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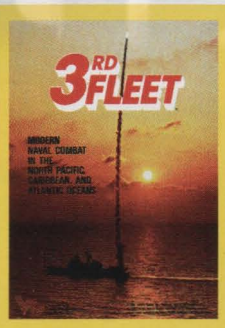

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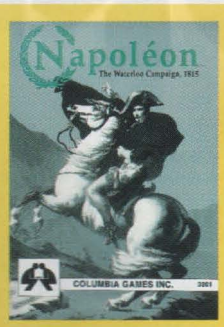

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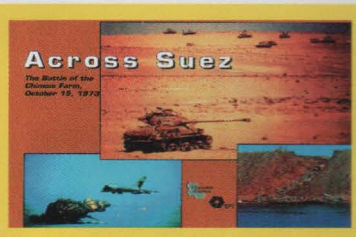

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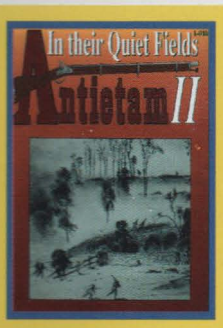

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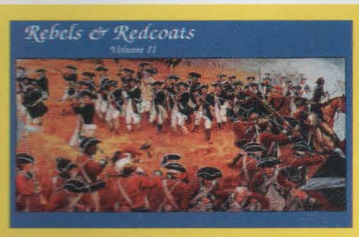

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COMMAND
MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY & ANALYSIS
NOVEMBER 1996 ISSUE 40

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Cover: *A contemporary colored lithograph of the Battle of Buena Vista.*

The crash of gunfire on the road to

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A Note From the Editor

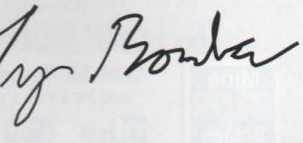
Your feedback votes from issue no. 38 came in this way, ranked from highest to lowest:

The Great War in the Near East	7.44
Issue No. 38 overall	7.38
With Their Backs to the Wall (Pusan)	6.92
Robert the Bruce	6.88
Occupying the Balkans Then and Now	6.80
Pilgrim Savagery	6.69
Short Rounds	6.68
Issue No. 38 Cover	6.64
Books & Videos	5.48
Partnership for Peace	4.04

Forty-two percent said no. 38 was better than no. 37; eight percent claimed the opposite; 46 percent thought the two were of about equal worth, and four percent couldn't express an opinion because they hadn't seen the earlier issue.

The big generator of written comments this time out was the "Robert the Bruce" article. And the tone and temper of most of it was probably best summarized by the subscriber who wrote: "It seems as if the real story of 13th and 14th century Scotland was every bit as interesting, if not more so, than the sappy, romanticized version put forth in the *Braveheart* movie. What's the matter with Hollywood? Can't anyone there read a history book and recognize a true drama when they see it?"

Indeed, what is the matter with Hollywood when it comes to history? I don't even pretend to know, but those who'd like more film-debunking reading should get themselves a copy of Mark C. Carnes' 1995 book, *Past Imperfect: History According to the Movies* (New York, Henry Holt Co., ISBN 0-8050-3759-4). It was published just a bit too soon for Carnes to be able to include a piece on *Braveheart,* but there are excellent chapters on what other movies have done to distort the truth, and generate myth, about such historical figures and topics as: the Spartacus slave rising, Julius Caesar, the Alamo, the charge of the Light Brigade, Custer, Gallipoli, Pearl Harbor, Patton, the atomic bomb, Vietnam, etc. It's a really worthwhile read.



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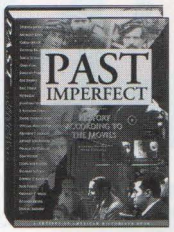

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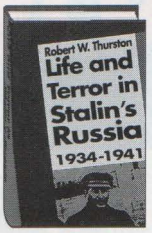

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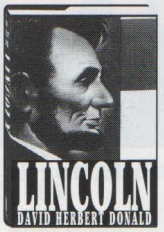

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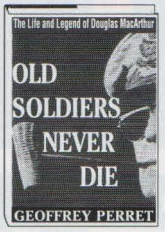

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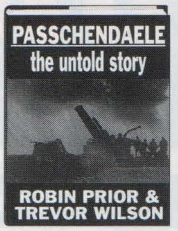

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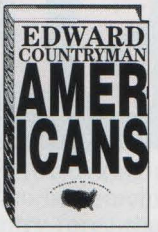

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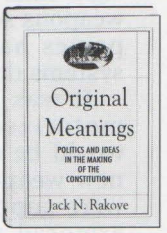

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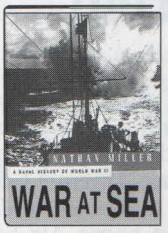

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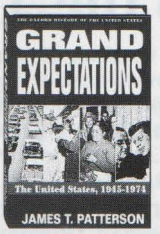

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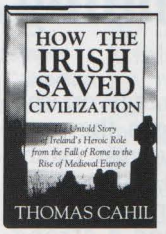

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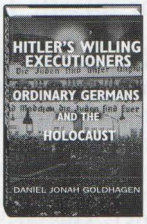

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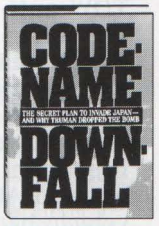

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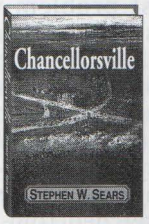

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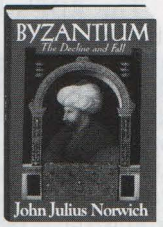

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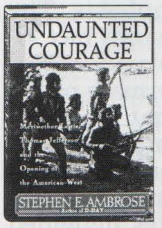

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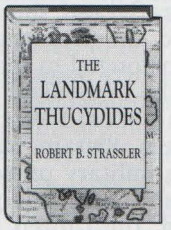

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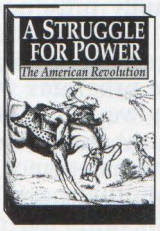

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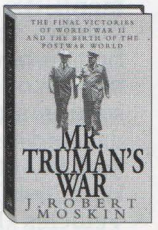

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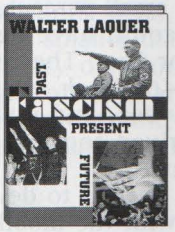

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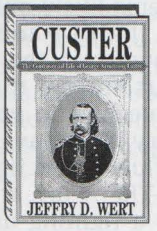

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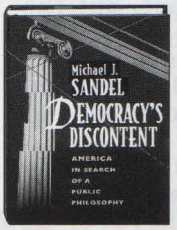

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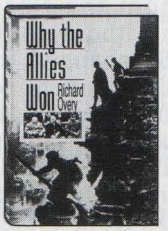

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SHORT ROUNDS

Elite Beat. . .

Responding to the Threat

Despite its vast oil reserves, the Near East has always been the poor stepchild of American defense establishment planning. In Europe since 1945 the Army and Air Force have traditionally maintained a strong presence, and equipment purchases have reflected that emphasis. The Pacific, on the other hand, has always belonged to the Navy.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, that wasn't a problem. Britain still maintained a strong military presence in the Near East, so a strategic partnership developed: the United States defended Europe and the Pacific, the United Kingdom the Near East. But the British withdrawal from east of Suez in 1968 changed that relationship. The US, then mired in Vietnam, couldn't spare the forces needed to properly cover the vast new area. A new ally was needed in the region, so Washington turned to Tehran.

Thus, from 1968 to the fall of the Shah, Iran received billions of dollars worth of equipment and training. This included some of the most sophisticated equipment then available, such as F-14 fighters and Cobra attack helicopters. But, again, the US was free to continue to concentrate its own Army and Air Force on the defense of Europe.

In 1979, however, the international situation again changed dramatically. The Shah was overthrown and its replacement Khomeini regime was overtly hostile to the United States. Further, the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan, putting the Red Army just 500 miles from the Straits of Hormuz.

Without strong allies in the region, the US was forced to commit its own ground units to the defense of the Persian Gulf for the first time. The response to this new requirement was the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). The RDF came to consist of the most mobile military formations — the Army's *82nd Airborne* and *101st Airmobile Divisions* and some Marine Corps units — reinforced by the *24th Mechanized Division* and some Air Force units.

The RDF's biggest problem was simply getting to its distant theater of assignment. A Soviet thrust through Iran toward the Straits of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf would probably have been accompanied by attacks into Western Europe and the Pacific; so US military airlift assets would have been stretched thin trying to support all three theaters. It seems likely only a small percentage of the RDF units could have been flown into the Near East. The rest, particularly the *24th Mech,* would have had to go by sea, and might very well have arrived too late to influence the fighting.

The Army, then, needed to develop a fighting unit with the mobility and firepower to meet a Soviet mechanized or tank division, but was at the same time light enough to be flown to the Persian Gulf in 1,000 C-141 sorties. The first attempt at meeting this requirement was the creation of a motorized infantry division. The *9th Infantry Division* was given the mission of organizing and testing the new concept. At the time (1980), the *9th* was a (then) standard infantry division, with a tank battalion, a mechanized infantry battalion and seven leg infantry battalions. The new division was to consist of nine battalions: five heavy combined arms battalions (CAB[H]), two light combined arms battalions (CAB[L]), and two light attack battalions (LAB).

The CAB[H] would have one motorized infantry company, two anti-armor companies and a support company, while the CAB[L] would have two motorized infantry companies, an anti-armor company and a combat support company. The motorized infantry companies consisted of three platoons, each with three, eight man squads and an eight man weapons squad. The anti-armor companies had 20 anti-tank weapons systems divided into four platoons.

It was originally intended the motorized and anti-armor units would be equipped with completely new weapons systems. The former were supposed to receive wheeled armored personnel carriers, each mounting a 30mm cannon and a TOW anti-armor missile launcher. The latter were to get the Armored Gun System (AGS), essentially a light tank mounting a 105mm cannon.

But the Army's wheeled APC program was canceled (though the Marines went ahead and purchased wheeled APCs for their light assault vehicle battalions). The AGS system went through a checkered development; it's actually only now being fielded, some 10 years after it was first to have been deployed. Because neither of those programs were pursued in a timely way, by 1985 it was decided to mount both the motorized infantry and anti-armor units in High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles (HMMWVs — the now legendary "Humvees" of Desert Storm fame).

In the 1985 configuration, the LAB consisted of three light attack companies, each divided into three platoons of three squads. Each squad consisted of four personnel and two HMMWVs, one armed with the TOW II and the other with a 40mm grenade launcher. The LAB was intended to operate as a covering force for the division, on the flanks, and if possible to infiltrate into the opponent's rear areas to strike at his command and logistics facilities.

In the early 80s the use of the fast attack vehicle (FAV) by the LABs was also considered. The FAV was really nothing more than a civilian dune buggy, purchased off the shelf and modified by the addition of weapons attachments for a 40mm grenade launcher and TOW II. In exercises at the Yakima Firing Center, the FAVs showed there was no terrain they

couldn't overcome. But their utility as a combat vehicle was limited by their inability to carry sufficient ammunition for deep penetration raids.

Unlike most Army divisions, which used their attack helicopter units as a divisional reserve, the *9th* formed theirs into a separate maneuver brigade. The Cavalry Brigade (Air Attack), or CBAA, consisted of two attack helicopter battalions, a combat aviation company equipped with UH-60 transport helicopters, and a reconnaissance battalion. The CBAA was used for two primary purposes: 1) as a counterattack force, with the recon battalion blocking enemy penetrations and the attack helicopter battalions striking at the flanks; and 2) as a deep-strike force.

In field exercises the CBAA proved extraordinarily valuable. It allowed the division commander to launch airmobile strikes to secure valuable terrain, seal off units being attacked from reinforcement, and strike at enemy second-echelon units well before they'd reached the main battle area.

Divisional artillery support consisted of 54 155mm howitzers in three 18 gun battalions, and a general support battalion with nine Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (MLRS) and two batteries of 105mm guns. The 105mm batteries were specifically intended to support divisional airmobile operations.

Though the equipment, organization and tactics pioneered by the *9th Motorized Infantry Division* were successful, the program as a whole was a failure. The division was never able to reach the 1,000 C-141 sortie plateau — the closest it came was 1,250. The cancellation of the assault gun and wheeled APC programs meant the *9th* was never heavily enough armed to take on a Soviet division.

Thus the motorized infantry division never came to be a standard unit within the modern US Army. The *9th Infantry Division (Motorized)* was declared combat ready in 1986; however, four years later it was demobilized and its assets reformed into the *199th Infantry Brigade (Motorized).* That unit was also later demobilized, to be replaced by the *9th Infantry Regiment,* effectively ending the Army's flirtation with motorized combat units.

The failure of the motorized infantry program left the army back at square one. So commanders turned to another formation that had been in the planning stage for several years: the light infantry division (LID).

The light infantry division was exactly that: lightly armed infantry. It consisted of nine light infantry battalions divided among three brigades. The LID had no tanks or other armored vehicles. Divisional support consisted of an artillery brigade with three 105mm battalions, and a combat aviation brigade with a reconnaissance battalion, attack helicopter battalion and transport companies.

There is no question the LID had problems. Its sole heavy anti-armor capability lay in the 44 TOW II launchers spread among the nine maneuver battalions and the attack helicopter battalion. Maneuverability was limited since all the division's maneuver battalions walked.

Critics have argued the LIDs would have been of small value in the event of a Soviet attack in Europe. Likewise, given the amounts spent on arms in the Third World, even their deployment against such enemies as Iraq and Iran would have shown the LIDs to be easily outgunned and outmaneuvered.

