind in Boston with the remaining center companies. However, he did march at least part of his men to Charlestown in support of Gen. **Hugh Percy's** beleaguered forces. Gage was eventually replaced by Gen. **William Howe**, who jokingly referred to Pigot as "the little man." This was certainly no reflection on his abilities as a soldier, for during the June 17 Battle of Bunker Hill Howe appointed him second in command with the local rank of brigadier general.

The British and colonials had been at loggerheads for several weeks following Lexington and Concord until, on the night of June 16, rebel forces seized and fortified the heights overlooking Boston Harbor. This proved a catalyst that prompted the usually hesitant Gage to resort to armed force, for if cannons were posted on the heights, his sup-

ply lines to the sea would be cut. Accordingly, Howe was directed to storm the rebel fortifications at Bunker Hill in a show of British might. Howe initially directed Pigot, who commanded his own 38th, the 43rd, and, 47th Regiments, assisted by a battalion of marines, to make demonstrations on the American right to fix it in place while he struck their left flank. However, Howe's first assault was decisively blasted back by the entrenched defenders, who also forced Pigot's men to withdraw beyond musket range. Howe next directed Pigot to assist him in attacking the main American redoubt atop the hill. This endeavor was also repulsed with grievous losses. Finally, Howe ordered his soldiers to drop their knapsacks and prepare for a final maximum effort, assisted by Pigot on the left and the reserves under Gen. **Henry Clinton**. The columns sustained heavy losses during their approach (the militia withheld its fire until the British were only 10 yards away), then stormed the redoubt when the American ammunition failed. Pigot was among the first British officers over the parapet and helped clear the fortification at bayonet point. Howe finally prevailed, but at a staggering cost: nearly half his army was killed or wounded. Pigot's conduct, fortunately, was marked by conspicuous bravery throughout the entire ordeal, and on December 11, 1775, he was promoted to colonel of the 38th Regiment by order of King George III. It was certainly an apt tribute to the veteran Pigot, who at 55 years old was among the most senior British officers present.

Howe subsequently evacuated Boston in March 1776, and Pigot sailed with his men to Halifax. There he took command of a brigade consisting of the Fifth, 28th, 35th, and 49th Regiments and accompanied the expedition against Long Island, New York. He fought conspicuously in the August 1776 Battle of

Long Island and formed part of the column that flanked the American army under Gen. Israel Putnam. Gen. George Washington had no recourse but to abandon New York City, and Pigot was appointed garrison commander once his brigade passed over to Gen. **Alexander Leslie**. He remained fixed in this capacity until June 1777, when Howe ordered him to assume command of British forces at Newport, Rhode Island. The following August he also gained a promotion to major general.

Pigot arrived in Rhode Island to replace Gen. Richard Prescott, a sneering, arrogant officer who created so much resentment that he was kidnapped by the Americans in July 1777. He remained in garrison at Newport for over a year and lamented the lack of combat activity. However, this changed in July 1778, when a combined French-American land and naval expedition under Gen. John Sullivan and Admiral d'Estaing arrived in Rhode Island. These two commanders had an aggregate of 10,000 men, while Pigot, assisted by Gen. **Francis Smith**, scarcely mustered 6,000 effectives. Nonetheless, Pigot was characteristically determined to fight and, rather than engage in the open at a disadvantage, erected barricades around Newport's perimeter. Sullivan had no recourse but to settle in for a painstakingly slow, formal siege. The Americans were making good progress under Gens. Nathaniel Greene and Marquis de Lafayette, but their efforts were continually undermined by friction between Sullivan and d'Estaing. When the British fleet under Adm. **Richard Howe** made its appearance on August 9, 1778, the French commander promptly loaded all his soldiers on the fleet and left to engage the enemy. A drawn battle was then waged until a severe storm battered both fleets, at which d'Estaing disengaged and announced his decision to sail immediately for Boston to refit. This startling move left Sullivan with only 7,000 men, insufficient to press the siege. Furthermore, faced with the prospect of British reinforcements sailing from New York City under General Clinton, he, too, felt obliged to abandon Newport.

This was just the opportunity that the aggressive Pigot had been waiting for. Knowing that the only land route off Aquidneck Island was a natural choke point, he advanced to catch Sullivan in the act of crossing and defeat him in detail. However, the Americans dug in at Butt's Hill near the Bristol Ferry and fought very well in the ensuing Battle of Rhode Island (August 29, 1778). After several determined charges by crack Hessians, who were repelled by a determined stand by African American soldiers, Pigot allowed them to withdraw unmolested. Nonetheless, he had performed useful service in keeping Newport firmly in British hands for another year. Furthermore, his unexpected victory, won at considerable odds, placed the newly formed alliance between France and the United States under serious strain.

By October 1778, Pigot had surrendered command of Newport to a repatriated Gen. Richard Prescott and relocated to New York City. That winter he sailed back to England, where in November 1782 he was elevated to lieutenant general. Pigot died at Patshull on August 2, 1796, short in stature but decidedly tall in reputation. Perhaps not surprisingly, all three of his sons joined His Majesty's services and went on to acquire distinguished service records of their own.

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Pillow, Gideon Johnson

(June 8, 1806–October 8, 1878)

Confederate General

Self-serving and querulous, Pillow was one of the most inefficient officers ever to don a Confederate uniform. His indecisiveness at Fort Donelson led to the capture of that post—with disastrous consequences for the Southern heartland.

Gideon Johnson Pillow was born in Williamson (now Maury) County, Tennessee, on June 8, 1806, and attended the University of Nashville. After graduating in 1827, he pursued legal studies for three years before being admitted to the state bar in 1830. A fine orator, Pillow quickly established himself as an effective lawyer in Columbia, entered politics as a Democrat, and struck up close relations with fellow attorney James K. Polk. Skilled in politics and backroom machinations, he proved instrumental in helping Knox receive the party nomination for president of the United States in 1844. Polk won the ensuing election and in 1846, following the onset of war with Mexico, rewarded Pillow by making him a brigadier general of volunteers. In this capacity Pillow ventured to Texas, where the windy lawyer failed to make much of an impression upon Gen. Zachary Taylor, the commanding officer. When Taylor declined to employ Pillow during his advance upon Monterrey, he responded by writing highly critical letters to the president. In fact, Pillow considered himself and always behaved as if he were Polk's unofficial observer. The following year he was transferred to the army of Gen. Winfield Scott in preparation for the overland campaign against Mexico City. There was very little room for such towering egos under one tent, and the two men immediately disliked each other. Worse, Pillow was wounded during a badly botched attack upon Mexican forces at Cerro Gordo on April 17, 1847, his first major action. Nonetheless, Polk saw fit to reward him with a promotion to major general of volunteers, making him second in command to Scott. Pillow ap-

parently learned from his mistakes quickly, for he turned in respectable performances at Contreras and Churubusco. At the storming of Chapultepec on September 13, 1846, he was again seriously wounded but acquitted himself competently.

Despite his shaky debut, Pillow had acquired a measure of fame in Mexico, but he squandered it by engaging in a lengthy dispute with Scott. This happened when peace negotiations with the Mexican government were initiated, and Scott deliberately left Pillow out of the process. The general also admonished him for trying to seize a Mexican cannon as a war trophy. Pillow retaliated by publishing several anonymous and scathing letters about Scott in the *New Orleans Daily Delta* and also violated the chain of command by complaining directly to the president. Polk did nothing to dissuade such behavior, as Scott was viewed as a potential presidential opponent, and he tacitly sought to embarrass him. Scott, in turn, accused Pillow of insubordination. Three court-martials subsequently cleared him of all charges, but the entire affair sullied his military reputation. Pillow returned to Tennessee soon after and resumed his politicking within the Democratic Party. In time he also amassed a considerable fortune, owning many slaves and several large plantations.

Although a southern Democrat, Pillow was a moderate on the issue of slavery and opposed the secessionist tendencies of other, more radical Southerners. Probably for this reason, he failed to secure the vice presidential nomination in 1852 and 1856, and the following year he lost his chance to run for an open seat in the U.S. Senate. By April 1861, Pillow still opposed secession, but he nonetheless joined the Confederacy when Fort Sumter was fired upon. He then eagerly offered his services to Governor Isham Harris and became a major general in the Provi-

sional Army of Tennessee. He was thus responsible for the recruitment, arming, and training of thousands of volunteer soldiers, and he functioned capably in this limited role. But with some reluctance, Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**, never overly impressed by Pillow, allowed him to join the regular Confederate service as a brigadier general. Pillow then reported for duty under Gen. Leonidas Polk in the western part of the state. On November 7, 1861, Polk and Pillow scored an upset victory by defeating Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Belmont, Missouri. This victory seemed to enhance his military fortunes, and in February 1862 he gained appointment as commander of Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River.

Fort Donelson, along with Fort Henry on the nearby Tennessee River, constituted serious obstacles to Union penetration of the Confederate heartland—provided they were adequately defended. However, on February 6, 1862, a gunboat squadron and Capt. Andrew Hull Foote cowed Fort Henry into submission, which allowed for an overland advance by Grant's army to Fort Donelson. Grant knew Pillow from his Mexican War days and thoroughly despised him, both as an individual and as a soldier. Worse, on February 13, Pillow was superseded in command by the arrival of Gen. **John Buchanan Floyd**. Once Grant surrounded the fort, the Confederate leadership was in a quandary over what course to pursue. Pillow finally prevailed upon Floyd to allow him and Gen. Simon B. Buckner to attack Grant's lines and escape south to Nashville. On the morning of February 15, 1862, the Confederates accomplished exactly that, surprising Union forces in their camps and driving them off. Victory seemed within his grasp when Pillow suddenly—and inexplicably—called off the attack and ordered his men back into the fort! This enabled Grant to counterattack and tighten his grasp around the bastion. That evening the Confederates called a council of war to debate their shrinking options. Floyd considered their position hopeless, announced his decision to es-

cape by riverboat, and resigned command of the fort to Pillow. Pillow continued this farce by resigning himself and directed General Buckner to surrender. That evening Floyd, Pillow, and several thousand Virginia troops shamelessly abandoned their friends and fled. Col. **Nathan Bedford Forrest** also deliberately disobeyed orders, and took his cavalry regiment through Union lines and freedom.

When Fort Donelson capitulated on December 16, 1862, it was a stinging defeat. Not only did Grant bag 15,000 badly needed Confederate troops; it also opened up the door for subsequent campaigning down river—which spelled the eventual doom of the Confederacy. Not surprisingly, the recriminations of Fort Donelson haunted Pillow for many years after the war.

President Davis was livid when informed of what Floyd and Pillow had done, and he immediately relieved both of command. A subsequent official inquiry found Pillow guilty of “grave errors of judgment in the military operations which resulted in the surrender of the army.” However, by January 1863 Pillow was restored to command in the army of Gen. **Braxton Bragg**, where he led a brigade in the division of Gen. **John Cabell Breckinridge**. He then fought at the bloody battle of Murfreesboro on January 2, 1863, turning in an adequate performance. However, within days the government reassigned him as superintendent of the Conscript Bureau for Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Pillow ruled with an iron hand and effectively enforced the conscription law and rounded up numerous recruits for the army. In March 1864, he requested and received command of a cavalry force and was ordered to protect the iron and coal regions of central Alabama from marauding Yankee cavalry raids. However, in several mishandled battles through June and July, Pillow proved unable to stop the invaders and was removed. He ended the war as commissary general of prisoners and surrendered at Montgomery on May 5, 1865.

The postwar years were exceptionally difficult for Pillow. Having lost his numerous

plantations and estates, he resumed his legal career at Memphis until wartime debts bankrupted him in 1876. He then relocated to Lee County, Arkansas, to eke out an existence as a farmer. Pillow died there in poverty on October 8, 1870, one of the most inept, disliked military leaders of the Civil War.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Davis, Jefferson; Forrest, Nathan Bedford

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Pitcairn, John

(December 28, 1722–June 18, 1775)

Royal Marine Officer

The gallant Pitcairn was a fearless marine who evinced great interest in the care and training of his men. Alternately profane and pious, he is best remembered for his role on that fateful morning at Lexington Green, when the first shots of the American Revolution were fired.

John Pitcairn was born in the port of Dysart, Scotland, on December 28, 1722, the son of a parson. Having matured next to the sea, he joined Cornwall's Seventh Marines in 1746 as a lieutenant. In 1756, one year after the Royal Marines had been established as a standing force, Pitcairn became a captain. He handled himself capably and five years later advanced to major. By 1774, the political situation in Boston had deteriorated to the point where the English government resolved to reinforce Governor **Thomas Gage** with several thousand soldiers. Among them was a battalion of marines under Pitcairn, which was drawn from companies among the Chatham,

Portsmouth, and Plymouth Divisions. These were then organized into a composite infantry battalion and deployed as such. At Boston, Pitcairn stuck many observers as coarse and profane in the line of duty. However, he took exceptionally keen interest in the well-being of his men. On one occasion, when several marines died from overindulgence in strong Boston rum, Pitcairn lived in the barracks with them continuously for several months to wean them of this destructive habit. He also drilled his marines vigorously, accompanied them on long, forced marches into the countryside, and kept all ranks in a high state of readiness. Consequently, when hostilities did erupt, the Royal Marines were one of the best battalions in the Boston garrison.

For all his brusqueness, Pitcairn was a pious Anglican and attended church regularly. Moreover, he also possessed a demonstrated flair for public relations. Pitcairn was a strong Scot Tory with little sympathy for the colo-

nials and advocated harsh measures to keep them in line. He personally felt that burning several towns “will forever convince those foolish bad people that England is in earnest.” Nevertheless, he was personable and quite charming in dealing with civilians. When quartered in the home of Francis Shaw, an anti-British tailor, Pitcairn won the respect and affection of the entire family through sincerity and personal diplomacy. At length, he became renowned in Boston for honesty and integrity, and he became one of few British officers to enjoy cordial relations with the public at large.

All this changed in April 1775, when Governor Gage felt impelled to prevent the onset of hostilities by force. He was intent upon seizing colonial cannons and ammunition secretly stored at Concord, about 16 miles distant, thereby divesting the militia of heavy ordnance. On the evening of April 18, 1775, he dispatched 800 soldiers under Lt. Col. **Francis Smith** to seize the rebel supplies, destroy them, and return to Boston. Feeling that the lethargic Smith would benefit from a well-grounded subordinate, he ordered Pitcairn to accompany the column. Throughout their march, the British heard churchbells and alarm cannons pealing in the distance, as riders like Paul Revere alerted the countryside of their approach. It also rained all night, increasing the soldiers’ discomfiture. Shortly before dawn, as Smith approached Lexington, he dispatched Pitcairn with six light companies to secure two bridges that the main column would have to cross. It was in the act of fulfilling these orders, on the morning of April 19, 1775, that the British encountered Capt. John Parker’s com-



John Pitcairn
Lexington Historical Society

pany of American Minutemen assembled on Lexington Green. Pitcairn quickly deployed his men to face them, and several tense moments ensued. Beforehand, the strict officer issued positive instructions that the soldiers were not to fire under any circumstances without orders. Several British officers then harangued the militia and ordered them to disperse and lay down their arms. Parker’s men were in the act of dispersing—still armed—when a shot suddenly rang out of nowhere. The British sol-

diers, wet, exhausted, and now perceiving themselves under fire, started shooting at the Americans. It took several minutes for Pitcairn to restore order, but irretrievable damage had been wrought. Eight Americans lay dead, and several more were wounded. British losses were one wounded soldier, while Pitcairn’s horse had been grazed by a bullet. Pausing only long enough for Smith to arrive, both officers then pushed on to their final objective.

The column reached Concord without further incident, destroyed some colonial supplies, and promptly executed an about-face. However, news of the “battle” at Lexington had inflamed colonial passions, and militiamen began lining the roadways, sniping at the British soldiers. As Smith and Pitcairn herded their command along, several thousand Americans showed up to take potshots at the redcoats, inflicting serious losses. Order nearly collapsed by the time Lexington was reached, and only the appearance of a relief column under Gen. **Hugh Percy** saved Smith from destruction. At this juncture Pitcairn’s horse panicked and threw him, and he walked the remaining distance. In this manner he lost his brace of fine pistols—still preserved at the

Lexington Historical Society in Massachusetts. Considering the numbers involved and the losses sustained, it had been a close call for the British. Worse, they now found themselves at war.

For two months, nearly 15,000 colonial militia bottled up Gage's 8,000 redcoats in Boston without further violence. The impasse broke on the evening of June 16, when rebels seized the high ground near Charlestown and began digging in. Gage, fearful that cannons posted there would cut off his access to the sea, ordered Gen. **William Howe** to clear the heights in a display of British force. The ensuing Battle of Bunker Hill, fought on June 17, 1775, caught everybody by surprise. The American militia stood its ground and inflicted horrendous casualties upon the neatly advancing British infantry. Pitcairn and his marines were held in the reserve until the third and final charge. Ordered to advance, he pushed aside a retreating body of infantry, yelling, "Break and let the Marines through!" The sea soldiers then fought their way onto the parapet with Pitcairn at their head, swinging his sword and shouting, "Now, for the glory of the Marines!" At that point the gallant major was shot down and fatally injured. His wound has been traditionally ascribed to Salem Prince, a free African American, who literally fired the last shot of the battle. Pitcairn was subsequently taken by his son, Lt. Thomas Pitcairn, to a house back in Boston. General Gage also dispatched his personal physician, Dr. Thomas Kast, to attend to his needs, but the patient succumbed the following morning. To his last dying moments, Pitcairn swore that he did not fire the first shots at Lexington. He was

initially buried at the Old North Church, Boston, and in 1791 his remains were shipped to London for reinterment there. In the words of one rebel, Reverend Ezra Stiles, Pitcairn was "a good man in a bad cause." A charming, if apocryphal, anecdote has survived about his passing. When son Thomas exclaimed, "I have lost a father," some nearby marines responded, "We have all lost a father." Pitcairn's devotion to duty and heroic self-sacrifice were in the finest tradition of the Royal Marines.

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Pontiac

(ca. 1720–April 20, 1769)
Ottawa War Chief

Pontiac, an excellent military strategist, instigated and led the greatest Native American uprising ever faced by the British in colonial North America. For a year, he closely besieged Fort Detroit, then the sole surviving English garrison in the west, but abandoned the war when French aid never arrived. However, his call for a pantribal alliance nearly succeeded in stopping white encroachment on Indian lands and served as a model for later attempts by **Little Turtle**, **Tecumseh**, and **Black Hawk**.

Pontiac was born probably along the Maumee River in northern Ohio, the son of an Ottawa father and a Chippewa mother. He matured into a fine warrior and allied himself with the French throughout King George's War (1744–1748). Having distinguished himself in various battles against the English, Pontiac became head chief of the Ottawa in 1754, around the time that the French and Indian War began. This was the final showdown between England and France for dominance in North America. As before, Pontiac enjoyed several successes against his enemies and was probably present at the defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock at Fort Duquesne. However, by 1760 France had been decisively defeated in Canada and the English inherited vast French territorial possessions along the Great Lakes region. For the Ottawa and other Native Americans inhabiting this area, the



Pontiac
Library of Congress

change was not a welcome one.

Since the seventeenth century, tribes of the Great Lakes had enjoyed a prosperous and mutually beneficial relationship with the French. Compared to the English, they built few fortifications and were primarily concerned with fur, not land. They traded extensively and fairly with the Native Americans, showering them with gifts, supplying them with firearms, and granting them regular allotments of gunpowder for hunting. Furthermore, during the long winter months, French agents extended credit to the Indians so they could purchase food and clothing to facilitate their survival. In turn, the Indians would barter their debts with valuable furs the following spring. More important, the French treated the Indians like brothers, entertained them, intermarried with them, and welcomed them into their forts as distinguished guests. By 1763, this treatment changed dramatically. English policy toward the Indians, if not overtly racist, proved condescending. English traders refused to grant the Indians credit or sell them gunpowder, making an already difficult existence in winter much harder. Moreover, commanding Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst considered the policy of gift-giving extravagant and suspended the practice. Native Americans were to be regarded as potential enemies and unwelcome in or around frontier posts. The rudest shock,

however, came not from the military but rather from the settlers. In contrast to the French, English colonials crossed the Appalachian Mountains looking for land to cultivate. After several months of abuse, the Great Lakes Indians were ready for insurrection.

Pontiac himself was initially friendly toward the victorious English and anticipated that their behavior would emulate the French. By 1762, it became apparent to him that his traditional way of life would be threatened unless something was done soon. Pontiac, an accomplished warrior, settled on a military solution. If the Indians could unify and strike simultaneously at English forts and settlements across the frontier, perhaps the French would enter the war and drive out the hated interlopers. Indian unity was an alien concept, but Pontiac, a gifted, powerful, persuasive orator, began making his case. At a meeting of tribal leaders in April 1763, he outlined his strategy for striking at Detroit, the main English fort, while other tribes would fan out and attack lesser posts. His argument was aided by a shaman known as the Delaware Prophet, who called for a religious and cultural renewal to drive white influence out of Indian lands. The various chieftains agreed to Pontiac's plan, and bands from the Ottawa, Huron, Chippewa, Potawatomi, and other tribes prepared to launch an offensive.

Unfortunately for the Indians, Maj. Henry Gladwyn, Detroit's commanding officer, had been forewarned of their strategy. When Pontiac appeared at the fort with several warriors and requested to be allowed in on the pretense of performing a ceremonial dance for the garrison, he was greeted by the sight of the soldiers armed and ready to receive him. The Indians had concealed arms under their blankets to achieve surprise, but Pontiac withdrew without hostility. Suddenly, on May 7, 1763, the Native Americans, numbering nearly 1,000 men, launched a surprise attack against the fort. Gladwyn, alert for such a move, was ready and handily repulsed the attackers. Pontiac had little recourse but to settle in for a lengthy siege. The British garrison

was cut off by land but received continual reinforcements and supplies by ships on Lake Erie. On July 31, 1763, Gladwyn detached a body of men under Maj. James Dalyell to attack the Indians in their camp, but the English troops were ambushed at Bloody Run. Dalyell was killed and his command driven back into the fort with heavy losses. The Indians, however, could make no headway against the fortifications and grew discouraged. Pontiac, by eloquence and example, rallied enough of them to maintain his position for nearly a year. By August 1764, when a large column under Col. James Bradstreet arrived to relieve the beleaguered garrison, Pontiac lifted the siege and withdrew to the woods.

In contrast to the impasse at Detroit, Indians elsewhere enjoyed a startling series of military successes. In little more than a month, they captured and destroyed no less than eight posts and forced the evacuation of a ninth. With the exception of Detroit and Fort Pitt, in western Pennsylvania, Native Americans had completely driven the English from the trans-Appalachian west. But once the British recovered from their initial surprise, they acted decisively. To help break the siege of Fort Pitt, Amherst authorized a primitive form of biological warfare by circulating blankets infected with smallpox among the Indians, and it severely affected the Delaware tribe. Next a column under Col. Henri Bouquet, a Swiss mercenary, defeated a large Indian force at Bushy Run in 1764, relieved Fort Pitt, and swept through the Ohio Valley. At this point, many tribes began deserting Pontiac's confederation and sued for peace individually. Pontiac himself remained belligerent until October 1764, when he received word from the French commander in Louisiana that French aid was not forthcoming. This fact, coupled with word that the Treaty of Paris, which concluded the French and Indian War, resulted in the French evacuation of Canada, ended the uprising. In July 1766, Pontiac attended peace talks at Fort Ontario hosted by Sir William Johnson, and a lasting truce was arranged. English efforts were abetted by a

new commander, Gen. **Thomas Gage**, who replaced the insensitive Amherst. In contrast with earlier British treatment of Native Americans, Gage heaped praise on Pontiac, showed him with gifts, and became a loyal friend. Thus concluded Pontiac's Rebellion—the largest, most concerted effort by Native Americans to halt white expansion. One result of the war was the Proclamation Line of 1763, which forbade further white settlement beyond the Appalachians. This policy, in turn, was viewed as arbitrary by the American colonists and became a source of grievance against British rule.

The postwar years were uneasy ones for Pontiac. He returned to his village on the banks of the Maumee and lived in relative obscurity for many years. His unswerving stance as an English ally cost him much prestige, and at one point he was driven from his village. While visiting an agent's store in Cahokia, Illinois, he was suddenly attacked and killed by a Peoria Indian. It is not known if Pontiac was slain as the result of an English vendetta or Indian resentment, but this most formidable of warriors was transported across the Mis-

issippi River and buried in present-day St. Louis. The location of his grave has long since been forgotten.

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Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre

(April 8, 1712–May 8, 1769)

French Army Officer

Pouchot was a highly talented engineering officer of the French and Indian War, one of few army regulars accorded command of a post in New France. He is best remembered for his resolute defense of Fort Niagara and an uncanny ability to strike up cordial relations with Native Americans.

Pierre Pouchot de Maupas was born in Grenoble, France, on April 8, 1712, and he joined the army as a volunteer engineer at the age of 21. In 1734, he gained a regular army

commission as a second lieutenant in the Bearn Regiment, where he demonstrated an aptitude for military engineering. Pouchot campaigned in Italy throughout the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and further honed his abilities while serving on Corsica. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) he acquired the rank of captain, and in 1749 Pouchot also received the prestigious Cross of St. Louis along with command of his own company. Following the outbreak

of the French and Indian War in North America, he was dispatched to Canada and arrived at Quebec in June 1755.

Pouchot's debut was fortuitous for New France. The vessel carrying the majority of French engineers had been captured by the Royal Navy off Newfoundland, which rendered him the most experienced engineering officer available. Governor-General **Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil** took a liking to Pouchot and dispatched him to Fort Frontenac (now Kingston, Ontario) with orders to repair and strengthen that outpost. When this was accomplished to the governor's satisfaction, Pouchot received an even more important mission: strengthening the defenses of strategic Fort Niagara in western New York. At that time, Fort Niagara consisted solely of a stone building surrounded by, in his words, "a rotten stockade." To correct this deficiency, Pouchot surrounded the fort with substantial earthworks that doubled its capacity for resistance. In July 1756, he was suddenly ordered to Oswego, New York, to help Gen. **Louis-Joseph Montcalm** besiege British fortifications there. Pouchot applied his military craft diligently, and the British surrendered on August 15, 1755. As a reward for his services, he was allowed to return to Fort Niagara as garrison commander. Vaudreuil also recommended him for a promotion to lieutenant colonel with a pension.

For all his skill as an officer, Pouchot's tenure at Fort Niagara was marred by professional jealousy because of his background as a regular army officer (*troupes de terre*). Traditionally, military outposts of New France had been commanded by native-born Canadians (*troupes de la marine*), mainly because of their skill in dealing with Native Americans. However, Pouchot, a dynamic officer who was courteous and polished, evinced considerable skill in his dealings with local tribesmen. By befriending various chiefs and showering them with gifts, he managed to keep the Iroquois either neutral or in the employ of France. Having completed his task of strengthening Fort Niagara, Pouchot was re-

called to Montreal at the behest of Governor Vaudreuil to serve as his geographer. He thus spent the winter completing several detailed maps that were forwarded to the ministry of marine in Paris.

The spring of 1758 found Pouchot reunited with his regiment as part of an expedition into the Mohawk region under Gen. **François-Gaston Levis**. However, when this operation was suspended, he accompanied that officer back to Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), New York. Pouchot was closely engaged in the repulse of Gen. James Abercromby on July 8, 1758, and afterward worked to further strengthen Carillon's defenses. Despite these local French successes, the British were slowly and inexorably drawing a concentric ring around French Canada. After the fall of Fort Frontenac in August 1758, Pouchot returned to Fort Niagara to prepare its defense and keep the Indians neutral. However, he underestimated his ability to maintain Iroquois neutrality, for after considerable debate, the Six Nations elected to side with England. In July 1759, Sir William Johnson invested Fort Niagara with a large force, and Pouchot, possessing only 600 men, managed to hold out for 19 days before surrendering on July 25. After cordial exchanges with his former enemies, who allowed him to depart with the honors of war, he was exchanged and sent back to Montreal for further duty.

By the spring of 1760 New France was in its death throes as British forces closed in on Montreal from three sides. Pouchot was placed in command of Fort Levis on the St. Lawrence River with orders to delay the army of Gen. Jeffrey Amherst as long as possible. Possessing only 400 men against an army of 10,000, he managed to delay the British advance for eight days before capitulating a second time. Following the surrender of Montreal in September 1760, New France was now a British possession. Pouchot, along with his surviving soldiers, returned to France in March 1761, concluding an exemplary service career of six years. Despite his reputation as a good soldier, Pouchot was questioned closely about finan-

cial matters in Canada; he was subsequently cleared of any misconduct. He found little employment when the Bearn Regiment was finally disbanded in 1762, and he set about compiling a detailed memoir of events in Canada. Beset by financial difficulties, Pouchot next sought an outlet for his military skills by serving as an engineer on Corsica, then in a state of rebellion against France. He was killed on May 8, 1769, by partisans while scouting a strategic road. Pouchot is still regarded as the most effective company-grade engineering officer of the French and Indian War.

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Prevost, Augustin

(ca. 1723–May 3, 1786)
English General

Prevost, a highly capable and very professional soldier of fortune, guided Britain's initial conquest of the southern colonies during the American Revolution. His defense of Savannah against a combined French-American force was decisive and prompted the subsequent attack on Charleston. Although Swiss in origin, Prevost served the British Crown long and well.

Augustin Prevost was born in Geneva, Switzerland, around 1723, one of several brothers in the long tradition of Swiss mercenaries. He served in the Dutch army for many years and fought at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745. Prevost then transferred to the British army in 1756 by becoming a major in the newly raised 60th Regiment of Foot, the famous Royal Americans. This outstanding unit was among the first to specialize in frontier-style light infantry tactics. Prevost acquitted

himself well as a regimental officer, and on September 13, 1759, he was severely wounded outside the walls of Quebec. Thereafter, he became known as "Old Bullethead" from his conspicuous battle scar. In 1761, Prevost was promoted to lieutenant colonel and was present during the sieges of Martinique and Havana. He then returned to England in 1763, where his battalion was disbanded. Following the onset of the American Revolution in 1775, he returned to his old regiment and raised a new battalion that was shipped overseas to aid in the defense of East Florida.

Prevost encountered multiple difficulties in East Florida, owing to the vast size of the province and the relatively few troops and resources he commanded. These had to be augmented by undisciplined militia and unpredictable Native Americans, none of whom worked well with the other. Nonetheless,

when Georgia entered the American Revolution, it became Prevost's responsibility to mount offensive forays into that state while thwarting counterthrusts from the same. His position improved following the capture of Savannah by Lt. Col. **Archibald Campbell** in December 1778, and he received orders to march his regiment there. En route, he briefly besieged Fort Morris (present-day Sunbury, Georgia), which fell in early January 1779. Pushing ahead, he next became apprised that a large body of rebels had gathered at Purysbury under Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. Prevost promptly landed his men on the coast behind the Americans, deflecting their advance upon Augusta. This, in turn, gave Colonel Campbell time to occupy that settlement and recruit backwoods Loyalists. At length, a force under Gen. William Moultrie forced Prevost to withdraw to his fleet on February 3, 1778, and two weeks later he was promoted to major general. In this capacity he assumed command of all British forces in the south. Campbell, meanwhile, abandoned Augusta and marched back to Savannah, closely followed by a rebel force under Gen. John Ashe. The Americans suddenly stopped at Briar Creek to repair the bridge and await the arrival of additional troops under General Lincoln. It seemed Georgia would be lost to the British cause after all.

Despite being outnumbered, Prevost decided to strike Ashe before reinforcements arrived. He led the main column consisting of the first battalion, 71st Highlanders, while dispatching his younger brother, Lt. Col. Mark Prevost, on a wide circuit to catch the Americans from behind. They covered nearly 50 miles without detection and were nearly upon the quarry when Ashe deployed his men on March 3, 1779. Eager to close, the younger Prevost attacked Ashe before his brother could cut off the Americans. A stiff firefight occurred, after which he exploited a gap in Ashe's line by thrusting a battalion forward, and the rebel position collapsed. For a loss of five killed and 11 wounded, the British had inflicted 200 killed and took 150 prisoners. Consequently, the American reconquest of Geor-

gia was postponed indefinitely. Prevost then gathered up all his regular forces and advanced toward Charleston, brushing aside a small detachment under Moultrie at Coosawhatchie River, South Carolina, on May 3, 1779. However, the gradual appearance of more numerous forces under Lincoln and Col. Cashimir Pulaski forced the British to withdraw in turn. A strategic impasse ensued over the next several months, but Georgia remained firmly in British hands.

During this interval, Prevost fortified Savannah against an attack from the sea, especially since France had entered the war on behalf of the United States. His precaution was well-founded, for in September 1779, a large fleet of 33 vessels under Admiral Comte d'Estaing hove to and discharged 5,000 soldiers, joined by another 1,500 Americans under Lincoln. In true European fashion, d'Estaing called upon the British commander to surrender, and Prevost requested 24 hours to consider the request. However, he used the time to augment his garrison with an additional 800 men under Lt. Col. John Maitland, raising his total garrison to around 3,000 effectives. He also supervised the construction of several redoubts with interlocking fields of fire. The siege then commenced in earnest, although by October d'Estaing was under pressure to leave with the approach of the hurricane season. On October 9, 1779, the allies made a direct assault upon Savannah and were bloodily repulsed with the loss of 600 French and 150 American troops. Prevost's well-fortified men lost only 150 casualties. Greatly discouraged, the French embarked and sailed away while Lincoln marched back into the interior. Gen. **Henry Clinton**, the British commander in chief, was so delighted by Prevost's victory that he pronounced it "the greatest event that has happened in the whole war." This success also prompted him to prepare his own amphibious assault against Charleston that winter, which heralded the long and bloody southern campaign.

Prevost returned to England shortly after his impressive victory at Savannah and died

in Hertfordshire on May 5, 1786. Like **Frederick Haldimand**, he was one of several skillful Swiss mercenaries to distinguish himself in the British service. His son, **George Prevost**, also served as governor-general of Canada throughout the War of 1812.

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Prevost, George

(May 19, 1767–January 5, 1816)

English General; Governor-General of Canada

The much-maligned Prevost was a cautious-minded senior British commander during the War of 1812. Roundly criticized for military incompetence, he was nonetheless responsible for the overall defensive strategy that preserved Canada from American conquest. He also enacted conciliatory policies to cement French Canadian loyalties to England.

George Prevost was born in New Jersey on May 19, 1767, the son of Maj. Gen. **Augustin Prevost**, then an officer with the 60th Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans). Educated in Europe and fluent in French, young Prevost followed into his father's regiment in 1779 by becoming an ensign in the 60th Regiment. Following a series of transfers and promotions with other corps, he returned to the 60th in 1790 as a major. He rose to lieutenant colonel by 1794 and, two years later, rendered

distinguished service in the West Indies. Prevost was wounded twice during the capture of St. Vincent, where he gained a promotion to colonel in 1798. That year, by dint of his lingual skills, he was also made governor of the captured French island of St. Lucia. A discreet, cheerful individual and versed in the nuances of Gallic sensibilities, Prevost so won the hearts of his former enemies that they petitioned him to become their civil governor! Following a brief return to England in 1802, he next served as governor-general of Dominica, again to the complete satisfaction of all parties. In 1805, Prevost adroitly defended the island against a French invasion, winning a promotion to major general. In that capacity he next ventured to Nova Scotia in 1808 as lieutenant governor, with a rank of lieutenant general, and successfully navigated the treacherous waters of provincial politics. The

following year he gained further distinction by orchestrating the capture of Martinique. Prevost then continued on back at Halifax, where on February 14, 1811, his good conduct landed him an appointment as governor-general of Lower Canada.

Prevost's appointment coincided with a period of increasing tension with the United States over the issues of impressments at sea and Indian unrest at home. It was hoped his Franco-phone skills would defuse a large, potentially hostile French population and secure their support for Britain in the event of war. In these matters he succeeded where few British governors had. Through a deft combination of deference and patronage, he placated both the Canadian political elite and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. He induced the provincial assembly to strengthen existing militia laws and to provide a form of paper currency, or army bills, that would be redeemed at full value and not be susceptible to inflation. He also oversaw the creation of two uniquely Canadian formations, the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles and the French-speaking Canadian Voltigeurs, both of whom rendered excellent service during the war.

As a geographic entity, the province of Canada was large, sparsely populated, and garrisoned by only 5,600 British troops. Several thousand indigenous militia were present, but they were initially judged to be of dubious value—and loyalty. Prevost thus assumed that Canada, in the face of a more numerous invader, would be almost impossible to defend. Early on he adopted an extremely cautious, highly defensive strategy predicated upon sac-



George Prevost
National Archives of Canada

rificing large tracts of Upper Canada to the Americans in order to defend the strategic cities of Quebec and Montreal. Such a stance generally annoyed offensive-minded subordinates like Gen. **Isaac Brock**, governor of Upper Canada, who felt that a series of local offensives would keep the enemy off-balance long enough for reinforcements to arrive from Europe. Prevost discreetly demurred, however, feeling that successful British attacks on American soil would serve only to unify a badly divided enemy behind the war effort.

No sooner had war erupted in June 1812 than Prevost dispatched his envoy, Col. Edward Baynes, to negotiate a truce. Both sides were buoyed by the recent British repeal of the Orders in Council, which authorized the search and seizure of American ships at sea and was a major cause of the war. Brock, meanwhile, disregarded orders, captured Detroit, and was on the verge of attacking the strategic naval base at Sackets Harbor, New York, when word of the cease-fire arrived. Brock suspended hostilities and watched helplessly while the Americans mobilized a large army along the Niagara frontier under Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer. This force came to grief at Queenston Heights in October 1812, where Brock was killed. But Upper Canada had been preserved for the time being, and British forces gained a badly needed respite.

The following spring, naval affairs on the Great Lakes passed into the hands of the British Admiralty, who dispatched Capt. Sir **James Lucas Yeo** as overall commander. Prevost ventured to Kingston, Upper Canada,

to confer with Yeo, and both men decided that a preemptive strike against Sackets Harbor might relieve pressure on other fronts. At that time, the American squadron under Commodore Isaac Chauncey was absent, so on May 29, 1813, Prevost landed troops and scattered the militia of Gen. Jacob Brown. However, the British attack stalled when it proved unable to evict a determined stand by regular soldiers under Thomas Aspinwall and Arthur P. Hayne. Adverse winds also kept British gunboats from approaching the shore and bringing their heavy armament to bear. Brown, meanwhile, had rallied his forces and began pressing upon the British flank when Prevost suddenly ordered a retreat. Losses in this short but intense action were 48 British killed and 195 wounded, to an American tally of 21 killed and 84 wounded. The governor-general was much criticized in military circles for this timidity, but he brushed it aside. He reasoned that a quick withdrawal saved his small force of regulars, which could not be replaced, from possible capture.

In the fall of 1813, U.S. Secretary of War John Armstrong conceived an ambitious, two-pronged offensive designed to capture Montreal, but it was completely foiled by the heroic efforts of **Joseph Wanton Morrison** at Chrysler's Farm and **Charles d'Irumberry de Salaberry** at Chateaugay. A new and aggressive leader, Gen. **Gordon Drummond**, also arrived on the scene and was installed by Prevost as military commander of Upper Canada. Drummond then executed a series of lightning strikes along the Niagara frontier that left possession firmly in British hands. However, when Drummond and Yeo approached him for reinforcements to attack Sackets Harbor again, Prevost rejected the strategy as too risky. Furthermore, that April he renewed his efforts to secure another cease-fire and instructed Drummond not to take offensive operations against either Detroit or Erie, then weakly held.

The recent downfall and abdication of Napoleon released thousands of British Napoleonic veterans for service against the

United States, and that summer Prevost was instructed by the home government to take 10,000 men and invade either Sackets Harbor or Plattsburgh, New York. Prevost chose the latter course as less risky, although his fortunes were closely tied to the fate of the British fleet then building on nearby Lake Champlain. He led his mighty army southward in September 1814. Prevost brushed aside all scattered opposition and at length confronted Gen. Alexander Macomb across the Saranac River for several days but failed to attack. Meanwhile, he continually urged the British fleet under Capt. George Downie to sail immediately in support, apparently before the ships were ready. On September 11, 1814, Downie was decisively defeated by Commodore Thomas MacDonough at Plattsburgh while Prevost launched a few preliminary thrusts across the river. When the entire British fleet surrendered, he suddenly called off the battle. The British were now devoid of naval support, and the memory of Gen. **John Burgoyne**, who had surrendered at nearby Saratoga in 1777, cast a very large shadow over subsequent operations.

Prevost, true to his defensive nature, ordered his army ignominiously back into Lower Canada—much to the amazement of the hard-pressed American defenders. Such conduct disgusted British officers who had previously known nothing but victory under the Duke of Wellington, but Prevost adamantly refused to undertake any operation that might compromise the security of Canada. No less authority than the Duke of Wellington subsequently acknowledged that without naval supremacy on the lakes little could be accomplished militarily.

The War of 1812 concluded with the Treaty of Ghent, signed Christmas Eve 1814, and—strictly speaking—was a draw. But Canada had been preserved for the empire, thanks largely to the policies and strategy of Prevost. Unfortunately, whatever praise he merited was drowned in a sea of criticism. Commodore Yeo was particularly vocal in his condemnation, and he leveled charges against the

governor-general for rushing Downie's fleet into action at Plattsburgh. Consequently, Prevost was recalled to England to withstand a court-martial. The debate was heated and inconclusive, but Prevost, who had been ill for some time, died suddenly in London on January 5, 1816, before a verdict could be rendered. The general consensus of historians ever since is that, whatever his failing as a battlefield commander, Prevost's defensive-minded conduct throughout the War of 1812 was essentially correct. By declining to take risks, even seemingly attractive ones, he won.

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Price, Sterling

(September 20, 1809–September 9, 1867)
Confederate General

Portly and commanding, "Old Pap" was an important figure of the Civil War west of the Mississippi River. But despite his repeated best efforts, he proved unequal to the cherished goal of conquering Missouri for the Confederacy.

Sterling Price was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, on September 20, 1809, the son of wealthy, slave-owning planters. He briefly attended Hampden-Sidney College and studied law before migrating to Missouri in 1830 with his parents. In time Price established himself as a prosperous tobacco planter and merchant. Drawn to politics, he served several terms in the state legislature before winning a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1844. Two years later, following the onset of war with Mexico, he resigned from Congress and hurried home to accept an ap-

pointment as colonel of the Second Missouri Volunteers. In this capacity he accompanied Gen. Stephen Watts Kearney and fellow Missourian Col. Alexander William Doniphan from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on an expedition to Santa Fe, New Mexico. With that settlement subdued, Kearney marched west to California while Doniphan continued southward into Mexico, and Price became military governor. His lax approach to discipline made him a favorite among his men, who christened him "Old Pap." In February 1847, when restlessness among the Pueblo Indians erupted into a rebellion, Price commanded a small body of volunteers that subdued 1,500 rebels at Santa Cruz and hanged their leaders. The following year, chafing under inactivity, he led an expedition of his own to capture Chihuahua, Mexico, defeating a small party of Mexicans at

Santa Cruz de la Rosales on March 16, 1848. For this act Price received a brevet promotion to brigadier general. However, because his conquest was accomplished after the peace treaty with the United States had been signed, Secretary of War William L. Marcy reprimanded him and ordered his army back to New Mexico. This embarrassing interlude notwithstanding, Price remained popular with his troops and returned home a hero.

In 1853, Price parleyed his wartime celebrity into political success when he was twice elected Missouri's governor (1853–1857). By 1860, the storm clouds of secession were gathering, and he then served as president of a state convention summoned to deal with this divisive issue. Like many fellow Missourians, Price was sympathetic toward the South and slavery but opposed secessionism. The convention agreed, voting 89-1 to remain in the Union. However, a crisis erupted when Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, the hot-tempered Union commander at St. Louis, forcibly captured and disarmed Southern sympathizers at Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861. This move outraged moderates like Price, who threw their lot in with the Confederacy. Two days later the prosecessionist Governor Claiborne F. Jackson appointed Price a major general commanding the militia, or state guard. Both men entered into negotiations with Gen. William S. Harney, ostensibly to arrange to keep Missouri neutral during the unfolding strife. Harney was subsequently removed from command for this unauthorized action. His replacement, the impetuous Lyon, threatened to disarm the state guard by force if they did not swear loyalty to the Union.

In a last-minute attempt to avoid bloodshed, Price and other Confederate leaders met with Lyon at the Planter's House Hotel in St. Louis, but the Union commander angrily stormed out, threatening war. Price, outnumbered and badly equipped, fled to the southwestern corner of Missouri with his men to better train and organize them. He also solicited military assistance from Confederate Gen. Ben McCulloch in Arkansas. On August 10, 1861, their combined forces decisively de-

feated Lyon at Wilson's Creek, killing him. However, Price quarreled with McCulloch over how to proceed, and their forces parted. Unassisted, Price continued on to Lexington on September 20, 1861, where he captured a Union garrison of 3,000 men and much equipment. The Union responded to his success by dispatching Gen. John C. Frémont and 30,000 men. Price, somewhat taken aback that his recent successes did not spark a general Confederate uprising, had little recourse but to retreat again. Heavily outnumbered, he finally evacuated the state and set up camp in northern Arkansas. "Old Pap," however, remained determined to try again.

In the spring of 1862, Price reunited with McCulloch and a new leader, Gen. **Earl Van Dorn**, for another attempt at conquering Missouri. On March 6–7, the three men fought a desperate battle with Gen. Samuel R. Curtis at Pea Ridge, where Price was wounded, McCulloch killed, and the rebels scattered. Thereafter, Missouri was more or less firmly in the hands of Unionists. The following April Price accepted a major general's commission in the Confederate regular army, crossed the Mississippi River, and reinforced the army of Pierre G.T. Beauregard at Corinth, Mississippi. After some inconclusive maneuvering, Price managed to bring to bay a Union army under Gen. William S. Rosecrans at Iuka (September 19, 1862) and Corinth (October 3–4, 1862), where he was worsted on both occasions. Disgusted with Van Dorn and eager to return home, Price obtained a leave to visit Richmond to confer with Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**. Davis did not like the blustering Missourian and questioned his loyalty to the South. Nonetheless, after much cajoling Davis assented to allow him to return to the Trans-Mississippi Department—minus his troops—and continue his efforts in Missouri. Davis, upon reflection, also pronounced him "the vainest man I ever met."

Price carefully marshaled his forces, and by the summer of 1862 he was ready to attack Union positions at Helena, Arkansas. In concert with Gen. Theophilus Holmes, command-

ing the Department of Arkansas, the Confederates were badly repulsed on July 4, 1863. Holmes then retired and Price advanced to take his place. March 1864 found him steadily giving ground before a large Union army under Gen. Frederick Steele, advancing southward to link up with forces under Nathaniel P. Banks in Louisiana. Fortunately, Price received reinforcements from Gen. Edmund Kirby-Smith, the theater commander, and he brought Steele's advance to a crawl. Banks was also defeated along the Red River and withdrew. The Confederates under Smith and Price then shadowed the Union withdrawal to Jenkins's Ferry on the Saline River, attacked, and were repulsed again. However, the defeat of these two Union columns left Missouri wide open for another invasion, and Price prevailed upon his superior for another try. Smith consented, hoping that such a move might also draw forces from Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, then operating with success in Georgia.

By September 1864, Price had assembled an imposing force of 12,000 men and counted among his subordinates Gen. Jo Shelby, the talented guerrilla. He intended to march swiftly upon St. Louis, the capture of which—Price felt assured—would have Confederate sympathizers flocking to the colors. However, his forces were for the most part indifferently trained conscripts, a third of whom were not even armed. Neither was Price's leadership capable of subduing an equally obdurate enemy. On September 27, 1864, he launched his men in a series of fruitless headlong attacks against a Union fort at Pilot Knob, suffering heavy losses. Continuing onward, it became clear that St. Louis was beyond his capacity to take, and he marched lengthwise across the state with vengeful Union forces in pursuit. Price was finally brought to bay at Westport, where on October 23, 1864, his army was effectively shattered. Fortunately for Price, the Union pursuit was ineffective, and his surviving soldiers recrossed the Arkansas River that November, skillfully covered by Shelby's cavalry. His dream for recon-

quering Missouri was finally abandoned, and it constituted the last Confederate operation in the Trans-Mississippi theater.

Price remained with the Trans-Mississippi Department for the remainder of the war and, following the collapse of the Confederacy in April 1865, fled with Shelby and others to Mexico. There he assisted in establishing a colony for Confederate refugees at the behest of Emperor Maximilian. Illness and bad luck forced him and his family to return impoverished to Missouri in 1867. Price died there of cholera on September 29, 1867, a major player in the Civil War's western theaters. His abject failure was certainly caused by military shortcomings, but it also underscored the Confederacy's limited appeal in the slave-owning border states that were so essential to its survival.

See also

Davis, Jefferson

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Proctor, Henry

(1763–October 31, 1822)

English General

Proctor was an efficient leader who overcame shortages of every description and dominated military affairs in the Old Northwest for almost a year. However, his inability to restrain Indian allies from committing atrocities rendered him one of the most vilified figures from the War of 1812.

