



American Military History and the Evolution of Western Warfare



DOUGHTY ★ GRUBER

FLINT ★ GRIMSLEY ★ HERRING

HORWARD ★ LYNN ★ MURRAY

American Military History and the Evolution of Warfare in the Western World

Robert A. Doughty

United States Military Academy

Ira D. Gruber

Rice University

Roy K. Flint

United States Military Academy

George C. Herring

University of Kentucky

John A. Lynn

University of Illinois

Mark Grimsley

The Ohio State University

Donald D. Horward

Florida State University

Williamson Murray

The Ohio State University

D. C. Heath and Company

Lexington, Massachusetts Toronto

Address editorial correspondence to:

D. C. Heath and Company
125 Spring Street
Lexington, MA 02173

Acquisitions: *James Miller*
Development: *Pat Wakeley*
Editorial Production: *Melissa Ray*
Design: *Alwyn R. Velásquez*
Photo Research: *Picture Research Consultants, Inc./Sandi Rygiel*
& *Pembroke Herbert*
Art Editing: *Diane Grossman*
Production Coordination: *Richard Tonachel*

The views expressed herein are those of the authors and do not purport to reflect the position of the United States Military Academy, the Department of the Army, or the Department of Defense.

For permission to use copyrighted materials, grateful acknowledgement is made to the copyright holders listed on pages A-1 and A-2, which are hereby considered an extension of this copyright page.

Copyright © 1996 by D. C. Heath and Company.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Published simultaneously in Canada.

Printed in the United States of America.

International Standard Book Number: 0-669-41683-5

American Military History

PREFACE

American Military History and the Evolution of Warfare in the Western World was first published as part of a larger history, *Warfare in the Western World*. We wrote that larger history to provide a coherent, readable, and authoritative account of the past four centuries of military operations in the West—to explain, as clearly as possible, how the waging of war has changed from one era to another since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although we examined the underlying developments in population, agriculture, industry, technology, and politics that affected warfare, we focused on the employment of armed forces. We were most interested in operations, in the conduct of relatively large forces across a specific theater of war. We included warfare at sea and in the air as well as joint operations, but we concentrated on fighting ashore. In short, we set out to write a sound and readable history of military operations in the West since 1600, a history that would appeal to students, general readers, and anyone seeking an authoritative reference on warfare.

To provide the depth and breadth essential to understanding such an extensive and often fragmented subject, we planned a work of two volumes and six parts. The first volume, which begins with Gustavus Adolphus's synthesis of early-seventeenth-century European warfare, analyzes in turn the development of limited warfare in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe the emergence of the citizen soldier and mobile, decisive warfare in the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon; and the shift toward total warfare in the United States Civil War and the application of Prussian organizational skills to European warfare of the mid-nineteenth century. The second volume, which begins with the small wars of the late nineteenth century, considers successively the systematic harnessing of human and material resources for the total warfare of the First World War, the continuation of total warfare in an even more virulent form during the Second World War, and the resort to varieties of limited warfare since 1945, since the creation of atomic and nuclear weapons.

American Military History was, then, first published as part of *Warfare in the Western World*. Like its parent, it was designed to provide a readable, authoritative history of military operations—in this instance, of operations in the Western world that best convey the American experience of warfare from the seventeenth century to the present. It begins with the crude efforts of British colonists to conquer the Atlantic seaboard of North America and to win their independence from Great Britain; it analyzes the first stirrings of military competence in the new United States (in wars with Britain and Mexico); and it describes the emergence of near total warfare in the Civil War. The volume goes on to consider the flourishing of industrialized warfare in the small wars of the late nineteenth century (including the improvised conduct of the Spanish-American War) and in the far more deadly and static campaigns of World War I (including the American Expeditionary

Force's belated, yet crucial, intervention in the last years of the war). It concludes with an extended account of America's role in the fluid, global operations of World War II, in the more limited warfare that followed the development of atomic and nuclear weapons, and in the frustrating efforts at peacekeeping in the post-Cold War world. It makes clear that American warfare has always been a part of the Western military tradition—sometimes in advance of Europe, sometimes behind, but always within a single, shared tradition.

