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each type in turn.

THE DESTROYER TANK.

The duties of this tank will be:-

- (1) The destruction of the enemies small tanks and the eventual destruction or capture of his men, his bases and all warlike stores.
- (2) The defence of his own lines of communication and bases, and the defence of his battle tanks against the enemies torpedo tanks.
- (3) Reconnaissance and contre-reconnaissance work.
- (4) Raiding.

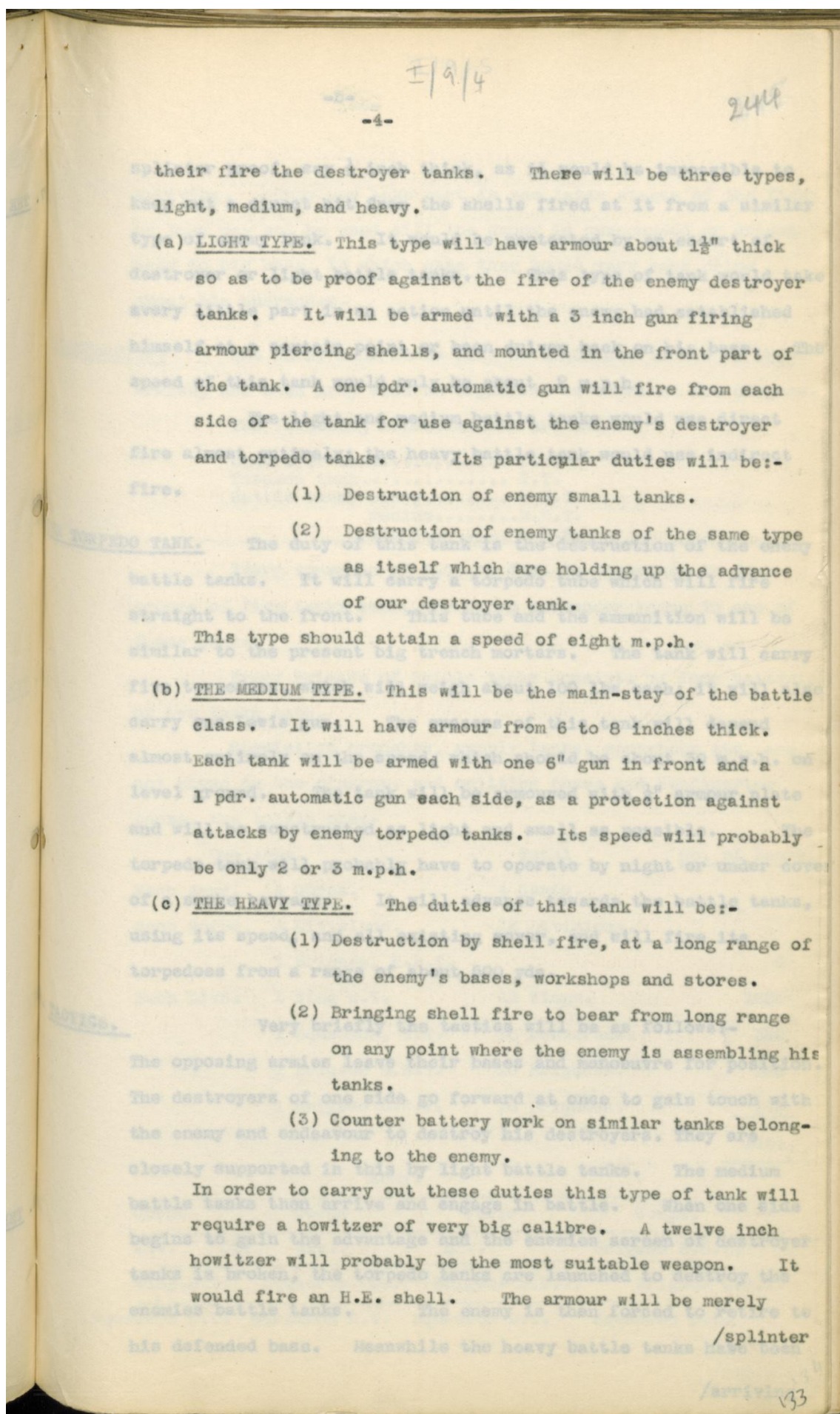
Speed and a big radius of action are essential; the weight and hence the armour will therefore have to be light, and it will not be possible to make the ~~firm~~ armour in any way proof against the fire from a similar type of enemy tank at close quarters. The efficient performance of the duties of a destroyer tank will therefore depend on:-

- (1) Accurate and rapid fire against enemy tanks with a light gun.
- (2) Speed.
- (3) Making use of cover.
- (4) Covering fire from battle tanks.

This tank will therefore be armed with one light automatic gun firing a one pound armour piercing shell and firing from the front of the tank. It will also be armed with one Lewis Gun on either side for the destruction of men. The armour will be about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and be proof against the present armour piercing bullet. A maximum speed of 20 mph should eventually be reached on level ground with this type of tank

THE BATTLE TANK.

The duties of all battle tanks will be the destruction of enemy tanks (usually from a distance) and covering by /their



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splinter proof, say $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, as it would be impossible to keep out a direct hit from the shells fired at it from a similar type of enemy tank. It would be protected by an escort of destroyer or light battle tanks. This type of tank would take every little part in an action until the enemy had established himself at a certain point or been driven back on his base. The speed of this tank would only be about 2 m.p.h.

The light and medium battle tanks would use direct fire almost entirely; the heavy battle tank would use indirect fire.

THE TORPEDO TANK.

The duty of this tank is the destruction of the enemy battle tanks. It will carry a torpedo tube which will fire straight to the front. This tube and the ammunition will be similar to the present big trench mortars. The tank will carry five torpedoes, which will weigh about 100 lbs each; it will also carry one Lewis gun. The success of this tank will depend almost entirely on the speed, which should be about 30 m.p.h. on level ground. The tank will be armoured with $\frac{1}{2}$ " armour plate and will be constructed as light and small as possible. The torpedo tank will probably have to operate by night or under cover of a smoke barrage. It will advance towards the battle tanks, using its speed, and all existing cover, and will fire its torpedoes from a range of about 500 yds.

TACTICS.

Very briefly the tactics will be as follows:-

The opposing armies leave their bases and manoeuvre for position. The destroyers of one side go forward at once to gain touch with the enemy and endeavour to destroy his destroyers. They are closely supported in this by light battle tanks. The medium battle tanks then arrive and engage in battle. When one side begins to gain the advantage and the enemies screen of destroyer tanks is broken, the torpedo tanks are launched to destroy the enemies battle tanks. The enemy is then forced to retire to his defended base. Meanwhile the heavy battle tanks have been

/arriving

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ORGANISATION.

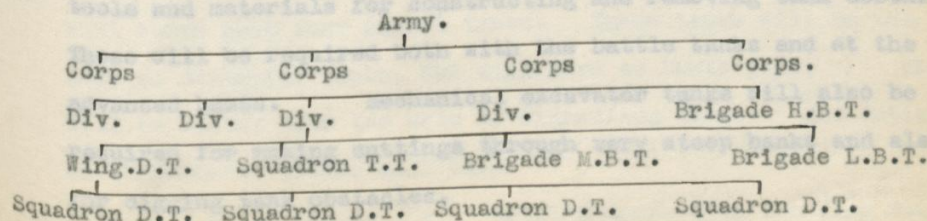
The following abbreviations are used:-

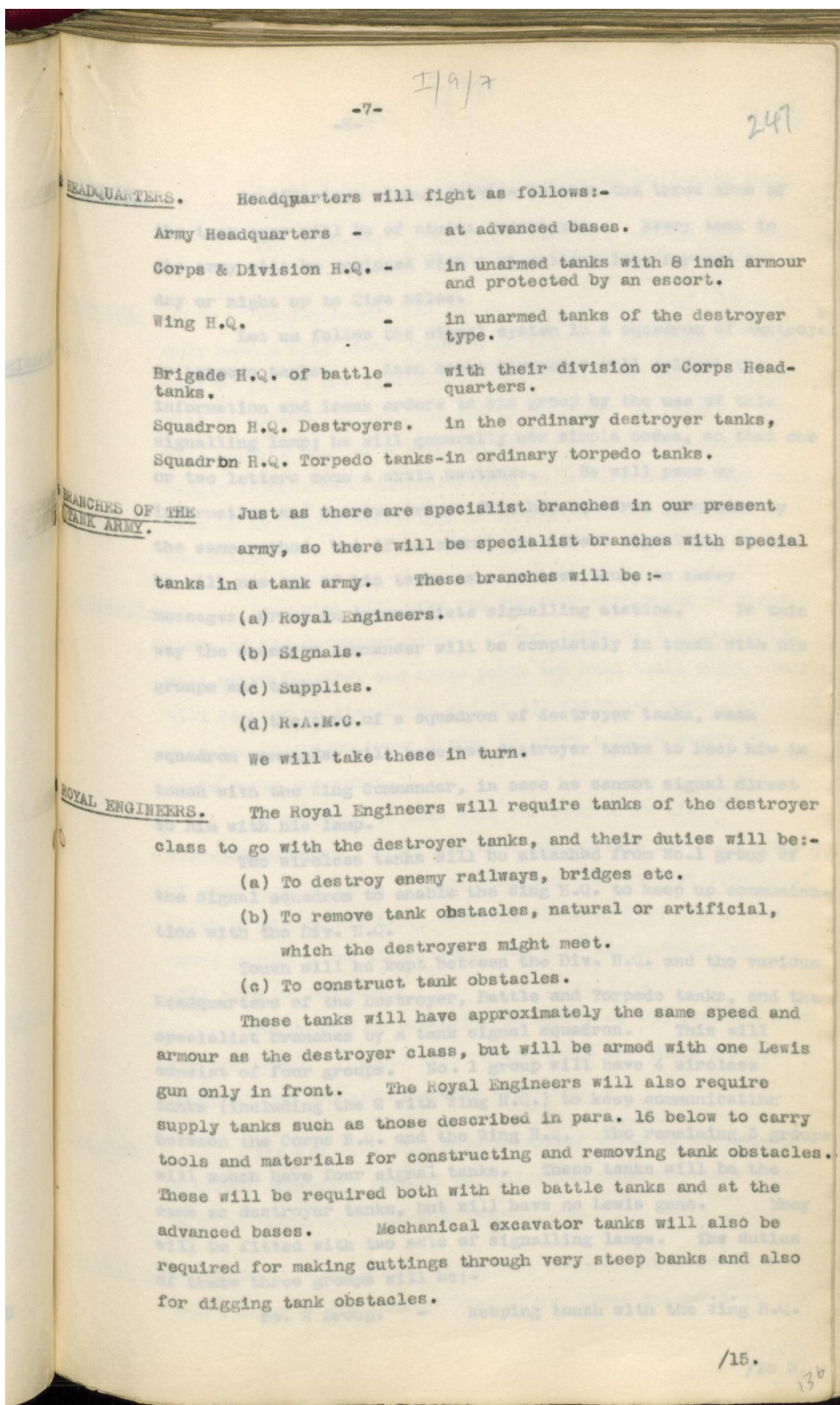
Destroyer tank.....	D.T.
Torpedo tank.....	T.T.
Battle tank, heavy.....	H.B.T.
medium.....	M.B.T.
light.....	L.B.T.

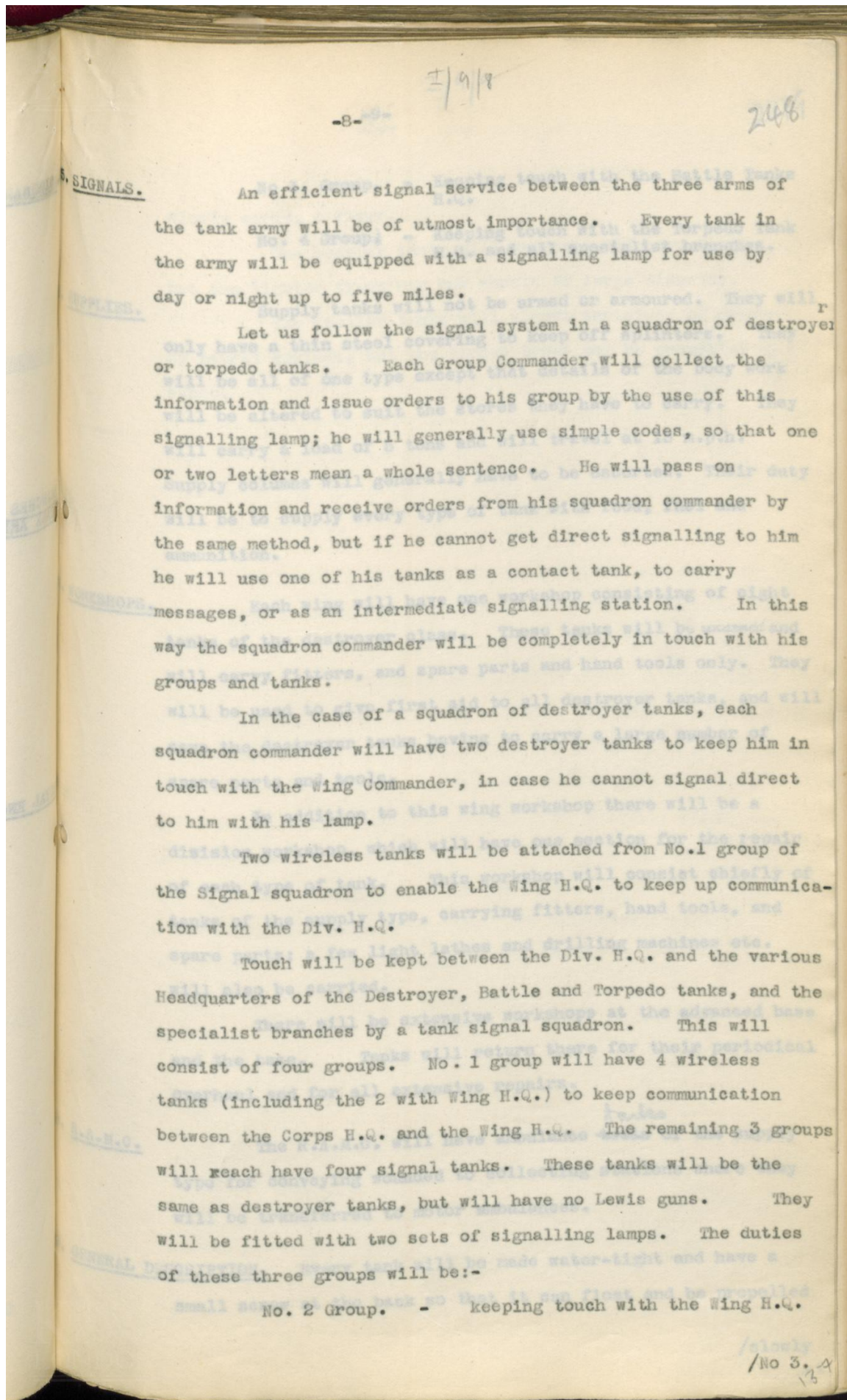
Every Brigade of Battle tanks consists of four batteries of two tanks each.