Henry Proctor (or Procter) was born in Ireland in 1763, the son of an army surgeon; in 1781 he became an ensign in the 43rd Regiment of Foot. Proctor fought in the closing stages of the American Revolution and afterward rose by purchasing commissions as a lieutenant, captain, and major by 1795. On October 9, 1800, he advanced to lieutenant colonel and began a long, fateful association with the 41st Regiment. Two years later Proctor accompanied Lt. Col. **Isaac Brock** of the 49th Regiment to Canada as part of the overall military buildup. For nearly a decade prior to the War of 1812, Proctor established himself as an outstanding regimental-grade officer and transformed the 41st from a tottering garrison unit to a finely honed fighting force. He was complimented in official orders, gained a promotion to full colonel in 1810, and was serving as commander of Fort George on the Niagara frontier when the War of 1812 commenced.

General Brock, now commander of Upper Canada, knew Proctor well and appreciated his demonstrated military competence. For that reason Brock dispatched him to Fort Malden (Amherstburg) near Detroit to help thwart an invasion by Gen. William Hull. Observing Hull dithering in the vicinity of Sandwich, Proctor solicited Indian support from the Shawnee Chief **Tecumseh** and went on the offensive.

Small troops of Indians and British regulars made slashing attacks against Hull's lines of supply at Brownstown and Maguaga in August, which induced him to timidly abandon

Canada altogether and withdraw behind fortifications at Detroit. Brock reunited with Proctor on August 13, 1812, crossed the Detroit River, and three days later Hull surrendered his entire army, along with vast quantities of supplies and weapons. Brock subsequently ventured back to Niagara, leaving Proctor in charge of the western theater as governor of Michigan Territory. He next ordered a British column to attack and capture Fort Wayne in Indiana Territory, but his men turned back after being approached by superior forces under Gen. James Winchester. Soon after, Proctor was informed of Brock's death at Queenston Heights in October 1812; with him died any real commitment of supplies and reinforcements sent west to support his operations.

Proctor wintered at Detroit until January 1813, when he learned that Winchester's force, the advance guard of the even larger Northwestern Army under Gen. William Henry Harrison, arrived at Frenchtown (on the River Raisin) in anticipation of attacking Detroit. On January 21, 1813, Proctor led 1,300 regulars, militiamen, artilleryists, and a large contingent of Indians against 934 poorly dressed, half-frozen Kentuckians. Owing to Winchester's poor dispositions, the Indians routed the right flank of his army, but riflemen occupying the farmhouse inflicted considerable loss upon British regulars. Winchester was subsequently captured and ordered his entire force to surrender. Proctor then trundled up his prisoners and made for Detroit, but he erred in leaving scores of American casualties in Indian hands. The sullen warriors got drunk, went on a rampage, and scalped many of their captives. Such depredations enraged the American public, Kentuckians in particular, and "Remember the Raisin!" became a vengeful battle cry for the remainder of the war. In the minds of many, Proctor was

directly responsible for the atrocity and, if caught, should hang for it.

For victory at Frenchtown, Proctor gained a promotion to brigadier general and received thanks from the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada. The annihilation of Winchester's force also upset General Harrison's plans to recapture Detroit, and he was forced on the defensive. That spring the Americans constructed Fort Meigs, Ohio, on the southern bank of the Maumee River, for added security. As soon as Proctor was apprised of this development, he collected a force of 2,000 regulars, militia, and Indians and formerly invested the place in late April. Harrison, closely besieged, managed to send out an appeal for help, and four days later a relief force under his brother-in-law, Gen. Green Clay of Kentucky, arrived within striking distance. On May 5, 1813, Harrison staged a successful sortie that carried the British siege batteries on the northern bank and took several prisoners. However, Col. William Dudley's attack on the southern bank floundered completely due to lack of discipline, and the Indians massacred many of their prisoners. Proctor, who was on hand, apparently made no attempt to intervene. This disinterest enraged Tecumseh and he confronted the general, declaring, "Begone, you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats!" The battle weakened both sides, and a prisoner exchange was quickly effected, but the latest Indian outrages further hardened American attitudes toward the British—Proctor in particular.

A few days after Harrison's sortie, the siege was lifted and Proctor returned to Detroit. He had once again defeated an American offensive to the punch and was promoted to major general as of June 4, 1813. However, Britain's overall strategic position in the west declined rapidly as the Americans accumulated more men and materiel. All summer long a heavily armed naval squadron under Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry was being constructed at Presque Isle (Erie), Pennsylvania, with a view toward seizing control of Lake Erie. This would have fatal consequences for Proctor's army, for he could

be cut off from Canada. Accordingly, both he and Royal Navy Lt. **Robert Heriot Barclay**, commanding the small Lake Erie squadron, requested reinforcements for an attack upon Presque Isle. Gen. **John Vincent** at Niagara agreed to the scheme and was willing to forward the troops, but he was overruled by his superior, Gen. **Francis de Rottenburg**. Proctor's Indian allies were also growing restive, so in July 1813 he made another attempt to take Fort Meigs, now commanded by General Clay. The British and Indians tried every possible subterfuge to lure Green into the open—even staging an elaborate mock battle to convince him that an American relief column was being attacked—but to no avail. Again, Proctor was forced to abandon Fort Meigs.

At this point the Indians, who constituted a major part of British fighting strength, began deserting him in droves, so Proctor looked around for an easier target. He found one in the form of tiny Fort Stephenson at Sandusky, Ohio, commanded by Capt. George Croghan. Croghan flatly refused all demands for surrender, so Proctor, at Tecumseh's urging, made preparations to attack. On August 2, 1813, following a brief bombardment, a British column was launched against the palisades—and directly in the path of "Old Betsey"—Croghan's hidden cannon! Proctor was summarily repulsed with a loss of 26 killed, 35 wounded, and 28 captured in a matter of minutes. Thoroughly demoralized, the British and Indians sullenly withdrew back to Canada to await events.

They did not have long to wait. On September 11, 1813, the respective fleets of Perry and Barclay clashed for control of Lake Erie, and the British were decisively defeated. As a sign of his growing desperation, Proctor had previously loaded the last of his artillery aboard Barclay's ships to bolster their shaky firepower. His worse fears were now suddenly realized, and he began an immediate withdrawal. British progress was slowed somewhat by his extensive baggage train as they marched up the Thames River Valley. By the end of the month, Harrison's advancing army had recaptured Detroit, landed in Upper Canada, and mounted a

hot pursuit. Proctor, whose conduct thus far had been commendable, apparently panicked, for in his haste to withdraw he forgot to destroy several bridges over which the Americans had to pass. Consequently, Harrison caught up with the fleeing British at Moraviantown on October 5, 1813, and forced them to give battle. Stragglers had reduced Proctor's 41st Regiment to around 430 men, desperately short on ammunition—and hope—although Tecumseh insisted that a stand be made. The redcoats were drawn up in their traditional two-rank line, adept at repelling infantry attacks, while the Indians were sequestered in a swampy woodland on the right. However, Harrison broke with conventional tactics when he sent the cavalry regiment of Col. Richard S. Johnson forward, which completely overturned Proctor's line. The Indians resisted more stoutly, although they were also routed following the death of Tecumseh. Riding at full speed, Proctor barely escaped pursuit by vengeful Kentucky cavalry. Two weeks later he managed to reach the Niagara frontier, but his reputation was ruined. He saw no more active service for the rest of the war.

In 1815, Proctor was court-martialed for the loss of his army and sentenced to a six-month suspension of rank and pay. During these proceedings, he bitterly blamed Governor-General **George Prevost** and General de Rottenburg for his defeat, accusing them of failing to provide adequate men and supplies for sustained operations. The court remained unswayed by such arguments, although the Prince Regent later reduced Proctor's sentence to a public reprimand. Unfortunately, this was sufficient

to end Proctor's promising military career; having returned to England in 1816, his name was dropped from the army list. Proctor then engaged in a war of words against his detractors until dying at Bath on October 31, 1822. Despite his close association with Indian misbehavior, he was nonetheless a competent commander and operated for nearly a full year under disadvantageous conditions.

See also
Tecumseh

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Quantrill, William Clarke

(July 31, 1837–June 6, 1865)
Confederate Guerrilla

During the Civil War, Quantrill acquired a well-deserved reputation as "the bloodthirstiest man of American history." He blazed a trail of arson, murder, and

brigandage across Missouri unmatched by any villain before or since.

William Clarke Quantrill was born in Dover, Ohio, on July 31, 1837, the son of a school-

teacher. Intelligent and well-educated, he ventured west as a young man and accepted several teaching positions in Indiana and Illinois before finally settling down in Kansas around 1857. There was nothing in his prior upbringing to even hint at the notoriety that followed. Eventually, Quantrill opted for a more exciting life, and as a teamster he joined an army expedition destined for Utah. He spent several years drifting and prospecting before returning to Lawrence, Kansas, under the alias of "Charlie Hart," a professional gambler and horse thief. The territory at that time was being torn asunder by political tensions arising out of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed inhabitants to decide if their state should enter the Union as a slave state or a free state. This triggered a series of bloody confrontations between pro- and antislave factions, with a good deal of banditry thrown in for good measure. Quantrill wasted no time affiliating himself with antislavery "Jayhawkers" and participated in several raids against proslavery camps and settlements. However, he also freelanced in his spare time and was eventually charged with horse stealing from his own men. Unperturbed, Quantrill simply changed sides and passed himself off as a proslavery "Bushwhacker" from Maryland. Like many border ruffians of his ilk, he aligned himself with whatever faction afforded him the greatest prospects for plunder.

The Kansas-Missouri border thus possessed a brief but bloody tradition of frontier violence, and the onset of civil war in April 1861 simply exacerbated old hatreds. Quantrill quickly emerged as a leader of various guerrilla bands and had no difficulty attracting ruthless, likeminded criminals to his banner. Fast-moving and hard-hitting, his desperados acquired a reputation for skill in robbery and utter mercilessness toward prisoners. Invariably, anybody taken captive was killed in cold blood. Quantrill initially offered his services to Gen. **Sterling Price** and fought alongside him at the victories of Wilson's Creek and Lexington in 1861. But when Price was forced to retreat with his soldiers,

Quantrill remained behind with his irregulars, killing and robbing at will. His depredations so angered Union authorities that in December 1861 Gen. Henry W. Halleck issued General Order No. 32, which stipulated that any marauders apprehended would be summarily executed. Such decrees proved little more than amusement to Quantrill's band; they were experts at elusive hit-and-run tactics and were never caught.

In August 1862, Quantrill was commissioned a captain in the Confederate Partisan Rangers, which lent official veneer to his malevolent misdeeds. In fact, many Confederate authorities were left aghast by his murderous disposition but were unable—or unwilling—to curtail him. By this time his command had expanded to nearly 450 men, including such desperate figures as **William Anderson**, Cole Younger, and Frank and Jesse James. After he raided and killed with near impunity, authorities responded by clamping down on Confederate sympathizers, including the womenfolk of many raiders, who were sequestered at a derelict prison in Kansas City. When this building collapsed, killing several prisoners—including a sister of "Bloody Bill" Anderson—Quantrill brooked no delay in organizing a terrible retribution.

On August 21, 1863, Quantrill's band entered Lawrence, Kansas, a known proabolitionist center. It was also home to U.S. Senator James Lane, an active Jayhawker who had burned the proslavery enclave of Osceola two years previously. For three hours, the guerrillas methodically ransacked banks and burned 180 buildings. Worse, they lined up and systematically murdered nearly 200 men and boys. This single atrocity established Quantrill as the most reviled guerrilla of the entire Civil War. "No fiend in human shape could have acted with more barbarity," declared Kansas Governor Thomas Carney. The destruction of Lawrence also spurred Union Gen. Thomas E. Ewing to issue General Order No. 11, which deported the entire population of three Confederate-leaning counties in western Missouri. Nonetheless, Quantrill

skillfully eluded scores of vengeful pursuers with consummate skill.

On October 6, 1863, Quantrill compounded his reign of terror by ambushing and killing 100 prisoners captured from the headquarters train of Gen. James Blunt. Among the slain were 17 noncombatants, including members of a military band. The guerrillas then wintered in Texas. For unknown reasons, members began questioning Quantrill's leadership, and he was deposed as leader. Once the band splintered, George Todd and Bloody Bill Anderson formed gangs of their own, each operating independently. Probably for this reason, both were killed in October of that year. Quantrill, meanwhile, kept a low profile with his mistress in northern Missouri until the fall of 1864, when he collected the remnants of his old band and started another bloody raid toward Kentucky. On May 10, 1865, he was surprised by Union forces under Capt. Edward Terrill at Taylorsville, critically injured, and taken prisoner. He lingered for nearly a month at a Louisville prison before dying on June 6, 1865. Thus, the curtain fell on the "bloodiest man in American history," one of the most merciless fiends to ever stalk the American West. His behavior was beyond the pale of civilized warfare—and served as the training ground for a generation of frontier outlaws that succeeded him. Quantrill, in

sum, was by far more criminal than guerrilla. But in all fairness, it must be admitted that the behavior of most Union Jayhawkers was equally despicable.

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Rain-in-the-Face

(ca. 1835–September 14, 1905)
Sioux War Chief

Fearless Rain-in-the-Face was an active fighter during latter phases of the plains wars. He had a long-standing feud with Capt. Tom Custer, younger brother of the famous general, and may have slain him in battle.

Rain-in-the-Face (Iromagaja, also translated as "His Face Is Like a Storm") was born

in the forks of the Cheyenne River, North Dakota, around 1835. He belonged to the Hunkpapa tribe of the larger Sioux nation, then the strongest Native American grouping on the northern Great Plains. He apparently acquired his name from two incidents occurring in his youth. When he was ten, Rain-in-

the-Face had an altercation with an older Cheyenne youth and beat him, although he was cut on the face severely enough that the blood washed away his ceremonial paint. The second incident happened when he was a young warrior engaged in combat with the Gros Ventre Indians. "We fought all day in the rain, and my face was partly washed and streaked with red and black; so again I was christened Rain-in-the-Face. We considered it an honorable name." Throughout the course of his young manhood, Rain-in-the-Face participated in countless skirmishes against his traditional Crow, Mandan, and Pawnee enemies.

The young warrior gained a reputation for prowess in battle and was eventually elected to war chief. This was a singular distinction, because among many Sioux tribes, the position was usually hereditary. In his own words, "My father was not a chief, my grandfather was not a chief, but a good hunter and a feast maker. On my mother's side I had some noted ancestors, but they left me no chieftainship. I had to work for my reputation."

At this time, the Bozeman Trail in Wyoming and Montana was beset by a large influx of whites settlers and miners, who built camps and railroads and engaged in other activities that infringed upon the Indian way of life. Rain-in-the-Face first came to the attention of whites during the 1866 war against forces under **Red Cloud**. In December of that year, he was an active participant in the massacre of Capt. William Fetterman's command of 80 soldiers outside Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming. He subsequently participated in many minor



Rain-in-the-Face
National Archives

skirmishes before being severely wounded at Fort Totten, North Dakota, in 1868. That year the Treaty of Fort Laramie recognized Sioux claims to the sacred Black Hills region, and the whites were required to burn their forts and withdraw entirely from the Bozeman Trail.

The peace of the Northern Plains was shattered when white miners and railroad surveyors, disregarding Sioux sovereignty, began exploring the Black Hills region in search of gold and suitable ground for railroad tracks. In 1873, a detachment of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry under Gen. George Armstrong Custer was detailed as an escort

for these activities, and they were attacked by the Sioux in the vicinity of the Tongue River. In the course of fighting, Rain-in-the-Face apparently killed a veterinary surgeon and a sutler belonging to Custer's command who had strayed from the main column. Peace was restored as soon as the Americans withdrew. However, a year later the Sioux were encamped at the Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota, to draw government rations. A ceremonial war dance ensued, in which Rain-in-the-Face recounted his killing of the two men. An American scout conversant in the Sioux language was present, understood what transpired, and relayed the warrior's boasts back to Custer. The enraged general, touchy over his regiment's reputation, immediately dispatched 100 troopers under his younger brother, Tom Custer, to arrest Rain-in-the-Face and return him to Fort Abraham Lincoln. This was done forcefully, and the chief was imprisoned and later confessed to the murders. Rain-in-the-Face was somewhat bewil-

dered by the charges against him, as the victims were killed on Sioux land and in what the Indians deemed legitimate combat. Nonetheless, he remained behind bars for some time until a sympathetic guard facilitated his escape. In view of this humiliation, Rain-in-the-Face vowed to kill Tom Custer if the opportunity ever arose. Moreover, in accepted Sioux fashion, he declared his intention to tear out his heart and eat it.

By 1876, the discovery of large gold deposits in the Black Hills region proved to be a catalyst for greater violence. That year the U.S. government abrogated its agreement with the Sioux and ordered the nomadic tribes onto reservations. Prompt military action would be the price for failing to comply. Many Indians were cowed into submission, but militant factions under **Sitting Bull**, **Crazy Horse**, and Gall defiantly took to the warpath. Rain-in-the-Face was among many prominent Sioux warriors who distinguished themselves at the unexpected victory at Little Bighorn that June. Capt. Tom Custer was among the slain, and his death has traditionally been attributed to Rain-in-the-Face, but the chief himself never made the claim. In fact, Tom Custer's body was mutilated by the Indians after the battle, although his heart was not removed. Nonetheless, noted poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow memorialized the alleged incident with his poem "The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face."

During the course of Little Bighorn, Rain-in-the-Face apparently sustained injuries that left him crippled, and he subsequently accompanied Sitting Bull on his flight into Canada. He remained exiled for four years before returning to the United States and surrendering his band to Gen. Nelson Miles at Fort Keogh,

Montana, in 1880. For all his bravado, Rain-in-the-Face realized that the days of nomadic life had ended for his people, and he advocated peaceful change. He took up agriculture and spent the remainder of his long life peacefully at the Standing Rock Reservation. However, when interviewed by Charles Eastman many years later, some bitterness remained. "I fought for my people and my country," he declared. "When we were conquered we remained silent, as a warrior should. Rain-in-the-Face was killed when he put down his weapons before the Great Father. His spirit was gone then; only this poor body lived on, but now it is almost ready to lie down for the last time." The former warrior passed away quietly in his sleep on September 14, 1905, and was interred near Aberdeen, South Dakota. The Sioux nation could always claim large numbers of distinguished warriors, but handsome, defiant Rain-in-the-Face was among the most memorable.

See also

Crazy Horse; Red Cloud; Sitting Bull

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Rall, Johann Gottlieb

(ca. 1720–December 27, 1776)

Hessian Officer

The hard-drinking Rall was a tough professional soldier from Germany with several victories over American forces to his credit. He remained openly contemptuous of his enemies until overtaken by arrogance at the Battle of Trenton.

Johann Gottlieb Rall was born in the German principality of Hesse-Cassel around 1720. He joined the army at an early age and fought throughout the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in Europe. Thereafter, he tendered his services to Czarina Elizabeth of Russia and served against the Turks under Gen. Alexis Orloff (1768–1774). Rall was a dedicated professional soldier who loved everything associated with military life—the uniforms, the parades, the music, and the danger. In 1775, his monarch offered to rent several thousand professional soldiers to Great Britain to help prosecute the war against America. Rall at this time had risen to colonel of his own regiment, the Rall Grenadiers. Unlike most line formations, which consisted of a light infantry company, several center companies of regular infantry, and a crack company of tall grenadiers, Rall's regiment was an elite outfit composed entirely of assault troops. In recognition of their special status, they were entitled to wear tall brass mitre caps that made the men seem even more intimidating. In the spring of 1776 Rall sailed with his regiment as part of the Second Hessian Division under **Wilhelm von Knyphausen**. Upon arriving in America, they were brigaded with British forces under Gen. **William Howe** in anticipation of an invasion of Long Island, New York.

In August 1776, Howe landed his army on Long Island and defeated the army under Gen. George Washington on several hard-fought occasions. The Americans were brave but raw and could not withstand the carefully trained, highly disciplined British and Germans in an open field. Rall and his regiment were con-

spicuously engaged at the October 28, 1776, victory of White Plains while serving under Knyphausen. The following November, Knyphausen appointed Rall to command one of his columns during the attack on Fort Washington on Manhattan Island. After much hard fighting, Hessians successfully stormed the place and captured nearly 3,000 Americans and all their supplies. This latest disaster induced Washington to retreat into New Jersey, with the British army in hot pursuit. By December his army was in dire straits, being outnumbered, ill-clad, and ill-equipped. Worst of all, of 8,000 available men, many would depart once their enlistments expired on December 31. What began as a promising year for the United States seemed headed for disaster—and a final British triumph.

At this juncture, fate intervened on behalf of the Americans. General Howe, not wishing to expose his army to the rigors of winter campaigning, ordered his army into quarters. Like most senior officers, he regarded the Americans as too disorganized to be able to continue resistance for much longer. An attack in midwinter appeared absolutely out of the question. Accordingly, a string of strong points was established across southern New Jersey under Gen. **James Grant** to disperse the men while keeping a wary eye on the Americans. The foremost outpost was the town of Trenton, near the Delaware River, and closest to the enemy. Surprisingly, Howe, who held Rall's military abilities in low regard, allowed him to serve as its garrison commander. This was despite Rall's reputation for heavy drinking and inability to speak a word of English. At that time Rall commanded his own regiment of grenadiers, plus the line regiments of Knyphausen and Lossberg, for a total of 1,600 men. Several officers in Rall's command had previously examined Trenton's defenses and advised their com-

mander to construct redoubts as a simple military precaution. But Rall simply brushed off their concerns, exclaiming, "Let them come! We want no trenches. We will go at them with the bayonet!" Like many professionals, he refused to see the ragtag Americans as anything but an unorganized rabble, more to be pitied than feared. Shortly before Christmas Day, Rall received a warning from General Grant that the Americans were posed to strike at Trenton within hours—and chose to ignore it. The Germans, true to their culture, then settled in for a festive holiday season.

Across the river, Washington realized that the game was nearly up. He desperately needed a victory of some kind to break the pallor of defeat before all was lost. At length, his spy network brought him welcome news about the Hessian garrison at Trenton—and their apparent neglect of fortifications. This was just the opportunity Washington sought. Throughout the cold Christmas night, the Americans were roused from their camps, brought to the Delaware River, and crossed over in large Durham boats. Two other columns assigned to surround the town tried to cross but were prevented by the weather. The main force under Washington, 2,400 strong, would have to go it alone. The freezing cold and the onset of a new storm lashed the poorly clad soldiers, but it also masked American intentions perfectly. No general in his right mind would order an attack in such dismal weather.

Back at Trenton, the Hessians began their usual holiday celebrations, and Rall, unconcerned by Washington—or, for that matter, much of anything—was thoroughly in his cups. His troops sent out their routine patrols, and pickets were established as usual, but nothing could be seen in the blinding snowstorm. To such soldiers versed in the nuances of European warfare, attacks could not be launched under such conditions. At 7:30 A.M., however, Washington's army suddenly appeared on the outskirts of town as if out of nowhere. Several columns were quickly dispatched to encircle Trenton and trap the garrison within, as alarms

sounded and the groggy Germans attempted to form their lines. Rall, still reeling from the previous night's revelries, staggered onto the street and mounted his horse. The Hessians were immediately hit by effective artillery fire and broken up as the massed Americans charged down the avenues. Rall attempted to rally his soldiers but was shot off his horse. Within two hours nearly the entire Hessian brigade had been captured. Washington's desperate riposte had succeeded brilliantly, netting 918 prisoners, nearly 1,000 badly needed muskets, all of Rall's baggage, and 16 regimental colors. A further 108 Hessians had been slain in combat as opposed to only five wounded Americans. It seemed miraculous, but the combination of Washington's aggressiveness and Rall's arrogance handed the lagging war effort a well-needed jolt. Rall's "rabble" had been badly underestimated.

Rall himself was fatally wounded, and Washington paid him a brief bedside visit. He died on December 27, 1776, certainly not the first professional soldier to dismiss with scorn the fighting ability of Americans. After a few hours' rest, Washington moved his shivering, victorious soldiers deeper into New Jersey, where 10 days later they scored another inspiring victory over Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** at Princeton. These were small affairs in strictly military terms, but they kept the spark of revolution alive—and had an electrifying effect on the rest of the country.

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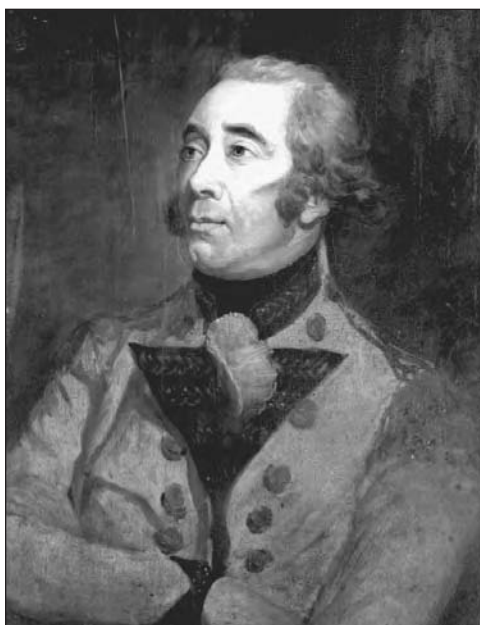
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Rawdon-Hastings, Francis

(December 9, 1754–November 28, 1826)
English General

The dashing, youthful Lord Rawdon won renown as the famous “boy general” of the American Revolution, one of the most skillful British leaders of the southern campaigns. Afterward, he enjoyed an equally spectacular career in India, laying foundations there for the ultimate British conquest. Rawdon, although harsh at times and something of a martinet, is regarded as one of the most unique personalities of early British imperialism.

Francis Rawdon was born in County Down, Ireland, a son of the Earl of Moira. He was educated at Harrow and Oxford and in 1771 obtained his ensign’s commission with the Fifth Regiment of Foot while still at school. In 1775, Rawdon interrupted studying to accompany his regiment to Boston. On June 17, 1775, he fought conspicuously at Bunker Hill and took charge of his company when his captain was wounded. Shortly after, he gained appointment as an aide-de-camp to Gen. **Henry Clinton**



Francis Rawdon-Hastings
National Portrait Gallery

and fought in campaigns in and around New York during 1776–1777. Despite his youth, Rawdon acquitted himself well; Clinton promoted him to lieutenant colonel and tasked him with raising an infantry battalion from Loyalists and rebel deserters. This unit, known as the Volunteers of Ireland, quickly won plaudits for discipline and ferocity under fire. They witnessed their baptism of fire at Monmouth in June 1778, where Rawdon acquired additional laurels. During this period he also served as an adjutant general under Clinton, a singular distinction for an officer only 25 years old. However, working for the sullen British commander in chief was never easy, and the two eventually became estranged. In late 1779, Rawdon tendered his resignation from Clinton’s staff and was replaced by another bright blade, Maj. **John Andre**. He was consequently left behind in New York, when Clinton organized and led his expedition against Charleston, South Carolina.

During the final phases of the siege of Charleston, Clinton summoned Rawdon and his regiment south. There he served under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** following Clinton's departure and accompanied the advance inland. Rawdon performed extremely well at the August 16, 1780, Battle of Camden, which witnessed the annihilation of American forces under Gen. Horatio Gates. However, after the fateful engagements of King's Mountain and Cowpens, in which **Patrick Ferguson** was killed and **Banastre Tarleton** defeated, plus his own costly victory at Guilford Courthouse, Cornwallis decided to abandon the Carolinas and invade Virginia. Before leaving, he elevated Rawdon to brigadier general in January 1781, placing him in command of the remaining British outposts throughout South Carolina. He thus acquired his first independent command at the age of 26.

With Cornwallis headed for Virginia, American Gen. Nathaniel Greene opted to invade South Carolina for the purpose of mopping up the scattered chain of British enclaves dotting the countryside. By April 1781, Greene had advanced to within a few miles of Rawdon's main base at Camden. He intended to attack and drive the British back to Charleston, thereby freeing more of the state's interior from enemy control. At that time, Greene's army consisted of 1,500 Continentals, militia, some artillery, as well as a squadron of dragoons under Col. William Washington. These he arrayed in battle position along a low, sandy elevation called Hobkirk's Hill, awaiting supplies and reinforcements. However, when Rawdon learned of Greene's intentions on April 25, 1781, he immediately decided upon a preemptive strike of his own. Scraping together roughly 900 men, including a detachment of walking convalescents, he marched rapidly to engage the enemy. Rawdon's advance caught the Americans off-guard, but Greene—with his men already deployed in battle positions—launched a counterattack of his own. Rawdon's British forces were advancing on a relatively narrow front, so he sent his regulars forward to envelop them on

both flanks. Furthermore, Washington's dragoons were dispatched on a wide circuit around the British to attack from behind.

Greene's rather complicated plan immediately went awry. By deft movements, Rawdon extended his line outward so that it was the Americans who were outflanked. A stiff musketry duel ensued for several minutes when, inexplicably, the veteran First Maryland Regiment suddenly retired in disorder. Confusion then spread down the American ranks, and Greene's veterans began retreating without orders. Seizing the moment, Rawdon charged the entire line and nearly captured the American cannons. They were saved only by a vicious melee that Greene himself directed. At length the Americans gave up more ground and abandoned the position to the victorious young officer. British losses were 38 killed and 220 wounded and missing, to an American tally of 25 killed, 108 wounded, and 136 missing. However, Rawdon could ill afford such attrition, whereas the Americans could easily recoup their losses. Returning in triumph, Rawdon abandoned Camden and marched to Charleston; he ordered other advanced outposts to do the same. Greene, by default, had lost another battle yet achieved his strategic goal.

By July 1781, Rawdon was beset by illness and decided to return home. Before doing so he incurred enmity by ordering the execution of South Carolina militiaman Isaac Hayne. Hayne, who had been captured, was placed on parole and ordered not to participate in further fighting. When the British were driven out from most of the state, he reasoned that his parole was no longer applicable, and he rejoined the militia under Col. William Harden. However, on July 8, 1781, Hayne was recaptured and brought before Rawdon. That officer conducted a court of inquiry that sentenced Hayne to death for violating his parole. Rawdon was on very thin ground legally, but he wanted to send a stiff warning to other paroled rebels. Accordingly, after numerous appeals, Hayne was taken to the gallows and executed on August 4, 1781. The act produced

great outrage in America, and Greene threatened to hang any British officer he captured in retaliation. And far from producing an intimidating effect, Rawdon's rashness encouraged greater resistance to British authority. He departed South Carolina for England in July 1781, only to be captured by a French privateer. Rawdon remained a prisoner at Brest until his release in 1782. Command of the south, meanwhile, passed over to Lt. Col. **Alexander Stewart.**

Rawdon subsequently enjoyed a long and distinguished career, both at home and abroad. In 1783, he became Baron Hastings; in 1789 he adopted the name Rawdon-Hastings owing to an inheritance of estates through his mother. In 1793, he also assumed the title Earl of Moira following the death of his father. Rawdon subsequently served as an aide-de-camp to King George III and in this capacity became cordial with the king's son, the Prince of Wales (the future George IV). He fought on the continent under the Duke of York in the 1790s and on one occasion cleverly evaded larger French forces while marching through Holland. He eventually rose to full general. In 1813, Rawdon was appointed governor-general of India and ruled with distinction. For 13 years he improved the civil service, fought off numerous bandit tribes, and defeated the Gurkhas, all while in his sixties. His success in India culminated in the title Marquis of Hastings. In 1824, he was transferred as governor-

general of Malta, where he died on November 28, 1826. This gallant soldier's remains were buried within the ramparts of that ancient bastion. In his youth, he was one of Britain's ablest battle captains in the war for America.

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Red Cloud

(ca. 1822–December 10, 1909)
Sioux War Chief

Fearless Red Cloud was one of the greatest military leaders in Native American history. Despite limited men and resources, he completely closed down the much-traveled Bozeman Trail and confounded army units sent in pursuit. He was

one of the few Indian leaders to win a war with the United States and dictate the terms of peace.

Red Cloud (Mahpiua Luta) was born near Blue Creek in present-day north-central Nebraska. Ambitious as a youth, Red Cloud, a

member of the Oglala Sioux nation, was denied a high position in the tribe owing to his non-hereditary status, and he became determined to seek fame as a warrior. Red Cloud accompanied his first war band at 16 and over the years conducted successful raids against neighboring Pawnee, Ute, and Shoshone tribes. In 1841, he assassinated the powerful Chief Bull Bear at the behest of his uncle, Chief Smoke. This act severely divided the Oglala into two competing factions and ruined his chance for overall control of the Sioux. At length, Red Cloud was credited with no less than 80 coups, or feats of individual bravery, and rose to leadership among the Bad Face military society. By 1860, he was the major war chief of the Sioux, fearless in battle and also regarded as cunning and cruel. These traits were viewed favorably and considered essential for a Sioux chief.

By 1865, the discovery of gold in western Montana and the rapid influx of white settlers set the Sioux nation on a collision course with the U.S. Army. In July of that year, a column under Gen. Patrick E. Conner entered the Powder River region of Wyoming to begin the construction of a military road along the Bozeman Trail. The Sioux reacted to this development with alarm, for the road cut through the heart of their best buffalo-hunting grounds. Red Cloud, as war chief, refused to meet with a government delegation to negotiate the sale of land and immediately took to raiding and harassing parties of soldiers and settlers. This activity closed down the Bozeman Trail and forced the government to respond with another commission at Fort



Red Cloud
Library of Congress

Laramie, Wyoming in June 1866. Red Cloud attended as asked, but upon learning that troops under Col. Henry B. Carrington had already begun surveying the disputed territory, he stalked out with his warriors and took to the warpath.

For the next two years, Red Cloud opposed the Americans with savage resistance. His war parties used hit-and-run tactics against miners, settlers, and soldiers with deadly effect. Army units did not pose a special terror to him. For many months his warriors kept Forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith under siege and played havoc with their garrisons. One raid managed to entice a company of cavalry under Capt. William J. Fetterman to sortie from Fort Phil Kearney into the arms of waiting Native Americans. On December 21, 1866, the entire detachment was wiped out in an ambush, carefully staged by **Crazy Horse** and **American Horse**. However, the army gained some ground during the Hayfield Fight of August 1, 1867, and the Wagon Box Fight of the following day, when a small detachment of troopers, armed with the latest repeating rifles, drove off Sioux war parties and inflicted considerable losses. After that time, Red Cloud restricted his activities once more to elusive guerrilla tactics.

By April 1868, both sides indicated a willingness to talk, and the government sent in a third commission to deal with Red Cloud. The war chief's position was absolute and inviolate: The army must abandon its road through Indian hunting grounds, and Forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith would have to be

evacuated and burned. Until these conditions were met, Red Cloud made clear his intention to remain at war, regardless of the consequences. Furthermore, while he agreed in principle to relocating his people to a reservation, it would need to be located at their ancestral grounds in Nebraska and no other place. To underscore his determination, Red Cloud boycotted the peace talks and did not sign until all conditions had been met in advance. The U.S. government, faced with a costly and potentially unwinnable guerrilla war, submitted to Red Cloud's terms at Fort Laramie in November 1868. Considering the disparity of forces involved, it was a stunning triumph. He is the only Native American to win a war as well as dictate a peace to the United States.

True to his word, Red Cloud settled his band of Oglala Sioux on the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska and maintained peaceful relations with the whites. This became increasingly hard to maintain in view of white violations of the treaty. He subsequently visited Washington, D.C. in 1870 to present his case to President Ulysses S. Grant and his commissioner of Indian affairs, Ely S. Parker. "Washington took our lands and promised to feed and support us," he declared. "Now I, who used to control 5,000 warriors, must tell Washington when I am hungry. I must beg for that which I own." Red Cloud also visited New York City, where he aroused white sympathy by delivering a blistering speech denouncing white attempts to defraud the Indians. However, his prestige among the Oglala declined. In 1874, an army column under Col. George A. Custer entered the sacred Black Hills region to facilitate gold prospecting by whites. Red Cloud advocated peace, but his words were unheeded by young, restless warriors like **Crazy Horse**, **Gall**, and **Sitting Bull**.

War finally erupted in 1876, and although Custer was defeated at Little Bighorn, the Black Hills War ended with the defeat of the Indians. Red Cloud managed to keep his band out of the fighting and may have had a hand in the arrest and murder of Crazy Horse. How-

ever, the government accused him of secretly aiding the rebels and relocated him to the Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota in 1878. By 1881, a jealous Indian agent, Trant V. McGillycuddy, arranged to have him deposed as chief, further diminishing his reputation among the Oglala Sioux. Nonetheless, Red Cloud was adamant in his stance against war, and in 1890 he opposed violence surrounding the Ghost Dance Uprising, which culminated in the massacre at Wounded Knee and the murder of Sitting Bull. In his later years, Red Cloud was in declining health, nearly blind, and wielded little influence over reservation affairs. He was baptized a Roman Catholic shortly before dying at Pine Ridge on December 10, 1909. Red Cloud's decline closely paralleled that of his nation and highlighted the difficulties of Native Americans trying to preserve their traditional ways of life.

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Riall, Phineas

(December 15, 1775–November 10, 1850)
English General

Riall was a British commander of the War of 1812 known for bravery under fire and whose actions devastated the Niagara frontier. However, at the Battle of Chippawa, he was deceived into thinking that the gray-clad soldiers opposing him were “only Buffalo militia” and nearly lost his entire army to Gen. Winfield Scott.

Phineas Riall was born on December 15, 1775, in Heywood, County Tipperary, Ireland, into a well-to-do family. Thus situated, he was predisposed to join the army and advance himself by purchasing his commissions. He became an ensign in the 92nd Regiment of Foot in January 1794 and by the following May had risen to captain. By December of that year Riall was a major in the 128th Regiment, but that unit disbanded shortly afterward; he remained on half-pay for several years. Riall resumed his military career in April 1804, when he joined the 15th Regiment as a major. In this capacity he accompanied his regiment to the West Indies in 1809–1810 and garnered some distinction by commanding a brigade during the captures of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Riall then rose to brevet colonel in July 1810 before transferring to the 69th Regiment with identical rank. Following another spell of unemployment, Riall, aged but 35 years, rose to major general in June 1813 and was sent to Canada for service in the War of 1812. He was considered a brave officer but somewhat rash and eager to come to grips with an enemy. And, despite his long period of military service, he also lacked meaningful combat experience.

Riall arrived at Quebec that fall and was initially posted with another newcomer, Gen. **Gordon Drummond**, at Montreal. However, insomuch as British forces at Niagara needed new commanders to replace the ailing Gen. **John Vincent**, Governor-General **George Prevost** sent both Drummond and Riall to

that theater. They arrived just as American forces had evacuated Fort George and needlessly burned the Canadian village of Newark to deny its use to the enemy. Drummond immediately enacted a retaliatory response by swooping upon Fort Niagara on the night of December 19, 1813, capturing the entire garrison. Thereafter, he ordered Riall to take 500 soldiers and a like number of Indians on a raid against the settlement of Lewistown. He accomplished this mission with little difficulty, as the militia fled before he approached, and numerous buildings were burned. However, several Indians got out of hand and murdered some civilians. Drummond consequently admonished him to keep a tighter rein on operations. On the night of December 30, 1813, Riall was again dispatched across the Niagara River with a view toward torching Buffalo and Black Rock. This developed into a pitched battle with the local militia, who eventually caved under British pressure. In short order both settlements had been razed to the ground, and Britain's thirst for revenge was slaked. In both of these punitive actions, Riall conducted himself competently and with dispatch. Drummond subsequently appointed him theater commander, as his own presence was required at York to manage political affairs. Within two weeks, control of the Niagara frontier had been placed firmly in British hands.

From his headquarters at Fort George, Riall oversaw the security of a rather large tract of land with some militia, Indians, and a handful of stout British regulars. His meager resources were stretched exceedingly thin, but the general felt confident he could overcome any invasion. Throughout the spring of 1814, he learned of a large American force at Buffalo under Gen. Jacob Brown. The Americans were obviously preparing to cross into Canada, but what Riall could not appreciate

was the extent of their preparations. In fact, these troops, soon to be famous as the Left Division, were being expertly trained by Gen. Winfield Scott, one of the most talented officers in the American army. On July 3, 1814, riders alerted Riall to the fact that Brown had in fact crossed, captured Fort Erie, and was working his way northward. The general reacted promptly by gathering up 1,500 soldiers and about 500 Indians and militia and marching south to meet him. On the evening of July 4, 1814, Riall arrived above the American camp situated at Street's Creek and encamped for the evening. He would attack the invaders the next day and, judging from past performances, did not anticipate much difficulty defeating them.

On the morning of July 5, 1814, Riall sent several parties of Canadian marksmen and Mohawk Indians under Chief **John Norton** into the woods adjoining Brown's camp to distract them while he delivered the main attack. Brown responded by sending Gen. Peter B. Porter, his New York Volunteers, and some Seneca Indians who engaged and routed the entire force. Riall countered by deploying several light infantry companies to attack Porter in the woods, routing him in turn. At this juncture, General Scott was turning out his brigade of 1,300 men for daily drill. Because of an acute shortage of blue cloth, they had dressed in gray militia tunics. Brown suddenly rode up and ordered Scott forward in support of Porter, as something seemed to be happening in front of the camp. Scott crossed over Street's Creek—only to behold Riall's 1,500 men deploying at the opposite end of the field to meet them!

The ensuing Battle of Chippawa is legendary in the annals of U.S. Army history. Scott's brigade, expertly trained and led, began deploying under a heavy artillery fire with the coolness of veterans. Riall, being somewhat shortsighted, observed these proceedings and scoffed, "Why, it's nothing but a body of Buffalo militia!" However, as the serried ranks steadily closed and opened up a heavy fire upon the redcoats, the general

changed his tune. "Why, these are regulars, by God!" he exclaimed. By then it was too late. Scott had enlarged the interval between his battalions and threw both flanks forward, forming a large V. Riall's advancing regiments found themselves in deadly crossfire, while the cannons of Capt. Nathan Towson tore bloody lanes through their ranks. Seeing his army crumbling around him, Riall ordered his men to charge, but they were blasted back by accurate volleys. The general recklessly exposed himself, as if seeking death. At length, the British had no recourse but to effect a speedy withdrawal over Chippawa Creek and safety—with Scott in hot pursuit. Casualties in the Battle of Chippawa were roughly 500 British, militia, and Indians to 300 Americans. Although a decidedly small affair, it marked the first occasion in the War of 1812 that U.S. troops defeated the veteran forces of Great Britain on an open field. It is commemorated today in the gray uniforms of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

After this stunning defeat, Riall abandoned the Chippawa River line and fell back to Fort George. The Americans followed him leisurely, and he escaped with a large contingent of troops before being surrounded. For nearly two weeks thereafter, General Brown awaited the arrival of Commodore Isaac Chauncey with reinforcements and siege guns. When he failed to arrive, the Americans fell back to Chippawa, with Riall closely shadowing their movements. On July 24, 1814, Drummond arrived from York with British reinforcements and pushed south to meet the enemy. Previously, he had instructed Riall to avoid combat until his arrival. Accordingly, on the afternoon of July 25, when General Scott's brigade suddenly advanced upon Riall's position at Lundy's Lane, he immediately fell back. Fortunately, the retiring British encountered Drummond's forces en route, and they reoccupied the heights overlooking the lane. A tremendous battle ensued as Scott repeatedly charged the British guns and sustained heavy losses. In the course of battle, Riall fought bravely and was seriously wounded in

the arm. While being conducted to the rear, he was suddenly ensnared by Maj. Thomas S. Jesup's troops and made a prisoner. This act concluded his War of 1812 services.

After the battle, Riall was shipped to Buffalo, where his left arm was amputated. He convalesced in the same room as General Scott, also seriously wounded, and befriended his former enemy. Riall, the most senior officer captured in the War of 1812, could not be exchanged until December 1814, at which point fighting ceased. He then returned to England and gained an appointment as governor of Grenada for several years. Riall also advanced in rank to lieutenant general in 1825 and general in 1841. He died in Paris on November 10, 1851, a major player in the famous 1814 Niagara campaign. Riall's actions at Chippawa confirmed his reputation as an impetuous leader and contributed to his defeat, but his heroism in bat-

tle and usefulness as a subordinate remain unquestioned.

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Riedesel, Frederika

(1746–March 29, 1808)
Hessian Civilian

Adventurous Baroness von Riedesel abandoned the comforts of home to accompany her husband during the American Revolution. Inured to danger and deprivation, she bore all the hardships of the 1777 Saratoga campaign by his side, and three additional years in captivity, while raising three children. She was no enemy of the United States, but her steadfast courage, devotion, and piety should be acknowledged as worthy of a soldier's wife.

Frederika Charlotte Louisiana von Massow was born in Brandenburg, Prussia, in 1746, the daughter of Gen. Hans Jurgen Detloff von Massow, commissary in chief of King Frederick the Great. Frederika, who went by the nickname "Fritschen," grew up in a military

atmosphere and, maturing into an attractive young woman, garnered the fancy of many a young soldier. So it was in 1762 when she was introduced to **Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel**, Baron of Eisenbach, a dashing light cavalry officer from Brunswick. The two fell in love and were married that same year, at a lavish banquet hosted by none other than Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick. By 1776, the couple had two daughters and were expecting a third child when Great Britain decided to hire German troops, known as Hessians, to fight in the American Revolution. The baron, by dint of his excellent reputation as a soldier, was promoted to general and appointed head of the large Brunswick contingent. However, the young baroness, not wish-

ing to be abandoned in her castle, insisted that she accompany her husband to the New World, after their new child was born. Rather than defend a hopeless position, the general capitulated and anticipated meeting her in Canada the following summer.

In the late spring of 1777, Baroness von Riedesel embarked on a ship with three infant daughters, two maids, a servant, and a nurse in tow. Pausing a few weeks in England, she made her way to Quebec, arriving there in June. Her husband, however, was not on hand to greet her, having been ordered inland to Chambly, to which she immediately headed. The two were joyfully united amid the 7,000 British, Germans, and Canadians massing for a campaign under Gen. **John Burgoyne**. Dismissing the danger, she again insisted on making the journey with her husband, and Burgoyne agreed. Friendly and gracious, she soon became a common sight in these military surroundings, bedecked in her silk and satin outfits. An excellent rider, she also gained a degree of notoriety among Canadian women for riding with boots on. The Baroness quickly established herself as a favorite of generals **Simon Fraser** and **William Phillips**, who, along with her husband, were Burgoyne's senior commanders.

At length the British column headed south in August 1777, only to become ensnared by increasingly effective American defenses. The baroness was close at hand during the costly Battle of Freeman's Farm on September 19, 1777, where she worked side by side with the nurses to tend the wounded. Several weeks later, at a hard-fought engagement on October



Frederika Riedesel
National Archives

7, 1777, she and her children were forced to cower in a cellar while cannonading raged around them. That evening the baroness had the melancholy duty of attending to her friend, General Fraser, who had been mortally wounded and died the following morning. Fortunately, General von Riedesel, who had been closely engaged in both battles, remained unscathed. "Many cannonballs flew close by me," she recorded, "but I had my eyes directed towards the mountain where my husband was standing amidst the fire of the enemy, and of course I did

not think of my own danger." This last action trapped the British, and Burgoyne surrendered his entire army to Gen. Horatio Gates on October 17, 1777. By the terms of a convention reached with Gates, his entire force was then paroled and allowed to proceed under escort to Cambridge, Massachusetts. Frederika, for her part, managed to partly salvage German pride by secretly stuffing a regimental flag into her mattress and presenting it to the men later. Eventually, the baron arranged for her to pass through the American camp and join him. Having never met Americans before, the baroness viewed them with trepidation until she was cordially befriended by Gen. Philip J. Schuyler. Both Riedesels expressed heartfelt regret that British forces had burned Schuyler's palatial estate to the ground, but the general shrugged it off to the fortunes of war.

In Boston, the Riedesels made many friendly acquaintances among the American elite. However, Frederika encountered nothing but contempt from the lower classes, who derided her association with mercenaries. Moreover, when Congress refused to recog-

nize the provisions of Gates's convention, the entire British army reverted back to prisoner status. This circumstance required the Riedesels to relocate to Virginia in November 1778, until the baron could be exchanged for an officer of equal rank. En route, the couple stopped at Hartford, Connecticut, where they were entertained by the young French Marquis de Lafayette. After a difficult sojourn by coach, the couple settled down, found the locals most accommodating, and even struck up cordial relations with Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson. After several months of parole, the baron was ordered north, along with General Phillips, to be exchanged. Frederika accompanied them and became disheartened to learn that negotiations had fallen through, but they then spent six weeks among the German-speaking Moravians in Pennsylvania.

By November 1779, an agreement had been hammered out, and the Riedesels were granted permission to emigrate to New York, where a fourth daughter, America, was born. In October 1780, Baron von Riedesel was finally exchanged for Gen. Benjamin Lincoln and allowed to report for duty under Gen. **Henry Clinton**. As before, the charm and efficiency of this military couple won the affection of their hosts, and Frederika became acquainted with Maj. **John Andre**, the soon-to-be-infamous spy. The baron then completed several months of hard service on Long Island before poor health prompted Clinton to send him to Quebec. There the baroness had a fifth daughter, named Canada.

The Riedesels remained in Canada until 1783, when they sailed to England. "Our hearts were very light as we stepped upon the land," she noted, "and I thanked God for the happy reunion of us all, and especially for having preserved my husband to me." The famous couple was then cordially received by King George III and his entire suite. Proceeding on to Germany, the Riedesels soon occupied a castle in Lauterbach to raise their family. Curiously, throughout her long ordeal in America, the baroness kept a detailed journal of events for posterity. "It is astonishing how much the frail humane creature can endure; and I am amazed that I survived such hard trials," she observed. Baron von Riedesel died in 1800, shortly before the publication of his wife's "voyage of duty," as she termed it, which affords a unique perspective on military and social affairs. Frederika herself died in Berlin on March 29, 1808. She was exemplary as a soldier's wife, a keen observer of men and events.