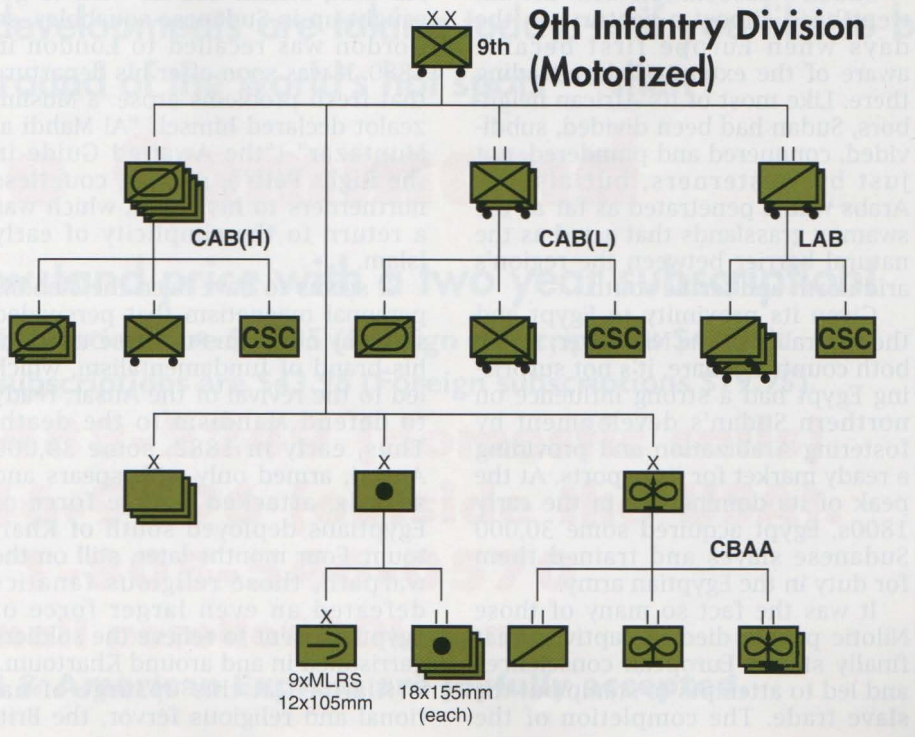
While those are valid criticisms, it should also be pointed out there were — and still are — valid reasons for the employment of LIDs. The first is their strategic mobility; it takes only 500 C-141 sorties to move a LID. Secondly, there is the matter of logistical support. The LID still requires some petroleum, oil and lubricants (POL), but its needs are vastly smaller than a mechanized or infantry division. Thus divisional requirements are basically food, ammunition and medical supplies. That means fewer transport aircraft are needed to maintain a LID once it's deployed, so more aircraft are available to transport combat units.

In terms of tactical mobility, there are regions — parts of Korea, Norway, eastern Turkey and the Zagros Mountains in Iran — where the terrain is so rugged mechanized units are restricted almost entirely to roads. In such environments the LID would actually be more maneuverable and have greater firepower than its mechanized/motorized opponents. It should also be remembered it was a light infantry force that successfully defeated a mechanized Soviet army in Afghanistan.

The LID has proven to be much more flexible than a regular Army division. A mechanized or armored division (or even the motorized division) is primarily intended to meet a high-tech, heavily armored threat. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, encountering such a threat is increasingly unlikely. But in situations such as Somalia and Haiti the LID has shown itself capable of handling any mission given to it.

There has been some criticism of the deployment to Somalia, primarily centering around the argument the LID was too light even for the mission assigned it there. That's partially true, but only in that the LID was always intended to be deployed along with a few heavy support units. That the light infantry units in Somalia found themselves at times outgunned is the fault of senior decision makers who failed to deploy a heavy armor unit in support.

— Michael D. Blodgett



Historical Perspective. . .

Sudan's Secret Insurrection

In one night during the winter of 1964-65, more than 5,000 African Christians and animists were mercilessly hunted down, hacked to pieces and thrown into the Blue Nile where it flows past Sudan's capital city of Khartoum. The cold-blooded killings were carried out by several battalions of Ansari warriors, militant disciples of Al Mahdi and followers of the Prophet Mohammed. The Muslim zealots made formidable foes: utterly fearless, totally dedicated to religious fundamentalism, and absolutely convinced death in battle guaranteed immediate entry into paradise.

They were the successors of the 7th century Ansar who first accepted Islam, and the forerunners of today's Islamic Revolutionary Guards. Looking back, it's easy to see the grisly episode heralded the resumption of Sudan's holy war.

The rest of the world said and did nothing. The brutal, senseless massacre went unreported, and doubtless the general public would never have heard about it if some of us hadn't been spared to tell the tale, albeit 30 years later. I was there — with my family — working for the Sudanese Ministry of Education. We were post-independence employees, not like the British civil servants who'd recently thronged Khartoum, nor like the British military who'd formerly held sway.

Sudan's association with Britain went back almost a century, to the days when Europe first became aware of the extent of slave-trading there. Like most of its African neighbors, Sudan had been divided, subdivided, conquered and plundered, not just by Westerners, but also by Arabs who'd penetrated as far as the swampy grasslands that acted as the natural barrier between the region's arid north and fertile south.

Given its proximity to Egypt and the centrality of the Nile River, which both countries share, it's not surprising Egypt had a strong influence on northern Sudan's development by fostering Arabization and providing a ready market for its exports. At the peak of its domination, in the early 1800s, Egypt acquired some 30,000 Sudanese slaves and trained them for duty in the Egyptian army.

It was the fact so many of those Nilotic people died in captivity that finally stirred European consciences and led to attempts to stamp out the slave trade. The completion of the French-engineered Suez Canal in 1869, with its promise of enormous strategic and economic advantages, gave not only France, but also Britain, the opportunity to demand a say in Egyptian affairs. The French, however, soon dropped out, leaving the British to oversee Egypt's governance of Sudan. In addition, it was the British who were called on to keep the peace between the Muslim/Arabized north and the Christian/animist tribes of the south who, with the advent of steamboats and firearms, were becoming increasingly vulnerable.

To assist with the modernization of their army and extend their rule, the Egyptians used both Union and Confederate veterans from America as mercenaries. In an effort to conciliate Sudan's southerners, they appointed a British explorer, Sir Samuel Baker, as governor of Equatoria Province. When he was succeeded in 1874 by Gen. Charles "Chinese" Gordon, the British gained both a vital stake in Sudan's future and another means of safeguarding their own interests.

Gordon lost no time in suppressing the slave trade, disarming or hanging many of those caught trafficking in human misery. But apart from ensuring access to the Suez Canal, which had quickly become an economic lifeline to India and the Far East, Britain had no wish to get caught up in Sudanese squabbles, so Gordon was recalled to London in 1880. It was soon after his departure that fresh problems arose: a Muslim zealot declared himself "Al Mahdi al Muntazar" ("the Awaited Guide in the Right Path"), rallying countless northerners to his cause, which was a return to the simplicity of early Islam.

It seems to have been the Mahdi's personal magnetism that persuaded so many northern Sudanese to adopt his brand of fundamentalism, which led to the revival of the Ansar, ready to defend Mahdism to the death. Thus, early in 1882, some 30,000 Ansari, armed only with spears and swords, attacked a huge force of Egyptians deployed south of Khartoum. Four months later, still on the warpath, those religious fanatics defeated an even larger force of Egyptians sent to relieve the soldiers garrisoned in and around Khartoum.

Alarmed at this upsurge of national and religious fervor, the British government reappointed Gordon as governor general and sent him back to Khartoum to supervise the evacuation of all non-Sudanese troops and officials. However, when he reached the city in February 1884, Gordon realized it was already too late to extricate those trapped there. He called at once for reinforcements, but by the time they arrived the Ansari had struck, slaughtering Khartoum's defenders, killing Gordon and delivering his head to the Mahdi's headquarters in Omdurman. The tardy reinforcements, confronted by a scene of devastation when the finally arrived, quickly turned around and went home.

The Mahdi had only a short while to enjoy his victory; within months he was dead and his Mahdiyah fell into the hands of the Khalifa, the strongest and most ruthless of three contending successors. His first acts were to get rid of many of the Mahdi's purely religious followers and put the Mahdiyah on an even more warlike footing, using the Ansari camel and horse-borne tribesmen as a cavalry strike force to control the provinces.

The combination of dictatorial leadership and dedicated followers proved almost invincible. But in 1895, Gen. Kitchener was ordered to bring Sudanese aggression under control; Britain was to provide the men and materiel, while Egypt promised to finance the venture. After months of preparation, the Anglo-Egyptian Expeditionary Force, which included six battalions recruited in southern Sudan, finally set off. A newly constructed railway, starting in the far north at Wadi Halfa, took them some of the way, but for the most part they had to march, sail and fight their way south to Omdurman, where the Khalifa and his Mahdist followers made their last stand.

On 2 September 1898, the Khalifa committed his army to a frontal assault against the Anglo-Egyptian force massed outside Omdurman, just across the Nile from Khartoum. The outcome was never in doubt, largely because of superior British firepower. During the five hour battle about 11,000 Mahdists died, while Anglo-Egyptian losses amounted to only a few hundred. Mopping up operations took several years, but organized resistance ended with the Khalifa's death in November 1899. Many areas of the country, particularly those in the south, welcomed the downfall of a regime that had brought Sudan nothing but famine, disease, war and terror.

The country as a whole fared much better under subsequent Ang-

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lo-Egyptian rule, which lasted until the 1950s, when it was agreed the Sudanese were ready to make the transition to self-government. At the beginning of 1956, Sudan became independent. But if the first half of the century had been less than completely peaceful (there had been inter-tribal wars, banditry and revolt), hostility between north and south increased even further during the second half. The Ansar, held together by their loyalty to the Mahdi's descendants, took part in all the major skirmishes, never losing sight of their dream of reestablishing old-time Mahdism.

In 1964 their chance finally arrived. Following years of political turmoil, during which control of Sudan changed hands several times, there was an all-out effort by the northern and southern intelligentsia to replace despotism with democracy. In the course of their so-called "October Revolution," a general strike spread across the country. Strike breakers joined leftist politicians and together they made common cause with a number of dissident army officers. After several days of rioting, resulting in many deaths, the current military ruler agreed to step down.

No sooner had he left the country than the Ansari, fearing they would lose ground in the forthcoming struggle for power, once again mustered their infantry at Omdurman. Wearing their traditional uniform of short tunic, knee-length breeches and loosely wound turban with one end dangling free, they drilled and prepared for the order to strike.

When it came they were ready. Crossing the Nile one Sunday evening, they assembled in the deserted streets surrounding the Anglican Cathedral. When we glimpsed them on our way home from services, they were formed up in menacingly silent ranks. They soon struck without warning, making for an outlying district populated almost entirely by Christian-animist Sudanese; they butchered everyone they found.

Later, when we expatriate survivors from the other side of town asked why the massacre wasn't reported, we were told media silence was the price demanded for the continued use of Sudanese airspace for overflights by Western powers' surveillance planes. It seems the various embassies decided we were all expendable and thought it enough to leave our fates in the hands of Allah The Merciful.

— D.J. Collier

Movers & Shakers. . .

Aerial Mercenaries in Mexico

The airplane came of age as a weapon of war during the later years of World War I. But just a few years earlier in the skies over Mexico, a group of daredevil mercenary pilots helped pioneer some of the now-standard concepts of air warfare: aerial reconnaissance, bombing and dogfighting.

In 1912 Mexico was in the throes of civil war, this time between the government (federal) forces of Victoriano Huerta and a collection of rebel factions led by Venustian Carranza, Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata. Flying machines were still something of a novelty and the foreign aviators who demonstrated their craft in air shows greatly impressed Mexican officers. Farsighted leaders on both sides saw the military potential of the still-frail craft and sought out American pilots.

Among the gringo pilots to fly for the federals was John Hector Warden. The Moisant company originally sent him to Mexico City as an exhibition pilot to demonstrate their aircraft. Once there, he quickly impressed the officers of Huerta's army, some of whom recruited him as a pilot with the rank of captain. Throughout 1912, Warden flew patrols and reconnaissance missions against the rebels.

He returned to the US an expert in anti-guerrilla air war who strongly advocated the use of airplanes for military reconnaissance and counterinsurgency operations. He noted the problems Mexican federal forces had with railroad sabotage and rebel ambushes of their trains, and described how planes could "start out ahead of a train, fly over the track, and reconnoiter the threatened district and report in time for the train to turn back," thus foiling any planned ambushesby the rebels. He also commented on the role of aerial bombing, though he also realized pilots untrained in the particulars of such work could not be depended on to drop explosives with any accuracy.

The rebel forces also recognized the advantages of aircraft, and in 1913 sent two officers across the border into California on a recruiting mission. They met a French-born American, Didier Masson, then an instructor at the Glenn Martin Flying School near Los Angeles. The adventurous pilot signed on for $300 a month plus $50 for each recon mission and $250 for each bomb run. The rebels also purchased a $5,000 Martin pusher plane for his use.

Getting the plane into Mexico posed a problem when, in trying to smuggle it across the Arizona border in a truck, Masson's mechanic was detained by a suspicious local sheriff. They got the man out of that fix by bribing and then recruiting the sheriff's deputy (who eventually rose to the rank of major in the rebel army).

Once in Mexico, Masson's pusher was christened the "Sonora," and rigged with a primitive bomb rack. With its 75 horsepower engine, it could carry a pilot, a bombardier and three 30 lb. bombs to a range of 100 miles. Masson and his bombardier/observer, Capt. Jouquin Alcalde, became the pioneers of aerial bombardment.

The rebel forces were moving on the federal base at Guayamas on the Gulf of California. The port was protected by three gunboats, the *Guerrero, Morelos* and *Tampico,* the fire from which had repulsed every rebel assault to that time. Masson's and Alcalde's job was to bomb the gunboats.

On 30 May 1913, the two men took off to make history's first aerial bomb attack on warships. The Sonora came in at 2,500 feet over the *Guerrero,* flying through a hail of ineffective gunfire from the gunboat. But the bombs were equally ineffective; all missed, only splashing water on the boat's deck. A second try the following day also failed, but that time the frightened boat crew jumped overboard. On the third try the Sonora crashed on take off and was put out of action for several weeks while spare parts were smuggled in from the States.

After making the repairs, another bombing attempt was made. This time Masson achieved a near miss on the *Guerrero.* Then, on 4 August, the pilot revised his tactics, going in lower at 2,000 feet with his mechanic substituting as bombardier. In the middle of the bomb run the engine quit. Masson jettisoned the bombs and glided his stricken plane across the bay to a landing behind friendly lines. There they discovered one unexploded bomb, caught on its

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arming cord, had trailed behind the plane all the way in.

After that close call, and finding the engine damaged beyond repair, Masson turned in his resignation and went home. Clearly, aerial bombing techniques had a long way still to go.