At least twice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Americans were in the forefront of fundamental changes in Western warfare. Americans rarely developed highly disciplined forces or skill in complex European tactics, but in the process of winning their independence and preserving their Union, they showed how to mobilize the energies of a people and how to wage near total warfare. In the Revolutionary War they combined militia and regulars, adopted simplified tactics, and relied more on inspiration and understanding than on harsh discipline to create effective fighting forces. And they learned to organize those forces in relatively small operational units so as to draw supplies from the countryside and gain the mobility needed to impose battle on their enemies. Indeed, they anticipated by nearly two decades the methods that French Revolutionaries would use to defeat the standing armies of Europe. Although the French soon taught other Europeans how to make war on an unprecedented scale and with remarkable decisiveness—and rousing fanatical popular resistance in Portugal, Spain, and Russia—they stopped well short of the total warfare that Americans would employ in their Civil War. At the beginning of that war, the United States hoped to preserve the Union without alienating the people of the South, hoped to win the war merely by capturing Richmond and blockading ports. But discovering how costly and difficult it was to defeat large, inspired armies equipped with rifled weapons, the North eventually adopted total war as an instrument of policy. Northern commanders sought not only to wear away Confederate forces in campaigns of attrition but also to exhaust the South by freeing slaves, destroying farms and factories, and breaking the will of the people. With such a strategy, they preserved the United States and carried warfare beyond anything that Europeans had been willing or able to do previously.

For three-quarters of a century after the Civil War, the United States made no substantial contribution to warfare in the Western world. America fell behind Prussia and other European states in preparing systematically for war in the last third of the nineteenth century. Congress and the American people were too preoccupied with domestic affairs and too secure against external threats to heed military reformers. When the 1898 war with Spain revealed how ill prepared the nation was to fight even a second-rate power, Congress supported reforms in the organization, training, and recruiting of the armed forces. But those forces remained strikingly unprepared for the total, industrialized warfare that came to Europe in World War I. Fresh American troops were crucial to sustaining the exhausted allies and to winning the war. Yet they had to use Allied weapons, suffered heavy casualties because they were too aggressive, and contributed little to warfare.

Not until World War II did the United States once again play a significant role in changing warfare. In this most destructive of all wars, the United States was especially innovative in joint operations, in the fluid campaigns that spread around the globe. Its land, sea, and air forces worked effectively together to gain control of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, to mount successful invasions of North Africa, Sicily, western Europe, and the Philippines, and to contribute substantially to Allied victory. The United States also led in the development of atomic and nuclear weapons that hastened the end of World War II and that have greatly limited warfare since 1945, restricting the size and composition of forces as well as the nature of operations. During this era of limited war, the United States has continued to lead in the invention and application of advanced weapons. The results have not been uniformly successful, but the United States has remained at the forefront of warfare in the Western world.

The telling of this extensive and sometimes fragmented story has been a cooperative effort. Ira Gruber wrote chapters 1 and 2; Mark Grimsley, chapters 3–7; Robert Doughty, chapters 8–12, 19, and 22–23; Williamson Murray, chapters 13–18; Roy Flint, chapter 20; and George Herring, chapter 21. Each of us, of course, has drawn on the work of scores of other scholars; and each has benefitted from the comments of specialists, colleagues, and students who have reviewed portions of this history. We are particularly indebted to Richard Kohn and John Shy, who read carefully an entire draft of the text and drew on their remarkable understanding of military history and sharp critical judgment to suggest ways of improving the whole. We, and our fellow authors, are grateful to all who have had a part in creating this book. We do not imagine that we will have satisfied our critics; we do hope that they and other readers will continue to share their knowledge of warfare with us.

