

EXPLORE GREAT BATTLES · EXPERT

The Great Battles track at the ● Expert level: forty battles in five trails, from Marathon to the Battle of the Bulge. Each stop has the map, the plan, the people and why it mattered, with primary sources, numbers, a commander's decision to make and a "go deeper" list.

First edition

*Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the LORD our God.
Psalm 20:7 (KJV)*

COURSE GUIDE

Explore Tracks are for students who want more of what they love. The Great Battles track studies each battle in four parts: the map (geography and terrain), the plan (strategy and tactics), the people (leaders and soldiers, their courage and faith) and why it mattered. At every stop the student draws a terrain map, sets up the battle on a tabletop, faces a “Choose your move” puzzle before learning what the commander actually did, and adds a page to a Field Notebook.

At the ● Expert level the student reads the sources themselves: Herodotus on Marathon and Salamis, Polybius and Livy on Cannae and Zama, Caesar’s own account of Alesia, medieval chronicles, the orders and letters of the American founding, the secession declarations and the Gettysburg Address, and the dispatches and photographs of the World Wars. Each stop asks how big the armies were and how we know, where the sources disagree, and which estimates historians trust. Stops also take up just-war questions from Augustine and Aquinas: When may a nation go to war, and how must it fight?

Five trails of eight stops: Trail A, The Ancient World (Marathon to Alesia, with Jericho and Gideon); Trail B, The Middle Ages (Tours to Lepanto); Trail C, The Age of Sail and the American Founding (the Spanish Armada to Trafalgar); Trail D, The Nineteenth Century (Waterloo to Appomattox); and Trail E, The World Wars (the Marne to the Battle of the Bulge). Each stop links to the matching full lesson in a School Launch course, most often History or Geography. The trails may be done in any order.

WHO IT IS FOR

Written for students about ages 14 and up who read on their own and can work with a primary source, a map scale and simple numbers. A parent or older sibling can talk through the “Choose your move” puzzles and the just-war questions. Nothing earlier is required; the ● Scout and ● Ranger stops are helpful but not needed.

HOW TO USE THIS COURSE

1. **One stop at a time.** A stop takes 25–40 minutes at this level: read the story and the source excerpt, draw the terrain map, set up the tabletop, make the “Choose your move” decision, then read what happened. Two or three stops a week works well.
2. **Decide before you read on.** The “Choose your move” puzzle gives the commander’s real choices and what he knew at the time. Write your decision and your reason in the notebook first; then compare it with what happened and why.
3. **Check the numbers.** Ancient and medieval army sizes are often uncertain. Each stop gives the source’s figure and the range modern historians accept. Note both, and say which you find more likely and why.
4. **Any order.** The five trails are independent. Do them in order for a march through history, or pick the era the student is studying in History.

5. **Field Notebook.** Every stop adds a map, a decision and a short written answer. At the end of each trail the pages become a booklet, and the parent signs the trail certificate.
6. **Badge quizzes.** Every five stops there is a short, optional quiz, oral or written. They are for review, not grades.

SCOPE AND SEQUENCE

Trail 1: Great Battles ✕ Trail A: The Ancient World (Self-paced)

Trail 2: Great Battles ✕ Trail B: The Middle Ages (Self-paced)

Trail 3: Great Battles ✕ Trail C: The Age of Sail and the American Founding (Self-paced)

Trail 4: Great Battles ✕ Trail D: The Nineteenth Century (Self-paced)

Trail 5: Great Battles ✕ Trail E: The World Wars (Self-paced)

MATERIALS

- **Field Notebook (a sketchbook or composition book) and graph paper**One notebook for the whole track; graph paper for maps drawn to scale.
- **Colored pencils, a ruler, a protractor, scissors and glue**For terrain maps, lines of advance and fleet diagrams.
- **Tabletop pieces**Blocks, toy soldiers, coins or paper counters, and a shallow tray of sand or a sheet for a terrain board. Each stop lists what it needs.
- **An atlas or a good online map**For finding each battlefield, river, pass and coastline.
- **A library card**For the “go deeper” books. Most ancient sources (Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Livy, Caesar) are also free online in older public-domain translations.
- **A Bible (KJV)**For the verse at each stop.

GRADING

Explore Tracks are not graded. A stop is done when the student has read the story and the source, drawn the map, made and explained the “Choose your move” decision and finished the notebook page.

Badges and trail certificates are earned by finishing the stops. Families who want a record can keep the notebook as a portfolio.

- A good notebook answer gives a reason from the map or the sources, not only an opinion.
- The badge quizzes are optional and may be done aloud.

A NOTE TO PARENTS

You do not need to be a military historian. Ask the student to show you the map and explain the decision: “What did the commander know? What would you have done? What happened, and why?” Each stop has a short *For families* note with background, the sources behind the numbers, and any facts that scholars still discuss or that the book has left out because they could not be confirmed.

Battles are told plainly but without gore. Casualties are given as numbers; wounds and deaths are stated, not described; paintings and photographs are chosen for their composition and story. The sides are described fairly, and the people of each age are understood in the terms of their own time, while real wrongs are named plainly.

The Civil War stops state that slavery was the central cause of secession, citing the states’ own secession declarations, and they honor the courage of soldiers on both sides. The World Wars stops name the crimes of Nazi Germany plainly, including the murder of Europe’s Jews, without images.

Just-war questions appear at this level. Stops draw on Augustine and Aquinas (a lawful authority, a just cause, a right intention, and right conduct in war) and on Scripture, including Ecclesiastes 3:8 and Matthew 5:9. Families may wish to discuss these together.

Picture preview: Jacques-Louis David’s *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814) shows classical nudity. Stop A2 gives a period map of the pass as the alternate picture; look first and choose. All pictures are public-domain fine art or historic photographs; World War II images are U.S. government photographs.

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Trails may be done in any order.

GREAT BATTLES ✕ TRAIL A: THE ANCIENT WORLD

The first trail of the Great Battles track visits eight battles of the ancient world: Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis, where the Greeks turned back Persia; Gaugamela, where Alexander ended the Persian Empire; Cannae and Zama, the great duel of Hannibal and Scipio; Alesia, where Caesar fought inside his own double wall; and Jericho and Gideon's 300, where God gave victory by means no general would choose. Each battle is taught through **the map** (geography and terrain), **the plan** (strategy and tactics), **the people** (leaders and soldiers, their courage and faith) and **why it mattered**.

This is the ● **Expert** level, for students 14 and up, at a high-school standard. Each stop takes 35 to 50 minutes and includes a primary source in a public-domain translation (Herodotus, Plutarch, Polybius, Caesar and the King James Bible), real numbers given honestly as ranges where they are uncertain, a terrain map, a tabletop activity, a "Choose your move" puzzle, a narration paragraph for the parent to keep, and challenge problems. Just-war questions drawn from Augustine and Aquinas appear at this level only. Battles are told plainly and without gore: losses are given as numbers, and the sides are described fairly in the terms of their own time. Students may work alone and discuss the challenge questions with a parent.

Every stop stands alone, but the trail is best done in order, since later battles build on earlier ones (Cannae, then Zama). Five stops earn the **Battle Expert badge, part 1**; all eight earn part 2 and the **Trail A certificate**. The two badge quizzes at the end of the trail are optional.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

- Read a page of adult nonfiction and summarize it in a paragraph.
- Find Greece, Italy, North Africa, Mesopotamia, France and the land of Israel on a map of the Mediterranean and the Near East.

MASTERY CHECKLIST

- ☐ I can place the eight battles of this trail on a timeline and a map, from Jericho to Alesia.
- ☐ I can explain how terrain decided at least three of these battles (for example, Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis).
- ☐ I can diagram a double envelopment and an oblique advance and name the battles where each was used.
- ☐ I can read a primary source critically, telling what the writer saw, what he was told, and where he may be biased.
- ☐ I can apply Augustine's and Aquinas's tests for a just war (rightful authority, just cause, right intention) to an ancient war and explain why the wars God commanded in Joshua were a special case.

OPTIONAL BOOKS AND RESOURCES

- **Project Gutenberg** (<https://www.gutenberg.org>): Free public-domain translations of Herodotus (Macaulay), Arrian (Chinnock), Polybius (Shuckburgh) and Caesar (McDevitte and Bohn), the main sources for this trail.
- **LacusCurtius (University of Chicago)** (<https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html>): Public-domain Loeb translations of Polybius, Caesar, Plutarch and others, arranged by book and chapter; the Zama and Alesia excerpts come from here.
- **Perseus Digital Library (Tufts University)** (<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu>): Greek and Latin texts with older English translations and ancient maps; useful for checking a passage section by section.
- **United States Military Academy, Department of History: atlases** (<https://www.westpoint.edu/academics/academic-departments/history>): West Point's campaign maps of ancient battles (Thermopylae, Cannae, Zama and others) are U.S. government works and can be printed for terrain maps.

1.1 MARATHON (490 B.C.): STRONG WINGS, A THIN CENTER AND THE RUN

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how the terrain of the plain of Marathon shaped both armies' choices.
- Analyze Miltiades' deployment (a long line with strong wings and a thin center) and how it produced a double envelopment.
- Weigh Herodotus' account against later legends and modern doubts, especially the run into battle and the run to Athens.

Warm-up. Put about 15 pounds of books in a backpack and walk briskly for 200 yards, then jog the last 50. How do you feel? A Greek hoplite carried roughly 50 to 70 pounds of bronze, wood and leather. Herodotus says the Athenians ran nearly a mile at Marathon. Keep your answer to "Could they really?" in mind as you read.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.: terrain, Miltiades' deployment and the double envelopment. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

hoplite

A Greek citizen soldier armed with a large round shield (the hoplon or aspis), a thrusting spear, helmet and body armor, who fought shoulder to shoulder with his neighbors.

phalanx

A deep, close formation of heavy infantry, usually about eight ranks deep among the Greeks, whose strength lay in its unbroken front.

polemarch

"War-leader": an elected Athenian official who in 490 B.C. commanded the right wing and held a vote among the ten generals.

outflank

To get around the end (the flank) of an enemy line, so as to attack it from the side or rear.

double envelopment

A maneuver in which both wings of an army close around an enemy from two sides at once, trapping it. Marathon is one of the earliest recorded examples.

tyrant

In Greek usage, a man who seized and held sole power outside the city's laws, whether he ruled well or badly. Hippias, the last tyrant of Athens, guided the Persians to Marathon.

CORE IDEAS

The map. The plain of Marathon lies on the east coast of Attica, about 25 miles from Athens by road. It is a crescent of flat ground roughly five miles long and up to two miles deep, closed in by the sea on the east and by steep hills on the west, with a large marsh at its northern end and a smaller one to the south. In late summer of 490 B.C. a Persian fleet landed an army there, guided by Hippias, the exiled tyrant of Athens. The plain suited cavalry, which was the Persians' great strength and which Athens almost entirely lacked. The Athenians marched out and camped at a sanctuary of Heracles where the valleys leave the plain toward Athens. From there they blocked the roads to the city, and the hills and trees on their flanks protected them from horsemen.

Why the Persians came. King Darius I ruled the largest empire the world had yet seen, stretching from the Indus River to the Aegean Sea. In 499 B.C. the Greek cities of Ionia, on the coast of what is now western Turkey, rebelled against Persian rule; Athens and Eretria sent ships to help, and the rebels burned Sardis, a Persian provincial capital. By 494 the revolt had been crushed. The expedition of 490, led by the commanders Datis and Artaphernes, was sent to punish Athens and Eretria and bring them under the king. Eretria had already fallen after a six-day siege, betrayed from within, and its people had been carried off as captives. In Persian eyes this was the rightful punishment of rebels' friends; to the Athenians it was a fight for their homes and for the self-government they had won less than twenty years before.

The people. Athens fielded about 9,000 to 10,000 hoplites, joined by about 1,000 more from the small allied city of Plataea. Sparta promised help but would not march until the full moon ended a religious festival. Modern historians often estimate the Persian force at about 20,000 to 30,000 fighting men, but no one knows, and ancient numbers are much larger and less trustworthy. Athens' ten elected generals were evenly split between waiting and attacking. Miltiades, who had once ruled a Greek territory under the Persian king and had seen Persian armies up close, persuaded the polemarch Callimachus to cast the deciding vote for battle. According to Herodotus, the generals who agreed with him handed him their days of command, but he waited for his own day before he fought.

The plan. Miltiades faced a problem of arithmetic. A phalanx of normal depth would be shorter than the Persian line and could be outflanked. So he stretched his front to equal the Persians', keeping each wing deep and strong and leaving the center only a few ranks thick. Callimachus led the right wing and the Plataeans held the left. The Persians placed their best troops, Persians and Saka, in their own center. When the lines met, the Persian center broke the thin Greek center and pushed it back toward the hills, just as Miltiades must have feared. But the strong Greek wings routed the troops opposite them, then turned inward and closed on the victorious Persian center from both sides. That double envelopment won the day. The Persians fled to their ships, and the Athenians captured seven of them.

The run. Herodotus says the Athenians crossed the eight furlongs between the armies, close to a mile, at a run, the first Greeks known to charge that way. Many modern scholars doubt that men in heavy armor could run a full mile and still fight in order; they suggest the Greeks

marched most of the way and ran the last 150 to 200 yards, the deadly range of Persian archers. Herodotus counts about 6,400 Persian dead and 192 Athenian dead, Callimachus among them. Then came a second race. The Persian fleet sailed around Cape Sounion to strike Athens while its army was away, and the Athenians marched back the same day, about 25 miles, and were in place before the ships arrived. The Persians sailed home. The famous messenger who ran from Marathon to Athens, announced the victory and fell dead comes from writers of the Roman era, about 500 years later. Herodotus tells instead of Pheidippides, who ran about 150 miles to Sparta in two days *before* the battle to ask for help.

Why it mattered. Marathon did not end the Persian Wars; Darius' son Xerxes returned ten years later with a far larger force. But it proved that Greek hoplites could defeat a Persian army in open battle, and it gave Athens the confidence that carried it to Salamis. The Athenians buried their dead on the field under a great mound, the Soros, which still stands. The playwright Aeschylus fought there, and an ancient writer says his epitaph mentioned Marathon and not his plays. The modern marathon race, first run at the Athens Olympics of 1896, honors the later legend. Christians reading this history remember that God "removeth kings, and setteth up kings" (Daniel 2:21): the great empire was checked, and a small city survived to shape the language, philosophy and history the Western world would inherit.

PICTURE STUDY



Marathon, from the Greek Cycle, Carl Rottmann, 1848 · Encaustic (wax paint) on stone, one of a series of Greek landscapes · Neue Pinakothek, Bavarian State Painting Collections, Munich
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Carl Rottmann was a German landscape painter who traveled in Greece in the 1830s and spent years painting a cycle of famous Greek places for King Ludwig I of Bavaria. He painted them in hot wax colors on large slabs of stone, and he painted the battlefields not with

soldiers but as landscapes, letting the land and the sky tell the story. That makes this a battle picture for a terrain student.

Look closely

- Find the sea and the line of the shore. Where would the Persian ships have been drawn up?
- Find the hills. Where would the Athenians have camped to block the road to Athens?
- Look at the sky and the light. What mood did Rottmann want you to feel about this place?

Talk about it

1. Why might a painter leave the soldiers out of a famous battle scene?
2. Compare this picture with your terrain map. What does the painting show that a map cannot, and what does the map show that the painting cannot?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP MARATHON: THE THIN CENTER

Build the plain of Marathon on a table or sand table and test Miltiades' deployment against a normal one.

You will need

- About 50 blocks, LEGO bricks or toy soldiers in one color (Greeks) and about 70 in another (Persians)
- A blue cloth or paper for the sea; green or brown paper for the two marshes; books under a towel for the hills
- A ruler and a pencil to record results

Steps

1. Lay out the sea on the east, the hills on the west, the large marsh at the north end and the small marsh at the south. Place the Greek camp where the valley leaves the plain.
2. Set the Persians in a long line, four deep, with their thickest block in the center. Set the Greeks in a normal phalanx eight deep. Measure: which line is longer? Show how the Persian ends could wrap around.
3. Now re-deploy as Miltiades did: stretch the Greek line to match the Persian front, with the wings eight deep and the center only three or four deep.
4. Advance both lines. Let the Persian center push the Greek center back two hand-widths. Then let each Greek wing beat the Persians opposite it and wheel inward. Where are the Persian center troops now?
5. Last, move the Persian "fleet" (a few blocks on the cloth) around the edge of the table toward "Athens" 25 inches away, while you march the Greeks back by land. Who gets there first if the Greeks march at once?

Check your work

- My table shows the sea, the hills and both marshes.
- I tested a normal deep line and Miltiades' long line and can explain the difference.
- I can show with my blocks how the wings closed in from two sides.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the plain of Marathon from above: the curving bay, the hills on the west, the large northern marsh and the small southern marsh, the Persian ships on the beach, the Greek camp at the valley mouth and the road to Athens. Add a scale (about 5 miles from marsh to marsh) and a compass rose. Draw both battle lines with the thin Greek center and arrows for the wings closing in.
2. **Narration.** In one well-built paragraph, tell the Battle of Marathon from the decision to fight to the march back to Athens. Use at least three numbers and name Miltiades and Callimachus. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Copy Herodotus' sentence that begins "for they were the first of all the Hellenes" and underline the two things he says the Athenians were first to do.

Did you know? A Corinthian-style bronze helmet inscribed "Miltiades dedicated [this] to Zeus" was found at Olympia and is displayed in the museum there; many scholars think it was offered by the victor of Marathon himself. Plutarch says Aristides and Themistocles, the two great Athenian rivals of the next generation, both fought side by side in the thin center that day.

Primary source. *Herodotus, Histories 6.112, trans. G. C. Macaulay (1890); the full translation is on Project Gutenberg (eBook #2456).*

And when they had been arranged in their places and the sacrifices proved favourable, then the Athenians were let go, and they set forth at a run to attack the Barbarians. Now the space between the armies was not less than eight furlongs: and the Persians seeing them advancing to the attack at a run, made preparations to receive them; and in their minds they charged the Athenians with madness which must be fatal, seeing that they were few and yet were pressing forwards at a run, having neither cavalry nor archers. Such was the thought of the Barbarians; but the Athenians when all in a body they had joined in combat with the Barbarians, fought in a memorable fashion; for they were the first of all the Hellenes about whom we know who went to attack the enemy at a run, and they were the first also who endured to face the Median garments and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear.

Go deeper. Herodotus, *Histories*, Book 6, sections 94–120 (free on Project Gutenberg in Macaulay's translation). Peter Krentz, *The Battle of Marathon* (Yale, 2010), a careful modern study that defends a longer run. Tom Holland, *Persian Fire* (2005), for the Persian side of the story (parent preview). Second video topic: "The Soros and the Marathon battlefield today."

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Greece: the Persian Wars and Athenian democracy (coming soon); and Geography, for the map of Attica and the Aegean.

For families. Herodotus (written about 430 B.C.) is our main source; he gives the casualty figures (6.117) but no army sizes, so the figures here are modern estimates and are given as ranges. The date is traditionally placed in September 490 B.C.; some scholars argue for August. Whether the thin center was a deliberate trap or simply the price of a long line is debated; the stop presents both. The Marathon-to-Athens runner appears first in Plutarch and Lucian (2nd century A.D.); Herodotus records only Pheidippides' run to Sparta (6.105–106). The excerpt was copied from a section-by-section transcription of Macaulay's public-domain translation; a few words may differ in punctuation from the Gutenberg file. No gore: deaths are given as numbers.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did the Athenians camp where the valleys leave the plain toward Athens instead of out in the open plain?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What did the Persians think when they saw the Athenians running, and what two things does Herodotus say the Athenians were “the first” to do?
3. **MEDIUM** Herodotus reports about 6,400 Persian and 192 Athenian dead. About how many Persians fell for every Athenian? Give one reason the difference could be so large.
4. **MEDIUM** Who was Pheidippides according to Herodotus, and how does that differ from the popular story of the Marathon runner?
5. **CHALLENGE** Persian arrows were deadly at about 200 yards. If hoplites jogged at 6 miles per hour, how many seconds would they spend crossing that zone? How long if they walked at 3 miles per hour? What does this suggest about why they ran?
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war question. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologica, II-II, question 40), building on Augustine, said a war is just when it is waged (1) by rightful public authority, (2) for a just cause, and (3) with a right intention. Apply each test to Athens at Marathon. Is there any part you think is hard to judge?

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Miltiades at Marathon. Read each choice aloud and decide before reading what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Miltiades. The ten generals are split. Will you (a) wait in your strong camp for the Spartans, (b) march out onto the open plain at once, or (c) wait for the right moment, then fight from your camp at the valley mouth? **Choice 2.** The Persian line is longer than yours. Will you (a) keep your phalanx eight deep everywhere and accept that it is shorter, (b) stretch your line to match theirs, with strong wings and a thin center, or (c) put all your strength in the center? **Choice 3.** You have won, but the Persian fleet is sailing toward undefended Athens. Will you (a) rest your exhausted men on the field, (b) march back 25 miles at once, or (c) send only a messenger? *What happened:* Miltiades chose 1(c) after days of waiting, 2(b), and the army chose 3(b), arriving before the Persian ships. Score a point for each match, then argue for one choice you got “wrong.”

Scripture. “I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.” (Ecclesiastes 9:11, KJV)

Solomon observed that the strong side does not always win. Marathon is one of history’s clearest examples. A Christian does not credit “chance” as a blind force but remembers that the outcome of every battle lies in the hand of God, who governs even what looks to us like chance.

Practice: answers

1. It blocked the roads to Athens, and the hills and trees protected their flanks from the Persian cavalry, which needed open ground.
2. The Persians thought the Athenians were mad, since they were few and had no cavalry or archers. Herodotus says they were the first Greeks known to charge the enemy at a run, and the first to face the Medes (Persians) in their dress without terror.
3. About 33 to 1 ($6,400 \div 192 \approx 33.3$). Reasons: the Persians lost most heavily when trapped between the wings and in the flight to the ships and marsh; hoplite armor and shields protected the Greeks; armies that break and flee suffer far more losses than those that hold.
4. In Herodotus he is a runner sent from Athens to Sparta before the battle, about 150 miles in two days, to ask for help. The story of a runner carrying the news of victory from Marathon to Athens and dying comes from writers about 500 years later.
5. $6 \text{ mph} = 31,680 \text{ ft per hour} = 8.8 \text{ ft per second}$. $200 \text{ yards} = 600 \text{ ft}$. $600 \div 8.8 \approx 68 \text{ seconds}$. At 3 mph (4.4 ft/s) it takes about 136 seconds. Running cut the time under arrow fire in half, which means far fewer volleys; this supports the idea that they ran at least the last stretch.
6. Authority: the war was decided by the city’s elected generals and polemarch, not by private men. Cause: defending their city from an invading army that had just destroyed Eretria is the clearest kind of just cause. Intention: they sought to protect their homes and freedom, not to conquer. A thoughtful student might note that Athens had helped burn Sardis in 498, so the Persians had a grievance; but punishment by conquest and deportation went far beyond that, and defense of one’s people remains just. (Any answer that applies all three tests with reasons is acceptable.)

1.2 THERMOPYLAE (480 B.C.): THE NARROW PASS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why the Greeks chose to defend Thermopylae and Artemisium together, and how the narrow pass cancelled the Persian advantage in numbers.
- Trace the three days of fighting, the mountain path and Leonidas' decision to stay with a rearguard.
- Evaluate the ancient sources and the competing explanations for the last stand, and judge what the battle accomplished.

Warm-up. Stand in a doorway and have two or three family members try to walk through it at the same time. Now try it in an open room. How many people does it take to block a doorway? How many to block a room? That difference is the whole idea of Thermopylae.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Thermopylae, 480 B.C.: the geography of the pass, the Anopaea path and the last stand (avoid dramatized movie clips). Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Thermopylae

"The Hot Gates," named for hot springs: a narrow coastal pass between the mountains and the sea in central Greece, the main road from the north into southern Greece.

Hellenic League

The alliance of about thirty Greek cities, led by Sparta, formed in 481 B.C. to resist Xerxes.

the Immortals

The elite Persian infantry guard, said to be kept always at exactly 10,000 men; in 480 they were commanded by Hydarnes.

rearguard

A force that stays behind to hold off the enemy while the main army withdraws.

helot

A member of the subject population of Laconia and Messenia, bound to the land and forced to work it for their Spartan masters; helots also served on campaign as attendants and light troops.

strategic defense

A plan that uses ground, time and position to block or wear down a stronger enemy rather than to seek a decisive victory at once.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Thermopylae lies where the mountains of central Greece come down to the Malian Gulf. In 480 B.C. the sea reached much closer to the cliffs than it does today; silt from the Spercheios River has since pushed the coastline out several miles. The pass had three narrow places, called “gates.” At the middle gate the Greeks rebuilt an old wall of the Phocians, and there the road between cliff and water was only a few dozen yards wide. A defender there did not need as many men as the enemy, only enough to fill the gap. But a mountain track, the Anopaea path, wound over the heights behind the pass, and whoever knew it could come down behind the wall.

The strategy. Xerxes had marched from Asia with the largest army the Greeks had ever seen, crossing the Hellespont on bridges of boats while a great fleet followed along the coast. Herodotus gives over two and a half million men in all, which is impossible to supply; modern historians suggest perhaps 100,000 to 300,000, with some estimates lower. The army and fleet depended on each other, so the Greeks planned to block both at once: a land force at Thermopylae and the allied fleet about forty miles away at Artemisium, off the tip of Euboea. If either line broke, the other would have to fall back.

The people. King Leonidas of Sparta led the land force. He brought 300 Spartans, Herodotus says, all chosen from men who had living sons, together with their helot attendants. With allies from the Peloponnese, 700 Thespians, 400 Thebans, 1,000 Phocians and the Locrians, the Greeks numbered about 7,000. Sparta and its allies were celebrating the Carneia festival, and the Olympic Games were under way, so the full armies were meant to follow later. Sparta’s soldiers were the best-trained in Greece, but honest history also records that their society rested on the forced labor of the helots, whom the Spartans ruled harshly.

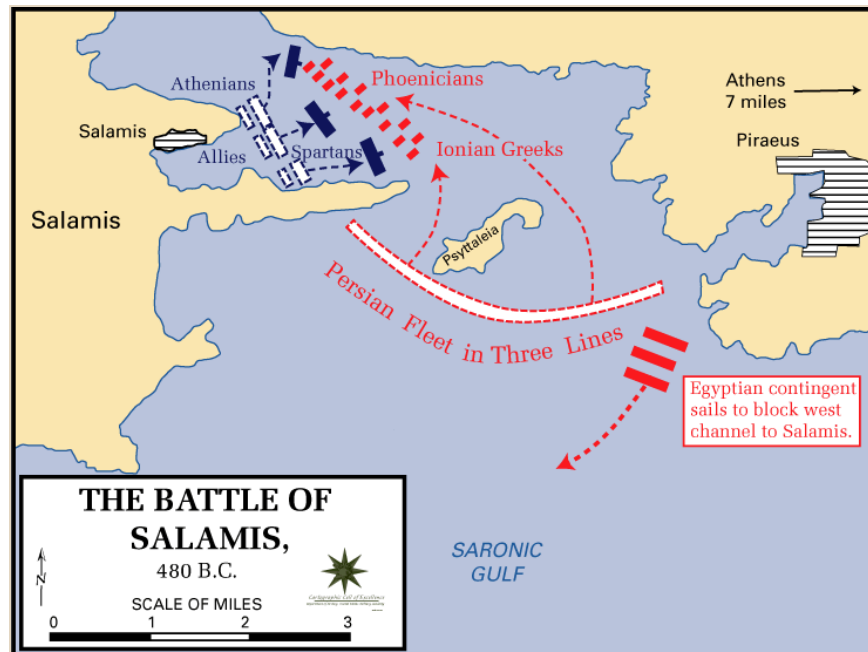
The battle. Xerxes waited four days, expecting the Greeks to flee. Then for two days his troops attacked the wall: first Medes and Cissians, then the Immortals. In the narrow space the longer Greek spears, heavy shields and practiced formations told, and the Spartans used feigned retreats, turning suddenly on their pursuers. Then a local man, Ephialtes of Trachis, told Xerxes of the mountain path for a reward. The Immortals climbed it by night; the Phocians guarding it pulled back to a hilltop, and the Persians marched past. At dawn on the third day, warned by scouts, Leonidas sent most of the allies away. He stayed with the Spartans, the Thespians, who refused to leave, and the Thebans. Leonidas was killed in the fighting that morning. The last defenders fell on a small hill near the wall. Herodotus says about 20,000 Persians died in the battle; the Greek dead, including helots, numbered about 4,000.

Why did they stay? Herodotus offers two explanations: that Leonidas thought it shameful for Spartans to leave a post, and that an oracle had warned that either Sparta would be destroyed or a Spartan king would die. Many modern historians add a military reason: a rearguard was needed to hold the pass while the allies escaped, or else Persian cavalry would have ridden them down on the road south. Herodotus says the Thebans were kept as hostages and surrendered at the end; Plutarch, writing centuries later, called this a slander.

These are honest disagreements, and a good student can name them without pretending to settle them.

Why it mattered. As a battle, Thermopylae was a defeat. The pass fell, the Greek fleet withdrew from Artemisium, and central Greece and Athens itself lay open to the Persians. But the stand slowed Xerxes, cost him heavily, and gave the Greeks an example of steadfastness that strengthened the alliance at its most frightening moment. Within a year the Greeks won at Salamis and Plataea. Later Greeks set up a stone lion on the hill and an epitaph by the poet Simonides. Christians see in Leonidas' men a natural picture of a truth that Christ perfected: that willing self-sacrifice for others is the highest kind of love (John 15:13).

PICTURE STUDY



Battle of Thermopylae and Movements to Salamis, 480 B.C., Department of History, United States Military Academy (West Point), 20th century · Military campaign map from the West Point atlas of ancient warfare (a U.S. government work, public domain) · United States Military Academy, West Point, New York; reproduced on Wikimedia Commons
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Instead of a painting, this stop studies the kind of picture a commander actually uses: a campaign map. Cadets at West Point have studied ancient battles from maps like this one for generations. It shows the land and sea together, which is exactly how the Greeks had to think about Thermopylae and Artemisium.

Look closely

- Find the pass of Thermopylae. What lies on one side of it, and what on the other?
- Find the arrows for the Persian army and the Persian fleet. Why do they move side by side?

- Find the route over the mountains behind the pass, and then follow the arrows south. Where does the story go next?

Talk about it

1. What does a map show about this battle that a painting of soldiers cannot?
2. If you were the Greek commander studying this map, which single spot would worry you most, and why?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP THERMOPYLAE: HOLD THE GATE

Build the pass on a table and discover why a few could hold back many, and why the mountain path mattered.

You will need

- About 20 blocks or toy soldiers in one color (Greeks) and 80 or more in another (Persians)
- Books or boxes for the cliffs; a blue towel for the Malian Gulf
- A long piece of string or yarn for the mountain path
- A stopwatch

Steps

1. Make the cliffs along one side and the sea along the other, leaving a gap only four blocks wide at the “middle gate.” Build the wall across the gap.
2. Set four Greeks in the front rank and the rest behind. Set the Persians in a crowd on the open plain to the north.
3. Move Persians into the gap one rank at a time. Only four can face the Greek front at once. Count: how many Persians can actually fight at any moment? How many Greeks?
4. Now lay the string over the books to show the Anopaea path, coming down behind the wall. Move a group of “Immortals” along it. What happens to the Greeks now?
5. Act out Leonidas’ choice: send most Greeks south down the road while a small rearguard faces both ways. Time how long the rearguard must hold for the others to get off the table.

Check your work

- My pass is narrow, with cliffs on one side and sea on the other.
- I can explain why numbers mattered less in the gap than on the plain.
- I showed the mountain path and explained why it doomed the defense.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the pass from above: the mountains, the shoreline of 480 B.C. close to the cliffs (and, as a dotted line, today’s shoreline farther out), the hot springs, the middle gate and the Phocian wall, the Anopaea path over the heights, the little hill

of the last stand, and an arrow pointing to Artemisium across the water. Add a compass rose and a key.

2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain why Leonidas stayed on the third day. Give at least two explanations, name the ancient writer for each, and say which you find most convincing and why. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Copy Dienekes' reply from the primary source in your best hand.

Did you know? The famous Spartan reply “Come and take them” (Greek *molon labe*), said to be Leonidas' answer when Xerxes demanded the Greeks' weapons, is recorded by Plutarch, who wrote about 600 years after the battle; Herodotus does not mention it. Two Spartans were away from the battle at its end: one, Aristodemus, was shamed at home and later fought recklessly at Plataea to restore his name.

Primary source. *Herodotus, Histories 7.226, trans. G. C. Macaulay (1890); the full translation is on Project Gutenberg (eBook #2456).*

Such were the proofs of valour given by the Lacedemonians and Thespians; yet the Spartan Dienekes is said to have proved himself the best man of all, the same who, as they report, uttered this saying before they engaged battle with the Medes:—being informed by one of the men of Trachis that when the Barbarians discharged their arrows they obscured the light of the sun by the multitude of the arrows, so great was the number of their host, he was not dismayed by this, but making small account of the number of the Medes, he said that their guest from Trachis brought them very good news, for if the Medes obscured the light of the sun, the battle against them would be in the shade and not in the sun.

Go deeper. Herodotus, *Histories*, Book 7, sections 175–239 (Project Gutenberg). Paul Cartledge, *Thermopylae: The Battle That Changed the World* (2006), a scholar's account of Sparta and the battle. Ernle Bradford, *Thermopylae: The Battle for the West* (1980), a readable narrative joining the land and sea fighting. Second video topic: “Artemisium, the sea battle fought on the same days.”

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Greece: Sparta and the Persian Wars (coming soon); and Geography, for the mountains and coasts of central Greece.

For families. Jacques-Louis David's *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814), the most famous painting of the battle, is not used because it contains classical nudity; following the track outline, the stop uses a map of the pass instead, the West Point campaign map (a U.S. government work; please confirm the exact Commons file before publishing). Some popular battle paintings of Thermopylae are graphic and were passed over. Army sizes are modern estimates given as ranges. Herodotus' figure of 20,000 Persian dead (8.24) may be exaggerated. The Theban question (Herodotus 7.222, 7.233; Plutarch, *On the Malice of Herodotus*) is presented as a real debate. Sparta's treatment of the helots is

stated plainly. Deaths are stated without description; movie versions of this battle are graphic and are not recommended.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did the Greeks defend Thermopylae and Artemisium at the same time?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What did the man from Trachis say about the Persian arrows, and what did Dienekes' answer show about him?
3. **MEDIUM** How did Ephialtes change the battle?
4. **MEDIUM** Name two reasons ancient or modern historians give for why Leonidas stayed on the third day.
5. **CHALLENGE** At the middle gate, suppose the road was 20 yards wide and each hoplite needed about 1 yard of front. Twenty men could fight in the front rank. On an open plain two miles wide, how many men could stand in the front rank? What does the comparison show?
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war question. Augustine taught that soldiers may fight in a just war, but that the love of cruelty, revenge and lust for domination are what is truly evil in war. Is the Greek defense at Thermopylae a just war by Augustine's and Aquinas' standards? Then consider: Spartan society kept the helots in forced servitude. Does that change your answer about this battle? Explain carefully.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: The Third Morning. Decide before you read what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Xerxes. Two days of attacks on the wall have failed and your best troops have been thrown back. Will you (a) keep attacking the wall with fresh troops, (b) pay a local man to guide the Immortals over the mountain path by night, or (c) wait for your fleet to break through at Artemisium? **Choice 2.** You are Leonidas. Scouts run down at dawn: the Persians are over the mountain. Will you (a) retreat with the whole army, (b) keep the whole army in the pass, or (c) send most allies south and stay with a rearguard? *What happened:* Xerxes chose 1(b). Leonidas chose 2(c), staying with the Spartans, the Thespians and the Thebans. Discuss: which choice would a modern general call wise, and which would a Spartan call honorable? Are they the same?

Scripture. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." (John 15:13, KJV)

Jesus spoke these words the night before He died. Every soldier who stays at his post so that others may escape gives a picture, imperfect but real, of the greatest love, which Christ showed fully on the cross for those who were not yet His friends.

Practice: answers

1. Xerxes' army and fleet depended on each other. Blocking the road at Thermopylae and the sea lane at Artemisium together could stop both.
2. He said the Persians shot so many arrows that they hid the sun. Dienekes answered that this was good news because they would fight in the shade. It showed courage, coolness and

contempt for mere numbers; a joke in the face of danger steadied the men around him.

3. He showed Xerxes the Anopaea mountain path. The Immortals marched over it by night and came down behind the Greek position, so the pass could no longer be held.
4. Any two: Spartan law and honor forbade leaving a post (Herodotus); an oracle said a Spartan king must die or Sparta would fall (Herodotus); a rearguard was needed to cover the retreat of the allies from Persian cavalry (modern historians).
5. Two miles = 3,520 yards, so about 3,520 men could form the front rank. In the pass only about 20 could face each other at once, so a force of a few thousand could rotate fresh men forward against an army of a hundred thousand or more; the ground cancelled most of the Persian advantage in numbers.
6. The defense meets the classic tests: it was ordered by the lawful authority of the allied cities, its cause was defense against invasion, and its aim was to protect homes rather than to conquer. Sparta's injustice toward the helots was a real and serious wrong, but it is a separate question from whether resisting Xerxes' invasion was just; a people with sins of their own may still rightly defend themselves. A strong answer names both truths without excusing the wrong or condemning the defense. (Discussion answer; reward clear reasoning.)

1.3 SALAMIS (480 B.C.): THEMISTOCLES AND THE STRAIT

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how Themistocles built the Athenian navy and why he insisted on fighting in the narrow strait of Salamis.
- Describe trireme warfare and how crowding turned the Persian advantage in numbers into a weakness.
- Assess the deception of Sicinnus and the battle's consequences for Greece and for Athenian democracy.

Warm-up. Fill a sink or a long baking pan with water and float a dozen bottle caps or small corks at one end. Push them all at once toward the narrow end of the pan with your hand. What happens to them? Now try the same in a bathtub. The shape of the water is the key to Salamis.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.: Themistocles, triremes and the strait (look for a video that uses maps and a trireme model, such as the reconstructed trireme Olympias). Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

trireme

A Greek warship rowed by about 170 oarsmen sitting in three tiers on each side, with a bronze ram at the bow for striking enemy ships; the crew was about 200 in all.

ram

A heavy bronze-sheathed beak at a warship's waterline, used to hole or break the oars of an enemy ship.

strait

A narrow channel of water connecting two larger bodies of water; at Salamis, the channel between the island and the mainland of Attica.

Laurium

The silver-mining district of southern Attica; a rich new vein found there around 483 B.C. paid for the Athenian fleet.

thetes

The poorest class of Athenian citizens, too poor to buy hoplite armor; they rowed the triremes, and the navy made them a power in the city.

ruse

A trick meant to deceive an enemy into making a mistake.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Salamis is a rocky island lying close against the coast of Attica, a few miles west of Athens' harbor at Piraeus. Between the island and the mainland runs a curving strait, roughly a mile wide at its narrowest, with the small island of Psyttaleia near its eastern mouth and the Bay of Eleusis opening behind it to the west. On the mainland the slopes of Mount Aegaleos look down over the water. In late summer of 480 B.C. the Greek allied fleet lay in the bays of Salamis, while Xerxes' fleet gathered at Phaleron, the old Athenian harbor, and his army occupied Attica. From the island the Greeks could see the smoke as the Persians burned the Acropolis.

The man who built the fleet. Three years earlier, Athenian miners at Laurium struck a rich vein of silver. Some citizens wanted the money shared out. Themistocles, a bold and shrewd politician, persuaded the assembly to spend it on ships, about 200 new triremes, at first against the rival island of Aegina. When the Delphic oracle told the Athenians to trust a "wooden wall," Themistocles argued that it meant the fleet. Athens took that advice to the limit: the people were moved to Troezen, Aegina and Salamis, and the men went aboard the ships.

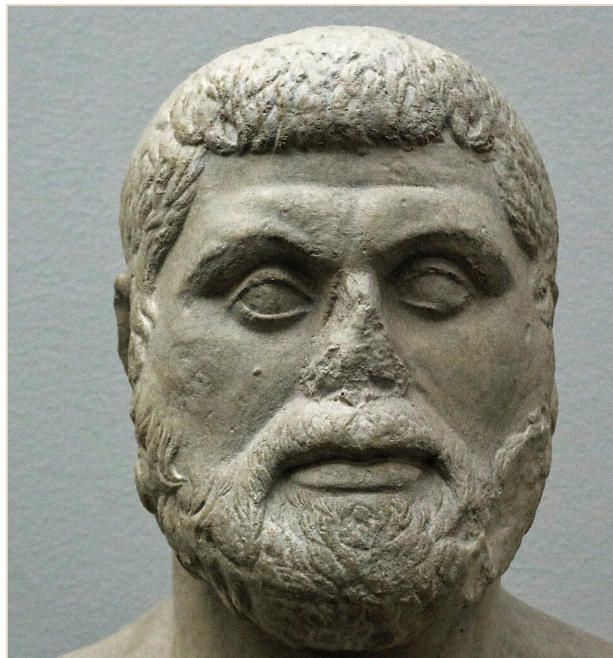
The people. The allied fleet numbered about 370 triremes; Herodotus counts 378, and the Athenians supplied more than half. The supreme commander was a Spartan, Eurybiades, because the allies would follow no one else. Xerxes' fleet, drawn from Phoenicians, Egyptians, Ionian Greeks and others, had suffered losses in storms and at Artemisium; modern historians often put it at about 600 to 800 ships, though the playwright Aeschylus gives 1,207. Herodotus tells of Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus, who alone advised Xerxes not to fight in the narrows. On the Greek side Aristides, Themistocles' old rival, returned from exile to fight alongside him.

The plan. The Peloponnesian captains wanted to withdraw to the Isthmus of Corinth, where their army was building a wall. Themistocles argued that in the open sea the larger, faster Persian fleet would surround them, but that in the narrows its numbers would only crowd it. When the council wavered, he threatened to take the Athenian families and ships to Italy. Then, Herodotus says, he secretly sent his trusted servant Sicinnus to Xerxes with a message: the Greeks were quarreling and about to flee, so the king should block their escape. Xerxes believed it. His ships rowed through the night to close both ends of the strait, and Persian troops landed on Psyttaleia. In the morning the Greeks had no choice but to fight, exactly where Themistocles wanted.

The battle. At dawn the Persian ships pushed into the strait in long columns. The Greeks advanced singing a hymn, then backed water as if hesitating, drawing the enemy deeper into the narrows, before striking with their rams. The Athenians and the Aeginetans did great execution; ships in the Persian front line, unable to maneuver, were driven back into those behind them, and the confusion spread. Aristides landed hoplites on Psyttaleia and destroyed the force placed there. Xerxes watched from his throne on the slope of Aegaleos while secretaries wrote down which captains fought well. The ancient historian Diodorus says the Persians lost more than 200 ships and the Greeks 40; exact figures are uncertain.

Why it mattered. Without command of the sea, Xerxes could not supply his huge army or outflank the wall at the Isthmus. He returned to Asia with much of his force, leaving his general Mardonius in Greece; the next summer the Greeks defeated Mardonius at Plataea. Salamis made Athens the leading sea power of Greece and gave new weight to the thetes, the poor citizens who rowed the ships. Eight years later Aeschylus, who probably fought in the battle, staged *The Persians*, the oldest Greek play that survives. Themistocles' own story ended sadly: his fellow citizens later ostracized him, and he died as a pensioner of the Persian king. Pride and ingratitude, on both sides, can undo even great victories (compare Proverbs 16:18).

PICTURE STUDY



Herm of Themistocles, Unknown sculptor (Roman copy of a Greek original of about 470 B.C.), Original c. 470 B.C.; Roman copy c. 2nd century A.D. · Marble · Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica, near Rome
Wikimedia Commons · CC BY-SA 4.0

This marble head was found at Ostia, the port of ancient Rome, in 1939. It is a Roman copy, but the original was probably made within Themistocles' lifetime or soon after. Many scholars call it one of the earliest true portraits in Greek art: not an ideal hero, but a real face. A herm is a squared pillar topped by a head, a common Greek way to honor gods and famous men.

Look closely

- Look at the shape of the face, the brow and the neck. Is this an idealized, perfect face or a particular person?
- Find the inscription. What would it tell a Roman visitor?
- Look at the mouth and eyes. What kind of character do you think the sculptor wanted to show?

Talk about it

1. Why might the Romans, centuries later, have wanted a copy of Themistocles' portrait?
2. How does seeing a commander's face change the way you think about his decisions?

HANDS-ON: PAPER FLEET AT SALAMIS

Fold a paper fleet and fight the battle on a tabletop strait to see why crowding beat numbers.

You will need

- Paper squares or index cards to fold or cut into about 12 Greek ships (one color) and 24 Persian ships (another color)
- A large sheet of blue paper or a blue towel, and books or modeling clay for the coastlines
- A ruler and a coin or small die

Steps

1. Make the coastlines of Salamis and Attica so the strait narrows to about the width of four ships in the middle. Put Psyttaleia at the eastern mouth.
2. Line up the Greek ships across the strait inside the narrows, bows pointing east. Put the Persian ships in columns outside the eastern mouth.
3. Rule: a ship can only ram if it has one ship-length of open water in front of it to gather speed. Advance the Persians into the narrows two ships wide at a time. How many Persian ships can actually ram on each turn?
4. Let the Greeks back up one ship-length, then dash forward. Any Persian ship that is boxed in by its own ships behind it cannot back away. Remove rammed ships when a coin lands heads.
5. Now refight the battle in open water with no coastlines. Let the Persians surround the Greek line. Which battle did the Greeks have a chance to win?

Check your work

- I made a strait that narrows, with Psyttaleia at the mouth.
- I fought the battle twice, in the narrows and in open water.
- I can explain in two sentences why Themistocles wanted to fight in the strait.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the island of Salamis, the Attic coast, the strait and its narrowest point, Psyttaleia, the Bay of Eleusis, Piraeus and Phaleron, and Mount Aegaleos with a small throne for Xerxes. Mark the Greek line in the strait, the Persian columns entering from the east, and the Egyptian squadron sent to block the western channel. Add a compass rose and a scale (about a mile across the narrows).
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, tell how Themistocles won the battle before the first ship was rammed: the silver, the ships, the argument in council and the message to Xerxes.

Your parent keeps this page.

3. Make a two-column chart: *Greek advantages* and *Persian advantages* on the morning of the battle. Circle the advantage that mattered most.

Did you know? In 1987 the Greek Navy launched *Olympias*, a full-size reconstructed trireme built from ancient evidence. Volunteer crews rowing her reached speeds of about 9 knots in short bursts, showing how fast and nimble the real ships could be. In 1959 an inscription called the Decree of Themistocles, ordering the evacuation of Athens, was found at Troezen; scholars still debate whether it is a faithful copy of the original decree.

Primary source. *Herodotus, Histories 8.86*, trans. G. C. Macaulay (1890); the full translation is on Project Gutenberg (eBook #2456).

...the greater number of their ships were disabled at Salamis, being destroyed some by the Athenians and others by the Eginetans: for since the Hellenes fought in order and ranged in their places, while the Barbarians were no longer ranged in order nor did anything with design, it was likely that there would be some such result as in fact followed. Yet on this day they surpassed themselves much more than when they fought by Euboea, every one being eager and fearing Xerxes, and each man thinking that the king was looking especially at him.

Go deeper. Herodotus, *Histories*, Book 8, sections 40–97 (Project Gutenberg). Barry Strauss, *The Battle of Salamis* (2004), a vivid scholar’s narrative. Aeschylus, *The Persians* (read the messenger’s speech in an older public-domain translation). J. S. Morrison, J. F. Coates and N. B. Rankov, *The Athenian Trireme*, for the story of rebuilding *Olympias*. Second video topic: “The trireme *Olympias* at sea.”

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Greece: the Persian Wars and the Athenian empire (coming soon); and Small Business & Economics, for how one silver strike changed a city’s choices.

For families. Ship numbers are given as ranges: Herodotus gives 378 Greek ships (8.48); Aeschylus gives 310 Greek and 1,207 Persian; modern estimates for the Persian fleet at Salamis vary widely. The ship losses (about 200 Persian, 40 Greek) are from Diodorus (11.19) and are uncertain. The outline’s suggested picture, Kaulbach’s *Battle of Salamis* (1868), was set aside because, in the classical manner, it includes nude and partly clothed figures (parents may preview it at the Maximilianeum, Munich, online); the Themistocles herm is used instead. The excerpt begins mid-sentence (marked with an ellipsis); the section’s opening words are “Thus it was with these.” Note that the last sentence of the excerpt describes the Persian crews, not the Greeks: a good point to check in practice question 2.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Where did the money for the Athenian fleet come from, and who persuaded Athens to spend it on ships?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source carefully. What reason does Herodotus give for the Greek victory? Then: whom does “they” refer to in the last sentence, and what does Herodotus say about them?
3. **MEDIUM** What did Themistocles’ message, carried by Sicinnus, tell Xerxes, and how did it help the Greeks?
4. **MEDIUM** Why did the Peloponnesian captains want to fight at the Isthmus, and what was Themistocles’ answer?
5. **CHALLENGE** A trireme carried about 200 men. If the Greeks had 370 ships and the Persians 700, how many men served in each fleet? Then explain why the larger number did not help the Persians in the strait.
6. **CHALLENGE** Ethics question. Themistocles won by deceiving Xerxes with a false message. Is it right to deceive an enemy in a just war? Consider Joshua 8 (the ambush at Ai, commanded by God) and the difference between lying to a friend and a ruse against an enemy in battle. Aquinas also discussed this (Summa Theologica II-II, question 40, article 3).

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Council at Salamis. Decide before you read what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Themistocles. The allies want to row away to the Isthmus. Will you (a) agree and fall back to the Isthmus, (b) fight the Persians in the open bay of Phaleron, or (c) trick Xerxes into attacking you in the narrows? **Choice 2.** You are Xerxes. Your fleet is larger, your army holds Athens, and a messenger says the Greeks are about to flee. Will you (a) wait, since a divided Greek fleet may break up on its own, (b) send part of your fleet around to the Isthmus, or (c) block the strait by night and attack in the morning? *What happened:* Themistocles chose 1(c); Xerxes chose 2(c). Artemisia, Herodotus says, had advised 2(a). Discuss: which of Xerxes’ choices might have won the war for him?

Scripture. “For by wise counsel thou shalt make thy war: and in multitude of counsellors there is safety.” (Proverbs 24:6, KJV)

The council at Salamis nearly broke apart, yet out of hard argument came the right plan. Wise leaders listen to counsel and then act; Xerxes, who silenced doubters, had many advisers but heeded few.

Practice: answers

1. From a rich silver strike at Laurium about 483 B.C. Themistocles persuaded the assembly to build about 200 triremes.
2. The Greeks fought in order and kept their places, while the Persians lost their order and acted without plan. “They” are the Persian crews: Herodotus says they fought better than at

Euboea (Artemisium), each man eager because he thought the king was watching him. So the Persians did not lose for lack of courage but for lack of order in a cramped space.

3. It said the Greeks were divided and about to flee, so Xerxes should block their escape. Xerxes closed both ends of the strait by night, which forced the hesitant allies to fight and drew the Persians into the narrows the next morning.
4. Their army was building a wall there and their homes lay behind it. Themistocles argued that in open water the larger Persian fleet would surround them, but in the narrow strait numbers would not count; he also threatened to take the Athenians to Italy if they abandoned Salamis.
5. Greeks: $370 \times 200 = 74,000$ men. Persians: $700 \times 200 = 140,000$ men. In the narrows only the ships in the front line could ram; the ones behind could not use their numbers and instead blocked the retreat of the ships in front, so crowding turned numbers into confusion.
6. Aquinas taught that it is wrong to break a promise or a sworn agreement with an enemy, but that hiding one's plans or setting an ambush, a stratagem, is lawful in a just war; Scripture records God commanding an ambush at Ai (Joshua 8). A ruse in war is generally distinguished from treachery (breaking a truce or faith). A good answer applies this to Sicinnus' message and notes any honest difficulty, such as whether an outright false message is different from merely concealing plans. (Discussion answer.)

1.4 GAUGAMELA (331 B.C.): ALEXANDER'S OBLIQUE ADVANCE

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how Darius prepared the ground at Gaugamela and why the open plain seemed to favor him.
- Analyze Alexander's oblique advance to the right, the gap it opened in the Persian line and the charge of the Companion cavalry.
- Judge Alexander's refusal to attack by night and the battle's consequences, including its place in the prophecy of Daniel 8.

Warm-up. Lay a long line of 20 coins or buttons on a table to stand for a battle line. Slide a single coin slowly along beside the right end of the line, and “stretch” the line to keep up with it by moving coins from the middle outward. What happens to the middle of the line? Alexander counted on exactly that.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Gaugamela, 331 B.C.: Alexander's oblique advance, the scythed chariots and the Companion cavalry wedge. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Companion cavalry

The elite heavy cavalry of Macedon, about 2,000 strong at Gaugamela, led personally by Alexander and often formed in a wedge.

sarissa

The Macedonian pike, about 15 to 18 feet long, held in both hands, so that several ranks of spear points projected in front of the phalanx.

oblique order

A way of attacking in which one wing is strengthened and advanced while the other is held back, so the line meets the enemy at an angle rather than all at once.

scythed chariot

A war chariot with blades fixed to its wheels and pole, meant to break up infantry; Darius had about 200 at Gaugamela.

satrap

A Persian provincial governor; several satraps, such as Bessus of Bactria and Mazaeus, commanded wings of Darius' army.

reserve

Troops held back from the first fighting, ready to meet an emergency or exploit a success. Alexander placed a second line behind his phalanx to face any enemy who got around his flanks.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Gaugamela, whose name may mean “the camel’s house,” lay on a wide plain in northern Mesopotamia, east of the Tigris River near modern Mosul and about 70 miles west of the town of Arbela (modern Erbil), after which the battle is sometimes named. After losing at Issus two years earlier, King Darius III chose this ground carefully. It was open and flat enough for his great mass of cavalry and his chariots, and his men cleared and leveled parts of it so that the scythed chariots could charge at full speed. Darius would not be caught again in narrow country between mountains and sea.

The people. Alexander of Macedon, then 25 years old, had about 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, the figures given by the historian Arrian. His phalanx carried the long sarissa, and his Companion cavalry was the best heavy cavalry in the world. His senior general, Parmenio, commanded the left wing. Darius gathered troops from the whole eastern empire: Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Scythians, Indians, even fifteen elephants. Ancient writers give impossible totals of up to a million; modern historians suggest perhaps 50,000 to 100,000 or more, with a large advantage in cavalry. Either way, the Persian line was much longer than Alexander’s and could outflank it on both sides.

The night before. The armies camped within sight of each other. Parmenio and other officers urged a night attack to hide their small numbers. Alexander refused, saying, according to Plutarch, that he would not steal his victory. Arrian adds a practical reason: night fighting is chaotic, and a defeat in the dark could be fatal far from home. Darius, fearing a surprise, kept his army standing in arms all night, so his men came to the battle tired. Eleven days earlier there had been a total eclipse of the moon, and both armies took it as an omen.

The plan. Alexander deployed with a second line behind the first, ready to face about if the enemy got around his flanks. Then, instead of advancing straight ahead, he led his right wing at an angle toward the right, edging off the leveled ground. To keep him from outflanking them, the Persian left wing under Bessus sent cavalry riding farther and farther out. Darius launched his scythed chariots, but Alexander’s javelin-men and archers struck the drivers and horses, and the phalanx opened lanes so the chariots that got through passed harmlessly to the rear. As the Persian left stretched to follow Alexander, a gap opened in its line.

The battle. At the decisive moment Alexander turned the Companion cavalry into a wedge, with infantry following, and drove straight into the gap toward Darius himself. For the second time in two years, Darius fled the field. Meanwhile, on the Macedonian left, Parmenio was hard pressed by the Persian right under Mazaeus, and some Persian and Indian cavalry broke through to the baggage camp. Parmenio sent urgent messages, and Alexander broke off his pursuit to help him before the Persian army dissolved. Ancient casualty figures are wildly unbalanced and cannot be trusted; it is enough to say that the Persian army was destroyed as a fighting force and the Macedonian losses were comparatively small.

Why it mattered. Gaugamela ended the Persian Empire that had threatened Greece at Marathon. Babylon and Susa opened their gates, and Persepolis was captured and burned.

The next summer Darius was killed by his own satrap Bessus. Alexander's conquests carried the Greek language from Egypt to India; three centuries later, that common Greek would carry the New Testament. Christians recall that two centuries before Alexander, Daniel saw a ram with two horns broken by a goat from the west, and the angel explained that the ram was "the kings of Media and Persia" and the goat "the king of Grecia" (Daniel 8:20-21). The oblique attack was studied by later generals, such as Frederick the Great at Leuthen in 1757.

PICTURE STUDY



The Alexander Mosaic, Unknown artist, probably copying a lost Greek painting of about 300 B.C., c. 100 B.C.
· Floor mosaic of small stone tiles (tesserae) · From the House of the Faun, Pompeii; now in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples
Wikimedia Commons · CC0

This floor mosaic, about 19 feet long and made of more than a million tiny pieces of stone, was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 and uncovered in 1831. It shows the moment Alexander charges toward Darius, who is about to flee. Scholars debate whether it shows Issus (333 B.C.) or Gaugamela (331 B.C.), but it captures what happened at both: Alexander driving for the king himself.

Look closely

- Find Alexander. Where is he looking? Is he wearing a helmet?
- Find Darius in his chariot. Which way are his horses turning, and which way is he reaching?
- Look at the spears in the background. How does the artist use them to give a sense of motion and of a great army?

Talk about it

1. Why do you think the artist made the two kings, not the armies, the center of the picture?
2. Darius is shown reaching out toward his fallen men rather than simply running. What does that suggest about how the artist saw him?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP GAUGAMELA: OPEN THE GAP

Act out Alexander's oblique advance and watch a gap appear in the Persian line.

You will need

- About 40 blocks or toy soldiers for the Macedonians and 70 for the Persians, plus 6 for chariots
- Two contrasting colors of yarn or string to mark the leveled ground
- A sheet of paper for each side's orders

Steps

1. Mark a long rectangle of leveled ground with string. Line the Persians along its far edge, much longer than the Macedonian line, with Darius in the center, chariots in front, and heavy cavalry on both wings.
2. Set the Macedonians opposite: the phalanx in the center, Alexander and the Companions on the right, Parmenio on the left, and a second line of about 8 blocks behind them.
3. Move the Macedonian right two block-widths to the right and one forward each turn, angling off the leveled ground. Each turn, move the Persian left cavalry two block-widths outward to stay level with Alexander. Keep going for four turns.
4. Send the chariots forward. Open a lane in the phalanx and let them pass through to the rear, where the second line "captures" them.
5. Look for the gap that has formed between the Persian left cavalry and their center. Form the Companions into a wedge and drive through it to Darius. Then check Parmenio's wing: is it holding?

Check your work

- My Persian line was longer than the Macedonian line, as it really was.
- I moved Alexander's wing obliquely and saw a gap open.
- I can explain why Alexander had a second line and why he had to turn back for Parmenio.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the plain of Gaugamela: the leveled ground in the center, low hills to the north, the Tigris to the west and an arrow toward Arbela to the east. Draw both lines at the start, then add dashed arrows for Alexander's oblique move to the right, the Persian left following him, the gap, and the Companion wedge driving toward Darius. Add a compass rose and a key.

2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain Alexander's plan at Gaugamela as if you were briefing a new officer: what the problem was, what he did, and why it worked. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Write out Daniel 8:20-21 and, beside it, draw the ram and the goat from Daniel 8 with labels.

Did you know? Babylonian astronomers kept clay-tablet diaries of the sky and of important events. One surviving tablet, now in the British Museum, records the lunar eclipse of September 20, 331 B.C., and then the battle a few days later, noting that the king's troops deserted him. It is a rare record of an ancient Greek battle written by the other side.

Primary source. *Plutarch, Life of Alexander 31, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Loeb Classical Library, 1919; public domain).*

They therefore waited upon the king when he had finished his sacrifices, and tried to persuade him to attack the enemy by night, and so to cover up with darkness the most fearful aspect of the coming struggle. But he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal my victory"; whereupon some thought that he had made a vainglorious reply, and was jesting in the presence of so great a peril. Others, however, thought that he had confidence in the present situation and estimated the future correctly, not offering Dareius in case of defeat an excuse to pluck up courage for another attempt, by laying the blame this time upon darkness and night, as he had before upon mountains, defiles, and sea.

Go deeper. Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, Book 3, chapters 7-15 (E. J. Chinnock's translation is free on Project Gutenberg). Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, chapters 31-34. J. F. C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (1958), a soldier's analysis. British Museum online collection: search "astronomical diary Gaugamela." Second video topic: "Epaminondas at Leuctra, the first oblique order."

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Greece and the Hellenistic world: Alexander the Great (coming soon); and Geography, for the Tigris, Euphrates and the lands of the Persian Empire.

For families. The date is October 1, 331 B.C., fixed by the Babylonian record of the eclipse eleven days before. Army sizes for Alexander come from Arrian (3.12); Persian sizes are modern estimates given as a range, and the ancient casualty figures (Arrian claims about 100 Macedonian and 300,000 Persian dead) are not repeated as fact. Whether the Alexander Mosaic shows Issus or Gaugamela is debated. Its scene includes fallen soldiers but no gore. Daniel 8 is taught as true prophecy, as the stop presents it; many modern critical scholars date Daniel later, a debate families may explore in the History course.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** How did Darius prepare the battlefield at Gaugamela, and why?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What did the officers advise, how did Alexander answer, and what are the two ways people interpreted his answer?
3. **MEDIUM** How did the Macedonians deal with the scythed chariots?
4. **MEDIUM** Explain in your own words how the oblique advance created a gap in the Persian line.
5. **CHALLENGE** Suppose Alexander's front was 4 miles long and the Persian front 6 miles long, both centered on the same point. By how much did the Persian line overlap Alexander's on each side? Why did this make Alexander's second line necessary?
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war question. At Marathon the Greeks defended their homes. At Gaugamela Alexander was 1,500 miles from Macedon, invading the Persian Empire. His father had declared the war as revenge for Xerxes' invasion of Greece 150 years earlier. Use Augustine's and Aquinas's tests (rightful authority, just cause, right intention) to evaluate Alexander's war. Where does it pass and where does it struggle?

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: The Plain of Gaugamela. Decide before you read what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Alexander, the night before battle. Your generals urge a night attack. Will you (a) attack by night, (b) attack at dawn in open daylight, or (c) refuse battle and march away? **Choice 2.** The Persian line overlaps yours on both sides. Will you (a) charge straight at their center, (b) form a second line and then edge obliquely to the right to draw them out, or (c) spread your line thinner to match theirs, as Miltiades did? **Choice 3.** Darius is fleeing, but a message says Parmenio's wing is in danger. Will you (a) chase Darius and end the war by capturing him, or (b) turn back to save Parmenio? *What happened:* Alexander chose 1(b), 2(b) and 3(b). Darius escaped but was later killed by his own satrap. Discuss: was turning back the right choice?

Scripture. "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king." (Daniel 8:20-21, KJV)

Daniel received this vision about two centuries before Gaugamela. Alexander thought he was making his own destiny, but Scripture shows that the rise and fall of empires is in God's hands. The "first king" of Grecia's empire is understood as Alexander.

Practice: answers

1. He chose a wide, open plain and had parts of it leveled so his scythed chariots and large cavalry force could charge at full speed. He did not want to be trapped in narrow ground again as at Issus.
2. They advised a night attack to hide the danger. Alexander said, "I will not steal my victory." Some thought it a boastful joke in the face of danger; others thought he was wisely denying Darius any excuse, such as darkness, so that a defeat would be final.

3. Light troops (javelin-men and archers) struck the drivers and horses, and the phalanx opened lanes so the chariots that got through passed harmlessly to the rear, where they were captured.
4. Alexander moved his right wing at an angle toward the right. To keep from being outflanked, the Persian left cavalry kept riding outward to stay level with him. As they stretched, a gap opened between them and the Persian center, and Alexander charged into it with the Companions toward Darius.
5. The Persian line was 2 miles longer, so it overlapped by 1 mile on each side. Enemy units beyond each end could swing around and attack the flanks and rear; the second line could turn about and face them, protecting the phalanx from being surrounded.
6. Authority: Alexander was the lawful king and leader of the Greek league, so this test is met. Cause: punishment for an invasion a century and a half earlier is a weak cause, though one might argue that freeing the Greek cities of Asia was more defensible. Intention: Alexander's own aims grew into conquest and glory, which Augustine called the "lust for domination," so right intention is the hardest test to pass. A strong answer distinguishes these and notes that God can use even ambitious rulers for His purposes (Daniel 8) without approving their motives. (Discussion answer.)

1.5 CANNAE (216 B.C.): HANNIBAL'S DOUBLE ENVELOPMENT

OBJECTIVES

- Describe the ground at Cannae and the forces of Rome and Carthage, and explain why Rome sought a great battle.
- Analyze Hannibal's crescent formation and double envelopment step by step, and explain why it is still studied by soldiers today.
- Weigh the sources, especially Polybius' possible bias, and explain why Rome, though crushed, did not surrender.

Warm-up. Make a bow shape with a piece of string on the table, curving toward you. Push gently on the middle of the curve with one finger until it bends the other way. Now bring the two ends of the string in around your finger. Your finger is trapped. That is Cannae in one move.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Cannae, 216 B.C.: Hannibal's crescent and double envelopment, animated map (avoid graphic reenactments). Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

legion

The main unit of the Roman army, about 4,000 to 5,000 citizen infantry, organized in three lines (hastati, principes and triarii) and supported by light troops and cavalry.

maniple

A company of about 120 men, the small building block of the legion, which allowed the Romans to fight in flexible, checkerboard lines.

consul

One of the two chief magistrates of the Roman Republic, elected for one year, who commanded its armies. At Cannae the two consuls alternated command day by day.

double envelopment

A maneuver in which an army closes around both flanks of the enemy at once, and ideally its rear as well, surrounding it completely. Cannae is the classic example.

Fabian strategy

The policy of Quintus Fabius Maximus: avoid a pitched battle with a superior general, harass him and wear him down over time. It is named for Fabius, called "the Delayer."

Numidians

Horsemen from North Africa (modern Algeria and Tunisia) who rode without saddles or bridles and were famed for speed and skirmishing.

CORE IDEAS

The war. In 218 B.C. the Carthaginian general Hannibal Barca marched from Spain over the Pyrenees and the Alps into Italy, beginning the Second Punic War. Carthage, a great trading city in North Africa, had lost the First Punic War to Rome and had lost Sicily with it; Hannibal's family had built a new power base in Spain, and he meant to break Rome's alliances in Italy. He crushed Roman armies at the Trebia (218) and Lake Trasimene (217). Then the dictator Fabius Maximus refused to give battle, shadowing Hannibal and wearing him down. Many Romans thought this policy cowardly. For 216 they elected two new consuls, Lucius Aemilius Paullus and Gaius Terentius Varro, and raised the largest army Rome had ever fielded, eight legions with as many allied troops, to finish Hannibal in one battle.

The map. Hannibal seized the supply depot at Cannae in Apulia, on the Aufidus River (today the Ofanto) in southeastern Italy. The ground was flat and open, good for his excellent cavalry, with the river on one flank. On August 2, 216 B.C., on Varro's day of command, the Romans deployed facing roughly south, with the river protecting their right. Livy adds that a hot wind blew dust into Roman faces. Polybius gives the Romans about 80,000 infantry and some 6,000 cavalry, against Hannibal's 40,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry.

The plan. The Romans packed their maniples closer together and made their lines much deeper than usual, hoping their great mass of infantry would smash through Hannibal's center by sheer weight. Hannibal used that against them. He placed his Gauls and Spaniards in the center in a crescent that bulged out toward the Romans. On each side of them, set back, he placed his veteran African infantry. His heavy cavalry under Hasdrubal stood on the left by the river, facing the Roman citizen cavalry, and the Numidian horse stood on the right against the allied cavalry.

The battle. The cavalry fought first. Hasdrubal's heavy horse routed the Roman cavalry between the river and the infantry, then rode all the way around behind the Roman army to help the Numidians drive off the allied horse on the other wing. Meanwhile the Roman infantry pressed forward. Hannibal's crescent gave ground as he intended, bending back until it curved the other way, and the Romans crowded deeper and deeper into the pocket. Then the African infantry on both sides turned inward against the Roman flanks, and Hasdrubal's cavalry struck the Roman rear. The army was surrounded, so tightly packed that most men could not use their weapons. Polybius says about 70,000 Romans and allies were killed and 10,000 captured; Livy gives about 48,000 killed. Hannibal lost about 5,700. The consul Paullus was killed; Varro escaped with a remnant.

Reading the sources. Our best source, the Greek historian Polybius, lived in Rome a few decades later as the friend and mentor of Scipio Aemilianus, the grandson of the consul Paullus. Polybius praises Paullus and blames the rash Varro. That may be fair, but a good historian notices the connection. Livy, writing about 190 years after the battle, adds dramatic speeches and details we cannot check. Historians also still debate on which bank of the Aufidus the battle took place.

Why it mattered. Cannae was perhaps the worst single day in Rome's history, and several southern Italian cities, including Capua, went over to Hannibal. Yet Rome refused to negotiate. The Senate limited public mourning, refused to ransom prisoners, raised new legions and returned to Fabius' strategy. Livy says the Senate even thanked Varro because he had not despaired of the Republic. Hannibal stayed in Italy for thirteen more years but never took Rome. Among the survivors was a young officer named Publius Cornelius Scipio, who would one day face Hannibal at Zama. The battle has been studied ever since: the German general Alfred von Schlieffen wrote a famous series of studies called *Cannae*, and military academies such as West Point still teach it as the model of encirclement. Its deeper lesson is about character: a nation that keeps faith after disaster can outlast a brilliant enemy.

PICTURE STUDY



The Death of Paulus Aemilius at the Battle of Cannae, John Trumbull, 1773 · Oil on canvas · Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

John Trumbull, who later painted the great scenes of the American Revolution, made this picture as a young man of seventeen, before he had any formal training. It shows a moment from Livy: the officer Lentulus finds the wounded consul Paullus and begs him to take his horse and escape. Paullus refuses, sends Lentulus to warn the Senate to fortify Rome, and stays with his men.

Look closely

- Find Paullus and Lentulus. How does Trumbull show who is giving and who is refusing?
- Look at the horse. Why is it so important in this scene?
- Look at the background. Does the painting focus on the battle or on two people?

Talk about it

1. Why would a young American in 1773, a few years before the Revolution, choose to paint a Roman who refused to save himself?
2. Livy wrote this scene almost two centuries after Cannae. Does it matter whether every word of it is exact? Why or why not?

HANDS-ON: SAND-TABLE CANNAE

Build Cannae in a sand table (or on a tablecloth) and work the double envelopment move by move. This is the track's signature project.

You will need

- A shallow box or tray of damp sand, or a large towel on a table
- About 80 blocks, LEGO bricks or toy soldiers in one color (Romans) and about 50 in another (Carthaginians), with 6 Roman and 10 Carthaginian pieces marked as cavalry
- A blue ribbon or a groove in the sand for the Aufidus River; a pencil to trace movements in the sand

Steps

1. Draw the river along one side. Set the Romans in a deep, narrow block, at least eight rows deep, with Roman cavalry by the river and allied cavalry on the far wing.
2. Set Hannibal's line: Gauls and Spaniards in a crescent bulging toward the Romans; African infantry set back on each side; Hasdrubal's heavy cavalry by the river; Numidians on the far wing.
3. Move 1: Hasdrubal routs the Roman cavalry and rides behind the Roman army to the other wing. Trace his path in the sand.
4. Move 2: Push the Roman block forward. Let the crescent bend back until it curves the other way. Keep the Africans still.
5. Move 3: Turn the Africans inward against both Roman flanks, and bring the cavalry in behind. Count how many Roman pieces are still on the outside edge where they can fight. Compare that with the number in the middle.
6. Optional: Photograph or draw each move to make a four-panel "battle storyboard."

Check your work

- I showed the crescent, the Africans set back, and the cavalry on both wings.
- I worked through all three moves in order.
- I can explain why most Romans could not fight once they were surrounded.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the field of Cannae: the Aufidus River, the hill town of Cannae, and the open plain. Draw three small panels side by side: (1) the starting positions with the

crescent, (2) the cavalry ride around the rear and the crescent bending back, (3) the complete encirclement. Use arrows and a key for infantry and cavalry.

2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain why Rome did not surrender after Cannae, using at least two facts from the stop. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Copy the sentence from the primary source that describes Hannibal's line "changing its shape into that of a crescent" and draw a small diagram beside it.

Did you know? Livy says that after Cannae, Hannibal's cavalry commander Maharbal urged him to march on Rome at once and, when he hesitated, told him that he knew how to win a victory but not how to use one. Historians still argue whether Hannibal, who had no siege equipment and a small army, could have taken the city. In the American Civil War and both World Wars, generals dreamed of fighting "a Cannae"; very few ever managed one.

Primary source. *Plutarch, Life of Fabius Maximus 16.2-3, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Loeb Classical Library, 1916; public domain).*

In the second place, he formed his troops as follows: the sturdiest and most warlike part of his force he stationed on either side of the centre, and manned the centre itself with his poorest soldiers, intending to use this as a wedge jutting out far in advance of the rest of his line. ... For the centre gave way and was followed by the Romans in pursuit, Hannibal's line of battle thus changing its shape into that of a crescent; and the commanders of the picked troops on his wings wheeled them swiftly to left and right and fell upon the exposed sides of their enemy, all of whom, except those who retired before they were surrounded, were then overwhelmed and destroyed.

Go deeper. Polybius, *Histories*, Book 3, chapters 107-118 (Shuckburgh's translation is free on Project Gutenberg). Livy, *History of Rome*, Book 22, chapters 34-61. Adrian Goldsworthy, *Cannae* (2001), a clear military history. Robert L. O'Connell, *The Ghosts of Cannae* (2010), on the battle and its later influence (parent preview). Second video topic: "Fabius Maximus and the Fabian strategy."

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Rome: the Republic and the Punic Wars (coming soon); and Geography, for Italy, Carthage and the western Mediterranean.

For families. Army sizes are from Polybius (3.113-114); casualty figures differ between Polybius (3.117: about 70,000 killed) and Livy (22.49: about 45,500 infantry and 2,700 cavalry killed), so both are given. The date of August 2 follows the ancient Roman calendar. The Trumbull painting shows a wounded man but no gore. The primary-source excerpt omits one sentence (marked "...") that describes the trap more graphically. Hannibal is presented fairly as a brilliant commander fighting for his city; the Romans' determination is honored without making Carthage a villain.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did Rome want a great battle in 216 B.C. instead of continuing Fabius' strategy?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. Where did Hannibal put his strongest troops and where his weakest? What happened to his line as the Romans pressed forward?
3. **MEDIUM** What did Hasdrubal's cavalry do that made the encirclement complete?
4. **MEDIUM** Why should a careful reader notice Polybius' friendship with Scipio Aemilianus?
5. **CHALLENGE** A Roman block 8 men deep and 1,000 men wide (8,000 men) is completely surrounded. How many men stand on the outside edge, able to fight? What fraction of the block is that? Now make the block 16 deep and 500 wide. How many are on the edge now? What lesson does this teach about the Roman deep formation?
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war and character question. After Cannae, the Roman Senate refused to ransom Roman prisoners held by Hannibal, to show that Rome expected its soldiers to fight rather than surrender. Augustine admired Roman courage but criticized Rome's "lust for praise." Was the Senate's refusal right? Consider duty to the prisoners, duty to the state and what Scripture says about mercy.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: The Plain by the Aufidus. Decide before you read what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Varro, commanding on August 2. Your infantry far outnumbers Hannibal's, but his cavalry is better. Will you (a) wait for Paullus' day and a safer plan, (b) pack your infantry deep and smash through his center, or (c) spread your line wide to overlap his? **Choice 2.** You are Hannibal. You expect a massive Roman push in the center. Will you (a) put your best troops in the center to stop it, (b) put your weakest troops in a forward crescent and your best troops on the sides, or (c) retreat to the hills? **Choice 3.** You are the Roman Senate after the disaster. Will you (a) make peace, (b) raise new armies and refuse to negotiate, or (c) recall all armies to defend the city walls only? *What happened:* Varro chose 1(b); Hannibal chose 2(b); the Senate chose 3(b). Discuss: how could Rome lose the battle and still win the war?