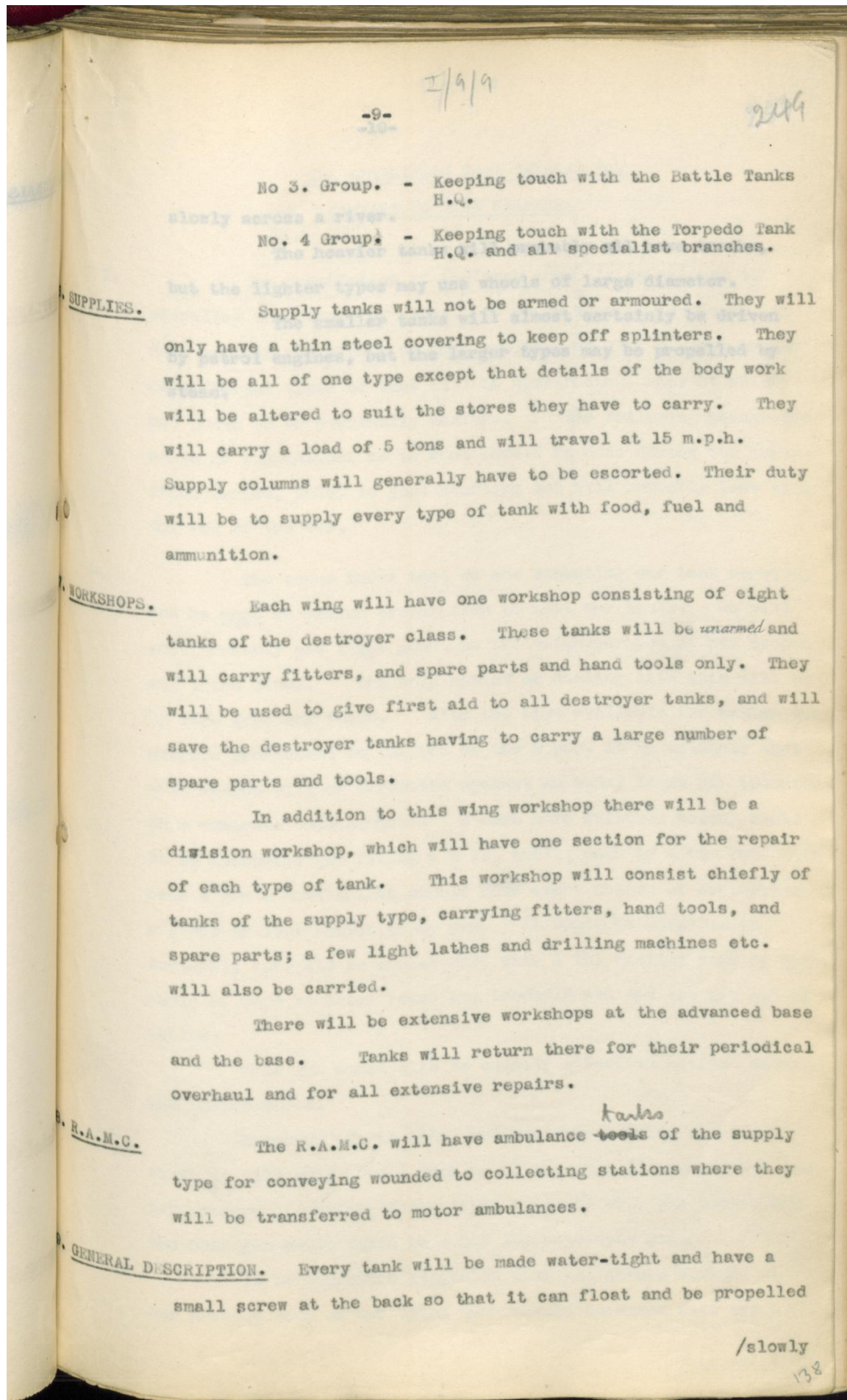
Specialist branches, supply tanks, workshops etc, are not shown on the diagram, and omitting these and Headquarter tanks, the totals are:-

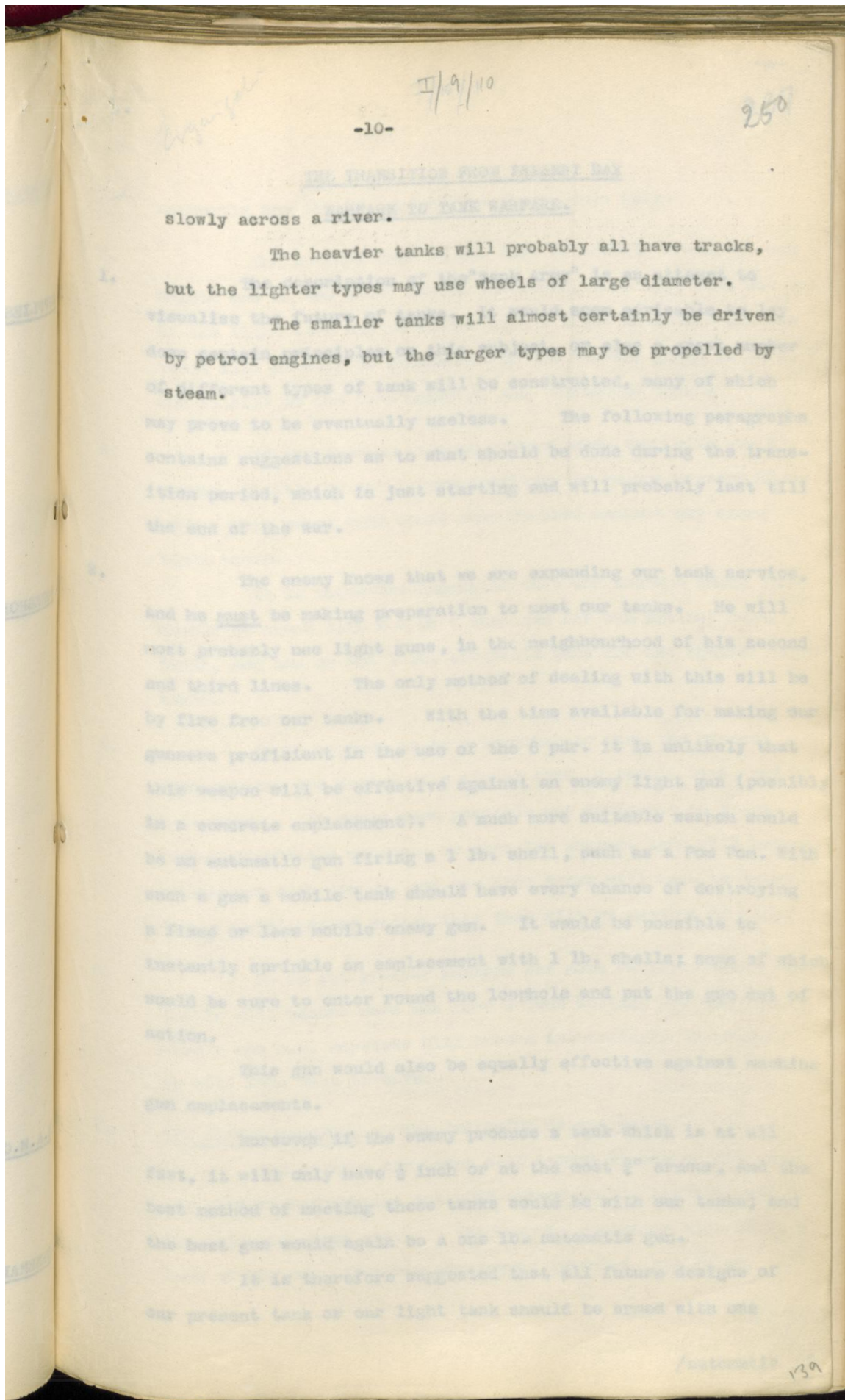
<u>One Army.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No. of tanks.</u>
Each Army, 4 Corps.	4 Corps.	
Each Corps, 4 Divisions.	16 Divisions.	
1 Brigade, H.B.T.		8
Each Divn. 1 Wing D.T.	16 Wings.	1280
1 Squadron, T.T.	16 Squadrons.	320
1 Brigade M.B.T.	16 Brigades.	128
1 Brigade L.B.T.	16 Brigades.	128
		<u>1864.</u>

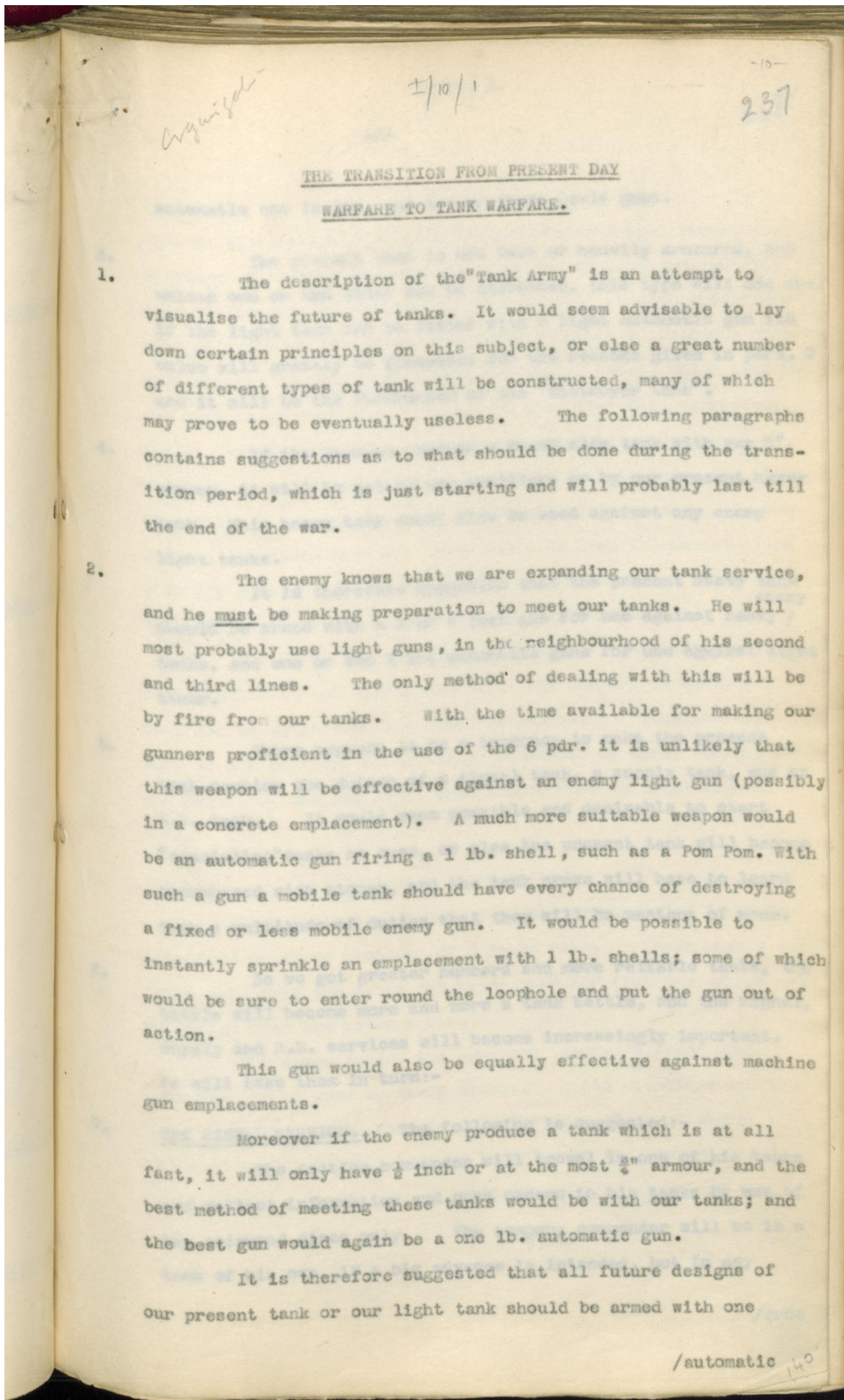












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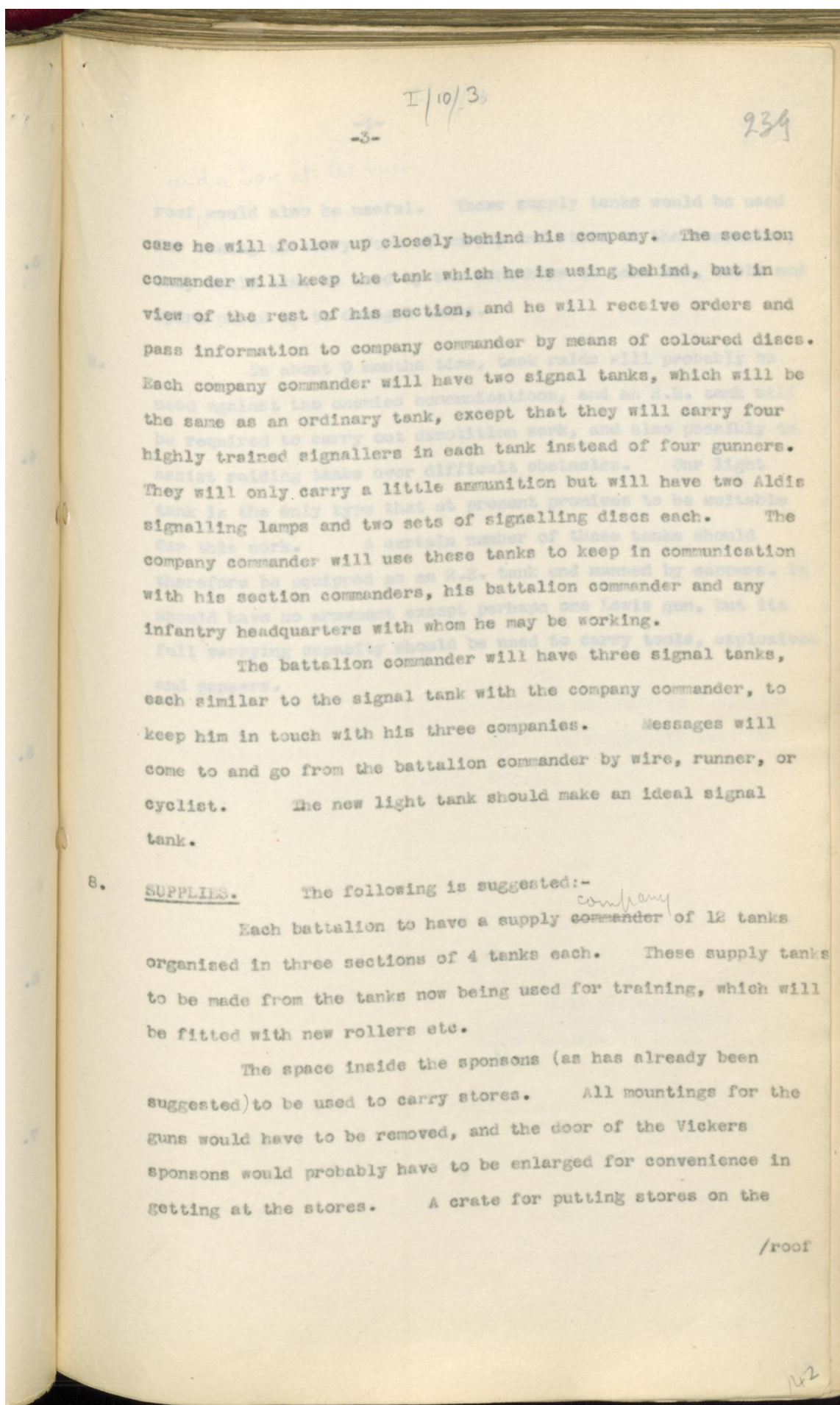
238

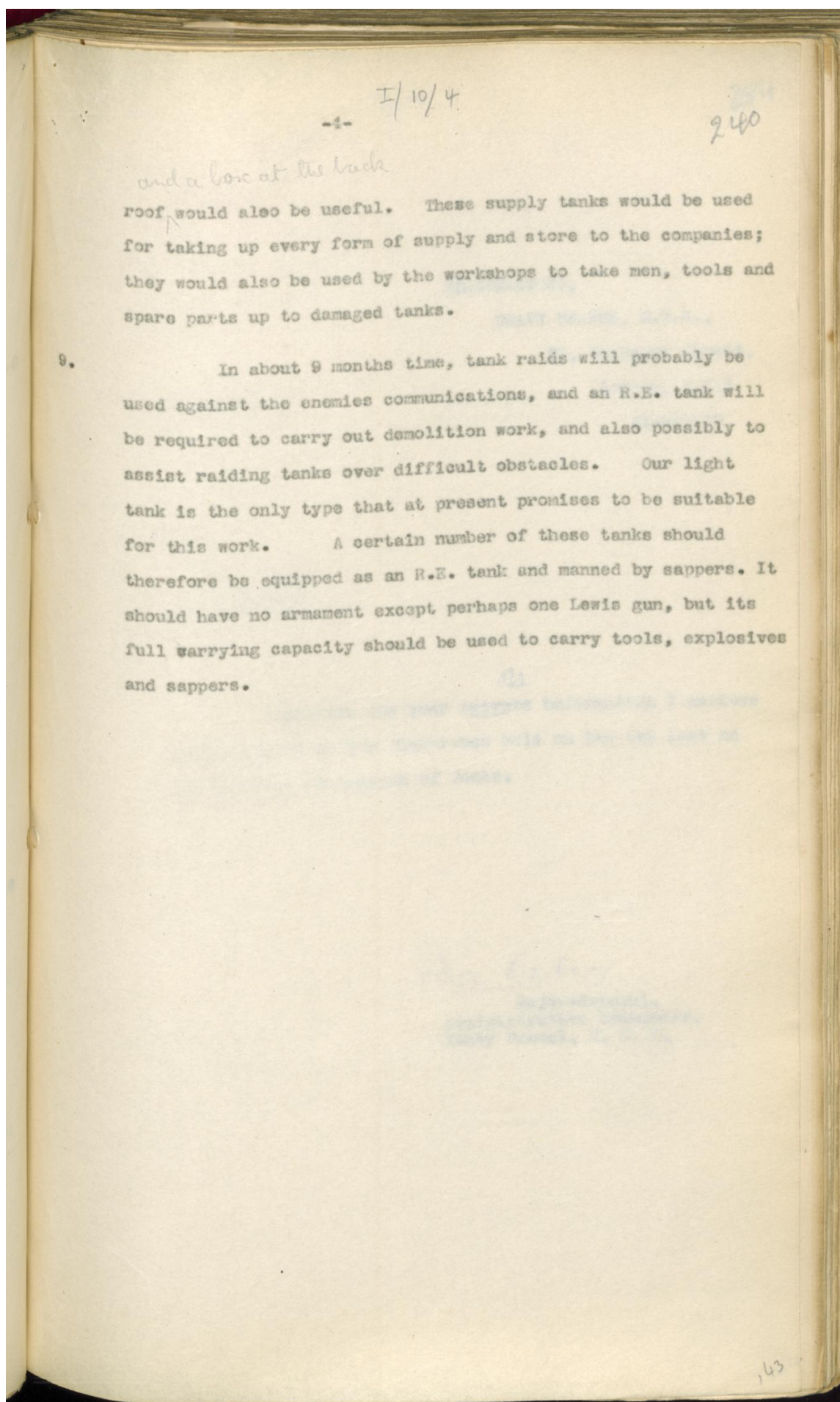
automatic one lb gun, and two or three Lewis guns.

