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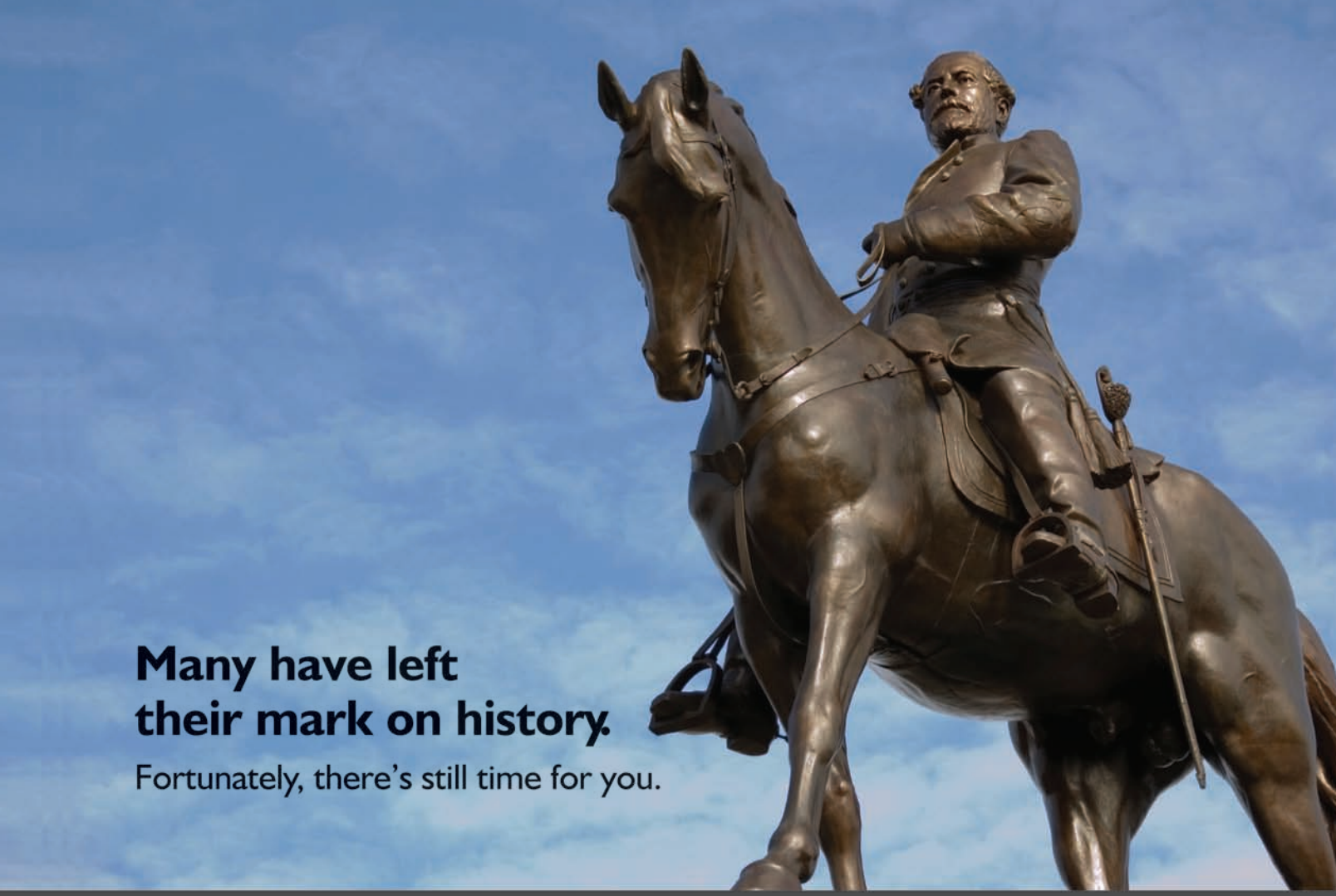

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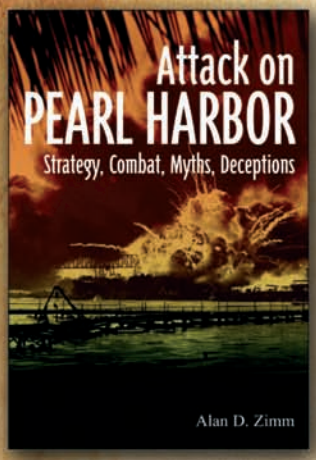

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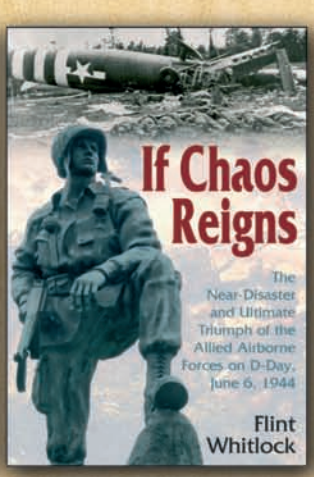

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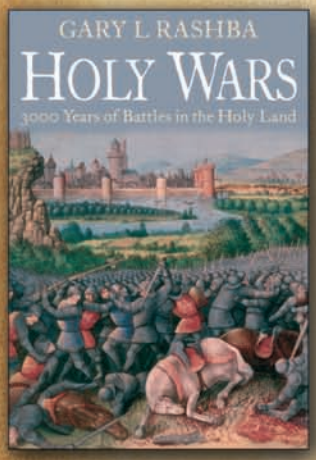

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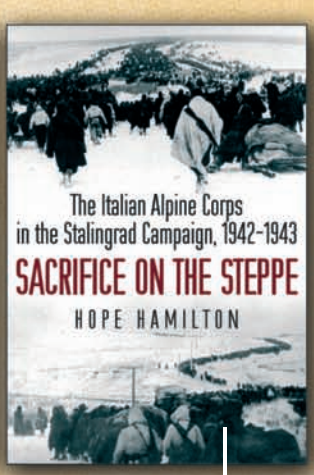

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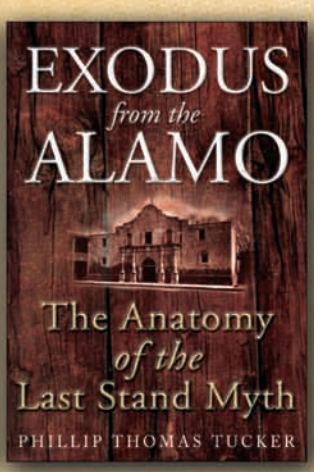

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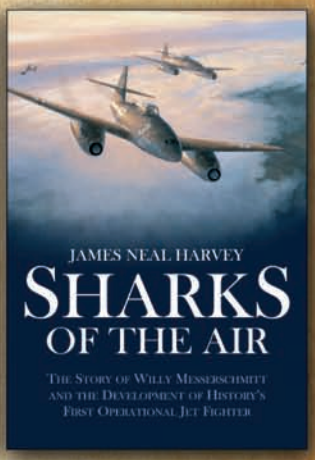

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MILITARY HERITAGE

June 2011

features

columns

COVER: Napoleon's General Lasalle leads a cavalry charge in this painting by Edouard Detaille. At the Battle of Omdurman in 1898, the days of the heroic cavalry charge were coming to an end. Story page 24. Musee de l'Armee, Paris, France / Giraudon / The Bridgeman Art Library International

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He nicknamed the watch *Ritorno* for homecoming, and the rare heirloom is now valued at $42,000 according to *The Complete Guide to Watches*. But to our family, it is just a reminder that nothing is more beautiful than the smile of a healthy returning GI.

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editorial

Unlike many politicians, Winston Churchill actually faced enemy swords and bullets in combat, giving him a close personal perspective on war.

WHEN A YOUNG BRITISH LIEUTENANT NAMED Winston Churchill charged into a swirling mob of Dervishes at Omdurman on the afternoon of September 2, 1898, it was not the first time the well-born cavalryman had faced combat in his nation's far-flung wars. Indeed, as his exasperated commander, Lord Kitchener, suspected, the 23-year-old Churchill actively sought danger as a way of furthering his political ambitions. In the "Great Game" of late 19th-century imperialism, Churchill was an enthusiastic and sometimes foolhardy participant.

Churchill was literally to the manor born. The son of Lord Randolph Churchill and American heiress Jennie Jerome, Winston was a direct descendant of the Duke of Marlborough. The family lived in the fabulous palace, Blenheim, that the king of England had given to Marlborough for his glittering military accomplishments. The young Churchill grew up a lonely and neglected child—his parents were busy with their various social, sexual, and political affairs. His large collection of tin soldiers was his closest companion, and he constantly rearranged them in his bedroom, reenacting past British victories, including his famous ancestor's.

A brilliant mind and a compulsive reader, Churchill was an indifferent student. His grades were too low to get him into the family's traditional university at Oxford, and Churchill instead attended the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. There, he excelled at horseback riding, still a useful skill for an Army officer, winning numerous races and campaigning unsuccessfully to have polo reinstituted as an accepted academy sport. (It was thought ungentlemanly, since not all cadets could afford to play it. "Pure socialism," Churchill groused.)

After observing the revolution in Cuba in 1895, Churchill took a post with the 4th Hussars in India. A revolt by Pathan tribesmen on India's always troublesome North-West Frontier (now Afghanistan) brought a quick and brutal response from the British Army. In a pattern still repeated daily in Afghanistan, reprisals, counterreprisals, and bloody atrocities occurred on both sides. "It is a war without quarter," Churchill wrote his mother. "They kill and mutilate everyone they catch and we do not hesitate to finish their wounded off." Still, despite the danger, Churchill found the northwestern campaign "all very exciting and, for those who did not get killed or hurt, very jolly."

In the Mahmund Valley, Churchill commanded a company of the 35th Sikh Regiment that came under attack from a much-larger Pathan force. Churchill narrowly avoided being killed when a volley of gunfire riddled the group in which he was standing. One less fortunate soldier "was spinning around just behind me, his face a mass of blood, his right eye cut out." Told by his lieutenant colonel to go to the rear and hurry along reinforcements, Churchill had a vision of everyone else being killed while he was seeming to run away. "I must have it in writing, sir," he told the dumbfounded officer. Surrounded and down to their last bullets, Churchill's company was rescued at literally the last moment by the arrival of British cavalry "Buffs."

For the first, but scarcely the last, time in his career, Churchill was seen as a glory hound by his fellow officers, a "thruster," in the parlance of the day. He didn't mind. It was a "pushing age," he told his socialite mother, who did not hesitate to use her own influence with friends and lovers to further her son's military and political career.

For the remainder of his incredibly crowded life, Churchill saw action in the Sudan, South Africa, and the trenches of World War I before becoming his nation's savior during the darkest hours of World War II. To his credit, he never forgot that "war, disguise it as you may, is but a dirty, shoddy business, which only a fool would entertain." Recent world leaders, who never saw actual combat, would have done well to heed the veteran Churchill's words.

Roy Morris Jr.

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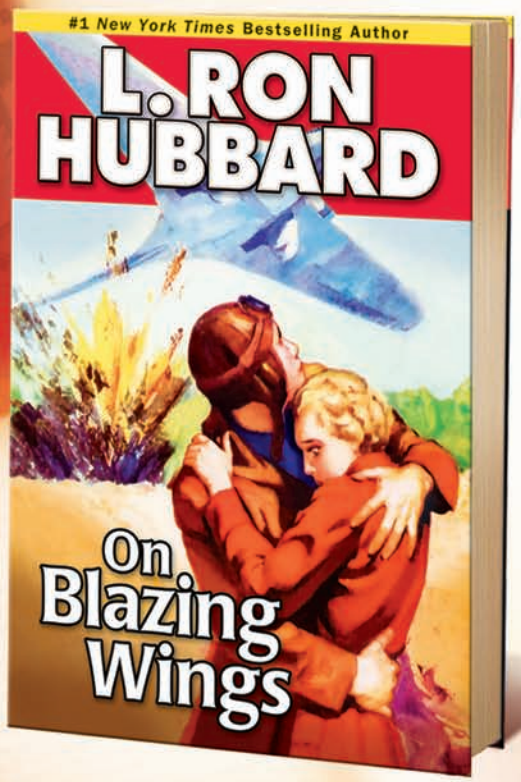

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By Neil Cosgrove

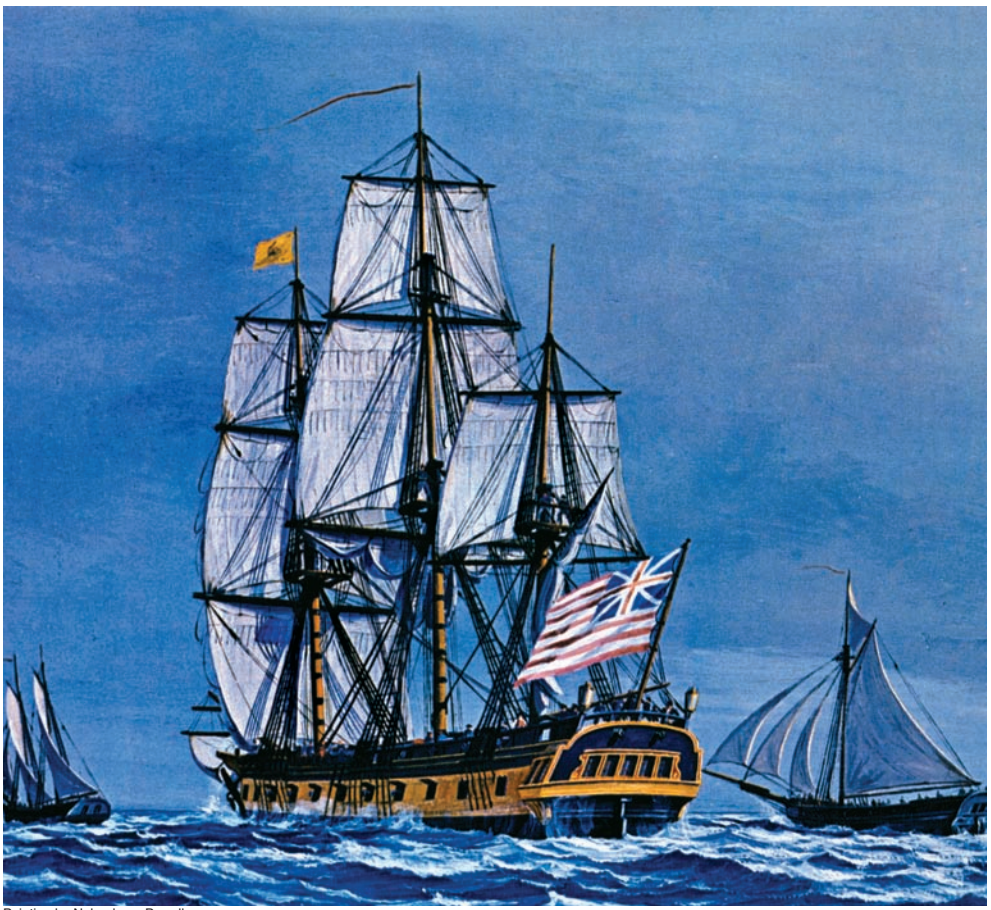
Beginning with his victory at Delaware Bay, Irish-born Commodore John Barry was in the forefront of naval action during the Revolutionary War.

MOST HISTORIES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION GIVE THE fledgling Patriot navy only one hero: John Paul Jones. While not begrudging Jones's recognition, it seems unfair to represent the Continental Navy with a single fighting captain. Room should be made for a nearly forgotten hero of the Revolution, Commodore John Barry, who contested British forces on land and sea over almost the entire course of the war.

The son of a Catholic tenant farmer, Barry was born in Ballysampson, County Wexford, Ireland, in 1745, at a time when harsh English penal laws stripped civil liberties from anyone of the Roman Catholic faith. Barry's family was evicted from their holdings by their absentee landlord and forced to relocate to Rosslare, a seaside village where Barry's uncle had a fishing skiff. These events combined to produce in Barry a lifelong love of the sea, a passion for liberty, and a hatred of all things English. At the age of 15, Barry left his homeland to serve as a cabin boy on a commercial ship. An industrious and natural-born sailor, within six years he was a captain and commander of his own vessel.

That ship, *Barbados,* sailed out of what would become Barry's home port, Philadelphia. The imposing 6-foot, 4-inch, barrel-chested Barry soon developed a reputation for honesty, humility, and good judgment that won him an admirable reputation among the merchant sailing community of Philadelphia. Barry was respected as a strict but fair captain by those who served under him. His final command before the Revolution was the 200-ton *Black Prince,* a ship that was owned in part by John Nixon, who would be the first person to read the Declaration of Independence to the general public, and Robert Morris, a signer of the Declaration and the future "Financier of the Revolution." *Black Prince* set the record for the fastest single day's sailing, logging 237 miles in 24 hours. At the beginning of the Revolution, *Black Prince* was said to be the finest and most profitable ship in the colonies.

Hearing of hostilities between the colonies and Great Britain while in London, Barry made a swift passage back to Philadelphia and immediately offered his services to the newborn nation. The Continental Congress had recently authorized the purchase of several merchant ships to be converted into warships. One



Painting by Noland van Powell

Formerly the *Black Prince* captained by John Barry, the *Alfred* raises the flag of the Continental Navy for the first time. Painting by Nowland van Powell.

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of these was Barry's own *Black Prince,* which was renamed *Alfred*. As its former captain, Barry would have seemed the logical choice to command the rechristened ship, but he was disappointed. The early navy was to be a New England affair, and nepotism triumphed over ability. Three of the first eight captains were related to the Navy Committee chairman, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island. Even Barry's fellow Celt and merchant captain, John Paul Jones, was only able to secure a berth as a lieutenant on *Alfred* through connections with his fellow Masons in Congress.

If Congress did not appreciate Barry's personal connections, it did recognize his experience. Barry was commissioned, along with master shipbuilder Joshua Humphreys, to oversee the transformation of merchant vessels into the new nation's first warships. To Humphreys fell the task of increasing the structural integrity and piercing the hull for cannons; to the accomplished sailor Barry went the refitting and re- rigging of the complex network of ropes necessary to improve the speed and handling of ships in combat. Eventually, Congress replaced the New England-dominated Naval Committee with the more representative Marine Committee. One of its first acts was to appoint Barry to command the new 16-gun ship, *Lexington*. It was a decision Congress would not regret.

Barry sailed from Philadelphia on March 28, 1776, and was immediately in action. Successfully eluding the formidable British ship *Roebuck* in Delaware Bay, he made for the open sea. On April 7, *Lexington* encountered HMS *Edward*. After a fierce two-hour battle, Barry and *Lexington* emerged triumphant. As per his character, Barry's report to Congress was a model of brevity and modesty, preferring to give credit to his crew rather than himself: "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that all our people behaved with much courage."

The citizens of Philadelphia turned out in celebration to see *Edward* come into the harbor, the first Royal Navy prize to reach an American port. Even the dour partisan John Adams had to observe of Barry's victory, "We begin to make some little figure here in the navy way." Admiration was not confined to the Americans. British Captain Snape Hammond voiced a frustrated admiration of Barry: "The North Side of Delaware Bay is encompassed with shoals and shallow water and this passage Mr. Barry is at present master of. I have chased him several times but can never draw him into the sea." He would not be the last British captain to be impressed with Barry's judgment and seamanship.

U.S. Navy

John Barry, a copy of a portrait made after the Revolution by famed portrait artist Gilbert Stuart.

Barry and *Lexington* continued playing a dangerous game of cat-and-mouse with superior British ships of the line. On June 12, 1776, Congress directed that 191 captured firearms "sent up by Captain Barry" be used to equip a new battalion. On June 29, the brig *Nancy,* bringing much-needed supplies to the American rebels, including 386 barrels of precious gunpowder, was pursued by six British warships. Joined by Barry's *Lexington,* along with the Continental ships *Wasp* and *Reprisal, Nancy* was able to temporarily elude her pursuers in a fog. It was agreed among the captains that *Nancy* be run aground in an effort to save her precious cargo. All three Continental warships dispatched their boats to unload the cargo, with Barry personally leading efforts to save 268 barrels of the prized gunpowder.

When the fog began to lift, a lookout spotted the pursuing British ships, which were approaching with twice their number to board *Nancy.* Realizing he was facing insurmountable numbers, Barry ordered that a quantity of loose powder be scattered in the hold with the remaining barrels of powder, while a billet of burning wood wrapped in a sail was placed over the hatchway to act as an improvised fuse. Barry then directed the Continental sailors back to their boats to make good their escape to waiting American warships. Barry's improvised time bomb had disastrous consequences for the enemy. Just as the British boarded the ship, the fuse reached the powder in the hold. A tremendous explosion ensued; not one of the boarding party escaped. The loss to the British was devastating. Some 40 to 50 sailors were killed, and gold-laced officers' hats and other equipment washed up on shore for days after the explosion.

Congress rewarded Barry's success by appointing him to one of the new warships that Congress had commissioned to be built, *Effingham,* which was still under construction in Philadelphia. The war during the fall and early winter of 1776 was not going well for the Patriot cause, with Washington falling back through New Jersey after the crushing British victories in New York. Barry was not a man to sit idly while his adopted country was in peril. He obtained permission to form an ad hoc naval brigade of sailors, marines, and heavy guns and take them to Washington's aid. The Continental Marines under Barry's command subsequently distinguished themselves at the Battle of Trenton. Before returning to Philadelphia, Barry, his sailors, and his marines were given the honor by Washington of conveying wounded prisoners through British lines under a flag of truce and carrying a message to General Cornwallis.

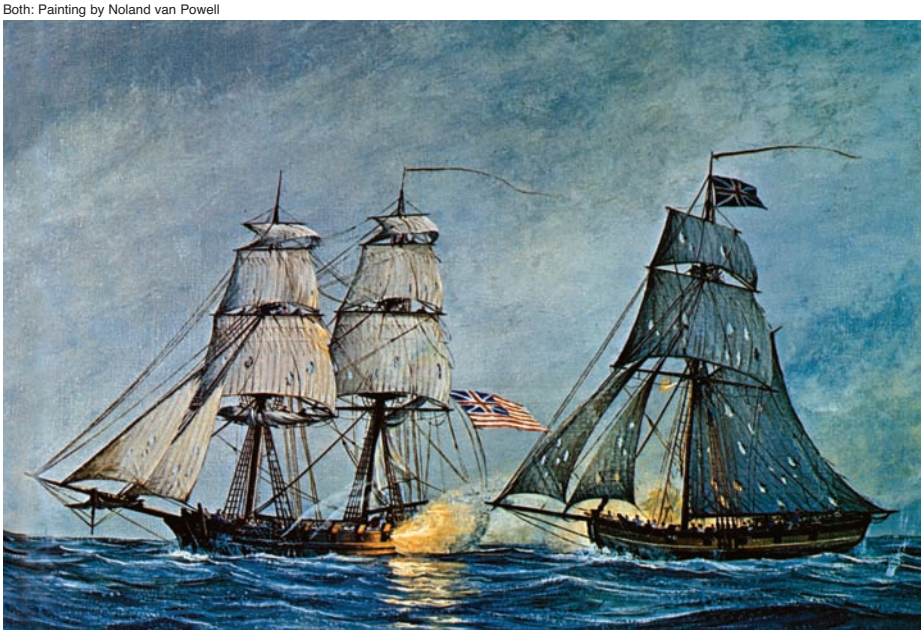
The victories at Trenton and Princeton were short-lived, and dark days lay ahead for the country and for Barry personally. He returned to Philadelphia as the senior commander of that port, but still without a ship—no progress had been made on *Effingham* in his absence. The British captured Philadelphia in September 1777. Barry and his fellow captain, Thomas Read, were ordered to take the incomplete frigates *Effingham* and *Washington* up the Delaware to White Hill while Congress fled to York, Pennsylvania.

During the evacuation, Barry was approached and offered a bribe of £15,000 gold and a command in the Royal Navy if he would desert and turn over *Effingham.* Barry, in his own words, "spurned the idea of being a traitor" and sent the conveyor of the bribe away. "I have devoted myself to the cause of this country," said Barry, "and not the value or command of the whole British fleet could seduce me from it."

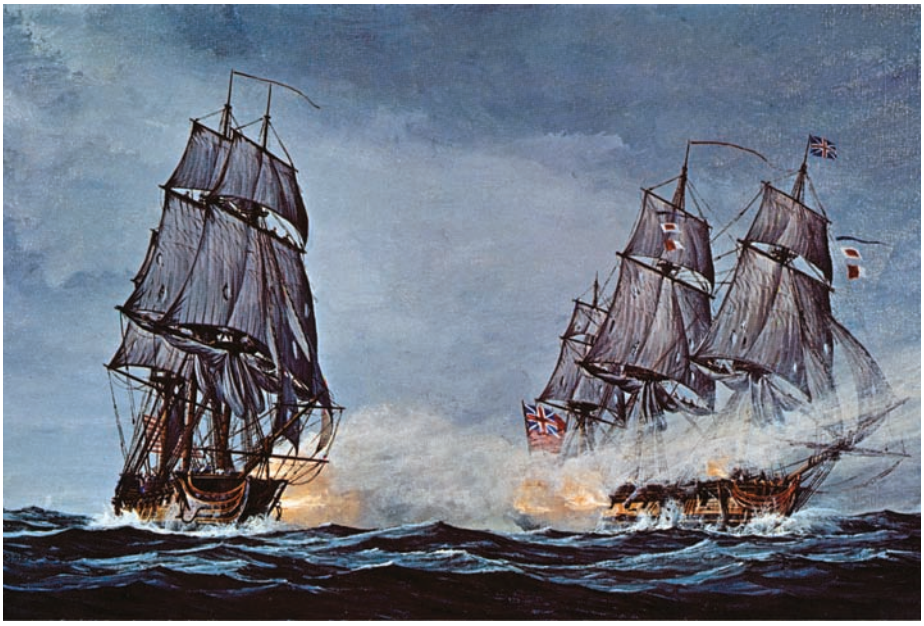
Still lacking a seaworthy ship, Barry proposed to the Marine Committee and General Washington that he take the ships' boats and some barges and harass enemy shipping in the Delaware. Granted approval, Barry took two boats, each armed with a single 4-pounder cannon and carrying 30 men, and slipped past Philadelphia on a cold winter's night. Washington, now camped at Valley Forge with his suffering army, had simultaneously dispatched General "Mad Anthony" Wayne and 300 men to harass the enemy and capture much-needed supplies.

Barry conveyed Wayne's men across the river

Both: Painting by Noland van Powell



ABOVE: On April 7, 1776, Barry's ship, *Lexington,* fought a two-hour battle and subsequently captured HMS *Edward.* The badly damaged British ship was towed to Philadelphia. BELOW: On May 28, 1781, Captain Barry's ship, *Alliance,* captured two British ships, HMS *Atalanta* and HMS *Trepassey.*



to New Jersey. There, Wayne and his men successfully raided British supply lines, capturing more than 300 head of cattle for the starving troops at Valley Forge. To buy time for Wayne and his men to get their bovine charges to Valley Forge, Barry and his sailors provided a diversion. Barry took his boats up the Mantua River, burning every store of hay they could find. The British turned toward the plumes of smoke, planning to capture the raiders but really allowing Wayne to make good his escape with the captured supplies. In two days, Barry and his men destroyed 400 tons of forage, leaving ashes and embers for the British cavalry and supply horses. At Washington's request, Barry meticulously noted the names and the quantity of forage destroyed at each farm so that the farmers could be fairly compensated for their losses.

The diversionary raid complete, Barry took his small guerrilla navy into hiding to await fresh opportunities. These weren't long in coming. On March 7, 1778, Barry received word that two transports and an armed schooner would be passing their position at Bombay Point. Despite being outnumbered and outgunned, Barry resolved to attack with 27 men and five rowboats. As the armed transports *Kitty* and *Mermaid* passed Barry's position, he struck. *Mermaid* surrendered without firing a shot, then Barry's boarding party attacked *Kitty,* which also surrendered after exchanging cannon fire.

Quickly securing *Kitty*'s crew in the hold, Barry took the captured ship straight at the 20-gun armed schooner *Alert*. In a remarkable bluff, Barry demanded that *Alert* surrender, promising fair treatment for the officers and their private baggage. Remarkably, *Alert* stuck her sails, despite its advantages in guns and men. In a single engagement, Barry and his rowboat fleet had captured three British ships, 116 prisoners, and supplies. Vital intelligence was also captured, including a map of British positions in New York and materials relating to the Hessians in British service. Barry sent the captured supplies, intelligence materials, cheeses, and pickled oysters to General Washington.

Fresh from his triumph on the Delaware, Barry received a favor from an unexpected quarter. The British, as part of their preparations to evacuate Philadelphia, burned *Effingham, Washington,* and several other vessels. Realizing that Barry was too important an asset to have dry-docked, Congress immediately found him a new command: the 32-gun *Raleigh,* which anchored in Boston. Barry's new command was badly in need of repair. Several of her new cannons had burst, and her hull was fouled and damaged. After strenuous efforts, Barry and *Raleigh* finally sailed from Boston on September 25, 1778.

Not long after leaving Boston, Barry spotted two British warships on the horizon. He gave them a wide berth. At 9:30 the next morning, a lookout spotted the two enemy ships drawing near: the 50-gun *Experiment* and the 28-gun *Unicorn. Raleigh* was outgunned by more than 2 to 1. For the rest of the day, Barry led his pursuers on a chase, but the wind started to drop and his pursuers began to make up ground. With night coming, Barry decided to risk an attack. If he could beat back *Unicorn,* he should be able to outdistance the heavier *Experiment.*

Barry turned into *Unicorn* and closed the distance. The frigates exchanged broadsides. On the second exchange, Barry heard a sickening crack; a well-placed shot brought a large section of his topmast crashing to the deck. For six more hours, *Raleigh* and *Unicorn* traded blows, with neither yielding to the other. Finally, *Unicorn* sheared off. Barry made for a small chain of islands off Penobscot Bay, exchanging shots with the still-pursuing *Experiment.* As *Experiment* turned to avoid the shallows, Barry and

Continued on page 62

By William H. Langenberg

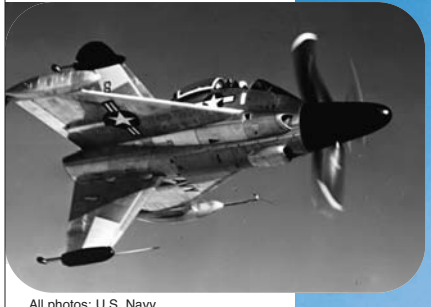
The Seaplane Striking Force was intended to deploy long-range nuclear bombers, obviating the need for large aircraft carriers or land-based runways.