At about the same time another American aviator joined the rebel cause and soon participated in what was probably history's first aerial dogfight. Dean Evan Lamb, a 27-year-old, had made his way south in 1913, where he was hired on personally by Pancho Villa. Legend has it he punched the famous bandito in the mouth to prove he had the guts to fly for him.

Meanwhile a federal Christofferson biplane, flown by American mercenary, Phil Rader, had been harassing rebel forces for two months. Lamb, armed with a revolver, was sent up after him in a Curtiss pusher plane. Above the rebel town of Naco, though, it was Rader who first spotted Lamb. Coming in from above, he opened fire with his revolver, scoring a hit in Lamb's wing. Lamb pulled up and got off a shot just missing Rader's propeller. The two then flew closely side by side, exchanging pistol shots without effect.

They pulled apart to reload, then exchanged more shots. After another reload and ineffectual exchange of fire, they disengaged, their ammunition exhausted. Lamb returned to a hero's welcome from the rebel populace who'd witnessed the historic encounter from below. Rader never reappeared there, choosing thereafter to fly only in unopposed skies. Thus Lamb won something of a strategic victory in history's first aerial dogfight.

Early in 1914 the rebel air forces achieved another first in aviation history when they were joined by an American engineer, Lester Barlow. He created what he called a "tactical war airplane unit." It was actually a portable airbase on rails, consisting of a locomotive, boxcars, sleeping cars and flatcars, etc. Together they housed American pilots, a machine shop, a bomb magazine, and a number of aircraft and automobiles. Villa designated it the "Aviation Division of the Army of the North."

The rebels used the Aviation Division to good effect, as it campaigned its way along the railroads of northern Mexico. For the American mercenaries it proved a harrowing, but surprisingly bloodless, adventure. Only one pilot, Frank Fish, actually suffered so much as a flesh wound in the leg from a federal bullet during one mission.

Those Americans also eventually drifted homeward, many fed up with the hazards of both friendly and enemy fire, generally lousy conditions and arrears in pay. But the rebel forces prevailed without them. Carranza captured Mexico City in 1914; Pancho Villa went on to even greater notoriety, and some of the American pilots went on to fight deadlier foes in the skies over war torn Europe. Still, for all their frustrations, those mercenaries opened the history of aerial warfare.

— Hans von Stockhausen

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Movers & Shakers. . .

The Unheralded Soldier Who Saved the American Revolution

It was a bitterly cold night. The wind, funnelling down the river valley from the north, turned the rain into a driving sleet that stung exposed skin and forced a raw cold through the layers of clothing worn by the men struggling against the river current. In the bow were two soldiers of Coryell's Militia, musket breeches wrapped against the wet. On the steering oar was Capt. John Coryell himself, straining through the blackness to glimpse the light from the Ferry Hotel that marked their landing site on the New Jersey shore opposite. Amidships, alone, wrapped in a cloak against the elements, sat George Washington.

The year 1776 had not been good to Washington's army. When the Second Continental Congress passed the Declaration of Independence, King George III finally realized the American colonies were serious about their rebellion, and he therefore launched a highly trained and well supplied force under Maj. Gen. William Howe against New York. The plan was to seize that city and cut the colonies in two along the Hudson River valley. On 27 August the British entered the city. By 16 November, after American defeats at White Plains and Fort Washington, all of New Jersey lay open to the redcoats.

Retreating before a British/Hessian force of 6,000 commanded by Howe's lieutenant, Maj. Gen. Charles Cornwallis, Washington went south, crossing the Delaware River on 8 December. He established a new defensive line intended to protect Philadelphia. Fearing Cornwallis would pursue, Washington gathered all the boats on the Jersey side and had them moved to the opposite bank at a point south of the Trenton Ferry. That decision proved to be unfortunate and was the reason why, less than a week later, the commander of the Continental Army was recrossing the river into enemy territory.

Washington's defenses were concentrated at the four ferry crossings within reach of Cornwallis' troops. His right flank was anchored on the ferry opposite present day Bordentown, New Jersey. The main defensive position was across from Trenton, New Jersey. The next crossing was eight miles north of Trenton at Mckonkey's Ferry (now Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania). The left flank, commanded by Lord Stirling, was still farther north at Coryell's Ferry (now New Hope, Pennsylvania).

Washington had visited Stirling's position at Coryell's earlier that day. It was a strong redoubt on top of a hill behind the local school house. From it, Stirling could control the ferry crossing; but if the British bombarded from the heights across the river, the good people of Coryell's would doubtless soon need a new school.

With boats unavailable to the British, Washington should have felt relatively safe. The enemy couldn't cross the river in force unless it froze completely, improbable (but not unheard of) at that time of year. Of far greater concern was intelligence information that had reached him earlier in the week from Stirling. That officer's men had captured a grenadier from the British *Inniskillen Regiment* who told them that far from resting on his laurels, "Cornwallis with about 6,000 men was at Pennington, New Jersey [northwest of Trenton], waiting for pontoons to come up with which he meant to pass the river at Coryell's Ferry."

Stirling's information made clear Washington's position was in ex-

treme peril. His forces numbered only about 2,500, with that total growing smaller each day as dispirited men deserted the ranks. In addition, a considerable number of enlistments would expire on the first of the year, further reducing his force unless he could persuade those men to continue the fight.

What Washington needed was a victory to inspire not only his soldiers but the politicians and businessmen who bankrolled the army. His opportunity came when he learned the Hessian cantonments at Trenton and Bordentown each held about 1,500 men, a manageable number for the Americans to engage. More importantly, Washington also discovered those garrisons were unsupported by the main British forces at Penington and Princeton, and that the Hessian commander at Trenton, Col. Johann Rall, scorned American soldiers to the extent he declined to fortify the village.

With that, Washington conceived the plan of a surprise attack on the Hessian garrisons with the hope of reviving a cause some historians have described as being "all but lost" at that time. The scheme called for a crossing of the Delaware at McKonkey's Ferry after dark on Christmas day, a fast march to Trenton and a surprise attack before daylight. (McKonkey's was undefended, allowing for an orderly crossing.) However, Washington faced the same problem above Trenton as did Cornwallis — no boats. They were all to the south, and he didn't dare move them upriver for fear of revealing his plan.

So it was that George Washington met that night with one of the unsung and nearly unknown heroes of the American Revolution, Capt. Daniel Bray of the Kingswood Militia. (Kingswood Township, New Jersey, was and is still today located a few miles north of the village on the Jersey side of Coryell's Ferry, now known as Lambertsville.) Bray is described in one of the few documents that exist about him as being "of striking appearance and dignified in his bearing...a very large man, not very tall, but powerfully built with a rather prominent nose and generous ears."

Those ears must have burned when Washington assigned him the mission of gathering the boats needed to ferry the army across the Delaware.

Why Washington selected Bray is a matter of debate. Bray was scarcely 24 years old. As a captain with the Kingswood volunteer militia he had seen action around New York, where he may have made the personal acquaintance of the general. Some historians have suggested the two were fraternally bound, both being Free Masons.

Bray has also been described as a "farmer and a waterman," though not much is known about his exploits on the Delaware. He came from hardy stock. His father, who single-handedly carved the Bray farmstead from the wild country of Kingswood Township, was well known as the result of an encounter with a black bear that took exception to his clearing weeds one day. The elder Bray killed the bruin using only a hoe. Apparently Daniel Bray was equally well thought of as a man who got things done and one familiar with the river. Washington had confidence the young man could steal sufficient boats from north of Coryell's Ferry to move an entire army.

Bray would undertake the mission with a force from Kingswood, all familiar with the river and boats. He split his men into three groups, commanding one himself, the other two led by Capts. Jacob Gearhart and Thomas Jones.

But the job was not nearly as simple as it might sound. After the earlier evacuation there were few boats remaining in New Jersey, so Bray had to gather them from the Pennsylvania side. Obviously it was imperative the Christmas crossing be kept a secret; but the small river villages north of Coryell's Ferry were known to be thick with Loyalists who would quickly report unusual activity to the British. The road between Coryell's and Easton, Pennsylvania (now State Route 32), which ran through those villages is much the same today as it was then — a narrow track along the river winding beneath rock palisades. It wasn't possible for Bray to march up that road without being discovered. He struck inland above the palisades before moving north, sending his men down to the river at night to make off with the needed boats.

Aside from the danger of encountering British patrols or unfriendly Tories, the trip was no pleasure jaunt. Bray was forced to move the 60 miles or so on foot through dense woods, a landscape frequently cut then and now by steep, rocky ravines with swift, deep streams flowing at the bottom. In other places the trees thinned into great boulder strewn fields — rocks deposited in a maddening jumble by some prehistoric geologic event.

The boats they sought were not small and easily manageable, but were the well known "Durham boats" built to haul smelted iron down to Philadelphia from the furnaces Robert Durham located just south of Easton. Measuring 60 feet in length with an eight foot beam, they carried 20 tons but were designed with a shallow draft enabling them to ply the river rapids. These were the size of boat needed to expeditiously ferry an army across the river.

Bray's men were not typical country bumpkins, but skilled boatmen. The river above Coryell's Ferry flows an average of seven miles per hour. To guide them at night, between rocks and through rapids, was a difficult and hazardous task requiring considerable skill. The men accomplished their mission by 20 December, hiding at least 16 Durham boats and another 10 or so assorted craft behind Malta Island, just south of Coryell's. In those days that thickly wooded island lay between the main river channel and the Jersey shore, making the boats invisible to British scouts. Today the island is little more than a memory.

History doesn't record if Bray himself made the Christmas night crossing. New Englanders from Marblehead and local ferrymen manned the boats. We know he was at the Battle of Trenton only because of an obscure document filed years later by his wife, Mary, when she claimed her widow's pension from the government. In that document she attests her husband participated at Trenton. It's also known Bray eventually attained the rank of general, fighting at many Revolutionary War battles including Yorktown.

Bray's unsheathed sword was by itself of little consequence among the thousands who fought at the Battle of Trenton, but this obscure hero, trusted and challenged greatly on that dark and dangerous river before the battle, did indeed show himself great. In so doing he was instrumental in saving a cause and a nation.

— Bernard E. Grady

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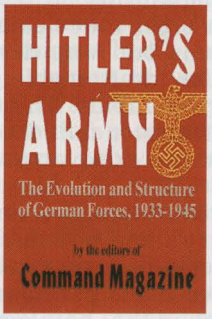

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Behind the Lines. . .

Guns for the Union

It's well known the material superiority of the Union during the American Civil War contributed greatly to the Northern victory. Less well known are the logistical and procurement problems faced by the Union Army Ordinance Bureau in bringing that superiority to bear, especially in the area of small arms.

To start, many of the problems encountered were internal. When the war broke out, the Bureau was understaffed, lacking both qualified ordinance officers and trained inspectors. The newly appointed Chief of Ordinance, Brig. Gen. James W. Ripley, was the respected, if unimaginative and conservative, officer faced with the formidable task of equipping the armies of the North with small arms.

The first problem was simply a shortage of suitable weapons. On the eve of the Civil War, the Bureau reported some 600,000 shoulder arms in Federal arsenals. But of those only 35,000 were modern, first-class (.58 caliber) rifled muskets, while 42,000 were older rifled models. The remaining weapons were smoothbore muskets, perhaps half of which were unserviceable. Over a third of the weapons were located in southern states, where they quickly fell into Confederate hands. The approximately 250,000 serviceable weapons remaining to the Union were woefully insufficient to equip the large volunteer force authorized by President Lincoln.

When those volunteers were called, the state arsenals were almost immediately depleted, and responsibility for equipping state troops mustered into Federal service was then given to the Ordinance Bureau. For some units taking the field that year the situation was acute. For example, the 773 men of the *13th Illinois* carried a mixed lot of 630 rifles and muskets among them, and fewer than half rated as serviceable.

To address the shortage the government could only count on the Federal armory at Springfield, Massachusetts. The only other Federal manufacturing facility, the armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, had been destroyed at the beginning of the war. Initially Springfield was only capable of producing 1,200 rifles a year and was not tooled for rapid expansion. Private factories also required time to tool up for large scale production. Thus Washington was willing to purchase rifles from virtually any willing source, and many unscrupulous speculators and entrepreneurs took advantage of the situation to price gouge and defraud.

As domestic stocks were exhausted, the Administration turned to Europe as a source for weapons. By 1862 over $10 million had been spent there to purchase what turned out to be a motley variety of over 700,000 rifles. Even that effort was bungled as the government had no centralized or coordinated procurement policy. Washington, as well as the various states and even some private arms brokers, all sent their own purchasing agents to Europe. They often competed and bid against each other (as well as Confederate agents), needlessly driving up prices.

The Federal government missed an opportunity to secure the entire production of highly prized Enfield rifles (some 15,000 per month) from the London Armory and Burmingham Arms Companies. The US Consul in London, F.H. Morse, arranged the deal, but the War Department stupidly refused it as he was not their officially authorized or regularly appointed agent. Another US agent, Col. George L. Schuyler, similarly lost a contract for 35,000 Enfields when Washington failed to send the money in time. That allowed Caleb Huse, a Confederate agent, to snap up the same contract.

Due to the lack of oversight, a shortage of trained inspectors, overzealous purchasing agents and outright fraud, some 20 percent of the 1,165,000 European rifles eventually purchased by the United States proved defective or inferior in quality. (In truth, many of those weapons were bought by US agents simply to keep them out of Rebel hands.) Thus many European weapons firms gained a bad reputation on this side of the Atlantic. By mid-1863 the Federal government discontinued the purchase of foreign arms, since by that time domestic sources had been able to pick up the slack.

The single most important domestic source remained the Federal armor at Springfield. In August of 1861 that facility had been producing a paltry 40 arms per day. That month Gen. Ripley, believing the

civilian superintendent there should be replaced by an officer, appointed the energetic and capable Capt. Alexander B. Dyer to the position. Under Dyer's management the armory rapidly expanded, and within a year had doubled its output. Total production for the period from the start of the war to 30 June 1862 was an impressive 110,000 arms. The annual capacity of the plant had been expanded by that November to 200,000.

Late in 1863 Congress approved the funding needed to further expand the factory, increasing production to 500 rifles per shift. When that expansion was completed the following year, Springfield was actually shipping over 1,000 rifles per day in two 10-hour shifts, some 300,000 per year.