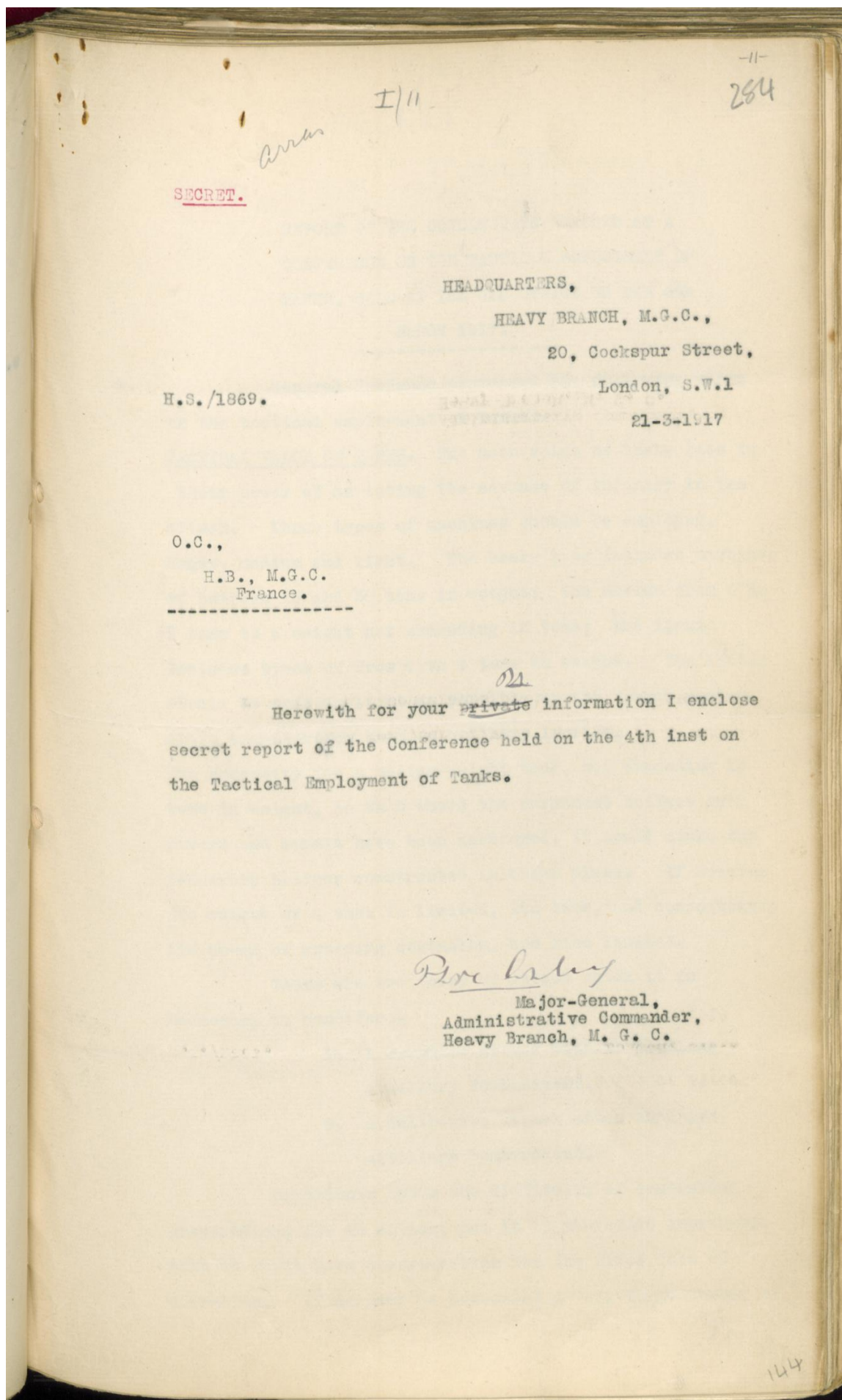
3. The present tank is not fast or heavily armoured, and unless one or the other can be increased, this type will die out. If the light tank can be fitted with a light automatic gun its value will greatly be increased for the reasons given in para. 2 and it will be the forerunner of the "destroyer tank".
4. If the Germans produce a heavy slow tank with say 2" armour, it will be met by our artillery or by our present heavy tank. This heavy tank would also be used against any enemy light tanks. It is therefore suggested that the present heavy tank should be armed with a 3 or 4 inch gun for use against heavy tanks, and one or two 1 lb. automatic guns for use against light tanks.
5. There appears to be a tendency to make the present tank combine the duties of a signal tank, a supply tank, and an R.E. tank. It would seem possible and desirable to start "specialist" tanks at once, or else the present tank will become encumbered with stores, and the tank crews will have to learn such a multitude of duties that they will be masters of none.
6. As we get greater numbers and more reliable tanks, the battle will become more and more a tank battle, and the Signal, Supply and R.E. services will become increasingly important. We will take them in turn:-
7. THE SIGNAL SERVICE. The following is suggested:-
The section commander will travel in one of his tanks and collect information and pass orders to his tanks by use of the coloured discs only. The company commander will be in a tank of his own, if a big advance is intended, but in any

/case

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SECRET.

HEADQUARTERS,

HEAVY BRANCH, M.G.C.,

20, Cockspur Street,

London, S.W.1

H.S./1869.

21-3-1917

O.C.,

H.B., M.G.C.
France.

Herewith for your ~~private~~ information I enclose
secret report of the Conference held on the 4th inst on
the Tactical Employment of Tanks.

David L. L. L.
Major-General,
Administrative Commander,
Heavy Branch, M. G. C.

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REPORT OF THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED AT A
CONFERENCE ON THE TACTICAL EMPLOYMENT OF
TANKS, HELD AT THE WAR OFFICE ON THE 4th
MARCH 1917.

1. General Estienne expressed the following views

on the tactical employment of Tanks:-

TACTICAL VALUE OF TANKS. The main value of Tanks lies in their power of assisting the advance of infantry in the attack. Three types of machines should be employed, heavy, medium and light. The heavy type includes machines of between 15 and 30 tons in weight; the medium from 6 to 7 tons to a weight not exceeding 15 tons; the light includes types of from 4 to 6 tons in weight. The latter should be made as light as possible as the French contemplate transporting them on ordinary lorries.

The necessity for a medium weight tank, not exceeding 15 tons in weight, is that where the permanent bridges over rivers and canals have been destroyed, it could cross the temporary bridges constructed in their place. If however the weight of a tank is limited, its base, and consequently its power of crossing obstacles, are also limited.

There are two forms of attack which it is necessary to consider:-

1. A surprise attack without previous artillery bombardment.
2. A deliberate attack after thorough artillery bombardment.

Experience shows the difficulty of concealing preparations for an attack, and it is therefore improbable that we shall have opportunities for the first form of operation. If however we possessed a very large number of

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Tanks and the conditions of the ground favoured concealment great results might be obtained by their use in such an attack.

In the conditions at present prevailing on the Western front however the main object of tanks must be to assist the infantry advance in the ordinary form of attack where the operation has been previously prepared by artillery bombardment. In this case it should be the aim of the tanks to enable the infantry to press on beyond the effective support of their own artillery into the enemy's rear lines of defence.

2. Concentration and deployment. The measures for the concentration and deployment of tanks on the front of attack are as follows:-

A detraining point is selected at a sufficient distance, probably from 10 to 12 kilometres, from the enemy's lines. From here the tanks will move to the place of assembly at a distance of 5 or 6 kilometres from the detraining point. Here a depot of the necessary stores and spare parts and a repairing section are established. Previous to the attack the tanks are moved up to one or more starting points in the infantry line. The exact position of these depends on circumstances. In case of a surprise attack, where the tanks precede the infantry, they must be ready in position close to the front trenches, and must be moved up by night or under cover of a fog, great care being taken to conceal these preparations. In the normal form of attack, where the infantry precede the tanks, the tanks need not start from so forward a position and concealment is not so necessary, but they should be as near as possible to the front as the conditions of the ground will allow.

3. Employment in action. The infantry division is the chief fighting unit. It has definite zone of action in the attack with definite objectives assigned to it. The action

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of the tanks must be co-ordinated with that of the divisions, and in the attack must be under the orders of the divisional commander. Let us suppose the front of attack of one division is 800 metres. One company on that front must be attached to the tank unit operating with that division, in order to maintain the liaison with the infantry and ensure community of objective. This company will detach 2 or 3 men to follow each tank for the purpose of rallying the rest of the infantry to the tanks.

The tanks will not under normal circumstances come into action until the infantry advance is checked by the enemy's strong points which may still be holding out in parts of the German line, and which have not been subjected to sufficient artillery bombardment.

The tanks then do the work which the artillery has been unable to accomplish. They move forward in lines of columns and then deploy on coming into action. They destroy machine gun emplacements and barbed wire and thus bring on the infantry after them in the later stages of the attack, and enable them to carry the successive enemy lines of defence.

The tank commander must assign some point where the tanks can reform after the attack.

4. Organisation.

A group of tanks should be allotted to each Army Corps and the Army Corps Commander should arrange for their distribution among the divisions. He should also if possible keep a reserve of tanks for use as may be required.

An ideal organisation for a tank unit would be one heavy, 3 or 4 medium and one light machine, the latter for the commander, but there are practical difficulties in the way of effecting it.

5. Role of different types of tanks.

The principles governing the employment of heavy, medium and light machines are as follows:—

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In an attack where success depends not on the element of surprise or on superior mobility but solely on weight of numbers and weight of metal, heavy tanks must be used. Even in a surprise attack on a strongly entrenched line where the tanks precede the infantry heavy machines would be required to sweep away the wire and crush the enemy's resistance. There are, however, many cases where the lighter types would be of greater value. For instance, after a successful attack when the enemy has been forced out of his main positions, a reserve of medium and light tanks which can be rapidly brought up will be most useful in continuing the attack. In the defensive also light tanks which can be quickly brought up to support a counter-attack would be extremely effective. In open warfare especially the opportunities for light tanks would be very great. The French authorities also intend using their light type as an armoured motor car for commanders to visit the battlefield in order to maintain supervision of the progress of operations. The employment of the three types depends on the amount of mobility required and the nature of the country. The North of France, where there are comparatively few obstacles, is more suited to the employment of heavy machines than is the country in which the French Army is operating.

6. ARMAMENT.

In general, half the tanks should be armed with 75 m/m guns and half with machine guns.

The British representatives concurred in the general principles expressed above by General Estienne for the tactical employment of tanks.

7. Lt. Col. Stern and Sir E.T. d'yncourt, representing the Ministry of Munitions, raised the question of the use of tanks as an independent arm and of restricting their employment to ground not previously subjected to heavy bombardment.

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Lt.-Col. Stern pointed out that light tanks might perform the role of cavalry in attacking the enemy's gun positions.

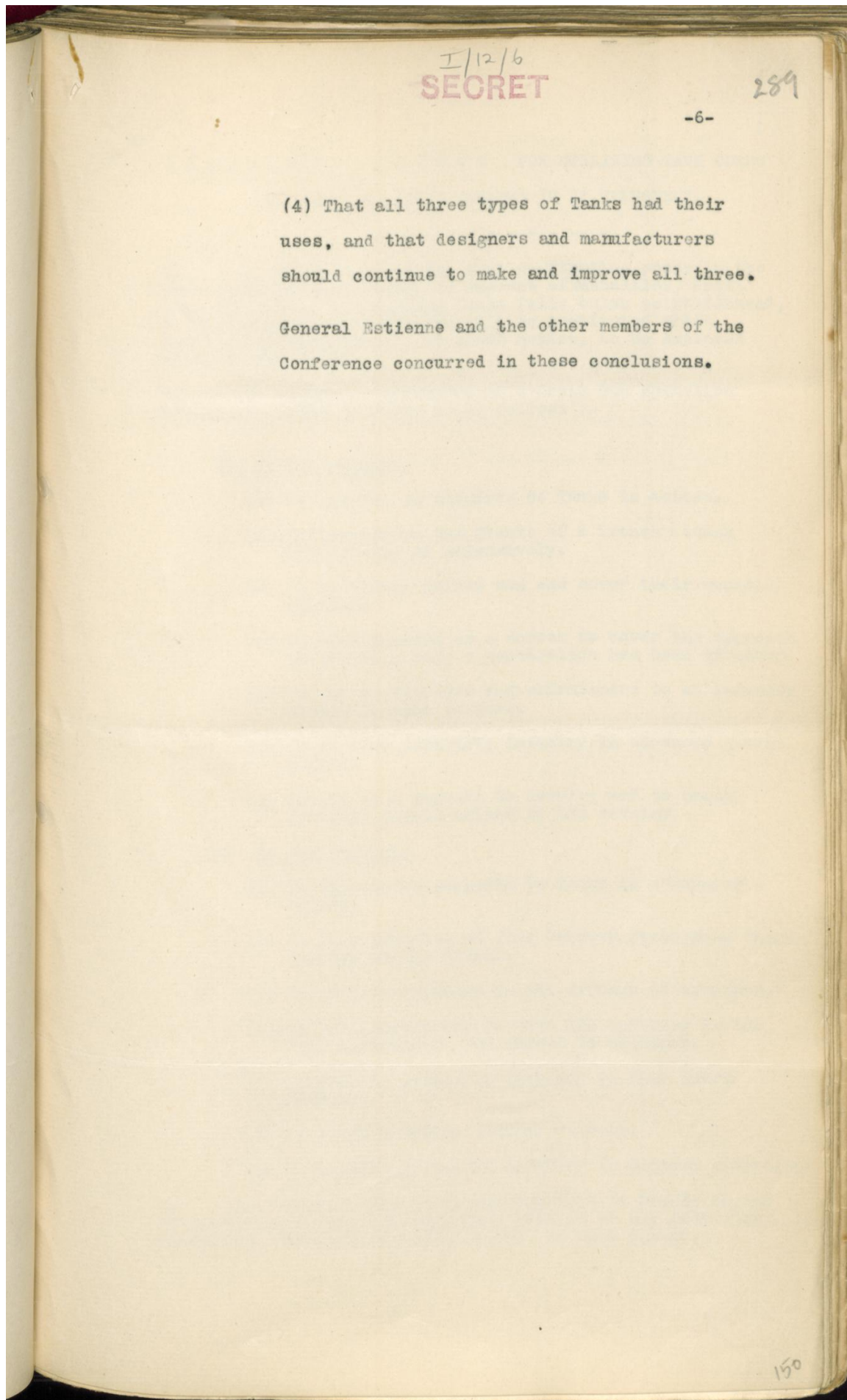
The general opinion of the Conference on these points was that the mechanical reliability and speed of tanks were not yet sufficiently developed to enable them to act independently of infantry and that it was premature to regard them as an arm which could under present conditions perform the work of cavalry. It was recognised that ground which had been heavily shelled was often impassable by Tanks, but it was pointed out that the real role of the Tanks was to support the infantry advance in its later stages, when they would in fact be operating over ground which had not been heavily bombarded. Careful reconnaissance of the lines of approach should also minimise the extent to which they are required to cross badly shelled ground.

8. The D.C.I.G.S. in conclusion asked General Estienne whether he agreed to the following conclusions:-

(1) That at present the role of the Tanks must be regarded as that of assisting infantry to win the battle.

(2) That as a general principle Tanks were required to assist infantry at points where the artillery bombardment had not succeeded in overcoming the enemy's resistance, and that consequently Tanks would be chiefly required to enable the infantry to gain their more distant objectives.

(3) That occasions for the use of Tanks in a surprise attack might arise, particularly when large numbers were available, but that normally they should be used in co-operating with infantry in deliberate attack after bombardment.



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SUGGESTED SCHEME FOR UTILIZING TANK CORPS
PERSONNEL AS LEWIS GUNNERS IN AN EMERGENCY.

1. In order to guarantee that no fighting power in the Tank Corps is lost, when, on account of casualties, frost etc. the number of fighting Tanks falls below establishment, a supplementary organization will be instituted which will enable Battalions, at short notice, to be employed as Lewis Gun units.