THE FIRST FEW YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II WERE CHALLENGING ones for the U.S. Navy. Massive demobilization of personnel and rapid scrapping or retirement of ships created internal disruptions. Formation of a new Defense Department, combined with sharp reductions in defense spending, led to bitter rivalries among the American military services, each seeking its proper share of increasingly limited resources. Birth of an independent Air Force eager to gain control over all airpower accelerated an internecine struggle with the Navy, leading to the sudden 1949 cancellation of a proposed new aircraft carrier, USS *United States*.

In this milieu, the Navy faced a concurrent operational challenge: the adaptation of larger, heavier, and faster jet-powered aircraft to existing carriers that had supplanted battleships as primary projectors of naval power during the war. Senior naval aviators were concerned that the new supersonic jet aircraft, with their greater weight and higher takeoff and landing speeds, might not be able to operate safely from available carriers—or even new ones of any reasonable size. One theoretical solution was the Seaplane Striking Force (SSF), in which newly developed seaplanes and vertically launched and recovered aircraft would be unshackled from the need for land-based runways or large aircraft carriers.

As envisioned by Navy planners circa 1950, the SSF included as its primary strike weapons high-performance, four-engine, jet-powered seaplanes. These would be supported by a system of technologically advanced, water-based, or short takeoff and landing aircraft in defensive roles, large long-range flying boats for resupply, and relatively inexpensive surface ships and diesel-powered submarines as supporting tenders and refueling and maintenance stations. The centerpiece of the 1950s concept was the P6M SeaMaster flying boat, designed by the Glenn L. Martin Company of Baltimore. In support of the SeaMasters' conventional or nuclear long-range attack mission were three aircraft proposed by Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation of San Diego (Convair). These included the vertical takeoff and landing XFY-1 Pogo tail-sitter defensive fighter aircraft; the F2Y-1 Sea Dart, an innovative delta-winged jet fighter that could take off and land from water; and the R3Y Tradewind, a sleek, large, four-engine turboprop flying boat.

The Convair XFY-1 Pogo was perhaps the least significant among the aircraft elements of the proposed SSF. Designed as a vertical takeoff and landing fighter that could operate from a relatively small platform ashore or on a ship, the Pogo would be a fighter liberated from the need for a land runway or aircraft carrier



All photos: U.S. Navy

The Convair XFY-1 Pogo was an early attempt by the U.S. Navy to build a fighter aircraft capable of performing vertical takeoffs and landings. BELOW: The Pogo in mid-flight. By 1956, myriad problems had grounded the aircraft permanently. OPPOSITE: A Pogo test pilot climbs into the cockpit with some assistance from the ground crew prior to takeoff.

flight decks. It would ostensibly be used to defend SSF forward operating bases and strike aircraft or convoys at sea. As originally designed by Convair, Pogo was an innovative tail-sitter with stubby delta wings and fins above and below the fuselage. Four small landing wheels were affixed to hydraulic pegs at the ends of the wing and vertical stabilizers.

The Pogo had three major flaws. First, the XFY-1 was powered by a huge turboprop engine in an era when American manufacturers were experiencing seemingly insoluble problems developing such engines with satisfactory power and reliability. The Pogo mounted the Allison YT40-A-16, which consisted of two coupled Allison T38 engines producing 5,500 estimated shaft horsepower driving two three-bladed, contra-rotating propellers. The propellers were intended to operate as helicopter rotors while the aircraft was in or near vertical mode during landings and takeoffs. Second, the vertical takeoffs and landings were foreign to pilots who were used to landing on runways or ships while flying forward with full view of the landing area and its periphery. Landings in particular were challenging and hazardous for fledgling pilots because a Pogo aviator had to land by looking over his shoulder or into rearview mirrors while descending to the pad. Third, even if the engine problems were resolved, maximum flight speeds for Pogo would barely exceed 550 miles per hour, far less than the speed of the new jet fighters deployed by the most probable enemy, Soviet MiGs. In addition, the relatively slow but lightweight Pogo lacked spoilers and air brakes and

could not slow down efficiently after flying at high speeds.

Initial flight tests for the radical Pogo, perhaps unsurprisingly, were conducted indoors and tethered at Naval Air Station Moffett Field, California, in early 1954. Convair engineering test pilot and Marine reserve Lt. Col. James F. "Skeets" Coleman made the first untethered test flight at Lindbergh Field, San Diego, in August, reaching an altitude of 40 feet. Coleman continued takeoff and landing practice at Naval Auxiliary Air Station Brown Field, California, logging nearly 60 flight hours in 70 such drills, one of which attained an altitude of about 150 feet. In November, he became the first American pilot to finish a complete flight in the aircraft. He executed a vertical takeoff in Pogo, transitioned to horizontal flight over San Diego for about 20 minutes, then landed vertically within a square measuring 50 feet on each side. Attesting to the difficulty of flying the aircraft, Coleman was awarded the 1954 Harmon trophy, given annually to the world's outstanding aviator.

During its brief career, the sole experimental Pogo logged only about 80 flights. By late 1954, it had become obvious that the aircraft would never overcome its three major problems. The XFY-1 program was terminated by the Navy in August 1955. Convair continued briefly with limited testing of the aircraft, which was grounded for good in November 1956. The single prototype of the unsuccessful Pogo was later transferred to the National Air and Space Museum at Suitland, Maryland, where it currently remains.

In early 1948, the Navy initiated a design contest for a high-performance, supersonic seaplane fighter that could operate from forward areas without the need of either carriers or land air bases. Convair entered the contest in October 1948 via its proposal for a delta-winged design with streamlined hull that rested on the water and rose up on a pair of retractable hydro-skis for takeoffs and landings. After two years of extensive testing and empirical revisions of seaplane designs, Convair was awarded a contract in January 1951 for two prototypes, which were assigned the designation XF2Y-1, Sea Dart, and became an essential element of the SSF concept. The Sea Dart was to be powered by two afterburning Westinghouse J46 jet engines, providing 6,000 pounds of thrust each, fed by a pair of air intakes mounted high on the sides of the fuselage above the wing and behind the cockpit. This configuration was chosen to prevent water spray from entering the intakes during takeoffs and landings. The plane was fitted with a set of dive brakes on the lower rear fuselage, which also doubled as water brakes and rudder while taxiing on the surface.

ABOVE: The Convair XF2Y-1 Sea Dart takes off in the water on retractable skis. During its first public demonstration the plane disintegrated in mid-air, killing the pilot. BELOW: The Convair R3Y-1 Tradewind, nicknamed the Flying LST, was intended to operate as a landing craft, but it performed more efficiently as an aerial tanker.

Sea Darts took off and landed on a pair of retractable hydro-skis that extended outward on hydraulic legs from recesses cut into the lower hull, one ski on each side of the hull. The Navy had such confidence in the design that it ordered 12 production F2Y-1 aircraft in August 1952. Pending the availability of the J46 jets, the first prototype XF2Y-1 was fitted with two non-afterburning Westinghouse J34 engines providing only 3,400 pounds of thrust each. Initial flight tests in April 1953 revealed that the aircraft was severely underpowered for its weight. In addition, the hydro-skis vibrated so much during takeoffs and landings that the aircraft was extremely difficult to control. To cure the vibration problem, the skis were redesigned and their hydraulic legs improved. But inadequate thrust and seemingly insoluble vibration problems with the hydro-skis continued to plague the Sea Dart. In October 1953, the Navy canceled the remaining XF2Y-ls.

The first of four contracted YF2Y-1 service test aircraft joined the program in early 1954. It was powered by a pair of afterburning Westinghouse J46 turbojets. In overall appearance, the YF2Y-1 was similar to the XF2Y-1 except for the revised nacelles housing more powerful J46 engines. Convair test pilot Charles E. Richbourg made the initial flight tests of this Sea Dart. In August 1954, at an altitude of 34,000 feet, he took the first YF2Y-1 through the sound barrier while in a shallow dive, making the Sea Dart the first and to date the only seaplane to go supersonic. Since the Sea Dart had been designed before the application of the fuselage area rule, the aircraft experienced high transonic drag and remained unable to exceed

the speed of sound in level flight.

By the fall of 1954, both the Navy and the manufacturer were confident that all three aircraft being developed by Convair were ready for a public demonstration of their capabilities. In November 1954 the Navy scheduled a daring but, in retrospect, premature flight demonstration in San Diego for all three aircraft. Invited for the performance were high-ranking Navy officers and Defense Department officials, Convair management and engineering personnel, and a large press contingent. The first act was performed by the XFY-1 at Naval Auxiliary Air Station Brown Field, where the experimental Pogo made a successful vertical takeoff, conversion to level flight, and safe vertical descent on its quadruple landing wheels. Following this performance, guests were transported to Convair's seaplane ramp on San Diego Bay, where they were treated to an impressive flyby from the R3Y Tradewind.

The last scheduled activity on the public demonstration was a takeoff, flyby, and landing by the Convair YF2Y-l Sea Dart by veteran test pilot Richbourg. The Sea Dart made a spectacular takeoff run from the bay, and Richbourg retracted its skis immediately after liftoff. He then flew east of San Diego and turned back to perform a westerly flyby over the bay. The Sea Dart had reached about 500 knots over San Diego city hall when Richbourg fired the after- burners. The aircraft suddenly disintegrated, enveloped by a huge fireball, and plunged inverted into the bay near Convair rescue boats. Richbourg was killed by the impact and his body immediately recovered by frogmen. As a result of the disaster, all Sea Dart operations were temporarily suspended until a Navy accident board completed its investigation. In December 1954, the board concluded that the accident had been caused by pilot-induced longitudinal pitch oscillations and not any unique design deficiencies in the Sea Dart itself.

Lieutenant Colonel James Coleman, test pilot for the troubled Convair XFY-1 Pogo, won a flying award in 1954 for his courageous work with the aircraft.

Even before the public fiasco at the YF2Y-1 flight demonstration, the Navy had been gradually losing interest in the Sea Dart project. Even with more powerful engines, the aircraft could not achieve supersonic speeds. Continuing problems with saltwater intrusion plagued the jet engines, and excessively vibrating water skis could not be corrected. As a consequence, the Navy canceled 10 of the 16 production aircraft in December 1953. All remaining six production F2Y-1s were canceled in March 1954. The fatal crash by Richbourg later that year, with the attendant bad publicity, put the quietus on further development, and the Sea Dart program was relegated to test status only. Operational testing of all Sea Darts ended in 1957.

The SSF featured the innovative Martin P6M SeaMaster flying boat as its principal strike weapon, one designed to operate from forward, mobile bases at sea, free of costly airfields or aircraft carriers. Two additional aircraft types were required to support the SeaMaster in the new weapons system. They included protective defensive fighters, as epitomized by the Con-

vair XFY-1 Pogo and F2Y-1 Sea Dart. In addition, large, fast seaplanes acting as transport, supply, and refueling aircraft would be vital to support the SeaMaster strike element and mobile base components. The Convair R3Y Tradewind was developed to meet this demanding requirement.

R3Y Tradewinds were a derivative of the postwar XP5Y patrol flying boat, two of which were built by Convair in San Diego for the Navy. The XP5Ys featured a high-aspect-ratio wing and four complex turboprop engines driving six-bladed contra-rotating propellers. Delivered in 1950, these predecessor aircraft included a laminar flow wing mounted high on a sleek fuselage with a single-step hull. One of the two experimental test models crashed at sea in July 1953 from presumed engine failure. Shortly after this incident, the Navy terminated XP5Y tasking for maritime patrol and switched its mission to cargo and troop transport for the SSF.

The first of five sleek R3Y-1 Tradewinds, successors to the XP5Y flying boat, made its initial flight in February 1954. All armament and tailplane dihedrals were deleted from the predecessor design. The new cargo and transport version had a cargo hatch 10 feet wide on the port side of the hull aft of the wing, and its engine nacelles were reconfigured for new Allison T-40-A-10 turboprop motors. These complex engines, driving two contra-rotating propellers through a gearbox, proved to be an Achilles heel for the R3Ys. The Tradewinds had a conventional two-step flying boat hull, without bulkheads above the cargo deck, thus opening up a vast interior storage space that could be configured in various ways. The R3Y-1 could seat 80 combat-equipped troops in rear-facing seats, carry 72 litter patients plus 12 attendants, or haul 24 tons of cargo—all in air-conditioned, pressurized comfort. In February 1955, one of the five R3Y-1s set a seaplane record that still stands; it flew from the West to the East Coast at an average speed of 403 miles per hour.

Over the next two years, six improved R3Y-2 aircraft were delivered to the Navy; they featured a clamshell cargo door on the front of the fuselage. This earned them the appellation of "Flying LSTs" because they included the same high-speed roll-on, roll-off cargo-handling capability employed by the Navy's Landing Ship Tank. A serious operational problem arose with the clamshell front door version of the R3Y-2 aircraft. Pilots reported that it was almost impossible to hold the aircraft steady with only engine power while it was loaded and unloaded. This was a crucial shortcoming,

Early tests of the Martin XP6M-1 SeaMaster showed that its engines scorched the fuselage. Four crewmen were killed on a routine test flight in 1955.

as failure to hold steady might cause the aircraft to broach catastrophically in the surf. Three of the R3Y-1s and one R3Y-2 were later modified to become aerial tankers, essential for the fighter aircraft incorporated in the SSF. The converted R3Y-2 achieved fame in August 1956 by refueling four F9F Cougar fighter jets simultaneously, the first time such a feat had been accomplished.

In March 1956, all the R3Y-ls and R3Y-2s were placed under operational control of Navy transport squadron VR-2 at Naval Air Station Alameda, California. Apparently insoluble problems with the Allison turboprop engines continued. In-flight separations of the gearbox and propeller afflicted two different R3Y aircraft during test flights in May 1957 and January 1958. Financial constraints and repeated failures of the Allison turboprop engines resulted in the aircraft's termination after only 11 had been delivered to the Navy. Transport squadron VR-2 was disbanded in April 1958. All remaining P5Y and R3Y aircraft were grounded later that year.

By the late 1950s, only the centerpiece of the SSF, the Martin P6M SeaMaster, remained under development. It too was experiencing severe problems with test-flight accidents, cost overruns, and seemingly interminable delays. The key to the SSF would be its own nuclear-bomb-carrying strike aircraft, a jet-powered, fast, technologically advanced seaplane. Accordingly, it issued specifications for such an aircraft in April 1951. Design requirements for the new flying boat were stringent. To achieve them, a seaplane would require a performance equal to that of a land-based jet. The aircraft would need a bomb capacity of 14 tons, be able to attack targets 1,500 miles from its mobile base, and achieve speeds of 650 miles per hour during low-level attacks. The Navy selected Martin to build two prototype aircraft to these rigid specifications in October 1952, to be identified as XP6M-1s.

The two XP6M-1 prototypes were fitted with four Allison J71-A-4 turbojet engines mounted in pairs within four nacelles above the wing near its roots. Known as SeaMasters, the two aircraft had anhedral drooped wings, featuring 40 degrees of sweepback that ended in wingtip fuel tanks that also served as floats. The wingtip floats contained equipment that helped dock the aircraft. The SeaMaster had a pressurized cabin and a crew of four: pilot, copilot, navigator, and flight engineer. Its sole defensive armament was a pair of 20mm cannons mounted in a remote-controlled tail turret.

During flight testing in 1955, the initial prototype SeaMaster quickly revealed one obvious weakness. Its jet engines had been oriented parallel to the hull so that exhaust gases exited over the rear fuselage, thus scorching it in that area and limiting use of afterburners. Corrective action was taken on later P6M-1 and P6M-2 models, which mounted their four turbine nacelles in a toed-in manner so that jet exhausts were directed outboard of the rear fuselage. Other problems encountered by the first experimental XP6M-1 were unexplained vibrations throughout the hull, plus rear turret and rotary bomb rack malfunctions.

By late 1955, most problems with the XP6M-1 were determined to be curable, and the Navy assigned an evaluation team from its nearby Naval Air Test Center in Maryland to work with Martin during further development. In December 1955, a mixed crew of Martin and Navy personnel took one XP6M-1 up for a routine test flight. While descending at full power from 8,700 feet, the test aircraft suddenly exploded and disintegrated in the air, killing all four occupants.

The Navy immediately instituted an exhaustive accident investigation into the loss of the XP6M-1, concluding that the plane had experienced longitudinal divergence that tore the engines loose and caused the wings to fold entirely under the airplane before they broke away. The investigation could not ascertain the cause of the divergence but suggested that it might have been the result of a failure in the activator for the horizontal stabilizer. The Navy's continued confidence in the SeaMaster program drove further development of the aircraft, and there was no cancellation of the contracted six YP6M-1 service evaluation planes. With surprisingly little delay, the remaining XP6M-1 resumed testing in May 1956. It was modified to include new flight instrumentation,

ABOVE: In November 1956, four crewmen safely ejected from the Martin XP6M-1 after it broke up again in mid-air. BELOW: In August 1959, the Navy permanently cancelled development of the SeaMaster, effectively ending its expensive Seaplane Striking Force program.

plus ejection seats for all four crew members. During a flight test in November 1956, the aircraft again broke up in the air, although this time all crew members ejected safely. An investigation traced the cause to an error in the design calculation for the tail control system.

Throughout 1958, the YP6M-1s tested their mine-laying, bombing, navigation, and reconnaissance systems. The Navy proceeded with 24 production versions of the P6M-2s, the first of which was delivered by Martin early in 1959. These aircraft were powered by more powerful non-afterburning Pratt & Whitney J75-P-2 turbojet engines that permitted a substantial increase in gross weight for the aircraft. Since this meant the SeaMasters sat lower in the water, their wing anhedral was eliminated. The P6M-2s were also fitted with improved navigation and bombing systems, plus midair refueling probes. In this production version, the SeaMaster was an impressive weapon. It achieved the specified 650 miles per hour for on-the-deck attacks. But the aircraft also evidenced some unpleasant flight characteristics, such as rapid changes in directional trim, severe buffeting, and wing drop requiring high control inputs to counter. These defects were traced to larger engine nacelles required by the J75 engines. Other problems also became evident as testing continued, such as tip floats digging into the water during choppy seas and engine surges.

In August 1959, the Navy canceled further operational development of the SeaMaster program. By then, the modern equivalent of $2.5 billion had been spent on the SeaMasters, which had ballooned in cost and suffered numerous, still unsolved technological problems. The Martin P6M SeaMaster development joined the Convair Pogo, Sea Dart, and Tradewind programs as failed elements of the SSF.

In retrospect, while the SSF concept had its ardent and articulate advocates, it was probably never going to perform a primary role in the Navy's nuclear strike mission. Jet aircraft and carrier advancements obviated the four aircraft conceived to implement the program, but it was also overtaken by extraneous worldwide events. Seaplane advocates in the Navy were far outweighed by senior carrier aviators, whose influence became dominant during the 1950s. Perhaps most important, the rapid development of ballistic missiles dramatically reduced the need for manned aircraft as delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons. The Seaplane Striking Force was a costly concept whose time never arrived. □

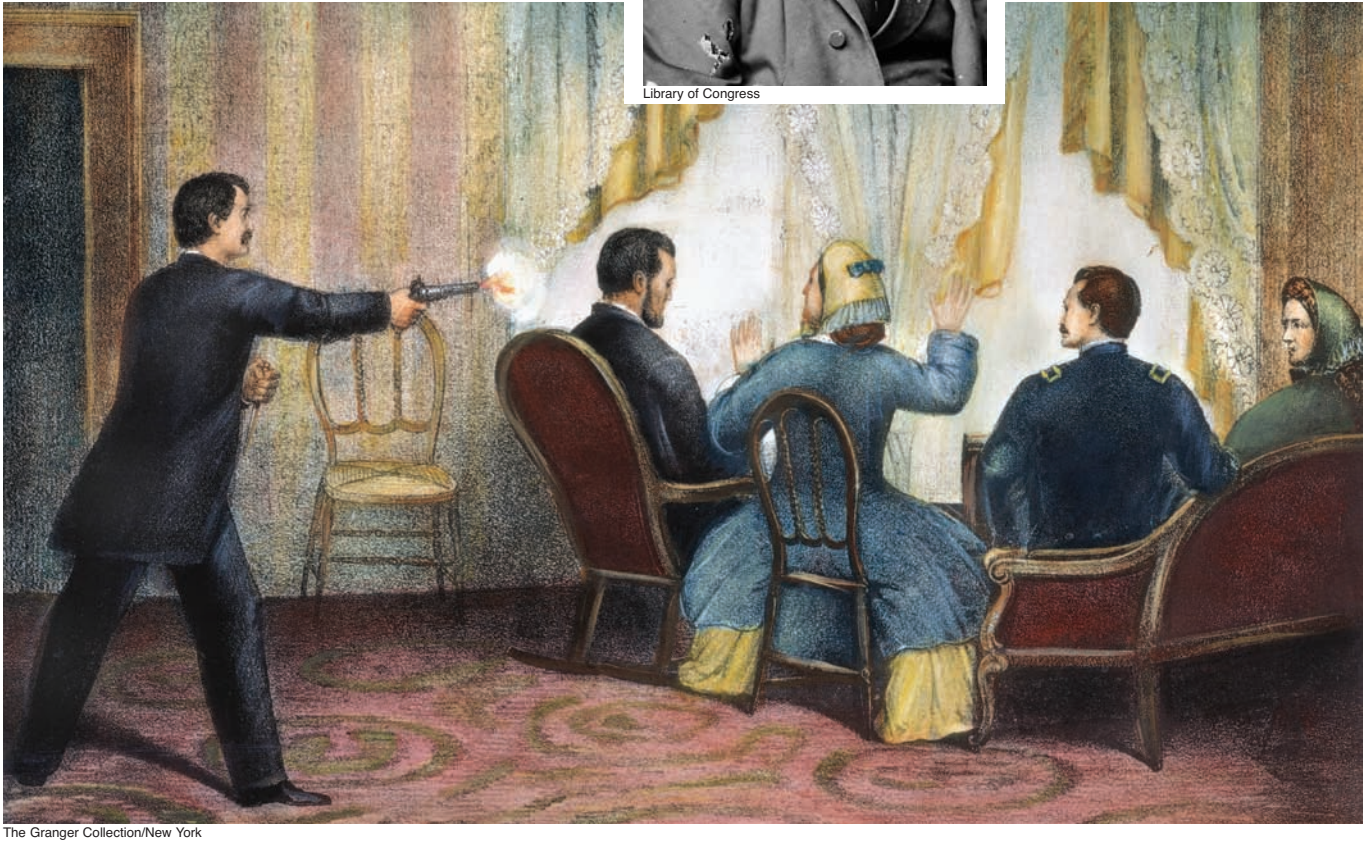
By Paul A. Thomsen

As Abraham Lincoln lay dying, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton assumed virtually dicatorial control of the stunned Federal government.

IN THE LATE HOURS OF APRIL 14, 1865, SECRETARY OF WAR EDWIN Stanton sat at a small table in the Petersen House across the street from Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C. Aided by a Union Army stenographer, Stanton labored to uncover the facts behind the shocking act that would soon claim the life of President Abraham Lincoln, who was lying unconscious in the adjacent rear bedroom. With elements of both armies still in the field, Confederate agents still at large, and the border of the crumbling would-be Rebel nation only miles away, the secretary of war had assumed the responsibility for assessing the national security implications of the act and, where warranted, for bringing the full might of the United States military down upon those responsible.

Library of Congress

Minutes after arriving at the boarding house, Stanton's ad hoc investigation had confirmed a number of alarming facts. Several witnesses attending the Ford's Theater performance of *Our American Cousin* had seen Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth enter the presidential box, fire a metal ball into the back of the president's head, and leap to the stage below, shout-



The Granger Collection/New York

BELOW: Presidential assassin John Wilkes Booth fires point-blank into Abraham Lincoln's head at Ford's Theater on the night of April 14, 1865. RIGHT: Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

ing: "Sic Semper Tyrannis! The South is avenged!" before disappearing into the night. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Senator Charles Sumner also reported that Secretary of State William Seward had narrowly survived a near-simultaneous attack at his residence across town. To Stanton and Lincoln's other cabinet members and friends arriving by the minute, it seemed increasingly apparent that the disintegrating Confederacy had struck at the North through its leaders. Stanton, as the ranking, physically able cabinet member, was the man best qualified to ensure that the Confederates pay for their treachery.

When Lincoln tapped Ohio-born Washington trial lawyer Stanton to become his secretary of war in January 1862, the former Buchanan administration attorney general rapidly proved himself to be a team player. Stanton became a valued gatekeeper of sensitive information and, eventually, the president's personal crisis manager. Over time, Lincoln also came to rely on Stanton's ability to walk a fine line between civil liberties and wartime necessity. In August 1862, for example, the secretary of war broadened the scope of Lincoln's revocation of habeas corpus and military commissions to try civilians deemed dangerous, including an estimated 13,000 civilians arrested for "disloyal practices." Stanton also took a personal interest in the president's own security, stationing a military guard at the door of the Executive Mansion, detailing Union cavalry as ride-along bodyguards, and coordinating activities with the Washington police.

As the president's breaths grew weaker by the moment, Stanton effectively became the most powerful unelected military leader in the history of the United States. Acting as the de facto commander in chief and unfettered by Lincoln's temperance, Stanton methodically put into motion every military and extralegal measure at his disposal to stabilize the crisis. First, he ordered the city sealed from travel. Second, he superseded the authority of the Washington police commissioner and declared the area a military crime scene by asserting the president's status as military commander. Third, he ordered the vice president placed under guard pending further developments. Next, he charged both police and military units to start gathering witnesses and evidence and arrest suspected associates of Booth for questioning. Finally, he disseminated news of the crisis to military posts throughout the country with orders to remain on full alert.

Shortly after Lincoln's death at 7:22 AM,

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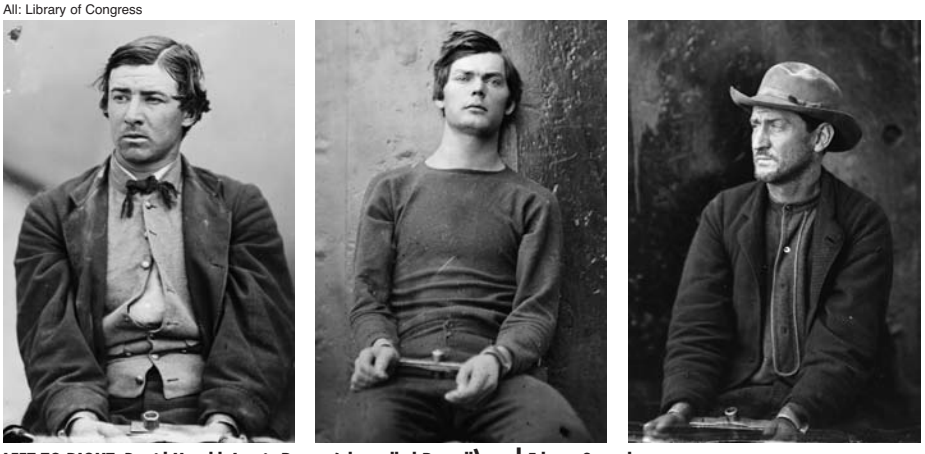


LEFT TO RIGHT: David Herold, Lewis Payne (also called Powell) and Edman Spangler.

Stanton began to focus on Washington's small ring of Confederate sympathizers. On April 17, an army unit reported that it had found one of Booth's associates, paroled Confederate soldier and would-be Seward assassin Lewis Payne (also known as Lewis Powell and Lewis Paine), entering the 541 H Street boarding house a few blocks away from Ford's Theater that Booth had frequented. The arrest led to other Booth associates, including Mary Surratt, the mother of a known Confederate sympathizer and owner of the boarding house where Booth had met with his plotters.

On the same day, Confederate agents Michael O'Laughlin and Samuel Arnold were also arrested. Fearing military action, Arnold promptly confessed to taking part in a previous plot to capture—but not kill—the president. Within five days of the murder, the army had captured George Atzerodt for allegedly targeting Andrew Johnson for assassination and holding Booth's Confederate ciphers. Next, Union soldiers seized a Maryland doctor who had treated the fleeing Booth, Dr. Samuel Mudd, and a stagehand who had held the actor's horse at Ford's Theater, Edman Spangler. Finally, the War Department distributed posters announcing Stanton's authorization of a $50,000 reward for Booth and $25,000 for David Herold (sometimes spelled Harold) and for Mary Surratt's suspiciously absent son, John. Stanton was closing in on his prey.

Over the next several days, Stanton's deft handling of both the investigation and the winding down of the war bought the Executive Office time to grieve and contemplate its next move. President Andrew Johnson, the lone southern Unionist in Federal leadership and Lincoln's successor, found no argument with either of Stanton's crisis-managing roles. Johnson gave Stanton carte blanche to uncover the conspirators. Still, some cabinet members worried that Stanton was exceeding his authority. According to Gideon Welles, Stanton had become "mercurial—arbitrary and apprehensive, violent and fearful, rough and impulsive—yet possessed of ability and energy." As the weeks passed, the secretary of war uncharacteristically hid his opinions, appearing "desirous of evading or avoiding the subject."

Stanton, in fact, was making a power grab. In mid-April, he provided the cabinet with specious documentation found floating on the Potomac River, which he presented as unimpeachable evidence indicating that Confederate President Jefferson Davis and other southern leaders had conspired to assassinate Lincoln, Johnson, and most of the cabinet. Stanton was already treating captured southern land as Union territory, granting military commanders the right to govern under martial law. He also spared no expense in pursuing the still-at-large Confederate president. As long as Davis remained free, Stanton believed unrepentant southerners might yet rekindle the war.

Andrew Johnson and most of the cabinet were swayed by Stanton's persuasiveness and assented to the questionable use of the occupying Union Army as a military police force. Stanton's army dragnet was validated on April 26, when the president's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, and his accomplice, David Herold, were cornered in a Virginia barn by a Union cavalry patrol. The assassin refused to surrender and was shot and killed—against orders—by a Union Army sergeant and religious fanatic named Boston Corbett. The Army had gotten its man.

With Booth dead, the White House questioned what to do with his nine captured accomplices. Some in the cabinet wanted to give the prisoners a civilian trial. Stanton, however, challenged the notion by citing Lincoln administration precedents allowing for military trials of suspected antiloyalists. The co-conspirators had been discovered by military personnel, said Stanton, and were already quartered in nearby high-security military prisons. They should be tried and executed by military law.