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Riedesel, Friedrich Adolphus von

(1738–January 7, 1800)
Hessian General

The capable Riedesel fought with distinction while in the employ of the British and, on two occasions, turned the tide of battle in their favor. Throughout the ordeal of Saratoga, he was seconded by his remarkable wife, Baroness von Riedesel, who marched and remained alongside him, enduring all the travails of combat and captivity.

Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel was born in Lauterbach, in the German principality of Hesse, in 1738. While studying law at the University of Marburg, he joined the city battalion and was commissioned ensign. In 1756, he accompanied his regiment to England, where it served as part of the British army establishment under King George II, himself a German. The following year Riedesel returned to the continent to serve in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) as an aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick. In this capacity he served credibly at the Battle of Minden on August 1, 1759, but, feeling his services had been overlooked in Hesse, Riedesel formally transferred to the Brunswick force as a cavalry officer. There he met and married Frederika von Massow, the independent-minded daughter of a Prussian general. The grateful Duke of Brunswick threw them a lavish wedding ceremony and appointed him garrison commander of Wolfenbittel with a rank of colonel. In January 1776, the Duke also contracted with King George III of England to furnish him a contin-



Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel
National Archives

gent of troops to fight in America, and Riedesel was directed to head the first contingent. That April he sailed from Dover with 4,000 infantry and 336 dismounted dragoons under Col. **Friedrich Baum**. The force arrived at Quebec on June 1, 1776, and functioned as part of the garrison commanded by Gen. **Guy Carleton**. Nearly a year transpired before a British offensive could materialize from Canada, so Riedesel spent the time familiarizing his men with warfare as practiced in North America. He reputedly trained them to employ snow-

shoes and to shoot long distances while sheltered behind trees. Riedesel was also joined there by Frederika and their three daughters, who left the security of home to campaign alongside him.

In the spring of 1777, Gen. **John Burgoyne** arrived from England with authority to lead 8,000 men down the Champlain Valley to capture Albany. His army consisted of three wings commanded by **Simon Fraser**, **William Phillips**, and Riedesel himself, who led the left wing. This was completely composed of professional German auxiliaries, a formidable, well-trained force. As the British moved south, the Americans under Gen. Arthur St. Clair evacuated Ticonderoga that June without a struggle. Soon after, advance forces under Fraser surprised an American detachment at Hubbardton on July 7, 1777. The enemy quickly rallied, however, and was

pressing the British hard when Riedesel arrived with a handful of German reinforcements. To conceal the small size of his force, he ordered his troops to enter battle singing psalms and with military bands blaring. This display unnerved the Americans, who promptly withdrew from the field. Burgoyne then resumed his advance until August when, bogged down by bad terrain and dwindling supplies, he decided upon a large-scale foraging expedition in neighboring Vermont. Over Riedesel's explicit objections—he feared the force was too small—a German detachment under Colonel Baum was dispatched toward Bennington, where on August 16, 1777, it was overwhelmed and destroyed. Burgoyne then continued his advance toward Albany, all the while being slowly surrounded by superior numbers of Americans. On several occasions, Riedesel advised an immediate withdrawal back to Canada, but the haughty Burgoyne ignored him.

By September the British were in dire circumstances, and on September 17 Burgoyne ordered an attack against Freeman's Farm to demoralize the enemy. A hard fight ensued, and the British center was sorely pressed when Burgoyne called up the Hessians to assist. As at Hubbardton, Riedesel attacked with his men cheering and playing martial music to offset their small numbers. The more numerous Americans, thinking they had blundered into major reinforcements, fell back to the woods and the British center was stabilized. Freeman's Farm thus became a narrow British victory. However, Gen. Horatio Gates continued adding men and began to slowly envelop the stationary Burgoyne. Riedesel once again strongly advised retreating back to Canada, but the British general demurred. Instead, on October 7, 1777, he launched a final, desperate assault upon Gates's lines at Bemis Heights. The Hessians repulsed a determined American attack under Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, wounding him, but were forced to withdraw in turn. The entire British force then ensconced itself around the Great Redoubt to await the final onslaught. However, the arrival of new troops

under American Gen. John Stark, who cut off the British completely, finally decided the issue. Burgoyne, rather than sacrifice his army needlessly, surrendered. The baroness was with her husband, as always, and they passed into captivity together.

Riedesel and his wife were soon marched to Boston in anticipation of being exchanged, but when Congress reneged on Gates's convention (articles of surrender), the entire force became prisoners of war. At length, the colonel and his lady were sent to Virginia, where they spent a pleasant two years in the company of Thomas Jefferson, governor of that state. In October 1780, Riedesel and Phillips were exchanged for Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, recently taken at Charlestown. He then reported to Gen. **Henry Clinton** in New York City and received command of forces stationed on Long Island with a local rank of lieutenant general. That fall Riedesel was transferred back to Canada to serve under Gen. **Frederick Haldimand**. During his remaining tenure there he penned an elaborate strategy for renewing offensive operations against northern New York, but Clinton evinced little interest. The couple was finally recalled to Germany in August 1783.

Back at Brunswick, Riedesel received a hero's welcome and was granted the privilege of parading his surviving troops before the Duke; of 4,000 sent abroad, only 2,400 arrived home. He remained in the employ of Brunswick, rising to lieutenant general there in 1787, and that same year he led forces into southern Holland. In 1793, Riedesel retired to the family's castle at Lauterbach, but he was soon recalled to serve as commandant of the city of Braunschweig. Ever the dedicated professional soldier, he died while still holding that office on December 7, 1800. Next to **Wilhelm von Knyphausen**, Riedesel was the most accomplished Hessian leader of the war.

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Roman Nose

(ca. 1830–September 17, 1868)
Cheyenne Warrior

Fearless Roman Nose, though never a chief, was a dogged, successful warrior of the Southern Plains. Seemingly invincible in battle, he accidentally violated the good medicine of his sacred warbonnet and was killed at Beecher's Island.

Roman Nose was born Sautie (Bat) on the Central Plains around 1830, variously ascribed to both the Northern and Southern Cheyenne peoples. He matured into a powerfully built man, tall, muscular, with an aquiline profile that gave rise to the name Woquni, or "Hook Nose." The whites translated this into the more familiar moniker of Roman Nose. In his early youth, Roman Nose displayed all the attributes of a great warrior: bravery, intelligence, and guile. He became closely associated with the Elk Soldiers military society within the Cheyenne nation and frequently lived among an even more aggressive lot—the Dog Soldiers. With his six-foot, three-inch frame, Roman Nose was completely fearless in battle and became the most celebrated Indian warrior of his time. Nevertheless, despite his fierce appearance and reputation, he was a quiet, self-assured individual. While he lived, Roman Nose was held in high esteem by both fellow tribesmen

and the many whites whom he encountered and dealt with.

One reason behind Roman Nose's fearlessness in battle was the mystical warbonnet given to him by medicine man White Buffalo Bull around 1860. This startling headgear consisted of a single buffalo horn with 60 red and black eagle feathers trailing to his feet. Roman Nose always wore this attire in battle, and the strong medicine it conferred rendered him impervious to injury. On several occasions he paraded himself in battle by riding back and forth in front of soldiers without injury. However, to ward off the white man's bullets, it was incumbent upon the wearer to avoid taboo behavior, such as eating food touched by metal utensils, lest the spell be broken. In that event, Roman Nose was required to undergo a lengthy purification rite to restore his warbonnet's magic. To do otherwise was to court death in battle.

Like many Southern Cheyennes, Roman Nose lived in peace with his white neighbors, despite the increasing tempo of frontier settlement. However, following the unprovoked massacre of **Black Kettle's** band at Sand Creek, Colorado Territory, in 1864, he became an implacable enemy of settlers. Roman Nose

first gained prominence during the July 26, 1865, Battle of Platte Bridge, Wyoming, in which Cheyenne warriors overpowered a cavalry detachment under Lt. Caspar Collins. That same afternoon, the enraged warriors also attacked and destroyed a small wagon train headed for Platte Bridge Station. On September 5, 1865, Roman Nose attacked and roughly handled a cavalry force under Col. Nelson Cole during the Power River Expedition. It was during this encounter that he theatrically rode unscathed before the soldiers several times. Such bravado enhanced his standing among fellow tribesmen and made him the idol of younger warriors. Surprisingly, Roman Nose was never a war chief of the Southern Cheyenne, simply a high-ranking warrior.

When the Indians felt that they had extracted ample revenge for Black Kettle's death, they simply retired back to the Southern Plains. Only more trouble awaited. At this time, the Union Pacific was planning to build a railroad through prime buffalo territory, and a council was held at Fort Larned, Kansas, to settle the dispute peacefully. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock was present and fully expected to deal with the mighty Roman Nose in person. However, unaware of Roman Nose's low rank, he felt snubbed by the warrior's absence and trotted off in search of him. Roman Nose considered Hancock's sudden appearance outside his village threatening and provocative. The angry warrior intended to kill him personally but was dissuaded by other chiefs at the last minute. A tense exchange of harsh words settled nothing, and within weeks the Indians were battling soldiers and surveyors. In June 1867, the Treaty of Medicine Lodge was concluded, whereby many Plains tribes agreed to be relocated to reservations in present-day Oklahoma. Roman Nose, predictably, refused to sign and threatened to kill any whites he found trespassing in his vicinity. "We will not have the wagons which make a noise [trains] in the hunting grounds of the buffalo," he warned. "If the palefaces come farther into our land, there will be the scalps of your brethren in the wigwams of the Cheyenne."

Increasing Indian raids throughout the Central and Southern Plains resulted in a full-scale military effort to end them. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan authorized Maj. George A. Forsyth to recruit a company of civilian scouts to find and fight the elusive warriors. Forsyth accordingly raised his company of 50 men, all expert shots, and was patrolling the Arickaree Fork of the Republican River when they encountered a much larger force of 600 Sioux and Cheyenne. Forsyth positioned himself on a large sand spit in the middle of the river while snipers stationed themselves in the tall grass lining the river bank. At this juncture Roman Nose appeared with his braves. His men were excited and ready to plunge into battle with the outnumbered whites, but he initially balked. Apparently, while eating with a Sioux family the previous evening, Roman Nose had consumed bread that had been touched by a metal fork, thus negating the power of his warbonnet. At the urging of other chiefs, including the Dog Soldier **Tall Bull**, he disregarded strong premonitions of death and galloped off toward Beecher Island. "My medicine is broken," Roman Nose declared. "I know that I shall be killed today." The Indians continued fighting for nine days but could not overpower Forsyth's little command. At length they dejectedly drew off with loss. Among them was Roman Nose, shot by snipers in the first moments of battle. He died that evening, a favorite warrior of his people and, to many whites, the heroic ideal of a noble savage.

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Rommel, Erwin

(November 5, 1891–October 14, 1944)
German General

Rommel, the legendary “Desert Fox,” was one of the master spirits of military history. He blazed a trail of glory across North Africa and at Kasserine Pass handed U.S. forces their first major defeat. Afterward, he was entrusted with the defenses of Normandy but was caught up in a conspiracy against Hitler and forced to commit suicide.

Erwin Johannes Eugen Rommel was born in Hedienheim, Württemberg, on November 5, 1891, the son of a schoolteacher. Although his family lacked traditions of military service, he joined an infantry regiment as a cadet in 1910 and rose to lieutenant two years later. World War I commenced in August 1914, and Rommel accompanied his regiment into France, being twice wounded and receiving the Iron Cross for bravery. The following year he was assigned to the elite Württemberg Mountain Battalion and served in Romania before being transferred to the Italian front. He fought with



Erwin Rommel
National Archives

distinction during the spectacular Battle of Caporetto in October 1917, displaying the reckless courage and consummate skill that became his trademarks. With only 200 men, Rommel stormed an Italian artillery battery, outflanked numerous enemy positions, and captured an astonishing 9,000 prisoners and 81 cannons! For such conspicuous leadership he received the prestigious Pour le Merite—Germany’s highest award—and a promotion to captain. Rommel, much to his disgust, ended the war behind a desk performing staff work.

After World War I, Rommel was retained by the diminished postwar army—the Reichswehr—in which he served as a company commander. In 1929, he was billeted with the Infantry School in Dresden as an instructor and spent the next four years honing his tactical skills. By 1935, he was allowed to attend the prestigious *Kriegsakademie* (war college), and two years later he published a best-selling

manual entitled *Infantry Attacks*. More than 400,000 copies of this significant text were printed, and it became required reading in military institutions around the world. Among its biggest enthusiasts was a future U.S. general, George C. Patton. Rommel's growing celebrity soon brought him to the attention of **Adolf Hitler**, who placed him in temporary command of the Hitler Youth to improve their discipline. Rommel disdained politics and evinced no real enthusiasm for Nazism, but like a good soldier he obeyed. In 1938, he rose to command Hitler's bodyguard during the 1938 occupation of the Sudetenland and handled his charge with skill and professionalism. After a brief stint as head of the *Kriegsakademie*, Rommel returned to Hitler's bodyguard throughout the opening phases of World War II. The general, however, wanted to fight, so Hitler awarded him the command of the Seventh Panzer Division in February 1940. The fact that Rommel was an infantry officer with no prior experience in armor tactics demonstrated Hitler's confidence in him.

During the ensuing campaign against France in May 1940, Rommel quickly established himself as a tactical virtuoso, one of Germany's most promising military leaders. Having cleared the dense Ardennes Forest, which most experts considered impassible, Rommel crossed the Meuse River under fire and spearheaded the advance. The Seventh Division moved with such alacrity that it garnered the nickname Ghost Corps. Rommel, in truth, was a general who led from the front. In the course of severe fighting he exposed himself recklessly and was nearly captured twice. His tanks were looming outside the port of Dunkirk, trapping British forces inside, when he received a personal order from Hitler to halt. This interval allowed the British to heroically evacuate their soldiers, but Rommel subsequently distinguished himself in the drive toward Cherbourg. By the time the fighting stopped, his division had netted 98,000 prisoners along with tanks, cannons, and other equipment. Consequently, in January 1941 the young general was promoted to lieu-

tenant general and given command of a new formation, the Afrika Korps.

Since the beginning of the war, the Italian war effort in North Africa had gone badly. Hitler was thus prompted to lend troops and material assistance to his fascist ally, **Benito Mussolini**. Rommel arrived in Libya in February 1941 with orders to remain on the defensive and allow the Italians to do the fighting. However, he quickly perceived weakness in British defenses and attacked without delay. In a lightning campaign, he ran British forces out of Cyrenaica with such tactical guile that they dubbed him the "Desert Fox." Both sides paused to rest and regroup until November 1941. Then a determined British counterstrike drove the Afrika Korps back into Libya. Undeterred, Rommel received fresh reinforcements and promptly counterattacked, driving the overextended British from Cyrenaica again. On June 21, 1942, he scored a major victory by capturing the British-held port of Tobruk, a feat that earned him a promotion to field marshal—the youngest in German history.

Never one to waste a moment, Rommel kicked off a drive toward the Suez Canal. He pursued the fleeing British to the very gates of Egypt before encountering superior forces under Gen. Bernard L. Montgomery. The Afrika Korps was by this time exhausted and low on supplies when Rommel departed for Berlin to receive medical attention. Montgomery, meanwhile, continued massing superior numbers of troops and tanks before attacking across the line at El Alamein in October. The Germans under Gen. **Fritz Bayerlein** fought furiously, but Montgomery slowly forced them back. Rommel, meanwhile, hastily returned and commanded the final days of battle. He conducted a masterful retreat to Tunisia and abandoned Libya to the British—against Hitler's directives. El Alamein had been a defeat, but thanks to the Desert Fox it was not a disaster.

There was more bad news for the Germans. In the fall of 1942 U.S. forces under Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower landed in Algeria and

headed west for Tunisia. Montgomery, meanwhile, cautiously advanced along the coast from Egypt. This placed the Afrika Korps between two rapidly closing jaws. At length, Gen. **Albert Kesselring**, the German overall commander, authorized an offensive against U.S. forces in the vicinity of Kasserine Pass. It was hoped that the Americans could be eliminated as a threat by smashing the II Corps before Montgomery arrived in Tunisia. Rommel, always eager to attack, embraced the plan, but Gen. **Hans-Jürgen Arnim**, commanding the Fifth Panzer Army, only sullenly cooperated. On February 14, 1942, Arnim commenced his attack at Sidi bou Zid, and the raw, inexperienced Americans were routed. Rommel enjoyed similar success two days later, and for a time it appeared that the entire II Corps could be surrounded and destroyed. However, this required reinforcements from the Fifth Panzer Army, which Arnim refused to supply. It took a personal visit and a direct order from Kesselring before the recalcitrant general complied. Arnim then dispatched men and equipment to Rommel as ordered but defiantly withheld badly needed tanks. At length, U.S. resistance stiffened and Rommel's attack petered out. For the loss of 1,000 men, the Germans had inflicted six times that number, along with several hundred tanks destroyed. The Americans had come off poorly in this, their first brush with the veteran Wehrmacht, and Eisenhower shook up his entire command structure. Consequently, leadership of the II Corps was passed to little-known Patton, whose rise the Germans came to regret.

Within weeks the Americans recouped their losses and, in concert with the British Eighth Army, closed in on Tunisia. Rommel, sick again, was evacuated before Arnim finally surrendered in May 1943. Rommel next received temporary command of troops in Italy before transferring north to France. There he served under Field Marshal **Gerd von Rundstedt** and oversaw defensive preparations to repel the anticipated cross-channel invasion from England. Rommel, who had firsthand experience fighting the

British and Americans, felt that they must be defeated at the beach and not allowed to proceed inland. Allied control of the air, he feared, would pin the reserves in place before they could advance. He therefore wished to place his hard-hitting panzer forces as close to the front as possible. However, this strategy brought him into conflict with Rundstedt, who sought to lure the Allies inland before destroying them in a classic panzer attack. Both were overruled by Hitler, who moved all armored forces to the rear, from which they could be moved only with his express permission. This was the worst possible arrangement, so Rommel redoubled his efforts to make the beaches as costly to Allied landings as possible. Fortifications and gun emplacements were erected at threatened points, and more than 4 million mines were laid. "The war will be won or lost on the beaches," he warned. "We'll have only one chance to stop the enemy and that's while he's in the water struggling to get ashore."

When the Allies finally and unexpectedly landed at Normandy on June 6, 1944, masked by poor weather, Rommel was reposing at home. He conferred with Hitler about strategy, strongly suggesting that the Führer consider a negotiated peace settlement while the German army was still intact. Hitler grew enraged at the mere suggestion; Rommel's standing was greatly diminished in Hitler's eyes. Once back at the front in July, Rommel observed how the Allies were bottled up in rough country surrounding the beachhead. Enemy aircraft and naval gunfire negated all German efforts to crush the foothold. On July 17, 1944, while returning to the front, Rommel's car was attacked by British airplanes, he was wounded, and he returned home to convalesce. Three days later, disgruntled officers staged a failed bomb attack against Hitler, who ordered the immediate arrest of all suspected collaborators, including the Desert Fox. Although Rommel's complicity in the scheme was dubious, a pair of generals arrived at his home to inform him of a choice between suicide or a trial before a people's court. To spare his family fur-

ther retribution if he were tried, Rommel chose the former course, dying on October 15, 1944. His cause of death was publicly announced as a heart attack, and he received a state funeral. Thus closed the career of one of history's legendary generals, a man so talented, heroic, and chivalrous that he was revered by friends and enemies alike. The Desert Fox remains the epitome of initiative and boldness on the battlefield.

See also

Arnim, Hans-Jurgen; Bayerlein, Fritz; Kesselring, Albert; Rundstedt, Gerd von

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Ross, Robert

(1766–September 12, 1814)

English General

The heroic Robert Ross was a distinguished veteran of the Napoleonic Wars and a former subordinate of the Duke of Wellington. However, his brief tenure in America was marked by the infamous capture and destruction of Washington, D.C. He apparently entertained similar aspirations for nearby Baltimore before dying in a minor skirmish.

Robert Ross was born in Rostrevor, County Down, Ireland, in 1766, the son of an army officer and was educated at Trinity College in Dublin. He embarked upon a military career in 1789, commissioned as an ensign in the 25th Regiment of Foot, and two years later he

rose to lieutenant in the famous Seventh Fusiliers. By 1799, Ross had transferred as a major to the 20th Regiment, where he acquired his military reputation. That year he accompanied the Duke of York's English-Russian expedition against Holland and was severely wounded prior to the First Battle of Bergen. Two years later Ross fought in Egypt under Gen. Ralph Abercromby and was present during the capture of Alexandria. In 1803, he assumed command of the 20th, gaining a reputation as a strict disciplinarian who always led from the front. He offered conspicuous proof of this during Gen. John Stuart's invasion of Calabria, Italy, in 1806. During the

Battle of Maida, Ross led the 20th Regiment on a surprise flank attack, which contributed to the rout of French forces. In return for such sterling service, Ross won the first of three gold medals from the British government.

In 1808, Ross garnered additional distinction while campaigning on the Iberian Peninsula under Gen. John Moore. He conducted a skillful rear-guard action against superior French forces, was closely engaged at the victory of Corunna, and acquired his second gold medal. However, in 1809

Ross and his regiment suffered the misfortune of participating in the ill-fated expedition against Walcheren, Netherlands, in which nearly a third of the British army was lost to disease. Ross then led his men back on an extended leave in Ireland to refit and retrain. While there he rose to full colonel and gained appointment as an aide-de-camp to King George III. Always eager for action, Ross was nonetheless relieved in 1812 when he gained reassignment back to the Iberian Peninsula under the brilliant Duke of Wellington. The Great Duke, a fine judge of soldiers, assigned him to a brigade with the rank of major general. That same year Ross fought with distinction at the Battles of Pampeluna and Sauroren, where he had two horses shot from under him. Two years later, during the stubbornly contested February 1814 Battle of Orthez in southern France, Ross was seriously wounded while leading his men into combat. He consequently received a third gold medal, the thanks of Parliament, and the Peninsula Gold Cross for exemplary services. While Ross spent several weeks convalescing, Wellington had personally singled him out to



Robert Ross

Author's Collection/The Fusiliers' Museum

lead a brigade of his "Invincibles" against the United States that summer. In June 1814, the ambitious general embarked with his men from Bordeaux, France, and made for Bermuda. The hunt for additional glory was on.

Napoleon's abdication in April 1814 harbored serious strategic consequences for the United States, for it released thousands of veteran British soldiers for service in the War of 1812. Worse yet, the British government, angered by the burning of York (Toronto) in April 1813 and Port Dover, Ontario,

in June 1814, authorized British senior commanders to embark upon an officially sanctioned policy of retribution. Ross, with his single brigade of four veteran regiments (Fourth, 21st, 44th, and 85th) under Cols. **Arthur Brooke** and William Thornton, were about to become the cutting edge of that policy. He was conveyed to Chesapeake Bay by Adm. **Alexander Cochrane** and united with a squadron under Adm. **George Cockburn**. On August 19, 1814, Cockburn landed Ross's force of 4,500 men at Benedict, Maryland, while he sailed up the Pautuxent River in search of Commodore Joshua Barney's gunboat flotilla. Barney subsequently destroyed his fleet and marched overland to Washington, D.C., which was only lightly defended. Cockburn then left the fleet to join up with Ross at Upper Marlborough and prevailed upon him to advance upon the American capital, 28 miles distant. To take such a small but veteran force, lacking any cavalry whatsoever, through the heart of enemy country was an audacious ploy, indeed. But danger was Ross's calling, and he undertook the task with abandon.

The British soldiers advanced in excellent order as far as Bladensburg, Maryland, where, on August 24, 1814, they encountered a force of nearly 7,000 militia under Gen. William H. Winder. Winder squandered his numerical advantage by deploying in three mutually un-supportive lines, and Ross decided to attack immediately. Thornton's brigade was ordered to charge across a heavily defended defile to his front while Brooke's men attempted a flanking movement. The leading British elements were badly shot up and Thornton seriously wounded, yet Winder was unable to coordinate his withdrawal. In the ensuing fracas, the entire American army panicked and stampeded. The only real resistance came from a small knot of sailors and marines under Commodore Barney, who stood his ground magnificently until surrounded. Ross, having sustained 300 casualties—and having lost another horse—personally directed the final battlefield activities of the army. He then resumed advancing and occupied Washington that night. However, while accompanying the vanguard, he was fired upon by two snipers, who killed his mount. Ross was unhurt, but he ordered the house from which the shots originated burned—and the British began implementing their retaliatory policy with a vengeance.

Accordingly, the White House, Congress, and all public property were summarily reduced to ashes. Ross, however, was never happy with the practice of state-sponsored vandalism, and he strictly forbade his soldiers from looting private property. Several unlucky violators were caught and summarily flogged. Then, having humiliated the United States thoroughly and garnered additional laurels for himself, the general retraced his steps back to Benedict, where he reembarked on August 30, 1814. From beginning to end it was one of the War of 1812's most spectacular and remarkable episodes. The entire affair underscored the military unpreparedness of the United States, especially when dealing with so talented and capable an enemy as England.

After further consultation with Cochrane and Cockburn, Ross agreed that the next object of attention would be the bustling city of Baltimore, long reviled as a nest of pirates because of its flourishing privateer activities. Accordingly, Ross's brigade was landed at North Point on September 12, 1814, and made its way inland. Around 7:00 A.M. he and Admiral Cockburn stopped to have breakfast at Gorsuch Farm and were graciously received. When asked by the owner if he would be returning that evening for dinner, the general allegedly declared, "I will sup in Baltimore tonight, or in Hell." Ross, disregarding danger as usual, was reconnoitering well to the front and became a conspicuous target. At length he caught the attention of two American marksmen, Daniel Wells and Henry G. McComas, who were stationed in trees. Drawing a bead upon this highly decorated officer, the two soldiers promptly shot Ross through the chest. Vengeful British soldiers then killed the snipers and any other Americans they found engaged in such unsporting warfare. Ross, meanwhile, was painfully conveyed back to the fleet and expired en route. His loss was lamented by the entire army, which now fell under the uninspired aegis of Brooke, the senior colonel. After two more days of fruitless skirmishing, the British withdrew back to the fleet.

Ross's death signaled the end of the Baltimore campaign before it had commenced in earnest. The general's remains were transported to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and interred there. But in recognition of distinguished services, the British government bequeathed his descendants the title Ross of Bladensburg. His native village of Rostrevor also erected a 100-foot granite obelisk in his memory.

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Rottenburg, Francis de

(November 8, 1757–April 24, 1832)

English General

The Polish-born Baron de Rottenburg was a senior military officer in Canada during the War of 1812. A capable if unimaginative professional soldier, he fulfilled his tasks as ordered, but he also garnered little distinction after two years of warfare.

Francis de Rottenburg was born in Gdansk, Poland, on November 8, 1757, the son of a prominent merchant. He was apparently well-educated and highly literate by the time he joined the French army as a second lieutenant in the Regiment de la Marck in 1781. Within three years he secured an advancement to first lieutenant but resigned his commission on the eve of the French Revolution. In 1791, he returned to Poland, joined noted Gen. Tadeusz Kosciuszko in an unsuccessful uprising against Russia, and was wounded at the Battle of Praga in 1794. With Poland back under the Russian yoke, Rottenburg left home again to join the English army in December 1795. He was commissioned a major in Hompesh's Hussars and the following year transferred as a lieutenant colonel of light infantry. In 1798, Rottenburg's unit was amalgamated into the 60th Regiment of Foot, the Royal Americans, distinguished as the first British army unit armed exclusively with rifles. He subsequently commanded the Fifth Battalion during the Irish uprising of that year and also participated in the storming of Suriname in August 1799. Around this time, Rottenburg's skill as a military writer held him in good stead when he authored a drillbook enti-

tled *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry*. It was the first such manual acquired by the British army and was published by the government in 1798.

Rottenburg thus far enjoyed a reputation as a competent and apparently popular officer, despite his foreign origins. He rose to colonel in 1805 and three years later assumed command of an infantry brigade stationed at Kent, England. In 1809, he accompanied the ill-fated Walcheren Expedition in the Netherlands, in which nearly a third of the soldiers involved succumbed to disease. In 1810, Rottenburg was transferred to Canada as a staff officer with the rank of major general. At this time, tensions with the neighboring United States were on the rise owing to the British practice of impressing American sailors onto Royal Navy warships, and efforts were made to strengthen Canadian defenses in anticipation of war. When hostilities finally erupted in June 1812, Rottenburg found himself in charge of Montreal, the most strategic city in Lower Canada after Quebec. Its defenses and manpower were relatively weak, but Rottenburg, fluent in French, interacted easily with the French-speaking majority population and solicited its assistance. The much-feared invasion was attempted by Gen. Henry Dearborn that fall, but it sputtered before troops crossed the border, so in the spring of 1813, Rottenburg gained additional responsibilities by administering the province during the absence of Governor-General Sir **George Pre-**

vost. The following summer, he was also directed to replace Gen. **Roger Hale Sheaffe** as overall commander of British forces in Upper Canada.

Rottenburg's subsequent tenure in Upper Canada demonstrated his strengths as well as weaknesses as a senior military leader. Faced with dwindling food supplies, he expressly forbade the distilling of rye in order to conserve grain stocks. It proved an unpopular decision with the civilian population, and thereafter he skirted civilian affairs in favor of the provincial assembly whenever possible. However, a more pressing concern was the deteriorating strategic situation of the West.

Since spring, a combined British and Indian force under Col. **Henry Proctor** and noted Shawnee Chief **Tecumseh** had been ravaging throughout Ohio with some success. That summer Proctor, who feared the loss of Lake Erie to the Americans, strongly urged Rottenburg to authorize an attack against their naval establishment at Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania). Such a strike, if successful, would destroy the American fleet then building there and guarantee British control of the lake. However, Rottenburg, occupied as he was with an American invasion of the Niagara Peninsula, refused to forward the necessary men and supplies. Erie was, in fact, weakly defended and certainly unable to withstand a combined assault by veteran British forces, so a strategic opportunity may in fact have been forfeited. Nevertheless, Rottenburg, seemingly content not to disturb the status quo, continued waging a war of outposts against the American garrison at Fort George. As he dithered, the fleet of Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry made active preparations to take control of Lake Erie by force. On September 10, 1813, Perry accomplished exactly that by defeating a smaller British squadron under Capt. **Robert Heriot Barclay**. Proctor then abandoned his position at Detroit and withdrew eastward with a large American army under Gen. William Henry Harrison in close pursuit. Rottenburg, unfortunately, castigated Proctor for his precipitate retreat and

ordered him to move slowly so as not to offend his Indian allies. This issue was decided at the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813, wherein Tecumseh was killed and the British totally defeated. Proctor, with some justification, held his superiors responsible for this disaster.

Rottenburg had since become aware of Gen. James Wilkinson's impending invasion of Lower Canada along the St. Lawrence River. For this reason he departed the Niagara frontier for Kingston to await events. When Wilkinson's army subsequently passed Kingston on a huge fleet of small boats, Rottenburg dispatched a small British force under Col. **Joseph Wanton Morrison** to shadow them. Morrison was able to defeat American forces under Gen. John Boyd at Crysler's Farm on November 11, 1813, which forced Wilkinson to cancel his invasion. Unfortunately, a severe food shortage threatened to force the British evacuation of Upper Canada entirely. Rottenburg felt obliged to declare martial law in the Eastern and Johnson Districts of Upper Canada in order to force Canadian farmers to sell their produce to the army defending them. This move was roundly criticized by the provincial House of Assembly and later repealed by the energetic Gen. Sir **Gordon Drummond**, who had arrived from Lower Canada as Rottenburg's replacement. Within weeks Drummond was forced to reimpose martial law to keep his troops fed.

In the spring of 1814, Rottenburg reported back to Prevost at Montreal. Despite his growing reputation for timidity, he remained a favored officer of the governor-general, who was himself inclined toward caution. For that reason, when Prevost assembled a splendid force of 10,000 of Wellington's Peninsula veterans that summer for the purpose of invading New York, he appointed Rottenburg his second in command. Both men then advanced as planned, but neither was conspicuously engaged or distinguished in the decisive Battle of Plattsburgh on September 11, 1814. Once Prevost lost his fleet he summarily ordered a humiliating withdrawal back to Lower

Canada. Rottenburg, given his usual low profile in command decisions, escaped the torrent of criticism over the handling of the late invasion. When Prevost temporarily departed Upper Canada that fall, he again assumed complete civil and authority over Lower Canada, competently and without controversy. By the time Rottenburg was recalled to England in the summer of 1815, he concluded a lackluster six years of service in Canada, neither seriously flawed nor conspicuously flattering. His final, ironic duty was officiating as president of the court-martial of General Proctor, who vociferously blamed both him and Prevost for his defeat.

Rottenburg returned to England, where he spent the rest of his life. He received various awards for his many years of service to the Crown, including knight commander of the Royal Hanoverian Order in 1818. The following year he made lieutenant general, although another active command was never tendered. Rottenburg, the cautious, conscientious bureaucrat, died in Portsmouth on April 24, 1832. He was a competent administrator overall and

useful to the defense of Canada, but his impact on military events proved negligible.

See also

Tecumseh

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Rundstedt, Gerd von

(December 12, 1875–February 24, 1953)

German General

Aged, stiff-necked Rundstedt was the embodiment of Prussian military values, which included never questioning orders. Although antagonistic toward Nazism, he could not bring himself to confront the maddening directives of **Adolf Hitler**. Rundstedt was nonetheless the most respected German field officer of World War II, and he performed capably on several fronts.

Gerd von Rundstedt was born in Ascherleben, Germany, on December 12, 1875, the son of a ranking Prussian general. As part of an ancient aristocratic family with long ties to

the army, he was groomed for military service in childhood. Rundstedt passed through the Main Cadet School in 1883, and the Lichterfelde Cadet Academy in 1893, before being commissioned a second lieutenant in 1900. He proved himself to be dutiful and attentive, so in 1902 Rundstedt was chosen to attend the prestigious *Kriegsakademie* (war college), graduating three years later with distinction. Having fulfilled a number of important duties with the General Staff, he next functioned as chief of staff with the 22nd Reserve Division. When World War I broke out in August 1914,

he accompanied his unit to France and briefly commanded it during the Battle of the Marne. He was promoted to major that fall before occupying a number of staff positions. By the time the war concluded in 1918, Rundstedt was chief of staff with an infantry corps and was considered one of the army's most promising officers.

On merit alone, Rundstedt became one of 4,000 officers slated to remain with the postwar Reichswehr. Germany was then torn asunder by losing the war and enduring an unsteady democratic regime, the Weimar Republic. Rundstedt, a true Prussian professional, remained aloof toward politics and especially distanced himself from the rising Nazi Party of Hitler. This became harder as time went by. He nonetheless served capably, rising to colonel in 1923 and major general by 1929. Three years later Rundstedt accepted his first senior command, that of the First Army Group headquartered in Berlin. There he helped orchestrate the clandestine German rearmament program despite prohibitions established by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Hitler was also about to become chancellor at this time, so high-level interaction with him and other senior Nazi figures became inevitable. Rundstedt, however, resigned from the service rather than deal with them. His respite proved brief, for in June 1939, with Germany on the cusp of war, the elderly general was summoned back to the colors.

World War II commenced in September 1939, and Rundstedt was entrusted with command of Army Group South. With it, he expertly cut off numerous Polish armies from



Gerd von Rundstedt
Archive Photos

retreating across the Vistula River and destroyed them. The following spring Rundstedt took his army through the dense Ardennes Forest in Belgium, previously thought impassible, and surprised French forces at Sedan. He then conducted a successful dash to the English Channel with his tanks, pausing only at Dunkirk for the infantry to catch up. This delay enabled the British to evacuate their army, but no blame was attached to Rundstedt, who turned his columns south, outflanked the Maginot Line, and trapped the French Army of the Alps. His role in the German victory

proved decisive, and in June 1940 he was rewarded with promotion to field marshal.

In June 1941, Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union. Like many senior officers, Rundstedt asked Hitler to reconsider, but failed. He then accepted an appointment as commander of the Seventh Army, overrunning the Ukraine in short order. However, mounting Soviet resistance, plus a newfound appreciation for Russia's vastness, convinced him that Germany could not win in a single campaign. This reality was underscored that November, when a sudden onslaught by Marshal Semen Timoshenko at Rostov forced Rundstedt to withdraw. Hitler was furious and ordered the Germans not to yield an inch of conquered soil. The general repeated his intention to withdraw his endangered units and threatened to resign if ordered otherwise. Rather than relent, Hitler accepted his resignation, and the old soldier left in disgust.

As before, Rundstedt's hiatus was short-lived. In May 1942, Hitler invited him to serve

as commander in chief of German forces in France. There he was tasked with defending 1,700 miles of coastline against Allied invasion. In the course of events, Rundstedt also had to deal with the French Resistance, the occupation of Vichy France, and the disarming of Italian troops after the fascist regime of **Benito Mussolini** collapsed in 1943. Rundstedt performed all his assigned tasks capably, although in December 1943 he enjoyed strained relations with his new subordinate, **Erwin Rommel**. Specifically, their strategic visions were at cross-purposes. Rommel, well versed in the potential of Allied airpower, wanted to defeat an enemy invasion at the beach by keeping panzer units as close to the combat zone as possible. Rundstedt, who considered his younger associate an upstart and distrusted his military judgment, wished for the Allies to advance inland before destroying them with 12 massed panzer divisions. Their squabbling soon came to the attention of Hitler, who finally decided that the tanks should remain inland and that only he could authorize their deployment. Hitler also felt that any landing was likely to be a ruse, with the main blow delivered elsewhere.

Thus, Rundstedt lost control of his only strategic reserve in the event of attack. When the Allies finally landed at Normandy on June 6, 1944, Rundstedt hurriedly and repeatedly called supreme headquarters for permission to release his tanks—only to be told by Gen. **Alfred Jodl** that the Führer had taken a sleeping pill and could not be disturbed! Rundstedt and Rommel then traveled to confer with Hitler personally, requesting to withdraw from Normandy to more defensible terrain. This plea was flatly rejected, and the two generals fought a desperate but losing battle to prevent American and British forces from expanding their beachhead. On July 1, 1944, Gen. **Josef Dietrich**'s crack II SS Panzer Corps failed to dislodge the British at Caen after heavy fighting. When Rundstedt reported the failure to Berlin, Chief of Staff **Wilhelm Keitel** purportedly whined, "What shall we do?" "Make peace, you fools," the old

Prussian angrily retorted. "What else can you do?" Shortly after, Hitler sacked him again in favor of the more compliant Gen. **Hans von Kluge**. Rundstedt then departed, relieved he could not be held responsible for the disaster that was brewing.

The impasse ended in late July when the Americans under Gen. George S. Patton broke through German lines at Saint-Lô and drove inland. On July 20, 1944, a failed bomb plot against Hitler resulted in the arrest of hundreds of military officers, and Hitler ordered Rundstedt to head a special Court of Honor to try the offenders and condemn them to death. Shortly after, he replaced Gen. **Walter Model** as commander in chief in the west again and worked wonders sorting out the disorganized German lines. He had hoped to settle into good defensive positions, but by December 1944 Hitler suddenly unveiled his planned Ardennes offensive. Rundstedt and other generals loudly remonstrated to the Führer, but to no avail. He was placed in nominal control of the attack, which began on December 16, 1944, but actual operations were directed by Model, Dietrich, and **Hasso von Manteuffel**. For a few days, victory seemed close at hand pending the shift of several panzer divisions from Dietrich's reserves to the south. When Hitler refused, the attack collapsed. "It was a fundamental mistake to deploy the panzer reserves behind the front of the Sixth Panzer," he sarcastically impugned, "and to keep them there only for the purpose of giving Colonel-General Dietrich the chance of a magnificent victory." Within a month, Hitler had lost his final reserves, and the Americans began battering against Germany's doorstep. Rundstedt consequently proved unable to prevent the capture of the famous Remagen Bridge on March 7, 1945, and Hitler sacked him a third time in favor of Gen. **Albert Kesselring**. The old general remained a passive witness to his country's ruination before finally surrendering to the Americans that May.

Within weeks, Rundstedt was arrested and charged with war crimes. He was held for

three years in prison before poor health—and a lack of proof—prompted his release. The elder general then assumed a private life in Celles, Hannover, where he died on February 24, 1953. A capable and talented general, he was respected by his peers, and even so notable a leader as Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery declared Rundstedt “the best German general I have come up against.”

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Sakai, Saburo

(August 26, 1916–September 22, 2000)
Japanese Navy Fighter Pilot

The one-eyed Sakai was the most famous of Japan's naval aces to survive World War II. Despite shooting down 64 enemy craft in 200 missions, his proudest accomplishment was never having lost a wingman in combat. Sakai's success is a reflection of his personal motto, *futo fukutsu* (Never give up!).

Saburo Sakai was born in Saga Prefecture on August 26, 1916, the son of a low-born samurai. A poor student, he joined the navy in May 1933 to cover his shame for dropping out. Sakai worked as an ordinary seaman for three years on board the battleship *Kirishima*,

until one day he witnessed an aircraft being catapulted from the deck. The sight so fascinated him that he immediately applied for flight training. Having failed the entrance examination twice, Sakai finally passed on the third attempt, and in November 1937 he graduated at the top of his class. His flight skills seemed so promising that the school commandant awarded him with the emperor's Silver Watch. At this time the Sino-Japanese War had erupted, so Sakai transferred to China as part of the 12th Kokutai (air group), then equipped with fixed-wheeled Mitsubishi A5M fighters. He flew repeatedly but did not score

his first aerial victory—a Russian-built Polikarpov I-15 biplane—until October 5, 1938, although it was executed so clumsily that he was nearly killed himself. This resulted in an abject scolding from his commanding officer—and he pledged to do better next time. “My humiliation at my own absurd actions choked me and I burst into tears,” he recalled. “I cried with shame.” Sakai finally vindicated himself on October 3, 1939, by single-handedly pursuing a group of Chinese-manned Tupelov SB-3 bombers that had raided his field. He doggedly pursued them for 150 miles, finally shooting down one. For this tenacious display he was roundly applauded and returned home a national hero.

In the months prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War, Sakai transferred to the Tainan Kokutai on Taiwan and transitioned to the modern Mitsubishi A6M *Zero* fighter, then among the world’s finest. Sakai accompanied the massive raid upon Clark Field in the Philippines on December 8, 1941, destroying two Boeing B-17 bombers on the ground. Soon after, he claimed a Curtiss P-40 *Warhawk* in the air—the first American aircraft shot down in this campaign. Two days later, on December 10, Sakai scored perhaps his most notable kill when he destroyed a B-17 over Luzon piloted by Capt. Colin P. Kelly, America’s first war hero. The Tainan Kokutai subsequently transferred to the East Indies, and Sakai distinguished himself in combat against a variety of American P-40s, British Hawker *Hurricanes*, and Brewster *Buffalos*. By April 1942, the group had arrived on the island of Rabaul, north of New Guinea, where it flew constantly



Saburo Sakai
Author's Collection

against U.S. forces stationed at Port Moresby. In the course of daily activities, Sakai, now acknowledged as one of Japan’s best fighter pilots, trained several promising subordinates such as **Hiro-yoshi Nishizawa**. Assisted by another talented flier, Toshio Ota, the three men gained such renown in combat that they became popularly known as the “Cleanup Trio.” To break up the monotony of daily combat, Nishizawa once proposed raiding Port Moresby—and then flying precision acrobatic loops overhead to taunt the enemy. This was then done with great joviality, until an American plane

buzzed the Japanese field the following day and dropped a note. It thanked the *Zero* pilots for such creative flying—and dared them to try again. An enraged Lt. Junichi Sasai, the unit commander, summoned all three pilots into his office to “discuss” the finer points of combat etiquette!

The tempo of fighting increased on August 7, 1942, when Sakai escorted a long-range bomber raid against Guadalcanal, 500 miles distant. Here, for the first time, *Zeros* of the Tainan Kokutai were pitted against U.S. Navy Grumman F4F *Wildcats*. Sakai found the tubby little opponents difficult to shoot down but still managed to claim one. As he was climbing back to altitude, a Douglas SBD *Dauntless* dive-bomber suddenly attacked his plane, sending several bullets through the canopy. The startled, angry Sakai then promptly dove after his assailant, shooting him down as well. In the heat of combat he next perceived what he thought was another group of F4Fs in the distance. Diving upon his quarry from behind, Sakai was stunned to dis-

cover that these were actually more SBDs—with their tailgunners trained on him! Several bursts of machine fire riddled his cockpit, smashing his canopy and injuring his right eye. Sakai was unconscious for several minutes and fell 11,000 feet but managed to recover and pull up. He stuffed his silk scarf under his helmet to stop the bleeding and then struggled to regain altitude.

His subsequent actions entered aviation lore as one of the most remarkable flights ever. Dazed and nearly paralyzed, Sakai nursed his crippled aircraft for four and a half hours back to Rabaul, a distance of more than 500 miles. His squadronmates, who had written him off as dead hours earlier, watched in jaw-dropping amazement as he landed his *Zero*, climbed out of the cockpit, and collapsed. “The indescribable feeling I had when my feet touched ground was a supreme moment that can only belong to a pilot,” Sakai observed. “No one else can ever understand.” It was an epic flight for survival. When asked how he managed to survive, the battered pilot explained how he repeatedly experienced a vision of his mother, scolding him to push on.

Sakai was rushed back to Japan for surgery, although he lost all vision in his right eye. He then commenced a long period as an instructor and grew distraught teaching greater numbers of young men fewer combat skills. The attrition of pilots was so great that Japan simply lacked available time to prepare them properly. At length, even instructors were forced back into the front lines, a prospect that the one-eyed ace greeted with relief. By June 1944, Sakai flew from Iwo Jima as part of the Yokosuka Kokutai. On June 24 he tangled with a large formation of Grumman F6F *Hellcats*, shooting down three. His unit, however, lost 32 pilots in exchange—a good indication of how much Japanese aerial quality had declined. On July 5, 1944, Sakai next escorted kamikaze aircraft against the U.S. fleet, downing another *Hellcat*, but be-

came embittered over this deliberate sacrifice of trained personnel. In December 1944, one month before Iwo Jima’s capture by U.S. forces, Sakai transferred back to Japan. There he functioned as an instructor with the elite 343rd Kokutai, a handpicked fighter group flying the all-new Kawanishi N1K2 *Shinden-kai* fighter. His last combat mission occurred on August 17, 1945—two days after Japan’s surrender announcement, when he intercepted and damaged a Consolidated B-32 *Dominator* on a reconnaissance flight over Tokyo. By the time the war ended, he was generally acknowledged to have shot down at least 64 Allied aircraft. As an expression of his consummate skill as a fighter pilot, not once, in 200 dogfights, did he ever lose a wingman. More ominously, of his original class of 25 pilots, he was the sole survivor.

After the war, Sakai settled down in Tokyo as a printer. He also became active in fighter-pilot reunions in Japan and the United States, and he befriended many of his former adversaries—and they him. The famous one-eyed ace died in Tokyo on September 22, 2000, one of the great fighter pilots of all time.

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de Salaberry, Charles-Michael d'Irumberry

(November 19, 1775–February 27, 1829)

Canadian Militia Officer

Salaberry raised and commanded the famous Voltigeurs Canadiens, a light infantry battalion recruited entirely from the French-speaking inhabitants of Quebec. With them he fought and won the Battle of Chateauguay against impossible odds and staved off an invasion of Lower Canada.

Charles-Michael d'Irumberry de Salaberry was born in Beauport, Quebec, on November 19, 1775, into a French-speaking family proud of its long tradition of military service. Having been dominated by England since 1763, many young Canadians had no reservations about offering their services to the English monarch. Salaberry did so in 1792 at the age of 14 by joining the 44th Regiment of Foot as a volunteer. Shortly after, he received an ensign's commission in the 60th Regiment (the Royal Americans) through the influence of a family friend, Prince Edward Augustus (the future Duke of Kent). In 1794, he accompanied his regiment to the West Indies and fought with distinction during the captures of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Salaberry rose to captain in 1803 and, three years later, transferred to the regiment's fifth battalion under Col. **Francis de Rottenburg**. Rottenburg was the British army's foremost authority on light infantry tactics, and he made an indelible impression upon all his young officers. In contrast to the rigid tactics—and thinking—of regular soldiers, light infantry officers were expected to be flexible



Charles-Michael d'Irumberry de Salaberry
National Archives of Canada

and imaginative in their tactics. The experience of learning from such an expert would hold Salaberry in good stead during the War of 1812. He also apparently made a good impression upon his superior, for in 1808 Rottenburg appointed him his brigade major. The following year Salaberry campaigned with Rottenburg during the disastrous Walcheren Expedition and, like most of the troops, contracted a debilitating fever. In 1810, he next accompanied Rottenburg to Canada as his aide-de-camp, receiving a commission as lieutenant colonel of militia.

While acting in this capacity Salaberry emerged as one of Canada's greatest military heroes.

In the spring of 1812, war with the United States seemed imminent, so the legislature of Lower Canada authorized the recruitment of a specialized light infantry militia outfit, the soon-to-be-famous Voltigeurs Canadiens. In contrast to the showy display of British regular troops, resplendent in their scarlet coats, Voltigeurs were clad in somber gray uniforms better adapted to forest fighting. They also wore short, conical bearskin hats and black shoulder wings (ornaments) and unit facings (collars and cuffs). Salaberry was appointed their lieutenant colonel in April 1812 and took great care in matters of training and discipline. He proved a harsh taskmaster, but his men came to respect him. Thanks to Salaberry's excellent leadership, the Voltigeurs

Canadiens displayed combat effectiveness equaling the vaunted British soldiers they supported.