2. The tactical employment of a Lewis Gun Battalion or Company would probably be as follows :-

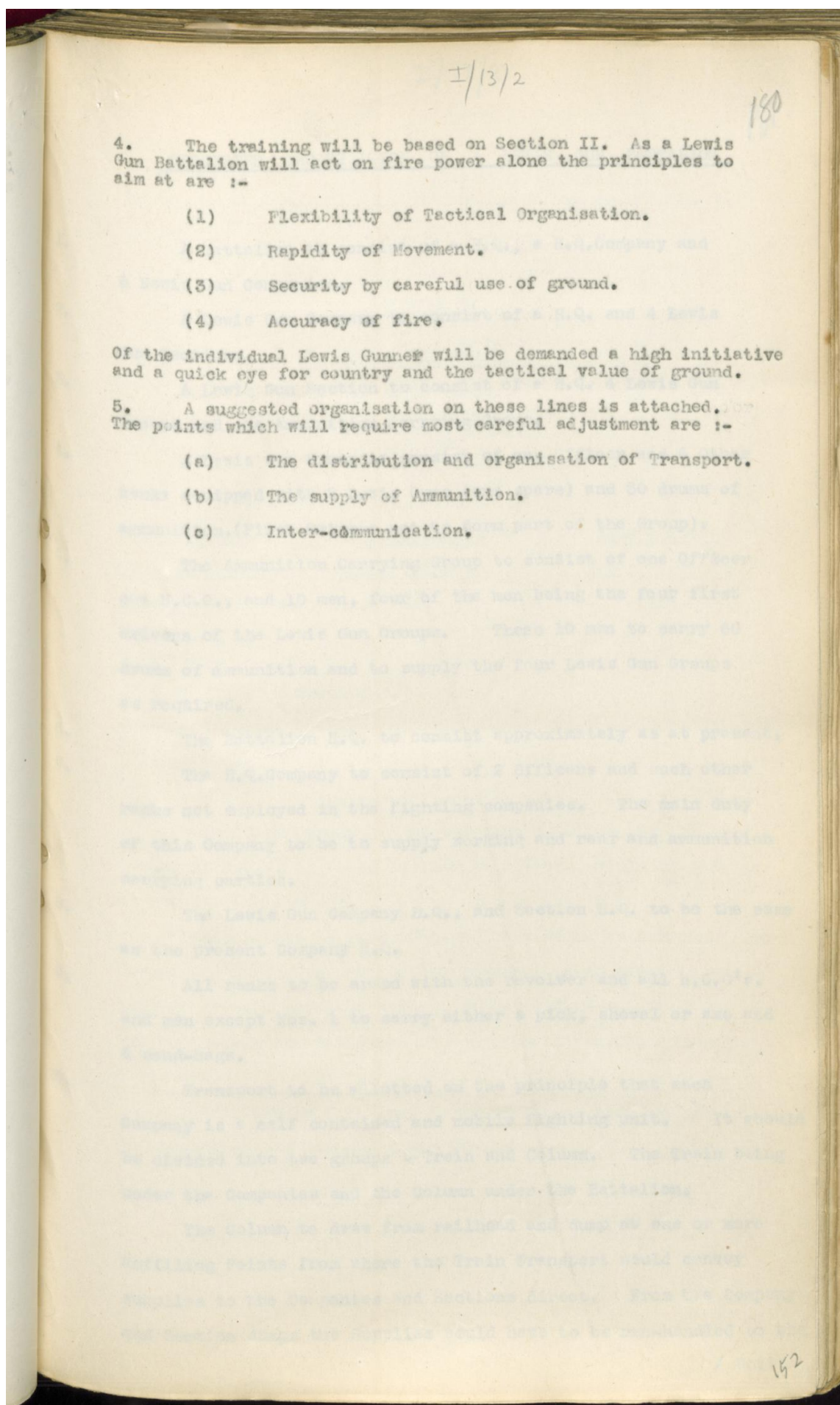
(i) In the attack.

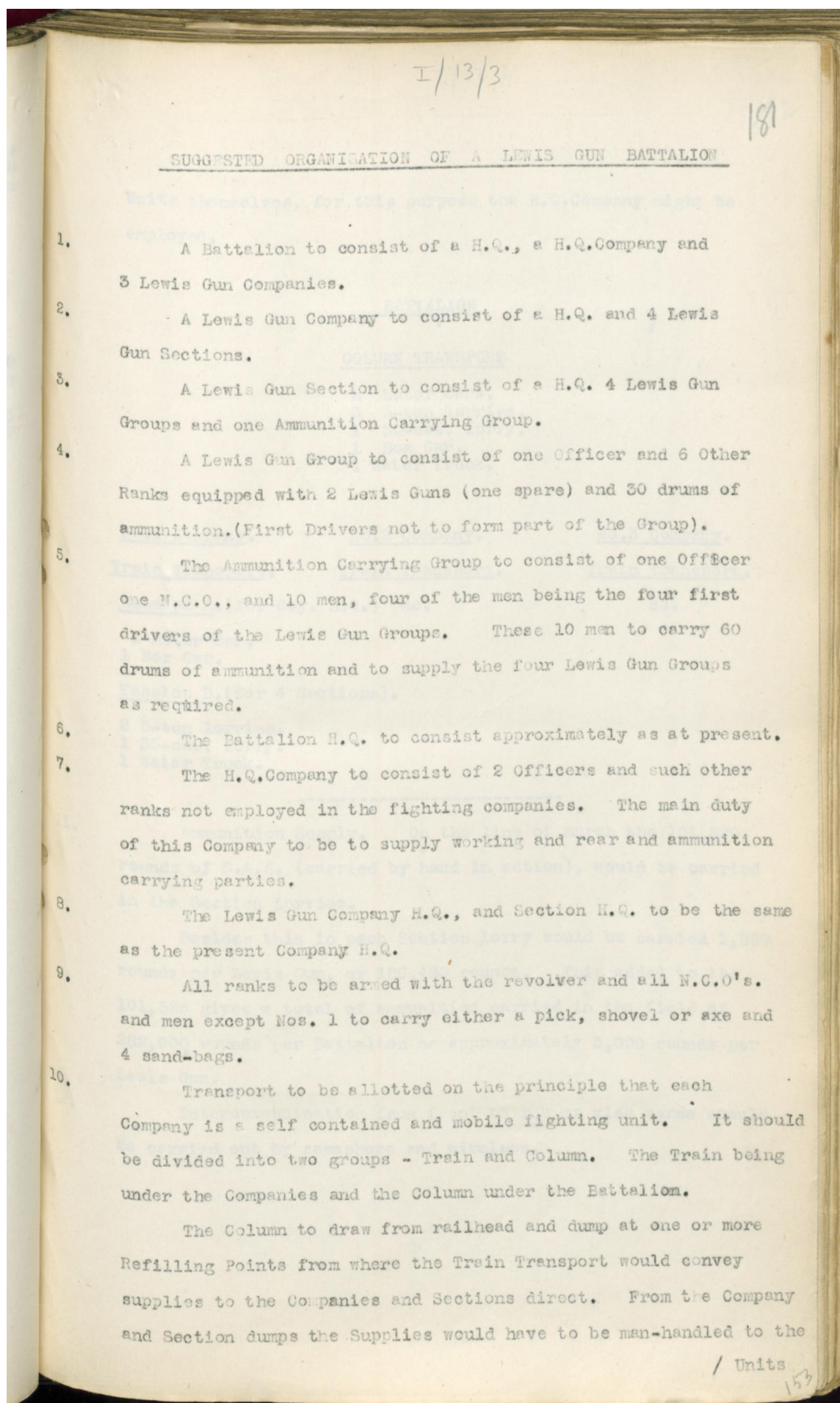
- (a) To operate as supports to Tanks in action.
- (b) To operate on the flanks of a Trench attack offensively or defensively.
- (c) To reinforce points won and cover their consolidation.
- (d) To push forward as a screen to cover the approach of reserves once a penetration has been effected.
- (e) To act as flankers and skirmishers to an infantry attack in open warfare.
- (f) To replace partially infantry in advanced guards duties.
- (g) To act as a support to cavalry and to occupy tactical points seized by the cavalry.

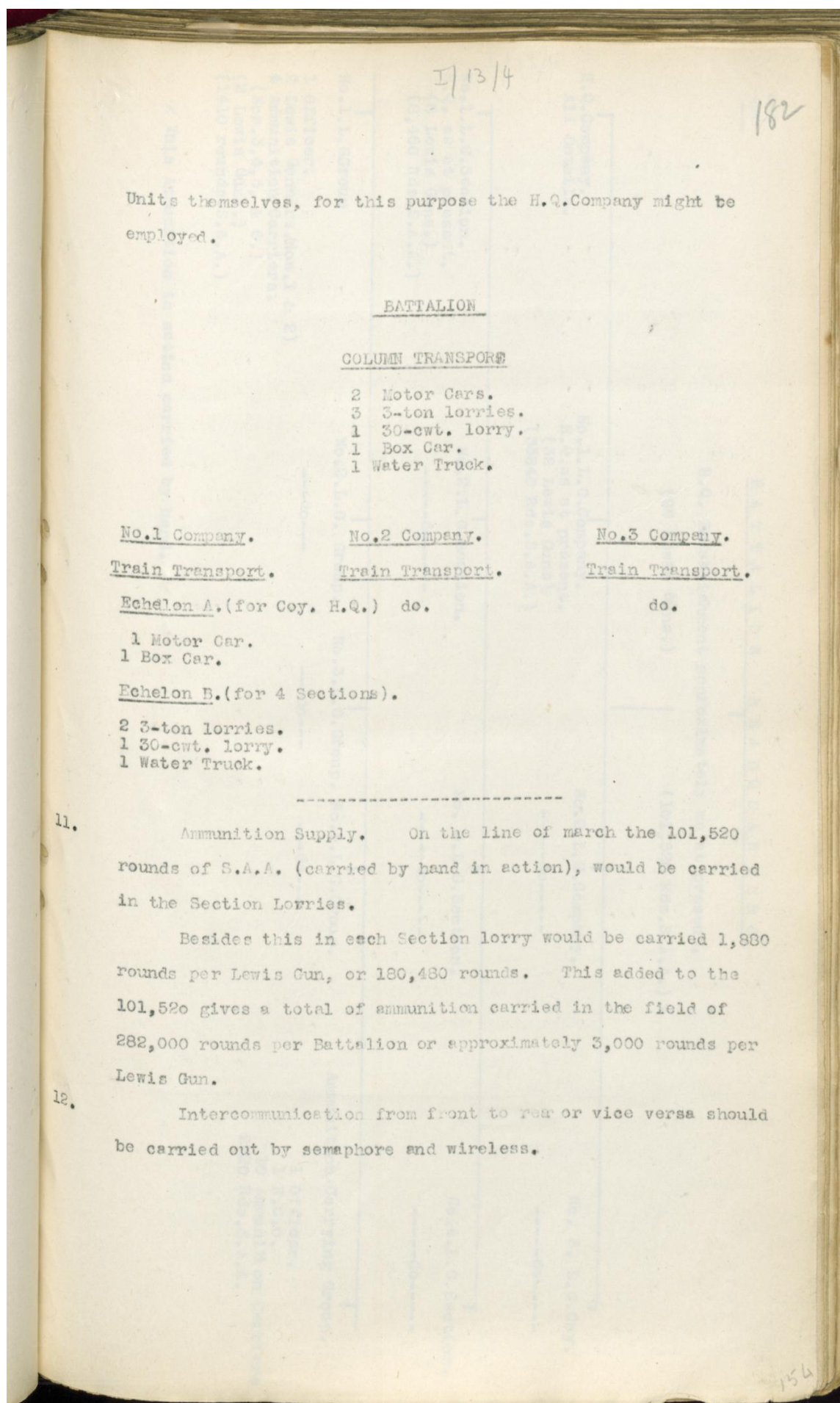
(ii) In the Defence.

- (a) To operate as supports to Tanks in a counter - attack.
- (b) To form curtains of fire between Stationary Tanks forming strong points.
- (c) To relieve infantry in the defence of Trenches.
- (d) To hold localities in case the infantry in the forward Trenches are forced to withdraw.
- (e) To replace partially infantry in rear guard actions.
- (f) To cover infantry counter attacks.
- (g) To replace partially infantry in Outpost operations

3. The organization to be adopted will be based, as far as possible, on the existing one, that is to say Battalions, Companies, Sections and Crews should be kept intact.







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BATTALION HEADQUARTERS.

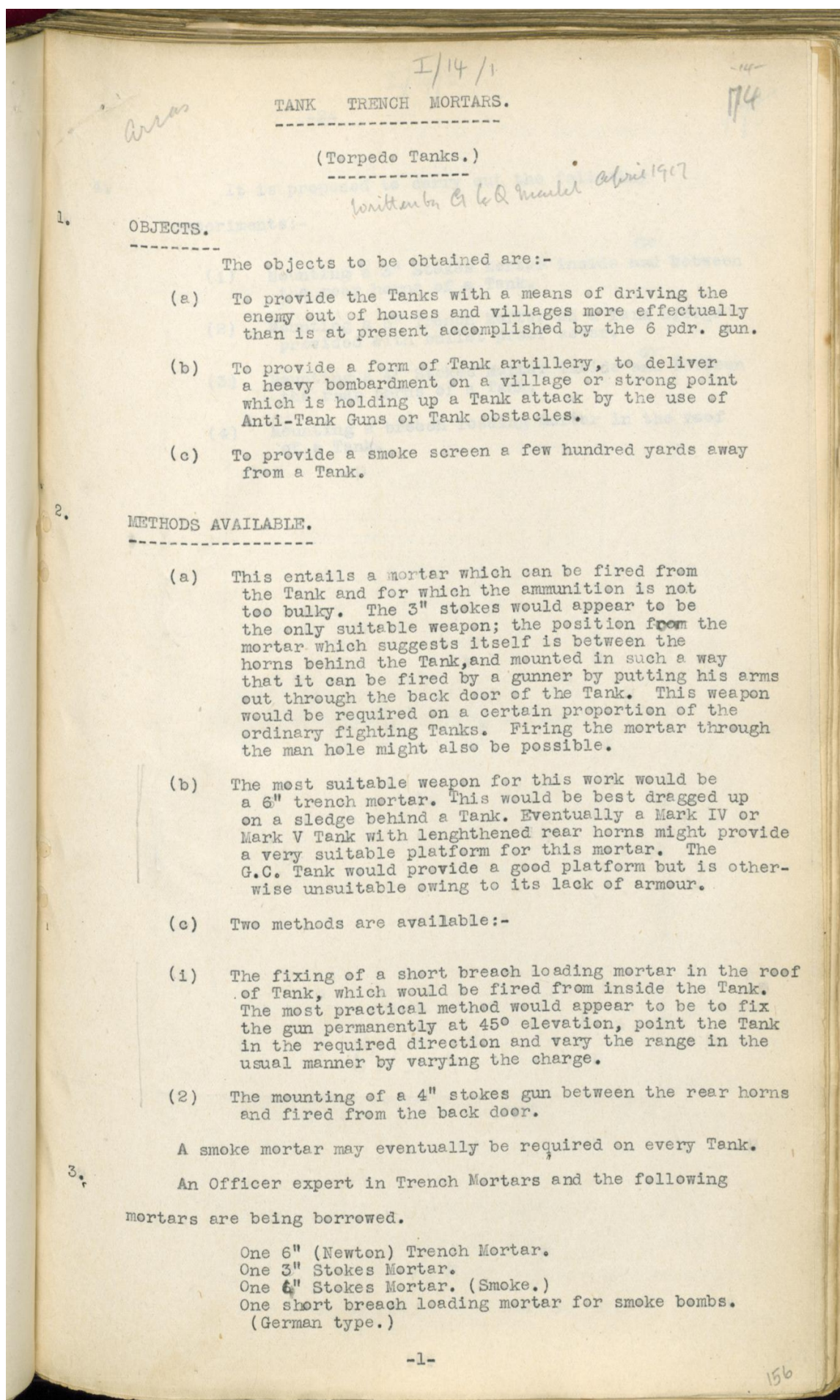
H.Q. Establishment approximately as at present.
(96 Lewis Guns.)