At that point the government began to be concerned that so much weapons production was centered in just one location. In 1864 Congress therefore authorized another armory to be located at Rock Island, Illinois, though it wasn't completed until after the war had ended.

Dyer had established what in effect was a model factory for those times, setting new standards for efficiency, cleanliness and safety. Springfield, in fact, became the world's largest armory, both in terms of capacity and actual production. By the time of Lee's surrender, Springfield had shipped some 802,000 rifles at the moderate cost of $11.97 each. At the end of the war Dyer was promoted to head the Ordinance Bureau.

Other domestic supplies came from private companies awarded contracts to produce rifled muskets on the Springfield pattern. All those contractors had problems, but the more reputable and established firms, such as Alfred Jenks & Son, Colt, Remington and others succeeded in delivering large quantities of first-class weapons (see table).

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Other firms, including a number of newly formed partnerships created specifically to secure government weapons contracts, proved less reliable. Even after the government

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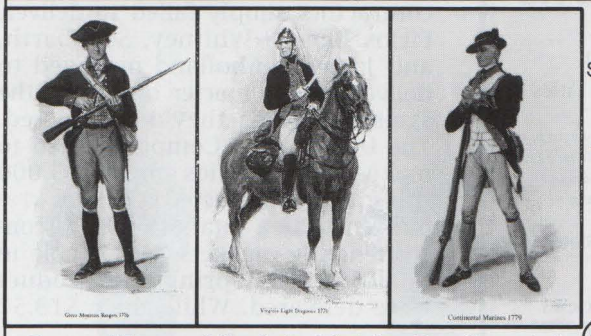

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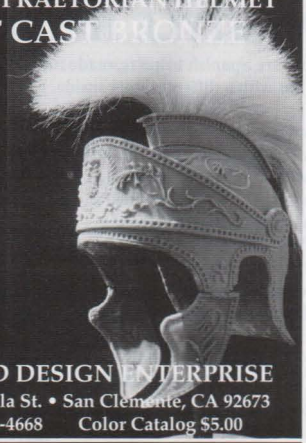

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relaxed some less critical cosmetic and production standards, many contractors simply failed to deliver. Firms like Eli Whitney, Schubarth, and James Mulholland managed to deliver only a quarter or less of the arms for which they'd contracted. The Union Arms Company failed to make any deliveries on the 65,000 rifles it had contracted.

Eventually a total of 650,000 contracted rifle muskets comparable in quality to the Springfield product were delivered. While their $19.52 average cost made them less of a bargain, they were nevertheless essential to the Union war effort and solved the early war arms shortage.

— Hans von Stockhausen

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Historical Perspective. . .

The Other Battles of Thermopylae

The pass of Thermopylae ("Hot Springs") is probably one of the most renowned battlefields in all of history. The heroic self-sacrifice of King Leonidas and his 300 Spartans against Xerxes' invading Persian army in 480 BC forms one of the great pivotal moments in the course of Western history. But that famous clash was not the only one fought in that narrow pass in ancient times. Two other important battles were resolved in that defile on the coast road to Athens.

The first occasion on which two armies struggled to cross the pass after Leonidas' stand was in the winter of 280-279 BC, during the Galatian invasion of Greece. That Celtic people had spread over much of Europe during the 4th century BC, colliding a few times with the Romans (they sacked Rome in 390 or 386, we're not exactly sure when), and in 280 a huge tribal confederation, led by Chief Brennos, stormed over the Balkans and Macedonia toward southern Greece.

The Galatians had probably 200,000 fighting men, about 60,000 of them mounted. The opposing Greek confederation could muster only some 24,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry. The three regions providing the majority of the troops were Boeotia, Aetolia and Phokia, but they were commanded by an Athenian, Kallippos. The small force first tried to hold the invaders at the Spercheios River by destroying all the bridges, but they were soon outflanked and had to retreat to Thermopylae.

The Celts stormed the pass in a frontal assault, their traditional battle tactic, but suffered heavy casualties and had to withdraw under a shower of Greek arrows. Brennos then dispatched part of his force, some 40,000 infantry and 800 horse, into the Aetolian interior, prompting the Aetolian troops to leave their allies to protect their homes.

The remaining Galatians found the same mountain route the Persians had used two centuries earlier; 40,000 of them charged out of the morning mist, surprising the Phokian pickets there. The Greeks had to abandon the pass, retreating to their various cities to make stands behind the walls.

The Celts thus won the second Battle of Thermopylae, but they had suffered heavily and proved unable to exploit their success by capturing any Greek cities. After a few months they withdrew entirely from Greece to settle in Thrace, then crossed into Asia Minor (Phrygia).

Yet another Battle of Thermopylae took place in 191 BC, during the first phase of the Antiochean War, fought between the Romans and the forces of Antiochus III, one of the last great successor-kings of Alexander. The Romans entered northern Greece with a force of 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. Antiochus, with only 10,000 infantry and a few hundred horse in his expeditionary force, felt he lacked the troops to meet them in the open.

He therefore chose to make a stand at Thermopylae. He blocked the pass (perhaps 100 yards wide between the steep mountain sides and the sea at that time) with a stone wall and ditches. He also built a rampart and a few towers on which he mounted some ballistae and other stone-throwing artillery. His aim was to break any Roman assault before it could even reach the wall.

Knowing there was at least one flanking trail through the mountains by which the Romans could reach his rear, Antiochus sent 2,000 Aetolian light infantry to guard the range overlooking the pass, disposed on two summits, Callidromus and Teichius. He sent another 2,000 Aetolians to his camp farther back, near the town of Heraclea, to guard the baggage and act as a final reserve.

The remainder of the army were disposed in the pass. The phalanx of Asian-Greeks, with their long *sarissa* spears such as had been used by Alexander's Macedonians, behind the rampart. He put his light and medium infantry in front of it. His left, on the slopes of the descending mountains, was defended by a few hundred archers and slingers, while to his right, extending to the sea's edge, he placed the half-dozen war elephants and all his cavalry (under his personal command).

It was not a bad deployment, but events showed he, like the previous defenders of the pass, had failed to make sufficient provision to defend his rear. The commanding Roman Consul, Manlius Glabrio, ordered two of his tribunes, Marcus Cato (the future Censor) and Lucius Valerius, accompanied by perhaps 2,000 foot soldiers each, to drive the Aetolians from their two fortified peaks.

The two Roman officers assaulted the summits with great fury. Lucius was repulsed in his attempt on Mt. Teichius, but Cato surprised the Aetolians on Callidromus while they slept and was able to conquer the entire mountain with little effort.

Meanwhile, Glabrio advanced on Antiochus' main force in the pass. They successfully resisted the efforts of the king's light troops to break their lines, but they couldn't penetrate the phalanx, protected as it was by the rampart. If Cato hadn't suddenly shown up with his force behind the Syrian line, the Romans would have been held. But Cato's appearance decided the battle for the Romans, as Antiochus' army broke and fled in panic. Only the king and his cavalry escaped the resultant massacre. Thus Rome was the victor in the third and final ancient battle fought at the historic pass.

— Roberto Chiavini

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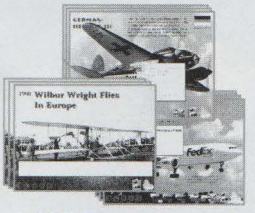

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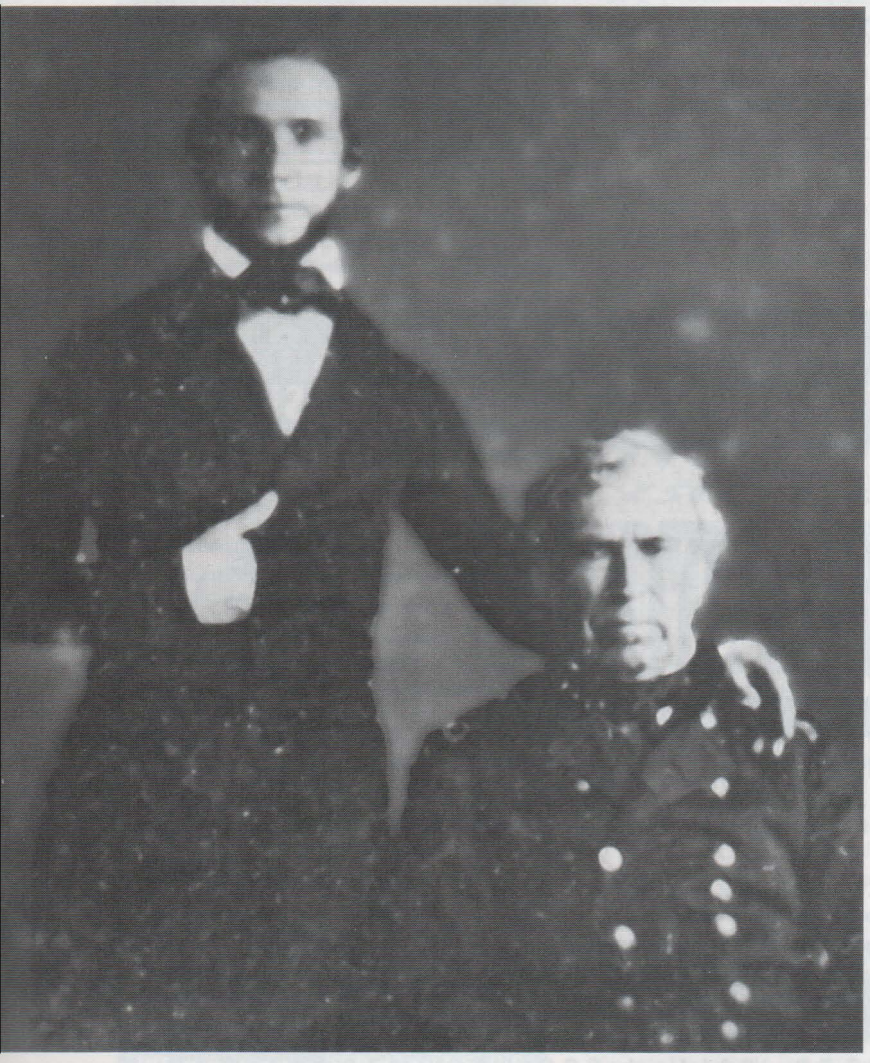
WAR WITH MEXICO!

The Campaign in Northern Mexico

by Richard A. Pfost

In the mid-1840's, America was energetically expanding across the continent. That brought the young nation into conflict with two powerful empires. To the north, Britain controlled the transcontinental colony of Canada and coveted the Oregon territory. Farther south, America had eyes on the southwestern quarter of the continent: Texas, California and the lands between. Once owned entirely by Mexico, the area had been difficult to administer given the distance from the Mexican heartland and the convulsions within the government the newly independent nation.



William Bliss, Taylor's military aide and future son-in-law, standing beside his commander in this 1847 daguerrotype.

The road to the Mexican War led through Texas. Since the 1820's, Texas had been settled by increasing numbers of Americans. In 1835, dissatisfaction with Mexican administration boiled over into revolution. The defeat of the invading Mexican forces at San Jacinto gave Texas her independence. But Mexico reasserted her claim to the area, resulting in a number of clashes between regular and irregular troops of both sides.

To gain security, Texas politicians discussed annexation by the United States. This required three pre-requisites; 1) approval by the United States government; 2) approval by the Republic of Texas government; and 3) resolution of claims with the Mexican government. A vote against annexation by the United States Senate in 1838 killed an initial attempt. As a result, Texas initiated contact with the British in 1843. The threat of pro-English Texas and a British controlled Pacific Northwest caused immediate concern in the United States. Therefore, President John Tyler resumed the Texas annexation process. However, in 1844 it was again voted down by the Senate, who feared war with Mexico.

In November of 1844, James K. Polk was elected president on a platform that included the annexation of Texas. However, the "lame duck" Tyler was not through. Based on concern that if Texas was not annexed soon the British would generate enough support in Texas to vote against entering the Union, he actively lobbied the American people, Congress, the Texans, and the Mexican government. Annexation came to fruition with the passage of a joint Congressional resolution on 1 March 1845, three days before Polk took office. It remained for the new president to see how Texas or Mexico would react to the annexation.

As the new President had run his election on a platform encouraging the inclusion of Texas into the United States, he was not going to let Mexico or Britian get in the way. He also actively sought the opportunity to obtain the New Mexico and California territories if negotiation or purchase allowed. Attempts to negotiate with Mexico were rebuffed by

the unstable Paredes government. A critical unresolved problem was the unspecified location for the southern boundary of Texas; the Mexicans claimed it was the Nueces River, while the Texans held it was 135 miles farther south at the Rio Grande. To support the Texan claim, Polk ordered troops into the disputed area.

Show of Force

In April 1845, the US *3rd Infantry Regiment* and a portion of the US *4th Infantry Regiment* were ordered from Jefferson Barracks in Missouri down the Mississippi River to Fort Jessup, Louisiana. They were joined there by elements of the US *2nd Dragoons.* This force was titled the "Corps of Observation" and commanded by Brevet Brig. Gen. Zachary Taylor. His orders were to maintain his 1,200 men ready to march "at short notice to any point in the United States or Texas."

In June, Taylor's corps was ordered into Texas to protect it from Mexican reprisals, reaching Corpus Christi on the Neuces by August. Other units had been added to the force, so that by mid-October Taylor commanded the *3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th,* and *8th Infantry Regiments,* twelve companies of artillery armed as infantry, three light artillery batteries, seven companies of the *2nd Dragoons,* and a company of Texas Rangers. The 3,922 men assembled were nearly half of the entire U.S. Army at the time; only four regiments were left to patrol the Canadian Border and the 1,500 mile Indian frontier.

It was the first time in nine years whole regiments had been together as a single unit. They had little experience as regimental sized units for drill or organization. The senior officers had little or no experience handling larger formations, and all were "of age;" Taylor was 61, second-in-command Brig. Gen. William J. Worth was 52, while brigade commanders and leading subordinates ranged from 55 to 66.