Scripture. "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength. An horse is a vain thing for safety: neither shall he deliver any by his great strength." (Psalm 33:16-17, KJV)

Rome trusted in the size of its army, and the biggest army in its history was destroyed in an afternoon. The psalmist teaches that numbers and strength are not the final safety of any nation; the next verse says, "Behold, the eye of the LORD is upon them that fear him."

Practice: answers

1. Many Romans thought avoiding battle was cowardly and that it let Hannibal ravage Italy; they raised the largest Roman army yet to destroy him in one battle.
2. The strongest (the picked African troops) stood on either side of the center; the weakest held the center itself, which bulged forward. As the center gave way, the line changed into a

crescent curving the other way, and the picked troops on the wings wheeled inward onto the Roman flanks.

3. It routed the Roman cavalry by the river, rode around behind the Roman army to help defeat the allied cavalry on the other wing, and then attacked the rear of the Roman infantry.
4. Scipio Aemilianus was the grandson of the consul Paullus, so Polybius may have been inclined to praise Paullus and blame Varro for the defeat. His account may still be true, but the connection is a possible bias.
5. Edge of $8 \times 1,000$: $2 \times 1,000 + 2 \times (8 - 2) = 2,000 + 12 = 2,012$ men, about one quarter ($2,012 \div 8,000 \approx 25\%$). For 16×500 : $2 \times 500 + 2 \times (16 - 2) = 1,000 + 28 = 1,028$, about 13%. The deeper and narrower the block, the fewer men can fight once surrounded; packing the Romans deep made the trap even deadlier.
6. Arguments for: it stiffened resolve, kept money from Hannibal and showed Rome would not bargain from weakness. Arguments against: the prisoners were Rome's own citizens and soldiers, many captured through no fault of their own, and Scripture repeatedly calls for remembering and redeeming captives (for example, Hebrews 13:3). A strong answer weighs both duties honestly and might conclude that the policy was effective but hard and not clearly merciful. (Discussion answer.)

1.6 ZAMA (202 B.C.): SCIPIO OPENS LANES FOR THE ELEPHANTS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how Scipio carried the war to Africa and why Hannibal was recalled to fight at Zama.
- Analyze Scipio's answer to the elephants (lanes between the maniples) and his handling of Hannibal's three lines and the returning cavalry.
- Evaluate how Scipio learned from Cannae, and describe the peace that ended the Second Punic War.

Warm-up. Set up a row of chairs or pillows with a gap between each one. Roll a ball hard at the row. Now close the gaps and roll it again. Which way does the ball cause less trouble? Scipio used the same idea against 80 charging elephants.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Zama, 202 B.C.: Scipio's lanes, Hannibal's elephants and three lines, and the return of the cavalry. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

velites

Young, lightly armed Roman skirmishers with javelins and small shields, who fought in front of the legion and in the lanes at Zama.

hastati, principes and triarii

The three lines of the Roman legion: the younger hastati in front, the experienced principes behind them, and the veteran triarii in the rear.

war elephant

An elephant trained to charge and frighten enemy troops and horses. It could be fearsome but, if panicked, could stampede back into its own side.

Masinissa

A Numidian prince, once an ally of Carthage, who joined Scipio and brought him the superb Numidian cavalry; he later became king of Numidia.

indemnity

A sum of money that a defeated state is required to pay to the victor as part of a peace treaty.

Africanus

The honorary surname given to Scipio for his victory in Africa; he is known as Scipio Africanus.

CORE IDEAS

The road to Zama. After Cannae, Hannibal remained in Italy for over a decade, unbeaten in a major battle but unable to take Rome. The tide turned elsewhere. Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had survived Cannae as a young officer and whose father and uncle had been killed fighting in Spain, was given command there at about 25. He captured New Carthage in 209 B.C. and drove the Carthaginians out of Spain by 206. Then he persuaded a reluctant Senate to let him carry the war to Africa. In 204 he landed near Utica, defeated the Carthaginian armies, and won over the Numidian prince Masinissa. Carthage recalled Hannibal from Italy to defend the city.

The map. The armies met in 202 B.C. on open plains southwest of Carthage, in what is now Tunisia; the exact site near the town of Zama is still debated. Open ground favored cavalry, and this time it was Scipio who had the advantage in horsemen: Masinissa had brought about 4,000 Numidian cavalry and 6,000 infantry. Polybius gives Scipio roughly 29,000 infantry and 6,100 cavalry; Hannibal had perhaps 36,000 infantry, about 4,000 cavalry and 80 elephants. Before the battle, Polybius says, the two generals met between the armies with only interpreters. Hannibal offered peace; Scipio, saying Carthage had already broken a truce, refused.

The people and their plans. Hannibal placed his 80 elephants in front, many of them newly caught and poorly trained. Behind them he drew up three lines: first his mercenaries (Ligurians, Celts, Balearic slingers and Moors); second the Carthaginian and African levies; and, held back some distance, his veterans who had fought with him in Italy. Scipio made one crucial change to the usual Roman checkerboard. Instead of placing the maniples of each line to cover the gaps in the line ahead, he lined them up one behind another, leaving straight lanes running from front to back. He filled the lanes with velites, ready to fall back. Laelius commanded the Italian cavalry on the left and Masinissa the Numidians on the right.

The battle. When the elephants charged, Roman trumpets and horns sounded from every side. Some elephants panicked and turned back into Hannibal's own cavalry; others ran down the lanes Scipio had left open and out the back, or veered off toward the wings, where they disrupted the Carthaginian horse. Laelius and Masinissa routed the Carthaginian cavalry and chased it from the field. Then the infantry met. The Roman hastati broke Hannibal's first two lines, which fell back in confusion. Hannibal's veterans still stood fresh and unbroken. Rather than send in tired troops piecemeal, Scipio halted, re-formed, and moved his principes and triarii out to the wings to make one long line equal to Hannibal's veterans. The two finest armies of the age fought hard and evenly until Laelius and Masinissa returned and struck the Carthaginian rear. Polybius says the Carthaginians lost about 20,000 killed and nearly as many captured, and the Romans about 1,500. Hannibal escaped.

Learning from Cannae. Zama reversed Cannae. This time the Romans had the better cavalry, and their horsemen struck the enemy's rear at the decisive moment. Scipio also showed a rare quality: he adapted his formation to meet a particular threat, the elephants,

and he paused in the middle of a battle to reorganize rather than rushing in. Scipio had studied Hannibal for years, as a soldier studies a master.

Why it mattered. Carthage sued for peace. By the treaty of 201 B.C. it surrendered its war elephants and all but ten of its warships, agreed to pay an indemnity of 10,000 talents of silver over fifty years, and promised to make no war without Rome's permission. Polybius says Hannibal himself urged his city to accept. Rome became the dominant power of the western Mediterranean, and Scipio received the name Africanus. Hannibal later served Carthage as a reforming magistrate before exile; he died in Asia Minor around 183 B.C., the same year, by tradition, as Scipio. Both men were honored by their enemies as among the greatest generals who ever lived.

PICTURE STUDY



The Battle of Zama, Cornelis Cort, after a design by Giulio Romano, 1567 · Engraving · Impressions in several collections, including the Harvard Art Museums; the design is related to Giulio Romano's tapestry series on Scipio Africanus for King Francis I of France (1530s)

Wikimedia Commons · CC0

Giulio Romano, a pupil of Raphael, designed a set of tapestries about Scipio Africanus for the king of France. Some thirty years later the Dutch engraver Cornelis Cort made this print from Giulio's design, so that people all over Europe could own a copy. Renaissance artists had never seen an ancient battle, so they imagined it, mixing old sources with the armor and costume of their own day.

Look closely

- Count the elephants. What do they carry on their backs?
- Find the Roman standards marked SPQR, "the Senate and People of Rome."

- Look for anything that is not true to 202 B.C. (for example, the turbans or the towers). Why might the artist have included it?

Talk about it

1. Does this picture show Scipio's lanes? What would you change to make it match Polybius' account?
2. Why do you think Renaissance princes wanted pictures of Scipio, of all ancient generals?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP ZAMA: OPEN THE LANES

Test Scipio's lanes against Hannibal's elephants, then fight out the infantry battle and the cavalry's return.

You will need

- About 30 blocks or LEGO bricks for Roman maniples (in three rows of 10) and about 40 for Hannibal's three lines
- Six marbles or small balls (the elephants) and a ruler or book to launch them
- Eight blocks of a third color for the cavalry of both sides

Steps

1. Set the Roman maniples in a checkerboard: the second row covering the gaps of the first, the third covering the gaps of the second. Roll the six marbles at the line from 3 feet away. Count how many blocks are knocked over.
2. Now set the maniples one behind another in straight columns, leaving lanes. Roll the marbles again. How many blocks fall now? Where do the marbles go?
3. Set Hannibal's three lines, with the third (the veterans) set well back. Send the cavalry off the table on both sides, as Laelius and Masinissa chased the Carthaginian horse.
4. Push the Roman front row through Hannibal's first two lines. Then pause, as Scipio did, and move the second and third Roman rows out to the sides to make one long line facing the veterans.
5. Bring the Roman cavalry back onto the table behind Hannibal's veterans. Explain what has happened.

Check your work

- I tested the checkerboard and the lanes and recorded how many blocks fell each time.
- I showed Hannibal's three lines and Scipio's pause to re-form.
- I can explain how the returning cavalry decided the battle.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw a map of the western Mediterranean showing Italy, Sicily, Carthage, Utica and the area of Zama, with arrows for Scipio's landing in 204 B.C. and

Hannibal's return from Italy. Beside it, draw a battle diagram: the elephants, Hannibal's three lines, the Roman lanes, and the cavalry on both wings, with arrows for the elephants running down the lanes.

2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, compare Cannae and Zama: who had the better cavalry each time, how the enemy rear was reached, and what Scipio learned. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Make a list headed "Scipio's three good decisions at Zama" and a list headed "Hannibal's problems at Zama."

Did you know? The elephants Carthage used were probably a smaller North African forest elephant, now extinct, rather than the larger African bush elephant. Livy tells a famous story that Scipio and Hannibal met years later in Asia and Hannibal ranked the greatest generals as Alexander, Pyrrhus and himself, adding that if he had beaten Scipio he would have put himself first. Livy himself admits the story may not be true.

Primary source. *Polybius, Histories 15.12.1-4, trans. W. R. Paton (Loeb Classical Library, 1920s; public domain in the United States; text from the LacusCurtius edition).*

When all was ready for battle on both sides, the Numidian horse having been skirmishing with each other for some time, Hannibal ordered the drivers of the elephants to charge the enemy. When the trumpets and bugles sounded shrilly from all sides, some of the animals took fright and at once turned tail and rushed back upon the Numidians who had come up to help the Carthaginians, and Massanissa attacking simultaneously, the Carthaginian left wing was soon left exposed. The rest of the elephants falling on the Roman velites in the space between the two main armies, both inflicted and suffered much loss, until finally in their terror some of them escaped through the gaps in the Roman line which Scipio's foresight had provided, so that the Romans suffered no injury, while others fled towards the right and, received by the cavalry with showers of javelins, at length escaped out of the field. It was at this moment that Laelius, availing himself of the disturbance created by the elephants, charged the Carthaginian cavalry and forced them to headlong flight.

Go deeper. Polybius, *Histories*, Book 15, chapters 1-19 (LacusCurtius, free online). Livy, *History of Rome*, Book 30, chapters 29-37. B. H. Liddell Hart, *Scipio Africanus: Greater than Napoleon* (1926), a soldier's admiring study. Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Fall of Carthage* (2000), for the whole of the Punic Wars. Second video topic: "Scipio at New Carthage and Ilipa."

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Rome: the Punic Wars and the rise of Rome (coming soon); and Geography, for North Africa and the western Mediterranean.

For families. Army sizes and losses are from Polybius (15.11-14) and are approximate. The date is traditionally given as October 202 B.C., but it is not certain, nor is the exact battlefield. The excerpt uses Paton's spelling "Massanissa" for Masinissa; it was copied

from the LacusCurtius transcription because Project Gutenberg's Polybius volumes could not be checked section by section. The meeting of Hannibal and Scipio is reported by Polybius (15.6-8) and Livy; the speeches are the historians' reconstructions. The story of the two men dying in the same year is ancient tradition. No gore: losses are given as numbers.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why was Hannibal in Africa in 202 B.C. instead of Italy?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. Name three different things that happened to Hannibal's elephants.
3. **MEDIUM** What change did Scipio make to the usual Roman formation, and why?
4. **MEDIUM** Why did Scipio pause in the middle of the battle after breaking Hannibal's first two lines?
5. **CHALLENGE** Carthage had to pay 10,000 talents over 50 years. How much is that per year? A talent was about 57 pounds of silver. About how many pounds of silver did Carthage pay each year, and in all?
6. **CHALLENGE** Compare Cannae and Zama point by point: which side had the better cavalry, how was the enemy's rear reached, and how did the stronger infantry side lose or win? Then state one general principle about battle that both prove.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Eighty Elephants. Decide before you read what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Scipio. Hannibal has 80 elephants. Will you (a) dig a trench in front of your army, (b) leave open lanes through your formation and blow trumpets to frighten the beasts, or (c) attack the elephants first with all your cavalry? **Choice 2.** Your front line has broken Hannibal's first two lines, but his veterans wait fresh behind them. Will you (a) charge at once while the enemy is shaken, (b) stop, re-form and extend your line to match theirs, or (c) withdraw for the day? **Choice 3.** You are Hannibal, beaten, home in Carthage. Some leaders want to keep fighting. Will you (a) urge them to fight on, (b) urge them to accept Rome's hard terms, or (c) flee abroad? *What happened:* Scipio chose 1(b) and 2(b); Hannibal chose 3(b). Discuss: why might the greatest general of Carthage have argued for peace?

Scripture. "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the LORD our God." (Psalm 20:7, KJV)

In David's day, chariots and horses were the most feared weapons of war; at Zama, elephants were. Weapons that look unstoppable can turn back on their owners. The psalm reminds us where final trust belongs.

Practice: answers

1. Scipio had invaded Africa and defeated the Carthaginian armies there, so Carthage recalled Hannibal from Italy to defend the city.

2. Some were frightened by the trumpets and turned back into the Numidians fighting for Carthage; some fell on the Roman velites and then escaped through the gaps Scipio had left; others fled to the right where cavalry drove them off the field with javelins.
3. He lined up the maniples one behind another instead of in a checkerboard, leaving open lanes from front to back filled with velites. Charging elephants could be driven down the lanes and out the back without breaking the line.
4. Hannibal's veterans stood fresh and unbroken. Scipio re-formed, moving his principes and triarii to the wings to make one long, strong line rather than attacking with tired, disordered troops.
5. $10,000 \div 50 = 200$ talents per year. $200 \times 57 = 11,400$ pounds of silver a year (about 5.7 tons). In all, $10,000 \times 57 = 570,000$ pounds (about 285 tons).
6. Cannae: Hannibal had the better cavalry; Hasdrubal's horse rode around behind the Romans; the Romans' larger infantry was trapped. Zama: Scipio had the better cavalry (Masinissa and Laelius); the cavalry returned to strike Hannibal's rear; the infantry fight was even until then. Principle: the side whose cavalry wins on the wings and returns to strike the enemy's rear usually wins, and an army attacked from front and rear at once cannot hold. (Other well-supported principles accepted.)

1.7 ALESIA (52 B.C.): CAESAR'S DOUBLE WALL

OBJECTIVES

- Describe the hill fort of Alesia and explain why Caesar chose to besiege it rather than storm it.
- Analyze Caesar's two rings of fortifications and how the Romans fought on two fronts at once.
- Evaluate Caesar as a source for his own war and apply just-war reasoning to the conquest of Gaul.

Warm-up. Draw a small circle on a sheet of paper for a town. Draw a ring around it for your army's wall. Now imagine a second enemy army coming from outside. Where would you have to build another wall? Draw it. You have just drawn Caesar's plan at Alesia.

Video slot. Video coming. The Siege of Alesia, 52 B.C.: Caesar's contravallation and circumvallation, the relief army and the final assault; the MuséoParc Alésia reconstruction. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Historia Civilis, Invicta, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

oppidum

A large fortified hilltop town of the Gauls and other Celtic peoples (plural: oppida).

contravallation

A line of siege works built around a besieged place, facing inward, to keep the defenders in.

circumvallation

A second line of siege works built around the besiegers' own camp, facing outward, to keep a relieving army out.

relief army

An army that marches to break a siege and rescue the defenders.

Vercingetorix

A young noble of the Arverni tribe who united most of the Gallic peoples against Rome in 52 B.C. (say "ver-sin-JET-uh-rix").

commentarii

Caesar's own written accounts of his campaigns, "commentaries" or field reports, written in the third person; the *Gallic War* is our main source for Alesia.

CORE IDEAS

The war. From 58 B.C. Julius Caesar, as Roman governor of the provinces bordering Gaul, campaigned year after year among the Gallic peoples of what is now France and Belgium.

Some tribes were allies, some enemies; Caesar played them against one another and conquered them one by one. In 52 B.C., with Caesar away in Italy, the Gauls rose together under Vercingetorix of the Arverni. He used scorched-earth tactics to starve the Romans and defeated Caesar at Gergovia. But after a cavalry defeat he withdrew with about 80,000 men, Caesar says, into the oppidum of Alesia, home of the Mandubii tribe.

The map. Alesia stood on Mont Auxois, near the modern village of Alise-Sainte-Reine in Burgundy: a flat-topped hill with steep sides, bounded by two small rivers and ringed by other hills, with a plain about three miles long on its western side. The hill was too strong to storm. Caesar chose to starve it out. But Vercingetorix had sent his cavalry away by night to summon the whole of Gaul to his rescue. Caesar, with perhaps 50,000 to 70,000 legionaries, auxiliaries and German cavalry, would soon be the besieged as well as the besieger.

The plan. Caesar's answer was an engineering project on a scale few armies have ever attempted. Facing inward, his men built a ring of works around Alesia about 11 Roman miles long: a wide trench, two more trenches, one filled with river water, a rampart and palisade twelve feet high with towers every eighty feet, and in front, rows of hidden pits, stakes and obstacles to slow any attack. Then, facing outward, they built a second ring about 14 Roman miles long to hold off the relief army. Between the two rings lay the Roman camps and forts. Caesar ordered thirty days' grain and fodder gathered so his army would not have to go outside. Archaeologists have found traces of both lines.

The people. Inside the town, food ran short. The Gallic leaders sent the Mandubii, the townspeople with their families, out of the gates to save food. Caesar would not let them through his lines, and they were left between the walls. Caesar does not tell what became of them; it is one of the hardest moments in the story, and honest history must name it. At last the relief army arrived, an enormous force (Caesar claims 240,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, almost certainly an exaggeration). Its leaders included Commius, Vercassivellaunus and others; for once nearly all Gaul fought on one side.

The battle. For several days the Romans fought on two fronts: the relief army attacked the outer ring while Vercingetorix attacked the inner. The crisis came at a camp on a hill north of the town, where the ground made the outer line weak. Vercassivellaunus attacked it with 60,000 picked men while Vercingetorix struck from inside. Caesar sent his general Labienus with cohorts to hold the line, then came himself. He says the defenders recognized him by the color of his cloak. At the same time he sent cavalry out around the outer works to fall on the attackers from behind. The relief army broke and scattered. The next day Vercingetorix surrendered. He was taken to Rome, displayed in Caesar's triumph six years later, and then put to death.

Why it mattered. Alesia ended organized Gallic resistance. Gaul became Roman, and over the next centuries its people adopted Latin, from which French grows, and later received the Christian faith through Roman roads and towns. The victory also made Caesar enormously rich and famous, with a veteran army devoted to him, and three years later he crossed the Rubicon and made himself master of Rome. A student must also read Caesar carefully. He wrote his *commentarii* partly to win support at home, in a calm, third-person style that

makes him seem simply reasonable. He reports the numbers of enemies and the scale of his works but passes quickly over suffering. In the nineteenth century, French historians made Vercingetorix a national hero, and Napoleon III excavated Alesia and raised a great statue of him on the hill.

A just-war question. Augustine and Aquinas taught that war is just only when waged by rightful authority, for a just cause, with a right intention. Some of Caesar's campaigns began with appeals from allied tribes for protection. But many Romans of his own day thought he was waging war for his own glory and wealth; the senator Cato even proposed in 55 B.C. that Caesar be handed over to the Germans for attacking envoys. Vercingetorix fought to free his people from a foreign conqueror. A thoughtful student can admire Caesar's skill and the Roman soldiers' endurance while asking hard questions about the war itself.

PICTURE STUDY



Vercingetorix Throws Down His Arms at the Feet of Julius Caesar, Lionel Royer, 1899 · Oil on canvas · Musée Crozatier, Le Puy-en-Velay, France
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Lionel Royer painted this scene nearly two thousand years after Alesia, when the French remembered Vercingetorix as the first hero of their nation. He followed Plutarch's dramatic account, in which Vercingetorix rides out in his finest armor, circles Caesar's seat, then dismounts, throws down his weapons and sits in silence at Caesar's feet. Caesar's own account says only that Vercingetorix was handed over.

Look closely

- Find Vercingetorix and Caesar. Which one is moving and which one is still?
- Look at the colors. Where has Royer put the brightest light, and why?
- Look at the weapons on the ground. What do they mean in this scene?

Talk about it

1. Royer was French. Whose side does the painting seem to take, the conqueror's or the conquered's? How can you tell?
2. Why might Plutarch's version and Caesar's version of the surrender be so different?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP ALESIA: TWO RINGS

Build Alesia and Caesar's two rings of works, then defend them against attacks from inside and outside at once.

You will need

- An overturned bowl or a mound of sand for Mont Auxois
- Two lengths of string or yarn (about 3 feet and 4 feet) for the inner and outer rings, or rows of craft sticks for palisades
- About 30 blocks for Romans, 25 for Vercingetorix's army and 50 for the relief army
- Two blue ribbons for the rivers

Steps

1. Set the hill between the two rivers. Lay the shorter string around the hill for the inner ring and the longer string around that for the outer ring.
2. Place the Romans in small forts between the two rings. Put Vercingetorix's army on the hill.
3. Find the weakest point: choose a place where a hill outside the outer ring looks down on the Roman works. Mark it with a flag.
4. Attack from both sides at once: the relief army at the weak point from outside, Vercingetorix from inside. The Romans may move only along the space between the rings. Can they bring enough blocks to the weak point in time?
5. Finish as Caesar did: send a few Roman cavalry blocks out around the outer ring to strike the relief army from behind. Discuss why the attackers broke.

Check your work

- My model has the hill, the rivers and both rings.
- I found and marked a weak point and explained why it was weak.
- I can explain the difference between contravallation and circumvallation.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw Alesia from above: Mont Auxois, the two rivers, the western plain, the surrounding hills, the inner ring (about 11 Roman miles) and the outer ring (about 14 Roman miles), the Roman camps between them and the northern hill where the final attack fell. Add arrows for the relief army and for Vercingetorix's sorties, a compass rose and a key.

2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, tell the siege of Alesia from Vercingetorix's point of view, from his retreat into the town to his surrender. Write fairly; Caesar is your enemy but describe him truthfully. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Make a cross-section drawing of the Roman works from outside to inside: the outer obstacles, trenches, rampart and palisade, the space between, and the inner works. Label measurements from the primary source and from the stop.

Did you know? The soldiers had nicknames for the hidden obstacles in front of the works: pits with sharpened stakes they called "lilies," for their shape, and small barbed spikes they called "goats." At the MuséoParc Alésia, opened in 2012 near the battlefield, part of the Roman works has been rebuilt full size. Vercingetorix's statue on the hilltop, set up by Napoleon III in 1865, is said to have been given the emperor's own mustache and features.

Primary source. *Julius Caesar, The Gallic War 7.74*, trans. H. J. Edwards (Loeb Classical Library, 1917; public domain; text from the LacusCurtius edition).

When all these arrangements had been completed Caesar constructed parallel entrenchments of the same kind facing the other way, against the enemy outside, following the most favourable ground that the locality afforded, with a circuit of fourteen miles. This he did to secure the garrisons of the entrenchments from being surrounded by a host, however large it might chance to be. And in order that he might not be constrained to dangerous excursions from camp, he ordered all his men to have thirty days' corn and forage collected.

Go deeper. Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, Book 7, chapters 68-90 (the McDevitte and Bohn translation is free on Project Gutenberg). Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, chapter 27, for the dramatic surrender. Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus* (2006), a balanced biography. MuséoParc Alésia (alesia.com), for photos of the reconstructed works. Second video topic: "Roman siege engineering."

Goes deeper in. History, high school, Ancient Rome: Julius Caesar and the end of the Republic (coming soon); Literature, for reading Caesar as a writer; and Geography, for France and the Roman provinces.

For families. Caesar is nearly our only source, and his numbers for the Gauls (80,000 inside, 248,000 in the relief army) are probably inflated; Roman numbers are modern estimates. The ring lengths (about 11 and 14 Roman miles) are Caesar's (7.69, 7.74); a Roman mile is about nine-tenths of a modern mile. The fate of the Mandubii is not stated by Caesar and the stop does not guess. Vercingetorix's execution after the triumph of 46 B.C. is reported by Cassius Dio. Cato's proposal of 55 B.C. is in Plutarch, *Caesar* 22. The painting shows a surrender with no violence.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did Caesar besiege Alesia instead of attacking it directly?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. Which way did Caesar's second line face, how long was it, and what two reasons does Caesar give for his arrangements?
3. **MEDIUM** What happened at the weak point on the northern hill, and how did Caesar win there?
4. **MEDIUM** Name two reasons a historian should read Caesar's account carefully.
5. **CHALLENGE** The two rings were about 11 and 14 Roman miles long. A Roman mile was about 0.92 modern miles. What was the total length of the works in modern miles? If towers stood every 80 feet along the inner ring, about how many towers were there on the inner ring alone? (1 mile = 5,280 feet.)
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war question. Use Aquinas's three tests (rightful authority, just cause, right intention) to evaluate (a) Caesar's conquest of Gaul and (b) Vercingetorix's rising. Then answer: Is it possible for a soldier to fight honorably in a war whose cause is doubtful? Use Luke 3:14 (John the Baptist's words to soldiers) in your answer.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: The Hill of Alesia. Decide before you read what happened. **Choice 1.** You are Caesar. Vercingetorix has shut himself in an unassailable hill town, and a huge relief army is gathering. Will you (a) storm the hill at once, (b) retreat before you are trapped, or (c) wall in the town and also wall yourself in against the relief army? **Choice 2.** You are Vercingetorix. Food is running out before the relief army arrives. Will you (a) break out with your whole army, (b) send the townspeople out to save food, or (c) surrender now? **Choice 3.** You are Caesar on the final day. The weak point on the northern hill is about to break. Will you (a) pull troops from other parts of the ring and lead them yourself, (b) send cavalry outside the walls to hit the attackers from behind, or (c) both? *What happened:* Caesar chose 1(c) and 3(c); the Gallic leaders chose 2(b), with sad results. Discuss: what did choice 2 reveal about the hard realities of siege warfare?

Scripture. "Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?" (Luke 14:31, KJV)

Jesus used a king's war council to teach about counting the cost of following Him. Caesar counted his cost carefully: grain for thirty days, miles of trench, the weak point on the hill. Following Christ calls for the same wholehearted reckoning.

Practice: answers

1. The town stood on a steep-sided, flat-topped hill between two rivers, too strong to storm, so Caesar decided to starve the defenders out.
2. It faced outward, against the enemy outside, with a circuit of fourteen miles. He built it so his garrisons could not be surrounded by any relief army, however large, and he gathered thirty days' grain and fodder so his men would not have to make dangerous trips outside the works.

3. Vercassivellaunus attacked it with 60,000 picked men while Vercingetorix attacked from inside. Caesar sent Labienus with reinforcements, came himself in his recognizable cloak, and sent cavalry around the outer works to strike the attackers from behind; the relief army broke.
4. Any two: he wrote about himself to win support in Rome; he writes in a calm third person that makes him seem reasonable; he may have inflated enemy numbers to magnify his victory; he passes quickly over suffering, such as the fate of the Mandubii; we have few other sources to check him.
5. Total: $25 \text{ Roman miles} \times 0.92 = 23 \text{ modern miles}$. Inner ring: $11 \times 0.92 \approx 10.1 \text{ miles} \times 5,280 \approx 53,400 \text{ feet}$. $53,400 \div 80 \approx 670 \text{ towers}$ (any answer of about 650–700 is fine).
6. (a) Caesar had authority as governor, though he often went beyond the Senate's wishes; his cause was sometimes the defense of allies but largely conquest; his intention included personal glory and wealth, which Augustine called the lust for domination. (b) Vercingetorix acted with the authority of the united tribes, defending his people against a foreign conqueror, a strong cause; his intention was liberty. Soldiers: John the Baptist did not tell soldiers to leave the army but to do violence to no man, accuse none falsely and be content with their wages; Christian teaching has generally held that a soldier who does his duty honorably is not guilty of his rulers' unjust motives, though he must refuse plainly wicked orders. (Discussion answer.)

1.8 JERICHO AND GIDEON: GOD'S VICTORIES BY UNLIKELY MEANS

OBJECTIVES

- Locate Jericho, the Jordan Valley, the Valley of Jezreel and the spring of Harod, and explain how the land shaped both stories.
- Compare the ordinary military options of the day with the means God commanded at Jericho (Joshua 6) and against Midian (Judges 7), and explain why Scripture says He chose them.
- Discuss honestly the hard questions these accounts raise, including archaeology at Jericho and the conquest of Canaan, and how Augustine and Aquinas treated wars commanded by God.

Warm-up. Think back over this trail: Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Gaugamela, Cannae, Zama, Alesia. In each, what won the battle? Make a quick list: terrain, numbers, a trick, cavalry, engineering. Now read Judges 7:2. Why would God want an army to be smaller?

Video slot. Video coming. The walls of Jericho and Gideon's 300: geography of the Jordan Valley and Jezreel Valley, and the archaeology of Tell es-Sultan (Jericho). Search approved channels (The Bible Project for geography only, Associates for Biblical Research, Lumo Project Bible films, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

tell

A mound built up by many layers of ruined cities, one on top of another. Ancient Jericho is Tell es-Sultan.

shofar

A trumpet made from a ram's horn, used in Israel for signals, worship and war; the "trumpets of rams' horns" at Jericho.

the ark of the covenant

The sacred gold-covered chest holding the tablets of the Law, the sign of God's presence among Israel, carried by priests around Jericho.

Midianites

Desert peoples from east and south of Canaan who, with the Amalekites, raided Israel each harvest with great numbers of camels (Judges 6).

judge

In the Book of Judges, a leader raised up by God to deliver Israel from oppressors and to govern before Israel had kings; Gideon was one.

middle watch

The second of three night watches in ancient Israel, roughly from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m.; Gideon attacked “in the beginning of the middle watch,” just after the guards had changed.

CORE IDEAS

The map: Jericho. Jericho stands in the Jordan Valley, about five miles west of the Jordan River and north of the Dead Sea, more than 800 feet below sea level. A great spring made it an oasis, a “city of palm trees” (Deuteronomy 34:3), and one of the oldest towns in the world. It guarded the main route from the Jordan crossings up into the hill country of Canaan. An army entering Canaan from the east could not safely leave it behind. Its mound, Tell es-Sultan, covers only about ten acres; by modern standards Jericho was a small, strong fortress with walls built on a stone retaining wall around the hill.

The plan at Jericho. Armies of the ancient Near East took walled towns by assault with ladders and battering rams, by undermining walls, by treachery, or by long siege and starvation. Israel had no siege engines. Instead the LORD told Joshua, “See, I have given into thine hand Jericho” (Joshua 6:2), and commanded a plan no general would choose: the men of war were to march around the city once a day for six days, with seven priests carrying rams’ horn trumpets before the ark, in complete silence except for the trumpets (Joshua 6:10). On the seventh day they circled it seven times; then the priests blew a long blast, the people shouted, and “the wall fell down flat” (Joshua 6:20). Hebrews 11:30 gives the reason: “By faith the walls of Jericho fell down.” The victory belonged to God, and the plan made that plain.

The map: Gideon. About two centuries later, in the time of the judges, Midianites, Amalekites and “children of the east” swept into Israel every harvest on camels, stripping the land and driving the Israelites into caves (Judges 6). They camped in the Valley of Jezreel, the broad, fertile plain cutting across northern Israel, by the hill of Moreh. Gideon’s army gathered on the opposite side of the valley at the spring of Harod, at the foot of Mount Gilboa (Judges 7:1). The enemy lay in the valley “like grasshoppers for multitude” (Judges 7:12).

The plan against Midian. Gideon, the least son of a humble family, had called out 32,000 men. God said they were too many, “lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand hath saved me” (Judges 7:2). First those who were afraid went home, as the Law of Moses allowed (Deuteronomy 20:8): 22,000 left. Then God sent down to the water the 10,000 who remained and chose the 300 who lapped water from their hands. Gideon divided the 300 into three companies, each man carrying a trumpet and a lamp hidden inside an empty clay pitcher. At the beginning of the middle watch, just after the guards changed, they surrounded the camp, blew the trumpets, broke the pitchers, held up the lamps and shouted, “The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon” (Judges 7:20). The startled camp, seeing lights and hearing trumpets on every side, fled in confusion and turned on itself. Gideon called out more Israelites to pursue them. Scripture says about 120,000 of the enemy fell (Judges 8:10).

The people. Joshua had served Moses for forty years and had been one of only two spies who trusted God at Kadesh. Rahab of Jericho, who hid Joshua's spies, was spared with her family because she believed (Joshua 2; Hebrews 11:31); she appears in the genealogy of Jesus (Matthew 1:5). Gideon began fearful, asking for signs, yet obeyed when every human reason said not to. Afterward he refused to be king: "the LORD shall rule over you" (Judges 8:23). His later failures, recorded honestly in Judges 8, remind us that God's instruments are imperfect people.

Hard questions, honestly. Archaeologists disagree about Jericho. In the 1930s John Garstang dated a destroyed city with fallen walls to about 1400 B.C., which fits the biblical chronology. In the 1950s Kathleen Kenyon redated that destruction to about 1550 B.C. and argued there was no walled city in Joshua's time. In 1990 Bryant Wood re-examined the pottery and argued for Garstang's date. The debate continues; Christians receive the account as true history while welcoming careful study. Scripture also records that Jericho was "devoted" to destruction (Joshua 6:21), a command readers find hard. The Bible presents it as God's unique judgment on Canaanite peoples whose wickedness He had endured for centuries (Genesis 15:16; Deuteronomy 9:5), not as a pattern for later wars. Augustine taught that a war God Himself commands is just, since He knows what each nation deserves; Aquinas built on Augustine, but both insisted that ordinary rulers have no such command and must meet the tests of rightful authority, just cause and right intention.

Why it mattered. Every other battle on this trail was won by human means: terrain, timing, deception, cavalry, engineering. These two were won by obedience. The point of Jericho and of Gideon's 300 is not that God despises skill or planning, for Scripture praises both, but that He alone gives victory and will not let His people boast in their own strength. Salvation itself, the New Testament teaches, comes the same way: "not of works, lest any man should boast" (Ephesians 2:9).

PICTURE STUDY



The Seven Trumpets of Jericho, James Tissot, c. 1896–1902 · Gouache on board · The Jewish Museum, New York

Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

James Tissot was a French painter who, after a spiritual awakening, spent the last years of his life illustrating the Bible. He traveled to the Holy Land to study its landscapes, people and clothing so that his pictures would look like the real places. This painting belongs to his series on the Old Testament.

Look closely

- Find the priests and count their trumpets. What are they made of?
- Find the ark. How is it being carried, and why?
- Look at the walls and at the people on them. What might the watchers of Jericho be thinking on the third or fourth day?

Talk about it

1. Tissot chose a quiet moment of the march, not the falling walls. Why might that be the better choice?
2. How does the picture show that the victory depended on God rather than on weapons?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP GIDEON: TRUMPETS, PITCHERS AND LAMPS

Set up the Valley of Jezreel and Gideon's night attack, and work out why 300 men placed in three companies could throw a great camp into panic.

You will need

- A green towel for the valley; books under towels for the hill of Moreh and Mount Gilboa
- About 100 small items for the Midianite camp (dried beans, buttons or small blocks) and 30 blocks for Gideon's men (each standing for ten)

- Three battery tea lights or small flashlights and three paper cups (a grown-up should supervise; do not use real flames)
- A dim room

Steps

1. Make the valley with the hill of Moreh on the north side and Mount Gilboa with the spring of Harod on the south. Spread the Midianite camp across the valley floor.
2. Divide Gideon's 30 blocks into three companies of 10 and place them at three points on the edges of the camp, not in a single group.
3. Dim the room. Put the lights under the cups. On a signal, lift all three cups at once and shout together. Ask a family member sitting in the middle: where did the sound and light seem to come from? How big did the enemy seem?
4. Discuss: why would a camp of sleepy men, just after the change of watch, hearing hundreds of trumpets and seeing lights on three sides, think a vast army was upon them?
5. Finish by drawing the march around Jericho on paper: seven small loops for the seventh day, and one loop each for days one to six. Count the total circuits (thirteen).

Check your work

- My model shows the valley, the hill of Moreh, Gilboa and the spring of Harod.
- I placed Gideon's men in three companies on different sides of the camp and can explain why.
- I can say what each of the three tools (trumpet, pitcher, lamp) did in the attack.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw a map of the land of Israel from the Mediterranean to the Jordan. Mark the Jordan River, the Dead Sea, the Sea of Galilee, Jericho and the Jordan crossing, and in the north the Valley of Jezreel, the hill of Moreh, Mount Gilboa and the spring of Harod. Draw Israel's line of march to Jericho and the three companies of Gideon around the Midianite camp. Add a compass rose and a scale.
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, compare Jericho and Gideon's victory with any other battle on this trail. What won the other battle, what won these, and what do these two teach about God and human strength? Your parent keeps this page.
3. Copy Judges 7:2 and underline the words that give God's reason for making the army smaller.

Did you know? Judges 6–8 contains one of the earliest descriptions anywhere of camels used in great numbers in warfare; the camel raiders could strike far and fast. The Israeli spring of Harod, at the foot of Mount Gilboa, is now in a national park called Ma'ayan Harod, where visitors can still see the water. Jericho was added to the UNESCO World Heritage list as "Ancient Jericho/Tell es-Sultan" in 2023.

Primary source. *Judges 7:2, 7, 20-21, King James Version (1611).*

And the LORD said unto Gideon, The people that are with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hands, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand hath saved me. ... And the LORD said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand: and let all the other people go every man unto his place. ... And the three companies blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers, and held the lamps in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow withal: and they cried, The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon. And they stood every man in his place round about the camp: and all the host ran, and cried, and fled.

Go deeper. Joshua 1-6 and Judges 6-8, read straight through. Dale Ralph Davis, *Joshua: No Falling Words* and *Judges: Such a Great Salvation* (Christian Focus), warm and careful commentaries. Associates for Biblical Research (biblearchaeology.org), for Bryant Wood's articles on the Jericho excavations. Second video topic: "The Valley of Jezreel: battlefield of the Bible."

Goes deeper in. History, the ancient Near East and the history of Israel (coming soon); and Geography, for the land of Israel, the Jordan Valley and the Valley of Jezreel.

For families. This stop treats Joshua 6 and Judges 7 as true history. The date of Jericho's fall depends on the chronology of the Exodus (about 1406 B.C. on the "early date" from 1 Kings 6:1; about the 13th century B.C. on the "late date"); Gideon is placed roughly in the 12th century B.C. The archaeological debate (Garstang, Kenyon, Wood) is stated fairly. The command to devote Jericho to destruction (Joshua 6:21) is named plainly and explained from Scripture without detail; parents may wish to discuss it further. Augustine's view of divinely commanded war is in his *Questions on the Heptateuch* and *Against Faustus* 22; Aquinas cites Augustine in *Summa Theologica* II-II, question 40. Use real flames for the project only with close supervision; battery lights are recommended.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did Jericho matter to an army entering Canaan from the east?
2. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What reason does God give for reducing Gideon's army, and how did the three companies frighten the Midianite host?
3. **MEDIUM** How did Gideon's army shrink from 32,000 to 300?
4. **MEDIUM** Name three ordinary ways ancient armies took walled towns, and explain how Jericho was different.
5. **CHALLENGE** Judges 8:10 says 15,000 of the enemy remained after 120,000 had fallen. How large was the Midianite host? What was the ratio of Gideon's 300 to that host? Compare it with Marathon (about 10,000 Greeks against perhaps 25,000 Persians).
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war question. Augustine and Aquinas both taught that the wars of Joshua were a special case because God Himself commanded them. Why does this matter for

later Christian rulers? Explain why a king today could not appeal to Jericho to justify a war, and what tests he must meet instead.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: The Commander Who Must Obey. These puzzles are different: the commanders received orders from God. First decide what an ordinary general would do, then read what God commanded. **Choice 1.** You are Joshua before a walled city, with no siege engines. An ordinary general would (a) build ladders and storm the walls, (b) surround the city and starve it, or (c) send spies to find a traitor. **Choice 2.** You are Gideon with 32,000 men against a host “like grasshoppers for multitude.” An ordinary general would (a) call up more men, (b) wait in the hills for the raiders to go home, or (c) attack at dawn with everyone. *What happened:* God commanded Joshua to march around Jericho for seven days with the ark and trumpets (Joshua 6:3–5), and He sent home all but 300 of Gideon’s men and gave them trumpets, pitchers and lamps (Judges 7). Discuss: what would it have taken for you to obey those orders?

Scripture. “By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days.” (Hebrews 11:30, KJV)

The writer of Hebrews counts Jericho among the great acts of faith. Israel marched for seven days with nothing to show for it until the seventh. Faith keeps obeying God before it sees the result.

Practice: answers

1. It guarded the route from the Jordan crossings up into the hill country, and it was a strong walled city by a great spring; an army could not safely leave it behind.
2. So that Israel would not boast, “Mine own hand hath saved me.” The three companies surrounded the camp, blew trumpets, broke the pitchers, held up the lamps and shouted, while every man stood in his place; the host ran, cried and fled.
3. First the fearful were sent home and 22,000 left, leaving 10,000. Then God tested them at the water and kept only the 300 who lapped water from their hands.
4. Any three: ladders and assault, battering rams, undermining the walls, treachery from inside, long siege and starvation. At Jericho Israel used none of these; they marched around the city at God’s command for seven days, and the wall fell when the trumpets sounded and the people shouted.
5. $120,000 + 15,000 = 135,000$. $135,000 \div 300 = 450$, so the ratio was 1 to 450. At Marathon it was roughly 1 to 2.5. Gideon’s odds were about 180 times worse, which makes the point of Judges 7:2: no one could credit the victory to human strength.
6. God’s direct command to Joshua was unique to Israel’s entry into the land and to God’s judgment on the Canaanites (Genesis 15:16; Deuteronomy 9:5); no later ruler has received such a command. So a king today must meet the ordinary tests: rightful public authority, a just cause (such as defending the innocent or righting a grave wrong) and a right intention (seeking peace, not domination). Later Christian thinkers added rules for conduct in war, such as sparing non-combatants. Anyone who claims God’s command for his own wars without such warrant takes the Lord’s name in vain. (Discussion answer.)

TRAIL 1 BADGE QUIZZES

The badge quizzes are optional and may be answered in writing or aloud. A parent may accept any answer that shows real understanding. Four right out of five earns the first badge; four right out of five earns the second. Badges and the certificate are earned by doing the stops, not by scores.

Badge quiz 1 (Stops 1-5)

1. How did Miltiades arrange his line at Marathon, and how did that arrangement win the battle?
2. Why could a few thousand Greeks hold Thermopylae for two days, and what ended the defense?
3. How did Themistocles get the Persian fleet to fight in the strait of Salamis?
4. What was Alexander's oblique advance at Gaugamela, and what did it achieve?
5. Describe Hannibal's formation at Cannae and the three parts of the double envelopment.

Badge quiz 2 (Stops 6-8)

6. How did Scipio deal with Hannibal's elephants at Zama?
7. In what way was Zama "Cannae in reverse"?
8. Why did Caesar build two rings of fortifications at Alesia?
9. Why did God reduce Gideon's army to 300 men?
10. Name Aquinas's three conditions for a just war, and explain why the wars God commanded in the book of Joshua were a special case.

TRAIL CERTIFICATE: MY ANCIENT BATTLES MAP BOOK AND TRAIL A CERTIFICATE

Gather the terrain maps from all eight stops into one bound book: "Ancient Battles: A Map Book," with your name and the dates you began and finished. Open with a timeline from Jericho to Alesia and a map of the Mediterranean and the Near East marking all eight battles.

Include your eight narration paragraphs. Revise one of them into a polished one-page essay answering this question: "Which ancient commander made the wisest decision, and why?" Quote at least one primary source from the trail.

When the book is complete, a parent signs the Trail A certificate.

- **Eight terrain maps:** Each map has a title, date, compass rose, key or labels, and shows the terrain and both forces with arrows for the key movements.
- **Narrations:** Eight paragraphs, each clear and accurate, with names, places and at least one number.
- **Essay and sources:** The essay makes a clear argument, quotes a primary source accurately with its author and translation, and notes any possible bias in that source.

- **Fairness and judgment:** Both sides are described fairly in the terms of their own time, and any just-war judgment is reasoned, not merely asserted.

Answer key

1. He stretched his line to match the Persian front, with strong, deep wings and a thin center. The Persian center broke through the thin center, but the Greek wings routed their opponents and closed in from both sides (a double envelopment).
2. The pass was so narrow between the cliffs and the sea that the Persians could not use their numbers. The defense ended when Ephialtes showed Xerxes the Anopaea mountain path and the Immortals came down behind the Greeks.
3. He sent his servant Sicinnus to tell Xerxes that the Greeks were about to flee; Xerxes blocked the strait by night and attacked into the narrows in the morning, where his numbers only crowded his ships.
4. He led his right wing at an angle to the right, drawing the Persian left cavalry outward to stay level with him. This opened a gap in the Persian line, and Alexander charged through it with the Companion cavalry toward Darius, who fled.
5. His weaker Gauls and Spaniards stood in a forward crescent in the center, with veteran Africans set back on both sides and cavalry on both wings. (1) His cavalry beat the Roman cavalry and rode around the rear; (2) the crescent gave way and drew the Romans in; (3) the Africans turned inward on both flanks while the cavalry struck the rear.
6. He lined up his maniples one behind another, leaving open lanes filled with skirmishers, and had trumpets sounded; frightened elephants ran down the lanes or off to the flanks, some back into Hannibal's own cavalry.
7. This time the Romans had the better cavalry (Masinissa and Laelius), and their cavalry returned to strike the enemy's rear at the decisive moment, as Hannibal's had done at Cannae.
8. The inner ring (about 11 Roman miles) kept Vercingetorix's army in the town; the outer ring (about 14 Roman miles) kept out the huge Gallic relief army. The Romans fought from between the two.
9. "Lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand hath saved me" (Judges 7:2): so that everyone would know the victory came from God.
10. Rightful public authority, a just cause and a right intention. Joshua acted on God's direct command as a unique judgment on the Canaanites; no later ruler has such a command, so later wars must meet the ordinary tests.

GREAT BATTLES ✕ TRAIL B: THE MIDDLE AGES

The second trail of the Great Battles track follows eight battles across more than eight hundred years, from Tours in 732 to the galley battle of Lepanto in 1571: Tours, Hastings, Hattin, Bannockburn, Agincourt, Orléans, Constantinople and Lepanto. Each battle is taught through **the map** (ground, water, weather and walls), **the plan** (strategy and tactics), **the people** (leaders and soldiers, their courage and faith) and **why it mattered**, with the causes that led to the battle and the honest limits of what it changed.

This is the ● **Expert** level, written for ages 14 and up at a high-school standard. Each stop takes 35–50 minutes and includes numbers given honestly as estimates or ranges, a primary source where one could be copied exactly from a public-domain text (Project Gutenberg, the Avalon Project or the King James Bible), a narration paragraph for the parent to keep, and challenge questions with full sample answers. Just-war questions from Augustine and Thomas Aquinas appear at this level only. Both sides are described fairly and in the terms of their own time; casualties are given as numbers, and deaths are stated plainly but never described.

Every stop has a **terrain map** to draw, a **tabletop** activity with blocks, toy soldiers or a sand table, and a **“Choose your move”** puzzle in which the student makes the commander’s real choice before learning what happened. Stops 1–5 earn the **Battle Expert badge, part 1**, and Stops 6–8 earn part 2 and the **Trail B certificate**. The badge quizzes at the end are optional; badges are earned by doing the stops.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

- Read a page of older English prose or verse (such as a chronicle or the King James Bible) and summarize it in your own words.
- Locate France, England, Scotland, the Holy Land, Constantinople (Istanbul) and Greece on a map, and know the basic story of the rise of Islam and the Crusades (Trail A of this track and the History course are helpful but not required).

MASTERY CHECKLIST

- ☐ I can place the eight battles of this trail on a timeline and on a map of Europe and the Mediterranean, and explain the ground or water that shaped each one.
- ☐ I can explain how infantry, cavalry, archers, cannon and galleys each won or lost a battle on this trail, using at least one number for each.
- ☐ I can read a primary source from this trail, say who wrote it, when and why, and use it as evidence in an argument.
- ☐ I can state Augustine’s and Aquinas’s conditions for a just war and apply them fairly to at least two battles, naming wrongs plainly without judging people by the standards of a later age.

- ☐ I can write a narration paragraph that weighs several causes of a victory and states what a battle did and did not change.

OPTIONAL BOOKS AND RESOURCES

- **Project Gutenberg** (<https://www.gutenberg.org>): Free public-domain texts used on this trail: Barbour's *The Bruce*, Murray's *Jeanne d'Arc* (trial records), Birrell's *Guide to the Bayeux Tapestry*, Monstrelet's *Chronicles*, Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Gibbon and *Don Quixote*.
- **The Avalon Project, Yale Law School** (<https://avalon.law.yale.edu>): Medieval documents in public-domain translations, including the Capitulary of Charlemagne (Stop B1), the Laws of Richard I for crusaders (Stop B3) and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
- **Bayeux Museum: the Bayeux Tapestry online** (<https://www.bayeuxmuseum.com>): The whole tapestry scene by scene, for Stop B2.
- **Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog** (<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/>): Free historic photographs, including the Matson Collection of the Holy Land (Hattin, Galilee) and the Photochrom Print Collection (Stirling Castle).
- **Royal Armouries** (<https://royalarmouries.org>): Pages and pictures on medieval armor, the longbow and the Dardanelles Gun, for Stops B5 and B7.

2.1 TOURS (732): CHARLES MARTEL'S SQUARE

OBJECTIVES

- Analyze how Charles Martel used ground and a deep infantry formation to defeat a cavalry army, and why the Umayyad army withdrew in the night.
- Weigh the long debate over Tours' importance, from Edward Gibbon's "Oxford" remark to modern historians who call it one turning point among several.
- Read a primary source from Charles Martel's grandson, Charlemagne (802), and ask what kind of Christian kingdom the Frankish victories made possible, using Augustine's questions about a just war.

Warm-up. Write one sentence answering this: if a battle had gone the other way, how could anyone know what would have happened next? Keep your sentence. Historians have argued about Tours for 250 years, and by the end of this stop you will see why the "what if" question is both useful and dangerous.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Tours (Poitiers), 732: Charles Martel, Abd al-Rahman al-Ghafiqi, the Umayyad conquest of Spain and the Frankish infantry formation; the rise of the Carolingians. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Mayor of the Palace

The chief officer of the Frankish kingdom under the Merovingian kings. By Charles Martel's time the mayor held the real power, and his family later took the crown itself (751).

al-Andalus

The Arabic name for the lands of Spain and Portugal ruled by Muslims after the conquest that began in 711. In 732 it was a province of the Umayyad Caliphate, ruled from Damascus.

razzia

A large mounted raid for plunder and tribute rather than permanent conquest. Many historians think the 732 expedition began as a razzia; others think it was meant to conquer.

counterfactual

A "what if" argument about history: what might have happened if one event had gone differently. Useful for testing how much an event mattered, but never provable.

Carolingian

The family of Charles Martel, named from the Latin Carolus (Charles). It included his son Pepin the Short, the first Carolingian king, and his grandson Charlemagne.

just war

The Christian teaching, developed by Augustine (354–430) and later Thomas Aquinas, that war may be lawful only for a just cause, under rightful authority and with a right intention.

CORE IDEAS

The map. In 711 an Umayyad army of Arabs and Berbers crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and within about seven years held most of the Iberian peninsula. Raids soon crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul; Narbonne fell around 719–720, and Duke Odo of Aquitaine beat an Umayyad army at Toulouse in 721. In 732 the governor of al-Andalus, Abd al-Rahman al-Ghafiqi, came over the western Pyrenees, defeated Odo on the Garonne near Bordeaux, and rode north. The prize ahead was the abbey of Saint Martin at Tours, the richest shrine in Gaul. Between Poitiers and Tours ran the old Roman road, crossing the Clain and Vienne rivers. Somewhere on that road, about 200 miles north of the Pyrenees, perhaps near the village now called Moussais-la-Bataille, the armies met in October 732 (a few scholars argue for 733).

The plan. Abd al-Rahman's army was built for speed: horsemen, many of them Berbers, used to wide sweeping charges and to living off the land. Charles, Mayor of the Palace of the Franks, had what years of hard campaigning in Frisia, Saxony and Bavaria had given him: a core of veteran warriors bound to him personally, who fought mainly on foot with spear, sword and shield. He refused to fight on open ground. He chose rising ground with woods on the flanks, formed his men in a deep, close mass, and waited. The two armies watched each other for about a week. Waiting suited Charles: his reinforcements were still arriving, and the raiders, far from home, had to strike or go back.

What happened. When the attack came, the horsemen charged again and again into the Frankish shields and could not break them. The Mozarabic Chronicle of 754, written by a Christian living under Muslim rule in Spain, says the northern men stood "like a wall" and "like a belt of ice" (in translation). Late in the day Abd al-Rahman was killed. Later Arab writers say that a rumor that the camp and its plunder were under attack drew many riders away. In the night the army left its tents standing and slipped south. At dawn Charles advanced carefully, suspecting a trick, found the camp empty and did not pursue. Medieval figures for the dead are impossible (one source claims 375,000); modern guesses for each army run from about 10,000 to about 25,000, and the honest answer is that no one knows.

The people. Charles (about 688–741) was the son of the mayor Pepin of Herstal by a second wife, and he had to fight his own stepmother's party to win power after 714. Writers of the next century called him **Martel**, "the Hammer." He was hard and practical: to pay his warriors he granted them the use of church lands, and some churchmen condemned him for it, even as others praised him as the defender of Christendom. Odo of Aquitaine, his old rival, had to come to him for help after Bordeaux, a humbling act that tied Aquitaine more closely to the Franks. Abd al-Rahman was remembered by Muslim historians as a just and generous governor who died fighting; they named the field *Balat al-Shuhada*, "the Pavement of the Martyrs."

Why it mattered. In the 1780s Edward Gibbon wrote in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (chapter 52) that, had Tours gone the other way, the Quran might be taught at Oxford. Many modern historians answer that the expedition was a great raid that would have turned back anyway, that the Umayyads were soon crippled by the Berber revolt of 740, and that Charles still had to fight Umayyad forces in Provence in the late 730s; Narbonne was not retaken until 759. Others reply that Tours stopped the deepest Umayyad thrust into Western Europe, made Charles master of Gaul and launched his family. His son Pepin was crowned king in 751; his grandson Charlemagne was crowned emperor on Christmas Day, 800. Both sides of the debate agree on that second result, and it is the safer claim.

A just war? Augustine taught that war is always a sad necessity, never good in itself, and that it may be just when it defends the innocent and seeks peace. Aquinas later named three conditions: rightful authority, a just cause and a right intention. Tours is often given as a clear case: the Franks were defending their homes and churches against an invading army. Yet the harder question is about Charles himself. Was his intention defense, or the power that came with it? Did seizing church property to pay soldiers fit a defender of the Church? The primary source in this stop, from his grandson's reign, shows what the family later claimed its power was for.

PICTURE STUDY



*The Mohammedan Conquests at Their Greatest Extent, from the Historical Atlas, William R. Shepherd (cartographer), 1911 · Color-printed map · Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), page 53; copies at the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain*

William R. Shepherd (1871-1934), a professor at Columbia University, drew one of the most widely used historical atlases of the twentieth century. This map shows in one glance how far the Arab conquests reached by about 750, little more than a century after Muhammad's

death in 632. A map is a kind of argument: what the mapmaker colors, labels and leaves out shapes what we think happened. Study it as a historian would.

Look closely

- Find the Strait of Gibraltar and the Pyrenees. With your finger, trace a path from Córdoba to Poitiers and Tours. How close does the colored area come to the land of the Franks?
- Now look east. Find Constantinople and Damascus. What does the map suggest about where the Umayyad caliphs' attention was focused in the 730s?
- Read the labels and colors. What does the map show clearly, and what can a single map not show (raids, retreats, changes over time)?

Talk about it

1. Gibbon looked at a map like this when he made his "Oxford" remark. How does seeing the whole caliphate on one page make Tours look more important, or less?
2. Shepherd colored the caliphate at its greatest extent, about 750. How might a map of 760 or 800 tell a different story?

HANDS-ON: SAND-TABLE TOURS AND A HISTORIAN'S VERDICT

Build the field, fight the battle three ways, then hold a short debate on what the battle meant. A commander studies the ground; a historian studies the evidence. Do both.

You will need

- A sand table, a baking tray of damp sand, or a towel over books for the rising ground
- About 40 blocks or toy soldiers of one color (Franks) and 25 of another (Umayyad cavalry)
- Twigs, broccoli or green paper for the woods; yarn for the Roman road and the Clain and Vienne
- Two index cards, a ruler and a die
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Build the field: the road running north from Poitiers to Tours, the two rivers crossing it, and a low rise with woods on both flanks. Mark north with a card.
2. Set the Franks in a block 8 wide and 5 deep on the rise. Set the cavalry 12 inches downhill in a long line.
3. Run three charges. For each, roll the die: on 6 the cavalry knocks over one Frank from the front row; any other roll, the cavalry piece that charged is out of action. Record the results.
4. Fight again with the Franks spread into a single line 40 wide reaching past the woods. Now the cavalry may charge any end of the line that sticks out of the woods, and on 4, 5 or 6 a Frank falls. Record and compare.

5. Fight a third time with a cavalry group sent through the woods to threaten the Umayyad camp from behind (as some sources suggest), and move half the attacking cavalry back to protect it. How does that change the day?
6. On one card write Gibbon's view in your own words; on the other, the modern "great raid" view. On the back of each, write two facts from this stop that support it.
7. Read the primary source and write a three-sentence verdict: What did Tours make possible, and how sure can we be?

Check your work

- My field shows the road, both rivers, the rise, the woods and both armies, with north marked.
- I recorded results for the deep block, the thin line and the camp alarm, and can explain the difference.
- My two debate cards each have two facts, and my verdict uses the primary source.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, the campaign: the Strait of Gibraltar, the Pyrenees, Narbonne, Toulouse, Bordeaux and the Garonne, Poitiers, Tours and the Loire, with arrows for the Umayyad advance of 732 and the withdrawal. Map 2, the field: the Roman road, the Clain and Vienne, the rise, the woods, the Frankish block (blue rectangle), the cavalry charges (red arrows) and the Umayyad camp. Add a title, a compass rose, a key and a scale note (about 200 miles from the Pyrenees to Poitiers).
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Without looking back, write one well-built paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "Was Tours a turning point?" Explain the ground and the plan, give at least two numbers or dates, state Gibbon's view and the modern objection fairly, and end with your own judgment. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? English writers usually call it the Battle of Tours and French writers the Battle of Poitiers, because it was fought between the two cities. The abbey Abd al-Rahman was heading for honored Saint Martin of Tours (died 397), a Roman soldier who became a bishop. The word *chapel* comes from the shrine that kept Martin's cloak, the *cappa*, which the Frankish kings carried into battle.

Primary source. *Capitulary of Charlemagne Issued in the Year 802, chapters 1 and 3, translated by Ernest F. Henderson, Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages (1896); text from the Avalon Project, Yale Law School*

The most serene and most Christian emperor Charles, did choose from among his nobles the most prudent and the wisest men archbishops as well as other bishops, and venerable abbots, and pious laymen and did send them over his whole kingdom; and did grant through them, by means of all the following provisions, that men should live according to law and right. ... And let no one, through his cleverness or astuteness-as many are accustomed to do-dare to oppose the

written law, or the sentence passed upon him, or to prevail against the churches of God or the poor, or widows, or minors, or any Christian man. ... That no one shall presume through fraud to plunder or do any injury to the holy churches of God, or to widows, orphans or strangers; for the emperor himself, after God and his saints, has been constituted their protector and defender.

Go deeper. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter 52 (public domain; Project Gutenberg), for the famous “Oxford” passage in context. The Fordham University Internet Medieval Sourcebook page “Arabs, Franks, and the Battle of Tours, 732: Three Accounts,” which gathers the Christian and Arab sources. Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne* (public domain; Project Gutenberg), written by a member of Charlemagne’s court, which opens with the rise of Charles Martel’s family. Second video topic: the Umayyad conquest of Spain (711) and the Berber revolt (740).

Goes deeper in. History, high school “The Medieval World,” the units on the Franks, Charlemagne and the rise of Islam (coming soon); and Geography, the unit on France and Spain (coming soon).

For families. The date is traditionally October 732; some scholars argue for 733. The exact site is unknown; Moussais-la-Bataille is the traditional location. The “wall” and “belt of ice” phrases are from the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754 in translation; the full modern translations are under copyright, so the stop quotes only short phrases and points to the Fordham Sourcebook. The 375,000 figure appears in the *Liber Pontificalis* and is universally rejected; the stop gives only a broad modern range. The primary source is from Charlemagne’s reign (802), seventy years after Tours; it is used to show what the Carolingian family claimed its power was for, not as an account of the battle. Just-war questions are raised at this ● Expert level only, and both commanders are described in the terms their own people used.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Put in order and date: the Umayyad crossing into Spain; Tours; Pepin crowned king; Charlemagne crowned emperor.
2. **EASY** Why did Charles choose rising ground with woods on both sides?
3. **MEDIUM** One medieval source claims 375,000 Muslim soldiers died at Tours. Give two reasons a historian rejects this number.
4. **MEDIUM** In the primary source, whom does the emperor say he has been “constituted” to protect, and how is that different from the purpose of a razzia?
5. **CHALLENGE** Gibbon wrote that without Tours the Quran might be taught at Oxford. Write a paragraph that states his argument fairly, gives the two strongest modern objections, and explains why a counterfactual can be useful even though it cannot be proved.
6. **CHALLENGE** Using Aquinas’s three conditions (rightful authority, just cause, right intention), judge the Frankish war of 732. Then explain why Charles’s use of church lands to pay his warriors makes the question of intention harder.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Dawn After the Battle. You are Charles Martel. It is the morning after a day of fighting. Your scouts report the Umayyad tents still standing, but no movement. Abd al-Rahman is said to be dead, but you cannot be sure. Your men are tired, and a cavalry army is very good at false retreats and ambushes. Choose before you read on: (a) pursue at once with every man, to destroy the enemy before he reaches the Pyrenees; (b) advance slowly in formation, search the camp, and let the enemy go; (c) stay on your hill until you know more. Write your choice and two reasons. **What happened:** Charles chose (b). He advanced carefully, found the camp deserted and full of plunder, and did not pursue. Some writers have blamed him for letting the army escape; others say a pursuit across open country is exactly what cavalry would have wanted. Then switch sides: you are an Umayyad officer the night before, your general dead and your men loaded with plunder far from home. Would you fight a second day or withdraw? (They withdrew in the night.)

Scripture. “And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses.” (Nehemiah 4:14, KJV)

Nehemiah’s builders held the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. Scripture gives a reason a people may lawfully stand and fight: to defend their families and homes. That is the heart of the just-war tradition, and it is also a test. A war is just only if the cause is truly defense and the aim is peace, not glory or gain.

Practice: answers

1. 711 crossing into Spain; 732 Tours; 751 Pepin crowned king; 800 Charlemagne crowned emperor (Christmas Day).
2. The woods guarded his flanks, so the cavalry could not ride around his block, and the slope made their charges slower and harder. They had to attack his strongest side, the front.
3. Sample: No medieval army could be fed or moved over the Pyrenees in such numbers; the figure is far larger than whole provincial armies of the time; the writer was far from the battle and had reasons to magnify a Christian victory; other sources give different numbers. Modern estimates for each army are about 10,000–25,000.
4. The holy churches of God, widows, orphans and strangers (and the poor and minors). A razzia sought plunder and tribute; the capitulary claims that power exists to protect the weak and to rule by law and justice.
5. Sample: Gibbon argued that the Umayyad armies had already advanced more than a thousand miles from Gibraltar and that nothing but Charles’s victory stood between them and the Rhine and the Channel. Modern objections: the 732 expedition looks like a great plunder raid rather than an invasion meant to stay, and the caliphate was soon weakened by the Berber revolt of 740 and the fall of the Umayyads in 750, so it might have turned back anyway; also, Charles still had to fight Umayyad forces in Provence later in the 730s, so one battle did not settle the matter. A counterfactual is useful because it forces us to ask what caused what and how much one event weighed against others; it cannot be proved because the other path never happened, so the honest historian states it as a judgment, not a fact.

6. Sample: Authority: Charles was the lawful chief officer of the Frankish realm and acted with the king's name, so he had authority. Cause: the Franks were defending their land, people and churches from an invading army that had already burned and plundered in Aquitaine, a just cause. Intention: if he fought to protect and to restore peace, it was right. The harder part is that the war also made Charles the master of Gaul and he paid for his army by taking the use of church property, which some churchmen saw as robbery of the Church he claimed to defend. A just cause does not guarantee a pure intention, and Augustine warned that the real evils of war include the lust for power. A fair verdict: a just defensive war, fought by a man whose motives were probably mixed.

2.2 HASTINGS (1066) AND THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the three claims to the English throne in 1066 and how the timing of two invasions shaped Harold's choices.
- Analyze the battle on Senlac ridge: the English shield wall, William's combined arms, the feigned flights and the death of Harold.
- Read the Bayeux Tapestry as a primary source: what it shows, whose story it tells, and what it leaves out.

Warm-up. Look at a calendar for 1066 (or just picture one). Harold of England fought a battle near York on September 25, learned that a second army had landed on his south coast three days later, and fought again near Hastings on October 14. York to Hastings is more than 250 miles by road. Before you read on, write what you would have done with those nineteen days.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Hastings, 1066: Harold Godwinson, William of Normandy, Stamford Bridge and the Bayeux Tapestry scene by scene. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy, English Heritage); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Witan

The council of the great men of Anglo-Saxon England, bishops, earls and thegns, who advised the king and had a voice in choosing a new one.

housecarl

A professional warrior in the household of an English king or earl, armed with mail, shield and often the long Danish axe.

fyrð

The English militia raised from the shires for a limited time of service; at Hastings it stood in the shield wall beside the housecarls.

shield wall

A close line of foot soldiers with overlapping shields. It was very hard to break from the front, but it could not move or chase without coming apart.

feigned flight

A pretended retreat meant to draw the enemy out of a strong position so that he can be attacked in the open. Norman and Breton horsemen were known for it.

embroidery

Decoration stitched with thread onto cloth. The Bayeux "Tapestry" is really an embroidery: colored wool stitched onto linen, not woven on a loom.

CORE IDEAS

Three claims. King Edward the Confessor died childless on January 5, 1066. The next day Harold Godwinson, Earl of Wessex and the greatest man in England, was crowned; English sources say Edward named him on his deathbed and the Witan accepted him. William, Duke of Normandy, Edward's cousin once removed, said Edward had promised him the throne years before, and that Harold himself had sworn on holy relics to support his claim during a visit to Normandy (around 1064). Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, claimed it through an old agreement between earlier Danish and Norwegian kings. Each claimant believed he was in the right, and the Pope backed William by sending a banner.

The map. Harold kept watch on the south coast all summer, but by September 8 his militia had to go home to the harvest. Then Hardrada and Harold's exiled brother Tostig landed in the north. Harold marched about 190 miles to York and destroyed them at Stamford Bridge on September 25. On September 28, after weeks of waiting for a south wind, William landed at Pevensey with perhaps 7,000 men and their horses. Harold hurried back to London and on south, and on October 13 he gathered his army on a ridge about seven miles north of Hastings, where the road to London ran through the forest. The ridge was narrow, with marshy ground and steep slopes on the flanks.

The plan. Harold's plan was to stand. His housecarls and fyrd, perhaps 7,000 men in all, formed a shield wall along the crest, perhaps 800 yards long and several ranks deep. If it held, William would be trapped in a small corner of a hostile country with winter coming. William had to attack uphill. He used combined arms: archers and crossbowmen in front, then heavy infantry, then mounted knights, in three divisions (Bretons on the left, Normans in the center, French and Flemings on the right).

What happened. The battle began about nine in the morning and lasted until dusk, a very long day for a medieval battle. Arrows fell on the shields; the infantry and then the cavalry climbed and were thrown back. The Breton wing broke and fled, a rumor spread that William was dead, and some of the English ran down the hill after them. William pushed back his helmet to show his face, rallied his men and cut down the English who had left the line. Norman writers say he later used feigned flights on purpose to draw out more. By late afternoon the wall was thinner. Harold's brothers Gyrth and Leofwine had already fallen; near evening Harold himself was killed, and the English broke. Losses are unknown, but thousands died on each side.

The people. Harold was a proven general who had won a great victory only three weeks before; his choice to fight so soon, without waiting for more troops, is still debated. William was hard, patient and fearless, a man who had fought for his duchy since boyhood. William's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, rode in the battle too. Afterward the Church took the killing seriously: around 1070 a papal legate, Ermenfrid, set penances for William's soldiers, a year of penance for each man a soldier knew he had killed. William founded Battle Abbey on the field, with its high altar said to stand where Harold fell.

Why it mattered. William was crowned in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, and spent five hard years crushing English risings, including the brutal “harrying of the North” in 1069–1070. Within twenty years almost every great English landholder had been replaced by a Norman, as the Domesday Book (1086) shows. The English language took in thousands of French words; castles, cathedrals and a new class of lords changed the face of the land. England was tied to France for four hundred years, a bond that leads directly to Agincourt and Orléans later on this trail.

A source with a point of view. The Bayeux Tapestry is about 70 meters (230 feet) long and 50 centimeters tall, made probably in England, perhaps at Canterbury, in the 1070s, likely for Bishop Odo. It tells the story from the Norman side: Harold’s oath, his “broken” promise, and God’s judgment in battle. Yet English needlewomen probably stitched it, and it treats Harold with some respect. The famous figure with an arrow near his eye may or may not be Harold, and parts were restored in the nineteenth century. A careful reader asks of every source: who made it, for whom, and why?

PICTURE STUDY



The Bayeux Tapestry: the English shield wall and the Norman cavalry (the battle scenes), Unknown English embroiderers, probably for Bishop Odo of Bayeux, 1070s · Wool embroidery on linen · Musée de la Tapisserie de Bayeux, Bayeux, Normandy, France
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Find the scenes where the English stand on foot behind their shields and the Norman knights ride at them. The whole tapestry can be viewed scene by scene on the Bayeux Museum website. The stitchers used only about ten colors of wool, yet they show armor, weapons, horses and even the slope of the ground. Choose a stretch of the battle and study it the way you would study a page of a chronicle.

Look closely

- Look at how the English stand. How do the stitchers show a shield wall? Count the shields and spears you can see in one group.
- Look at the Norman horsemen. Are they holding their lances overhand, underhand, or couched under the arm? What does that tell you about how they fought?
- Look at the lower border during the battle. What has changed from the animals and fables in the border earlier in the story, and why might the designer have done that?

Talk about it

1. The tapestry was likely made for Bishop Odo, William's half-brother. Find two ways the battle scenes favor the Normans, and one way they show respect for the English.
2. A chronicle uses words and the tapestry uses pictures. What can the tapestry tell a historian that a written source cannot, and what can it not tell?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP HASTINGS: CAN THE WALL HOLD?

Build Senlac ridge and test the two great questions of the day: could the shield wall have held if it stayed in place, and how did William's combined arms and the flights wear it down? Then read the tapestry's captions as a historian.

You will need

- A sand table or a long towel draped over books for the ridge
- About 40 blocks or toy soldiers of one color (English) and 40 of another (Normans), with 12 of the Normans marked as cavalry and 8 as archers
- Blue yarn or paper for the marshy streams on the flanks
- A die, a ruler, and a timeline strip from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Build the ridge running east to west with steep, marshy ground at each end and the London road crossing the top. Put the English in a wall along the crest, 4 deep. Put William's army at the foot in three divisions: archers in front, infantry behind, cavalry last.
2. Round 1 (morning): archers "shoot" by rolling the die; on a 6 one English front-rank piece is removed. Then the infantry charges: an English piece falls only on a 6, and a Norman falls on 3-6. Record the score.
3. Round 2 (midday): the Breton left breaks and runs. Decide as Harold whether part of the English right follows them down the hill. If it does, move those pieces off the ridge and let the Norman cavalry attack them in the open, where they fall on 2-6.
4. Round 3 (afternoon): as William, use a feigned flight. Each time English pieces leave the wall to chase, they are open to cavalry. Each time they stay, the wall holds. Play to 6:00 p.m. on your timeline.
5. Count your losses on each side and write two sentences: what broke the wall?

6. Read the tapestry captions in the primary source aloud in Latin and English. On your timeline, place each caption where it belongs in the day.

Check your work

- My ridge has marshy flanks, the London road, the English wall and William's three arms in order.
- I tested what happens when the wall stays and when part of it chases, and I recorded the results.
- I placed the four tapestry captions on my timeline in order.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, the campaign of 1066: Norway, York and Stamford Bridge, London, Pevensey, Hastings and Battle, and Saint-Valery-sur-Somme in France, with arrows and dates for Hardrada's landing, Harold's march north and back, and William's crossing. Map 2, the field: the ridge, the marshy ground on both flanks, the London road, the English shield wall (red line) and William's three divisions with archers, infantry and cavalry. Add a title, compass rose, key and the note "about seven miles north of Hastings."
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "Why did William win at Hastings?" Give at least three causes (for example: the timing of the two invasions, the length of the day, the flights, Harold's death) and rank them from most to least important, with a reason. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? Halley's Comet passed over England in April 1066, and the tapestry shows men pointing at it beside the words *ISTI MIRANT STELLA*, "These men wonder at the star." The tapestry has survived nearly a thousand years, including the French Revolution, when it was nearly cut up to cover a wagon, and World War II. Its final scenes are lost; the last surviving part shows the English in flight.

Primary source. *Captions from the battle scenes of the Bayeux Tapestry (1070s), in the order they appear, with the translations printed in F. F. L. Birrell, Guide to the Bayeux Tapestry (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914; reprinted 1921); text from Project Gutenberg*

HIC CECIDERUNT LEWINE ET GYRÐ, FRATRES HAROLDI REGIS — Here fell
Leofwyne and Gyrth, brothers of Harold the King
HIC ODO EPS BACULŪ TENENS, CONFORTAT PUEROS — Here Bishop Odo,
holding a staff, rallies the young troops
HIC HAROLD REX INTERFECTUS EST — Here King Harold was slain
ET FUGA VERTERUNT ANGLI — And the English turned in flight

Go deeper. The Bayeux Museum website (bayeuxmuseum.com), which shows the whole tapestry scene by scene. F. F. L. Birrell, *Guide to the Bayeux Tapestry* (1914) and Hilaire Belloc, *The Book of the Bayeux Tapestry* (1914), both on Project Gutenberg. English

Heritage's pages on Battle Abbey and the battlefield. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, entry for 1066 (Project Gutenberg and the Avalon Project), for the English side. Second video topic: the Battle of Stamford Bridge.

Goes deeper in. History, high school "The Medieval World," the unit on the Norman Conquest and the Domesday Book (coming soon); Art, the unit on medieval art and storytelling in pictures (coming soon); and Literature, for the change from Old to Middle English (coming soon).