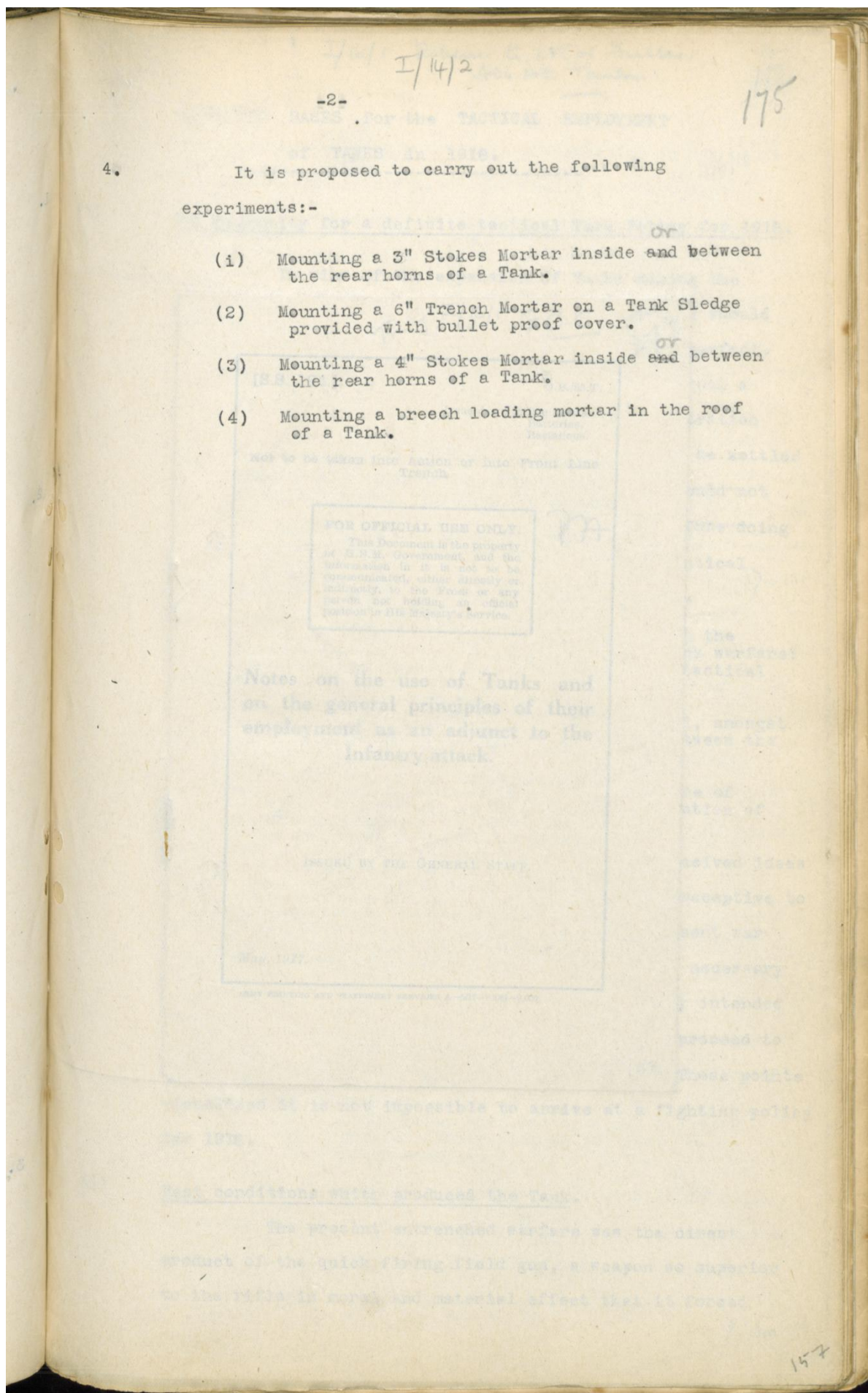
(101,520 Rds.S.A.A.) *

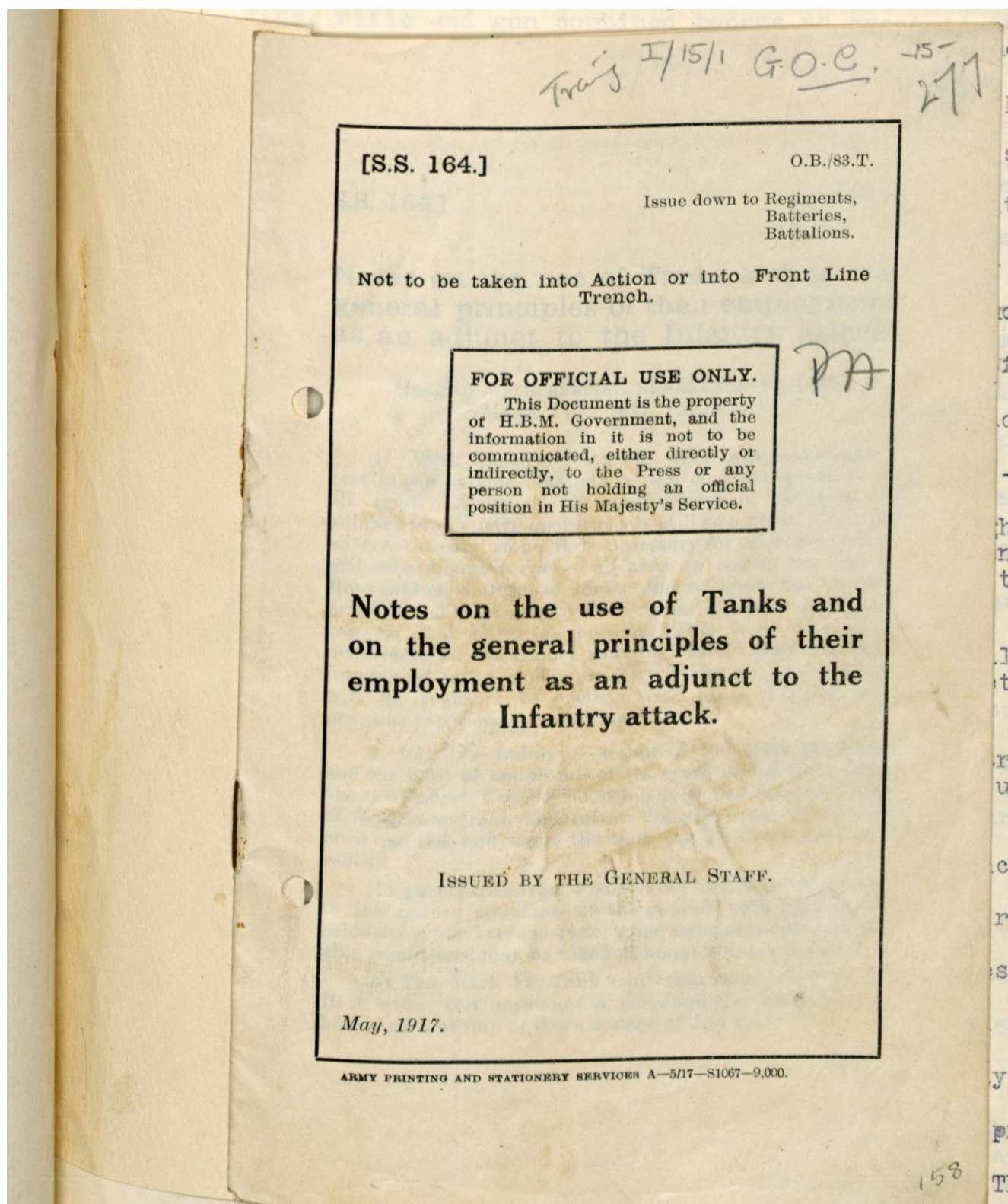
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H.Q. Company. All Details.		No. 1. L. G. Company. H.Q. as at present. (32 Lewis Guns) (33840 Rds. S.A.A.)		No. 2. L. G. Company. -----do-----		No. 3. L. G. Coy. -----do-----	
I/13/5 No. 1. L. G. Section. H.Q. as at present. (8 Lewis Guns.) (8,460 Rds. S.A.A.)		No. 2. L. G. Section. -----do-----		No. 3. L. G. Section. -----do-----		No. 4. L. G. Section. -----do-----	
No. 1. L. G. Group 1 Officer. 2 Lewis Gunners (Nos. 1 & 2) 4 Ammunition Carriers. (Nos. 3, 4, 5, & 6.) (2 Lewis Guns.) (1410 rounds. S.A.A.)		No. 2. L. G. Group. No. 3. L. G. Group. No. 4. L. G. Group. -----do----- -----do----- -----do-----		Ammunition Carrying Group. 1 Officer. 1 N.C.O. 10 Ammunition Carriers 2820 Rds. S.A.A.			

* This Ammunition in action carried by hand.







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S.S. 164.]

[O.B./83.T.]

Notes on the use of Tanks and on the general principles of their employment as an adjunct to the Infantry attack.

(ISSUED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
"MARK IV.", 1917, PATTERN.)

Cook

1. With tanks; as with any other arm, satisfactory results can only be obtained by the close co-operation of all arms. Although the employment of tanks as an adjunct to offensive operations is still to a great extent in an experimental stage, it is necessary for all commanders and subordinate leaders of all arms to realise the limitations and capabilities of tanks, and to know the general principles of their employment, so far as these principles can be laid down at present. This is all the more necessary, as occasions will inevitably arise (as the number of tanks in this country increases) when troops will be required to operate with tanks without any previous experience or training.

2. (a) The radius of action of the Mark IV. Tank, and the limit of endurance of its crew, is not more than about 8 hours; this period being reckoned from the time of departure from, and return to, a position where the crew can rest and where the tank can be overhauled and refilled.

Its pace varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 miles per hour, according to the nature and state of the ground. For purposes of calculation its average pace, when fighting under favourable conditions, may be taken at about 2 miles per hour.

(b) The Mark IV. Tank can cross trenches 9 ft. to 10 ft. wide; can surmount a perpendicular obstacle 4 ft. high, and move up or down a slope of 1 in 2.

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X
So long as the bottom is hard, mud or water, to a depth of 2 ft. or so, is no bar to its progress; but, owing to its weight, ground that has been very heavily shelled, or is very sodden to a considerable depth, is unfavourable to its employment.

(c) Wire entanglements do not form any obstacle to tanks, but the passage of a single tank will only as a rule flatten two passages 2 ft. wide through the wire. The passage by infantry in single file may, therefore, be made easier, but the wire remains more or less an obstacle.

Tanks can pass easily through thick hedges or thick woods composed of small trees, but large stumps of broken trees are difficult to see, and form a serious obstacle to tanks.

In villages they can operate with success so long as the streets are recognisable; but when the village is reduced to heaps of rubble, tanks are liable to get ditched in the cellars.

(d) Although the Mark IV. Tank has an improved silencer, it can still be heard when in movement within 250 yards, unless the noise is covered by a certain amount of machine gun or artillery fire. The approach of a tank to its final position preparatory to attack should always, therefore, be covered by a certain amount of shooting.

3. Against infantry or machine guns tanks are almost invulnerable (the Mark IV. Tank is practically proof against the German armour-piercing bullet) and have great moral effect, as well as considerable fire power; but the effect that each tank exercises is purely local. On the other hand, when stationary, they form an easy target for the enemy's artillery, though hard to hit effectively when in motion. In addition, they are easily put out of action by a hostile anti-tank gun.

It follows, therefore, that—

(i.) It is essential that the action of the artillery and the employment of tanks should be carefully co-ordinated. Tanks always draw hostile artillery fire, and counter-battery work is, therefore, of particular importance.

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(ii.) An artillery barrage will usually be necessary both to assist tanks in overcoming stationary anti-tank armament, and to cover the advance of the infantry in the usual way.

(iii.) Tanks should keep constantly in motion unless they are covered from hostile artillery fire, *e.g.*, by the configuration of the ground or being amongst the enemy's troops.

4. The power of tanks is considerably limited by poor vision, which makes it difficult to recognise objectives or to follow complicated routes. As a general rule, therefore, the most suitable objective for tanks is a clearly defined line of trenches. In any case, the objectives assigned should be visible and obvious, and the task simple, definite and limited.

In detailing tanks to objectives, it should be borne in mind that:—

(i.) As far as possible, the general direction of their advance should be parallel to that of the infantry. Movements of tanks diagonal to that of the infantry have been found to draw the latter off their objective or line of advance.

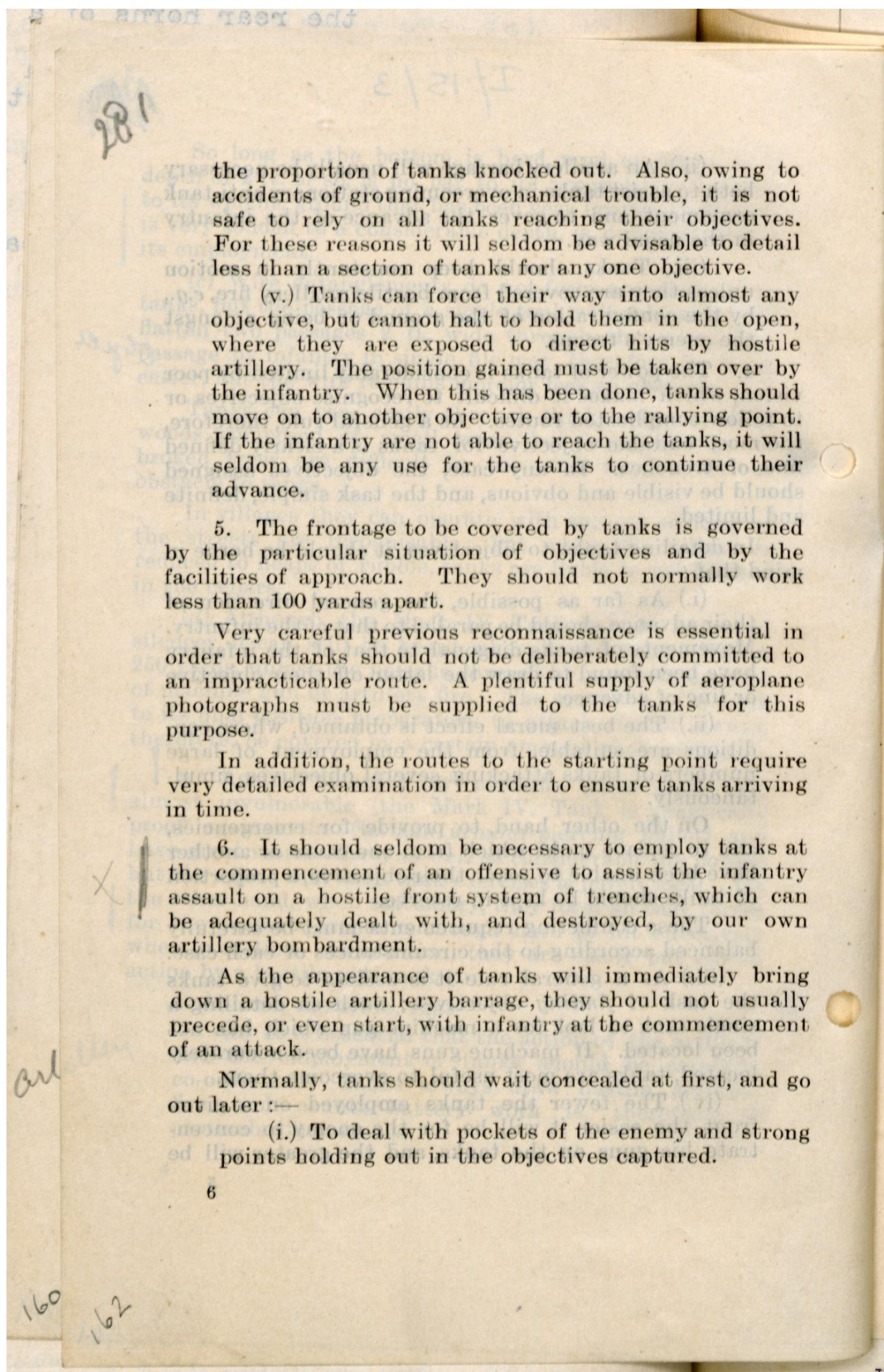
(ii.) The best moral effect is obtained, where conditions are suitable, from the employment of large numbers of tanks attacking several objectives simultaneously.

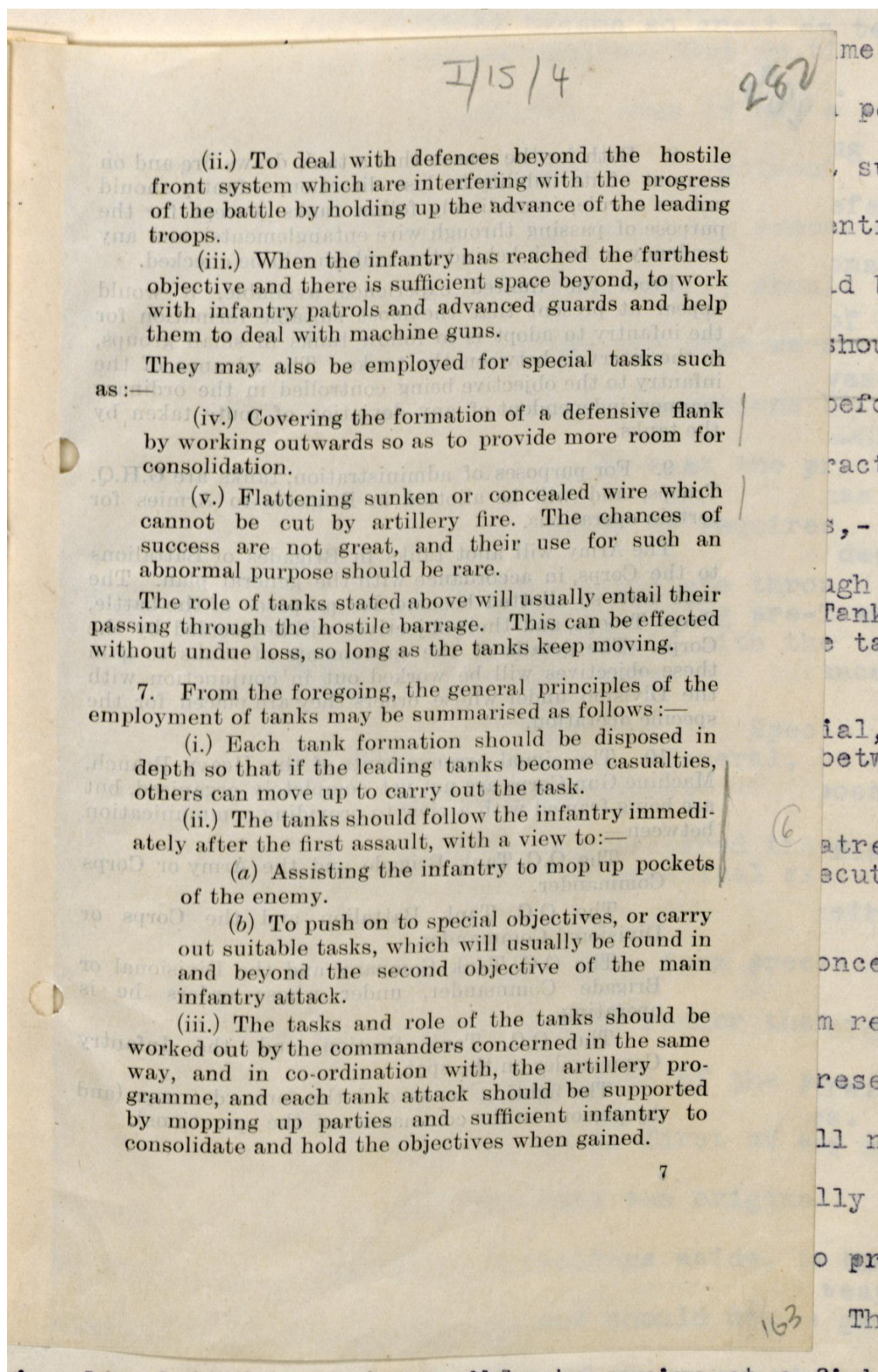
On the other hand, to provide for emergencies, and to replace tanks which from one cause or another have been unable to reach their objective, a proportion of tanks should be kept in reserve.