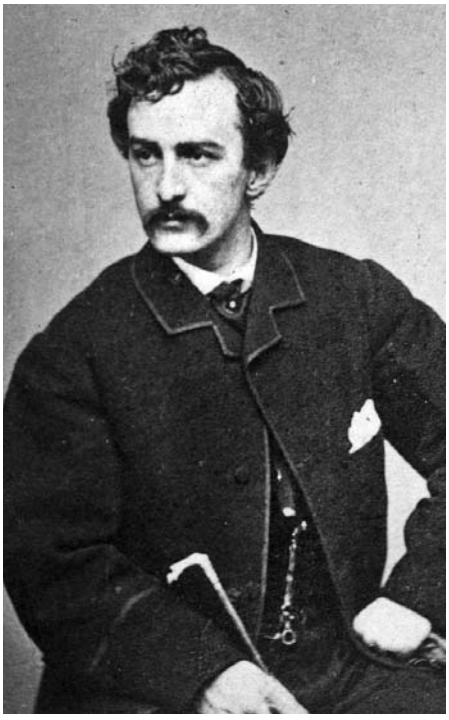
Throughout the Civil War, military commissions were viewed as a legitimate means of administering justice where civilian courts might be considered partisan and time did not allow a lengthy exploration of facts and evidence. Under the Law of War, courts were "guided by the principles of justice, honor and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men, for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed." The law also made keen distinctions between a spy, one who "secretly, in disguise or under false pretense, seeks information with the intention of communicating it to the enemy," and a traitor, "a person in a place or district under martial law who, unauthorized by the military commander, gives information of any kind to the enemy, or holds intercourse with him."

Military courts were highly organized affairs and an overt symbol of federal power. The courts were convened by a commanding officer of high rank and staffed by a panel of three to 10 military officers deployed at a military base or camp and conducted by military lawyers with optional civilian counsel. Prosecutors were forced to prove their case beyond a reasonable doubt. The defense was also required to provide a vigorous challenge to the prosecution on behalf of their clients, who were barred from speaking before the court in their own defense. At the conclusion of the argument phase, the judges were required to retire for deliberations and render a verdict based on a two-thirds majority. Following these guidelines, the 1864 Indianapolis Conspiracy trials had effectively processed several arrested individuals, convicting accused Copperheads (southern sympathizers) of planning to liberate Confederate prisoners in the North by force of arms. Given the fluid nature of the Booth conspiracy, Stanton's military solution seemed a better alternative than letting the confessed conspirators and other possible collaborators evade justice in a questionable civilian trial.

Again, Stanton won the necessary support for his plans. On May 1, President Johnson signed a vaguely worded executive proclamation creating a military commission under Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt to try the "aiders and abettors and the persons implicated in the murder of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and in an alleged conspiracy to assassinate other officers." The nine prisoners were ordered moved to the Old Arsenal Penitentiary

on the site of modern-day Fort McNair.

Attorney General James Speed was ordered to plan the prosecution and ensure that the military commission would continue to serve as judge, jury, and executioner. Stanton called on Holt to manage the daily running of the trial as the presiding judge of the commission. In 1862, Holt had written to Lincoln, describing the new secretary of war as "a friend true as steel, & a support, which no pressure from within or from without, will ever shake." In 1863, Holt had taken part in Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside's arrest of Peace Democrat Clement Vallandigham

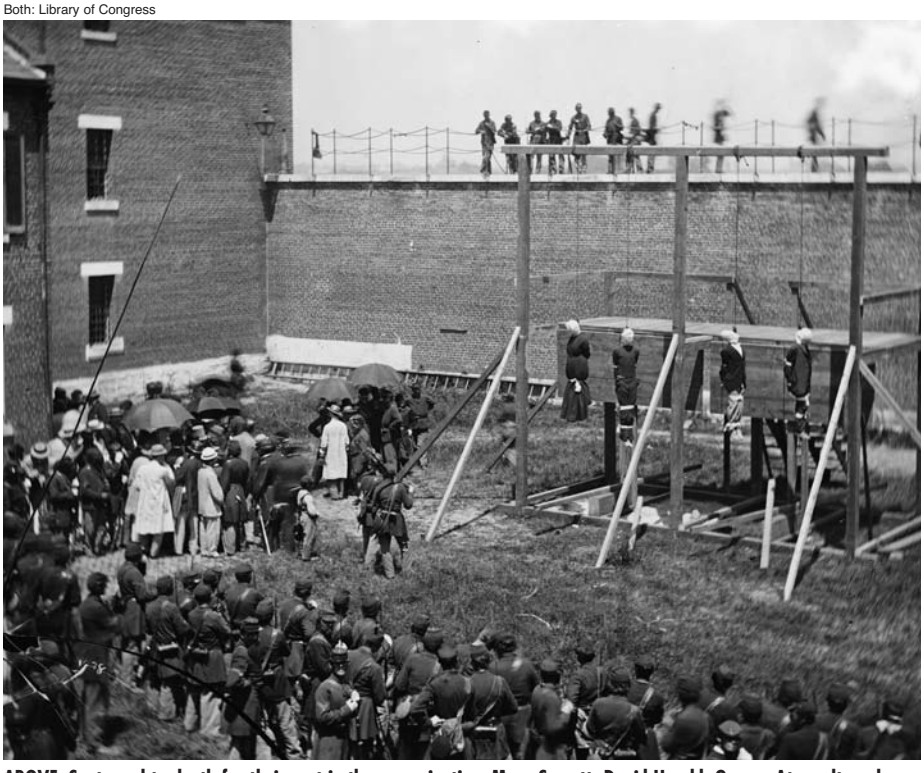


and the 1864 Indianapolis treason trials.

On May 6, the Adjutant General's Office released the names of the Booth conspirators' judges: Maj. Gens. David Hunter, Lew Wallace, and August Kautz and Brig. Gens. Albion Howe, T. M. Harris and Robert Foster. Stanton appointed Congressman John Bingham and Colonel Henry Burnett to assist Holt as special judge advocates. With the assemblage of so many Lincoln friends and Union generals, the prisoners were virtually guaranteed a lynching party.

On May 9, the nine prisoners were led from their dank, stone-walled cells wearing shackles on their wrists and padded cotton hoods obscuring their faces. Almost blind and suffocating from the hoods, they were led upstairs to the newly erected third-floor courtroom of the Old Arsenal Penitentiary, where they were granted for the first time access to legal counsel. There were brief motions to block the removal of the prisoners' hoods (which Stanton had directed the prisoners wear at all times) and to allow civilian representation at the trial. The judges awarded the prisoners minor conciliatory gestures, and the trial proceeded apace with the formal reading of charges.

Both: Library of Congress



ABOVE: Sentenced to death for their part in the assassination, Mary Surratt, David Herold, George Atzerodt, and Lewis Payne were hung at the Old Arsenal Penitentiary on July 7, 1865. LEFT: John Wilkes Booth at the height of his fame as an actor.

Instead of presenting their case, the prosecutors first attacked the defense's choice of counsel. During the war, they claimed, Mary Surratt's lawyer, Reverdy Johnson, had not "recognized the moral obligation of an oath destined as a test of loyalty of the United States" and was therefore unqualified to represent the boarding house owner. Johnson, a Maryland lawyer, senator, and Zachary Taylor's attorney general, had also represented Dred Scott in the infamous 1857 Supreme Court ruling. The claim against Johnson, born of his wartime criticisms of Stanton, was specious, and the Maryland lawyer countered the claim with a litany of causes he had served in the support of the federal government, the North, and his home state. The judges ruled in favor of Johnson as Surratt's co-counsel.

The defense's minor victories were short-lived. Over the next several hours, the prosecution implicated the prisoners by way of elaborate reports of supposed Confederate intelligence operations furnished by Stanton's investigation. First, they presented the court with evidence discovered in the papers of Jefferson Davis after the fall of Richmond, indicating that Davis had used ciphered letters to conduct clandestine correspondence with field operatives. Second, the prosecutors provided the court with evidence relating to known Confederate Secret Service activities in Canada. The prosecutors cited testimony placing John Wilkes Booth and John Surratt in contact with the Canadian-based operations and produced Booth's ciphers found in Atzerodt's hotel room. Finally, the prosecution offered the coded letter purportedly found awash on the Potomac, tacitly linking Booth to the prisoners.

Over the following weeks, the prosecutors and defense counsel focused on the prisoners' actions within the framework of a timeline of the April 15 assassination. They discussed Payne's service with Confederate Colonel John Mosby's raiders, Arnold's and O'Laughlin's ties to Booth's original attempt to take Lincoln hostage, and Mudd's past associations with Booth. The defense vigorously defended their clients, pointing out inconsistencies in eyewitness testimony and the dubious work of the War Department's paid informants. Hoping to influence the judges, an anonymous supporter circulated a small pamphlet in Washington entitled *The Trial of Mary Surratt,* charging that the proceedings were a miscarriage of justice. The moves had little effect—both the defense counsel and the pamphlet writer were

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By Blaine Taylor

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum at Hyde Park is the premier research center for the FDR era.

Springwood, the Franklin D. Roosevelt family home at Hyde Park, NY, is now a National Historic Site.

RIGHT: The familiar FDR smile and jaunty cigarette holder inspired cartoonists the world over.

FAR RIGHT: FDR at Top Cottage in February 1941 with his famous pet Scottish terrier, Fala, and Ruthie Bie, the granddaughter of his caretaker.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE DEDICATION OF A LIBRARY IS IN ITSELF AN act of faith." The date was June 30, 1941, and the speaker was President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the middle of his third, and most people felt final, term in office as America's chief executive, just a few months before America's entry into World War II. The occasion was the inaugural dedication of the very first American presidential library, on the site of FDR's boyhood home at Hyde Park, near secluded Poughkeepsie, above the banks of the Hudson River in upstate New York.

Added the nation's second Depression-era president: "To bring together the records of the past and to house them in buildings where they will be preserved for the use of men and women in the future, a nation must believe in three things. It must believe in the past. It must believe in the future. It must—above all—believe in the capacity of its own people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgment in creating their own future. This latest addition to the archives of America is dedicated at a moment when government of the people by themselves is being attacked everywhere. It is therefore proof—if any proof is needed—that our confidence in the future of democracy has not diminished in this nation, and will not diminish."

Library of Congress

FDR Library

FDR's words were directed not only to his immediate audience but also to the fascist dictators of Europe and the Far East and to America's future allies around the world in what was soon to become the greatest human conflict in history, one in which Roosevelt and the United States were to play leading roles. (Eight days earlier, Germany had invaded the Soviet Union, widening its war to two fronts.) As the only such facility to be used by a sitting American president, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum was the prototype model for the current national system. Today, the beautiful wooded site is administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

FDR Library

All: FDR Library

ABOVE: FDR drove himself around the grounds at Hyde Park in this hand-steered blue Ford. BELOW LEFT: Top Cottage was intended to be FDR's presidential retirement home, but he died in office in 1945. BELOW RIGHT: The FDR Library at Hyde Park contains some 44,000 books, as well as millions of manuscript pages and official documents relating to the Roosevelt administration.

The FDR Library, a gift to the American people from the president, had its beginnings in 1939 when Roosevelt turned over to the government 16 acres of the family estate at Hyde Park, and soon thereafter material began arriving from Washington. The Dutch colonial-style library, funded by some $376,000 in private donations, was constructed of Hudson Valley fieldstone. It is now the permanent repository for over 200 separate collections comprising over 17 million pages of manuscripts, 130,000 photographs, 15,000 of FDR's personal books, his 150 stamp albums containing two million stamps, plus hundreds of sound recordings and thousands of feet of motion picture film. These are supported by 44,000 books covering the life and times of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Many of these papers were made available to the public in 1951, six years following the president's death, an action without precedent in our nation's history. The library's standing as a center for historical education and research is a tribute to the president whose vision made it possible, and to the work of former directors and staff members who have gathered a remarkable assemblage of historical material.

Roosevelt had two major purposes in founding this library. He looked first into preserving the records of his administration, as many of his predecessors had not done. George Washington's papers were badly damaged by rats; Zachary Taylor's were burned by Union Army troops occupying his Confederate son's Louisiana home during the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant simply lost many of his records; and Chester A. Arthur personally burned three trash cans full of invaluable presidential records the day before he died on November 18, 1886. Second, Roosevelt looked into making his papers available to students as quickly and as widely as possible. He achieved both aims spectacularly. After his death at Warm Springs, Georgia, on April 12, 1945, FDR's White House papers were moved to Hyde Park. Between 1945 and 1951, some 85 percent of the papers were opened to research. At the present time, less than one half of one percent of Roosevelt's papers remains under any restriction on access.

Along with research purposes, the unfolding years have seen ample fulfillment of Roosevelt's hope that his collections, including his personal and family papers, would attract the papers of others. More than 150 separate collections are now held at the library, including the voluminous papers of his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, and the papers of such FDR-era principals as Anna Roosevelt Halstead, Adolf A. Berle, Gardner Means, and Claude Wickard. Among the many notable manuscripts in the overall collections are those of presidential naval aide Wilson Brown and Map Room officer John L. McCrea, top FDR advisers Louis M. Howe and Harry L. Hopkins, and White House physician and Surgeon General of the Navy Admiral Ross T. McIntire. Others include those of Treasury Secretary Henry M. Morgenthau, Jr., the United States Secret Service, and special counsel to the president and speechwriter Judge Samuel I. Rosenman.

Among the many taped interviews in the Eleanor Roosevelt Oral History Transcripts are those of journalist Martha Gellhorn, Ernest Hemingway's third wife; ambassador to the Soviet Union and New York governor W. Averill Harriman; and Eleanor Roosevelt's New York apartment maid, Georgianna V. Turner. There are also extensive microfilm records and collections of letters, such as those from then-Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts to Eleanor Roosevelt during the period when Kennedy was seeking the 1960 Democratic Party nomination for the presidency. Correctly billed as "the world's premier research center of the Roosevelt era," the library's archival holdings include the president's personal and family papers, as well as papers covering his public career at the state and national level.

Included in the facility's holdings are 700 reels of motion picture film and 25,000 items belonging to the Roosevelts, husband and wife. In addition, there are the president's original collection of 200 ship models and 1,200 naval prints and paintings, presidential gifts, campaign memorabilia, Works Progress Administration (WPA) art, and other prints and paintings as well.

Annually, the facility attracts 6,500 research requests via mail, e-mail, and telephone, while 700 researchers use the research room, thus making it one of the busiest in the presidential library system. The facility also maintains an award-winning Internet website, www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu, which allows global visitors to access the site's fabulous information-age library resources. The digital archive, developed in partnership with Marist College and IBM, is one of the earliest large-scale digitalization projects on the Web. In addition to search aids and other research tools, the website contains more than 13,000 digitized documents and over 2,000 photographs. The site also includes features on education programs, the museum, visitor information, and a museum store catalog

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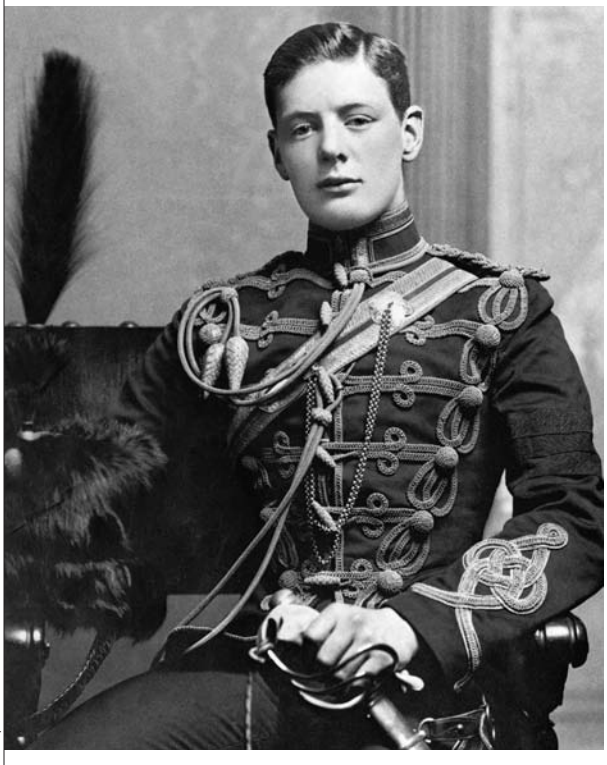
THE LAST CAVALRY



Imperial War Museum

IN AUGUST 1898, BRITISH GENERAL H.H. KITCHENER AND HIS ARMY REACHED OMDURMAN, OPPOSITE ILL-STARRED KHARTOUM. THE STAGE WAS SET FOR THE LAST CAVALRY CHARGE IN BRITISH MILITARY HISTORY.

BY ERIC NIDEROST

ON THE MORNING of September 1, 1898, Lieutenant Winston Churchill of the Queen's 4th Hussars rode out with four squadrons of the 21st Lancers to scout the approaches to Omdurman, a Sudanese village on the west bank of the Nile opposite Khartoum, epicenter of a revolt that had rocked the very foundations of the British Empire. An Anglo-Egyptian army under Maj. Gen. Sir Herbert Kitchener was a few miles behind the cavalry screen. Kitchener's object was to reconquer the Sudan, restore order, and forestall any encroachments from opportunistic European rivals.

The British horsemen cautiously advanced over the sun-baked plain, the eye-numbing sandy desolation relieved by a few thorn bushes, scrub, and patches of grass. Churchill and the lancers ascended a low ridge to scan the horizon. Officers raised their field glasses and were rewarded with a sweeping panorama. Omdurman itself was in sight, and Churchill recalled later that "to the left the river, steel gray in the morning light, forked into two channels, and on a tongue of land between them the gleam of a white building showed among the trees."

The white building was part of Khartoum, capital of the Sudan, where the Blue Nile and White Nile converge to form Africa's greatest

CHARGE

The 21st Lancers charge headlong into sword-wielding Dervishes at Omdurman. Three lancers won Victoria Crosses in the last formal cavalry charge in British military history. Painting by George Rowlandson. INSET: Lieutenant Winston Churchill of the Queen's 4th Hussars.

Picture Desk/The Art Archive

river. Nearby, there seemed to be a long, dark smear that the British assumed was a *zareba*, a thorn bush barrier that commonly served as a prickly fortification in the treeless land. Some of the enemy, whom the British called Dervishes, could be seen lurking behind the barrier, confirming the officers' first assumption.

The lancers advanced, supported by Egyptian cavalry, the Camel Corps, and some horse artillery. Dervish horsemen came forward to meet them but were sent packing by dismounted troopers firing Lee-Medford carbines at 800 yards. The lancers halted and waited for the enemy to make the next move.

About 11 AM, the distant *zareba* suddenly sprang into malevolent life. It was made of men, not thorns—thousands of them, so thick that they made an undulating black wave. Churchill was awed by the sight. The roiling mass, he said, was "four miles from end to end and, as it seemed, in five great divisions, this mighty army advanced swiftly. Above them waved hundreds of banners, and the sun, glinting on many thousands of hostile spear points, spread a sparkling cloud."

The young lieutenant rushed back to alert Kitchener to the enemy's latest moves. Filled with a

Imperial War Museum

Commanding General H.H. Kitchener, center right, discusses the Omdurman campaign with Maj. Gen. Sir William Gatacre, in charge of the British Brigade on the Nile.

growing sense of urgency, Churchill galloped up the hillside to get his bearings. Once on the crest he could plainly see the Dervish army's dark masses in stark relief against the brown, sandy plain. Turning around, he could also view the Anglo-Egyptian army, some 24,000 men, drawn up with their backs to the Nile. The two armies, separated by the hill's looming slopes, could not yet see each other, but an enormous clash seemed inevitable. Churchill drank in the mesmerizing spectacle—an irresistible wall of Dervishes about to collide with an immovable force of British and Egyptian soldiers.

His sense of duty breaking the spell, Churchill pulled the reins of his horse and galloped down the hill in search of Kitchener. He briefly dismounted, in part to collect his thoughts and calm his rising excitement. The lieutenant had seen action before, in India, but this was going to be a major battle, and his pulse quickened at the idea. The action shaping up at Omdurman might well decide the fate of a continent and the destiny of a people.

In the late 19th century, Egypt was a nominal province of the decaying Turkish Ottoman Empire. Because of Egypt's growing debts, the ruling Khedive Ismail was forced to sell his shares of the Suez Canal to Great Britain in 1876. The Suez was Britain's lifeline to India and its empire in the Far East. Once Great Britain had a foothold on the Nile, it became unavoidably involved in the Sudan.

Egyptian rule in the Sudan was characterized by brutality and corruption. Taxes were so high that parents were regularly forced to sell their children into slavery, and government officials ruled by the whip. The Sudan was ripe for revolt. All it needed was a charismatic leader to galvanize the people and channel their hatred and resentment into political action.

In late June 1881, such a leader arose when a mystic named Muhammad Ahmad announced that he was the Mahdi, or the "Expected One," a kind of Islamic messiah. The Egyptians were more than just oppressors, he said; they were also heretics whose railroads, telegraphs, and other modern inventions were leading Muslims away from the true path. The Mahdi's vision was a medieval one in which the Turks, Egyptians, and infidel Europeans would all be irresistibly swept away, enabling the Sudan to return to its former glories.

Thousands of disaffected Sudanese flocked to the Mahdi's banner, and soon the Sudan was in full revolt. The Mahdists managed to defeat several Egyptian forces that were sent against them. A 7,000-man Egyptian army under a British Army colonel named William Hicks was massacred almost to the last man in late 1883. With each defeat, the Mahdi gained prestige, followers, and modern captured rifles.

The Mahdi threatened Egypt itself, but British Prime Minister William Gladstone refused to be drawn into the spreading conflict. Instead, Khartoum and the remaining Egyptian garrisons were to be evacuated, abandoning all of the Sudan to the Mahdist rebels. General Charles George Gordon, an Army engineer, was sent to the Sudan to supervise the evacuation. In retrospect, Gordon was a poor choice for such a delicate mission. Eccentric and charismatic, he was a devout Christian who felt that he was an instrument of God. Once in

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

A well-armed Dervish chieftain, drawn by Caton Woodville in 1896. Such warriors had overrun British forces at Khartoum and killed General Charles George Gordon.

Khartoum, he decided to disobey orders and stay in the Sudan. He hoped by doing so to pressure the British government to send more troops, but Gladstone refused to play into the general's hands. In April 1884, Gordon and his remaining forces were besieged inside Khartoum. The siege dragged on for nine months.

After a public outcry, Gladstone relented. But when the advance party of a British relief expedition finally reached Khartoum in January 1885, they found that the city had fallen two days earlier. The city had been sacked, its men ruthlessly butchered, the women raped and sold into slavery. Gordon had been fatally

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection

The British 1st Egyptian Brigade advances toward Omdurman from Abu Hamad. The British laid down railroad tracks across the Nubian Desert as they went to transport supplies.

speared and his severed head presented to the Mahdi as a trophy.

Gordon's death produced a predictable uproar in Great Britain. Overnight, the eccentric engineer became a national martyr, seemingly sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. Queen Victoria herself was appalled, noting firmly in her diary that "the government alone is to blame." Unshaken by the torrent of public protest, Gladstone withdrew all British troops from the Sudan.

The Mahdi did not live long to celebrate his triumph, dying of typhus three months after taking Khartoum. Just before he died, the Mahdi chose Abdullah al-Taaishi, a member of the warrior Baggara tribe, as his hand-picked successor. Abdullah was now the khalifa, or deputy of Allah. The khalifa continued the Mahdi's hard-fisted religious totalitarianism. The few tribes that resisted were ruthlessly exterminated. Villages were depopulated and famine stalked the land. Many Sudanese believed that they had exchanged Egyptian tyranny for another kind of oppression, one even more ruthless because it was clothed in the sanctity of religion.

In the meantime, Egypt became a British colony in all but name. Sir Evelyn Baring was appointed the khedive's chief adviser on economic, military, and political affairs. The Egyptian Army was re-formed and trained under the supervision of British officers. The memory of Gordon's demise remained fresh in the minds of the British public. In 1896, the new prime minister, the Marquess of Salisbury, decided that the time was ripe to return to the Sudan. In this, he was motivated more by international politics and imperialism than by any thoughts of personal revenge.

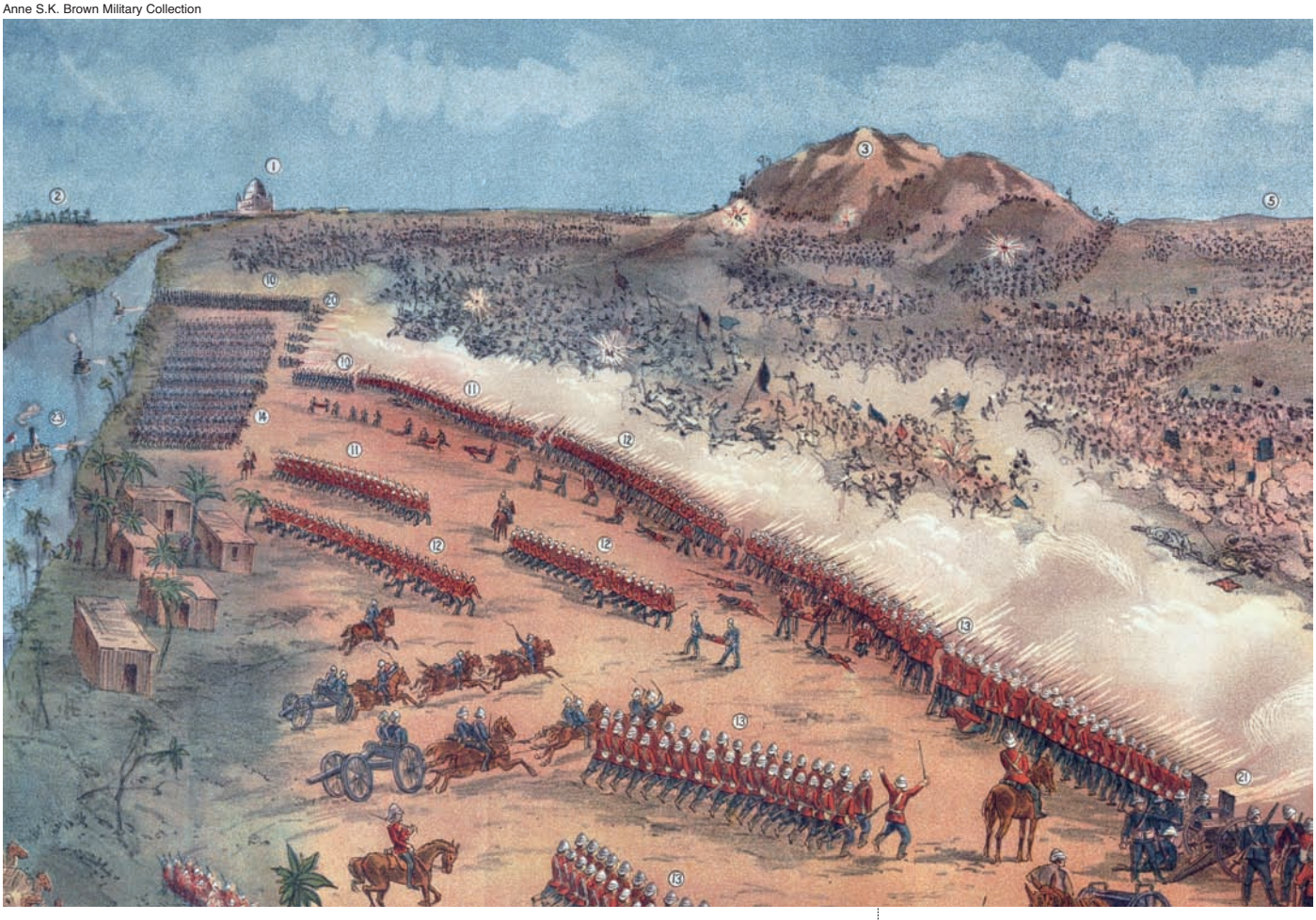
The French were in equatorial Africa, pushing east. If the British dreamed of a "Cape to Cairo" domain that stretched the length of the continent from north to south, the French envisioned a similar west-to-east "Atlantic to Red Sea" empire. Success of the French vision would mean control of the sources of the Nile—and whoever controlled the Nile controlled Egypt. The Sudan had to be reconquered to forestall Gallic territorial ambitions.

General Herbert Horatio Kitchener was appointed *sirdar*, or commander, of the joint Anglo-Egyptian forces. Standing over six feet tall, with a bristling handlebar mustache, Kitchener seemed the very embodiment of John Bull. He was cold, methodical, and seemingly emotionless, a man who used the army as an instrument of his will. As a soldier, he was far from brilliant, but he excelled in logistical planning—always a must in Africa's inhospitable countryside.

As Kitchener pored over his maps, a plan began to form in his mind. The Nile was his lifeline, yet shipping supplies upriver was a laborious, time-consuming process. The river was punctuated by six cataracts, stretches of rocky rapids that were difficult to cross. The Nile also added mileage as it curved west, its meandering ribbon of water impossible to fortify at all twists and turns.

Kitchener decided to build a railway straight across the arid Nubian Desert, a shortcut that would eliminate 900 miles of the river's curve between Wadi Halfa and Abu Hamad, north of Berber. The railroad would be 400 miles in length, including a stretch of pre-existing line that hugged the Nile. The real challenge would be the 230-mile shortcut through the desert, a desiccated region infamous for not having water of any kind.

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection



A contemporary chromolithograph depicts the first phase of the Battle of Omdurman, on September 2, 1898. The artist has erroneously drawn the British in red tunics, which had been superseded by cooler khaki uniforms.

Most experts considered the desert portion of the railway impossible to build. But Royal Engineer Edouard Girouard, an experienced Canadian railway builder, was more than willing to try. It was a gargantuan task, made worse by a harsh climate and lazy, incompetent, and dishonest subordinates. Despite an outbreak of cholera and a bad case of sunstroke suffered by Girouard himself, work continued throughout the summer, with temperatures reaching 116 degrees in the shade. When a massive rainstorm washed away 12 miles of track, 5,000 men worked day and night for a week to repair the break.

By the time Abu Hamad had been captured on August 7, 1897, the Sudan Military Railway was roughly halfway though the Nubian Desert. The ever-impatient Kitchener wanted the remaining 120 miles to Abu Hamad completed quickly, and Girouard pressed on. Up to three miles of track was laid each day. While the railroad was being built, Kitchener marched south by stages. There were several small-scale battles with the Mahdists, all resulting in defeat for the khalifa's forces. The months dragged on, but slowly the Anglo-Egyptian army closed in on Khartoum. The railway shortcut was finally completed when it reached Atbara on July 3, 1898. Girouard had achieved the impossible. By August 31, Kitchener was only 18 miles from Khartoum.