For families. Army sizes at Hastings are estimates; most modern historians suggest about 5,000–8,000 on each side, and the stop says "perhaps 7,000." The length of the shield wall is also an estimate. Whether the arrow-in-the-eye figure is Harold is disputed, and the tapestry was restored in the 1800s, so the stop does not insist on it. The captions in the primary source are copied from Birrell's guide, including the medieval abbreviation marks (E $\bar{P}$ S for *episcopus*, bishop; BACULŪ for *baculum*, staff). The penitential ordinance issued by the legate Ermenfrid is usually dated about 1070. The "harrying of the North" is named plainly and not described. Just-war questions appear in the practice at this  Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Name the three men who claimed the English throne in 1066 and the basis of each claim.
2. **EASY** Why is the Bayeux Tapestry not truly a tapestry?
3. **MEDIUM** Harold fought at Stamford Bridge on September 25 and at Hastings on October 14. William landed on September 28. How many days did each leader have between William's landing and the battle, and what did each use them for?
4. **MEDIUM** In the primary source, what is Bishop Odo doing, and why might the designer have given him his own scene?
5. **CHALLENGE** Some historians say Harold lost because he fought too soon, others because his men broke formation, and others because he was killed. Choose the cause you think was decisive and defend it against the other two in a paragraph.
6. **CHALLENGE** Around 1070 the Church set penances for William's soldiers for those they had killed at Hastings, even though the Pope had blessed the invasion. Using Augustine's view of war, explain why a Christian might think a war just and still require penance from those who fought it.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Harold in London, October 1066. You are King Harold. You have just beaten the Norwegians, but many of your best men are dead or wounded, and the northern earls are slow to come south. William is burning villages near Hastings to provoke you. Your brother Gyrrh offers to lead the army himself so that you need not risk your life. Choose before you read on: (a) wait in London a week or two more to gather the full strength of the kingdom and let William's army run low on food; (b) march at once with the men you have, to pin William to the coast and protect your

people; (c) let Gyrth command while you raise a second army behind him. Write your choice and two reasons. **What happened:** Harold chose (b). He left London around October 11 with the men he had, refused Gyrth's offer, and took up his position on October 13. Some historians think waiting would have doomed William; others think Harold hoped to surprise him as he had surprised Hardrada. Then switch sides: you are William at midday, and a rumor runs through your army that you are dead. What do you do? (He pushed back his helmet and showed his face.)

Scripture. "I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." (Ecclesiastes 9:11, KJV)

Harold was a skilled and brave commander, but the wind that held William in port until Hardrada had landed, and the timing of the two invasions, worked against him. The Preacher does not mean that events are meaningless; he means that human strength and skill do not control the outcome. That belongs to God.

Practice: answers

1. Harold Godwinson: named by the dying Edward and chosen by the Witan, crowned January 6. William of Normandy: Edward's earlier promise and Harold's oath on relics. Harald Hardrada of Norway: an old agreement between earlier Norwegian and Danish kings.
2. A tapestry is woven on a loom with the picture in the weave; the Bayeux "Tapestry" is an embroidery, with colored wool stitched onto a linen cloth.
3. 16 days (September 28 to October 14). William built a wooden castle at Hastings, gathered food and ravaged the countryside to provoke Harold. Harold heard the news, marched back to London, gathered what forces he could and marched south to the ridge, arriving on October 13.
4. He is holding a staff (baculum) and rallying the young troops. The tapestry was probably made for Odo, so it shows him as a leader at the crisis of the battle; showing a bishop with a staff, not a sword, may also reflect the rule that clergy should not shed blood.
5. Sample (formation): The shield wall on a narrow ridge with protected flanks was strong enough to beat cavalry and infantry all morning, which shows that the army Harold had was enough if it stood. The English were defeated in pieces each time groups ran down the hill after real or feigned flights, and the thinning wall could no longer hold by late afternoon. Fighting too soon mattered, but more men would also have needed to hold the line. Harold's death ended the battle, but it came after the wall had been worn thin; a king could die in a battle his army was winning. Other answers can be strong if they use evidence from the stop.
6. Sample: Augustine taught that even a just war is a sad necessity caused by sin, not a good thing in itself, and that the soldier must fight without hatred, cruelty or lust for power. Killing, even when lawful, wounds the soul, and no soldier could be sure his own heart had been free of wrath or greed in the fury of battle. So the Church could judge that William's cause was just and still call the men who killed to repent and pray. The penance did not say the war was wrong; it said that human life is precious and that every killing must be taken seriously before God.

2.3 HATTIN (1187): WATER AND HEAT

OBJECTIVES

- Trace the march of July 3–4, 1187, from the springs of Sephoria toward Tiberias and explain how water, heat and ground decided the battle before it was fought.
- Evaluate the council of war at Sephoria: the advice of Raymond of Tripoli and of Gerard de Ridefort, and why King Guy chose as he did.
- Connect Hattin to the fall of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, using a primary source from 1189, and weigh the broken truce in light of Augustine’s teaching on keeping faith with an enemy.

Warm-up. Fill a water bottle and weigh it (a liter weighs about 2.2 pounds). A soldier in mail on a July march in Galilee might need several liters a day just to keep going. Multiply by 18,000 men, then add the horses, which need far more. Write down your total. Where would all that water come from on a dry plateau?

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Hattin, 1187: Saladin, Guy of Lusignan, Raymond of Tripoli, the march from Sephoria and the Horns of Hattin; the fall of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Kingdom of Jerusalem

The Latin Christian kingdom founded after the First Crusade took Jerusalem in 1099. In 1187 it held the coast and Galilee, with castles and towns defended by a small number of knights.

Saladin

Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub (1137/38–1193), a Kurdish Muslim commander who became sultan of Egypt and Syria and united them against the Crusader states.

military orders

Brotherhoods of knights who took vows like monks and fought to defend the Holy Land, chiefly the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller.

True Cross

A relic, honored by the Crusaders as a piece of the cross of Christ, that was carried into battle by the army of Jerusalem and lost at Hattin.

turcopole

A lightly armed horse archer in the service of the Crusader states, often a local Christian or the son of a mixed marriage.

truce

An agreement to stop fighting for a set time. Saladin and the kingdom had a truce in 1186–1187, and its breaking set the campaign in motion.

CORE IDEAS

The road to war. By 1186 Saladin ruled from Cairo to Damascus and had surrounded the Kingdom of Jerusalem on three sides. The kingdom was divided: King Guy of Lusignan had been crowned that year by a court faction, and the powerful Count Raymond III of Tripoli, lord of Tiberias through his wife Eschiva, had opposed him and even made his own truce with Saladin. Then Reynald of Châtillon, lord of the castles beyond the Jordan, seized a rich Muslim caravan in time of truce and refused to give it back. Saladin swore to kill him with his own hand and gathered the largest army he had ever led, perhaps 30,000 men, including about 12,000 regular cavalry.

The map. Galilee in July is hot and dry. The Christian army, about 18,000–20,000 men with some 1,200 knights, the largest the kingdom had ever raised, gathered at the springs of Sephoria, where there was water and pasture. Saladin crossed the Jordan near the south end of the Sea of Galilee and on July 2 took the town of Tiberias; Eschiva held out in the citadel and sent for help. Between Sephoria and Tiberias lay about 16 miles of rolling, waterless plateau, ending in a steep drop to the lake. Near the far edge stood a double-peaked hill, an old volcano, called the Horns of Hattin, with the village and springs of Hattin below it.

The council. On the night of July 2 the barons argued. Raymond, whose own wife was trapped, urged the king to stay at the springs: let Saladin come to them, tired and thirsty, or let him take Tiberias and go home; he would rebuild it. Gerard de Ridefort, master of the Templars, had lost almost his whole order at Cresson in May and hated Raymond; he told the king that Raymond was a traitor and that a king who let a Christian town fall would be shamed. Guy had been accused of cowardice for avoiding battle in 1183. In the night he gave the order to march.

What happened. On July 3 the army set out across the plateau, with Raymond leading the van, the king in the center with the True Cross, and the Templars and Hospitallers in the rear. Saladin's horse archers attacked all day, especially the rear, and slowed the march to a crawl. By afternoon the army was still miles from the lake. Guy turned toward the springs of Hattin, then camped on the dry ground near Meskana. That night Saladin's men set the dry grass and brush burning upwind, and the smoke drifted through the camp. On July 4 the thirsty infantry broke away and crowded onto the Horns. Raymond charged; the Muslim ranks opened, let his knights through and closed again, and he escaped to Tyre. The king's men pitched his red tent on the Horns and fought around it until they were overwhelmed. Guy, Reynald, Gerard and many barons were captured, and the True Cross was taken.

The people. Saladin treated Guy as a king and offered him a cup of iced water; when Guy passed it to Reynald, Saladin said that he himself had not given Reynald drink, and so owed him no protection. He then killed Reynald, as he had sworn. About two hundred captured Templars and Hospitallers were executed, while Guy was later released. Saladin was remembered by Muslims and by many Christians as generous and honorable; he could also

be hard. Guy was brave but unsure and easily swayed. Raymond's advice was wise, yet he escaped while the king fell, and his enemies called him a traitor for the rest of his short life.

Why it mattered. The kingdom had stripped its castles to fill the army, so after Hattin town after town fell. Jerusalem surrendered on October 2, 1187, after Balian of Ibelin bargained for the people's lives; those who could pay a ransom went free, and Saladin released some of the poor without payment, but thousands who could not pay were sold as slaves. The news reached the West quickly. Pope Gregory VIII called for a new crusade, and the kings of England, France and Germany took the cross. The Third Crusade (1189-1192) won back the coast but never Jerusalem itself.

Keeping faith. Augustine taught that faith must be kept even with an enemy one is fighting, and Christian law held that a sworn truce bound the conscience. By that standard Reynald's raid in time of truce was unjust by his own people's rules, and it brought ruin on his whole kingdom. Both sides at Hattin believed they fought a holy war: the Crusaders for the places of Christ's life and death, and Saladin's army in jihad to recover Jerusalem for Islam. A fair historian explains both in their own terms, and still asks whether each side kept its own word.

PICTURE STUDY



Horns of Hattin, Matson Photo Service (G. Eric and Edith Matson), Jerusalem, 1934 · Black-and-white photograph · G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Eric Matson began as a photographer for the American Colony in Jerusalem and later ran his own studio with his wife, Edith. Between about 1898 and 1946 these photographers traveled the Holy Land making thousands of pictures of places named in the Bible and in history, and in 1934 they photographed the Horns of Hattin. For a soldier, the picture shows the ground

on which the army of Jerusalem made its last stand. No painting of Hattin is as useful as a photograph of the land.

Look closely

- Find the two peaks of the Horns. Which slopes look steep, and which look gentle?
- Look at the ground around the hill. What do you see growing? How would it burn in July?
- Look for any water: a stream, trees or green fields. What does the absence of water tell you?

Talk about it

1. The infantry left the knights and climbed onto the Horns. Using the photograph, explain why thirsty, frightened men might have run uphill rather than toward the lake.
2. Why might a photograph of the land teach more about this battle than a painting made centuries later?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP HATTIN: THE MARCH WITHOUT WATER

This is a battle lost on the march. Lay out the sixteen miles from Sephoria to Tiberias on a table, march the army across it, and keep a strict count of water, time and harassment. You will see the trap close.

You will need

- A long table, a sand table or a strip of brown paper about 4 feet long
- Blue paper for the springs of Sephoria, the springs of Hattin and the Sea of Galilee; a lump of clay or two stones for the Horns
- About 30 pieces of one color (army of Jerusalem: 6 knights, 4 turcoples, 20 infantry) and 25 of another (Saladin's cavalry and archers)
- 20 small beads or dry beans (water rations), a die and a timer
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Lay out the map with a scale of 3 inches to a mile: Sephoria at the west end, the plateau, the Horns and Hattin springs near the east end, Tiberias and the lake beyond. Mark Meskana, about 3 miles short of Hattin.
2. Give the army 20 water beads. Each turn is one hour. The army moves 6 inches (2 miles) a turn if not attacked. Each turn it spends 2 water beads.
3. Each turn, roll for Saladin's horse archers. On 4-6 they strike the rear: the army moves only 3 inches that turn and loses one infantry piece to wounds or exhaustion.
4. When the water reaches zero, every turn without water costs two infantry pieces. When half the infantry is gone, the rest leave the knights and run to the Horns.
5. Play the march once as Guy did. Then play it with Raymond's plan: stay at Sephoria and let Saladin's army come to you across the plateau, rolling for his water instead.

6. Write a short report to the king: which plan was better, and what one fact decided it?
7. Read the primary source. On the back of your report, write two sentences about how the defeat you just played led to these laws two years later.

Check your work

- My map has both springs, the plateau, Meskana, the Horns, Tiberias and the lake, with a scale.
- I played both plans and recorded how far the army got and how many pieces were lost.
- My report names the deciding fact and connects Hattin to the Third Crusade.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw a map of lower Galilee: the coast at Acre, the springs of Sephoria, the plateau, Lubiya and Meskana, the Horns of Hattin (two peaks), the village and springs of Hattin, Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee, and the Jordan. Draw the line of march on July 3 (blue arrows), the camp of July 3–4 (a blue triangle), Saladin's army and his horse archers (red), and Raymond's breakout (a dotted blue arrow). Add a title, compass rose, key and scale (about 16 miles from Sephoria to Tiberias).
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "How was the battle of Hattin lost before it was fought?" Include the broken truce, the council at Sephoria, at least two numbers, and the result for Jerusalem. End with one sentence on what a good counselor and a good king each owed the other. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? Saladin was a Kurd born in Tikrit, in what is now Iraq. His name, Salah al-Din, means "Righteousness of the Faith." After Hattin, Christian writers in the West told stories of his generosity for centuries, and Dante placed him among the noble souls of the non-Christian world in the *Inferno*. The True Cross taken at Hattin was never recovered; it vanished from history after the 1190s.

Primary source. *Laws of Richard I Concerning Crusaders Who Were to Go by Sea, 1189, from Roger of Hoveden; translated in Ernest F. Henderson, Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages (1896); text from the Avalon Project, Yale Law School*

Richard by the grace of God king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to all his subjects who are about to go by sea to Jerusalem, greeting. know that we, by the common counsel of upright men, have made the laws here given. ... But if he shall strike him with his fist without drawing blood, he shall be dipped three times in the sea. But if any one shall taunt or insult a comrade or charge him with hatred of God: as many times as he shall have insulted him, so many ounces of silver shall he pay. ... Under my own witness at Chinon.

Go deeper. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1898), the first English biography of Saladin, drawn from the Arab sources (public domain; look for it on Internet Archive). Walter Besant and E. H. Palmer, *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin* (1871), on Project Gutenberg, whose later chapters tell the story of 1187. The Library of Congress Matson Collection online, for more photographs of Galilee, Tiberias and the Horns. Second video topic: Richard the Lionheart and Saladin in the Third Crusade.

Goes deeper in. History, high school “The Medieval World,” the unit on the Crusades and the Islamic world (coming soon); and Geography, the unit on the lands of the Bible and the Middle East (coming soon).

For families. Army sizes are estimates; most historians give the Christian army about 18,000–20,000 with about 1,200 knights and Saladin about 30,000, and the stop says so. The story of the iced water and Reynald’s death is told by Saladin’s secretary and other Muslim sources and by Christian chroniclers in similar form; the stop states the death plainly and does not describe it. The executions of the military brothers and the sale of the poor of Jerusalem into slavery are stated plainly as facts of the time. The primary source is from 1189 and is used to show the Western response to Hattin; it is excerpted (some harsh punishments for violence are left out) and the ellipses mark the cuts. The American Colony photograph is dated only approximately; families can find similar views by searching the Library of Congress for “Hattin.” Just-war questions are raised at this  Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What act of Reynald of Châtillon set the campaign of 1187 in motion?
2. **EASY** Who advised King Guy to stay at Sephoria, and who urged him to march?
3. **MEDIUM** The army marched about 2 miles an hour when not attacked but averaged far less on July 3. If it marched from dawn (5 a.m.) to 4 p.m. and covered about 10 miles, what was its average speed, and what slowed it?
4. **MEDIUM** In the primary source, where are Richard’s men going, and what does the law about insults suggest about life on a crowded crusader ship?
5. **CHALLENGE** Write a paragraph defending Guy’s decision to march, then a paragraph judging it. Use at least three facts from the stop.
6. **CHALLENGE** Augustine taught that faith should be kept even with an enemy. Using that teaching, judge Reynald’s raid on the caravan, and explain why a fair historian must also describe Saladin’s war in its own terms.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Night Council at Sephoria. You are King Guy, July 2, 1187. You are camped at good springs with the largest army your kingdom has ever raised. Saladin has taken the town of Tiberias, 16 miles away across a dry plateau, and Countess Eschiva holds out in the citadel. Raymond, her husband, tells you to stay. The master of the Templars says Raymond is a traitor and that a king who does

nothing will be despised. Choose before you read on: (a) stay at the springs and let Saladin come to you; (b) march straight across the plateau to relieve Tiberias; (c) march north by a longer road that passes more springs, though it takes another day. Write your choice and the one fact that decides it for you. **What happened:** Guy chose (b), giving the order in the night. The army ran out of water on the plateau, was surrounded near the Horns of Hattin, and was destroyed on July 4. Now switch sides: you are Saladin on the morning of July 3. The Franks are leaving their water. What will you do? (He sent his horse archers to slow them, took the springs of Hattin, and waited.)

Scripture. “For by wise counsel thou shalt make thy war: and in multitude of counsellors there is safety.” (Proverbs 24:6, KJV)

Guy had a multitude of counsellors, and one gave wise counsel. Solomon’s proverb does not mean that the loudest voice is right; it means a leader must weigh counsel honestly, setting aside pride, fear of shame and old quarrels. The ground and the water told the truth that night.

Practice: answers

1. He attacked and seized a Muslim caravan in time of truce and refused to return it, and Saladin swore to kill him.
2. Raymond III of Tripoli advised staying at the springs; Gerard de Ridefort, master of the Templars (with Reynald), urged him to march to save Tiberias.
3. 11 hours, 10 miles: about 0.9 miles an hour, less than half normal speed. Saladin’s horse archers attacked constantly, especially the rear, forcing the column to halt and close up again and again, and heat and thirst wore the men down.
4. They are going by sea to Jerusalem (on the Third Crusade). Fines for every insult or charge of “hatred of God” suggest that quarrels among crowded, armed men far from home were a real danger to order and discipline, so Richard set a price on every insult.
5. Sample defense: A king who let a Christian town and a great lady fall within a day’s march would lose the respect of his barons, and Guy had been shamed for avoiding battle before; the army was the largest the kingdom had ever raised, and Gerard argued that Raymond, who had his own truce with Saladin, could not be trusted. Sample judgment: The decision ignored the ground and the season. Sixteen miles of waterless plateau in July against an enemy of horse archers was exactly the battle Saladin wanted, while the springs of Sephoria gave the Franks water and a strong position. Raymond’s advice was costly to himself and therefore credible. Guy chose with his pride and his fears, not with the map, and the whole kingdom paid.
6. Sample: A truce is a sworn promise, and Christian teaching held that a promise binds even toward an enemy, so Reynald’s raid was an injustice by his own people’s standard; it gave Saladin a just grievance and brought disaster on innocent Christians who had kept the truce. A fair historian does not stop there. Saladin had long planned to destroy the Crusader states and recover Jerusalem, which he and his soldiers saw as a duty of jihad. Each side believed it fought a holy war; explaining their motives in their own terms helps us understand them, while we still judge truce-breaking, cruelty or mercy by what each side itself professed.

2.4 BANNOCKBURN (1314)

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how the bargain over Stirling Castle forced a battle in June 1314, and how Robert the Bruce used forest, bog and burn to fight a larger army on his own terms.
- Analyze the two days of fighting, the schiltron against heavy cavalry, and why the English archers and numbers counted for so little.
- Read John Barbour's lines on freedom (about 1375) as a primary source and connect Bannockburn to the Declaration of Arbroath and to just-war questions about a people's defense.

Warm-up. Stand a broom upright with the bristles on the floor and lean on it at an angle. Now have someone push on the handle from the side. A long spear set with its butt on the ground is very hard for a charging horse to get past. Write one sentence on why a horse, not just its rider, will not run onto a wall of points.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Bannockburn, 1314: Robert the Bruce, Edward II, the schiltrons, the Bruce and de Bohun, Stirling Castle and the carse. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy, National Trust for Scotland); preview first.

KEY TERMS

schiltron

A dense body of Scottish spearmen, armed with spears perhaps 12 feet long or more, able to stand in a ring or block against cavalry and, at Bannockburn, to advance.

carse

A Scots word for low, flat, wet land beside a river. The carse below Stirling, cut by streams and pools, was where the English camped the night before the battle.

burn

A Scots word for a stream. The Bannock Burn, with steep banks in places, ran across the English line of march and behind their camp.

Wars of Scottish Independence

The wars from 1296 to 1328 (and again from 1332) in which the Scots resisted English kings who claimed overlordship of Scotland.

Declaration of Arbroath

A letter of 1320 from the barons of Scotland to Pope John XXII, defending Scotland's independence and Robert I's kingship.

men-at-arms

Fully armored soldiers, knights and their equals, who fought mainly on horseback in the English army.

CORE IDEAS

The road to Stirling. In 1296 Edward I of England conquered Scotland. William Wallace rose against him and won at Stirling Bridge in 1297, but he was later captured and executed in 1305. In 1306 Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, killed his rival John Comyn in a quarrel in a church at Dumfries, was excommunicated, and was crowned king at Scone a few weeks later. He was beaten, hunted, and nearly lost everything; his wife, daughter and sisters were imprisoned in England. Edward I died in 1307, and over the next seven years Bruce took back almost every castle in Scotland. By 1314 Stirling, the key to the north, was besieged by his brother Edward Bruce, and its English commander, Sir Philip Mowbray, agreed to surrender if no English army came within three leagues of the castle by Midsummer Day, June 24, 1314.

The map. Edward II answered with perhaps 2,000 mounted men-at-arms and well over 10,000 foot soldiers, many of them Welsh and English archers, one of the largest armies an English king had brought to Scotland. The Scots had perhaps 6,000–7,000 spearmen and about 500 light horse. The old road to Stirling ran north across the Bannock Burn and through the New Park, a royal hunting forest. To the east, below a low escarpment, lay the carse: flat, wet ground laced with streams such as the Pelstream, running into the Forth. Bruce posted his men in the New Park, where the trees broke up a charge, and had pits dug and covered beside the road.

The first day, June 23. As the English vanguard came up the road, Sir Henry de Bohun saw King Robert riding in front of his lines on a small horse and charged him with his lance. Bruce turned the horse aside, stood in his stirrups and struck de Bohun down with his axe, breaking the shaft. His lords scolded him for the risk; he said he was sorry for his good axe. Meanwhile several hundred English horse under Clifford and Beaumont tried to slip around toward the castle. The Earl of Moray's schiltrons came out of the trees to meet them in the open, and the horsemen, unable to break the spears, rode around them until they gave up. The English had lost twice before the battle.

The second day, June 24. That night the English crossed the burn and camped on the carse, a cramped place hemmed in by water. A Scottish knight in English service, Sir Alexander Seton, slipped over to Bruce and told him the English were disheartened. At dawn, instead of waiting, the Scots came down out of the wood and advanced in schiltrons. Barbour says they knelt to pray as the Abbot of Inchaffray passed before them, and that Edward cried that they were kneeling for mercy; a knight beside him answered that they asked mercy of God, not of him. The Earl of Gloucester charged and was killed. The English cavalry, packed together, could not get around the spears; their archers, sent out on a flank, were scattered by Sir Robert Keith's horsemen. As the English pressed back toward the burn, the line broke. Edward was led from the field and escaped to Dunbar and home by sea.

The people. Bruce was patient as well as brave: for years he had refused to fight a great battle, and he chose this one only when the ground and the hour were right. Barbour also tells that the Scottish camp followers, the "small folk," came over the hill at the end, and the English took them for a new army. Edward II was not a coward, but he was a poor general

who could not hold his quarrelling earls together. English losses were heavy, including many knights and many drowned in the Bannock Burn and the Forth; Scottish losses were light. The exact numbers are unknown.

Why it mattered. Stirling surrendered. The prisoners taken included the Earl of Hereford, who was exchanged for Bruce's wife Elizabeth, his daughter Marjorie and other captives. Bannockburn did not end the war, which dragged on for fourteen more years, but it made Robert the unquestioned king. In 1320 the barons of Scotland wrote the Declaration of Arbroath to the Pope, declaring that they fought not for glory or riches but for freedom. In 1328 the Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton recognized Scotland's independence. Marjorie's son became the first Stewart king, and from that line came James VI, who became James I of England in 1603 and gave his name to the King James Bible.

A just defense? Aquinas taught that a just war needs rightful authority. The Scots argued that their king was lawfully theirs and that an invader had no right to rule them, which made their war a defense. But Bruce had seized the throne after killing a rival in a holy place, and the Pope had excommunicated him. The Declaration of Arbroath answers by appealing to the people's right to defend their land and laws. It is a hard case, and a good one to think through.

PICTURE STUDY



Stirling Castle, Scotland, Photoglob Company, Zürich (published in the United States by the Detroit Publishing Company), About 1890–1900 · Photochrom print (a color photolithograph made from a black-and-white photograph) · Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Photochrom Print Collection
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Bannockburn was fought to decide who would hold this rock. Stirling Castle stands on a volcanic crag above the River Forth, at the lowest point where an army could cross into the north of Scotland in the Middle Ages. Whoever held it held the gate. This photochrom was

made about six hundred years after the battle, but the crag, the river and the flat carse have not moved. The castle buildings you see are mostly later than 1314.

Look closely

- Find the crag. Which sides are steepest? Where could an army approach?
- Look at the low, flat land below. That is the kind of ground the English camped on. What do you see on it: fields, water, trees?
- Look toward the distant hills. In which direction would the Highlands be?

Talk about it

1. Why was Stirling worth a battle for both kings? Use what you see in the picture.
2. The castle buildings are mostly later than 1314, but the land is much the same. Which is more useful to a student of the battle, and why?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP BANNOCKBURN: FOREST, CARSE AND SCHILTRON

Build the field and fight both days. On the first day, test cavalry against a spear block in the open. On the second, test what happens to a large army crowded onto wet ground between two streams.

You will need

- A sand table or a table with a towel for the higher ground; blue yarn for the Bannock Burn, the Pelstream and the Forth
- Twigs or broccoli for the New Park forest; small paper squares for the pits
- About 40 pieces of one color (Scots: four schiltrons of 8 spearmen, plus 5 light horse) and 60 of another (English: 20 cavalry, 20 archers, 20 foot)
- Toothpicks pushed into clay or cardboard strips to make spear blocks; a die
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Build the field: the burn across the south, the road running north to the castle, the New Park forest west of the road with pits beside it, and the carse to the east, bounded by the Pelstream and the Forth.
2. Day 1: Send 6 English cavalry around the forest toward the castle. Bring one schiltron out to meet them. Each cavalry charge removes a Scottish spearman only on a 6; each charge costs the English a horseman on 4–6. Play five charges and record.
3. Night: Move the whole English army across the burn onto the carse. Measure the space it has. Is there room for the cavalry to spread out?
4. Day 2: Advance the four schiltrons side by side across the front of the carse. The English cavalry may only charge the front, since the streams guard the sides. Place the archers on one flank and let the Scottish light horse charge them.
5. Count how many English pieces end up pressed against the streams with nowhere to go.

6. Read Barbour's lines on freedom aloud, slowly, with the glossary. In two sentences, explain why a poet sixty years later chose to begin the story of Bruce with freedom.

Check your work

- My field shows the burn, the road, the forest, the pits, the carse and the castle.
- I fought both days and recorded the results of each.
- I can explain in two sentences why the carse was a trap for the English cavalry.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, Scotland in 1314: Berwick, Edinburgh, Stirling and the Forth, Perth and Scone, Dumfries, Dunbar, and the border, with Edward II's march north. Map 2, the field: Stirling Castle on its crag, the road, the New Park forest, the pits, the Bannock Burn and the Pelstream, the carse, the English camp of June 23-24, the four schiltrons advancing, the archers on the flank and Keith's horse. Add a title, compass rose, key and the note "about 2 miles south of the castle."
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "How did a smaller army win at Bannockburn?" Use the ground, the schiltrons, the timing and at least two numbers. Then copy two lines of Barbour's poem and write what they mean in modern English. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? Bannockburn was fought on June 24, the feast of Saint John the Baptist. The Scots carried into battle a small reliquary associated with Saint Columba, often identified with the Monymusk Reliquary, now in the National Museum of Scotland. The Declaration of Arbroath of 1320 is sometimes compared to the American Declaration of Independence, written 456 years later.

Primary source. *John Barbour, The Bruce (about 1375), Book I, edited by W. M. Mackenzie (1909); text from Project Gutenberg. Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, wrote in Middle Scots. Glossary: mays = makes; haiff liking = have his own will; es = ease; gyff = if; yharnyt = yearned for; thyrlidome = slavery; assayit = tried; perquer = by heart, thoroughly; prys = prize.*

A! fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mays man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at es that frely levys.
A noble hart may haiff nane es,
Na ellys nocht that may him ples,
Gyff fredome failyhe: for fre liking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
Na he, that ay has levyt fre,
May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyrlidome.

Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
And suld think fredome mar to prys,
Than all the gold in warld that is.

Go deeper. John Barbour, *The Bruce*, edited by W. M. Mackenzie, on Project Gutenberg, Books XI–XIII for the battle itself. A. F. Murison, *King Robert the Bruce* (1899), also on Project Gutenberg. H. E. Marshall, *Scotland's Story* (1906), for a readable older telling. The National Trust for Scotland's Bannockburn visitor center pages and the National Records of Scotland pages on the Declaration of Arbroath. Second video topic: William Wallace and the Battle of Stirling Bridge (1297).

Goes deeper in. History, high school “The Medieval World,” the units on medieval kingship and on England, Scotland and France (coming soon); and Literature, for Barbour's *The Bruce* and early Scots poetry (coming soon).

For families. Numbers at Bannockburn are estimates. Many modern historians give the English about 2,000 heavy cavalry and perhaps 12,000–15,000 foot, and the Scots about 5,000–7,000 spearmen and about 500 light horse; the stop gives approximate figures. The exact site of the second day's fighting is still debated. The de Bohun story, the kneeling Scots, Edward's remark and the “small folk” come from Barbour, writing about sixty years later; they are widely repeated and are presented as Barbour's account. The killing of John Comyn in 1306 is stated plainly. The photochrom is dated only approximately; families can find it by searching the Library of Congress Photochrom collection for “Stirling.” The poem is copied from the Mackenzie edition on Project Gutenberg with its spelling. Just-war questions are raised at this ● Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What bargain made the Battle of Bannockburn happen on June 23–24, 1314?
2. **EASY** What is a schiltrun, and why could cavalry not break one?
3. **MEDIUM** The English had perhaps 2,000 cavalry and about 13,000 foot; the Scots perhaps 6,500 spearmen and 500 horse. What was the ratio of total English to total Scottish soldiers? Why did the larger number matter so little on the carse?
4. **MEDIUM** Put Barbour's last four lines into modern English. What does he say a man must do to truly value freedom?
5. **CHALLENGE** Bruce took a great risk by fighting de Bohun himself and then by attacking on June 24 instead of retreating into the hills. Write a paragraph judging these two decisions: which was reckless and which was wise, and why?
6. **CHALLENGE** Using Aquinas's condition of rightful authority, set out the strongest case against Bruce's war and the strongest case for it, and say which you find more persuasive.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Night of June 23. You are Robert the Bruce. You have won both fights today: de Bohun is dead and the English horse could not

break Moray's schiltrons. But the English army is still more than twice your size, and if you lose a great battle you may lose Scotland. Your men can slip away into the hills tonight and fight the kind of hit-and-run war you have won with for years. Then Sir Alexander Seton comes over from the English camp and tells you their army is crowded on the carse and their spirits are low. Choose before you read on: (a) withdraw west into the hills and keep up the long war; (b) stay in the forest and wait for the English to attack you there; (c) advance at dawn and attack them on the carse. Write your choice and two reasons. **What happened:** Barbour says Bruce asked his men whether to fight, and they chose to stay; at dawn he chose (c), advancing from the wood to attack the English where they could not maneuver. Now switch sides: you are Edward II at dawn, and the Scots are coming toward you on foot. What would you order? (He let his cavalry charge the schiltrons, and the archers were brought into action too late.)

Scripture. "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength. An horse is a vain thing for safety: neither shall he deliver any by his great strength." (Psalm 33:16-17, KJV)

Edward II came with the multitude of an host and thousands of great horses, and they could not save him. The psalmist is not saying that armies and horses are useless; he is saying they cannot be trusted as a final hope. Verse 18 says where the eye of the Lord rests instead: upon them that fear Him.

Practice: answers

1. Sir Philip Mowbray, commander of besieged Stirling Castle, agreed to surrender it unless an English army came to relieve it by Midsummer Day, June 24, 1314.
2. A dense body of spearmen with long spears. Horses will not charge onto a solid hedge of points, and with no gaps or open flanks the riders could not get at the men.
3. 15,000 : 7,000, a little more than 2 to 1. Crowded between the Bannock Burn and the Pelstream, the English could not spread out; only the front ranks could fight, the cavalry could not ride around the schiltrons, and the archers could not shoot without hitting their own men until they moved to a flank, where Keith's horse scattered them.
4. Sample: "But if he had tried it [slavery], then he would know it thoroughly, and he would prize freedom more than all the gold in the world." Barbour says that a man who has always been free cannot fully know the misery of slavery; only one who has felt it values freedom above all wealth.
5. Sample: Fighting de Bohun was reckless. Bruce was the whole cause; had he been killed, the Scottish army and perhaps the kingdom would have fallen, and his lords were right to scold him, though the victory lifted his army's spirits. Attacking on June 24 was a bold but reasoned risk. He had learned from Seton that the English were disheartened, he saw them crowded on wet ground where their cavalry could not maneuver, and he had already won both fights of the first day. He chose to fight only when the ground, the timing and his men's morale were in his favor, which is what wise boldness looks like.
6. Sample. Against: Bruce seized the crown after killing his rival John Comyn in a church, and the Pope excommunicated him; Edward I claimed overlordship of Scotland, so on that view the rightful authority was the English king. For: Scotland had been an independent kingdom for centuries, the Scots had never lawfully given up their freedom, Bruce had been crowned

at Scone and was accepted by most of the nobles and the Scottish clergy, and a people may defend itself against an invader; the Declaration of Arbroath argued exactly this. Many find the case for stronger because the war at Bannockburn was a defense of a kingdom against conquest, while admitting that Bruce's path to the throne included a grave wrong.

2.5 AGINCOURT (1415): MUD AND LONGBOWS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why Henry V's sick, hungry army had to fight at Agincourt and how the field, the rain and the longbow turned a larger French army's strength against it.
- Weigh the evidence for the numbers at Agincourt and why modern historians disagree so sharply.
- Read Psalm 115, which Henry ordered sung after the battle, and judge his order to kill prisoners using the just-war tradition he himself professed.

Warm-up. Walk across a muddy patch of yard or a wet garden bed in boots (or picture it). Now imagine doing it in about 50 to 60 pounds of steel armor, after a night of rain, in a crowd so tight you cannot lift your arms, toward men who can shoot ten or more arrows a minute. Write down how far you think you could go before you were exhausted.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Agincourt, 1415: Henry V, the English longbow, the march from Harfleur, the field between the woods and the mud; the Hundred Years' War. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy, Royal Armouries); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Hundred Years' War

The long series of wars (1337–1453) between the kings of England and France, begun when Edward III of England claimed the French crown.

longbow

A bow about as tall as a man, made from a single stave of yew, with a draw weight that may have reached well over 100 pounds; English and Welsh archers trained with it from boyhood.

men-at-arms

Fully armored soldiers, knights and squires, who at Agincourt fought mostly on foot on both sides.

stakes

Sharpened wooden poles about six feet long, which each English archer carried and drove into the ground slanting toward the enemy to stop cavalry.

chevauchée

A long armed march through enemy country to show strength, plunder and provoke battle; Henry's march from Harfleur to Calais was meant partly as one.

ransom

A payment to free a captured noble. In medieval war, capturing a rich knight was often worth more than killing him.

CORE IDEAS

The road to Agincourt. Henry V claimed the crown of France through his great-grandfather Edward III. France was ruled by Charles VI, who suffered long bouts of madness, and its great lords were split into two warring parties, the Armagnacs and the Burgundians. Henry landed near Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine on August 14, 1415, with perhaps 10,000–12,000 men. The siege lasted until September 22, and dysentery killed or disabled a large part of his army. Instead of going home, he set out on October 8 to march about 120 miles to English Calais with perhaps 6,000–9,000 men, roughly five archers to every man-at-arms, carrying food for eight days.

The map. The French blocked the fords of the Somme, forcing Henry to march far upstream. The march took seventeen days, and food ran out. On October 24 the French army, perhaps 12,000 to 25,000 strong (historians still argue), stood across his road near the village of Agincourt. The field was a stretch of open land, freshly plowed, between two woods, the woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt, less than a thousand yards wide and narrowing toward the English end. It rained hard all that night. The English, hungry and soaked, were ordered to keep silence; across the field the French camp was loud.

The plan. On the morning of October 25, Saint Crispin's Day, the armies stood about a mile apart for some four hours. The French, led by the Constable Charles d'Albret and Marshal Boucicaut (the king and his son were absent), had planned to let the English come to them. Henry could not wait: his men had no food. He ordered an advance to within long bowshot, perhaps 250–300 yards. The archers pulled up their stakes, carried them forward, drove them in again and began to shoot. The woods guarded both English flanks; the French could only come straight down the field.

What happened. The French mounted wings charged first, but many riders were not in their places, and the charge was too small; horses wounded by arrows and stakes turned back into their own advancing men. Then the first French division, thousands of men-at-arms on foot, struggled forward through the mud under the arrows. As the field narrowed toward the English line, they were squeezed so tightly that many could not raise their weapons. The English men-at-arms met them, and the lightly armed archers came out to join the fight. The French front ranks collapsed in heaps. The second division was caught up in the disaster; the third largely left the field.

The people. Henry, twenty-nine, fought in the center in his crown-encircled helmet and is said to have stood over his wounded brother Humphrey. Before the battle the English knelt, and many took a little earth into their mouths as a sign of their mortality. Late in the battle, when the English feared an attack on their baggage and a new French assault, Henry ordered the prisoners killed, and many were; the order was cancelled when the threat passed. English losses were perhaps a few hundred, including the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk. French dead numbered several thousand, including the Constable and three dukes; Charles, Duke of Orléans, was taken prisoner and held in England for twenty-five years, where he wrote some of the finest poems of his age.

Why it mattered. Agincourt did not conquer France, but it destroyed a generation of French leaders and made Henry the most feared prince in Europe. He returned and conquered Normandy, and by the Treaty of Troyes (1420) he married Catherine, daughter of Charles VI, and was named heir to the French throne. He died in 1422, aged thirty-five, leaving a baby son, Henry VI. The French wars then turned against England, as the next stop shows. When Henry entered London in triumph, he would not allow his battered helmet and armor to be carried before him, and ordered that the glory be given to God.

A just war? Henry wrote to the French that he sought only his rights and that God would judge between them in battle. Aquinas taught that a just war needs a just cause; whether Henry's claim to France was one is still argued, since his claim came through a woman's line that French law rejected and he also held the English crown only because his father had taken it from Richard II. The harder question is the prisoners. The just-war tradition teaches that once an enemy yields, he is no longer an enemy but a man under protection. Some historians call Henry's order a crime; others say he believed his army was about to be destroyed. Both views should be heard.

PICTURE STUDY



The Morning of the Battle of Agincourt, 25th October 1415, Sir John Gilbert, 1884 · Oil on canvas (about 122 × 168 cm) · Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Sir John Gilbert (1817–1897) was a Victorian painter and illustrator, best known for his drawings for Howard Staunton's edition of Shakespeare, and he gave a large collection of his works to the City of London. He painted the English army not in battle but in the hours of waiting before it, the time Shakespeare made famous in *Henry V*. Look for how he tells a story without showing any fighting at all.

Look closely

- Find the banners. How many different devices can you see? What do they tell you about how a medieval army was organized?
- Look at the sky and the light. What time of day is it, and what weather is suggested?
- Find faces. What do they suggest the men are feeling: fear, resolve, prayer, weariness?

Talk about it

1. Gilbert painted this 469 years after the battle. Find one detail that seems true to the sources (for example, the weather or the waiting) and one that may be the painter's imagination.
2. Why might an artist choose the morning before a battle rather than the fighting itself? What does that choice ask the viewer to think about?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP AGINCOURT: THE FUNNEL

Agincourt is a battle about space. Build the field to scale and test what happens when thousands of men are pushed into a narrowing gap between two woods under arrow fire. Then read the psalm Henry ordered sung.

You will need

- A sand table, or a tray of damp sand or mud (outdoors is fine)
- Twigs or broccoli for the two woods; toothpicks for the stakes
- About 30 pieces of one color (English: 6 men-at-arms in the center, 24 archers on the flanks) and 60 of another (French: 10 cavalry on the wings, 30 men-at-arms in the first division, 20 in the second)
- A ruler and a die
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Make the field 30 inches long, 15 inches wide at the French end and 10 inches wide at the English end, with woods on both sides. Scale: 1 inch is about 33 yards.
2. Place the English line across the narrow end: men-at-arms in the center, archers on both flanks and between, with a row of toothpick stakes in front of the archers.
3. Place the French cavalry on the wings and the first division behind, filling the wide end shoulder to shoulder.
4. Advance the French 3 inches per turn (mud). At each turn, roll the die for the archers: on 3-6, remove one French piece from the front.
5. As the field narrows, the French pieces will not fit. Any piece that cannot fit across the gap must be stacked behind, and stacked pieces cannot fight. Count how many French pieces are actually touching the English line when they arrive.
6. Replay with the field the same width at both ends (no funnel). Compare the number of French pieces that reach the line.
7. Read Psalm 115:1-3 in the primary source and write two sentences on why a king would want this sung after a victory.

Check your work

- My field narrows from 15 to 10 inches, with woods and stakes in place.
- I counted how many French pieces could fight at the English line, with and without the funnel.
- I can explain in two sentences how the narrowing field and the mud worked together.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, the campaign: Southampton, the English Channel, Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine, the Somme with its fords, Agincourt and Calais, with Henry's route and dates (August 14, September 22, October 8, October 19 crossing of the Somme, October 25 battle). Map 2, the field: the woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt, the plowed field narrowing toward the English, the English line with men-at-arms in the center and archers with stakes on the flanks, the French cavalry wings and three divisions, and the English baggage behind. Add a title, compass rose, key and scale.
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "Mud, bows or Henry: what won Agincourt?" Give at least three causes and two numbers, and include the order to kill the prisoners, stated plainly, with your judgment of it. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? The wreck of Henry VIII's warship *Mary Rose*, raised in 1982, held about 137 complete longbows and thousands of arrows, the best surviving evidence of what the bow of Agincourt was like. Skeletons of archers from the ship show thickened bones in the left arm and shoulder from years of drawing heavy bows. English law under Edward III and later kings required men to practice archery on Sundays and holy days.

Primary source. *Psalm 115:1-3, King James Version (1611).* In the Latin Bible of Henry's day, these verses, beginning "Non nobis, Domine," were part of the psalm "In exitu Israel de Aegypto." Raphael Holinshed's chronicle (1587) says that after the battle Henry ordered this psalm sung and all his men to kneel at "Non nobis."

Not unto us, O LORD, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake. Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is now their God? But our God is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased.

Go deeper. William Shakespeare, *Henry V* (about 1599), Act IV, especially the Saint Crispin's Day speech and the reading of the dead (Project Gutenberg); remember it is a play written 184 years after the battle. Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, translated by Thomas Johnes, Volume 4, chapter 31 (Project Gutenberg), a French chronicler's account. The Royal Armouries (royalarmouries.org) and the Mary Rose Museum (maryrose.org) pages on the longbow. Second video topic: how a yew longbow is made and drawn.

Goes deeper in. History, high school “The Medieval World,” the unit on the Hundred Years’ War (coming soon); Literature, for Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (coming soon); and Arithmetic, for the area and crowding problem in the practice (ratios and rates).

For families. The numbers at Agincourt are among the most disputed of any medieval battle. Anne Curry’s study of the records suggests about 8,700 English and perhaps 12,000 French; other historians, such as Clifford Rogers and Juliet Barker, argue for a French army of 20,000 or more. The stop gives ranges. The killing of prisoners is stated plainly and not described; contemporary English and French chroniclers both record it. Holinshed’s account of the “Non nobis” is a Tudor chronicle written long after the battle; the earlier *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, by a chaplain in the army, records the clergy praying psalms during the fighting and Henry’s refusal to have his armor displayed in London. The primary source is the KJV text of the psalm itself. Henry’s marriage to Catherine is mentioned only as a term of the treaty. Just-war questions are raised at this ● Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why could Henry not simply wait on the morning of October 25?
2. **EASY** Name two things about the field itself that helped the English.
3. **MEDIUM** Suppose about 5,000 English archers each shot 10 arrows a minute for the 3 minutes it took the French to cross the last 300 yards. How many arrows is that? What does the number tell you about the archers’ supply needs?
4. **MEDIUM** The primary source says “Not unto us, O LORD, not unto us.” Why is this a surprising song for a victorious king, and what other act of Henry’s fits it?
5. **CHALLENGE** Anne Curry estimates about 8,700 English and 12,000 French; older histories give 6,000 English and 25,000 or more French. Calculate the ratio in each case, and explain why the size of the French army changes the meaning of the victory.
6. **CHALLENGE** Henry ordered prisoners killed when he believed his army was about to be attacked from two sides. Using the just-war principle that a surrendered enemy is under protection, set out the case against Henry and the case in his defense, and give your verdict.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Four Hours of Waiting. You are Henry V on the morning of October 25. Your army is lined up across the narrow end of a muddy field between two woods. The French, far more numerous, are drawn up a mile away and will not attack. Your men have eaten almost nothing for days. Choose before you read on: (a) keep waiting in your strong position and hope the French lose patience; (b) try to slip around the French by night and race for Calais; (c) pull up the archers’ stakes, advance the whole army to within long bowshot of the French, plant the stakes again and provoke them to attack. Write your choice and two reasons. **What happened:** Henry chose (c), with the command traditionally given as “Fellows, let us go!” The archers advanced, planted their stakes and shot, and the French attacked down the narrowing field into the

mud. Then switch sides: you are the French Constable. The English have just come forward into bowshot. What do you order? (The French charged, as the English hoped.)

Scripture. “Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.” (2 Timothy 2:3, KJV)

Henry’s archers endured a seventeen-day march, sickness, hunger and a night of rain before they fought. Paul uses the soldier’s hardship as a picture of the Christian life: faithfulness is often less about one brave moment and more about enduring hard days without giving up.

Practice: answers

1. His army had almost no food left after a seventeen-day march, many men were sick, and the French blocked the road to Calais. Waiting would only weaken him while the French grew stronger.
2. Any two: the two woods protected both English flanks; the field narrowed toward the English line, crowding the French; it was freshly plowed and soaked by rain, so the heavily armored French sank in the mud; the French had to cross it under arrow fire.
3. $5,000 \times 10 \times 3 = 150,000$ arrows. Even if the real numbers were lower, the archers needed tens of thousands of arrows carried in sheaves and resupplied during the battle, which shows why arrow-making and transport were major parts of English war planning.
4. Victorious kings usually celebrated their own glory; this psalm gives all the glory to God and none to the army. It fits Henry’s refusal to let his helmet and armor be carried before him in his London triumph, ordering the glory given to God instead.
5. Curry: $12,000 \div 8,700 \approx 1.4$ to 1. Older view: $25,000 \div 6,000 \approx 4.2$ to 1. If the odds were about 4 to 1, Agincourt looks like a near miracle won by a desperate few; if they were about 1.4 to 1, the victory is still remarkable but is explained mostly by the ground, the mud, the archers and French mistakes. Either way, the English won decisively, but the size of the gap affects how much weight we give to tactics against odds.
6. Sample. Against: men who have yielded are defenseless; killing them is not fighting but murder, and the just-war tradition, as well as the customs of chivalry, protected prisoners. Fear does not change the act, and many in Henry’s own army were reluctant to obey. In defense: Henry’s small army was surrounded by a larger number of prisoners, many still armed or able to rearm from the field, a French force was gathering for another attack and his baggage was being raided; he believed he faced destruction, and he cancelled the order when the threat passed. Verdict: many will judge that real danger may explain the order but does not make it just, since the protection of the surrendered is one of the clearest lines in the tradition Henry claimed to follow.

2.6 ORLÉANS (1429): JOAN OF ARC

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the strategic position of Orléans on the Loire, why the English siege of 1428–1429 was both dangerous and weak, and how the siege was broken in nine days.
- Trace Joan of Arc's path from Domrémy to Chinon, Orléans and Reims, using dates and the record of her trial and nullification.
- Read Joan's Letter to the English (March 22, 1429) as a primary source and compare it with the biblical command to offer peace before attacking a city (Deuteronomy 20:10).

Warm-up. Find the Loire River on a map of France and follow it from the mountains to the Atlantic. Put your finger where it bends farthest north. That is Orléans, a city of perhaps 20,000–30,000 people in 1429. Write down why a city at the top of a river's bend might be the key to a whole country.

Video slot. Video coming. Joan of Arc and the Siege of Orléans, 1428–1429: the bastilles, the Tourelles, the Loire campaign, Patay and the coronation at Reims. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Dauphin

The title of the heir to the French throne. Charles, son of Charles VI, was called the Dauphin until his coronation at Reims in July 1429 made him Charles VII.

bastille

A wooden or earthen fort built by besiegers outside a city. The English ringed Orléans with bastilles but had too few men to close every gap.

Les Tourelles

The fortified gatehouse with twin towers at the south end of the bridge over the Loire at Orléans, held by the English from October 1428 until May 7, 1429.

Treaty of Troyes

The treaty of 1420 that disinherited the Dauphin and named Henry V of England, then his son Henry VI, heir to the crown of France.

nullification trial

The inquiry of 1450–1456, authorized by Pope Callixtus III, that declared Joan's condemnation of 1431 null and void after hearing about 115 witnesses.

Burgundians

The party of the Duke of Burgundy, allied with England in the 1420s; Burgundian soldiers captured Joan at Compiègne in 1430 and sold her to the English.

CORE IDEAS

The map. After Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes, the English and their Burgundian allies held Paris and all of northern France. The Dauphin Charles held the lands south of the Loire, but he had never been crowned. Orléans sat on the great northward bend of the Loire, with a long stone bridge that was one of the few crossings into the south. If it fell, the road into the Dauphin's heartland lay open. The English began the siege on October 12, 1428, took the Tourelles at the south end of the bridge, and built a ring of bastilles around the city. Their commander, the Earl of Salisbury, was killed by a cannon shot early in the siege.

The plan. The English had perhaps 4,000–5,000 men, far too few to surround a large walled city, so the bastilles had gaps on the east and supplies still slipped in. But the city's spirit was sinking. In February 1429 a French attack on an English supply train was beaten at the "Battle of the Herrings," named for the Lenten fish the wagons carried. Orléans even offered to surrender to the neutral Duke of Burgundy. The English plan was patience: the city would starve, and the Dauphin, poor, unlucky and doubtful of his own right, would have nothing left.

The people. Joan was a peasant girl from Domrémy, a village on the eastern border between Champagne and Lorraine, born about 1412. From about the age of thirteen, she said, she heard the voices of Saint Michael, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret telling her to go to the Dauphin, raise the siege of Orléans and lead him to be crowned at Reims. In early 1429, about seventeen years old, she persuaded the captain of Vaucouleurs to send her to Chinon. Charles had her examined for three weeks at Poitiers by churchmen, who found nothing in her but "humility, virginity, devotion, honesty and simplicity." On March 22, before she ever saw Orléans, she dictated her Letter to the English. She wore armor and carried a banner with the names *Jhesus Maria*; she later said she carried the banner rather than a sword so as not to kill anyone.

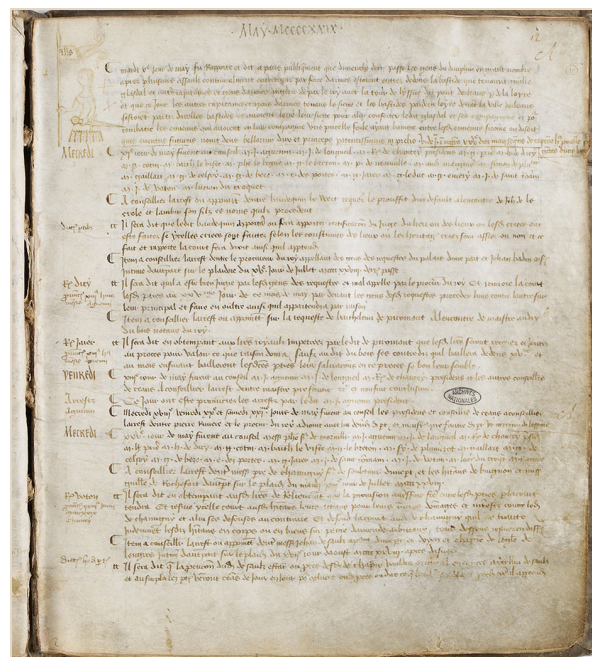
What happened. Joan entered Orléans with supplies on April 29, 1429. Jean, the Bastard of Orléans (later Count of Dunois), commanded the defense, and many captains were wary of a girl who told them their plans were wrong. On May 4 the French took the bastille of Saint-Loup; on May 6 they crossed the river and took the Augustins. On May 7 they attacked the Tourelles. Joan was struck by an arrow between the neck and shoulder, was carried back, prayed, and returned to the fight that evening; the Tourelles fell, and its commander William Glasdale drowned when the drawbridge gave way. On Sunday, May 8, the English drew up for battle outside the walls. Joan would not let the French attack on the Lord's Day unless attacked; after an hour the English marched away. The siege had lasted seven months and was broken in nine days.

Why it mattered. In June Joan and the Duke of Alençon cleared the Loire towns, and at Patay on June 18 the French cavalry broke an English army and captured its great captain, Lord Talbot. On July 17, 1429, Charles was crowned at Reims with Joan standing near with her banner. A crowned king could now claim the loyalty of France, and over the next twenty-four years the English were driven out of every part of France except Calais. Joan herself was captured at Compiègne in May 1430, sold to the English, and tried at Rouen by a church

court led by Bishop Pierre Cauchon, a partisan of the English. She was burned as a relapsed heretic on May 30, 1431, at about nineteen. In 1456 the nullification trial declared her condemnation null; she was canonized in 1920.

Peace first. Joan's letter begins not with a threat but with a demand to make peace, and a warning only if it is refused. That pattern is old. Deuteronomy 20:10 commanded Israel, before besieging a city, to "proclaim peace unto it." Augustine taught that the purpose of a just war is peace, and Aquinas that a right intention seeks good and avoids evil. Joan's claim to be sent by God cannot be tested like a date or a number, and Christians have weighed it differently. Her trial record, in her own recorded words, shows a young woman of courage, quick answers and steady faith. The English and their French allies who tried her believed they were judging a witch who had cost them a kingdom; the nullification judges found the trial corrupt.

PICTURE STUDY



Joan of Arc, marginal drawing in the register of the Parlement of Paris, Clément de Fauquembergue, clerk of the Parlement of Paris, May 10, 1429 · Pen and ink in the margin of a manuscript register · Archives nationales, Paris

Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

On May 10, 1429, the clerk of the Parlement of Paris, which was loyal to the English side, wrote in his official register the news that the siege of Orléans had been broken. In the margin he sketched the Maid with a banner and a sword. It is the only picture of Joan made in her lifetime. But Fauquembergue had never seen her: he drew what he imagined from rumor, which is why she wears a dress and long hair instead of armor and short-cropped hair.

Look closely

- Find the banner and the sword. Which one is larger in the drawing? What did Joan herself say she carried in battle?
- Look at the hair and clothing. How do they differ from what the witnesses at her trials described?
- Look at the writing around the drawing. What does it tell you that this sketch is in a government record, not in a work of art?

Talk about it

1. This picture is contemporary but not an eyewitness drawing. Is it a reliable source for what Joan looked like? What is it a reliable source for?
2. The clerk worked for the side Joan was fighting. What does it tell you that he found the news worth drawing at all?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP ORLÉANS: NINE DAYS IN MAY

A siege is a battle of forts, gaps and supply lines. Build Orléans and the English ring of bastilles, find the gaps, and replay the nine days that broke a seven-month siege. Then read Joan's letter and compare it with Deuteronomy 20:10.

You will need

- A large sheet of paper or a sand table; blue yarn or paper for the Loire
- A shoebox lid or a ring of blocks for the city walls; a strip of cardboard for the bridge; two small towers for the Tourelles
- About 12 small blocks or cups for the English bastilles; 20 pieces of one color (English) and 30 of another (French)
- Beads or beans for supply wagons; a KJV Bible
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Lay out the Loire running west to east, with Orléans on the north bank and the bridge reaching to the Tourelles on the south bank.
2. Place the English bastilles in a ring around the city, mostly on the west and north, with Saint-Loup on the east, the Augustins and the Tourelles on the south. Put two English pieces in each.
3. Find the gap. Run supply beads into the city from the east where there are few forts. How many get through before you block it?
4. Replay May 4-8: take Saint-Loup (east), cross the river and take the Augustins (south), then attack the Tourelles. For each attack, roll a die: French win on 3-6 if they attack with twice as many pieces as the English inside.
5. When the Tourelles falls, count how many English bastilles are now cut off from each other across the river. Why did the English leave?
6. Read Joan's letter aloud. In two columns, write what she demands and what she offers. Then read Deuteronomy 20:10-12 and write two sentences comparing them.

Check your work

- My table shows the river, city, bridge, Tourelles and English bastilles, with the eastern gap.
- I replayed the attacks of May 4–7 in order and recorded results.
- I compared the letter with Deuteronomy 20:10 in two sentences.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, France in 1429: English and Burgundian lands in the north (one color) and the Dauphin's lands in the south (another), with Paris, Rouen, Domrémy, Vaucouleurs, Chinon, Poitiers, Orléans, Patay, Reims and Compiègne, and Joan's journey from Domrémy to Chinon to Orléans to Reims as one arrow with dates. Map 2, the siege: the Loire, the city walls, the bridge and the Tourelles, the English bastilles, the eastern gap, and the French attacks of May 4, 6 and 7. Add a title, compass rose, key and scale.
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "How did Joan of Arc change the war?" Include the state of the siege before she came, the nine days in May, the coronation at Reims, and at least three dates. End with one sentence on her letter: what does it show about her purpose? Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? Orléans has celebrated the deliverance of the city every year around May 8 since 1430, with only a few interruptions; it is one of the oldest continuous civic festivals in Europe. Joan could not read or write when she came to Chinon, and her letters were dictated, though some later letters bear her signature, "Jehanne." The records of her condemnation trial and her nullification trial survive and run to hundreds of pages, so we know her words better than those of almost any other medieval peasant.

Primary source. *Joan of Arc, Letter to the English, March 22, 1429, from T. Douglas Murray, ed., Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans, Deliverer of France: Being the Story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death, as attested on Oath and Set forth in the Original Documents (London: Heinemann, 1902); text from Project Gutenberg*

Jhesus Maria. King of England; and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the Kingdom of France; you, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; John, Lord Talbot; and you, Thomas, Lord Scales, who call yourselves Lieutenants to the said Duke of Bedford: give satisfaction to the King of Heaven: give up to the Maid, who is sent hither by God, the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns in France which you have taken and broken into. She is come here by the order of God to reclaim the Blood Royal. She is quite ready to make peace, if you are willing to give her satisfaction, by giving and paying back to France what you have taken. And as for you, archers, companions-in-arms, gentlemen and others who are before the town of Orleans, return to your own countries, by God's order;

and if this be not done, then hear the message of the Maid, who will shortly come upon you, to your very great hurt.

Go deeper. T. Douglas Murray, ed., *Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans* (1902), on Project Gutenberg, which gives the trial and nullification records in English. Mark Twain, *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896), on Project Gutenberg, a novel Twain called his best book; read it as fiction built on the trial records. The city of Orléans's Maison de Jeanne d'Arc and the Archives nationales online for the Fauquembergue register. Second video topic: the trial of Joan of Arc at Rouen (1431), told from the records.

Goes deeper in. History, high school "The Medieval World," the unit on the Hundred Years' War and the late medieval Church (coming soon); and Literature, for Twain's *Joan of Arc* and the trial records as literature (coming soon).

For families. Joan's voices are presented as she described them; the stop says that Christians have weighed her claim differently and does not ask students to decide it. Her execution is stated plainly and not described. The English and Burgundian side is given fairly: they held Joan to be a heretic and a danger, and the Treaty of Troyes made Henry VI the lawful heir in their eyes. The army sizes at Orléans are estimates. The phrase from the Poitiers examiners is commonly quoted from their written conclusion; the primary-source letter is copied exactly from Murray's 1902 translation on Project Gutenberg (the letter continues beyond the excerpt). The Fauquembergue drawing is in the Archives nationales (register of the Parlement of Paris, May 10, 1429). Just-war questions are raised at this  Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Put in order with dates: Joan enters Orléans; the Tourelles falls; Patay; the coronation at Reims; Joan's death.
2. **EASY** Why was Orléans so important to both sides?
3. **MEDIUM** The siege began on October 12, 1428, and the English left on May 8, 1429. About how many days did it last, and how many of those days had Joan been in the city?
4. **MEDIUM** In the primary source, list the people Joan addresses and what she asks of them. What does she offer before she threatens?
5. **CHALLENGE** Some historians say Joan's military role was mostly that of an inspiration, while others say she made real tactical decisions. Using the events of May 4–8, write a paragraph arguing one side with evidence.
6. **CHALLENGE** Compare Joan's letter with Deuteronomy 20:10 ("When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it") and Augustine's teaching that the aim of a just war is peace. Does the letter fit the just-war tradition? Give one way it fits and one question a critic might raise.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Captains' Council, May 6, 1429. You are Jean, the Bastard of Orléans, commander of the city. In two days the French have taken

Saint-Loup and the Augustins. The Tourelles, the strongest English fort, still holds the south end of the bridge. Some captains say the army has done enough: wait for more troops from the Dauphin before risking everything on a stone fortress. Joan says to attack the Tourelles in the morning. Choose before you read on: (a) wait for reinforcements; (b) attack the Tourelles at once from both the south bank and the bridge; (c) leave the Tourelles and attack the English bastilles on the west instead. Write your choice and two reasons. **What happened:** The French chose (b). They attacked on May 7 from the south bank while the citizens repaired the broken bridge arches to strike from the city side. Joan was wounded and returned, and the Tourelles fell at evening. Now switch sides: you are one of the English commanders, the Earl of Suffolk or Lord Talbot, on May 8. Your southern forts are lost. Will you offer battle, wait in your bastilles, or withdraw? (The English drew up for battle; when the French would not attack on a Sunday, the English withdrew.)

Scripture. “But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty;” (1 Corinthians 1:27, KJV)

Experienced captains and a royal army had failed to save Orléans for seven months; a peasant girl of seventeen gave the city new heart in nine days. Paul’s point is that God often works through people the world overlooks, so that no one may boast in human strength. Whatever we conclude about Joan’s voices, her story fits the pattern.

Practice: answers

1. April 29, 1429 enters Orléans; May 7, 1429 the Tourelles falls; June 18, 1429 Patay; July 17, 1429 coronation at Reims; May 30, 1431 her death at Rouen.
2. It stood on the northern bend of the Loire and held a bridge into the south; if it fell, the English could advance into the Dauphin’s remaining lands, and his cause might collapse.
3. From October 12 to May 8 is 208 days (about seven months: 19 days left in October, $30 + 31 + 31 + 28 + 31 + 30 = 181$ for November–April, plus 8 in May). Joan entered on April 29, so she had been there 9 days.
4. She addresses the King of England, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, and the archers and soldiers before Orléans. She demands the keys of the French towns they have taken and tells the soldiers to go home. Before threatening, she says she is “quite ready to make peace” if they give back what they have taken.
5. Sample (real decisions): The captains had planned to wait and act cautiously, but Joan pressed for attacks on the bastilles one after another, and the French took Saint-Loup, the Augustins and the Tourelles in four days; at the Tourelles she returned to the fight after being wounded and the assault succeeded. On May 8 she refused to let the French attack on Sunday, a decision with real consequences, and the English withdrew. Sample (inspiration): Dunois and the captains planned the attacks and led the troops; Joan’s gift was to give the army and the city the conviction that God was with them, which turned a demoralized defense into an offensive. Either answer must use specific events.
6. Sample: It fits because she offers peace before battle and tells the soldiers they may go home unharmed if they leave; her stated aim is the restoration of what was taken, not conquest or plunder, which matches a right intention and the aim of peace. A critic might ask about

authority: Joan claims to be sent by God, not by a ruler, so on what authority does she command? Her answer would be that she acts for the Dauphin, the lawful heir, and by God's order; the English would say the lawful king of France was Henry VI under the Treaty of Troyes.

2.7 CONSTANTINOPLE (1453): WALLS AND CANNON

OBJECTIVES

- Describe the Theodosian Walls and the sea defenses of Constantinople and explain why they had held for a thousand years.
- Analyze Mehmed II's siege of April 6 – May 29, 1453: the cannon, the chain across the Golden Horn, the ships carried over land and the final assault.
- Weigh the meaning of the fall: the end of the Roman Empire in the East, the rise of an Ottoman capital, the coming of gunpowder warfare, and the hard question of why Christian Europe sent so little help.

Warm-up. Build a wall of blocks three high and roll a ball at it until it falls. Now build it with a dirt or sand bank piled behind it and try again. In 1453, for the first time, a besieging army brought guns big enough to knock down the greatest walls in the world. Write down one thing the defenders could do about it.

Video slot. Video coming. The fall of Constantinople, 1453: the Theodosian Walls, Mehmed II, Urban's great bombard, the ships over Galata, Giustiniani and Constantine XI. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Byzantine Empire

The name historians give to the Roman Empire in the East, ruled from Constantinople from 330 until 1453. Its people called themselves Romans.

Theodosian Walls

The land walls of Constantinople, built under Emperor Theodosius II from 413 and strengthened after an earthquake in 447: a moat, an outer wall and a taller inner wall with 96 great towers.

Ottoman Empire

The Turkish Muslim state founded around 1300 by Osman, which by 1453 ruled most of Anatolia and the Balkans around the city.

bombard

A very large early cannon that fired great stone balls. Mehmed's largest, cast by the founder Urban, could fire only a few times a day.

Janissaries

The elite infantry of the Ottoman sultan, at this time recruited largely by taking boys from Christian families of the Balkans and training them as soldiers and Muslims.

Golden Horn

The deep inlet on the north side of Constantinople, the city's harbor, closed in time of siege by a great floating chain.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Constantinople stood on a triangle of land with the Sea of Marmara on the south, the Golden Horn on the north, and only one side, the west, open to an army. Across that side, about four miles from sea to harbor, ran the Theodosian Walls: a moat about sixty feet wide, an outer wall, and an inner wall about forty feet high with 96 towers. The sea sides had their own walls, and in war the Golden Horn was closed by a chain on floating logs stretched to Galata on the far shore. These walls had turned back Avars, Persians, Arabs (in 674–678 and 717–718), Bulgars and Russians. Only once had the city been taken, in 1204, by the knights of the Fourth Crusade, attacking from the harbor.

The two rulers. By 1453 the empire was little more than the city itself and a few lands in Greece; its population had shrunk to perhaps 40,000–50,000. Constantine XI Palaiologos, aged forty-eight, was brave, sober and without money. To win help from the West, he had allowed the union of the Greek and Latin churches, agreed at Florence in 1439, to be proclaimed in Hagia Sophia in December 1452, which many of his own people bitterly resented. Mehmed II, sultan of the Ottomans, was twenty-one, learned, ruthless and determined to make the city his capital. In 1452 he built the fortress of Rumeli Hisarı on the Bosphorus to cut the city off from the Black Sea.

The plan. Mehmed brought perhaps 60,000–80,000 men (contemporaries gave much larger numbers) and a fleet of over 100 ships. His great weapon was artillery. A gun founder named Urban, probably from Hungary, had first offered his services to Constantine, who could not pay him. For Mehmed he cast a bombard about 27 feet long that fired stone balls weighing, by contemporary report, well over half a ton. It took dozens of oxen to haul it. Constantine had perhaps 7,000 defenders, including about 2,000 foreigners: Venetians, Catalans and 700 Genoese under Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, a famous defender of walls, who took command of the land walls.

What happened. The siege began on April 6. The guns battered the walls day after day; each night the defenders filled the breaches with earth, timber and barrels, which absorbed the shot better than stone. On April 20 four Christian ships fought their way through the Ottoman fleet into the Golden Horn. Two days later Mehmed had about seventy ships dragged on greased wooden rollers over the hill behind Galata and launched into the Horn above the chain, forcing the defenders to spread their few men along the harbor walls too. Mehmed offered terms: Constantine could leave for Greece in safety if he gave up the city. He answered that it was not in his power to give it. On the evening of May 28, Greeks and Latins prayed together in Hagia Sophia. Before dawn on May 29 the Ottomans attacked in three waves. Giustiniani was badly wounded and carried away, the defense near the Saint Romanus gate faltered, and the Janissaries broke through. Constantine was last seen fighting near the walls, and his body was never certainly identified.

The people. Both rulers were men of courage. Mehmed had planned the siege for years, kept his army fighting through seven weeks of failures, and solved the problem of the chain with a feat of engineering. Constantine refused to flee and died with his city, as he had said he would. The city was given over to plunder, as was the custom in his day when a city refused to surrender and was taken by storm. Many people were killed, and many thousands were taken as slaves. Mehmed entered Hagia Sophia and turned it into a mosque. Within a year he named the scholar Gennadios Scholarios patriarch of the Orthodox Church, and the Christians who remained were governed as a protected community under Ottoman law.

Why it mattered. The Roman Empire that Constantine the Great had moved to this city in 330 ended after 1,233 years. Constantinople, now also called Istanbul, became the Ottoman capital for nearly five centuries, and the Ottomans pressed on into Europe, to the gates of Vienna by 1529 and to the sea battle of Lepanto in the next stop. The siege also showed that gunpowder had ended the age of high, thin walls; within a century Italian engineers were building low, thick, angled forts to resist cannon. Older textbooks say the fall sent Greek scholars to Italy and began the Renaissance; in truth the flow of scholars had begun decades earlier, though 1453 increased it.

A just war, and an unjust silence? Constantine's defense is a plain case of a just cause: a people defending their city from conquest. Mehmed saw his war as the fulfillment of a long Muslim hope to take the city, and in his eyes it was lawful conquest; a fair historian says so. The hardest question falls on the West. The Pope and Venice sent only a few ships and men, and they came too late. Christians who believed the city was a sister church argued and delayed. Augustine counted the protection of the neighbor among the duties of love; how should Christians weigh their failure here?

PICTURE STUDY



Portrait of Sultan Mehmed II, Attributed to Gentile Bellini, 1480 · Oil on canvas (probably transferred from wood), much repainted · The National Gallery, London
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

In 1479 Venice made peace with the Ottomans, and Mehmed asked the Venetians to send him a good painter. They sent Gentile Bellini, who spent over a year at the sultan's court in Constantinople. This portrait, dated 1480, about a year before Mehmed's death, is the best-known likeness of the conqueror. Mehmed was then about forty-eight, the same age Constantine XI had been in 1453. The painting has been damaged and heavily repainted over the centuries, but its design is Bellini's.

Look closely

- Look at the frame. The sultan is shown inside a stone arch, like a window. Where have you seen this kind of frame in Italian portraits?
- Find the crowns in the upper corners. What might three crowns stand for in a portrait of a man who claimed many kingdoms?
- Study the face. What does the painter show about the man's age, health and character?

Talk about it

1. A Christian painter from Venice painted a Muslim sultan who had conquered Constantinople, only twenty-seven years after the city fell. What does that tell you about the relations between Venice and the Ottomans?
2. Is a portrait a primary source? What can this one tell a historian about Mehmed, and what can it not tell?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP CONSTANTINOPLE: THE WALL, THE GUN AND THE CHAIN

Build the triangle of the city with its land walls, sea walls and harbor chain. Test the bombard against stone and against a packed-earth repair, then solve Mehmed's problem of the chain the way he did.

You will need

- A sand table or a large sheet of paper; blue paper for the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn
- Blocks or dominoes for the Theodosian Walls (three lines: moat, outer wall, inner wall); a string of beads or yarn for the chain
- A small ball (the stone shot) and a ruler for a ramp
- A cup of damp sand or a small cushion (the earth-and-timber repairs)
- Two or three toy boats, pencils for rollers, and a book for the hill behind Galata
- About 20 pieces of one color (defenders) and 60 of another (Ottomans)

Steps

1. Lay out the triangle: the Marmara on the south, the Golden Horn on the north with the chain across its mouth to Galata, and three lines of land walls on the west. Count how far it is from sea to harbor on your scale.
2. Set the ball at the top of the ruler ramp and let it roll into a stone (block) section of wall. Record how many blocks fall. Then pack damp sand or the cushion behind and in front of a gap and roll again. Which absorbed the shot better?
3. Spread 20 defenders along the land walls. Now float the boats up to the chain. Can they get into the Horn?
4. Roll the boats over the book "hill" on pencil rollers and launch them into the Horn behind the chain. Move defenders to guard the harbor wall. How many are left on the land walls?
5. Make the final assault: three waves of 20 Ottomans each against the thinnest part of the land wall. Remove a defender each time you roll 5-6 for a wave. After three waves, how many defenders remain?
6. Write two sentences: which problem, the guns or the ships, did more to defeat the defenders, and why?

Check your work

- My city has the land walls, sea walls, the Golden Horn and the chain, with Galata across the harbor.
- I tested shot against stone and against an earth repair and recorded both results.
- I can explain how the ships carried over land stretched the defense.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, the region: the Black Sea, the Bosphorus with Rumeli Hisarı, Constantinople, the Sea of Marmara, the Dardanelles, Edirne (the Ottoman capital before 1453), and the Morea in Greece. Map 2, the city: the triangle, the Theodosian Walls with the moat and the Saint Romanus gate, the sea walls, the Golden Horn and its chain to Galata, the Ottoman camp and guns, the overland route of the ships behind Galata, and Hagia Sophia. Add a title, compass rose, key and scale (about four miles of land walls).
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: “Why did Constantinople fall in 1453 after a thousand years?” Use at least three causes (for example: the empire’s weakness, Mehmed’s guns, the ships over land, the small number of defenders, the lack of help from the West) and two numbers. End with one sentence on Constantine XI’s answer to Mehmed’s offer. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? The Ottomans cast a similar great bronze bombard in 1464, the Dardanelles Gun, which was given to Queen Victoria in 1866 and can be seen today at Fort Nelson, the Royal Armouries’ artillery museum in England. Large stretches of the Theodosian Walls still stand in Istanbul. The name “Istanbul” probably comes from the Greek *eis tēn polin*, “into the city.”

Go deeper. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter 68 (public domain; Project Gutenberg), a famous older narrative of the siege. Sir Edwin Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (1903), public domain. The Royal Armouries (royalarmouries.org) page on the Dardanelles Gun. Second video topic: the Theodosian Walls today, filmed along their length.

Goes deeper in. History, high school “The Medieval World,” the units on the Byzantine Empire and the rise of the Ottomans (coming soon); and Geography, the unit on the Bosphorus, the Balkans and Turkey (coming soon).