After the War of 1812 was declared, Salaberry was posted on the frontiers of Lower Canada to watch and guard the approaches to Montreal. On November 27, 1812, his men stiffly resisted a half-hearted attempt by Gen. Henry Dearborn to cross the border at La Colle Mill, and the invaders withdrew. By the summer of 1813 the British had achieved temporary ascendancy on Lake Champlain, and an amphibious raid under Col. John Murray burned various barracks and installations at Plattsburg, New York, and Swanton, Vermont. Afterward, Salaberry was called upon to function as a rear guard, which was effectively done. However, he grew dissatisfied by a lack of recognition and promotions, and he suspected Governor-General **George Prevost** of attempting to subvert his career. At one point, an angry Salaberry nearly tendered his resignation, but he was persuaded by friends to remain in service.

In the fall of 1813, the U.S. government had embarked upon an ambitious, two-pronged strategy for the conquest of Lower Canada. To the west, a large force of nearly 8,000 soldiers under Gen. James Wilkinson had gathered at Sackets Harbor on Lake Ontario. Their mission was to paddle down the St. Lawrence River in scores of boats, land, and then advance upon Montreal. Concurrently, a smaller army of 3,000 soldiers under Gen. Wade Hampton would march from Plattsburgh, proceed north up the Champlain Valley, and attack Montreal from the south. Should that strategic city be captured, all British posts west of it would be cut off from supplies and be forced to surrender. It was the biggest American offensive launched thus far in the war and, from a British perspective, the most dangerous.

In October 1813, Salaberry found himself stationed near Spear's Farm, Lower Canada, near the confluence of the Chateaugay and English Rivers. He had at his disposal 510 Voltigeurs, plus various militia detachments,

totaling around 1,500 men. Anticipating that Hampton would in all likelihood proceed down the only road in this swampy, heavily wooded wilderness, he erected numerous breastworks and abatis (lines of fallen trees) in his path. During the evening of October 24, 1813, Hampton's division arrived in force. He possessed two brigades of recently recruited soldiers who were poorly trained and led. For this reason, he decided that a frontal assault against Salaberry's position would be unproductive. He therefore dispatched Col. Robert Purdy with 1,000 men across the Chateaugay River, with instructions to circle around and catch the Canadians in the flank. This proved easier said than done, for the surrounding region was a tangle of woods, swamps, and marshes. Meanwhile, the next morning, the remainder of his force under Gen. George Izard would attack in front as a demonstration. Izard obeyed as ordered and forced back several of Salaberry's positions, but the wily Canadian then enacted a clever ploy. Having stationed buglers at various points throughout the woods, he ordered them simultaneously sounded as the Americans advanced. Scores of Native Americans also raised the war whoop, adding to the cacophony. Izard was unperturbed by the din, but Hampton apparently came to believe he was vastly outnumbered. Purdy, meanwhile, had gotten lost during the night and stumbled onto positions manned by Lt. Col. **George Macdonnell's** Glengarry Fencibles. After some sharp exchanges, Purdy felt his position was helpless and withdrew back to the main force. Orders also arrived for Hampton from Secretary of War John Armstrong, which directed him to commence building winter encampments back on U.S. territory. Faced with these perplexing orders and discouraged by battlefield events, the general summarily ordered his army to withdraw. Considering the disparity in numbers, Salaberry's stand at Chateaugay was an unexpected victory, and casualties were light—around 20 killed and wounded on either side. In concert with Col. **Joseph Wanton Morrison's** victory at Crysler's Farm,

three weeks later, the American offensive stalled and was finally called off. "The 26th has been a glorious day for me and those of my troops engaged," Salaberry proudly wrote his father. "This is certainly a most extraordinary affair."

The Battle of Chateaugay became a rallying point for Canadians in the War of 1812 and after. Salaberry himself was elevated to the status of folk hero, but he remained dissatisfied with the army's treatment of him. Apparently, both Governor-General Prevost and Gen. Louis de Watteville had been in the vicinity, and they submitted official reports suggesting that they were the ones responsible for the victory. However, in March 1814 Salaberry gained an appointment as inspecting field officer of militia—without a promotion—which further soured his disposition. It was not until 1817, through the intercession of Gen. **Gordon Drummond**, that Salaberry finally gained a nomination as a Companion of the Order of Bath.

After the war, Salaberry became a justice of the peace for Quebec, and in 1819 the hero of Chateaugay was elected to the legislative

council of Lower Canada. He subsequently used his influence to become seigneur (landlord) of Saint-Mathias and accumulated considerable wealth before dying at Chambly, Lower Canada, on February 27, 1829. His stand at Chateaugay remains one of the most celebrated episodes in Canadian military history.

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Sandino, Augusto

(May 18, 1895–February 21, 1934)

Nicaraguan Guerrilla

Sandino, an avowed nationalist and skillful partisan, was one of the more complex adversaries to oppose the United States. Scholars still debate whether he was a revolutionary, a reformer, or simply a terrorist.

Augusto Cesar Sandino was born in the town of Niquinohomo, Nicaragua, on May 18, 1895, the illegitimate son of a businessman. He lived with his mother as a child, experiencing bitter poverty and long hours of laboring in coffee fields to survive. In 1906, Sandino was allowed to move in with his father, but

this afforded scant improvement. His father neglected him in favor of his legitimate half-brother, and he was forced to work and eat with the servants. Consequently, as a young man he became imbued with great resentment toward privilege and exploitation. In 1916, Sandino relocated to Costa Rica to work as a mechanic. He then returned to Nicaragua to open his own grain industry, but he fled the country after killing a man in a fight. After a spate of odd jobs in numerous countries, Sandino was hired by the Southern Pennsyl-

vania Oil Company in Tampico, Mexico. It was there he was first exposed to communist ideology, although there is no proof he actually embraced it. In addition, Sandino's train of thought continued absorbing various facets of socialism, anarchism, and—most curious of all—spiritualism. While abroad he spent many years trying to understand and explain human relationships with higher authority, often in complex and seemingly contradictory terms. By the time Sandino returned to Nicaragua in 1926, he embraced a complex and confusing *mélange* of religion and social reform. However, a strident nationalism also began to surface, and it is for this that he is best remembered.

Nicaragua was then experiencing political turmoil originating in a power dispute between the Liberal and Conservative parties. At the urging of the United States, Liberal President Emiliano Chamorro Vargas surrendered his office to the Conservative candidate Adolfo Diaz. The Liberals, meanwhile, established a provisional government in Puerto Cabezas under opposition leader Jose Maria Moncada. Sandino, who was a follower of Moncada, urged that leader to confront the Conservatives by force to regain the presidency. Tensions and fighting increased by January 1927, until U.S. President Calvin Coolidge landed U.S. Marines at Cortino to protect American property and citizens. In a huff, Sandino marched off to San Juan del Norte to recruit his own army. The Americans then arranged a truce between Moncada and Diaz, which allowed the latter to remain in office until the 1928 election. This arrangement



Augusto Sandino
UPI/Bettmann/Corbis-Bettmann

pleased everyone but Sandino. Despite repeated pleas from Moncada and the Liberals to disarm, he refused. Sandino was determined to carry on a personal war against U.S. Marines in Nicaragua—and the intervention they represented. Furthermore, he swore he would not negotiate with the government until the last of the foreigners had left Nicaraguan soil.

In September 1927, Sandino chartered the Defending Army of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua, which, despite its impressive title, remained more or less a small band of disenfranchised guerrillas. However, Sandino meant business. On July 16, 1927, his forces attacked a mixed force of 39 Marines, under Capt. Gilbert D. Hatfield, and 50 Nicaraguan National Guardsmen at Ocotal. Although greatly outnumbering their quarry, the guerrillas suffered heavy losses while rushing the town and at length traded fire at a distance. That afternoon the defenders received timely relief in the form of a five-plane flight of Marine Corps Curtiss OC *Falcons* under Maj. Ross E. Rowell. These aircraft tore into Sandino's forces, performing the world's first dive-bombing missions, followed up by low-level strafing. The new infusion of firepower proved too much for Sandino, and he ordered a retreat, having lost upward of 50 men. Thereafter, the Nicaraguan leader studiously avoided head-on engagements in favor of classic hit-and-run guerrilla tactics. In time his activities consumed the energies of more than 5,000 Marines and sailors dispatched to find him.

Over the next few months, the Marines and National Guard were unsuccessful in trying to

locate and flush out Sandino from his mountain stronghold on El Chipote. Moreover, his activities garnered him international attention and a strong following through Central and South America. When his base camp was finally uncovered and captured in January 1928, it had already been abandoned. Sandino continued increasing his notoriety with every successful ambush and raid, but to the U.S. and Nicaraguan governments he remained an enigmatic figure. His political ideology and revolutionary intentions remained unclear, even today. In repeated trips to Mexico for guns and money Sandino may have flirted with the communists, but he clearly did not trust them, or they him. However, he remained strongly committed to alleviating the misery of Nicaraguan peasants. By 1932, more than 1,000 guerrillas had been slain in fighting, and the National Guard suffered losses of 75 killed. The Marines also sustained 47 deaths in endless bush fighting, and the American public had wearied of the struggle. The turning point was the skirmish at Achuapa on December 31, 1930, when Sandinistas attacked a party of Marines repairing a telephone wire; eight were killed. Accordingly, President Herbert Hoover withdrew the last contingent of Marines from Nicaragua in January 1932 and adopted the so-called good-neighbor policy toward Latin America, which was less disposed to intervene with troops. Perhaps Sandino had made his point, after all.

Once the foreigners had departed, the last obstacle to peace had been removed, and Sandino willingly negotiated a truce with the new Liberal government of Juan Batista Sacasa. Sandino's Defending Army was disarmed, save for Sandino's personal bodyguard of 100 men. He was also allowed to maintain a cooperative farm far to the north for his followers. These indulgences did not sit well with Gen. Anastasio Somoza Garcia, head of the National Guard, who continued to view Sandino as a threat to national stability. In August 1933, he ordered troops to attack the Sandinistas at Las Segovias, which prompted Sandino to urge Sacasa to have the National

Guard disbanded. Sacasa, in turn, invited him to Managua for negotiations. Sandino arrived at the presidential palace on the evening of February 21, 1934, and dined with both Sacasa and Somoza. The dinner was pleasant and constructive, but while returning home Sandino and his aides were suddenly kidnapped by National Guard forces. They were driven to an open field outside of town and executed. Thus ended the sad and tragic social crusade of Augusto Cesar Sandino. But his national legacy as a symbol of struggle against oppression remained strong in Nicaragua and elsewhere. In 1979, communist revolutionaries, who co-opted the name "Sandinistas," shot their way into power by overthrowing Somoza's son, the sitting president of Nicaragua. It is unknowable whether Sandino, who was never a communist himself, would have approved.

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de Santa Anna, Antonio López

(February 21, 1794–June 21, 1876)

Mexican General

For nearly fifty years, vainglorious Santa Anna stood alone as the most important political and military figure of nineteenth-century Mexico. Dark-featured, charismatic, and hopelessly opportunistic, he was swept in and out of power 11 times yet remained a rallying point for Mexicans in crisis. Santa Anna's checkered, self-serving career came to symbolize the national turbulence and instability of his age.

Antonio López de Santa Anna was born in Jalapa, Vera Cruz, on February 21, 1794, the son of Spanish parents. He commenced his military career in 1810 as a cadet in the Fijo Vera Cruz Regiment and fought numerous rebels and Indians on behalf of the Spanish Crown. In 1813, Santa Anna was part of Spanish forces that defeated the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition, a combined Mexican-American filibuster against Texas, at the Battle of Medina. He scrupulously observed that the intruders were hunted down and given no quarter—lessons that he applied later in his own career. The young officer continued serving Spanish interests competently until 1821, when he threw his lot behind Gen. Augustin de Iturbide during the Mexican War for Independence. The revolt proved successful, and Iturbide installed himself as emperor. But within two years, Santa Anna turned against Iturbide and ousted him in favor of Gen. Vicente Guerrero, establishing a pattern of political opportunism that guided him



Antonio López de Santa Anna
New York Historical Society

for 30 years. Whenever possible—and without hesitation—Santa Anna invariably shifted political allegiances as the situation demanded. Ruthless and corrupt, he was never bound to political principles or beliefs, only his own ambition.

The new government rewarded Santa Anna with a promotion to general and various posts, including governor of his native Vera Cruz, which he carefully cultivated as a power base. He was catapulted onto the national stage in 1829 after defeating an ill-fated Spanish invasion, becoming hailed as the hero of Tampico.

In 1832, Santa Anna engineered a coup against Guerrero and placed Anastacio Bustamante in power. Two years later he removed Bustamante from the presidency, and in 1833 he gained election to the high office on a platform of liberal reforms. Sensing that Mexico was not ready for democracy, Santa Anna ruled despotically, and in 1835 he replaced Mexico's federal system with a centralized regime. To accomplish this, the general exiled his vice president, shut down Congress, and declared himself dictator. It was hoped, having brought various provincial governments in line with a single authority, that political harmony would be achieved.

Santa Anna's political schemes completely backfired in Texas, which had been dominated by a steady influx of immigrants from the United States. Numerous residents of Hispanic and Indian descent, weary of autocracy,

also rose in revolt. Not surprisingly, Santa Anna regarded this rebellion as a direct challenge to his authority—and Mexican sovereignty. He quickly raised an army of 6,000 troops and hurriedly marched north toward San Antonio. There he encountered a makeshift fortress called the Alamo, a beaten-down Spanish mission, garrisoned by 180 frontiersmen under Col. William Travis and Davey Crockett. During his approach and investment of the Alamo, Santa Anna raised a large red flag warning that no quarter would be given if an assault was launched, and he ordered the garrison to evacuate the premises immediately. When they refused, he ordered his troops forward on March 6, 1836, and the defenders were put to the sword. Three weeks later Gen. Jose Urrea captured a force of 400 Texans at Goliad; upon Santa Anna's direct order, they, too, were executed. If through these means the general hoped to intimidate the rebels, he sadly miscalculated, and this cruelty became a rallying point for further resistance. Santa Anna subsequently advanced after the army of Gen. Sam Houston, which had been pursuing him for several weeks. Unfortunately for the Mexicans, their careless dispositions along the San Jacinto River invited an attack on April 22, 1836, that Houston delivered with a vengeance. In the course of 20 minutes' fighting, Santa Anna lost 500 killed and wounded to a Texas tally of six dead. Furthermore, he was captured and brought before Houston. Ignoring cries to hang him outright, Houston made Santa Anna sign the Treaty of Valasco, which recognized Texas independence. He was then trundled off to Washington, D.C., for a lengthy interview with President Andrew Jackson. The Americans became quite impressed by the regal bearing and urbane manners of this noted dictator, and his previous notoriety for the Alamo and Goliad massacres was overlooked.

Disgraced, Santa Anna arrived back in Mexico, where he learned he had been disposed and replaced by his old adversary Bustamante. Crestfallen, he returned to his estates in Vera Cruz as a private citizen. But

unexpectedly another opportunity arose for Santa Anna to redeem himself. In November 1838, a French naval squadron attacked Vera Cruz over the issue of unpaid reparations. Santa Anna quickly rallied Mexican forces and made an effective stand, losing a leg in the process. Hailed as a national hero, he became president again in 1839, was briefly disposed, and served again from 1841 to 1845. His skill at political manipulation proved exceptional, but Santa Anna lacked any scruples whatsoever, and he looted the national treasury for himself and his allies. When the Mexican polity wearied of his penchant for extravagance and outlandish Napoleonic uniforms, he was deposed again and exiled for life to Havana, Cuba.

In 1846, unresolved border disputes arising from the Texas rebellion exploded into war with the United States. Santa Anna wasted no time venturing to Washington, D.C., and convinced President James K. Polk that he alone could stop the war and guarantee further territorial concessions from Mexico. Polk, convinced of his sincerity, placed Santa Anna on an American warship that passed directly through the U.S. Navy blockade off Vera Cruz. Thus far the war with the United States had gone badly for Mexico, and Gen. Zachary Taylor had scored several notable victories to the north. Santa Anna arrived in the Mexican capital like a liberator, forsook his earlier agreement with the Americans, and commenced raising a new army. He was aware that Polk, who feared General Taylor as a possible presidential contender in 1850, had stripped Taylor's army of most regular forces and transferred them to Gen. Winfield Scott. In this weakened condition, Taylor's little army would be ripe for defeat if the Mexicans advanced upon him with sufficient numbers. In the winter of 1846, Santa Anna force-marched 20,000 soldiers through the northern desert and confronted Taylor at Buena Vista. The Americans were badly outnumbered, but Taylor and Gen. John E. Wool skillfully deployed their meager resources on rough, defensive terrain, thwarting all attempts to evict them.

Over the course of February 22–24, 1847, the Mexican forces charged heroically but were beaten back and finally routed by the artillery of Capt. **Braxton Bragg** and the Mississippi Rifles under Col. **Jefferson Davis**. Santa Anna then sullenly withdrew back to Mexico City, having sustained 1,500 casualties—and a corresponding drop in reputation.

Mexico's anguish was only just beginning. On March 9, 1847, Gen. Winfield Scott landed his 10,000-strong army at Vera Cruz without the loss of a man and proceeded marching on Mexico City. By dint of his skills as a rabble-rouser, Santa Anna energized fellow citizens, scraped together a new army of 25,000 men, and marched to meet the invaders. However, he was repeatedly bested in a series of hard-fought engagements at Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec, and the capital had to be abandoned. Santa Anna then struck out at Scott's supply lines by advancing upon Puebla with 8,000 men. That town was garrisoned by 400 soldiers and 1,400 invalids under the command of Col. Thomas Childs, who mounted a vigorous defense. After a 28-day siege, the Mexican leader conceded defeat and withdrew. Worse, for having signed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, Santa Anna induced the Mexican republic to cede nearly half of its territory to the United States in exchange for \$15 million. The general's reputation now plummeted to its lowest ebb. Considered by most Mexicans to be a vile traitor, he quickly resumed his status as a political exile.

After three more years in Cuba, Jamaica, and St. Thomas, Santa Anna was summoned home to restore stability to a crumbling Mexican polity. He was elected president once again in 1853 and served despotically for two years. This time his rule had all the trappings of a monarchy (having adopted the title "Most Serene Highness"), and he stifled repeated calls for liberal reform with repression. To fill the national coffers, he sold additional land to the United States, the Gadsden Purchase that covered a large part of the western United States, which only increased animosity to-

ward him. Evicted once again in 1855, he was exiled a third time. From then on, Santa Anna's political influence waned. He spent the next decade trying to scheme his way back into power, and he even tried allying with the hated French-imposed Emperor Maximilian in 1864. This earned him six months in jail and yet another stint in exile. It was not until 1874 that the tottering old man, the once proud *caudillo* of Mexico, was allowed home. Santa Anna settled in Mexico City, penned his memoirs, and lived the rest of his days in quiet poverty. He died there on June 21, 1876, having wreaked havoc as an incubus within the Mexican polity for 50 years. On occasion, Santa Anna had in fact served as a rallying point for his people in times of crisis but, bereft of any fixed political beliefs beyond self-enrichment, always left the country worse off than when he found it.

See also

Bragg, Braxton; Davis, Jefferson

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Sassacus

(ca. 1560–1637)
Pequot War Chief

Mighty Sassacus headed the largest and most aggressive tribe of Native Americans in southern New England. However, once the Pequot nation became embroiled in a war with both Puritans of Massachusetts and their Narragansett neighbors, they were nearly wiped out in a war of annihilation.

In the early seventeenth century, the Pequots (Killers of Men) were an important Algonquin-speaking tribe that had migrated from the Hudson River Valley to conquer and cultivate the fertile region that is now Connecticut. Aggressive and numerous, they carved out a niche that encompassed the Connecticut coast from present-day New Haven to Rhode Island, as well as a large tract of eastern Long Island. This expansion brought them into contact—and conflict—with other influential tribes, such as the Mohawks to the west and the Narragansetts to the east. By 1600, the Pequots were also in contact with Dutch settlements along the Hudson River and soon gained awareness of Puritan colonies in distant Massachusetts. Sassacus (A Fierce Man) was born probably around 1560, the son of Grand Sachem Wopigwooit. His father, a famous warrior, did much to consolidate Pequot influence in the region, but mounting competition with Dutch traders led to conflict. The sachem was killed by the

Dutch in 1632, and Sassacus succeeded him. He had acquired by that time a reputation as a fierce and cunning warrior, traits viewed as essential for a war chief. As an indication of Sassacus's power, he is known to have subordinated 26 sagamores, each with his own village. The Pequots remained a regional power to reckon with, but their lofty status fell increasingly under siege. In addition to European encroachment, disease ravaged the tribe, drastically cutting its manpower. Worse still, internal dissent occurred when Uncas, the chief's son-in-law, was passed over as sachem. He subsequently broke away from the main tribe and formed his own, the Mohegans. The early seventeenth century proved a trying time for the Pequot nation, surrounded by potential enemies and wracked by discord, and drastic measures were needed to ensure survival.

Sassacus was no friend of the whites, but, being well-versed in diplomacy, he realized that his tribe needed friends. In 1634, he sent an embassy to the Puritan colony in Boston, requesting that Governor John Winthrop Sr. mediate peace between the warring Pequot and Narragansett tribes. The Puritans were willing to oblige, but only on the condition that the Pequots become subject clients of the English. This meant that the tribe was expected to cede valuable land in the Connecti-

cut Valley and provide a yearly tribute. The harsh terms occasioned some grumbling in the tribal councils, but at length Sassacus consented, and he became a nominal English ally. This bought the Pequots valuable time to rebuild their strength—or so they thought.

As English settlers and traders trespassed over Pequot territory in search of land and trade, there was a corresponding increase in friction. Events came to a head in July 1636 when a coastal trader, John Oldham, was killed by unidentified Indians. Oldham's boat was subsequently discovered off Block Island by another sailor, John Gallup, and he attacked it, killing several Indians of the Narragansett tribe. When Puritan officials of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were informed of this murder, they initially demanded additional wampum from the Pequots for the murder but then largely forgot about it. However, Uncas, still smarting from losing authority, soon warned Puritan officials that the Pequots were preparing for war. By this act, historians concur that the Mohegan chief was trying to ingratiate himself toward Europeans in a bid to enhance his own power. Nonetheless, the information provided the Puritans a convenient pretext to launch a preemptive strike. The matter of Oldham's death was suddenly resurrected, and the Puritans issued demands that the murderers be surrendered up. Sassacus respectfully replied that their whereabouts were unknown. The colonies then outfitted an expedition under Capt. John Endicott with orders to punish the inhabitants of Block Island. This was done with a vengeance, but Endicott then sailed to the Connecticut shore to attack the Pequots, who, the English suspected, had also had a hand in Oldham's murder. Despite pleas from settlers at Fort Saybrook to relent, the expedition stormed and burned several villages before returning to Boston. Sassacus was angered by such wanton aggression, for he denied all culpability for recent events and even offered to help bring in the perpetrators. Accordingly, the chief ordered Fort Saybrook besieged throughout the winter of 1636–1637,

resulting in several English deaths. The ensuing struggle, known as the Pequot War, had commenced in earnest.

Acknowledging his weakness, Sassacus initially sought to ally himself with the powerful Narragansetts and make a concerted effort against the Europeans. However, his diplomacy was thwarted by Roger Williams of Rhode Island, long viewed by that tribe as a benefactor, and they remained neutral. Sassacus remained unperturbed by this setback, and in the spring of 1637 his warriors ravaged the settlement of Wethersfield, on the Connecticut River, killing nine colonials. Their success spurred Puritan leaders into mounting a new expedition into Connecticut under Capt. John Mason. Mason had only 80 well-equipped English militia with him, but he solicited and received timely aid from 500 Narragansett, Niantic, and Mohegan warriors through the urging of Williams. En route they were joined by a party of Connecticut militia under Capt. John Underhill. On May 25, 1637, this armed assembly attacked Sassacus's main village at Weinshauk on the Mystic River. The Indians fought back furiously from within their palisade, defeating every English attempt to enter. Then Mason resorted to setting the Indian wigwams on fire. Those Pequots who fled the flames were cut down at swordpoint. This brand of total warfare, heretofore unknown to Native Americans, stunned the Narragansetts, and Roger Williams pleaded with Mason—unsuccessfully—to spare Indian lives. By day's end, Pequot losses were estimated between 700 and 1,000 men, women, and children, a crippling blow. The English, by contrast, had two killed and 20 wounded. Sassacus somehow managed to escape in the confusion and carried off the tribal wampum.

In July, another Puritan force led by Underhill surrounded the surviving Pequots in a swamp west of New Haven and dealt them another telling blow. Sassacus eluded his antagonists again, but his tribe was virtually eliminated as a regional power. Taking the tribal wampum with him, he fled to the land of his traditional enemies, the Mohawks, and tried

soliciting their aid in a war against the Europeans. They responded by killing him outright and sending his scalp to the authorities in Boston. The brief but decisive Pequot War thus came to its bloody end. Many of the surviving tribesmen were broken up and dispersed among other Indian tribes; others were sold into slavery in Bermuda. Elimination of the Pequots opened up the fertile Connecticut River Valley to further colonizing. Having prevailed in the first major Indian conflict waged in New England, Puritan colonies began flexing their military muscle with every territorial concession wrested from the Indians. To the obvious racial overtones propelling such hostility, a dimension of religious intolerance should be acknowledged, for Puritans openly regarded Native Americans as tools of the devil. By 1675, this pattern of aggression and aggrandizement culminated in an even bigger and costlier conflict, King Philip's War.

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Satanta

(ca. 1830–September 11, 1878)
Kiowa War Chief

Satanta was a fierce Kiowa warrior known for colorful outfits and heroic deeds. He was such a forceful spokesman for his tribe that whites came to regard him as "the Orator of the Plains." Faced with the prospect of life behind bars for crimes he did not commit, Satanta took his own life rather than forfeit his freedom.

Satanta (White Bear) was born probably on the plains of Kansas around 1830, the son of Red Tipi, an influential Kiowa priest. His tribe, along with neighboring Comanches and

Kiowa Apaches, occupied a wide belt of territory in the Midwest from southern Kansas to what today is the panhandle of Texas. Nomadic raiders by nature, they sustained themselves by following seasonal buffalo migrations that yielded meat, fur, and other essentials of life. Satanta became exposed to the military culture of his tribe at an early age and acquired the reputation as a clever and fearless warrior. He was distinguished from contemporaries by his deliberately showy costume, which consisted of a red and yellow

buckskin shirt, red war paint, and a buffalo-hide shield. Satanta acquired this last item from Black Horse, a famed warrior who was impressed by his younger charge. The headstrong Satanta carried it into battle during scores of encounters against neighboring tribesmen and white settlers, and he regarded it as a good-luck charm. Such was Satanta's renown that in 1866, at the relatively young age of 46, he gained an appointment as the junior war chief of his band.

At this time, Native American life along the Southern Plains was being compromised by the encroachment of white civilization, whose ranches and wagon trails destroyed buffalo grazing grounds. These activities, in turn, severely disrupted the ability of regional tribesmen to feed and clothe themselves. Angered by the destructive intruders, Indians lashed out at settlers along the Santa Fe Trail in a futile attempt to preserve their way of life. In April 1867, the U.S. government wished to settle its differences amicably with the various Plains Indians, and a large council was called at Fort Dodge Kansas. Presiding over these talks was Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, the noted Civil War leader. However, he was visibly impressed by a speech given by Satanta, who represented the militant war faction of the Kiowas. Having correctly gauged the quality of his opposition, Hancock awarded him the full dress uniform of a major general. Satanta, no stranger to showy attire, took the distinction in stride and with a little sense of humor. A few weeks later he raided the corral at Fort Dodge to steal



Satanta
National Archives

army horses, arrayed in his new general's outfit, and he saluted pursuers with a tip of his plumed hat.

In the fall of 1867 the Treaty of Medicine Creek Lodge was signed, whereby the Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos agreed to give up their traditional hunting grounds in exchange for life on a government reservation. Satanta, mistrusting whites, harangued them in his usual forceful style, declaring, "I love the land and the buffalo and will not part with it. . . . A long time ago this land belonged to our fathers, but when I go up the river, I see camps of soldiers on its banks. These soldiers cut down my timber, they kill my buffalo, and when

I see that my heart feels like bursting, I feel sorry." Nevertheless, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman insisted that the Native Americans must accommodate progress or face harrowing consequences, and the majority agreed. Henceforth, the Kiowas and Comanches resettled on new lands in what is now Oklahoma, but they retained the right to hunt and forage on traditional ground. Satanta only sullenly complied, and it was not until late in the year that he and a few of his band willingly surrendered to Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. However, Sheridan promptly arrested the entire group and held them in close confinement until the rest of his band drifted in and was relocated.

Unfortunately, many Kiowa warriors could never adjust their freewheeling, nomadic ways for a sedentary life of farming. Parties of restless young men frequently slipped away from the reservation to raid and hunt in their

accustomed fashion. In the spring of 1871 Satanta organized and led a large raiding party that struck white settlements in Jack County, Texas. En route they encountered a wagon train bound for Fort Richardson, attacked it, and killed seven teamsters. Several days later Indian agents at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, questioned various chiefs about the incident, and Satanta freely admitted his part. General Sherman thereupon had him arrested, along with Chiefs Satank and Big Tree. Satank was killed while trying to escape, but Satanta and Big Tree were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to hang. When various humanitarian groups protested the sentence, it was commuted to life imprisonment at the Huntsville, Texas, state prison. The chiefs served only two years before President Ulysses S. Grant pardoned them on the condition that they remain confined to their reservation. As a sign of sincerity, Satanta renounced his militant ways and handed over his vaunted buffalo shield and lance to his son.

The former Kiowa chief lived peacefully until 1874, when fighting broke out at the Wichita agency under the aegis of Comanche Chief **Quanah Parker**. Satanta was off the reservation hunting at the time—a clear violation of his parole—but he was not part of the uprising. When he tried explaining his behavior to reservation authorities, the former chief was immediately arrested and sent back to Huntsville. There he was condemned to serve out the remainder of his life sentence. The chief languished in prison for six years, professing his innocence. At length, both the commissioner of Indian affairs and

the prison superintendent argued for his release, but General Sherman refused. Santana, however, had previously made up his mind to die rather than surrender his freedom. On September 11, 1878, he sang a death chant and jumped from the balcony of a second-story hospital room. Satanta was subsequently buried at the prison cemetery, all but forgotten. However, in 1963 the Texas state legislature permitted Satanta's grandson to relocate his remains from Huntsville back to the Kiowa reservation at Fort Sill. "The Orator of the Plains" was finally laid to rest on friendly soil with a full Kiowa ceremony and military honors.

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Secord, Laura Ingersoll

(September 13, 1775–October 17, 1868)
Canadian Heroine

In 1813, Laura Secord made a daring trek to warn British forces of an impending American attack. Historians have since debated the military merits of her actions, but she remains an enduring fixture in the hall of Canadian patriots.

Laura Ingersoll Secord was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on September 13, 1775. Her father, Thomas Ingersoll, a successful merchant, supported the patriots during the American Revolution, rising to the rank of captain. In 1787, he was serving as a major in the state militia when a severe economic depression induced numerous farmers of the western part of the state to rebel. The ensuing violent disturbance of Daniel Shays (the so-called Shay's Rebellion) was ultimately put down with little difficulty, but Ingersoll lost his family fortune during hard times. He was consequently lured to Canada by the offer of cheap land and eventually settled down at the Niagara hamlet of St. Davids. His daughter accompanied him, and in 1797 she met and married David Secord, another American expatriate, whose father was a former member of **Walter Butler's** Rangers. The two formed a rather happy union, had several children, and operated a tavern at nearby Queenston. David was also a sergeant in the First Lincoln Militia and present during the Battle of Queenston Heights in October 1812. Gen. **Isaac Brock** met his death there, and David was severely wounded



Laura Ingersoll Secord
Library of Congress

in the shoulder and knee. Laura Secord was home when the fighting commenced and bravely wandered the battlefield in search of her injured husband. She returned home with James and spent the next several months tending to family chores and nursing him back to health.

By the summer of 1813, control of much of the Niagara Peninsula had passed into American hands. A strategic impasse had settled in following the defeat of U.S. forces at the Battle of Stoney Creek (June 6, 1813), and many troops remained bottled up in the vicinity of Fort George. To end the stalemate, Gen. John P. Boyd proposed sending a large expedition against the advanced British outpost at DeCou House, then manned by 50 soldiers and around 200 Indians under the command of Lt. **James Fitzgibbon**. He selected the 14th U.S. Infantry under Lt. Col. Charles Boerstler, aided by various detachments from other regiments, with a combined total strength of 500 soldiers. However, on the evening of June 21, 1813, Laura Secord overheard several American officers discuss their impending designs while quartered at her house. Receipt of this useful military information emboldened her to undertake a dangerous and lengthy march to DeCou House and warn the British. Husband James, still lame from his wound, could not accompany her, so she decided to make the venture alone. She

had to be extremely vigilant against capture, for if the true nature of her travel was discerned, the penalty would be a firing squad.

In the morning hours of June 22, Secord departed, accompanied by an elder daughter, and commenced her famous sojourn. Having been previously attentive to visiting American soldiers, she managed to secure a pass through their lines on the premise of visiting a sick relative. The distance from Queenston to DeCou's was around 12 miles, but in order to avoid enemy patrols—and possible capture—she deliberately chose a circuitous course that added another six miles to her labors. En route Secord stopped to see her niece, Elizabeth Secord, who also volunteered to join. Her daughter was instructed to remain behind and care for Elizabeth's children. The two women commenced walking under a blazing summer sun, over fields, across streams, and through the Black Swamp. No Americans were encountered, but the exertions simply exhausted Elizabeth, who collapsed after several hours and remained behind. Laura possessed a steely resolve that belied her frail appearance, and she soldiered on in the gathering gloom. After nightfall, she also had to run a gauntlet of wolves, wildcats, and rattlesnakes that were very abundant in those days.

By midnight, Secord had arrived at Twelve Mile Creek, in the vicinity of the DeCou House. Crossing the creek on a fallen tree, she plodded forward, tired and bleeding, and was suddenly accosted by several Mohawk warriors hiding in the bushes. "I cannot express the awful feeling it gave me," she wrote years later, "but I did not lose my presence of mind. I was determined to persevere." After several minutes of awkward gesturing, Secord finally convinced the local chief to take her to DeCou House.

She arrived within the hour and was personally interviewed by Fitzgibbon, who may or may not have been previously alerted to Boerstler's movements by his scouts. In any event, the British officer mightily thanked the woman for her strenuous efforts and allowed

her to sleep on his couch. Alerted to the American approach, Fitzgibbon dispatched a body of Indians under **John Norton** to set up an ambush at Beaver Dams. This was successfully sprung on June 24, 1813, and Boerstler's entire command was cowed into surrendering. Afterward, Fitzgibbon allegedly approached her and declared, "Mrs. Secord, we have just experienced one of our most complete victories in the history of our army. Madam, the credit of this victory belongs to you!" However, in his official report, Fitzgibbon made no references to Laura Secord and her prodigious 18-hour journey. Several years would lapse before the truth emerged.

The war proved disastrous to James and Laura Secord, and for many years thereafter they lived in near poverty. To help alleviate their suffering, Laura petitioned the provincial government several times for compensation, but she went unrecognized. This was despite Fitzgibbon's admission in 1827 that "the weather on the 22nd day of June, 1813 was very hot, and Mrs. Secord, whose person was slight and delicate, appeared to have been and no doubt was very much exhausted by the exertion she made in coming to me, and I have ever since held myself personally indebted to her for her conduct on that occasion." Following James's death in 1841, she ran a school for children out of her cottage to support herself. It was not until 1860 when Laura, aged 85, was personally visited by the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VIII) and thanked for her heroic deeds. He also arranged a sizable monetary fund to be paid to her in her old age. She accepted the award with great modesty, admitting, "When I look back I wonder how I could have gone through so much fatigue, with the fortitude to accomplish it." Laura Secord died in 1868 at the age of 93, buried alongside her husband at Drummond Hill Cemetery, Niagara Falls. Since then, several monuments have also been erected to her memory. The exact usefulness of her celebrated walk will probably never be ascertained, but Secord remains a popular heroine in Canadian history. She was

in many respects a typical pioneer woman of the generation that built Canada, fearless and inured to hardship.

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Senger und Etterlin, Fridolin von

(September 4, 1891–January 4, 1963)
German General

Rhodes scholar, cultured aristocrat, and thoroughly humane, Senger felt deeply offended by Nazism. He was nonetheless a competent, professional soldier whose conduct at Monte Cassino completely stymied the Fifth U.S. Army for five months. Casualties were so heavy on either side that this action became known as the Verdun of Italy.

Fridolin Rudolph von Senger und Etterlin was born on September 4, 1891, in Waldshut near the Swiss border, a member of the petty aristocracy. Intensely Roman Catholic, he inherited from his mother deep religious and moral convic-



Fridolin von Senger und Etterlin
U.S. Army Military History Institute

tions that unswervingly guided him through life. Senger was also profoundly intellectual. In 1912, he became a Rhodes scholar at Oxford and acquired fluency in French and English. World War I interrupted his education in August 1914, and he was commissioned a lieutenant in the reserves. After four years of dedicated service, Senger remained in the post-war Reichswehr as a cavalry officer. He thus became one of few reserve officers selected to serve with the regulars. A professional soldier, Senger remained aloof from politics and studiously avoided the rising tide of Nazism. Tall, droopy-

eyed, and physically unattractive, he was content to concentrate upon his passion—horses—and gained renown as a world-class equestrian. Senger subsequently studied for two years at the Cavalry School in Hannover, spent four years with the cavalry inspectorate in Berlin, and by 1938 had risen to colonel of the Third Cavalry. This regiment was descended from the proud Zieten Hussars, distinguished since the days of Frederick the Great, and he took particular pride utilizing its great silver kettles while on parade. Senger had since matured into an excellent field officer and easily passed entrance exams for the General Staff School, but he was refused because of his age. He nevertheless was delighted to remain with his horses until the advent of World War II. A dedicated soldier yet a devout Christian, Senger seemed strangely out of place while serving the Third Reich.

In September 1939, Senger led his cavalry regiment into Poland and saw active service. There he was profoundly shocked by SS atrocities against civilians and refused to partake in any revelry. “What can one do but stay silent,” he confessed. “Do they know what I am trying to say with my silence? Sometimes it seems to me that the boys feel my deep pain in my silence.” Senger later commanded a motorized brigade during the campaign through France in May 1940. He distinguished himself in the charge to the channel and captured Cherbourg just ahead of Gen. **Erwin Rommel**. He remained behind during the occupation, ensconced in a castle at Normandy and befriending the rural aristocracy of France. For two years Senger also employed his linguistic skills as the chief German liaison officer at Turin with the French-Italian armistice commission (by virtue of his knowledge of Latin, he easily mastered Italian), rising there to major general in September 1941. One year later Senger was reassigned to the Russian Front commanding the crack 17th Panzer Division. In this capacity he accompanied Gen. Hermann Hoth’s Fourth Panzer Army during its unsuccessful attempt to relieve German forces trapped in Stalingrad. Failure there

convinced Senger that Germany was destined to lose the war, and—to himself—he began questioning the rationality of his government.

Throughout the spring of 1943, Senger rendered excellent service during Field Marshal Erich Manstein’s drive through southwestern Ukraine, which rescued the First Panzer Army from imminent capture. That May he was summoned to Berlin for a personal audience with **Adolf Hitler**, where he received a promotion to lieutenant general. Despite this singular honor, Senger remained unmoved. “Of Hitler’s personal magnetism I felt not the slightest sign,” he emoted. “I thought only with disgust and horror of all the misfortunes which this man had brought upon my country.” The scholarly general was subsequently reassigned to Italy as chief liaison officer with Italian forces in Sicily.

Senger was actively involved in the defense of Sicily and helped orchestrate the successful withdrawal of German and Italian forces in July 1943. He then directed the removal of German forces marooned on Corsica and Sardinia, which was accomplished with consummate skill. However, after the fall of fascist dictator **Benito Mussolini** and Italy’s armistice with the Allies in September 1943, Hitler ordered all Italian officers in German hands to be executed. Senger then curtly informed his superior, Field Marshal **Albert Kesselring**, that he would not obey this order. Kesselring, in turn, did not inform Hitler of his defiance and the matter passed quietly. In October 1943, Senger took command of the 14th Panzer Corps in mainland Italy. He then established his headquarters at Roccasecca, birthplace of Saint Thomas Aquinas in 1225, in whose writing he took solace. By this time Allied forces under Gen. Mark W. Clark had landed at Salerno and were slowly pushing up the peninsula. It became Senger’s mission to halt their drive on Rome at any cost.

By November 1943, Senger assumed control of German defenses at Monte Cassino in the Apennine Mountains. This placed him 80–90 miles southeast of Rome, in rough,

rugged terrain. And for a man with Senger's classical background, it proved an area of intense personal interest. Monte Cassino was the site of the noted monastery of St. Benedict, a treasure of ancient Christendom harkening back to the year 529. This famous building was the inspiration for hundreds of other Roman Catholic retreats, was considered a work of art, and housed countless art treasures for safekeeping during the war. Nobody could have appreciated this more than Senger, for he carefully situated his defenses around that noble building, but never near it. His overall position, situated on steep, 1,700-foot-high peaks and manned by the elite First Parachute Division, would not require its use anyway. He nevertheless carefully evacuated all the monks and works of art as a precaution. The general fully intended to perform his duty yet was equally determined to spare this priceless relic from the ravages of war.

In December 1943, a combined Anglo-American force under Clark and British Gen. Harold Alexander had reached the valley and slopes before Monte Cassino in their drive to Rome. Their advance promptly halted after encountering the first belt of the so-called Gustav Line, masterminded by Kesselring to impede them. From their position high upon the slopes, the Germans easily observed Allied movements below them and called down a steady stream of accurate artillery fire. Cassino proved a difficult position to attack, a reality underscored on February 11, 1944, when Senger's men handily repulsed a major American advance. Responsibility for breaking the German line next passed to New Zealand Gen. Sir Bernard C. Freyburg, who believed that the Germans used the ancient abbey as an artillery observation post. He therefore insisted that the position be bombed into rubble before another attack was attempted. Clark and Alexander agonized over what to do next, but at last they relented. On February 15, 1944, waves of Allied bombers dropped 450 tons of high explosives upon the ancient abbey, demolishing it. Around 300 civilians living in the villages below were also killed.

The bombardment of Monte Cassino sparked condemnation from Catholics around the world, including Senger, who had taken deliberate steps to preserve the artifact. Clark, himself a Catholic, was apologetic but felt that his hands were tied. Afterward, German paratroopers occupied the ruins, strengthening Senger's already formidable position. The Allies experienced ample proof of this on February 11–15, 1944, when a second major attack by New Zealand and Gurkha troops was repelled with heavy loss. Senger expertly shifted his forces, deployed his guns, and bloodily repelled a third determined attempt on March 15–25. To break the impasse, Clark ordered a large-scale amphibious landing at Anzio near Rome, and Senger withdrew men from his front line to contain it. A fourth and final attack by Polish troops on May 18, 1944, finally carried Monte Cassino after even more heavy fighting. Casualties were horrendous, with some Polish battalions reporting losses of 70 percent! The Germans then quit their position and retired in good order to their next defensive line. All told, Monte Cassino was a masterful display of defensive tactics by Senger. His gallant stand halted a numerically superior force enjoying complete control of the air and inflicted more than 20,000 casualties on them.

Senger had thus far performed superbly, but his antipathy toward Hitler and the Nazis brought him under suspicion. After the failed July 20, 1944, bomb plot against the Hitler, he refused to cable congratulations or display any joyful manifestations over the Führer's survival, and he became closely watched. Rome fell in August 1944, and Kesselring's forces occupied a new defensive position called the Gothic Line. Senger's next performance—moving obliquely across the Apennines with Allied forces in hot pursuit—was equally brilliant. At length he reached an agreement with Kesselring that the Gothic Line should not include the cities of Bologna, Pisa, Lucca, and Florence, for they were too heavily laden with artistic and historic artifacts. Taking the hint, the Allies also by-

passed them during their advance. For the next six months Clark and his successor, Lucian K. Truscott, battered against formidable German defenses, taking heavy losses and making few gains. It was not until April 1945 that the Allies reached the foot of the Alps, and Senger was detailed to conduct peace negotiations. He then spent the next two years as a prisoner in England before being released in Holland.

After the war, Senger worked as a schoolmaster, a journalist, and a military commentator for Southwest German radio in 1952. He subsequently helped author the so-called Himmeroder Report, which outlined German rearmament and the creation of a new army, the Bundeswehr. Given his solid anti-Nazi credentials, Senger headed a military board that screened former Wehrmacht personnel to ensure they were untainted by the past. He determined that the new German army would reflect time-honored values of duty, honor, and integrity—the same high standards he himself abided by. This cultured aristocrat then penned a set of memoirs, which have been hailed as a masterpiece of the genre. In them he agonized over Nazism, events at Cassino, and the senseless destruction of St. Benedict's hallmark. The able, affable Senger

und Etterlin died at Freiburg-im-Breisgau on January 4, 1963. Contemtuously of Hitler and the Nazis, he sought only to serve God and country to the best of his abilities.

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Sheaffe, Roger Hale

(July 17, 1763–July 17, 1851)

English General

American-born Sheaffe was a tough and competent professional officer who shouldered Upper Canada's military and civil responsibilities during the War of 1812. Having won the Battle of Queenston Heights, he ran afoul of the governor-general and was ultimately replaced.

Roger Hale Sheaffe was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on July 17, 1763, the son of a

deputy collector of customs. While still a child he came under the patronage of the altruistic Lord **Hugh Percy**, Duke of Northumberland, who arranged for his education at the Lockes Military Academy, London. In May 1778, Percy arranged an ensign's commission for Sheaffe in the Fifth Regiment of Foot, in which he served as colonel. In this capacity Sheaffe performed six years of garrison duty

in Ireland before transferring back to North America in 1782. He served at a variety of posts, including Montreal, Detroit, and Fort Niagara, rising to captain in 1795. At one point Governor-General **John Graves Simcoe** dispatched him to Sodus, New York, to protest the seizure of Indian territory by the Americans. Sheaffe returned to England in 1787, where he purchased his majority in the 81st Regiment. An attentive soldier, he rose to junior lieutenant colonel of the 49th Regiment, in which **Isaac Brock** was



Roger Hale Sheaffe
National Archives of Canada

the senior. The two men accompanied their regiment during a Baltic campaign in 1801 and, the following year, were shipped back to Canada as part of garrison forces there. Sheaffe subsequently took charge of Fort George on the Niagara frontier, where he ruled as a stern, unpopular martinet. He became so disliked by the men of his regiment that they plotted a mutiny in order to kill him. This was quickly suppressed by Brock, who also censured Sheaffe for his harshness. Nonetheless, he was still regarded as an extremely efficient officer, so in 1808 Sheaffe advanced to brevet colonel and, three years later, to major general. In July 1812, immediately following the onset of war with the United States, Governor-General **George Prevost** assigned him to the army staff of Upper Canada, which once again placed him under the immediate jurisdiction of Brock. In many respects, Sheaffe would spend the balance of his tenure in Canada—if not his remaining military career—under that officer's long shadow.

By August 1812, Sheaffe was back at Fort George and assumed command of the Niagara frontier once Brock had departed for Detroit.

That officer returned triumphantly the following month, and the two men watched helplessly as an armistice, arranged by Prevost, allowed the Americans to build up their forces in the region. On October 13, 1812, Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer attempted to cross the Niagara River into Canada. Brock was convinced this move was simply a feint, with either Fort George or Fort Erie being the real target, but Sheaffe correctly guessed American intentions. Brock then went tearing after the invaders, impetuously led

his men in a hasty counterattack, and was killed. It appeared that the Americans had finally secured a toehold on Canadian soil until Sheaffe and Chief **John Norton** arrived around 4:00 P.M. with reinforcements. Unlike Brock, who charged the enemy head-on, Sheaffe expertly deployed his regulars, militia, and Indians in a series of sweeping flank attacks. The Americans' resistance crumbled under this new onslaught, and they finally surrendered, losing nearly 1,000 prisoners. Sheaffe's prompt actions had saved the day—and Upper Canada—and he subsequently received a baronetcy for his effort. However, in the minds of most Canadians, the beloved, martyred Brock remained the real hero. Sheaffe's reputation for harshness, his unfriendly demeanor, and even his American birth all conspired to cast him in an unpopular light.

In October 1812, Sheaffe succeeded Brock as military and civil administrator of Upper Canada, with headquarters at York (Toronto). He was a somewhat cautious commander by nature, fully determined to carry out Governor-General Prevost's overall defensive strategies. Basically, this entailed preserving

the small core of British soldiers at any cost and trading the vast spaces of Upper Canada for time. His reaction to the November 28, 1812, attack by Gen. Alexander Smyth at Niagara should therefore come as no surprise. This affair was handily repulsed by the local commander, Lt. Col. **Cecil Bisshopp**, who requested reinforcements. Sheaffe, cognizant of the need to preserve his troops, informed Bisshopp of the probable necessity of abandoning Fort Erie and withdrawing up the peninsula as far as Chippawa. The mere suggestion of retreating angered Bisshopp and other officers and further undermined Sheaffe's standing among the army. Many civilian detractors, pointing out his American origins, also began labeling him a traitor. Such discontent was totally unjustified, but it could not be easily brushed off by the governor-general.