These conflicting requirements must be carefully balanced according to the circumstances of each case.

(iii.) As a general rule it is useless to give tanks the task of *finding* objectives; such as detailing a single tank to look for a machine gun which has not been located. If machine guns have been accurately located, tanks are most useful to overcome them.

(iv.) The fewer the tanks employed on a given front, the easier it will be for the enemy to concentrate his guns on the tanks, and the greater will be





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8. Both for the reason that a tank draws fire and on account of its liability to lose direction, infantry should not as a rule, immediately follow tanks (except for the purpose of passing through wire entanglements), and any tendency to bunch behind the tank should be checked.

From the limited experience available, it would appear at present that the most suitable formation for the infantry to adopt is to follow tanks in small groups, in the intervals between the tanks. The advance of the infantry to the objective being controlled in the ordinary manner, independent of any deviation of route taken by the tanks.

9. For purposes of administration, tanks are G.H.Q. Troops, and will be allotted in Brigades to Armies for certain operations.

The Army will allot tanks in Brigades or Battalions to the Corps, in accordance with the general plan. The tank units so allotted become, for purposes of the battle, Corps Troops, and their objectives will be decided by the Corps. The details of the movements of tanks to gain these objectives will be worked out in conjunction with the Division under whose orders they are placed for the specific operation.

10. The signal arrangements of the Heavy Branch, Machine Gun Corps are not yet completely organised, but are being framed with a view to providing communication between—

The O.C. Tank Brigade and the Army or Corps Commander.

The O.C. Tank Battalion and the Corps or Divisional Commander.

The O.C. Tank Company and the Divisional or Brigade Commander, under whose orders he is operating.

The O.C. Tank Section and the Infantry Commander on the spot.

The fighting tanks and the forward troops (and by pigeons to the commander of the operations).

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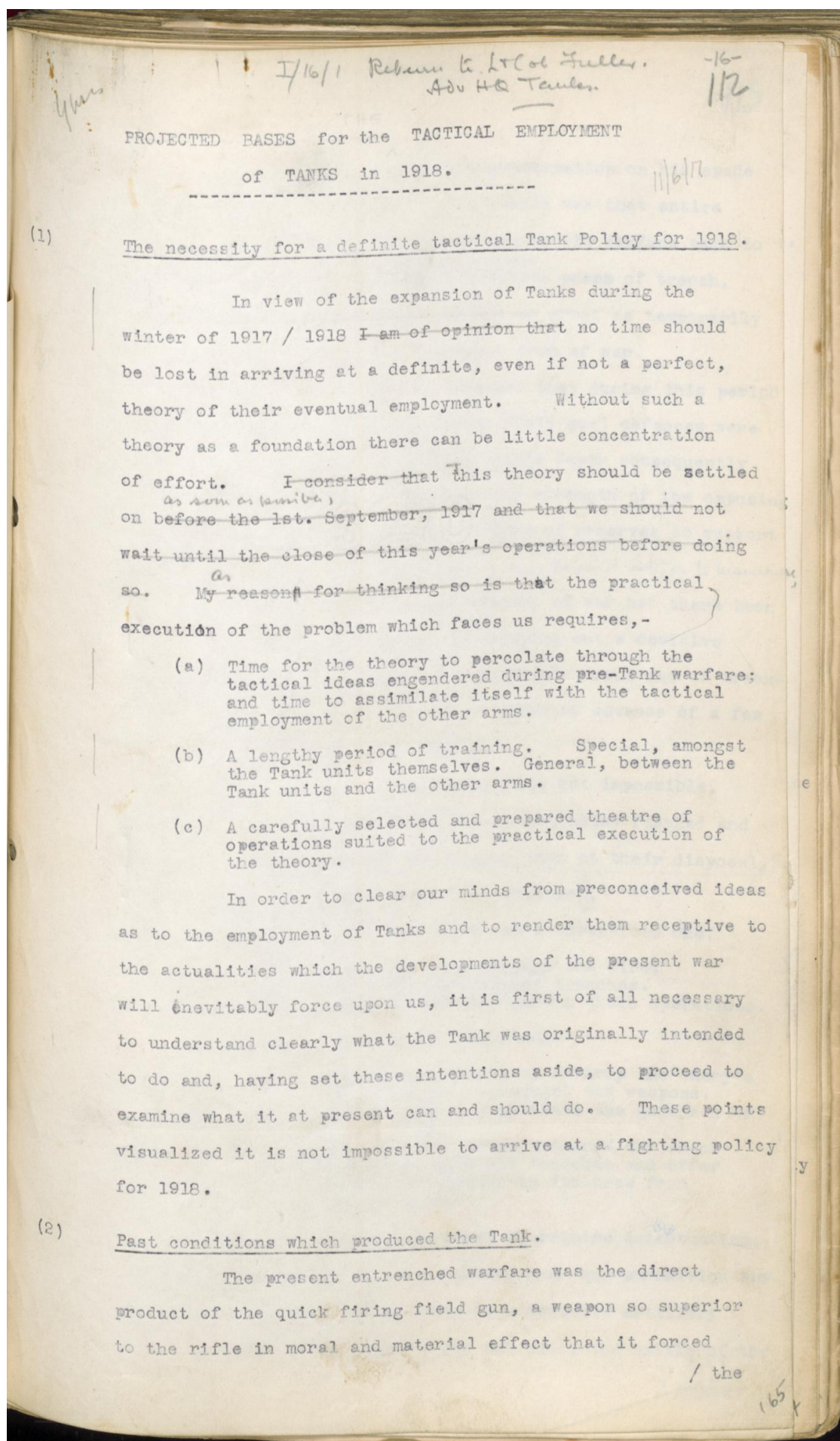
The O.C. Tank Brigade and the Army or Corps Commander.

The O.C. Tank Battalion and the Corps or Divisional Commander.

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The O.C. Tank Section and the Infantry Commander on the spot.

The fighting tanks and the forward troops (and by pigeons to the commander of the operations).



2.

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the infantryman to rely for self-preservation on his spade rather than on his rifle. The result was that entire fronts were entrenched and wired and mobile warfare came to a standstill. In fact the protective ^{during 1914 & 1915} power of trench, wire, rifle and gun combined became so great as temporarily to render the defence the strongest form of war.

It is important to remember that during this period (The supremacy of the quick firing field gun) defences were purely linear. They possessed little depth consequently practically the whole of the fighting strength of the opposing sides was stretched out with a minimum of reserves to support it. *on account of a strongly entrenched line behind which to manoeuvre*
 A seldom throughout the history of war has there been a more favourable opportunity ^{for} of carrying out a decisive attack against some portion of the enemy's front and of breaking his defences in two, if only an infantry advance of a few thousand yards could be maintained.

This advance was, however, all but impossible, because :- the resistance offered by obstacles flanked and covered by fire was, (with the weapons then at their disposal,) too great for the endurance of the attackers.

during this period the
 The problem to be solved was a three-fold one.

- (a) How to move infantry through the wire.
- (b) How to move infantry across trenches.
- (c) How to protect infantry during these operations.

Three solutions were attempted.

- (a) By increasing gun power, to destroy the enemy's wire, trenches, personnel and weapons.
- (b) By the use of gas to asphyxiate the garrison of entire areas.
- (c) By the construction of an armoured car which could cross wire and trenches and offer complete protection to its crew from minor missiles.

The first was too apparent to require accentuation; but though the difficulty of producing guns and ammunition was great, the difficulty of settling on a definite artillery tactics proved greater, and it was not until the battle of the

/ Somme

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Somme was nearing its zenith that, with us, they finally took form, and then as I will show a disastrous one.

The second was the simplest and the most brilliant, for it would have proved the most rapid and effective had the Germans been capable of grasping the "big idea" - The destruction of entire armies, by its use on extensive fronts.

The third was the most difficult, for it consisted not only in the construction of a new weapon but of its employment with no past experience. The necessity of keeping the weapon secret permitted of little exchange of Tactical ideas or the construction of a theory as to its co-operation with the other arms. Consequently the weapon which was produced in 1916, though it might have overcome the main tactical difficulties which existed when the idea which produced it was conceived, was unfitted to meet the changed situation brought about by an increase of the destructive and protective power of artillery. This increase of fire power forced the Defender to organize his defences in greater depth.

In the spring of 1915 the Mark I Tank, if it had existed would have been a potent weapon for war, because

- (a) The enemy's defences were shallow.
- (b) The ground over which it would have had to advance was but lightly shelled.

(c)

By September 1916 these conditions were completely changed.

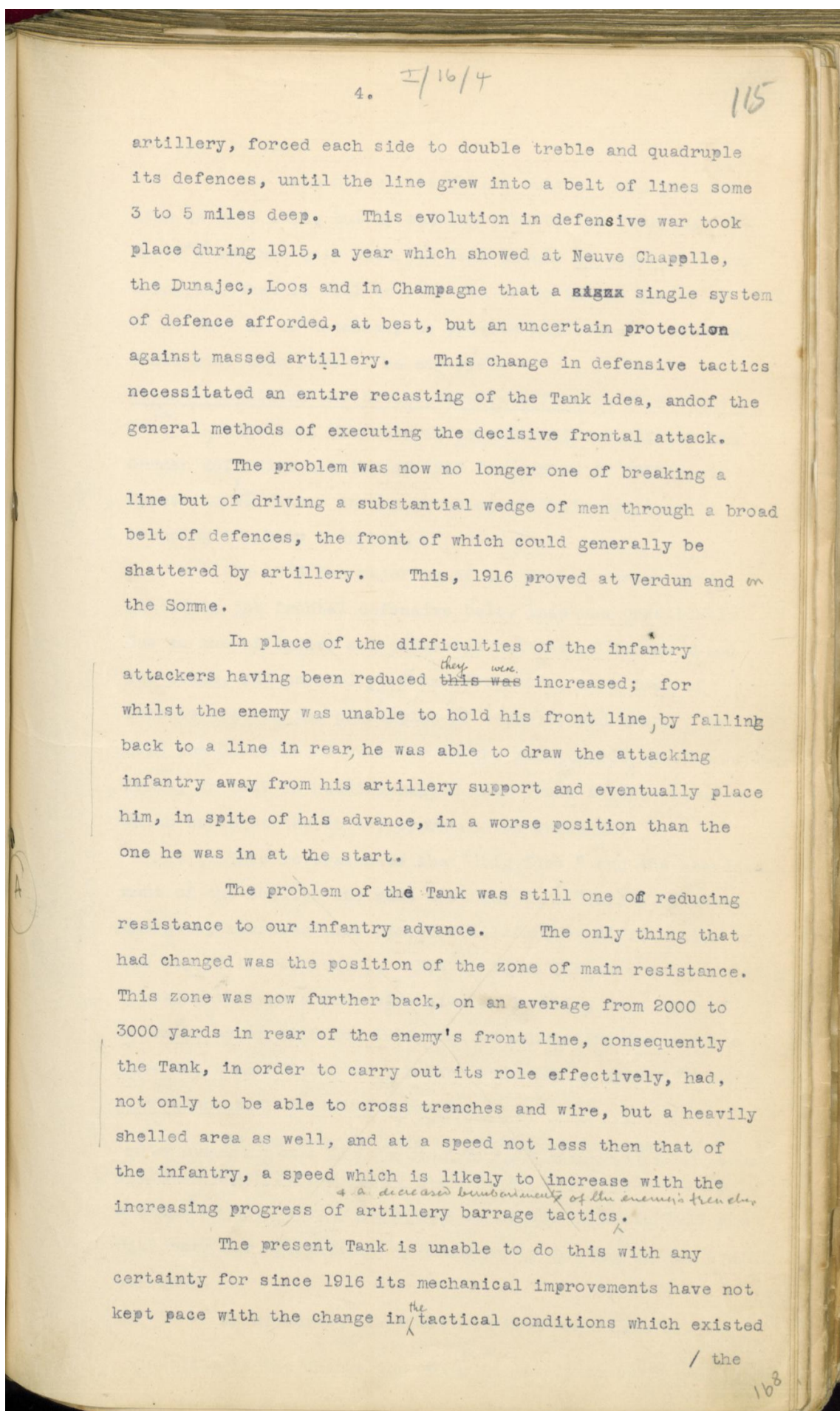
(3)

Present conditions and the modifications resulting to Tank employment.

Had thinking, in 1914, been carried out more logically and less individualistically, the main tactical trend, resulting from the creation of large numbers of heavy and super-heavy guns, might have been foreseen. Whilst in 1914 defence consisted in holding a line of little depth, time wherein to dig and the continual increase in the range and weight of

/ artillery

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the year before.

Our main object now is not only to make good the time we have lost, but by seizing time by the forelock look ahead ^{and} see, not only what the Tank should be capable of now doing, but what it will be required to do in the Spring of 1918. To do this it is necessary to previse under what conditions Tanks will then have to be employed.

(4)

Future conditions and their probable effect on Tank tactics.

→ The main characteristic which differentiates the German defensive tactics of 1917 from those of 1916 would appear to ^{be} rather in the grouping of their men than in the grouping of their trenches.

In 1916 the majority of the German forces were placed in the frontal defensive belt, this was practically due to the offensive and defensive battles of Verdun ^{and} the Somme, and partially, I am of opinion, to a loss of balance between the principles of security and mass. In 1916 the Germans saw security in the maintenance of an unbroken front, in 1917 in holding behind that front a large reserve which could strike at any opponent who broke it.

This reversion to the "big idea" and the abandonment of the smaller one viz. that war is a "Series of local emergency measures" has placed still further difficulties in the way of the attacker. Now it is no longer a question of breaking through a defensive line as in 1914, or a zone of defences as in 1915 and 1916, but of exhausting the enemy's reserve, some 800,000 men, before undertaking either of these operations with decisive intention.

We can only do this by hitting at an enemy at a ^{or of surprising him at points when he does not expect to be attacked} point at which he must hold on. If we do not select such a point ^s he will simply fall back as he did in March 1917 and dislocate our operations, by temporarily denying ^{to} us the use of our guns.

As hitherto, the change we have most carefully to visualize is the change the enemy is likely to carry out in

/ his 169

These conditions may be stated under 4 headings:
(a) The nature of the enemy's defence.
(b) The principles of our own offence.
(c) The nature of the enemy's defence.

6.

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his artillery tactics and the following must be considered as a mere project in this direction.

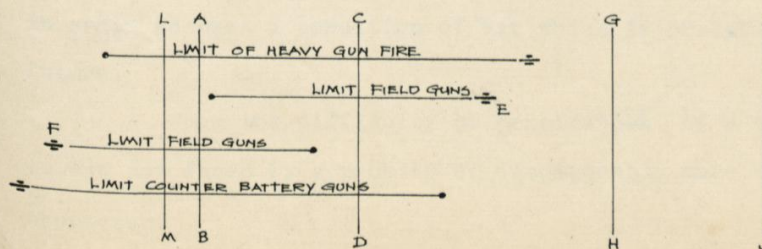
Having learnt in 1916 and the first half of 1917 that if the attacker makes up his mind to do it, he can carry, by means of artillery and infantry alone, several lines of trenches in one bound, it stands to reason that the German General Staff will not jeopardise its artillery by so placing it that it can be pounded to pieces during ~~the~~ ^{our} attack on these lines.

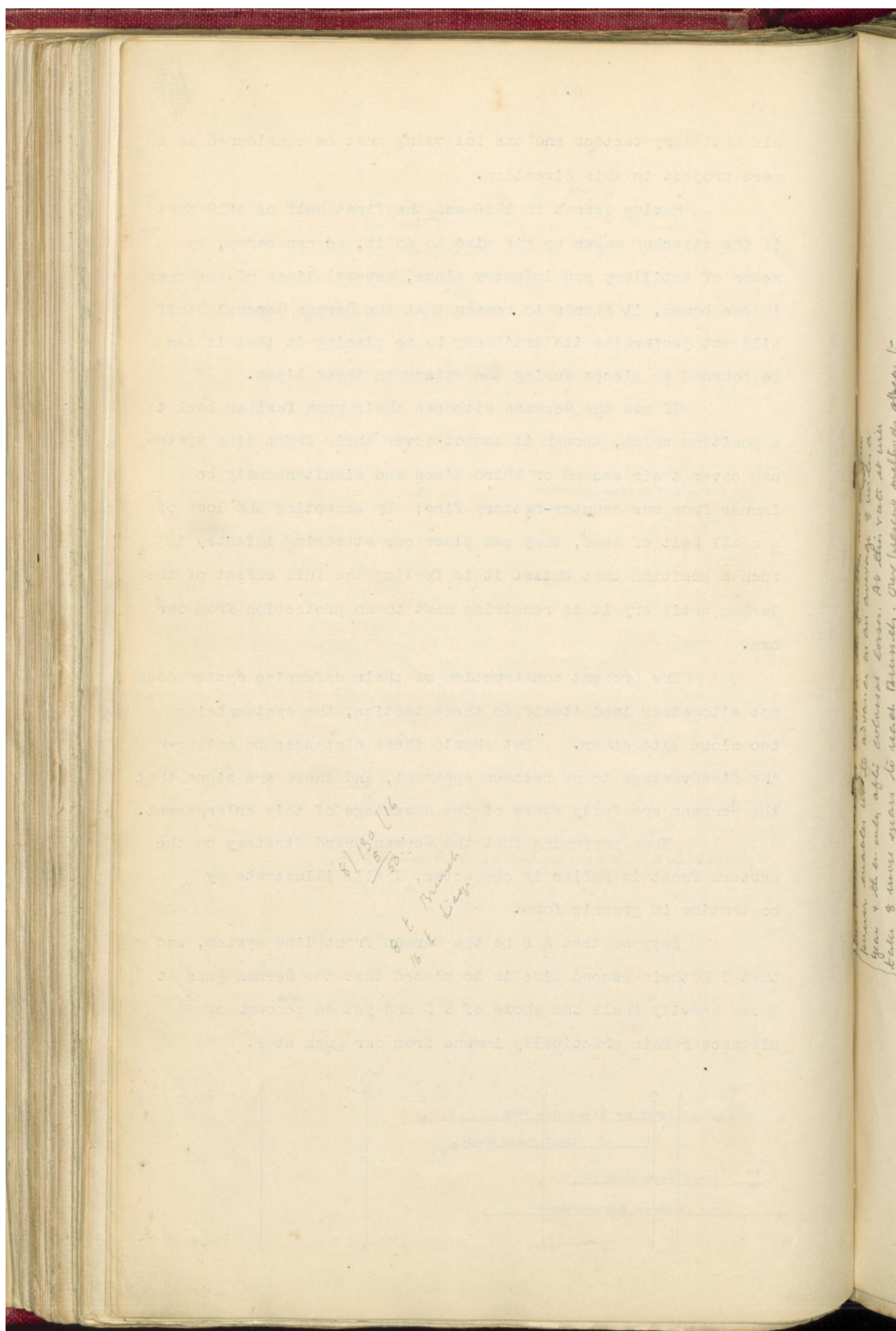
If now the Germans withdraw their guns further back to a position which, though it cannot cover their front line system, can cover their second or third lines and simultaneously be ^{or to a great extent immune} immune from our counter-battery fire; by accepting the loss of a small belt of land, they can place our attacking infantry in such a position that whilst it is feeling the full effect of the German artillery it is receiving next to no protection from our own.