R. A. D. and I. D. G.

MAP SYMBOLS

The symbols shown below are used on the maps in this volume. Most of the symbols suggest the organization of units in particular campaigns or battles. The reader should understand that the organization of military units has changed over time and has varied from army to army or even within armies. For example, the composition and size of Napoleon's corps varied within his own army and differed from those of his opponents; they also differed dramatically from those of armies later in the nineteenth century. The symbols thus indicate the organization of a unit at a particular time and do not indicate its precise composition or size.

Division	
Corps	
Army	
Army Group	
Cavalry Screen	
Armor	
Airborne	
Fort	
Mine	
Bridge	
Boundary between Units	

LIST OF MAPS

Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century	4	Chancellorsville: Jackson's Flank Attack, May 2, 1863	166
New England in King Philip's War, 1675-1676	6	Vicksburg Campaign, 1862-1863	177
Anglo-French Warfare in North America, 1688-1763	10	The South's Dilemma, June 1863	181
Quebec in 1759	21	Gettysburg, July 2, 1863	183
Boston c. 1775	32	Struggle for the Gateway: Chickamauga and Chattanooga, 1863	188
Mid-Atlantic States in the War of Independence	37	Grant's Plan for 1864	200
Long Island, 1776	40	Virginia Campaign of 1864-1865	204
New England and Quebec in the War of Independence	45	Atlanta Campaign, May- September 1864	209
Battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights, September 19 and October 7, 1777	49	Hood's Invasion of Tennessee and Sherman's Marches, November 1864 - April 1865	222
The South in the War of Independence	58	Santiago Campaign, June- July 1898	246
Siege of Yorktown, 1781	65	British Campaign Against the Boers, 1899-1900	251
War of 1812—Overview	75	The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905	253
Mexican War—Overview	82	Battle of Mukden, February- March 1905	255
Scott's Campaign Against Mexico City, 1847	88	Schlieffen Plan of 1905 and Plan XVII	262
Battle of Cerro Gordo, April 17-18, 1847	89	German Advance: Situation, September 5, 1914	274
Battles for Mexico City, August-September 1847	90	Eastern Europe, 1914	278
Theater of War, 1861	112	Battle of Tannenberg, August 1914	280
Battle of First Manassas (or Bull Run), July 21, 1861	116	Operations in Galicia and Poland, 1914	284
Breaking the Western Line, February-March 1862	120	Operations on the Western Front, 1915-1916	294
Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862	124	Gallipoli, 1915	300
Virginia Theater, Spring 1862	132	Gorlice-Tarnow Breakthrough, May-September 1915	303
Seven Days' Battles: Battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862	139	Battle of Verdun, 1916	307
Second Manassas, Maryland Campaign, Fredericksburg, 1862	146		
Perryville Campaign and Stone's River, 1862	156		