Sheaffe was sick for most of the winter of 1812 and was temporarily replaced by Gen. **John Vincent**. Nonetheless, in March 1813 Sheaffe presided over the opening of the legislative session. Here he was saddled by indifferent politicians and inefficient army departments, but he nevertheless managed to have several important bills passed. These included the issuance of army bills (paper money) as legal tender, strengthening of existing militia units, and compensation for the families of militiamen killed or wounded. He also called for a rapid expansion of shipbuilding on the lakes. Through these positive actions, Sheaffe enhanced Upper Canada's defensive posture—a near impossible task considering his slender resources. Unfortunately, the much-maligned general was to receive neither credit nor applause in light of subsequent events.

On April 26–27, the Lake Ontario naval squadron under U.S. Commodore Isaac Chauncey conveyed part of Gen. Henry Dearborn's army to York Harbor. That afternoon Gen. Zebulon M. Pike began landing 1,700 soldiers in a daring amphibious assault, spearheaded by the riflemen under Lt. Col. Benjamin Forsyth. Sheaffe attempted to meet the

invaders at the water's edge with only 800 men but sustained heavy losses from the cannons of Chauncey's fleet. Heavily outnumbered, he conducted a fighting retreat that did British forces considerable honor. In the course of battle, a magazine explosion killed General Pike and upward of 250 Americans. British losses were severe but acceptable. Sheaffe had closely engaged a superior enemy, inflicted serious harm upon him, and extricated his army intact—precisely as ordered. Had it not been for the fact that York was the province capital of Upper Canada, he might have been roundly praised for his actions. Instead, Sheaffe was criticized for abandoning the town by several politicians, notably the Reverend John Strachan, who knew nothing of military affairs.

Sheaffe promptly returned to Niagara and continued shoring up British defenses there. However, he had been strongly advised by Governor-General Prevost to impose martial law if necessary. Sheaffe declined, citing his lack of constitutional authority, but this refusal only added fuel to the growing rift between the two leaders. Prevost, in fact, had informed the British government that Sheaffe had forfeited the confidence of the province and requested his recall. In a prelude of what would follow, Prevost ordered him back to Montreal and replaced him with Gen. **Francis de Rottenburg**. There he assumed command of the reserves, whereupon Prevost next accused him of indifference while discharging his duties and of failing to inform the governor-general of his plans. The hapless general was finally ordered home in November 1813, and he departed without ceremony. It was scurrilous treatment for so brave a soldier, but Sheaffe accepted the indignity quietly.

Back in England, Sheaffe was appointed to the army staff and served capably. He subsequently won a promotion to lieutenant general in 1821 and to general in 1838. Sheaffe then resided with his family at Penzance, Worcester, and Edinburgh before finally dying at the latter place on July 17, 1851. His tenure in Canada was an unhappy one, for he was al-

ways—and perhaps unfairly—compared to the popular Isaac Brock. However, he was a competent soldier in his own right who won the Battle of Queenston Heights and performed much useful work strengthening the defenses of Upper Canada.

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Sherbrooke, John Coape

(April 29, 1764–February 14, 1830)

English General; Colonial Governor

Sherbrooke was an officer renowned for his short stature and temper to match. A seasoned combat officer, he commanded the only British expedition in the War of 1812 intended to annex American territory. Afterward, he distinguished himself as an enlightened governor-general of Canada whose conciliatory policies did much to enhance goodwill.

John Coape Sherbrooke was born in Arnold, Nottinghamshire, England, on April 29, 1764, a member of the landed gentry. He joined the army in 1780 as an ensign in the Fourth Regiment of Foot and was steadily promoted over the years. By 1793, he had risen to major with the 33rd Regiment, in which Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, was lieutenant colonel. The following year he accompanied the Duke of York during his aborted campaign to Holland, acquitted himself well, and rose to lieutenant colonel. Sherbrooke was next shipped to India, where he

garnered additional laurels during the Mysore War. During the assault on Seringapatam he was among the first officers to storm the walls, was knocked down by a musketball, but quickly recovered. Ill health then forced him back to England in 1800, where he remained until 1805. Promoted to major general, Sherbrooke was dispatched to Sicily to command a joint British-Italian force on the island with a rank of major general. At this time one fellow officer described him as "hot as a pepper, and rough in language, but with a warm heart and generous feelings, true, straight forward, giving vent to his detestation with boiling eagerness." Soon after, the outspoken Sherbrooke reported for duty in Spain under Wellington and proceeded to fight with distinction at Oporto and Talavera in 1810–1811. The Great Duke was thoroughly pleased with his abilities as a leader, pronouncing him "a very good officer, but the most passionate man, I think, I ever knew." Sherbrooke subsequently re-

paired back to England, where in June 1811 he gained a promotion to lieutenant general and an appointment as lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. Sherbrooke was no stranger to Canada, having served on Cape Breton Island during 1784–1786.

Within a year of taking office at Halifax, Sherbrooke faced the daunting prospect of war with the United States. Over the next two years, with rather scanty resources, he went to great lengths to improve defenses within the maritime provinces and to increase the size and readiness of the militia. Sherbrooke's efforts were abated by the strident antiwar sentiments of neighboring New England, whose commercial-minded elites generally opposed the War of 1812. Taking the hint, the general went to great lengths to foster illicit trade between the two regions, granting trade licenses in wartime and promoting duty-free American goods. He was especially careful to remind Canadians that war against American civilians accomplished little good and exhorted them to respect their persons and property. Needless to say, the rapacious Yankees availed themselves of such a favorable clime and freely traded with the enemy. Both sides accumulated much prosperity over the next two years, being the only regions of North America to do so. Sherbrooke was also responsible for the outfitting of numerous Canadian privateers who preyed upon New England shipping.

British attitudes toward the United States hardened following the downfall of Napoleon in April 1814, and Lord Henry Bathurst, secretary of the colonies, instructed Sherbrooke to assume the offensive. He was ordered to occupy parts of northern Maine Territory that would facilitate communications between the Maritime Provinces and Lower Canada. It was also hoped that such acquisitions, if not annexed outright, would improve the bargaining position of British peace negotiators at Ghent. Accordingly, in September 1814 Sherbrooke assembled Gen. Gerard Gosselin and 2,500 men of the 29th, 60th, 69th, and 98th Regiments. They then embarked aboard the fleet

of Adm. Edward Griffith and made way for their first objective, the port of Castine. In the face of such an onslaught, the local militia spiked their cannons and fled, leaving the town in British hands without a shot being fired. Gosselin then proceeded up the Penobscot River, where it was known that the corvette USS *Adams* under Capt. Charles Morris was anchored. Morris worked his vessel as far upstream as Hampden, offloaded his cannons, and prepared to fight. On September 3, British forces under Lt. Col. Henry John attacked and routed the militia, forcing Morris to burn his vessel and retreat overland. At this point, the British were firmly in control of 100 miles of Maine's coastline.

The following eight months proved a curious interlude in the history of border relations between America and Canada. Not surprisingly, most inhabitants of Maine took an oath of allegiance to the Crown and continued their lucrative trade with them. The abundance of British gold more than compensated for this distressing lack of patriotism. Fortunately for the United States, the Treaty of Ghent, signed on December 24, 1814, required Britain to relinquish all its newly acquired holdings. Before leaving, the British had accrued considerable sums of customs revenue during their occupation of Castine. Sherbrooke ordered that the funds be used to establish several libraries in Halifax, along with present-day Dalhousie University.

Sherbrooke remained at Halifax until April 1816, when he replaced **George Prevost** as governor-general of Canada. The residents of Nova Scotia, who esteemed his excellent services as governor, voted him an expensive plate before he departed. Once at Quebec, Sherbrooke inherited a province that was badly divided across religious and ethnic grounds, especially seeing that the so-called English Party was tired of political appeasement toward the French. Sherbrooke, despite his reputation for testiness, surprised everyone by his impartial and clear-eyed approach to Canada's problems. In fact, impartiality in dealing with all factions became his trade-

mark. Sherbrooke was a practicing Anglican, but he was especially careful to court the favor of the Roman Catholic clergy. In fact, Bishop Joseph-Octave Pleiss and Sherbrooke formed a fast and enduring friendship while smoothing out their respective political differences. He consequently enjoyed the confidence and good intentions of the legislature, which passed his civil appointees without major dissent. Sherbrooke suffered a stroke that required his resignation in February 1818. Nevertheless, he left Canada in far better—and more tranquil—shape than he had inherited it, and he is still regarded as one its finest administrators. Back in England Sherbrooke lived in quiet retirement at Calverton, Nottinghamshire, until his death there on February 14, 1830. He was a unique soldier of his generation, being accomplished on the battlefield yet equally adept in the political arena.

Sibley, Henry Hopkins

(May 25, 1816–August 23, 1886)
Confederate General

Sibley led the famous but ill-fated attempt to conquer New Mexico for the Confederacy. Defeated more by alcohol than Union resistance, he failed to secure a major command for the rest of the Civil War.

Henry Hopkins Sibley was born in Natchitoches, Louisiana, on May 25, 1816, and educated at private schools in Ohio. In 1833, Sibley gained admission to West Point and was held back one year before finally graduating thirty-first out of a class of 45 in 1838. Commissioned a second lieutenant of the Second U.S. Dragoons, he fought in Florida's Second Seminole War before performing garrison duty at posts throughout the Old Southwest. Sibley also fought in the Mexican War (1846–1848), receiving praise for courage at Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey and a promotion to brevet major. Af-

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terward, he resumed service along the Texas frontier. There Sibley proved somewhat given to tinkering, and while at Fort Belknap he had the opportunity to examine several Comanche Indian tepees. He then designed the "Sibley tent," based upon the Indian version but equipped with a small metal stove and a single stove pipe to keep smoke out. Warm and functional, the Sibley tent was adopted by the frontier army and was also employed by both sides during the Civil War. However, Sibley, who probably suffered from kidney stones, was in constant physical pain and drank heavily for relief. By middle age, he was severely alcoholic and had behavioral problems with superiors. In 1858, he accompanied Maj. Philip St. George Cooke's column during the Mormon Expedition, but he quarreled with Cooke and was court-martialed. There-

after, he spent his time in various garrisons throughout New Mexico and campaigned against the Apache Indians under Maj. Edward R.S. Canby. Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, Sibley resigned his commission the same day he gained a promotion to major.

In May 1861, Sibley ventured to Richmond, Virginia, to confer with Confederate President **Jefferson Davis**. He prevailed upon him for a brigadier general's commission and the authority to raise an expedition to conquer the American West for Dixie. It was anticipated that this expedient, once successful, would grant Confederate access to the goldfields of Colorado—and a steady source of revenue. Furthermore, ports seized in California were not subject to Union blockade. Although a grandiose scheme, it would have materially assisted the Confederacy, but Sibley, in poor health and drinking heavily, was scarcely up to such a demanding task. He nonetheless arrived in San Antonio that fall to raise the "Sibley Brigade" of three regiments. In January 1862, he embarked on his quixotic dream of conquest by marching out of El Paso and westward into New Mexico.

From the onset, several factors militated against Confederate success. First, although Sibley commanded a force of some 2,000 men, mostly experienced frontier fighters, his logistical arrangements were slapdash at best. Unable to gather sufficient supplies, he hoped to survive by foraging in the barren New Mexico countryside and living off of captured Union stocks. Second, Sibley also anticipated a general uprising by the large Hispanic population, but given their traditional antipathy for Texans, such an outburst never occurred. The third factor was Sibley's drinking. He was almost constantly inebriated due to renal pain, and the only leadership came from his colonels and other staff officers. Hence the Army of New Mexico remained unsupplied, unsupported, and generally bereft of strategic direction.

On February 21, 1862, Sibley's expedition got off to a promising start when it engaged a larger Union force under Canby at Valverde. After a stiff fight and considerable losses to

both sides, Canby withdrew to the security of nearby Fort Craig. However, Sibley lacked artillery and resources for a protracted siege, so he bypassed Canby and marched up the Rio Grande River toward Albuquerque. This left a large enemy garrison astride his lines of communication, a major strategic mistake. Having occupied Santa Fe, the Confederate column pressed on to its next objective, Fort Union, where a large cache of supplies was stored. However, logistical problems mounted as the retreating federals destroyed everything they could not carry off. Sibley's men then defeated a Union force of Colorado militia, the so-called Pike's Peakers, at Glorieta Pass in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on February 28, 1862. Unfortunately, another Union force successfully attacked and captured Sibley's entire supply train at Apache Canyon. This unexpected reverse proved decisive. Lacking food and ammunition, Sibley had no recourse but to retrace his steps back to Texas, before the California column under Col. James H. Carleton arrived. The Confederates then withdrew while Canby's soldiers shadowed their every move. The gray-clad soldiers finally trudged into San Antonio in July 1862, minus a third of their number. No further expeditions were ever mounted from Texas, so the West remained securely in Union hands for the remainder of the war.

Sibley had no sooner arrived than he was summoned to Richmond to answer charges of intoxication. He was subsequently cleared by a court of inquiry and restored to the command of a brigade in Gen. **Richard Taylor**'s army in Louisiana. However, Sibley mishandled his men during the April 1864 Battle of Fort Bisland—on account of drinking—and Taylor had him arrested and court-martialed. Acquitted once again, Sibley's reputation was ruined, and he spent the final months of the war without a command.

After the war Sibley ventured to New York City, where in 1869, along with former Gen. **William Wing Loring**, he was recruited into the army of Khedive Ismail I as a brigadier general. He served several years in Egypt constructing coastal fortifications before he was

dismissed for drinking in 1873. Sibley returned to the United States, where he settled down in Fredericksburg, Virginia, living in poverty. He spent the last few months of his life trying to obtain royalties arising from the government's purchase of his Sibley tent. Unfortunately for him, all contractual payments had ceased the moment he entered Confederate service. Sibley died in Fredericksburg on August 23, 1886, one of the South's most ineffective military figures.

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Simcoe, John Graves

(February 25, 1752–October 26, 1806)
English Army Officer; Colonial Governor

Hard-hitting Simcoe was one of the most successful exponents of guerrilla tactics during the American Revolution. He was a well-read, highly literate military professional with an exemplary combat record, and his Queen's Rangers were probably the best all-around light infantry unit of the entire war.

John Graves Simcoe was born in Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, England, on February 25, 1752, the son of a Royal Navy captain. His father died of illness while serving at the siege of Quebec in 1759. Simcoe was well-educated, having studied at Exeter, Eton, and Oxford, and in 1771 he obtained an ensign's commission in the 35th Regiment of Foot. Throughout his military career the young man retained a scholarly bent, and he was versed in the classic military texts of Tacitus and Xenophon. Following the outbreak of the

American Revolution in April 1775, Simcoe accompanied his regiment to Boston and arrived two days after the Battle of Bunker Hill. He then transferred to the 40th Foot as a captain and participated in numerous battles and skirmishes over the next two years. Simcoe fought conspicuously while leading his grenadier company at Brandywine in September 1777 and was badly wounded. Previously, he expressed to superiors his belief that the British army lacked truly effective light infantry that could meet the vaunted American riflemen on equal terms. His criticism was entertained by Gen. **William Howe**, and in October 1777 Simcoe gained a promotion to major and was appointed commander of the Queen's Rangers. These men were skilled in the same bush-fighting tactics as the Americans and were distinctly attired in green uniforms for concealment in the forest. However,

this unit had suffered poorly at the hands of Maj. Robert Rogers, former hero of the French and Indian War, who was now incapacitated by alcoholism. Simcoe no sooner assumed control than he set about retraining his men into the most proficient light infantry force of the war. In time they amassed a battle record that was truly impressive.

At its peak, the Queen's Rangers consisted of 11 companies of 30 men each, including a highlander company, a grenadier company, and two troops of hussars (light cavalry). Simcoe instituted a system of marching and field discipline that, while strict, respected the intelligence of individual soldiers and encouraged initiative. Movement was always executed in quick time and in complete silence, and plundering was strictly forbidden. Great emphasis was also placed upon scouting, shooting, and bayonet drill. By the time the Queen's Rangers were redeployed under Simcoe in the spring of 1778, they were virtually a new unit. The Americans learned at great cost how effective they had become.

Commencing in March 1778, Simcoe began ambushing and mauling a series of militia detachments throughout Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In May he accompanied Gen. **James Grant's** botched attempt to snare the Marquis de Lafayette at Barren Hill but subsequently performed useful service covering Gen. **Henry Clinton's** overland march from Philadelphia to New York. From there, Simcoe engaged in a constant and generally successful war of outposts around Staten Island, New Jersey, and the New York highlands.



John Graves Simcoe
National Archives of Canada

Clinton was so pleased by Simcoe's performance that he promoted him to lieutenant colonel as of June 1778. The following year the Queen's Rangers distinguished themselves again during actions at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point along the Hudson River. Consequently, the unit was honored by being officially renamed the First American Regiment. However, while returning from a successful raid in New Jersey, Simcoe was himself ambushed and taken prisoner on October 17, 1779. After a brief internment, he was exchanged two months later and rejoined the Rangers back in New York.

In the spring of 1780, Simcoe shipped south with Lord **Francis Rawdon-Hastings** to join General Clinton during his successful siege of Charleston, South Carolina. He presided over several successful skirmishes and worked closely with two other talented partisan commanders, **Patrick Ferguson** and the soon-to-be-infamous **Banastre Tarleton**. Following the surrender of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's army in May, the Queen's Rangers returned to New York with Clinton. There they accompanied Gen. **Wilhelm von Knyphausen** during his successful raids against Connecticut Farms and Springfield, New Jersey. After several more months of successful skirmishing, Simcoe was assigned to the staff of Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, who had recently defected. This arrangement arose through the none-too-subtle expedient that the British did not exactly trust the American traitor, and Simcoe was assigned to watch him closely. As events proved, the two men—both talented military leaders—worked together well.

In December 1780, Simcoe sailed to Virginia as part of Arnold's large-scale raiding force. This was undertaken to rally Loyalist sympathizers, raise havoc in American rear areas, and possibly cut off Gen. Nathaniel Greene, operating in North Carolina, from his base. Simcoe conducted several sharp and successful operations against the militia that culminated in his partial destruction of Richmond. At Point of Forks on June 5, 1781, the Queen's Rangers engaged and defeated a much larger force of Americans under the famous Baron von Steuben. In the course of these activities, Arnold was succeeded by Gen. **William Phillips** (who died of illness) and then Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**. The British army was then running out of options, so Cornwallis concentrated his forces at Yorktown and ordered Simcoe to join his garrison. The Queen's Rangers were subsequently posted across the York River with Tarleton at Gloucester Point and had several sharp engagements with French forces. Following the British surrender on October 17, 1781, Simcoe and his command were paroled and sent to New York. The Queen's Rangers were finally disbanded at New Brunswick, Canada, in October 1783, but under Simcoe's tutelage they had acquired a reputation second to none.

In 1781, Simcoe returned to England, where he was introduced to King George III and withdrew from public life to live on his estates. However, he emerged in 1790 to gain election to Parliament, and the following year Simcoe was appointed lieutenant governor of newly created Upper Canada (now Ontario). He assumed office in July 1792 at Newark (Niagara) and was primarily preoccupied by the resettlement of Loyalist refugees. Simcoe also took active interest in provincial defense and promoting agriculture, positions that sometimes placed him at odds with the governor-general, **Guy Carleton**. Furthermore, he reestablished a new Queen's Rangers battalion, with himself as colonel, as the nucleus of provincial defense. Simcoe was also virulently anti-American, and the United States strongly suspected him of stirring up Indian

hostilities along the western frontier. One of his last acts was to relocate the provincial capital from Newark to York (now Toronto), where it remains today. Despite Simcoe's brief and sometimes stormy tenure in office, Canadians honored him by christening a lake, county, and town in his honor.

In 1794, Simcoe advanced to major general and was installed as governor-general of the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo. As before, he was a vigorous administrator who accomplished much good. Following his return to England in 1797, Simcoe became a lieutenant general, and four years later he assumed control of Plymouth's defenses in anticipation of a possible French invasion. In 1806, he ventured to Portugal to assist in that country's defense against Napoleon but fell ill. Sailing home, Simcoe then learned of his appointment as commander in chief of British forces in India. Unfortunately, he died at Devonshire on October 26, 1806, at the age of 54. This learned, scholarly warrior had functioned as one of the finest light infantry officers in the American Revolution. Moreover, the legacy of the Queen's Rangers remains a cherished part of Canada's military heritage.

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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Sitting Bull

(ca. 1832–December 15, 1890)
Sioux War Chief, Shaman

Perhaps the best-known Native American warrior, Sitting Bull was an implacable enemy of white encroachment and assimilation. His skill in uniting the various Plains tribes led to the Great Sioux War of 1876 and the defeat of George A. Custer at Little Bighorn. Even when it was clear that his people could not prevail in a conflict with whites, Sitting Bull refused to abandon his traditional way of life. He literally preferred to die rather than change.

Sitting Bull (Tatanka Iyotake) was born around 1832 along the Grand River in South Dakota into the Hunkpapa Sioux nation. His father, a war chief of the same name, christened his son Hunkesni (Slow) on account of his deliberate mannerisms, but the youngster became renowned for physical prowess. He killed his first buffalo at the age of 10, and by 14 he was involved in raids against neighboring Crow Indians, counting many coups, or personal acts of bravery, against them. About 1856, Sitting Bull adopted his father's name and became head of the Strong Heart's lodge, an elite warrior



Sitting Bull
National Archives

society, on account of his skill in battle. He was also highly regarded for his spirituality and the great number of visions he experienced. By this time the tide of white settler expansion began intruding on the Hunkpapa hunting grounds. In 1864, Sitting Bull skirmished with the U.S. Army as a result of Little Crow's uprising in Minnesota, and he first came into contact with representatives of the American government. Sitting Bull, a generous man, treated his erstwhile enemies cordially but made clear his determination to preserve the traditional Sioux

hunting grounds and his way of life. It was a theme he endlessly repeated over the next three decades.

By 1866, Sitting Bull had become one of the principal war chiefs of the Lakota and Oglala Sioux, in league with his talented subordinate **Crazy Horse**. He did not participate in Chief **Red Cloud's** victorious war along the Bozeman Trail in 1868, but Sitting Bull did accept the conditions of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, which removed white influence and reserved the Black Hills region of South Dakota for the

Sioux. An uneasy truce of six years ensued, but it was broken in 1874 by the gold-hunting expedition into the Black Hills led by Custer. Sitting Bull, a medicine man, was so incensed by this desecration of sacred ground that he began gathering various bands into a coalition to drive out the whites. By 1875, he had assembled upward of 4,000 warriors from the Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne nations and was chosen head of the war council. The American government, disturbed by this unusual display of unity, summarily ordered the nontreaty, or "hostile," Sioux factions to reservations by the end of January 1876. It was announced that failure to do so would result in military action. However, Sitting Bull functioned as a rallying point for Sioux nationalism. When he and the others refused to be intimidated, the army began marshaling its strength against them. The result was the Great Sioux War of 1876, the last attempt by Plains Indians to preserve their traditions.

By June 1876, three army columns were converging on the Indian confederation, but Sitting Bull remained undeterred. That month, he performed a Sun Dance lasting a day and a half, during which he was smitten by visions of army soldiers falling on the Indian camp like rain. This was interpreted as a sign of victory, and it redoubled the warriors' courage. On June 17, Crazy Horse engaged a column led by Gen. George Crook at Rosebud Creek and forced its withdrawal. The Indians soon regrouped along Greasy Grass Creek near the Little Bighorn River to await developments, and on June 24 they were attacked by a second column under Custer. As senior warrior, Sitting Bull was not allowed to participate in the fighting; his duty was to remain behind and make "good medicine" to affect the outcome of events. In his absence, war bands under Crazy Horse and Gall defeated a detachment of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry under Maj. Marcus A. Reno and drove it off. The victorious warriors then returned, surrounded five companies of cavalry under Custer, and wiped them out. This humiliating defeat electrified the nation and stung the American gov-

ernment into prosecuting the war with greater vigor. No sooner had the Indian coalition beaten Custer than it broke up to forage, continually harried by soldiers well into the winter. At one point, Sitting Bull's ravaged band parleyed with Gen. Nelson A. Miles, but when the chief refused to lay down his arms and live on a reservation, fighting broke out. The majority of cold, hungry Sioux laid down their arms, but Sitting Bull rejected compromise and fled to Canada with 2,000 followers in May 1877. The Canadian government made no effort to evict them, but it also refused to supply them with food. Famine and disease took its toll among the survivors, and in July 1881 Sitting Bull led the remaining 187 followers back to Fort Buford, North Dakota, under a general amnesty.

Sitting Bull remained imprisoned for nearly two years at Fort Randall, South Dakota, before rejoining his people. He then took up residence at the Standing Rock Reservation, remaining contemptuous of whites and resisting all attempts at either religious or cultural conversion. The Indian agency was uneasy about his sullen defiance and, eager for him to leave, encouraged Sitting Bull to tour the United States as part of "Buffalo" Bill Cody's Wild West Show during 1885–1886. He apparently enjoyed the attention of white audiences, autographed hundreds of photographic portraits of himself, and even met with President Grover Cleveland in Washington, D.C., but the old chief remained fixed in his opposition to white intentions. By the time he returned to Standing Rock in 1887, a new religious movement had appeared among the Sioux, the so-called Ghost Dance religion. This form of nativistic worship was viewed as a source of potential hostility by the Indian agency. Sitting Bull encouraged the movement to counter Christian missionaries sent among the Native Americans. He also vigorously condemned the land agreement of 1889, which split the Sioux reservation in half and opened it to homesteaders. Fearing a general uprising, the authorities decided that it would be safer if Sitting Bull was removed from the reservation,

and on December 15, 1890, orders to arrest him were issued. Several Apache Indian police confronted the old chief at his residence, and he surrendered without a struggle. However, numerous followers surrounded his lodge and blocked his departure. Shots rang out on both sides and Sitting Bull, his teenage son, and five Sioux lay dead in the snow. Six Apache policemen also died. A few days later, a detachment of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry also massacred a number of Ghost Dance followers at Wounded Knee, bringing the tale of Sioux resistance to its final, tragic conclusion. Defeat may have been inevitable, but to his final days Sitting Bull was unyielding in his determination to live only the life of his forefathers.

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Skorzeny, Otto

(June 12, 1908–July 5, 1975)

German Waffen-SS Officer

Reveled as "the most dangerous man in Europe," Skorzeny was a special-forces leader of exceptional size, bravery, and guile. His daring exploits include rescuing Italian dictator **Benito Mussolini** in 1943 and kidnapping other heads of state. After World War II he channeled his clandestine expertise into an underground railroad to rescue former SS personnel.

Otto Skorzeny was born in Vienna, Austria, on June 12, 1908, where he trained as an engineer. While studying at the University of Vienna he joined one of the many dueling societies then in vogue and acquired a facial scar across his left cheek. Within a few years, he

would be known as "Scarface" to friend and enemy alike. The hardships of the Great Depression induced him to join the Nazi Party in 1930, for he believed that only **Adolf Hitler**, a fellow Austrian, could rescue the country. In 1938, he became an active participant in the Anschluss, Hitler's forced annexation of his country to Germany. Skorzeny was working for a construction firm when he was drafted into the military, but to avoid the drudgery of army life, he tried joining the Luftwaffe as a pilot. Rejected as too old, he served as a communications expert before volunteering for the elite SS (*Schutzstaffeln*, or protection squads), Hitler's personal armed forces. With

his massive, six-foot, four-inch frame and a buccaneering disposition to match, Skorzeny seemed perfectly suited for the role.

After the fall of France in May 1940, Skorzeny received special training for the anticipated invasion of Great Britain. However, that operation was canceled, and he found himself transferred to Yugoslavia. There Skorzeny distinguished himself by rash bravery and coolness under fire, winning his promotion to lieutenant. He thereafter served in Russia through the summer of 1942, when severe injuries—and gallstones—required convalescence at home. For almost a year he chafed behind a desk, having been declared unfit for active duty. Hitler thought otherwise, and on April 18, 1943, Skorzeny was promoted to captain and selected to lead the newly created department of German special forces.

Imposing and physically robust, Skorzeny was an ideal choice for the task, athletic, quick-witted, and personally fearless. He then closely studied the techniques and equipment of the famous British commandos, incorporating several and improvising others. Skorzeny's first—and most famous—test occurred two months later in July 1943. The Allied invasion of Italy triggered an uprising against dictator Benito Mussolini, who was arrested. Once the Italian monarchy was restored, Mussolini remained under house arrest at a small ski resort in the Abruzzi Mountains of central Italy. This was situated on a 6,000-foot plateau in the Gran Sasso Massif, accessible only by railcar. On September 12, 1943, Skorzeny, assisted by a detachment of gliders provided by



Otto Skorzeny
Imperial War Museum

Gen. **Kurt Student**, stealthily landed near the hotel undetected. He then stormed the hotel with 90 commandos, securing Mussolini without firing a shot. Grateful and somewhat surprised, *il duce* was then whisked away by light airplane to Rome and installed as the leader of northern Italy. This was one of the most daring commando missions of the war—flawlessly executed. For his role, Skorzeny received the prestigious *Ritterkreuz* (Knight's Cross) and a promotion to major. Hitler also authorized him to raise several battalions of commandos for use along every front.

Skorzeny's next assignment was to kidnap Marshal Philippe Petain, the leader of occupied Vichy France, and prevent him from joining the Allies. Before this mission could begin, Skorzeny was sidetracked back to Yugoslavia to apprehend the wily guerrilla leader Josef Bronz Tito. Skorzeny, accompanied by two men, spent several weeks in the mountains before they located Tito's secret hideout. They were then about to move in on him when the regional German commander refused to cooperate as requested and Tito escaped. Following the failed bomb plot against Hitler on July 20, 1944, Skorzeny raced back to Berlin and organized several police units to maintain order. A grateful Hitler then dispatched him on another covert escapade to Hungary. The Germans suspected that the country's regent, Adm. Mikos Horthy, was about to sign a separate peace with the Soviets, and Skorzeny was detailed to kidnap him. On October 14, 1944, his commandos successfully captured the admiral's son and, the following afternoon, stormed the admiral's cas-

tle, taking the regent alive—and back to Germany. Hungary was thus kept allied long enough for German forces to escape across the Carpathian Mountains. Hitler subsequently promoted his giant commando to lieutenant colonel and awarded him the German Cross in Gold. As Skorzeny's renown grew, Allied intelligence also branded him the "most dangerous man in Europe." It was a title and reputation in which he reveled.

In December 1944, Skorzeny undertook his most hazardous mission in concert with Hitler's Ardennes offensive. Entitled Operation Grief (Griffon), it entailed the infiltration of 2,000 specially trained English-speaking commandos, disguised as U.S. soldiers, behind American lines. Their mission was to seize the Meuse River bridges for German armored columns and cause havoc throughout American rear areas. Skorzeny's men enjoyed only limited success in this role, and several were apprehended and executed. Many were tripped up over routine questions about baseball, Betty Grable, or by asking for British "petrol" instead of American "gasoline." But their activity gave rise to a rumor that an assassination plot was being hatched against Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and some confusion did ensue. At length the commandos shed their disguises and fought as regular soldiers, took heavy casualties, and Skorzeny was wounded again. In the spring of 1945, Skorzeny received command of an infantry division and was ordered to defend the Lower Oder River against the Soviets. Failing that, his final mission was organizing the defenses of Hitler's mountain retreat at Bergeest-gaden. On May 10, 1945, the towering officer finally surrendered to American forces. In light of his infamous reputation, Skorzeny grew insulted that his captors had never heard of his exploits—or particularly cared.

After the war, Skorzeny, along with many other SS officers, was arrested and charged

with war crimes. He was eventually cleared, especially after several British commandos testified on his behalf. They freely admitted to using the same covert techniques that Skorzeny was being charged with. Nonetheless, he remained in close confinement for three years—and then escaped with help from former associates on July 27, 1948. Settling in Spain, he founded a successful engineering firm and acquired considerable wealth. He also established a clandestine network of agents who assisted 600 former SS personnel to escape prosecution in Germany and relocate in South America. This organization, nicknamed Die Spinne (The Spider), enjoyed the high degree of success associated with most of Skorzeny's endeavors. The most dangerous man in Europe died in Madrid on July 5, 1975. He was the most successful daredevil of World War II, a spiritual forebear to today's special forces.

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Smith, Francis

(ca. 1723–November 17, 1791)
English General

In 28 years of service, the rotund, slow-moving Smith failed to accrue much distinction beyond seniority and a reputation for stodginess. Nonetheless, he made history by commanding the fateful expedition to Concord that precipitated the American Revolution.

Francis Smith was born probably in Scotland around 1723, and he entered military service as a young man. He obtained a lieutenant's commission in the famous Royal Fusiliers in April 1741 and, six years later, transferred to the 10th Regiment of Foot as a captain. Smith remained with that unit over the next 16 years, rising to lieutenant colonel in January 1762. He next accompanied the 10th to Boston in 1767, where he became brevet colonel on September 8, 1774. There Smith acquired a reputation as a friendly, gregarious officer but one possessing relatively few military talents.

Having resided in Boston for more than a decade, Smith witnessed all the political turmoil embroiling that city over the issue of taxes. By 1775, tensions were at the breaking point, and Governor **Thomas Gage** was forced to take decisive action. That April he received positive instructions from London to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, two anti-British political agitators. This was deemed impractical by Gage, for the two men could easily slip undercover and escape. He then hit upon the expedient of sending troops



Francis Smith
Lexington Historical Society

in various towns for the purpose of seizing militia depots. Previously, in February 1775, one such force under Col. **Alexander Leslie** set out for Salem but was so harassed by townspeople that he failed to return with anything but ridicule. Gage now resolved to put on a show of force and destroy cannons and munitions deposited at the town of Concord, 16 miles from Boston. The governor, a political Whig who honestly empathized with the colonies, felt that if the militia were peacefully disarmed now, it would prevent the outbreak of violence later.

This was a crucial mission and, as such, required the presence of an officer capable of executing the task with aplomb and skill. Why Gage selected the 52-year-old Francis Smith has befuddled historians ever since. Lacking combat experience, Smith was overweight, notoriously slow in his movements, and by all accounts a mediocre leader. However, he was also the senior officer present in the Boston garrison, and to pass him over for someone with less seniority would have been insulting. Besides, Smith's reputation for caution and prudence neatly mirrored Gage's own, whatever his personal demeanor. On the evening of April 16, 1775, Smith was instructed to prepare a force of 700 men and march to Concord in the greatest possible secrecy. His force consisted of eight light infantry and eight grenadier companies culled from all the regiments garrisoned in

Boston. As a measure of further insurance, Smith's second in command was Maj. **John Pitcairn**, a steely veteran known for coolness under fire.

Smith began assembling the men on Boston Common that evening. After a short march to the beach, they were rowed by boat to Lechmere Point, a mile and a half away. The soldiers then waded ashore and waited several hours for provisions and ammunition to arrive, soaking wet and shivering cold. It was nearly 2:00 A.M. before Smith arrayed his column in marching order, then forded a deep stream to avoid the noise created by crossing a plank bridge. All during the march, the countryside was alive with the peal of church-bells and booming signal cannons—signs that the colonials knew what was afoot. Smith, now convinced that the element of surprise had been lost, sent a messenger back to Gage requesting reinforcements. Toward dawn, Smith dispatched Pitcairn and six light companies ahead of the main force to seize the bridges at Concord and hold them. En route, the British encountered a company of militia at Lexington Green, where firing ensued and the Americans were dispersed. Once Smith finally caught up with Pitcairn, both men then pushed forward into Concord. Their objective was seized, some supplies were captured and burned without incident, and Smith granted his exhausted troops one hour's repose before marching back. It was now about noon.

Shortly before departing, a light company under Capt. Lawrence Parsons exchanged shots with a militia force at North Bridge and several lives were lost. A minor exchange, but a precursor of what would follow. Smith's column then marched over the bridge in good order until they reached Meriam's Corner. There they encountered hundreds of colonial militia, flanking the road and hiding behind trees, who commenced a desultory fire upon the closely packed British ranks. Taking serious losses, Smith deployed his light troops to scour the road in advance as the scarlet mass threaded its way through a gauntlet of gunfire.

Shooting continued as they approached Fiske Hill, where Pitcairn's horse bolted from under him, and Smith was wounded in the leg. Order started disintegrating under the relentless onslaught, and the British began breaking ranks and running toward Lexington to escape their antagonists. Disaster seemed imminent save for the timely arrival of a relief column headed by Col. **Hugh Percy**. That officer collected the exhausted remnants of Smith's force and allowed them to rest while fresh troops held the rebels at bay. More fighting ensued as the column drew closer to Boston, but at length the last British soldier trudged into Charlestown at nightfall. It had been a momentous day for the British Empire, its import underscored with the blood of its soldiers. No less than 73 were killed and 250 wounded; American losses were approximately half that. After two decades of imperial friction between England and its colonies, the American Revolution began at Concord with the shot heard 'round the world. Smith's clumsy handling of a preemptive surgical strike had precipitated a war.

Despite the near disaster, brought about largely by Smith's inability to anticipate a rapidly changing situation, Gage praised him in his official dispatches and tendered him the local rank of brigadier general. He also became a full colonel and aide-de-camp to the king, a ceremonial distinction. Smith's wounds precluded his participation in the even more disastrous Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, but he was back on his feet within a few months. The recent experience of combat apparently did little to shake off his reputation for lethargy, for during the siege of Boston, when soldiers pointed out the American occupation of Dorchester Heights, he failed to report it to superiors. Smith then accompanied Gen. **William Howe** on the army's exodus to Halifax, where he assumed command of a brigade. During the August 1776 campaign against Gen. George Washington on Long Island, Smith was committed to battle, but his slovenly performance helped the

Americans retreat unscathed. He subsequently accompanied part of the army to Newport, Rhode Island, where he served under Gen. **Robert Pigot**. He was present throughout the siege of Newport and subsequently fought at the Battle of Rhode Island on August 29, 1778. Smith commanded two regiments while pursuing the army of Gen. John Sullivan, and he precipitously attacked their prepared positions at Turkey Hill. The British were abruptly repulsed, and Smith failed to threaten the American left flank for the remainder of the day—another lackluster performance.

In 1779, Smith was finally recalled to Britain, having added little to his military reputation after five years of service in the colonies. Nonetheless, his seniority held him in good stead when he was promoted to major general that year, and to lieutenant general in 1787. Despite his high rank, Smith never again held another combat command. He died in England on November 17, 1791, one of the most ineffectual British leaders of the American Revolution—and the soldier that started it.

St. Leger, Barry

(May 1, 1737–1789)
English Army Officer

In 1777, St. Leger played a key role in Sir **John Burgoyne**'s three-pronged offensive against New York. However, the failure to take strategic Fort Stanwix unraveled his mission and contributed to the British debacle at Saratoga.

Barry St. Leger was born probably on May 1, 1737, in County Kildare, Ireland, a nephew of the Fourth Viscount Doneraile. He was educated at Eton and attended Cambridge University before joining the army in April 1756 as an ensign of the 26th Regiment of Foot.

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The following year he served under Gen. James Abercromby, where he displayed some merit as a combat officer. St. Leger was then active in the reduction of Louisbourg in 1758, and he subsequently accompanied Gen. James Wolfe's successful expedition against Quebec in 1759. He gained a promotion to brigade major under Gen. James Murray during operations against Montreal in 1760, which culminated in the demise of New France. After the war, St. Leger remained in the service, rising to major of the 95th Foot as

of August 1762. Despite his relatively junior rank, he had acquired the reputation as a skillful frontier fighter.

The onset of the American Revolution in April 1775 found St. Leger functioning as lieutenant colonel of the 34th Foot. In this capacity he assisted Governor-Gen. Sir **Guy Carlton** in his efforts to drive American forces from Canada in the summer and fall of 1776. However, the following spring Sir John Burgoyne arrived in Quebec with authorization to mount a major offensive intent upon capturing Albany, New York. Such a move was envisioned to sever New England from the rest of the colonies, thereby hastening the revolution's demise. Burgoyne, in concert with Lord **George Germain**, secretary of state for the colonies, proposed a three-pronged operation to maximize British fighting potential. The general would lead 8,000 men from Canada, down the Lake Champlain Valley, to menace Albany directly. Concurrently, a second column under Gen. **William Howe** was to advance up the Hudson River to the south, taking Albany from the rear. To facilitate these two operations, a third, diversionary force would march from Oswego, New York, into the Mohawk Valley and siphon off American resources from the principal theater. This expedition would also rally numerous Loyalists to the colors. Burgoyne selected St. Leger specifically to conduct this offensive, based upon his reputation for frontier warfare, and granted him the local rank of brigadier general.

St. Leger's expedition assembled at Montreal, departing there on June 23, 1777. It consisted of nearly 1,000 men, including British regulars, some Hessian marksmen, some Canadians, and various Loyalist rangers under **John Butler** and **John Johnson**. En route they were joined by nearly 1,000 Mohawk Indians under Chiefs **Joseph Brant** and **Cornplanter**. St. Leger's initial objective was Fort Stanwix (present-day Rome, New York), built by England during the French and Indian War, since abandoned, and believed to be in poor condition. For this reason, and to

facilitate rapid movement, St. Leger took only two six-pounder and two three-pounder cannons and a handful of small mortars. Transporting heavier ordnance through the wilderness was viewed as impractical and—at the time—unnecessary. With Fort Stanwix secured, he would sweep through the Mohawk Valley, gathering strength as Loyalists joined, and rendezvous Burgoyne somewhere in the vicinity of Saratoga, New York.

St. Leger departed Oswego on July 25, 1777, and groped inland toward Fort Stanwix. However, unknown to him, the Americans under Col. Peter Gansevoort had strengthened that post since the spring and rendered it quite impregnable. Indian advanced parties arrived outside the fort only moments after a column of 200 reinforcements entered, which brought Gansevoort's garrison up to 750 men. Once St. Leger personally inspected the works, he dejectedly concluded that it was beyond his means to storm and decided upon a regular siege. Beforehand, he tried awing the garrison into submission by parading his entire force before them. The expedient backfired, however, when the Americans noticed the large proportion of Indians present and realized what defeat entailed for themselves and their families. Gansevoort consequently rejected all surrender demands and prepared to fight to the last. The siege commenced in early August and made little progress owing to the lack of heavy cannons. Worse, word was received that an 800-man relief force under Gen. Nicholas Herkimer was en route to the fort. On August 6, 1777, St. Leger sent his rangers under Butler and Johnson, and all of his Indians, to deal with the newcomers.

The ensuing Battle of Oriskany was technically a British victory, for the Americans were successfully ambushed and driven back. The Mohawks did most of the fighting, however, and took the heaviest losses. Worse, while the battle was under way, a successful sortie was launched from Fort Stanwix under Lt. Col. Marinus Willett, who stormed St. Leger's camp and plundered all the Indians' supplies and blankets. The loss of such essentials en-

raged the Native Americans, now forced to sleep on the bare ground, and they began deserting the British. St. Leger then resorted to bluffing Gansevoort into surrendering, promising that he could not control his Indians if the battle were joined. Again, the Americans haughtily rejected British terms and dared them to attack. This was clearly something St. Leger could not do. The end of the siege began on August 9, when Willett slipped through the British lines to contact Gen. Philip J. Schuyler for reinforcements. He responded by dispatching 1,000 under Gen. **Benedict Arnold**, who resorted to a ploy of his own. Arnold sent a half-deranged man, Hon Yost, into St. Leger's camp with exaggerated tales about the size of the approaching American force. Native Americans, who regarded mentally handicapped people with superstitious awe, were flummoxed by the tale and began deserting in droves. Furthermore, to make up their losses, they began plundering the British camp, demoralizing them in turn. Having lost the bulk of his force, St. Leger had no recourse but to abandon the siege and hastily retreated to Oswego. The vengeful Americans pursued, capturing large quantities of supplies, and arrived at Lake Oneida just as the last British boats departed. As St. Leger dejectedly retraced his steps back to Canada, Burgoyne lost his only potential source of reinforcements. His absence was a contributing factor to the British capitulation at Saratoga two months later.

St. Leger had no sooner reached Canada than he made preparations to march and join Burgoyne from the north. However, he had proceeded only as far as Fort Ticonderoga, New York, when word of the British surrender at Saratoga arrived, and he retraced his steps. For the balance of the war, St. Leger com-

manded several ranger regiments based in Montreal and conducted a drawn-out frontier war against the Americans. He rose to colonel in 1780 and the following year mounted an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap General Schuyler from his estate. Subsequently, Governor-General **Frederick Haldimand** ordered him back to Fort Ticonderoga to clandestinely meet with dissatisfied Vermonters under Ethan Allen. There he would discuss the possibility of allowing Vermont to become a royal province, but news of Gen. **Charles Cornwallis's** surrender at Yorktown in October 1781 canceled further negotiations.

After the war, St. Leger remained in Canada and briefly succeeded Haldimand as commander of British forces in 1784. The following year he resigned his commission on account of poor health and was dropped from the army list. He died in Canada in 1789, a contributing factor to Burgoyne's defeat and the loss of the American colonies.

See also

Arnold, Benedict

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Stewart, Alexander

(ca. 1741–December 1794)

English Army Officer

The enigmatic Stewart was a fine professional soldier and an astute tactician. His surprising victory at Eutaw Springs was the last major encounter in the south during the American Revolution, but it failed to arrest the tide of events.

Alexander Stewart was born in England about 1741, although little is known of his background and early life. He joined the army as an ensign of the 37th Regiment of Foot on April 8, 1755, and remained so stationed until July 1775. That month he transferred to the famous Third Regiment (the Buffs) as a lieutenant colonel. He was dispatched to America in 1781 and arrived at Charleston in June. The British strategic situation throughout the south had deteriorated dramatically since the previous summer, as the bulk of their army was concentrated in Virginia under Gen. **Charles Cornwallis**. His departure from the Carolinas reduced British influence to a handful of garrisons scattered about the two states. Shortly after Stewart's arrival, he pushed inland to succeed **Francis Rawdon-Hastings** as commander of field troops garrisoned at Orangeburg, South Carolina. Despite his junior rank, Stewart was the senior field army commander in the Carolinas through the fall of 1781. The thin red line had been stretched to the breaking point, and many Americans anticipated that one good shove might snap it altogether.

After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in January, and the departure of Cornwallis for Virginia, American forces under celebrated Gen. Nathaniel Greene had turned south for the purpose of picking off isolated British outposts in the Carolina backcountry. That September Greene gained intelligence about Stewart's command, which was stationed at Eutaw Springs on the Santee River, and decided to attack. Gathering up 2,200 men, including two brigades of Continentals and two

squadrons of cavalry under Col. William Washington and Harry Lee, he set out to drive Stewart back to Charleston, thereby freeing the state's interior of British control. He commanded a veteran force, well appointed and led, and covered the last 90 miles with such celerity that Stewart remained unaware of his approach until it was almost too late.

Anticipating a stout fight, Stewart quickly deployed his men in a linear fashion to await Greene's onslaught. He had the Third, 63rd, 64th Regiments, as well as a Loyalist battalion, drawn up with the Santee River protecting his right flank, a deep ravine covering the left. To his rear stood the British camp with a two-story brick house that, once barred and loopholed, made a formidable obstacle. Finally, he sent a select battalion of elite light troops and grenadiers, culled from the other formations, into a dense thicket at right angles to his right flank. If the Americans attacked, they would be forced into a frontal engagement while sustaining enfilade fire.

Greene appeared so swiftly in the vicinity that he captured 60 British out foraging for sweet potatoes. When Stewart's Loyalist cavalry trotted forward to investigate the commotion, they were ambushed and lost another 40 men. The Americans completed their deployment around 9 A.M. by arraying themselves in three lines. The first consisted of militia and partisan troops under Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens. The second was formed by three veteran Continental regiments, while the third line consisted of two squadrons of cavalry. The Battle of Eutaw Springs began when Greene sent his militia forward with orders to fire a few rounds to soften up the British line before withdrawing. They fought exceptionally well, unleashing 17 volleys before giving way. Stewart then ordered an immediate counterattack when the scattered militia withdrew. However, his line

ran abruptly into the Continentals and halted in place to engage them. A fierce firefight ensued, with heavy losses on both sides before Greene ordered his Virginia and Maryland regulars to charge the British line. Stewart's line collapsed and retreated in confusion to beyond the camp. Their commander then galloped off the field in a frantic effort to rally them.

At this juncture, Greene appeared to have won a resounding victory, but control of events quickly went awry. His surging line, instead of pursuing the British, stopped and began wildly plundering their camp. More seriously, as the cavalry under Washington and Lee moved around the British right, they trotted headlong into the elite battalion under Maj. John Majoribanks at the thickets. Several well-placed volleys sent the troopers flying rearward, and Colonel Washington was wounded and captured. Some of Greene's men had sorted themselves out, however, and made directly for the brick house to the rear of the camp. This was occupied by several Loyalist troops, who barricaded the door and poured a heavy fire upon their assailants. Suddenly, Majoribanks judged the moment right, and he charged the Americans milling in the camp. Stewart, having rallied part of his force, did the same, and Greene's entire line was forced back in semiconfusion, losing two small cannons. Wishing to avoid further damage, Greene then sounded the retreat and withdrew. Both sides had fought with commendable steadiness and determination.