For families. No public-domain translation of an eyewitness account (such as the Venetian Nicolò Barbaro’s diary, or the Greek historians Sphrantzes, Doukas and Kritovoulos) could be checked exactly against an approved online source for this stop, so it has no primary-source excerpt; the picture study, a portrait made in Mehmed’s lifetime, serves as the source to analyze. Army sizes and the size of Urban’s shot are given as estimates. The sack and the enslavement of many inhabitants are stated plainly and not described. The story of the Kerkopoporta, a small gate supposedly left open, comes from Doukas and is left out because historians doubt how much it mattered. Constantine’s reply to Mehmed is paraphrased from the Greek sources. The Janissary system is stated as a fact of the period. Just-war questions are raised at this ● Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Name the three parts of the Theodosian land defenses, from the outside in.
2. **EASY** How did Mehmed get his ships into the Golden Horn past the chain?
3. **MEDIUM** The siege lasted from April 6 to May 29, 1453. How many days is that (count both the first and last day)? The empire lasted from the dedication of the city in 330 to 1453. How many years?
4. **MEDIUM** Why did the defenders' nightly repairs of earth, timber and barrels hold up better against cannon than the old stone walls?
5. **CHALLENGE** Mehmed offered Constantine safe conduct to Greece if he surrendered the city. Constantine said it was not in his power to give it. Write a paragraph explaining what he meant and whether his refusal was wise, given that a city taken by storm could be sacked by the custom of the time.
6. **CHALLENGE** Older books say the fall of Constantinople caused the Renaissance and the voyages of discovery. Using what this stop says, explain why historians now treat these claims cautiously, and state a more careful version of each.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Mehmed and the Chain. You are Mehmed II in mid-April 1453. Your guns have broken parts of the land walls, but each night the defenders fill the gaps, and your first assault has failed. Your fleet cannot break the chain across the Golden Horn, and on April 20 four Christian ships fought their way through your galleys into the harbor. Your officers are grumbling, and some urge you to make peace. Choose before you read on: (a) keep battering the land walls and wait; (b) try to break the chain with a massed attack by the fleet; (c) bring ships into the Golden Horn by another route. Write your choice and two reasons. **What happened:** Mehmed chose (c). He built a track of greased timbers over the hill behind Galata and on April 22 hauled about seventy ships overland into the Horn, so the defenders had to guard the harbor walls too. Now switch sides: you are Constantine XI. Mehmed offers you safe conduct to Greece if you surrender. What do you answer? (He said it was not in his power to give the city.)

Scripture. "Except the LORD build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the LORD keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." (Psalm 127:1, KJV)

The walls of Constantinople were the finest in the world, and for a thousand years watchmen kept them. Yet in 1453 they fell. Solomon does not say that walls and watchmen are useless; he says that no human work is the final safety of a city. Christians in every age are called to build well and watch faithfully, and to trust God, not the wall.

Practice: answers

1. The moat, the outer wall, and the inner wall (the tallest, with 96 great towers).
2. He had about seventy ships dragged on greased wooden rollers over the hill behind Galata and launched into the Horn above the chain, on April 22, 1453.

3. April 6–30 is 25 days, and May 1–29 is 29 days: 54 days counting both ends (often given as 53 days of siege). $1453 - 330 = 1,123$ years.
4. Stone is hard and brittle; a heavy shot cracks it and knocks it down. Packed earth and timber are soft and give way a little, absorbing the force of the shot without collapsing, and they can be rebuilt quickly each night.
5. Sample: Constantine meant that the city was not his private property but a trust held for its people, its Church and the Roman name; an emperor could die for it but not hand it over. His refusal cost many lives, since a city taken by storm could be given over to plunder, and a surrender might have spared the people. On the other hand, surrender would have ended the empire just as surely, and Constantine still hoped help might come from the West. Many judge his choice as noble rather than prudent: he chose to share the fate of his people rather than save himself. Students may argue either side if they weigh the cost to the people.
6. Sample: Greek scholars had been coming to Italy for decades before 1453 (for example, to teach Greek and to attend the Council of Florence in 1439), so the Renaissance was already underway; 1453 added more scholars and manuscripts but did not start it. The Portuguese were exploring the African coast long before 1453, and Ottoman control did not simply close the trade routes. Careful versions: the fall strengthened the flow of Greek learning to the West, and it increased the pressure on Europeans to find sea routes to the East that did not pass through Ottoman lands.

2.8 LEPANTO (1571): THE GALLEYS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how a galley fought and how the Holy League's formation, its galleasses and its guns beat a larger Ottoman fleet off the Gulf of Patras on October 7, 1571.
- Weigh what Lepanto achieved and what it did not, from the freeing of thousands of captives to the fall of Cyprus and the quick rebuilding of the Ottoman fleet.
- Read Miguel de Cervantes's own words about the battle in which he was wounded and use them to think about honor, sacrifice and just war.

Warm-up. Sit on the floor with a broom handle and "row" for one minute, pulling hard and steadily. A galley oar was far heavier: three to five men pulled each one, and a large galley might have about 25 oars on each side. Count your strokes in one minute and multiply by a two-hour battle. Who do you think did that work?

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Lepanto, 1571: the Holy League, Don John of Austria, Ali Pasha, galleys and galleasses, the battle formations; Cervantes at Lepanto. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Simple History, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

galley

A long, narrow warship driven by oars, with sails for cruising. It fought bow-first, with guns in the bow and soldiers who boarded the enemy ship.

galleass

A large, high-sided Venetian galley armed with many guns along its sides as well as at the bow and stern, like a floating fortress.

Holy League

The alliance formed in May 1571 by Pope Pius V, Spain and Venice, with Genoa, Savoy, the Knights of Malta and other Italian states, against the Ottoman Empire.

galley slave

A rower forced to work the oars: a captive, a slave or a convict. Both fleets at Lepanto used them, though Venice also used paid free oarsmen.

Cyprus

A Venetian island in the eastern Mediterranean invaded by the Ottomans in 1570. Its last fortress, Famagusta, surrendered in August 1571, before Lepanto was fought.

boarding

Fighting by bringing two ships together and sending soldiers across onto the enemy deck. Most of the fighting at Lepanto was decided this way.

CORE IDEAS

The road to Lepanto. By 1570 the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim II controlled the eastern Mediterranean, the coast of North Africa and the Balkans, and its fleets and the Barbary corsairs raided Christian coasts for captives. That year an Ottoman army invaded Venetian Cyprus. Nicosia fell in September 1570, and Famagusta held out until August 1571; after its surrender its commander, Marcantonio Bragadin, was put to death despite the terms. Pope Pius V worked for months to bring Spain and Venice, old rivals, into a Holy League, signed in May 1571. Command was given to Don John of Austria, the twenty-four-year-old half-brother of King Philip II of Spain.

The map. The League's fleet gathered at Messina in Sicily and sailed east to the coast of Greece. The Ottoman fleet under Müezzinzade Ali Pasha lay in the harbor of Lepanto (Naupaktos) inside the Gulf of Corinth. On the morning of Sunday, October 7, the two fleets met at the mouth of the Gulf of Patras, near the Curzolari (Echinades) islands. The League had about 206 galleys and 6 galleasses; the Ottomans about 220–230 galleys and some 50–60 smaller galliots. Perhaps 140,000 men in all, soldiers, sailors and oarsmen, were afloat. The northern wings of both fleets lay close to the shore, among shoals.

The plan. Galleys fought bow to bow, so both fleets formed long lines abreast, each with a left wing, a center and a right wing; the League also kept a reserve under the Marquis of Santa Cruz. Don John placed the six Venetian galleasses about a mile in front of his line, two before each division, and had the iron rams cut off the bows of his galleys so their bow guns could fire lower and straight ahead. He also had more guns and more soldiers in armor with firearms, while many Ottoman fighters still used the composite bow. The Ottomans, who had more ships, hoped to use their speed to get around the League's ends.

What happened. As the Ottoman line advanced, the galleasses opened fire with their broadsides, damaging many galleys and breaking up the formation. On the League's left, near the shore, the Venetian commander Agostino Barbarigo was mortally wounded, but his wing pressed the Ottoman right against the coast. In the center, Don John's flagship, the *Real*, met Ali Pasha's *Sultana*, and soldiers fought across the decks for perhaps two hours. Ali Pasha was killed and the *Sultana* was captured. On the League's right, the Algerian commander Uluç Ali drew Gian Andrea Doria's wing out to sea, slipped through a gap and attacked the galleys of the Knights of Malta; Santa Cruz's reserve came up, and Uluç Ali escaped with part of his squadron. By late afternoon the battle was over.

The people. The numbers are uncertain, but the Ottomans may have lost about 25,000–30,000 men killed or captured and nearly all their galleys taken or destroyed, about 117 of them captured; the League lost about 7,500–8,000 dead. About 12,000–15,000 Christian captives who had been rowing in the Ottoman galleys were set free. Among the League's wounded was a twenty-four-year-old Spanish soldier, Miguel de Cervantes, who had been ill with fever and insisted on fighting; he was shot twice in the chest and his left hand was maimed for life. Ali Pasha was remembered by Muslim and Christian writers alike as a brave and honorable commander.

Why it mattered. Lepanto broke the belief that the Ottoman fleet could not be beaten at sea. Across Catholic Europe it was celebrated with bells, sermons and paintings; Pope Pius V had asked Christians to pray the Rosary for the fleet, and the feast later called Our Lady of the Rosary recalls the victory. But its results were limited. Cyprus was already lost. Within a year the Ottomans had built a new fleet of about 150 galleys, and in 1573 Venice made a separate peace and gave up Cyprus. Still, the Ottomans never again had such command of the western and central Mediterranean, and Lepanto was the last great battle fought mainly by oared galleys.

A just war? The League's cause was largely defensive: Ottoman fleets had taken Cyprus and raided Christian coasts for slaves for decades. Yet galley slavery shows how a just cause can live beside grave wrongs. The Ottoman galleys were rowed largely by Christian captives, but many League galleys were also rowed by convicts and by Muslim slaves, who were not freed after the victory. Augustine taught that a just war must aim at peace and be fought without cruelty; Aquinas required a right intention. A Christian can honor the courage of Lepanto and still name the chains on both sides.

PICTURE STUDY



*The Battle of Lepanto, 7 October 1571, Unknown artist, Late 16th century · Oil on canvas · National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain*

This painting was made by an unknown artist not long after the battle, when Lepanto was the most celebrated event in Europe. Unlike later romantic paintings that show a few ships up close, it tries to show the whole battle from a high viewpoint, with the shape of the fleets and the coast. Look at it the way an admiral would, and then the way a rower would.

Look closely

- Find the coastline. On which side of the painting is the land, and how close are the nearest ships to it?
- Look for the largest ships among the long galleys. Could any of them be galleasses? What makes them look different?
- Find the oars. In how many places can you see them? What does that remind you about who was below the decks?

Talk about it

1. A painting from the high viewpoint shows the formations, not the faces. Why might a painter of the 1570s have chosen this view?
2. This painting and others like it were made to celebrate a Christian victory. What would you expect an Ottoman account of the battle to emphasize instead?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP LEPANTO: LINES ABREAST

Set out both fleets on a floor or table in their real formation, with the coast to the north. Fight the battle wing by wing, using the galleasses and the reserve as Don John did, and see why galleys fought bow-first.

You will need

- A blue sheet, towel or floor space for the sea; a strip of brown paper for the north coast and two small rocks for the Curzolari islands
- About 40 paper or block “galleys” in one color (Holy League) and 45 in another (Ottoman), all pointing bow-forward; 6 larger blocks for the galleasses
- Masking tape to mark three wings and a reserve for each fleet
- A die and a ruler
- The primary source in this stop

Steps

1. Mark the coast along the north edge. Set the League in four groups: left wing (10, near the shore), center (14), right wing (11, out to sea) and reserve (5, behind the center). Put two galleasses about 6 inches in front of each wing and the center.
2. Set the Ottomans facing them: right wing (12, near the shore), center (18), left wing (15, out to sea and stretching past the League’s right).
3. Advance the Ottomans 6 inches. As they pass each galleass, roll the die for each galley in that group: on 5–6 it is damaged and turned around. Remove the damaged galleys from the line.
4. Fight the center by boarding: each pair of opposing galleys rolls; the League wins on 4–6 (more armored soldiers with firearms), the Ottomans on 1–3. Count the results.
5. Fight the seaward wing: let the Ottoman left slip around the end of the League’s right. Then bring up the reserve. Does it arrive in time?
6. Read Cervantes’s words in the primary source aloud. Write two sentences on why, more than forty years later, he still called Lepanto “the grandest occasion.”

Check your work

- My fleets are in three wings each, with the League reserve and the galleasses in front, and the coast to the north.
- I played the galleass fire, the boarding in the center and the fight on the seaward wing.
- I can explain why galleys fought in a long line abreast rather than in a column.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. Map 1, the Mediterranean in 1571: Venice, Rome, Messina, Malta, Constantinople, Cyprus with Famagusta, the coast of Greece, the Gulf of Corinth with Lepanto (Naupaktos), and the route of the League fleet from Messina. Map 2, the battle: the north coast and shoals, the Curzolari islands, the mouth of the Gulf of Patras, the League's three wings, reserve and galleasses (blue), the Ottoman wings (red), the clash of the flagships in the center, and Uluç Ali's move around the seaward end. Add a title, compass rose, key and the date: Sunday, October 7, 1571.
2. **Narration (parent keeps).** Write one paragraph of eight to ten sentences: "What did Lepanto change, and what did it not change?" Include the formation, the galleasses, at least three numbers, the freeing of captives, the loss of Cyprus and the rebuilding of the Ottoman fleet. End with one sentence about Cervantes. Date it and give it to a parent for the portfolio.

Did you know? Cervantes went on to write *Don Quixote* (Part I 1605, Part II 1615), often called the first modern novel. After Lepanto he was captured at sea by Barbary corsairs in 1575 and spent five years as a captive in Algiers, trying to escape four times, before he was ransomed. In 1911 G. K. Chesterton wrote the ballad "Lepanto," whose drumming lines about Don John have been recited by students ever since.

Primary source. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote, Part II (1615), "The Author's Preface,"* translated by John Ormsby (1885); text from Project Gutenberg. Cervantes is answering a writer who had mocked him as old and one-handed.

What I cannot help taking amiss is that he charges me with being old and one-handed, as if it had been in my power to keep time from passing over me, or as if the loss of my hand had been brought about in some tavern, and not on the grandest occasion the past or present has seen, or the future can hope to see. If my wounds have no beauty to the beholder's eye, they are, at least, honourable in the estimation of those who know where they were received; for the soldier shows to greater advantage dead in battle than alive in flight; and so strongly is this my feeling, that if now it were proposed to perform an impossibility for me, I would rather have had my share in that mighty action, than be free from my wounds this minute without having been present at it.

Go deeper. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Part I, chapters 39–41, "The Captive's Tale," in which a soldier tells of Lepanto and captivity in Algiers (Ormsby translation,

Project Gutenberg). G. K. Chesterton, “Lepanto” (1911), public domain and widely reprinted in anthologies. The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (rmg.co.uk) collections pages for paintings and prints of the battle. Second video topic: how a Mediterranean war galley was built and rowed.

Goes deeper in. History, high school “The Medieval World” and “The Early Modern World,” the units on the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean (coming soon); Literature, for Cervantes and Chesterton’s “Lepanto” (coming soon); and Art, for Veronese and the painting of Lepanto in Venice (coming soon).

For families. Fleet sizes and losses at Lepanto vary by source; the stop gives the usual modern estimates and ranges. Cervantes did not lose his left hand; it was maimed and he lost the use of it, which is why he was nicknamed “the one-handed man of Lepanto.” The Ormsby translation says “the loss of my hand,” and the excerpt is copied exactly. Bragadin’s death is stated plainly and not described. The prayer of the Rosary for the fleet and the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary are Catholic devotions; Protestant families may simply note them as history. Galley slavery on both sides is named plainly. The painting at Greenwich is by an unknown artist and is dated broadly to the late 16th century. Just-war questions are raised at this ● Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Name the three main members of the Holy League and the commander of its fleet.
2. **EASY** What was a galleass, and how did the galleasses help at Lepanto?
3. **MEDIUM** Why did Don John cut the rams off the bows of his galleys?
4. **MEDIUM** In the primary source, Cervantes says the soldier “shows to greater advantage dead in battle than alive in flight.” Restate his argument in your own words. Do you agree?
5. **CHALLENGE** A famous remark attributed to the Ottoman grand vizier after Lepanto compares the loss of Cyprus to cutting off an arm, which does not grow back, and the loss of the fleet to shaving a beard, which grows back thicker. Using facts from the stop, explain how far this was true, and what Lepanto did change.
6. **CHALLENGE** Both fleets used galley slaves. Using Augustine’s teaching that a just war must aim at peace and be fought without cruelty, write a paragraph that honors the courage of Lepanto while naming this wrong plainly.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Messina, September 1571. You are Don John of Austria, twenty-four years old, commanding the largest Christian fleet ever gathered. Your scouts report the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in the Gulf of Corinth. Some of the Spanish commanders warn that losing the fleet would leave Spain’s coasts and Italy open to raids, and the season for galley fighting is ending. The Venetians, whose island of Cyprus is under attack, want battle. Choose before you read on: (a) stay in Sicily and guard the coasts until spring; (b) sail east and seek out the Ottoman fleet now; (c) sail to Cyprus to try to relieve Famagusta directly. Write your choice and two reasons. **What**

happened: Don John chose (b). The fleet sailed east and met the Ottomans on October 7; on the way it learned that Famagusta had already fallen, which hardened the resolve to fight. Now switch sides: you are Ali Pasha in the harbor of Lepanto. Your fleet is larger, but some of your officers advise staying behind the fortress guns. Do you come out and fight? (Ali Pasha came out, under orders from Constantinople to seek battle.)

Scripture. “Which executeth judgment for the oppressed: which giveth food to the hungry. The LORD looseth the prisoners:” (Psalm 146:7, KJV)

When the Ottoman galleys were taken, thousands of Christian rowers, some chained to their oars for years, were set free. The psalmist praises God who loosens the prisoner’s chains. The same verse is a standard for those who celebrate the victory: the God who frees captives cares about every man in chains, on every bench.

Practice: answers

1. Pope Pius V (the Papal States), Spain and Venice; the commander was Don John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II.
2. A large, high-sided Venetian galley with many guns, including along its sides. Placed in front of the League’s line, they fired into the advancing Ottoman galleys and broke up their formation before the lines met.
3. So the bow guns could be mounted lower and fire straight ahead at close range into the enemy’s hulls and decks just before the ships met. In galley warfare, firepower and boarding mattered more than ramming by 1571.
4. Sample: He is saying that wounds received in a great and honorable fight are a badge of honor, not shame, and that a soldier who dies doing his duty is more admirable than one who saves himself by running away. He would rather have his wounds and his part in Lepanto than be whole and absent. Answers should give a reason, for example agreeing because duty matters more than comfort, or adding that courage and a just cause, not mere fighting, are what make wounds honorable.
5. Sample: It was largely true in the short run. Within a year the Ottomans had built about 150 new galleys, and in 1573 Venice made a separate peace and gave up Cyprus, so the League gained no territory. But some things could not be rebuilt so fast: thousands of trained archers, sailors and experienced officers had been lost, the belief that the Ottoman fleet was unbeatable was broken, and the Ottomans never again had such command of the central and western Mediterranean. Lepanto changed confidence and the balance at sea more than the map.
6. Sample: The League fought to defend Christian lands and peoples from conquest and from raids that carried thousands into slavery, a just cause, and men like Don John and Cervantes fought with real courage. The victory freed about 12,000–15,000 Christian captives. Yet many League galleys were themselves rowed by convicts and Muslim slaves who were not freed, and the same evil the League opposed was practiced on its own benches. Augustine would say that a just cause does not excuse cruelty, and that a war aimed at peace must also respect the dignity of every man. We can honor the courage and the cause and still say plainly that the chains below the decks were wrong.

TRAIL 2 BADGE QUIZZES

The badge quizzes are optional and may be taken open-notebook. Answer in complete sentences; challenge items need a short paragraph. Badge quiz 1 covers Stops 1-5 (four of five correct earns part 1); Badge quiz 2 covers Stops 6-8 (five of six correct, or a strong paragraph on item 11, earns part 2). Badges and the certificate are earned by doing the stops, not by scores.

Badge quiz 1 (Stops 1-5)

1. How did Charles Martel use the ground and his formation at Tours, and what is one reason historians disagree about how much the battle mattered?
2. Give two reasons the English shield wall at Hastings finally broke, and say whose point of view the Bayeux Tapestry tells.
3. Why is Hattin called a battle lost on the march?
4. What is a schiltrun, and why did the English cavalry fail against it at Bannockburn?
5. Explain how the field at Agincourt worked against the French, and state plainly the hardest just-war question about Henry V's conduct.

Badge quiz 2 (Stops 6-8)

6. What did Joan of Arc offer the English in her letter of March 22, 1429, before she threatened them?
7. Put in order with dates: the Tourelles falls; Charles VII is crowned at Reims; the nullification trial declares Joan's condemnation null.
8. Name two ways Mehmed II overcame the defenses of Constantinople in 1453.
9. Why do historians now treat the claim that the fall of Constantinople began the Renaissance with caution?
10. What did Lepanto change, and what did it not change?
11. Challenge: Choose two battles from this trail. For each, apply Aquinas's three conditions for a just war (rightful authority, just cause, right intention) and give a fair verdict in a short paragraph.

TRAIL CERTIFICATE: MY MIDDLE AGES BATTLE ATLAS AND TRAIL B CERTIFICATE

Gather the terrain maps, tabletop records and notebook pages from this trail into one atlas with a cover: "My Middle Ages Battle Atlas, 732-1571," your name and the dates you started and finished. Add a timeline page with all eight battles in order and a map of Europe and the Mediterranean with each battle marked.

Include the eight narration paragraphs the parent kept, each dated.

Write a final essay of 500-700 words: "What wins battles?" Use at least four battles from this trail as evidence (for example, ground, water, weapons, leadership, faith and morale), quote at least one primary source from the trail, and include one paragraph applying the just-war tradition fairly to one battle.

When the atlas and essay are complete, a parent signs the Trail B certificate.

- **Maps and tabletop records:** Eight labeled terrain maps, each with a title, compass rose, key and scale, and a written record of each tabletop activity.
- **Use of evidence:** Narrations and the final essay use correct dates and numbers (given as ranges where uncertain) and quote at least one primary source accurately, naming its author and date.
- **Fair judgment:** Both sides are described in the terms of their own time; wrongs are named plainly; the just-war paragraph applies Augustine's or Aquinas's conditions correctly.
- **Writing and care:** Paragraphs are well organized with clear claims and reasons; maps and pages are neat, labeled and dated.

Answer key

1. He chose rising ground with woods on his flanks and formed his veteran infantry in a deep, close block, so the Umayyad cavalry had to charge his front uphill. Historians disagree because Gibbon saw it as saving Europe, while many modern historians think the expedition was a great raid that would have turned back anyway, and Charles still had to fight Umayyad forces later in the 730s.
2. Any two: groups of English left the wall to chase real or feigned Norman flights and were cut down; the long day of archery and repeated attacks thinned it; Harold's brothers and then Harold were killed; the army was tired from Stamford Bridge and the march. The tapestry tells the Norman side, probably made for Bishop Odo, though likely stitched by English needlewomen.
3. King Guy left the springs of Sephoria and marched about 16 miles across a waterless plateau in July while Saladin's horse archers slowed the army; it camped without water, smoke from grass fires drifted through the camp, and the thirsty army was surrounded near the Horns of Hattin and destroyed on July 4, 1187.
4. A dense block of Scottish spearmen with long spears. Horses will not charge onto a hedge of points, and on the crowded, wet carse between the Bannock Burn and the Pelstream the English cavalry could not get around the schiltrons' flanks, while their archers were scattered by Keith's light horse.
5. The field between the woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt narrowed toward the English, was freshly plowed and soaked with rain, so the armored French were crowded and exhausted in the mud under arrow fire, and could not use their numbers. The hardest question is Henry's order to kill prisoners when he feared a new attack; surrendered men are under protection in the just-war tradition.
6. Peace: she said she was ready to make peace if they gave back to France what they had taken and gave up the keys of the towns, and she told the soldiers before Orléans to go home.
7. May 7, 1429, the Tourelles falls; July 17, 1429, coronation at Reims; 1456, the nullification.
8. Any two: great cannon, including Urban's bombard, that battered the Theodosian Walls; dragging about seventy ships over the hill behind Galata into the Golden Horn past the chain; the Rumeli Hisar fortress cutting off help from the Black Sea; massed final assaults in three waves, ending with the Janissaries.
9. Greek scholars had been coming to Italy for decades before 1453, for example for the Council of Florence in 1439, so the Renaissance was already underway; the fall increased the flow of scholars and manuscripts but did not start it.

10. It changed: it broke the belief that the Ottoman fleet was unbeatable, destroyed or captured nearly all its galleys and many experienced men, freed about 12,000–15,000 Christian captives, and the Ottomans never again had such command of the central and western Mediterranean. It did not change: Cyprus was already lost and Venice gave it up in 1573, and the Ottomans built a new fleet within a year.
11. Sample: Bannockburn: authority is disputed because Bruce took the throne after killing Comyn and was excommunicated, but he was crowned at Scone and accepted by most Scots; the cause, defense of a kingdom against conquest, was just; the intention, as the Declaration of Arbroath puts it, was freedom, not plunder; a just defensive war, fought by a king with a grave wrong in his past. Constantinople: Constantine XI had rightful authority as emperor, his cause was the defense of his city and people, and he refused to save himself by surrender; a clear case of a just defense. Answers should state the conditions correctly and treat both sides fairly.

GREAT BATTLES ✕ TRAIL C: THE AGE OF SAIL AND THE AMERICAN FOUNDING

The third trail of the Great Battles track follows eight battles from 1588 to 1805: the Spanish Armada, the relief of Vienna and the winged hussars, Quebec and the climb to the Plains of Abraham, Lexington and Concord, Trenton, Saratoga, Yorktown and Trafalgar. Each battle is taught through **the map** (land, river and sea), **the plan, the people** (their courage, faith and choices) and **why it mattered**. Together they trace the rise of sailing navies, the struggle for North America and the founding of the United States.

This is the ● **Expert** level, for ages 14 and up, at high-school depth. Each stop takes 35 to 50 minutes and adds numbers, causes and honest complexity; a primary source copied from Project Gutenberg or the Avalon Project (the Armada stop uses the Armada Portrait instead); a just-war question drawing on Augustine and Thomas Aquinas; a written narration for the parent to keep; and a “Go deeper” list. Every stop has a **terrain map** to draw, a **tabletop** battle with simple rules, and a “**Choose your move**” puzzle in which the student makes the commander’s decision before learning what happened. Casualties are given as numbers, deaths are stated plainly but not described, both sides are described fairly in the terms of their own time, and uncertain numbers and legends are labeled as such.

Five stops earn the **Battle Expert badge, part 1**, and all eight earn part 2 and the **Trail C certificate**. The two badge quizzes at the end are optional; badges are earned by doing the stops and keeping the notebook, not by scores.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

- Read a page of eighteenth-century English (long sentences, old spellings) and summarize it in your own words.
- Find Spain, England, the English Channel, Austria, Poland, Canada, the thirteen colonies and the Chesapeake Bay on a map; Trails A and B are helpful but not required.

MASTERY CHECKLIST

- ☐ I can put the eight battles of this trail in order with their years and locate each on a map.
- ☐ I can explain how wind, tide, rivers, cliffs or ice shaped at least four of these battles.
- ☐ I can explain why Saratoga brought France into the war and why the French fleet made Yorktown possible.
- ☐ I can read a primary source, name its author, date and point of view, and say what it can and cannot prove.
- ☐ I can state Aquinas’s three conditions for a just war and apply them, with fairness to both sides, to at least two battles on this trail.

OPTIONAL BOOKS AND RESOURCES

- **The Avalon Project (Yale Law School)** (<https://avalon.law.yale.edu>): Free texts of the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms (1775), the Treaty of Alliance with France (1778), the Articles of Capitulation at Yorktown (1781) and the Treaty of Paris (1783).
- **Project Gutenberg** (<https://www.gutenberg.org>): Free primary sources and classics for this trail: Paine's *The American Crisis*, the 1759 *Journal of the Siege of Quebec*, Beatty's *Death of Lord Nelson*, Malden's *Vienna 1683*, Southey's *Life of Nelson* and Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.
- **American Battlefield Trust** (<https://www.battlefields.org>): Free maps, articles and short videos on Lexington and Concord, Trenton, Saratoga and Yorktown.
- **National Park Service: Minute Man, Saratoga and Colonial (Yorktown) National Historical Parks** (<https://www.nps.gov>): Battlefield maps, virtual tours and visit plans; search the park names.
- **Royal Museums Greenwich** (<https://www.rmg.co.uk>): The Armada Portrait, Devis's *Death of Nelson*, Trafalgar collections and the Tilbury speech.

3.1 THE SPANISH ARMADA (1588): GALLEONS, GUNS AND PROVIDENCE

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the political, religious and commercial causes of the war between Philip II's Spain and Elizabeth I's England.
- Analyze the Spanish plan (join the Armada to Parma's army) and the English answer (long-range gunnery from upwind), and explain why neither worked as intended until the fireships at Calais.
- Read the Armada Portrait as a primary source and evaluate the war by the just-war conditions of Augustine and Aquinas.

Warm-up. In 1588 the Spanish called their fleet the “Most Fortunate Armada.” Within three months about half its ships were lost, most of them not to English guns but to wind, rocks and hunger. Before you read, write one sentence: what is the difference between a battle being won and a campaign being won?

Video slot. Video coming. The Spanish Armada, 1588: causes, the Enterprise of England, the Channel fights, the fireships at Calais, Gravelines and the wrecks off Ireland; a second video on the Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Royal Museums Greenwich, The History Guy, Simple History); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Enterprise of England

Philip II's name for his plan of 1588: a fleet from Spain would sail up the Channel and protect the crossing of the Duke of Parma's army from Flanders to Kent.

race-built galleon

A lower, longer English warship design, improved under John Hawkins, built to sail closer to the wind and fight with guns rather than by boarding.

weather gauge

The position upwind of the enemy. The fleet that holds it chooses when to attack and at what range.

fireship

An old vessel loaded with tar, pitch and timber, set alight and sent with the wind and tide into an anchored fleet.

Old Style and New Style

The Julian calendar (Old Style), still used in England in 1588, ran ten days behind the Gregorian calendar (New Style) that Spain had adopted in 1582.

just war

The Christian teaching, from Augustine and set out by Thomas Aquinas, that a war may be lawful only if it is waged by rightful authority, for a just cause and with right intention.

CORE IDEAS

The map. The English Channel narrows from more than 100 miles at its western mouth to about 21 at the Strait of Dover, and in summer its winds blow mostly from the west. A fleet entering from the Atlantic could run easily up the Channel but would find it hard to beat back against the wind. At the eastern end lay the Spanish Netherlands, where the Duke of Parma, Philip II's finest general, had gathered perhaps 17,000 veteran soldiers and a fleet of river barges near Dunkirk and Nieuwpoort. But that coast was a maze of sandbanks with no deep-water harbor, and in the shallows waited the light "flyboats" of the Dutch rebels under Justin of Nassau. The great ships of Spain could not come close enough to protect the barges, and the barges could not go out to meet them.

The people. The war had many causes. Philip II, king of Spain and Portugal and ruler of much of the Americas, saw himself as the defender of the Catholic Church. Pope Pius V had excommunicated Elizabeth I in 1570, and Pope Sixtus V promised Philip money if England were conquered. Elizabeth had sent an English army to help the Dutch Protestants who rebelled against Philip (the Treaty of Nonsuch, 1585), and her captains, Francis Drake above all, had raided Spanish treasure fleets and colonies for years. The execution of the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, in February 1587 removed the Catholic heir Philip had hoped would follow Elizabeth. Drake's raid on Cádiz that April delayed the Armada a year. When Philip's veteran admiral, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, died in February 1588, command passed to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, an able administrator who protested that he knew little of the sea. England's fleet was led by Lord Howard of Effingham, with Drake, John Hawkins and Martin Frobisher. Men on both sides believed they were defending the true faith and their homes.

The plan. About 130 ships sailed from Lisbon in May 1588 with roughly 30,000 men, nearly two thirds of them soldiers. Spanish captains trusted in grappling and boarding, the method that had won at Lepanto in 1571. The English, with nearly 200 vessels of all sizes but only about 34 royal warships, planned to stay upwind and fight with their guns. The Spanish answer was a disciplined crescent, the strongest ships on the horns, with orders to keep formation and reach Parma.

What happened. From July 31 to August 4 (New Style) the fleets fought off Plymouth, Portland and the Isle of Wight. English gunners fired thousands of rounds at long range, but the crescent held, and only two Spanish ships were lost, both by accident. On August 6 Medina Sidonia anchored off Calais and learned that Parma would need days to embark, even if the Dutch let him out. Just after midnight on August 8, eight fireships came down on the wind and tide. They burned nothing, but captains cut their cables and the formation broke. At Gravelines that day the English closed to short range for the first time, and several Spanish ships were sunk or driven aground. A southwesterly wind then pushed the Armada into the North Sea. It sailed home around Scotland and Ireland, where September gales wrecked perhaps two dozen ships on the Irish coast alone. About 65 to 70 ships returned. Perhaps 15,000 to 20,000 Spaniards died, mostly from shipwreck, hunger and disease. Fewer

than 100 Englishmen were probably killed in battle, but thousands of English sailors died of sickness that autumn while waiting for their pay.

Why it mattered. England kept its queen and its Protestant church, and the Dutch revolt survived. Yet the war was not over: an English counter-armada to Portugal in 1589 failed badly, Spain sent fleets again in 1596 and 1597, and peace came only in 1604. Spanish sea power recovered quickly. The lasting change was in ideas: English sailors had seen that ships built to fight with guns could defeat a fleet built for boarding, and England began to think of the sea as its wall.

A just-war question. Augustine taught that war may be waged only to restrain wrongdoing and to restore peace, and Thomas Aquinas, in the *Summa Theologica* (II-II, question 40), named three conditions: the authority of the ruler, a just cause and a right intention. Philip had a king's authority and could point to real wrongs: English aid to his rebels and years of raiding. Elizabeth could answer that she was defending her realm against invasion. The harder question is intention. Did Philip fight to right wrongs, to restore a faith by force, or to win a kingdom? Did Elizabeth's captains fight for England or for plunder? Thoughtful Christians in both nations asked such questions then, and you will ask them in the practice.

PICTURE STUDY



Elizabeth I (the "Armada Portrait"), Unknown English artist (formerly attributed to George Gower), about 1588 · Oil on oak panel · Three versions survive: the Queen's House, Greenwich (Royal Museums Greenwich); Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire; and the National Portrait Gallery, London (cut down at the sides)
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

This is a primary source, though not a written one. It was painted soon after the Armada to celebrate it, and every object in it was chosen to send a message. Historians read it the way they read a speech: who made it, for whom, and what did they want people to believe?

Look closely

- Compare the two windows. In the left, English fireships move toward the Spanish fleet under a bright sky; in the right, Spanish ships are wrecked on a rocky coast in a storm. What story do the two windows tell together?
- Find the queen's hand on the globe. Which part of the world is under her fingers? Find the crown on the table beside her.
- Count how the painter uses pearls, light and symmetry. Where is the queen's face placed, and why?

Talk about it

1. The portrait gives credit both to English action (the fireships) and to the storm. What does that suggest the English believed about how the Armada was defeated?
2. What does a portrait like this leave out? Name two facts from the core ideas that it does not show.

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP ARMADA: RANGE, WIND AND THE CRESCENT

Fight the Channel battles on a table with simple rules for wind and gun range, and test why a week of English gunnery did so little until the crescent broke.

You will need

- A blue sheet or poster board about 4 feet long (the Channel); a strip of brown paper for the Flanders sandbanks
- About 20 tokens in one color (Spanish) and 15 in another (English); mark 4 Spanish tokens with a star as the strong ships on the horns
- Three red paper boats (fireships)
- Two lengths of string: 12 inches (long-range English culverin fire) and 4 inches (close range, where the heavy guns of both sides could hit hard)
- One die; a pencil and the Armada Portrait for reference

Steps

1. Lay out England, France, Plymouth, the Isle of Wight, Calais, Gravelines and the sandbanks. Mark the wind as blowing from the west.
2. Set the Spanish crescent with the starred ships on the horns. The English start behind (west of) it, upwind.
3. Rules: ships may move 6 inches toward the wind's direction but only 2 inches against it. A ship can fire at any target within its string length. At long range a hit needs a 6; at close range, a 4 or more. A Spanish ship that reaches an English ship and rolls a 5 or 6 may board and capture it. A ship hit three times is out.
4. Play three turns of the running fight. Record how many hits each side makes. Then move the crescent to Calais, pack it close, and send in the fireships: every Spanish

token touched by a fireship must move 6 inches in a random direction (roll the die and point).

5. Play three turns of Gravelines with the scattered fleet. Compare your results before and after the fireships.
6. Write two sentences: why did long-range fire fail, and what did the fireships change?

Check your work

- My Channel shows the westerly wind, Calais, Gravelines and the shallow banks of Flanders.
- I recorded hits before and after the fireships and compared them.
- I can explain why English tactics worked only after the crescent broke.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw western Europe from Lisbon to Norway, with the British Isles. Label the Atlantic, the English Channel, the Lizard, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, the Strait of Dover, Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Nieuwpoort, the Flanders banks, the North Sea, Scotland and Ireland. Mark Parma's army in Flanders. In red, trace the Armada's route out and home; mark the dates of the five actions (New Style); put x's for wrecks off Ireland. Add the prevailing wind, a scale bar, a compass rose and a key.
2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7-10 sentences) that a parent will keep: "Why the Enterprise of England Failed." Weigh at least four causes (Parma's position, the shallow coast, English ships and guns, the fireships, the weather, supply and sickness) and say which mattered most and why.

Did you know? Divers and archaeologists have studied Armada wrecks off Ireland and Scotland since the 1960s. Some heavy Spanish guns appear to have been mounted on clumsy two-wheeled field carriages that were slow to reload at sea, which may help explain why the English could fire faster. After the campaign a Dutch medal bore God's name in Hebrew letters and the Latin words *Flavit et dissipati sunt*, "He blew and they were scattered," and Elizabeth held a service of thanksgiving at St Paul's Cathedral.

Go deeper. Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (1959), a classic narrative that tells the story from both courts; Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (1988, revised 1999), which uses the evidence of the wrecks; Royal Museums Greenwich, the online pages on the Armada Portrait and the Armada (rmg.co.uk). Second video topic: the Armada wrecks on the coast of Ireland (Streedagh Strand).

Goes deeper in. History, the Reformation and the Age of Exploration (coming soon); Geography, the British Isles and the seas of northern Europe; Earth Science, prevailing westerlies and Atlantic storms; Art, reading symbols in Renaissance portraits.

For families. Dates are New Style (Gregorian), the calendar Spain used; English records are ten days earlier (Gravelines was July 29 Old Style). Ship and casualty numbers vary by source, so ranges are given. Elizabeth's famous Tilbury speech (August 9 Old Style) is not quoted here: the best-known text comes from a letter by Leonel Sharp, written years later and first printed in the 1650s, and we did not find it in one of our approved sources. Families may read it on the Royal Museums Greenwich site. The Armada Portrait is therefore the primary source for this stop. The just-war discussion paraphrases Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* II-II, q. 40, a. 1) rather than quoting him. Philip and Elizabeth are both presented as acting from faith and from their kingdoms' interests.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Lord Howard, July 31, 1588. The Armada is passing Plymouth in a tight crescent and you hold the weather gauge. Will you (a) close in and board, as fleets did at Lepanto; (b) stay upwind and fire at long range, following them up the Channel; or (c) keep your fleet in harbor and guard the coast? Decide and give a reason before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** Why could the Armada not simply sail into a port in Flanders and pick up Parma's army?
3. **MEDIUM** Name four causes of the war between Spain and England, including at least one religious and one non-religious cause.
4. **MEDIUM** In the Armada Portrait, the left window shows fireships and the right window shows ships wrecked in a storm. What two explanations of the victory does the painting give, and why might the queen's supporters want both?
5. **CHALLENGE** About 30,000 men sailed in the Armada. If between 15,000 and 20,000 died, what percentage range is that? About 130 ships sailed and about 67 returned; what percentage of ships was lost?
6. **CHALLENGE** Using Aquinas's three conditions (rightful authority, just cause, right intention), write a short paragraph judging Philip II's decision to send the Armada. Give one point in his favor and one against, and judge him by the standards of his own time.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Admiral's Council. Play before reading "What happened." One player is Medina Sidonia, one is Lord Howard, and others are their captains. Each admiral holds a council: Howard must choose among (a), (b) and (c) in Practice 1; Medina Sidonia must decide whether to anchor at Calais or keep sailing toward Parma. Captains argue for one choice in under one minute each; the admiral decides and writes it down. Then play the result on your tabletop Channel and read the answer. The council that gave the clearest reasons (whatever they chose) wins a paper anchor for the Field Notebook.

Scripture. "Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters." (Exodus 15:10, KJV)

These are the words of Moses' song after the Red Sea, and the Dutch Armada medal echoed them. Christians in both England and Spain prayed for victory in 1588, and Philip is reported to have said that he had sent his ships to fight men, not the winds. The verse teaches that wind and sea belong to God; it does not let any nation claim His favor lightly.

Practice: answers

1. Howard chose (b). It kept the English fleet safe from boarding, which the larger Spanish crews would likely have won, but for a week long-range fire did little damage and the crescent held. Choice (a) played to Spain's strength; (c) gave up the weather gauge and let the Armada reach Parma unchallenged. Only after the fireships broke the formation at Calais did the English close to short range at Gravelines, where their faster-firing guns did real harm.
2. The Flanders coast had no deep-water harbor; it was shallow sandbanks where large ships could not go, and Dutch rebel ships in the shallows threatened Parma's barges.
3. Any four: Philip's wish to restore Catholicism in England and the pope's support; Elizabeth's excommunication (1570); English aid to the Dutch rebels (1585); English raids on Spanish treasure and colonies (Drake); the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots (1587); rivalry for trade and empire in the Americas.
4. Human action (English courage and the fireships) and providence (the storm, seen as God's hand). Showing both honored the English fleet and also claimed God's favor for Elizabeth and her Protestant church.
5. $15,000 \div 30,000 = 50\%$ and $20,000 \div 30,000 \approx 67\%$, so about half to two thirds of the men. Ships: $130 - 67 = 63$ lost; $63 \div 130 \approx 48\%$, almost half. The human loss was proportionally larger than the loss of ships, because many ships that came home carried crews ruined by sickness and hunger.
6. Answers will vary but should use all three conditions. In favor: Philip was a lawful king; he had real grievances (English aid to his rebels, years of raids on his ships and towns), and by the standards of his day defending the Church was seen as a just cause, with papal support. Against: the war aimed at conquering another kingdom and changing its religion by force, which goes beyond righting a wrong; and right intention is doubtful if the goal was also to add England to his power. A strong answer notes that Elizabeth's side can be weighed the same way (defense of the realm was a just cause, but privateering for profit raises questions of intention).

3.2 VIENNA (1683): THE SIEGE, THE KAHLENBERG AND THE WINGED HUSSARS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how a seventeenth-century siege worked (trenches, mines, bastions) and why Vienna's defenders could hold for two months.
- Trace the relief army's route over the Vienna Woods and explain how the ground shaped the battle of September 12, 1683.
- Use Starhemberg's dispatches as a primary source and weigh the battle's results, including its honest complications, by the just-war tradition.

Warm-up. Vienna's commander sent messages out of a city surrounded by an army of perhaps 100,000 men. Some were carried by swimmers across the Danube; some were signaled by rockets fired from the tower of St. Stephen's Cathedral at night. If you had to get one sentence to a rescuer, what would it say? Write it in ten words or fewer.

Video slot. Video coming. The Siege of Vienna and the Battle of Vienna, 1683: Kara Mustafa's siege works, Starhemberg's defense, the descent from the Kahlenberg and the charge of the Polish hussars; a second video on the husaria (winged hussars) and their equipment. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Epic History TV, The History Guy, Simple History); preview first.

KEY TERMS

bastion

An arrow-shaped projection from a fortress wall, built so defenders can fire along the face of the wall at attackers from two sides.

mine (siege)

A tunnel dug under an enemy wall and packed with gunpowder to blow a breach in it. Defenders dug countermines to find and destroy them.

grand vizier

The chief minister of the Ottoman sultan, who often commanded the army in the field. In 1683 it was Kara Mustafa Pasha.

husaria (winged hussars)

The heavy lancers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, armored and armed with very long hollow lances; many wore wooden frames set with feathers, the "wings."

Holy League

The alliance formed in 1684, with the support of Pope Innocent XI, by the Holy Roman Emperor, Poland, Venice and later Russia to push the Ottomans back after Vienna.

relief army

An army that marches to break a siege from outside.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Vienna, capital of the Habsburg emperor Leopold I, stands on the Danube where the river leaves the hills and enters the Hungarian plain. In 1683 the inner city was ringed by a modern wall of bastions and outworks, with a cleared slope, the glacis, in front of it. To the northwest rise the Vienna Woods, ending in the heights of the Kahlenberg and Leopoldsberg, about five miles from the walls. Between the heights and the city the ground falls through vineyards, ravines, sunken lanes and villages: hard country for cavalry until it opens onto the plain before the walls.

The people. The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Mehmed IV was at the height of its power in Europe, holding most of Hungary. Its grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, marched on Vienna with perhaps 90,000 to 150,000 men (counts vary and include many non-combatants). Hungarian Protestant nobles under Imre Thököly, who had rebelled against Habsburg rule and harsh treatment of their churches, fought on the Ottoman side, a reminder that the war was not simply Christian against Muslim. Leopold left the city on July 7 to raise help, leaving Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg to defend it with about 11,000 soldiers and perhaps 5,000 armed citizens and students. Bishop Leopold Kollonitsch organized care for the sick and wounded. Pope Innocent XI sent money and urged the Christian princes to unite. King Louis XIV of France, Leopold's rival, sent none. King Jan III Sobieski of Poland, bound by a treaty of alliance signed in March, came with about 25,000 men and took overall command of a relief army of perhaps 65,000 to 80,000, with Charles, Duke of Lorraine leading the Imperial troops.

The plan. The Ottomans had few heavy siege guns, so Kara Mustafa relied on approach trenches and mines dug toward the Burg and Löbel bastions. He expected the city to fall before help came and did little to fortify the heights behind his own camp. The relief army crossed the Danube at Tulln in early September and struggled over the wooded hills to the Kahlenberg, dragging only light guns. Its plan was to descend on a broad front: the Imperial and Saxon troops on the left beside the Danube, the Bavarians and Franconians in the center, and the Poles on the right, where the longest and roughest descent would bring their cavalry onto open ground opposite the vizier's camp.

What happened. The siege began on July 14. For two months the defenders fought for every outwork while sickness, especially dysentery, killed many inside the walls. By early September mines had breached the defenses near the Burg bastion. Before dawn on September 12, the Capuchin friar Marco d'Aviano said Mass on the Kahlenberg. Fighting began early on the left and spread along the slopes as the allies drove Ottoman troops from village to village. In the afternoon the Poles reached the edge of the plain. Sobieski first sent a single squadron of hussars to test the enemy line; it broke through and came back with losses. Then, late in the afternoon, perhaps 18,000 to 20,000 horsemen, Polish and Imperial, charged together with the hussars at their head. The Ottoman army broke, the camp was taken by evening, and Kara Mustafa escaped with what he could save. Losses are uncertain: the allies lost perhaps 1,500 to 4,000 killed and wounded on September 12; Ottoman losses were several times that.

Why it mattered. Vienna was the high-water mark of Ottoman power in central Europe. Kara Mustafa was put to death at Belgrade that December by order of the sultan. The Holy League (1684) retook Buda in 1686, and at the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) the Ottomans gave up most of Hungary and Transylvania, their first great loss of European land. Innocent XI extended the feast of the Holy Name of Mary to the whole Church in thanksgiving.

A just-war question. Augustine and Aquinas both taught that defending one's people from attack is a just cause, and few wars fit that condition as plainly as the relief of a besieged city. Yet the questions do not end there. Right intention asks what the victors did next: the war of reconquest that followed lasted sixteen years, and Hungarian Protestants who had sided with the Ottomans suffered under Habsburg rule. A just cause at the start does not make every later act just.

PICTURE STUDY



Sobieski at Vienna (Jan III Sobieski pod Wiedniem), Jan Matejko, 1883 · Oil on canvas (about 15 by 29 feet) · Vatican Museums, Sobieski Room, Vatican City
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Matejko, Poland's great history painter, finished this canvas for the 200th anniversary of the battle, at a time when Poland had been divided among Russia, Prussia and Austria for almost a century and had no state of its own. The Polish nation presented it to Pope Leo XIII. It shows Sobieski entrusting news of the victory, with a captured Ottoman banner, to be carried to the pope.

Look closely

- Find Sobieski. How does the painter make him the center even in such a crowded scene?
- Find the hussars' wings and lances. How long are the lances compared with the men?

- Look at the edges of the picture. What has been left behind by the defeated army, and how does Matejko show it without showing suffering?

Talk about it

1. Why might a Polish painter in 1883, when Poland did not exist on the map, choose this subject?
2. Matejko painted two centuries after the battle. How should a historian use a painting like this, and how should he not use it?

HANDS-ON: SAND-TABLE VIENNA: WALLS, MINES AND THE DESCENT FROM THE HILLS

Build Vienna and the Vienna Woods in a sand table or with blocks and towels, and test how the ground forced the relief army to fight its way down before the cavalry could charge.

You will need

- A sand tray, or a table with towels and books for hills
- Blocks or LEGO for the city walls with at least four arrow-shaped bastions
- Toy soldiers or tokens in three colors: Ottoman, Imperial/German, Polish (include 6–10 cavalry tokens for the hussars)
- Yarn or string for trenches and the Danube; small twigs for the woods and vineyards
- A ruler and one die

Steps

1. Build the city on the edge of the Danube with its bastions. Lay zigzag trenches toward two bastions and mark one mine with a red dot under a wall.
2. Build the Vienna Woods as a ridge on the northwest side, about two feet from the city, falling in three steps (ridge, vineyards and ravines, then open plain). Put the Ottoman camp between the plain and the city.
3. Place the relief army on the ridge: Imperial troops on the left by the river, Germans in the center, Poles on the right.
4. Rules: in the woods and vineyards, every unit moves only 2 inches per turn; on the plain, foot moves 4 inches and cavalry 10. Cavalry that charges in the woods rolls a die and is stopped on 1–4.
5. Play the descent. Count how many turns it takes each wing to reach the plain. When the Poles arrive, try a single-token probe first, then the full charge.
6. Write a short after-action note: why was the battle won in the afternoon and not the morning?

Check your work

- My model has bastions, trenches, the Danube, the Kahlenberg ridge and the open plain.
- I used different movement rules for broken ground and open ground.
- I can explain why the hussars' charge came late in the day and on the right wing.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw Vienna and its surroundings from the Danube to the Vienna Woods. Label the Danube, the inner city with bastions (mark the Burg and Löbel bastions), the Ottoman camp, the trenches, the Kahlenberg and Leopoldsberg, the vineyards and ravines, Tulln upriver, and the open plain. With three colors of arrows, show the left, center and right of the relief army on September 12. Add a scale bar (the Kahlenberg is about five miles from the walls), a compass rose and a key.
2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7–10 sentences) that a parent will keep: tell the siege and battle from the point of view of a citizen-soldier on Vienna's walls, from July 14 to the evening of September 12. Use at least three facts from the stop and one phrase from Starhemberg's dispatch.

Did you know? The hussars' lances could be about 16 to 20 feet long, hollowed to make them lighter, and many broke on the first contact, so a hussar also carried a long sword and other weapons. Historians still debate what the famous "wings" were for: show, sound, or something else. Popular stories say that Vienna's first coffeehouse was opened with coffee beans left in the Ottoman camp, and that the crescent-shaped croissant was invented to celebrate the victory; both are legends that grew up long afterward.

Primary source. *Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, commander of Vienna, dispatch to Charles, Duke of Lorraine, August 18, 1683, and his last message before the relief, carried by a swimmer across the Danube. English translation as printed in Henry Elliot Malden, Vienna 1683 (1883), Project Gutenberg eBook #56023.*

"I must in the first place, tell your Highness that we have up to this moment disputed the works with the enemy, foot by foot, and that they have not gained an inch of ground without paying for it dearly."

"No time to be lost; no time indeed to be lost."

Go deeper. John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna* (1964; revised 2000), the standard English history; Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe* (2008); Henry Elliot Malden, *Vienna 1683* (1883), free on Project Gutenberg. Second video topic: how bastion fortresses and siege mines worked (the "trace italienne").

Goes deeper in. History, the Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe (coming soon); Geography, the Danube and central Europe; Art, history painting and Jan Matejko.

For families. All numbers for this campaign are disputed: Ottoman strength is given anywhere from about 90,000 to well over 150,000 (with camp followers), and the relief army from about 65,000 to 80,000; losses on September 12 vary widely by source, so ranges are given. Sobieski's message to the pope, "Venimus, vidimus, Deus vicit" ("We came, we saw, God conquered"), is widely reported but we could not confirm it in an

approved source, so it is not quoted. Starhemberg's words are Malden's 1883 English translation. The Ottoman side is described fairly: the empire saw the campaign as a just war of its own, and Thököly's Hungarian Protestants are named honestly. Kara Mustafa's execution is stated without detail.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Jan Sobieski, late afternoon, September 12. Your Polish horsemen have finally reached the edge of the plain opposite the vizier's camp. The enemy line in front of you is still unbroken. Will you (a) launch every horseman at once while daylight lasts; (b) send one squadron first to test the enemy's strength and the ground, then charge with everything; or (c) halt, fortify, and attack in the morning? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** Who defended Vienna during the siege, and who commanded the relief army?
3. **MEDIUM** Why did the Ottoman army rely on mines rather than on bombardment, and what is a countermine?
4. **MEDIUM** Read Starhemberg's two messages in the Primary source box. What changed between August 18 and the second message, and what does the wording show about the city's condition?
5. **CHALLENGE** Vienna's defenders numbered about 16,000 (11,000 soldiers and 5,000 armed citizens). If the besieging army had 90,000 fighting men, what was the ratio? If the relief army had 70,000 and attacked an Ottoman force of the same 90,000, by how much were the relievers outnumbered? Why might the actual odds on September 12 have been better than these numbers suggest?
6. **CHALLENGE** Aquinas requires rightful authority, a just cause and right intention. Show that the relief of Vienna meets the first two. Then explain why right intention is a harder question for the sixteen-year war that followed, using one fact from the stop.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: The Signal Rockets. One player is Starhemberg inside the city; the others are the relief army on the Kahlenberg. Starhemberg writes three short messages (under ten words each) describing the city's condition. The relief army must decide, after each message, whether to (a) wait to gather more troops or (b) attack now. Reveal Practice 1 only after the last message. Then discuss: what information did each side lack, and how did the swimmers and rockets help?

Scripture. "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." (Psalm 46:1, KJV)

Christians inside and outside Vienna prayed through the long summer of 1683, and Mass was said on the Kahlenberg before the battle. The psalm does not promise that cities will never fall; it promises that God is present in the trouble, which is what gave besieged people courage to hold on.

1. Sobieski did (b) and then (a). A single squadron of hussars charged first; it pierced the Ottoman line and returned with losses, showing both that the ground was passable and that the enemy could be broken. Then perhaps 18,000 to 20,000 Polish and Imperial horsemen charged together and broke the Ottoman army before dark. Choice (c) would have given Kara Mustafa a night to bring troops from the trenches and perhaps to storm the city.
2. Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg defended the city; King Jan III Sobieski of Poland commanded the relief army, with Charles of Lorraine leading the Imperial troops.
3. They brought few heavy siege guns, so they tunneled under the bastions to blow breaches with gunpowder. A countermine is the defenders' own tunnel, dug to find and destroy the enemy's mine before it is fired.
4. On August 18 he wrote confidently and formally that the enemy had paid dearly for every foot of ground. The later message is short and urgent, repeating "no time to be lost," which shows the defenses were close to failing (breaches near the Burg bastion, many defenders dead or sick).
5. $90,000 \div 16,000 \approx 5.6$ to 1 against the defenders. $90,000 - 70,000 = 20,000$ more Ottomans, about 1.3 to 1. The odds were better because many Ottoman troops stayed in the siege trenches facing the city, and much of the camp was not fighting troops; the relievers struck the part of the army outside the trenches.
6. Authority: lawful rulers (the emperor, the king of Poland, the German princes) made and led the alliance. Just cause: defending a besieged city and its people from an invading army. Right intention is harder for the later war because it became a war of reconquest and expansion lasting until 1699, and some of its results (for example, the treatment of Hungarian Protestants who had sided with Thököly) were not simply the restoring of peace. A good answer notes that the Ottomans also claimed a just cause and that each side must be judged by the standards of its own time.

3.3 QUEBEC (1759): THE CLIMB TO THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why Quebec's cliffs, river and fortified shore made it so hard to attack, and how the British finally landed at the Anse au Foulon.
- Analyze Wolfe's and Montcalm's decisions on September 13, 1759, using a journal printed in London the same year.
- Connect the fall of New France to the coming of the American Revolution, and weigh the siege's treatment of civilians by the just-war tradition.

Warm-up. The British fleet sat below Quebec for almost three months, from late June to mid-September 1759. Every week brought winter closer, when ice would close the St. Lawrence and force the fleet to leave. Write down two things a commander might do when time is running out: one wise, one reckless. Keep your list until the end of the stop.

Video slot. Video coming. The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, 1759: the St. Lawrence, the Beauport lines, Montmorency, the landing at the Anse au Foulon, Wolfe and Montcalm; a second video on the Seven Years' War in North America (the French and Indian War). Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Epic History TV, The History Guy, Parks Canada / National Battlefields Commission); preview first.

KEY TERMS

New France

France's colony in North America, stretching from the St. Lawrence through the Great Lakes to Louisiana, with Quebec as its capital.

Seven Years' War

The world war of 1756–1763 between Britain and its allies and France and its allies; in America it is often called the French and Indian War (fighting there began in 1754).

Anse au Foulon

A small cove about two miles above Quebec where a narrow path climbed the cliff; the British landing place on September 13, 1759.

light infantry

Picked soldiers trained to move quickly over rough ground and fight in open order; they led the climb.

volley

Many muskets fired at the same moment on command, so that the effect falls all at once.

noncombatant

A person who is not fighting, such as a farmer, a child or a priest. The just-war tradition says they must not be deliberately targeted.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Quebec stands on a rocky promontory where the St. Lawrence narrows, its Upper Town on cliffs high above the river and its Lower Town along the shore. Downstream, the Marquis de Montcalm had fortified the whole Beauport shore for about six miles to the falls of the Montmorency River. Upstream, the north shore is a wall of cliffs, broken only by a few steep paths. Above the cliffs west of the city lies a high, fairly level plateau, the Plains of Abraham, named for Abraham Martin, an early settler who owned land there. The river is tidal at Quebec, with strong currents, and every movement of boats depended on the ebb and the flood.

The people. Major General James Wolfe was 32, a veteran of Louisbourg (1758), brave, impatient and often ill. With him came Vice Admiral Charles Saunders's fleet of about 49 warships and some 140 transports, and an army of about 8,500 to 9,000 regulars and rangers, including Fraser's Highlanders. Montcalm, a brave and experienced French general, commanded French regulars, colonial troops, Canadian militia and First Nations allies, perhaps 13,000 to 15,000 in all, but he quarreled often with the governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, a Canadian-born official who distrusted French officers. The Canadians were defending their own farms and parishes, and the British were fighting to end a rival empire on their colonies' border.

The plan. Wolfe first tried the Beauport shore and was beaten at Montmorency on July 31, with about 440 casualties. Through the summer British batteries across the river bombarded the city, and Wolfe ordered farms and villages along the river burned to pressure the defenders. By September his three brigadiers urged a landing above the city to cut its supply line from Montreal. Wolfe accepted the idea but chose his own spot, the Anse au Foulon, close to the city, where a single path led up the cliff. If the landing failed, there was no retreat.

What happened. In the dark early hours of September 13, the boats drifted down on the ebb tide. Sentries challenged them, and an officer who spoke French answered that they were supply boats; French provision boats were expected that night. Light infantry under Colonel William Howe scrambled up the slope and overwhelmed a small post at the top. By morning about 4,400 to 4,800 British soldiers stood in line on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm hurried his troops from Beauport and, at about ten o'clock, attacked with roughly the same number, without waiting for Colonel Bougainville's detached force of perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 upriver. His line lost order as it advanced over uneven ground. The British held their fire until the French were close and then fired volleys; within minutes the French broke. Wolfe was wounded more than once and died on the field. Montcalm was wounded during the retreat and died the next morning. Each army lost roughly 650 killed and wounded. Quebec surrendered on September 18.

Why it mattered. The French won at Sainte-Foy in April 1760 but could not retake the city once British ships arrived in May, and Montreal surrendered that September. In the Treaty of Paris (1763) France gave Canada to Britain. In 1774 the Quebec Act let the Canadians keep their Catholic faith and French civil law, which earned their loyalty but angered Protestant

colonists to the south. And with no French army on their border, Americans no longer needed British protection as before, while Britain, deep in debt from the war, looked to tax the colonies. The road to Lexington began on these plains.

A just-war question. The just-war tradition asks not only why a war is fought but how. Augustine warned against cruelty and the lust for revenge, and later theologians taught that noncombatants must not be deliberately attacked. The bombardment of Quebec's houses and the burning of hundreds of farms along the river fell heavily on families who were not fighting. Officers on both sides defended such measures as hard necessities of war in their time; others, then and now, have judged them wrong. You will weigh the question in the practice.

PICTURE STUDY



*A View of the Taking of Quebec, September 13th 1759, After a sketch by Captain Hervey Smyth, Wolfe's aide-de-camp; published by Laurie and Whittle, London, 1797 (from a 1759 sketch) · Hand-colored engraving · Copies in several collections, including the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain*

Hervey Smyth was there: he served as Wolfe's aide and sketched the scene. Like many maps of its time, the print compresses about twelve hours into one picture, so the boats, the climb and the battle all appear at once. It is part map, part picture and part record.

Look closely

- Follow the story from right to left: the ships, the boats, the landing, the climb, and the lines on the plain. How many separate moments can you find?
- Find the city. How far is it from the landing place, and what lies between?

- Look at the cliffs. Where is the path? Why would a defender think no army could come up here?

Talk about it

1. Why would an artist show several moments at once? What does a reader gain and lose?
2. This print was published 38 years after the battle, from a sketch made on the spot. How does that affect how much you trust it?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP QUEBEC: THE CLIFF AND THE PLAIN

Build the river, the cliffs and the plateau, and play the night landing and the morning battle, then test Montcalm's choice to attack at once.

You will need

- A long blue cloth or paper (the St. Lawrence); books stacked under a towel for the cliffs and plateau
- A narrow strip of cardboard propped as a ramp (the Foulon path)
- Red and white (or two other colors) toy soldiers or blocks, about 20 each, plus 6 for Bougainville
- Paper boats; a cardboard city; a timer and one die

Steps

1. Build the river with the cliffs along one side. Put Quebec on the heights at one end, the Beauport lines downstream (beyond the city) and the Foulon path two feet upstream. Leave the plateau between the path and the city open.
2. Night: move the British boats down the river with the current. A player who is the French sentry rolls a die for each boat; on a 6 the boat is discovered and must turn back.
3. Climb: move the British up the ramp one soldier at a time while the timer runs one minute. How many reach the top? Form them in a line two deep facing the city.
4. Morning: march the French from Beauport around the city onto the plateau. Put Bougainville's six soldiers far upstream. Montcalm must decide: attack now or wait two turns for Bougainville.
5. Play both choices. In each, the British fire one volley when the French are 3 inches away. Record which choice gives the French a better chance.
6. Write two sentences explaining what each choice risked.

Check your work

- My model shows the river, the cliffs, the Foulon path, the plateau, the city and Beauport.
- I played both Montcalm's actual choice and the alternative.
- I can explain why the landing had no line of retreat.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the St. Lawrence from the Montmorency Falls upstream to Cap-Rouge. Label Quebec (Upper and Lower Town), the Beauport lines, the Montmorency Falls, Pointe Lévis (the British batteries across the river), the Île d'Orléans, the Anse au Foulon and its path, the Plains of Abraham and Sainte-Foy. Show the British boats' route on the ebb tide, the climb, both battle lines, and Bougainville's position upstream. Add a scale bar, a compass rose and a key.
2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7-10 sentences) that a parent will keep: tell the night of September 12-13 and the morning battle from the point of view of a soldier in the light infantry who made the climb. Use one phrase from the 1759 journal and end with what he learned at the end of the day.

Did you know? A well-known story says that on the eve of the landing Wolfe recited Thomas Gray's poem "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" and said he would rather have written it than take Quebec; the story comes from a midshipman's memory recorded long afterward, and historians are unsure of it. In Quebec City today one monument honors both generals together, with a Latin inscription saying that valor gave them a common death and history a common fame.

Primary source. *An Accurate and Authentic Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1759. By a Gentleman in an eminent Station on the Spot (London, 1759), entry for September 13; Project Gutenberg eBook #76642. Original spelling is kept. The second passage is about Wolfe.*

"At one in the morning the boats that had the troops in were order'd to row down the river (it being then ebb-tide) in the same order as the troops were to land, viz. the light infantry first, then Bragg's, Anstruther's, Kennedy's, Lascelle's, and a detachment of Frazier's; at two the frigates and transports, with the rest of the troops follow'd them. In rowing down the boats were discover'd by the enemy, but they expecting some boats down with provisions, under cover of the night, let us pass without examination. At Four we landed the troops about two miles from Quebec, with small loss, none but the enemy's centinels being there."

"... who was wounded in the beginning of the action, and died soon after, but not before he had the satisfaction of being told the day was ours."

Go deeper. Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1884), a classic narrative, free on Project Gutenberg; C. P. Stacey, *Quebec, 1759: The Siege and the Battle* (1959; revised edition 2002), a careful military study; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War* (2000), on the whole Seven Years' War in America. The National Battlefields Commission (Plains of Abraham) website has maps and a virtual tour. Second video topic: the Battle of Sainte-Foy, 1760.

Goes deeper in. History, colonial North America and the Seven Years' War (coming soon); Geography, the St. Lawrence River and Canada; Earth Science, tides and river currents; Literature, Gray's "Elegy."

For families. Numbers for both armies and for the losses vary; ranges and "about" are used. The journal's author is anonymous. Wolfe's often-quoted dying words are reported in John Knox's journal (1769), which we did not quote because we could not check it against an approved source. The Gray's "Elegy" story is presented as uncertain. Which officer answered the French sentries is told differently in different accounts, so the stop does not name him. The burning of farms and the bombardment of the city are stated plainly as a just-war question rather than as a modern accusation. Deaths of both generals are stated without description.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Montcalm, about 6 a.m., September 13. A British army is forming on the Plains of Abraham, west of the city. Bougainville has perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 men some miles upstream. Will you (a) attack at once before the British can dig in or bring up more men and guns; (b) wait for Bougainville and attack from two sides; or (c) stay inside the walls and make the British besiege the city with winter coming? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** Where did the British land on September 13, and how did they reach the Plains of Abraham?
3. **MEDIUM** According to the 1759 journal, why did the French sentries let the boats pass?
4. **MEDIUM** Give two ways the fall of Quebec helped lead to the American Revolution.
5. **CHALLENGE** Wolfe lost about 440 men at Montmorency on July 31 and about 650 killed and wounded on September 13. If his army numbered about 8,500 at the start, what percentage did these two battles cost him together? Why was a second Montmorency-style failure in September so dangerous?
6. **CHALLENGE** Wolfe ordered farms burned and the city bombarded to pressure the defenders. Using the just-war idea that noncombatants must not be deliberately targeted, write a short paragraph weighing this decision. Give the argument British officers made in their own day and the argument against it.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Two Generals, One Morning. Split into two teams. Team Wolfe decides, the night before, between the Anse au Foulon (close to the city, one path) and a landing farther upstream (safer, farther from the city). Team Montcalm, without hearing Wolfe's choice, decides how many troops to keep at Beauport and how many to send upstream. Reveal both choices, play them on the tabletop, then read Practice 1 and the core ideas. Discuss: which general had better information, and how did that shape the result?

Scripture. "A man's heart deviseth his way: but the LORD directeth his steps." (Proverbs 16:9, KJV)

Wolfe made a bold plan and Montcalm made a quick decision, and neither lived to see the end of the campaign. Commanders must plan with all their skill, but the outcome of every plan rests in God's hands. Humility about our own plans is part of wisdom.

Practice: answers

1. Montcalm chose (a) and attacked at about 10 a.m. His mixed line of regulars and militia lost order on the advance, the British volleys broke it within minutes, and the battle was lost. Many historians think (b) or (c) offered better odds: the British had no way to retreat and winter would soon force the fleet to leave. Others note Quebec was short of food and that Montcalm feared the British would cut the city off completely if given time.
2. At the Anse au Foulon, a cove about two miles above Quebec; light infantry climbed a narrow path up the cliff and took the small post at the top, and the army followed.
3. They were expecting boats bringing provisions down the river under cover of night, so they let the British boats pass "without examination."
4. Any two: with the French gone, the colonists no longer needed British protection; Britain's war debt led to new taxes on the colonies; the Quebec Act (1774) angered colonists by favoring Canada's Catholic church and French law and by extending Quebec's borders into the Ohio country.
5. $440 + 650 = 1,090$; $1,090 \div 8,500 \approx 12.8\%$, about one man in eight (sickness cost more besides). A failed landing in September would have had no way back down the cliff, and with winter near there would be no time to try again before the fleet had to leave.
6. For (their own day): siege warfare commonly used bombardment and the destruction of supplies; officers argued it shortened the siege by forcing a battle or surrender, and that supplies feeding the army were lawful targets. Against: the burning and bombardment fell chiefly on families who were not fighting, destroyed homes and harvests before winter, and the city did not surrender because of it; deliberately harming noncombatants violates the principle of discrimination taught in the Christian tradition. A strong answer judges the act by the standards of the 1750s while still naming harm to noncombatants as a real wrong if it was intended.

3.4 LEXINGTON AND CONCORD (1775): THE ALARM AND THE ROAD

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the causes of the crisis of 1774–1775 (the Coercive Acts, the Provincial Congress and the military stores at Concord) and General Gage’s orders.
- Follow the events of April 19, 1775, from Lexington Green to the North Bridge to the long retreat, with the numbers engaged and lost.
- Analyze the Continental Congress’s 1775 Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, and weigh the colonists’ resistance by the just-war question of rightful authority.

Warm-up. No one knows who fired the first shot on Lexington Green. Both sides swore under oath that the other side fired first. Before reading, write one sentence: when two honest-seeming witnesses disagree, what would you look for to decide what happened?

Video slot. Video coming. Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775: the British march from Boston, the alarm riders, Lexington Green, the North Bridge and the Battle Road retreat, with maps; a second video on Minute Man National Historical Park and the Battle Road trail. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, National Park Service, The History Guy, Simple History); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Coercive Acts

Laws passed by Parliament in 1774 after the Boston Tea Party; they closed Boston’s port and changed Massachusetts’s charter government. Colonists called them the Intolerable Acts.

Provincial Congress

The assembly Massachusetts towns elected in 1774 to govern themselves outside the royal governor’s control; it organized militia and gathered military stores.

minuteman

A member of a picked militia company pledged to turn out at a minute’s warning.

regulars

Full-time professional soldiers of the British Army, often called “redcoats.”

deposition

A written statement sworn under oath, used as evidence. Both sides collected depositions about April 19.

rightful authority

The first condition of a just war in Aquinas: war must be waged by one who has lawful public authority, not by private persons.

CORE IDEAS

The map. In 1775 Boston sat on a near-island joined to the mainland only by the narrow Boston Neck. Concord, where the Provincial Congress had stored cannon, powder and supplies, lay about 18 miles inland; Lexington lay on the road about 11 miles out. The country between was farms, orchards, woodlots and stone walls, with the road winding over hills and through low ground. The Concord River crossed the town's north side at the North Bridge. For a column marching back to Boston, every wall, barn and wood was a place an enemy could fire from.

The people. General Thomas Gage was both commander of the British army in America and royal governor of Massachusetts. After the Boston Tea Party, Parliament's Coercive Acts closed Boston's port and changed the colony's government, and the towns answered by forming a Provincial Congress and drilling militia. In April 1775 Gage received orders from London to act firmly. He sent about 700 regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, with Major John Pitcairn, to destroy the stores at Concord. Dr. Joseph Warren learned of the march and sent Paul Revere and William Dawes to warn the towns; Samuel Prescott carried the alarm on to Concord. In Lexington, Captain John Parker, a veteran of the French and Indian War, mustered his company; the town's minister, the Reverend Jonas Clarke, was host that night to John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The colonists saw themselves as Englishmen defending their charter rights; Gage saw armed men defying the king's law.

The plan. Gage's plan depended on secrecy and speed: cross the Back Bay by boat at night, march fast, destroy the stores and be back before the countryside could gather. The colonists' plan was an alarm system built over months: riders, church bells, signal guns and town companies that could turn out within the hour.

What happened. At about sunrise on April 19, the British advance companies reached Lexington Green, where Parker's company of perhaps 70 to 80 men stood in plain view, not blocking the road. A British officer ordered them to disperse, and some began to leave. A shot rang out from somewhere, and the regulars, without orders, fired volleys and charged. Eight Lexington men were killed and ten wounded; one British soldier was slightly hurt. At Concord the regulars searched the town and burned gun carriages. Militia from Concord and nearby towns, about 400 men, saw the smoke and advanced on the North Bridge, held by about 95 regulars. The regulars fired; the militia, under Major John Buttrick, fired back. Two militiamen and three regulars were killed, and the British fell back into town. Around noon Smith started back to Boston, and the road became a gauntlet. Thousands of militia from dozens of towns fired from cover along the route. At Lexington, a relief brigade of about 1,000 under Lord Percy, with two cannon, saved Smith's exhausted men, and the column reached Charlestown at dusk. The British lost 73 killed, 174 wounded and 26 missing; the Americans, 49 killed, 39 wounded and 5 missing.

Why it mattered. The next morning militia surrounded Boston and the siege began. The Second Continental Congress met in May, created the Continental Army in June and chose George Washington to command it. In July it issued the Declaration of the Causes and

Necessity of Taking Up Arms, which you will read below. Independence was still a year away; most Americans in 1775 said they were fighting for their rights as British subjects.

A just-war question. Aquinas held that only a lawful public authority may make war, and Saint Paul writes that “the powers that be are ordained of God” (Romans 13:1). Loyalist ministers used these teachings to condemn armed resistance. Patriot ministers, following an older Protestant tradition, answered that a ruler who breaks the law and attacks the people he is bound to protect may be resisted by lesser lawful authorities, here the colonial assemblies and the Continental Congress, and that self-defense against unlawful force is just. Which side had the stronger case is a real question, and Christians of that day disagreed in good conscience.

PICTURE STUDY

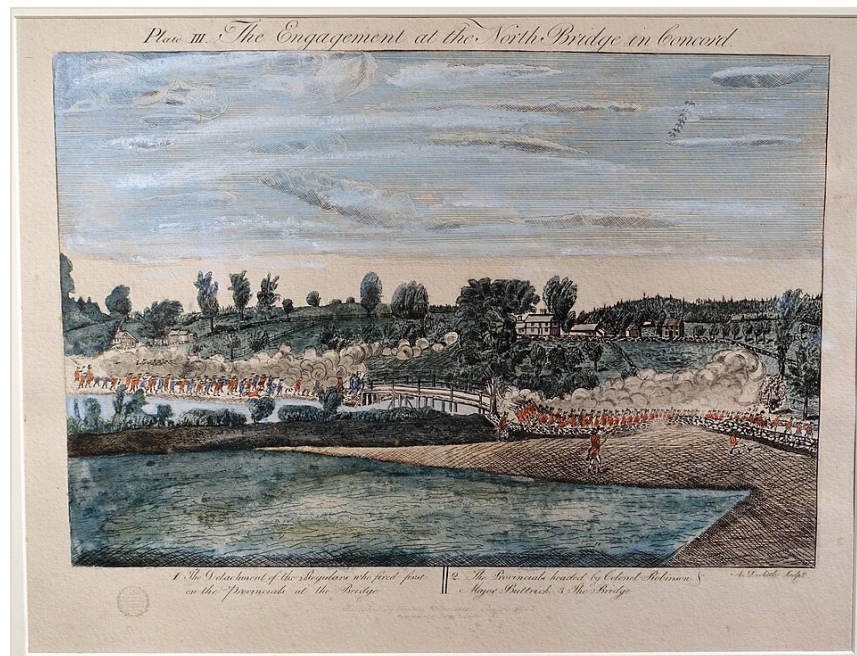


Plate III: The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord, Amos Doolittle, engraver, after drawings by Ralph Earl, 1775 · Hand-colored line engraving · One of a set of four plates; original impressions survive in several American libraries and historical societies

Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Amos Doolittle, a Connecticut silversmith, and the painter Ralph Earl came to Lexington and Concord only weeks after the battle, walked the ground and talked with men who had been there. Doolittle’s four plates, sold in December 1775, are the earliest pictures of the Revolution’s first fight. The style is plain, even stiff, but the details come from the place itself.