Brusilov Offensive, June–September 1916	313	Soviet Offensives, July 7, 1943–April 30, 1944	487
Allied Offensives, 1917	326	Campaigns in the Western Desert	491
Nivelles’s Plan, April 1917	328	Allied Invasion of North Africa, November–December 1942	494
Operations in Flanders, June–December 1917	332	Sicily and Italy, July–October 1943	496
Major Railroads Used by the U.S. Army	340	Operation Bagration, June 22–August 19, 1944	502
Battle of Cambrai, November–December 1917	344	The Italian Campaign, October 1943–June 1944	515
German Offensives, 1918	352	The Coast of France, June 1944	518
Reduction of the Somme Salient, August 1918	359	The Normandy Campaign, June 30–August 13, 1944	524
St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives, September–November 1918	361	The Allied Race Across France, August 26–September 15, 1944	527
Allied Final Offensive, 1918	366	Operation Market Garden, September 17–October 4, 1944	529
Europe, 1919	375	Allied Aerial Ranges, 1944	531
Campaign in Poland, September 1939	384	Battle of the Bulge, December 16–25, 1944	533
Scandinavia, April 1940	389	Central Europe, 1945	536
Disposition of Forces and Plans, May 10, 1940	392	Isolation of Rabaul, June 1943–March 1944	548
Dunkirk, May–June 1940	396	The Twin Drives Across the Pacific, January 1944–April 1945	555
Air War: Aerial Distances	403	The Philippines, October 1944–July 1945	563
The Mediterranean Theater	410	Iwo Jima, February 19–March 11, 1945	568
Crete and Surrounding Region, May 1941	415	Okinawa, April–June 1945	569
The Western Desert	417	The Korean War: June 28–September 15, 1950	610
German Invasion of USSR, June 22–December 5, 1941	424	U.N. Drive over the 38th Parallel and Advance Toward the Yalu River, October–November 1950	614
The Far East	437	Chinese and North Korean Offensive and U.N. Withdrawal Below 38th Parallel, November 1950–January 1951	616
The Japanese Advance, 1941–1942	441	U.N. Counteroffensive, January 24–April 21, 1951	620
Seizure of Luzon, December 10, 1941–May 6, 1942	444		
The Solomon Islands and Guadalcanal, August 1942	449		
Convoy Routes, 1942–1943	461		
Selected Aerial Targets in Germany	465		
German Advance to Stalingrad, May 7–November 18, 1942	477		
Soviet Winter Offensive, 1942–1943	481		
The Battle of Kursk, July 4–August 1, 1943	483		

Chinese-North Korean Spring Offensive, April 21–May 19, 1951	623	1967 Sinai Campaign	672
U.N. Offensive over the 38th Parallel, May 19, 1951; and Stalemate, June 24, 1951– July 27, 1953	626	1973 Sinai Campaign	676
Indochina	638	Golan Heights	678
Ia Drang, November 1965	650	Iraqi Gains, 1980	682
Tet Offensive, 1968	655	Afghanistan	687
North Vietnamese Easter Offensive, 1972	661	The Falklands, April–June 1982	701
The Middle East and Southwest Asia	668	British Attack on Port Stanley, May–June 1982	703
1956 Sinai Campaign	670	The Caribbean	708
		Coalition Ground Attack, February 24–28, 1991	722
		Somalia, December 1992	728
		Bosnia, August 1994	731

CONTENTS IN BRIEF

Chapter 1	Anglo-American Warfare, 1607–1763: The Emergence of the People in Arms	1
Chapter 2	The War for American Independence, 1775–1783: The People at War	29
Chapter 3	American Military Policy, 1783–1860: The Beginnings of Professionalism	69
Chapter 4	The Civil War, 1861–1862: The Lethal Face of Battle	101
Chapter 5	The Civil War, 1862: Ending the Limited War	129
Chapter 6	The Civil War, 1863: Moving Democracies Toward Total War	161
Chapter 7	The Civil War, 1864–1865: Total War	197
Chapter 8	Making War More Lethal, 1871–1914	231
Chapter 9	The Great War: An Indecisive Beginning	259
Chapter 10	Attempting to End the Stalemate, 1914–1916	289
Chapter 11	1917: The Year of Desperation and Anticipation	321
Chapter 12	Breaking the Hold of the Trenches, 1918	347
Chapter 13	Germany Triumphant: Restoring Mobility to War	371
Chapter 14	Germany Arrested: The Limits of Expansion	401
Chapter 15	The Atlantic and the Pacific: Producing and Projecting Military Power	435
Chapter 16	The Eastern and Mediterranean Fronts: Winning Battles of Men and Machines	475
Chapter 17	Victory in Europe: Brute Force in the Air and on the Ground	509
Chapter 18	Victory in the Pacific: Naval and Amphibious War on the Operational Level	543
Chapter 19	The Cold War and the Nuclear Era: Adjusting Warfare to Weapons of Mass Destruction	577
Chapter 20	Korea: Limiting War to Avoid Armageddon	605