Eutaw Springs is distinct in being the last major combat of the American Revolution on southern soil. It was also one of the costliest. Greene had suffered 139 killed, 375 wounded, and 8 missing, nearly a quarter of his force. Stewart's losses were heavier still, amounting to 85 killed, 351 wounded, and 430 missing and presumed captured. The casualty rate ap-

proached 42 percent and included gallant Major Majoribanks, who was fatally wounded. This was the highest percentage suffered by any army during the entire war. The thin red line had been perilously stretched, indeed, but it proved resilient under capable leadership. Stewart's losses, however, could not be easily replaced. Once Greene withdrew back into the interior, he likewise abandoned Eutaw Springs and marched for the safety of Charleston on the coast. Once again, the wily Greene had lost a battle but accomplished his mission: The Santee region of South Carolina was now free of British influence.

In May 1782, Stewart gained a promotion to colonel and was placed in charge of the Charleston garrison. He returned to England and obscurity shortly thereafter, rising to major general in April 1790 and dying there in 1794. He was an adept tactician and a capable regimental officer.

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Stuart, J.E.B. "Jeb"

(February 6, 1833–May 12, 1864)

Confederate General

Conspicuous in his plumed hat, flamboyant "Jeb" Stuart was the embodiment of everything a cavalry officer should be: brave, impetuous, brilliant, and daring. For three years during the Civil War, he was the eyes and ears of the Army of Northern Virginia and contributed greatly to many of its victories. His only stumble, at Gettysburg, was serious and may have cost the Confederacy the war. Nevertheless, Stuart is regarded as America's finest cavalry leader.

James Ewell Brown Stuart was born in Patrick County, Virginia, on February 6, 1833, and attended the U.S. Military Academy in 1850. Four years later, he graduated a respectable thirteenth in a class of 46 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Mounted Rifle Regiment. He saw active duty in Kansas and Texas before transferring to the First U.S. Cavalry. Stuart then fought in several skirmishes with the Cheyennes and was part of peace-keeping activities throughout the Bleeding Kansas period. Kansas at this time was besieged by pro- and antislavery factions, many of whom resorted to violence and murder to advance their views. While performing this service, Stuart rose to first lieutenant in 1855 and also met and married the daughter of his superior, Col. Philip St. George Cooke. Eager to enhance his meager income, Stuart turned to inventing and patented a device for fixing swords to belts. In October 1859, while visit-



J.E.B. "Jeb" Stuart
Library of Congress

ing Washington, D.C., to secure a patent for his device, he was notified of abolitionist John Brown's seizure of the government arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Stuart carried orders to Col. **Robert E. Lee** and served as his aide during operations that suppressed the insurrection. Returning west, he gained a promotion to captain in April 1861, the same month that the Civil War commenced. Stuart then resigned his commission and joined the Confederate Army.

By July 1861, Stuart was colonel of the First Virginia Cavalry Regiment and attached to the army of **Joseph E. Johnston** in the Shenandoah Valley. Stuart expertly covered Johnston as that general transferred his force by rail to Bull Run on July 21, 1861, and then distinguished himself in combat. In September, Stuart was promoted to brigadier general, and the following spring he was closely engaged in the 1862 Virginia Peninsula campaign against Gen. George B. McClellan. He fought well in a succession of battles from Yorktown to Seven Pines, and on June 12–15 Stuart led a raid that completely circled McClellan's army. All the while he was pursued by his father-in-law, Cooke, who was unable to catch him. The information Stuart gathered allowed a new commander, Lee, to attack and drive Union forces away from Richmond. Consequently, Stuart was made a major general and commander of all Confederate cavalry in the Army of Northern Virginia. He then conducted

several successful raids against Union forces, including the capture of Gen. John Pope's headquarters in August 1862, and played a prominent role in the victory at Second Manassas under Gen. **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson**. In September, Stuart's troopers rendered valuable battlefield assistance to the army at South Mountain and Antietam, raiding deeply into Pennsylvania and completing a second ride around McClellan's army. In December 1862, he also commanded the extreme right of the Confederate line at Fredericksburg, Virginia, and performed credibly.

In the spring of 1863, Stuart's cavalry performed some of the most effective scouting and reconnaissance duty of the war against the army of Gen. Joseph Hooker at Chancellorsville. There a brigade under Gen. Fitzhugh Lee uncovered the fact that the right flank of Oliver O. Howard's XI Corps was totally exposed. This information permitted Lee to dispatch Stonewall Jackson on his famous flanking attack, which subsequently routed the Union forces. When Jackson was accidentally shot by his own men and his successor, Ambrose P. Hill, was also wounded, Stuart took temporary command of the II Corps and led it competently. At this point, Stuart's self-confidence seems to have gotten the better of him. As Lee advanced northward, the Confederate cavalry was suddenly attacked by Gen. Alfred Pleasonton at Brandy Station on June 9, 1863. The result was the biggest cavalry clash of the war, and Stuart—outnumbered but not out-fought—was hard-pressed to retain the field. For the first time in the war, the Northern cavalry put on a competent showing, but muddled Union generalship resulted in a draw. Eventually the Confederates were victorious, but Stuart was criticized for allowing himself to be surprised. Stung by these remarks, he resolved to redeem his reputation with some type of grand gesture.

In late June, Lee dispatched Stuart north into Pennsylvania with discretionary orders to raid, provided he relay information about the location of Union forces. Stuart, unfortunately, misunderstood his instructions and

commenced another ride around the Union army. He thus remained out of touch with headquarters for several days. During this impasse, Lee collided with the army of Gen. George G. Meade at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863, uninformed about his strength and deployment. Stuart finally rejoined the Confederate Army late on the evening of July 2, 1863, having accomplished little. On the climactic third day of that fateful encounter, he launched an unsuccessful foray against Union lines, skirmishing furiously with the cavalry of George A. Custer, then covered the Confederate withdrawal. Many contemporaries at the time, and historians to this day, ascribe Lee's defeat to a lack of proper intelligence. Only Stuart could have provided such information; this he clearly failed to do.

After his Gettysburg experience and the harsh criticism that followed, Stuart resolved to maintain close contact with Lee's headquarters. Through the beginning phase of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's overland campaign of 1864, he functioned brilliantly as a screening, scouting, and delaying force, relaying a valuable stream of intelligence to the commanding general. At length, an exasperated Grant unleashed Gen. Philip H. Sheridan with 12,000 veteran troopers on a raid toward Richmond to lure Stuart out into the open and destroy him. An indecisive skirmish occurred at Todd's Tavern on May 9, 1864, but two days later Stuart confronted Sheridan's legions with less than half his number at Yellow Tavern. In a confused fight only six miles from Richmond, Stuart was shot and mortally wounded. He was painfully conveyed to Richmond, where he died on May 12, 1864. When informed of Stuart's passing, a very sad Lee declared, "He never brought me a piece of false information."

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Student, Kurt

(May 12, 1890–July 1, 1978)

German General

Student was a pioneer of airborne warfare whose paratroopers and glider forces were the envy of the world. However, the costly victory at Crete in 1941 underscored their limitations, and his men were grounded for the rest of the war. Three years later Student was called upon to help thwart the biggest airborne offensive in history.

Kurt Student was born on May 12, 1890, in Birkhonz, Germany, the scion of a minor aristocratic family. After graduating from the Lichterfeld Cadet School in 1908, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the York Jäger (sharpshooter) battalion, and two years later he was selected to



Kurt Student
Imperial War Museum

pass through the elite *Kriegsakademie* (war college) at Danzig. By this time aviation technology had developed to the point where military applications were feasible, and Student volunteered for pilot training in 1913. When World War I commenced the following year, he flew along the Eastern Front as a fighter pilot. In 1915, Student transferred to the Western Front commanding a fighter squadron with the rank of captain. But by war's end, the Treaty of Versailles forbade Germany from possessing military aircraft, so Student transferred back to the infantry.

The interwar period proved an innovative time for Student. Ger-

many had embarked on a covert rearmament program and was experimenting with new kinds of warfare. By 1921, Student had mastered the sport of gliding, and his fertile mind explored the possibility of its military applications. Furthermore, between 1924 and 1928, he functioned in the Soviet Union as an observer and witnessed firsthand large-scale parachute drops by the Red Army. More than anything else, the notion of air-dropped infantry fired his imagination. However, Germany still abided by the Versailles Treaty, so such experiments remained illegal—at least publicly. Student subsequently fulfilled a stint of service with the Central Flying Office and as director of air technology before **Adolf Hitler's** rise to power in 1933.

Intent upon restoring German pride and military might, Hitler disregarded Versailles altogether and commenced national rearmament. In 1935, Student joined the newly formed Luftwaffe as a lieutenant colonel and established new technical courses for airmen. Promoted to colonel by 1938, he realized a personal dream by establishing Germany's first school for airborne warfare. He implemented exacting physical and mental standards for potential paratroopers, whom he envisioned as a hard-hitting elite. He also urged the creation of specialized weapons and equipment for parachutists, laid the foundation for glider-borne assault troops, and created specialized transports to convey weapons and supplies to drop zones. Significantly, Student was also the first military commander to implement psychological screening of volunteers to ensure they could withstand the rigors inherent in airborne warfare. For months thereafter, the German parachute infantry (*fallschirmjäger*) of the Seventh Fliegerdivision was a closely guarded secret, but it would become the pride of the military. The German High Command was so impressed by Student's achievements that it raised him to major general in 1938.

When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Student's 4,000 troops sat idly on the sidelines because Hitler did not want to com-

promise their existence. It was not until May 1940 that he could conduct his first wartime drops against the Low Countries. There Student directed history's first airborne assault against Fort Eben Emael and several strategic bridges in Belgium. These were quickly secured with little loss, as was the Albert Canal. In the severe fighting that followed around Rotterdam, Student sustained a head wound and spent several months recuperating. But through surprise and mobility, his paratroopers had proved their value to the Nazi regime. He gained a promotion to lieutenant general as a consequence. Allied forces then paid him an even greater compliment by raising airborne forces of their own.

By the time Student resumed active duty in January 1941, he became tasked with his most ambitious conquest: the British-held island of Crete. To accomplish this, he assembled 10,000 parachute and glider personnel, backed by aerial transport and air cover. Operation Merkur (Mercury) was intended as the biggest aerial assault in history. Its objective was to secure an island garrisoned by 27,000 British troops and 14,000 Greek troops under the command of Gen. Bernard Freyburg. Hitler, however, insisted that Student remain behind and direct operations from the mainland. On May 20, 1941, the first German elements arrived over Crete, but they encountered fierce resistance. Disregarding heavy losses, the *fallschirmjäger* wrested control of the Maleme airfield from the British, and reinforcements were brought in. Additional troops also arrived by sea over the next two weeks. The Germans eventually forced Freyburg to evacuate the island altogether, although his forces survived intact. The same could not be said for Student's: Nearly 7,000 of his handpicked soldiers were casualties. Hitler concluded that airborne operations were too costly and grounded the paratroopers for the rest of the war.

German airborne troops subsequently functioned as an elite infantry force, numbering upward of 150,000 men. Over the next four years they fought with remarkable stamina,

skill, and courage, distinguishing themselves in Russia, France, and Italy. In September 1943, Student acquired additional renown when he piloted elite forces under **Otto Skorzeny** to rescue Italian dictator **Benito Mussolini** from a mountain resort. Thereafter, he transferred north as part of the Normandy defenses. Student's men fought tenaciously throughout the Allied drive to the Rhine, winning plaudits for military skill, but proved unable to stem the tide. By fall, Student was in Holland commanding the First Paratroop Army as part of Army Group B under Gen. **Walter Model**. In September 1944, the Allies mounted Operation Market Garden, the dropping of 20,000 airborne troops throughout Holland. Student openly marveled over the sheer size of the maneuver, declaring, "Oh, how I wish I had ever had such powerful means at my disposal." He then lent his technical expertise defeating it, materially assisted by a copy of Allied plans retrieved from a captured glider. German *fallschirmjägers* then fought against British paras and Americans of the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions under Anthony C. McAuliffe and James M. Gavin. Both sides suffered heavy losses, but at length the Allies drew off. The following month, Student was succeeded by Gen. **Johannes von Blaskowitz**, and he received command of Army Group H in Holland. He then led a skillful fighting retreat to the German border. In March 1945, Student led his beloved paratroopers for the last time in an unsuccessful attack against Allied bridgeheads over the Rhine River. He then surrendered to British forces in April, concluding one of the most remarkable careers in German military history.

After the war, Student was held in prison for several years but was never charged. Released in 1948, he lived in quiet retirement at Lemgo, Germany, until his death there on July 1, 1978. Since his pioneering efforts of the late 1930s, airborne forces have become permanent fixtures in virtually every major military power. This, and not the desperate actions of World War II, is perhaps his greatest legacy.

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Tall Bull

(ca. 1830–July 11, 1869)

Cheyenne Warrior

Tall Bull was the last chief of the famous Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, a skillful exponent of raiding and mounted warfare. His death at Summit Springs spelled the end of this fierce military society and its dominance of the Southern Plains.

Tall Bull, also called Hotoakihoois, was born on the Southern Plains around 1830 into the Southern Cheyenne nation. His name was apparently a hereditary one, for at least four other members of the tribe carried it, but he was the most famous. As a young man Tall Bull excelled as a warrior and was inducted into the militant society known as the Dog Soldiers. This group was then starting to emerge from a combination of ambitious young warriors and social outcasts who banded together for the sheer exhilaration of fighting. Many within the Cheyenne tribe regarded them as lawless, but in battle they had few peers among the Plains Indians. Their fighting skills were honed through years of sporadic warfare against neighboring tribes, but after 1860 their attention became more and more occupied by conflict with white settlers approaching their lands. Around this time Tall Bull had risen to war chief of the Dog Soldiers and thus wielded considerable authority over the tribe in matters of war and peace. Not surprisingly, he was a friend and confidant of **Roman Nose**, another influential warrior.

The fragile peace between the Cheyennes and whites was shattered in November 1864 following the brutal attack upon peace chief **Black Kettle**'s camp at Sand Creek. Thereafter, hordes of vengeful tribesmen, Cheyenne and Sioux alike, roamed the plains in pursuit of vengeance. Undoubtedly, Tall Bull was foremost in assembling his Dog Soldiers for a retaliatory strike upon the village of Julesburg, Colorado Territory, on January 7, 1865. On that occasion as many as 1,000 Sioux and

Cheyenne were deployed in ambush while a smaller party deceptively enticed the garrison at nearby Fort Rankin to pursue them. A company of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry took the bait, but before Tall Bull and others could strike decisively, a party of younger warriors prematurely sprang the trap and the soldiers escaped. Denied of victory, the angry Dog Soldiers then plundered and burned the abandoned town while its inhabitants watched helplessly from the fort. On February 2, 1865, Tall Bull led another raid on Julesburg with similar results. These events underscored Indian anger over the Sand Creek Massacre.

After two years of fighting, both sides wearied of conflict, and Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock arranged a general peace council at Fort Larned, Kansas. In October 1867, many tribes signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge with the United States, whereby they abandoned their traditional hunting ranges for new homes on reservations in Oklahoma. However, Tall Bull was among a handful of militant chiefs who rejected the notion of relocating. Moreover, many took inspiration from **Red Cloud**'s successes in his war along the Bozeman Trail. Tall Bull's band then resumed hunting buffalo and raiding white settlements. A new Indian war developed in 1868, and Tall Bull played a conspicuous role at the Battle of Beecher's Island, in Colorado Territory. Unfortunately, not only were 600 warriors unable to dislodge 50 white scouts from a spit of sand in the Republican River, they counted the famous Roman Nose among their dead. Apparently, it was Tall Bull and his impatient Dog Soldiers that urged the noted warrior to delay performing his elaborate purification ritual. Thus, Roman's Nose's warbonnet could no longer protect him against the white man's bullets. Angered by this personal loss, Tall Bull mauled a detachment of U.S. Cavalry under Col. W. B. Royall in October and skillfully

dodged pursuing troops under Maj. Eugene A. Carr. Turning south, Tall Bull and his Dog Soldiers next opposed Gen. Philip H. Sheridan on the Southern Plains during an exhausting winter campaign.

The spring of 1869 saw the conflict begin to draw to its inevitable conclusion. The Plains Indians, magnificent fighters, were exhausted yet confronted seemingly endless numbers of heavily armed white soldiers. But Black Kettle's recent death at the hands of Gen. George Armstrong Custer at Washita only steeled their resolve to resist. Major Carr enjoyed some success against the Sioux and Cheyennes at Beaver Creek in Kansas, so Tall Bull retaliated by hitting settlements along the Kansas frontier. This prompted Carr to organize the Republican River Expedition to corner and destroy Tall Bull and his troublesome band. In this he was assisted by a battalion of Pawnee scouts under Frank North and William "Buffalo Bill" Cody. After some preliminary skirmishing, Tall Bull encamped at Summit Springs, apparently intent upon attacking the Americans on the following day. Unfortunately, on July 11, 1869, Carr was guided to the Cheyenne camp by his Pawnees and launched a surprise attack at dawn. By the time the fighting ended, 50 of the Dog Sol-

diers had been killed, with Tall Bull among them. This encounter ended the dominance of that noted warrior society on the Southern Plains, although many survivors were subsequently absorbed into **Quanah Parker's** Comanche band.

See also

Red Cloud

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Tanaka, Razio

(1892-1969)

Japanese Admiral

“**T**enacious” Tanaka was the most accomplished Japanese destroyer leader of World War II. By skillful tactics he inflicted heavy losses on larger American forces at Tassafaronga in 1942, but Tanaka's outspoken criticism of Japanese leadership led to his removal.

Razio Tanaka was born in Yamaguchi Prefecture in 1892. He graduated from the Japanese Naval Academy in 1913 before receiving

additional training as a torpedo specialist in 1920. Promoted to lieutenant commander, Tanaka returned to the Torpedo School as an instructor, teaching there two years. Commencing in 1930 he assumed a succession of destroyer commands before rising to captain five years later. Tanaka displayed excellent seamanship and leadership qualities, traits that distinguished his career throughout World War II, so he took control of an entire destroyer

squadron in 1937. He left destroyers in 1939 to command the battleship *Kongo*, rising there to rear admiral. Tanaka returned to destroyers and was leading Destroyer Squadron Two when the Pacific War erupted in December 1941.

The first six months of the Pacific conflict were characterized by an unstoppable Japanese onslaught at sea. Tanaka was occupied by escorting duties during the Philippine invasion of December 1941, which he subsequently performed throughout the conquest of the Dutch East Indies. During the decisive Battle of the Java Sea on February 29, 1942, his destroyers successfully screened the main Japanese force, then rushed in and torpedoed several Allied warships. By June 1942, U.S. and Australian defenses had stabilized, but Japan's senior leaders felt obliged to expand their defensive perimeter by attacking Midway Island in June 1942. This proved a costly fiasco that eliminated all four Japanese aircraft carriers present. Tanaka, being tasked with escort duty, was not closely engaged, but he nonetheless discharged his monotonous duties with trademark efficiency. Midway, however, proved the turning point of war in the Pacific, for the United States soon undertook offensive operations. This transpired in August 1942, when a division of U.S. Marines landed at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands.

The Japanese, whose main naval base was at neighboring Rabaul, reacted violently to this intrusion, and a series of costly naval battles ensued. Troops of the Imperial Japanese Army were hastily dispatched to the island in an attempt to wrest it back. At this time,



Razio Tanaka
National Archives

Tanaka's command consisted of the old cruiser *Jintsu* and the destroyers *Kagero*, *Mutsuki*, *Yayoi*, *Isokaze*, and *Kawakaze*. This represented a veteran force of highly trained seaman, led by an equally skilled commander. On August 23, 1942, Tanaka was directed to bring food and reinforcements to beleaguered Japanese forces on Guadalcanal. His convoy glided silently along in the moonlight when, suddenly, American dive-bombers scored direct hits on the *Jintsu* and several transports. Damage was heavy, and for the first time in his career Tanaka shifted his flag to

another vessel and turned back.

As the struggle for Guadalcanal intensified, the Japanese navy necessarily assumed greater responsibility for supplying and reinforcing the garrison there. This resulted in the adoption of a nighttime naval resupply system that Americans dubbed the "Tokyo Express," a partially successful expedient that landed troops and supplies in dribbles. On November 14, 1942, Tanaka sallied forth again with 11 destroyers, as many transports, and 10,000 soldiers of the 38th Division. His efforts were then interrupted by enemy aircraft, which sank six transports, and only 2,000 men were landed. But throughout these difficult and costly undertakings, the Japanese commander was given the respectful nickname "Tenacious Tanaka." The Americans would soon learn just how tenacious this destroyer captain could be.

During the final phases of the naval campaign around Guadalcanal, U.S. Navy personnel consistently tried to derail the Tokyo Express. They realized that Tanaka operated only

on moonless nights for greater concealment, and they developed a strategy to ambush his convoys en route. American warships were equipped with primitive but functional radar, and they intended to detect the Japanese vessels in the dark, launch a silent torpedo attack, and then finish off the survivors with gunfire. Such was the case on November 30, 1942, when Task Force 67 under Adm. Carleton Wright, consisting of four heavy cruisers, one light cruiser, and six destroyers, lay in wait off Savo Island. At length they detected a Japanese convoy of eight ships approaching and closed for the kill. Tanaka was aware of American attempts to destroy him, and he always sailed close by the islands to obscure their radar with ground clutter. The tactic worked. When American torpedoes were launched and went astray, the fleet had to open fire at long range, sinking the destroyer *Takanami*. However, Wright had seriously underestimated Japanese skill in nighttime optics—and the effectiveness of their Long Lance torpedoes. In fact, the Japanese surface fleet, destroyers in particular, were well versed in and equipped for nocturnal combat. Guided by the flashes of American guns, Tanaka's ships fired several volleys of torpedoes at their assailants with deadly effect. They ripped through the American squadron, sinking the heavy cruiser USS *Northampton* and heavily damaging two others. As the enemy vessels burned, Tanaka then expertly disengaged, completed his mission, and slipped away into the night. His victory at Tassafaronga was the last major naval engagement of the long and grueling Guadalcanal campaign—a stunning triumph for the outnumbered Japanese.

Tanaka continued various resupply efforts until December 11, 1942, when his ship was hit off Tulagi and he was wounded. But despite his best efforts, and the wanton sacrifice of thousands of soldiers and sailors, Japanese possession of Guadalcanal was essentially doomed. Nobody knew this better than Tanaka himself. Previously, he had diplomatically suggested to superiors that the island should be abandoned to prevent further loss. Now he vociferously

demanded it and roundly criticized the overall conduct of the High Command. Such outspokenness resulted in his dismissal from Destroyer Squadron Two, with reassignment back to Japan. Officially disgraced, Tanaka was forced to accept a series of token commands in the homeland before being transferred to Burma. Assignment to this naval backwater was the equivalent of political exile, a good indication of what superiors thought of him. Tanaka was promoted to vice admiral in 1944, but with no ships to command, it was simply a hollow gesture. He had little else to do than await the conclusion of hostilities, and he finally surrendered to British authorities at Bangkok, Thailand, on January 11, 1946.

After the war, Tanaka returned to civilian life but subsequently joined the Japan Self-Defense Force in the 1950s. He also visited the United States and befriended the American officer who vied with him for the title of outstanding naval tactician of World War II—Arleigh A. Burke. As Japan's finest exponent of torpedo warfare, his official exile constituted a terrible waste of military talent. "Tenuous" Tanaka died in Japan in 1969.

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Tarleton, Banastre

(August 21, 1754–January 25, 1833)
English Army Officer

Tarleton was, unquestionably, the American Revolution's most talented exponent of mounted warfare. This dashing figure came to epitomize speed, decisive action, and, more often than not, victory. However, his talents were eclipsed by wanton cruelty, and Tarleton gained infamy throughout the South as "Bloody Ban."

Banastre Tarleton was born in Liverpool, England, on August 21, 1754, the son of a prominent politician. Educated in private schools and Oxford, he was lax in his studies and displayed infinitely more interest in gambling. Tarleton's debts were threatening to overwhelm him when, in April 1775, his mother purchased a cornet's commission in the King's Dragoon Guards. Surprisingly, this listless wastrel took immediately to military life, and after a few months of service he volunteered to fight in the American Revolution. In the spring of 1776 he sailed with the squadron of Adm. Sir **Peter Parker** to Charleston, South Carolina, as part of reinforcements destined for Gen. **Henry Clinton**. When the attack failed, Tarleton accompanied Clinton back to New York to serve under Gen. **William Howe**. He was subsequently assigned to the 16th Light Dragoons, one of two regular cavalry regiments serving in America. On December 13, 1776,



Banastre Tarleton
National Gallery Picture Library

Tarleton distinguished himself in a raid upon Basking Ridge that captured American Gen. Charles Lee. After continuous skirmishing and outpost work, he rose to regimental brigade major in January 1777 and the following year transferred to the 79th Regiment of Foot as a captain. Tarleton by this time had acquired a reputation for dash, effective reconnaissance, and decisive action—all attributes of a good cavalry leader. For these reasons, he gained a promotion to lieutenant colonel of the newly raised British Legion. This was a mixed light dragoon/light infantry force, specializing in scouting, quick movement, and rapid deployment. It was distinct among army units in that

the troops were clad in green uniforms and recruited almost entirely from Loyalist Americans. Furthermore, Tarleton's aggressive offensive spirit proved infectious to all ranks, and he molded it into one of the best offensive units on either side. So closely identified did it become with its leader that the Legion was more commonly known as Tarleton's Green Horse.

In December 1777, Tarleton's Legion shipped south as part of General Clinton's expedition against Charleston. As the city was besieged, he scoured the countryside to pre-

vent militia reinforcements from reaching the defenders. He also frequently operated in concert with two other talented partisan leaders, **Patrick Ferguson** and **John Graves Simcoe**. By this time Tarleton had perfected his tactical formula: accurate reconnaissance coupled with a sudden, relentless assault against an unprepared enemy. In quick succession, the British Legion attacked and wiped out three larger American detachments at Monck's Corner (April 14, 1780), Lenud's Ferry (May 6), and the Waxhaws (May 29). It was during this last skirmish that the British Legion gained lasting notoriety by slaughtering soldiers trying to surrender. Tarleton became forever branded as "Bloody Ban," and his atrocities were denounced as "Tarleton's quarter." But his ruthlessness on the battlefield, coupled with the terror it inspired, dissuaded militia from being where they were needed most.

After Charleston's surrender, the British Legion accompanied the advance of Gen. **Charles Cornwallis** to Camden, South Carolina. Meanwhile, an American army under Gen. Horatio Gates marched south to confront Cornwallis, and their armies collided at Camden on August 16, 1780. Gates was completely defeated, and Tarleton gained additional laurels by pursuing the fugitives for 20 miles, sabering those he caught, and capturing all their baggage and artillery. Subsequent British movements were then hampered by partisan forces under Gen. Thomas Sumter, and Cornwallis tasked Tarleton with eliminating the problem. After two weeks of maneuvering and scouting, the Legion surprised Sumter's larger force at Fishing Creek, South Carolina, on August 18, 1780, and wiped it out. Sumter barely escaped with his life. Tarleton was then unleashed against guerrillas under Col. Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," who artfully dodged the British thunderbolt by withdrawing deep into the swampland. Within weeks, Sumter had regrouped and reformed his forces and was hitting British supply lines again. The hard-charging Tarleton caught up with him at Blackstocks, South Carolina, on

November 20, 1780, defeated and wounded Sumter in a hard-fought battle, and forced his command to scatter. It seemed no militia force—then the only organized American resistance in the south—could resist this cruel, impetuous, dandy. But far from being intimidated, the population began using Tarleton's quarter as a rallying cry against him.

The 26-year-old Tarleton was by now firmly established as Cornwallis's main striking force, and he continued as a personal favorite of that aggressive officer. The general sought to follow up his success with an immediate invasion of North Carolina, but the death of Col. Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain forced him to withdraw. By fall, Cornwallis was ready to resume his march, especially seeing that a new commander, Gen. Nathaniel Greene, had arrived and was consolidating his shattered forces. With the British close behind, Greene took the unprecedented step of splitting his army into two divisions, dispatching one under Gen. Daniel Morgan to operate independently. Cornwallis did the same and sent Tarleton in hot pursuit of Morgan's band with slightly more than 1,000 men. The two sides seemed evenly matched. On January 17, 1781, the Americans awaited the British onslaught at an open field known as Hannah's Cowpens. Acknowledging the unsteady nature of his forces, Morgan resorted to a brilliant tactical expedient. His army was arrayed into three lines: The first two consisted of militia, who were ordered to fire only two volleys at close range and then retire; the third line consisted of the veteran Delaware and Maryland Continentals and a cavalry squadron under Col. William Washington, upon whose fate the battle rested. With his back to the Broad River, retreat was impossible, but Morgan was counting on Tarleton's customary impetuosity.

As expected, the British made contact with Morgan outposts around seven o'clock in the morning, and a preliminary exchange of gunfire toppled 15 Legion dragoons from their saddles. Tarleton came galloping up soon after; without pausing to reconnoiter Mor-

gan's position, he fed his infantry into a direct frontal assault. The militia fired and fell back as planned, inflicting some losses. The British were then totally halted by the stand of Morgan's Continentals, who after firing several volleys feigned a retreat. The Legion, so accustomed to seeing the backs of their opponents, immediately broke ranks and began a disorderly pursuit, which was suddenly halted when Morgan's men inexplicably halted, turned, and fired into their ranks. At this juncture the militia appeared from behind a rise and attacked one flank while Washington's cavalry assailed the another. Tarleton tried desperately to reform his ranks, but the Legion dissolved into a mass of fugitives and fled. Washington, saber drawn, managed to exchange a few cuts with the surprised British commander before he escaped and took off, hotly pursued by the victors. Lasting only an hour, Cowpens was a minor tactical masterpiece that cost the British 500 dead and captured—and Tarleton his reputation. Morgan's losses in this stunning reversal of fortune were only 12 killed and 60 wounded.

British officers had long regarded Tarleton as too cocky for his own good; now crestfallen, he tendered his resignation. Cornwallis refused and then advanced against Greene, hoping to catch him before he could unite his forces with Morgan. He barely failed in this task, and on March 6, 1781, his 1,900 men engaged a force nearly three times its size at Guilford Courthouse. After a hard-fought action, the British kept the field—but with staggering losses. Tarleton, as usual, was in the thick of the fray and lost two fingers. The British then retreated into Virginia, where the brash horseman was directed to conduct a series of lightning raids. One of these nearly captured Governor Thomas Jefferson at Charlottesville on June 4, 1781. At length, Tarleton was recalled by Cornwallis and joined the main army, then entrenched at Yorktown. Throughout the siege of that place, he commanded the forces on the Gloucester side of the river and conducted many exciting, but ultimately fruitless, forays. He was taken pris-

oner following Cornwallis's surrender there in October and paroled. While awaiting exchange, Tarleton frequently protested the fact that American officers never invited him to dinner. These complaints would have amused the southern militiamen, who would just as soon have seen him hanged by the neck.

Tarleton returned to England in 1782 and was greeted as a hero. He became a lieutenant colonel of dragoons, and between 1786 and 1806 he served intermittently in Parliament. Over the years Tarleton accrued additional promotions, rising to major general in 1794, but he never again held a combat command. He continued living as a compulsive gambler, with extravagant tastes in clothing, food, and women, until marrying Susan Bertie, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, in 1798. This maneuver had a greater effect on him than Cowpens, for he exchanged his florid lifestyle for that of a respectable country gentleman. In May 1820, Tarleton was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath at the behest of King George IV, a lifelong friend. He died at Leintwardine on January 25, 1833, largely forgotten in his own country—but infamous in the annals of American military history.

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Taylor, Richard

(January 27, 1826–April 12, 1879)
Confederate General

Although devoid of military training, Taylor was an excellent leader and among a handful of men to become a Confederate lieutenant general. His most memorable service occurred in 1864 when he completely stopped the Union’s Red River Expedition in Louisiana. He was also the last Confederate commander to surrender in the eastern theater.

Richard Taylor was born near Louisville, Kentucky, the son of Zachary Taylor, army officer and future president of the United States. He did not accompany his father while stationed along remote frontier posts but rather attended private schools in Kentucky and Massachusetts. He graduated from Yale College in 1843, having exhibited a passion for studying classical military history. When the Mexican War commenced in 1846, Taylor joined his father in Texas and was present at the opening Battles of Palo Alto and Reseca de la Palma. He declined to join the military, however, so his father allowed him to manage the family cotton plantation in Jefferson County, Mississippi. During his tenure there he became a brother-in-law of **Jefferson Davis**, himself a future president—of sorts. After his father gained the White House in 1850, Taylor convinced him to purchase Fashion, a large sugar plantation in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. He then settled down into married life, became involved

in politics, and was a familiar figure in the aristocratic circles of New Orleans. Although a staunch Democrat, Taylor was distinctly moderate on the issue of slavery, and he opposed the radical secessionist wing of his party. He was instrumental in trying to arrange a compromise between the two factions at the 1860 Democratic convention at Charleston, South Carolina. At that point Taylor concluded that secession was inevitable, and in January 1861 he voted along with the majority of the Louisiana secession convention to join the Confederacy.

After the Civil War commenced in April 1861, Taylor was elected colonel of the Ninth Louisiana Infantry, and he arrived in Virginia too late to see fighting at First Bull Run. However, in October his brother-in-law, Jeff Davis, now president of the Confederate States of America, arranged his promotion to brigadier general. This move, seen by many as outright nepotism, caused resentment among other hopefuls, but Taylor moved easily into the new role. As a leader he could—and did—draw upon years of studying military history, strategy, and tactics to assist him in the field. By the spring of 1862 Taylor formed part of Gen. **Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson’s** corps, and he fought with distinction through the famous Shenandoah campaign. At Front Royal, Winchester, and Port Republic, Taylor’s brigade formed an

elite strike force that broke through Union positions. In light of his excellent reputation, and upon Jackson's recommendation, Taylor became a major general in July 1862, the youngest Confederate leader so designated. However, his activities were curtailed by attacks of acute arthritis, probably brought on by exposure to cold weather. Therefore, at his own request, Taylor was subsequently re-assigned to the command of the District of West Louisiana, then part of the Trans-Mississippi Department under Gen. Edmund Kirby-Smith.

Confederate fortunes in the West were then at their lowest ebb since the war had begun. New Orleans had fallen in 1862, and Vicksburg a year later, so that Union forces enjoyed complete control of the Mississippi River. The Union commander at New Orleans, Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, made several attempts to invade northern Louisiana, but Taylor, through several smartly handled engagements in April and November, drove them back to New Orleans. In the spring of 1864, Union forces redoubled their efforts by deploying a large army under Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks and a gunboat flotilla under Cmdr. David D. Porter. These two officers were directed to advance along the Red River into Texas for the purpose of bringing that state back into the Union fold. It was also hoped that such a conquest would discourage French assistance to the Confederacy from occupied Mexico, as well as remove a large cotton-producing region from Southern hands. Taylor's command, meanwhile, was severely undermanned, and he continually clashed with Kirby-Smith over manpower priorities. When few reinforcements were forthcoming, he resolved to resist the Union advance up the Red River with whatever forces were available.

Throughout April 1864, Banks marched along the Red River with Porter's gunboats close by. Banks then swerved away from the river at Natchitoches, depriving himself of naval support during the advance to Shreveport. Taylor watched these developments

closely and decided to deploy his meager forces several miles below the city. As he expected, the Union column became strung out for miles, and on April 8, 1864, he decided to hit the forward elements before Banks could consolidate. Taylor's 9,000 men eagerly attacked a 12,000-man Union force in the vicinity of Mansfield and drove them from the field, capturing 20 cannons and 200 wagons. The survivors immediately fell back upon Pleasant Hill, where, reinforced, they made a determined stand. On April 9, 1862, Taylor came up and attacked again although with less success, as the enemy was prepared to receive him. This proved one of the costliest battles of the war in the west, and at length Taylor had to withdraw. Nonetheless, Banks had seen enough fighting and retreated back to New Orleans. Porter's flotilla, meanwhile, had become trapped by the unexpectedly low water levels of the Red River. Taylor fully intended upon attacking and capturing the Union vessels, but at this critical juncture, Kirby-Smith transferred almost half of his men northward to meet a smaller Union invasion of Arkansas. This act enabled both Banks and Porter to escape intact. It also enraged Taylor, who engaged in a disrespectful diatribe against his superior officer, then asked to be relieved. It was a sorry ending to an otherwise fine effort. Nevertheless, by turning back this invasion, Taylor managed to preserve a vital section of the Confederate heartland for another year.

In July 1864, President Davis promoted Taylor to lieutenant general and placed him in charge of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. This appointment made him only one of three non-West Point graduates to achieve such lofty rank. For nearly a year he coped with increasingly large Union raids and steadily shrinking manpower reserves. In January 1865, he assumed control of the remnants of the Army of Tennessee, which had been eviscerated under Gen. **John Bell Hood** at the disasters of Franklin and Nashville. Taylor was also assisted by Gen.

Nathan Bedford Forrest and his excellent cavalry, but neither man could curtail a large cavalry raid by Gen. James H. Wilson later that spring. By May 1865, all hopes for Confederate independence were dashed, and Taylor surrendered at Citronelle, Alabama, to Gen. Edward R.S. Canby. Defiant to the end, he became the last Confederate leader east of the Mississippi to capitulate.

After the war Taylor relocated to New Orleans, where he became an active figure in Democratic politics. As such he strongly opposed and denounced Reconstruction and became a vocal proponent of Southern rights. Following his wife's death in 1875, Taylor moved again, to Winchester, Virginia, then New York City, where he campaigned actively for presidential aspirant Samuel J. Tilden. Shortly before his death there on April 12, 1879, Taylor penned a set of memoirs that are regarded as one of the most lucid ever published. He was one of the most capable Confederate leaders of the west and—with sufficient resources—might have exerted decisive impact in that hard-fought theater.

Tecumseh

(ca. 1768–October 5, 1813)
Shawnee War Chief

Tecumseh is the best known and most admired Native Indian opponent of white frontier expansion. He combined military skill and oratory brilliance to fashion the biggest pan-Indian alliance since the days of **Pontiac** and **Little Turtle**. He was also unique among contemporaries by discouraging the traditional slaughter and torture of captives. However, Tecumseh's inspired leadership was alien to the usual norms of Native American leadership, and many older chiefs, feeling their authority threatened, refused to join his confederation. When Tecumseh died, his dream of a unified Indian state perished

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Forrest, Nathan Bedford; Hood, John Bell; Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"

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with him. He nonetheless remains an American folk hero of equal stature to **Crazy Horse** and **Sitting Bull**.

Tecumseh (Shooting Star) was born into the Crouching Panther clan of the Shawnee nation around 1768, near present-day Piqua, Ohio. His father was a Shawnee chief and his mother a Creek Indian. The frontier was then in a period of unrest, as colonial Americans were flooding over the Appalachian Mountains and into traditional Indian hunting grounds. Friction between the two groups resulted in Lord Dunmore's War of 1774, in which Tecumseh's father was killed. From

that time on, Tecumseh expressed an undying hatred for whites and joined numerous raiding parties beginning at the age of 16. The colonists retaliated in kind, and in 1780 militia under George Rogers Clark played havoc on the Shawnee settlements. The successful conclusion of the American Revolution only increased the tempo of westward migration and other wars resulted. In 1790 and 1791, Tecumseh gained renown as a scout and warrior under Blue Jacket, and he distinguished himself in the defeats of Josiah Harmer and Arthur St. Clair. Three years later, he was present when Blue Jacket was defeated by Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers, but he refused to sign the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. With a small group of followers, Tecumseh left Ohio for the relative safety of the Indiana Territory and removed himself from further dealings with whites.

After a decade of relative peace, Tecumseh's calm was shattered by a new series of land acquisitions. In 1804, the territorial governor of Indiana, William Henry Harrison, managed to convince several older chiefs to cede the United States several million acres through some questionable treaties. Enraged by the prospect of losing additional hunting grounds, Tecumseh established himself as a forceful opponent of further land sales. He went from tribe to tribe, arguing that since the land in question belonged to all Native Americans, none could be sold without the consent of all. His argument was backed by the teachings of his brother, **Tenskwatawa**, or The Prophet, who invoked Indian religion to counteract the destructive effects of white culture. The unique combination of intertribal diplomacy and mystic revivalism promoted a sur-



Tecumseh
Library of Congress

prising degree of unity in the Old Northwest tribes, and they began resisting white overtures. Harrison parleyed unsuccessfully with Tecumseh in 1809 but walked away very impressed by his intelligence, bearing, and resolve. He described the chief to Secretary of War William Eustis as “one of those uncommon geniuses, which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things.” The Shawnees, wishing to expand his idea of confederation,

next traveled extensively as far west as Iowa and as far south as Florida to recruit new members. In Mississippi, the noted Choctaw Chief Pushmataha rebuffed his stance with equal eloquence, but the Creek nation of Alabama, then in the throes of its own religious revival, listened closely and began preparing for war with the whites.

However, in Tecumseh's absence Harrison resolved to deal the Indians a blow from which they might not recover. Since 1809, Tenskwatawa had established and maintained a village at Tippecanoe Creek, on lands previously sold to whites. Intent on removing this symbol of Native American resistance, Harrison in November 1811 took a small army up the Wabash River in an attempt to force the Indians to move. They responded by attacking his camp on the night of November 7 and were defeated after a hard struggle. Tenskwatawa acted in defiance of Tecumseh's orders not to provoke a fight before the coalition was solvent, and his work began unraveling. Furthermore, the setback forced Tecumseh into a greater reliance on the British in Canada for arms and supplies. Clearly, the British did not want to be implicated in a war between the United States and

Native Americans, so they granted the Indians only token aid. To many in Congress, particularly the War Hawk faction of the Democratic-Republican Party, Tecumseh's forays to Canada were further proof of British intentions to incite frontier violence. This became a major cause behind the ensuing War of 1812.

When war was declared against Britain in June 1812, Tecumseh openly espoused his support for the British. He did so against the advice of his nephew, James Logan, who declared his intention to fight for the Americans and urged Tecumseh to remain neutral. But the die was cast. In August, Tecumseh joined forces with British Gen. **Isaac Brock** against the U.S. Army under Gen. William Hull at Detroit. On August 5, his warriors routed a militia supply column at Brownstown, inflicting over 200 casualties with few Indian losses. Four days later, he was himself defeated at Maguaga by Col. James Miller but remained in the vicinity of Detroit to harass the defenders. Brock's threat of an Indian massacre ultimately convinced Hull to surrender on August 16. Tecumseh's warriors then fought bravely in a number of savage encounters throughout the Old Northwest. In January 1813, they helped Gen. **Henry Proctor** destroy the army of Gen. James Winchester at Frenchtown, Michigan Territory, although Tecumseh was not present and many of the wounded prisoners were massacred. This, in turn, led to greater resolve on the part of Americans, especially Kentuckians, for revenge. In May 1813, Tecumseh directed Indian movements during Proctor's siege of Fort Meigs, Ohio, and was instrumental in repulsing a determined sortie orchestrated by his old nemesis, Harrison. However, he personally intervened to prevent another massacre of prisoners and castigated Proctor for failing to do so. The siege failed, as did a second attempt in July, and the restless warriors began deserting the British army. To prevent further dissent, Tecumseh convinced Proctor to attack Fort Stephenson in August 1813, as he felt that a victory would inspire his warriors. When British troops were disastrously repulsed by

Maj. George Croghan, Proctor decided to abandon Ohio altogether. Tecumseh had little recourse but to follow him back to Fort Malden, Ontario, and await developments.

On September 10, 1813, the British strategic position in Canada was worsened by the victory of Comdr. Oliver Hazard Perry on Lake Erie. With the waterways in American hands, Perry's fleet next transported Harrison's army to Fort Malden, and Proctor and Tecumseh commenced retreating eastward. The pursuit, mounted by vengeful Kentuckians, gradually wore down Native American morale, and Tecumseh goaded Proctor into making a final stand along the Thames River on October 5, 1813. Once the British posted themselves out in the open, Tecumseh deployed his warriors in a swamp on their flank and awaited the American attack. Harrison, in a surprising move, unloosed Col. Richard M. Johnson's cavalry, which quickly overran Proctor's men, prompting their surrender. The Native Americans, by contrast, resisted stoutly and forced the cavalry to dismount and engage them on foot. In the course of the fighting, Johnson was wounded but Tecumseh was killed, an act that caused a general Indian retreat. The Americans looked for Tecumseh's body, but it had been spirited away and buried by several of his followers, so they cut razor strips from the bodies of several warriors whom they believed was the great chief. Tecumseh's passing marked the end of organized Indian resistance to white encroachment east of the Mississippi River, a fight that would not be taken up again until **Black Hawk** in 1832. Although Tecumseh's quest for Indian unity failed, he was admired by friends and enemies alike for his vision, eloquence, and strength of character.

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Tenskwatawa

(ca. 1768–ca. November 1836)
Shawnee Prophet

Prior to the War of 1812, Tenskwatawa led a religious revitalization that swept Native American villages of the Old Northwest. He called for the abolition of white ways among his people, but his mystical call lost its potency following the Battle of Tippecanoe.

Lalawethika (Loud Voice) was born near present-day Chillicothe, Ohio, probably around 1768. He was one of two surviving triplets born to Puckeshinwa, a Shawnee war chief, and his Creek Indian wife, Methoataske. His brother, the famous **Tecumseh**, may have been the other surviving twin.

Lalawethika’s family was hard-hit in 1774 when his father was killed fighting under Chief **Cornstalk** at the battle of Point Pleasant. Lalawethika was raised by relatives, and his transition to adulthood was awkward. Unlike Tecumseh, he failed to distinguish himself as either a warrior or a hunter. Lalawethika also apparently put out one of his own eyes in a hunting accident. Unpopular among fellow Shawnees, he adapted to isolation by heavy drinking, thereby acquiring further degradation as a drunken braggart. Fighting was not his queue, either, and he

failed to gain attention during the victories of Blue Jacket and **Little Turtle** over Josiah Harmar and Arthur St. Clair in the early 1790s. In defense of his own reputation, Tecumseh prevailed upon him to participate in the 1794 campaign against Gen. Anthony Wayne, which culminated in the crushing Indian defeat at Fallen Timbers. The ensuing Treaty of Greenville evicted most Native Americans from the Ohio Valley, and by 1798 Lalawethika had followed his brother to new villages in the Indiana Territory.

The ensuing decade was particularly harsh for northeastern woodland Indians like the Shawnees. Deprived of traditional hunting grounds and beset by disease, alcoholism, and the encroachment of white civilization, traditional tribal leaders were unable to check the spread of chaos in their dwindling communities. Lalawethika continued living a dissolute existence, contributing very little to his tribe, until he underwent a life-changing experience in 1805. One day while in a drunken stupor, he experienced the first of several mystical visions destined to change his life—and that of his people. In them the “Creator of Life” told him to reject any prod-

uct or practice associated with white civilization and return to traditional Indian ways of life. This entailed the elimination of European foods, clothing, goods, and especially alcohol. Furthermore, all property was to be held in common, and marriage or any other interaction with whites was forbidden. Once this was accomplished, Native Americans would stop destroying themselves, and they could also magically make the hated Americans disappear. Lalawethika then swore off alcohol and began preaching religious revitalization to fellow Shawnees. He also adopted a new name, Tenskwatawa (The Open Door), symbolic of his new role as a mystic. In this capacity he was determined to rescue his people from debauchery.

Tenskwatawa's message of cultural purity was welcomed by the faltering Indians of the Old Northwest, and they enthusiastically embraced it. His efforts neatly coincided with Tecumseh's more secular goal of establishing a pan-Indian confederation to stop further American encroachment. The two men enjoyed some initial success shoring up tribal resistance to the sale of land by corrupt chiefs. William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, watched these successes with alarm and openly derogated the Prophet's powers. "If he is really a prophet," Harrison told them, "let him cause the sun to stand still [or] the moon to change its course." However, the ploy backfired when Tenskwatawa accurately predicted a full eclipse of the sun on June 16, 1806. New adherents now flocked to him.

Indian resentment crested in the 1809 Treaty of Fort Wayne, which ceded millions of acres of Indian land to the United States, and the brothers redoubled their efforts to resist the sale. That year, they were responsible for establishing a new village at the banks of the Tippecanoe River that the whites came to call "Prophet's Town." In fact, this distant enclave served as a headquarters for Tenskwatawa to spread his proselytizing while Tecumseh ventured as far as Alabama seeking recruits for his new alliance. The fact that this village sat

squarely on land previously sold to whites was a deliberate challenge to Harrison's authority—and he was prepared to fight for it.