Look closely

- Find the bridge and the river. Which side is each army on?
- Compare the two lines. How does Doolittle show the difference between regulars and militia?

- Look for buildings, fences and hills. What does the plate tell you about the ground?

Talk about it

1. Doolittle was a patriot selling prints to Americans. How might that shape what he showed?
2. Why might a historian trust some details of this engraving (the ground, the bridge) more than others (who fired first)?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP BATTLE ROAD: THE GAUNTLET

Lay out the 18 miles from Concord back to Boston on a long table and test why a professional column suffered so badly on the march home.

You will need

- A long strip of paper (the road), about 6 feet, marked Concord, Meriam's Corner, Lexington, Menotomy and Charlestown
- Blocks, books and toy trees for stone walls, houses and woods along both sides
- About 15 red tokens (the column), about 25 tokens in another color (militia companies), and 8 more red tokens (Percy's brigade)
- A die and a scorecard

Steps

1. Line the road with walls, houses and woods. Mark three open stretches with no cover.
2. Start the red column at Concord. Each turn it moves 8 inches toward Boston.
3. Each turn, the militia player places up to four new tokens behind cover within 6 inches of the road (companies arriving from new towns).
4. Fire: each militia token next to the column rolls a die; on a 5 or 6 one red token is removed. The column may stop for a turn and send flankers to clear one piece of cover (remove the militia tokens there), but then it does not move.
5. When the column reaches Lexington, add Percy's 8 tokens; his two cannon let the column clear two covers per turn.
6. Play to Charlestown. Then answer: how did walls and new arrivals change the fight, and what saved the column?

Check your work

- My road has the towns in order and cover on both sides.
- I used the rule for new militia arriving and for flankers.
- I can explain why Percy's relief at Lexington mattered.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the country from Boston to Concord. Label Boston, Boston Neck, the Back Bay, Cambridge, Charlestown, Menotomy, Lexington and its Green, Lincoln,

Meriam's Corner, Concord, the Concord River and the North Bridge. Show the British route out (by boat across the Back Bay, then the road) in red, the alarm riders' routes in blue, and the retreat with arrows for militia attacks from the sides. Mark where Percy's relief met Smith. Add a scale bar (about 18 miles), a compass rose and a key.

2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7-10 sentences) that a parent will keep: retell April 19 as a careful historian would, giving both sides' accounts of the first shot at Lexington and explaining why the question cannot be settled.

Did you know? The two lanterns hung in the steeple of Boston's Old North Church meant the regulars were going by water, across the Back Bay; they were a signal to patriots in Charlestown in case Revere was stopped. Revere was in fact captured on the road to Concord, and Prescott carried the warning on. Sixty-two years later Ralph Waldo Emerson, grandson of Concord's minister, wrote the "Concord Hymn" for a monument at the North Bridge, with its famous line about the "shot heard round the world."

Primary source. *The Second Continental Congress, Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, July 6, 1775 (drafted by Thomas Jefferson and John Dickinson). The Avalon Project, Yale Law School.*

"... on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression."

"... Our cause is just. Our union is perfect."

Go deeper. David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride* (1994), the best modern account, fair to both Revere and Gage; Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (1976), on Concord's families; Minute Man National Historical Park (nps.gov/mima), with maps and the Battle Road Trail. Second video topic: the Siege of Boston and Henry Knox's cannon from Ticonderoga.

Goes deeper in. History, the American Revolution (coming soon); Literature, Emerson's "Concord Hymn" and Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride" (and where Longfellow's poem departs from the facts); Geography, New England.

For families. Casualty figures (73 British killed, 174 wounded, 26 missing; 49 Americans killed, 39 wounded, 5 missing) are the commonly cited totals; sources differ slightly. Parker's company is given as 70-80 because counts vary. Who fired first at Lexington is unknown, and the stop says so. The Declaration of Causes is quoted from the Avalon

Project; it is a statement of one side's case and is taught as such. The Romans 13 debate is presented fairly; patriot and loyalist Christians both appear as acting in conscience. Deaths are stated without description.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Captain John Parker, before sunrise on April 19. About 240 regulars are marching into Lexington; you have perhaps 70 to 80 men. Will you (a) stand across the road and block the march; (b) form on the Green in plain sight, beside the road, to show the town will not be frightened, but not try to stop them; (c) hide your men behind walls and fire from cover; or (d) send everyone home? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** What was the purpose of Gage's march to Concord?
3. **MEDIUM** Why did the British suffer most of their losses on the road back to Boston rather than at Lexington or Concord?
4. **MEDIUM** Read the Declaration of Causes in the Primary source box. Find two words the Congress used to persuade readers that the British were in the wrong, and say what evidence it claims to rely on.
5. **CHALLENGE** The British lost 73 killed, 174 wounded and 26 missing from a force that reached about 1,800 men after Percy joined. The Americans lost 49 killed, 39 wounded and 5 missing from perhaps 3,500 to 4,000 who took part at some point. Find each side's total casualties and its percentage of the force (use 3,800 for the Americans).
6. **CHALLENGE** Aquinas says only a lawful public authority may wage war. Write a paragraph arguing as a Loyalist minister of 1775 that the militia at Concord lacked rightful authority, then a paragraph arguing as a Patriot minister that they had it. Which argument do you find stronger, and why?

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Two Depositions. A parent or sibling writes two short "depositions" about an event in the house (who left the door open?), each honest-sounding but from a different point of view. The player decides what really happened and explains which details are firm (time, place) and which are disputed. Then play Practice 1 as Captain Parker. Last, read the Declaration of Causes and the British side together and decide what can and cannot be known about the first shot.

Scripture. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." (Romans 13:1, KJV)

Few verses were preached on more often in 1775. Loyalists read it as forbidding resistance to the king; many Patriot ministers answered that the higher powers include lawful assemblies, and that rulers are ordained to protect the people, not to attack them. Both sides took the verse seriously, and so should we.

Practice: answers

1. Parker chose (b): his men formed on the Green, in view but not blocking the road, probably as a show of resolve rather than a plan to fight. When ordered to disperse, some began to leave; then a shot was fired and the regulars fired and charged, killing eight. (a) would have meant a hopeless fight; (c) would have made Lexington's men the attackers; (d) would have given up the town's stand. Historians still debate whether (b) was wise.
2. To seize or destroy the cannon, powder and military supplies the Provincial Congress had stored there.
3. Thousands of militia from many towns gathered through the day and fired from behind walls, buildings and woods along the 18-mile road, while the tired column had to keep marching in the open; only Percy's relief brigade at Lexington saved it.
4. Words such as "unprovoked," "murdered" and "cruel aggression." It claims to rely on the sworn "affidavits of a great number of persons," including some officers and soldiers of the British detachment. A careful reader notes that British officers gave sworn accounts saying the colonists fired first, so the word "unprovoked" is the Congress's judgment, not a settled fact.
5. British: $73 + 174 + 26 = 273$; $273 \div 1,800 \approx 15\%$. Americans: $49 + 39 + 5 = 93$; $93 \div 3,800 \approx 2.4\%$. The column lost about one man in seven; the militia, fighting from cover, lost about one in forty.
6. Loyalist: the king and Parliament are the lawful authority; Romans 13 commands subjection; the Provincial Congress was an illegal body; armed resistance to the king's troops is rebellion. Patriot: the colonial assemblies were lawful governments under the colony's charter, and the Provincial Congress was elected by the towns; Parliament had acted beyond its lawful power; Christian teaching (and English history, such as 1688) allowed lesser magistrates to defend the people from unlawful force; the militia acted in self-defense after being fired on. The student's judgment may go either way but must give reasons and treat both sides fairly.

3.5 TRENTON (1776): CROSSING THE DELAWARE

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how the disasters of 1776 left Washington’s army near collapse, and why he chose to strike Trenton at the end of December.
- Analyze the plan for three crossings, why two failed, and how the main attack still succeeded.
- Read Thomas Paine’s first Crisis paper as a primary source and judge how courage, leadership and treatment of prisoners matter in a just war.

Warm-up. On December 1, 1776, many of Washington’s soldiers went home as their enlistments ended, and most of the rest could leave on December 31. Imagine you are a soldier with a hole in your shoes and a farm waiting at home. Write one sentence: what would it take to make you stay one more month?

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776: the retreat across New Jersey, the crossing at McConkey’s Ferry, the night march and the fight in the town, with maps; a second video on the “Ten Crucial Days” (Trenton, Assunpink Creek and Princeton). Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, Washington Crossing Historic Park, Mount Vernon, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

enlistment

A soldier’s agreement to serve for a set time. In 1776 most Continental enlistments ran out on December 31.

Hessians

German soldiers, many from Hesse-Kassel, whose rulers hired them out to Britain by treaty. They were professional soldiers, well drilled and respected.

Durham boat

A long, flat-bottomed river freight boat, up to about 60 feet long, used to carry Washington’s infantry across the Delaware.

column

A body of troops marching one behind another on a road; Washington split his force into two columns to strike Trenton from two directions.

parole (prisoner)

A promise by a captured officer not to fight or escape, in return for some freedom. Washington paroled many Hessian officers.

pamphlet

A short printed booklet meant to persuade; Paine’s Crisis papers were sold and read aloud widely.

CORE IDEAS

The map. The Delaware River divides Pennsylvania from New Jersey. Trenton, a village of about a hundred houses, stands on the New Jersey bank where the river stops being navigable, with the Assunpink Creek on its south side and a single bridge over it. About nine miles upstream lay McConkey's Ferry, hidden from British eyes. Two roads led from there to Trenton, the River Road along the bank and the Pennington Road farther inland, and both ended at the top of the town's two main streets, King and Queen Streets. Guns placed at the head of those streets could fire down their whole length.

The people. In 1776 Washington's army had lost Long Island, New York City and Fort Washington, where about 2,800 Americans were captured. It had retreated across New Jersey and over the Delaware, and Congress had fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. Many in New Jersey were taking British offers of pardon. Washington's own command was down to perhaps 6,000 men, many sick or barefoot. General William Howe put his army in winter quarters across New Jersey in a chain of outposts. At Trenton were about 1,400 to 1,500 Hessians under Colonel Johann Rall, a brave and experienced officer who had fought well at White Plains and Fort Washington. His men were weary from weeks of alarms and skirmishes with New Jersey militia. With Washington were Henry Knox, who managed the crossing and the artillery; John Glover's Massachusetts regiment of fishermen and sailors, who handled the boats; Nathanael Greene and John Sullivan.

The plan. Washington planned three crossings on the night of December 25: his own, with about 2,400 men and 18 cannon at McConkey's Ferry; one under James Ewing straight across to Trenton to hold the Assunpink bridge; and one under John Cadwalader downstream to strike the Hessian posts near Bordentown. The password was "Victory or Death." The troops were to be across by midnight and attack before dawn.

What happened. A storm of snow, sleet and hail struck, and ice choked the river. Ewing and Cadwalader could not get their cannon across, and Ewing did not cross at all. Washington's crossing ran more than three hours late, so the march began around four in the morning, and two men died of the cold along the way. At about eight o'clock both columns struck Trenton almost at the same moment, Greene's from the north and Sullivan's along the river. Knox's guns fired down King and Queen Streets. The Hessians tried to form and counterattack, but Rall was mortally wounded, and within about an hour two regiments surrendered in an orchard and the third by the creek. About 22 Hessians were killed and 83 wounded, and nearly 900 were captured; several hundred escaped over the bridge. No American was killed in the fighting, though a few were wounded, among them a young lieutenant named James Monroe. That afternoon the army recrossed the river with its prisoners.

Why it mattered. Trenton was small but it changed the war's spirit. Washington persuaded many men to stay six weeks past their enlistments with a ten-dollar bounty and a personal appeal. In the next week he fought again at the Assunpink Creek (January 2) and won at Princeton (January 3), and the British pulled back from most of New Jersey. Recruiting rose, and Europe began to take the American army seriously.

A just-war question. The just-war tradition asks how a victor treats the defeated. Washington ordered that the Hessian prisoners be treated with humanity; they were marched through Philadelphia, held in rural Pennsylvania and Virginia, and many later chose to stay in America. Augustine taught that mercy is owed to the conquered, especially to those who no longer resist. Courage won Trenton; mercy afterward showed what kind of cause the army served.

PICTURE STUDY



The Capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776, John Trumbull, 1786–1828 · Oil on canvas ·
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

John Trumbull served as an officer in the Revolution and later painted its great scenes, interviewing veterans and sketching participants from life. Here he chose not the crossing but the moment after the battle: Washington meets the wounded Hessian commander, Colonel Rall, and reaches out to him in kindness. Trumbull wanted to show the American cause as one of humanity as well as courage.

Look closely

- Find Washington and Rall. What is Washington's gesture, and what does it suggest?
- Look at the light. Where does Trumbull put the brightest light, and why?
- Find the captured flags and weapons on the ground. How does the painter show defeat without showing suffering?

Talk about it

1. Why might Trumbull choose this scene rather than the fighting itself?

2. Compare this painting with Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851). Which artist was closer in time to the event, and which picture do you think is more accurate? Why?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP TRENTON: TWO COLUMNS AND TWO STREETS

Build the river, the ferry, the two roads and the town, then test why striking from two directions at once worked even though the attack came late.

You will need

- A strip of blue cloth (the Delaware) and a narrow blue ribbon (the Assunpink Creek) with a bridge
- Blocks for about a dozen houses along two streets that meet at the top of town
- About 20 blue tokens (Americans) in two groups, 4 cannon tokens, and about 14 tokens of another color (Hessians)
- Cotton balls (snow) and white paper chips (ice); a timer and one die

Steps

1. Lay out the river, McConkey's Ferry, Trenton, King and Queen Streets meeting at the top, and the Assunpink bridge at the bottom. Draw the River Road and the Pennington Road.
2. The crossing: scatter the ice chips on the river. Move the Americans across in boats, one boat per turn; on each turn roll a die, and on a 1 or 2 the boat is delayed one turn by ice. Count how many turns the crossing takes.
3. Split into two columns: Greene's on the Pennington Road with Washington, Sullivan's on the River Road. Both must arrive on the same turn.
4. Set the Hessians in houses along the streets. When the columns arrive, place cannon at the head of each street. Any Hessian token in the open street rolls a die and is out on 4-6.
5. Try the attack once with both columns and once with only one. Which way closed the Hessians' escape?
6. Write two sentences on why two columns arriving together mattered more than the late start.

Check your work

- My model has the river, the ferry, both roads, both streets and the Assunpink bridge.
- I played the delayed crossing and the two-column attack.
- I can explain why the guns at the head of the streets were so effective.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Delaware from McConkey's Ferry down to Bordentown. Label McConkey's Ferry (Pennsylvania side and New Jersey side), the River Road, the

Pennington Road, Trenton with King and Queen Streets, the Assunpink Creek and its bridge, Trenton Ferry (Ewing's planned crossing), Bristol and Bordentown (Cadwalader). Show the planned crossings with dashed lines and the actual route of Washington's two columns with solid lines. Add a scale bar (McConkey's Ferry is about nine miles above Trenton), a compass rose and a key.

2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7–10 sentences) that a parent will keep: a letter home from one of Glover's boatmen, dated December 27, 1776, telling of the crossing, the march and the morning at Trenton. Include one sentence from Paine's *Crisis* that the soldier might have heard read aloud.

Did you know? A popular story says the Hessians were drunk from Christmas celebrations. Historians who have studied the Hessian records find little evidence of it; the garrison was mostly worn out from days of alarms and patrols. Another story says Rall was handed a note warning of the attack and put it in his pocket unread; it comes from accounts written later and may or may not be true. Lieutenant James Monroe, wounded at Trenton, became the fifth President of the United States.

Primary source. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, Number I (December 1776), opening paragraph. From The Writings of Thomas Paine, Volume 1, Project Gutenberg eBook #3741.*

"THESE are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value."

Go deeper. David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (2004), the definitive account, fair to the Hessians and the British; David McCullough, *1776* (2005); Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, free on Project Gutenberg. Washington Crossing Historic Park (Pennsylvania) and the Old Barracks Museum in Trenton have visitor pages and reenactment dates. Second video topic: the Battle of Princeton, January 3, 1777.

Goes deeper in. History, the American Revolution (coming soon); Literature, persuasive writing and Thomas Paine; Earth Science, river ice and winter storms; Art, comparing Trumbull and Leutze.

For families. The Hessian force is given as about 1,400–1,500; casualties (about 22 killed, 83 wounded, nearly 900 captured) follow common modern counts, which differ slightly. Two Americans are usually said to have died of exposure on the march. The first *Crisis* paper appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on December 19, 1776, and as a pamphlet soon after; tradition says Washington had it read to the troops before the crossing, but this is not certain, and the stop does not claim it. Paine's later writings

attacked Christianity, which families may wish to know; this stop quotes only his 1776 call to perseverance. The drunken-Hessians story is identified as a legend.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Washington, about 3 a.m., December 26, on the New Jersey bank. The crossing is more than three hours late; a storm is blowing; you will now reach Trenton after daylight, and you do not know whether Ewing and Cadwalader have crossed. Will you (a) cancel the attack and recross before you are discovered; (b) march on and attack in daylight; or (c) hide on the New Jersey side and attack the next night? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** Why did only one of the three planned crossings succeed?
3. **MEDIUM** Who were the Hessians, and why were they fighting in America?
4. **MEDIUM** In the Primary source box, what does Paine mean by the “summer soldier and the sunshine patriot”? Why would that line matter to soldiers whose enlistments ended December 31?
5. **CHALLENGE** Washington crossed with about 2,400 men and struck about 1,450 Hessians. About 22 Hessians were killed, 83 wounded and about 900 captured. What fraction of the garrison was killed, wounded or captured? What does the low number killed compared with the number captured tell you about how the battle was won?
6. **CHALLENGE** Washington ordered humane treatment of the Hessian prisoners. Using the just-war tradition (Augustine’s teaching that mercy is owed to the conquered), explain why the treatment of prisoners is part of whether a war is fought justly. Then give one practical reason a commander in 1776 might also have for treating prisoners well.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Ten Crucial Days. Make three cards: December 26 (Trenton), January 2 (Assunpink Creek) and January 3 (Princeton). Read Practice 1 and decide. Then, for January 2, a parent reads: “Cornwallis has come to Trenton with about 6,000 men; your army is backed against the creek. Will you fight, retreat across the river, or slip away by night around his flank?” (Washington left his campfires burning and marched around the British by night to strike Princeton.) Score one point for each choice made with a sound reason, whatever it is.

Scripture. “Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.” (Joshua 1:9, KJV)

God spoke these words to Joshua before he crossed the Jordan. Courage is not the absence of fear; it is doing one’s duty in spite of it. Men who crossed an icy river in the dark on Christmas night needed that kind of courage.

Practice: answers

1. Washington chose (b). He later wrote that he decided to push on because recrossing without being discovered and harassed was impossible. The storm that slowed him also hid his march,

and his two columns struck Trenton together at about 8 a.m. Choice (a) would have wasted the effort and risked attack on the riverbank; (c) would have meant a day in the open in a storm, almost certain discovery, and many men lost to cold.

2. Ice on the river and the storm stopped Ewing from crossing and kept Cadwalader from getting his cannon over, so they could not take part.
3. Professional German soldiers, many from Hesse-Kassel, whose rulers hired them to Britain by treaty. They fought because their princes had contracted them out, not from any quarrel of their own with America.
4. People who support a cause only when it is easy and safe and leave when it becomes hard. Soldiers deciding whether to go home or stay were being told that those who stayed through the hard winter deserved honor, and that what is won at great cost is valued most.
5. $22 + 83 + 900 = 1,005$; $1,005 \div 1,450 \approx 69\%$, about two thirds. Far more surrendered than fell, which shows the battle was won by surprise, position and encirclement (guns down the streets, columns closing both ends of town) rather than by long, bloody fighting.
6. Just war: once enemies surrender they no longer threaten anyone, so harming them serves no just purpose and shows a wrong intention (revenge or cruelty); a war fought for justice must keep justice toward the defeated. Practical: good treatment encouraged other Hessians to surrender or desert, won respect in Europe, and protected American prisoners held by the British, since harshness invites harshness in return.

3.6 SARATOGA (1777): THE TURNING POINT

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the British plan of 1777 to cut New England off along the Hudson, and why it came apart.
- Follow the two battles of Saratoga (Freeman’s Farm, September 19, and Bemis Heights, October 7) and Burgoyne’s surrender on October 17.
- Read the 1778 Treaty of Alliance with France and explain why Saratoga is called the turning point of the Revolution; weigh questions of honor and just conduct raised by the campaign.

Warm-up. In June 1777 General John Burgoyne set out from Canada with a plan, a fine army and great confidence. Four months later he surrendered his whole army. Before you read, list three things that can go wrong for an army marching 200 miles through forest with one road and one river.

Video slot. Video coming. The Saratoga campaign, 1777: Burgoyne’s march, Ticonderoga, Bennington, Freeman’s Farm, Bemis Heights and the surrender, with maps; a second video on the Franco-American alliance of 1778. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, National Park Service Saratoga, The History Guy, Kings and Generals); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Hudson-Champlain corridor

The chain of lakes and rivers (Lake Champlain, Lake George and the Hudson) running from Canada to New York City; whoever held it could split New England from the other colonies.

line of supply

The route by which an army receives food, ammunition and reinforcements. The longer it grows, the weaker the army at its end.

rifleman

A soldier armed with a rifle, more accurate at long range than a musket but slower to load. Daniel Morgan’s riflemen were famous at Saratoga.

redoubt

A small enclosed earthwork fort. Breymann’s redoubt was stormed on October 7.

convention

An agreement between commanders. Burgoyne surrendered under the “Convention of Saratoga,” which promised his men passage home if they did not serve again in America.

alliance

A formal agreement between nations to help each other in war. France allied with the United States in February 1778.

CORE IDEAS

The map. From Montreal, water leads almost all the way to New York City: up the Richelieu River, down Lake Champlain past Fort Ticonderoga, then by a short land carry to the upper Hudson and down the river. In 1777 the stretch between Lake Champlain and Albany was thick forest, swamp and creek, crossed by a single rough road. Near Saratoga the Hudson runs through a narrow valley with wooded bluffs on the west side. At Bemis Heights, Polish engineer Thaddeus Kosciuszko fortified a bluff above the river so that the road could not be passed without a fight.

The people. Lieutenant General John Burgoyne, a capable soldier and a London playwright, led about 7,000 British and German regulars, the Germans mostly from Brunswick under Baron Friedrich von Riedesel, with several hundred Canadians, Loyalists and Native allies. The American Northern Army was commanded first by Philip Schuyler and from August by Horatio Gates. Its fighting leaders included Benedict Arnold, bold and quarrelsome, and Daniel Morgan with his riflemen. New England and New York militia poured in as the summer went on, until Gates had perhaps 15,000 men or more by October. Riedesel's wife, Frederika, traveled with the army with her three small daughters and later wrote a memoir of the campaign.

The plan. London's plan was for Burgoyne to come down the Hudson while a smaller force under Barry St. Leger came east along the Mohawk River, both meeting at Albany. General William Howe in New York was expected to help, but instead he sailed south to take Philadelphia. Burgoyne's plan depended on speed, supplies and frightened Americans. It got none of them.

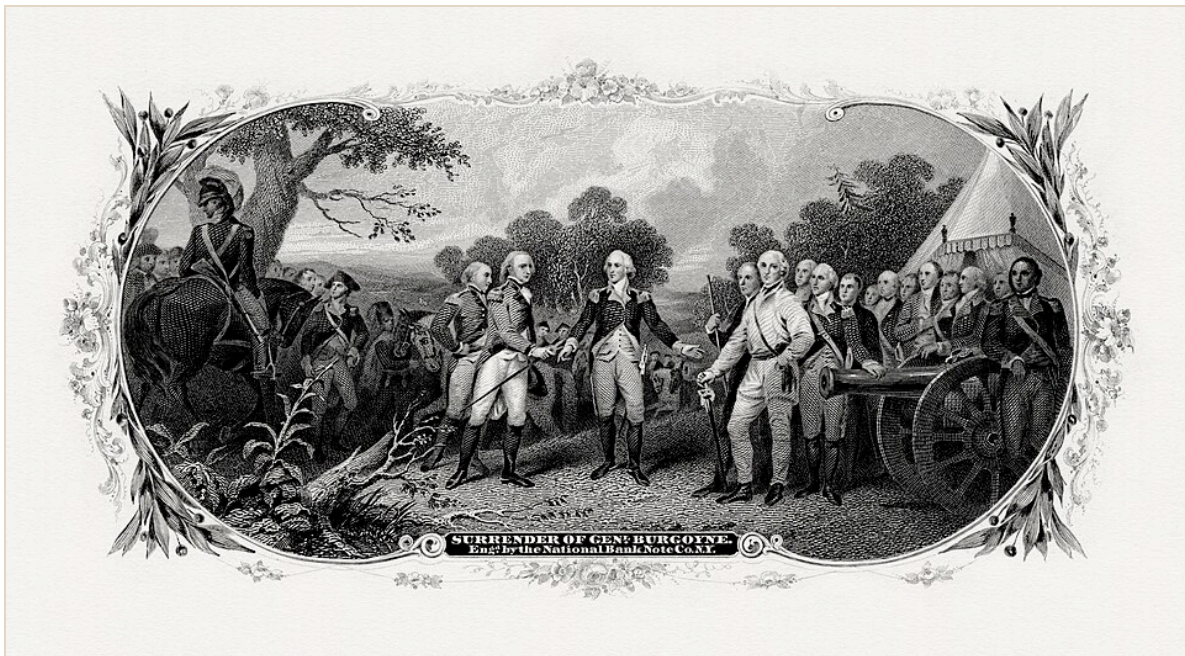
What happened. Burgoyne took Ticonderoga in July, but Schuyler's men felled trees and destroyed bridges, and the army took weeks to cover about 20 miles. In July the killing of a young woman, Jane McCrea, by warriors attached to Burgoyne's army was told across New England and drove many men to join the militia. In August a foraging force was destroyed near Bennington by John Stark's militia, and St. Leger turned back from Fort Stanwix. Burgoyne crossed to the west bank of the Hudson, cutting his own line to Canada. On September 19, at Freeman's Farm, he attacked; Arnold and Morgan met him in the clearings, and he held the field at a cost of about 600 casualties to the Americans' roughly 300. He then waited for help from New York that did not come. On October 7 he sent about 1,500 men forward to test the American left. They were driven back; Arnold, who had been removed from command after quarreling with Gates, rode into the battle anyway and led the storming of Breymann's redoubt, where he was wounded in the leg. Brigadier General Simon Fraser, one of Burgoyne's best officers, was mortally wounded. Burgoyne retreated to Saratoga, was surrounded, and on October 17 surrendered about 5,800 to 6,000 men.

Why it mattered. France had been secretly sending money and arms. The news of Saratoga convinced King Louis XVI's government that the Americans could win, and on February 6,

1778, France signed treaties of commerce and alliance with the United States. Spain joined France in the war in 1779 and the Dutch Republic was at war with Britain from 1780. A colonial rebellion had become a world war in which Britain had to defend the Caribbean, India, Gibraltar and its own coasts.

A just-war question. Under the convention Burgoyne's men were to sail home on parole. Congress, suspicious that they would simply replace other troops in Europe, found reasons to delay, and the "Convention Army" stayed prisoner until the end of the war. Christian teaching on war has always held that promises made to an enemy must be kept; Augustine wrote that good faith is owed even to an enemy. Was Congress right to fear a trick, or did it break its word? Historians still argue.

PICTURE STUDY



Surrender of General Burgoyne, John Trumbull, 1821 (commissioned 1817) · Oil on canvas, about 12 by 18 feet · Rotunda of the United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

This is one of four Revolutionary paintings Congress ordered from John Trumbull for the Capitol Rotunda. Trumbull painted many of the officers from life or from portraits and placed them so that each could be recognized. Gates refuses Burgoyne's sword and invites him into his tent, a gesture of courtesy toward a defeated enemy.

Look closely

- Find Gates and Burgoyne. What is happening to the sword?
- Find Daniel Morgan in his white rifleman's frock. Why might Trumbull make him stand out?
- Look at the line of American officers. How does Trumbull arrange so many men so that each face can be seen?

Talk about it

1. Benedict Arnold was the hero of the battle but later betrayed his country. Do you expect to find him in this painting? Why or why not?
2. Why would a young nation in 1821 want this scene of courtesy, not of fighting, in its Capitol?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP SARATOGA: THE LONG ROAD SOUTH

Model Burgoyne's march from Ticonderoga to Saratoga as a supply game, then fight Bemis Heights on a small sand table.

You will need

- A long strip of paper (the route) marked Ticonderoga, Skenesborough, Fort Edward, Saratoga, Freeman's Farm, Bemis Heights, Albany
- 20 "supply" tokens (beans or buttons), red and blue toy soldiers or blocks
- Twigs or pencils (felled trees); a box lid of sand or a towel over books (the bluffs)
- One die

Steps

1. Supply game: Burgoyne starts at Ticonderoga with 20 supply tokens. Each turn he moves one stage south and spends 2 supplies. The American player places two felled-tree twigs per turn; each twig on the next stage costs one extra turn (and 2 more supplies).
2. At Fort Edward, roll for a foraging raid (Bennington): on 1-3 it fails and Burgoyne loses 3 soldiers and gains no supplies; on 4-6 he gains 4 supplies.
3. At Saratoga, decide: cross the Hudson and cut the line to Canada, or stay. Record your supplies left.
4. Battle: build Bemis Heights as a bluff by the river with Kosciuszko's earthworks. Burgoyne's soldiers must attack through woods and clearings. Americans behind earthworks are hit only on a 6; men in clearings are hit on 4-6.
5. Play Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights. Then explain: what ran out first, men, supplies or time?

Check your work

- My route shows the forts and towns from Ticonderoga to Albany in order.
- I kept a count of supplies and turns.
- I can explain why crossing the Hudson made surrender more likely.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the corridor from Montreal to New York City: the Richelieu River, Lake Champlain, Fort Ticonderoga, Lake George, Fort Edward, the Hudson, Saratoga, Freeman's Farm, Bemis Heights, Albany, the Mohawk River with Fort Stanwix and

Oswego, Bennington, and New York City. Draw Burgoyne's route in red, St. Leger's in orange, and Howe's voyage from New York to Philadelphia with an arrow pointing away. Add an inset of the Saratoga battlefield with the river, the bluffs, Freeman's Farm, the American earthworks and Breymann's redoubt. Include a scale bar, a compass rose and a key.

2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7–10 sentences) that a parent will keep: "Why Saratoga Was the Turning Point." Explain how a surrender in the forests of New York changed the decisions of the king of France, and use one phrase from the Treaty of Alliance.

Did you know? At Saratoga National Historical Park stands the Boot Monument: a carved boot and an inscription honoring a brilliant soldier of the Continental Army who was badly wounded at that spot on October 7, 1777. It never names him, because the soldier was Benedict Arnold, who betrayed the American cause in 1780. In the Saratoga Monument nearby, three niches hold statues of Gates, Schuyler and Morgan; the fourth niche is empty.

Primary source. *Treaty of Alliance Between The United States and France, February 6, 1778, Articles 2 and 8 (Article 8 in part). The Avalon Project, Yale Law School. The original spelling is kept.*

"The essential and direct End of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, Sovereignty, and independance absolute and unlimited of the said united States, as well in Matters of Gouvernement as of commerce."

"Neither of the two Parties shall conclude either Truce or Peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtain'd; ..."

Go deeper. Richard M. Ketchum, *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War* (1997); John F. Luzader, *Saratoga: A Military History of the Decisive Campaign of the American Revolution* (2008), by a former National Park Service historian; Saratoga National Historical Park (nps.gov/sara), with battlefield tour maps. Second video topic: the Battle of Bennington and John Stark.

Goes deeper in. History, the American Revolution and the French alliance (coming soon); Geography, the Hudson Valley and Lake Champlain; Arithmetic, supply and distance problems.

For families. Numbers are approximate: Burgoyne's regulars are usually given as about 7,000; the surrendered army as about 5,800–6,000; Gates's army in October as 15,000 or more counting militia. Casualties for Freeman's Farm (about 600 British and German, about 300 American) follow common estimates. Jane McCrea's death is stated plainly; accounts of exactly who killed her differ. The Convention Army question is presented as a debate, not a verdict. The treaty is quoted from the Avalon Project with its original

spellings. The Native nations that fought on both sides in 1777 (Mohawks and others with the British; Oneidas with the Americans) acted from their own interests and loyalties.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Burgoyne, late September 1777, after Freeman's Farm. You hold the field but lost twice as many men as the Americans. Supplies are short, the militia grows every day, and you have a message that Sir Henry Clinton may move up the Hudson from New York. Will you (a) retreat north toward Ticonderoga while you still can; (b) dig in and wait for Clinton; or (c) attack the American fortifications on Bemis Heights again at once? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** What were the two battles of Saratoga, with their dates?
3. **MEDIUM** Give three reasons Burgoyne's campaign failed.
4. **MEDIUM** Read Article 2 of the Treaty of Alliance. What exactly did France promise to help maintain? Why did Saratoga make this promise possible?
5. **CHALLENGE** Burgoyne began with about 7,000 regulars and surrendered about 5,900 men in all. If about 1,000 to 1,200 of his regulars were killed, wounded, captured or left behind as garrisons along the way, does the arithmetic make sense? What else might explain the numbers?
6. **CHALLENGE** Under the Convention of Saratoga, Burgoyne's men were to be shipped home if they promised not to serve again in America. Congress delayed and kept them prisoner until the war ended. Write a paragraph judging Congress's decision using the Christian teaching that good faith must be kept even with an enemy. Give Congress's reasons fairly.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Waiting for Clinton. Play Burgoyne's three weeks after Freeman's Farm. Each "day" (one minute), the Burgoyne player draws a slip from a cup: "Food ration cut," "Militia arrive (+500 Americans)," "A messenger from Clinton: maybe," "Deserters leave," "Rain." After each slip, Burgoyne may stay, retreat or attack. Keep a tally of food and of the American army's size. When Burgoyne finally acts, compare his choice with Practice 1. The best player is the one who can say exactly when retreat stopped being possible.

Scripture. "I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." (Ecclesiastes 9:11, KJV)

Burgoyne had the stronger, better-trained army and a confident plan, and he lost it all. Solomon's words warn against trusting in strength and cleverness alone. For Christians, "time and chance" are not luck but the working of God's providence, which no general can command.

1. Burgoyne chose (b) and waited almost three weeks. Clinton took forts in the Hudson Highlands but never came close. On October 7, with food running out, Burgoyne tried a reconnaissance in force, a half-measure between (b) and (c), which was beaten. Only then did he retreat, too late; he was surrounded at Saratoga and surrendered on October 17. Many historians think (a) right after Freeman's Farm was his last real chance to save the army.
2. Freeman's Farm (September 19, 1777) and Bemis Heights (October 7, 1777); Burgoyne surrendered on October 17.
3. Any three: Howe went to Philadelphia instead of up the Hudson; St. Leger turned back at Fort Stanwix; the defeat at Bennington; slow marching through forest with felled trees and broken bridges; a long, weak supply line; American militia growing as the campaign went on (spurred by news such as Jane McCrea's death); strong American positions at Bemis Heights; Arnold's and Morgan's leadership in battle.
4. The "liberty, Sovereignty, and independance absolute and unlimited" of the United States, in government and commerce. Saratoga proved that the Americans could defeat and capture a whole British army, so France judged that an alliance had a real hope of success and was worth the risk of war with Britain.
5. $7,000 - 1,100 \approx 5,900$, so roughly yes. But the surrendered total included some non-regulars (Canadians, Loyalists, sailors and others), and many of his Native allies and some Loyalists had already left, so the numbers balance only roughly. Good historians treat such figures as estimates that can be cross-checked, not exact counts.
6. Congress's reasons: it feared that Britain would use the returned troops to replace garrisons in Britain or Europe, freeing other regiments to fight in America, which would make the promise worthless; it also raised technical complaints about the surrender (for example, missing equipment and Burgoyne's remarks suggesting the convention had been broken). Against: Gates had given his word in the nation's name, and the tradition from Augustine onward holds that faith given to an enemy must be kept, or no surrender can be trusted. A strong answer weighs both and reaches a reasoned judgment.

3.7 YORKTOWN (1781): THE TRAP CLOSES

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how the American and French armies and the French fleet were brought together at the right place and time in 1781.
- Describe a formal siege (parallels, batteries and the storming of Redoubts 9 and 10) and why Cornwallis could not escape.
- Read the Articles of Capitulation and explain how the war ended in peace, judging its end by the just-war aim of a just and lasting peace.

Warm-up. In August 1781 Washington's army was in New York, Rochambeau's French army was beside it, the French fleet was in the West Indies, and Cornwallis was in Virginia. Six weeks later all four were at Yorktown. On a map, measure roughly how far each had to travel. What would have to go right for them all to arrive together?

Video slot. Video coming. The Siege of Yorktown, 1781: the march from New York, the Battle of the Chesapeake (the Virginia Capes), the siege lines, the storming of Redoubts 9 and 10 and the surrender, with maps; a second video on the Battle of the Chesapeake alone. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, National Park Service Colonial National Historical Park, Mount Vernon, Kings and Generals); preview first.

KEY TERMS

parallel

A siege trench dug parallel to the enemy's works, protecting the attackers' guns; each new parallel moves the guns closer.

battery

A group of cannon placed together, or the earthwork that shelters them.

redoubt

A small enclosed earthwork fort. British Redoubts 9 and 10 guarded the left end of Cornwallis's lines at Yorktown.

capitulation

A surrender on agreed terms, written as numbered articles.

sea control

Command of a stretch of sea so that one side's ships can move and the other's cannot. De Grasse's fleet gave the allies control of the Chesapeake.

Treaty of Paris (1783)

The peace treaty in which Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Yorktown is a small tobacco port on the south bank of the York River in Virginia, opposite Gloucester Point, where the river narrows to about half a mile. The York flows into Chesapeake Bay, and the bay opens to the Atlantic between Cape Charles and Cape Henry, the Virginia Capes. An army at Yorktown with a friendly fleet behind it could be supplied by sea forever. An army there with an enemy fleet in the bay was in a trap: river at its back, enemy in front, and only a narrow escape across the water to Gloucester.

The people. Lord Cornwallis, Britain's most aggressive general in America, had fought through the Carolinas in 1780–1781, winning at Guilford Courthouse but losing many men, and moved into Virginia. His superior in New York, Sir Henry Clinton, ordered him to hold a deep-water base for the navy, and he chose Yorktown, with about 8,000 to 9,000 soldiers and sailors. Opposite him in Virginia was the young Marquis de Lafayette. Washington wanted to attack New York, but the French general, the Comte de Rochambeau, urged Virginia, and when word came that Admiral de Grasse would bring his fleet from the West Indies to the Chesapeake, Washington agreed. Also present were Henry Knox with the American artillery, Alexander Hamilton, Baron von Steuben and thousands of soldiers whose names we do not know, among them the men of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment, many of them Black and Native American soldiers.

The plan. The allied armies marched south from New York in August, leaving camps and false preparations behind to make Clinton think New York was the target. De Grasse sailed into the Chesapeake with about 28 ships of the line and some 3,000 soldiers. On September 5 a British fleet of 19 ships under Admiral Thomas Graves met 24 of de Grasse's ships off the Virginia Capes. The battle was indecisive, but Graves withdrew to New York to repair, a second French squadron arrived from Newport with the siege guns, and the bay was French. By late September about 16,000 to 19,000 American and French troops surrounded Yorktown.

What happened. The allies opened their first parallel on the night of October 6 and began a heavy bombardment on October 9. Cornwallis's lines were strongest in the center; at his left, two redoubts near the river blocked the line of the second parallel. On the night of October 14, about 400 Americans under Alexander Hamilton stormed Redoubt 10 and about 400 French soldiers under Colonel Guillaume de Deux-Ponts stormed Redoubt 9, both with bayonets and unloaded muskets for silence and speed. Both fell within about half an hour. On October 16 a British sortie spiked some allied guns briefly, and that night Cornwallis tried to ferry his army to Gloucester Point, but a squall scattered the boats. On October 17 a British drummer and an officer with a white handkerchief asked for terms. On October 19 the garrison marched out with colors cased while its band played, and laid down its arms. Cornwallis, saying he was ill, sent his deputy, General Charles O'Hara. The British lost about 150 killed in the siege, and about 90 Americans and French were killed. About 7,000 to 8,000 British and German soldiers and sailors became prisoners.

Why it mattered. Britain still held New York, Charleston and Savannah, and fighting continued at sea and in India. But Parliament lost its will. Lord North's government fell in

March 1782, peace talks began in Paris, and on September 3, 1783, the Treaty of Paris recognized the United States as “free sovereign and independent states” (the treaty’s own words, which you can read on the Avalon Project). Victory came from an alliance: without the French army, fleet and money, there would have been no trap.

A just-war question. Augustine taught that the purpose of a just war is peace, and that a soldier should be a peacemaker even in fighting. The end of the Revolution tested that teaching. In December 1783, with the army devoted to him and some officers wishing he would rule, Washington returned his commission to Congress at Annapolis and went home to Mount Vernon. Many in Europe were astonished. A just war ends rightly when the victor seeks peace, not power.

PICTURE STUDY



The Siege of Yorktown, October 1781 (Rochambeau and Washington giving their last orders before the attack), Louis-Charles-Auguste Couder, 1836 · Oil on canvas · Palace of Versailles, Gallery of Battles, France
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

King Louis-Philippe of France turned part of the Palace of Versailles into a museum of French history and ordered great paintings of French victories. Couder’s Yorktown hangs in the Gallery of Battles among scenes from Tolbiac to Wagram. For France, Yorktown was a French victory as much as an American one, and the painting places Rochambeau, not Washington, at the front.

Look closely

- Find Washington and Rochambeau. Who is closer to the viewer, and who is pointing?
- Find the siege works, the guns and the town. Where is the river?
- Count the flags. Which nations are shown?

Talk about it

1. Compare this painting with John Trumbull's *Surrender of Lord Cornwallis* in the U.S. Capitol. How does each nation remember Yorktown?
2. Is it fair for a French painting to put a French general first? What does that tell you about how to read history paintings?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP YORKTOWN: PARALLELS AND REDOUBTS

Build the town, the river and the siege lines, and see how each parallel brought the guns closer until the redoubts had to be taken.

You will need

- A blue strip (the York River) along one side of a table and a smaller blue area (the Chesapeake) at one end
- Blocks for Yorktown and a curved British earthwork line; two small square blocks for Redoubts 9 and 10
- Yarn in two colors for the first and second parallels; 8 cannon tokens
- Blue tokens (Americans), white tokens (French), red tokens (British); paper ships in two colors
- A ruler and one die

Steps

1. Put the British line around Yorktown with the river behind and the two redoubts at the left end near the water. Put Gloucester Point across the river.
2. Fleet first: place British and French ships at the mouth of the bay. Roll for the Battle of the Capes: the French roll two dice and the British one; the higher total controls the bay. If the British win, they may take the garrison off by sea.
3. First parallel: lay the yarn 12 inches from the British line. Cannon can hit targets within 12 inches on a 6.
4. Second parallel: lay it 6 inches from the line; now cannon hit on 4-6. But the second parallel cannot be finished until both redoubts are taken.
5. Storm the redoubts at night: each attacking group of four tokens rolls; a 3 or more takes the redoubt. Then finish the parallel and bombard.
6. Try Cornwallis's escape: move his tokens to boats and roll; on 1-4 a storm scatters the boats. Write two sentences on why the fleet mattered more than any single battle.

Check your work

- My model shows Yorktown, Gloucester Point, the river, the bay and both redoubts.
- I built two parallels and explained why the second needed the redoubts.
- I can explain why control of the Chesapeake decided the siege.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw two maps. First, the eastern seaboard from New York to Virginia, with the allied armies' route south (Philadelphia, Head of Elk, by water down the bay to Williamsburg), de Grasse's voyage from the West Indies, the Battle of the Chesapeake off the Virginia Capes, and the French squadron from Newport. Second, a close map of Yorktown: the York River, Gloucester Point, the town, the British lines, Redoubts 9 and 10, the first and second parallels, the American and French camps, and Wormley Creek and Yorktown Creek. Add scale bars, compass roses and keys.
2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7–10 sentences) that a parent will keep: tell the night assault on Redoubt 10 from the point of view of a soldier in Hamilton's column, and end with what he saw on October 19.

Did you know? Cornwallis asked for terms on October 17, 1781, four years to the day after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. A famous story says the British band played "The World Turned Upside Down" as the garrison marched out; the tale first appears in print decades later, and historians are unsure of it. Washington directed O'Hara to hand the sword to General Benjamin Lincoln, who had been forced to surrender Charleston to the British the year before.

Primary source. *Articles of Capitulation, Yorktown (agreed October 18, signed October 19, 1781), signed by Cornwallis, Thomas Symonds, George Washington, the Comte de Rochambeau and the Comte de Barras (for himself and the Comte de Grasse). The Avalon Project, Yale Law School. Article I, part of Article III and Article IV.*

"The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the officers and seamen of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as other mariners, to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France."

"... The garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or German march."

"Officers are to retain their side-arms. Both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind; and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection."

Go deeper. Richard M. Ketchum, *Victory at Yorktown: The Campaign That Won the Revolution* (2004); Nathaniel Philbrick, *In the Hurricane's Eye: The Genius of George Washington and the Victory at Yorktown* (2018), strong on the naval side; Colonial National Historical Park (nps.gov/colo), with the battlefield tour and the reconstructed redoubts. The Treaty of Paris (1783) is on the Avalon Project. Second video topic: Washington's resignation of his commission at Annapolis, December 23, 1783.

Goes deeper in. History, the American Revolution and the Treaty of Paris (coming soon); Geography, Chesapeake Bay and the Virginia Tidewater; Arithmetic, distance and time problems for the march south.

For families. Numbers are approximate and vary by source: allied forces about 16,000–19,000 (roughly half French, counting de Grasse’s troops); the British garrison about 8,000–9,000 with sailors; killed about 150 British and about 90 allied. The Avalon Project dates the Articles October 18; they were signed on October 19. “The World Turned Upside Down” is presented as a legend. Formerly enslaved people who fled to British lines, and the many who suffered from disease in Yorktown, were part of the story; the stop mentions Black soldiers of the 1st Rhode Island plainly as part of the American army. The treaty phrase in “Why it mattered” is from the Treaty of Paris on the Avalon Project.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Cornwallis, October 15, 1781. Redoubts 9 and 10 have fallen, and allied guns will soon fire from point-blank range. No relief fleet has come. Will you (a) ask for terms now to save your men; (b) launch a sortie to spike the allied guns and buy time; or (c) ferry the army across the river to Gloucester Point by night and try to break out north? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** Why was the Battle of the Chesapeake (September 5, 1781) so important to the siege?
3. **MEDIUM** What is a parallel, and why did the allies have to take Redoubts 9 and 10?
4. **MEDIUM** Read the Articles of Capitulation. Name two terms that protected the British officers and soldiers, and one that marked their defeat.
5. **CHALLENGE** Washington’s army marched from near New York (leaving August 19) to Williamsburg, roughly 450 miles by road and water, arriving in mid-September (about 26 days). What was its average distance per day? Why was that a hard pace for an army with wagons and guns?
6. **CHALLENGE** Augustine taught that the goal of a just war is peace. Explain how Washington’s resignation of his commission in December 1783 fits that teaching, and why it mattered for the new nation.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Allied Council. Three players: Washington, Rochambeau and de Grasse (by letter). It is mid-August 1781. Washington has long wanted to attack New York; Rochambeau favors Virginia; a letter from de Grasse has just arrived saying he can come north only to the Chesapeake, and only until mid-October. Each player argues for one minute. The council must agree on a target, a route and a date. Then read the core ideas and compare. Score a point for each player who changed his mind for a good reason, because alliances are won by listening as well as by fighting.

Scripture. “Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.” (Matthew 5:9, KJV)

Yorktown did not end the war by itself; it opened the way to a peace treaty. Our Lord blesses those who make peace. A soldier's highest honor is not the battle he wins but the peace he helps to build after it.

Practice: answers

1. Cornwallis tried (b) and then (c). Before dawn on October 16 a sortie spiked several guns, but they were repaired within hours. That night he began moving troops to Gloucester, but a sudden squall scattered the boats and the attempt was abandoned. On October 17 he chose (a). A relief fleet with Clinton sailed from New York on October 19, the day of the surrender, far too late.
2. Although indecisive, it led the British fleet to withdraw, leaving the French in control of the bay; Cornwallis could not be rescued or supplied by sea, and the French could bring in siege guns.
3. A parallel is a siege trench dug parallel to the enemy's lines to shelter guns. The two redoubts stood in the path of the second parallel; until they were taken, the trench could not be completed to the river and the guns could not be brought close enough on that side.
4. Protections: officers kept their side-arms; officers and soldiers kept their private property; baggage and papers were not to be searched. Marks of defeat: they surrendered as prisoners of war, marched out with colors cased (flags rolled up), and the garrisons of York and Gloucester gave themselves up to the combined forces of America and France.
5. $450 \div 26 \approx 17$ miles per day. That is a steady pace for an army moving thousands of men, horses, wagons and heavy guns on dirt roads and boats, with river crossings and supply to arrange; it required careful planning and help from the French treasury to pay and feed the troops.
6. A war fought for a just peace should not end with the victorious general taking power. By returning his commission to Congress and going home, Washington showed that the army had fought for the people's liberty and lawful government, not for its commander. It established that the military in the United States serves under civilian authority, and it made the peace a real peace rather than a new kind of rule by force.

3.8 TRAFALGAR (1805): “ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY”

OBJECTIVES

- Explain Napoleon’s plan to invade Britain, the long chase of 1805 and why the Combined Fleet left Cádiz in October.
- Analyze Nelson’s plan to attack in two columns and break the enemy line, including the risks he accepted.
- Read Nelson’s prayer from the morning of the battle as a primary source and use it to discuss the just-war duty of “humanity after victory.”

Warm-up. A ship of the line in 1805 carried 74 to more than 100 heavy guns, nearly all of them on its sides. A ship sailing straight toward the enemy could hardly fire back at all. Nelson planned to sail straight at the enemy for perhaps half an hour under fire. Before you read, write one sentence: why would a careful admiral accept that risk?

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805: Napoleon’s invasion plan, Nelson’s two columns, the signal “England expects,” HMS Victory and the Redoubtable, Nelson’s death and the storm after the battle, with animated maps; a second video touring HMS Victory at Portsmouth. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Epic History TV, Royal Museums Greenwich, the National Museum of the Royal Navy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

ship of the line

The largest class of sailing warship, strong enough to stand in the line of battle; HMS Victory carried about 100 guns on three gun decks.

line of battle

The usual fighting formation of sailing fleets: ships in a single line, bow to stern, so that every broadside could fire.

breaking the line

Sailing through a gap in the enemy’s line to cut it in pieces and fight part of it with superior numbers.

raking fire

Fire into the bow or stern of a ship, which travels the length of its decks; the most dangerous fire in sailing warfare.

Combined Fleet

The allied French and Spanish fleet under Vice Admiral Pierre de Villeneuve, with Admiral Federico Gravina commanding the Spanish.

flag signal

A message sent by hoisting numbered flags; in 1805 the Royal Navy used Sir Home Popham's code, in which numbers stood for whole words.

CORE IDEAS

The map. Cape Trafalgar is a low headland on the Atlantic coast of Spain, between the port of Cádiz and the Strait of Gibraltar. On October 21, 1805, the wind was light from the west-northwest and a heavy swell was rolling in from the Atlantic, a sign of a coming storm. The Combined Fleet of 33 ships of the line was strung out in a ragged, curving line about five miles long, heading north back toward Cádiz. Nelson's 27 ships of the line were to windward, to the west, so he could choose how and where to attack, but in so light a wind his ships closed at only a walking pace.

The people. For two years Napoleon had gathered an army of perhaps 150,000 men near Boulogne to cross the Channel; he needed his fleets to hold the Channel for a few days. In 1805 Villeneuve led the British on a chase to the West Indies and back, fought an indecisive action with Admiral Robert Calder in July, and took refuge in Cádiz. By late August Napoleon had given up the invasion and marched his army east against Austria; on October 20 he forced an Austrian army to surrender at Ulm. He ordered Villeneuve into the Mediterranean and sent an admiral to replace him; Villeneuve sailed before his successor arrived. Vice Admiral Lord Nelson, 47, had lost the sight of an eye and his right arm in earlier battles and was loved by his officers and seamen for his courage and kindness. His second, Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, was a steady, devout and careful seaman. On the other side, Spanish captains such as Cosme Damián Churrua and Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, and the French captain Jean-Jacques Lucas of the *Redoutable*, fought with great courage.

The plan. In a memorandum of October 9, Nelson explained his plan to his captains, the "Nelson touch." The fleet would attack in two columns, one led by himself in HMS *Victory* and one by Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*. They would break the enemy line and overwhelm its center and rear before the leading ships could turn back to help. In the confusion his captains were to act on their own judgment, and he told them that a captain who placed his ship close alongside an enemy could not go far wrong. The danger was the approach, when the leading British ships would take raking fire without being able to answer.

What happened. At about 11:45 a.m. Nelson ordered the signal "England expects that every man will do his duty." Shortly after noon Collingwood's *Royal Sovereign* broke into the enemy line; perhaps 45 minutes later *Victory* passed astern of Villeneuve's flagship *Bucentaure*, firing a raking broadside into her stern, and then locked against the *Redoutable*. At about 1:15 Nelson, walking his quarterdeck in his admiral's coat, was shot by a musketeer in the *Redoutable*'s rigging. He was carried below, where he died at about 4:30 p.m., after being told the victory was complete. By evening the British had taken 17 ships, and an 18th, the French *Achille*, had blown up; no British ship was lost. About 450 British seamen and marines were killed and about 1,200 wounded. French and Spanish losses were far heavier: about 4,400 killed, about 2,500 wounded and some 7,000 or more taken prisoner. Then the

storm came. Over the next days most of the captured ships sank, were wrecked or were retaken, and British crews worked to rescue the men aboard them.

Why it mattered. Trafalgar did not stop an invasion; Napoleon had already turned east. But it ended any hope of one, and Britain's command of the sea was not seriously challenged for a century. Napoleon turned to economic war, trying to close Europe to British trade, a plan that led him into Spain and Russia. Nelson was buried in St Paul's Cathedral in January 1806, and Nelson's Column was raised in Trafalgar Square in the 1840s.

A just-war question. On the morning of the battle Nelson wrote a prayer asking that "humanity after victory" would mark the British fleet. The just-war tradition asks not only whether a war is just but whether it is fought justly, including mercy to the defeated. After the battle Collingwood sent many wounded Spanish prisoners ashore to Cádiz, and the Spanish cared for British sailors wrecked on their coast. Do victors show their character in battle, or afterward?

PICTURE STUDY



The Death of Nelson, 21 October 1805, Arthur William Devis, 1807 · Oil on canvas · National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London
Wikimedia Commons · CC BY 4.0

Arthur William Devis went aboard the *Victory* when she returned to England with Nelson's body, made studies there, and painted the men who were present, including Captain Hardy and the surgeon William Beatty. The painting is quiet and dark, arranged like the old paintings of mourners gathered around a fallen hero. Nothing in it is graphic; it is a picture of grief and duty.

Look closely

- Follow the light. Where does it fall most brightly, and where does it fade?
- Count the people. How does Devis arrange them so the eye moves to Nelson?
- Look at faces and hands. What feelings does each group show?

Talk about it

1. Why might Devis paint this scene below decks, rather than the battle itself?
2. This painting shows a death without showing violence. Why is that a wise choice for a picture meant to honor someone?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP TRAFALGAR: TWO COLUMNS AGAINST THE LINE

Fight Trafalgar on a floor or table and test Nelson’s plan against the traditional line of battle.

You will need

- A large blue area (floor or sheet), with Cape Trafalgar and Cádiz marked at one edge
- About 33 tokens for the Combined Fleet (use two shades for French and Spanish) and 27 for the British; mark *Victory*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Bucentaure* and *Redoutable*
- A ruler, a strip of cardboard as a “broadside arc,” and one die
- A paper fan (the light west wind)

Steps

1. Set the Combined Fleet in a long curved line heading north. Set the British in two columns to the west, the wind behind them.
2. Rules: ships move 2 inches per turn. A ship may fire only out of its sides (hold the cardboard strip at right angles to the ship). A ship pointed straight at the enemy cannot fire. Hits: roll 5–6 at long range (over 6 inches), 3–6 at close range. A stern-on (raking) shot counts as two hits. Four hits and a ship strikes its colors.
3. Play the approach. Count how many hits the leading British ships take before they reach the line.
4. Break the line: each column passes through a gap and engages the center and rear. The enemy van must spend three turns turning back.
5. Now reset and play a traditional line battle: both fleets sail side by side and exchange broadsides. Compare the results of the two methods.
6. Write two sentences: what did Nelson give up, and what did he gain?

Check your work

- My model shows the wind, Cape Trafalgar, Cádiz and both fleets.
- I played both the two-column attack and a line battle.
- I can explain raking fire and why the approach was dangerous.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the coast from Cádiz to the Strait of Gibraltar with Cape Trafalgar and Gibraltar. Show the wind (west-northwest) and the swell. Draw the Combined Fleet as a curved line heading north, and the two British columns approaching from the west, with *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign* at their heads. Mark where each column broke the line and the position of *Bucentaure* and *Redoutable*. Add an inset map of Europe showing Boulogne, Ulm and Cádiz to explain the campaign of 1805. Add a scale bar, a compass rose and a key.
2. **Narration.** Write one paragraph (7–10 sentences) that a parent will keep: describe the morning of October 21 from the point of view of a young seaman aboard *Victory*, from first sight of the enemy to hearing the signal. Use one phrase from Nelson's prayer that the seaman might have heard about afterward.

Did you know? Nelson first proposed “England confides that every man will do his duty.” His signal officer, Lieutenant John Pasco, later recalled suggesting “expects,” because it was in the code book and could be sent with one hoist, while “confides” would have had to be spelled out letter by letter; “duty” still had to be spelled. HMS *Victory*, launched in 1765, is preserved in dry dock at Portsmouth and is still the flagship of the First Sea Lord. It is the oldest naval ship still in commission anywhere.

Primary source. *Nelson's prayer, written in his private diary on board the Victory on the morning of the battle, under the heading “October 21st, 1805. Then in sight of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.” As printed in William Beatty (surgeon of the Victory), Authentic Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson (1807), Project Gutenberg eBook #15233.*

“MAY the great GOD whom I worship grant to my Country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it, and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British Fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to Him that made me; and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my Country faithfully! To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

Go deeper. Robert Southey, *The Life of Nelson* (1813), a classic, free on Project Gutenberg; William Beatty, *Authentic Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson* (1807), a short eyewitness account, free on Project Gutenberg; Roy Adkins, *Nelson's Trafalgar* (2004; British title *Trafalgar: The Biography of a Battle*), drawn from letters and memoirs of men on both sides. The National Museum of the Royal Navy (HMS *Victory*) and Royal Museums Greenwich have online collections. Second video topic: life on a ship of the line (the gun deck, food and the watches).

Goes deeper in. History, the French Revolution and Napoleon (coming soon); Geography, the Iberian Peninsula and the Strait of Gibraltar; Earth Science, wind, swell and storms at

sea; Art, Turner's and Devis's paintings of Trafalgar.

For families. Numbers follow common modern counts and vary by source (British killed about 450, wounded about 1,200; French and Spanish killed about 4,400, wounded about 2,500, prisoners some 7,000 or more). Nelson's death is stated without description; Devis's painting is solemn and not graphic. Nelson's private life included a widely known relationship that the stop does not discuss. The prayer is quoted from Beatty's 1807 narrative on Project Gutenberg. Pasco's account of the signal was given years later and is presented as his recollection. Nelson's memorandum is paraphrased, not quoted. French and Spanish officers and seamen are honored for their courage.

PRACTICE

1. **MEDIUM Choose your move.** You are Nelson, the morning of October 21. You have 27 ships of the line against 33, the wind is light, and a storm is coming. Will you (a) form a single line alongside the enemy and fight broadside to broadside in the traditional way; (b) attack in two columns straight at the enemy line to break it, accepting raking fire on the approach; or (c) shadow the enemy and wait for a stronger wind? Decide before reading the answer.
2. **EASY** Who commanded the two British columns, and in which ships?
3. **MEDIUM** Napoleon had already given up invading Britain before Trafalgar. Why, then, did the battle matter so much?
4. **MEDIUM** Read Nelson's prayer in the Primary source box. Name three things he asks for, and explain what "humanity after victory" means.
5. **CHALLENGE** Of the 33 ships in the Combined Fleet, 18 were taken or destroyed on October 21. About 4,400 of its men were killed, compared with about 450 British. What percentage of the fleet was lost that day? About how many enemy were killed for every British sailor killed? Suggest two reasons for the difference.
6. **CHALLENGE** In the just-war tradition, a just war must be fought justly as well as begun justly. Using Nelson's prayer and the rescue of men from sinking prizes in the storm after the battle, write a paragraph explaining why mercy to the defeated is part of justice, not only kindness. Give one reason it may be hard in practice.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Signal Flags. Make ten paper flags numbered 0 to 9. Write a short code book of your own in which a three-digit number stands for each word of the signal except "duty," which must be spelled letter by letter with a one- or two-digit number for each letter, as in 1805. One player is the signal officer, the other reads through a "telescope" (a paper tube) across the room and decodes. Time how long the signal takes. Then play Practice 1 as Nelson and discuss: why did a fleet that could only talk in flags need captains who could think for themselves?

Scripture. "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; These see the works of the LORD, and his wonders in the deep." (Psalm 107:23-24, KJV)

Sailors of every navy knew the power of the sea, and after Trafalgar the storm destroyed more ships than the battle had. The psalm calls those who work on the sea to see God's greatness in it and to remember, as Nelson's prayer did, that their lives are in His hands.

Practice: answers

1. Nelson chose (b), as he had planned on October 9. The leading ships took heavy fire on the slow approach, but once they broke through, the British fought the enemy center and rear at close range with superior gunnery while the enemy van was slow to turn back. Seventeen ships were taken and one destroyed, with no British ship lost. (a) usually produced indecisive battles; (c) risked letting the Combined Fleet reach Cádiz before the storm.
2. Nelson in HMS Victory led one column; Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign led the other.
3. It destroyed most of the Combined Fleet and ended any future hope of invasion; it gave Britain command of the sea for about a century; and it pushed Napoleon toward economic war against Britain (closing Europe to British trade), which led him into his costly wars in Spain and Russia.
4. He asks for a great and glorious victory for his country and for Europe; that no misconduct tarnish it; that humanity after victory mark the British fleet; and God's blessing on his service, committing his life to God. "Humanity after victory" means mercy and decent treatment of the defeated: caring for wounded and captured enemies and not taking revenge.
5. $18 \div 33 \approx 55\%$. $4,400 \div 450 \approx 9.8$, nearly 10 to 1. Reasons: British crews were more practiced and fired faster after years at sea on blockade, while many French and Spanish crews had spent long months in port and included many inexperienced men; once the line was broken, British ships fought enemy ships at close range in favorable positions, sometimes two on one; ships that blew up or were wrecked added to the losses.
6. Once enemies surrender or are helpless, they are no longer a threat; harming or abandoning them serves no just purpose and would turn a war for defense into cruelty or revenge. Augustine taught that mercy is owed to the conquered, and Nelson's prayer asks that humanity be "the predominant feature" after victory. Hard in practice: in the storm, saving prisoners risked British ships and crews already damaged and short-handed; sailors who had just lost friends had to put aside anger; and prisoners might try to retake the ships, as some did.

TRAIL 3 BADGE QUIZZES

The badge quizzes are optional and may be written or oral. Answers should be in full sentences and give reasons where asked. Four right out of five on Badge quiz 1 earns the first badge; five right out of six on Badge quiz 2 earns the second. Badges and the certificate are earned by doing the stops, not by scores.

Badge quiz 1 (Stops 1-5)

1. Why was it so hard for the Armada to join with the Duke of Parma's army, and what broke the Spanish crescent at last?
2. Who defended Vienna in 1683, who led the relief army, and what was the final blow on September 12?
3. How did the British reach the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and what was Montcalm's fateful decision?
4. What was the purpose of the British march on April 19, 1775, and where did the British suffer most of their losses?
5. Why did Washington attack Trenton at the end of December 1776, and how did the guns help win the battle?

Badge quiz 2 (Stops 6-8)

6. Name two reasons Burgoyne's 1777 campaign failed.
7. Why is Saratoga called the turning point of the Revolution?
8. What did the French fleet do at Yorktown that the American army could not do for itself?
9. What were Redoubts 9 and 10, who stormed them, and why did they matter?
10. Describe Nelson's plan at Trafalgar and the risk it accepted.
11. State Aquinas's three conditions for a just war, and give one example from this trail of a question about how a war is fought (not why).

TRAIL CERTIFICATE: MY BATTLE MAP BOOK: THE AGE OF SAIL AND THE AMERICAN FOUNDING, AND THE TRAIL C CERTIFICATE

Gather the eight terrain maps and eight narrations from this trail into one booklet with a cover: "My Battle Map Book: The Age of Sail and the American Founding," your name and the dates you began and finished. Add a timeline page from 1588 to 1805 with all eight battles and at least four other events (for example, the Treaty of Karlowitz, 1699; the Treaty of Paris, 1763; the Declaration of Independence, 1776; the Treaty of Alliance, 1778; the Treaty of Paris, 1783).

Write a one-page essay (four or five paragraphs): "Was it a just war?" Choose one battle from this trail, explain its causes, apply Aquinas's three conditions and at least one question of conduct, quote the stop's primary source at least once, and give a fair hearing to the other side before reaching your judgment.

When the booklet and essay are done, a parent reads them, signs the Trail C certificate and keeps the narrations.

- **Eight maps:** Each battle has a terrain map with title, date, key, scale and compass rose, showing the ground and the movement of both sides accurately.
- **Narrations and timeline:** Eight complete narration paragraphs, each with accurate facts; the timeline places the battles and treaties in correct order.
- **Use of sources:** The essay quotes a primary source accurately, names its author and date, and notes its point of view.
- **Reasoning and fairness:** The essay applies the just-war conditions clearly, judges people by the standards of their own time, treats both sides fairly and reaches a reasoned conclusion.

Answer key

1. The Flanders coast had no deep-water harbor, only shallow sandbanks where big ships could not go, and Dutch ships waited in the shallows to attack Parma's barges. The English fireships off Calais on the night of August 7-8, 1588, made the Spanish cut their cables and scatter.
2. Count Starhemberg defended the city; King Jan III Sobieski of Poland led the relief army (with Charles of Lorraine); the final blow was a great cavalry charge of perhaps 18,000-20,000 horsemen led by the Polish winged hussars down from the Vienna Woods.
3. They drifted down the St. Lawrence at night on the ebb tide, passed the sentries as supposed supply boats, landed at the Anse au Foulon and climbed a narrow cliff path. Montcalm attacked at once instead of waiting for Bougainville's troops or holding the city, and his line broke under British volleys.
4. To seize or destroy the military stores at Concord. Most losses came on the 18-mile retreat to Boston, as militia from many towns fired from cover along the road.
5. His army was shrinking, enlistments ended December 31, and the cause needed a victory; Trenton was an exposed Hessian outpost. Knox's cannon at the head of King and Queen Streets fired down their length, so the Hessians could not form in the streets.
6. Any two: Howe went to Philadelphia instead of up the Hudson; St. Leger turned back; the defeat at Bennington; slow progress through forest; a long supply line cut when he crossed the Hudson; growing militia; strong American positions on Bemis Heights; Arnold and Morgan in battle.
7. The capture of a whole British army convinced France that the Americans could win, and France signed a Treaty of Alliance on February 6, 1778; Spain and the Dutch later joined the war against Britain, making it a world war.
8. It won control of Chesapeake Bay after the Battle of the Chesapeake (September 5, 1781), so Cornwallis could not be rescued or supplied by sea, and it brought troops and siege guns.
9. Two British earthwork forts at the left of the Yorktown lines. Americans under Alexander Hamilton took Redoubt 10 and French troops under Deux-Ponts took Redoubt 9 on the night of October 14, letting the allies complete their second parallel and bring their guns to close range.
10. He attacked in two columns, led by himself in Victory and Collingwood in Royal Sovereign, to break the enemy line and overwhelm its center and rear before the van could return. The risk was the slow approach in light wind, when the leading ships took raking fire without being able to reply.

11. Rightful authority, a just cause and a right intention. Examples of conduct questions: the burning of farms and bombardment at Quebec; Washington's treatment of the Hessian prisoners; whether Congress kept faith with the Convention of Saratoga; Nelson's prayer for "humanity after victory" and the rescue of prisoners in the storm.

GREAT BATTLES ✕ TRAIL D: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The fourth trail of the Great Battles track covers eight battles of the nineteenth century: Waterloo and New Orleans in 1815, San Jacinto in 1836, and five battles of the American Civil War (First Bull Run, the duel of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*, Vicksburg, Gettysburg and the surrender at Appomattox). Each battle is taught through **the map, the plan, the people** (their courage and faith) and **why it mattered**. The Civil War stops state plainly, from the secession declarations themselves, that slavery was the central cause of secession, and they honor the courage of soldiers on both sides.

This is the ● **Expert** level, for ages 14 and up. Each stop takes 35 to 50 minutes and is read by the student alone. Students read primary sources copied exactly from the Avalon Project and Project Gutenberg (the Treaty of Ghent, the Texas Declaration of Independence, the Mississippi declaration of secession, a captain's account of the ironclad duel, Grant's memoirs, the Gettysburg Address and Lincoln's Second Inaugural), work with numbers and ranges, and take up just-war questions from Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Every stop has a terrain map to draw, a tabletop activity, a "Choose your move" puzzle, six practice questions with at least two challenges, and a written narration paragraph that the parent keeps. Casualties are given as numbers, deaths are stated plainly but not described, and pictures are chosen for composition and story.

Five stops earn the **Battle Expert badge, part 1**, and all eight earn part 2 and the **Trail D certificate**. The two badge quizzes at the end of the trail are optional; badges and the certificate are earned by doing the stops and keeping the Field Notebook.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

- Read a page of nineteenth-century prose (a speech, letter or treaty) and summarize it in your own words.
- Know the outline of American history from the founding to 1860 (the Constitution, the Louisiana Purchase and westward expansion), or review it first in the History course.

MASTERY CHECKLIST

- ☐ I can place the eight battles of this trail on a timeline and on maps of Europe and North America.
- ☐ I can explain, using the secession declarations, why the Southern states seceded, and explain the war aims of both sides in 1861 and after 1863.
- ☐ I can draw a terrain map of Waterloo, Vicksburg or Gettysburg from memory and explain how the ground shaped the battle.
- ☐ I can read a primary source closely, quote it accurately and weigh how reliable it is.
- ☐ I can apply the just-war conditions of Augustine and Aquinas (lawful authority, just cause, right intention, just conduct and a just peace) to at least two battles on this trail.

OPTIONAL BOOKS AND RESOURCES

- **American Battlefield Trust** (<https://www.battlefields.org>): Free battle maps, animated maps and short articles for New Orleans and every Civil War battle on this trail.
- **The Avalon Project (Yale Law School)** (<https://avalon.law.yale.edu>): Exact texts of the Treaty of Ghent, the Texas Declaration of Independence, the four declarations of causes of secession, the Gettysburg Address and Lincoln's Second Inaugural.
- **Project Gutenberg** (<https://www.gutenberg.org>): Free full texts of Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, *The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story* and Mercer's *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign*.
- **National Park Service** (<https://www.nps.gov>): Pages, maps and virtual tours for Chalmette (New Orleans), Manassas, Vicksburg, Gettysburg and Appomattox Court House.

4.1 WATERLOO (1815): THE RIDGE, THE SQUARES AND THE PRUSSIANS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how Wellington used the ridge of Mont-Saint-Jean, the reverse slope and three forward strongpoints to defend against a larger French army.
- Trace how the arrival of Blücher's Prussians decided the battle, and weigh the parts played by the weather, Grouchy, Ney and the defenders of La Haye Sainte.
- Test the Allied war against Napoleon in 1815 against the just-war conditions taught by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.

Warm-up. Lean a large book against a stack of books to make a slope. Put a toy soldier on the far side, just behind the top edge. Now crouch on the near side with your eye at table level. Can you see the soldier? Can you “hit” it by rolling a marble straight at the slope? The Duke of Wellington hid most of his army just like this on June 18, 1815. Soldiers called it the reverse slope.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Waterloo, 1815: Hougoumont, La Haye Sainte, the cavalry charges against the squares and the Prussian arrival at Plancenoit, with animated maps. Search approved channels (Kings and Generals, Epic History TV, the National Army Museum, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Hundred Days

Napoleon's return to power in 1815, from his landing in France on March 1 to his second abdication on June 22 (a little over a hundred days from his arrival in Paris).

Seventh Coalition

The alliance of Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia, the Netherlands and many German states formed in 1815 to remove Napoleon from power again.

reverse slope

The back side of a ridge, away from the enemy. Troops there are hidden from enemy gunners and can rise to the crest when the enemy comes close.

infantry square

A hollow square of foot soldiers, several ranks deep, with bayonets facing outward on all four sides. Horses will not charge into a steady hedge of bayonets.

Imperial Guard

Napoleon's veteran reserve, the most famous soldiers in Europe, usually kept back for the decisive blow.

just war

The Christian tradition, from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas and after, that asks when war may rightly be fought (lawful authority, just cause, right intention) and how it must be fought.

CORE IDEAS

The road to Waterloo. In 1814 the powers of Europe defeated Napoleon Bonaparte and sent him to rule the little island of Elba. On February 26, 1815, he slipped away, landed in southern France on March 1 and marched on Paris. The troops sent to stop him went over to him, and King Louis XVIII fled. On March 13 the powers meeting at the Congress of Vienna declared Napoleon an outlaw and formed the Seventh Coalition. Austrian and Russian armies would need months to arrive, but two armies were already in Belgium: the Duke of Wellington's Anglo-allied army (British, Dutch-Belgian, Hanoverian, Brunswick and Nassau troops and the King's German Legion) and the Prussian army of Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher, who was 72. Napoleon's plan was to strike first, drive between the two armies and beat each one alone. On June 16 he defeated Blücher at Ligny, while Marshal Ney fought Wellington to a standstill at Quatre Bras. Napoleon then sent Marshal Grouchy with about 33,000 men to follow the Prussians, believing they were falling back toward Germany.

The map. Wellington retreated to a low ridge near the hamlet of Mont-Saint-Jean, just south of the village of Waterloo and about 12 miles south of Brussels. The field was small, only about two and a half miles wide. Wellington placed most of his infantry on the reverse slope, where French gunners could not see them. In front of his line stood three strongpoints like rocks in a stream: the walled château and farm of Hougoumont on his right, the farm of La Haye Sainte in the center beside the Brussels road, and the farms of Papelotte and La Haye on his left. Napoleon formed on a facing ridge around the inn of La Belle Alliance. It had rained hard all night, and the soaked fields slowed horses and guns. Napoleon waited for the ground to dry, and his attack did not begin until about 11:30 in the morning.

The plan. Napoleon had about 72,000 men and about 250 guns; Wellington had about 68,000 men and about 150 guns, and many of his units were young or untried. Napoleon meant to pound Wellington's center with artillery, break it with infantry and cavalry, and open the road to Brussels before anyone could help. Wellington meant only to hold. Blücher had promised to march from Wavre with at least part of his army, and every hour the line stood brought the Prussians closer.

What happened. The fight at Hougoumont began first and lasted all day; British Guards, with Nassau and Hanoverian troops, held its walls and shut its north gate against a French rush. About 1:30 p.m., d'Erlon's corps of some 16,000 men attacked Wellington's left center. Picton's infantry and two British heavy cavalry brigades, including the Scots Greys, drove them back, though the horsemen galloped too far and suffered heavily. About 4:00, Ney, mistaking movement behind the ridge for a retreat, led massed cavalry charges, eventually nearly 10,000 horsemen, against allied infantry formed in squares. The squares held. By about 4:30 Prussian troops under Bülow were attacking the village of Plancenoit on Napoleon's right flank, drawing off his reserves. About 6:30, La Haye Sainte fell after its few hundred King's German Legion defenders under Major George Baring ran out of

ammunition, and French guns came close enough to batter Wellington's center. Around 7:30 Napoleon sent battalions of the Imperial Guard up the slope. British Foot Guards rose from cover, the 52nd Foot swung against the Guard's flank, and the Guard fell back. As more Prussians arrived on the left, the French army broke. Wellington and Blücher met near La Belle Alliance about 9:00 that night.