The Texas situation degenerated quickly toward war. Understanding the security of American statehood, on 13 October 1845 the Texas Congress voted to approve the annexation by the United States. Renewed diplomatic attempts were initiated by the United States in hope of averting war with Mexico. These were rebuffed in November when the Mexican government refused to accept the American minister John Slidell. On 29 December 1845, Polk signed the law annexing Texas. On 3 February 1846, Gen. Taylor and the Army of Observation were ordered to the Rio Grande.

Initial Clashes

Taylor arrived at the Rio Grande on 28 March. Establishing his forces across the river from the Mexican town of Matamoros. Initial contact was made with the Mexican authorities who maintained the American advance to the Rio Grande was an invasion and would be dealt with militarily. Uncertain as to the nature or potential of a Mexican response, Taylor set about consolidating his position and establishing a line of supply back to the Gulf at Point Isabel, 26 miles to the east.

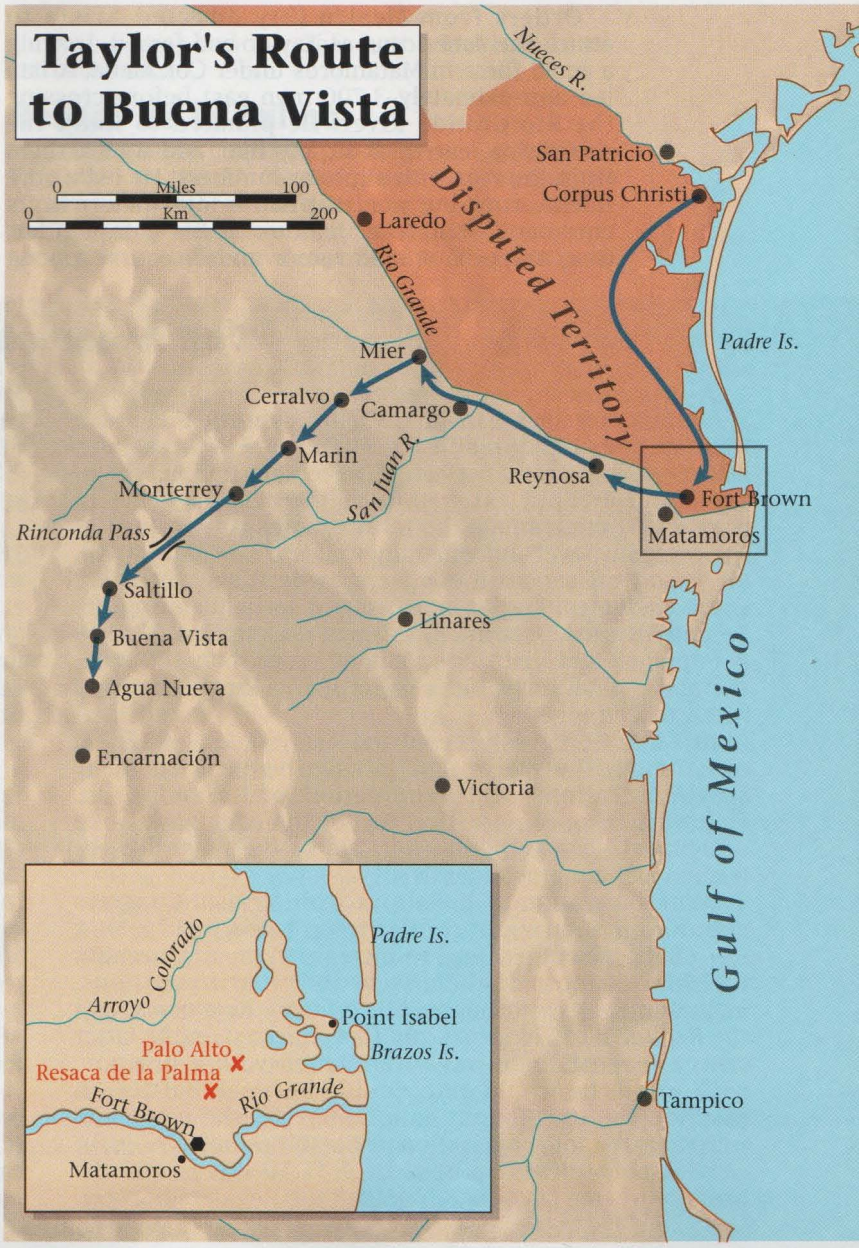
To demonstrate American resolve, he had an earthwork fortification built across from Matamoros. Known initially as Fort Texas and later as Fort Brown, the five sided fortification had walls 15 feet thick and 9 feet high. A bastion was established in each corner, each manned by an artillery battery.

In Matamoros, Maj. Gen. Mariano Arista had 5,000 men of the Mexican "Army of the North". Arista's force included the crack *Tampico Coast Guard Battalion, 2nd Light Regiment,* the *1st, 4th, 6th* and *10th Line Regiments,* General Torrejon's lancers, consisting of the *7th* and *8th Cavalry, Mexico City Line Cavalry Regiment,* and a battalion of *Zapadores* (Sappers). A majority of this force were raw conscripts, inadequately trained and poorly supplied.

Taylor's supply line required constant patrolling, and it was along this route the first hostilities occurred. On 24-25 April 1846, a 63-man patrol of American dragoons under Capt. Seth Thornton was taken by 1,600 Mexican cavalry under Gen. Anastasio Torrejon, who had crossed the Rio Grande River. Taylor immediately sent word to President Polk and prepared for defensive operations.

War Begins

With the initiation of hostilities and the return of special peace envoy Slidell, President Polk requested Congress declare war on Mexico. Congressional support was overwhelming — 173-14 in the House



of Representatives, 40-2 in the Senate — and the war was official on 11 May. It was generally admitted the Congressional vote did not represent approval for the goals of the war but support for the president and the military as hostilities had already begun. But the declaration had another impact, shaking Britain into peaceful negotiation of the Oregon territory problem. A treaty was signed on 15 June 1846 establishing the US northern boundary along the 49th parallel and ceding all of Vancouver Island to the British.

Taylor remained concerned about protecting his supply line to the coast. He received a false report stating his supply depot at Point Isabel had been attacked. Leaving the *7th Regiment* ("Cotton Balers" from Battle of New Orleans) and two batteries at the river under the command of Maj. Jacob Brown, he marched north with the bulk of his force on 1 May to escort his 300 wagon supply train from the gulf to Matamoros. The American Army was ready for a brawl, as the regulars were anxious to demonstrate their superior combat ability before the army was diluted with volunteers.

Palo Alto

Orders from Mexico City directed Arista to attack the Americans as Taylor had feared. Leaving a small force in Matamoros under Col. Meija, Arista led approximately 3,700 men east before crossing the Rio Grande River. He planned to flank the Americans, cut their supply line, and attack them from the rear with superior numbers. He led a confident army, but one that had a fatal cancer in its command structure. Jealous of his commander, Gen. Ampudia spread rumor and discourse among the troops such that Arista never really consolidated his command.

The American "foot cavalry" covered the nearly 30 miles between the Rio Grande and Point Isabel in less than 24 hours. Relieved his base of supply was secure, Taylor set about constructing another earthwork,"Fort Polk," to protect the port from Mexican attack. The next day, Taylor could hear the start of the bombardment at Fort Texas. He sent Sam Walker and his Texas Rangers back to the Rio Grande to see if the fort could hold. On the 5th, Walker returned confirming the continuing resistance of the *7th Regiment*. Two days later, supply wagons full, Gen. Taylor commenced the return trip with his 2,200 men.

The following day, after marching 18 miles, the army approached a pond and grove of trees known as Palo Alto. There they found Arista's army. The position chosen by Arista was generally flat with scattered small ponds among areas of heavy chaparral. The roadway skirted to the southwest along the chaparral around an opening containing a thick growth of grass four to five feet high. This allowed a full view of the American army as it advanced along the roadway and out into the opening.

Arista set his army in a double line extending across the road and to the east for nearly a mile. It was anchored on the west flank by swamp and on the east by a tree-covered hill. Deployed from the hill to the road were a cavalry squadron, a 4 pounder cannon, the *Zapadores*, *2nd Light*, *Coast Guards*, a battery of five 4 pounders, then the *1st*, *6th* and *10th Line*. Across the road to the swamp was the remainder of the Mexican cavalry.

The Americans were allowed to move off the

The American Army

Infantry

Until the second half of the 20th century, American military policy had manfested an extreme distrust of a large standing army, preferring to rely on militia, volunteers and a rapid expansion of the regular army in wartime. Though small, the US Army was well trained at the company level and generally well led: since May 1816, all vacant officer positions were to be filled with West Point graduates. But, as was brought to light during the Second Seminole War in 1835, it was undermanned, poorly supplied, and distributed among more than 100 frontier and coastal forts. Units larger than a single company rarely drilled together.

In 1838, Congress ordered the Army raised to 12,500 men. Among these were eight infantry regiments, actually single battalions of 10 companies of 81 men each. Following European practice, two of the companies were designated light and grenadier, but in the field all were trained and equipped identically.

At the initiation of hostilities with Mexico, Congress approved the raising of regular troop levels to 17,800. A few of the new men were to increase company strength to 100, but most of them went into new formations, including the *9th* through *16th Infantry Regiments*, and the *Regiment of Voltigeurs and Foot Riflemen*. In the latter unit, a foot rifleman was to be paired with a dragoon, with whom he would ride double between battles. In practice, the unit fought as infantry. All the new units were to serve for the duration of hostilities only.

With enlistments spurred by a $7.50 bonus and the promise of free land, 42,857 joined the Regulars between May 1846 and July 1848, of whom 30,954 made it to combat. Of these, 930 died in combat, 4,899 due to accident or disease; 2,745 received non-fatal wounds, and 2,554 were invalided out. Desertion accounted for another 5,331.

Most infantrymen were armed with either the Model 1835 flintlock musket or the Model 1842 percussion musket. Both were .69 caliber smoothbore muzzle-loaders 58 inches long and weighing 10 pounds. Standard ammunition consisted of a roundball and two buckshot inside a paper cartridge with an effective range of only 100 yards. Some units carried the new Model 1841 rifle, firing a .54 caliber round ball accurately to 500 yards.

Volunteers

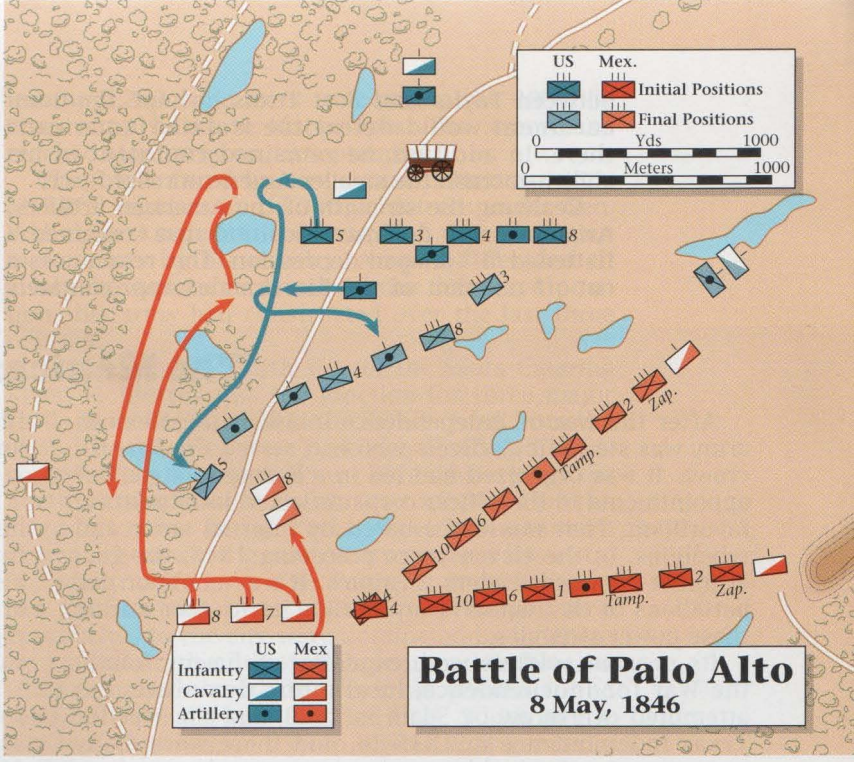
On 13 May 1846, the day the war was declared, Polk requested 50,000 men from the states for either 12 month duty or for the duration. The state militias were also called up for sixc months. Six days later, the War Department issued a more specific request to 10 states for 17 regiments totalling 13,208 volunteers. The response was overwhelming; some states, among them Mississippi, protested because they had far more volunteers than were requested, while Illinois supplied 14 regiments, ten more than her quota. The Army accepted only 18 regiments, four battalions and 8 companies of volunteer infantry.

The arms and uniforms of the volunteers generally matched those of the regulars, with some exceptions. Jefferson Davis' Mississippians, for example, wore white canvas pants, bright red shirts and broad brimmed straw hats. More importantly, they were armed with the long

road and deploy with no interference. Their supply train was concentrated in the rear, guarded by two squadrons of dragoons. Taylor put his infantry line with the *8th Infantry* on the east followed by the *4th*, *3rd*, and *5th*. The ox-drawn 18-pounders were placed on the road near the center of the line. The flanks were op, but each was protected by a flying battery.

In the early afternoon, the nervous Americans began a slow advance into their first battle with a foreign army since the War of 1812. At approximately 700 yards, the Mexican artillery opened fire. That triggered the American flying batteries to move out front where they proceeded to pour murderous fire into the stationary Mexican line. Arista ordered Torrejon's 1,000 cavalry to attack around the American eastern flank. The US *5th Infantry* quickly formed a square. With support from the fast moving light batteries, and confusion in the Mexican ranks caused by the scattered chaparral, Torrejon's attack was rebuffed.

Moving behind smoke from a grass fire to their front, the American west flank rotated forward. The Mexican line correspondingly rotated back in good order to maintain the distance. But that left the Mexican east flank hanging, so the American flying batteries moved forward to rake the Mexican infantry. The American dragoons were ordered forward to exploit the artillery fire, but Mexican artillery drove them back after accomplishing nothing. The fighting continued until 7:00 p.m., with both sides sleeping on their arms. The Mexican army lost between 250 and 500 men, while the Americans lost 55 killed and wounded. The following morning, leaving their wounded on the battlefield and with troops unfed, the Mexican army retreated south.