In the fall of 1811, Tecumseh left the Indiana Territory and headed south to confer with the Creek Indians. Harrison, cognizant that Tecumseh constituted the military arm of the movement, allowed him to depart before advancing upon Prophet's Town with an army of 1,000 soldiers and militia. Tenskwatawa was left in nominal control of affairs, but he had been warned by his brother not to provoke a fight with the whites until he returned. This sage advice was quickly forgotten. Peaceful emissaries were dispatched to the American camp while Tenskwatawa began whipping up his young braves for a fight. His magic, he assured them, would prevent white bullets from doing them harm and would make victory certain. In the early morning of November 7, 1811, the Indians skillfully approached the sleeping Americans, intent on surprising them. Fortunately for Harrison, his sentries fired upon the intruders and fighting commenced. The battle was hard-fought and victory was in the balance for several hours, but at dawn the Americans counterattacked and drove Tenskwatawa's warriors off. Moreover, Indian losses were heavy, despite promises of magical immunity. Tecumseh's return triggered an angry confrontation between the two brothers, and Tenskwatawa was completely discredited. When the War of 1812 erupted the following summer, he took no part in the fighting and emigrated to Canada, a disgraced figure. Tecumseh, whose dream of a pan-Indian confederation ended on the banks of the Tippecanoe, also died in the course of the war, leaving the Indian movement leaderless.

Tenskwatawa remained in Canada on a British pension until 1825, when he immigrated back to the remaining Shawnee communities in Ohio. There he helped the federal government remove his surviving people to new homes across the Mississippi River. Tenskwatawa then established a new village near present-day Kansas City, Kansas, where he lived in obscurity. He was interviewed and

painted by noted frontier artist George Catlin before dying at his village in November 1836.

See also

Little Turtle; Tecumseh

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Tojo, Hideki

(December 30, 1884–December 23, 1948)
Japanese General; Prime Minister

An efficient bureaucrat and a skilled political infighter, Tojo personified Japan's spirit of militant nationalism. He was determined to expand the empire at any cost, even at the risk of war with the United States. For his unflinching embrace of aggression he was summarily branded a war criminal.

Hideki Tojo was born in Tokyo on December 30, 1884, into an old samurai family. His father, an accomplished army general, enrolled him in the Imperial Military Academy, and he graduated with honors in 1905. Following a decade of competent service, Tojo was selected to attend the prestigious Army Staff College in 1914. He next spent several years in Switzerland and Germany as a military attaché, and he also taught at the Army Staff College in 1924. Tojo rose to colonel while serving within the Ministry of the Army and also headed the prestigious First Infantry Regiment in 1928. The Great Depression hit Japan with a resounding impact the following

year, and its budding democracy was undermined by burgeoning militarism and nationalism. In this highly charged political atmosphere, militant factions within the army began agitating for greater control of national policy, especially in light of the 1931 annexation of Manchuria. Tojo cast his lot with the so-called Control faction, which pressed for army modernization and a more aggressive foreign policy stance. Thereafter, he became closely identified with prowar elements, determined to establish Japanese hegemony over Asia by force.

Tojo rose to major general in 1933, but political dominance by the competing and more moderate Imperial Way faction relegated him to a succession of minor posts. In 1935, this faction managed to exile him to the distant Kwantung Army in Manchuria, as head of the Kempei Tai (secret police). However, he ingratiated himself with the government loyalists by arresting several Imperial Way conspir-

ators after the aborted February 26, 1936, coup. He was consequently rewarded with a promotion to the staff of the Kwantung Army. There Tojo skillfully used his high visibility and political acumen to gather support for his own brand of militant nationalism. This became known as the Manchurian faction, which reiterated the call for Japanese domination of Asia as well as the conquest of China for badly needed natural resources. When fighting erupted at Beijing in July 1937, Tojo acted decisively, leading two brigades on a lightning conquest of Inner Mongolia. Furthermore, once presiding Gen. Ishihara Kanji began pressing for a peaceful solution to the war, Tojo worked diligently to arrange his ouster. By 1938, he had become the most influential officer of the Kwantung Army and a major force in national politics.

In May 1938, Tojo's political standing was confirmed when Prime Minister Prince Fumimaro Konoe appointed him army vice minister. His adroitness and sharp personality while in office quickly gained him the nickname "Razor" (*Kamisori*). True to form, Tojo vociferously opposed army chief of staff Tada Shun, who sought peace negotiations with China. He also agitated for expanded war on the Asian mainland, as well as confrontation with the Soviet Union. The onset of World War II in Europe only accelerated Tojo's rise to prominence. In September 1940, he became a vocal proponent of the Tripartite Pact between Japan, **Adolf Hitler**, and **Benito Mussolini** and also supported the acquisition of Indochina following the defeat of France. He then ominously negated Japan's commitment to the Interna-



Hideki Tojo
Bettmann/Corbis

tional Convention Agreement of 1909, which protected the rights of prisoners of war. Tojo also sought to stifle dissent and instill greater domestic harmony by absorbing all political parties into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. By now Prince Konoe realized that Tojo's machinations were inching the country toward war, but he was too popular a figure to dismiss. Therefore, in July 1941 he had no recourse but to retain the fiery general as his army minister.

Japan's aggressive behavior in Asia strained relations with the United States. High-ranking officials of the Imperial Japanese Navy, never at ease with their army counterparts, cast the Americans as a much greater potential adversary than the Soviet Union, which in any case was being invaded by German forces. Tojo, erring once in assessing an enemy, temporarily relaxed his stance toward Russia. He now viewed conflict with the Western democracies as inevitable. Konoe, alarmed that he was losing control of events, staunchly opposed going to war. Tojo was prepared for such reticence and arranged for his dismissal. In October 1941, Tojo's political fortunes crested when he became Japan's prime minister while also retaining his previous post as army minister.

Throughout the late fall of 1941, Tojo allowed last-minute negotiations with the United States to avert war. Previously, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, angered by Japanese aggression in China and its occupation of Indochina, enacted an economic embargo. This deprived Japan of badly needed natural resources such as oil and steel to run its economy and—more important—its military. Fur-

thermore, when Roosevelt declared that sanctions would remain in place until Japan evacuated the Chinese mainland, Tojo realized his only alternatives were surrender or war. In concert with Adm. **Isoroku Yamamoto**, he approved an attack against naval installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, to neutralize the American fleet. Major offensive actions in Burma, Malaysia, and the Philippines were also planned.

On December 7, 1941, the Pacific War commenced with a devastating aerial strike upon Pearl Harbor by carrier forces under Adm. **Chuichi Nagumo**. This was followed up by lightning advances across the Pacific. British and American forces crumbled under the onslaught, and by May 1942 the major outposts of Singapore and Corregidor had fallen to Gens. **Tomoyuki Yamashita** and **Masaharu Homma**. These seemingly easy conquests boosted Tojo's prestige at home and lent greater acceptance to his views on the legitimacy of force. By June 1942, however, the decisive American victory at Midway had stopped Japanese expansion in its tracks. That fall U.S. forces were successfully battling Japanese army and naval forces for control of Guadalcanal, and a successive string of defeats ensued. Nonetheless, Tojo remained cheerily optimistic about the war effort and secured for himself additional posts of military procurement minister and chief of staff. He coordinated the war effort with surprising efficiency, but to no avail. The July 1944 American conquest of Saipan meant that U.S. long-range heavy bombers could now reach the Japanese homeland. Consequently, Prince Konoe demanded and obtained Tojo's resignation as prime minister. Thereafter, he contented himself with military procurement matters and conducted his affairs with characteristic energy and dispatch.

The final months of World War II proved anticlimactic for Tojo, and he maintained a low profile after Japan's surrender in September 1945. When occupation authorities visited his residence with an arrest warrant, he tried and failed to kill himself. Tojo was subsequently put on trial by an international war crimes tribunal and found guilty of high crimes against humanity. Sentenced to death, the former militant was contrite and accepted responsibility for war to absolve the emperor of any blame. The diminutive, bespectacled, and closely cropped "Razor" went to the gallows on December 23, 1948. One of his final acts was reciting the Buddhist rosary as an act of repentance.

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Tokyo Rose

(July 4, 1916–)

American Collaborator

A World War II propaganda icon—and one of the earliest female disc jockeys—Iva Toguri d’Aquino gained notoriety by taunting American servicemen over the airwaves. Her reputation as “Tokyo Rose” led to her arrest, conviction, and imprisonment for treason—but also to ultimate vindication.

Iva Ikuko Toguri was born in the Compton district of Los Angeles on July 4, 1916, the daughter of Japanese immigrants. Like many first-generation Japanese Americans (or *nisei*), Toguri embraced the American dream by dint of hard work, and she attended UCLA as a zoology major. Having acquired a bachelor’s degree, she aspired to study medicine but fate intervened. In the summer of 1941, as Japan and the United States began inexorably drifting toward war, Toguri’s mother learned that her sister, a Japanese national, had become ill. Unable to visit Japan because of her own illness, she sent Iva as the family representative. Toguri sailed on July 5, 1941, armed only with a certificate vowing that she was leaving the United States temporarily. She did not apply for a formal passport, viewing it as unnecessary for such a short trip. In Japan, Toguri paid respects to her sick aunt but, not understanding the language, felt alienated and out of place. After the outbreak of the Pacific War on December 7, 1941, she was unable to secure a passport back to the United States because her citizenship could



Tokyo Rose
Bettmann/Corbis

not be proven. In September 1942, she appealed to the Swiss legation for evacuation but was denied for lack of money. She thus became marooned in a hostile land (the Japanese mistrusted her completely) and without a source of income. Because she could not speak the language in spite of her appearance, the Japanese regarded her as something of an enemy. Worse, Toguri was repeatedly visited and questioned by the Kempei Tei (secret police), which tried coercing her into renouncing her American citizenship. Her life, they promised, would improve if she did.

But repeatedly and stubbornly, Toguri refused to comply.

By 1943, the need for a source of income had become critical, and Toguri initially accepted work as a part-time typist at NHK, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation. Her fluency in English did not go unnoticed for long. She also became acquainted with several Allied prisoners of war who were ostensibly working for the Japanese as radio broadcasters. Foremost among these was Australian Maj. Charles Cousens of Sydney, a former radio personality. He had become entrusted by the Japanese with composing radio programs for propaganda purposes, all the while covertly slipping anti-Japanese statements past his unwitting hosts. Accordingly, by the fall of 1943, Toguri had become one of eight English-speaking Japanese Americans chosen

as broadcasters on the nightly “Zero Hour.” Introducing herself as Orphan Annie, she spun the latest American jazz records laced with subtle messages of home life and loved ones left far behind. Only infrequently would she dwell on topics of a military nature; for the most part, NHK programming consisted of entertainment, leavened throughout with sultry female banter. In 1945, Toguri also met and married Filipe J. d’Aquino, a Portuguese working for the Domei News Agency.

If through these broadcasts Japanese authorities hoped to demoralize American military personnel throughout the Pacific, they were sadly mistaken. “Zero Hour” quickly became one of the most listened-to programs in broadcasting history, and millions of homesick Americans thoroughly enjoyed the music, the nostalgia, as well as the novelty of being addressed in fluent, vernacular English. These broadcasts proved so popular that they were deliberately piped onto the public address system of warships! They were a welcome diversion from the drudgery of military life, and Toguri, along with at least eight other female broadcasters, became collectively dubbed as “Tokyo Rose.” This moniker was strictly an American invention—it was never adopted or used by Toguri or any other broadcaster. As further proof of the popularity of “Zero Hour,” when the women apologized for constantly playing the same music for lack of new records, Gen. Robert Eichelberger arranged a cache of recordings to be dropped on Tokyo—during an air raid! Fighting men of the Pacific theater fondly remember Tokyo Rose as a nightly staple of the war. Toguri had unwittingly become, by default, the first radio announcer with a cult following.

Following Japan’s capitulation in September 1945, the Allied occupation unleashed a horde of journalists looking for a story. It fell upon two reporters from the Hearst publishing empire, Clark Lee and Harry Brundidge, to track down and interview the mysterious Tokyo Rose. This was accomplished only after much difficulty. Japanese broadcasters

were unfamiliar with any radio personality employed under that name. When Toguri was finally encountered, she willingly consented to be interviewed by *Cosmopolitan* magazine in exchange for \$2,000. But once her identity was finally established, Toguri was arrested by Allied authorities on October 17, 1945, for attempting to demoralize American troops. She stridently denied any such motives and was seconded by the other prisoners of war who worked with her. However, Toguri was incarcerated at Sugamo Prison, along with true war criminals, to await her fate. On April 27, 1946, she gained release when the Department of Justice announced they had no intention of pursuing the case further. Toguri’s story was also published in *Cosmopolitan* as promised, but she never received a penny in recompense.

The release of Tokyo Rose caused an uproar in the American media industry. Walter Winchell, a leading radio broadcaster, in concert with several anti-Asian organizations in California, went on the attack. They held her up as an example of Asian “sneakiness” in turning a fluent UCLA graduate against her country and demanded that Toguri be extradited home to stand trial for treason. Her native city of Los Angeles also passed a motion forbidding her to live within its boundaries. With public pressure building on the Justice Department, Toguri was arrested a second time on August 26, 1948, and summarily shipped to San Francisco. There she was indicted again on eight counts of treason stemming from broadcasts between November 1943 and August 1945 designed to demoralize American troops. Toguri’s ensuing ordeal lasted 56 days and cost the taxpayers \$500,000, being the most expensive trial to that date. Intense deliberations resulted in a hung jury, and the judge admonished jurors for not delivering a verdict—especially considering the time and expenses involved. Further debate resulted in a conviction of one charge stemming from the mention of a “loss of ships.” Judge Michael J. Roche then sentenced her to 10 years in federal prison,

stripped her of her citizenship, and levied a \$10,000 fine. Toguri remained behind bars until April 13, 1956. Once released she was summarily warned by the Immigration Service to leave the country or be deported.

Now free, Toguri became something of a cause célèbre in legal circles when her attorney, Wayne M. Collins, successfully resisted her deportation proceedings. She thereafter conducted a relentless campaign to clear her name, especially after it was revealed that several prosecution witnesses had been coerced into making false statements. Moreover, personal friends portrayed her conviction as a racial miscarriage of justice and labored unsuccessfully to have her pardoned by Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon. In 1975, a massive campaign by Asian Americans was launched to pardon the former and allegedly malevolent disc jockey. Noguri, the much romanticized Tokyo Rose, finally had her citizenship restored by President Gerald Ford on

January 19, 1977. She still resides quietly in a Chicago suburb at the age of 85, a victim of unfortunate circumstances and wartime racial intolerance.

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Tryon, William

(June 8, 1729–January 27, 1788)
English Colonial Governor

Tryon was the aggressive and capable governor of North Carolina and New York during the turbulent years leading up to the American Revolution. He accomplished many useful reforms and restored frontier order, but his preference for military action made him a hated figure.

William Tryon was born in Surrey, England, the son of a well-to-do family of Dutch ancestry. Using his family's wealth, in 1751 he purchased a lieutenant's commission in the elite First Regiment of Foot Guards, rising there to lieutenant colonel by 1757. However, that year he married the wealthy Margaret Wake and resigned his commission in favor of pursuing politics. He became closely associated

with his brother-in-law, Lord Hillsborough, head of the Board of Trade, and in 1764 Tryon gained an appointment as lieutenant governor of North Carolina. He arrived in the colony that fall and, in March 1765, was appointed governor following the death of Arthur Dobbs.

As governor Tryon evinced a pattern of earnestness, goodwill, and efficiency that belied his military background. However, he was intolerant of defiance to his authority—and quick to use force to defend it. Once in office, he went to great lengths to help establish the Anglican Church, in the belief that it would contribute to political stability. He was also actively involved in settling boundary

disputes with the Cherokee Indians in an attempt to secure peace along the frontier and enforce the Proclamation of 1763. He then convinced the legislature to establish a lavish governor's mansion at New Bern, which soon became recognized as one of the finest buildings in the colonies. Tryon recognized the value of higher education; he also worked successfully at establishing Queen's College.

Despite good intentions, Tryon was ultimately caught up in political unrest arising from the very same policies he sought so honestly to implement. The British Empire, then strapped for money, imposed the Stamp Act in 1765, which taxed various forms of commodities and goods. Colonials responded with anger toward this levy, but Tryon strictly enforced its imposition, and for a time trade simply ceased along the Atlantic Coast. He personally opposed the tax but felt duty-bound to uphold it. When North Carolina political leaders threatened violence to end its implementation, Tryon countered by hinting at the use of military force. The crisis was defused following the cancellation of the Stamp Act in 1766. That same year Tryon's authority faced an even bigger challenge when a group of backwoods rebels, known as the Regulators, began harassing sheriffs and other officials because of unreasonably high taxes and constant embezzlement. Tryon appealed for calm and tried to shake out corruption, but the Regulators refused to pay taxes and began closing courthouses. This elicited a prompt military response from the governor, who



William Tryon
North Carolina Department
of Cultural Resources

raised a force of 2,000 militia and marched into the interior to confront the rebels. On May 16, 1771, Tryon's well-equipped forces engaged a large, ragtag rebel army at Alamance Creek, defeating it. Of 12 ringleaders captured and brutally imprisoned, six were pardoned and six sent to the gallows. He then returned in triumph to New Bern, where a new commission, appointing him governor of New York, awaited. The inhabitants of the state came to value his services so highly that they established Tryon County in his honor.

Tryon arrived at New York in 1771, replacing the outgoing **John Murray**, Lord Dunmore. As before, he sought to shore up the political status of the Anglican Church and also helped established King's College (now Columbia University). Furthermore, given his military approach to affairs of state, he saw a need to completely overhaul the militia, something that was accomplished with efficiency and promptness. The colonial assembly was singularly impressed by his performance, and it, too, christened Tryon County in his honor. And like North Carolina, New York was also embroiled in a boundary dispute, only this time with New Hampshire. Both sides claimed the tract of land that constitutes present-day Vermont, and a gang of frontier roughnecks, the Green Mountain Boys under Ethan Allen, were terrorizing New York officials found there. Tryon, who was intent on speculating on this property, promptly ordered Allen and his men to surrender under penalty of death, but little could be done to restore order. At length, more urgent matters

came to the fore that demanded Tryon's absolute attention.

The British government still desired an increased flow of revenue from the colonies, and in 1773 Parliament enacted the Tea Act. The result was another wave of colonial belligerence. By 1774, Tryon had been recalled to Great Britain for consultation, and he strongly advised moderation and restraint in the matter of colonial revenue. However, by the time he returned in April 1775, the American Revolution had commenced in Boston, and he began agitating for strong military action against the rebels. This stridency led to threats of violence against him; fearing for his safety, Tryon withdrew to a British ship in New York Harbor, where he maintained a government-in-exile for nearly a year.

In the summer of 1776, British forces under Gen. **William Howe** recaptured New York City, and Tryon came ashore. However, because Howe had assumed civilian authority, Tryon spent his time organizing and training Loyalist forces. In April 1777, he was authorized to lead a large raid against Waterbury, Connecticut, which burned 40 buildings and captured large quantities of stores. Thereafter, quick, successful raids became something a personal trademark, and on one occasion he nearly captured Gen. Israel Putnam. Then, Tryon was promoted to major general of local forces and adopted an officially sponsored strategy of depredatory excursions, whereby numerous towns were attacked and put to the torch. In July 1779, the former governor gained even greater notoriety when he launched a successful raid along the Connecticut coast that stormed New Haven, East Haven, Fairfield, Green's Farm, and Norwalk, inflicting considerable damage. But these activities, competently executed and harmful to the United States, did not materially change the outcome of fighting

in the north. Furthermore, Tryon exchanged his previously sterling reputation as an administrator for that of a villain. His very ruthlessness became a rallying point for greater resistance to British rule.

In 1780, illness required the former governor to return to England, where he would live the rest of his life in relative luxury. Tryon died in London on January 27, 1788, a onetime voice of political moderation turned by necessity into an iron fist of military vengeance. Gen. **Henry Clinton**, Howe's successor, is known to have privately disagreed with his retaliatory policy for the inevitable resentment it generated.

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Van Dorn, Earl

(September 17, 1820–May 7, 1863)
Confederate General

Although he mishandled his two major engagements, the colorful, philandering Van Dorn emerged as one of the South's most talented cavalry leaders. He rendered useful service throughout the Vicksburg campaign, only to die at the hands of an enraged husband.

Earl Van Dorn was born near Port Gibson, Mississippi, on September 17, 1820, the son of a local magistrate. He was admitted to West Point in 1838 and graduated four years later, a dismal fifty-second out of a class of 56. Van Dorn had almost been expelled for unruly behavior, including heavy drinking. Nonetheless, he received his commission as a second lieutenant in the Seventh U.S. Infantry before fighting against the Seminoles in Florida. Thereafter, he joined Gen. Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation in Texas, and he participated in all the opening battles of the Mexican War (1846–1848). Transferring to the army of Gen. Winfield Scott, Van Dorn was conspicuously engaged at Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Churubusco, winning brevet promotions to captain and major. In 1855, he rose to captain in the prestigious Second U.S. Cavalry for service along the Texas frontier. In this capacity he participated in many successful scrapes with hostile Comanches and received two serious wounds. Van Dorn thus became celebrated as one of the army's most adept cavalry leaders. He advanced to major in 1860, but he resigned his commission and went home following Mississippi's secession in January 1861.

Van Dorn initially served as a major general in the Mississippi state militia, replacing his friend **Jefferson Davis**, who went on to become president of the newly formed Confederacy. Shortly after, he was commissioned a colonel in the regular Confederate service and spent several months in Texas. There he gained notoriety for accepting the surrender

of several U.S. Army detachments and also constructed the first prisoner of war camps. Van Dorn, a dashing, handsome dilettante, was quite favored by President Davis, who arranged his promotion to brigadier general in June 1861 and major general the following September. Thus situated, he was tapped to serve as commander of the newly created Department of the Trans-Mississippi, a sprawling jurisdiction encompassing Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Van Dorn's principle task was sorting out confusion in Confederate ranks brought on by bickering between Gens. **Sterling Price** and Ben McCulloch. This would prove an impossible task.

Van Dorn was a capable soldier, but he fared poorly at administering large numbers of troops. Ordered to clear Union forces out of Missouri, he led a scratch-built force of 16,000 men forward and on March 6–7, 1862, engaged 11,000 Union troops under Gen. Samuel R. Curtis at Pea Ridge. The Confederate Army of the West, poorly armed, trained, and exhausted after hard marching in cold weather, attempted a clumsy flanking movement, only to be beaten in detail. McCulloch was killed and the Confederates driven off with heavy losses. Pea Ridge was a decisive defeat for the South inasmuch as it ensured Union control of Missouri and parts of northern Arkansas. Van Dorn was subsequently ordered across the Mississippi River, where he was to reinforce the army of Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard. At length he obtained an independent command, assisted by Price, and fought at the ill-conceived Battle of Corinth on October 3, 1862. There he ordered his men repeatedly to charge a larger force under Gen. William S. Rosecrans and sustained heavy losses. At length Van Dorn was forced back with 4,200 casualties to a Union tally of only 2,500. Two days later his men were roughly handled by a Union attack on the

Hatchie River, sustaining further losses. Van Dorn consequently endured a court of inquiry regarding charges of drunkenness; he was exonerated but then summarily relieved of command. His capricious reputation for marital infidelity was also a growing cause for concern.

Despite these displays of tactical ineptitude, Van Dorn still enjoyed the confidence of President Davis and was retained in the service. He received command of the strategic city of Vicksburg, astride the Mississippi River, and repulsed several attempts by Adm. David G. Farragut's Union gunboats to subdue it. In November 1863, he was replaced by Gen. **John C. Pemberton** and reassigned to a cavalry command. An excellent trooper and small-unit commander, Van Dorn was finally back in his element. On December 20, 1862, he performed with tactical brilliance, defeating substantially larger Union forces at Holly Springs, Mississippi, and capturing a strategic Union supply base. This loss proved so serious that Gen. Ulysses S. Grant postponed his impending advance upon Vicksburg by several months. The following spring Van Dorn fought a capable delaying action at Thompson's Station, Tennessee, holding a frontal position while directing Col. **Nathan Bedford Forrest** to sweep around the Union rear. Nearly 1,000 prisoners were taken with little loss, and the victory confirmed Van Dorn's reputation as one of the South's best cavalry leaders. His future commanding mounted troops in this decisive theater seemed assured.

However, Van Dorn's military career came to a calamitous and tragic end in May 1863. This handsome, strutting cavalier had acquired a well-earned reputation as a ladies'

man, notorious for illicit affairs with married women. In the chivalrous-minded South, such advances carried serious consequences. On May 7, 1863, one cuckolded husband, Dr. George B. Peters, calmly entered Van Dorn's tent and shot him dead. Peters was subsequently acquitted of murder for defending his family honor and released. Unfortunately, Van Dorn's long-standing indiscretions deprived the Confederacy of an important leader—and at a critical juncture of the Vicksburg campaign.

See also

Davis, Jefferson; Forrest, Nathan Bedford

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de Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud

(ca. 1643–October 10, 1725)

French Colonial Governor

For more than two decades, dogged Governor Rigaud de Vaudreuil shepherded the province of New France through an extremely critical era. He authorized numerous raids against New England, kept the dreaded Iroquois steadfastly neutral, and enhanced Canada's role in the western fur trade.

Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil was born in Languedoc, France, around 1643, into an old aristocratic lineage dating back to the Middle Ages. The family was impoverished, but still of noble birth ancestry. This background made him suitable for service in an elite army formation, so in 1672 he joined the famous Musketeers, of which the king himself was captain. That year he campaigned in Flanders and particularly distinguished himself. In 1677, Vaudreuil exposed himself so bravely throughout the siege of Valenciennes that he came to the personal attention of Louis XIV. However, his peacetime prospects were less than encouraging. Being a lowly captain and lacking money to purchase a higher commission, Vaudreuil opted for service in distant Canada with troops of the Provincial Marine. He arrived at Quebec in 1687 and commenced drilling and equipping several companies of infantry for service against the ferocious Iroquois. The following year he gained an appointment as acting governor of Montreal and, while serving in this capacity, committed a major military mistake. During a lull in the fighting, Vaudreuil mistak-



Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil
National Archives of Canada

only allowed civilians to leave the city's fortifications and return to their homes in the outlying districts. The Iroquois, alert for such a move, quickly fell upon the settlement of Lachine, massacring several inhabitants. No blame was attached to Vaudreuil for the disaster, although the incident highlighted his unfamiliarity with New World warfare. Nonetheless, he was a brave and capable soldier and subsequently accompanied Governor **Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac**, on several successful forays against Indian villages in New York. In 1690, he was

also present at Quebec when Frontenac defeated an attacking force under Sir William Phips. By war's end he had gained recognition from the French court and the Cross of St. Louis, France's highest military honor. He also took a Canadian bride, which further endeared him to the local population.

When Frontenac died in November 1698, there was a mad scramble to succeed him as governor of New France. Vaudreuil made earnest solicitations of the minister of the marine, based upon his military reputation, but he was viewed as too inexperienced for so important a post. Accordingly, François de Calières became governor of New France and Vaudreuil was formally installed as governor of Montreal. The young soldier apparently recognized his limitations, for he immersed himself in his new duties and strove to learn everything possible about civilian administra-

tion. The effort held him in good stead when, following Calliere's sudden death in 1703, Vaudreuil won appointment as governor of New France with the rank of marquis. He would occupy that post, with some distinction, for the next 22 years.

Vaudreuil's first responsibility was the security of French holdings. Since 1702, the War of the Spanish Succession had waged over France's intention to place a Bourbon monarch on the throne of Spain, thereby upsetting the balance of power in Western Europe. England was foremost in opposition to France, and the fighting drifted over to the New World as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). As a soldier, Vaudreuil immediately recognized the weakness of New France, with his subjects being somewhat scattered and underpopulated. New England, by contrast, enjoyed 10 times as many people, and the Iroquois in New York were well situated to ravage French settlements. Vaudreuil therefore originated a two-track strategy to facilitate French survival. Dreading an Indian war, he went to great lengths to placate Iroquois sentiments and secured their neutrality through gifts and trade. He also carefully cultivated friendly relations with the Ottawa and Miami tribes on the left Iroquois flank, who could threaten them in the event of hostilities. In addition, Vaudreuil actively encouraged the Abenakis of Quebec to attack and harass New England settlements. This was primarily undertaken to keep that tribe busy and beyond the grasp of English traders who might, or so he feared, turn them against France. He anticipated that such tactics would preempt the English from bringing their numerical superiority in ships and men to bear against New France. One notable Indian success was the February 1704 raid against Deerfield, Massachusetts, which killed 40 settlers and netted more than 100 prisoners. The Abenakis excelled at conducting a "little war," but their atrocious conduct toward captives encouraged greater English hostility toward New France. Initially, the English dispatched the noted Indian fighter Benjamin Church against

French and Indian settlements in Canada, but clearly more was needed. It finally dawned on New England leaders that they possessed the means for conquering Quebec—and hence all of Canada—in a single blow.

In 1711, after several halting starts, New England dispatched an enormous fleet commanded by Adm. Sir Hovenden Walker and Gen. John Hill. This was the very strategic move that Vaudreuil had feared most, but he prepared to defend his city to the last. Fortunately, nature intervened on the side of New France. While wending their way up the foggy St. Lawrence, eight of Hovenden's ships grounded, and the English aborted the expedition entirely. By the time Queen Anne's War ended in 1713, New France had been completely spared from attack. In recognition of Vaudreuil's fine handling of a difficult situation, the government raised him to the rank of commander within the Order of St. Louis.

The onset of peace allowed Vaudreuil to attend to other pressing matters, namely to increase France's share of the western fur trade and to curtail English expansion into those same regions. The numerous and powerful Fox tribe had recently initiated a costly war with France, and fighting ranged from Detroit down into the newly founded province of Louisiana. Vaudreuil then dispatched several expeditions against the hostile warriors while pursuing friendly relations with the Illinois and other western tribes. After heavy fighting the Fox finally submitted to peaceful relations with Canada, but they refused to stop attacking their enemies in Louisiana and elsewhere. New France had again been spared a costly Indian war, but the governor of Louisiana protested that peace had been achieved at his expense. With his frontiers secured, Vaudreuil visited France in 1715 to confer with the king. There he won approval of a new program intended to win over the loyalty of the western tribes through the granting of trade licenses, an increase in annual gifts, and permission to establish new military posts where needed. The government agreed, but it warned that France and England, since the Treaty of

Utrecht in 1712, were not only at peace but also official allies; hence, he was to take no steps to alienate their new “friends.”

Vaudreuil returned to Canada in 1716, now acknowledged as indispensable to the survival of that province. He remained determined to halt British expansion into the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi, as well as to reclaim French domination of the fur trade there. He trod carefully, as per governmental instructions, but when the British declared war upon the Abenakis in 1722, he secretly supplied them with shipments of arms and ammunition. He also authorized the construction of Fort Niagara in western New York to discourage British expansion in that region. To the end of his regime, Vaudreuil felt that peaceful relations with the English were impossible, and it was better to start preparing for the next round in advance. By 1721, the esteem with which the government held him culminated in the receipt of the Grand Cross of St. Louis, one of France’s highest honors. Vaudreuil died at Quebec on October 10, 1725, universally hailed as one of New France’s most effective rulers. In 1755, his son, **Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, became the last governor of that forlorn province.

de Vaudreuil, Pierre de Rigaud

(November 22, 1698–August 4, 1778)

French Colonial Governor

Vaudreuil was the last governor of New France and a stalwart opponent of English expansion. However, his competent military strategy was severely compromised by disagreements with, and animosity toward, his leading general. Historians conclude that, given the disparity between French and English resources, Vaudreuil could delay, but not stop, the inevitable fall of Canada.

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Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil was born in Quebec on November 22, 1698, into a well-established colonial family. His father, **Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil**, was then governor-general of New France and part of a distinguished noble lineage from Languedoc, France. The younger Vaudreuil was well-educated and entered the *troupes de la marine*, or colonial regular soldiers, at the age of 10.

Despite his youth he proved himself a reasonably competent officer and by 1726 had risen in rank to captain. In 1728, he accompanied a fruitless expedition against the Fox Indians in what is present-day Wisconsin, but the experience convinced him that Native American allies would be a valuable tactical asset in any future war with England. The sheer vastness of French holdings, combined with its small population, placed New France at a precarious disadvantage when opposing its more populous enemies to the south. As a consequence of his good behavior, Vaudreuil received the prestigious Cross of St. Louis, France's highest military decoration. In 1733, the minister of marine also appointed him governor of Trois Rivières, then the third-largest settlement district in Canada. Vaudreuil handled his affairs competently and honestly for nearly a decade, and in 1743 he received even greater distinction by replacing **Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville** as governor of Louisiana. He accepted this task as a stepping-stone toward his ultimate goal—becoming governor-general of New France.

Vaudreuil inherited a dispirited colony with hostile neighbors and a flagging economy. For security reasons, he turned his attention first to the Choctaw Indians, traditional allies of France, who had been drifting slowly into the English orbit. Vaudreuil summoned them frequently to friendly conferences, showered the chiefs with gifts and gratuities, and encouraged greater trade with them. Moreover, he incited intratribal violence against pro-English factions within the Choctaw nation and also encouraged the Indi-



Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil
National Archives of Canada

ans to attack and harass English traders operating out of the Carolinas. Once territorial affairs in the Mississippi Valley were stabilized, he next oversaw the economic development of Louisiana, with a view toward expanding trade with the Spanish Caribbean. The cultivation of exports such as timber, rice, tobacco, and hides kept a steady stream of gold in the colony's coffers. But perhaps his greatest accomplishment was in getting the mother country to pay more attention to its southernmost colony. Between 1742 and 1752, Vaudreuil convinced the

French regime to triple its expenditures for housing, fortification, and roads. By the time he was recalled to Paris in 1752, Louisiana was in excellent economic shape despite regional competition from England and its Indian allies. On January 1, 1755, Vaudreuil's most cherished hope was finally realized when he, like his father before him, was commissioned governor-general of New France. He thus became the first native Canadian so honored.

When Vaudreuil arrived back at Quebec in June 1755 he inherited another colony in the midst of crisis. The French and Indian War had recently broken out, and it would be ruthlessly waged for final and absolute control of North America. But to offset England's superiority in men and resources, Vaudreuil advocated an offensive strategy to keep his enemies off-balance and prevent them from launching a coordinated offensive against New France. A major component of this strategy was maximum utilization of Native American allies and Canadian militia, both of whom were extremely adept at forest war-

fare. Acting in concert with a small but professional corps of regular French infantry, experienced in European-style warfare, Vaudreuil hoped to fight the invaders to a draw pending the arrival of massive reinforcements from France.

The French and Indian War commenced promisingly enough when French forces operating out of Fort Duquesne (present-day Pittsburgh) successfully ambushed a large British force under Gen. Edward Braddock at Monongahela in July 1755. The following September a British offensive under Col. William Johnson was marginally defeated at Lake George, although the French commander, Baron **Jean-Armand Dieskau**, was captured. This event held unforeseen consequences at the time, for Dieskau's replacement, Gen. **Louis-Joseph Montcalm**, worked poorly with the governor-general. Montcalm arrived in Quebec the following summer and announced his presence by capturing British posts at Oswego, New York, in August. This made a large gap in British defensive lines, and Vaudreuil ordered Montcalm to take the war deep inside New York. In August 1757, the general did exactly that by capturing Fort William Henry and its large garrison. However, he felt his resources were insufficient to proceed any further and declined to advance upon Fort Edward as ordered. Interpreting this caution as timidity, Vaudreuil expressed disdain for his second in command and repeatedly called upon Paris to replace him. When that failed to occur, the two leaders remained at loggerheads over their common goal: the survival of New France.

Despite unexpected setbacks, English Prime Minister William Pitt made victory in North America his government's stated goal. Consequently, numerous well-trained British forces flooded into North America and were joined by equal numbers of colonial forces. France, by comparison, then embroiled in war with Prussia, declined to send Canada any reinforcements at all. This, in turn, led to serious disagreements between the governor-general and General Montcalm over the best method of utilizing their scanty resources. Vaudreuil

desired a strategically offensive stance, "contesting the ground on our frontiers inch by inch with the enemy." Montcalm, however, sought to fight defensively whenever possible, especially behind fortifications for tactical advantage. On July 8, 1758, forces under his command won a stunning victory by repulsing a large British army under Gen. James Abercromby at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga, New York). Consequently, Montcalm was promoted to lieutenant general and granted overall command of all military forces, regular and colonial, over Vaudreuil's objections. But his refusal to follow up the recent victory only further enraged the governor-general and deepened the rift between them.

By 1759, the final act was in play in the contest for Canada. A series of British victories on the flanks of New France had reduced that province to a strip of land along the St. Lawrence River between Montreal in the west and Quebec to the east. In July 1759, a British armada under Gen. James Wolfe anchored in the St. Lawrence off Quebec and attempted to land troops to invest that city. Montcalm's alert troops defeated four attempts before a final effort on September 12, 1759, allowed Wolfe to assemble his army on the nearby Plains of Abraham. Montcalm and Vaudreuil then bickered over what to do next, with the usually aggressive governor-general advising defensive measures until dispersed elements of the French army were reunited. Montcalm, however, disregarded this advice and uncharacteristically attacked Wolfe in the open, only to be defeated and fatally wounded. Vaudreuil did not improve French chances when he refused his artillery to leave the city gates in support. The governor-general and his surviving troops then fled to Montreal while Quebec passed into British hands. The following year there was a brief French resurgence under Gen. **François-Gaston Levis**, but superior British resources forced him back to Montreal. There, in September 1760, it became Vaudreuil's melancholy duty to surrender New France. Furthermore, he sullied his reputation in the minds of many military officers

by surrendering on terms deemed dishonorable to the French troops that had served him so well. Considering the odds, his had been a gallant struggle, but the governor's personal war with Montcalm was a leading factor in the colony's ultimate demise.

A dejected Vaudreuil arrived back in France in November 1760 and came under immediate attack by supporters of Montcalm for the loss of the colony. In March 1762, the former governor-general was arrested, imprisoned in the Bastille, and subsequently tried for his role in the debacle. Vaudreuil was exonerated in December 1763 and placed on a generous pension. He continued living out the rest of his days in Paris, dying in seclusion there on August 4, 1778. In retrospect, Vaudreuil was a strong-willed and effective strategist, but he worked poorly with his leading general. Moreover, his homeland's refusal to commit greater resources to the defense of New France only facilitated English resolve to conquer it.

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Victorio

(ca. 1825–October 16, 1880)
Apache War Chief

Victorio was one of the most skillful guerrilla leaders of Native American history. For 15 months and with only a handful of warriors, he thwarted thousands of U.S. and Mexican soldiers and survived against great odds.

Victorio, also known as Bi-du-ya, was born in southeastern New Mexico around 1825 into the Eastern Chiricahua band of the Mimbres Apache nation. They were also known as the

Warm Spring Apache because of their association with the warm water springs of their native Ojo Caliente region. Little is known of his youth, but Victorio was apparently tutored in the arts of war by the legendary **Mangas Coloradas** and proved himself an able pupil. He first appears as a historical figure in 1853 as a signatory to a provisional agreement with the United States. However, as relations between the Apaches and the federal government dete-

riorated over the issue of unchecked white settlement, Victorio accompanied Mangas and **Cochise** on many frontier raids. He was probably present at the July 14, 1862, Battle of Apache Pass in western Arizona, where Mangas was wounded, and shortly thereafter succeeded him as head chief of the Chiricahua band. Whites who knew Victorio characterized him as having a relatively short stature, but possessing a bright eye, an alert mind, and a commanding presence. He conducted numerous and bloody raids against frontier settlements, stagecoaches, and cavalry patrols on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border until 1865. That year the Apache nation had grown weary of incessant strife and agreed to be placed upon reservations in Ojo Caliente, their own territory.

After many years of peaceful existence, the resettled Chiricahua Apache bands were slowly adapting to farming and a sedentary way of life. However, in 1877 Victorio's band was summarily uprooted by Indian agents and forced to relocate to the hated San Carlos Reservation, unbearably hot and foreboding. This also placed the Chiricahuas in the midst of a competing band, the Mescalero Apaches, and relations were tense. Victorio was concerned for the safety of his band, so on September 2, 1877, he departed the reservation with 300 men, women, and children. The army promptly rounded up the escapees and returned them to San Carlos, but Victorio and about 50 warriors escaped again to the Mescalero Apache Reservation near Fort Stanton, New Mexico, in July 1879. The newcomers settled down peacefully for a few weeks, but nearby white settlers, who remem-



Victorio
National Archives

bered Victorio well for his earlier raiding activities, indicted him for murder and horse stealing. The chief, fearing he would be imprisoned and murdered like Mangas, fled with his warriors a third time on August 21, 1879. "From now on it will be war," he vowed. "War to the death. There is no other way." Deprived of food and shelter, the band commenced doing what Apaches warriors excelled at: hit-and-run guerrilla raiding.

Within a year, Victorio spread blood and terror along the southwestern frontier and into northern Mexico, where he established a refuge. He was vigorously pursued on both sides of the border by determined bodies of Mexican and American soldiers. Foremost among these were detachments of the 10th U.S. Cavalry, a noted African American unit under Col. Benjamin H. Grierson. But on several occasions Victorio bested his pursuers in combat and even wiped out two successive detachments of Mexican militia. Success further emboldened the Apaches, so the following year they returned to New Mexico, spreading mayhem and death. A major military effort was launched by the Americans to destroy Victorio's band, and at one point a party of soldiers under Henry K. Parker (ironically, employing Apache scouts) trapped him in a canyon. Victorio, however, managed to escape when the Americans ran out of ammunition. Such bravado enthralled Apaches living on the reservations, and many Mescalero warriors, including **Geronimo**, slipped away to join the proceedings. Returning to Mexico, Victorio resumed his depredations with near impunity until Chihuahua Governor Luis Terrazas dispatched his cousin, Lt. Col. Joaquin Terrazas,

and a large body of Mexican soldiers to hunt the renegades down.

The Mexican effort was assisted by several bodies of American scouts and cavalry, who were allowed to cross the border in pursuit of a common enemy. Finally, on October 13, 1880, the combined forces trapped Victorio's band in the Tres Castillos Mountains, south of El Paso. Anticipating what would happen next, Colonel Terrazas summarily ordered his erstwhile allies out of the country while Mexican forces, aided by Tarahumara Indian scouts, moved in for the kill. For two days Victorio's band fought tenaciously, but they were finally wiped out when their ammunition failed. The Mexicans managed to kill no less than 78 men, women, and children, all of whom were promptly scalped in exchange for bounties. Another 68 Apaches were taken into custody as slaves. Victorio was among the slain, apparently having killed himself rather than be taken alive. However, the brutal nature of his demise inspired **Nana**, a chief subordinate, to initiate a miniature war of his own. Six years passed before the surviving 30 members of Victorio's band allowed the frontier to live in peace. But death did little to diminish Victorio's reputation as an expert frontier guerrilla, among the Apache's most determined.

See also

Cochise; Geronimo

Villa, Pancho

(June 5, 1878–July 20, 1923)

Mexican Guerrilla

For a decade, the colorful but murderous Francisco "Pancho" Villa symbolized the heroic sacrifice as well as brutal excesses of the Mexican Revolution. He is best remembered for staging a daring and bloody raid upon Columbus, New Mexico, and evading a determined pursuit by American forces.

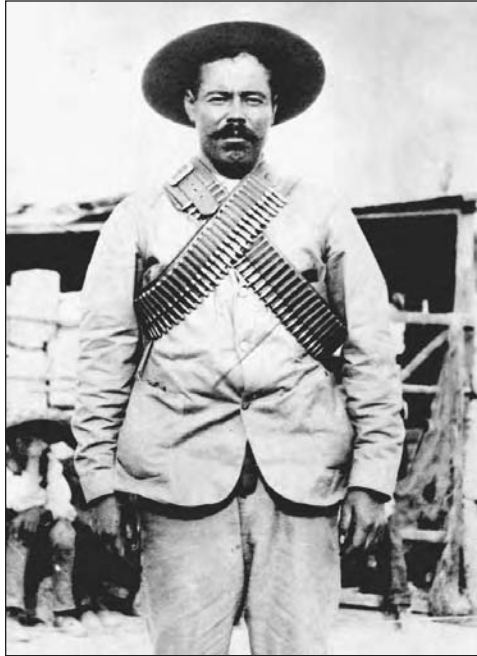
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Doroteo Arango was born in Hacienda de Rio Grande, San Juan del Rio, in the Mexican state of Durango. The son of field laborers, he matured and worked at a time when most peasants were landless and trapped in a web of grinding poverty. Doroteo eked out a hard-scrabble existence after his father died, be-

coming the head of a large family at the age of 12. Five years later, he killed a man attempting to rape his sister and fled to the mountains of northern Mexico. Restless and angered by privilege, Doroteo joined a bandit gang headed by Ignacio Parra, who specialized in rustling cattle. Once Parra was killed, Doroteo adopted the name Francisco "Pancho" Villa after a legendary bandit and formed his own band. Villa proved clever, successful, and utterly ruthless toward his victims, mostly rich landowners. However, he demonstrated a benevolent streak by sharing his plundered goods with the truly poor and needy. In this manner Villa gained popular, near-legendary status among the peasants of Chihuahua as a modern-day Robin Hood. By 1909, the semiliterate bandit was among Mexico's most wanted criminals—and a popular figure among Mexico's downtrodden.

Villa's villainous career dramatically changed polarity in 1910, following the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. Many peasants, outraged by the excesses of the aristocratic dictator Porfirio Diaz, rallied behind a new reformer, Francisco Madero. Although high-born, Madero treated his social inferiors with kindness, and he allegedly was the first aristocrat to accord Villa any genuine respect. "This is a rich man who fights for the good of the poor," he declared. "If all the rich and powerful in Mexico were like him, there would be no suffering." The former bandit was smitten by such civility and threw his weight behind Madero's forces. Commencing in 1910, when Villa defeated federal forces at the town of San Andreas, he quickly estab-



Pancho Villa
Bettmann/Corbis

lished himself as one of Mexico's most capable military leaders. His reputation was solidly confirmed in May 1911, when he scored a smashing victory by capturing Ciudad Juarez on the U.S. border. This calamity forced Diaz to resign from office, and he fled to Europe. Madero then became president, and expectations ran high for much-needed social reforms. Villa, who evinced no interest in politics, then settled down and established a meatpacking plant in Chihuahua.

Unfortunately for Mexico, the revolution had gathered momentum and was about to devour its own children. What began as a crusade for social justice degenerated into an internecine struggle between forceful personalities. Villa came out of retirement and agreed to serve the Madero regime, although he was subordinate to Gen. Victoriano Huerta, another headstrong leader. Owing to a clash of personalities, Huerta nearly executed Villa for insubordination in June 1912, when Madero suddenly issued a last-minute reprieve. Villa was then sent to Mexico City and jailed, but he subsequently escaped and made his way to Texas. He smoldered in El Paso for several months, until March 1913, when Huerta usurped the presidency, killing Madero in the process. The loss of his former benefactor enraged the volatile Villa, and he reentered Mexico determined to settle the score. Within months he emerged as the undisputed leader of the anti-Huerta forces in Chihuahua and cleared that state of armed opposition. His army, the Division of the North, was also the best-equipped and best-led of the revolutionary armies. In December 1913, he scored an-

other brilliant victory by capturing Ciudad Juarez a second time and was hailed as the “Centaur of the North.” Having undisputed control of his region, Villa proved himself a man of the people and embarked on social reforms. Foremost among them was the foundation of schools, which the barely literate general saw as the salvation of the poor.

Villa scored several more impressive victories, and the Huerta regime was finally overthrown in 1915. But for the next five years, competing factions across the political spectrum fought for control. As Mexico disintegrated into violence and chaos, bloodshed and destruction became rampant and widespread. At length the so-called Constitutionalists under Venustiano Carranza assumed power and claimed control of the entire country. This included regions nominally dominated by Villa, who refused to recognize Carranza and, with southern rebel leader Emiliano Zapata, formed their own faction, the Conventionalists. After much civil strife, the turning point occurred with Gen. Alvaro Obregon soundly defeated Villa at the Battle of Celaya in April 1915 and forced him to retreat to Chihuahua. Thereafter, Villa’s influence declined. Meanwhile, the United States, eager to see the fighting stop before it spilled over the border, also gave diplomatic recognition to Carranza’s regime. To underscore U.S. support, Carranza’s forces were allowed to travel across U.S. territory to Agua Prieta in November 1915, and their presence contributed to the rebel defeat there. Villa, who had previously enjoyed good relations with the Americans, regarded this move as treason. He became determined to stage an international incident that would force President Woodrow Wilson to declare war on Mexico, thereby humiliating Carranza even further. Through this expedient—or so Villa hoped—he could dramatically return to power.

At length various groups of Villa men began indiscriminately murdering Americans working in northern Mexico. In January 1916, they stopped a train at Santa Ysabel, Chihuahua, and executed 17 engineers. When this failed to

achieve the desired result, on March 9, 1916, Villa led a force of 500 men across the international boundary into the sleeping town of Columbus, New Mexico. The raiders rode down the streets, shooting, looting, and burning. Fortunately, Columbus was garrisoned by 400 troopers of the 13th U.S. Cavalry under Col. Herbert J. Slocum, who after some initial confusion met the attackers head-on. An intense firefight broke out that lasted until dawn, when the Mexicans finally retreated. They left behind 67 bandits’ bodies and 17 dead Americans. Soon after, the Americans mounted a hard-riding pursuit of the invaders, chasing them back over the boundary and into Mexico. By the time the shooting stopped, Villa, who was himself wounded, suffered the loss of 170 soldiers. However, he had achieved his goal.