The general had little time to savor his progress—the khalifa still had to be defeated. It was feared that the khalifa would retreat into the desert vastness, away from the railroad and the vital Nile supply line. On reflection, however, Kitchener was sure that the Mahdists would make a stand at Omdurman. To Europeans, Omdurman was a primitive collection of shoddy mud huts clinging to the western banks of the Nile, but to the Dervishes it was almost a second Mecca. Omdurman was the khalifa's capital and the site of the Mahdi's elaborate tomb. If the khalifa gave it up without a fight, he would lose face, and his position as God's chosen deputy would be severely compromised.

Now, as Churchill galloped up to his commander in chief, the stage was set for a final reckoning at Omdurman. Saluting, Churchill announced that he was a messenger from the 21st Lancers. He reported that the Dervish forces were on the move, marching rapidly in Kitchener's direction. "How long do you think I have?" Kitchener asked. "You have got at least an hour," Churchill replied, "probably an hour and a half, sir, even if they come at their present rate."

Kitchener's gunboats were drawing closer to Omdurman, pushing their way past the khalifa's riverside forts. Once past the forts, the gunboats opened fire with their 40-pounder cannons. They were accompanied by British howitzers that had been placed on the eastern bank. The shells rained down on Omdurman, each explosion marked by gouts of flame that rose through great clouds of dust and flying fragments of stone. The Mahdi's tomb was hit several times, leaving great gaping holes in the white dome. Inexplicably, the khalifa halted his forces for the night.

As the sun sank beneath the horizon, the Anglo-Egyptian army retired to its camp along the Nile. Sudanese scouts were sent out to give early warning of a night attack.

That evening, the khalifa presided over an acrimonious council of war. His son Osman

Sheikh al-Din wanted to attack at daybreak, immediately after morning prayers. He counseled, "Let us not be like mice or foxes sneaking into our holes by day and peeping out at night." Ibrahim al-Khalil favored a stealthy night assault—the very thing Kitchener feared the most. If the *zareba* was breached at night, rifles and artillery would be useless in the pitch-black darkness. Perhaps British discipline would still triumph, but Kitchener's army was sure to suffer heavy casualties in the confused and bloody melee.

The khalifa decided to attack in broad daylight. From the Sudanese point of view, it was a decision of almost criminal stupidity. Kitchener's fortified camp was well positioned to meet a Dervish attack. It was semicircular in shape, about 1,200 yards wide at its widest point. The south end of the perimeter was protected by a line of mimosa thorn bushes, and the northern end featured a double line of trenches.

Major General William Gatacre's British division occupied the zareba portion of the defenses, comprising such famed regiments as the Grenadier Guards, the Rifles, Lincolns, Warwicks, and Cameron Highlanders. Gatacre was known as a hard-driving general whose men had nicknamed him "Back-Acher." The Egyptian troops under Maj. Gen. Sir Archibald Hunter occupied the trenches facing west and north. Hunter was a veteran of the failed Gordon relief expedition and knew his Egyptian and Sudanese soldiers well. Colonel Hector MacDonald, one of Hunter's subordinates, had come up from the ranks and personally trained his brigade to a peak of efficiency.

Kitchener's army had 46 artillery pieces and a battery of Maxim machine guns. The disciplined fire of British troops was almost as good as an artillery barrage. Each British Tommy was armed with an eight-shot Lee-Medford rifle and 100 rounds of hollow-point "dum-dum" ammunition, bullets that caused massive internal injuries wherever they struck.

Buglers sounded reveille at 3:40 AM on September 2. British troops gathered behind the *zareba* and were told to lie down until the battle started. Friendly Sudanese and Egyptian troops swarmed into the trenches, making sure their single-shot Martini-Henry rifles were in working order. A few native huts in the rear served as protection for the sick and wounded, and the army's menagerie of camels, horses, mules, and donkeys were picketed close by.

The 21st Lancers, on point, moved out of the zareba at about 5 AM and headed toward the looming mass of the mountain, Jebel Surgham. Churchill accompanied them, mounted on a sturdy gray pony. He had a bad shoulder, so he decided that wielding a saber was out of the question. Instead, he would rely on a Mauser pistol he had purchased in London. The young officer loved the 10-shot weapon, which he called a "ripper."

Perched on the slopes of Jebel Surgham, Churchill and the lancers had a ringside seat to the Battle of Omdurman's opening moves. The Dervish army began to slowly climb the slopes, their advance described by one embedded reporter as "a moving, undulating plain of men." The khalifa's 52,000-man army stretched for some five miles, a frightening yet mesmerizing pageant of motion, color, and sound. Most followers of the khalifa wore the rough jibba, a woolen tunic that sported black patches as signs of humility before Allah. Human nature being what it is, many Dervishes had gotten their wives to sew on additional swatches of yellow, blue, and red.

There were several major divisions within the Mahdist army. Osman Azrak and Osman Sheikh al-Din would lead the attack under the latter's dark-green battle flag. Sheikh al-Din, the khalifa's son, had the most riflemen in his division, warriors using captured Remington and Martini-Henry rifles. Sheikh al-Din would be supported on the right by Ibrahim Al-Khalil's elite troops under a white banner covered with quotes from the Koran. Under a red flag, Khalifa Sherif—not to be confused with the Mahdist leader—and his 2,000 Danagla tribesmen were positioned on the right.

The khalifa himself stayed in the rear with a large reserve of around 20,000 men, sheltering behind Jebel Surgham's rocky mass. Surrounded by a bodyguard, the Dervish leader had a great black flag carried before him. The sable banner was huge, about two yards square, and covered with texts from the Koran and the Mahdi's sayings. It was attached to a large bamboo pole about 20 feet long, and wherever it went it was acclaimed as a talisman of victory.

The Granger Collection/New York

The first of several charges by Sudanese Dervishes at Omdurman. The Dervishes, although almost inhumanly brave, were no match for disciplined British artillery and rifle fire.

The Dervish plan was simple: The first waves would crash against the infidels' *zareba*. The khalifa's black flag division would be held in reserve, together with Ali Wad Helu's 5,000 Degheim and Kenana tribesmen. If the first waves were successful, the reserves would come forward to complete the victory. If not, the khalifa would have enough intact forces to attempt a second round of attacks.

Thousands of spear points twinkled and gleamed in the sun, swords were brandished with fervor, and war drums beat a throbbing tattoo. Mounted warriors sported helmets and chain-mail armor that seemed a throwback to medieval times. Shouts in Arabic of "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his Messenger!" and "Mahdi!" sounded from thousands of throats, a swelling chorus that seemed to cause the very earth to tremble. The shouts grew louder when the tribes-

men saw the infidels' *zareba* in the distance. The Dervishes started forward at the run, banners flying, while emirs on horseback urged them on.

About 50 yards from the *zareba*, two shells exploded, the bursts gouging holes in the gravel and red sand. The shells were from Mahdist artillery, but the guns were so poorly served that they fell short. The Anglo-Egyptian artillery replied, but with a far more deadly accuracy. On the right, Ibrahim al-Khalil and his men pressed forward, spilling over the ridge that marked Jebel Sergham's eastern boundary. Guns from the 32nd Field Battery opened up at 2,800 yards, a rain of shells that produced terrible carnage. As many as 20 shells hit the advancing black mass in the first minute, throwing up dirty blossoms of flame and red dust with each detonation.

Men were decapitated, eviscerated, torn limb from limb; yet others came forward with incredible courage and resolution. Al-Khalil was blown from the saddle, tumbling in the dirt when his horse's head was nearly severed by a shell fragment. Mounting a fresh horse, he led his men forward—but by this time they were within range of the Maxim machine guns and the Lee-Medford rifles. The machine guns opened up, chattering a steady hail of death, and the Grenadier Guards stood up and poured a steady fire on the enemy's shredded ranks. Ibrahim al-Khalil was shot in the head and chest, and the bloodied survivors reluctantly fell back.

Sheikh Osman al-Din's attack in the center was equally disastrous. British shells tore bloody gaps in the ranks and tossed men like rag dolls into the air, yet the Dervishes refused to give up the fight. A carpet of spent cartridge shells gathered around each British soldier, and rifles grew so hot that they had to be replaced by weapons from the reserve.

The Dervishes fared no better on the left. The Sudanese regiments had little love for their Mahdist countrymen, and some probably wanted revenge for the khalifa's depredations. The Sudanese opened up at 800 yards, great gouts of smoke, flame, and lead spouting from their Martini-Henrys. Dervish leaders pressed forward, but human flesh and blood could not stand against this hurricane of lead and metal.

The first phase of the Battle of Omdurman was over. The plain between the Keriri Hills and Jebel Surgham was carpeted with thousands of Mahdist bodies. The wounded crawled among the dead, many of them leaving a bloody trail of missing arms, legs, or feet. "Cease fire!" Kitchener shouted, then ordered the army to turn south and head straight for Omdurman. The general was afraid the khalifa might make a stand in the city, and the thought of house-to-house fighting was daunting.

As a first step, Kitchener ordered Colonel Rowland Martin and his 21st Lancers to reconnoiter the city and cut off the retreat of any fleeing Dervishes. Martin was happy to comply; the regiment was itching for action. The lancers advanced at a walk, then spied a line of Dervishes about a half mile away. The Dervishes—only about a 100 or so skirmishers—started to fire on the British horsemen. Martin ordered a "right wheel into line," which a bugler spat out in musical notes. The 320 troopers turned about smartly, readying themselves for the regiment's first full-blown charge and the last formal cavalry charge in British history.

The lancers charged with fine style, lances leveled and swords drawn. But when they reached their objective they were shocked to find that the ground fell away five feet to expose a khor—a dry watercourse—filled with 3,000 warriors 10 to 12 ranks deep. The 21st was committed—there was nothing left to do but increase the pace and hope for the best. The subsequent impact was terrible, as horses

Well-ordered members of the 12th Sudanese Battalion, in their distinctive fezzes, await the Dervish attack at Omdurman. Photograph by Major H.M. Dunn, Royal Army Medical Corps.

Picture Des/The Art Archive

plunged headlong into the enemy mass. Around 30 troopers were unhorsed as they crashed into the packed ranks, and perhaps as many as 200 Dervishes were laid low, trampled and stunned. But the Mahdists recovered quickly—this was the kind of warfare they understood.

Each lancer found himself engulfed in a sea of enemies who thrust spears and slashed swords with wild abandon. Troopers were pulled from their mounts, surrounded and hacked to pieces. Bridles were cut, stirrup leather slashed, and horses were hamstrung in an attempt to bring them down. Churchill was one of the lucky ones, partly because he was on the far right, where the mass of Dervishes was thinner, and also because he was wielding a pistol. Even so, he barely escaped with his life. Finding himself closely surrounded by several dozen Dervishes, Churchill emptied his Mauser as they pressed closer to finish him. One assailant, swinging a curved sword, got so near the pistol he bumped into it. Churchill wheeled away at the last moment and galloped to safety.

The surviving lancers managed to get out of the *khor* and paused to re-form. The melee had lasted only two minutes, but in that short span of time 22 men had been killed and another 50 wounded. Some 119 horses had been slaughtered. The 21st Lancers had covered themselves in glory, but at a high price in blood. Once he recovered from the euphoria of battle, Churchill noted "horses spouting blood, men bleeding from terrible wounds, fish-hook spears stuck right through them, men gasping, crying, expiring." One nearby lieutenant had been wounded in the shoulder and leg, his hand almost severed by a sword strike, and a sergeant's face "was cut to pieces … the whole of his nose, cheeks and lips flapped red bubbles."

The battle was not yet over. Kitchener mistakenly believed the Mahdist army was broken. The Dervishes had suffered grievously, but most of the Khalifa's black flag division and Ali Wad Helu's corps were still intact. Colonel Hector MacDonald's 1st Egyptian Brigade, a rear guard composed of Sudanese and Egyptians, was dangerously exposed. If the khalifa could pounce on MacDonald, he might annihilate the Scotsman before other units could come to his aid. Kitchener's whole army could be taken in flank and rear while still on the march and rolled up.

Unaware of the danger, Kitchener was irritated. "Can't he see we're marching on Omdurman?" the general complained. "Tell him to follow on." Obeying, General Hunter relayed a message to MacDonald to withdraw. But just about the time he received the message, MacDonald became aware of the danger. "I'll nae do it," he said firmly in his Scots brogue. If he withdrew, his men would be slaughtered. When the khalifa's black flag division came forward at the run, they were met by disciplined volleys from the British troops. As before, modern firepower trumped medieval courage, and the attack faltered and broke off.

ullstein bild/The Granger Collection New York

"Form up, No. 2, form up!" Sergeant Major George Veysey urges his company after the cavalry charge at Omdurman. Some 72 lancers were killed or wounded in the two-minute melee.

Just then, Ali Wad Helu's warriors swept in from the north, threatening to hit MacDonald's troops in flank. The Scotsman coolly appraised the situation and swung the 11th Sudanese Battalion to meet the new threat. MacDonald's brigade was now in an L shape, firing so rapidly that many men didn't even aim. The Dervish horde, wilting under heavy fire, started to lap around the 11th's flank, seeking to exploit a space they saw between the 11th and 9th Battalions. The 2nd Egyptian Battalion plugged the gap on the run, firing into their opponents at point-blank range. The attack failed. Watching in the rear, the khalifa accepted defeat and fled to distant Kordofan, leaving behind his great black flag as a trophy for the victors.

The skill and bravery of the Sudanese and Egyptian troops had saved Kitchener from disaster. Well-deserved praise was also lavished on MacDonald's men. MacDonald himself gained the affectionate sobriquet, "Fighting Mac." Winston Churchill added another notch to his budding legend.

Rarely had a major victory been won at such a small cost. The Anglo-Egyptian army's casualties were 47 dead and 340 wounded. By contrast, the Mahdist army lost almost 10,000 killed, 13,000 wounded, and 5,000 captured. The khalifa was eventually tracked down a year later and killed in battle. However indirectly, Gordon had been avenged. □

ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 18, 1961, readers of the *New York Times* awoke to a startling headline: "Anti-Castro Units Land in Cuba; Report Fighting at Beachhead; Rusk Says U.S. Won't Intervene. Premier Defiant. Says His Troops Battle Heroically to Repel Attacking Force." The author of the article, Tad Szulc, a confidant of President John F. Kennedy, wrote that anti-Castro forces had landed in a swampy area of Cuba in Las Villas Province, supported by American air cover. The article said the unidentified rebels were making substantial progress in their landings and that Premier Fidel Castro had narrowly escaped injury in an air raid during the initial fighting.

Another headline in the same edition of the newspaper reported that "Moscow Blames U.S. For Attack." The confusing nature of the two headlines made readers uncertain just what was taking place in Cuba, a communist-dominated nation a scant 90 miles off the coast of Florida. If the readers of the *Times* really knew what was going on, they would have been even more shocked. The attack at the Bay of Pigs that early April morning had been in the works for many months, its planning having begun in the last year of the Eisenhower administration. The overall goal of the attack, led by anti-Castro forces trained and equipped by the United States, had one common theme—the overthrow of the Castro regime and its replacement by forces loyal to the United States.

The genesis of the Bay of Pigs took hold in the Cold War confrontations between the Soviet Union and the United States, but its roots trailed back to U.S. involvement in Cuban affairs

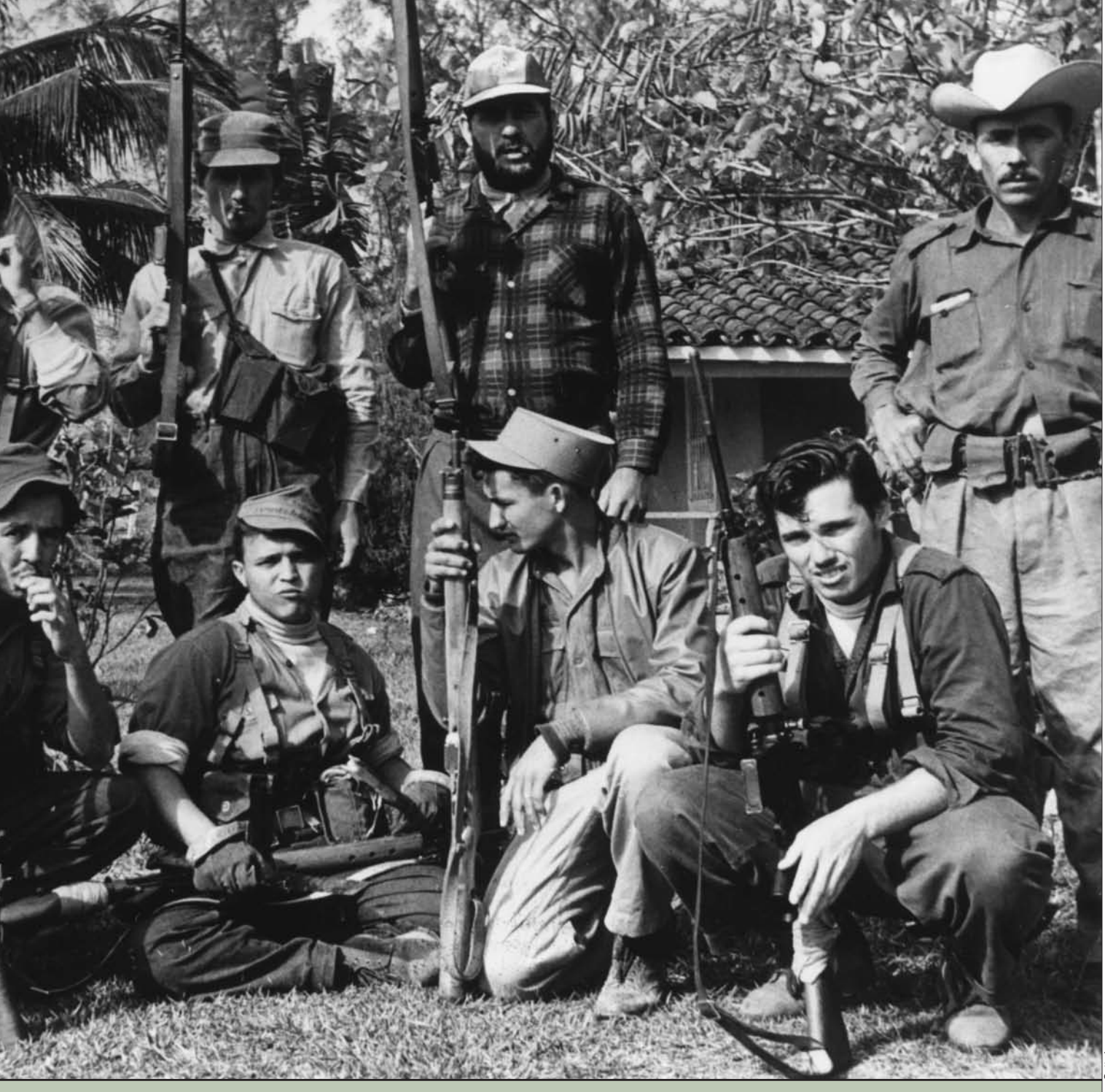
FIASCO AT THE BAY OF PIGS

A ragtag group of poorly trained anti-Castro Cubans, covertly supported by the CIA, landed at the Bay of Pigs to overthrow the communist government in Cuba. It was a recipe for "the perfect failure." BY PETER KROSS

beginning in the late 19th century. The Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista had been ruling the island with an iron fist, repressing the people, using the nation's thriving economy to divert millions of dollars to his personal use, and making a secret pact with members of the American Mafia who ran the lucrative casinos to receive a substantial cut of their casino profits.

In the 1950s, Cuba served the anti-communist purposes of the Eisenhower administration, which saw in Batista's Cuba a convenient place to confront the communist menace that was threatening to spread across Central and South America. Eisenhower knew the sordid details of Batista's cruel reign but chose to look the other way. The Central Intelligence Agency, under the direction of Allen Dulles, had made a pact with Batista for the dictator to do the agency's bidding. Lyman Kirkpatrick, the CIA's inspector general, made a visit to Batista in 1956 for a heart-to-heart talk. Batista's goon squads were terrorizing anyone who was even remotely opposed to the dictator, and the United States had had enough of his heavy hand. The Americans insisted that Batista ease his oppressive policies. But Batista, emboldened by Mafia dollars, chose not to obey. The United States decided to end its long support.

In the wake of that decision, Batista's hand was weakened, and revolution broke out, led by a ragtag band of insurrectionists hiding in the Sierra Maestra of central Cuba. A well-born attorney named Fidel Castro rose to lead the rebels, assisted by his brother Raul and a shadowy Argentinean revolutionary named Ernesto "Che" Guevara. After several victories by the rebels, Batista and his family fled Cuba for the Dominican Republic on New Year's Day 1959, taking with them at least $300 million in cash.



Getty Images

Well-armed and highly motivated, members of Fidel Castro's civilian militia pose in the Escambray Mountains of Cuba at the time of the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961.

Waiting in the wings was Castro. Upon taking office, Fidel promised a new beginning for the Cuban people. Gone was the tyranny of the hated Batista regime, to be replaced by a government that was responsive to the will of the people. Castro's ascension to power in Havana was eyed warily by the Eisenhower administration, which hoped Castro would not turn his nation into a way station for communist influence in the Western Hemisphere. On January 7, 1959, the United States officially recognized the Castro regime. It would be a decision American leaders would quickly come to regret.

One of Castro's first moves after taking power was to close Mafia-run casinos. This was a positive sign, but Castro followed with more troubling acts: deporting dissidents, jailing his political enemies, nationalizing a number of American-owned factories, and making diplomatic overtures to the Soviet Union. Despite these moves, the U.S. State Department assured Castro of the continued goodwill of the American people. Meanwhile, CIA director Dulles reassured skeptical senators in a closed-door meeting that Castro did not have any communist leanings. The next month, however, Dulles reversed positions, telling the president that Castro was moving rapidly to turn Cuba into a communist state.

In mid-April, Castro made a highly publicized visit to the United States with the hope of meeting directly with Eisenhower. The president, however, had no interest in being anywhere

near Castro, and he left Washington as soon as Castro landed. Castro went instead to the United Nations in New York City, where he made a stirring speech to the assembled delegates announcing his new revolutionary independence from the United States. Castro traveled like a conquering hero through the streets of Harlem, captivating many with his personal charisma, if not his politics.

Eisenhower directed Vice President Richard Nixon to have a one-on-one talk with Castro in New York. The meeting between the two hard-headed pragmatists was contentious, with each man taking the measure of the other. Back in Washington, Nixon told the president that in his opinion Castro was under communist influence "or at least incredibly naive about Communism." Following his meeting with Castro, Nixon became convinced that the United States had to remove Castro from power, one way or another.

Both: Library of Congress

ABOVE: Cuban leader Fidel Castro during his well-publicized visit to the United Nations. TOP: Leaders of the invasion included civilian commander Manuel Artime, left, and Jose Perez San Roman, military commander.

Once he was firmly cemented in power, Castro began to ruthlessly eliminate all remnants of the hated Batista regime. Summary executions of dozens of former police and military officials took place. Some 50,000 frightened citizens left for Miami, desperate to flee the increasing violence. In June, Castro further inflamed the United States when he took over several high-profile American businesses in Cuba, including large farms owned by the United Fruit Company.

The die was cast for a major confrontation between the United States and Cuba. Any peaceful reconciliation was out of the question. Events soon took on a life of their own. In Washington, the CIA began a series of intensive, high-level meetings. On December 11, J.C. King, the head of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division, wrote a memorandum to Richard Bissell, deputy director of Plans (head of the clandestine service, in other words), and Director Dulles. The memo stated that Castro had turned Cuba into a left-wing dictatorship and was threatening to lend Cuban support to revolutionary activity across Latin America. The memo said that "violent action" was the only means of breaking Castro's hold on power and that "thorough consideration be given to the elimination of Fidel Castro." The word "elimination" was a code word for assassination, a policy that would come back to haunt the administration in its efforts to remove Castro from power.

In March 1960, the Eisenhower administration began a secret plan to topple the Castro regime. Bissell was authorized to form a task force called "the Special Group" to devise an anti-Castro plan of action. A Cuban Task Force was started and a formal document prepared for its members. The document listed a number of goals: the creation of unified Cuban opposition to the Castro regime outside of Cuba, the use of mass communications in a powerful propaganda effort; the development of a covert intelligence organization within Cuba that would be responsive to the order of the exile opposition; and the development of a paramilitary force outside Cuba for future guerrilla actions on the island.

On March 17, Eisenhower signed a secret National Security Council directive greenlighting the program, which was code-named Operation Pluto. One of the most divisive issues in the Eisenhower administration was how to organize the various anti-Castro groups. The Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC) was formed to serve as an umbrella group for all anti-Castro operations. The U.S. government still had a difficult time reconciling the groups' various interests and getting their divergent leaders into one organized unit.

Another integral part of the planning was an intensive propaganda operation mounted by the CIA. The agency established a clandestine radio station called Radio Swan, a 50-kilowatt broadcasting facility station located on Swan Island in the Caribbean, near the coast of Honduras. Radio Swan broadcast news shows, entertainment, and anti-Castro speeches, all written by the CIA.

As originally planned, the initial military force would consist of 25 Cuban refugees who would be trained in sabotage and communications techniques and then infiltrated into Cuba. If needed, the number would expand to 75, but no more. These fighters would be modeled on World War II-era underground operations. Once inside Cuba, their main objective would be to link up with other anti-Castro forces and carry out small-scale hit-and-run raids against selected military targets.

The CIA began training about 300 men in military camps in Florida and Louisiana before moving them to the Panama Canal Zone. Soon the trainees were moved to Guatemala under an arrangement with President Miguel Ydigoras. A secure camp and airfield, given the name Base Trax, was provided for the trainees on the grounds of a lavish coffee plantation in the Sierra Madre near Retalhuleu, close to the Pacific Coast. By August, members of the brigade began to arrive in ever-greater numbers; by the end of August, over 160 men were training at the camp.

The anti-Castro volunteers erected barracks and trained under the watchful eye of 20 CIA instructors, many of whom were contract employees, including eastern Europeans, Mexicans, and Chinese. All was not cozy between the contract employees and the brigade members. Many of the CIA officials did not speak Spanish, and subsequent communications breakdowns often hindered instruction. On September 8, Carlos Rodriguez Santana, a member of the brigade, was killed in a training accident at Base Trax. In his memory, his assigned number, 2506, became the official designation of the exile forces—Brigade 2506.

For an invasion to succeed, an air wing was required, and the CIA began making covert arrangements, taking control of an outdated airline company, Southern Air Transport. Using old C-46 cargo planes, pilots ferried the trainees between Florida and Guatemala. The CIA began supplying the brigade with combat aircraft to be used in the invasion. The ad hoc air

force, based at Retalhuleu, consisted of 15 B-26 bombers, five C-46 transports, and seven C-54s. Ignoring President Eisenhower's orders that no Americans be involved in the invasion, some 80 Americans joined the rebel ranks, ratcheting up the danger another notch.

Besides the air arm, the CIA provided the exiles with their own small fleet of ships. Two old infantry landing craft (LCI) capable of holding 250 tons of equipment and 200 men were added to the ever-growing arsenal. Another, smaller component of the secret war was the airdropping of supplies to anti-Castro groups hiding in the rugged Escambray Mountains of Cuba. Some 68 covert flights took off from Retalhuleu, but only seven of the airdrops were successful.

As the months passed, it was decided at CIA headquarters to expand the overall scope of Operation Pluto. The Cuban government had made an arrangement with the Soviet Union for the latter to provide them with new combat jets, and Soviet technicians had begun training Cuban aircrews. An invasion had to be carried out before these new resources could be effectively deployed.

The CIA's Western Hemisphere Division ordered the invasion force to be expanded to 800 men and an entirely new invasion paradigm put into effect. The new operation would be a full-scale, World War II-style amphibious landing. Once the landings were successful, exile leaders would be brought ashore to establish a provisional government and formally ask for American aid. Jose Miro Cardona, the former Cuban prime minister, was the designated leader in waiting.

On January 3, 1961, Eisenhower finally had enough of Castro's anti-American activities and severed official relations with Cuba. Castro immediately turned to the Soviet Union for military and economic aid. Aides to President-elect John F. Kennedy told the exiles they were on their own—no American troops would assist them in their landings. The nonuse of American troops was of vital importance to the incoming Kennedy administration, a decision that would have far-reaching consequences when the brigade landed on the shores of southern Cuba.

On January 28, during his first week as president, Kennedy asked the Joint Chiefs of Staff to make a preliminary assessment of the Cuban invasion plans. The chiefs told the new commander in chief that in their opinion the invasion had "a fair chance of success" if it inspired a widespread uprising among the Cuban population. Despite the vaguely optimistic words, the president had lingering doubts about the impending invasion. Guatemala's president

National Archives

ABOVE: Members of anti-Castro Brigade 2506, named after fallen member Carlos Rodriguez Santana's assigned service number, train for the invasion in the Guatemalan mountains. BELOW: Cuban exiles practice jungle tactics in a staged propaganda photo apparently taken days before the actual invasion. Training was hodge-podge at best.

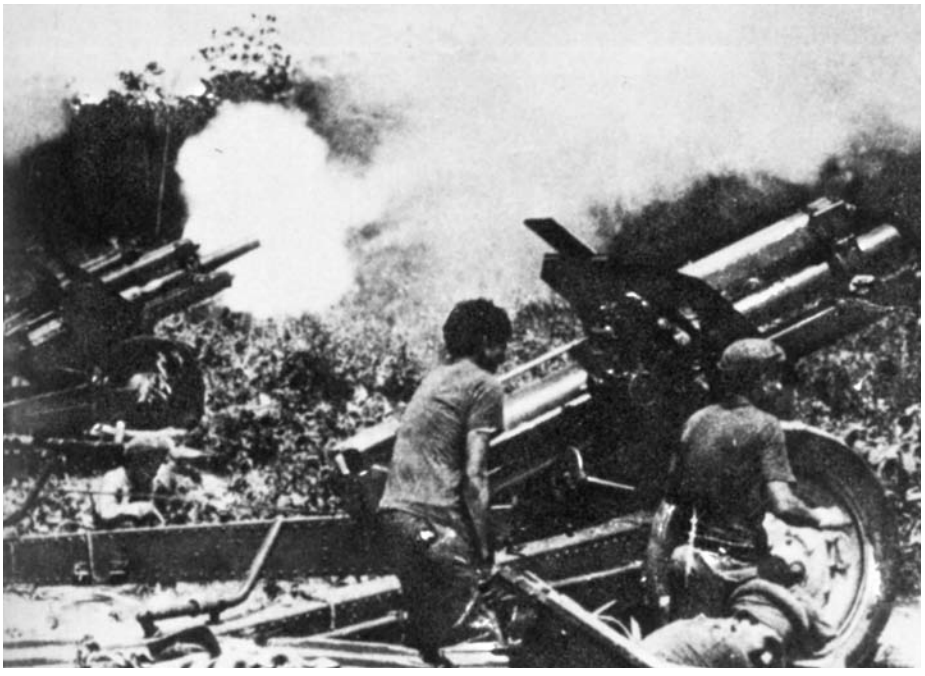
© Topham/The Image Works

urged Washington to speed up the invasion; he didn't want the brigade to spend any more time in his country. Kennedy knew that if he didn't act fast, he would have a similar problem on his hands. If he canceled the invasion, members of the brigade would be brought back to the United States, and there was no telling what they would say to the press or others about their secret training in Guatemala and the covert role of the United States in the planned overthrow of the Cuban regime.