Resaca de la Palma

Arista's army covered half the seven miles from Palo Alto to the Rio Grande River. Assuming the Americans had been defeated the previous day, he thought they would rest and not press the larger Mexican force. He was determined to keep his army

ranged 1841 rifle. The Volunteers were initially uniformed by the states, with Federal reimbursement, but later acquired regular army uniforms.

Though initially scorned by the army, with training and experience the volunteers became as effective as the Regulars. They certainly suffered as much: 711 died in combat, 6,256 more by accident or disease, while 7,200 were wounded and 2,554 were invalided out. In one respect they outperformed the Regulars: only 3,876 deserted.

Cavalry

There was no US Cavalry until the *1st Regiment of Dragoons* was established in 1833. Three years later the *2nd Dragoons* was formed, though they were dismounted in 1842 and re-mounted in 1844. With the outbreak of the war, the *3rd Dragoons* and the *Regiment of Mounted Rifles* (officially an infantry unit) were formed to serve for the duration. Each regiment had 10 companies of 50 men each.

They were armed with a heavy cavalry sabre and either a cut down musket or a 0.52 caliber Model 1843 Hall breechloading carbine. Most also carried one or two pistols, with the heavy 0.44 caliber Colt "Walker" revolvers beginning to replace single shot muzzleloaders.

Prior to the Mexican War, the dragoon regiments were widely scattered among western outposts, though Stephen Kearny, commanding the *1st Dragoons*, always kept four companies under his direct command. During the war, with few exceptions, this practice continued, with dragoons limited to one or two company detachments for reconnaissance and screening duties. They could not provide the offensive punch of the large formations of Mexican lancers.

The May 1846 call for volunteers included five regiments of cavalry totalling 3,945 men. Again due to the overwhelming response, six regiments were accepted. Like the volunteer infantry, training and discipline were poor at first, but unlike the infantry did not markedly improve during the war. Their performance varied with leadership and experience.

One unique group of volunteer horsemen were the Texas Rangers. These fearless frontier lawmen, dressed in buckskins and sporting Bowie knives, served with distinction in all the major campaigns. During the Buena Vista campaign, 61 Rangers provided Taylor his escort, while the 27 men of Ben McCulloch's Spy Company provided the army's eyes and ears.

Artillery

At the start of the war, the artillery consisted of four regiments, each consisting of coastal defense batteries and field units scattered throughout American territory. The approximately 10 batteries in each regiment were to consist of 42 privates, but generally had fewer.

One battery per regiment was designated as either "Light Artillery" or "Horse Artillery" (and known colloquially as "Flying Batteries"), with a second organized after the war started. The artillerymen in the light batteries rode mounted or on the gun caissons. The "horse" artillerymen all rode on horseback. The remaining batteries in Mexico served as infantry.

Each battery generally consisted of six bronze smoothbore 6-pounders, and incorporated captured guns when available. Though more lightly armed than the Mexican artillery, the mobility and aggressiveness displayed by the "flying batteries" made them one of the decisive elements on every battlefield of the war.

between Taylor and Fort Texas in hope the bombardment would defeat the isolated Americans there. In addition, he remained confident in his ability to crush the smaller American relief force.

Realizing the strength of the American artillery, Arista chose a defensive position that contained a flattened "U" shaped depression. This resaca was a cut-off remnant of the Rio Grande. Approximately 200 feet wide, the 4-foot depression was tree and brush lined. It was situated within an area of thick chaparral separated by isolated patches of open ground. The roadway entered the top of the "U" from the northwest, bending south and exiting through the base. Arista had positioned his army on both sides of the road in the front and rear of the resaca.

The Mexican Army

After the war of Independence in 1821, the Mexican army was staffed by officers who had served the Spanish crown. It was organized and led in a European style, but appointments to the officer corps reflected local political favoritism. That was exacerbated by internal strife and rebellions. In the eleven years preceding 1847, the government changed leaders 25 times. It was common for battalions of the regular army to fight each other during these power struggles.

Its peasant soldiers were experienced, having fought the War for Independence, local internal conflicts, an attempted overthrow by Spain in 1829, and the War for Texas Independence in 1835-36, and there were many instances of individual bravery and a tremendous capacity for hardship. But the poorly trained conscripts, led by political hacks, could not stand up to the well-trained, well-led armies they encountered in Texas and Northern Mexico.

Infantry

A major reorganization of the army was conducted in 1839. The army now consisted of 12 line regiments and three light infantry regiments, nine militia regiments, and 14 Coast Guard battalions. An infantry regiment was to consist of two battalions of eight companies each: six fusilier, one rifle and one grenadier company, of approximately 80 privates each.

The threat of war with the US led to the raising of additional forces. The *Active Commerce Regiment of Mexico*, two battalions of eight companies each, was formed by businessmen in 1839. In 1841, the *Grenadier Guard of the Supreme Powers* was organized from a militia battalion into eight companies totalling 1,200 men. The *Regular Standing Battalion of Mexico*, also of eight companies, was formed later.

As Mexico had no operating weapons factories, the infantry was armed with a variety of imported muskets, obtained principally from outdated or discarded stocks. In 1839 there were 14,105 serviceable rifles, fusils, and pistols, with an additional 17,408 considered useless. Perhaps more importantly, the quality and quantity of gunpowder available was always low, contributing to the famously bad marksmanship.

Most soldiers carried the antiquated smoothbore British Brown Bess musket. Firing a .753 caliber roundball, its effective range was only 50 yards. A 17-inch bayonet could be attached. Soldiers in the rifle companies were issued the Baker flintlock rifle, another British import, which fired a patched roundball accurately to 200 yards. However, accuracy degraded significantly if used with poor powder and a lack of maintenance, both endemic in the Mexican army.

A new manual of instruction for the infantry was issued in 1841 to replace the 1814 Spanish drill. Ideally, after initial contact with the light regiments, the heavier line regiments were to follow through and press the attack. The light regiments would act in support along the flanks. In each regiment the rifle company would pin the enemy, then fall back on each flank to allow the fusilier companies to press the attack. Due to training limitations, this ideal was rarely achieved.

Cavalry

Also reorganized in 1839, the cavalry consisted of nine line regiments, five independent or heavy regiments, and four independent squadrons or companies. There were also six regiments of active militia cavalry, plus additional squadrons and companies of irregular auxiliaries. A regiment had eight companies, divided into four squadrons of two companies of approximately 80 men each.

The independent and heavy regiments had been formed during the 1840's. Among them were the *Tulancingo Cuirassiers* and the *Light Cavalry Regiment of Mexico* (a brother unit to the *Standing Battalion*). Two elite lancer units, the *Guard Hussar Regiment* and the *Jalisco Lancers*, served as escort for the president.

Like the infantry, the line cavalry was armed with a variety of swords, sabers, carbines, pistols and lances. From 1837, only the first company of the line regiments were to be lancers, but the lance was apparently a favored weapon and was reported in general use by all cavalry, regardless of title. Another favorite weapon, especially among the heavy cavalry, was a cut down "Brown Bess" musketoon called an *escopeta*.

The irregular cavalry units were formed after 1842 by state governors. They were generally organized, armed and mounted by individual landowners.

Like the infantry, the bravery of the individual trooper was compromised by poor leadership. The cavalry showed skill maneuvering, but commonly did not press their attacks. Neither the American or Mexican infantry had much respect for them.

Artillery

The Mexican artillery corps contained three foot and one mounted brigade, plus five standing companies. A sapper battalion was added to the corps in 1839. Each foot brigade nominally consisted of eight companies, each with 116 men. The six companies of the mounted brigade were to contain 92 officers and men. Like the American artillery, most artillerymen were utilized as infantry during the war.

The Mexican army was undergunned, having a total of only 140 static and mobile guns. At Buena Vista, Santa Ana fielded a total of only 19 guns: three 24-pounders, three 16-pounders, five 12-pounders and eight 8-pounders.

Officered largely by Mexican Military Academy graduates, the artillery generally perfomed well once in position. However, the guns were hampered by poor carriages and inadequate ammunition transport, so once emplaced they tended to remain there. That was in marked contrast to the American flying batteries that played such a key role in most of the battles.

During the war, the Mexican artillery was reinforced by the *San Patricio* (St. Patrick) *Battalion* of American-Irish deserters. The *San Patricio* was one of the most effective units in Santa Ana's army, eventually being annihilated while fighting as infantry in Mexico City.

After laagering their supply train with supporting heavy artillery and taking a vote of his officers, Taylor pursued the enemy forces. In the early afternoon on 9 May, the Mexican position was discovered. Taylor organized his infantry with two regiments on each side of the road. Based upon the previous day's experience, one of the flying batteries was moved forward to blast its way down the road. But Mexican units in the thick chaparral along the road forced it to retreat. A company of dragoons under Capt. Charles May charged the center of the Mexican position. After initially taking several batteries, they were also forced to retreat giving up the prized guns. The US *8th Infantry* was then ordered by Taylor to attack and take the guns in the center.

Arista, not anticipating a general engagement, belatedly became aware his forces were involved in combat along the entire line. Rushing to the critical center of his army, he immediately attempted to organize a counterattack with a group of lancers but was turned back. Neither commander was able to coordinate his army in the thick chaparral; the fighting was carried on by indivdual units, often hand to hand. Gradually the small unit leadership and abilities of the American soldier broke the Mexican spirit. Poorly led and treated, the morale of the Mexican soldier snapped and a retreat erupted into a rout. The Mexican army headed for the Rio Grande River. According to Arista's official report, he lost 160 dead, 228 wounded and 159 missing. The Americans reported the capture of 14 officers and eight guns while losing 33 killed and 89 wounded.

Ft. Texas had been besieged for the entire week Taylor was gone. Surrounded by a reported 1,000 Mexican troops, they were under constant bombardment. The Mexicans, believing the fort would be starved out, never mounted a major assault. The Americans had hunkered down such that the Mexican fire had little effect, though Maj. Brown was killed during the bombardment. But the rout of the Mexicans at Resaca de la Palma broke the siege. In honor of the fallen commander, the name was changed to Ft. Brown; today it is known as Brownsville.

There was no follow-up attack on Arista's army. Taylor was satisfied to consolidate his victory and rest in preparation for the invasion of Mexico's northern provinces. But attack or no, Arista had had enough and retreated to Monterrey.

Monterrey

Taylor's consolidation lasted nearly two months, giving him time to establish a proper supply base and incorporate reinforcements, including the first state volunteer units and Texas Rangers, into his army. His orders were to cross the "Rio Grande and take the high road to Mexico City." He planned to move up the Rio Grande to Mier, then down the San Juan River through Camargo and China to Monterrey, capital of Nuevo Leon. From there, he would cross the Sierra Madre Mountains to Saltillo, capital of Coahuila. With northern Mexico secured, he would move south through San Luis Potosí to Mexico City. While integration of the volunteers was progressing, he used his cavalry and Texas Rangers to reconnoiter the proposed avenues of march.

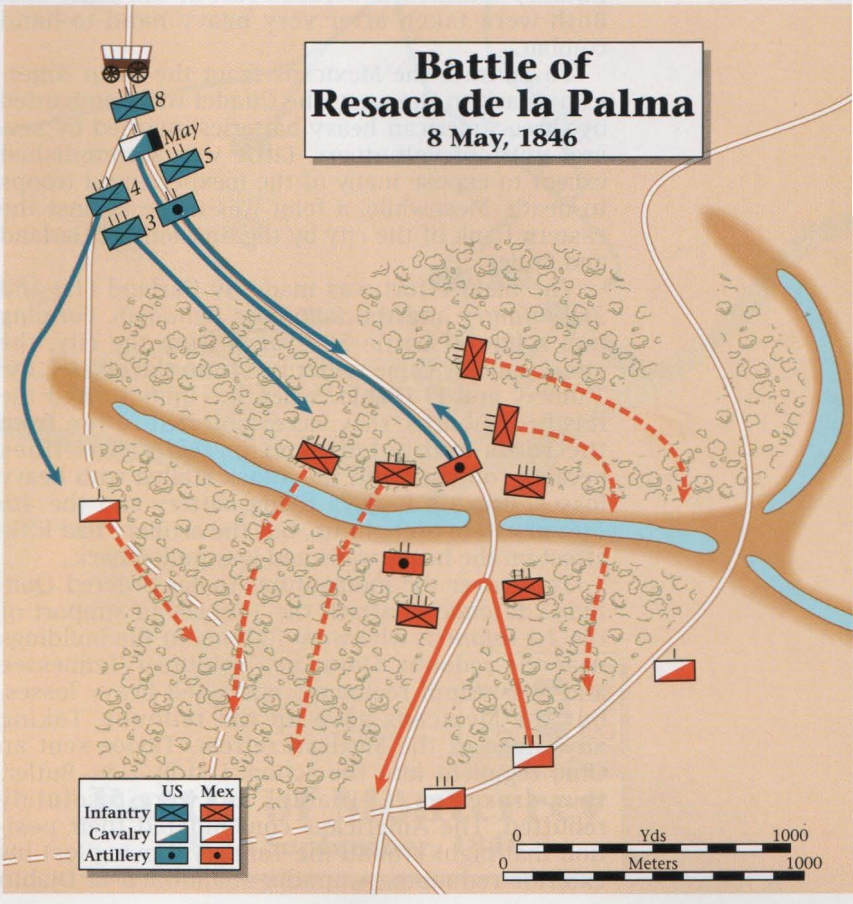
In late July the army began the two-week march to to Camargo. On 6 September, Taylor led 3,200 regulars and 3,000 volunteers toward Monterrey, leaving 4,700 volunteers to maintain the 400-mile river supply line to Matamoros. The Americans reached Monterrey on 19 September.

They were faced by a rejuvinated Mexican army of 7,000 regulars and 3,000 volunteers under Gen. Pedro de Ampudia. Informed of the American movements by his cavalry, Ampudia decided to await the American attack in the defensive positions his army had constructed over the last three months.

Situated on the north side of the Santa Catarina River, Monterrey was the junction for three major roads from the north and the Saltillo road from the west. The defenses were based on a series of forts commanding the approaches. Located between the northern roads were the dark stone walls of the citadel, known as the "Black Fort." The eastern approaches were guarded by three redoubts, including La Teneria (The Tannery) and El Rincon del Diablo (the Devil's Corner). The western approaches to the city were dominated by Independencía Hill north of the Saltillo road and Federacion Hill south of the road. The river ran parallel to the road between the two fortified hills. South of the city was the river and steep terrain that generally prohibited movement.