The people. Wellington spent the day in the saddle, riding to each danger point; nearly every officer on his staff was killed or wounded. Blücher, who had been thrown and trapped under his horse at Ligny two days before, pushed his men along muddy lanes all day to keep his word. Grouchy heard the guns of Waterloo at Walhain, and one of his generals, Gérard, begged him to march toward the sound. Grouchy kept to his written orders and fought a separate battle at Wavre. Historians still argue whether he could have arrived in time.

The numbers. Exact figures are uncertain, but Wellington's army lost roughly 15,000 to 17,000 killed, wounded and missing, the Prussians about 7,000, and the French about 25,000 killed and wounded, with several thousand more captured. Napoleon abdicated on June 22, surrendered to a British warship in July and was exiled to the far island of Saint Helena, where he died in 1821.

Why it mattered and the just-war question. Waterloo ended more than twenty years of war that had begun in 1792. The settlement made at Vienna kept the great powers of Europe out of a general war until 1914, though smaller wars came. It also invites a hard question. Augustine taught that war may be waged only to restore peace and justice, and Thomas Aquinas named three conditions: the authority of the ruler, a just cause, and a right intention. The Allies argued that Napoleon had broken the treaty that sent him to Elba and threatened all Europe. Napoleon answered that the French people had welcomed him back and that he offered peace. A careful student weighs both claims.

PICTURE STUDY



Scotland Forever!, Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler, 1881 · Oil on canvas · Leeds Art Gallery, Leeds, England

Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Lady Butler painted the charge of the Scots Greys at Waterloo sixty-six years after the battle. She never saw a cavalry charge in war, so she studied horses galloping and stood in front of a charging line at a military review to see how it looked head-on. The picture shows the charge against d'Erlon's corps in the early afternoon. Historians note that the Greys actually began at a trot through their own infantry; the painter chose drama over exact detail.

Look closely

- Follow the line of horses from the center to the edges. Why does the charge seem to come out of the frame toward you?
- Find the officer or trumpeter nearest the front. How does the artist use light and smoke to make him stand out?
- Look at the horses' legs. How many hooves are off the ground? What does that tell you about speed?

Talk about it

1. The painting shows no enemy at all. Why might Lady Butler have left the French out of the picture?
2. This is a painting of one charge in a long day. What does it make you feel about Waterloo, and what parts of the battle does it leave out?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP WATERLOO: HOLD UNTIL THE PRUSSIANS COME

Build the field on a tabletop and play the battle in five phases. Your goal is to understand why Wellington needed time more than he needed a victory of his own.

You will need

- A bath towel draped over two or three books (Wellington's ridge) and a second, lower fold of towel about 18 inches away (the French ridge)
- Three small boxes: Hougoumont (right), La Haye Sainte (center), Papelotte (left)
- About 30 blocks or toy soldiers in red (Allied), 30 in blue (French) and 20 in black or gray (Prussian)
- A string or ribbon for the Brussels road
- A kitchen timer or a clock, and the terrain map from your Field Notebook

Steps

1. Lay the road north to south through the middle. Set the three strongpoints in front of Wellington's ridge.
2. Place Wellington's soldiers behind the crest, with a few in each strongpoint. Place the French on their ridge. Keep the Prussians off the table to the east (your left as Wellington faces south).
3. Phase 1 (11:30): attack Hougoumont. Phase 2 (1:30): attack the left center with a big block of French. Phase 3 (4:00): send French cavalry against Allied squares. Phase 4 (6:30): take La Haye Sainte. Phase 5 (7:30): send the Guard up the slope.
4. At the start of Phase 3, bring the first Prussians onto the table near Plancenoit, behind the French right. At Phase 5, bring the rest onto the Allied left.
5. After each phase, write one sentence: what did the French gain, and what did the Allies gain in time?
6. Replay once with a change: Grouchy marches to the sound of the guns and arrives at Phase 4. What happens to the Prussians, and to Wellington?

Check your work

- My ridge, three strongpoints and road are in the right places.
- The Prussians arrived from the east at the right times.
- I can explain in two sentences why La Haye Sainte mattered.
- I tested one "what if" and wrote what changed.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the field of Waterloo, north at the top. Mark Brussels (off the top edge), the village of Waterloo, the ridge of Mont-Saint-Jean, Hougoumont, La Haye Sainte, Papelotte, La Belle Alliance, Plancenoit and the road to Wavre. Shade the Allied line behind the crest in red, the French in blue and the Prussian line of march in black. Add a scale bar (the field was about two and a half miles wide) and a key.

2. **Narration.** In one careful paragraph, tell the story of June 18, 1815, from the point of view of a soldier in one of the squares on the ridge, from the rain the night before to the sight of the Guard falling back. Include at least three true facts with times. The parent keeps this paragraph.
3. Add Waterloo (June 18, 1815) to your trail timeline.

Did you know? The battle takes its name from the village where Wellington slept and wrote his report, though most of the fighting happened at Mont-Saint-Jean, a few miles south. The French at first called it the Battle of Mont-Saint-Jean, and Blücher wanted to call it Belle-Alliance (“fair alliance”). Wellington’s report, written the next day, reached London on the night of June 21, carried by Major Henry Percy with two captured French eagles.

Go deeper. Bernard Cornwell, *Waterloo: The History of Four Days, Three Armies, and Three Battles* (2014), a lively narrative history. Andrew Roberts, *Waterloo: Napoleon’s Last Gamble* (2005), short and clear. Cavalié Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* (1870), an artillery captain’s eyewitness journal, free on Project Gutenberg (eBook #75872; parent preview, as he describes the day honestly). The National Army Museum (London) has online pages on Waterloo and its soldiers. Second video topic: “Closing the gates at Hougoumont.”

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school Modern World History course, the unit “Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna” (coming soon); and Geography, “Belgium and the Low Countries.”

For families. Numbers at Waterloo vary from source to source; the stop gives round figures and ranges. Wellington’s famous remark to the diarist Thomas Creevey that the battle had been a very near thing includes a mild oath, so it is not quoted. We were not able to copy an exact public-domain text of Wellington’s Waterloo Despatch (June 19, 1815) from an approved source, so this stop has no primary-source excerpt; older students may read the despatch in a library collection of Wellington’s papers, where he credits the success of the day to the timely help of Blücher and the Prussians. Lady Butler’s painting is dramatic but shows no wounds. The just-war discussion is for this ● Expert level only.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did Wellington place most of his infantry behind the crest of the ridge?
2. **EASY** Name the three strongpoints in front of Wellington’s line, from right to left.
3. **MEDIUM** Why did La Haye Sainte fall at about 6:30 p.m., and why did its loss matter?
4. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Marshal Grouchy at about noon on June 18. You hear heavy cannon fire to the west. General Gérard urges you to march toward the guns. Your written orders say to follow the Prussians toward Wavre. Will you (a) keep to your orders, (b) march to the guns with your whole force, or (c) send part of your

force to the guns and follow the Prussians with the rest? Give a reason before you read the answer.

5. **CHALLENGE** Wellington had about 68,000 men. Suppose about 50,000 Prussians eventually reached the field. Napoleon had about 72,000 (not counting Grouchy's 33,000). What was the ratio of Allied to French troops on the field by evening? Use your answer to explain Napoleon's whole plan for the campaign.
6. **CHALLENGE** Aquinas taught that a just war needs (1) the authority of the ruler, (2) a just cause and (3) a right intention. Apply each test to the Seventh Coalition's war in 1815. Then give the strongest argument Napoleon could make on his own side.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Wellington's Afternoon. One player is Wellington; the other reads the cards. **Card 1 (1:30 p.m.):** A huge French column is climbing toward your left center. Do you (a) pull back to the next ridge, (b) let your infantry fire from close range and send in your heavy cavalry, or (c) send every reserve to the left? **Card 2 (4:00 p.m.):** French cavalry are pouring over the crest. Do you (a) form squares and let the horsemen swirl around them, (b) counter-charge with your remaining cavalry at once, or (c) retreat behind Hougoumont? **Card 3 (6:30 p.m.):** La Haye Sainte has fallen and your center is thin. Do you (a) retreat toward Brussels, (b) shift reserves from your left as the Prussians arrive there, and hold, or (c) attack at once? After each choice, the reader tells what Wellington did: (b), (a), (b). Score a point for each match, but also score a point for any choice defended with a good reason about the ground, the time or the Prussians.

Scripture. "A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace."
(Ecclesiastes 3:8, KJV)

Europe had known war almost without a break for twenty-three years. Augustine taught that even a just war must aim at peace. Waterloo is a reminder that God sets times and seasons, and that the right end of war is "a time of peace."

Practice: answers

1. On the reverse slope they were hidden from French gunners and protected from much of their fire, and they could rise to the crest to meet an attack at close range.
2. Hougoumont (right), La Haye Sainte (center) and Papelotte with La Haye (left).
3. Its King's German Legion defenders under Major Baring ran out of ammunition. Once it fell, French guns and skirmishers could come close and batter the very center of Wellington's line.
4. Grouchy chose (a). He fought the Prussian rear guard at Wavre while most of Blücher's army marched to Waterloo. Many historians think (b) or (c) could not have arrived in time over the muddy roads, but it might have slowed the Prussians. Any answer with a clear reason about time, roads and orders is a good answer.
5. $68,000 + 50,000 = 118,000$ Allies to 72,000 French, about 1.6 to 1. Napoleon could not beat both armies together, so his plan was to separate them and beat each one alone. When the Prussians joined Wellington, the plan failed.
6. Sample answer: (1) The war was declared by the lawful rulers of the allied nations meeting at Vienna. (2) Their cause was that Napoleon had broken the treaty of 1814 and that his return

threatened renewed war across Europe after twenty years of fighting. (3) Their stated intention was a lasting peace, not plunder, though each power also sought its own interests. Napoleon could argue that the French army and many French people welcomed him, that he offered to keep the peace, and that foreign kings had no right to choose France's ruler. A strong answer weighs both sides and reaches a reasoned judgment.

4.2 NEW ORLEANS (1815): THE LINE AT THE RODRIGUEZ CANAL

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why Britain wanted New Orleans and how the river, the swamp and the Rodriguez Canal shaped Andrew Jackson's defense.
- Use the text of the Treaty of Ghent to judge the common claim that the battle was fought "after the war was over."
- Describe Jackson's mixed army and weigh the hard questions his victory raised about martial law and civil liberty.

Warm-up. How long does it take a message to reach someone across the ocean today? Now find out how long a sailing ship took in 1815: about six weeks from Europe to America in winter. Write down one way slow news could change the outcome of a war. Keep your answer; you will need it.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815: Line Jackson, the Rodriguez Canal and Pakenham's attack, with maps. Search approved channels (the National Park Service, American Battlefield Trust, The History Guy, Kings and Generals); preview first.

KEY TERMS

War of 1812

The war between the United States and Great Britain (1812–1815), fought over the seizure of American sailors, trade restrictions and British support for Native nations on the frontier.

Treaty of Ghent

The peace treaty signed in Ghent (in today's Belgium) on December 24, 1814, which restored the borders as they were before the war.

ratify

To approve a treaty formally so that it takes effect. In the United States the Senate must consent and the President ratifies.

Line Jackson

The mud and timber rampart Jackson's men built behind the old Rodriguez Canal, running from the Mississippi levee to the cypress swamp.

fascine

A tight bundle of sticks or cane carried by attackers to fill a ditch so they can cross it.

martial law

Rule by military authority in place of ordinary civil courts and officials, usually in an emergency.

CORE IDEAS

Why New Orleans. The United States declared war on Britain in June 1812. For two years Britain was busy fighting Napoleon, but after his first defeat in 1814 it sent veteran troops across the Atlantic. In August 1814 they burned Washington; in September they were turned back at Baltimore. Meanwhile peace talks had begun in the Flemish city of Ghent. New Orleans was the next target. Every farmer in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys shipped his crops down the river to that one port. Whoever held New Orleans held the trade of half a continent.

The map. New Orleans sits on the east bank of a great bend of the Mississippi, ringed by lakes, bayous and swamp. On December 14, 1814, British boats captured the five small American gunboats on Lake Borgne. A British force then rowed up Bayou Bienvenue and on December 23 reached the Villeré plantation, only about eight miles below the city. Between the river levee and the cypress swamp lay a strip of flat sugar-cane fields less than a mile wide. That night Jackson attacked the British camp, and though the fight was confused, it made the British cautious. Jackson pulled back two miles to the dry Rodriguez Canal. Behind it his men built a rampart of earth and timber, with gun batteries along it, stretching about three-fifths of a mile from the river into the swamp. Smaller American forces and guns held the west bank across the river.

The people. Andrew Jackson, 47, was a Tennessee militia general who had defeated the Red Stick Creeks at Horseshoe Bend in March 1814. He was sick much of the campaign but drove everyone hard. His army was one of the most mixed in American history: U.S. regulars of the 7th and 44th Infantry; Tennessee and Kentucky militia; Louisiana militia and Creole volunteers; two battalions of free men of color; Choctaw warriors; Marines and sailors; and Jean Lafitte's Baratarians, privateers and smugglers whose skilled gunners served some of Jackson's cannon. About 4,000 to 5,000 men held the main line. The British commander, Major General Sir Edward Pakenham, 36, was the Duke of Wellington's brother-in-law and a hero of the Peninsular War. His roughly 8,000 men for the assault included veteran regiments, Highlanders of the 93rd and soldiers of the West India Regiments.

The plan. Probes on December 28 and an artillery duel on January 1 failed to break the line. For January 8 Pakenham planned a night crossing to the west bank under Colonel William Thornton to seize the American guns there and turn them on Jackson's flank. At dawn two columns would storm the rampart, carrying fascines and ladders. Almost everything slipped. The canal dug to move boats to the river partly caved in, so Thornton crossed late and with fewer men. The 44th Regiment, ordered to carry the fascines and ladders, went forward without them. And as the columns advanced, the morning fog lifted.

What happened. In about half an hour the main British attack was shattered by cannon and rifle and musket fire from behind the rampart. Pakenham was killed; General Samuel Gibbs was mortally wounded and General John Keane wounded. General John Lambert, now in command, called off the attack. Across the river, Thornton's men did rout the Americans and take their guns, but too late, and Lambert recalled them. British losses on January 8 were

about 2,000 killed, wounded and captured; American losses on both banks were about 70. The British withdrew by January 18.

Was the war already over? The Treaty of Ghent was signed on December 24, 1814, two weeks before the battle, and many books say the battle was “fought after the war ended.” Read Article I of the treaty below: hostilities were to cease only when both sides had ratified it. The U.S. Senate approved it on February 16, 1815, and the ratifications were exchanged on February 17. Legally, the battle was fought in wartime. Historians still debate whether Britain would have honored the treaty if it had held New Orleans; most think it would have, but no one can be certain.

Why it mattered. The victory filled the country with pride after a war of many defeats, helped bury the Federalist Party, which had opposed the war, and made Jackson a national hero and later president. It also raised a hard question. Jackson kept the city under martial law for weeks after the British left. When a federal judge, Dominick Hall, ordered a prisoner released, Jackson had the judge arrested and expelled. After peace was proclaimed, Judge Hall fined Jackson \$1,000 for contempt of court. Jackson paid it. Students of just war ask not only whether a war is just, but whether its leaders keep the law while they fight.

PICTURE STUDY



The Battle of New Orleans, Jean Hyacinthe de Laclotte, 1815 · Oil on canvas · New Orleans Museum of Art
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Jean Hyacinthe de Laclotte was a French-born architect and engineer who served in the Louisiana militia during the campaign. He saw the ground for himself and painted it from a high, imagined viewpoint so that the whole battle could be seen at once, almost like a map. That makes this painting a kind of primary source as well as a work of art.

Look closely

- Find the river, the swamp and the long American line. How wide is the field compared with its length?
- Find the British columns. How are they arranged as they come toward the line?
- Look for the smoke. Where is the firing heaviest?

Talk about it

1. Why might an engineer choose a high, map-like view instead of a close-up of a few soldiers?
2. What can this painting teach you that a written report cannot, and what can it not show?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP NEW ORLEANS: THE NARROW FIELD

Build the narrow field between river and swamp and see why Pakenham's plan depended on fog, fascines and the guns across the river.

You will need

- A tray, board or piece of cardboard about 2 feet long
- Blue paper or ribbon (the Mississippi) and crumpled green paper or moss (the cypress swamp)
- A pencil line or strip of brown clay across the field (the canal and rampart)
- Blocks or toy soldiers in two colors; toothpicks (ladders) and bundles of twigs (fascines)
- A sheet of tissue paper (the fog) and a ruler

Steps

1. Lay the river along one long edge and the swamp along the other. Measure: keep the dry field narrow, less than a third of the board.
2. Build the rampart across the field from river to swamp, with a few "guns" (bottle caps) along it. Put two guns on the far bank of the river, facing across toward the field.
3. Set two British columns at the far end. Give one column the ladders and fascines and the other none.
4. Lay the tissue "fog" over the British. Advance them three inches. Then lift the fog and advance them the rest of the way. When could the defenders see them?
5. Now play it again, but first move a few British soldiers across the river and capture the far-bank guns. How does that change the defenders' position?

Check your work

- My field is narrow, with the river and swamp on its flanks.
- I can explain why the fascines and ladders mattered.
- I tested what fog and the west-bank guns changed.
- I can tell why the British could not simply go around the line.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the approaches to New Orleans: the Gulf of Mexico, Lake Borgne, Bayou Bienvenue, the Villeré plantation, the Mississippi bend and the city. In an inset box, draw the battlefield: river, levee, Line Jackson along the Rodriguez Canal, the swamp, the British columns and the west-bank positions. Add a key and a scale bar.
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain to a friend who says “The Battle of New Orleans was fought after the war ended” why that is not quite right. Use the treaty’s own words and the dates of signing and ratification. The parent keeps this paragraph.
3. Make a two-column chart: “What went right for Jackson” and “What went wrong for Pakenham.” List at least three in each.

Did you know? Before the battle the Ursuline nuns of New Orleans kept an all-night prayer vigil, and by long tradition a Mass of thanksgiving is still offered every January 8 at their shrine. Jackson himself asked for a service of thanksgiving, held in St. Louis Cathedral on January 23, 1815. Of the three British generals who led the attack on January 8, two were killed and one wounded: they led from the front. The battlefield is now part of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve.

Primary source. *Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814: the opening of the treaty and Article the First (the Avalon Project, Yale Law School).*

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two Countries, and of restoring upon principles of perfect reciprocity, Peace, Friendship, and good Understanding between them ...

There shall be a firm and universal Peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective Countries, Territories, Cities, Towns, and People of every degree without exception of places or persons. All hostilities both by sea and land shall cease as soon as this Treaty shall have been ratified by both parties as hereinafter mentioned.

Done in triplicate at Ghent the twenty fourth day of December one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

Go deeper. Robert V. Remini, *The Battle of New Orleans: Andrew Jackson and America’s First Military Victory* (1999). Walter R. Borneman, *1812: The War That Forged a Nation* (2004). The National Park Service pages for Chalmette Battlefield (Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve) have maps and a virtual tour. The Historic New Orleans Collection has online exhibits on the battle. Second video topic: “The Battle of Lake Borgne, December 14, 1814.”

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the unit “The War of 1812” (coming soon); and Geography, “The Mississippi River and Its Delta.”

For families. Casualty figures follow the commonly cited British official return (about 2,000 on January 8) and American reports (about 70 on both banks); some sources give slightly different totals. The treaty text is copied from the Avalon Project; the Senate gave its consent on February 16, 1815, and ratifications were exchanged the next day. The Ursuline vigil is a well-loved tradition; the details of what Jackson said to the sisters afterward come from later accounts. Jackson's later life, including the Indian Removal Act of 1830, is taught in the History course. The martial-law episode (Judge Dominick Hall, the \$1,000 fine, which Congress refunded in 1844) is stated plainly as a just-war and rule-of-law question for this ● Expert level.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did New Orleans matter so much to the United States in 1815?
2. **EASY** Name four different groups who fought in Jackson's army.
3. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. According to Article the First, when were "all hostilities" to cease? Using the dates in this stop, was the Battle of New Orleans fought in wartime or peacetime?
4. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Pakenham before dawn on January 8. Thornton's force is late crossing the river, the fascines and ladders are not at the front of the column, and the fog is thinning. Will you (a) attack now as planned, (b) delay the main attack until Thornton has taken the west-bank guns, or (c) call off the attack and look for another route to the city? Decide and give a reason.
5. **CHALLENGE** On January 8 the British lost about 2,000 men and the Americans about 70. Find the ratio. Then give three reasons from the map and the plan that explain such a lopsided result.
6. **CHALLENGE** Jackson kept martial law in New Orleans for weeks after the British withdrew and had a federal judge arrested. Afterward he paid the judge's \$1,000 fine. Was Jackson right to keep martial law? Was he right to pay the fine? Answer both questions using the idea that rulers must obey the law, and Romans 13:1-4 if you know it.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Defend the City. One player is Jackson; another reads the cards. **Card 1 (December 23, evening):** Scouts report British soldiers at the Villeré plantation, eight miles from the city. Do you (a) wait in the city behind its walls, (b) attack their camp tonight before more arrive, or (c) fall back upriver? **Card 2 (December 24):** Where do you build your line: (a) in the open fields close to the British, (b) behind the old Rodriguez Canal, a dry ditch already running from the river to the swamp, or (c) at the edge of the city? **Card 3:** Lafitte offers his gunners and supplies if his men are pardoned. Do you (a) refuse to deal with smugglers, or (b) accept? Jackson chose (b), (b), (b). Score a point for each match and a point for any choice defended with a reason drawn from the map.

Scripture. "Except the LORD build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the LORD keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." (Psalm 127:1, KJV)

Jackson's men dug and built and kept watch, and the city gave thanks to God afterward. The psalm does not tell the watchman to sleep; it tells him where his trust belongs.

Practice: answers

1. It was the one port at the mouth of the Mississippi; farmers of the whole Ohio and Mississippi valleys shipped their goods through it.
2. Any four: U.S. regulars, Tennessee militia, Kentucky militia, Louisiana militia and Creole volunteers, battalions of free men of color, Choctaw warriors, Marines, sailors, Lafitte's Baratarians.
3. Hostilities were to cease once both parties ratified the treaty. The United States did not ratify until February 16-17, 1815, so the battle on January 8 was fought while the war was still legally going on, even though the treaty had been signed.
4. Pakenham chose (a) and went forward. He was killed and the main attack failed within about half an hour. Many historians think (b) would have given him a far better chance, since Thornton did capture the west-bank guns later that morning. Any answer that weighs the fog, the missing equipment and the west-bank guns is a good answer.
5. About $2,000 \div 70 \approx 29$ to 1. Reasons may include: the narrow field forced a head-on attack with no way around; the rampart and canal protected the defenders; artillery and rifles swept the flat open ground; the fog lifted; the fascines and ladders were missing; the west-bank attack came too late to help.
6. Sample answer: Martial law can be defended in a true emergency, but once the enemy had gone and news of peace was expected, arresting a judge for doing his lawful duty went too far; the danger no longer justified setting the courts aside. By paying the fine, Jackson submitted to the courts and showed that a general is under the law, not above it. Romans 13 teaches that rulers are God's servants for good and are themselves accountable. A strong answer reaches a judgment and supports it.

4.3 SAN JACINTO (1836): EIGHTEEN MINUTES BY THE BAYOU

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the causes of the Texas Revolution, including the quarrel over Mexico's constitution and the honest place of slavery among them.
- Describe how the ground at the meeting of Buffalo Bayou and the San Jacinto River trapped Santa Anna's army, and why Houston attacked in the afternoon.
- Use the Texas Declaration of Independence and the just-war tradition to judge both the cause of the revolution and the conduct of the battle.

Warm-up. Set a timer for 18 minutes and start it now. Keep it running as you begin the reading. When it rings, stop and look at how far you have gotten. The main fighting at San Jacinto, the battle that won Texas its independence, lasted about that long.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836: Sam Houston's retreat, the Runaway Scrape and the afternoon attack, with maps. Search approved channels (the Texas State Historical Association, the San Jacinto Museum of History, Texas Parks and Wildlife, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Texian

An English-speaking settler in Mexican Texas, most of them from the United States.

Tejano

A Texan of Mexican (Spanish-speaking) descent (say "teh-HAH-no").

centralism

Government run from the national capital, with little power left to the states. Santa Anna's turn to centralism in 1834–1835 helped set off rebellions in several Mexican states, including Texas.

Runaway Scrape

The flight of thousands of Texas families eastward in the spring of 1836 as Santa Anna's army advanced.

Twin Sisters

Two small cannon given to the Texians by citizens of Cincinnati, Ohio, which arrived just before the battle.

Treaties of Velasco

Agreements signed by the captured Santa Anna on May 14, 1836, ending the fighting and promising Mexican troops would withdraw. Mexico's government refused to accept them.

CORE IDEAS

Causes. After winning independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico invited American settlers into its thinly peopled province of Texas through agents called empresarios, the best known being Stephen F. Austin. Settlers promised to become Mexican citizens and Catholics. By the mid-1830s they far outnumbered the Tejanos. Quarrels grew: an 1830 law cut off new immigration from the United States, Austin was jailed in Mexico City for more than a year, and in 1834–1835 President Antonio López de Santa Anna turned against the federal Constitution of 1824 and gathered power into his own hands. Zacatecas rebelled and was crushed in May 1835. Slavery was part of the story as well. Mexico moved against slavery after independence, and many Texian settlers came from the American South and brought enslaved people; the Republic of Texas's constitution of 1836 protected slavery. Historians weigh these causes differently, but an honest account names them all. Many Tejanos, such as Juan Seguín and Lorenzo de Zavala, joined the revolt as defenders of the federal constitution.

The road to San Jacinto. Fighting began at Gonzales in October 1835. Santa Anna marched north with an army of several thousand. On March 2, 1836, delegates at Washington-on-the-Brazos declared independence; on March 6 the Alamo fell and all its defenders were killed; on March 27, by Santa Anna's order, about 340 Texian prisoners were shot at Goliad. Sam Houston, commanding the small Texian army, retreated east for weeks while families fled ahead in the rain. Many of his men called him a coward. He used the time to drill his volunteers and to receive the Twin Sisters.

The map. Santa Anna divided his army and hurried ahead with part of it, hoping to capture the Texas government. He burned Harrisburg and pushed toward Lynch's Ferry. Houston turned to meet him. On April 20 the two camps faced each other on a plain near where Buffalo Bayou meets the San Jacinto River. The Texians camped in an oak grove along the bayou. Santa Anna camped about three-quarters of a mile away across open prairie, with a low rise between the camps and, behind him, the river, marsh and a small lake. He had chosen a place with no room to retreat.

The plan. Houston had about 900 men. On the morning of April 21 General Martín Perfecto de Cos brought Santa Anna about 500 more, raising his force to roughly 1,200 to 1,400, though Cos's men were worn out from an all-night march. Santa Anna expected no attack and let his troops rest. At noon Houston held a council of war; his officers disagreed. He decided to attack that afternoon, in the open, while the enemy rested. He sent the scout Erastus "Deaf" Smith to destroy Vince's Bridge, which cut off the easiest road for reinforcements and for retreat.

What happened. About 4:30 p.m. the Texian line moved across the prairie, hidden by the rise. At close range the Twin Sisters fired, and the line charged, shouting "Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!" The Mexican camp was caught unready, and organized resistance lasted about eighteen minutes. Houston's horse was shot from under him and his ankle was shattered. Then came the worst part of the day: many Mexican soldiers who tried to surrender or escape into the marsh were killed by enraged Texians, and officers could not

stop them for some time. Texian losses were 9 killed or mortally wounded and about 30 wounded; Mexican losses were about 650 killed and about 700 captured. The next day Santa Anna, wearing a plain soldier's clothes, was caught; captured Mexican soldiers gave him away by calling him "El Presidente."

The people. Many Texians wanted Santa Anna hanged for the Alamo and Goliad. Houston refused, judging that the living president could order his armies home and that his death would only prolong the war. Juan Seguín's company of Tejanos fought in the battle. On the Mexican side, most soldiers were conscripts from central Mexico who had marched hundreds of miles through a hard winter; they too served bravely under leaders who failed them.

Why it mattered. In the Treaties of Velasco, Santa Anna agreed to withdraw his troops, and the Republic of Texas lived as an independent nation for nearly ten years, though Mexico never accepted it. When the United States annexed Texas in 1845, war with Mexico followed in 1846, and the land gained in that war sharpened the American quarrel over whether slavery could spread west. A just-war student asks two questions: Was the Texian cause just, given the broken constitution, and given that the settlers had sworn loyalty to Mexico? And even in a just cause, can the killing of men trying to surrender ever be excused? The tradition answers the second plainly: no.

PICTURE STUDY



The Surrender of Santa Anna, William Henry Huddle, 1886 · Oil on canvas · Texas State Capitol, Austin
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

William Henry Huddle painted the scene of the day after the battle, when Santa Anna was brought before the wounded Houston. Huddle worked from portraits and interviewed survivors to paint the faces of real men. The painting hangs in the Texas State Capitol, near the Senate chamber.

Look closely

- Find Houston. Why is he lying down, and how has the artist made him the center of the picture even though he is not standing?
- Find Santa Anna. How is he dressed, compared with the men around him?
- Look at the faces of the Texians around the edges. What do their expressions and poses show about how they feel toward the prisoner?

Talk about it

1. The artist chose the moment of mercy (Houston sparing Santa Anna), not the moment of the charge. Why might he have made that choice?
2. Painted fifty years later, this is a “history painting,” not an eyewitness picture. How should we use it as evidence?

HANDS-ON: SAND-TABLE SAN JACINTO: THE TRAP BEHIND THE CAMP

Build the battlefield in sand or soil and test why Santa Anna’s camp was so dangerous for his own army.

You will need

- A sand table, a large baking pan of damp sand, or a tray of garden soil
- Blue yarn or foil (Buffalo Bayou and the San Jacinto River) and a small blue puddle of foil (the lake)
- Green sponge or moss (the marsh) and twigs (the oak grove)
- About 15 blocks or soldiers in one color (Texian) and 25 in another (Mexican)
- A timer

Steps

1. Shape the bayou along the north edge and the river along the east, meeting at a corner. Put the marsh and lake behind the Mexican position.
2. Raise a low ridge of sand across the middle of the prairie between the camps.
3. Set the Texians in the oak grove by the bayou and the Mexican camp across the prairie, with its back to the marsh. Mark Vince’s Bridge on the road to the west with a twig and then “burn” it (remove it).
4. Advance the Texian line behind the ridge so it cannot be seen. Start the timer for 18 seconds (one for each minute of the real fight) as the line tops the ridge.
5. Now ask: where could the Mexican soldiers go? Trace every possible escape route with your finger. Write down what you find.

Check your work

- My bayou, river, marsh and lake are in the right places.
- I showed how the ridge hid the Texian advance.
- I can explain why the marsh turned a defeat into a disaster.

- I can explain why Houston had the bridge destroyed.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the San Jacinto battlefield with north at the top: Buffalo Bayou, the San Jacinto River, Lynch's Ferry, the oak grove of the Texian camp, the low rise, Santa Anna's camp and breastwork, the marsh and lake behind it, and Vince's Bridge to the west. Show the Texian line of advance with arrows. Add a key and a scale bar (the camps were about three-quarters of a mile apart).
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain why the Texas Revolution happened. Name at least three causes, including the constitutional quarrel and slavery, and say which you think weighed most and why. The parent keeps this paragraph.
3. Copy one grievance from the Texas Declaration of Independence and, beside it, the American Declaration of 1776 grievance it most resembles.

Did you know? The San Jacinto Monument, finished in 1939, is a little taller than the Washington Monument and is topped by a 34-foot star. A Tejano officer, Juan Seguín, later accepted the surrender of San Antonio and gave the Alamo defenders' remains a Christian burial in 1837. Sam Houston, once known for his drinking, was baptized as a believer in Rocky Creek in 1854 and gave up strong drink.

Primary source. *The Texas Declaration of Independence, March 2, 1836 (the Avalon Project, Yale Law School): its opening words and three of its grievances against the Mexican government.*

When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty and property of the people, from whom its legitimate powers are derived, and for the advancement of whose happiness it was instituted ...

It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the dictates of our own conscience, by the support of a national religion, calculated to promote the temporal interest of its human functionaries, rather than the glory of the true and living God.

It has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources, (the public domain,) and although it is an axiom in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened, it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self government.

It has failed and refused to secure, on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury, that palladium of civil liberty, and only safe guarantee for the life, liberty, and property of the citizen.

Go deeper. Stephen L. Hardin, *Texian Iliad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution* (1994). H. W. Brands, *Lone Star Nation: The Epic Story of the Battle for Texas*

Independence (2004). The San Jacinto Museum of History and the San Jacinto Battleground State Historic Site have online maps and artifacts. The Texas State Library and Archives Commission shows William Barret Travis's letter from the Alamo. Second video topic: "Goliad, 1836."

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the unit "Westward Expansion, Texas and the Mexican War" (coming soon); and Geography, "The Gulf Coast."

For families. Numbers are the ones most commonly given (see the Texas State Historical Association's *Handbook of Texas*); sources differ slightly: about 910 Texians; roughly 1,200–1,400 Mexican troops after Cos arrived; Texian losses 9 killed or mortally wounded; Mexican losses about 650 killed and 700 captured. Some details are traditional (the song played by the fifers, Deaf Smith's burning of the bridge, the exact moment Santa Anna was recognized). Slavery is named as one cause among several because historians weigh it differently; the Republic's constitution did protect slavery. The killing of surrendering men is stated plainly and not described. The Declaration excerpt is copied from the Avalon Project.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Who were the Texians and who were the Tejanos? Name one Tejano leader who supported independence.
2. **EASY** Why was Santa Anna's camp a dangerous place for his own army?
3. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Sam Houston at noon on April 21. The enemy has just been reinforced by about 500 tired men. Your officers are divided. Will you (a) wait in your strong position for Santa Anna to attack you, (b) attack at dawn tomorrow, as armies usually did, or (c) attack this afternoon across the open prairie? Give your reasons.
4. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. Which grievance concerns religion, and what does it say the Mexican government's "national religion" promoted? Why might settlers who had promised to become Catholics complain of this?
5. **CHALLENGE** Houston refused to execute Santa Anna, though many of his men demanded it. Give two practical reasons and one moral reason for his choice.
6. **CHALLENGE** Augustine and Aquinas taught that a just war needs a right intention, not revenge, and later Christian writers stressed sparing those who surrender. Use these ideas to judge (a) the Texian cry "Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!" and (b) the killing of Mexican soldiers trying to surrender after the battle.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Long Retreat. One player is Houston; another reads the cards aloud. **Card 1 (March 13):** The Alamo has fallen and Santa Anna's army is coming. Your 400 men are mostly new volunteers. Do you (a) march to fight at once, (b) retreat east and train your army, or (c) scatter into small raiding bands? **Card 2 (mid-April):** Santa Anna has split his army and raced ahead with a smaller part. Do you (a) keep retreating toward the U.S. border, or (b) turn and go after the smaller

force? **Card 3 (April 22):** Santa Anna is your prisoner. Do you (a) hang him, (b) send him to the U.S. government, or (c) keep him alive to order his armies home? Houston chose (b), (b), (c). Talk over each card before revealing the answer. A point for each match; a point for any good reason.

Scripture. “When thou goest out to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, and a people more than thou, be not afraid of them: for the LORD thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.” (Deuteronomy 20:1, KJV)

Houston’s men were outnumbered, and they had to overcome fear. The same chapter of Deuteronomy also commands Israel to offer peace before fighting (20:10). God’s law gives courage in battle and also sets limits on it.

Practice: answers

1. Texians were English-speaking settlers, mostly from the United States; Tejanos were Texans of Mexican descent. Juan Seguín or Lorenzo de Zavala.
2. Behind it lay the river, the marsh and a lake, so if his army was beaten it had almost no way to retreat.
3. Houston chose (c) and attacked about 4:30 p.m., catching the Mexican camp resting and unready; the fight lasted about eighteen minutes. Waiting (a or b) would have let Santa Anna gather the rest of his divided army. Any answer that weighs surprise, the tired reinforcements and the enemy’s divided forces is a good answer.
4. The first grievance says the government denies the right of worshipping “according to the dictates of our own conscience” and that the national religion served “the temporal interest of its human functionaries” rather than God’s glory. Most settlers were Protestants by upbringing who had accepted Catholicism as a condition of land grants; many resented a required state church.
5. Practical: a living, captured president could order the other Mexican armies (thousands of men under Filisola and Urrea) to withdraw, which he did; killing him might have made the war longer and more bitter. Moral: a prisoner, even one guilty of great wrongs, should not be killed in revenge without lawful judgment; mercy to the defeated is part of just conduct in war.
6. Sample answer: (a) Remembering the dead can be a right motive if it means defending people from further wrongs; it becomes a wrong intention when it turns into revenge. (b) Killing men who are trying to surrender is never just, whatever wrongs their army committed at Goliad; it breaks the rule that war must be waged only against those still fighting. A strong answer separates the justice of the cause from the justice of the conduct.

4.4 FIRST BULL RUN (1861) AND STONEWALL JACKSON

OBJECTIVES

- State, from the secession declarations themselves, why the Southern states left the Union, and explain the war aims of both sides in 1861.
- Trace McDowell's flank march, the fight for Henry House Hill and the railroad that brought Johnston's army, and explain why the battle ended in a Union rout.
- Describe Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson as a soldier and a Christian, honestly and in the terms of his own time.

Warm-up. Look at a map of northern Virginia. Measure the distance from Washington, D.C., to Manassas: about 25 to 30 miles. In July 1861 some members of Congress and other civilians drove out from Washington in carriages, with picnic baskets, to watch the first big battle. Before you read, write one sentence: what did they expect to see?

Video slot. Video coming. The First Battle of Bull Run (First Manassas), July 21, 1861: the flank march, Henry House Hill and "Stonewall" Jackson, with animated maps. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, the National Park Service, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

secession

A state's formal withdrawal from the Union. Eleven Southern states seceded in 1860–1861 and formed the Confederate States of America.

declaration of causes

A formal statement by a seceding state explaining why it left the Union. South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia and Texas issued them.

Manassas Junction

The railroad crossing in northern Virginia where the Orange and Alexandria Railroad met the Manassas Gap Railroad from the Shenandoah Valley.

flank march

A march around the side of the enemy's line to attack it from the side or rear.

rout

A disorderly retreat in which an army stops acting as an army and its men scatter.

Stonewall

The nickname given at Bull Run to General Thomas J. Jackson and later to his brigade.

CORE IDEAS

Why the war came. In November 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected president on a platform pledged to stop the spread of slavery into the western territories, though not to

touch it where it already existed. South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860, and by February 1861 seven states had formed the Confederate States of America. Four of them published declarations of their causes, and those documents speak plainly: slavery was the central cause. Mississippi wrote, "Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery" (see the primary source below). After Confederate guns fired on Fort Sumter in April 1861 and Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, four more states, Virginia among them, seceded rather than fight their neighbors. In 1861 Lincoln's war aim was to restore the Union; emancipation became a war aim in 1862-1863. Most Confederate soldiers did not own slaves and fought, in their own minds, for home and state; most Union soldiers fought for the Union. Both things are true at once: slavery caused secession, and ordinary men on both sides fought with real courage for what they loved.

The map. Manassas Junction, about 25 miles southwest of Washington, mattered because of its railroads. A railroad ran west through Manassas Gap to the Shenandoah Valley, where a second Confederate army under General Joseph E. Johnston faced a Union army under General Robert Patterson. Bull Run, a creek with steep, wooded banks, lay just north of the junction and could be crossed only at a stone bridge on the Warrenton Turnpike and at a few fords. Upstream, Sudley Springs Ford led around the Confederate left. Beyond the creek rose two open hills, Matthews Hill and Henry House Hill.

The plan. Under heavy pressure from Northern newspapers crying "On to Richmond!" and with many of his soldiers' 90-day enlistments about to run out, General Irvin McDowell marched about 35,000 green troops toward General P. G. T. Beauregard's roughly 22,000 men behind Bull Run. After a failed probe at Blackburn's Ford on July 18, McDowell planned a feint at the Stone Bridge while two divisions marched far upstream, crossed at Sudley Springs and rolled up the Confederate left. It was a good plan for veterans. Meanwhile Johnston slipped away from Patterson and began moving his army to Manassas by railroad, the first time in history that a railroad carried a large army to a battle.

What happened. On July 21 the flank march, begun before dawn, ran hours late, and the Confederates saw the dust. On Matthews Hill a few Confederate brigades under Colonel Nathan Evans and Generals Barnard Bee and Francis Bartow held for about an hour, then fell back across the turnpike to Henry House Hill. There, behind the crest, General Thomas J. Jackson had formed his Virginia brigade. As Bee tried to rally his men he pointed to Jackson's line; witnesses later remembered his words as "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." Union batteries were pushed onto the hill too far forward and were captured in the confusion when a Virginia regiment approached that Union gunners first took for friends. Judith Henry, an 85-year-old widow too ill to leave her bed, was killed when artillery fire struck her house. About 4 p.m. fresh Confederate brigades, some just off the trains, struck the Union right. The Union withdrawal turned to panic when a wagon overturned on the bridge over Cub Run; soldiers and civilians fled together toward Washington, and one congressman was captured. The Confederates were too disorganized to pursue.

The numbers. The Union lost about 2,900 men (about 460 killed, 1,100 wounded and 1,300 missing or captured); the Confederates about 2,000 (about 390 killed and 1,600 wounded). It

was the bloodiest battle in American history up to that day, and within a year it would look small.

The people. Thomas Jonathan Jackson was an orphan from western Virginia who struggled at West Point and rose by hard work, served bravely in Mexico and became a professor at the Virginia Military Institute. He was a devout Presbyterian deacon who kept the Sabbath strictly, prayed constantly and was known for his calm under fire; after Bull Run he reportedly told an officer that his faith taught him to feel as safe in battle as in bed. In 1855 he began a Sunday school in Lexington for Black children and adults, enslaved and free, teaching them the Bible. He also owned slaves. He became one of the great generals of the war and was mortally wounded by his own men's fire at Chancellorsville in May 1863.

Why it mattered. Bull Run ended the dream of a short war. The North signed up long-term volunteers and gave General George McClellan the task of building a real army; the South grew overconfident. For the just-war student, the battle raises Aquinas's first condition, lawful authority: the Confederacy claimed a right to secede and to defend its land; Lincoln held that the Union was perpetual and that secession was rebellion. The declarations of causes show what that claimed authority was meant to protect.

PICTURE STUDY



Ruins of the Henry House, Bull Run Battlefield, George N. Barnard (photographer), March 1862 · Albumen print photograph · Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
Wikimedia Commons · CC0

George Barnard photographed the battlefield eight months after the fight, when Union troops reoccupied the area. The camera of 1862 needed long exposures, so photographers could not catch battles in motion; instead they recorded places and their scars. This hilltop is where Jackson's brigade stood and where Judith Henry's house stood.

Look closely

- Find the ruined house. What is left standing, and why might that part have survived?
- Look at the shape of the hilltop. How far could a soldier on this hill see?
- Find the people in the picture. Why might the photographer have included them?

Talk about it

1. What does this quiet photograph tell you about the battle that a painting of the charge could not?
2. Why do you think Americans in 1862 wanted to see pictures of this place?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP BULL RUN: THE RAILROAD AND THE FLANK MARCH

Play the battle as a race between McDowell's marching columns and Johnston's railroad.

You will need

- A large table or floor space; blue yarn for Bull Run and a brown strip for the Warrenton Turnpike
- Two books under a towel for Henry House Hill and a smaller lump for Matthews Hill
- A toy train, a shoebox "railroad car" or a strip of track drawn on paper running in from the west edge
- About 30 blue and 30 gray blocks or soldiers; a die; a notebook

Steps

1. Lay Bull Run across the table, with the Stone Bridge and Sudley Springs Ford marked. Build the two hills south of the creek.
2. Place 20 gray blocks behind the creek and keep 10 gray blocks by the railroad, off the table to the west. Place 30 blue blocks on the north side.
3. Split the blue force: a few at the Stone Bridge and most on a long path upstream to Sudley Springs. Each turn, roll the die and move the flank column that many inches; it must travel the whole path.
4. Each turn, the train brings in two gray blocks to Manassas Junction, and they may move toward Henry House Hill.
5. When the flank column reaches the hills, fight it out simply: each side counts its blocks on the hill. Who arrives first with more?
6. Play again with the flank march starting two turns earlier. Write down what changed.

Check your work

- My creek, crossings, turnpike and hills are labeled.
- I played the race between the flank march and the railroad.
- I can explain why the flank march's delay mattered.
- I can explain why the railroad was new in war.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the field of First Bull Run with north at the top: Bull Run, the Stone Bridge, Sudley Springs Ford, Blackburn's Ford, the Warrenton Turnpike, Matthews Hill, Henry House Hill, Manassas Junction and the two railroads. Show McDowell's flank march with blue arrows and Johnston's arrival by rail with a gray dotted line. Add a key and a scale bar.
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain why the Southern states seceded, quoting at least one phrase from the Mississippi declaration, and then explain why many soldiers on both sides fought. The parent keeps this paragraph.
3. Write a short character sketch of Stonewall Jackson: two virtues, one contradiction, and one fact about his death.

Did you know? The North usually named battles after creeks and rivers (Bull Run), and the South after towns and railroad junctions (Manassas). A second battle was fought on the same ground in August 1862. Wilmer McLean, whose farmhouse near the Confederate line served as Beauregard's headquarters in 1861, moved south to get away from the war; Stop D8 tells where he ended up.

Primary source. *Mississippi's "Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union" (January 1861), its opening paragraphs (the Avalon Project, Yale Law School).*

In the momentous step which our State has taken of dissolving its connection with the government of which we so long formed a part, it is but just that we should declare the prominent reasons which have induced our course.

Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery-- the greatest material interest of the world. Its labor supplies the product which constitutes by far the largest and most important portions of commerce of the earth. These products are peculiar to the climate verging on the tropical regions, and by an imperious law of nature, none but the black race can bear exposure to the tropical sun. These products have become necessities of the world, and a blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization. That blow has been long aimed at the institution, and was at the point of reaching its consummation. There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union, whose principles had been subverted to work out our ruin.

Go deeper. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (1988), the standard one-volume history. James I. Robertson Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (1997). William C. Davis, *Battle at Bull Run* (1977). Manassas National Battlefield Park (National Park Service) has maps and a walking tour of Henry Hill. The Avalon Project has all four declarations of causes (South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas); read at least one in full. Second video topic: "Jackson's Valley Campaign, 1862."

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the unit “The Civil War and Reconstruction” (coming soon); and Geography, “Virginia and the Chesapeake.”

For families. The secession excerpt is copied exactly from the Avalon Project and includes the declaration’s own racial claim; it is quoted so students see the cause in the seceders’ own words, and the stop names the wrong plainly. Bee’s words were recorded differently by different witnesses, and because Bee was mortally wounded soon after, some historians think he may have meant them as criticism; the stop says “witnesses later remembered.” Jackson’s remark about feeling as safe in battle as in bed was reported by General John Imboden after the war. Casualty figures are rounded from the National Park Service. The just-war material is for this ● Expert level.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why was Manassas Junction important to both armies?
2. **EASY** How did Johnston’s army reach the battlefield, and why was that new?
3. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What does Mississippi name as the reason for leaving the Union? Quote the phrase. What choice does the declaration say was left to the state?
4. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are General Joseph E. Johnston in the Shenandoah Valley on July 18. Patterson’s Union army is in front of you. Beauregard begs for help at Manassas, 50 miles away. Will you (a) stay and hold the Valley, (b) march your whole army east on foot, or (c) screen Patterson with cavalry and move your infantry by railroad? Decide, then read the answer.
5. **CHALLENGE** Most Confederate soldiers did not own slaves. Does that fact change what caused secession? Write a short answer that separates the causes of secession from the motives of individual soldiers, using the declaration as evidence.
6. **CHALLENGE** Aquinas’s first condition for a just war is “the authority of the sovereign.” Explain how the Confederacy and the Union each answered the question “Who has lawful authority here?” Then explain why the declarations of causes matter for judging the second condition, just cause.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: McDowell’s Plan. One player is McDowell; another reads the cards. **Card 1 (July 18):** Your probe at Blackburn’s Ford in the center has failed. Do you (a) attack straight across the Stone Bridge, (b) march south around the Confederate right, through broken woods, or (c) march north, upstream, around the Confederate left by Sudley Springs Ford? **Card 2 (July 21, 2:30 a.m.):** The flank columns are tangled on a narrow road in the dark. Do you (a) call off the march, or (b) go on, even though you will be hours late? **Card 3 (afternoon):** Your batteries could hit Henry House Hill from where they are, or be pushed forward onto the hill itself. Do you (a) keep them back with infantry in front, or (b) push them forward? McDowell chose (c), (b), (b). After each card, discuss what the choice risked. A point for each match; a point for any well-reasoned choice.

Scripture. “The horse is prepared against the day of battle: but safety is of the LORD.”
(Proverbs 21:31, KJV)

Both armies at Bull Run prayed, and both prepared. Jackson drilled his brigade hard and trusted God for the outcome. The proverb holds both together: we prepare, but safety and victory are in God’s hands.

Practice: answers

1. Its railroads: one ran toward Washington and Richmond and the other west through Manassas Gap to the Shenandoah Valley.
2. By railroad from the Shenandoah Valley. It was the first time a railroad carried a large army to a battle.
3. Slavery: “Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery.” It says the only choices were “submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union.”
4. Johnston chose (c). J. E. B. Stuart’s cavalry screened Patterson while the infantry marched to Piedmont Station and rode the trains to Manassas. Patterson did not discover the move in time, and Johnston’s brigades, including Jackson’s, decided the battle.
5. Sample answer: No. The cause of secession is found in what the states themselves declared, and Mississippi and the others named slavery as the central reason. Individual soldiers fought for many motives: home, state, comrades, duty, or the belief that they were resisting invasion. A soldier’s honest motive does not change the purpose for which his state left the Union, and the courage of the soldier does not make the cause right. Both truths must be held together.
6. Sample answer: The Confederacy claimed that each state was sovereign, could leave the Union by its own convention and could then lawfully defend itself. Lincoln held that the Union was perpetual under the Constitution, that no state could leave on its own, and that the federal government had the duty to put down rebellion. On just cause: even if one granted a right to secede, the declarations show that the purpose of secession was to protect slavery, which cannot be a just cause; a lawful form cannot make an unjust purpose just.

4.5 MONITOR AND MERRIMACK (1862): IRON AGAINST IRON

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why the Union blockade mattered and why the Confederacy built an ironclad to break it at Hampton Roads.
- Compare the designs of CSS Virginia (the former Merrimack) and USS Monitor and explain why their duel ended in a draw.
- Judge an eyewitness account written years later, and explain why a tactical draw could still be a strategic victory.

Warm-up. Fill a sink or tub with water. Float a plastic lid. Now set a coin on it, then two, then five. Watch how low the lid sits as you add weight. The Monitor carried so much iron that her deck rode only about a foot or so above the water. What would happen in a storm?

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Hampton Roads, March 8–9, 1862: CSS Virginia (Merrimack) and USS Monitor, the turret, and the raising of the Monitor’s turret in 2002. Search approved channels (The Mariners’ Museum, NOAA Monitor National Marine Sanctuary, American Battlefield Trust, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

blockade

The use of warships to close an enemy’s ports so that no ships can enter or leave. Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the Confederate coast in April 1861.

ironclad

A warship protected by iron armor plates.

casemate

An armored box or house built on a ship’s deck with guns firing through openings in its sides. The *Virginia*’s casemate had sloping iron walls.

revolving turret

A round armored gun house that turns, so its guns can aim in any direction without turning the ship.

ram

A heavy iron beak on a warship’s bow, used to smash into an enemy hull below the waterline.

draft

How deep a ship sits in the water. A ship cannot go where the water is shallower than her draft.

CORE IDEAS

Why it mattered at sea. In April 1861 Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the Southern coast, more than 3,000 miles long. The Confederacy depended on selling cotton, grown largely by enslaved labor, to Europe and buying weapons in return; the blockade aimed to choke that trade. As its states' declarations had said, the Confederacy was formed to protect slavery, and the war at sea was a war over its economy. The South had almost no navy. Its secretary of the navy, Stephen Mallory, reasoned that a few iron ships might defeat many wooden ones.

The map. Hampton Roads is the wide channel in Virginia where the James, Nansemond and Elizabeth Rivers flow into Chesapeake Bay. The Union held Fort Monroe at its mouth, and its wooden warships anchored there to blockade the James and Norfolk. Up the Elizabeth River lay Norfolk and the Gosport Navy Yard. When Union forces abandoned the yard in April 1861, they burned the steam frigate USS *Merrimack* to her waterline and sank her. Shallow water and sandbars covered much of the roads, so a ship's draft decided where she could go.

Two designs. The Confederates raised the *Merrimack's* hull and built on it a long casemate of thick timber covered with two layers of 2-inch iron plate, sloped so that shot would glance off. They added ten guns and an iron ram and renamed her CSS *Virginia*. She was powerful but slow, hard to turn and drew about 22 feet of water. In the North, the Swedish-born inventor John Ericsson designed something entirely new: a low, flat iron raft with a single revolving turret, about 20 feet across inside and built of eight layers of 1-inch iron, carrying two 11-inch Dahlgren guns. Built in about a hundred days at Greenpoint, Brooklyn, USS *Monitor* was launched on January 30, 1862. People mocked her as "a cheesebox on a raft."

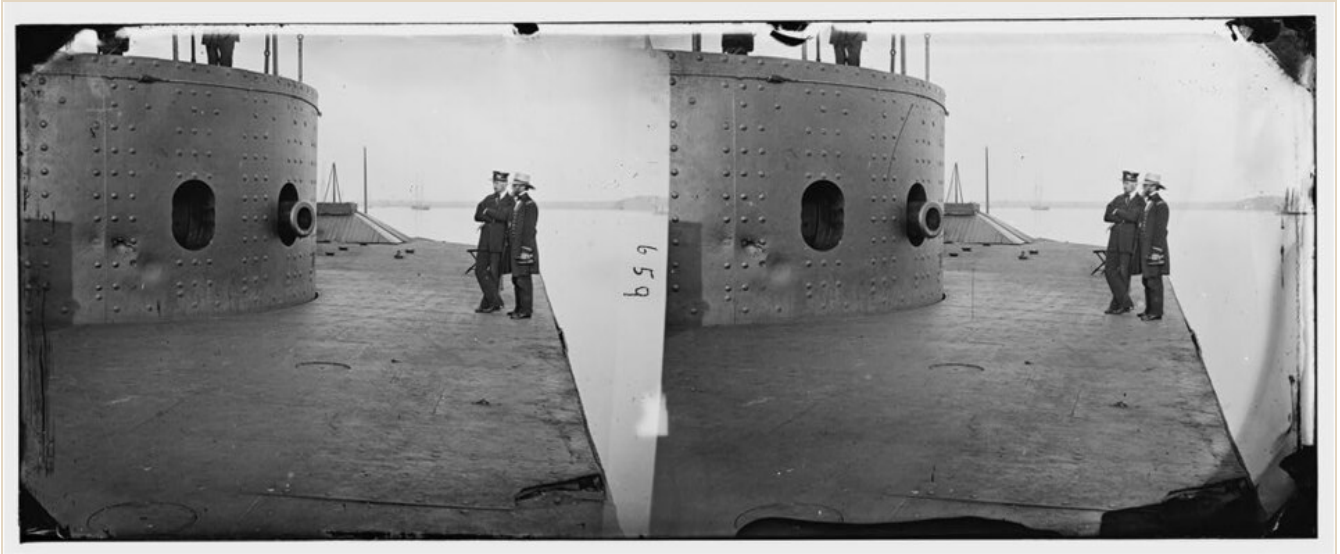
March 8: a terrible day for wooden ships. On March 8 the *Virginia*, under Flag Officer Franklin Buchanan, steamed into Hampton Roads. She rammed and sank the sloop USS *Cumberland*, whose crew kept firing as she went down, and shelled the frigate USS *Congress* until she surrendered and burned. Buchanan's own brother was an officer on the *Congress* and survived. Buchanan was wounded and command passed to Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones. More than 200 Union sailors were killed that day. The steam frigate USS *Minnesota* had run aground, and the *Virginia* would return for her in the morning. That night the *Monitor*, nearly swamped on her voyage from New York, arrived.

March 9: the duel. In the morning the *Virginia* headed for the *Minnesota*, and the little *Monitor* steamed out to meet her. For about four hours the two ironclads fought, often only yards apart. The *Virginia's* shells bounced off the turret; the *Monitor's* heavy shot cracked the *Virginia's* iron but did not break through, partly because the *Monitor's* gunners had been ordered to use reduced powder charges for fear that the new guns would burst. The turret was hard to stop and start, and orders had to be carried by runners when the speaking tube failed. The *Virginia* ran aground for a time and tried to ram. Around midday a shell struck the *Monitor's* pilot house and temporarily blinded her captain, Lieutenant John L. Worden. Lieutenant Samuel Dana Greene took command. The *Monitor* drew off into shallow water; the *Virginia*, leaking and with the tide falling, returned to Norfolk. Neither ship was sunk.

What became of them. When the Confederates abandoned Norfolk in May 1862, the *Virginia* drew too much water to escape up the James, and her crew blew her up on May 11. The *Monitor* sank in a storm off Cape Hatteras on December 31, 1862, while being towed south; 16 of her men were lost. Her wreck was found in 1973, and her turret was raised in 2002 and is preserved at The Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia.

Why it mattered. Tactically, March 9 was a draw. Strategically, it was a Union success: the *Minnesota* was saved, the blockade held, and the *Virginia* never again attacked the fleet. Britain and France had already built ironclads, but Hampton Roads was the first battle between them, and navies everywhere studied it. The Union built dozens more monitors, and the revolving turret became the pattern for battleships for a century.

PICTURE STUDY



Deck and Turret of USS Monitor, James River, Virginia, James F. Gibson (photographer), July 9, 1862 · Photograph (albumen print from a glass-plate negative) · Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

Wikimedia Commons · No restrictions

Four months after the battle, the photographer James Gibson visited the *Monitor* on the James River and photographed her deck, turret and crew. These pictures are among the very few photographs of the ship. Look closely: the dents left by the *Virginia*'s shot can still be seen in the turret.

Look closely

- Find the dents in the turret. How many can you count? What do they tell you about the battle?
- Look at how high the deck sits above the water. How does that compare with a ship with tall wooden sides?
- Find the sailors. What clues tell you about life aboard (clothing, where they stand, what they are doing)?

Talk about it

1. Why would the Navy want photographs of the ship and her damage after the battle?
2. This photograph shows the ship at rest. What can a photograph like this prove about the battle, and what can it not prove?

Safety first. Use hot glue, craft knives and scissors only with an adult. Keep the water tub on the floor or outdoors and wipe up spills so no one slips.

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP HAMPTON ROADS: TURRET AGAINST CASEMATE

Build two simple models and test the ideas behind each design: sloped armor, low freeboard and a turning turret.

You will need

- A tub of water (or a large baking pan)
- Two plastic food-container lids or flat trays (hulls); aluminum foil
- A small shoebox lid cut to a tent shape (casemate) and a bottle cap or film canister (turret)
- Coins or washers for weight; marbles; a paper fastener (brad)
- Blue paper and a marker for a tabletop chart of Hampton Roads

Steps

1. Make the *Virginia*: tape the tent-shaped casemate onto one lid. Make the *Monitor*: fasten the bottle-cap turret to the other lid with a brad so it can turn.
2. Float each model. Add coins one at a time until the deck is nearly awash. Which can carry more weight before it is in danger?
3. Test sloped armor: lean the casemate wall against a book and roll a marble straight at it, then at a flat upright wall. Which way does the marble go?
4. Turn the *Monitor's* turret to "aim" at a target on each side without turning the hull. Then try aiming the *Virginia*: how much must the whole ship turn?
5. On the blue paper, draw Hampton Roads with Fort Monroe, Norfolk, the sandbars and the shallows. Mark where a ship drawing 22 feet could not go.

Check your work

- I built and floated both models.
- I can explain why sloped armor helps.
- I can explain the advantage of a revolving turret and the danger of a low deck.
- My chart shows where the deep-draft *Virginia* could not follow.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw Hampton Roads with north at the top: Chesapeake Bay, Fort Monroe, Newport News Point, the mouths of the James, Nansemond and Elizabeth Rivers, Norfolk and the Gosport Navy Yard, and Sewell's Point. Mark where the *Cumberland*, *Congress* and *Minnesota* lay on March 8, and draw the *Virginia*'s path on both days. Shade the shallow water. Add a key and a scale bar.
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, tell the two days of Hampton Roads from the point of view of a sailor aboard the *Minnesota*, aground and waiting for the morning. Include the arrival of the *Monitor* and what you saw in the duel. The parent keeps this paragraph.
3. Draw side views of both ships and label the casemate, ram, turret, guns and waterline.

Did you know? The Union kept calling the Confederate ship *Merrimack* (often spelled *Merrimac*), but her Confederate name was CSS *Virginia*. When the *Monitor*'s turret was raised from the sea in 2002, archaeologists found the remains of two of her sailors inside; they were buried at Arlington National Cemetery in 2013. In May 1861, at Fort Monroe across Hampton Roads, General Benjamin Butler refused to return three men who had escaped slavery, calling them "contraband of war"; thousands more soon came to the fort seeking freedom.

Primary source. *Lieutenant John L. Worden, captain of the Monitor, describing the duel, from The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story (Harper & Brothers, 1912), Project Gutenberg eBook #24612.*

I laid the Monitor close alongside the Merrimac, and gave her a shot. She returned our compliment by a shell weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, fired when we were close together, which struck the turret so squarely that it received the whole force. Here you see the scar, two and a half inches deep in the wrought iron, a perfect mold of the shell. If anything could test the turret, it was that shot. It did not start a rivet-head or a nut!

Go deeper. James Tertius deKay, *Monitor: The Story of the Legendary Civil War Ironclad and the Man Whose Invention Changed the Course of History* (1997). Craig L. Symonds, *The Civil War at Sea* (2009). *The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story* (1912), with accounts by Worden, Greene and the *Virginia*'s engineer H. Ashton Ramsay, free on Project Gutenberg. The Mariners' Museum USS Monitor Center (Newport News) and NOAA's Monitor National Marine Sanctuary have online exhibits and dive photographs. Second video topic: "Raising the *Monitor*'s turret, 2002."

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the unit "The Civil War and Reconstruction" (coming soon); and Earth Science, "Oceans and Coasts" (Cape Hatteras and why storms there are so dangerous).

For families. Union deaths on March 8 are usually given as more than 200 (the *Cumberland* alone lost about 120); exact counts vary. Worden's account was recorded years after the battle, so details such as the weight of the shell come from memory; Practice 5 asks students to weigh that. The reduced powder charges were ordered because the 11-inch Dahlgrens had not been tested with full charges. The "contraband" decision at Fort Monroe (May 1861) is well documented. The stop connects the blockade to the cause of secession (see Stop D4 and the declarations of causes at the Avalon Project).

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What was the purpose of the Union blockade?
2. **EASY** Name one strength and one weakness of each ironclad.
3. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Lieutenant Catesby Jones on the *Virginia*, early afternoon, March 9. Your ship is leaking at the bow, the tide is falling, your shot cannot pierce the *Monitor*, and the *Monitor* has just drawn off into shallow water where you cannot follow. Will you (a) wait for the *Monitor* to return, (b) go after the grounded *Minnesota* again, or (c) return to Norfolk for repairs? Explain.
4. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What does Worden say happened when the 150-pound shell struck the turret? What does "It did not start a rivet-head or a nut" mean?
5. **CHALLENGE** Worden's account was recorded long after the battle and printed in a book published in 1912 that set Union and Confederate accounts side by side. List two reasons to trust his account and two reasons to check it against other evidence. Name one piece of evidence in this stop that could help confirm it.
6. **CHALLENGE** Explain how the duel of March 9 could be a tactical draw but a strategic Union victory. Then explain why the *Virginia*'s deep draft finally doomed her in May 1862.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: The Navy Secretaries. Two players are the secretaries of the navy: Stephen Mallory (Confederate) and Gideon Welles (Union). A third reads the cards. **Card 1 (Mallory, summer 1861):** You have almost no ships and a sunken frigate at Norfolk. Do you (a) buy wooden ships in Europe, (b) raise the *Merrimack* and rebuild her as an ironclad, or (c) build small fast raiders only? **Card 2 (Welles, autumn 1861):** Reports say the Confederates are rebuilding the *Merrimack* in iron. Do you (a) rely on Fort Monroe's guns and your wooden fleet, (b) order only Ericsson's strange turret ship, which he promises in about a hundred days, or (c) order several different ironclad designs at once, including Ericsson's? **Card 3 (Mallory, May 1862):** Norfolk must be abandoned, and the *Virginia* draws too much water to go up the James. Do you (a) send her out to sea, (b) fight the whole Union fleet in Hampton Roads, or (c) destroy her so the enemy cannot take her? Mallory chose (b) for Card 1; Welles's board chose (c) for Card 2, ordering the *Monitor*, the *Galena* and the *New Ironsides*; and the *Virginia*'s officers chose (c) for Card 3, after lightening her failed to raise her enough. Argue each choice before revealing it.

Scripture. “They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; These see the works of the LORD, and his wonders in the deep.” (Psalm 107:23-24, KJV)

Sailors on both ships, and the sixteen men lost when the *Monitor* sank off Cape Hatteras, knew the power of the sea. The psalm goes on to tell how God stills the storm and brings sailors to their haven (verses 29-30).

Practice: answers

1. To close Southern ports so the Confederacy could not sell its cotton abroad or bring in weapons and supplies.
2. *Virginia*: strengths, ten guns, sloped armor and a ram; weaknesses, slow, hard to turn, deep draft (about 22 feet), weak engines. *Monitor*: strengths, revolving turret, heavy 11-inch guns, shallow draft, small target; weaknesses, only two guns, a very low deck that made her unsafe in rough seas, an awkward turret mechanism.
3. Jones chose (c) after consulting his officers. With the tide falling and the deep-draft ship leaking, staying risked grounding where she could be trapped. Choosing (b) might have destroyed the *Minnesota* but risked the ship that was the Confederacy's only answer to the blockade at Hampton Roads. Any answer that weighs draft, tide and the value of the ship is a good answer.
4. The shell hit the turret squarely and left a scar about two and a half inches deep, “a perfect mold of the shell,” but the turret held. “Did not start a rivet-head or a nut” means it did not even loosen a single rivet or nut: the turret was undamaged.
5. Trust: he was the captain and an eyewitness; the dents in the turret were real and could be measured. Check: memory fades and grows over time; a commander may present his ship's performance favorably; the weight of an enemy shell was a guess. Confirmation: James Gibson's July 1862 photographs show the dents in the turret, and the raised turret at The Mariners' Museum can be examined today.
6. Tactically, neither ship sank or seriously damaged the other, so the duel itself was a draw. Strategically, the Union got what it needed: the *Minnesota* and the wooden fleet were saved, the blockade held and the *Virginia* was kept in check. When Norfolk was abandoned, the *Virginia* drew too much water to escape up the shallow James River toward Richmond and could not survive the open sea, so her crew destroyed her.

4.6 VICKSBURG (1863): THE RIVER WAR

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why control of the Mississippi River mattered and why Vicksburg's bluffs made it so hard to take.
- Trace Grant's campaign from the failed winter attempts through the running of the batteries, the landing at Bruinsburg, the march inland and the siege.
- Use Grant's own words to explain his decision to go forward, and weigh the just-war questions raised by a siege of a city with civilians inside.

Warm-up. Take a piece of string about 3 feet long and lay it on the table in an S-shape with one tight hairpin bend. Put a coffee mug on the outside of the bend. Imagine the mug is a fort with cannon on a high cliff. Run your finger along the string as if it were a boat. How long is your boat in front of the mug's "guns"? That is why Vicksburg mattered.

Video slot. Video coming. The Vicksburg Campaign, 1863: Grant's march, running the batteries, Champion Hill, the siege and the USS Cairo, with animated maps. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, the National Park Service, The History Guy, Kings and Generals); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Anaconda Plan

General Winfield Scott's 1861 strategy to squeeze the Confederacy like a great snake: blockade the coast and take control of the Mississippi River.

bluff

A high, steep bank above a river. Vicksburg stood on bluffs about 200 feet above the Mississippi.

running the batteries

Sailing ships past enemy shore guns, usually at night and at speed, accepting the risk of being hit.

amphibious landing

Carrying an army by water and putting it ashore to fight on land.

siege

Surrounding a fortified place and cutting off its supplies until it surrenders.

parole

A prisoner's sworn promise not to fight again until properly exchanged, in return for being released instead of held in a prison camp.

CORE IDEAS

Why the river. The Mississippi was the highway of the West. Farmers from Ohio to Minnesota shipped their crops down it, and the Confederacy used it to tie Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas, with their cattle, grain and men, to the states east of the river. Scott's Anaconda Plan called for seizing it. By the summer of 1862 the Union had taken New Orleans from the south and Memphis from the north. Between them, two Confederate strongholds still closed the river: Port Hudson, Louisiana, and above all Vicksburg, Mississippi. The war in the West was a river war, fought by armies and navies together.

The map. Vicksburg stood on bluffs about 200 feet high on the east bank, at a hairpin bend where every boat had to slow and turn under its guns. North of the city stretched the Yazoo delta, a maze of swamps and bayous; there, at Chickasaw Bayou in December 1862, General William T. Sherman's attack was thrown back. Across the river lay the low, wet Louisiana shore. The only good ground for an army was east and south of the city, on the far side of the river. All winter General Ulysses S. Grant tried to get there: he dug a canal across the point opposite the city and tried three water routes through the bayous. All failed. A Confederate raid on Holly Springs destroyed his main supply base, and Northern newspapers called for his removal.

The plan. In the spring Grant chose a bold course. His army would march down the Louisiana side; Rear Admiral David Dixon Porter's gunboats and transports would run past the Vicksburg batteries at night to ferry it across below the city. On the night of April 16, 1863, Porter's boats, their sides padded with cotton bales and hay, ran the gauntlet; the Confederates lit bonfires to see them, and only one transport was lost. Colonel Benjamin Grierson led about 1,700 cavalry on a 600-mile raid through Mississippi to draw off defenders, and Sherman made a feint north of the city. On April 30 and May 1 Grant crossed some 22,000 men at Bruinsburg, the largest American amphibious operation before the Second World War.

The march. Instead of moving straight on Vicksburg, Grant struck northeast between the Confederate garrison under General John C. Pemberton and a second force gathering at Jackson under General Joseph E. Johnston. He carried what he could in wagons and fed his men largely from the countryside. In about three weeks he won five battles: Port Gibson (May 1), Raymond (May 12), Jackson (May 14), Champion Hill (May 16), the largest and most decisive, and Big Black River Bridge (May 17). Pemberton fell back inside the Vicksburg lines.

The siege. Two assaults, on May 19 and May 22, failed with heavy loss. Grant then laid siege. His army grew to about 75,000; Pemberton had about 30,000. Union soldiers dug trenches ever closer, and on June 25 they exploded a mine under a Confederate fort. Porter's gunboats shelled the city from the river. Many of Vicksburg's people lived in caves dug into the hillsides, and as food ran out, soldiers and civilians ate mule meat. On June 7, at Milliken's Bend upriver, newly raised regiments of Black soldiers, most of them formerly enslaved, held their ground with gunboat support in one of their first major fights. On July 3 Pemberton asked for terms. Grant demanded unconditional surrender but then agreed to

parole the garrison, about 29,500 men, rather than ship them north. Vicksburg surrendered on July 4, 1863. Port Hudson surrendered on July 9.

The people. Grant and Porter commanded separately, an army general and a naval officer, but they trusted and helped each other, and the campaign depended on it. Pemberton, born in Pennsylvania, had chosen the South after marrying a Virginian; his soldiers endured weeks of short rations and constant fire with great courage. Enslaved people throughout the region came into Union lines by the thousands; under the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, the Union army's advance now carried freedom with it.

Why it mattered. With Port Hudson, the whole Mississippi was in Union hands. Lincoln wrote that the “Father of Waters” flowed free to the sea again. The Confederacy was cut in two, and Texas, Arkansas and most of Louisiana were cut off from the East. Coming the same week as Gettysburg, Vicksburg marked a turning point, and it made Grant the general Lincoln would put in command of all the Union armies in March 1864. It also raises a hard question for the just-war student: may an army besiege and shell a city where civilians live, knowing that they will suffer hunger and danger?

PICTURE STUDY



*Admiral Porter's Fleet Running the Rebel Blockade of the Mississippi at Vicksburg, April 16th 1863, Currier & Ives (publishers), 1863 · Hand-colored lithograph · Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain*

Currier & Ives, a New York printing firm, sold inexpensive colored prints of the news to American homes. This one shows Porter's fleet slipping past the Vicksburg batteries by night. The printmakers did not see it; they worked from reports and sketches, so treat it as a picture of how Northerners imagined the event.

Look closely

- Find the high bluffs and the town. Where are the Confederate guns?
- Find the bonfires. Why would the defenders light fires on the shore at night?
- Count the boats in the line. Which are gunboats and which are transports? Look for clues in their shapes.

Talk about it

1. Why might a family in Ohio or New York in 1863 want this print on their wall?
2. What would a Confederate gunner on the bluff have seen differently?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP VICKSBURG: RUNNING THE BATTERIES BY NIGHT

Build the river bend and the bluffs, then run Porter's fleet past the guns in the dark.

You will need

- Blue fabric, paper or yarn for the river, laid in a hairpin bend
- A stack of books under a cloth (the bluffs) and a few small blocks for the town
- Paper or cork boats (at least 8), a few pieces of cotton balls taped to some of them (cotton-bale armor)
- A flashlight and a dark room
- Green paper (the Louisiana swamps) and a marker for labels (Vicksburg, De Soto Point, Bruinsburg, Grand Gulf)

Steps

1. Lay out the river with the hairpin bend. Build the bluffs and town on the east bank at the outside of the bend. Put the swamp on the west bank.
2. Darken the room. One player is the Confederate gunners on the bluff with the flashlight. The other slides the boats one at a time down the river past the bluff.
3. The gunner may sweep the light for a count of three for each boat. A boat caught fully in the light is "hit"; a cotton-armored boat caught in the light gets one more chance (it keeps going if it is only half lit).
4. Count how many boats get through. Switch roles and try again.
5. Now, with the lights on, move the army blocks down the Louisiana side, use the surviving boats to ferry them across at Bruinsburg, and trace Grant's route northeast toward Jackson and back west to Vicksburg.

Check your work

- My river has the hairpin bend and the bluffs are on the outside of the bend.
- I ran the batteries in the dark and counted the boats that passed.
- I traced Grant's route from Bruinsburg to Jackson to Vicksburg.
- I can explain why the boats had to pass the guns before the army could cross.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Vicksburg campaign with north at the top: the Mississippi with its hairpin bend, Vicksburg on the bluffs, the Yazoo River and Chickasaw Bayou, Milliken's Bend and the Louisiana side, Grand Gulf, Bruinsburg, Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill and the Big Black River. Draw the army's route in blue and Porter's fleet in a dotted blue line. Add a key and a scale bar.
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain in your own words why Grant would not go back to Memphis in early 1863, using at least one idea from his memoir. The parent keeps this paragraph.
3. Make a timeline of the campaign from Chickasaw Bayou (December 1862) to the surrender (July 4, 1863), with at least eight dates.

Did you know? The Union ironclad USS *Cairo* sank in the Yazoo River in December 1862 after striking two underwater mines, then called torpedoes; no one aboard was killed. She lay in the mud for a century, was raised in 1964 and is displayed at Vicksburg National Military Park with many of her crew's belongings. Porter's fleet that ran the batteries on April 16 was made up of seven gunboats and three army transports, plus barges; the lost transport, the *Henry Clay*, caught fire and sank.