In March, Bissell gave Kennedy and his top advisers a full-dress briefing on the invasion. The landing was scheduled to take place in the Trinidad section of Cuba, not far from the Escambray Mountains, a hotbed of anti-Castro resistance. The CIA believed that if the invasion failed, the men could successfully infiltrate into the mountains and carry out hit-and-run raids against Castro's forces. However, there was one major drawback to the Trinidad site—the airstrip nearby was not capable of handling the arrival of the B-26 bombers that were vital to the success of the mission. Air cover would have to be flown in from other locations in Central America, thus making it more difficult for the invasion forces once they hit the beaches.

Kennedy worried about the speculative nature of the Trinidad plan. As he saw it, the invasion smelled more and more like an American-sponsored attack, the one thing he had made abundantly

Both: National Archives



ABOVE: Pro-Castro forces fire at the Bay of Pigs invaders with artillery only recently arrived from Russia. The unexpectedly effective artillery fire helped turn the tide against the invasion. BELOW: The supply freighter *Houston,* carrying men and ammunition, was hit by Cuban Air Force bombers and ran aground near Red Beach, at the north end of the Bay of Pigs.

clear must not happen. The president ordered the military to come up with a substitute plan, one that would center on a nighttime invasion, not a daytime attack. Trying to dampen rumors of an imminent U.S. invasion of Cuba, the president somewhat disingenuously told a press conference, "There will not be, under any conditions, an intervention in Cuba by the United States armed forces."

A new invasion site was chosen: the Bay of Pigs area in the Las Villas Province of southern Cuba, 90 miles southeast of Havana. The new area had an airstrip long enough to handle B-26 bombers coming in from Central America. The revised plan called for the invaders to seize three beaches along a 40-mile stretch of Cuba coastline, cross a wide swamp, and make their way to the mountains 50 miles away. Paratroopers would be dropped to seize certain key areas and hold back Castro's forces. The new plan was given the code name Zapata. The plan called for a diversionary force of about 160 men to be landed in eastern Cuba two days before the main invasion. Air strikes would also take place, supposedly from "defecting" Cuban pilots.

While military planning continued, in the White House the president had one final option open to him: he could cancel the invasion up to 24 hours prior to attack. The time of the assault was put back from April 12 to April 17. Due to the change of plans, Brigade 2506 did not depart from Guatemala, but rather from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. The flotilla consisted of two CIA ships, *Blagar* and *Barbara J*. Five other vessels were chartered by the Garcia Shipping Line to ferry men to the Bay of Pigs. Brigade members packed up Base Trax and headed for Cuba.

As final preparations for the landings took place, the U.S. Navy reinforced the long-held American base at Guantanamo in case Castro retaliated once the invasion began. Admiral Robert Dennison ordered a number of Navy ships to assist brigade members as they neared Cuban shores. The carrier *Essex* would be the flagship of the group; its planes would provide air cover if needed. Two destroyers, *Eaton* and *Murray*, would act as convoys and escort the brigade's ships as close as possible to the Bay of Pigs. Another Navy ship, *San Marcos*, carried landing craft for the invaders.

The first action took place via air, as the brigade's air force mounted operations to take out Castro's air arm. Castro's air force was small, comprising six B-26 bombers, four T-33 trainers, and four British-made Sea Fury Fighters. A limited strike on the planes took place on April 15, resulting in the destruction of half of Castro's aircraft. The CIA requested another air strike to take out the remainder of the Cuban Air Force, but a personal appeal by Secretary of State Dean Rusk couldn't persuade the president to authorize another air strike. Once Brigade 2506 hit the beaches, the invaders would be on their own.

After the initial air strike took place, Castro mobilized his 200,000-man militia and arrested thousands of dissidents who might help the invaders once they waded ashore. As soon as Castro realized that the Bay of Pigs was the main target, he rushed a number of Russian-made T-45 tanks and troops to the area to repel the invasion. Meanwhile, a parachute regiment of Brigade 2506 landed 16 miles inland, but lost most of its ammunition in the process. Already, things were beginning to fall apart for the invasion team.

The invaders were supposed to land at Red Beach, located at the northernmost area of the Bay of Pigs; Green Beach, about 20 miles east; and Blue Beach, farther to the east. The landing craft immediately ran into trouble when they hit coral reefs that weren't supposed to be there. By dawn on April 17, most of the invaders had successfully arrived at Blue Beach, but without the 72 tons of ammunition they initially planned to take with them. The ammunition and supply ships were still offshore, within range of Cuba's air force. Using two

coordinated strikes, Castro's planes attacked the ships *Houston* and *Rio Escondido*, sinking both. The ships carried tons of supplies, as well as 130 men of the 5th Battalion. The survivors swam for shore and were picked up by U.S. Navy ships. *Rio* had carried all the brigade's communication and aviation gasoline. After the air strike, the landing at Green Beach was canceled and the remaining troops were ordered to rendezvous with the Navy offshore.

By D-day plus 2, Castro's main army had bottled up the brigade members on various fronts around the Playa Larga. Heavy armored vehicles and thousands of regular army units had the invaders all but surrounded. On the second day, rebel B-26s attacked Castro's troops but did no real damage. To make matters worse, four civilian American fliers—Riley Shamburger, Wade Gray, Willard Ray, and Leo Baker—were shot down and killed in the attacks.

As Castro's forces took the offensive, the members of the Red Beach contingent joined those of Blue Beach in a brave effort to stave off the constant bombardment. Units of the airborne brigade also retreated toward Blue Beach. On the afternoon of April 17, the Joint Chiefs of Staff ordered the military to set up a safe haven for the surviving brigade ships with American air cover, but with restrictive orders to operate 50 miles from Cuban shores in international waters. No American aircraft were to be allowed within 15 miles of the beachhead. As dire reports filtered into the White House, the president told his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, "I don't think it's going as well as it should."

While the brigade was fighting for its life, CIA chief Allen Dulles had left Washington for a speaking engagement in Puerto Rico, leaving Bissell and his subordinates to monitor events in Cuba. Upon his return to Baltimore, Dulles was met by a colleague who told him ominously, "We're hanging on by our fingernails."

In Washington, Kennedy attended the annual congressional reception. At midnight, he left for a hurried meeting in the cabinet room. Still dressed in formal attire, the president met with Vice President Lyndon Johnson; Secretary Rusk; Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara; General Lyman Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Admiral Arleigh Burke; and Walt Rostow, JFK's national security adviser. During the meeting, the president allowed one last attempt to save the deteriorating situation. He authorized a flight of six unmarked jets from the carrier *Essex* to fly over the Bay of Pigs one hour after dawn the next day to serve as cover for an air strike by B-26s from Nicaragua.

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: An initial air strike by the invaders did some damage, but President John F. Kennedy refused to authorize follow-up bombings, fearing direct U.S. involvement in the fiasco. BELOW: By the third day of the botched invasion, Fidel Castro's defenders were celebrating their victory. Some 114 invaders were killed, another 1,189 taken prisoner.

The planes were supposed to fly over the beach between 6:30 and 7:30 AM. However, due to a mix-up, they arrived too early, and two of the B-26s were shot down. As a last resort, the president told Admiral Burke to inform the CIA that, in the event of imminent defeat of the brigade, "it would be desirable for them to become guerrillas and head for known destinations and be supplied by air."

The remaining members of Brigade 2506 fell back toward Blue Beach, where all further resistance ended. In Washington, military officials were intensely monitoring the fighting on the bloody beaches. Jose "Pepe" San Romain, one of the brigade leaders, radioed Washington and in a desperate voice that could be heard by all in the room, said: "I have nothing left to fight with. Am headed for the swamp." Minutes later his radio went dead. Some 114 members of the brigade

Continued on page 66

WHAT MAKES **GREAT CAPTAINS** GREAT?

The careers of Thutmose III, Sargon II, Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, Philip II, and Caesar Augustus teach many lessons about the qualities needed to lead men into battle.

BY RICHARD A. GABRIEL

LEFT TO RIGHT: Scipio Africanus, Augustus Caesar, Hannibal, Thutmose III, Philip II of Macedonia, Sargon II.

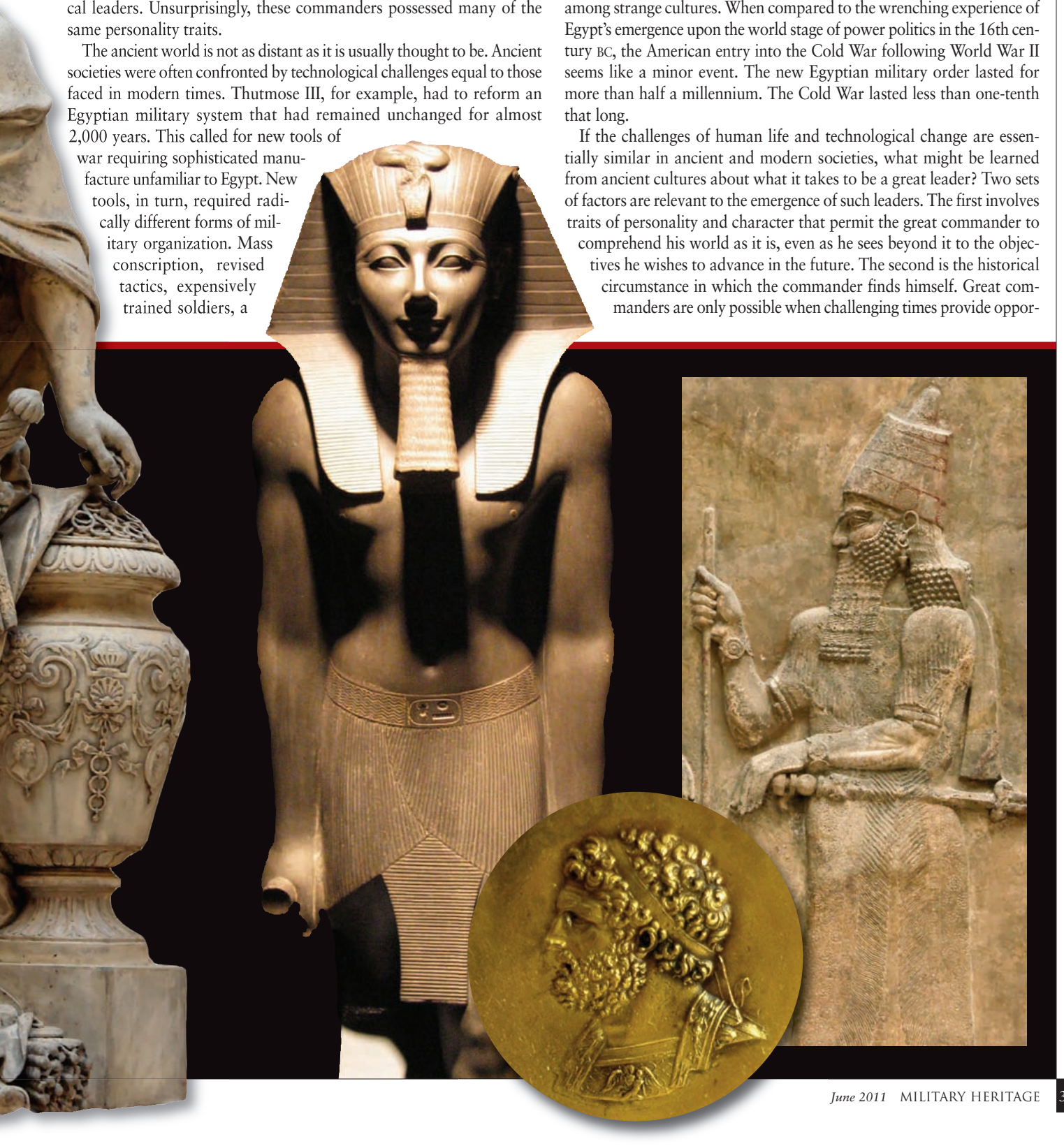
All: Public Domain

OF THE THOUSANDS of commanders who have served in history's armies, why is it that only a few are remembered as great leaders of men in battle? What combination of personal and circumstantial influences conspires to produce great commanders? What makes a great leader great? An analysis of the biographies of six of the greatest captains of the ancient world—Thutmose III of Egypt, Sargon the Great of Assyria, Hannibal of Carthage, Scipio Africanus, Philip II of Macedonia, and Caesar Augustus—helps identify the characteristics of intellect, psychology, and personality that made these men great military and political leaders. Unsurprisingly, these commanders possessed many of the same personality traits.

The ancient world is not as distant as it is usually thought to be. Ancient societies were often confronted by technological challenges equal to those faced in modern times. Thutmose III, for example, had to reform an Egyptian military system that had remained unchanged for almost 2,000 years. This called for new tools of war requiring sophisticated manufacture unfamiliar to Egypt. New tools, in turn, required radically different forms of military organization. Mass conscription, revised tactics, expensively trained soldiers, a professional officer corps, a logistics base, and a quartermaster corps all had to be invented out of whole cloth. Egyptian society, too, was forced to change. For 3,000 years, Egypt had been sealed off from the outside world. Now it had to confront that world and all its strangeness.

The psychological shock was enormous. Everything from new foods to new musical instruments flowed into Egypt, along with new ideas about everything from religion to political legitimacy. One of every 10 men was required to serve in the military, and for the first time in 3,000 years, Egyptian soldiers were sent beyond their borders to fight and live among strange cultures. When compared to the wrenching experience of Egypt's emergence upon the world stage of power politics in the 16th century BC, the American entry into the Cold War following World War II seems like a minor event. The new Egyptian military order lasted for more than half a millennium. The Cold War lasted less than one-tenth that long.

If the challenges of human life and technological change are essentially similar in ancient and modern societies, what might be learned from ancient cultures about what it takes to be a great leader? Two sets of factors are relevant to the emergence of such leaders. The first involves traits of personality and character that permit the great commander to comprehend his world as it is, even as he sees beyond it to the objectives he wishes to advance in the future. The second is the historical circumstance in which the commander finds himself. Great commanders are only possible when challenging times provide oppor-



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Sargon II of Assyria, riding a battle chariot, was perhaps the best educated of history's great captains, a classical scholar who was fluent in the ancient Sumerian languages and a military historian in his own right.

tunities for their unusual abilities to come to the fore. Grave social and military crises create opportunities for leaders to arise who might otherwise have lived completely ordinary and unrecorded lives.

The connection between crises and the emergence of great leaders is often impossible to discern at the time, being revealed only through the hindsight of history. So it was that Hannibal's deadly challenge to Rome made possible Scipio's being offered a major military command at so young an age. Caesar's murder transformed Augustus from a frail young man of supposedly limited ability into a major actor on the Roman political stage. The Mitanni security challenge to Egypt forced a young pharaoh to react and in the process become a great military and political leader.

All the great captains of the ancient world, with one exception, experienced war at an early age. Thutmose III was the commander of the Egyptian Army at 16, and a year later led his first military expedition into Nubia. Two years after that, he recaptured Gaza. He was not yet 22 when he fought his most famous battle at Megiddo. There, in what is now modern-day Israel, Thutmose confronted a large Canaanite army under the rebellious kings of Kadesh and Megiddo, restive vassals who controlled fertile, strategically located territory on Egypt's northeastern border. Thanks to his personal scribe, Tjaneni, Thutmose's triumph that day in 1479 BC is the first battle recorded in reasonably reliable detail. With an eye toward history, Thutmose later had his artisans inscribe his exploits on the walls of Amun-Re's temple at Karnak.

Disregarding his older, more experienced generals' advice to take an easier path to Megiddo, Thutmose chose to send his troops single file through a narrow ravine near Aruna. His reasoning was sound, if simple: if his generals had recommended an easier line of march, his enemies would have thought of it as well. Thutmose decided to do the unexpected. The king of Kadesh, watching the more likely paths, ignored the mountainous pass at Aruna. Personally leading his men on the perilous route, Thutmose had his mounted scouts, armed for the first time with composite bows, take out any guards posted by the enemy. The next morning he attacked, dividing his army into three wings and driving the rebel forces into Megiddo. It took a seven-month siege to capture the city proper, but with one dramatic victory, Thutmose had effectively restored Egyptian authority in the region.

Like Thutmose of Egypt, Scipio was still a teenager when he commanded a cavalry troop at the Battle of the Ticinus River in 218 BC. A year later, at age 18, he fought at the Trebbia River, a tributary of the Po, where he was wounded. A year after that, Scipio met the Carthaginians at Cannae. He assumed command of the Roman armies in Spain at the age of 26 and immediately set out to avenge his father's death by restoring Roman rule on the Iberian Peninsula. At the Battle of New Carthage, in 209 BC, Scipio did just that, storming the city and capturing it in seven hours' time.

Other great captains began their careers equally early in life. The fabled Carthaginian commander Hannibal accompanied his father, Hamilcar, to Spain at the age of nine and witnessed firsthand his father's conquest of Spain. He first saw combat at age 18 in command of a cavalry battalion. He was 26 when he assumed command of the Carthaginian armies in Spain. Philip participated in the cavalry battles of the Macedonian tribal wars when he was only 16 and assumed command of the Macedonian army at 23. Sargon's military training began as a boy and continued until he assumed the throne. Only Caesar Augustus, like his famous uncle, Julius Caesar, never experienced war until he took command of one of Rome's mercenary armies in the Roman civil wars.

The great captains were all well-educated men, formally trained by the educational establishments of their times. Sargon II was perhaps the best educated, a classical scholar who was fluent in the ancient Sumerian languages and a military historian who wrote commentaries on his country's ancient battles. Thutmose III, educated as a priest of Amun-Re, was a botanist and an architect. Scipio and Augustus received solid educations at the hands of private Greek tutors. Hannibal, too, was educated by Greek tutors in the manner of the Hellenic nobles of his day and spoke Punic, Latin, and Greek. Philip II of Macedon received his education in the Royal Page School, the Macedonian West Point, a four-year military academy for the sons of Macedonian nobility run by Greek teachers and experienced combat officers. Philip spoke several languages and surrounded himself with artists and philosophers. He recruited his boyhood friend, the philosopher Aristotle, to instruct Alexander.

Formal intellectual training provides a commander with the confidence to trust his intellect to explain the world around him. Educated leaders think in terms of cause and effect, of chains of action, and influence, where one can bring about desired ends by setting in motion events far removed from those ends. Leaders educated in such a manner are less likely to accept the world as it is or permit tradition and cultural practices to control their actions. Instead, they see themselves as controlling their own fate, able to change the course of events rather than being controlled by them. It is difficult to see how anyone could become a great leader without this psychological disposition. If the great commanders of the past excelled at anything, it was their ability not to become victims of unanticipated change.

To adjust to changing circumstances requires a mind receptive to new ideas and open to new possibilities. Thutmose III's adoption of new military technologies, Philip's invention of new infantry formations and weapons and new tactical cavalry doctrines, Scipio's redesign and

employment of the infantry cohort, and Sargon's new strategic doctrine of preemptive war are examples of leaders willing to entertain and apply new possibilities. Philip's new cavalry tactics, training, and logistical innovations made sense because he had already decided to subdue Greece.

An open and receptive intellect permits a leader to challenge existing assumptions about his environment and generate new ways of thinking as a means of adjusting to a new environment. This is an intellectual achievement of the first order and characterizes the thinking of history's great commanders. Augustus was able to see a new future for Rome only after he had conceived of the Roman world in a completely new way, as a peaceful and prosperous empire based on the integration of conquered peoples into a social order very much different than the old Republic.

Hannibal, too, saw his military campaign against Rome as the vehicle for creating a new world order in which states of relatively equal military and economic power coexisted in relative harmony. Scipio reached for the same vision after Carthage's defeat and set Rome on the road to empire. Philip's ability to dream of a unified Greece under the benign tutelage of Macedonia created a world that no Greek had ever before conceived. Thutmose brought about a fundamental shift in Egyptian thinking when he forced Egypt to turn away from 3,000 years of isolation and brave the new world beyond the Nile. And Sargon of Assyria changed the impetus of 200 years of previous wars of conquest, redirecting Assyria's energies to consolidating its empire and focusing on its domestic requirements. In the sense that the great commanders changed the fundamental paradigms of their age, they created new futures. Some of these futures, like Rome and Egypt, lasted for hundreds of years after the men who had brought them into being were dead.

The great commanders were highly imaginative in a pragmatic sense. Philip II completely reinvented the Macedonian army in order to deal with a set of circumstances—the conquest of Greece—that did not yet exist. In the process, he gave Greece a completely new type of army, one that the Greeks themselves could never have conceived by themselves. In his complete redesign of the Roman army, Augustus gave it a new social form that had never existed in Roman history—a professional army to replace the citizen militia. His invention of new constitutional and governmental forms to govern an empire whose shape and scope had not yet been fully determined ranks among the most imaginative achievements in Western history. Thutmose fashioned new military and diplomatic instruments to deal with the new world confronting Egypt because he could imagine how that new world would operate. The great commanders succeeded because they possessed the imagination to see the world not as it was, but as it could be.

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Egypt's 21-year-old Thutmose III leads his men through a narrow pass to surprise the rebel king of Kadesh at the Battle of Megiddo in 1479 BC. He later had his feats memorialized at the Temple of Karnak.

These traits—conceptual thinking from cause to effect, receptivity to new ideas, thinking beyond existing paradigms, and practical imagination—are all intellectual achievements that transcend technology and culture. Taken together, they constitute what might be called imaginative reasoning, where all relevant aspects of problem solving come together to make sense of the world outside the mind. To substitute formulas or technologies for imaginative thought as guides to action is to court disaster on the battlefield and in the world of power politics. The Roman armies that fought Hannibal, for example, were defeated repeatedly because their commanders employed them as they were designed to be employed, while Hannibal fought in a completely different way. The Egyptian army, too, met its death in the wars against the Hyksos for the same reasons, by employing an existing successful military system in radically changed circumstances.

While certain traits of intellect are important to the success of history's great commanders, a word of caution is in order. Intellect, per se, is not sufficient for military greatness. Whatever else the great captains of antiquity were, they were first and foremost men of action. It is one thing to conceive of great things, quite another to attempt them and succeed. To attempt great things requires personality traits more related to character and will than to intellect. The ability to trust one's thoughts, experiences, and judgment is central to the strength of personality required to put sound thinking into action. It is no accident that the great commanders all possessed self-confidence and strong wills.

With the exception of Augustus, who experienced anxiety under stress, the great captains were men possessed of incredible self-confidence. Tradition and religious belief determined most human

behavior in ancient societies. Innovation was very difficult to achieve due to cultural inertia. New ideas and actions required not only clear thinking, but a great deal of confidence to make them happen. Consider, for example, the almost extreme degree of self-confidence that Thutmose III possessed when, on the approach to Megiddo, he overruled the advice of his senior military staff and chose the most dangerous path to the battlefield. Or take Hannibal, who conceived of a completely new strategy to war against the Romans. One can only imagine the opposition from his senior generals to his plan to move overland across the Alps and attack Italy from the north. Or Scipio, who was denied sufficient numbers for political reasons to mount a major invasion of Carthage, but did so anyway, calculating that his sudden presence on the African mainland would require Carthage to recall Hannibal from Italy.

The roots of a commander's self-confidence do not lie in formal education. They rest ultimately in the psychology of his personality. The sources of a leader's self-confidence are difficult to determine. It seems probable, however, that the roots of self-confidence lie in the strength of personality shaped by experience and practice. With the exception of Augustus, who often seemed to lack the self-confidence so necessary to success, all the great commanders underwent military training and combat at an early age, an experience that taught them to rely on themselves, to endure in difficult circumstances, and to cope with uncertainty. The goal of military training is not primarily to inculcate military skills as much as to shape the psychology of the soldier so that he comes to trust his own abilities in an uncertain environment.

All the great captains were risk takers, but it was the risk taking of the professional gambler, not the enthusiastic amateur. The battlefield is among the most uncertain places in human experience, a world that can never be completely known or turned to one's will. There is always uncertainty to be confronted. The great commander confronts uncertainty with the willingness to take risks to reduce the threat of the unknown by plunging into it. Prussian military theorist Helmuth von Moltke remarked that no plan of battle was so complete that it could survive more than a few hours of contact with the enemy. American general Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander in chief of the massive and complex Allied invasion at D-Day, noted that it was the planning, not the plan, that mattered most. Faced with terrible weather forecasts, Eisenhower was able to remain intellectually flexible and take an educated risk to go ahead with the invasion during a short window of opportunity on June 6, 1944. Even then, Eisenhower was doubtful enough of victory to compose two messages to be released to the anxiously waiting peoples of western Europe and the United States—one reporting success, the other manfully accepting full responsibility for the invasion's failure. Fortunately for the entire free world, Eisenhower was able ultimately to release the first message.

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Scipio Africanus, the son of a Roman commander, was still a teenager when he commanded a cavalry troop against Hannibal's Carthaginians at the Battle of Ticinus River in 218 BC. Nine years later he conquered New Carthage itself.

Hannibal and Scipio were also great gamblers. Hannibal's movement over the Alps marked his propensity to take risks on a grand scale. At Trasimene, he relied on the fog to hide his troops when a sudden gust of wind would have revealed them to the Romans. At Cannae, he exposed his center to draw the Romans into a trap. Had his cavalry not returned in time, he would have faced disaster. Instead, he recorded one of the most overwhelming victories in military history. Scipio's swift march against New Carthage depended entirely on assuming correctly that the enemy could not react in time to engage him. Scipio's African campaign, undertaken below strength and without adequate supplies, remains a classic study in military risk taking, as does Thutmose III's willingness to risk his entire army by moving down a narrow mountain trail to achieve tactical surprise at Megiddo. Without the ability, as Rudyard Kipling says, "to make a heap of all one's winnings and risk it all on one turn of pitch and toss," the great captain cannot master the uncertainties of the battlefield. There is always danger in taking risks, but, as the great commander understands instinctively, the greater danger lies in doing nothing.

Beyond their intellectual and character traits, all the great leaders possessed some element of physical presence that made others love, respect, or fear them. Augustus was possessed of "lightning in his eyes" that made people uneasy in his presence. Scipio demonstrated an air of quiet calm and dignity that gave his soldiers confidence. Hannibal's physique and demeanor were those of the combat-hardened soldier, fearless and competent in the face of danger. Philip of Macedon, his large head sitting atop a body crippled and scarred from battle wounds, seemed every bit the warrior chief. Thutmose was tall and robustly built, with a large hawk-beaked nose. His troops thought him a god.

Sargon II was not a god, but he wrote a letter to one after his successful campaign against the Urartu in 714 BC. That letter, to the god Ashur, described Sargon's triumph over heavy odds and harsh terrain. The countryside was so rough in places that the Assyrians had to dismantle their two-wheeled war chariots and carry them by hand (with Sargon still in his chariot). Equipping his sappers with strong copper picks, Sargon was able to cross and recross "mountains innumerable." After reaching Lake Urmia, on the Caspian side of the Caucasus Mountains, Sargon led his men on forced marches against a Urartian army sheltered in a steep valley east of the lake. The Assyrians literally descended from the clouds, falling on the surprised enemy through snow-covered passes and forcing the Urartian king, Rusas, to flee the battlefield mounted on a mare, a retreat so ignominious that Rusas later committed suicide. Sargon's men seized so much loot that it took the king 50 columns to

itemize it in his letter to the god Ashur—a staggering 334,000 gold and silver objects in all.

The physical presence of these commanders was further enhanced by their willingness to suffer alongside their men the same hardships and dangers of battle. Sargon died leading an attack, Thutmose personally led the attack at Megiddo, Hannibal always fought in the middle of the line, and Philip was wounded in battle no fewer than five times. Great leaders share the dangers of their troops and take pains to be seen doing so by their men. Whatever personal charisma was required to convince troops to follow them into the crucible of combat and risk their lives in the physical and psychological horrors of battle, all the great captains possessed it. It remains a maxim of military life that a leader cannot manage his men—soldiers must be led. They follow a great commander for the most basic of reasons: because they respect and trust him and believe that he values them as well and will not squander their lives needlessly.

Great captains arise when there are great challenges to be dealt with, or when social turmoil loosens the constraints that guide the exercise of power in normal times. Without great challenges, leadership is confined to a narrower scope of events and concerns. Mere competence passes for leadership. In such circumstances, great captains remain only potentially so, carrying out their normal duties, their abilities permitted by circumstance to rise only to the level of competence. Ancient societies were usually remarkably stable over long periods, with the predictable consequence that great captains were nowhere to be found. The inherent conservatism of ancient societies restricted the exercise of power to the usual traditional mechanisms.

The secular, democratic, technologically advanced, free-market-economy-based, postindustrial societies that characterize the modern West restrict the opportunities for greatness to a large degree because of their inherent structural limitation on power of all types. The fundamental premise of democracy requires the limited exercise of all power. Generals rarely become political leaders, and political leaders never take on the role of field commanders. One of the fundamental characteristics of the great captains of the past—the fusion of military and political power— is institutionally absent in the modern world. Among the revolutionary leaders of the nondemocratic states of the early 20th century—Lenin, Stalin, Mao, and Hitler—only Mao had ever been a field general and not a very good one at that. The required skill sets for generals and rulers are radically different. One requires attention to detail, the other thrives on attention—period.

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ABOVE: At the Battle of Zama in 202 BC, Scipio crushed Hannibal, closing the Second Punic War and ending forever the Carthaginian threat to Rome.

The advent of high-tech warfare has further reduced the degree of greatness associated with military achievement. Wars are now increasingly fought by rival systems in which high-level military commanders are virtually interchangeable, and they are won through advanced planning executed with almost complete predictability. General "Stormin'" Norman Schwarzkopf, the American commander during the 1991 Gulf War, could easily have been replaced by any number of other generals who could have just as successfully executed the agreed-upon war plan. Simply put, there is far less room for military brilliance, innovation, and daring in modern warfare. The need for the human dimension in fighting it, at least at the highest command level, has been reduced almost to zero, although there will never come a time when "boots on the ground" are not needed to physically occupy conquered territory.