21 September 1846

Taylor's first move was to trap Ampudia's army by cutting the Saltillo road. He dispatched Gen. Worth with 2,000 men and two flying batteries to take the two hills guarding the road. After a wide flank march, Worth's command reached the Saltillo road just after dawn. There they were met by 1,500 Mexican lancers, who were beaten back after a short, vicious fight. The Americans crossed the river and attacked Federacion Hill from the south-



Monterrey, from Independence Hill, in the Rear of the Bishop's Palace. As it appeared on 23rd September, 1846. Hand colored lithograph by Frederick Swinton.

west. Dismounted Texas Rangers and artillerymen supported by the *7th Infantry* attacked the redoubt at the southwest end of the hill while the *5th Infantry* attacked El Soldado fort at the other end. Both were taken after very heavy hand-to-hand combat.

To distract the Mexicans from the main American attack to the west, the Citadel was bombarded by three American heavy batteries guarded by several units of volunteers. Little was accomplished except to expose many of the inexperienced troops to death. Meanwhile, a feint was made against the eastern flank of the city by the divisions of Garland and Butler.

The main effort was made by Garland (*1st* and *3rd Infantry* and the *Baltimore Battalion*). Forming into a line of battle 500 yards from the city, the attack quickly came under fire from the citadel, the Tannery and El Diablo. When the units neared the fortified suburbs, they were subjected to fire from the roofs and holed exterior walls. The lines became confused and the attack stalled with heavy losses. Braxton Bragg's flying battery and the *4th Infantry* were brought up, but the artillery had little effect on the heavy walls and was pulled back.

To recover the momentum, Taylor ordered *Quitman's Brigade* to attack the Tannery in support of the *1st Infantry*, who were fighting in the buildings near the redoubt. Quitman's volunteer Tennessee and Mississippi regiments sustained heavy losses, but the Mexicans gave up the redoubt. Taking advantage of the Mexican retreat, Taylor sent an Ohio regiment into the action. Led by Gen. Butler, they drove for "El Diablo" but were resolutely rebuffed. The Americans consolidated their position that night around the Tannery. Having lost his exterior redoubts, Ampudia abandoned El Diablo and retreated to the highly defensible built up section of Monterrey.

22 September 1846

While both sides licked their wounds east of Monterrey, Worth's troops commenced their attack on Independencia Hill. A storming party stealthily moved up the west end of the hill, which was captured in a sudden rush.

The real defensive position, however, was Bishop's Palace at the lower east end. A 12-pound howitzer was brought up went to work on the Palace gate. The storming party was reinforced by the *5th Infantry* and a company of Louisiana volunteers, but before they could attack part of the 200-man garrison, led by Lieut. Col. Francisco Berra, sortied. Devastated by American fire, Berra's men retreated in disorder to Monterrey. Soon the gate was destroyed and the infantry made their assault. The two flying batteries were brought into the compound and its capture was assured by late afternoon.

The next morning, Taylor ordered a reconnaissance in force on the eastern side of the city. With Jefferson Davis' Mississippians in the lead, *Quitman's Brigade* advanced into town. Taylor ordered the *3rd Infantry, 4th Infantry, 2nd Texas Volunteers* and Bragg's battery in support. Using house-to-house fighting techniques learned from the Texans, Quitman's men methodically moved to within two blocks of the central plaza, though they withdrew to the fortified suburbs that night.

On the other side of the city, acting without orders, Worth assaulted the city in the afternoon. Fighting to within two blocks of the east flank forces, Worth consolidated his position and started laying mortar fire into the central plaza.

One mortar round hit the cathedral; it did not ignite the Mexican ammunition store, but it unnerved Ampudia. Demoralized by the inability of his forces to defeat the Americans and concerned for the welfare of the citizens, he asked for a truce to permit the evacuation of the women and children. Taylor refused.

24-25 September 1846

Early in the morning of the 24th, American preparations for another assault were put on hold; Ampudia had opened negotiations for the surrender of Monterrey. A complex set of demands and counterdemands negotiated at several locations around the city resulted in a final surrender on the 25th. The Mexican army was allowed to move east unmolested. They were to leave all artillery except one battery. The Americans would not follow for eight weeks or until their respective governments issued further orders.

American losses were never officially reported. Taylor later admitted to 488 killed and wounded, but other estimates ran as high as 1,000, with about 300 killed or mortally wounded. As the tired Americans occupied the city and began to refit, the direction of the war took a dramatic turn.

New Commanders

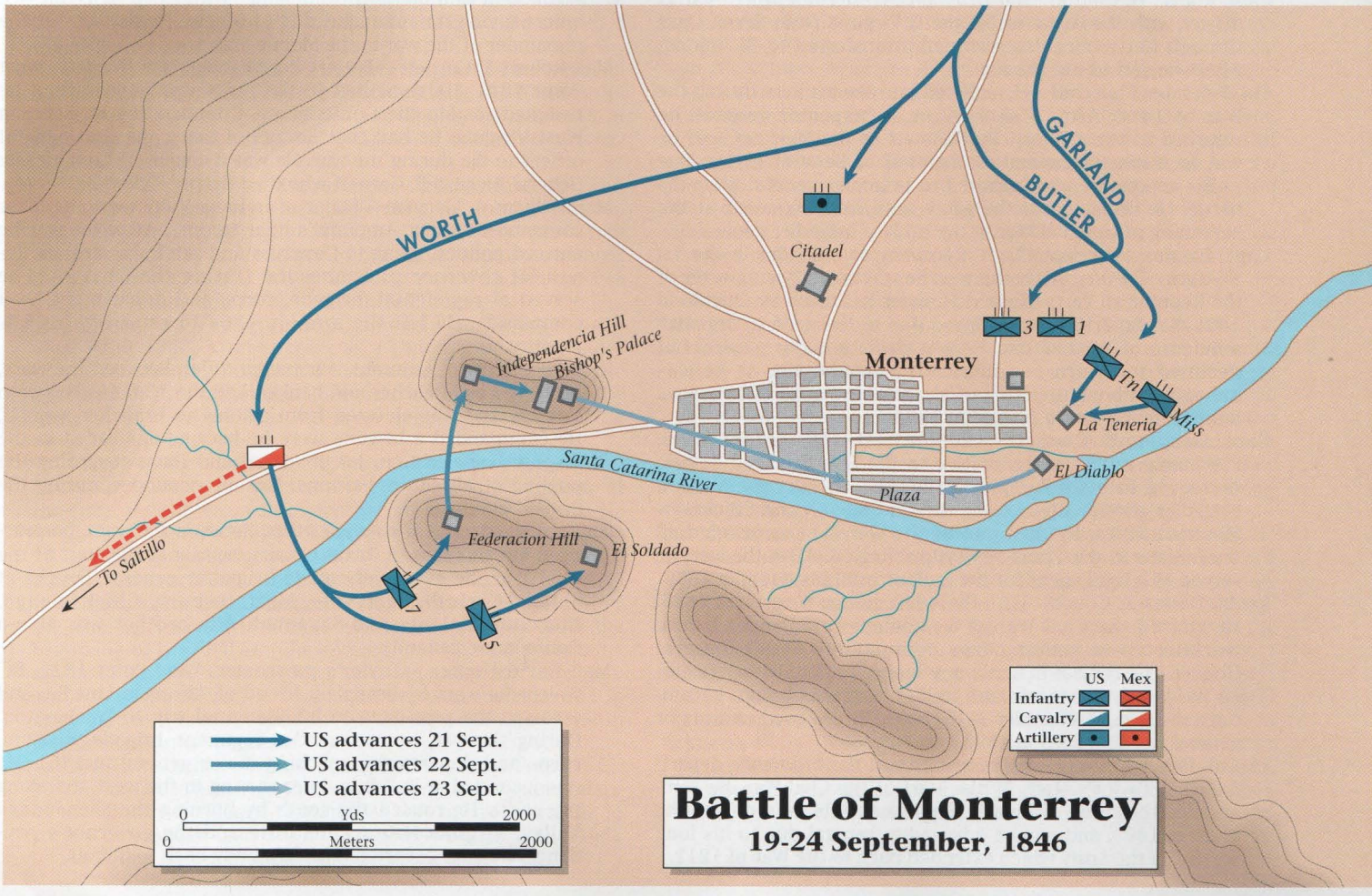
A political storm had broken in Mexico City. In late July, President Paredes, having lost the confidence of the government, abdicated in favor of Vice President Nicholas Bravo. But Bravo's term of office was short lived: Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana returned from his two-year Cuban exile. On his arrival in Mexico City on 15 September, Gen. J. M. Salas was named acting president and Santa Ana became commander of all Mexican forces.

In Washington, Polk had given Gen. Winfield Scott field command of all forces involved in the war against Mexico. In place of Taylor's advance from the north, Scott proposed an invasion of central Mexico through the port of Vera Cruz, followed by a direct march on Mexico City. But little happened that fall; desultory peace negotiations continued until 15 November, when Polk rejected the latest Mexican initiative and terminated the process.

In northern Mexico, Taylor's army had grown to 12,000 men and would soon be joined by Gen. John E. Wool with 2,500 volunteers and newly raised regulars. As soon as the peace negotiations ended, Taylor moved forward and occupied Saltillo and Parras. Elements of the army moved southeast to occupy Victoria and support the Navy's seizure of Tampico. He was preparing to continue his advance south when Scott arrived in January.

But Taylor's part in the invasion of Mexico was about to end. Polk was extremely unhappy with him over the terms of the Monterrey surrender, and undoubtedly recognized the potential political risk if Taylor gained any more success. Polk's backing of Scott's Vera Cruz plan thus was not based exclusively on military reasoning.

Shortly after his arrival in northern Mexico, Scott departed, taking with him 9,000 of Taylor's men, including most of the regulars and experienced volunteers. To hold the conquered provinces, Taylor was left with only about 6,000 men, mostly untried



The Civil War Connection

At least 44 men who fought for the United States in or around Buena Vista went on to serve as general officers or in high political office for either the Confederacy or the Union during the Civil War.

Capt. Henry W. Benham - Adjutant of the Corp of Engineers during the Battle at Buena Vista. Top of his class at West Point in 1837. During the Civil War, this breveted Brigadier General had a less than successful career. He was a a successful engineer who did not make the transition to line officer. He saw action at Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and Appomattox. He retired from the army as a Colonel in 1882.

Capt. Braxton Bragg - Commander of a "flying battery" at Battle of Buena Vista. Under the supervision of General Taylor, his battery broke the Mexican assault late in the battle. During the Civil War, he commanded the artillery firing on Fort Sumter to begin the conflict before moving quickly to Army commander. He was one of eight Confederates to reached the rank of full general. His abrasive command style was only tolerated due to the staunch support he received from President Jefferson Davis, another Buena Vista veteran.

Lt. Abraham Buford - This West Point class of 1841 graduate, served with the *1st Dragoons.* He maintained his neutrality until Bragg invaded Kentucky in 1862. He then joined the Confederate army where he commanded a cavalry brigade. He fought at Murfreesboro, Champion Hill, and Jackson. Made a division commander, he fought at Brice's Crossroads, Tupelo, and others before being wounded. Buford weighed approximately 320 pounds.

Capt. James H. Carleton - *1st Dragoons.* He remained in the cavalry until the Civil War when he was posted to the West Coast. Breveted a Brigadier General, he served in California and New Mexico until the end of the war. He died a Lt. Col. of the 4th Cavalry in 1873.

Capt. Robert H. Chilton - *1st Dragoons,* West Point 1837. A staff officer with the Army of Northern Virginia from Seven Days through Gettysburg. He eventually transferred to Richmond, where he served out the war.

Col. Sylvester Churchill - He enlisted into the artillery during the War of 1812. After a short stint as inspector general, he returned to the artillery. By the start of the Mexican War, he was an inspector general on the staff of General Taylor. Due to his actions he was breveted to brigadier general after the battle. He remained in the army until his retirement at the beginning of the Civil War at the rank of brigadier general.

Capt. Cassius Marcellus Clay - Company commander in the *1st Kentucky Cavalry.* After the war, he was an early supporter of the Republican Party. Named Minister to Russia by Lincoln in 1861, his departure was delayed due to the need to organize a defense of Washington. He was made a major general but declined to return to America during the war as he was unhappy with continuation of slavery. He remained in Russia until 1872. He died a recluse in 1903.

Capt. Douglas H. Cooper - Captain in the *Mississippi Rifles.* Previously a U.S. representative to the Five Civilized Tribes, he served in a similar post with the Confederacy. Made a brigadier general after raising the 1st Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles. By then end of the war, he commanded all the Indians in the Trans-Mississippi Region. After the war, he served as a legal agent for the Indians until his death in 1879.

1st Lt. Darius N. Couch - With the *4th Artillery;* West Point 1846. He started the Civil War as a regiment commander before working up to senior corps commander under General Hooker. His refusal to serve any longer under Hooker resulted in his posting to obscure militia positions before becoming a division commander in the west. He resigned as a major general in 1865. Died in 1897.

Lt. Col. Henry K. Craig - Representative of the ordinance department on Taylor's staff. By the start of the Civil War, he commanded the entire ordinance department. He retired from the army in 1863, and named a brigadier general due to his long service in the army which extended back to the War of 1812.

Col. Jefferson Davis - Commander of *1st Mississippi,* West Point 1828, in the army until 1835 when he eloped with Zachary Taylor's daughter (who died shortly thereafter). He turned down a commission as a brigadier general after the war to enter the U.S. Senate, remaining there until resigning in January 1861. Elected as the first (only) Confederate president in November of 1861. After the war, he was imprisoned for two years before being released. Living without citizenship, he died in 1889. His citizenship was finally reinstated by President Carter.

1st Lt. Abner Doubleday - With the *1st Artillery* in the Saltillo garrison, West Point 1842. He saw extensive action with the Union army during the Civil War beginning at Fort Sumter where he was the executive officer. He commanded at the brigade, division, and corps level before being serving in Washington D.C. after Gettysburg. He retired from the army in 1873 as a major general.