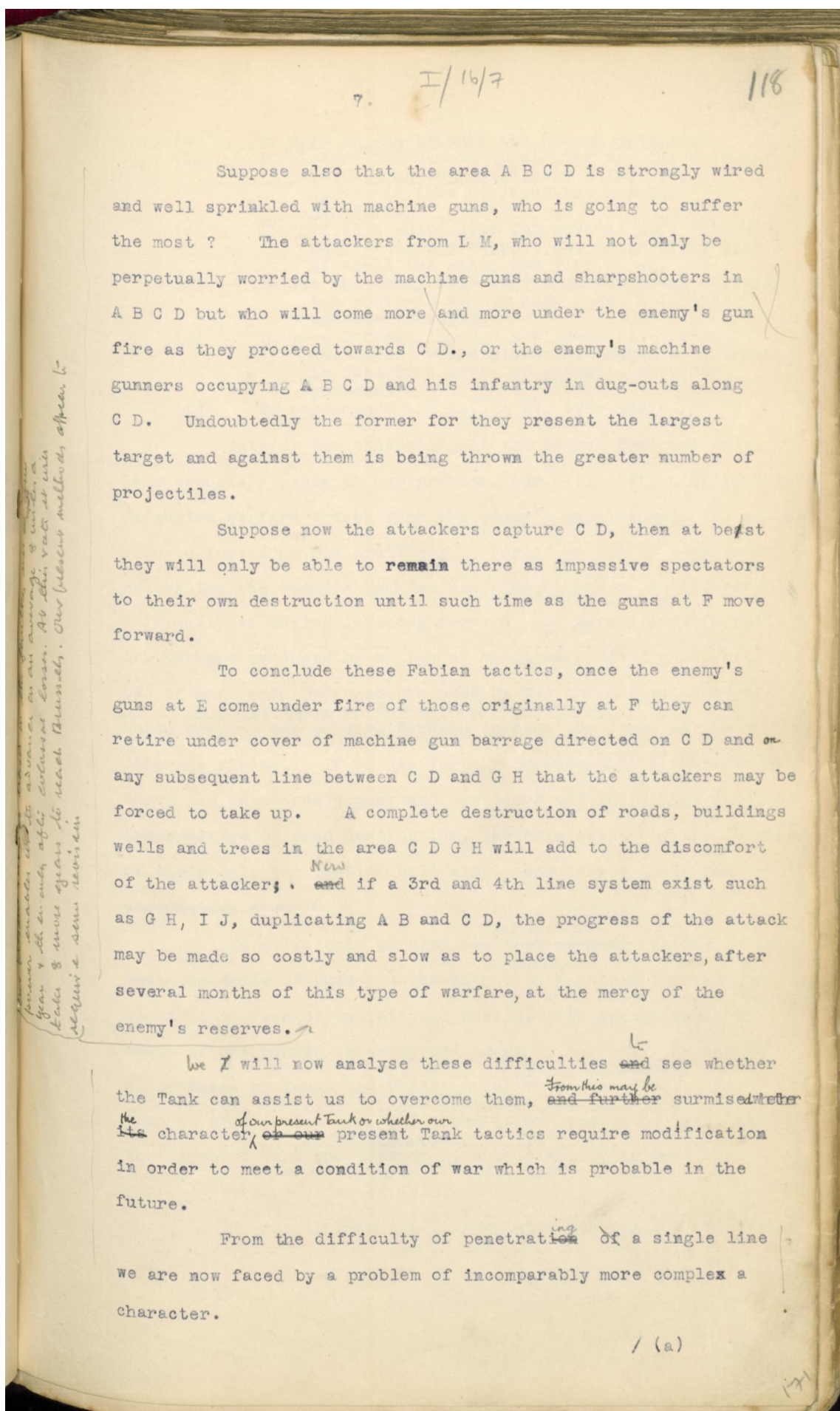
The present construction of their defensive system does not altogether lend itself to these tactics, the systems being too close ~~altogether~~. But should these distances be enlarged the disadvantage to us becomes apparent, and there are signs that the Germans are fully aware of the advantage of this enlargement.

Thus presuming that the German Grand Strategy on the Western front is Fabian in character, ^{and it appears to have been so ever since February 1916,} I will illustrate my contention in graphic form.

Suppose that A B be the German front line system, and that C D, their second line, is so placed that the German guns at E can heavily shell the whole of C D and yet on account of distance remain practically immune from our guns at F.







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- (a) To draw in and exhaust the German Reserves.
- (b) To capture the German Front Line and the area up to, let us suppose, their third line system in face of incessant machine gun fire.
- (c) To hold this third line for several days without much artillery support and under every type of shell the enemy can fire at us.
- (d) To see the enemy slip away from our grasp directly the approach of our guns makes a further advance possible.
- (e) To move forward through a wilderness - roads destroyed, wells blown in, houses demolished, in face of a swarm of guerilla machine gunners.
- (f) To recommence the battle all over again.

Outside the exhausting of the German Reserves which is a secondary issue to our problem, our main difficulty in this defensive warfare arises from the enemy's machine guns and not as heretofore from his artillery. For if we can by some means neutralize the enemy's Machine Gun fire, there is no insuperable difficulty in moving infantry forward, not merely under a rolling barrage produced by a line of stationary field guns, but by two or more such barrages produced by two or more echelons of these weapons ^{or of Tanks & big guns & machine guns combined} one passing forward through the other as the other is firing. If we can further produce mobile echelons of heavy and super-heavy guns and howitzers and keep these supplied irrespective of road destruction, the maintenance by the Germans of their delaying tactics will simply accelerate their ~~own~~ ^{destruction, downfall.}

To solve this problem ^{what we must} ~~all that we need~~ realize is this: ^{are we going} ~~that the whole of this problem is how~~ to maintain forward movement in face of bullets and shells? We cannot do it by means of unarmoured infantry and teams of horses. We can do it by means of Tanks and bullet proof motor-^{transporters} ~~tractors~~. All that we need decide now, and there is no time to be lost, is ^{Transporters} what type of Tank and tractor we should employ to meet the probably eventualities of 1918.

To run through the difficulties seriatim the requisites
/ are

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are these :-

- (a) In order to exhaust the enemy's reserves.
To select an area of attack from which the enemy cannot withdraw without acknowledging serious defeat, and of employing Tanks in this area in order to economise loss of Infantry.
- (b) To move forward Tanks and infantry under a protective barrage, the Tanks replacing the artillery barrage, as resistance reducers immediately the barrage becomes inoperative. Following these
 - (i) Echelons of Medium Tanks *as per the plan of the day*
 - (ii) Tractor drawn artillery *in Tank Train*
 - (iii) Armoured cars cavalry and tractor drawn infantry.
- (c) To attack at once the enemy's guns by means of ^M medium Tanks and special parties of infantry directly the enemy's defences in front of these guns have been captured.
- (d) Directly this attack has succeeded to launch every Medium Tank available, independent of guns and infantry, into the destroyed area in rear of the enemy's gun position, and clear this area of machine guns in order to enable our Armoured Cars, tractor drawn infantry and cavalry to pursue.

The above operation embraces the use of a large number of Tanks, in fact there can hardly be too many. Firstly there are those for the wearing down operation, an operation which may last for three months. Secondly those for the decisive blow. Thirdly those for the capture of the enemy's guns and fourthly those for the pursuit.

Though it is not my object here to discuss infantry and artillery tactics, it must be borne in mind, when contemplating this problem, that, as the success of the Heavy Tank is dependent on artillery and infantry cooperation, so also is the success of the ^M medium Tank, which must be closely supported by artillery and infantry. Whilst moving forward this artillery and infantry must be rendered invulnerable to Machine Gun bullets. This means that armoured tractors and cars which can move across country will have to be provided and provided in number.

(5)

Selection of the Tank theatre of operations.

The selection of a theatre of operations depends

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on the objective to be gained; the gaining of the objective depends on the breaking down of the enemy's resistance; consequently the weapon which will most speedily overcome this resistance must be considered first, and the area of attack in the theatre of operations chosen ^{must be selected} as far as possible with reference to its powers.

In the present instance we find that the chief resistance to our infantry advance comes from the enemy's machine guns. We dare not concentrate all our artillery onto these for if we do we should release his guns, which, free, can put up a stronger resistance than his machine guns on account of their superior range. Further, whilst by sound and flash ranging and aeroplane observation we can discover his main gun positions, no means have yet been discovered to locate his machine guns other than advancing on them and risking casualties. ^{and/} Tanks, especially light Tanks, must, therefore, be employed to do this in order to clear the way for the infantry advance. Consequently if sufficient Tanks are forthcoming, in order to guarantee a possible ^{and} decisive success, it is no longer a question of the Tank as a spare wheel to the car, in case of an unforeseen puncture in our operations, but as the motor force of the car itself, the infantry being merely its armed occupants. Without these occupants the car is valueless.

Our area of operations should be

- (a) Suitable to the rapid movement of the Tank.
- (b) Unsuitable to anti-tank defences.

Further it should be chosen with reference to the Tactical possibilities and characteristics of this arm. Once chosen, all other weapons should be deployed to facilitate the advance of the Tank because it is the chief maintainer of infantry endurance, and it is the infantryman with his ^{machine gun +} bayonet who is going to decide the battle.

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(6)

Tank Grand Tactics.

The two Grand Tactical acts of battle are Envelopment and Penetration. In a war like the present the second becomes a prelude to the first. Artificial flanks are ~~formed~~^{made} and are rolled up or the communications to them threatened. In this war, however, the non-existence of flanks is not the main difficulty, but the impossibility of secrecy, on account of the necessary massing of guns and ammunition which must inevitably precede an attack on a grand^d scale. If the preparatory measures prece^dding an attack could be reduced from weeks to days or hours Surprise could be gained or, at least, sufficient time ^{when} to deliver a knock out blow ^{before} the enemy had time to meet it. The mechanical endurance of Tank^s, its power of moving ³⁰ 50 miles in 24 hours and of carrying its own ammunition enables this time to be gained and surprise to be effected.

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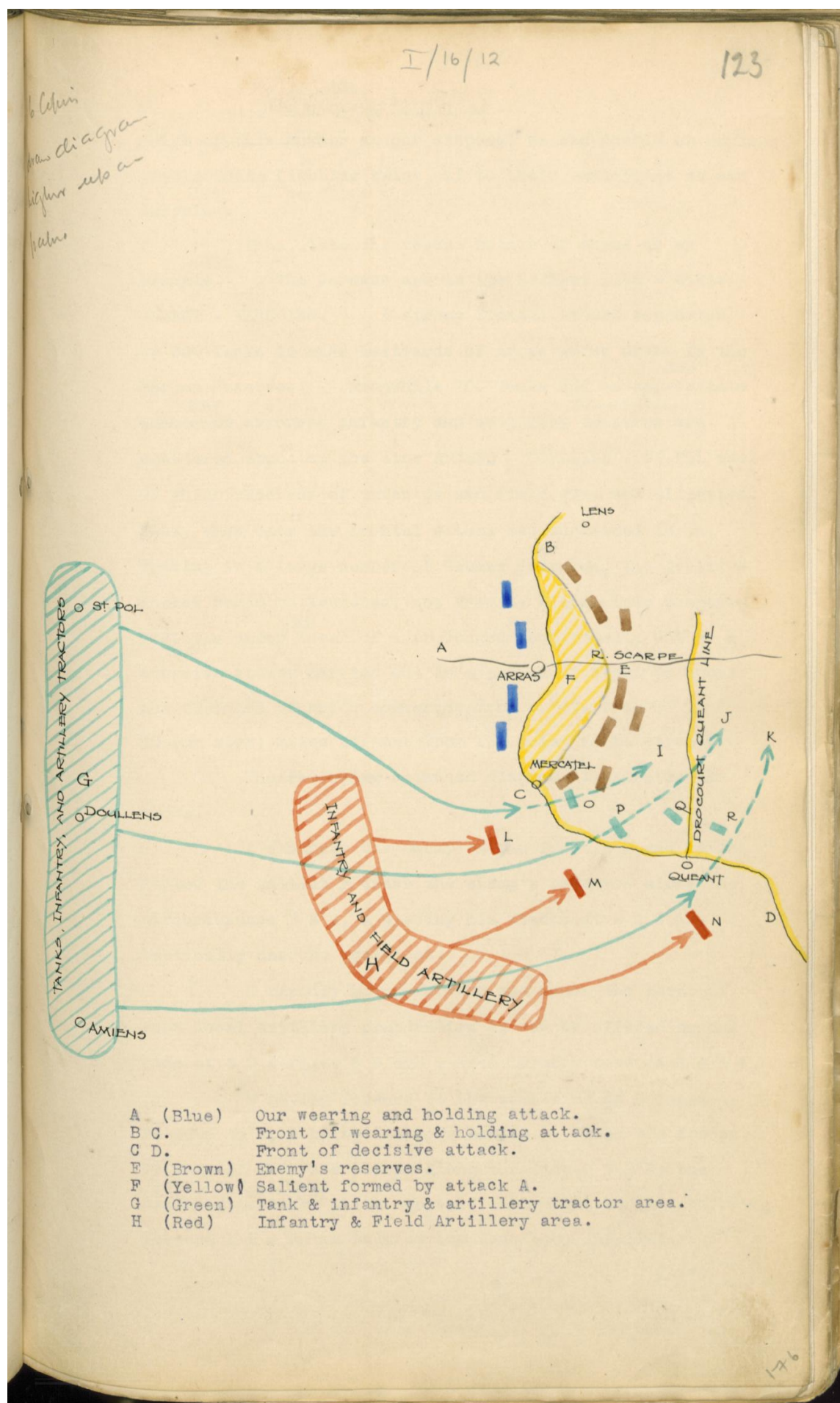
Tank Tactics of Envelopment

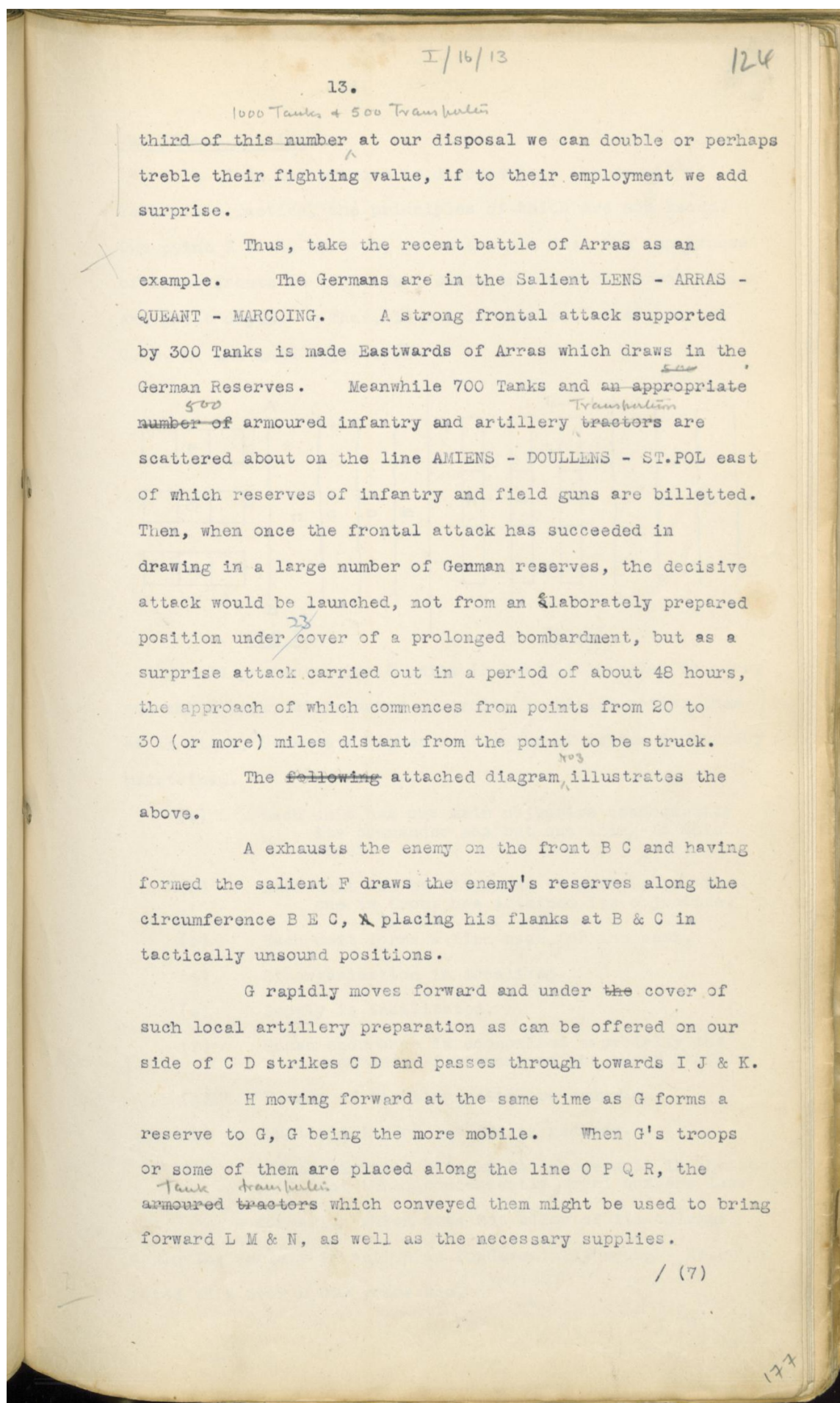
The power of the Tank to effect a penetration of the enemy's defences ^{as these lines} is too apparent to require explanation. It, however, must be remembered that though direct penetration may enable our infantry to pass through the gaps created, unless in the creating of it the enemy has lost a great number of his men a sufficient exhaustion will not have been ^{re}produced to negative his reserves. If the enemy has 400,000 men behind his line and we can capture 250,000 men in his line and pass 300,000 through the gap created by this capture, the chances are that the general écoulement of those parts of the line on the flanks of the penetration will so lower the moral and bewilder the action of the reserve that our own field army will be able to defeat an army numerically superior to it.