Within days of the Columbus raid, President Wilson authorized a 10,000-man punitive expedition under Gen. John J. Pershing to corner and kill the elusive bandit-general. Strong columns, aided by aerial reconnaissance, set out into the Mexican countryside but received no help from the overwhelmingly unsympathetic populace. Several minor skirmishes erupted, and in one fight Capt. George S. Patton slew several of Villa’s aides, but the general escaped. Carranza also protested this violation of Mexican sovereignty and refused to assist the Americans. After nearly a year of fruitless marching and riding, the Americans withdrew back to their country. The attack on Columbus may have proved tactically disastrous, but it heightened Villa’s near-mythical abilities in the eyes of his countrymen.

Villa subsequently conducted several minor forays into the United States and against Constitutionalist forces until 1920, when President Carranza was murdered in office. The new provisional president, Adolfo de la Huerta, then extended an olive branch to the Centaur, and the two men forged a truce. In return the former bandit was given a large ranch and a personal bodyguard in Chihuahua, where he lived peacefully for three years. However, a man of Villa’s disposition

had acquired many enemies over the previous decade, and on July 20, 1913, he and several friends were suddenly gunned down near the town of Parral. Thus perished the avenging angel of the Mexican Revolution.

Historians conjecture that Villa was murdered at the behest of Obregon, a former general and president, who feared him as a potential rival. This colorful, crude guerrilla—a military leader of real ability—had literally shot his way into the headlines by deeds of great daring and cruelty. Very much a product of his age, he embodied the violence, treachery, and romanticism of the Mexican Revolution and was an inspiration to the poor and powerless. As such, Pancho Villa is still looked upon as a folk hero to Mexicans even to this day.

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Vincent, John

(1764–January 21, 1848)

English General

Although little remembered, Vincent was a doughty and aggressive defender of Niagara during the War of 1812. His decision to attack at Stoney Creek in 1813 saved the peninsula from capture and led to an American withdrawal.

John Vincent was born in Ireland in 1764, and he commenced his lengthy military career by joining the British army as an ensign in the 66th Regiment of Foot in 1781. Two years later he transferred to the 49th Foot, where he rose to captain in 1786. Vincent then accompanied his regiment to the West Indies and fought in the capture of Saint-Domingue in 1793, the Holland campaign of 1799, and finally Copenhagen in 1801. By 1802, the 49th

had been transferred to Canada as part of the standing garrison, where it alternated between York (Toronto) and Fort George, Niagara. Vincent, a brevet lieutenant colonel since 1800, oversaw much of the training and disciplining that made the 49th such a formidable outfit. When the War of 1812 commenced in June 1812, he was directed to march several companies and help garrison Kingston on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. He was present on November 10, 1812, when the American squadron under Commodore Isaac Chauncey sailed into the harbor. Several British vessels were severely shot up, but Vincent manned the shore artillery and kept the marauders from attacking the

town. For his prompt action, Vincent was officially commended by Governor-General **George Prevost**, who the following February promoted him to brigadier general.

Vincent arrived at Niagara in the spring of 1813 to replace the ailing **Roger Hale Sheaffe**. He was tasked with defending the entire Niagara Peninsula from invasion with only 1,900 soldiers and militia, divided between himself, Lt. Col. **John Harvey**, and Lt. Col. Christopher Myers. Vincent warily observed the construction of batteries at Fort Niagara across the river, as he well understood that this event presaged an eventual invasion. On May 27, 1813, Chauncey's fleet embarked the army of Gen. Henry Dearborn at Fort Niagara and sailed over to the Canadian side. Vincent, who pondered which route the Americans would take, had previously concentrated his forces along the Niagara River. As an armada of rowboats, carrying nearly 2,500 soldiers, beat to shore, the general hurriedly redeployed his men on the beach to repel them. They were met with a concentrated barrage from cannons aboard the fleet and from Fort Niagara and suffered heavy losses. Vincent nonetheless strongly contested the landing, headed by Gen. Winfield Scott and Lt. Col. Benjamin Forsyth. After a stout fight, numbers finally prevailed, and Vincent ordered a headlong retreat to the south. "I could not consider myself justified in continuing so unequal a contest," he wrote Prevost. This was accomplished so rapidly that the women and children of soldiers belonging to the 49th Regiment were abandoned at the fort. A prompt pursuit might have ensnared Vincent's entire force, but Scott was ordered by the timid Dearborn to halt and return.

Vincent took his battered forces south to Queenston Heights, then turned and marched west into the Niagara Peninsula. He halted at Burlington Heights to rest, regroup, and await developments. The region was now finally in American hands, but not entirely secure as long as British forces were still intact. Therefore, in June Dearborn dispatched two brigades under Gens. John Chandler and

William H. Winder in a tardy pursuit. They marched as far as Stoney Creek on June 5, 1813, and carelessly encamped for the night. Vincent, meanwhile, pondered his options. If he retreated back to Kingston, the entire peninsula would be lost for good. Furthermore, forces further west commanded by Gen. **Henry Proctor** at Detroit would be summarily cut off and captured. The only viable option seemed to be a sudden, violent counterattack to discourage a further advance. To this end, he dispatched Colonel Harvey to reconnoiter the American camp, which he daringly accomplished, reporting back that enemy dispositions were disjointed and inviting attack. This was all the encouragement Vincent needed, and he authorized Harvey, who was familiar with the ground, to lead the charge. That night, asserted by the local Canadian scout Billy Green, a British column of 700 soldiers departed Burlington Heights and made for Stoney Creek—10 miles away. During these deliberations, word was also received of Vincent's promotion to major general.

On the morning of June 6, 1813, Harvey led a stealthy advance directly into the sleeping American camp. Although surprised, the Americans recovered and fought back gamely, inflicting heavy losses on the British. Harvey finally retreated at daybreak, but not before capturing Chandler, Winder, and 100 prisoners. Bereft of high command, the leaderless American force fell back to Fort George, with Harvey in pursuit. Vincent, meanwhile, had missed most of these proceedings, as he sustained a heavy fall from his horse and was lost for several hours in the dark. He finally stumbled into camp the following noon. However, his gamble, born of strategic desperation, stopped the Americans cold. Vincent then established several strong outposts in and around Fort George to watch enemy movements. One of these, commanded by Lt. **James Fitzgibbon**, became the object of American attention later that month. A 500-man force under Lt. Col. Charles Boerstler was directed to attack DeCou House, where

Fitzgibbon was stationed, but the British, forewarned by **Laura Secord**, were ready and successfully ambushed Boerstler at Beaver Dams on June 24, 1813, capturing his entire force. The American remained cooped up at Fort George for the next six months. Dearborn's invasion, begun so promisingly in May, had completely unraveled.

Vincent remained at Niagara well into the fall, when news of the October 5, 1813, defeat of Proctor at the Thames arrived. He feared that Gen. William Henry Harrison would continue advancing up the Thames Valley and cut him off from York, so he withdrew once again back to Burlington. Fortunately for the British, expiring army enlistments forced Harrison to return to Detroit. The ailing Vincent remained at Burlington until December 1813, when a new commander, Gen. **Gordon Drummond**, ordered him to Kingston. He was also replaced at Niagara by Gen. **Phineas Riall**. From Kingston, Vincent went on to Montreal the following summer, where he requested sick leave. He departed Canada on July 18, 1814, concluding 14 years of dedicated service to the Crown.

Back in England, Vincent gained an appointment as lieutenant governor of Dunbarton Castle, Scotland, and saw no further active service. He nevertheless rose to lieutenant general in 1825 and general in November 1841. Vincent died in London on January 21, 1848, a forgotten defender from the War of 1812 whose success helped preserve Canada for the empire.

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Wildcat

(ca. 1810–1857)
Seminole War Chief

Youthful Wildcat was one of the fiercest, most unyielding warriors of the Second Seminole War in Florida. Afterward, he tried uniting various Native Americans in the West and served as a colonel in the Mexican army.

Wildcat (Coacoochee) was born about 1810 in the Seminole village of Yulaka, along the banks of the St. Johns River in northern Florida. He was the son of Chief Emathla (or King Philip) and a nephew of the leading Chief **Micanopy**. Because Wildcat was born

with a twin sister (who later died), he was attributed with special powers by his people. The Seminole nation to which he belonged was an offshoot of the mighty Creek nation of southern Alabama, who had recently entered Florida to escape pressure from white settlers. The Seminoles were also unique among Native American tribes for freely intermingling their blood with escaped African American slaves from Georgia. These fugitives were also employed as laborers, but several among them eventually rose to serve as chiefs.

The position of the Seminole nation had become complicated and endangered owing to the expansionist policies of the United States. During the War of 1812, Seminole war parties infrequently aided their Creek cousins in combat, which brought about a spate of retaliatory raids. In 1818, the Seminoles, angered by white attempts to secure fugitive slaves on their territory, ambushed some army detachments. This brought on a riposte by Gen. Andrew Jackson, who invaded Florida, burned several villages, and was ultimately appointed governor of that territory. In 1819, Spain ceded Florida to the United States, thereby opening the floodgates to a wave of American settlers. By 1825, the Treaty of Payne's Landing had been concluded with the government, whereby the Seminoles agreed to leave their swampy abode in return for new homes beyond the Mississippi River. However, as the date for actual removal drew near, a militant faction of war chiefs, headed by the famous **Osceola**, refused to leave. Seminoles under **Alligator** and Micanopy then ambushed an army detachment of Maj. Francis L. Dade on December 38, 1835, and the Second Seminole War commenced in earnest.

At this time, Wildcat was only in his late teens, but he acquired a reputation for bravery and leadership in combat. His command consisted of several warrior bands and escaped slaves, who struck repeatedly at American columns tramping through the swamp-land. This pattern of guerrilla warfare and army retaliation continued with little interruption for two years, until Chief Emathla was captured in 1837 and sent west. That October, Osceola selected Wildcat as his peace emissary, and he arrived at the camp of Gen. Thomas S. Jesup bearing a ceremonial peace pipe. Jesup accepted the overture initially, but when Wildcat returned with Osceola and several other chiefs, Jesup treacherously arrested them under a flag of truce. They were subsequently confined at Fort Marion, but Wildcat, determined to escape, fasted for six days so that he could pass through the bars on their cell window. As a consequence of his

daring move, he assumed greater prestige among Seminoles and commanded larger numbers of warriors. On December 25, 1837, Wildcat was conspicuously engaged against Gen. Zachary Taylor during fierce fighting at Lake Okeechobee. Having inflicted heavy losses upon their American antagonists, the Indians then melted into the Everglades. Despite their best efforts, the Americans were confronted by a costly stalemate.

Wildcat continued fighting his guerrilla war with distinction until 1841 when, distraught after hearing of his father's death in the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) out west, he appeared at Fort Pierce for peace talks. There Wildcat parleyed briefly with Lt. William Tecumseh Sherman before agreeing to relocate to Oklahoma with 200 followers. By this time the American government had dropped its insistence on repatriating escaped slaves—a major obstacle to peace—and finally recognized the freedom of black escapees. Henceforth they would be treated as full-blooded Indians during the move west. In view of the desperate situation of most Seminoles by that time, it was a humane decision, but Wildcat never forgave himself for capitulating. "I was in hopes I should be killed in battle," he lamented. "But a bullet never reached me."

By 1842, Wildcat's band had been transferred to Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory. But because Seminoles shared the land with more numerous Creek Indians, who competed with them for scarce resources, relations were far from cordial. Furthermore, the Creeks were continually seizing Seminoles of African American descent and selling them off to slave owners. In 1842, Wildcat joined a deputation of Seminole leaders who ventured to Washington, D.C., to press for better conditions. When this was not forthcoming, he set about a new and daring plan to improve the lot of his people. This entailed unifying the various Indian tribes of his region for their mutual protection, a concept alien to most Native American cultures.

Commencing in 1846, Wildcat sent peace emissaries to the neighboring Kickapoos, also

dispossessed, and together they began pooling resources for defending against Apache and Comanche raiders. However, he grew disillusioned with reservation politics after 1849, for he was passed over as head chief after the death of Micanopy. Desiring a fresh start, Wildcat in October 1849 led several hundred dissatisfied Indians and African Americans south to Mexico, where he offered his services as an ally against Apache raiders. Mexico, having suffered from two centuries of frontier depredations, readily welcomed the newcomers as freemen and established them as a colony in exchange for military service. Wildcat himself was commissioned a colonel in the Mexican army and fought with his usual tenacity for the next six years. In 1857, he contracted smallpox and died in Coahuila, Mexico, at the age of 47. Death undoubtedly terminated what might have been an important chapter in Seminole history. Nevertheless, for nearly two decades Wildcat demonstrated considerable military and political acumen on behalf of his people's survival, helping them readjust to life in a new land.

See also
Osceola

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Yamamoto, Isoroku

(April 4, 1884–April 18, 1943)
Japanese Admiral

A highly regarded strategist, Yamamoto originated the successful Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in 1941. However, he warned superiors of the futility of a long-term conflict with the United States; he was killed in the most daring aerial ambush of the Pacific War.

Isoroku Takano was born in Niigata, Japan, on April 4, 1884, the son of an impoverished

samurai and schoolteacher. Orphaned as a young man, he found favor with the influential Yamamoto family and adopted their name. He proved himself a bright student and gained admittance into the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy in 1900, graduating four years later seventh in his class. In 1904, Yamamoto served aboard Japanese warships participating in the war against Russia and accompanied Adm.

Heihachiro Togo at the decisive victory at Tsushima in 1905. There he lost two fingers in an explosion. Yamamoto was nonetheless retained in the service, and over the next decade he successfully fulfilled a number of routine assignments. As early as 1915, while attending the Naval Staff College, he began agitating for warships capable of launching and receiving aircraft at sea. This stance put him at odds with the tradition-minded battleship clique dominating most navies at the time, which viewed aircraft as novelties. The following year Yamamoto ventured to the United States to study petroleum production (essential for naval considerations) at Harvard University. There he became known as something of an extroverted clown, notorious for outlandish physical stunts like standing on his head. The future admiral was also regarded among classmates as an excellent poker player and gambler. Yamamoto's visit also indelibly impressed him with the strength and industrial might of America, especially when contrasted to his own island nation. After Harvard, he completed several more tours of duty back home and abroad and returned to Washington, D.C., as a naval attaché in 1925. Three years later he advanced to captain of the newly built aircraft carrier *Akagi*, which suited his aviation-oriented outlook perfectly. By 1928, Yamamoto had reached the rank of admiral, and in 1935 he headed the Japanese delegation to the London Naval Conference. There he strongly contested American and European restrictions on Japanese naval construction and, when these constraints were abolished, returned home a national hero.



Isoroku Yamamoto
National Archives

Throughout the 1930s, Yamamoto focused his considerable talents upon developing Japanese naval aviation. As head of the First Air Fleet, he wanted his carrier arm to possess fighters, dive-bombers, and torpedo-bombers equal to any in the world. Simultaneously, he opposed the more virulent elements of militarism, fearing that war with the United States would lead to Japan's ruin. Naturally, this stance was denounced by militants in the government, and threats were made against him. To forestall a possible assassination by right-wing elements, the naval minister appointed Yamamoto

head of the newly formed Combined Fleet in 1938. This transfer kept him out of Tokyo—and harm's way—as much as possible. Within a few years the Combined Fleet represented the primary naval strike force of Japan. It possessed the usual complement of battleships and heavy cruisers, but the core of its offensive capability—thanks to Yamamoto's pioneering efforts—lay with six aircraft carriers. The aircraft and crews they carried were superbly trained and quite possibly the best in the world.

It was while functioning as head of the Combined Fleet in 1940 that Yamamoto was ordered to draw up war plans against the United States. He fulfilled the task as ordered, but with great foreboding. In view of the striking industrial and population disparities between America and Japan, he argued that only by neutralizing the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Hawaii would Japan gain enough time to conquer sufficient territory. The admiral took inspiration from the November 11, 1940, British

aerial attack upon Taranto, Italy, which sank large portions of the Italian fleet at anchor. This single act vindicated his view of naval aviation. Moreover, the prevailing military opinion was that, once the Japanese had established a defensive perimeter in the Pacific, American attacks would prove so costly that a favorable peace treaty was inevitable. However, Yamamoto, a somber realist, did not subscribe to such optimism and warned superiors that there was no margin for error. He also foresaw that his forces might enjoy up to six months of interrupted victory—after which he promised nothing. To his mind, Japan could not compete with the natural resources and industrial capacity of the United States, especially in a protracted conflict. Unfortunately, such dire predictions rebounded off the new prime minister, **Hideki Tojo**, and in the fall of 1941 he authorized Yamamoto to prepare for war. “What a strange position I find myself in now,” the admiral confided, “having to make a decision diametrically opposed to my own personal opinion, with no choice but to push full speed in pursuance of that decision.” In late November, a Japanese strike force of four carriers and other vessels under Adm. **Chuichi Nagumo** steamed out of home waters in complete secrecy and under complete radio silence. They headed east toward the Hawaii Islands.

On December 7, 1941, Nagumo’s carriers launched Cmdr. **Mitsuo Fuchida** and 180 aircraft in the first wave. The first attack against Pearl Harbor was entirely successful, as was the second wave. The Americans suffered four battleships destroyed and four heavily damaged, but the critical target—three U.S. Navy aircraft carriers—were absent during the attack. The Japanese High Command was nonetheless jubilant, and the Japanese Imperial Navy went on to achieve equally impressive victories in the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, and Indian Ocean. However, Yamamoto’s solemn predictions suddenly hit home when Col. James H. Doolittle led a surprise air raid against Tokyo in April 1942. The following month, Japanese carriers also

fought history’s first air-to-ship battle at the Battle of the Coral Sea. This was a tactical victory for Japan but also a strategic defeat, for the impending invasion of New Guinea was called off. These twin reverses convinced senior Japanese leaders to expand their already large defensive perimeter to preclude such attacks in the future.

In June 1942, Yamamoto conceived and directed Operation MI, the capture of Midway Island. The target itself was militarily inconsequential, but he hoped to bait the three U.S. carriers out into the open where they could be destroyed. A huge fleet of four Japanese aircraft carriers and several hundred warships advanced upon the quarry. Unknown to Yamamoto, U.S. code breakers could read his messages and were alerted to his intentions. Admirals Raymond H. Spruance and Frank J. Fletcher then deployed their forces northeast of Midway, and a gigantic naval ambush unfolded. By the time the smoke cleared on June 4, 1942, Yamamoto had lost all four of his best carriers, along with hundreds of skilled aviators. He can certainly be faulted for devising such an overly complex scheme, but Midway did not diminish his national standing. Despite the stigma of defeat, the admiral continued directing the naval war effort.

Midway proved a turning point, for the strategic initiative passed to the United States, enabling it to assume offensive operations. Within two months, the First Marine Division landed at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, triggering a costly internecine struggle that drained Japan’s military assets. As Yamamoto predicted, his forces were hard-pressed to counter the steady influx of new American vessels and aircraft reaching the theater. To boost morale, the admiral decided to visit numerous Japanese bases in the region. American code breakers became apprised of this fact, thus allowing the United States to lay another trap—this time in the air. On April 18, 1943, a flight of 12 Lockheed P-38 *Lightnings* departed Guadalcanal for Bougainville on a top-secret mission, appropriately labeled Operation Vengeance. Flying 30

feet above the waves to escape detection, they arrived over Bougainville precisely two hours later, just as the punctual admiral's plane was approaching. Several bursts of gunfire sent it careening into the jungles below, killing him. Yamamoto's death constitutes the only instance in World War II where a high-ranking enemy official was deliberately marked for assassination. His demise was a severe blow to national morale and left a vacuum in Japanese strategic thinking that remained unfilled.

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Yamashita, Tomoyuki

(November 8, 1885–January 23, 1946)

Japanese General

A brilliant strategist, Yamashita inflicted one of Great Britain's most serious defeats at Singapore in 1942. Two years later he capably directed a last-ditch defense of the Philippines before being executed as a war criminal. The circumstances surrounding his death, however, have never been legally resolved and remain controversial.

Tomoyuki Yamashita was born in Kochi Prefecture, Shikoku Island, on November 8, 1885, the son of a village doctor. Intent upon a military career, he trained at the Hiroshima Military Preparedness School before graduating from the Imperial Military Academy in 1906. Yamashita then fulfilled routine assignments until being appointed to the staff of the Infantry School in 1908. Good conduct landed him at the Army Staff College in Tokyo, where

he graduated at the top of his class in 1915. Yamashita subsequently served as a military attaché to Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland for several years. In this last assignment, he entered an uneasy relationship with another rising officer, **Hideki Tojo**. Yamashita returned home in 1925, where he advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel. However, that same year he supported plans for a partial reduction of the military, thereby gaining the enmity of ultranationalists headed by the ambitious Tojo.

The onset of the Great Depression in 1929, and the economic dislocation that ensued, generated extreme nationalism and militarism within the Japanese army. Yamashita had since become associated with the so-called Imperial Way faction, which called for

reconstruction at home and confrontation with the Soviet Union. This contrasted sharply with Tojo's Control faction, which pushed for expansion on the Asian mainland. Tensions crested in February 1936 when the Young Officers' Revolt, an aborted Imperial Way coup, tried to overthrow the civilian government. Yamashita was never implicated in the plot, which he helped to suppress, but his prior association resulted in exile to Korea as a brigade commander. However, his reputation as an excellent soldier could not keep political enemies from preventing his promotion to major general in 1937. But by 1940, Tojo had maneuvered himself into becoming prime minister. He quickly perceived Yamashita as a potential rival and dispatched him on a lengthy inspection tour of war-torn Europe. The general consequently met with **Adolf Hitler** and **Benito Mussolini** and was fully exposed to the mighty war machine of the Third Reich. Upon returning, Yamashita angered militants further by suggesting that Japan had better refrain from hostilities until the army had acquired greater mechanization and aviation assets. He also felt that the 1940 Tripartite Pact between Japan, Italy, and Germany was a strategic mistake that would drag the country into war. Tojo ignored Yamashita's recommendations and exiled him again, this time to distant Manchuria as head of the Kwantung Army. However, on the eve of the Pacific War, he was recalled and given command of the 25th Army in Southeast Asia. If war erupted, he would become responsible for reducing the formidable British fortress at Singapore with deliberately inadequate numbers of men. This was a seemingly impossible



Tomoyuki Yamashita
Bettmann/Corbis

task and, in all likelihood, was intended to humiliate him.

On December 7, 1941, Japanese naval aircraft staged a surprise raid upon American installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, precipitating the Pacific War. Yamashita, who possessed only 30,000 well-trained veterans, immediately commenced operations against a much larger Commonwealth garrison of 100,000. He correctly assumed that the European troops, and their dispirited Indian and Malaysian allies, would restrict themselves to the major roads running

up and down either coast of the peninsula. He therefore deployed the bulk of his forces down the center, through deep jungle forests. Military authorities had previously agreed that this terrain was impassable, but the Japanese, by clever use of bicycles, traversed it with impressive speed. Moreover, as the nominal head of the Japanese Army Air Force, Yamashita placed a premium on control of the air, and his small but highly modern fleet of warplanes swept the sky clean of aerial opposition. The British received an even bigger surprise when the Japanese patiently and tenaciously managed to work their light tanks through the jungle. Within 70 days Yamashita's forces covered 650 miles of inhospitable terrain and were pressing fast upon the Singapore bastion. Its mighty guns, restricted to facing seaward, were useless during a land invasion. At length the Japanese established a foothold on the island, cutting its water supply. This last measure finally induced Gen. Arthur E. Percival to surrender 130,000 men on February 15, 1942. Amazingly, the Japanese had employed only one-third as many combatants. Singapore's fall was thus a

stunning victory, one of the greatest in military history, and Yamashita became publicly hailed as the “Tiger of Malaysia.”

Yamashita’s newfound celebrity only brought him greater contempt from Tojo, who refused him a visit to Tokyo for a traditional audience with the emperor. Instead, Tojo exiled the victorious general a third time by returning him to Manchuria. Thus, the Japanese war effort was deprived of Yamashita’s considerable talents for the next two years. It was not until 1944, when the American capture of Saipan triggered the downfall of Tojo’s government, that he was recalled to active service. Yamashita subsequently gained an appointment to head the 14th Area Army and was tasked with defending the Philippine Islands. In December 1944, a huge invasion force under Gen. Douglas MacArthur stormed ashore. Yamashita, outnumbered on land, sea, and air, had little recourse but to withdraw his forces deeper and deeper into mountain recesses, where American advantages in firepower were minimized. After severe fighting and heavy losses on both sides, he ordered the city of Manila abandoned. Army units instantly complied, but a large detachment of naval infantry under Adm. Sanji Iwabuchi chose to remain and fought to the death. These troops, completely independent of army command, also committed widespread atrocities against civilian Filipinos within the city. But Yamashita, holed up in the mountains on Luzon, remained unaware of this development—and certainly would have opposed it. He nonetheless staved off defeat for several months before finally surrendering in September 1945. The general was then rather surprised to find himself arrested by Allied authorities and charged with war crimes.

The U.S. government, and General MacArthur in particular, had decided that Yamashita, as senior commander presiding, was responsible for the conduct of all Japanese troops in the Philippines. He was thereby responsible for atrocities committed by naval troops, whether he exercised control over them or not. But the general flatly denied any

culpability for the misdeeds. “They were beyond anything that I would have expected,” he insisted. “If I could have foreseen these things, I would have concentrated all my efforts toward preventing it.” He also testified that, under the Japanese system of command, naval infantry could be controlled only by naval officers. This fact was known to American military authorities, but the court refused to consider it. The general was then convicted of war crimes and sentenced to hang. Yamashita’s American defense attorneys undertook a desperate appeal of his sentence, but neither the U.S. Supreme Court, President Harry S. Truman, nor MacArthur himself would rescind it. The Tiger of Malaysia calmly approached the gallows and was executed on February 23, 1946. The legality of his death, viewed by many historians as a personal vendetta by MacArthur, has remained a source of controversy ever since. Yamashita is nonetheless regarded as an important military figure.

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Yeo, James Lucas

(October 7, 1782–August 21, 1818)

British Naval Officer

Commodore Yeo was the supreme British naval authority in Canada during the War of 1812. For nearly two years he stalemated superior American naval resources on Lake Ontario and prevented the fall of Upper Canada. At that time he also constructed several of the world's largest warships.

James Lucas Yeo was born in Southampton, England, on October 7, 1782, and he went to sea at 10 as a volunteer. An astute learner, Yeo was commissioned a lieutenant in February 1797 and soon acquired a reputation as a daring naval officer, well versed in unconventional naval warfare. He first garnered notice on August 26, 1800, during the siege of Genoa, Italy, by leading a cutting-out expedition against Cesanatico Harbor that sank 13 enemy vessels. Yeo then reported for duty aboard the frigate HMS *Loire* in 1805 for service off the coast of Spain. On June 4 of that year he gallantly stormed a fort at Mura Harbor with only 50 men, capturing the garrison of 250 soldiers and spiking their cannons.



James Lucas Yeo
Toronto Reference Library

This feat enabled the *Loire* to capture a 22-gun privateer schooner in the harbor, which was renamed HMS *Confiance* and awarded to Yeo as his first command. In 1807, Yeo sailed the *Confiance* to Brazil in concert with Adm. Sir Sydney Smith to assist the Portuguese prince regent. He was then entrusted with the storming of Cayenne, French Guiana, with only 400 men. On January 7, 1809, the daring lieutenant did precisely that, capturing nearly 1,000 prisoners and 200 cannons. This victory completely eliminated the

French presence in Latin America. Yeo was consequently received into the quasi-religious military order of St. Benedict of Aviz, reputedly the first Protestant so honored. The following year he was also knighted by King George III for gallant service to the Crown. For both reasons, Americans came to deride him as the "Knight."

Following the onset of the War of 1812 with the United States, Yeo assumed command of the frigate HMS *Southampton* at Ja-

maica. In this capacity he captured the 14-gun sloop USS *Vixen* in November 1812, only to lose both vessels on a reef. Cleared by a court of inquiry for this accident, Yeo was taken aback in March 1813, when his appointment as naval commander of His Majesty's naval forces on the Great Lakes in Canada suddenly arrived. This assignment carried a rank of commodore, but the conditions and strategic prerogatives encountered there were unlike anything a seasoned naval officer like himself could have imagined.

The War of 1812 was essentially a frontier conflict in which armies marched, lived, and fought on the periphery of civilization. The primitive conditions encountered made utilization of various lakes and waterways a prerequisite for success. On land, critical routes of communication and supply were seldom more than paths hewn through dense forests. Extended winter thaws and spring rains choked them with mud and rendered overland transportation impractical. Waterborne transit obviated many of these problems, however. The Great Lakes constituted an elaborate communications network over which men and supplies could be shuttled year-round at a fraction of the money and time. Furthermore, naval control of the Great Lakes not only facilitated one's own movements but also forced an enemy to move and feed his troops by land—a distinct liability. Throughout the War of 1812, therefore, the lakes remained vital conduits for the defense of Canada and forays against it. This strategic expedient was never lost on the United States or Great Britain, for both initiated impressive shipbuilding campaigns to acquire and maintain naval supremacy. Considering the scope of these endeavors, and the magnitude of supplies and personnel required, the lake campaigns literally constitute a war within a war.

Yeo reached Kingston, Ontario, the principal British naval base on Lake Ontario, in early May 1813. There he conferred with Governor-General **George Prevost** over strategy and agreed to a preemptive strike against

Sackett Harbor, New York, home of the American lake squadron. At that time, Commodore Isaac Chauncey and his ships were absent at the Niagara frontier supporting army operations, so his base remained weakly defended. Yeo and Prevost aspired to capture a new vessel, the 28-gun brig *General Pike*, and burn it at the stocks. Such a strike would also force Chauncey's immediate recall from Niagara, thereby relieving pressure upon Gen. **John Vincent's** forces. On May 28, 1813, Yeo's squadron hove to off his objective, but adverse winds prevented a British landing until the following day. Prevost was then put ashore and defeated the militia of Gen. Jacob Brown, but he proved unable to storm a last line of fortifications and summarily withdrew. Thus, the British suffered galling losses without achieving anything. Yeo, for his part, came ashore like a captain of marines instead of supervising his fleet, and naval support of the operation proved less than effective. Furthermore, the entire affair only served to sour relations between him and his superior.

Control of the Great Lakes remained essential to Upper Canada's fate, so Yeo and Chauncey enacted elaborate building programs to acquire new ships. However, Yeo suffered from shortages of manpower as well as supplies, so he declined to forward much of his scarce resources to British naval forces on Lake Erie. Consequently, Lt. **Robert Heriot Barclay's** small squadron was severely disadvantaged and decisively defeated when it encountered Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry on September 10, 1813. Yeo himself was also bested in a series of running engagements at the far end of Lake Ontario, the so-called Burlington Races. Chauncey, fortunately for the British, was reluctant and unwilling to jeopardize his ships by sailing close to shore. Yeo escaped to Kingston, battered but intact. His opponent's caution played directly into British hands, for as long as Yeo's ships survived, he could contest American control of the lake. Survival of the British fleet had become tantamount to the survival of Upper Canada.

Yeo spent the entire winter building new ships at Kingston while Chauncey performed identical work at Sackets Harbor. The British were first to emerge on the lake in May 1814, and Yeo, assisted by the newly arrived and highly aggressive Gen. **Gordon Drummond**, sought to make another attempt at Sackets Harbor—only this time with bigger ships and more men. The governor-general, however, remained wedded to his cautious, defensive policy and refused reinforcements. Therefore, on May 5 Yeo and Drummond selected the smaller American entrepôt at Oswego, New York, as their target. This place, defended by Col. George E. Mitchell, was gallantly carried with some loss. The British also failed to capture the heavy cannons intended for Chauncey's new vessels, so Yeo imposed a tight blockade on Sackets Harbor to prevent their acquisition. At length, navy Capt. Melancthon T. Woolsey and army Capt. Daniel Appling contrived a scheme whereby the cannons would be shipped to Chauncey at night by small bateaux. When two Royal Navy captains followed the Americans up Sandy Creek on May 29, 1814—against Yeo's explicit instructions—their entire force was ambushed and captured. This loss forced Yeo to lift his blockade and return to Kingston, where he concentrated upon finishing his trump card, the 112-gun ship-of-the-line HMS *St. Lawrence*. Because this was the largest warship to ever sail the Great Lakes, its appearance in October ensured British control of Lake Ontario for the rest of the war. He also spent the rest of the summer shuttling men and supplies to General Drummond at Niagara, where his effort proved crucial in containing General Brown's 1814 Niagara offensive.

In the fall of 1814, Prevost was directed by the British government to attack northern New York with 10,000 veteran troops, newly arrived from Spain. To accomplish this, he required naval control of Lake Champlain to assist his supplies and communications. Yeo subsequently assigned Capt. George Downie to construct and command the fleet, although, as previously, Yeo deflected only minimal

amounts of men and supplies from his own building efforts. Downie's fleet was still under construction when Prevost hurried it into battle at Plattsburgh, New York, and on September 11, 1814, it was totally defeated by Commodore Thomas MacDonough. Yeo was so angered by Prevost's prodding that he preferred charges against him, and the governor-general was recalled back to England. Back on Lake Ontario, Chauncey had emerged once more on the lake with a bigger fleet, so Yeo slipped back into Kingston. Furthermore, he refused to further supply General Drummond's army until the *St. Lawrence* was ready to sail. This reluctance to cooperate strained relations between them, but Yeo refused to sail unless he was ready. When the British squadron finally departed Kingston that October, Chauncey typically withdrew back to Sackets Harbor and commenced building mammoth ships of his own. But Yeo's gamble finally paid off. The mighty *St. Lawrence* proved the final arbiter of naval events on Lake Ontario. Moreover, its appearance induced Gen. George Izard, then confronting Drummond at Niagara, to abandon Fort Erie and return to American soil. The war ended shortly after with little fanfare along the border. Consequently, a vast array of giant warships of every description were mothballed at Kingston and Sackets Harbor, never to fight again.

After the war, Yeo received command of the antislavery patrol off the West Africa coast. He spent several weeks in England beforehand testifying on behalf of his surviving officers on Lake Champlain—and against Prevost, who died before his court-martial convened. Yeo remained off Africa until August 21, 1818, when he died of fever at sea. His principal legacy from the lake war was mixed, but ultimately it was a success. On balance, both sides had performed remarkably well in constructing powerful squadrons in the middle of the wilderness. But the British, with smaller crews and less access to supplies, managed to fight Chauncey to a draw. It proved a less than glorious termination for an

ambitious officer like Yeo, but his steadfast efforts checked the American conquest of Upper Canada. For this reason he remains a significant British hero of the War of 1812.

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Appendix A: Listing by Occupation

AMERICAN COLLABORATOR
Tokyo Rose

AMERICAN TRAITOR
Arnold, Benedict

APACHE WAR CHIEF
Cochise
Geronimo
Mangas Coloradas
Nana
Victorio

BARBARY PIRATE
Karamanli, Yusuf

CANADIAN HEROINE
Secord, Laura

CANADIAN MILITIA OFFICER
Merritt, William Hamilton
de Salaberry, Charles-Michael
d'Irumberry

CHEROKEE WAR CHIEF
Oconostota

CHEYENNE PEACE CHIEF
Black Kettle

CHEYENNE WAR CHIEF
Dull Knife
Little Wolf

CHEYENNE WARRIOR
Roman Nose
Tall Bull

CHINESE EMPRESS
Cixi

CHINESE GENERAL
Peng Dehuai

COLONIAL REBEL
Bacon, Nathaniel
Leisler, Jacob

COMANCHE WAR CHIEF
Parker, Quanah

CONFEDERATE ADMIRAL
Buchanan, Franklin

CONFEDERATE GENERAL
Alexander, Edward Porter
Anderson, Richard Heron
Ashby, Turner
Bee, Barnard Elliot
Bragg, Braxton
Breckinridge, John Cabell
Cleburne, Patrick Ronayne
Crittenden, George Bibb
Evans, Nathan George
Floyd, John Buchanan
Forrest, Nathan Bedford
Gordon, John Brown
Heth, Henry
Hill, Daniel Harvey
Hindman, Thomas Carmichael
Hoke, Robert Frederick
Hood, John Bell
Huger, Benjamin
Imboden, John Daniel
Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"
Johnston, Joseph E.
Lee, Robert E.
Longstreet, James
Loring, William Wing
Lovell, Mansfield
Magruder, John Bankhead
Pelham, John
Pemberton, John Clifford
Pettigrew, James Johnston
Pillow, Gideon Johnson
Price, Sterling
Sibley, Henry Hopkins
Stuart, J.E.B. "Jeb"
Taylor, Richard
Van Dorn, Earl

CONFEDERATE GUERRILLA
Anderson, William
Quantrill, William Clarke

CONFEDERATE PRESIDENT
Davis, Jefferson

CONFEDERATE SPY
Boyd, Belle

CREEK HEAD CHIEF
McGillivray, Alexander

ENGLISH ARMY OFFICER
Andre, John
Bisshopp, Cecil
Brooke, Arthur
Campbell, Archibald
Ferguson, Patrick
Fitzgibbon, James
Harvey, John
Macdonnell, George
Morrison, Joseph Wanton
St. Leger, Barry
Simcoe, John Graves
Stewart, Alexander
Tarleton, Banastre

ENGLISH COLONIAL GOVERNOR
Campbell, Archibald
Haldimand, Frederick
Hamilton, Henry
Murray, John
Tryon, William

ENGLISH GENERAL
Brock, Isaac
Burgoyne, John
Carleton, Guy
Clinton, Henry
Cornwallis, Charles
Drummond, Gordon
Fraser, Simon
Gage, Thomas
Grant, James
Grey, Charles
Haldimand, Frederick
Howe, William
Leslie, Alexander
O'Hara, Charles
Pakenham, Edward
Percy, Hugh
Phillips, William
Pigot, Robert
Prevost, Augustin
Prevost, George
Rawdon-Hastings, Francis
Riall, Phineas
Ross, Robert

Rottenburg, Francis de
Sheaffe, Roger Hale
Sherbrooke, John Coape
Smith, Francis
Vincent, John

ENGLISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE
COLONIES
Germain, George Sackville

ENGLISH SPY
Andre, John

FILIPINO GUERRILLA
Aguinaldo, Emilio

FRENCH ARMY OFFICER
de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le
Moyné
de Bougainville, Louis-Antoine
de Bourlamaque, François-
Charles
Coulon de Villiers, Louis
Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville,
Joseph
Dieskau, Jean-Armand
Levis, François-Gaston
Pecaudy de Contrecoeur,
Claude-Pierre
Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre

FRENCH COLONIAL GOVERNOR
de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le
Moyné
Frontenac, Comte de, Louis de
Buade
de Vaudreuil, Philippe de
Rigaud
de Vaudreuil, Pierre de Rigaud

FRENCH EXPLORER
de Bougainville, Louis-Antoine
d'Iberville, Pierre Le Moyné

FRENCH GENERAL
Montcalm, Louis-Joseph de
Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis
of

FRENCH NAVAL OFFICER
de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le
Moyné

de Bougainville, Louis-Antoine
d'Iberville, Pierre Le Moyné

GERMAN ADMIRAL
Dönitz, Karl

GERMAN DICTATOR
Adolf Hitler

GERMAN FIGHTER PILOT
Bär, Heinz
Galland, Adolf

GERMAN GENERAL
Arnim, Hans-Jürgen
Balck, Hermann
Bayerlein, Fritz
Blaskowitz, Johannes
Galland, Adolf
Gallwitz, Max von
Kesselring, Albert
Kluge, Günther Hans von
Manteuffel, Hasso von
Model, Walter
Rommel, Erwin
Rundstedt, Gerd von
Senger und Etterlin, Fridolin
Student, Kurt

GERMAN MARSHAL
Göring, Hermann

GERMAN STAFF OFFICER
Hindenburg, Paul Ludwig von
Jodl, Alfred
Keitel, Wilhelm
Ludendorff, Erich von

GERMAN WAFFEN-SS GENERAL
Dietrich, Josef
Hausser, Paul

GERMAN WAFFEN-SS OFFICER
Peiper, Jochem
Skorzeny, Otto

HESSIAN ARMY OFFICER
Baum, Friedrich
Rall, Johann Gottlieb

HESSIAN CIVILIAN
Riedesel, Frederika

HESSIAN GENERAL
Knyphausen, Wilhelm von
Riedesel, Friedrich Adolph von

IRAQI DICTATOR
Hussein, Saddam

IROQUOIS WAR CHIEF
Cornplanter

ITALIAN DICTATOR
Mussolini, Benito

JAPANESE ADMIRAL
Nagumo, Chuichi
Tanaka, Razio
Yamamoto, Isoroku

JAPANESE ARMY FIGHTER PILOT
Anabuki, Satoshi
Kato, Tateo

JAPANESE BOMBER PILOT
Fuchida, Mitsuo

JAPANESE GENERAL
Homma, Masaharu
Yamashita, Tomoyuki

JAPANESE NAVY FIGHTER PILOT
Nishizawa, Hiroyoshi
Sakai, Saburo

JAPANESE STAFF OFFICER
Tojo, Hideki

JAPANESE SUBMARINE CAPTAIN
Hashimoto, Mochitsura

KIOWA WAR CHIEF
Satanta

LOYALIST OFFICER
Butler, John
Butler, Walter
Johnson, Guy
Johnson, John

LOYALIST PARTISAN
Girty, Simon

LOYALIST SPY
Arnold, Margaret

MEXICAN DICTATOR
de Santa Anna, Antonio López

MEXICAN GUERRILLA
Villa, Pancho

MIAMI WAR CHIEF
Little Turtle

MINGO CHIEF
Logan, James

MODOC WAR CHIEF
Captain Jack

MOHAWK WAR CHIEF
Brant, Joseph
Norton, John

NARRAGANSETT WAR CHIEF
Canonchet

NAVAJO WAR CHIEF
Barboncito
Manuelito

NEZ PERCÉ WAR CHIEF
Joseph
Looking Glass

NICARAGUAN GUERRILLA
Sandino, Augusto

NORTH KOREAN DICTATOR
Kim Il Sung

NORTH VIETNAMESE GENERAL
Giap, Vo Nguyen

OTTAWA WAR CHIEF
Pontiac

PEQUOT WAR CHIEF
Sassacus

ROYAL MARINE OFFICER
Pitcairn, John

ROYAL NAVY ADMIRAL
Arbuthnot, Marriot
Cochrane, Alexander Forester
Inglis
Cockburn, Sir George
Collier, George
Graves, Thomas
Howe, Richard
Parker, Peter

ROYAL NAVY OFFICER
Barclay, Robert Heriot
Broke, Philip Bowes Vere
Pearson, Richard
Yeo, James Lucas

RUSSIAN ADMIRAL
Gorshkov, Sergei Georgievich

RUSSIAN FIGHTER PILOT
Pepelyaev, Yevgenij

SAC AND FOX WAR CHIEF
Black Hawk

SEMINOLE WAR CHIEF
Alligator
Micanopy
Osceola
Wildcat

SHAWNEE PROPHET
Tenskwatawa

SHAWNEE WAR CHIEF
Cornstalk
Tecumseh

SIOUX WAR CHIEF
American Horse
Crazy Horse
Rain-in-the-Face
Red Cloud
Sitting Bull

SPANISH ADMIRAL
Cervera, Pascual
Montejo, Patricio

YAKIMA WAR CHIEF
Kamiakin

Appendix B: Listing by Conflict

FRONTIER WARS

Alligator
American Horse
Barboncito
Black Hawk
Black Kettle
Brant, Joseph
Canonchet
Captain Jack
Cochise
Cornstalk
Cornplanter
Crazy Horse
Dull Knife
Geronimo
Joseph
Kamiakin
Little Turtle
Little Wolf
Logan
Looking Glass
Mangas Coloradas
Manuelito
McGillivray, Alexander
Micanopy
Nana
Oconostota
Osceola
Parker, Quannah
Pontiac
Rain-in-the-Face
Red cloud
Roman Nose
Sassacus
Satanta
Sitting Bull
Tall Bull
Tecumseh
Tenskwatawa
Victorio
Wildcat

BACON'S REBELLION

Bacon, Nathaniel

LEISLER'S REBELLION

Leisler, Jacob

KING WILLIAM'S WAR

de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le
Moynes

d'Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne
Frontenac, Comte de, Louis de
Buade

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

d'Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne
de Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

de Bougainville, Louis-Antoine
de Brouillade, François-
Charles
Coulon de Villiers, Louis
Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville,
Joseph
Dieskau, Jean-Armand
Levis, François-Gaston
Montcalm, Louis-Joseph de
Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis of
Pecaudy de Contrecoeur,
Claude-Pierre
Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre
de Vaudreuil, Pierre de Rigaud

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Andre, John
Arbuthnot, Marriot
Arnold, Benedict
Arnold, Margaret
Baum, Friedrich
Burgoyne, John
Butler, John
Butler, Walter
Campbell, Archibald
Carleton, Guy
Clinton, Henry
Collier, George
Cornplanter
Cornwallis, Charles
Ferguson, Patrick
Fraser, Simon
Gage, Thomas
Germain, George Sackville
Girty, Simon
Grant, James
Graves, Thomas
Grey, Charles
Haldimand, Frederick
Hamilton, Henry
Howe, Richard

Howe, William
Johnson, Guy
Johnson, John
Knyphausen, Wilhelm von
Leslie, Alexander
McGillivray, Alexander
Murray, John
Oconostota
O'Hara, Charles
Parker, Peter
Pearson, Richard
Percy, Hugh
Phillips, William
Pigot, Robert
Pitcairn, John
Prevost, Augustin
Rall, Johann Gottlieb
Rawdon-Hastings, Francis
Riedesel, Frederika
Riedesel, Friedrich Adolphus
von
St. Leger, Barry
Simcoe, John Graves
Smith, Francis
Stewart, Alexander
Tarleton, Banastre
Tryon, William

TRIPOLITAN WAR

Karamanli, Yusuf

WAR OF 1812

Barclay, Robert Heriot
Bisshopp, Cecil
Brock, Isaac
Broke, Philip Bowes Vere
Brooke, Arthur
Cochrane, Alexander Forester
Inglis
Cockburn, Sir George
Drummond, Gordon
Fitzgibbon, James
Harvey, John
Macdonnell, George
Merritt, William Hamilton
Morrison, Joseph Wanton
Norton, John
Pakenham, Edward
Prevost, George
Riall, Phineas

Ross, Robert
 Rottenburg, Francis de
 de Salaberry, Charles-Michael
 d' Irumberry
 Secord, Laura
 Sheaffe, Roger Hale
 Sherbrooke, John Coape
 Vincent, John
 Yeo, James Lucas

WAR FOR TEXAS INDEPENDENCE
 de Santa Anna, Antonio López

MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR
 de Santa Anna, Antonio López

CIVIL WAR
 Alexander, Edward Porter
 Anderson, Richard Heron
 Anderson, William
 Ashby, Turner
 Bee, Barnard Elliot
 Boyd, Belle
 Bragg, Braxton
 Breckinridge, John Cabell
 Buchanan, Franklin
 Cleburne, Patrick Ronayne
 Crittenden, George Bibb
 Davis, Jefferson
 Evans, Nathan George
 Floyd, John Buchanan
 Forrest, Nathan Bedford
 Gordon, John Brown
 Heth, Henry
 Hill, Daniel Harvey
 Hindman, Thomas Carmichael
 Hoke, Robert Frederick
 Hood, John Bell
 Huger, Benjamin
 Imboden, John Daniel
 Jackson, Thomas J.
 "Stonewall"
 Johnston, Joseph E.
 Longstreet, James

Loring, William Wing
 Lovell, Mansfield
 Magruder, John Bankhead
 Pelham, John
 Pemberton, John Clifford
 Pettigrew, James Johnston
 Pillow, Gideon Johnson
 Price, Sterling
 Quantrill, William Clarke
 Sibley, Henry Hopkins
 Stuart, J.E.B. "Jeb"
 Taylor, Richard
 Van Dorn, Earl

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
 Cervera, Pascual
 Montojo, Patricio

PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION
 Aguinaldo, Emilio

BOXER REBELLION
 Cixi

MEXICAN REVOLUTION
 Villa, Pancho

WORLD WAR I
 Gallwitz, Max von
 Hindenburg, Paul Ludwig von
 Ludendorff, Erich von

NICARAGUAN INSURRECTION
 Sandino, Augusto

WORLD WAR II
 Anabuki, Satoshi
 Arnim, Hans-Jürgen
 Bär, Heinz
 Balck, Hermann
 Bayerlein, Fritz
 Blaskowitz, Johannes
 Dietrich, Josef
 Dönitz, Karl

Fuchida, Mitsuo
 Galland, Adolf
 Göring, Hermann
 Hashimoto, Mochitsura
 Hausser, Paul
 Hitler, Adolf
 Homma, Masaharu
 Jodl, Alfred
 Kato, Tateshige
 Keitel, Wilhelm
 Kesselring, Albert
 Kluge, Gunther Hans von
 Manteuffel, Hasso von
 Model, Walter
 Mussolini, Benito
 Nagumo, Chuichi
 Nishizawa, Hirooyoshi
 Peiper, Jochem
 Rommel, Erwin
 Rundstedt, Gerd von
 Sakai, Saburo
 Senger und Etterlin, Fridolin
 Skorzeny, Otto
 Student, Kurt
 Tanaka, Razio
 Tojo, Hideki
 Tokyo Rose
 Yamamoto, Isoroku
 Yamashita, Tomoyuki

KOREAN WAR
 Kim Il Sung
 Peng Dehuai
 Pepelyaev, Yevgenij

VIETNAM WAR
 Giap, Vo Nguyen

COLD WAR
 Gorshkov, Sergei Georgievich

GULF WAR
 Hussein, Saddam

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