The day-to-day political control over military operations required by democracies seeking to execute military policy within the constraints of fragile public support and the transparency of events made possible by instantaneous communications technology have further reduced the chances for military greatness. And since democratic political leaders are prevented from being field generals, the next best thing is to make certain that one's field generals remain sensitive to the requirements of the leadership's political survival. The congruence of military and political power characteristic in the ancient world is almost impossible in the modern one.

Although all the great captains believed that their nations and empires would last forever, history enforced a much different lesson. It is not difficult to imagine Thutmose III surveying the Nile from his palace at Memphis and thinking that Egypt would always be a great power. Had Egypt not existed for almost 4,000 years before Thutmose was born? By the time Sargon came to the throne, Assyria had been a nation for 500 years, and the empire was already more than two centuries old. Augustus thought of Rome as eternal. All these states and empires came to an end, however, often amid the very circumstances that might have been prevented had other great captains arisen to deal with the tumultuous challenges that eventually consumed them

No doubt great military leaders will arise in the future. And when they do, it is a virtual certainty that their achievements will be marked by the same passion, sense of adventure, and personal experience that marked their emergence in the past. Perhaps the most basic lesson to be taken from the study the great captains of antiquity is the knowledge that the great captains yet to come will be both as remarkable and as recognizably human as those who came before. Circumstances change, but human nature remains the same. Great leaders, at heart, are still men and women—however much their people may hope in darkest times that they are divine. □

WINTER WAR: RUSSIA INVADES FINLAND

Following the fall of Poland in the autumn of 1939, an amazed and sympathetic world watched tiny Finland, a nation of less than four million people, fight off 26 Russian divisions.

BY ARNOLD BLUMBERG

THE HUGELY CYNICAL German-Soviet nonaggression pact, concluded in August 1939, assigned the Baltic region of eastern Europe to the exclusive sphere of influence of Communist Russia. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin immediately embarked on a program to annex traditionally Russian-dominated territory in the area, including Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, to serve as an obstacle to any potential German invasion of the Soviet Union. With good reason, Stalin did not trust Nazi strongman Adolf Hitler to keep his word one second longer than Hitler thought expedient.

The Soviet leader feared that his pro-German—or at least anti-Russian—neighbor to the north, Finland, would join Germany in an assault on Russia. As a result, he demanded that the Russians be allowed to station troops in certain key areas of Finland, and that the Russo-Finnish border on the Karelian Isthmus between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga be moved 20 miles northwest to create a buffer zone to better protect the Russian city of Leningrad on the extreme eastern edge of the gulf. In return, the Soviets would give up some worthless wilderness land in eastern Karelia and enter into paperweight trade and defense treaties.

The Finns understandably resisted. The consequence of such concessions by the Helsinki government would have forced them to dismantle their defenses in the territory forfeited to the Soviets, leaving them bereft of the ability to defend themselves against future Russian aggression. Determined to preserve their hard-

Poorly armed Russian soldiers in the 7th Army finally overwhelm Finnish defenders inside the key strategic city of Viipuri on March 12, 1940. The Finnish government would ask for a cease-fire the next day. Painting by Alexander Blinkow.

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won independence, achieved from Russia in 1918, and misled by the delusion that the Western democracies would step in to deter any Communist attack, the fiercely patriotic Finns rejected all Soviet demands.

Responding to the unexpected rebuff from Helsinki of Soviet demands, which he viewed as urgent and reasonable, Stalin ordered the Red Army on November 13, 1939, to prepare for an invasion of Russia's northern neighbor. Like the country it represented, the Soviet Army was a colossus on paper, with hundreds of divisions and thousands of aircraft and tanks. A war with Finland involving merely mathematical equations would be a short one indeed. But much of the Russian strength was more apparent than real. In 1939, the Red Army was still an unknown quantity. Born in the Russian civil war of 1918-1920, a conflict made up of scattered large-scale partisan operations, the Army was untried in conventional warfare, except for a short, sharp conflict with the Japanese in Manchuria in the spring and summer of 1939.

Although one of the largest military machines in the world, the Red Army was hard-pressed to adequately equip and maintain such a huge force. By the end of 1939, much of its equipment was obsolete, but the need to arm newly activated formations prevented the replacement of old infantry weapons, tanks, and planes. Even had all the combat weapons been perfectly up to date, the level of training of Russian troops in their usage was below par, as was the expertise and experience

to put in place a logistical system that could properly support large-scale military operations.

The rank-and-file Russian soldier was not all that bad. Some units were better trained than others, but none was adequately prepared for the challenge of extreme winter warfare. Only a quarter of the Soviet Army's entire strength could be devoted to the Finnish war effort, at least at the start. Garrisons in Poland, Romania, the Baltic States, and the Far East tied up some of its finest fighting formations. Initial Soviet forces committed to battle would be around half a million men.

By far the most serious and crippling blow to the effectiveness of the Red Army at the brink of the Russo-Finish War was the lingering effects of Stalin's cold-blooded purge of its officer corps during the previous two years. The paranoid dictator, seeing plots against him at every turn, had decimated the Red Army leadership in an attempt to quash any potential obstacles to his absolute control of the country. Internal threats were always seen as the most immediate threat to his power. The existing Army, led by numerous ex-czarist officers, was considered by Stalin to be the primary menace to his regime. Hundreds of officers were systemically liquidated during the ensuing Great Purge. Stalin's aim was the utter destruction of the Red Army's leadership. In this he succeeded totally. Anyone who demonstrated the least amount of initiative or creative thought was disposed of in an NKVD prison cellar by a bullet to the back of the head. Marshals, generals, colonels, and even junior officers and NCOs were shot by the dozens. To fill the gaps, officers were rapidly promoted before they were properly trained for their new and higher responsibilities. It was not uncommon to find colonels in charge of divisions, majors heading up regiments.

To help the new, inexperienced leaders, a dual system of command was implemented. Political commissars were appointed at the regimental level to assure the reliability of field-grade officers. This also allowed for divided command, which would help control potential enemies inside the Army. But the commissars were more than mere political advisers; they had real authority over the conduct of military operations. Consequently, planning for military missions was secondary on everyone's agenda, power and control being the primary goals. Much of the rigidity and snail-like pace of Soviet battle schemes could be attributed to the lack of unity of command, which permeated down to battalion level.

The Red Army's opponent in late 1939 was a Finnish National Army of 33,000 men grouped in three infantry divisions, a light infantry and a

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Finnish Army commander Baron Carl Gustav Mannerheim, right, with General Axel Heinreichs, commander of the III Army Corps and the Army of the Karelian Isthmus. LEFT: Soviet Lieutenant General Kirill Meretskov wrongly estimated that it would take only 12 days to conquer Finland.

cavalry brigade supported by about 15 artillery battalions, fewer than 70 aircraft, and a dozen French World War I-era Renault tanks. The regular army was backed up by territorial and home guard units. The most important of these was the territorial force, which when mobilized increased the Finnish Army to 127,000 men in nine infantry divisions. The Army Reserve had another 100,000 men, as did the paramilitary Civic Guard, allowing the Finns to field an army of more than 400,000 troops in 12 divisions of 14,200 men each. (A typical Russian division was over 17,000 men strong.) In support of frontline forces were 100,000 women of the Lotta Svard, or Women's Auxiliary Army.

In addition, small numbers of cavalry and Jaegers, acting as elite light infantry, the latter moving by bicycle, could be employed. Field artillery was chiefly 77mm field guns supplemented by 122mm howitzers. Heavy artillery consisted of 105mm and 107mm pieces, but there were few of these in the Finns' arsenal. All artillery was horse drawn, and each battery held between four and six pieces.

In contrast to their Russian counterparts, many Finnish officers were veterans of World War I and the Finnish War of Independence. They were drawn from the aristocracy and thus were very anti-communist, and they typically led from the front. Finnish enlisted men were also very capable. Most were comfortable in winter conditions, could navigate through thick forests, and were crack marksmen. Along with an experienced, dedicated officer corps and committed frontline troops, the Finns were fortunate to have an Army commander who inspired confidence as well as providing unity of command. Born in 1867, Baron Carl Gustav Mannerheim was a Swedish-Finnish nobleman and career soldier who at the age of 19 had gone AWOL from a Finnish cadet program and joined the Imperial Russian Army, where he served with distinction during the Russo-Japanese War and World War I.

When Russia fell into revolutionary chaos in November 1917, Mannerheim returned to Finland and assumed leadership of the Finnish anti-Bolshevik military forces. Under his command, the Finnish Communists and their Russian supporters were crushed, and Finland obtained her independence from Russia. But after 1919, Mannerheim spent much of his time dabbling in right-wing politics. From 1931 to 1939, he was chairman of the country's Defense Council. Favoring a policy of conciliation toward Stalin, he was nonetheless appointed commander of the nation's military when war with Russia appeared imminent.

Operations during the Russo-Finnish War were divided among three distinct geographical areas: the Karelian Isthmus, the region immediately north of Lake Ladoga, and the area farther north of the lake. The isthmus was the key.

Operations during the Russo-Finnish War would be divided among three distinct geographical areas: the Karelian Isthmus, the region immediately north of Lake Ladoga, and the area farther north of the lake. By far the most important front was the Karelian Isthmus north of Leningrad. Its open fields and partly cultivated woodlands made the topography conducive to large-scale mechanized maneuvers. A sprawling network of lakes, the isthmus was initially an obstacle, but once the lakes froze in mid-December, they became clear terrain. The isthmus, 65 miles across at its widest point, was protected by a Finnish defensive position known as the Mannerheim Line. The area located to the north of Lake Ladoga, called by the Finns Ladoga-Karelia, was a region less well developed and more heavily forested than the isthmus. With few major roads, that part of the country was best traversed on numerous logging trails that were mutually supportable. A successful thrust through this area could result in the outflanking of the Mannerheim Line.

North of Ladoga-Karelia, the roads became scarcer and the forest even more impenetrable. Only a handful of rough paths traversed the central part of Finland, although communications improved as one proceeded west. What passed for roads in the country's midsection were so far apart that Russian forces moving on parallel routes could not support one another. Worse, the

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ABOVE: Captured Soviet tanks litter the road on the Suomussalmi front in January 1940. The outgunned but opportunistic Finns quickly turned the captured tanks and artillery on the attackers. BELOW: Finnish soldiers move into position during heavy fighting in December 1939. Small but well-trained, the Finnish forces proved to be fierce defenders of their homeland.

National Archives

poor roads could not handle heavy traffic and barely managed to support the movements of single Russian divisions traveling along them.

The most important objective for the Russians was the capture of the town of Viipuri at the northwestern corner of the isthmus. With the town's vital road network in hand, the Soviets would have an easy pathway by which to penetrate into the populated western and northern portions of Finland. Soviet strategy for the prosecution of the war was to advance along the entire Finnish border in overwhelming strength, pushing the enemy hard from eight different directions by means of a coordinated westward advance. This would allow the Russians to hammer the Mannerheim Line from both front and rear. In the north, the plan was for the Murmansk-based Fourteenth Army (three mediocre infantry divisions with attached armor) to occupy the Lapland port of Petsamo and take the town of Oulu on the Gulf of Bothnia. With that accomplished, much of the aid coming to the Finns from Sweden would be blocked.

The midsection of Finland was to be attacked by Ninth Army, five rifle divisions along with a motley assortment of armored units, which would move westward to take as many of the Finns' communications centers as possible, thus cutting the country in two. In the Ladoga-Karelia sector, the Russian objective was to turn the northern flank of the isthmus's defenses by circling around Lake Ladoga's north shore and striking the Mannerheim Line from behind. This vital task was assigned to the Russian Eighth Army, which comprised six rifle divisions and two tank brigades. Facing the Karelian Isthmus was the Russian Seventh Army, made up of 14 infantry divisions, three armored brigades, and a mechanized corps containing over 1,000 tanks. Supporting these units were considerable artillery assets. This force was to breach the Mannerheim Line by frontal assault, take the city of Viipuri, and sweep west toward the Finnish capital of Helsinki.

In overall operational control of the Soviet forces at the start of the war was Lt. Gen. Kirill Meretskov, commander of the Leningrad Military District since 1938. Having distinguished himself during the Russian Civil War, the chubby, non-professionally trained soldier had survived Stalin's purges and was noted for diligence, if not inspired leadership. He estimated that the struggle with Finland would be concluded in 12 days.

The Finns' strategy was one of wait and see. They guessed correctly about the size and scope of their enemy's thrust up the Karelian Isthmus and at Suomussalmi in the central part of the country and prepared well to counter the attacks. But they underestimated the power of the Soviet attack on the Karelia-Ladoga axis, which was undermanned by friendly forces. The end game for the Finns was to hold on until the West came to their rescue or Stalin settled for a negotiated peace. Barring those results, the Finns were determined to fight to the last man.

On the eve of war, the Finns established a covering force stretching 625 miles from the Arctic Ocean southward toward the north shore of Lake Ladoga, with Civic Guard and reservists under Lt. Gen. Viljo Tuompo. From the north bank of Lake Ladoga and extending 60 miles farther north was Maj. Gen. Woldemar Hag-

glund's 4th Corps, consisting of two infantry divisions. On the western side of the Karelian Isthmus stood the Finnish II Corps under Lt. Gen. Harald Ohquist, with three infantry divisions and advance troops operating forward of the Mannerheim Line. To the east, connecting with Lake Ladoga's southern shore, were two divisions of the III Corps's two infantry divisions and one detachment of covering troops. Overall command of the III and IV Corps was exerted by General Hugo V. Ostermann of the Army of the Karelian Isthmus.

On November 30, Russian air raids on Helsinki, Viipuri, and other Finnish cities and towns heralded the start of the Winter War. That same day, Soviet landing parties from the Baltic Fleet occupied several key Finnish islands in the Gulf of Finland. The next day, Meretskov stormed across the frontier with 120,000 men, 1,000 tanks, and 600 artillery pieces. From the start, Russian columns experienced massive traffic jams caused by the poor road conditions, snowstorms, and token Finnish resistance, which reduced the Russian advance to a crawl or immobilized it completely.

Prior to the Russian attack, the Finns had evacuated much of the population in the border area and conducted a scorched-earth policy to deprive the enemy of both shelter and sustenance. Hundreds of booby traps delayed the Russians and caused many casualties. Single Finnish snipers were able to halt large Soviet forces for hours. Because the Russians were sticking to the few good roads, their formations were bunching up, preventing them from properly deploying for battle. As a result, the separate columns were unable to support one another and were exposed to Finnish flank attacks.

At the outset of the war, the biggest threat to the Finns was the Russians' tanks. The defenders had few antitank weapons and little training in using them. Although Russian tank tactics were crude, straight-ahead charges, they proved effective in driving the Finns back from the border to the Mannerheim Line during the first days of the war. But by the end of the first week, the Finns had discovered ways to counter the enemy armor: logs and crowbars jammed into the wheels of the steel monsters, Molotov cocktails (gasoline- and chloride potassium-filled bottles), and bunches of stick grenades or satchel charges placed on tank treads all proved effective armor killers. Eighty Russian tanks were destroyed by such methods during the border fighting. Although as many as 70 percent of the tank-busting squads became casualties, there was never a lack of volunteers for the extremely hazardous, close-quarter duty.

By December 6, the Finns had withdrawn to the Mannerheim Line, a series of 109 reinforced concrete positions covering 80 miles. Fronting the line were vast fields of barbed-wire entanglements, thousands of mines planted on all likely avenues of approach, and five to seven rows of granite rocks sunk into the ground to serve as antitank obstacles. The line's principal weakness was the fact that its pillboxes were too far apart to provide mutual fire support for each other. More critical was that the Finns did not have enough artillery or ammunition to support the line. Regardless, when defended by stubborn troops and attacked by poorly led Russian soldiers not properly supported by artillery or tanks, the Mannerheim Line proved formidable and effective.

Throughout most of December, the Russians attacked the Mannerheim Line, first on the left flank near the town of Taipale, then at Summa on the right. The fighting assumed a familiar pattern: the Russians would unleash a heavy artillery barrage, followed by frontal attacks by infantry and small groups of tanks that followed the tightly packed infantry column in the open. Deliberate and carefully laid down Finnish artillery and machine-gun fire (the latter at extremely close range) would come into play, plastering the Russians as they struggled through minefields and barbed wire and sending the Soviets into headlong flight.

By December 20, the first Soviet offensive on the Karelian Isthmus had failed. Seven infantry divisions and two armored brigades supported by 600 guns and 1,000 planes had not made a dent in the Mannerheim Line. The cost to the Russians was enormous—thousands killed, many more wounded or unable to function in the bitter winter conditions that even the Soviets were not

National Archives

Finnish soldiers wearing white camouflage uniforms man the trenches in February 1940. Both sides were inured to the savage winter weather.

equipped to contend with. More than 250 Russian tanks were destroyed.

On December 23, the Finnish high command launched a counterattack from the Mannerheim Line. Lack of fresh troops and blasting snow storms coupled with fierce enemy resistance brought the attack to a halt that same day. The Finns lost 1,300 battle casualties in return for a few miles of ground gained. North of Lake Ladoga, in the Finnish IV Corps sector, the start of the war saw significant gains by the Russian 155th, 139th, and 168th Infantry Divisions on the left of the corps near the town of Suojarvi and southward to Lake Ladoga's northern shore. The Finns had not anticipated the strength of the enemy attack in the area, leaving the section badly undermanned. The weak Finnish covering force was pushed back for five days until Mannerheim sent the 6th and 9th Divisions to the threatened sector to prevent the vital communication center of Tolvajarvi from falling.

Stinging small-unit raids, followed by larger battalion-sized attacks, enabled the Finns to stop the Russian advance north of Lake Ladoga. Confined to the few roads in the area because of deep snow and hampered by severe cold and lack of food and proper clothing, the demoralized Soviet forces

were surrounded by the Finns in the foreboding forests. Pressured by their unseen enemy, the Soviets tried to retreat or hunkered down in the snowy waste to be surrounded and mopped up by the Finns. The battle for Tolvajarvi cost Finland 630 killed and 1,320 wounded. The Russians sustained 5,000 killed, 5,000 wounded, and 600 taken prisoner. Fifty-nine tanks and armored cars were destroyed. The victory at Tolvajarvi secured Finland's northern flank for the rest of the war.

With the Tolvajarvi front stabilized, Hagglund initiated an attack on the Russian 18th and 168th Infantry Divisions and 34th Tank Brigade immediately north of Lake Ladoga, between Kitela and Syskyjarvi. After two false starts, the Finns launched their assault on December 26, first taking the village of Uomaa behind the Russian lines and cutting off their communications. This was followed by an assault by two Finnish task forces on a 10-mile front along the Uomaa road toward the north coast of Lake Ladoga. The aim was to cut off the advance elements of the 168th Division.

By the end of the first week of January 1940, the Russian Ladoga front was in tatters, with supply lines severed and many Russian battalions encircled because they had refused to retreat, instead digging in waiting to be surrounded by the Finns. The pockets of trapped Russians were soon known to the world as *mottis,* the Finnish word denoting a pile of timber destined to be chopped in to convenient lengths of firewood. Hagglund's attack had created nine such *mottis,* including Lt. Gen. Andrei Bondarev's 20-square-mile Great Motti containing much of the 168th Division.

As Hagglund's *mottis* were forming, the action was heating up farther north. The Soviets had set their sights on Suomussalmi, a provincial town of 4,000 inhabitants located in Finland's mid-

The Granger Collection, New York

Russian tanks blast Finnish positions. By February 1940, with General Semyon Timoshenko now in command, the Russians broke through the stubborn Finnish defenses with overwhelming infantry and armor attacks.

section. The Soviet 44th and 163rd Divisions of the Ninth Army were tasked with its capture. From there, they were to move on the town of Oulu, cutting off the country's rail connection with Sweden. The 163rd was to advance on the town in two columns from the north and east, while the motorized 44th Division followed in support.

The 163rd moved slowly, its heavy equipment and transport forced to remain on the few roads in the area. Finnish ski troops slowed the unit even more by attacking supply bases and supply convoys in the rear. Nevertheless, the Russians took Suomussalmi on December 7. A few days later, Finnish reinforcements from the 9th Division arrived after traveling over a distance of 100 miles.

On December 11, without any artillery support, the Finns counterattacked the town, cutting off enemy supply lines and forestalling any possibility of a Russian retreat. The Russian 44th Division arrived within four miles of Suomussalmi on December 22 and was promptly blocked off and surrounded. On Christmas Eve, the trapped Russians attempted to break out to the east. The Finns adopted an elastic defense that lured enemy armor and infantry into the woods so they could be counterattacked by stealthily moving ski troops.

With the arrival of the 9th Division's artillery assets, the Russians were pummeled by well-aimed fire. Their attack collapsed. The Finns then went over to the offensive on the 27th and destroyed the Russian 163rd Division three days later. Turning next to the enemy 44th Division, the Finns chopped the division into small *mottis* that were mopped up in turn. The fight for Suomussalmi cost the Russians over 30,000 men killed and captured, 43 tanks, and 270 other vehicles. The Finns lost 900 dead and 1,770 wounded in the grueling contest.

As 1939 turned into 1940, Stalin, disgusted with the war's lack of progress, named General Semyon K. Timoshenko the new commander of the fight against Finland. Timoshenko's chief of staff was General Georgi Zhukov, destined to become the greatest Russian general of the war. The Leningrad Military District was renamed the Northwestern Front, with the forces on the Karelian Isthmus reorganized into Thirteenth and Seventh Armies. First priority was given to breaking the Mannerheim Line. Armored units were concentrated in packs of 100 vehicles and ordered to work closely with their supporting infantry instead of charging ahead by themselves. Most importantly, the artillery was strengthened and concentrated (80 heavy guns to each mile of front), and better-coordinated barrages on enemy positions were planned to support advancing infantry and tanks.

The new Soviet attack on the Mannerheim Line commenced on February 1, 1940, with more than 300,000 artillery shells smashing into Finnish positions around Summa on the first day. The Russian ground attack was directed toward the city of Viipuri. Despite the new and improved tactics and better morale, one aspect remained the same: the Russians were still willing to accept massive losses in order to gain their objectives. These attacks, made by massed columns of closely packed men, were supported by air bombardment and artillery fire, followed by strong tank and infantry assaults. No matter how many men and vehicles were lost, the attacks would be repeated in each division's assigned sector, up to five times a day, with fresh units thrown into the cauldron of battle.

The Russian advance on February 2 and 3 repeated the pattern of the first day, but was even more powerful. Fighting was fierce around Summa, with the Finns knocking out 90 tanks while laboring under artillery shelling of 400 rounds per minute. As the days passed, the Finnish strongpoints fell to the Soviet attackers. A week later, the Russians widened their attacks by hitting positions from Taipale to the Gulf of Finland.

Finally, on February 11, the inevitable occurred—the Russians broke through the Mannerheim Line northeast of Summa. The Russian 123rd Division with its attached 35th Light Tank Brigade punched through the weakened and exhausted defenders after a furious two-and-a-half-hour artillery barrage and established a salient in the enemy lines. The Finns counterattacked on the 13th but were repulsed. That same day, a strong Russian armored column was poised to roll past the Lahde crossroads straight for Viipuri. Unaccountably, the force halted to await reinforcements, allowing the Finns to shore up their defenses and stop the threatened advance on Viipuri.

The pressure along the entire Karelian front continued to increase. As a result, Mannerheim ordered the II Corps to retire to a position farther back from Summa, called the Intermediate Line. The new site varied in strength widely from sector to sector. In the area fronting Viipuri, it was as strong as the Mannerheim Line. On the 18th, another crisis brewed for the Finns as a Soviet division almost took Taipale on the other side of the Karelian Isthmus.

By February 24, the Intermediate Line was bending at several places. At one of the threatened points, Honkaniemi Station, the Finns launched their only tank attack of the war, using five British-made Vickers light tanks sporting 37mm guns. The Finnish tanks were routed when they ran into several Russian tanks firing much larger 76mm shells. Not long after the failed tank attack, Mannerheim ordered a retreat to the Rear Line, an area west of Viipuri where numerous lakes made for good defensive ground.

On February 28, Timoshenko carried out an attack on the entire Rear Line. He felt confident; the Mannerheim Line had held for 78 days, the Intermediate Line for only 12 days. Timoshenko reasoned that the third Finnish defensive line could not be very strong—and there was no fourth line.

As March approached, the Finns hoped that the Isthmus Army could hold out until the spring thaw melted the frozen lakes and gulf, creating a protective quagmire shielding Viipuri. Aware of the coming thaw, the Soviets pressed ahead with their attack on the Rear Line on March 2. The next day, the XXVIII Army Corps landed on the western coast of the Viipuri Gulf. Some 30 Russian divisions, 1,200 armored vehicles, and 2,000 aircraft began hammering the Rear Line and the gulf.

By mid-March, the loss of territory and of men—75,000 killed or wounded since the start of the war—had exhausted the Finnish nation. It was also obvious that no help would be coming from the Western powers. The Helsinki government requested and was granted a cease- fire on March 13. There was nothing left to do but count the cost: 25,000 Finns killed (about 2.6 million in 1939 American terms), with another 44,000 wounded. The Russians claimed 215,000 died or wounded. (Modern authorities speculate that the real number of Russian dead was 230,000 to 270,000, with an additional 200,000 to 300,000 wounded.) The Finns also destroyed 2,300 armored vehicles and 700 Russian planes

In the end, Finland lost the Karelian Isthmus and had to allow Soviet basing rights at the port of Hango. More than 420,000 Finnish civilians were displaced as a result of the political settlement. But the most amazing result of the savage war was that the Finns retained their independence. For Stalin and the Soviet Union, the victory was bittersweet. The Winter War had cost them enormous national prestige and encouraged Adolf Hitler to look ever more closely at an eastward invasion of Mother Russia—an invasion that would begin in June 1941, code-named Barbarossa. □

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: A Finnish house goes up in flames after being struck by Russian bombs in January 1940. With only token resistance, Russian air power controlled the skies. BELOW: Russian soldiers casually prepare to bury a dead Finnish soldier, frozen solid by the extreme winter conditions. Many Russian dead were not discovered until the snow melted the next spring.

Opening Moves on THE RIO GRANDE

Led by General Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and Ready," the outnumbered American Army drove Mexican forces back across the Rio Grande and moved on to Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

THE HOT DAYS at Fort Texas were about to get a lot hotter. For days, the men of the 7th U.S. Infantry who garrisoned the remote fort had watched as enemy cannons were aimed at them across the Rio Grande from the Mexican town of Matamoros. Now they saw a large procession of civilians in flowing robes moving from gun to gun. One by one, each of the artillery pieces that glared at them was blessed by priests and monks.

The 500 American soldiers inside Fort Texas were caught between the guns across the river and the 4,000-man army of General Mariano Arista somewhere behind them. Their only possible help, 2,200 men under Brig. Gen. Zachary Taylor, was two days' journey away on the Gulf Coast, loading badly needed supplies. As April 1846 slipped into May, the governments of the United States and Mexico were not yet officially at war, but military events on the Rio Grande would soon outrun politicians in Mexico City and Washington.

When the United States admitted Texas to the Union in 1845, it gained not only a vast new territory but a potential war as well. Despite its decisive defeat in 1836 at the Battle of San Jacinto, Mexico never fully accepted the loss of its breakaway province of Texas. President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who had been taken prisoner at San Jacinto, signed a treaty granting Texas independence. Mexico later repudiated the treaty, leading to nine years of cold war that often heated up into border clashes and brief attempts at invasion. The admission of Texas to the Union in 1845 elevated the boundary dispute into an international crisis between the United States and Mexico.

BY DAVID A. NORRIS

Although the United States adopted the Texan claim that the international boundary was the Rio Grande, Mexico claimed that the boundary was the Nueces River, to the north. The diplomatic situation worsened after annexation, and President James K. Polk ordered troops to southern Texas to defend the disputed land between the rivers. Troops began landing at the mouth of the Nueces near Corpus Christi, Texas, in July 1845.

It took months to scrape together an expeditionary force from lonely frontier posts and sleepy, undermanned coastal forts across the continental United States. Some dragoons were sent without their mounts, and some artillery units went with neither horses nor guns. Eager as always to save money, the Quartermaster Department resisted sending enough horses and mules for the

General Zachary Taylor, astride his horse, Old Whitey, directs the American assault on Mexican forces at Palo Alto, near Brownsville, Texas, on May 8, 1846. Although outnumbered, Taylor boldly took the offensive.

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army, insisting that wild Texas mustangs could be caught and broken for use at a substantial savings to the government. Mustangs were tough and wiry, and they could live off prairie grass instead of expensive feed. Unfortunately, the little horses were about as useful as goats for pulling heavy guns and wagons.

By October 1845, about 4,000 men were camped at Corpus Christi. It was nearly half of the 8,500-man U.S. Army at the time and comprised far more troops than had been assembled at once since the War of 1812. Officers who for years had needed to know only how to drill an understrength company or two had to learn to maneuver a regiment or brigade. Because cavalry made up a high proportion of the Mexican Army, the men practiced forming into squares to repel enemy horsemen.

A great city of tents sprawled across the wide, sandy beach at Corpus Christi, a small, scruffy settlement that survived in large part by smuggling. In a way, this was fortunate. On the map, the spot looked like a good disembarkation point, but the coastal waters there were so shallow that none of the transport ships could land, and goods and men had to be transferred onto smaller boats. Some smugglers turned an honest dollar by renting their shallow-draft boats to the Army.

General Zachary Taylor commanded the American forces. Born on a Virginia plantation in 1784 and reared on the Kentucky frontier, Taylor had joined the Army in 1808. Nicknamed "Old Rough and Ready," the tobacco-chewing Taylor cared nothing for military pomp and splendor. In the field, he often dressed more like an old farmer than a commanding general. His men loved his courage, his willingness to share their hardships, his informality and sense of humor. Soldiers often repeated the tale of a fresh young lieutenant who arrived to report to General Taylor. The shavetail saw an older gentleman behind the commander's tent, wearing scruffy civilian clothes and cleaning a sword. Mistaking Taylor for a servant, the lieutenant offered him a dollar to clean his sword as well, and left. The next day, the young lieutenant returned, and the "servant" introduced himself as General Taylor. The general handed the newly cleaned sword over to the mortified officer—and asked the young man for his dollar.

Taylor received orders in February 1846 to march 100 miles to the disputed Rio Grande. Taylor's officers included several lieutenants and captains who a few years later would become famous in the Civil War: Ulysses S. Grant, James Longstreet, Edmund Kirby Smith, George Gordon Meade, William J. Hardee, and Braxton Bragg. Taylor's force also included a valuable asset, an artillery contingent numbering four 18-pounder siege guns and three of the Army's five batteries of flying artillery.