Primary source. *Ulysses S. Grant explains why he would not pull back to Memphis in early 1863, from his Personal Memoirs (1885), Chapter XXXI (Project Gutenberg eBook #5862, Part 3; also in the complete edition, #4367).*

The strategical way according to the rule, therefore, would have been to go back to Memphis; establish that as a base of supplies; fortify it so that the storehouses could be held by a small garrison, and move from there along the line of railroad, repairing as we advanced, to the Yallahusha, or to Jackson, Mississippi. At this time the North had become very much discouraged. Many strong Union men believed that the war must prove a failure. The elections of 1862 had gone against the party which was for the prosecution of the war to save the Union if it took the last man and the last dollar. Voluntary enlistments had ceased throughout the greater part of the North, and the draft had been resorted to to fill up our ranks. It was my judgment at the time that to make a backward movement as long as that from Vicksburg to Memphis, would be interpreted, by many of those yet full of hope for the preservation of the Union, as a defeat, and that the draft would be resisted, desertions ensue and the power to capture and punish deserters lost. There was nothing left to be done but to go FORWARD TO A DECISIVE VICTORY. This was in my mind from the moment I took command in person at Young's Point.

Go deeper. Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (1885), Chapters XXX–XXXIX, free on Project Gutenberg; among the finest memoirs by any general. Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign That Opened the Mississippi* (2004). Shelby Foote, *The Beleaguered City: The Vicksburg Campaign* (1995), taken from his longer narrative

history. Vicksburg National Military Park and the USS Cairo Museum (National Park Service) have maps, a virtual tour and the gunboat's story. Second video topic: "Champion Hill, May 16, 1863."

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the unit "The Civil War and Reconstruction" (coming soon); and Geography and Earth Science, "Rivers: How the Mississippi Shapes the Land" (meanders, bluffs and bayous).

For families. Numbers are rounded from the National Park Service: about 29,500 Confederates paroled; Grant's army at the end about 75,000. The claim that Bruinsburg was the largest American amphibious operation before the Second World War is the Park Service's. Lincoln's "Father of Waters" phrase comes from his public letter to James C. Conkling of August 26, 1863; it is paraphrased here because we copy exact quotations only from verified texts. A popular story says Vicksburg did not celebrate the Fourth of July for 81 years; historians question the legend, so the stop leaves it out. Cave life and short rations are told plainly without description of suffering. Slavery as the cause of secession is taught in Stop D4 from the declarations of causes.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did both sides care so much about Vicksburg?
2. **EASY** Name the five battles Grant won between the landing at Bruinsburg and the start of the siege.
3. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What would the "strategical way according to the rule" have been? Give two reasons Grant gives for not doing it.
4. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Grant on May 1, 1863, safely across the river at Bruinsburg with about 22,000 men. You may (a) march straight north on Vicksburg, (b) wait for more troops and supplies, or join General Banks at Port Hudson first, as Washington expects, or (c) strike northeast toward Jackson to cut the railroad and scatter Johnston's forces before turning west on Vicksburg. Decide and explain.
5. **CHALLENGE** Grant marched about 180 miles and fought five battles between May 1 and May 18. About how many miles per day is that? Why did speed matter so much in this campaign?
6. **CHALLENGE** Thomas Aquinas explained that one act can have two effects, one intended and one only foreseen (the principle later called "double effect"), and the just-war tradition teaches that civilians must not be made the target. Use these ideas to judge the shelling and siege of Vicksburg, where civilians lived among the soldiers. What would make such a siege more just or less just?

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Grant's Winter. One player is Grant; another reads the cards. **Card 1 (January 1863):** Sherman's attack at Chickasaw Bayou has failed and your supply base at Holly Springs has been burned. Do you (a) go back to Memphis and start over by land, (b) keep trying to reach the high ground by digging canals and pushing through the bayous, or (c) give up on Vicksburg for this year? **Card 2**

(March): The canals and bayou routes have all failed. Do you (a) march down the Louisiana side and ask the Navy to run the batteries, or (b) attack the bluffs head-on?

Card 3 (April): You must cross the river below Vicksburg. Do you (a) attack the strong Confederate guns at Grand Gulf, or (b) move farther south and land at an undefended spot? Grant chose (b), (a), (b) (Porter first tested Grand Gulf and found it too strong).

Read Grant's memoir passage aloud after Card 1. A point for each match; a point for any choice defended with good reasons.

Scripture. "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." (2 Timothy 2:3, KJV)

The Vicksburg campaign was won by months of patient, muddy work after one failure after another, and it was endured on both sides of the trenches. Paul uses the soldier's endurance as a picture of the Christian life: faithful through hardship to the end.

Practice: answers

1. Its guns on the bluffs closed the Mississippi to Union boats, and it linked the Confederate states west of the river to those in the east.
2. Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill and Big Black River Bridge.
3. To go back to Memphis, make it a supply base and advance slowly along the railroad. Grant feared that a long backward movement would be seen in the discouraged North as a defeat, and that the draft would then be resisted and desertions would follow. He also notes that the 1862 elections had gone against the war party and voluntary enlistments had stopped.
4. Grant chose (c). He beat Johnston's gathering forces at Jackson and then turned west and beat Pemberton at Champion Hill and the Big Black, keeping the two Confederate forces apart. Waiting (b) would have let them combine; (a) would have left Johnston free to strike his rear. Lincoln later wrote to Grant that he had feared this turn was a mistake and that Grant had been right.
5. $180 \div 18 =$ about 10 miles per day, while fighting five battles. Speed kept Pemberton and Johnston from joining forces, kept the Confederates guessing about Grant's target, and allowed the army to live off the country before its wagons ran short.
6. Sample answer: A siege aimed at forcing an armed garrison to surrender is aimed at soldiers; the hunger and danger suffered by civilians are foreseen but not intended. It is more just if the harm to civilians is not the goal, if it is not out of proportion to the military aim, if civilians are allowed to leave or are spared when possible, and if the besieger offers terms. It would be unjust if civilians were deliberately targeted to terrorize the city. A strong answer applies the principles and reaches a reasoned judgment.

4.7 GETTYSBURG (1863): THE HIGH GROUND AND THE ADDRESS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain Lee’s reasons for invading the North and how the Union “fishhook” on the high ground south of Gettysburg gave Meade interior lines.
- Narrate the three days, with Little Round Top and Pickett’s Charge, and explain the decisions that shaped each day.
- Read the Gettysburg Address closely and explain how Lincoln used the battle to state the meaning of the war.

Warm-up. Draw a large fishhook on a piece of paper, about 8 inches long. Put a dot at the bend and a dot at the tip of the barb. Use a string to measure the distance between the dots along the inside of the curve. Now draw a second curve outside the first, a few inches away, and measure it the same way. Which is shorter? A general who holds the inside of a curve can move troops faster. Keep the paper.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863: the fishhook, Little Round Top, Pickett’s Charge and the Gettysburg Address, with animated maps. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, the National Park Service, the Library of Congress, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

high ground

Hills and ridges that let defenders see the enemy, fire down on them and make attackers climb.

fishhook line

The curved Union line at Gettysburg, from Culp’s Hill around Cemetery Hill and south along Cemetery Ridge to the Round Tops.

interior lines

A position on the inside of a curve, where a general can move troops from one part to another by a shorter path than his enemy.

salient

A part of a line that bulges out toward the enemy and can be attacked from more than one side.

enfilade

Fire along the length of an enemy line from the side, the most dangerous fire a line can receive.

consecrate

To set apart as holy. Lincoln said the soldiers who fought at Gettysburg had consecrated the ground.

CORE IDEAS

Why Lee came north. After his victory at Chancellorsville in May 1863, General Robert E. Lee marched the Army of Northern Virginia, about 75,000 men, through Maryland into Pennsylvania. He hoped to feed his army from Northern farms, give war-torn Virginia a rest, draw the Union army away and win a battle on Northern soil that might discourage the North and strengthen those who wanted peace. His cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart rode far around the Union army and lost touch with him, leaving Lee without his eyes. On June 28 President Lincoln gave command of the Army of the Potomac, about 94,000 men, to General George G. Meade. During the march, Confederate troops seized free Black people in Pennsylvania and sent them south into slavery; this is part of the honest record.

The map. Gettysburg was a town of about 2,400 people where ten roads met, so armies moving through the region were drawn to it. West of town ran Seminary Ridge. South of town rose Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill, and from Cemetery Hill a low ridge, Cemetery Ridge, ran south about two miles to two rocky hills, Little Round Top and Big Round Top. Between Seminary Ridge and Cemetery Ridge lay open farm fields about three-quarters of a mile to a mile wide, crossed by the Emmitsburg Road and its fences. By the end of the first day the Union held the fishhook: about three miles of line on the inside of the curve. The Confederates held the outside, about six miles long.

July 1. Union cavalry under General John Buford, dismounted west of town, slowed the Confederate advance on McPherson's Ridge until infantry arrived. General John Reynolds was killed early in the fight. In the afternoon more Confederates arrived from the north, and two Union corps were driven back through the town to Cemetery Hill, where they rallied. Lee told General Richard Ewell to take the hill "if practicable." Ewell judged that it was not. Historians have argued ever since whether that was the lost chance of the battle.

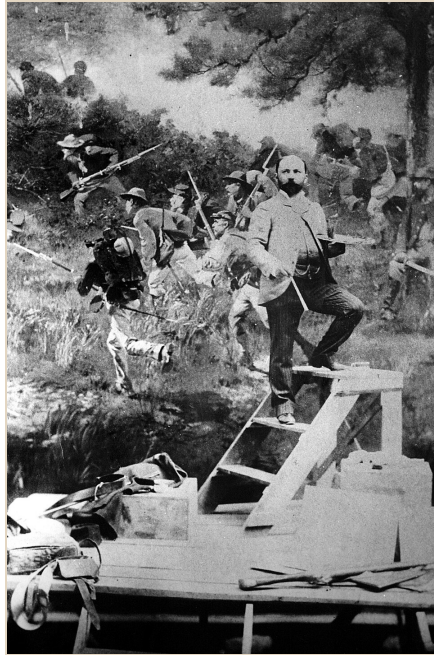
July 2: Little Round Top. Lee sent General James Longstreet, who would have preferred to move around the Union left, to attack the southern end of the Union line. Meanwhile General Daniel Sickles had moved his corps forward without orders to the Peach Orchard, forming a salient, and fierce fighting raged in the Wheatfield and among the boulders of Devil's Den. Meade's chief engineer, General Gouverneur K. Warren, climbed Little Round Top, found it almost empty and sent for troops; Colonel Strong Vincent's brigade arrived minutes ahead of the Confederates. At the far left end stood the 20th Maine, about 380 men, under Colonel Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, a professor from Bowdoin College. The 15th Alabama under Colonel William C. Oates, men who had marched more than twenty miles that day without water, attacked again and again. When the 20th Maine ran low on ammunition, Chamberlain ordered bayonets fixed, and his line swung down the slope like a door on a hinge. The exhausted Alabamians fell back, and many were captured. The Union left held, and that evening Culp's Hill held too.

July 3: Pickett's Charge. Having struck both ends of the Union line, Lee struck the center. About 1 p.m. some 150 Confederate cannon opened the largest bombardment of the war; many shots flew over the ridge. About 3 p.m. roughly 12,500 men of Pickett's, Pettigrew's and Trimble's divisions stepped out of the woods on Seminary Ridge in lines nearly a mile wide and crossed the open fields toward a small clump of trees on Cemetery Ridge. Union guns on Cemetery Hill and Little Round Top fired along their lines, and Union infantry waited behind a stone wall. At a bend in the wall called the Angle, General Lewis Armistead, his hat on his sword, crossed with a few hundred men and was mortally wounded; his old friend General Winfield Scott Hancock was wounded on the Union side. Within an hour more than half of the attackers had been killed, wounded or captured. Lee rode out to meet the survivors and, by several accounts, told them the failure was his fault.

The cost. In three days about 51,000 men were killed, wounded, captured or missing, roughly 23,000 Union and 23,000 to 28,000 Confederate. On July 4 Lee began his retreat in pouring rain. Meade did not catch him at the swollen Potomac, to Lincoln's great frustration. One civilian of the town, Mary Virginia (Jennie) Wade, was killed by a stray bullet while baking bread for soldiers.

The Address and why it mattered. Coming the same week as Vicksburg, Gettysburg ended Lee's last great invasion of the North. On November 19, 1863, at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, the orator Edward Everett spoke for about two hours; President Lincoln then spoke for about two minutes. In some 270 words he tied the war to the founding "proposition that all men are created equal" and called it a struggle for "a new birth of freedom." For the just-war student, the Address is a statement of cause and intention: not conquest, but the survival of free government and the end of slavery that the war had now made its aim.

PICTURE STUDY



The Battle of Gettysburg (the Gettysburg Cyclorama), detail of Cemetery Ridge and the Copse of Trees, Paul Philippoteaux, 1883 · Oil on canvas, a circular painting about 377 feet long and 42 feet high · Gettysburg National Military Park Museum and Visitor Center, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

The French painter Paul Philippoteaux studied the battlefield, photographs and the stories of veterans, then he and his assistants painted Pickett's Charge on a circular canvas so that visitors standing in the middle would feel surrounded by the battle. The version now at Gettysburg was restored and reopened in 2008 with a real foreground of fences and earth that blends into the painting. Parents may preview: some parts show fallen soldiers, but without gore. This study uses the section around the copse of trees.

Look closely

- Find the copse of trees and the stone wall. Why would the attackers have aimed at so small a landmark?
- Find the long open slope in front of the wall. How far could a defender see?
- Look at the sky and the smoke. How does the painter lead your eye across such a huge space?

Talk about it

1. A cyclorama was the “movie” of the 1880s. What can a painting like this do that a map cannot, and what can a map do that it cannot?
2. Veterans of both armies visited the cyclorama. Why might they have wanted to see it?

HANDS-ON: GETTYSBURG TERRAIN MODEL WITH THE ROUND TOPS

Build a terrain model of the battlefield and test the fishhook and interior lines for yourself.

You will need

- A piece of cardboard about 18 by 24 inches
- Salt dough, modeling clay or crumpled newspaper covered with paper towels and glue
- Green and brown paint or markers; small twigs or sponge pieces for trees; a bit of gray clay for the stone wall
- Blue and gray push pins or small blocks; string; a ruler; a stopwatch

Steps

1. Sketch the battlefield on the cardboard: the town at the top, Seminary Ridge on the left (west), Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill below the town, Cemetery Ridge running south, and Little Round Top and Big Round Top at the bottom.
2. Build up the hills and ridges. Make Big Round Top the highest and Little Round Top steep and rocky on its west face. Keep Cemetery Ridge low; it is only a gentle rise.
3. Add the copse of trees and the stone wall with the Angle, the Peach Orchard and the Wheatfield, Devil's Den and the Emmitsburg Road.
4. Place blue pins along the fishhook and gray pins along the outside curve. Use string to measure each line. Write the two lengths and the ratio.
5. Interior lines test: time how long it takes to walk your finger from Culp's Hill to Little Round Top along the inside (blue) line, then along the outside (gray) line.
6. Finally, set 12 gray pins on Seminary Ridge and walk them across the open fields to the copse of trees. Count how many places along the way Union guns could fire on them from the side.

Check your work

- My model shows the town, both ridges, Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill and both Round Tops in the right places.
- I measured both lines and wrote the ratio.
- I timed the interior-lines test.
- I can explain why Little Round Top mattered on July 2 and why the charge on July 3 was so costly.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Gettysburg battlefield with north at the top. Mark the town, McPherson's Ridge, Seminary Ridge, Cemetery Hill, Culp's Hill, Cemetery Ridge, the copse of trees and the Angle, the Peach Orchard, the Wheatfield, Devil's Den, Little Round Top and Big Round Top, and the Emmitsburg Road. Draw the Union fishhook in blue and the Confederate line in gray. Use three colors of arrows for the main attacks of July 1, 2 and 3. Add a key and a scale bar.
2. **Narration.** In one paragraph, explain what Lincoln meant by "a new birth of freedom" and how the Address connects the soldiers at Gettysburg to the founding of the nation. Use at least two phrases from the Address. The parent keeps this paragraph.

3. Copy the Gettysburg Address in your best handwriting, or memorize it and recite it to your family.

Did you know? Five copies of the Gettysburg Address in Lincoln's own hand survive, each a little different; they are named for the people Lincoln gave them to (Nicolay, Hay, Everett, Bancroft and Bliss). The Library of Congress keeps the Nicolay and Hay copies. On July 2, before the Irish Brigade went into the Wheatfield, its chaplain, Father William Corby, stood on a rock and gave the soldiers a general absolution; a statue of him stands on that spot today. Joshua Chamberlain received the Medal of Honor for Little Round Top in 1893 and was later governor of Maine.

Primary source. *Abraham Lincoln, Address at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Gettysburg, November 19, 1863 (text as given by the Avalon Project, Yale Law School).*

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us--that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion--that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Go deeper. Allen C. Guelzo, *Gettysburg: The Last Invasion* (2013). Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (1992). Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (1974), a Pulitzer Prize-winning novel told through Lee, Longstreet, Chamberlain and others (parent preview for soldiers' language). Gettysburg National Military Park (National Park Service) has maps and virtual programs, and the Library of Congress has images of the Nicolay and Hay copies of the Address. Second video topic: "Culp's Hill, July 2-3, 1863."

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the unit "The Civil War and Reconstruction" (coming soon); and Literature, the high-school unit on American speeches (the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural) (coming soon).

For families. Casualty figures are the National Park Service's ranges. Several of the best-known words of the battle (Lee's "if practicable" order to Ewell, Lee's words taking the blame after the charge, Armistead's last moments) come from later accounts and differ in detail; the stop marks them as such. The seizure of free Black Pennsylvanians by Confederate troops during the campaign is documented in letters and newspapers of the time. The Address is copied exactly from the Avalon Project; its wording is close to the final "Bliss copy," and the other manuscript copies differ slightly. Slavery as the central cause of secession is taught from the declarations of causes in Stop D4. The cyclorama shows some fallen soldiers without gore; preview the full painting before showing it.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Name the five pieces of high ground that formed the Union fishhook, from the barb to the eye.
2. **EASY** Who commanded the 20th Maine, and what did his regiment do when it ran low on ammunition?
3. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. What "proposition" does Lincoln say the nation was dedicated to? According to Lincoln, who has already consecrated the ground, and what is the task left to "us the living"?
4. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Lee on the night of July 2. Attacks on both ends of the Union line have failed. Longstreet urges you to move the army around the Union left, take good ground between Meade and Washington and make Meade attack you. You may (a) follow Longstreet's advice, (b) attack the Union center tomorrow after a great bombardment, or (c) withdraw toward Virginia with your army intact. Decide and explain.
5. **CHALLENGE** The Union fishhook was about 3 miles long; the Confederate line around it was about 6 miles. Meade had about 94,000 men and Lee about 75,000. Find the number of men per mile of line on each side. Then explain what "interior lines" meant for Meade on July 2.
6. **CHALLENGE** Augustine taught that a just war must be fought with a right intention, aimed at a just peace. Using the Address, state what Lincoln said the war was for in November 1863. How had that changed since 1861 (see Stop D4)? Does the Address strengthen the Union's claim to a just cause? Give reasons.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Little Round Top. Play in three rounds; one player reads, the others decide. **Round 1 (Warren, about 4 p.m., July 2):** You stand on Little Round Top and find only a few signalmen. You see Confederate bayonets glinting in the woods to the southwest. Do you (a) report to Meade and wait for orders, or (b) send riders at once to bring any troops you can find? **Round 2 (Vincent):** A rider asks for a brigade. Your orders are to march elsewhere. Do you (a) obey your orders, or (b) take your brigade up the hill on your own responsibility? **Round 3 (Chamberlain):** You are told to hold the extreme left "at all hazards." After repeated attacks your men are nearly out of ammunition, and the enemy is forming again. Do you (a) retreat, (b) stand and use

the bayonet only if attacked, or (c) charge down the hill? The real choices were (b), (b), (c). After each round, talk over what might have happened with the other choice.

Scripture. “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” (John 15:13, KJV)

Lincoln spoke of those “who here gave their lives that that nation might live.” Soldiers on both sides at Gettysburg laid down their lives for comrades and home. Jesus spoke these words on the night before He laid down His own life, the greatest love of all.

Practice: answers

1. Culp’s Hill, Cemetery Hill, Cemetery Ridge, Little Round Top and Big Round Top.
2. Colonel Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. He ordered bayonets fixed, and the regiment charged down the slope, swinging like a door, and drove back the 15th Alabama.
3. “That all men are created equal.” The brave men, living and dead, who struggled there consecrated it. The living must dedicate themselves to the unfinished work: to resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish.
4. Lee chose (b), believing the center had been weakened to reinforce the flanks and that his men could break it. Pickett’s Charge failed with the loss of more than half the attackers. Many historians think (a) or (c) would have been wiser; others note Lee’s supply problems and his confidence in his army after Chancellorsville. Any choice explained with the ground, the supplies and the enemy is a good answer.
5. Union: $94,000 \div 3 \approx 31,000$ men per mile. Confederate: $75,000 \div 6 = 12,500$ men per mile. Meade’s line was more than twice as dense, and because he held the inside of the curve he could shift brigades quickly from quiet sections (such as Culp’s Hill) to threatened ones (the Wheatfield and Little Round Top), while Lee’s messages and troops had to travel the long way around.
6. Sample answer: Lincoln said the war tested whether a nation “conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal” could endure, and he called for “a new birth of freedom.” In 1861 the stated aim was to restore the Union; after the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863) the aim included freedom for the enslaved. The Address strengthens the just-cause claim because it names the preservation of lawful self-government and the end of slavery, not conquest or revenge, as the purpose; a careful answer may also note that intentions must be matched by just conduct and a just peace.

4.8 APPOMATTOX (1865): GRANT'S TERMS AND LEE'S SURRENDER

OBJECTIVES

- Trace Lee's retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox Court House on a map and explain why it failed.
- Explain Grant's surrender terms, Lee's refusal to turn to guerrilla war, and the salute at the surrender of arms.
- Connect Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address to the spirit of the surrender, and weigh what a just peace required after a war over slavery.

Warm-up. Think of a time you lost a hard game or contest. What did the winner do that made it easier, or harder, to lose well? What did you do? Write two sentences. On April 9, 1865, two generals had to show a whole nation how to win and how to lose.

Video slot. Video coming. The Appomattox Campaign and the surrender at Appomattox Court House, April 1865: the retreat, the McLean House and the stacking of arms. Search approved channels (American Battlefield Trust, the National Park Service, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

siege of Petersburg

The nine-and-a-half-month siege (June 1864 to April 1865) of the rail center south of Richmond that pinned Lee's army in trenches.

parole

A prisoner's signed promise not to fight again until properly exchanged, in return for being allowed to go home.

terms of surrender

The conditions under which an army stops fighting and gives up its weapons.

guerrilla war

Fighting by small bands that hide among the people and strike by surprise instead of standing in battle.

Thirteenth Amendment

The amendment to the Constitution, passed by Congress in January 1865 and ratified in December 1865, that ended slavery throughout the United States.

reconciliation

The restoring of peace and friendship between people or nations who have been enemies.

CORE IDEAS

The end of the siege. For more than nine months Lee's army had held trenches stretching over thirty miles around Richmond and Petersburg, growing thinner and hungrier while Grant's lines extended around them. On April 1, 1865, General Philip Sheridan broke the Confederate flank at Five Forks. On April 2 Grant attacked all along the line, and that night Lee abandoned Petersburg and Richmond. On April 4 President Lincoln walked through the captured capital, where freed men and women crowded around him.

The map: a race to the west. Lee hoped to follow the Appomattox River west, gather food at Amelia Court House and then turn south along the railroad to join General Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina. At Amelia the expected rations were not there, and he lost a precious day gathering food. Union cavalry blocked the railroad south. On April 6 at Sailor's Creek, about a fifth of Lee's remaining army was cut off and captured. Lee turned west again toward Appomattox Station, where supply trains waited, while Grant's armies marched on shorter roads to the south, staying ahead of him. On April 8 Sheridan's cavalry seized the trains. At dawn on April 9, Lee's men attacked near Appomattox Court House and pushed back the cavalry, only to find Union infantry behind it. They were nearly surrounded.

The letters and the choice. Since April 7, Grant had been writing to Lee through the lines, urging him to surrender to stop further bloodshed. Now one of Lee's artillery officers, General Edward Porter Alexander, proposed that the army scatter into the hills and keep fighting as guerrillas. Lee refused. He believed such a war would turn soldiers into bands of raiders, bring endless suffering to the people of the South and take the country years to recover from. By the accounts of his officers, he said he would rather die a thousand deaths than go to see Grant, but go he must.

The McLean House. The generals met that afternoon in the parlor of Wilmer McLean's brick house in the village of Appomattox Court House. McLean had moved there after his farm near Manassas was caught up in the first great battle of the war. Lee arrived in a fresh dress uniform with a sword; Grant came in a mud-spattered private's coat with shoulder straps, having ridden far from his baggage. They spoke for a while of the old army in Mexico. Then Grant wrote out the terms: the officers and men would be paroled; arms, artillery and public property would be turned over; officers could keep their side arms, horses and baggage; and every officer and man could return home, not to be disturbed by United States authority as long as he kept his parole and obeyed the laws where he lived. When Lee mentioned that many of his cavalymen and gunners owned their horses, Grant agreed that any man who claimed a horse or mule could take it home for the spring plowing. He also sent food for Lee's hungry soldiers. Grant's military secretary, Lieutenant Colonel Ely S. Parker, a Seneca, wrote out the final copy. When Union batteries began firing salutes, Grant had them stopped; he later wrote that the Confederates were now prisoners and that he did not want to exult over their downfall.

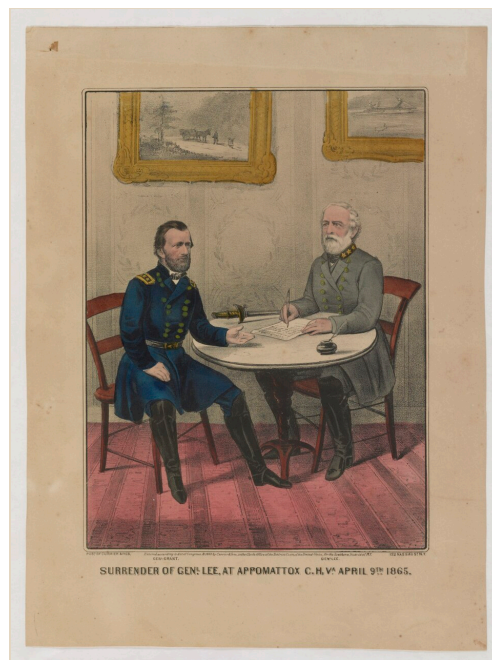
The salute. On April 12 Lee's infantry marched in to stack their rifles and fold their flags. General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, the hero of Little Round Top, commanded the Union troops lining the road. As the first Confederate division under General John B. Gordon

approached, Chamberlain had his men shift to the “carry arms” position, a marching salute; Gordon returned it. About 28,000 Confederate soldiers were paroled at Appomattox.

The numbers and the end of the war. Appomattox did not end the war at once. Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina on April 26, and the last Confederate forces gave up over the next weeks. On April 14, five days after the surrender, Lincoln was shot; he died the next morning. In December 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, and slavery, the cause for which the Southern states had declared they were seceding (see their declarations of causes, Stop D4), was ended in all the United States. The war had cost the lives of about 620,000 soldiers, by the traditional count, and perhaps as many as 750,000 by newer estimates.

Why it mattered. Grant’s terms and Lee’s refusal to wage guerrilla war helped the country avoid years of bitter partisan fighting, and the courtesy of April 12 gave soldiers on both sides a way to honor each other’s courage. Augustine taught that the end of a just war is peace, and that victory should be followed by mercy toward the defeated. Yet a just peace also meant securing the freedom and rights of four million freed people, a task the nation began in Reconstruction and did not finish in that generation. Appomattox shows both the generosity of the peace and the unfinished work Lincoln had named at Gettysburg.

PICTURE STUDY



The Surrender of Genl. Lee, at Appomattox C. H. Va. April 9th 1865, Currier & Ives (publishers), 1865 ·
Hand-colored lithograph · Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Currier & Ives rushed prints of the surrender into shops within weeks. The printmakers were not there, and they made up much of the scene from newspaper reports. Compare what you see with what eyewitnesses described: Lee in a new dress uniform, Grant in a muddy private’s coat, a small parlor, a few officers standing quietly.

Look closely

- Find Grant and Lee. How has the artist dressed each one? Does it match the eyewitness descriptions?
- Count the officers. How has the artist arranged them around the two generals?
- Look at the setting. Is it a parlor, a tent or outdoors? What does that tell you about how the artist worked?

Talk about it

1. Why would a printmaker hurry to sell a picture of this scene, even with mistakes?
2. What feeling did the artist want Northern buyers to have about the surrender: triumph, relief, respect? What clues tell you?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP APPOMATTOX: THE RACE WEST

Play Lee's retreat as a race against Grant's armies on a tabletop map, then write and negotiate surrender terms.

You will need

- A large sheet of paper with the route drawn: Petersburg and Richmond on the right; Amelia Court House, Jetersville, Sailor's Creek, Farmville, Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House to the west; Burkeville and the railroad south to Danville
- Gray and blue tokens or toy soldiers; one die
- Index cards marked "rations" (place 3 at Amelia face down, but only one is real) and "supply train" (at Appomattox Station)
- Paper and pen for the terms

Steps

1. Draw Lee's route along the north (longer) road and Grant's along the south (shorter) roads. Mark the road junctions where the blue army can cut off the gray.
2. Lee's player starts at Petersburg with 12 tokens; Grant's player starts with 16. Each turn both roll; gray moves the roll in inches, blue the roll plus one (shorter roads).
3. At Amelia, Lee turns over the ration cards. If he finds no real rations, he loses a turn gathering food.
4. At Sailor's Creek, if blue is level with gray, gray loses a fifth of its tokens (round up).
5. If blue reaches Appomattox Station first, it takes the supply train. If gray is blocked to the west and south, the game ends.
6. Now Grant's player writes surrender terms, and Lee's player may ask for one change. Compare your terms with Grant's real ones.

Check your work

- My route map shows the retreat, the railroad and Appomattox Court House.
- I played the race and can explain why the shorter roads mattered.

- I wrote surrender terms and compared them with Grant's.
- I can explain why Lee refused to scatter his army as guerrillas.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Appomattox Campaign with north at the top: Richmond, Petersburg, the Appomattox River, Amelia Court House, Jetersville, Sailor's Creek, High Bridge, Farmville, Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House, and the railroad toward Danville. Draw Lee's route in gray and Grant's pursuing columns in blue. Add the dates April 2, 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9. Add a key and a scale bar (about 100 miles from Petersburg to Appomattox).
2. **Narration.** Write a "letter home" in the voice of a soldier, Union or Confederate, on the evening of April 12, 1865, after the stacking of arms. Tell what you saw and what you feel about going home. Use at least three true facts from this stop. The parent keeps this letter.
3. List Grant's terms in your own words, numbered 1 to 5.

Did you know? People said the war began in Wilmer McLean's front yard at Manassas and ended in his parlor at Appomattox. After the surrender, Union officers bought or simply took the parlor furniture as souvenirs; the table on which Grant wrote is now in the Smithsonian. The McLean House itself was taken apart in 1893 for a planned exhibit that never happened, and the National Park Service rebuilt it on its original site, opening it to visitors in 1950.

Primary source. *Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865, five weeks before Appomattox (the Avalon Project, Yale Law School): one sentence about the two sides, and the closing paragraph.*

Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Go deeper. Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs* (1885), Chapters LXVI-LXVII, free on Project Gutenberg (eBook #4367), with the full text of his letters and terms. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies* (1915), his account of the last campaign and the salute. Elizabeth R. Varon, *Appomattox: Victory, Defeat, and Freedom at the End of the Civil War* (2013). Jay Winik, *April 1865: The Month That Saved America* (2001). Appomattox Court House National Historical Park (National Park Service) has the McLean House, maps and a virtual tour. Second video topic: "Bennett Place: Johnston's surrender to Sherman."

Goes deeper in. History, American History, the units “The Civil War and Reconstruction” and “Reconstruction and the Amendments” (coming soon); and Literature, American speeches (Lincoln’s Second Inaugural).

For families. Grant’s terms are summarized, not quoted, because we could not copy the full letter exactly from an approved source for this stop; the complete text is in Grant’s *Personal Memoirs* on Project Gutenberg. Lee’s “thousand deaths” remark and his words to Alexander come from the later accounts of his officers and differ in detail. Chamberlain’s account of the salute was written decades later; Gordon also described it. The total of about 28,000 paroled follows the National Park Service; war-dead estimates are the traditional figure (about 620,000) and J. David Hacker’s 2011 estimate (about 750,000). Lincoln’s death is stated plainly. The Second Inaugural is copied exactly from the Avalon Project.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Where did Lee hope to take his army after leaving Petersburg, and why?
2. **EASY** Name three of Grant’s terms of surrender.
3. **MEDIUM** **Choose your move.** You are Lee at dawn on April 9. Your attack has found Union infantry blocking the road west; more Union troops are behind you. General Alexander urges you to let the men slip away into the hills and fight on as guerrillas. You may (a) attack again, (b) scatter the army as Alexander suggests, or (c) ask Grant for a meeting. Decide and explain, thinking about the soldiers and about the people of the South.
4. **MEDIUM** Read the primary source. In the first sentence, what does Lincoln say the two sides have in common? In the second, list four things he asks the nation to do.
5. **CHALLENGE** Lee left Petersburg with roughly 55,000 to 60,000 men. About 28,000 were paroled at Appomattox a week later. About what fraction of his army was lost in that week (captured, killed, wounded or scattered)? What do the numbers tell you about the retreat?
6. **CHALLENGE** Just-war thinkers say a war must end in a just peace. Compare Grant’s terms with Lincoln’s “malice toward none.” Then explain what more a just peace required in 1865 for the four million people freed from slavery, and whether the nation provided it.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Grant at the Table. One player is Grant, another reads the cards, and the rest are Lee’s officers listening. **Card 1:** Lee asks for terms. Do you (a) demand unconditional surrender and send the army to prison camps, (b) parole the men to go home, or (c) parole the men but put the generals on trial? **Card 2:** Lee mentions that many of his men own their horses. Do you (a) keep the rule that only officers may take horses, or (b) let any man who claims a horse or mule take it home? **Card 3:** Lee says his men are starving. Do you (a) let them find their own food, or (b) send them rations from your own supplies? **Card 4:** Your batteries begin firing victory salutes. Do you (a) let them celebrate, or (b) order them to stop? Grant chose (b) every

time. After each card, Lee's officers say how the choice would make them feel about going home and living as Americans again.

Scripture. "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."
(Matthew 5:9, KJV)

At Appomattox two generals who had fought each other for a year made a peace. Grant's terms and Lee's choice not to fight on as guerrillas saved many lives. Making peace is harder than fighting, and Jesus calls it blessed.

Practice: answers

1. West and then south toward Danville and North Carolina, to join General Joseph E. Johnston's army.
2. Any three: the men were paroled and could go home; they must not fight again until exchanged; arms, artillery and public property were turned over; officers kept side arms, horses and baggage; men who owned horses or mules could take them home; they would not be disturbed by U.S. authority as long as they kept their paroles and obeyed the law.
3. Lee chose (c). He judged that more fighting would only kill men to no purpose and that a guerrilla war would bring years of raiding and reprisals on the people, so he met Grant that afternoon. His refusal of guerrilla war is one reason the war ended as quickly as it did.
4. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each asks God's help against the other. He asks the nation to finish the work it is in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for the wounded soldier and for widows and orphans, and to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace at home and with all nations (all with malice toward none and charity for all).
5. If he started with about 56,000, he lost about 28,000, roughly half; with a range of 55,000–60,000, the loss is about half (49%–53%). The numbers show how hunger, exhaustion, the disaster at Sailor's Creek and desertion destroyed the army in a single week, even before the surrender.
6. Sample answer: Grant's terms matched Lincoln's spirit: no trials or prison camps for the soldiers, horses for plowing, food for the hungry, and no exulting over the defeated. But a just peace also required that the freed people be secure in their freedom: protection of life and property, the right to work for wages, to own land, to learn, to marry and to vote. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments wrote much of this into the Constitution, but after Reconstruction ended in 1877 many of those rights were not enforced in the South for generations. A strong answer praises the generosity of the surrender and names the unfinished work honestly.

TRAIL 4 BADGE QUIZZES

The badge quizzes are optional. Answer each question in writing, in one to four sentences; challenge questions may be discussed aloud with a parent first. Four good answers out of five earn each badge. Badges and the certificate are earned by doing the stops, not by scores.

Badge quiz 1 (Stops 1-5)

1. Why did the arrival of Blücher's Prussians decide the Battle of Waterloo? Mention Plancenoit or the Allied left in your answer.
2. The Treaty of Ghent was signed on December 24, 1814. Was the Battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815) fought after the war ended? Explain using the treaty.
3. Name two causes of the Texas Revolution and one reason Santa Anna's camp at San Jacinto was a trap for his own army.
4. What did Mississippi's declaration of causes name as the reason for secession? How did Johnston's army reach First Bull Run, and why was that new?
5. Why is the duel of March 9, 1862, called a tactical draw but a strategic Union victory?

Badge quiz 2 (Stops 6-8)

6. Describe Grant's plan to get his army below Vicksburg in April 1863, and give one reason, from his memoirs, why he would not go back to Memphis.
7. Explain how the Union fishhook gave Meade interior lines, and why Little Round Top mattered on July 2.
8. In the Gettysburg Address, what proposition does Lincoln say the nation was dedicated to, and what does he ask the living to resolve?
9. Name three of Grant's terms at Appomattox and explain why Lee refused to scatter his army as guerrillas.
10. Choose one battle from this trail and judge it by one just-war condition (lawful authority, just cause, right intention, just conduct or a just peace). Give your reasons.

TRAIL CERTIFICATE: MY NINETEENTH-CENTURY BATTLE MAP BOOK AND TRAIL D CERTIFICATE

Gather the terrain maps, narration paragraphs and practice answers from this trail into one booklet titled "My Battle Map Book: The Nineteenth Century," with your name and the dates you started and finished. Add a timeline page with all eight battles in order, from Waterloo (June 18, 1815) to Appomattox (April 9, 1865).

Write a 500- to 700-word essay on one of these questions: (1) Which battle on this trail mattered most, and why? (2) Was the Union cause in the Civil War a just cause? Use the secession declarations, the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural. (3) Which commander on this trail best showed both courage and mercy? Quote at least two primary sources accurately and name where they come from.

When the booklet and essay are done, a parent reviews them with the rubric and signs the Trail D certificate.

- **Eight terrain maps:** A labeled terrain map for each battle, with a title, date, north arrow, key and scale bar, showing both sides' positions and movements.
- **Narrations:** Eight narration paragraphs (or letters), each accurate, in the student's own words and including the true facts asked for.
- **Use of sources:** The essay quotes at least two primary sources exactly, names them, and separates what the source says from the student's interpretation.
- **Reasoning and fairness:** The essay reaches a clear judgment, describes both sides fairly in the terms of their own time, names real wrongs plainly, and applies at least one just-war condition correctly.

Answer key

1. Napoleon's plan depended on beating Wellington before the Prussians could join him. From about 4:30 p.m. Prussians attacked Plancenoit on Napoleon's right flank, drawing off his reserves, and in the evening more Prussians reached Wellington's left. When the Imperial Guard's attack failed, the combined Allies broke the French army.
2. No. Article I says hostilities would cease once both parties ratified the treaty; the United States ratified it on February 16–17, 1815, so the battle was fought while the war was still legally going on.
3. Any two causes: Santa Anna's overthrow of the federal Constitution of 1824 and turn to centralism; the 1830 limits on immigration; the jailing of Stephen F. Austin; disputes over religion, courts and arms; settlers' determination to keep slavery. The trap: the camp had the river, marsh and a lake behind it, leaving almost no room to retreat.
4. Slavery: "Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery." Johnston's men came from the Shenandoah Valley by railroad, the first time a railroad carried a large army to a battle.
5. Neither ironclad sank or seriously damaged the other, but the *Monitor* saved the *Minnesota* and the wooden fleet, the blockade held and the *Virginia* never again attacked the fleet.
6. The army marched down the Louisiana side while Porter's gunboats and transports ran past the Vicksburg batteries at night; the boats then ferried the army across at Bruinsburg. Grant believed a long backward move would be seen in the discouraged North as a defeat, leading to resistance to the draft and desertions.
7. Meade held the inside of a curve about three miles long, so he could move troops between threatened points faster than Lee could along his six-mile outer line. Little Round Top anchored the southern end of the line; if the Confederates had taken it, they could have fired along the Union line and turned its flank.
8. "That all men are created equal." He asks the living to resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.
9. Any three: parole of all officers and men; surrender of arms, artillery and public property; officers keep side arms, horses and baggage; men who owned horses or mules take them home; they could go home undisturbed while they kept their paroles and obeyed the laws; Grant sent rations. Lee believed a guerrilla war would turn soldiers into raiders, bring long suffering to the Southern people and delay the country's recovery.

10. Answers will vary. A good answer names the battle and the condition, uses specific facts from the story (for example, the killing of men trying to surrender at San Jacinto, the declarations of causes and the question of authority at Bull Run, the siege of a city with civilians at Vicksburg, or Grant's terms and Lincoln's "malice toward none" at Appomattox), and reaches a clear, reasoned judgment.

GREAT BATTLES ✕ TRAIL E: THE WORLD WARS

The fifth trail of the Great Battles track crosses the two World Wars in eight battles: the Marne and the taxis of Paris (1914), Sergeant York in the Argonne (1918), Dunkirk and the little ships (1940), the Battle of Britain (1940), Midway and the code-breakers (1942), El Alamein (1942), D-Day with its planning, deception, weather, beaches, Pointe du Hoc and General Roosevelt at Utah Beach (1944), and the Battle of the Bulge with Bastogne and “Nuts!” (1944–1945). Each battle is taught through **the map, the plan, the people** and **why it mattered**.

This is the ● **Expert** level, for students 14 and up, at a high-school reading level. Each stop takes 35 to 50 minutes and asks the student to work with causes, numbers and honest disagreements among historians; to read a primary source where a verified public-domain text is available; to draw a terrain map; to run a tabletop or sand-table model; to solve a “Choose your move” puzzle before learning what the commander did; and to write one narration paragraph that the parent keeps. Just-war questions from Augustine and Aquinas appear at this level. Nazi crimes, and other crimes against prisoners and civilians, are named plainly and without images. Casualties are given as numbers or ranges, and no picture shows the dead or wounded.

The first five stops earn the **Battle Expert badge, Trail E, part 1**; all eight earn part 2 and the **Trail E certificate**. The badge quizzes at the end are optional and may be answered aloud or in writing.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

- Read a page of high-school history and summarize it in your own words; read a simple map with a scale and a north arrow.
- Know the basic order of events from 1914 to 1945 (World War I, the years between the wars, World War II); Trail D and a timeline of the twentieth century are helpful but not required.

MASTERY CHECKLIST

- ☐ I can place all eight battles on a timeline and on a map of Europe, North Africa and the Pacific.
- ☐ I can explain how terrain decided at least four of these battles, such as the gap at the Marne, the mole at Dunkirk, the Qattara Depression at El Alamein and the roads of Bastogne.
- ☐ I can explain how intelligence and deception shaped Midway, El Alamein and D-Day.
- ☐ I can read a primary source from this trail, say who wrote it and why, and judge what it leaves out.
- ☐ I can state Aquinas’s three conditions for a just war and apply them, along with the duty to spare prisoners and civilians, to at least two battles on this trail.

OPTIONAL BOOKS AND RESOURCES

- **The National WWII Museum (New Orleans)** (<https://www.nationalww2museum.org>): Free articles, maps, oral histories and classroom resources on Dunkirk, Midway, D-Day and the Bulge.
- **Imperial War Museums (London)** (<https://www.iwm.org.uk>): Free online collections and short histories of the Marne, Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain and El Alamein; home of the Cundall, Nash and Chaddock paintings.
- **U.S. Army Center of Military History** (<https://history.army.mil>): Free official histories and pamphlets on the Meuse-Argonne, Normandy and the Ardennes, including Cole's *The Ardennes: Battle of the Bulge*.
- **Naval History and Heritage Command** (<https://www.history.navy.mil>): Official U.S. Navy pages on Midway with action reports, photographs and Admiral Nimitz's communiqués.
- **American Battle Monuments Commission** (<https://www.abmc.gov>): Maps, virtual tours and histories of Pointe du Hoc, the Normandy American Cemetery and the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery.

5.1 THE MARNE (1914): THE TAXIS OF PARIS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the Schlieffen Plan, why it failed at the Marne, and how a gap between two German armies decided the battle.
- Read Joffre's order of the day of September 6, 1914 as a primary source and judge what it asked of soldiers.
- Weigh the legend of the taxis of the Marne against its real military effect, and ask a just-war question about the war's beginning.

Warm-up. Put two coins on a table about a hand's width apart. Slide a third coin quickly between them. A battle line works the same way: when two armies drift apart, the enemy can drive into the gap. In September 1914, about 30 miles of open ground between two German armies changed the history of the century.

Video slot. Video coming. The First Battle of the Marne, September 1914: the Schlieffen Plan, von Kluck's turn, Gallieni and the taxis of Paris. Search approved channels (The Great War, Imperial War Museums, Kings and Generals, The National WWI Museum and Memorial); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Schlieffen Plan

Germany's pre-war plan to defeat France in about six weeks by swinging a huge right wing through neutral Belgium, then turn east against Russia.

flank

The side or end of an army's line, usually its weakest point. To "turn a flank" is to get around it.

Belgian neutrality

Belgium's status, guaranteed by the great powers in the Treaty of London (1839), as a country no army may march through. Germany's invasion of Belgium brought Britain into the war.

British Expeditionary Force (BEF)

The small professional British army sent to France in August 1914, about 100,000 men at first.

order of the day

A message from a commander read to all troops before or after an important event.

trench warfare

Fighting from long lines of dug-in positions facing each other, as on the Western Front from late 1914 to 1918.

CORE IDEAS

The causes. On June 28, 1914, a young Bosnian Serb nationalist murdered Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, in Sarajevo. Within six weeks a web of alliances pulled the great powers in: Austria-Hungary against Serbia, Russia mobilizing to protect Serbia, Germany backing Austria and declaring war on Russia and on Russia's ally France. When Germany marched into neutral Belgium on August 4, Britain declared war. Historians still argue about how to share the blame, and every government believed it was defending itself. What is not in dispute is that the invasion of Belgium broke a treaty Germany itself had signed.

The map. The Schlieffen Plan sent the German right wing, the First Army under Alexander von Kluck and the Second under Karl von Bülow, sweeping through Belgium and northern France, meant to pass west of Paris and trap the French armies against their own frontier. In August the French lost the Battle of the Frontiers, at a cost of about 27,000 French soldiers killed on August 22 alone, and fell back with the British. But marching men tire, supply lines stretch and the Germans had sent troops east to meet the Russians. At the end of August von Kluck turned southeast, passing *east* of Paris. His right flank now lay open to the city, and a gap of about 30 miles opened between his army and von Bülow's, along the rivers Ourcq, Petit Morin and Marne.

The plan. General Joseph Joffre, the French commander-in-chief, kept calm through the retreat and fired generals who failed. French airmen and cavalry saw von Kluck's turn. General Joseph Gallieni, the military governor of Paris, urged an attack on the exposed flank with the new Sixth Army under Michel Maunoury. Joffre agreed and ordered a general counterattack for September 6, along a front of about 150 miles. The BEF, after some persuading of its commander, Sir John French, joined in.

What happened. Maunoury struck von Kluck's flank on the Ourcq on September 5–6. Von Kluck, a skilled general, swung his whole army west to meet the threat, and in doing so widened the gap beside him. Into that gap moved the BEF and Louis Franchet d'Espèrey's Fifth Army, slowly but steadily. To the east, Ferdinand Foch's Ninth Army held on in the marshes of Saint-Gond. On September 8–9 a German staff officer, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Hentsch, sent by the chief of staff Helmuth von Moltke, judged that the two armies were in danger of being cut apart and approved a retreat. By September 12 the Germans had fallen back about 40 miles to the heights above the river Aisne and dug in.

The taxis. On the nights of September 6–8 Gallieni gathered about 600 Paris taxis, mostly red Renaults, to rush part of the 7th Division to Maunoury. Each carried four or five soldiers; estimates of the total run from about 4,000 to 6,000 men, and the taxis are said to have run their meters, with the army paying the fares afterward. Most reinforcements came by train and on foot, and historians agree the taxis did not decide the battle. But the picture of a whole city helping its army became a symbol of French resolve, and several of the cars are kept in museums today.

The people and the cost. More than two million men fought along the Marne. Losses for the week are uncertain, but French, British and German killed, wounded, captured and missing together came to roughly half a million. Many French Catholics called the victory the “Miracle of the Marne,” and a statue of Our Lady of the Marne near the village of Barcy and a great monument at Mondement recall it. It was a strategic victory won by patient command, quick seeing and ordinary soldiers who turned and fought after two weeks of retreat.

Why it mattered. The Marne ended Germany’s hope of a quick war in the west. Both sides then tried to get around each other’s northern flank in the “Race to the Sea,” and by November a line of trenches ran about 440 miles from the North Sea coast to Switzerland. It would barely move for nearly four years. A **just-war question** appears here: Augustine taught that war must be fought for a just cause and aimed at peace, and Thomas Aquinas listed three conditions: lawful authority, a just cause and a right intention. Britain went to war to defend Belgium’s neutrality. Was that a just cause? Was Germany’s claim that it had to strike first a just cause too?

PICTURE STUDY



German Soldiers at the Battle of the Marne, Unknown photographer, 1914 · Photograph · Widely reproduced; Wikimedia Commons
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

This photograph shows the German side of the Marne. These men had marched hundreds of miles through Belgium and France in a month, many of them on foot in heat and dust. Photographs from 1914 are often posed for the camera, so look at it as evidence, not as a snapshot of the fighting itself.

Look closely

- Look at the helmets. They are the spiked *Pickelhaube*, covered with cloth so the shiny metal would not catch the light. Within two years both sides would wear steel helmets instead.
- Look at the ground. Is there any cover from fire? Compare this with the trenches that came only weeks later.
- Look at the faces and the spacing of the men. What does the picture suggest about tiredness, discipline and what open-field fighting was like?

Talk about it

1. Why might a photographer in 1914 pose soldiers for a picture, and how should a historian use such a photograph?
2. How does the open ground in this photograph help explain why both armies began to dig trenches after the Marne?

HANDS-ON: SAND-TABLE MARNE: FIND THE GAP

Build the Marne on a sand table or a large sheet of paper and act out the week of September 5–12, 1914. Then read Joffre’s order (below) aloud as the counterattack begins, and decide what it asked of the men.

You will need

- A sand table, a tray of sand, or a large sheet of paper on the floor
- Blue yarn or ribbon for the rivers Marne, Ourcq, Petit Morin and Aisne
- A block or box for Paris; toy cars or small blocks for the taxis
- About 30 blocks or toy soldiers in three colors: French, British, German
- Index cards and a marker for army labels (German First and Second; French Sixth, Fifth and Ninth; BEF)

Steps

1. Lay out the rivers from north to south: Aisne at the top, then Ourcq running down into the Marne, then the Petit Morin. Put Paris at the left (west) edge.
2. Place the German First Army (von Kluck) east of Paris facing south, and the Second Army (von Bülow) to its left. Leave a gap of about one hand’s width between them.
3. Place the French Sixth Army (Maunoury) on the Paris side of the Ourcq, the BEF and French Fifth Army south of the gap, and the Ninth Army (Foch) to the east.
4. Move 1: Maunoury attacks von Kluck’s flank; drive the taxis from Paris to him. Move 2: von Kluck swings west to meet him. Measure the gap again. Move 3: the BEF and Fifth Army advance into it. Move 4: the Germans pull back to the Aisne.
5. Read Joffre’s order aloud at Move 1. Then discuss: what did “no longer time to look behind” mean to men who had retreated for two weeks?

Check your work

- My map shows all four rivers, Paris and the six armies, labeled.

- I showed how von Kluck's turn west widened the gap.
- I can explain in two sentences why the taxis mattered more for morale than for numbers.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw northern France from Paris east to Verdun. Mark the rivers Aisne, Ourcq, Marne and Petit Morin and the marshes of Saint-Gond. Draw von Kluck's and von Bülow's armies with the gap between them, arrows for Maunoury's attack from Paris and the BEF's advance into the gap, and the German line of retreat to the Aisne. Add a title, a scale (about 30 miles) and a key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain how the Germans lost the Battle of the Marne without being routed. Use the words *flank* and *gap* and name at least three commanders. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Copy the first two sentences of Joffre's order in your best hand and write one sentence on what they reveal about the French army's mood on September 6.

Did you know? Joffre was famous for his calm. Through the retreat of August 1914 he kept regular meals and a full night's sleep, and he dismissed dozens of generals he judged unfit. Two Marne taxis may be seen today, one at the Musée de l'Armée in Paris. A Second Battle of the Marne was fought in July 1918, in which American soldiers took part.

Primary source. *Joffre's order of the day, September 6, 1914, as translated and printed in The Sunday Oregonian, September 13, 1914, page 1 (Chronicling America, Library of Congress)*

At the moment when a battle is being engaged, on the result of which the welfare of the country depends, it is important to remind all that it is no longer time to look behind. All efforts must be employed to attack and to drive back the enemy. A force which cannot advance any further shall, no matter at what cost, retain the conquered ground and be killed on the spot rather than fall back. Under the present circumstances no weakness can be tolerated.

Go deeper. Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (1962), a classic narrative of the war's first month ending at the Marne; Holger Herwig, *The Marne, 1914* (2009), which gives the German side; the National WWI Museum and Memorial (Kansas City), online collections on 1914; second video topic: the Schlieffen Plan and why it failed.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school Modern World course, the World War I unit (coming soon); and Geography, France and the Low Countries.

For families. Dates: the battle is usually dated September 5–12, 1914 (some count from September 6). Numbers of taxis (about 600) and men carried (estimates from about 4,000 to 6,000) vary by source; the stop gives ranges. Casualty totals for the week are

uncertain; “roughly half a million” for both sides together is a common estimate. The English text of Joffre’s order is a 1914 newspaper translation, copied from the Library of Congress’s Chronicling America page as printed (other translations word it differently). The causes of the war are presented without assigning a single villain, as most historians now do, while stating plainly that Germany broke its treaty guarantee of Belgium. Foch’s famous line “My center gives way, my right falls back; situation excellent, I attack” is probably a legend and is not quoted as fact. No images of the dead are used.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did Germany march through Belgium, and what did that cause Britain to do?
2. **MEDIUM** Explain how von Kluck’s turn east of Paris created the chance for the Allied counterattack.
3. **MEDIUM** Did the taxis of the Marne win the battle? Give a reasoned answer.
4. **EASY** What happened along the Western Front after the Marne?
5. **CHALLENGE** Read Joffre’s order (Primary source). What does it ask of a unit that cannot advance? Why would a commander write so strongly after two weeks of retreat, and what risk is there in such an order?
6. **CHALLENGE** Aquinas named three conditions for a just war: lawful authority, a just cause and a right intention. Apply them to Britain’s decision to go to war in August 1914. Which condition is easiest to show, and which is hardest to judge?

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Joffre on September 4. Choose your move.

You are General Joffre on September 4, 1914. Your armies have retreated for two weeks. Reports say von Kluck’s army has turned southeast and is passing east of Paris, with its right side facing the city. Will you (a) keep retreating south behind the Seine River to rest and rebuild your armies, (b) send everything to defend Paris itself, or (c) order a counterattack along the whole front, with the Paris army striking von Kluck’s flank? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* Joffre chose (c), urged on by Gallieni, and set the attack for September 6. Then play “Mind the Gap”: two players hold a rope between them as the German line while a third tries to slip through; the line must also turn to face a fourth player “attacking from Paris.” Watch the gap open.

Scripture. “A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace.” (Ecclesiastes 3:8, KJV)

Europe in 1914 had known a long peace among the great powers, and many expected a short war “over by Christmas.” Solomon reminds us that war and peace both come in this fallen world, and that a wise nation must judge soberly which time it is.

Practice: answers

1. The Schlieffen Plan sent the German right wing through Belgium to get around the French fortresses and defeat France quickly. Because Germany broke Belgium’s guaranteed neutrality, Britain declared war on August 4, 1914.

2. Passing east of Paris left his right flank open to the city's garrison (Maunoury's Sixth Army), and when he swung west to fight Maunoury, the gap between his army and von Bülow's widened to about 30 miles; the BEF and French Fifth Army advanced into it, and the Germans retreated to avoid being split.
3. No. They carried perhaps 4,000 to 6,000 men out of more than a million French soldiers, and most reinforcements came by rail and on foot. Their importance was as a symbol of Paris and the nation pulling together, which raised morale.
4. Both sides tried to outflank each other to the north (the "Race to the Sea"), and by November 1914 a line of trenches stretched about 440 miles from the North Sea to Switzerland.
5. It orders such a unit to hold the ground it has won at any cost and die rather than fall back. After a long retreat Joffre needed every man to understand that this was the decisive moment and that retreating further would lose France. The risk is that units may be destroyed holding worthless ground; a good order still depends on wise officers applying it.
6. Lawful authority is easiest: the British government declared war through its proper constitutional channels. Just cause can be argued from the defense of Belgium, an invaded neutral country Britain had promised to protect. Right intention is hardest to judge, because nations also acted from fear for their own power and the balance of Europe; a good answer notes that motives were mixed.

5.2 SERGEANT YORK IN THE ARGONNE (1918)

OBJECTIVES

- Place Alvin York’s action of October 8, 1918 within the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, the largest battle in American history by number of Americans killed.
- Read York’s Medal of Honor citation as a primary source and compare it with other accounts.
- Trace York’s struggle of conscience over war, using Scripture and the just-war tradition of Augustine and Aquinas.

Warm-up. York grew up shooting at turkey matches in the Tennessee mountains, where a turkey was tied behind a log and only its head showed. Take a sheet of paper, draw a target the size of a quarter on it, and tape it across the room. How hard would that target be to hit with a rifle at 30 to 50 yards, if it kept bobbing up and down?

Video slot. Video coming. Sergeant Alvin York and the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, October 8, 1918; Hill 223 and Châtel-Chéhéry. Search approved channels (The Great War, The National WWI Museum and Memorial, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Tennessee State Parks: Sgt. Alvin C. York State Historic Park); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Meuse-Argonne Offensive

The great American-French attack of September 26 to November 11, 1918, between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest; about 1.2 million Americans took part.

American Expeditionary Forces (AEF)

The U.S. Army in Europe in World War I, commanded by General John J. Pershing.

conscientious objector

A person who refuses to fight in war for reasons of conscience, often religious ones.

enfilade

Fire that sweeps along the length of a line of troops from the side, the most dangerous kind of fire to be caught in.

Medal of Honor

The highest U.S. military award for valor in combat “above and beyond the call of duty.”

armistice

An agreement to stop fighting. The armistice ending World War I took effect at 11 a.m. on November 11, 1918.

CORE IDEAS

The setting. The United States entered the war in April 1917, after Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare and the Zimmermann Telegram revealed a German offer to

help Mexico regain lost territory. By the fall of 1918 more than a million Americans were in France. On September 26 General Pershing opened the Meuse-Argonne Offensive against the strongest German defenses on the Western Front. Before the armistice on November 11 about 26,000 Americans were killed there, more than in any other battle in the nation's history.

The map. The Argonne Forest is a ridge of steep wooded hills and deep ravines on the western edge of the offensive, with the Aire River valley to its east. Germans on the heights could fire down on Americans advancing up the valley. On October 8 the 82nd Division attacked west from near the village of Châtel-Chéhéry, past a height called Hill 223, to cut a German supply railway. As Company G of the 328th Infantry Regiment crossed an open valley, German machine guns on a ridge to its left caught it in enfilade fire and pinned it down.

The plan. Sergeant Bernard Early was sent with 17 men, among them Corporal Alvin York, to work around behind the guns. They slipped through the woods and surprised a German headquarters group at breakfast, who surrendered. Then German machine gunners on the slope above turned their guns around and fired on the group. Six Americans were killed and three wounded, including Early. York was the only noncommissioned officer left unhurt, with seven privates guarding the prisoners.

What happened. York, lying in the open near the prisoners, fired at the gunners whenever a head showed, as he had at turkey matches at home. When a German officer led a small group charging at him with bayonets, York stopped them with his pistol. At last the German commander, Lieutenant Paul Vollmer, offered to have his men surrender. York and his seven men marched them back through the German lines, gathering more prisoners as they went. They brought in 132 prisoners, including 4 officers, and the Army credited York with silencing 35 machine guns; about 25 German soldiers had been killed (accounts give from 20 to 28). The attack on the railway went on that day.

The people. Alvin Cullum York, born in 1887, grew up poor in Pall Mall, Tennessee, in the Valley of the Three Forks of the Wolf River. As a young man he drank and fought, but in 1915 he was converted at a revival and joined the Church of Christ in Christian Union, a small church that taught that Christians should not take part in war. Drafted in 1917, he asked to be excused as a conscientious objector and was refused. At Camp Gordon his battalion commander, Major George Edward Buxton, a Christian who knew the Bible well, and his company commander, Captain Edward Danforth, spent hours reading Scripture with him. Given leave to go home and pray, York spent a night and a day on a mountainside and came back convinced that he could serve with a clear conscience.

Afterward. York was promoted to sergeant and received the Medal of Honor and the French Croix de Guerre. He came home in 1919 to parades, but turned down offers worth a fortune for advertisements and stage shows, saying his uniform was not for sale. He married Gracie Williams, farmed and raised money to found the York Agricultural Institute, a school for mountain children that still exists as a public high school. He agreed to the 1941 film

Sergeant York only after years of refusing, and put much of what he earned toward his school and other good works at home. He died in 1964 and is buried in Pall Mall.

Why it mattered and a just-war question. One man's action did not win the Meuse-Argonne, but it opened a way through a deadly position and became a picture of the American soldier for a generation. York's story also asks the oldest Christian question about war. Augustine taught that a soldier who serves under lawful authority in a just war does not sin by fighting, and that war must aim at peace; Aquinas added that a war needs lawful authority, a just cause and a right intention. Christians in the peace churches have answered differently. York weighed both views with Scripture, prayer and counsel, and he said afterward that he believed God had protected him that day.

PICTURE STUDY



Sergeant Alvin C. York Shows the Hill on Which the Action Took Place, U.S. Army Signal Corps photographer, February 1919 · Photograph · U.S. National Archives (Signal Corps collection); Wikimedia Commons

Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Four months after the action, the Army brought York back to the place near Châtel-Chéhéry so that officers could record exactly what had happened. This photograph was taken on that visit. It is an official record, made to document the ground, not a battle scene.

Look closely

- Look at the slope and the trees. Where could machine gunners hide on ground like this?
- Look at how York stands and what he is doing with his hands. What is the photographer trying to show?

- Look at the bare winter trees. How would the woods have looked in October, with leaves still on them?

Talk about it

1. Why would the Army go to the trouble of investigating and photographing the site before awarding the Medal of Honor?
2. How does seeing the steep, wooded ground change your understanding of York's citation?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP ARGONNE: BEHIND THE GUNS

Build the valley and ridge where Company G was pinned down, then move Early's 17 men around behind the German guns. Afterward, test the Medal of Honor citation (below) against the story you have just acted out.

You will need

- A towel or blanket over books to make two ridges with a valley between
- Green paper scraps or small twigs for woods
- About 20 toy soldiers or blocks in one color (Americans) and about 25 in another (Germans)
- Six bottle caps or coins for the German machine-gun positions
- A sheet of paper and pencil

Steps

1. Make the valley Company G crossed, with a wooded ridge on its left (south) side. Put the six machine-gun caps on that ridge facing the valley.
2. Put Company G in the open valley. Lay a ruler from the guns along the American line to see why fire from the side (enfilade) was so deadly.
3. Move Early's 17 men through the woods behind the ridge. Place the German headquarters group in a hollow and have it surrender.
4. Turn some of the German guns around to face the Americans behind them. Remove nine American pieces (six killed, three wounded). Leave York and seven men with the prisoners.
5. Read the citation aloud. List on paper two things the citation says that match your tabletop, and one detail it leaves out or tells differently from the longer story.

Check your work

- My table shows the valley, the ridge, the guns and the route behind them.
- I can explain enfilade fire with my ruler.
- I compared the citation with the fuller story and noted at least one difference.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the eastern edge of the Argonne Forest and the Aire River valley. Mark Châtel-Chéhéry, Hill 223, the valley Company G crossed, the ridge with the German machine guns and the route Early's patrol took behind them. Add arrows for the march back with 132 prisoners, a title, a north arrow and a key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, tell how Alvin York came to fight in 1918 when his church taught against war. Include the people who counseled him and the Scripture or reasoning that helped him decide. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Make a two-column chart: "What the citation says" and "What other accounts add."

Did you know? York was a corporal on October 8 and was promoted to sergeant afterward, which is why his citation calls him "Cpl. York." In the 2000s a team led by Douglas Mastriano used old maps, German records and metal detectors to locate the site of the action near Châtel-Chéhéry, finding American and German cartridge cases where the fight took place; another team proposed a different spot, and historians still discuss it.

Primary source. *Medal of Honor citation of Corporal Alvin C. York, Company G, 328th Infantry, 82nd Division, for action near Châtel-Chéhéry, France, October 8, 1918 (U.S. Army, as printed by the Army at army.mil)*

After his platoon had suffered heavy casualties and 3 other noncommissioned officers had become casualties, Cpl. York assumed command. Fearlessly leading 7 men, he charged with great daring a machinegun nest which was pouring deadly and incessant fire upon his platoon. In this heroic feat the machinegun nest was taken, together with 4 officers and 128 men and several guns.

Go deeper. Douglas V. Mastriano, *Alvin York: A New Biography of the Hero of the Argonne* (2014); David D. Lee, *Sergeant York: An American Hero* (1985); *Sergeant York: His Own Life Story and War Diary*, edited by Tom Skeyhill (1928), in a library edition; Sgt. Alvin C. York State Historic Park, Pall Mall, Tennessee (Tennessee State Parks); second video topic: the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school American History course, the World War I unit (coming soon); and Literature, for biography and memoir.

For families. Figures: 132 prisoners and 35 machine guns are the Army's numbers; Germans killed are usually given as 25 (sources range from 20 to 28). American losses in Early's patrol were six killed and three wounded. Meuse-Argonne deaths are about 26,000 (often given as 26,277). The citation is copied from the U.S. Army's published text; note it describes the action more simply than York's diary and later investigations. York's church, the Church of Christ in Christian Union, held pacifist views; the stop presents York's decision and the peace-church view fairly. The exact Scripture passages discussed at Camp Gordon vary in accounts and are not quoted. The 1941 film takes liberties with the story; preview before showing.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What were York's rank, unit and division on October 8, 1918?
2. **MEDIUM** Why was the German machine-gun fire on Company G so deadly, and how did Early's patrol try to solve the problem?
3. **MEDIUM** Why did York ask not to be sent to fight, and what helped him change his mind?
4. **EASY** How did York use his fame after the war?
5. **CHALLENGE** Compare the Medal of Honor citation (Primary source) with the fuller account in this stop. Name two things the citation leaves out or simplifies, and suggest why an official citation is written that way.
6. **CHALLENGE** Augustine wrote that a soldier who obeys a lawful ruler in a just war is not guilty of murder. Christians in the peace churches answer that Jesus' command to love enemies forbids killing in war. State each side's strongest point, and explain how York's way of deciding is an example for any Christian facing a hard question.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Corporal York Behind the Lines. Choose your move. You are Corporal York. Your sergeant is down, six men are dead and more than a dozen German prisoners sit beside you. Machine guns on the slope above are firing at you. You have seven privates, a rifle and a pistol. Will you (a) leave the prisoners and run back to your own lines, (b) stay low and return aimed fire at the gunners while your men guard the prisoners, or (c) surrender to the gunners? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* York chose (b). Then play "Turkey Match" (outdoors, with a grown-up): set a paper target behind a log or box that a partner raises for two seconds at a time. Toss beanbags only when it shows. Count hits out of ten.

Scripture. "Blessed be the LORD my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight:" (Psalm 144:1, KJV)

David, a shepherd who learned his skill in the hills before he served his nation, praised God for training his hands. York, too, learned his marksmanship as a mountain boy, and he gave God the credit for bringing him through October 8.

Practice: answers

1. Corporal, Company G, 328th Infantry Regiment, 82nd Division.
2. The guns were on a ridge to the side and fired along the length of the American line (enfilade) across open ground. Early's 17 men went around through the woods to come at the guns from behind.
3. His church taught that Christians should not take part in war. Long Bible discussions with Major Buxton and Captain Danforth, and a time of prayer alone on a mountain during his leave, convinced him he could serve with a clear conscience.
4. He refused money-making offers and worked to found a school for mountain children, the York Agricultural Institute.
5. Possible answers: it does not mention Sergeant Early's patrol going behind the lines or the first surrender of the headquarters group; it says York "charged" the nest, while accounts describe him mostly firing from the ground and stopping a bayonet charge; it gives 128 men

and 4 officers but not the 35 machine guns or Germans killed. Citations are short, formal summaries meant to state the deed and its result, not to tell the whole story.

6. Just-war side: governments bear the sword to restrain evil (Romans 13), and soldiers serving in a just cause protect the innocent and seek peace. Peace-church side: Christ's teaching to love enemies and not resist evil with violence (Matthew 5) is taken as a direct command. York did not decide by feeling or pressure: he read Scripture carefully, listened to wise and godly counsel, prayed alone and then acted on his settled conscience.

5.3 DUNKIRK (1940): THE LITTLE SHIPS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how the German breakthrough at Sedan in May 1940 trapped the British and French armies against the sea.
- Describe Operation Dynamo, with its numbers, its ships and the shallow beaches that made the little ships necessary.
- Judge the meaning of Dunkirk honestly: a deliverance, a defeat and, as Churchill warned, not a victory.

Warm-up. Fill a bathtub or a long pan with a little water and tilt one end up to make a sloping “beach.” Float a large plastic container and a bottle cap. Which can come right up to the shore? At Dunkirk the beach sloped so gently that big ships had to stay far out, and soldiers stood in the water waiting for small boats.

Video slot. Video coming. The Dunkirk evacuation (Operation Dynamo), May 26 to June 4, 1940; the little ships and the East Mole. Search approved channels (Imperial War Museums, The National WWII Museum, Association of Dunkirk Little Ships, Kings and Generals); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Blitzkrieg

“Lightning war”: a name for fast German attacks that concentrated tanks and dive bombers on a narrow front, then drove deep behind the enemy.

Operation Dynamo

The code name for the evacuation from Dunkirk, directed from Dover by Vice-Admiral Bertram Ramsay.

perimeter

The defended boundary around a trapped force. At Dunkirk, British and French troops held a shrinking perimeter around the port.

mole

A long breakwater of stone or timber running out into the sea. Most soldiers at Dunkirk boarded ships from the East Mole.

rearguard

Troops who fight to hold back the enemy while the rest of an army withdraws.

CORE IDEAS

The background. Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, and Britain and France declared war. After a quiet winter, on May 10, 1940 Germany attacked the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. The Allies rushed north into Belgium to meet what they

thought was the main blow. But the real thrust came through the hilly, wooded Ardennes, which the French had judged too rough for tanks. On May 13 German panzer divisions crossed the river Meuse at Sedan, and on May 20 they reached the English Channel near Abbeville. The British Expeditionary Force, three French armies and the Belgians were cut off in a pocket against the sea.

The map. Only one port in the pocket could still be used: Dunkirk, near the Belgian border. Its docks were wrecked by bombing and burning oil tanks sent up a column of black smoke. East of the harbor, about ten miles of sandy beaches ran toward Belgium, at Malo-les-Bains, Bray-Dunes and La Panne, but they sloped so gently that large ships had to anchor far out. A long breakwater, the East Mole, ran out into the harbor; it was not built for ships to tie up to, but Captain William Tennant, the naval officer in charge ashore, tried it, and it worked. Most of those saved boarded there.

The plan. On May 24 the German advance halted for about three days outside Dunkirk, approved by Hitler on the advice of General Gerd von Rundstedt. Historians still debate why: to rest and repair the tanks, because the marshy ground was poor tank country, and because Hermann Göring promised his air force could finish the job. On May 25 Lord Gort, commander of the BEF, decided on his own to pull back toward the coast. Operation Dynamo began on the evening of May 26. Admiral Ramsay, working from rooms in the cliffs below Dover Castle, hoped to bring off about 45,000 men in two days.

The people. Destroyers, ferries and minesweepers carried most of the men, but small craft were needed to ferry soldiers from the beaches to the ships. The Admiralty gathered hundreds of “little ships”: yachts, fishing boats, lifeboats, Thames barges, pleasure steamers and fire floats, most crewed by naval reservists and some by their civilian owners. Commander Charles Lightoller, who had survived the sinking of the *Titanic* as its senior surviving officer, took his own motor yacht *Sundowner* across with his son and a sea scout and brought back about 130 soldiers. Meanwhile British and French rearguards held the perimeter, and French troops fought on to the end so that others could leave.

What happened. By June 4, 338,226 men had been brought to England: roughly 200,000 British and about 140,000 French and other Allied soldiers. More than 800 vessels took part; estimates of the little ships run from about 700 to 850. The Royal Navy lost six destroyers sunk, the French three, and about 200 vessels of all kinds were lost. The Royal Air Force fought over the beaches, though the soldiers often could not see it above the smoke and cloud. On Sunday, May 26, at the call of King George VI, Britain kept a National Day of Prayer, and through most of the nine days the Channel stayed unusually calm. Many Britons called the rescue the “Miracle of Dunkirk.”

The crimes. The campaign also showed what kind of enemy Britain faced. On May 27, at Le Paradis, soldiers of the SS Totenkopf Division murdered 97 men of the Royal Norfolk Regiment who had surrendered; two survived. On May 28, near Wormhoudt, men of the SS Leibstandarte murdered about 80 British and French prisoners. Killing prisoners is murder under the laws of war, and after the war one SS officer was tried and hanged for Le Paradis.

Why it mattered. Dunkirk was a deliverance inside a disaster. The BEF left behind nearly all its heavy equipment: some 2,400 guns and about 60,000 vehicles. Around 40,000 French soldiers of the rearguard were captured, and France surrendered on June 22. But Britain kept the trained men who would rebuild its army. On June 4 Churchill told Parliament, “Wars are not won by evacuations,” and warned against calling it a victory, while he vowed that Britain would fight on. Had the army been captured, Britain might well have sought peace with Hitler.

PICTURE STUDY



The Withdrawal from Dunkirk, June 1940, Charles Cundall, 1940 · Oil on canvas · Imperial War Museums, London (Art.IWM ART LD 305)
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Charles Cundall was an official British war artist. He painted this large scene in 1940 from accounts and sketches, and it was shown to the public while the war was still going on. Notice how he fits the whole operation into one picture: the beach, the mole, the boats and the ships.

Look closely

- Find the lines of soldiers. Where do they lead?
- Find the smallest boats and follow one from the shore to a larger ship.
- Look at the sky. What do the smoke and the aircraft add to the mood of the painting?

Talk about it

1. Cundall shows thousands of tiny figures rather than a few close-up faces. Why might he have chosen that?

2. A painting made for the public in 1940 was also meant to strengthen a nation. What in this picture might encourage people at home?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP DUNKIRK: BEACHES, MOLE AND LITTLE SHIPS

Build the Dunkirk shore in a tray and run the evacuation, counting how many soldiers each kind of vessel can carry and where it can reach.

You will need

- A baking tray or shallow box with sand or flour sloped to make a gentle beach (no water needed)
- A long strip of cardboard for the East Mole
- About 60 small blocks, beans or toy soldiers for troops (each one stands for about 5,000 men)
- Three toy boats or folded-paper boats of different sizes: a destroyer, a ferry and a small motor boat
- A pencil and paper for a tally chart

Steps

1. Shape the beach and mark the “too shallow” line with a string: only the little boat may cross it. Lay the mole out from the harbor end into deep water.
2. Line up the troops in the perimeter behind the beach. Mark the perimeter with a string and move it inward a little after each “day.”
3. Run nine “days.” Each day the destroyer and ferry may load at the mole only; the little boat shuttles from the beach to the big ships. Keep a tally of how many blocks leave.
4. On day 3 remove the mole for one turn (bombing). On day 9 the French rearguard blocks stay behind. Count your total and multiply by 5,000.
5. Compare your total with the real 338,226. Write one sentence on what made the mole so important.