Chapter 21	The Vietnam War, 1961–1975: Revolutionary and Conventional Warfare in an Era of Limited War	633
Chapter 22	War in the Middle East: Violence Across the Spectrum of Conflict	667
Chapter 23	The Age of Interventions: Projecting Power and Maintaining Peace	697

CONTENTS

Map Symbols xxv

List of Maps xxvii

1 Anglo-American Warfare, 1607–1763:
The Emergence of the People in Arms 1

Anglo-Indian Warfare 2

Virginia

Massachusetts

The Colonial Wars 8

The French and Indian War 13

The Beginnings

Britain Takes Control of the War

Quebec, 1758–1759

The Plains of Abraham

The Conquest of Canada

2 The War for American Independence,
1775–1783: The People at War 29

The Beginnings: The Militia's War 30

From Lexington and Concord to Bunker Hill

Preparing for a Wider War, June 1775 to July 1776

Strategies for a Revolutionary War 36

Plans and Preparations for 1776

The Battle of Long Island: Tactics Serving Strategy

From Manhattan to Trenton and Princeton:

Strategies of Persuasion

The Saratoga Campaign:
A Conventional Interlude 43

The Effects of Trenton and Princeton

Toward Saratoga

The Battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights

A Revolution Within a World War: Relying on the
People in Arms 51

Strategic Consequences of Saratoga

The New Strategy Suspended, Spring and Summer 1778

Turning to the People

The Revolution Preserved: Unconventional and
Conventional Warfare in the South,
1780–1783 57

*Charleston to King's Mountain: The British Offensive
Arrested*

Cowpens to Eutaw Springs: The Attrition of British Power

Yorktown: A Conventional End to an Unconventional War

3 American Military Policy, 1783–1860:
The Beginnings of Professionalism 69

Arming the New Nation, 1783–1846 76

The Creation of Permanent Military Forces

Old World Frictions

The War of 1812

Early Attempts to Professionalize

The Mexican War 81

Origins and Objectives

Taylor in Northern Mexico

Scott's 1847 Campaign

Technological Adaptation
and Strategic Thought 92

New Technologies

American Military Thought

4 The Civil War, 1861–1862: The Lethal Face
of Battle 101

Strategic Overview 102

Roots of War

Military Resources and Objectives

War for the Borderland 108

Mobilization

The Border States

First Bull Run

Cracking the Confederate Frontier 117

The Coast, 1861–1862

The Emergence of Grant

Shiloh

5 The Civil War, 1862: Ending
the Limited War 129

“A Single Grand Campaign” 130

Genesis of the Peninsula Campaign

From Yorktown to Seven Pines

Jackson in the Valley

The Failure of Limited War 137

The Seven Days

The End of Conciliation

The Drive Toward Emancipation

Confederate Counterstrokes 144

Second Manassas

Antietam

Bragg’s Kentucky Raid

Autumn Stalemate 152

Fredericksburg

Grant’s Overland Campaign Against Vicksburg

Stone’s River

6 The Civil War, 1863: Moving
Democracies Toward Total War 161

The Austerlitz Chimera 162

The Quest for Decisive Battle

Chancellorsville: Act One

Chancellorsville: Act Two

Two Societies at War 168

The Move to Conscription

The War Economies

Wartime Resentments

A Destructive War

Vicksburg and Gettysburg 176

Vicksburg

Gettysburg

Struggle for the Gateway 187

Prologue to Chickamauga

Chickamauga

Missionary Ridge

7 The Civil War, 1864–1865:
Total War 197

The Virginia Campaign 198

The Wilderness and Spotsylvania

To the Banks of the James River

The Siege of Petersburg

To Atlanta and Beyond 207

Northern Georgia

Battles for Atlanta

Union Raids

The Naval War, 1862–1865 214

The Blockade