Under the command of Major Samuel Ringgold, the flying artillery units were renowned for their readiness and mobility. When fully equipped, the gunners had their own mounts, rather than having to hold onto the caissons and limbers. Their brass 6-pounder guns could be shifted, placed in battery, and fired much more quickly than regular artillery. The 6-pounders' 1,500-yard range allowed the batteries to fire well out of musket range of the enemy. During public demonstrations before the war, Ringgold's gunners impressed many observers with their speed and skill, but the coming battles would be their first test in actual combat.

Along the way to the Rio Grande, Taylor split up his army. He sent one detachment to Point Isabel on the coast to set up a supply depot; the rest pushed on to the border. On March 27, they erected a fresh-cut mesquite pole and raised the Stars and Stripes on the Rio Grande, across from the Mexican town of Matamoros. Under the glare of a Mexican army that was fast building its own fortifications, they constructed a strong earthwork surrounded by a moat. Under the guns of two armies, the people of Matamoros tried to keep on with their normal lives. Across from the menacing American fort, women still walked down to the river to wash their laundry.

Mexican forces in the region were commanded by Maj. Gen. Pedro de Ampudia, a Cuban-born officer who had fought against the rebellious Texans in 1836. Ampudia was replaced on April 24 by Maj. Gen. Mariano

General Taylor, center left, gallops across the field at Palo Alto in this period engraving. A wounded officer, perhaps Ringgold, is tended to at lower right.

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Arista. Born in 1802, Arista enlisted as a cadet in the Spanish forces near the end of the colonial era. After independence, he rose to command the Army of the North. Entrusted with defending the Texas border, Arista's force contained some of the best units in the Mexican Army.

War had not yet been declared, but tensions heated up between the two armies. In the most serious incident, 1,600 lancers and other troops under Brig. Gen. Anastasio Torrejón crossed the Rio Grande. Two companies of dragoons, numbering about 60 men under Captain Seth Thornton of the 2nd U.S. Dragoons, rode 25 miles up the Rio Grande to investigate reports of Torrejón's movement. On April 25, Thornton's party was ambushed by Torrejón at Rancho de Carrecitos. Eleven dragoons were killed, including Lieutenant George Thompson Mason. Thornton was wounded and became separated from his force.

Future Confederate general William Hardee took command of a band of two dozen survivors, many of whom had lost their sabers, pistols, and carbines in the confusion. Eventually, Hardee surrendered to the several hundred lancers who surrounded him, and most of the rest of Thornton's men fell into enemy hands singly or in small groups. As far as Taylor was concerned, he wrote to President Polk, "Hostilities may now be considered to have commenced."

The tenuous American supply line worried Taylor even more than the Thornton incident. His army was running low on food, and the lightly guarded Point Isabel depot was vulnerable to capture. Taylor and most of the army marched back to Point Isabel on May 1. He left Major Jacob Brown and the 7th Infantry with a handful of artillerymen to hold Fort Texas.

Figuring that an all-out attack on the fort would be too costly, Arista instituted a siege of the fort. In Matamoros, drums pounded and church bells clanged, adding to the commotion as Mexican guns opened fire on Fort Texas on May 3. One of Brown's first shots from an 18-pounder sent a Mexican 12-pounder and its crew spinning into the air. The Mexican mortars were harder to deal with. Settled deep in the ground and well protected by earthworks, the mortars were out of the reach of American guns. Meanwhile, the Mexican gunners sent shell after shell into the fort. American soldiers built makeshift bomb proofs and shelters with walls of pork barrels roofed over with boards and covered with dirt.

On the first day of the bombardment, Sergeant Horace Weigart was killed by a Mexican shot. His body was laid out on a table in a hospital tent. A subsequent shell tore through

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U.S. Army

ABOVE LEFT: Major Samuel Ringgold commanded the flying artillery. ABOVE RIGHT: General Taylor, nicknamed "Old Rough and Ready," did not usually dress so formally. BELOW: The implausibly well-ordered American camp on the beach at Corpus Christi was the largest gathering of U.S. forces since the War of 1812—some 4,000 officers and men.

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the canvas, buried itself in the ground, and exploded. The concussion bowled over several men, and a fragment of the shell knocked off the rest of Weigart's head. After the sergeant was buried, yet another shell plunged into the ground at his burial place and exploded, throwing his body out of the grave.

Major Brown himself was fatally wounded on May 6, and Captain Edgar S. Hawkins of the 7th Infantry took over command of the fort. Enemy accuracy gradually increased. Hawkins observed that on May 7, half of the shells fired by the Mexican gunners struck the fort. American defenders ran low on ammunition and had to slow their rate of return fire.

Taylor left for the Rio Grande on May 7 with 200 baggage wagons and two more 18-pounders, each of which required a 20-ox team to pull it. Ringgold's battery and another flying battery under Captain James Duncan rounded out the force. They made about seven miles before halting to set up camp. Arista was also on the move. Early on the morning of May 8, Arista's 4,000 men lay in wait for Taylor on the Matamoros Road at a place called Palo Alto (Spanish for "tall

trees.") The site's name came from low ridges, crowned with trees and brush, that stood out from the surrounding prairie. The Mexican line, anchored by cavalry on each flank, stretched for over a mile. Around and behind them were dense thickets of chaparral, which gave way in front to coastal prairie dotted with ponds and bogs.

Taylor's men pushed through a stand of thick, almost shoulder-deep prairie grass. Each blade was "pointed at the top, and hard and almost as sharp as a darning-needle," recalled Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant. About noon on May 8, the Americans were still about 12 miles from Fort Texas when they saw the distant flashes of sunlight dancing on the lance tips and bayonets of the enemy.

The prospect of defeat at Palo Alto threatened the loss of Fort Texas, the depot at Point Isabel, and the entire American expeditionary force. There was no natural shelter for the supply wagons, and Taylor's only horse soldiers were two companies of dragoons. To make matters worse, the men were suffering from heat and thirst during the march. Seeing a pond nearby, Taylor, calmly chewing tobacco while sitting on his horse, Old Whitey, ordered a halt. Each company dispatched a platoon, loaded with canteens, to the waterhole while "Old Rough and Ready" planned their next move.

Taylor lacked a clear picture of the enemy line because prairie grass and high chaparral obscured it in several places. Lieutenant Jacob Edmund Blake of the engineers made a galloping reconnaissance of the Mexican line, spurring his horse within 150 yards of their guns. Blake's dash revealed the location of two more enemy batteries, and the lieutenant also learned that a swamp and a wooded rise protected Arista's flanks.

At 2 PM, Arista's guns opened fire on Taylor's men, who were in formation three-quarters of a mile away. The Mexican guns, eight 4-pounders and two 9-pounders, threw copper projectiles

U.S. Army Art

Captain Charles May and his 2nd Dragoons charge the Mexican artillery at Resaca de la Palma, capturing General Romulo Diaz de la Vega in the process.

rather than iron balls. Their solid shot passed through the American ranks, but did no damage. Experiencing his first action, Grant remembered that the enemy shot "would strike the ground long before they reached our line, and ricocheted through the tall grass so slowly that the men would see them and open ranks and let them pass."

Ringgold and Duncan moved their batteries ahead of the line as the 18-pounders under Lieutenant William H. Churchill opened fire. With 5.3-inch bores, the big, iron 18-pounder tubes alone weighed over 4,600 pounds. In contrast to the Mexican artillery, which pecked away feebly at Taylor's cannon, the American 18-pounders ripped into Arista's troops with deadly effect.

Seeing the carnage wreaked by Taylor's guns, Arista sent Torrejón's lancers to charge the American right. The lancers intended to turn Taylor's flank or fall upon the wagon train. A flustered Hungarian-born soldier ran up with a message for Taylor, sputtering, "De Mexican! De Mexican!" while he pointed frantically to their right. Stands of brush blocked the sight of the approaching enemy, but after some anxious moments, a staff officer who knew some German was able to coax more details from the rattled messenger. Taylor ordered Colonel James S. McIntosh of the 5th U.S. Infantry to form his regiment against cavalry.

McIntosh's voice boomed out: "Fifth Infantry! Form square!" The tedious drilling at Corpus Christi was about to pay off. Two sides of McIntosh's square, bolstered by two of Ringgold's guns under Lieutenant Randolph Ridgely, faced the onrushing horsemen. Torrejón's lancers, slowed by a muddy bog and volleys of musketry, drew up 40 yards short of the square. The lancers returned fire for a few minutes before they were pushed back. Torrejón regrouped and struck Taylor's left before being pushed back once again.

Ignited by the muzzle blasts of the American guns, fires broke out in the prairie grass. By 4 PM, smoke from the grass fires choked the battlefield and stopped the fighting for 45 minutes. Under cover of the smoke, Taylor pushed his right to where the original Mexican line had been. When the smoke faded enough for the gunners to see again, the American batteries opened fire.

Arista's guns, meanwhile, shifted their aim to bear on the deadly artillery, particularly Ringgold's battery, which was positioned in front of the American right. Ringgold was riding his famous thoroughbred racehorse, Davy Branch, when they were both struck down. A 4-pounder ball killed Ringgold's horse, broke Ringgold's two holstered pistols, and tore through both his thighs without breaking the bones. Thrown to the ground, Ringgold sent back a soldier who was coming to his aid, telling him, "Don't stay with me; you have work to do."

Arista made a final attempt to turn the American left flank with a combined infantry and cavalry attack. Once again, the American artillery proved decisive. This time it was Duncan's battery of the 2nd Artillery that came to the rescue, blasting the attackers with canister and breaking their charge. Fighting continued, with neither side gaining a decisive edge until the sun began to set at about 7 PM. Taylor's army held the position the Mexican army had occupied that morning. American losses were very light. Taylor reported that he lost nine dead, 44 wounded, and two missing—a small loss indeed compared to Arista's 500 or more casualties.

The bright, nearly full moon shone gently through the haze of the still-smoldering grass fires as the exhausted men settled into camp. Lieutenant Blake, who had survived his daring gallop past the entire Mexican line, took off his sidearm before turning in. The pistol slipped from his grasp, hit the ground, and discharged

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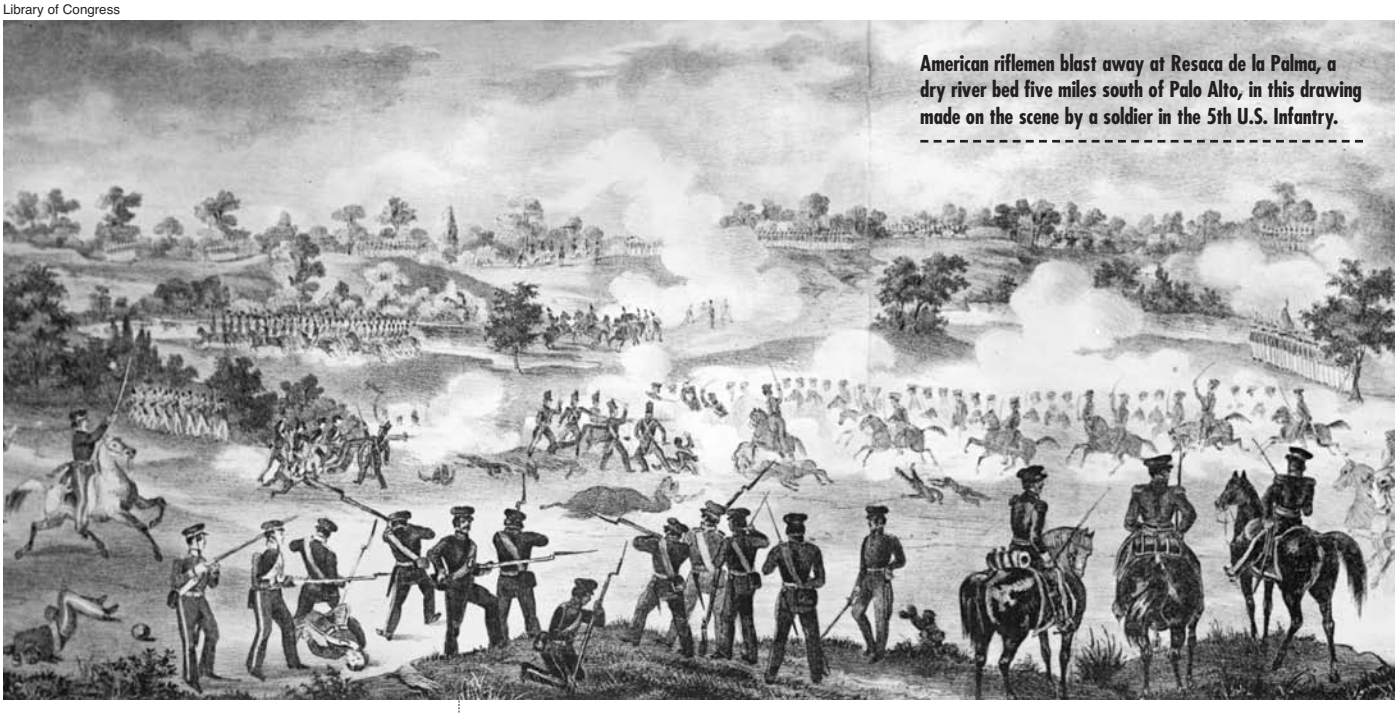

American riflemen blast away at Resaca de la Palma, a dry river bed five miles south of Palo Alto, in this drawing made on the scene by a soldier in the 5th U.S. Infantry.

a ball that killed him instantly.

Before dawn on the morning of May 9, Arista fell back from Palo Alto. He staked out a new defensive line five miles farther along the Matamoros Road at Resaca de la Palma, an old riverbed of the Rio Grande. The *resaca* was a shallow ravine that made a fine breastwork, and the line was further protected by shallow ponds and extensive stretches of chaparral thickets with what one American described as "various kinds of bushes, and briars, all covered with thorns, and so closely entwined together by their respective branches as to prevent the passage of anything through larger than a wolf or hare." The superior American artillery would not be much use in this tangled stretch of forest. Of course, Arista's cavalry couldn't operate in the chaparral either.

Taylor summoned 13 officers to a council of war. The mood was cautious. They had held their own against a larger enemy force, but only four of the officers favored an aggressive attack. The rest wanted to dig in and await reinforcements or return to Point Isabel. Taylor thanked them for their opinions and then told them that they would be in Fort Texas "before night, if I live." The only clear route back to Fort Texas was along the Matamoros Road, which was well defended by Mexican artillery where the road crossed the *resaca*. Arista, certain that Taylor would consider his line impregnable, settled into his tent to write reports.

Ringgold and the other wounded men were sent to Point Isabel. After ordering earthworks dug for the 18-pounders and a pair of 12-pounders, Taylor set off with 1,800 troops to

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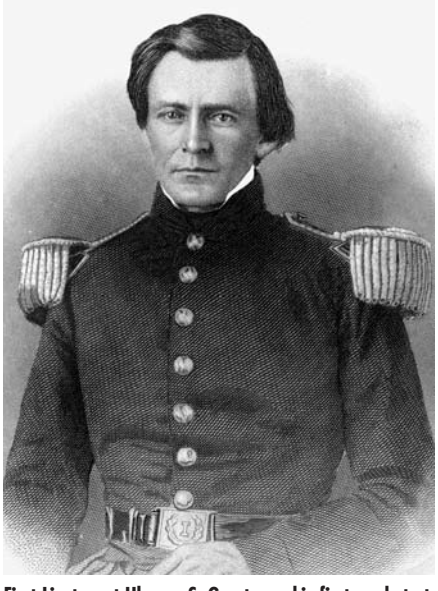


First Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant saw his first combat at the Battle of Palo Alto. It would not be his last.

go after Arista. About 3 PM, the light companies Taylor had sent probing the chaparral located the enemy. Ringgold's battery, now commanded by Ridgely, engaged the Mexican guns on the Matamoros Road, while the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Infantries spread out on either side in the chaparral.

Ridgely faced three Mexican batteries, numbering eight guns in all. The Mexican guns were backed by the Guarda Costa of Tampico, one of the finest units in the army. The Guarda Costa never wavered, even when Ridgely's guns tore into their ranks. Return fire knocked down several of Ridgely's gunners, and he sent a plea for reinforcements.

Taylor ordered Captain Charles May of the 2nd Dragoons to charge the Mexican artillery. When May neared Ridgely's guns, the artillerist stopped him. "Hold on, Charley," said Ridgely, "until I draw their fire!" The bugler sounded the charge, and the army watched as May's 60 dragoons broke into a gallop. The dragoons disappeared from view, enveloped in the smoke gushing from the Mexican guns. A few yards in front of his men, May jumped his horse over the ditch and breastworks. The dragoons rode down or stampeded all the enemy gunners, but the momentum of the charge carried them past the guns. The dragoons were so scattered that when May pulled to a halt he found himself accompanied by fewer than six men. One dragoon officer was killed when his horse panicked in the chaos and stampeded into a company of enemy lancers.

May rallied his men for another attack against the guns. As the dragoons reached the guns, General Romulo Diaz de la Vega raised a portfire (friction primers were still coming into use at the time) to fire a cannon. A dragoon attacked de la Vega. Trapped between the wheels of the gun, the general fought on, refusing to surrender to a common soldier. When May rode up to the gun, de la Vega asked if he was an American officer. May replied that he was a captain, and the combative general handed his sword to the other officer. De la Vega's stubborn valor was admired by Taylor's army. Taylor later handed de la Vega's sword back to him and even provided the general with a

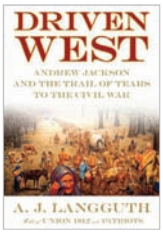
Continued on page 63

By Al Hemingway

Jackson's forced relocation of the Cherokee had far-reaching ramifications for both Native Americans and whites in the years leading up to the Civil War.

IT IS IRONIC THAT PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON, WHO WAS A STAUNCH pro-Union advocate, actually bolstered states' rights supporters when he refused to endorse the 1832 Supreme Court decision against the State of Georgia in the forced relocation of Native Americans from their homes after gold was discovered on their land. The court said that it was illegal for Georgia to impose its laws in the Cherokee nation; only the federal government had authorization to do so. Infuriated with the court's ruling—and with Chief Justice John Marshall—Jackson reportedly said, "John Marshall has made his decision. Let him enforce it if he can."

Jackson, of course, knew that Marshall did not have the U.S. Army at his disposal. In the end, the Cherokee were made to leave their land, often at the point of a bayonet, and relocate to Indian Territory in modern-day Oklahoma. The long, arduous trek would later become infamous as the "Trail of Tears." More importantly, "Old Hickory's" actions had long-term ramifications for Congress, the states' rights movement, and Native Americans themselves. It was a dispute that festered for years until the Civil War erupted in 1861.



In his new book, ***Driven West: Andrew Jackson's Trail of Tears to the Civil War*** (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2010, 480 pp., index, notes, photos, $30.00, hardcover), veteran historian A.J. Langguth vividly describes the events that transpired during that tumultuous period of our nation's history, a period of four decades that still remains an embarrassment to this day.

Langguth traces the pivotal figures in the actions leading up to the 1838 removal of the Five Civilized Tribes, focusing primarily on the Cherokee. The Native Americans sent delegations to Washington to meet with Jackson and his cabinet to hammer out a proposal that would benefit all parties involved. When a decision was finally reached, even though the Cherokee were to be compensated for their land, it created a schism within the tribal leadership that eventually led to several members of the commission being assassinated because they had violated the "Blood Law," which prohibits any Cherokee from selling land without tribal permission.

Although Jackson signed the bill into law, it was his crafty successor, President Martin Van Buren, who had the legislation put into force. General Winfield Scott and the Army herded thousands of Cherokee into camps, while their homes were destroyed and their personal property was confiscated. With little food and scant clothing to protect them against the harsh winter conditions, the Cherokee began a 1,000-mile march to Indian

The forced relocation of the Cherokee to the West in 1838 resulted in thousands of deaths along the "trail of tears." Painting by Robert Lindneux.

The Granger Collection, New York

You deserve a factual look at . . .

The Truth about the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement

Does it stand for Middle East peace or does it seek Israel's destruction?

Leaders of the effort to boycott, divest from and apply sanctions against Israel—the so-called BDS movement—say they stand for an "end to the occupation of the Palestinian territories," "justice in Palestine" and "freedom for the Palestinian people." But what are the real motives of BDS leaders—do they really want peace between Israel and the Palestinian people?

What are the facts?

While the BDS movement uses highly emotive language in their appeals for support—such as "ending repression" and "Israeli war crimes"—a closer look at the real motives of the movement reveals a more sinister goal.

First, note that the BDS movement focuses only on alleged war crimes and repression by Israel—and ignores real war crimes and tyrannical repression by other Middle Eastern nations and terrorist organizations. When Hamas and Hizbollah target thousands of rockets at Israeli civilian populations in violation of international law, BDS utters not a word of criticism, let alone a call for boycotts or sanctions. When Iran's government violently crushes peaceful protests and Egypt stifles its press and political opposition with a dictatorial hand, BDS is likewise silent. Why?

> Rather than a movement that seeks peace and freedom, BDS is motivated by an obsessive hate of Zionism.

By singling out Israel for criticism and economic pressure, BDS employs a double standard—a hypocritical and dishonest tactic frequently used by anti-Israel and anti-Semitic hate groups.

The reason, as we'll see, is that the BDS movement is not really interested in alleged war crimes or repression. Rather its purpose is to delegitimize and then destroy Israel.

The second critical fact about the BDS movement is that while it masquerades behind words like "freedom" and "occupation," one need only listen closely to its rhetoric to realize that these are code words for the elimination of Israel.

BDS leaders oppose a two-state solution—why? While the United States, Western European powers, Israel and the U.N. Security Council have embraced a "two-state solution" as the basis for peace in the Middle East, BDS leaders, such as Ali Abunimah and Omar Barghouti, are clear: They openly and outspokenly *oppose* a two-state solution. Why?

Because when BDS supporters talk about "the occupation of Palestine," they refer not to disputed West Bank territories, but to *all* the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea—including all of Israel. When they talk about "freedom," they don't mean freedom from security roadblocks, they mean freedom from Jews in their midst. When they talk about "occupation," they mean *not* just Israeli security forces in the West Bank, they also mean Israelis "occupying" the state of Israel.

The third telling fact about the BDS movement is that it consistently and vehemently opposes any efforts to bring Israelis and Palestinians together to work in peace and on peace. For example, BDS leaders advocate boycotting cultural exchanges between Israelis and Palestinian artists. They condemn educational cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian universities. Most revealingly, they *oppose peace talks* between Israel and the Palestinian leadership, calling them "collaborationist."

BDS is not about "occupation." In short, BDS is not about peaceful coexistence or ending the "occupation" of the West Bank. Indeed, Omar Barghouti, a graduate student at Tel Aviv University and BDS founder, admits, "If the occupation ends . . . would that end support for BDS? No it wouldn't—no."

Not only do BDS leaders admit this, but they implacably support the "return" of nearly five million *descendants* of Arab refugees who left during Israel's war of independence in 1947. In fact, most of these Palestinians are not truly refugees—fully 95 percent of them have never set foot in Israel.

Most importantly, the immigration of millions of Arab refugees' descendants to Israel would make Jews a minority in their own state. As President Obama has correctly noted, "The 'right of return' would extinguish Israel as a Jewish state, and that's not an option." Yet destroying Israel by flooding it with millions of Palestinians is precisely what BDS leader Barghouti insists upon: "This (the right of return) is something we cannot compromise on."

BDS's goal: "Extinguish Israel as a Jewish state." BDS unequivocally rejects Israel's many peace offers—including numerous land-for-peace proposals supported by the United States—and rejects Israel's willingness to sit down to direct peace talks without preconditions.

Thus, the facts make BDS's intentions clear: Rather than being a movement that seeks peace and freedom, it is a movement motivated by an obsessive hate of Zionism and Jews and opposition to the Jewish state—one bent on fomenting strife, conflict and enmity until Israel is utterly defeated.

If you support peace between Israel and the Palestinians, if you support two states for two peoples—living side by side in cultural, social and economic harmony—please oppose the ill-intentioned BDS movement in your community. Speak out against hateful, one-sided campaigns to boycott Israeli goods, to divest from companies that do business with Israel and to enact sanctions against the state of Israel. This is not the path to peace!

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Territory. By the time they had reached their final destination, an estimated 4,000 tribesmen had perished on the horrific journey.

Langguth includes accounts from individuals describing atrocities committed by some of the soldiers guarding the Indians, as well as white settlers they encountered along the way. Some residents in Golconda, Illinois, charged the Cherokee $1 a head to cross the river, when the going rate was 12 cents. A few Indians were slain during the disagreement, and later the residents sued the federal government for $35 for each Cherokee they buried after killing them.

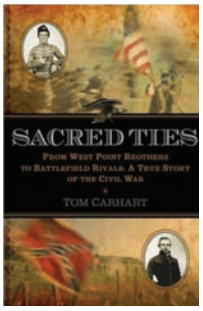
Even after the Cherokees reached their destination, the feud between the tribal leaders continued. The followers of John Ross were pitted against Stand Watie's faction until the federal government arranged a fragile treaty in 1846 to stop the bloodshed. When Civil War broke out, the two sides split once again. Ross's men sided with the Union, while Watie's supporters stood with the Confederacy. Watie would distinguish himself in battle and later be appointed a brigadier general, the last Confederate general to surrender at the end of the conflict.

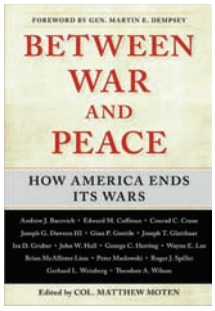
Many Cherokee who had befriended Jackson during the Creek Wars were bitter toward their former commander. One chief, Junaluska, who had fought alongside Jakcson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in March 1814, probably best summed up the Cherokees' feelings when he remarked, "If I had known that Jackson would have driven us from our homes, I would have killed him that day at the Horseshoe."

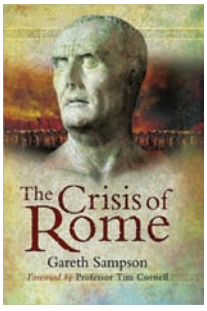
Although the United States government formally apologized to the Cherokee Nation in 2009, more than 170 years after the "Trail of Tears," the apology included a disclaimer that disallowed any monetary award for their suffering.

Sacred Ties: From West Point Brothers to Battlefield Rivals: A True Story of the Civil War by Tom Carhart, Berkley Books, New York, 2010, 374 pp., index, notes, $25.95, hardcover.

The United States Military Academy at West Point, the gray-stone bastion on the banks of the Hudson River in New York, has become synonymous with duty, honor, and country since it first opened its doors in 1802. Nowhere was the call to duty more evident than during the Civil War. During the conflict, 328 West Pointers were generals in the Union Army, while 164 wore stars on their collars for the South. Many of the graduates led corps, brigades, and divisions on both sides of the conflict.







To demonstrate the strong bond between individuals who attended the Academy, Carhart has selected six men who went on to distinguish themselves during the Civil War: Henry Algernon DuPont, George Armstrong Custer, and Wesley Merritt, who wore Yankee blue, and John Pelham, Thomas Lafayette Rosser, and Stephen Dodson Ramseur, who donned Rebel gray. These half-dozen soldiers were a microcosm of the cadet population of West Point. The men became lifelong friends despite their political beliefs, and proved themselves to each other by their actions on the field of battle.

Carhart's book traces each individual from his time at the Academy, during the war, and his endeavors after the shooting had stopped. Two of the number, Pelham and Ramseur, were killed during the conflict. Ramseur's death at Cedar Creek was particularly tragic because he had been captured by Union forces, and Merritt and Custer endured emotional reunions with their former classmate on his deathbed.

DuPont, Rosser, and Merritt went on to lead productive lives after the war. Everyone, of course, knows what became of the boy-general. Custer and his men were massacred at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in June 1876. Ironically, it was Merritt who presided over the court of inquiry that investigated Custer's death. Merritt later was promoted to major general and went to the Philippines as military governor. While Ramseur was mortally wounded at Cedar Creek, DuPont would receive the Medal of Honor for his actions during the fighting there. He later went on to a distinguished career in politics and as president of a railroad. Rosser also enjoyed success as a railroad engineer after the war. He was later appointed brigadier general of volunteers by President William McKinley, also a Civil War veteran, and trained troops during the "splendid little war" in 1898.

Whatever their accomplishments or misgivings, each individual was imbued with a sense of brotherhood first attained while attending West Point. That tradition remains firm today with the cadets who man the "Long Gray Line." Only death can end their attachment to West Point—and each other.

Predator: The Remote-Control Air War Over Iraq and Afghanistan: A Pilot's Story by Matt J. Martin and Charles Sasser, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2010, 310 pp., photos, $28.00, hardcover.

Be prepared to mentally strap yourself into the pilot's seat while reading this book. The author takes the reader through the streets of Balad, Baghdad, and other trouble areas of Iraq during his tour of duty. There is, however, one major difference. Martin himself was not actually seated in the plane, but flying it remotely, sometimes from as far away as Nellis Air Force base in Nevada.

Martin was among the first group of pilots to train on the MQ-1 Predator, a remotely piloted aircraft (RPA). He "flew" hundreds of missions and supervised thousands more, hunting down insurgents who were setting up ambushes and firing mortars and rockets at American troops. In this surreal world, Martin could fly his RPA armed with missiles virtually unnoticed, swooping down from the skies, targeting terrorists or al Qaeda leaders and, once given the clearance, eliminate them. "Sometimes," he wrote, "I felt like God hurling thunderbolts from afar."

As its popularity grew, the demand for RPAs increased. Field commanders recognized the significance of the unmanned aircraft, which could provide valuable reconnaissance data and, more importantly, save American lives by eliminating threats before they occurred. Newer models of the RPA are now in service in Afghanistan, although their specifications are still top-secret. Their presence in this and future wars will be a reassuring factor to the troops on the ground, who will know that an "eye in the sky" is constantly on patrol to safeguard them.

Between War and Peace: How America Ends Its Wars edited by Colonel Matthew Moten, Free Press, New York, 2011, 320 pp., notes, $27.99, hardcover.

Here is a most timely book that, as the editor writes, should be read by future presidents before they decide to bring this country into a war. Fourteen renowned historians have written short essays on different wars that the United States has been involved in, beginning with the American Revolution. The question was asked, "How has the United States ended its wars, and how well has it accomplished its

political aims and strategic goals in the past?" It is certainly an intriguing query.

The majority of conflicts that America has participated in have been a two-edged sword. While most were won on the battlefield by military actions, the political, social, and economic ramifications were often overlooked, most recently by the Bush administration's obtuse Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld. Some American wars spurred inflation, unemployment, and widespread unrest after they were over.