Such a rupture as this if ^{attempted} ~~attended~~ ^{as the above shows} ~~purely~~ frontally would require ^{more} Tanks ^{than} we are likely to command, ~~probably~~ 3,000. Assuming that we have only a

A third

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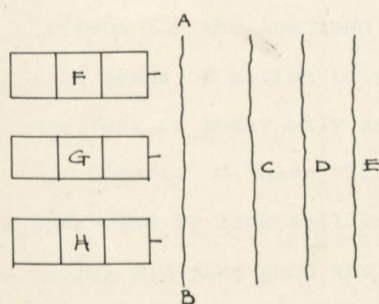
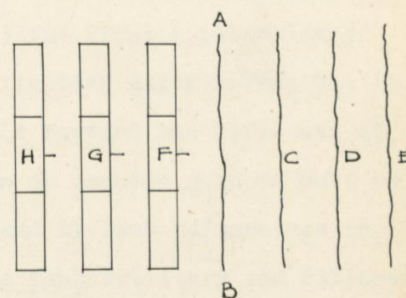
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(7)Tank Minor Tactics.

I do not propose to discuss here the detail of Tank Minor Tactics, the principles of which are now known. One point I wish, however, to accentuate is: the importance of broad fronts to individual units in place of narrow fronts and great depth. Thus, if A-B is the front of attack and C. D. E. the main objectives-

Fig I.Fig. II.

- I should prefer to see 3 units (F.G.& H.) detailed to carry out the attack, distributed according to Fig. II rather than as in Fig. I, because a higher continuity of action is thereby maintained.

- (a) Each unit has one main objective consequently its commander has but one thing to think about.
- (b) Each unit can be withdrawn to refit after the one in front has attained its objective,
- (c) Each unit forms a firm base for the next.
- (d) Disorganization is localized.
- (e) Supply is facilitated.
- (f) Human endurance is economized especially the endurance of Commanders and their Staff. ✓
- (g) Flanks of fighting units are reduced.
- (h) Multiplicity of leaders is reduced.
- (i) If the initial attack fails one unit is shattered not three, consequently Moral suffers less loss

A formation which does not allow of its columns deploying rapidly in action is fundamentally wrong - Xenophon noted this over 2,000 years ago.

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(8)

Mechanical Warfare.

The one thing to visualize now is that mechanical warfare is going to supercede muscular warfare. That is to say that war is more and more going to depend on the engine than a man's legs. Already this war has replaced, or practically replaced horse traction by motor traction in the administrative services. The Tank is (except for the Armoured Car) the first application of this means of motion to the fighting units during battle. The Tank of today only carries forward the rifle man of the future. These riflemen or machine gunners must be supported by Tank artillery and by Tank bayonet-men to occupy and make good what the Tank artillery and riflemen render possible. If this is sound reasoning then we should prepare forthwith to raise the mechanical Army required and to prepare a theatre of operations suited to its employment. This area should force the enemy to offer one or two flanks at the conclusion of the wearing attack.

Success in war greatly depends on mobility, mobility on time. Mobility leads to Mass, to Surprise, to Security. Other things being equal the most mobile side must win, this is a truism in war as in horse racing. The Tank, first of all, is a time saving machine, secondly a shield - it is in fact an armoured mechanical horse.

If in a given time we can do three times as much as the enemy and only lose a third of the number of men our possibilities of Success are multiplied by nine.

This is a calculation worth realizing when taking into consideration the projects for 1918.

11th June 1917

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Ym
1st Brigade.
2nd Brigade.
3rd Brigade.
"Q".
C. of W.
Depot.

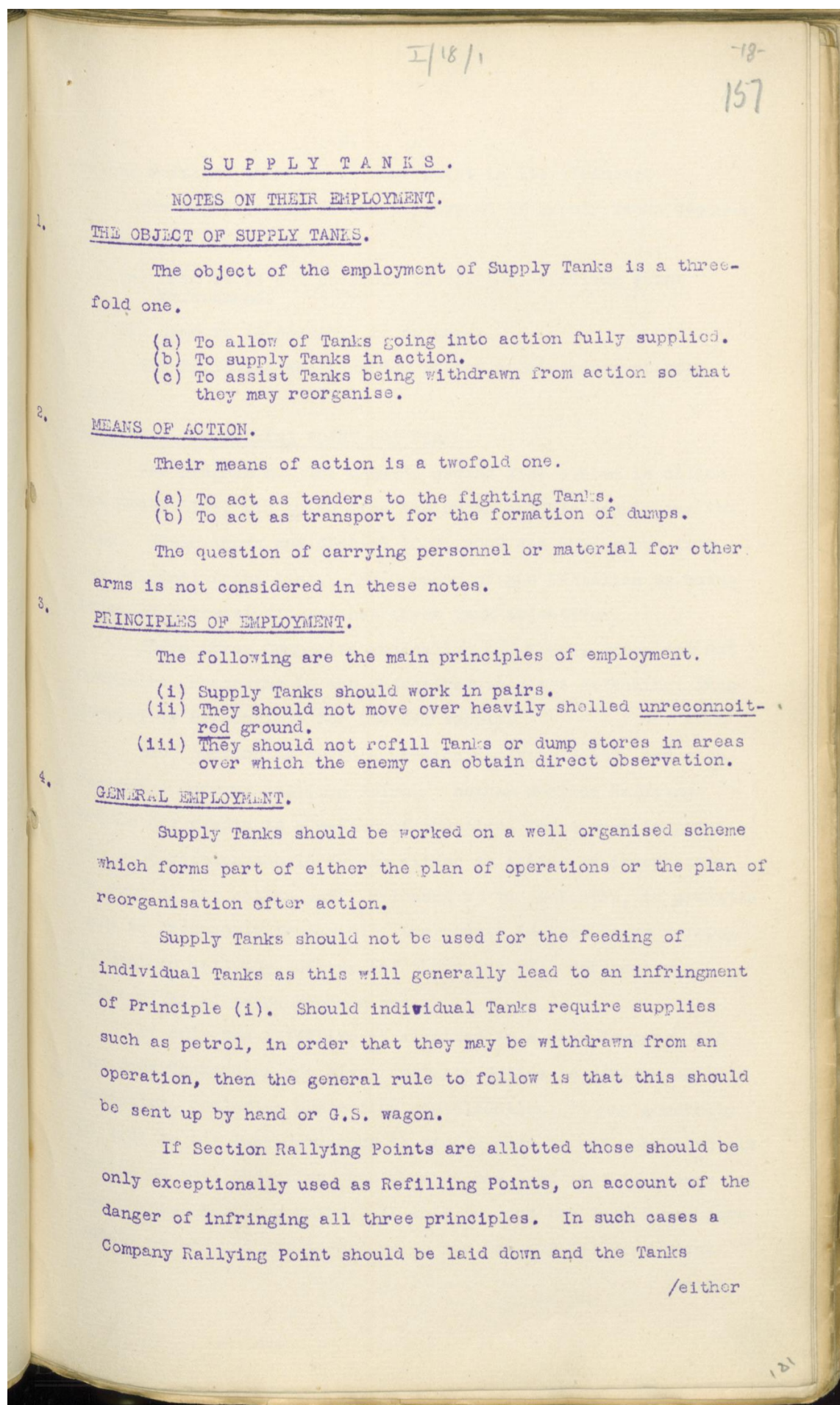
The attached notes, of which sufficient copies are forwarded to issue down to Companies, are issued for your information with reference to para.(4) Minutes of Conference held at Advanced H.Q. Heavy Branch on 9th July 1917. This paragraph will stand as written.:

The important points which should be explained to all Tank Officers are :-

- (a) The three objects of Supply Tanks as set forth in para. 1.
- (b) That Tanks must not retire to any Rallying Point until the Tank Commanders have ascertained or feel certain that the infantry no longer require their co-operation.
- (c) That unless Refilling Points can be definitely determined beforehand fixed Rendezvous must be laid down at which Supply Tanks will receive their orders where to move to.
- (d) That the exact location of the Refilling Point depends on circumstances.
- (e) That the supplies carried in Supply Tanks should never be used if with equal ease they can be drawn from Dumps.

H.C. Heavy Branch.
13th July 1917.
H

J.H. Fuller
Lieut. Colonel,
General Staff.



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2.

either refilled there or at some point in its vicinity.

The organisation of the employment of Supply Tanks depends on two main situations.

(a) When it is not possible to fix the Refilling Point beforehand.

(b) When it is possible to do so.

The following are examples of the requirements of both these.

5. EXAMPLE 1. REFILLING POINT NOT FIXED.

See Diagram A. The enemy's second line system is called the Black Line, his third line the Green and his fourth the Red line. These lines are distant 2000, 3000 and 5000 yards from our original front line. One Company of one Battalion is being launched successively against three Tank objectives.

These three Companies are called the Black, Green and Red Companies, according to the objectives they are attacking. Each Company is responsible for its own supply.

Each Section is given a Section Rallying Point, and each Company a Company Rallying Point. Whether Section Rallying Points are needed is a matter of question, for though in principle each Section should remain either in action or immediately in rear of the action until released by the infantry, in practise this is frequently impossible, the result is that Tanks waiting at Section Rallying Points, (if these are well forward) run great risks of being knocked out.

If only one objective is allotted to a Tank Company, and the Tank Commanders are given definite duties to perform on this objective, including protecting consolidation, it may generally be left to the Tank Commander to decide when he has completed his duties on this objective, and when he has done this to return to his Company Rallying Point. If this is done the Tank Commanders should be ordered not to return to the Company Rallying Point
/until

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until the next wave of Tanks has passed through, or the infantry are firmly established. Before leaving the Tank Commander must make every endeavour to ascertain from the infantry whether his co-operation is no longer required.

In the present case, however, Section Rallying Points are considered.

The three sections of the Black Company go into action and rally at the Section Rallying Points, here they are met by their Section Commanders who ascertain whether they are any longer required to assist the infantry. If they are not Tanks will move from the Section Rallying Point to the Company Rallying Point.

At the Company Rallying Point the Black Company will either be met by a representative from the Company Headquarters who will tell it where to refill, or it will send in to Company Headquarters to ascertain where refilling is to take place.

The Refilling Point may be at the Company Rallying Point, near Company Headquarters or at any suitable place selected by the Company. To this Refilling Point the Black Tanks will proceed, the Supply Tanks being moved up from the Rendezvous to it.

In the case of Tanks operating against the Black line it will probably be necessary to withdraw Tanks right back behind our own old front line, in which case the Company Rallying Point would be better placed at or near the Forward Dumps so as to refill if necessary from this Dump and not from the Supply Tanks.

In the case of the Green and Red Companies this would not be necessary and their Company Rallying Points would probably be selected near the Black and Green lines respectively, and their Refilling Points either at these places or wherever the Company Commanders considered suitable.

In selecting the Refilling Points Principles ii and iii must be carefully borne in mind. Reconnaissance of routes is as necessary for a Supply Tank as for a fighting one, consequently

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the less Supply Tanks are moved about the less time will be taken up in reconnoitring.

EXAMPLE 2. REFILLING POINTS FIXED.

In this example no Section Rallying Points are considered, though they may be introduced if required. Company Rallying Points are alone used. These Rallying Points are called the Black, Green and Red Rallying Points - see Diagram B. They are in the same place as the Black, Green and Red Dumps.

In each case when the Tanks reach the Rallying Point the action will be as follows :-

(a) The Company Commander should arrange that the Tanks are met at the Rallying Point by the following :-

- (1) Section Commander.
- (2) A proportion of Workshop personnel.
- (3) Labour to the extent of say 30 men.
- (4) Supply Tanks.
- (5) A Guard to take over the Tanks.
- (6) A Salvage gang.

(b) The Tanks should be at once refilled by the Tank crews, the labour assisting in carrying the tins.

(c) The Workshop personnel under an Officer, should overhaul the Tanks and carry out such work as cleaning the plugs, adjusting the brakes etc. The Tank Commanders should inform the Workshop Officers of any defects.

(d) The Section Commanders should collect reports from the Tank Commanders and order them in accordance with the Company Commanders instructions either to rest on the spot, or march back to some safer place for rest.

(e) The Salvage gang should at once set to work on any Tanks that can readily be salvaged.

(f) The Company Commander or Second-in-Command should be present

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The Company Commander has heard that the fight is going well, he thereupon orders all crews to march back to lorries held in readiness to take the crews straight back to their Tankodrome. Tanks remain at the Black R.P. Work is carried out at the R.P. as detailed above (except that no Supply Tanks are required). This Company should normally be fit to fight again in 36 hours.

(b) Meanwhile the Green Company has been launched. It carries out its orders and then rallies at the Green R.P. Here it is met by two Supply Tanks and the Tanks are refilled and refitted as already described. Any surplus stores in the Supply Tanks are dumped at the Green R.P. The Company Commander hears that the Red wave has passed through and he sends out word for the crews to return to the Tankodrome in the same way as in (a). The Tanks are not taken back past the badly crumpled belt, because in the event of bad weather it would be difficult to get them through this belt when they have to return to the battle. The Company Commander then sends back the Supply Tanks to the Black Dump to refill and bring up another load to the Green Dump, for the use of the Red Company. This Company has had a longer day than the Black Company and will probably require 36 to 48 hours wherein to rest and refit.

(c) In the meantime the Red Company has been launched taking with it two Supply Tanks. The Company halted near the Red R.P. to refill, the surplus from the Supply Tanks being dumped at this point. The Red Company then proceeds into action. As this is the last wave it may have to stop out the whole night if necessary on the Red Line, before the Infantry are firmly established

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on this line. The Company finally rallies at the Red R.P. Here there is already a small Dump. In addition the remaining two Supply Tanks have been sent up to this point to augment the Dump or refill the rallied Tanks. This Dump should also be augmented by the use of limbers and lorries if these can be used.

In the meantime the Company Commander will have been collecting all possible information, and (in the absence of orders from the Battalion Commander) he should decide either to man some of the Tanks with his spare crews in case of a counter-attack, or to leave the Tanks under a guard, or bring them back to the Green R.P. In any case the crews that have been fighting must at once be sent back to rest. By this time the Black Company should be ready and relieve the Red Company, if this is considered necessary, but normally the next advance would be carried out by a fresh battalion, thus giving ample time for the first one to refit and reorganize. The Red Company will probably take 48 to 72 hours to reorganize.

7. VALUE OF EACH METHOD.

In the above examples cases of Battalions attacking in depth of Companies have been taken for the sake of simplicity. Usually it is sounder (see "Notes on Tank Reorganisation on the Battlefield") for Battalions to attack in width of Companies instead. If this is done the methods described still hold good the Companies in this case being simply replaced by complete Battalions.

The value of each method depends entirely on circumstances. Pre-arrangement is undoubtedly a great advantage, but even when circumstances permit of pre-arrangement taking place whatever scheme is made out the possibility of the unexpected must be considered. For this reason alone Rallying Points whether Section or Company should not be placed too far forward and

/Refilling
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