Check your work

- My tabletop shows the beach, the shallow line, the mole and the perimeter.
- I kept a tally and turned it into a total of men.
- I can explain why both big ships and little ships were needed.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Channel coast from Calais to Ostend and the English coast from Dover to Ramsgate. Mark Dunkirk, the East Mole, the beaches of Malo-les-Bains, Bray-Dunes and La Panne, and the perimeter. Draw the three sea routes the ships used (they lengthened to avoid German guns near Calais), Sedan far to the south and the arrow of the German drive to Abbeville. Add a title, scale and key.

2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain why Churchill said Dunkirk was a deliverance but not a victory. Give at least three numbers. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Make a small table of vessels: name or type, size, how many men it could carry, and whether it could reach the beach.

Did you know? The smallest known little ship at Dunkirk was *Tamzine*, an open fishing boat less than 15 feet long, now kept by the Imperial War Museums. More than 100 surviving little ships belong to the Association of Dunkirk Little Ships, and many still sail back across the Channel for anniversaries. The paddle steamer *Medway Queen* made seven round trips and is said to have carried about 7,000 men.

Go deeper. Walter Lord, *The Miracle of Dunkirk* (1982); Hugh Sebag-Montefiore, *Dunkirk: Fight to the Last Man* (2006), which gives the rearguard and the crimes at Le Paradis and Wormhoudt; the Imperial War Museums' online pages on Dunkirk and the little ships; the Association of Dunkirk Little Ships (adls.org.uk); second video topic: the German breakthrough at Sedan, May 13–15, 1940. Churchill's speech of June 4, 1940 is best read in full in a library collection of his speeches.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school Modern World course, the World War II unit (coming soon); and Geography, the English Channel and the Low Countries.

For families. No primary-source block is given for this stop: the best-known text, Churchill's June 4 speech, is still under copyright in many countries, so only its short, widely quoted line is used. Figures: 338,226 evacuated is the official total; the British and French split is approximate. Counts of vessels vary widely with definitions (from about 700 to 850 little ships; more than 800 vessels overall). Lightoller's *Sundowner* is credited with 127 to about 130 men. Le Paradis: 97 murdered, two survivors; SS officer Fritz Knöchlein was hanged in 1949. Wormhoudt figures vary (about 80). The reasons for the halt order are debated; the stop gives the main views. The calm sea is a matter of record; whether to call it providence is left to families, as many Britons did at the time.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Through what region did the main German attack come in May 1940, and why did it surprise the Allies?
2. **MEDIUM** Why were little ships needed at Dunkirk, and where did most soldiers actually board?
3. **EASY** How many men were evacuated in Operation Dynamo, and how many had the planners expected?
4. **MEDIUM** Give two reasons historians suggest for the German halt order of May 24.
5. **CHALLENGE** Churchill said, "Wars are not won by evacuations." Using numbers from this stop, make the case that Dunkirk was a defeat, then the case that it was a turning point. Which is more convincing to you, and why?

6. **CHALLENGE** The killings at Le Paradis and Wormhoudt were of men who had surrendered. Using the just-war idea that force may be used only to stop an enemy who is fighting, explain why killing prisoners is always wrong, even in a just war.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Lord Gort on May 25. Choose your move. You are Lord Gort, commander of the British army in France, on May 25, 1940. Your orders from London say to attack south to link up with the French, but German tanks are already at the coast behind you and the Belgian army on your left is close to collapse. Will you (a) obey and attack south with your best divisions, (b) cancel the attack and send those divisions to block the gap on your left, then fall back toward Dunkirk, or (c) hold where you are and wait for clearer orders? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* Gort chose (b), on his own responsibility; the Belgians surrendered on May 28, and his decision kept the road to the coast open. Then play “Little Ships Relay”: one player is the ship far out, others stand on the “beach,” and a runner with a basket (the little boat) carries beanbag soldiers out three at a time. Race a timer for nine rounds.

Scripture. “He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he bringeth them unto their desired haven.” (Psalm 107:29-30, KJV)

The psalm describes sailors brought safely home through dangerous waters. In late May 1940 Britain prayed, the Channel stayed unusually calm, and hundreds of thousands of men came home. Christians may thank God for His providence while still, like Churchill, seeing a hard defeat honestly.

Practice: answers

1. Through the Ardennes, a hilly wooded region the French thought too difficult for large tank forces; the Allies had moved their best armies north into Belgium.
2. The beaches sloped so gently that large ships had to anchor far out, so small boats ferried men from the shore. Most soldiers, however, boarded destroyers and ferries from the East Mole in the harbor.
3. 338,226; the planners first hoped for about 45,000.
4. Any two: to rest and repair worn-out tanks; the marshy, canal-cut ground near Dunkirk was poor tank country; Göring promised the Luftwaffe could destroy the trapped army from the air; commanders feared a counterattack and wanted to save the panzers for the rest of France.
5. Defeat: the BEF lost about 2,400 guns and 60,000 vehicles, about 40,000 French rearguard troops were captured, and France fell within three weeks. Turning point: 338,226 trained men were saved, giving Britain the core of a new army and the will to fight on rather than seek terms. A good answer chooses one and admits the force of the other; many historians say both are true.
6. Augustine and Aquinas taught that war is waged to restore peace and stop wrongdoing, not out of hatred or revenge. A soldier who surrenders has stopped fighting and is no longer a threat, so killing him serves no just purpose; it is simply murder, which is why it is also forbidden by the laws of war and was punished after the war.

5.4 THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN (1940): “SO FEW”

OBJECTIVES

- Explain why Germany needed control of the air before invading Britain, and how the Dowding system of radar, observers and controllers let a smaller air force win.
- Trace the phases of the battle from the Channel convoys to September 15, 1940, with numbers.
- Discuss the just-war principle of protecting civilians in light of the Blitz and the later bombing of cities.

Warm-up. Play a quick round of “Where is it?” One person stands blindfolded in the middle of the room. Three helpers stand in the corners and call out only the direction and distance of a fourth person walking around (“north, five steps!”). Can the blindfolded player point to the walker? That is how Britain’s radar stations and observers guided fighters they could not see.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Britain, July to October 1940: radar, the Dowding system, Spitfires and Hurricanes, September 15. Search approved channels (Imperial War Museums, Royal Air Force Museum, Bentley Priory Museum, Kings and Generals); preview first.

KEY TERMS

air superiority

Control of the sky over a battle area, so that one side can fly and the other cannot fly safely.

radar

RAdio Detection And Ranging: sending out radio waves and catching their echoes to find the distance and direction of aircraft. Britain’s coastal chain was called Chain Home.

Dowding system

The network of radar, the Observer Corps, telephone lines, filter rooms and sector controllers that told Fighter Command where to send its squadrons.

Luftwaffe

The German air force, led by Hermann Göring.

Operation Sea Lion

Germany’s planned invasion of southern England in 1940, which required control of the air.

the Blitz

The German night bombing of British cities from September 1940 to May 1941.

CORE IDEAS

The situation. After France fell in June 1940, Britain and its Commonwealth stood alone against Germany. Hitler hoped Britain would make peace; Churchill refused. On July 16 Hitler ordered plans for Operation Sea Lion, a landing on the south coast of England. But the Royal Navy was far stronger than the German navy, and barges crossing the Channel could not survive unless the Luftwaffe first destroyed the Royal Air Force. The battle that followed, from July 10 to October 31 by the British reckoning, was the first major campaign fought almost entirely in the air.

The map. The Channel is only about 21 miles wide at the Strait of Dover. The Luftwaffe flew from airfields in northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway. Its best fighter, the Messerschmitt Bf 109, had fuel for only about 10 to 20 minutes of fighting over London before it had to turn home, which limited how far it could protect the bombers. Britain's southeast, nearest the enemy, was defended by No. 11 Group under Air Vice-Marshal Keith Park, with sector airfields such as Biggin Hill, Kenley, Hornchurch and North Weald ringing London.

The plan. Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding, head of Fighter Command, had spent four years building a system. A chain of radar stations along the coast detected aircraft forming up over France. Inland, about 30,000 volunteers of the Observer Corps tracked them by eye and ear. Reports went by telephone to a filter room at Bentley Priory, where plotters, many of them young women of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, moved markers on great map tables. Sector controllers then sent squadrons up to meet each raid at the right height and time. Dowding refused to waste his fighters, about 650 at the start, and kept squadrons in reserve in the north.

What happened. In July the Germans attacked Channel convoys and ports. On August 13, "Eagle Day," they began heavy raids on airfields and radar stations, and August 18 became known as "the Hardest Day." From late August to early September attacks on the sector airfields and aircraft factories brought Fighter Command close to exhaustion; it was losing pilots faster than it could train them. Then, after British bombers struck Berlin, Hitler ordered London itself bombed. The first great raid came on September 7. It brought terror to London but relief to the airfields. On September 15 two huge raids were met by about 300 British fighters, and German airmen, told the RAF was finished, saw squadron after squadron rise against them. On September 17 Hitler postponed Sea Lion indefinitely.

The people and the cost. Fighter Command's pilots and aircrew, about 2,900 men, came from Britain and the Commonwealth, with many Poles and Czechs, and a few from other nations including the United States. The Polish No. 303 Squadron shot down more aircraft than any other Hurricane squadron. Many pilots were about 20 years old. The RAF lost about 1,000 aircraft and 544 Fighter Command aircrew killed; the Luftwaffe lost about 1,900 aircraft and around 2,600 aircrew killed, with many more captured. Churchill said in Parliament on August 20, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few," and the airmen have been called "the Few" ever since.

Plain facts about the enemy. Had the invasion come, Britons knew what to expect from occupied Europe. The SS had already drawn up a secret “Special Search List G.B.” of about 2,800 people to be arrested at once after a landing, including politicians, writers and Jewish refugees. In Poland the Germans were already herding Jews into ghettos and murdering Polish leaders, priests and teachers. The Battle of Britain kept that rule from Britain.

Why it mattered. It was Germany’s first major defeat. Britain survived as a free country and later became the base from which the Allies would invade Europe in 1944. But the Blitz went on through May 1941 and killed about 43,000 British civilians. This raises a **just-war** question. Christian teachers since Augustine have held that war may be waged only against those who are fighting, and later writers in the same tradition stated plainly that civilians must never be deliberately targeted. Germany bombed cities to break Britain’s will; later in the war Britain and the United States bombed German and Japanese cities on a far larger scale, and Bishop George Bell of Chichester spoke against area bombing in the House of Lords in 1944. Honest students should be able to weigh both.

PICTURE STUDY



Battle of Britain, Paul Nash, 1941 · Oil on canvas · Imperial War Museums, London (Art.IWM ART LD 1550)
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Paul Nash had been a war artist in World War I, painting the shattered ground of the trenches. In World War II he painted the war in the air. This picture is not a record of one moment. Nash tried to give the feeling of a whole air battle at once, seen from high above, with a river mouth and coast below and the trails of fighters weaving across the sky.

Look closely

- Find the river winding toward the sea. Which side of the picture is the land the pilots are defending?

- Follow the white trails. Can you tell which are attackers and which are defenders?
- Look for falling or burning aircraft. How does Nash show loss without showing any person?

Talk about it

1. Why might an artist choose to paint a whole battle as patterns in the sky rather than a close-up of one plane?
2. Compare this painting with a photograph of a Spitfire. What can each tell you that the other cannot?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP OPS ROOM: RUN THE DOWDING SYSTEM

Turn your table into the operations room at Bentley Priory. One player is the Luftwaffe, one is the radar and observers, and one is the controller who must send a limited number of fighters to the right place.

You will need

- A large map of southeast England and northern France, drawn on paper or printed (outline only)
- Ten tokens of one color for German raids (some real, some feints) and six of another color for RAF squadrons
- A long stick or ruler for pushing markers, as the plotters did
- A die and a timer
- Index cards marked with raid size (10, 30, 60, 100 aircraft) placed face down under the German tokens

Steps

1. Mark Biggin Hill, Kenley, Hornchurch, North Weald and London on the English side, and Calais and Amiens on the French side. Draw the radar coastline in red.
2. The Luftwaffe player places three or four raids over France each turn, each with a hidden size card. One may be a feint that turns back.
3. The radar player rolls the die for each raid: 1 means the raid was missed, 2-4 gives direction only, 5-6 gives direction and size. Observers report the true size once a raid crosses the coast.
4. The controller must decide where to send squadrons, with only six for the whole game, and keep at least one in reserve. Score a point for each large raid met and lose two for each sector airfield left undefended.
5. Play six turns, then switch roles. Discuss: why did Dowding refuse to send every fighter up at once?

Check your work

- My ops-room map shows the radar coast, the sector airfields and London.
- I played as controller and kept a reserve.

- I can explain how radar, observers and controllers worked together.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw southeast England and the coast of France from Cherbourg to Calais. Mark the Strait of Dover (21 miles), the radar stations along the English coast, the sector airfields of No. 11 Group, Bentley Priory, London, and the German airfields around Calais and Amiens. Draw a circle around Calais showing roughly how far a Bf 109 could fly and still fight. Add a title, scale and key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain how Britain's smaller fighter force defeated the Luftwaffe's attempt to win control of the air. Name Dowding and Park and use the words radar and reserve. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Make a phase chart: Channel battles (July), Eagle Day and airfields (August to early September), London (September 7 onward), September 15.

Did you know? September 15 is kept in Britain as Battle of Britain Day. Churchill spent that afternoon in No. 11 Group's underground operations room at Uxbridge, now open to visitors as the Battle of Britain Bunker. By Churchill's later account, when he asked Park what reserves were left, Park answered that there were none: every squadron was in the air. The Hurricane, not the more famous Spitfire, shot down the greater number of German aircraft.

Go deeper. Richard Overy, *The Battle of Britain: The Myth and the Reality* (2000); Stephen Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy* (2000); the Royal Air Force Museum (rafmuseum.org.uk) and Bentley Priory Museum online pages; second video topic: how Chain Home radar worked.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school Modern World course, the World War II unit (coming soon); and Earth Science, for how radio waves travel and reflect.

For families. No primary-source block is given: Churchill's August 20, 1940 speech remains under copyright in many countries, so only its famous single sentence is quoted. Dates of the battle follow the British official reckoning (July 10 to October 31); German historians often date it differently. Losses vary by source; commonly cited figures are about 1,023 RAF and 1,887 German aircraft, 544 Fighter Command aircrew killed and about 2,600–2,700 German aircrew killed. The "Special Search List G.B." held about 2,820 names. Blitz civilian deaths are usually given as about 43,000. The just-war discussion presents Allied area bombing honestly without equating it with Nazi crimes; Bishop Bell's speech of February 9, 1944 is a matter of record.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Why did Germany need to defeat the RAF before invading Britain?
2. **MEDIUM** Name the four parts of the Dowding system and what each did.
3. **MEDIUM** Why did the switch to bombing London on September 7 help Fighter Command?

4. **EASY** Who were “the Few,” and about how many were there?
5. **CHALLENGE** The Luftwaffe lost about 1,900 aircraft and the RAF about 1,000. Yet many German airmen shot down over England were captured, while British airmen who bailed out could fly again the next day. Explain why fighting over your own territory was such an advantage, using at least two numbers.
6. **CHALLENGE** Using the just-war principle that civilians must not be deliberately targeted, compare the Blitz with the later Allied area bombing of German cities. Is there a moral difference between bombing a factory knowing nearby homes will be hit and bombing homes to break a nation’s will? Explain.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Dowding in May 1940. Choose your move.

You are Air Chief Marshal Dowding in May 1940. France is falling, and the French government and some in London want more British fighter squadrons sent to France. You have about 36 squadrons and believe at least 52 are needed to defend Britain. Will you (a) send more squadrons to help France, (b) refuse and keep them at home for the battle you expect, or (c) send half? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* Dowding argued for (b) in a famous letter of May 16, 1940, and the War Cabinet soon stopped sending fighter squadrons to France. Then play the ops-room game from the project once more with only four squadrons, and see how hard every choice becomes.

Scripture. “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” (John 15:13, KJV)

Jesus spoke these words the night before He laid down His own life. Hundreds of young airmen died defending people they had never met. Their sacrifice is a small picture of the far greater love of Christ, who died for us while we were still His enemies (Romans 5:10).

Practice: answers

1. Without control of the air, the Royal Air Force and the much stronger Royal Navy could destroy the invasion barges crossing the Channel.
2. Radar (Chain Home) detected raids forming over France; the Observer Corps tracked them over land; the filter room at Bentley Priory combined reports on map tables; sector controllers sent squadrons to meet each raid.
3. The attacks on sector airfields and factories, which were wearing Fighter Command down, eased; the airfields could be repaired and the squadrons rested and rebuilt.
4. The aircrew of RAF Fighter Command in the Battle of Britain, about 2,900 men from Britain, the Commonwealth and other nations.
5. A British pilot who survived a shoot-down landed among friends and could return to his squadron; a German one became a prisoner, so Germany lost the man as well as the plane. With about 1,900 aircraft lost and around 2,600 aircrew killed (plus many captured), Germany’s losses of trained men were far heavier than the RAF’s 544 aircrew killed. Damaged British planes could also be repaired nearby, and German fighters wasted fuel and time crossing the Channel.
6. The just-war tradition distinguishes between intending civilian deaths and foreseeing them as a side effect of striking a real military target (the principle of double effect, from Aquinas),

and it also requires that the harm be proportionate. Bombing homes in order to terrorize people intends civilian deaths and is wrong, whoever does it. Bombing a factory may be just if the target is truly military and the harm is not out of proportion. A thoughtful answer notes that some Allied raids of 1943–1945 crossed into deliberate area bombing, as Bishop Bell argued, while still recognizing that the Nazi regime started the war and committed crimes of a different order.

5.5 MIDWAY (1942): CODE-BREAKING AND FOUR CARRIERS

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how U.S. Navy code-breakers learned Japan's target and timetable, including the "AF is short of water" trick.
- Follow the decisive morning of June 4, 1942, minute by minute, and explain why the torpedo squadrons' sacrifice and the dive bombers' arrival together sank three carriers.
- Weigh old and new histories of the battle, and judge Nimitz's and Spruance's decisions about risk.

Warm-up. Write a short sentence in a simple code: shift every letter one place (A becomes B, B becomes C). Give it to someone with only the first word solved. Can they break the rest? At Midway the Americans could read only parts of Japanese messages, and they had to guess the rest wisely.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of Midway, June 4-7, 1942: Station HYPO and Joseph Rochefort, the dive bombers of Enterprise and Yorktown, the four Japanese carriers. Search approved channels (Naval History and Heritage Command, The National WWII Museum, The National Museum of the Pacific War, Drachinifel); preview first.

KEY TERMS

aircraft carrier

A warship with a flat deck from which airplanes take off and land; by 1942 the most powerful ship in a navy.

cryptanalysis

Breaking codes and ciphers without being given the key. The Japanese naval code the Americans attacked was called JN-25.

Kidō Butai

Japan's carrier striking force, under Vice Admiral Chūichi Nagumo. At Midway it had four carriers: Akagi, Kaga, Sōryū and Hiryū.

dive bomber

A plane that dives steeply at its target and releases a bomb at low height; the American SBD Dauntless was the decisive plane at Midway.

combat air patrol (CAP)

Fighters kept circling over a fleet to shoot down attacking planes.

calculated risk

Nimitz's instruction to his admirals: accept danger only when the damage you can do to the enemy is greater than the damage you are likely to suffer.

CORE IDEAS

The situation. Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and in five months conquered the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore and the Dutch East Indies. But the American carriers had been at sea on December 7 and survived. Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander of Japan's Combined Fleet, planned to seize Midway, a tiny atoll about 1,300 miles northwest of Honolulu, and draw the American carriers out to be destroyed. He sent four large carriers, the heart of Japan's fleet, with battleships far behind, and a force to the Aleutian Islands far to the north.

The code-breakers. In a windowless basement at Pearl Harbor, Commander Joseph Rochefort's Station HYPO had been working on JN-25, the Japanese navy's main code. By May 1942 they could read fragments of many messages. The Japanese called the next target "AF," and Rochefort believed it was Midway; officers in Washington suspected elsewhere. To settle it, Midway sent a message saying its water-distilling plant had broken down. Soon an intercepted Japanese message reported that AF was short of water. Admiral Chester Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet, now knew the target and, roughly, the date and direction of the attack.

The plan. Nimitz gathered every carrier he had. Enterprise and Hornet sailed under Rear Admiral Raymond Spruance. Yorktown, damaged at the Coral Sea in early May, was patched in about three days by some 1,400 yard workers and sailed with Rear Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher in overall command. They waited northeast of Midway at a spot called "Point Luck." Nimitz told his admirals to be governed by the principle of calculated risk. Midway itself was packed with aircraft and served as an unsinkable fourth carrier.

The morning of June 4. At dawn Japanese planes bombed Midway. Attacks by Midway's planes on the Japanese carriers did little damage. Nagumo ordered his reserve planes rearmed with bombs for a second strike on the island, then learned from a scout plane that an American force, including a carrier, lay to the northeast. As he recovered his first strike and tried to prepare an attack on the American ships, American torpedo squadrons arrived. Torpedo Squadron 8 from Hornet lost all 15 planes; Ensign George Gay was the only one of its 30 men to survive. The torpedo attacks hit nothing, and most of the slow planes were shot down, but they kept the Japanese ships turning and drew their fighters down low.

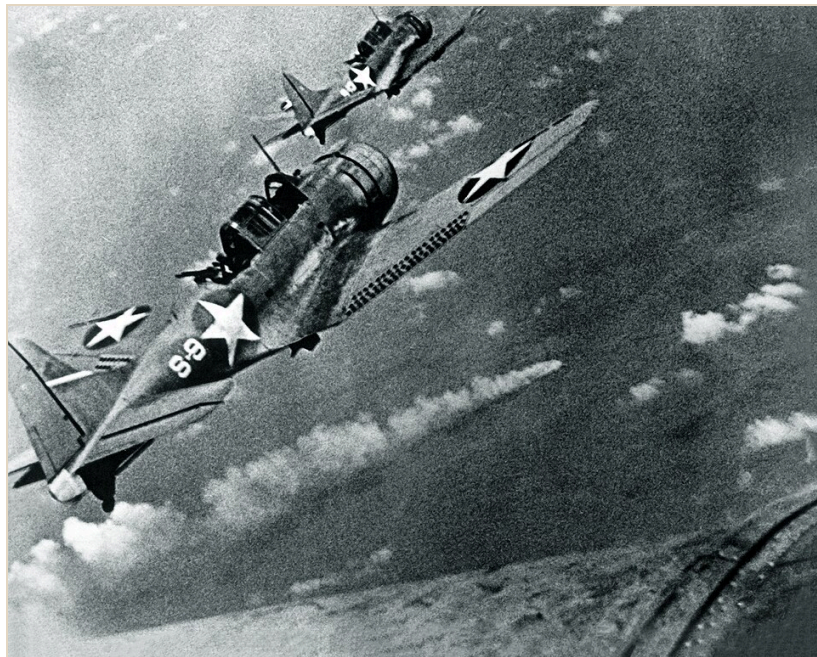
Six minutes. Lieutenant Commander Wade McClusky, leading Enterprise's dive bombers and running low on fuel, spotted a Japanese destroyer racing north and followed its wake to the carriers. At about 10:22, his squadrons dove on Kaga and Akagi while Yorktown's bombers under Lieutenant Commander Max Leslie hit Sōryū. In about six minutes all three were burning, their hangars full of fueled planes and bombs. Hiryū struck back and twice hit Yorktown, but that afternoon American dive bombers found Hiryū and set it ablaze. Yorktown was later sunk by a Japanese submarine on June 7.

The people and the cost. Japan lost four carriers, a heavy cruiser, about 250 aircraft and about 3,000 men, many of them skilled sailors and mechanics. The United States lost Yorktown, the destroyer Hammann, about 150 aircraft and about 300 men. Japanese sailors

fought bravely, and many died at their posts. The battle also had its crimes: three captured American airmen were questioned and then killed at sea by their captors, as Japanese forces had done to prisoners elsewhere. Spruance, a quiet man known for clear thinking, turned east that night rather than chase the enemy into a night battle against battleships, a choice criticized then and praised since.

Why it mattered and honest history. Midway ended Japan's run of conquest and its carrier advantage. Six months after Pearl Harbor, the Americans could take the offensive at Guadalcanal in August. Historians have corrected parts of the old story: the famous tale that the Japanese were only five minutes from launching their strike when the bombs fell came from a Japanese officer, Mitsuo Fuchida, and later research (Parshall and Tully, *Shattered Sword*, 2005) showed it was not true. Victory came from intelligence, courage, good decisions and some striking good fortune.

PICTURE STUDY



SBD Dauntless Dive Bombers of Scouting Squadron 8 Over the Burning Japanese Cruiser Mikuma, June 6, 1942, U.S. Navy photographer, June 6, 1942 · Photograph · U.S. Navy, Naval History and Heritage Command; Wikimedia Commons
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

This photograph was taken from an American plane two days after the great carrier fight, when U.S. dive bombers caught two Japanese heavy cruisers that had collided while withdrawing. Mikuma sank; its sister ship Mogami escaped badly damaged. It is one of the few photographs of the battle taken in the air.

Look closely

- Find the two Dauntless dive bombers. Notice the round holes in the wing flaps, which let the plane dive steeply without going too fast.

- Find Mikuma far below. How small does the ship look from the air?
- Look at the empty sea all around. What does that tell you about how hard it was for planes to find ships?

Talk about it

1. McClusky had to find carriers on an ocean like this one with fuel running low. What does this picture help you understand about his choice to follow a lone destroyer?
2. Why were photographs like this valuable to the Navy at the time, and why are they valuable to historians now?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP MIDWAY: HUNT THE CARRIERS

Play the morning of June 4 on the floor with hidden carriers. Each side must find the other before striking, as the admirals did, and timing decides everything.

You will need

- A large floor space or table marked into a grid of about 8 by 8 squares (tape or chalk), each square about 50 miles
- Four index cards for Japanese carriers (Akagi, Kaga, Sōryū, Hiryū) and three for American carriers (Enterprise, Hornet, Yorktown), plus one marked “Midway” that never moves
- A divider (a sheet or a book standing up) so neither side sees the other’s map
- Coins for scout planes and small blocks for strikes
- A clock face drawn on paper to track the hours from 0400 to 1100

Steps

1. Each side places its carriers secretly on its own copy of the grid. The Americans must start northeast of Midway; the Japanese must start northwest and within four squares of it.
2. The American player gets one extra clue before the game, written by a parent: “the enemy will come from the northwest at dawn” (the code-breakers’ gift).
3. Each hour, both sides send scouts (name two squares to search) and may launch one strike at a found target. A strike takes one hour to arrive.
4. Rule of the hangar deck: a carrier that is rearming or recovering planes when a strike arrives is knocked out. A carrier that launched its strike the hour before is safe.
5. Play to 1100. Then compare with what happened and explain why being found second, but striking at the right moment, proved decisive.

Check your work

- My grid shows Midway, Point Luck and both fleets’ starting areas.
- I used the code-breakers’ clue and explained how it helped.
- I can explain why timing on the flight deck mattered as much as numbers.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the central Pacific with Hawaii, Midway (about 1,300 miles northwest of Honolulu), the Aleutians far to the north and Japan to the west. Then draw an inset of the waters north of Midway: the Japanese carriers approaching from the northwest, Point Luck to the northeast, the path of the American strikes and McClusky's turn north following the destroyer. Add a title, scale and key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain how code-breaking, the torpedo squadrons and the dive bombers each played a part in sinking three carriers on the morning of June 4. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Make a timeline of June 4 from 0430 to 1030 with at least six entries.

Did you know? In 1998 an expedition led by Robert Ballard found Yorktown lying upright about three miles deep. In 2019 the research ship *Petrel* found the wrecks of Kaga and Akagi. Joseph Rochefort was removed from his post after Midway in a dispute with officials in Washington and was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal only in 1986, after his death.

Go deeper. Walter Lord, *Incredible Victory* (1967), a gripping narrative with interviews from both sides; Jonathan Parshall and Anthony Tully, *Shattered Sword: The Untold Story of the Battle of Midway* (2005), which uses Japanese records to correct older accounts; the Naval History and Heritage Command's online Battle of Midway pages, which reproduce official reports and Nimitz's communiqués; second video topic: how the Navy broke the JN-25 code.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school American History course, the World War II unit (coming soon); Geography, the Pacific Ocean and its islands; and Arithmetic, for codes and ciphers.

For families. No primary-source block is given for this stop because an exact public-domain text of Nimitz's instruction or communiqué could not be verified for copying; both can be read at the Naval History and Heritage Command website. The idea of "calculated risk" is paraphrased. Figures: Japanese losses are usually given as 4 carriers, 1 heavy cruiser, about 248 aircraft and about 3,000 men (often 3,057); American losses as Yorktown, Hammann, about 145–150 aircraft and about 307 men. The water-shortage ruse is well documented, though historians differ on whether it was suggested by Rochefort or his staff. The killing of three captured airmen (Ensigns Wesley Osmus and Frank O'Flaherty and Aviation Machinist's Mate Bruno Gaido) is documented in postwar investigations. The "five minutes" story is now regarded as false.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What were the four Japanese carriers sunk at Midway?
2. **MEDIUM** Explain the "AF is short of water" trick and what it proved.

3. **MEDIUM** The American torpedo planes hit nothing. Why do historians still say their attacks mattered?
4. **EASY** How did McClusky find the Japanese carriers?
5. **CHALLENGE** On the night of June 4 Spruance turned east, away from the beaten enemy, instead of chasing west. Japanese battleships were nearby, and his pilots were not trained for night attacks. Using the idea of calculated risk, defend or criticize his choice.
6. **CHALLENGE** Japan lost about 3,000 men and the United States about 300, yet Japan's four carriers were worth more than any one number. Explain why losing carriers and their experienced crews was so hard for Japan to replace, compared with the United States.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: Admiral Nimitz in May 1942. Choose your move. You are Admiral Nimitz in late May 1942. Your code-breakers say Japan will attack Midway with four carriers in early June. Washington is not fully convinced. You have only two undamaged carriers and one badly damaged one. Will you (a) keep your carriers safe near Hawaii and let Midway fend for itself, (b) trust the code-breakers, rush repairs on Yorktown and set an ambush northeast of Midway with all three, or (c) send the carriers to the Aleutians in case Midway is a trick? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* Nimitz chose (b). Then play "Codebreaker": one player writes a short message in a letter-shift code using a secret "target" word, and the others may ask one trick question (like Midway's water message) to test their guess.

Scripture. "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing: but the honour of kings is to search out a matter." (Proverbs 25:2, KJV)

The code-breakers of Station HYPO spent months searching out hidden things with patience and skill. God gives people minds to seek out truth, and diligent, humble work in a basement changed the course of a war.

Practice: answers

1. Akagi, Kaga, Sōryū and Hiryū.
2. Midway sent a message that its water-distilling plant had broken. When the Japanese then reported that "AF" was short of water, it proved AF meant Midway, confirming the code-breakers' view of the target.
3. They kept the Japanese carriers maneuvering and pulled the Japanese fighters down to low altitude, so when the dive bombers arrived high above, few fighters were in place to stop them; they also delayed the Japanese from launching their own strike.
4. He spotted a Japanese destroyer steaming fast to the north and followed its wake to the carrier force.
5. Defense: the risk of a night surface battle against battleships, where his carriers would be helpless, was great, and the gain uncertain; he had already won, and preserving his carriers mattered more. Criticism: by pulling back he lost the chance to destroy more ships the next day. Most historians now judge his caution wise, since Yamamoto was indeed hoping to bring on a night battle.

6. Large carriers took years to build, and Japan's industry was far smaller than America's; the United States was already building many new carriers that joined the fleet in 1943. Japan also lost hundreds of skilled maintenance men and many experienced aircrew and officers it could not quickly train anew, while American training programs were expanding rapidly. Midway turned Japan's early advantage into a race it could not win.

5.6 EL ALAMEIN (1942): THE END OF THE BEGINNING

OBJECTIVES

- Explain how the ground between the sea and the Qattara Depression made El Alamein a battle without an open flank.
- Describe Montgomery's plan, the minefields and the deception plan Operation Bertram, with numbers for both sides.
- Judge Rommel and the soldiers of both sides fairly, and name the Nazi plan that the victory helped stop.

Warm-up. Lay a towel across a table from one edge to the other. Put a heavy book at one end (the sea) and a box at the other (the Qattara Depression). Now try to get a toy car from one side of the towel to the other without crossing it. You can't go around. At El Alamein both armies faced exactly this problem: the only way forward was straight through.

Video slot. Video coming. The Second Battle of El Alamein, October 23 to November 4, 1942: Montgomery, Rommel, the minefields and Operation Bertram. Search approved channels (Imperial War Museums, The National Army Museum, Kings and Generals, The Tank Museum); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Qattara Depression

A huge low basin of salt marsh and soft sand in Egypt's Western Desert, impassable to tanks, about 40 miles south of the coast at El Alamein.

Eighth Army

The British and Commonwealth army in North Africa, commanded at El Alamein by Lieutenant General Bernard Montgomery.

Panzerarmee Afrika

The German-Italian army in North Africa commanded by Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, "the Desert Fox."

minefield

An area sown with buried explosives to stop or slow an attacker. Rommel's men called theirs "Devil's Gardens."

sapper

A military engineer; at El Alamein, the men who found and cleared mines by hand to open lanes for the tanks.

deception

Misleading the enemy about where and when you will attack. At El Alamein the plan was called Operation Bertram.

CORE IDEAS

The situation. Italy entered the war in June 1940 and invaded Egypt from its colony of Libya. British and Commonwealth forces drove the Italians back, but in 1941 Germany sent Erwin Rommel with the Afrika Korps, and for two years the armies swept back and forth across the desert. In June 1942 Rommel captured Tobruk and about 33,000 prisoners and drove deep into Egypt. Behind the British lay Alexandria, Cairo, the Suez Canal and, beyond, the oil of the Middle East. In July the Eighth Army stopped him at a railway halt called El Alamein, about 65 miles west of Alexandria.

The map. At El Alamein the ground narrows to a gap about 40 miles wide between the Mediterranean Sea in the north and the Qattara Depression in the south. Everywhere else in the desert, an army could swing around the open southern flank of its enemy; here it could not. Both sides dug in. Through the summer Rommel's men laid about half a million mines in belts several miles deep, covered by anti-tank guns, and low ridges such as Miteiriya and Kidney Ridge became precious ground in a flat land.

The people. In August Churchill put General Harold Alexander in command in the Middle East and Bernard Montgomery in command of the Eighth Army. Montgomery, the son of a bishop, was self-confident, sometimes vain and a careful planner who visited his troops constantly. He beat off Rommel's last attack at Alam Halfa (August 30 to September 5) and then refused to attack until he was ready. His army was truly a commonwealth: British, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Indians, with Greek and Free French units. Facing them were German and Italian divisions; the Italian Folgore parachute division in the south fought with a courage both sides admired. Rommel, a brilliant field commander, was ill and on leave in Germany when the battle began.

The plan. Montgomery had about 195,000 men and more than 1,000 tanks against about 116,000 Germans and Italians with about 550 tanks, many of them weaker Italian models. He also had far more fuel; the Royal Navy, the RAF and code-breakers reading Axis signals sank many of Rommel's supply ships. Montgomery planned to attack in the north and "crumble" the enemy's infantry before breaking out with his armor. Operation Bertram tried to make the Germans expect a later attack in the south: hundreds of dummy tanks, guns and supply dumps were set up there, a fake water pipeline was built slowly enough to suggest it would not be finished until November, and real tanks in the north were disguised as trucks under canvas "sunshields."

What happened. At 9:40 on the night of October 23, about 900 guns opened fire at once. Sappers moved forward under a full moon, probing for mines with bayonets and detectors and marking lanes with tape and lamps. The tanks jammed in the narrow lanes, and the first days were a slow, costly "dogfight." Rommel flew back on October 25 and counterattacked. Montgomery shifted his blows, and the Australians' hard fighting near the coast drew the German armor north. On November 2 a new attack, Operation Supercharge, broke through. On November 3 Hitler ordered Rommel to stand fast and seek "victory or death"; Rommel obeyed for a day, then began to retreat on November 4. On November 8 American and

British forces landed in Morocco and Algeria, and by May 1943 the Axis armies in Africa had surrendered.

The cost and the crimes. The Eighth Army lost about 13,500 men killed, wounded and missing. The Axis lost about 30,000 men taken prisoner, thousands more killed and wounded, and nearly all its tanks. Historians have also found that in the summer of 1942 the SS formed a special unit under Walter Rauff, ready to follow the army into Egypt and Palestine and murder the Jews living there, as SS units were already doing in eastern Europe. The victory at El Alamein meant it never came.

Why it mattered. It was the first great land victory of the British Empire over the German army. Church bells, silent since 1940 except as an invasion alarm, were rung across Britain. Churchill told a London audience on November 10, "Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning." Together with Midway in the Pacific and Stalingrad in the east, El Alamein marked the turning of the war.

PICTURE STUDY



Infantry Move Forward to Take Up New Positions near El Alamein, 1942, Jack Chaddock, 1942 · Painting · Imperial War Museums, London (Art.IWM ART LD 3400) · Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

This painting was made for Britain's official war art program in 1942. A piper leads the infantry forward across the open desert, as Highland regiments did on the first night of the battle. The artist includes the cost quietly, with simple wooden crosses at the edge of the scene.

Look closely

- Find the piper. Where is he in the line, and why would pipers march at the front?

- Look at the land. Is there anywhere to hide? How does the flat ground explain the importance of mines and ridges?
- Find the crosses and the ambulance. How does the painter show the cost of war without showing wounds?

Talk about it

1. Why might soldiers be encouraged by the sound of the pipes in the dark?
2. What does this painting say about courage, and what does it say about loss?

HANDS-ON: SAND-TABLE EL ALAMEIN: THROUGH THE DEVIL'S GARDENS

Build the 40-mile gap in a tray of sand, hide the minefields and try to clear a lane before the defenders can react. Then set up Operation Bertram's dummies and see if you can fool a partner.

You will need

- A shallow tray of sand (or flour) about the size of a baking sheet
- Blue paper along one long edge (the Mediterranean) and a scooped-out low area at the other edge (the Qattara Depression)
- About 40 dried beans to bury as mines
- Toothpicks with paper flags, white string or tape for lanes
- Toy tanks or blocks for both sides; a few paper "sunshields" and cardboard dummy tanks

Steps

1. Shape the coast and the depression. Show your partner that there is no way around the ends.
2. The defender buries the beans in two belts across the gap, leaving some unmined "gardens" and placing guns behind them.
3. The attacker's sappers probe with a toothpick, one push per turn per sapper (use three sappers). Mark safe ground with flags and tape off a lane. A tank may only move in a taped lane.
4. Bertram: before the game, the attacker sets dummy tanks and a "pipeline" of string in the south and hides real tanks under paper sunshields in the north. The defender must decide where to put the reserve before probing begins.
5. After ten turns, count how far the lane reaches. Discuss why Montgomery needed both overwhelming strength and deception.

Check your work

- My sand table shows the sea, the depression and the two mine belts.
- I cleared at least one taped lane and kept my tanks in it.
- I tried the deception and recorded whether my partner was fooled.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the coast of Egypt from Mersa Matruh to Alexandria, with Cairo and the Suez Canal. Then draw an inset of the El Alamein line: the sea, the coast road and railway, Miteiriya Ridge and Kidney Ridge, the mine belts, the Qattara Depression 40 miles south, the northern attack of October 23, Bertram's dummy forces in the south and the breakthrough of November 2. Add a title, scale and key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain why El Alamein had to be a head-on battle and how Montgomery prepared to win it. Use at least three numbers. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Write Churchill's sentence about "the end of the beginning" and add one sentence on what he meant.

Did you know? Rommel later came to believe Hitler must be removed, and he was linked to the conspirators (how much he knew is still debated). After the failed bomb plot of July 20, 1944, he was given the choice of a trial or poison, and he took poison on October 14, 1944 to protect his family; the Nazi government gave him a state funeral and said he had died of his wounds. The large Commonwealth War Cemetery at El Alamein holds more than 7,000 graves, and there are German and Italian memorials nearby.

Go deeper. Stephen Bungay, *Alamein* (2002); Niall Barr, *Pendulum of War: The Three Battles of El Alamein* (2004); Imperial War Museums' online pages on El Alamein and Operation Bertram; the Commonwealth War Graves Commission page for El Alamein War Cemetery; second video topic: how mines were cleared in the desert.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school Modern World course, the World War II unit (coming soon); and Geography, North Africa and the Suez Canal.

For families. No primary-source block is given: Montgomery's printed message to his army on October 23, 1942 is often said to have asked the men to pray that "the Lord mighty in battle" would give them the victory, but an exact text could not be verified for copying, so it is not quoted. Churchill's November 10 sentence is short and widely published. Figures are approximate and vary by source: Eighth Army about 195,000 men and 1,000+ tanks; Axis about 116,000 men and about 550 tanks; Eighth Army casualties about 13,500; Axis prisoners about 30,000. The Rauff unit (Einsatzkommando Ägypten) is documented by historians Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cüppers. The role of the stage magician Jasper Maskelyne in the deception, often told in popular books, is disputed and is left out.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What two features made the El Alamein line impossible to go around?
2. **MEDIUM** Describe three parts of Operation Bertram.
3. **MEDIUM** Why did fuel and supply matter so much to Rommel?
4. **EASY** What did Churchill say about El Alamein on November 10, 1942?

5. **CHALLENGE** Montgomery had roughly twice Rommel's tanks and far more men and fuel. Some say any general could have won with such odds; others say Montgomery's patience and planning were what made the odds count. Using facts from this stop, make the best case for each view.
6. **CHALLENGE** Aquinas taught that a just war needs lawful authority, a just cause and right intention. Many German and Italian soldiers at El Alamein fought bravely and honorably for governments whose cause was unjust. Can a soldier be honorable in an unjust war? Explain with examples from this stop.

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Rommel on November 3. Choose your move.

You are Rommel on November 3, 1942. Your line is breaking, you have only a few dozen German tanks left and little fuel. A message arrives from Hitler: stand fast, yield not a yard, and show your troops no other road than victory or death. Will you (a) obey and hold to the last man, (b) retreat at once to save what is left of your army, or (c) hold one more day while you ask Hitler to change his order? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* Rommel chose (c), then began a full retreat on November 4; Hitler later gave permission. Then play "Minefield Walk": lay a grid of paper squares on the floor with a secret map of "mines" held by a parent. Players probe one square at a time; a wrong step sends you back to the start.

Scripture. "Who is this King of glory? The LORD strong and mighty, the LORD mighty in battle." (Psalm 24:8, KJV)

Many think David's psalm was first sung as the ark of God was brought up to Jerusalem. Commanders in 1942 who prayed before battle were reminded that strength and victory finally belong to the LORD, not to tanks or generals.

Practice: answers

1. The Mediterranean Sea in the north and the Qattara Depression in the south, about 40 miles apart.
2. Any three: dummy tanks, guns and vehicles in the south; a fake water pipeline built slowly to suggest a November attack; dummy supply dumps; real tanks in the north disguised as trucks under canvas sunshields; hidden real supply dumps.
3. His supplies came by sea across the Mediterranean and then hundreds of miles by road; Allied ships, aircraft and code-breakers sank many of his tankers, so he lacked fuel to move his tanks freely and fight a mobile battle.
4. "Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."
5. Odds view: about 195,000 men and over 1,000 tanks against 116,000 and 550, plus far more fuel and supply, and Rommel absent at the start. Generalship view: earlier British commanders with good numbers had been beaten by Rommel; Montgomery refused to attack before he was ready, trained his army, used deception, shifted his attacks when the first plan stalled and kept the battle going until Supercharge broke through. A good answer weighs both.

6. The tradition distinguishes between the justice of the war (judged by rulers) and conduct in war (judged in each soldier). Ordinary soldiers usually cannot judge their government's whole cause and may fight honorably by sparing prisoners, keeping the laws of war and showing courage, as the Folgore division and many Afrika Korps men did. Yet their courage still served an unjust cause, and a soldier who knows he is ordered to do evil, such as the murders planned by Rauff's unit, must refuse. Rommel's later turn against Hitler shows that conscience can grow.

5.7 D-DAY (JUNE 6, 1944): THE GREAT CRUSADE

OBJECTIVES

- Explain the planning of Operation Overlord: why Normandy, and how tides, moon and weather fixed the date.
- Describe Operation Fortitude and the landings on the five beaches, with Pointe du Hoc and General Theodore Roosevelt Jr. at Utah Beach.
- Read Eisenhower's order of the day as a primary source and weigh D-Day as a just war of liberation, including its costs to French civilians.

Warm-up. Look up tonight's moon phase and tomorrow morning's low tide for any beach (a tide table online or in a newspaper). The D-Day planners needed both on the same morning: a moon bright enough for paratroopers at night and a low, rising tide just after dawn. How many days in a month do you think would fit?

Video slot. Video coming. D-Day, June 6, 1944: planning, deception, Stagg's weather forecast, Omaha and Utah beaches, Pointe du Hoc and Theodore Roosevelt Jr. Search approved channels (The National WWII Museum, The National D-Day Memorial, American Battle Monuments Commission, Imperial War Museums, U.S. Army Center of Military History); preview first.

KEY TERMS

Operation Overlord

The Allied invasion of northwest Europe in 1944. The landing and naval part was called Operation Neptune.

Atlantic Wall

Germany's chain of coastal defenses from Norway to Spain: bunkers, guns, mines and beach obstacles.

Operation Fortitude

The Allied deception plan that convinced the Germans the main invasion would come at the Pas-de-Calais, using a phantom army, fake radio traffic and double agents.

amphibious assault

An attack launched from the sea onto a defended shore.

airborne

Troops delivered by parachute or glider. Three Allied airborne divisions landed in Normandy the night before the beach landings.

SHAEF

Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, the headquarters of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander.

CORE IDEAS

The plan. By 1944 Nazi Germany ruled most of Europe, and the Soviet Union had borne the heaviest land fighting for three years. The Western Allies chose Normandy for their invasion because it was within range of fighters from England, its beaches could take large forces, and it was less heavily defended than the Pas-de-Calais, the shortest crossing. General Eisenhower commanded; under him, General Bernard Montgomery led the land forces, Admiral Bertram Ramsay the navies and Air Chief Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory the air forces. Five beaches were chosen along about 50 miles of coast: Utah and Omaha for the Americans, Gold and Sword for the British, Juno for the Canadians.

Deception. Operation Fortitude convinced the Germans that the real blow would come at the Pas-de-Calais. A phantom “First U.S. Army Group” under General George Patton was built in southeast England out of radio messages, dummy landing craft and rubber tanks. Double agents, chief among them the Spaniard Juan Pujol García, code-named Garbo, fed the Germans false reports they trusted. Even after June 6, Hitler held his Fifteenth Army near Calais for weeks, waiting for the “real” invasion.

Tides, moon and weather. The planners wanted to land shortly after low tide, so that the coxswains could see Rommel’s beach obstacles and the rising tide would carry craft in; they wanted a late-rising, nearly full moon for the paratroopers; and they wanted calm seas. Only a few days a month fit, and June 5, 6 and 7 were the first. A storm forced Eisenhower to postpone from June 5. His chief meteorologist, Group Captain James Stagg, forecast a short break in the weather for June 6. Early on June 5, at Southwick House near Portsmouth, Eisenhower gave the order to go. German forecasters saw no break coming, and Rommel had gone home to Germany for his wife’s birthday.

The landings. In the night about 24,000 American, British and Canadian airborne troops dropped inland, many scattered far from their targets. At dawn about 7,000 ships and landing craft and more than 11,000 aircraft supported the assault, and by nightfall about 156,000 Allied soldiers were ashore. At Omaha the bombing had missed, the bluffs were steep and the defenders strong; men were pinned on the beach for hours until small groups led by sergeants and junior officers climbed the bluffs, and destroyers came close inshore to fire on the German positions. Omaha cost about 2,400 American casualties. On the British and Canadian beaches the troops pushed several miles inland. About 4,400 Allied soldiers were killed on June 6.

Pointe du Hoc and Utah Beach. Between Utah and Omaha a cliff about 100 feet high held a German battery thought to have six large guns. About 225 men of the 2nd Ranger Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel James Earl Rudder climbed it with rocket-fired grappling hooks, ropes and borrowed ladders, under fire. The guns had been moved; Sergeants Leonard Lomell and Jack Kuhn found them in an orchard inland and disabled them. The Rangers held for two days against counterattacks; when relieved, about 90 could still fight. At Utah, Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt Jr., 56 years old, son of President Theodore Roosevelt, walking with a cane, had asked twice in writing to land with the first wave and was the only general to do so. The current had carried the boats about a mile south of the planned spot.

Roosevelt walked the beach, studied the ground and decided to fight from where they were. Utah cost fewer than 200 casualties. He received the Medal of Honor and died of a heart attack on July 12.

The enemy and the cost. The Germans defending Normandy fought hard, many of them conscripts and some of them men from conquered lands forced into service. The regime they served was committing the worst crimes in history. That very spring about 430,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz, most murdered on arrival. On June 10 an SS division killed 643 men, women and children at the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane, and in the first days of the invasion soldiers of the 12th SS Panzer Division murdered more than 150 captured Canadians. Allied bombing to cut German roads also killed many French civilians; about 20,000 died in the Normandy campaign.

Why it mattered. By the end of June more than 850,000 Allied troops were ashore; Paris was freed on August 25. With the Soviet advance in the east, D-Day doomed Hitler's Germany. In just-war terms it is a strong case: lawful authority (governments acting together), a just cause (freeing nations from a murderous tyranny) and right intention (Eisenhower called it a crusade for freedom, not conquest). Yet the tradition also asks that harm to civilians be proportionate, which the bombing of French towns tested hard.

PICTURE STUDY



Into the Jaws of Death, Robert F. Sargent, Chief Photographer's Mate, U.S. Coast Guard, June 6, 1944 ·
Photograph · U.S. National Archives; Wikimedia Commons
Wikimedia Commons · Public domain

Robert Sargent took this photograph from the stern of a Coast Guard landing craft at about 7:40 a.m. on Omaha Beach. The men are soldiers of the 1st Infantry Division. It became one of the best-known photographs of the war. As a U.S. government photograph, it is in the public domain.

Look closely

- Look at the frame of the picture. The dark edges are the inside of the landing craft. Where is the photographer standing?
- Look at the water and the distance to the shore. How far must the men wade?
- Look at the bluffs in the background, partly hidden by smoke. Why would high ground behind a beach matter so much?

Talk about it

1. Sargent did not show any one face clearly. How does that choice make the picture speak for all the men?
2. The Coast Guard gave the picture its title. Is “Into the Jaws of Death” a fair title? How might a title like that make Americans at home feel?

HANDS-ON: D-DAY PLANNING BOARD: TIDES, MOON AND WEATHER

Be the planners at SHAEF. Build a planning board for June 1944 that finds the days when tide, moon and weather all allow an invasion, then make Eisenhower’s decision and write the order to the troops in his voice, using his real order (below) as a model.

You will need

- A large sheet of paper or poster board ruled into a calendar for June 1944 (June 1 was a Thursday)
- Three colored pencils (blue for tide, yellow for moon, gray for weather)
- A printed or hand-drawn moon calendar for June 1944 (full moon on June 6)
- Index cards for a weather report from Stagg on June 4
- Toy boats or blocks for the five beach forces

Steps

1. Mark in yellow the nights with a bright, late-rising moon: June 5–7 and again around the next full moon in early July.
2. Mark in blue the mornings with low tide shortly after dawn: June 5–7 and June 18–20 (no moon then).
3. Find the days where blue and yellow overlap. Then a parent reads Stagg’s card: “Storm on June 5; a short break on the night of June 5–6 and the morning of June 6; worse weather after.” Mark gray for bad weather.
4. Decide: go on June 6, or wait two weeks for the tides (losing the moon and surprise)? Record your choice with a reason. (Note: a great storm struck the Channel on June 19–22.)
5. Read Eisenhower’s order aloud. Then write your own five-sentence order of the day to the troops, keeping his parts: purpose, honesty about the danger, confidence in the men, and a prayer.

Check your work

- My board shows tide, moon and weather in three colors.
- I found the June 5–7 window and explained why June 18–20 was worse.
- I wrote an order of the day with all four parts.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Normandy coast from the Cotentin Peninsula to the river Orne. Mark the five beaches (Utah, Omaha, Gold, Juno, Sword) with their nations, Pointe du Hoc between Utah and Omaha, the airborne drop zones (American behind Utah; British east of the Orne), Caen and Cherbourg. Draw the cliffs and bluffs, and the Pas-de-Calais far to the northeast where Fortitude said the attack would come. Add a title, scale and key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain how planning, deception and weather made the landings possible, and tell what happened at either Pointe du Hoc or Utah Beach. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Write a short “letter home” in the voice of a soldier the night before D-Day, after the order of the day was read to him.

Did you know? Eisenhower also wrote a note to be released if the landings failed, taking all the responsibility himself and ending that the fault, if any, was “mine alone.” He misdated it July 5 instead of June 5 and kept it in his wallet. Theodore Roosevelt Jr. is buried at the Normandy American Cemetery beside his younger brother Quentin, a pilot killed in World War I in 1918, whose grave was moved there.

Primary source. *General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Order of the Day, June 6, 1944, distributed to the Allied troops before the landings (excerpts, as transcribed by the National Park Service and Teaching American History; original at the Eisenhower Presidential Library)*

Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force! You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hope and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you. ... Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. ... I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. ... Good luck! And let us beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.

Go deeper. Cornelius Ryan, *The Longest Day* (1959), built on interviews with men of both sides; Stephen E. Ambrose, *D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II* (1994); the American Battle Monuments Commission pages on Pointe du Hoc and the Normandy American Cemetery; the National D-Day Memorial in Bedford, Virginia; second video topic: President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s D-Day radio prayer of June 6, 1944.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school American History and Modern World courses, the World War II units (coming soon); Earth Science, for tides and the moon; and Geography, Normandy and the English Channel.

For families. The order of the day is a U.S. government document in the public domain. Printed versions differ slightly (some read “hopes and prayers” and “battle hardened”); the excerpt follows the published transcriptions named. Eisenhower’s exact spoken words when he gave the go-ahead are reported differently by those present, so none are quoted. Figures are approximate: about 156,000 men landed on June 6; about 4,400 Allied dead (the D-Day Center gives 4,414 confirmed); Omaha casualties about 2,400; Utah under 200. Oradour-sur-Glane: 643 killed (sources give 642–643). Canadian prisoners killed by the 12th SS: more than 150 in the first ten days. Normandy civilian deaths are commonly estimated at about 20,000 for the campaign. Roosevelt’s often-quoted words “We’ll start the war from right here” are traditional and not quoted as certain.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** Name the five D-Day beaches and the nation that landed on each.
2. **MEDIUM** Why did the planners need a low tide shortly after dawn and a bright moon?
3. **MEDIUM** What was Operation Fortitude, and how did it help after June 6?
4. **EASY** What did the Rangers find when they reached the top of Pointe du Hoc, and what did they do?
5. **CHALLENGE** Read Eisenhower’s order (Primary source). Identify its four parts: purpose, honesty about danger, confidence, and prayer. Why would a commander admit to his men that the enemy is “well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened”?
6. **CHALLENGE** General Roosevelt landed about a mile south of the planned spot at Utah. He could (a) re-embark and try to reach the right beach, or (b) bring the following waves in to where he was. What facts would he weigh, and why did his choice of (b) turn out wise?

Make it a game • Choose Your Move: Eisenhower on the Morning of June 5.

Choose your move. You are General Eisenhower at Southwick House before dawn on June 5, 1944. You have already postponed once. Rain lashes the windows. Stagg says a short break will come on June 6, but worse weather may follow. If you wait, the next tides come about June 19, without moonlight, and secrecy may not last. Will you (a) launch the invasion for June 6, (b) postpone to June 19, or (c) cancel and wait for July? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* Eisenhower chose (a). (A great storm struck the Channel on June 19, wrecking one of the artificial harbors.) Then play “Tide Clock”: draw a big clock face; one player moves a “tide” hand around six hours from high to low while others must land toy boats on the beach only during the right two hours.

Scripture. “Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.” (Joshua 1:9, KJV)

God spoke these words to Joshua before Israel crossed the Jordan into a land held by strong enemies. On June 6, 1944, many soldiers carried pocket Testaments and heard chaplains pray before they crossed the Channel. Courage is not the absence of fear but obedience in spite of it.

Practice: answers

1. Utah and Omaha (United States), Gold and Sword (Britain), Juno (Canada).
2. Low tide exposed Rommel's beach obstacles so landing craft could avoid them and engineers could clear them, with the rising tide carrying later craft in; a bright, late-rising moon let paratroopers and gliders find their drop zones at night.
3. A deception plan, with a phantom army under Patton, fake radio traffic and double agents like Garbo, that convinced the Germans the main invasion would come at the Pas-de-Calais. Hitler kept his Fifteenth Army there for weeks instead of sending it to Normandy.
4. The big guns had been moved from their emplacements. Lomell and Kuhn found them in an orchard inland and disabled them, and the Rangers held the point for two days.
5. Purpose: the "Great Crusade" for which the world hopes and prays. Danger: "Your task will not be an easy one" and the enemy's strength. Confidence: "full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle." Prayer: asking God's blessing on the undertaking. Admitting the danger earns the men's trust: soldiers know when they are being flattered, and honest warning prepares them for the hard fight they will meet, as at Omaha.
6. He would weigh how strongly each spot was defended, whether causeways inland were usable, the confusion and losses of moving thousands of men by sea under fire, and the timing of the following waves. Where he landed, the defenses were lighter and causeways led inland; moving the waves would have caused delay and confusion. Roosevelt's quick judgment let the 4th Division get inland with fewer than 200 casualties.

5.8 THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE (1944–1945): BASTOGNE AND “NUTS!”

OBJECTIVES

- Explain Hitler’s Ardennes plan and why road junctions such as St. Vith and Bastogne decided the battle.
- Read McAuliffe’s Christmas message to the 101st Airborne as a primary source, including the “Nuts!” reply.
- Name the crimes at Malmedy plainly and discuss, with the just-war tradition, why reprisals against prisoners are always wrong.

Warm-up. Draw a star with seven lines coming out of a dot in the center, like spokes of a wheel. Each line is a road. If you hold the dot, how many roads can an enemy use to get past you? Bastogne, a small Belgian town, sat at the center of seven roads, and that is why both armies wanted it.

Video slot. Video coming. The Battle of the Bulge, December 16, 1944 to January 25, 1945: the Ardennes offensive, St. Vith, the siege of Bastogne, McAuliffe’s “Nuts!” and Patton’s relief. Search approved channels (The National WWII Museum, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Bastogne War Museum, The History Guy); preview first.

KEY TERMS

salient

A part of a battle line that bulges out into enemy territory. The German attack made a salient about 50 miles deep, which gave the battle its American name.

road junction

A place where several roads meet. In the hilly, wooded Ardennes, armies could move tanks and supplies only on roads.

encircled

Surrounded on all sides, as Bastogne was from December 20–21 to December 26, 1944.

Wacht am Rhein

“Watch on the Rhine,” the German code name for the Ardennes offensive.

war crime

A grave breach of the laws of war, such as murdering prisoners or civilians.

CORE IDEAS

The situation. After D-Day the Allies freed France and Belgium, and by autumn 1944 they stood on Germany’s western border, short of fuel and stretched thin. Hitler secretly gathered his last reserves for one great blow. He chose the Ardennes, the same hills and forests his

tanks had crossed in 1940, where the Americans held a quiet front of about 80 miles with only a few divisions, some new to combat and some resting from heavy fighting.

The plan. Wacht am Rhein called for three German armies, about 200,000 men and roughly 1,000 tanks and assault guns at the start, to break through, cross the Meuse River and drive about 100 miles to Antwerp, the Allies' main supply port. Hitler hoped to split the British from the Americans and force a peace in the west. The Germans counted on surprise and on winter fog and snow to keep Allied aircraft on the ground. English-speaking German soldiers in American uniforms were sent to spread confusion behind the lines. The plan depended on speed, and that meant the few good roads.

The map. The Ardennes is a region of steep wooded ridges, narrow valleys, small rivers and villages. Tanks were bound to the roads, and the roads met at a few towns. In the north, the 2nd and 99th Infantry Divisions held Elsenborn Ridge and blocked the main German thrust. In the center, the 7th Armored Division under Brigadier General Bruce Clarke held St. Vith until December 21. In the south lay Bastogne, where seven roads met. When the attack opened at dawn on December 16, isolated American units fought in the snow for crossroads and bridges, and every hour they held cost the Germans time they could not spare.

Bastogne. The 101st Airborne Division was rushed to Bastogne in open trucks, arriving on December 18-19, joined by armored and artillery units, including Combat Command B of the 10th Armored Division. Their acting commander was Brigadier General Anthony McAuliffe, because the division commander, Maxwell Taylor, was in Washington. By December 21 the town was surrounded. On December 22 German officers came under a white flag with a typed demand for surrender. McAuliffe read it, said "Nuts!" and, when his staff said the remark was the right answer, sent it back as his reply. Colonel Joseph Harper delivered it and explained to the puzzled Germans that it meant "Go to hell." The defenders, short of food, medical supplies and ammunition, held through days of attacks.

The relief. On December 19, at a meeting in Verdun, General Patton told Eisenhower he could turn three divisions of his Third Army 90 degrees north and attack within about 48 hours, an astonishing feat of planning that his staff had prepared in advance. Patton had his chaplain write a prayer for good weather, which was printed on cards for the troops. On December 23 the skies cleared, and Allied aircraft attacked the German columns and dropped supplies to Bastogne. On December 26 tanks of the 4th Armored Division broke through to the town. The German spearhead ran out of fuel a few miles short of the Meuse at Dinant. By January 25 the bulge was gone.

The crimes and the cost. On December 17, at the Baugnez crossroads near Malmedy, soldiers of an SS battle group under Joachim Peiper murdered 84 American prisoners who had surrendered; the same unit killed Belgian civilians in nearby towns. That day at Wereth, SS men murdered eleven captured American soldiers of the 333rd Field Artillery Battalion. About 610,000 Americans fought in the battle; about 89,000 became casualties, including about 19,000 killed, the costliest single battle for the U.S. Army in the war. German losses were heavier still, roughly 80,000 to 100,000. Two days after the battle ended, Soviet troops reached Auschwitz.

Why it mattered. The Ardennes offensive used up Germany's last reserves of men, tanks and fuel in the west. Within four months Allied armies crossed the Rhine, and Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945. Churchill told Parliament that the battle was "undoubtedly the greatest American battle of the war." The defense of Bastogne became a lasting picture of American endurance: cold, outnumbered, surrounded and unbeaten.

PICTURE STUDY



American Infantrymen of the 290th Infantry Regiment in Fresh Snowfall near Amonines, Belgium, U.S. Army Signal Corps photographer (credited as Braun), January 4, 1945 · Photograph · U.S. National Archives; Wikimedia Commons
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An Army photographer took this picture during the Allied counterattack, about two weeks after the relief of Bastogne. The men belonged to the 75th Infantry Division, which had arrived in Europe only weeks before. The falling snow is real; the weather was one of the enemies in this battle.

Look closely

- Find the falling snow. How does it change what the soldiers can see?
- Look at how the men are spread out and using the ground. Why would soldiers keep apart from each other?
- Look at their clothing. What would it be like to live in this for weeks, with wet boots and little shelter?

Talk about it

1. What does this photograph tell you about the Battle of the Bulge that a map cannot?
2. Why might this picture have become one of the best-known images of the battle?

HANDS-ON: TABLETOP ARDENNES: HOLD THE CROSSROADS

Build the Ardennes with roads and towns and play the German race for the Meuse against American units holding the road junctions. Then read McAuliffe's Christmas message aloud and decide what it tells you about the men who held Bastogne.

You will need

- A tabletop or floor with a white sheet for snow
- String or paper strips for roads; blue yarn for the Meuse River on the west side
- Small boxes or blocks for towns: St. Vith, Bastogne, Houffalize, Malmedy, Dinant, Elsenborn Ridge
- About 25 toy tanks or blocks for German forces and 15 for American forces
- A die and a stack of paper "fuel" tokens for the German player

Steps

1. Lay out roads from east to west, all passing through St. Vith or Bastogne. Mark seven roads meeting at Bastogne.
2. The German player starts with 12 fuel tokens and must reach the Meuse at Dinant. Moving along a road costs one token per turn.
3. American units in a town block every road through it. To pass, the German player must roll a 6, or wait a turn and roll again. Each waiting turn costs one fuel token.
4. On turn 5 the weather clears: the American player may remove one German unit per turn (air attack). On turn 7 Patton arrives from the south.
5. Play until the Germans run out of fuel or reach the Meuse. Then read the Christmas message and discuss: why did McAuliffe call holding Bastogne a gift to "our country and our loved ones"?

Check your work

- My table shows the roads meeting at St. Vith and Bastogne and the Meuse River.
- I can explain why every turn of delay hurt the German plan.
- I read the Christmas message and explained one sentence in my own words.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

1. **Terrain map.** Draw the Ardennes region of Belgium and Luxembourg: the German border, Elsenborn Ridge, Malmedy, St. Vith, Bastogne with its seven roads, Houffalize, the Meuse River with Dinant, and Antwerp far to the northwest. Shade the bulge at its furthest extent, and draw Patton's arrow from the south to Bastogne. Add a title, scale and key.
2. **Narration.** In one written paragraph, explain why the German offensive failed, giving at least two reasons tied to the map and one tied to the people. Your parent keeps this page.
3. Copy the line of the Christmas message you think is most important and write why.

Did you know? Because of the English-speaking German infiltrators, American sentries at checkpoints asked strangers questions only an American would know, such as the capital of a state or who played in the World Series. One general was briefly held after he answered a question about a baseball team wrongly. At Bastogne today, the Mardasson Memorial, shaped like a five-pointed star, honors the Americans who fought there.

Primary source. *Brigadier General Anthony C. McAuliffe, Christmas message to the troops, Headquarters 101st Airborne Division, Bastogne, December 24, 1944 (excerpts; a U.S. Army document in the public domain)*

Just this: We have stopped cold everything that has been thrown at us from the North, East, South and West. ... To the German Commander: N U T S ! ... Allied Troops are counterattacking in force. We continue to hold Bastogne. By holding Bastogne we assure the success of the Allied Armies.

Go deeper. Charles B. MacDonald, *A Time for Trumpets: The Untold Story of the Battle of the Bulge* (1985), by a historian who fought there as a young company commander; Hugh M. Cole, *The Ardennes: Battle of the Bulge* (U.S. Army official history, 1965, free from the U.S. Army Center of Military History); the Bastogne War Museum website; second video topic: Patton's Third Army turns north.

Goes deeper in. History, the high-school American History course, the World War II unit (coming soon); and Geography, Belgium and Luxembourg.

For families. The Christmas message excerpts are copied from a published transcription of the 101st Airborne's mimeographed message; it is a U.S. government document in the public domain. Patton's weather prayer was written by Chaplain James O'Neill in December 1944 and printed on cards; the timing of its printing is told differently in accounts, and it is mentioned, not quoted. Figures: about 610,000 Americans engaged, about 89,000 casualties and about 19,000 killed are commonly cited; German losses are estimated at about 67,000 to 100,000, so the stop gives a range. Malmedy: 84 American prisoners murdered on December 17, 1944; Wereth: eleven soldiers of the 333rd Field Artillery Battalion. Practice 6 mentions that some Americans also shot prisoners after Malmedy (for example at Chenogne on January 1, 1945); this is documented by historians and is included so that just-war questions are faced honestly. Churchill's short remark is from his speech to the House of Commons on January 18, 1945. *Band of Brothers* (book and series) covers Bastogne but contains strong language and violence; preview first.

PRACTICE

1. **EASY** What was Hitler's goal in the Ardennes offensive?
2. **MEDIUM** Why were St. Vith and Bastogne so important?
3. **EASY** What did McAuliffe reply to the German demand for surrender, and how did Colonel Harper explain it?

4. **MEDIUM** Give two reasons the weather mattered in this battle.
5. **CHALLENGE** Read McAuliffe's Christmas message (Primary source). It was written on Christmas Eve to surrounded, freezing men. What does McAuliffe want them to feel, and what facts does he give to support it? Is the message honest?
6. **CHALLENGE** After word of the Malmedy massacre spread, some American units shot German prisoners, notably at Chenogne on January 1, 1945. Using Augustine's teaching that war must be waged without cruelty or a lust for revenge, explain why this was wrong even though the enemy had committed a crime first.

Make it a game · Choose Your Move: General McAuliffe on December 22. Choose your move. You are Brigadier General McAuliffe in Bastogne on December 22, 1944. Your town is surrounded. Artillery shells are running low, the wounded need doctors, and the sky is too cloudy for supply drops. German officers bring a written demand: surrender within two hours or be destroyed by artillery. Will you (a) surrender to save your men's lives, (b) ask for more time to stall the Germans, or (c) refuse and keep fighting, trusting that help is coming? Decide and give one reason. *What happened:* McAuliffe chose (c), with a one-word reply. Then play "Crossroads": one player stands at the center of seven chalk lines (roads). Others try to walk from one side to the other along a road without being tagged. Every tag costs the attackers one "fuel" point.

Scripture. "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." (2 Timothy 2:3, KJV)

Paul wrote from prison to a young pastor, using a soldier's endurance as a picture of faithful Christian life. The men at Bastogne endured cold, hunger and danger at Christmas. Christians are called to the same steadiness in every hard place, for the sake of a far greater King.

Practice: answers

1. To break through, cross the Meuse and capture Antwerp, splitting the British from the Americans and perhaps forcing a separate peace in the west.
2. In the hilly, forested Ardennes, tanks and supply trucks had to use roads, and the main roads met at these towns (seven at Bastogne). Holding them blocked or delayed the German advance.
3. "Nuts!" Harper told the German officers it meant "Go to hell."
4. Fog and snow at first kept Allied aircraft grounded, helping the German surprise; when the skies cleared on December 23, Allied planes attacked German columns and dropped supplies to Bastogne. Cold and snow also wore down soldiers on both sides.
5. He wants them to feel proud and confident rather than trapped: they have "stopped cold" attacks from every direction, they still hold Bastogne, and Allied troops are counterattacking. He includes his own blunt reply to raise their spirits. It is honest in its facts (they were holding, and Patton was coming), though it does not dwell on their shortages and losses; a commander's message chooses what to emphasize without lying.
6. Augustine and later Aquinas taught that just war must be fought with a right intention, not from hatred or vengeance. Prisoners who have surrendered no longer threaten anyone, so

killing them is murder no matter who does it or what the enemy did first; a just cause does not excuse unjust acts. Revenge also destroys the moral difference that made the Allied cause just. Naming this honestly does not equate it with the Nazi regime's systematic crimes, but it holds every soldier to the same law.

TRAIL 5 BADGE QUIZZES

The badge quizzes are optional. The student answers in complete sentences, aloud or in writing; the starred items (6 and 11) ask for a short paragraph. Four right out of five earns the first badge; four right out of six earns the second. Badges and the certificate are earned by doing the stops, not by scores.

Badge quiz 1 (Stops 1-5)

1. How did a gap between two German armies lead to the German retreat at the Marne in 1914?
2. What did Alvin York do on October 8, 1918, and why had he first asked not to fight?
3. How many men were evacuated from Dunkirk, and why did Churchill warn against calling it a victory?
4. Name two parts of the Dowding system and explain how they helped a smaller air force win the Battle of Britain.
5. How did the code-breakers confirm that "AF" meant Midway, and what happened to Japan's four carriers?

Badge quiz 2 (Stops 6-8)

6. ★ Why did El Alamein have to be fought head-on, and what did Montgomery do to make a head-on attack succeed?
7. Why was June 6, 1944 chosen for D-Day?
8. What did the Rangers do at Pointe du Hoc, and what did General Theodore Roosevelt Jr. do at Utah Beach?
9. Why did Bastogne matter so much in the Battle of the Bulge, and what was McAuliffe's reply to the German surrender demand?
10. What happened at the Baugnez crossroads near Malmedy on December 17, 1944?
11. ★ Name Aquinas's three conditions for a just war and apply them to D-Day. Then name one act on this trail that was wrong even in a just war, and explain why.

TRAIL CERTIFICATE: MY WORLD WARS BATTLE BOOK AND TRAIL E CERTIFICATE

Gather the eight terrain maps and eight narration paragraphs from this trail into one bound book: "The World Wars: Eight Battles," with your name and the dates you began and finished. Open it with a timeline from the Marne (September 1914) to the end of the Bulge (January 1945), with the dates of the two armistices or surrenders (November 11, 1918; May 8, 1945).

Add one primary-source page: copy a passage from Joffre, York's citation, Eisenhower or McAuliffe, and write a paragraph on who wrote it, to whom, why, and what it leaves out.

Add one essay of 400 to 600 words on one of these questions: (a) Which battle on this trail best shows that terrain decides battles? (b) Was any one of these battles truly a turning point? (c) Using Augustine and Aquinas, what makes a war just, and what makes conduct in war just? Use at least three facts with numbers.

When the book is done, a parent reviews it and signs the Trail E certificate.

- **Maps and timeline:** Eight labeled terrain maps, each with a title, scale and key, and a correct timeline of all eight battles.
- **Narrations:** Eight paragraphs that explain cause and effect clearly, using the trail's terms and accurate numbers.
- **Use of sources:** The primary-source page identifies author, audience and purpose and notes what the source does not say.
- **Reasoning and fairness:** The essay makes a clear argument, admits the strongest opposing point, describes both sides fairly in the terms of their own time and names real wrongs plainly.

Answer key

1. Von Kluck's First Army turned east of Paris and then swung west to fight Maunoury's attack from Paris, widening a gap of about 30 miles between it and von Bülow's Second Army. The BEF and French Fifth Army advanced into the gap, and the Germans retreated to the Aisne to avoid being split.
2. With seven men behind the German lines, he silenced German machine guns and brought in 132 prisoners. His church taught that Christians should not take part in war; after studying Scripture with his officers and praying, he decided he could serve with a clear conscience.
3. 338,226. The army had lost nearly all its heavy equipment, tens of thousands of men were captured, and France was about to fall: "Wars are not won by evacuations."
4. Any two: radar stations detected raids forming over France; the Observer Corps tracked them over land; the filter room at Bentley Priory combined reports; sector controllers sent squadrons. Together they let Fighter Command meet each raid at the right place and time without wasting fighters on patrols.
5. Midway sent a message that its water plant had broken, and the Japanese then reported that AF was short of water. Akagi, Kaga and Sōryū were sunk by dive bombers on the morning of June 4, 1942, and Hiryū that afternoon.
6. The 40-mile gap between the Mediterranean and the impassable Qattara Depression left no open flank. Montgomery built up superior men, tanks and fuel, refused to attack before he was ready, used Operation Bertram to deceive Rommel about the place and time, had sappers clear lanes through the minefields and kept attacking until Operation Supercharge broke through.
7. Only a few days in June had both a low tide shortly after dawn and a late-rising, nearly full moon; June 5 was stormy, and Stagg forecast a short break in the weather for June 6.
8. About 225 Rangers climbed the 100-foot cliffs under fire, found the moved guns inland and disabled them, and held for two days. Roosevelt, 56, landed with the first wave, found the boats about a mile off course and decided to bring the following waves in where they were.
9. Seven roads met at Bastogne, and in the Ardennes tanks and supplies had to use roads; holding it slowed the German drive. McAuliffe replied, "Nuts!"
10. SS soldiers of Peiper's battle group murdered 84 American prisoners who had surrendered, a war crime.
11. Lawful authority, just cause and right intention. D-Day was launched by the Allied governments, to free occupied nations from a murderous tyranny, with the stated aim of liberty rather than conquest. Wrong acts include the killing of prisoners (by the SS at Le Paradis or Malmedy, or by some Americans after Malmedy) or the deliberate bombing of

civilians; a just cause never excuses murdering those who have surrendered or targeting the innocent.