This account could not have emerged at a more appropriate time. Recently, the war in Afghanistan has become America's longest conflict, with no end in sight. The previous administration brought the United States into the conflict with no clear strategy on the method to be used to win the war. The same flawed mentality happened more than four decades ago in Vietnam, and sadly continues today.

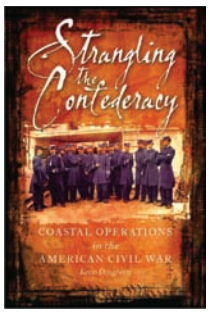
The Crisis of Rome: The Jugurthine and Northern Wars and the Rise of Marius by Gareth C. Sampson, Pen & Sword, South Yorkshire, Great Britain, 2010 192 pp., notes, index, illustrations, $39.95, hardcover.

There is no doubt that Gaius Marius was a very heroic soldier, consummate politician, and brilliant strategist. The Roman statesman has been credited with instituting massive military reforms, allowing the Roman Army to become the mighty force that ruled the ancient world for centuries.

Noted historian Gareth C. Sampson questions the fact the Marius created the army that was destined to claim numerous victories on the battlefield. He claims that there is no evidence that Marius was instrumental in restructuring the army and creating the cohort. Sampson states that such advances had already taken place and the revamping of the Roman army was "evolution rather than revolution."

The author does credit Marius's victories against the northern tribes to his enthusiastic training regimen and his focus on small-scale warfare. Marius knew how the tribes conducted themselves in battle, and he taught his men this more personalized style of fighting. This is an intriguing account of the military life of one Rome's greatest warriors—but maybe not one of its greatest generals.

One Hundred Years of U.S. Navy Air Power edited by Douglas V. Smith, U.S. Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2010, 374 pp., notes, photos, $44.95, hardcover.



Long before there were Top Guns who flew jet fighters at supersonic speed, there were the dauntless naval aviators in aircraft with no cockpits and very little in the way of protection for the pilot. These brave adventurers paved the way for today's airmen by flying rickety old airplanes known as "wood and wire box kites."

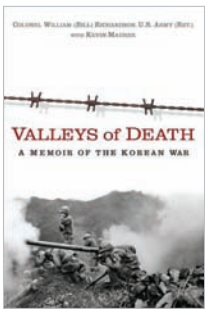
From these humble beginnings, naval aviation emerged as one of the military arms of the United States that catapulted her onto the world stage. The book follows the birth of naval aviation through both world wars, Korea, Vietnam, and the present era. From the biplanes of World War I to the mighty aircraft carriers of today, naval aviators are in the forefront in protecting America's interests around the globe.

Victorious Insurgencies: Four Rebellions That Shaped Our World by Anthony James Joes, University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 2010, 319 pp., notes, index, $40.00, hardcover.

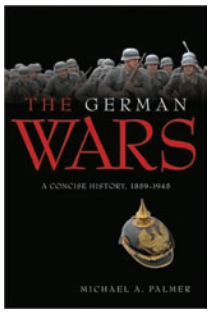
As Harvard philosopher George Santayana wrote memorably: "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it." These are prophetic words indeed. And, as the author points out, they are words that should be heeded by government leaders and military strategists when dealing with the guerrilla-style wars that have been fought for thousands of years.

Four rebellions are analyzed in the book: China, between the Nationalist and Communist forces in the 1930s and 1940s; Vietnam, between the French and the Viet Minh from the end of World War II to 1954; the Cuban rebellion fought between the ruling Batista government and Fidel Castro's insurrectionists; and, finally, the Soviet Union's catastrophic 1980 invasion of Afghanistan. Although these insurgencies took place in various parts of the world, the victors were able to shift world power in the decades that followed.

"The insurgencies of both the recent and the distant past are a rich storehouse of wisdom," writes Joes, "that it would be almost criminal to ignore."



Strangling the Confederacy: Coastal Operations in the American Civil War by Kevin Dougherty, Casemate Publishers, Havertown, PA, 2010, 233 pp., notes, index, photos, maps, $32.95, hardcover.



It came to be known as the "Anaconda Plan." It was a simple concept: block all the major southern ports and render their armies useless. It was an ambitious scheme, with the blockade stretching for thousands of miles from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Gulf of Mexico and extending up the Mississippi River.

Both sides fought a series of pitched battles to seize the valuable ports. From the Union victory at Hatteras Inlet off the North Carolina coast in 1861 to the Battle of Mobile Bay in January 1864 and the horrific fighting at Fort Fisher one year later, Federal warships and their crews made huge sacrifices.

In the end, the strategy worked. Like the anaconda itself, the Union Navy squeezed the lifeblood out of the South. The flow of supplies was greatly curtailed. Coupled with General Ulysses S. Grant's ongoing land campaign, the plan put the last nail in the Confederate coffin.

Valleys of Death: A Memoir of the Korean War by Colonel William (Bill) Richardson, U.S. Amy (Ret.) with Kevin Maurer, Berkely Books, New York, 2010, 340 pp., index, photos, $25.95, hardcover.

Although the fighting in and around the Pusan Perimeter has been told and retold, this new book offers a fresh look at the dark early days of the Korean Conflict. Richardson fought bravely at the terrible debacle at Unsan during the Chosin Reservoir battles. Commanding a 57mm recoilless rifle section, the Philadelphia native was captured by the Chinese and endured nearly three years as a prisoner of war.

During his time as a POW, Richardson continued to defy his captors and was beaten, starved and force-marched until he dropped. Despite all of this, he continued to plan his escape with fellow prisoners. Richardson would be one of the lucky survivors freed after the United States and North Korea signed the armistice on July 27, 1953.

Richardson's book is a testament not only to himself, but to those other soldiers who fought and died during the "Forgotten War." More importantly, it is a fitting tribute to the men who suffered as POWs and were fortunate enough to survive their traumatic ordeal of the brutal Chinese Communists.

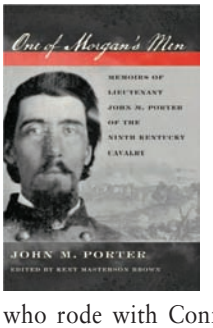
The German Wars: A Concise History, 1859-

1945 by Michael A. Palmer, Zenith Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2010, 256 pp., index, bibliography, photos, $29.00, hardcover.

It has always been conceded that Germany fielded one of the best armies in both world wars. The inevitable question the author asks is why Germany lost them. He offers several suggestions as to why this occurred. First, the German military did not rethink their strategy as battlefields changed, new weaponry came on the scene, and the transportation of armies drastically altered the face of war. Second, despite a few successes prior to World War I, Germany had no experience in fighting a long, protracted conflict that involved large-scale armies.

Even though they suffered defeat at the hands of the Allies in 1918, the German military leaders still felt they possessed combat superiority. Hence, when World War II erupted, despite their innovative blitzkrieg-style of warfare at the beginning of the war, German leaders found themselves on the losing side again in 1945. The author has provided a provocative look at the methods that Germany used to wage war, and why ultimately they failed.

One of Morgan's Men: Memoirs of Lieutenant John M. Porter of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry edited by Kent Masterson Brown, University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 2011, 288 pp., notes, bibliography, photos, $35.00, hardcover.



Here is a book that will put the reader right in the saddle as it traces the illustrious career of Lieutenant John Porter, who rode with Confederate cavalry raider Brig. Gen. John Hunt Morgan. Morgan led many successful raids in Kentucky and Ohio during the Civil War before he was ambushed and killed in Greeneville, Tennessee, in 1864. Those who rode with him were a confident lot, feeling that they could not be beaten on the battlefield. Porter was one such individual. He tells the story of his countless battle and skirmishes, and how he endured captivity on two occasions.

Despite being in the thick of the fighting, Porter miraculously survived the bloody conflict and returned home at the end of the war. To his dying day, he never regretted his decision to enlist in the Confederate Army. In his opinion, he had ridden alongside one of the greatest cavalry leaders of all time, John Hunt Morgan. □

intelligence

Continued from page 21

fighting a hopeless cause.

On June 30, the commission rendered its verdict. Herold, Atzerodt, Payne, and Surratt were sentenced to hang for their direct complicity in Booth's assassination plot. Arnold, Mudd, and O'Laughlin were sentenced to life imprisonment at a military fortress in the Dry Tortugas for their presumed knowledge of the conspiracy, and Spangler was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for unwittingly holding the assassin's horse. A few military judges drafted a petition to the president, asking that Surratt's life be spared on gender grounds, but the note somehow never reached the president. On July 5, Andrew Johnson approved the original sentences as submitted.

On the afternoon of July 7, Edwin Stanton had his vengeance. The four condemned prisoners were marched into the yard of the Old Arsenal Penitentiary before a waiting crowd of bitter and raucous onlookers. They mounted a newly erected wooden army scaffold and, amid shouted taunts and jeers, were hanged by the neck until dead and then deposited in shallow graves in the shadow of the penitentiary wall.

Although a wider conspiracy was never proven, Stanton continued to press for punishment of the South as a whole during Reconstruction. Bowing to political pressure, he was not able to prosecute Jefferson Davis by military commission, and Davis was freed after two years in virtually solitary confinement. Much to Stanton's chagrin, John Surratt was captured in the Vatican and returned to the United States to be tried in civilian court for his alleged role in the assassination. He was acquitted on almost the same evidence Stanton had provided against Surratt's mother. It was a stinging rebuke to Stanton, Holt, and their associates.

Eventually Johnson attempted to put an end to Stanton's power grab. In August 1867, the president tried to fire the Radical Republicans' favorite cabinet officer. In response, Congress declared a political war against Johnson, launching the first impeachment trial of an American president. Failing in that highly questionable effort, Congress enacted the Tenure of Office Act, which effectively permitted Stanton to retain his position. Finally, in 1878, a year after the Union Army had withdrawn its military occupation of the South, a politically different Congress passed the Posse Comitatus Act, which prohibited the American military from domestic law enforcement or involvement in national security matters. By then, both Johnson and Stanton were long since dead. □

soldiers

Continued from page 13

the wounded *Raleigh* ran aground. Barry disembarked his crew with the initial thought of defending the island, but the bare rocks were found to be indefensible. Barry had no option but to get his crew back to Boston.

For the next year, Barry shuffled between assignments, leading a fleet of privateers of the Pennsylvania state navy and capturing the 14-gun HMS *Harlem* without firing a shot. Congress finally found a new ship for Barry, and he was given command of the recently completed 36-gun frigate *Alliance*, considered the finest ship in the Continental Navy. She was the epitome of a frigate; she could outgun or outrun anything in the Royal Navy. Barry now had a ship worthy of his talents.

Barry set sail in *Alliance* on February 13, 1781, with the mission of conveying Colonel John Laurens, an officer of Washington's staff, to France. On March 4, Barry ran across an old acquaintance, HMS *Alert,* the ship Barry had captured and then abandoned three years earlier. Barry captured *Alert* as easily the second time as he had the first. *Alert* was found to have illegally made a prize of a neutral ship, *La Buonia Compagnia,* belonging to the Republic of Venice. Barry would have been within his rights to claim the Venetian vessel as a prize. Instead, Barry thought it important for the new nation to show its respect for the rights of neutral nations and the freedom of the seas. He released *Compagnia* and her crew.

Alliance's return voyage was to be even more eventful. On April 2, Barry captured the British privateers *Mars* and *Minerva.* A few days later, *Alliance* encountered a fierce gale, during which a bolt of lightning struck and split the mainmast and badly burned 15 men. In this depleted state, with two prize crews mounted, several men injured, and his ship badly mauled by fierce weather, Barry fought one of the great actions of the Continental Navy.

On May 19, *Alliance* spotted two enemy sails on the horizon, *Atalanta* and *Trepassey.* Normally no match for the 36-gun *Alliance,* the two British ships came upon *Alliance* after the earlier gales had given way to a dead calm. While *Alliance* was becalmed, the smaller British ships could use large oars to maneuver. The two British ships took positions on *Alliance*'s bow and stern. For three hours, *Alliance* took a pounding while managing to return effective fire on the enemy. While commanding his ship from the quarterdeck, Barry was struck in the shoulder by grapeshot. He continued to exercise command of the ship

until loss of blood required that he go to his cabin have his wound dressed.

While Barry was receiving medical attention in his cabin, a shot from one of the British ships tore away *Alliance*'s ensign, causing the British to think she had struck her colors. Barry's second in command suggested surrender. "No, sir," said Barry, "and if the ship cannot be fought without me, I will be brought on deck." The lieutenant hastily ordered a new ensign to be raised. No sooner had the new Continental ensign gone up than the wind returned, giving *Alliance* more mobility. Barry immediately poured a broadside into each of the British warships, after which both ships surrendered. Barry had achieved victory in one of the great battles in the history of the U.S. Navy, capturing two enemy warships despite adverse weather conditions, with a ship whose crew was severely depleted.

In a subsequent voyage, Barry captured nine prize vessels, the sale of which netted the Continental Congress some $2.5 million in gold—a record capture for a single cruise. Fittingly enough for the captain who had captured one of the first enemy warships, it would be Barry who fired the last shot in the last sea action of the American Revolution. On the morning of March 10, 1783, *Alliance* engaged the British warship *Sybil* for 45 minutes before *Sybil* broke off the engagement, much the worse for wear. The Treaty of Paris had already been signed; the war was over. Unknowingly, Barry and *Alliance* had fought and won the last battle of the Revolution.

Barry would continue to serve the new republic for another 20 years. When the United States Navy was formed in 1794, it was to Barry that Washington gave Commission Number One, the commission from which all subsequent U.S. Navy commissions are derived to this day. Although age and the rigors of service took their toll on Barry as a warrior, he was fundamental in establishing the nascent U.S. Navy, supervising the construction of the first frigates built under the Naval Act of March 27, 1794, including his own 44-gun frigate, *United States,* which served as his flagship.

Perhaps the greatest legacy of Barry's postwar career was passing on the fighting traditions and spirit he so well represented to midshipmen who learned their craft under his command, including such future American naval heroes as Stephen Decatur, Richard Somers, and Richard Dale. Whenever anyone talks about America's naval tradition and the great heroes of the Revolution, Irish immigrant John Barry certainly deserves a prominent role in the conversation. □

palo alto

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letter of credit to his commissary merchant.

Caught in a heavy infantry crossfire and with no reinforcements on the way, May abandoned the captured guns and rode back to Taylor's lines with his prisoners. He had neglected to spike the pieces, and Mexican gunners reloaded as soon as the dragoons were gone. Taylor, seeing May ride back, snapped, "Take those guns and, by God, keep them!" The 8th Infantry, which had just come up, joined the 5th in an attack that took the Mexican batteries for good.

Lieutenant Grant, temporarily in command of his company, pushed blindly through the chaparral on the right flank, "taking advantage of any clear spot that would carry me towards the enemy. Balls commenced to whistle very thick overhead. I ordered my men to lie down, an order that did not have to be enforced." When the firing stopped, Grant moved forward until he found a clear space in the brush. They charged a handful of Mexican soldiers, including a wounded colonel, who offered no resistance. Grant was sending the prisoners to the rear when a private appeared from the front with a wounded American officer. A disappointed Grant realized that they had recaptured an area already secured by advancing troops. "The Battle of Resaca de la Palma would have been won," he thought, "just as it was, if I had not been there."

By the time Grant sent back his prisoners, the entire Mexican army was crumbling. Retreating Mexican soldiers burst from the brush near Fort Texas, heading for the Rio Grande, and the fort turned its guns on them. The crossing of the river was almost as deadly as the battle itself. Many Mexican soldiers drowned trying to swim the Rio Grande. Some of them were lost after a Mexican officer capsized a ferry by jumping his horse onto it.

Taylor sent news of his victory to the garrison at Fort Texas. But when the messengers approached the fort, they brandished so many captured Mexican standards that jumpy sentinels mistook them for attackers and shot at them. Although many hundreds of rounds of shot and shell struck Fort Texas, Major Brown and Sergeant Weigart were the only two fatalities of the bombardment. Brown died at about 2 PM on May 9, just before the garrison heard the first shots of the Battle of Resaca de la Palma. The name of the fort was changed to Fort Brown in his honor, and town of Brownsville, Texas, grew up around the fort.

In his May 16 report on Resaca de la Palma, Taylor listed three officers and 36 men dead, and 12 officers and 71 men wounded; five other men were missing. Arista admitted to 600 casualties, although American reports put his losses at more than twice that high. Arista's personal papers and baggage were taken, and American officers wrote letters about their victories on the general's personal stationery. American forces captured eight guns, 500 mules, 450 British-made flintlocks bearing the crest of George IV, 100,000 musket cartridges, 5,000 musket flints, and 18 lances. To many of the soldiers, the most important capture was the haul of several thousand fine Mexican cigars.

On May 14, an exchange of prisoners returned Thornton, Hardee, and the others. De la Vega and some other captured Mexican officers were sent to New Orleans. Thornton died later in the war, killed while escorting a party of army engineers on a reconnaissance mission outside Mexico City in 1847. On May 13, four days after the fighting ended at Resaca de la Palma, Congress formally declared war on Mexico. Congress had reached its decision after receiving news of Thornton's ambush. Texas was still so remote that it took until May 23 for news of Taylor's battles near the Rio Grande to reach Washington.

Taylor's twin victories provoked a sharp change in public opinion. For years, a sizable number of Americans, including many members of Congress, had believed that it was a waste of money to pay for the national military academy at West Point and the permanent maintenance of a standing army. Volunteers and militia, they said, could handle any national emergency better than the "epauletted loafers" of the professional army. Now, an army filled with West Point-trained officers had smashed a much larger enemy army with minimal casualties. The general public was thrilled to read glowing newspaper accounts of Taylor's battles, and many doubters were now convinced of the value of the national military academy.

New tunes such as "The Palo Alto Triumphant Grand March" and "The Resaca de la Palma Waltz" swept the country. Theatrical productions, heroic poems, and Currier and Ives prints celebrated the victories. Dry goods stores advertised "Ringgold caps" and "Palo Alto plaids." Several American towns were named Palo Alto, Resaca, or Ringgold. In 1864, one of these towns—Resaca, Georgia—would itself be the site of a battle during the Civil War. The Palo Alto battleground in Texas would also hear the roar of guns again. Nineteen years later, almost to the day, on May 12-13, 1865, the last battle of the Civil War was fought nearby at Palmito Ranch, Texas. □

By Joseph Luster

The Korean Occupation of America

Homefront's story is clear and compelling, thanks to screenwriter John Milius.

HOMEFRONT

War landing on U.S. soil is one of the ultimate worst case scenarios, and as such it's perfect for the kind of game developer Kaos Studios has whipped up in *Homefront*. It's not exactly a new concept, of course, even within this particular medium. Infinity Ward and Activision presented something similar with *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 2*, though the soldiers in that game had a bit more of an advantage than those of this particular shocker, and their tale was told in a much more convoluted way.

Because of this, *Homefront*'s story—written by screenwriter John Milius, who wrote *Red Dawn* and co-wrote *Apocalypse Now*—actually ends up being one of its more intriguing aspects. While it still manages to fall prey to the many well-tread pratfalls of video game storytelling, the scenario it sets up is painted in an appropriately nightmarish fashion. The year is 2027, but in the beginning we're taken on a whirlwind tour through the headlines and happenings of the preceding years. Extreme, albeit plausible, circumstances lead to the collapse of the U.S. economy and the rapid growth of the North Korean forces. After Kim Jong-il's passing, his son, Kim Jong-un, takes the leader's place and unifies North and South Korea into the Greater Korean Republic.

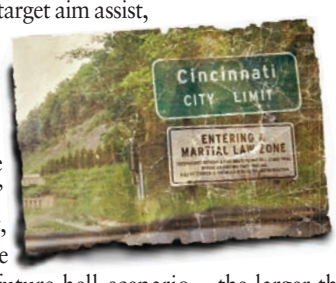
From there it's a horrifying snowball effect of Korean military strengthening and, ultimately, the blindsiding and occupation of America all the way from the West to the extremely polluted Mississippi. As pilot Robert Jacobs, the player is rounded up in a similar fashion to other U.S. citizens and hauled off to a reeducation camp. On the way he's treated to a firsthand look at the state of the nation: screaming citizens lined up and caged, a family mercilessly shot in front of their child; it's enough to make you want to break out of that bus and go all first-person shooter on these villains. Thankfully, that's exactly what happens, as a small group of American Resistance Fighters rams the bus, frees Jacobs, and pulls him in as part of their long-shot mission to reclaim the nation.

PUBLISHER
THQ

SYSTEM(S)
Xbox 360, PS3, PC

AVAILABLE
Now

Players familiar with the flow of *Call of Duty* games—and there are millions upon millions of you out there—will find themselves in familiar territory as soon as the computer relinquishes control of Jacobs. From the control scheme right down to the snap-to-target aim assist, pretty much everything about *Homefront* is cribbed in some way from Activision's flagship franchise. In this case, it's more of a "if it ain't broke" thing, because let's face it, the meat of this experience is the wild speculative future-hell scenario. Objectives start off simply enough, tasking you with surviving and evading Korean forces looking to suppress resistance fighters and spin it into insurgency-quelling propaganda.



Things get interesting when Jacobs is introduced to one of the small, self-sustaining communities established off the grid. Suburban home bases hidden from the new regime's watchful eye provide one of *Homefront*'s light doses of humanity. If anything, it's the quiet moments like these that make the overall characterizations that much more disappointing. The genre as a whole could use more balance in this regard. The *Modern Warfare* games work a little harder to establish their characters and give them distinct personalities, only to fall on their face when it comes to telling a coherent story. On the flipside, *Homefront*'s story is clear and compelling, but fundamentally faceless. For instance, Connor, one of the members of the resistance from whom Jacobs takes the majority of his orders, is your typical obscenity-barking military man with a fragile psyche and a strong hunger for retribution. The flatness of the game's primary players undermines a lot of the larger than life action that occurs around them.

Still, when that action heats up, it can be a real doozy. Daring death camp raids and fuel depot assaults build the action until it climaxes in one of the more memorable final stages of recent years. There's even a helicopter mission that doesn't simply involve aiming a Gatling gun out of the side door and squeezing the trigger until everything's a nice charcoal black; Jacobs is a pilot, after all. As nitpicky as it sounds, there is some cringe-inducing product placement that might pull some out of the excitement momentarily. There's just something … off about assaulting a secret fuel depot located in a "tigerdirect.com" wholesale store, or having your squad leader order you, straight-faced, to follow him with a rousing, "C'mon! Through the White Castle!"

All of the ups and downs of the single-player campaign come to a very quick end after about five hours or so. I did something in *Homefront* that I almost never do anymore: I completed it in a single sitting. Maybe that says more about me than it does about the game, but it's on the table regardless. While those hours were admittedly rife with typical FPS annoyances—dumb enemies, even dumber AI partners, frustrating deaths (you can't toss grenades back at the opposition for some reason), and lots of invisible walls—it all somehow managed to culminate in a memorable experience. Now, if this is all you want out of *Homefront,* then it's a must-rent, but the multiplayer could help push it into the purchase category if that's your bag.

It's in this mode that the game really opens up, showing potential for grander battles than the campaign is able to offer. As is the de facto standard, you can level up and gain access to more weapons and abilities, and spice things up with vehicles and remote-controlled drones. There's a lot of strategy (and necessity) in sticking together with your teammates to get the drop on an opposing squad, as it's very easy to get pinned down from a distance thanks to some real crack-shot weaponry. Even doing really well has its ups and downs, with the Battle Commander mode singling out top players as an incentive for Battle and Experience Point bonuses for everyone else.

The game as a whole may not exactly be cutting edge or original, but I applaud *Homefront* for putting its story before everything else, even if it does mangle some of its intentions along the way. There are many shooters out there that handle their campaigns much more elegantly, but Kaos has something solid to build on here should they decide to escalate their fright-night future war story and solid multiplayer in a sequel.

WORLD OF TANKS

World of Tanks may be the most self-explanatory game title this side of *Microsoft Flight Simulator.* Developed by Belorussian company Wargaming.net, *World of Tanks* has already enjoyed a fairly successful beta run, recording over a million registrations across America, Europe, and Russia. Part of its allure certainly lies in the sheer number of tanks with which players can do battle, starting off with the simple choice of a Soviet, German, or American light tank. Upgrades come through experience gained, and from there you can move on up to heavier units, modifying everything from the turrets and main gun, to the chassis and engine.

PUBLISHER
Wargaming.net

SYSTEM(S)
PC

AVAILABLE
Now

Though *World of Tanks* is indeed free to play, it also employs a microtransaction business model that involves spending cash on gold that can then be used to purchase premium items, as well as a premium mode of play. It looks like there's plenty of game to take on outside of dropping loot on premiums, though, and there should be a wealth of action across the game's three modes—Random Battles, Team Battles, and Clan Battles. With the release version set to offer over 150 armored vehicles from the 1930s to the 1950s, there's no reason to not give it a shot considering the cost of entry. □

militaria

Continued from page 23

from the official New Deal Store.

As he planned his presidential library, Roosevelt took care to include space to display his many personal treasures. Today the collection is shown in five main galleries. In addition, the William J. vanden Heuvel Gallery features special topic exhibits on a rotating basis. Vanden Heuvel, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations during the administration of President Jimmy Carter, is a prominent New York political figure and was a top aide to Senator Robert F. Kennedy as well as RFK's 1968 Oregon Democratic primary election coordinator. He is the cochairman of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute (FERI) Board of Directors, established in 1987.

Chief among the many educational programs on-site at Hyde Park is the Henry A. Wallace Visitor and Education Center, opened by the National Park Service (NPS) and the FERI jointly, the first new facility to be added to the Roosevelt estate since the library was constructed in 1941.The center's highlights encompass the adjacent Roosevelt Home National Historic Site (Springwood); as well as Eleanor Roosevelt's famed cottage, Val-Kill, where she met with candidate JFK in 1960; and the president's retirement home, Top Cottage. FDR's father, James Roosevelt, originally purchased the Hyde Park property in 1867. It included a 17-room house, 110 acres of land, and several outbuildings. Four years after James's first wife, Rebecca Howland, died in 1876, James married the beautiful Sara Delano. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the couple's only child, was born at Springwood on January, 30, 1882.

Springwood was FDR's principal residence throughout his life. The home was built in 1826. Originally a gray, clapboard building, the house was extensively remodeled in 1916 to add two full wings, a portico, and exterior stucco when FDR served as U.S. undersecretary of the Navy in the Woodrow Wilson administration. FDR last visited Springwood in March 1945, and he was buried in the rose garden adjacent to the house after his death one month later. The 32-acre site, including Springwood, its outbuildings, and rose garden, was opened to the public a year later.

Eleanor Roosevelt was buried in the rose garden next to FDR following her death in New York City in 1962. Springwood is managed by the NPS as part of the Roosevelt-Vanderbilt Historic Sites. The Springwood site proper today comprises 16 acres. The outbuildings include stables and a greenhouse. Springwood, once described by *Life* magazine as "an old shoe of a place—worn, scuffed, and scratched," bulges with furniture of all periods and styles. The tables are cluttered with family photographs, walls hung with reproductions of famous paintings—a typical upper-middle-class home.

FDR had a second, smaller home on the grounds of the Hyde Park estate: Top Cottage, built of stone and designed personally by him as "a small place to escape the mob." Top Cottage is located a few miles east of the much larger Springwood, which remained his mother's property until her death in 1941. Roosevelt incorporated elements that made Top Cottage fully accessible to him while in his wheelchair, including ramps, wider doors and hallways, ground-floor living and bedroom spaces, and lower windows, out of which he could see while remaining seated.

FDR used the retreat for entertaining and for official meetings that required more privacy than could be obtained at the White House or at Springwood. Shortly after Top Cottage was completed, FDR hosted the famous hot dog picnic for King George VI and Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain. Other famous visitors included British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, King George of Greece, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and Princess Martha of Norway. Although the property was sold to private owners after FDR's death, Top Cottage was restored and donated to the U.S. government in 2001. It now is managed by the NPS as part of the historic Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Park.

Val-Kill was the first home Eleanor Roosevelt could call her own. Located at the east end of the Roosevelt estate on the Fall Kill, it was a favorite picnic spot for the family. In the late summer of 1924, FDR proposed building a retreat for his wife and her political associates Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman. By the end of 1925, a seven-room fieldstone cottage had been completed as a year-round home for Cook, and it was used by Eleanor Roosevelt for weekends and summer vacations.

FDR loved entertaining the press, world leaders, associates, and friends at informal picnics and swimming parties at Val-Kill. After his death, Val-Kill became Eleanor Roosevelt's permanent home until her passing 17 years later. In 1977, following a local grassroots effort, the site was saved. It was dedicated and opened to the public on Eleanor Roosevelt's 100th birthday, October 11, 1984, becoming the first site in the NPS created to honor a first lady.

The FDR compound is located at 4079 Albany Post Road, Hyde Park, New York, 12538, 1-800-FDR-VISIT. □

bay of pigs

Continued from page 37

were killed, another 1,189 captured. The prisoners would remain in Castro's jails for another 18 months before being ransomed by the United States for $62 million worth of medicine and food.

Days after the debacle, Kennedy met with Eisenhower at Camp David, where the two men had a heart-to-heart discussion of the events in Cuba. Eisenhower was aghast that the United States had not provided air cover to the rebels. "How could you expect the world to believe that we had nothing to do with it?" he asked incredulously. Kennedy replied that the American people "would never approve direct military intervention by their own forces, except under provocations against us so clear and so serious that everybody will understand the need for the move."

In the wake of the fiasco, Kennedy fired Dulles; Bissell; and General C. Pierre Cabell, Dulles's second-in-command, replacing Dulles with Republican businessman John McCone. Shortly after the affair ended, Kennedy appointed a commission headed by General Maxwell Taylor to look into the facts behind the Bay of Pigs. The commission held 20 hearings and met with a host of people, including American military men and surviving brigade members. After a lengthy process, the committee concluded that the failure was "attributed to a mistaken belief that this large operation could be conducted with plausible deniability; to a lack of coordination among U.S. agencies; to attempt to command from a distance, with headquarters at Washington."

The CIA itself conducted its own secret investigation into the failure. This report, which was only recently declassified, was a harsh indictment of the CIA and its role in the Bay of Pigs fiasco and concluded that all the assumptions about Castro's vulnerability were flawed and that poor exile training and lack of coordination between the various military agencies led to what one writer called "the perfect failure."

Eighteen months later, the United States and the Soviet Union came dangerously close to nuclear war after the Soviets secretly placed intermediate-range missiles in Cuba to deter any future anti-Castro attacks. The 13-day crisis in October 1962 ended peacefully after the United States placed a naval quarantine around Cuba and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in exchange for the U.S. removal of similar missiles in Turkey. Who blinked first is still debated. □

A GRAND STRATEGY GAME

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