Maj. Amos B. Eaton - This 1926 West Point graduate served in the commissary department for his entire career except for a short stint in the infantry. He served with General Taylor through the Mexican War. During the Civil War he served in the commissary department as a brigadier general, staying there until he resigned in 1874 .

1st Lt. William B. Franklin - Member of the elite Corps of Topographical Engineers on Taylor's staff, top of the West Point class of 1843. During the Civil War, he worked his way up from brigade to corps commander, fighting at 1st Bull Run, Fredericksburg, Seven Days, Antietam and Sabine Pass. He resigned from the army in 1866.

Capt. Samuel G. French - Battery commander (wounded), *3rd Artillery,* West Point 1843. After the war served with the Quartermaster Department until he resigned in 1856. In the Civil War he commanded a Confederate brigade, then coastal departments in North Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi. He saw action as a division commander with Hood in Tennessee before giving up command due to illness. He served out the remainder of the war in the Mobile area.

Maj. Robert S. Garnett - Battery commander, *4th Artillery,* West Point 1841. He remained in the army until 1861 when he resigned to join the Confederacy. Commanding an army in West Virginia, he had the "honor" of being the first general officer to die during the war. He was a cousin of Confederate General Richard B. Garnett who died during Pickett's Charge.

Maj. William A. Gorman - Major of Indiana Volunteers, he led 4 companies against Ampudia's light troops . After the war he entered politics, going to Congress and serving a term as territorial governor of Minnesota. During the Civil War, he served at regimental, brigade, corps and department level commands. He left the army in 1864 to return to his law practice.

Richard Griffith - Adjutant, *Mississippi Rifles.* Between the wars, he served as a teacher and banker. Led the *12th Mississippi* to Virginia and was elevated from colonel to brigadier general. He commanded a brigade were he became embroiled in the dispute between Gen. Joe Johnston and Davis regarding the posting of Mississippi troops. Mortally wounded during the Seven Days.

Thomas Harrison - *Mississippi Rifles.* Between the wars, he practiced law in Texas. A Texas cavalry captain at the start of the Civil War, he eventually made brigadier general. Fought at Shiloh, Corinth, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Knoxville, Atlanta and Savannah. His brother was also a Confederate general.

Maj. David Hunter - Taylor's paymaster, West Point 1822. Between the wars he became a friend of Abraham Lincoln, and escorted the president on his inaugural trip to Washington. During the war, he commanded regiment, brigade, division, corps and department, reaching major general in 1861. He was wounded at Bull Run, later serving in the west and along the coast. He roused the south by burning the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia Military Institute and the governor's residence. He later escorted Lincoln's body back to Illinois.

Nathan Kimball - Doctor with the *Indiana Brigade.* Starting as a colonel of Indiana volunteers, his Civil War service included brigade, division and corps command. He fought at Kernstown, Port Republic, Antietam, and Fredericksburg where he was wounded. He later fought at Franklin and Nashville. He ended the war as a major general.

Prvt. William J. Landram - A private with the Kentucky cavalry, he started the Civil War as a colonel of volunteers. A brigade and division commander, he served in the Yazoo, Vicksburg, Jackson, and Red River campaigns. He ended the war as a colonel, but 7 weeks later was breveted a brigadier general.

Gen. Joseph Lane - Commander, *Indiana Brigade.* After the war, he served as the territorial governor of Oregon. Staying out west, he eventually became a U.S. senator. A pro-slavery/secession senator, he ran for vice president on the same ticket with John C. Breckinridge. He died in 1891.

Col. Joseph K. Mansfield - Commanded the Corps of Engineers detachment under Taylor. After commands in Washington and along the Virginia coast early in the Civil War, he became a corps commander under McClellan. Mortally wounded at Antietam, posthumously made a major general.

Col. Humphrey Marshall - Commander, 1st Kentucky Cavalry, West Point 1832. After the war he served in the Congress and as an ambassador to China. In 1861, he joined the Confederacy, acting as a brigade and department commander in the Kentucky region before resigning to enter the Confederate Congress. After the war, he returned to his law practice.

Capt. Ben McCullough - "Spy Company." This famous Texas Ranger fought in both the War for Texas Independence and the Mexican War. Taylor valued McCullough highly, developing a close working relationship. In the Civil War, he offered his services to the state of Texas. He commanded of several departments in the Indian Territory and Trans-Mississippi areas. Killed at Pea Ridge.

Capt. Irwin McDowell - Aide on Wool's staff, West Point 1838. During the Civil War, he led the unprepared Union forces at the Battle of Bull Run, later commanding a division and corps before being put in charge of the West Coast. He retired a major general in 1882.

First Sergeant Evander McNair - First sergeant, *1st Mississippi.* Led an Arkansas battalion, then a brigade along the Mississippi River. Appointed a brigadier general after being wounded at Chickamauga, he returned to Arkansas to command another brigade.

Capt. Albert Pike - Captain, *1st Arkansas Cavalry.* After the war, this lawyer became successful defending the Indian tribes in the Trans-Mississippi region. With the Civil War, he was a representative of the Confederacy to the major tribes. Appointed a brigadier general, he led a mixed group of Indians at Pea Ridge. He resigned in 1862, and returned home.

Capt. John Pope - Topographical Engineers on Taylor's staff, West Point 1842. After success as a Union army commander on the Mississippi, he made a disastrous showing during hte Second Bull Run Campaign. Relegated to Indian Fighting for the rest of the Civil War, he made major general after he retired in 1866.

1st Lt. Carnot Posey - *1st Mississippi,* wounded. Posey returned to Mississippi, where he became a lawyer. He led a company at the start of Civil War, subsequently commanded a brigade. He fought in Jackson's Valley Campaign, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. He died as the result of a wound received from artillery fire in October, 1863.

Capt. Benjamin Prentiss - Company commander, *1st Illinois.* After the war, he returned to Illinois an became a lawyer. With the beginning of the Civil War, he entered the volunteers where he advanced quickly from regimental commander to major general in charge of both a corps and regional district, due in large part to (probably undeserved) acclaim from his stand in the "Sunken Road" at Shiloh.

Capt. John F. Reynolds - With a Flying Battery, West Point 1841. Staying in the army after the war, he served as commandant of the Military Academy. Working his way up from brigade to corps commander (and after turning down army command), he was killed on the first day of Gettysburg .

1st Lt. James B. Ricketts - With the *1st Artillery* in the Saltillo garrison. Commanded a Union battery at 1st Bull Run before moving up to brigade, division, and corps command. He was wounded 3 times during this conflict. He retired a major general in 1867.

Col. John S. Roane - Second-in-command, *1st Arkansas Cavalry,* took over when Yell was killed at Buena Vista. After the war he entered politics, becoming governor of Arkansas. He resisted secession of Arkansas for over a year before offering his services to the South. Made a brigadier general, he commanded at the brigade, division and for a short time, the Trans-Mississippi Military District. He served at a number of other positions until the end of the war.

Capt. David H. Rucker - *1st Dragoons.* Transferred to the Quartermaster Corps in 1849, remaining there through the Civil War under Montgomery Meigs. In 1882 made a brigadier general and given command the Quartermaster's Department.

Maj. Thomas W. Sherman - "Flying" Battery commander, West Point 1836. Remaining with the Union during the Civil War, he continued his aggressive style. He was involved in actions along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, eventually commanding a division of infantry. After he lost a leg during the assault on Port Hudson, and later commanded New Orleans. He retired from the army as a major general in 1870.

2nd Lt. Samuel D. Sturgis - *1st Dragoons,* West Point 1846. Remaining a cavalry officer, he entered the Civil War on the side of the Union. He commanded a brigade, division and corps. Fought at 2nd Bull Run, South Mountain and Antietam. By the end of the war, he was a Brigadier General.

Richard Taylor - Taylor's (his father) military secretary, only 19 at Buena Vista. He was also Jefferson Davis's brother-in-law. Between the wars, he resided in Louisiana as a planter. He supported secession. After commanding a brigade, he was elevated to major general in 1862 and given command of a military district in Louisiana. A lieutenant general in 1864, he commanded a multi-state military department and eventually the Army of Tennessee.

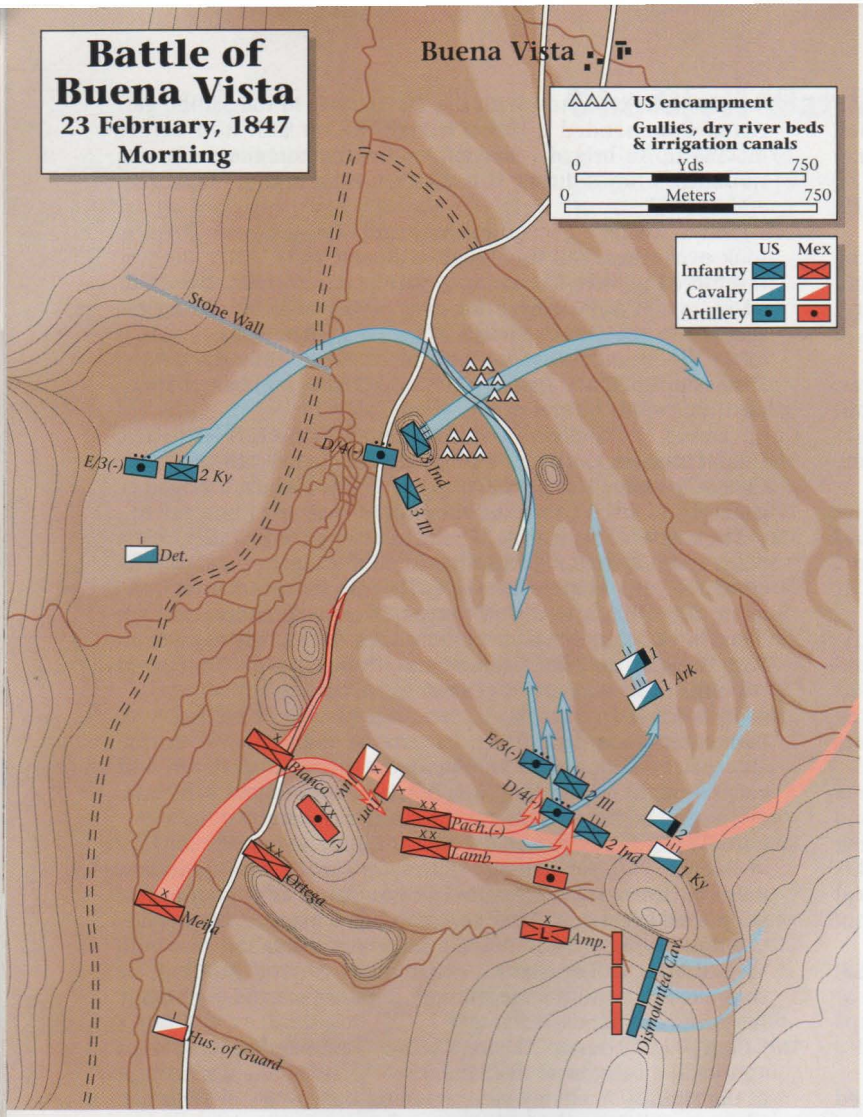
Maj. George H. Thomas - "Flying" Battery commander, West Point 1840 and a veteran of the Seminole War. After the war, taught at the Military Academy before joining the cavalry. A Virginian who remained loyal to the Union, he commanded a brigade, division, corps, army and eventually a military department, Thomas was one of 13 officers who received the Thanks of Congress. He would become famous as "The Rock of Chickamauga" for his stand at this battle. A major general who died in 1870 while in command of the Department of the Pacific.

William H. L. Wallace - Adjutant, *1st Illinois.* In the Civil War, he raised and led a regiment for the Union, advancing to lead a division at Shiloh. Severely wounded in the "Sunken Road," he died three days later in his wife's arms.

Private Thomas Welsh - A private with the Kentucky cavalry, wounded at Buena Vista. He entered the regular army immediately after the war as a second lieutenant, only to be mustered out with the down-sizing of the army. Fighting for the Union, he re-entered the army as a captain, later reaching brigadier general. He served as both brigade and division commander with Armies of the Potomac, Ohio and Tennessee. He saw action at Antietam, South Mountain, Fredricksburg, Vicksburg and Jackson. He died of malaria in August of 1863.

2nd Lt. Thomas J. Wood - *2nd Dragoons,* West Point in 1845. He commanded a brigade, division, and corps during the Civil War, fighting at Shiloh, Perryville, Chickamagua, Chattanooga, Atlanta and Franklin. He retired in 1868 as a Major General. Unfortunately, probably best known for leaving a hole in the Union line at Chickamauga, leading to the Federal rout there.

Maj. General John E. Wool - Veteran of the War of 1812 and second-in-command under Gen. Taylor, he was acting battlefield commander who chose the excellent defensive position at Buena Vista. Wool remained in army until 1863 when he retired after holding regional Department level positions. During the war he commanded Fortress Monroe and helped calm New York after the draft riots.



Battle of Buena Vista, *a hand painted lithograph by Adolph*
center foreground. All that stands between him and the Me
the far left the 1st Mississippi Rifles *and the* 3rd Indiana *r*

volunteers. Those he concentrated south of Saltillo, where he could best intercept any Mexican force sent against him, and from where he could resume his offensive to the south.

Santa Ana had not been idle in the intervening months — the peace negotiations were primarily aimed at gaining time. Ampudia was ordered to bring his remnants to San Luis Potosí, where they were consolidated into the new National Army of nearly 23,000 men. With a large army in place and his political base secure, Santa Ana waited for an opportunity to strike back.

That occurred in dramatic fashion on 13 January 1847, when an American courier was lassoed and killed. The dispatches he carried detailed the proposed operations of Taylor and Scott, including the forces in their respective commands. Santa Ana realized he could defeat the much smaller and widely separated American armies in detail; first Taylor's at Saltillo, then Scott's on the coast. On 28 January 1847 the Mexican army moved north.

To Buena Vista

The 200-mile march of the Mexican army from San Luis Potosí to La Encarnacion was an exercise in misery. Traversing broken hills and desert for three weeks, the undisciplined troops jettisoned their provisions to save carrying them. The weather varied from hot and dry in the desert to below freezing in the mountains. Death, sickness and desertion reduced Santa Ana's army to 15,000 by 19 February.

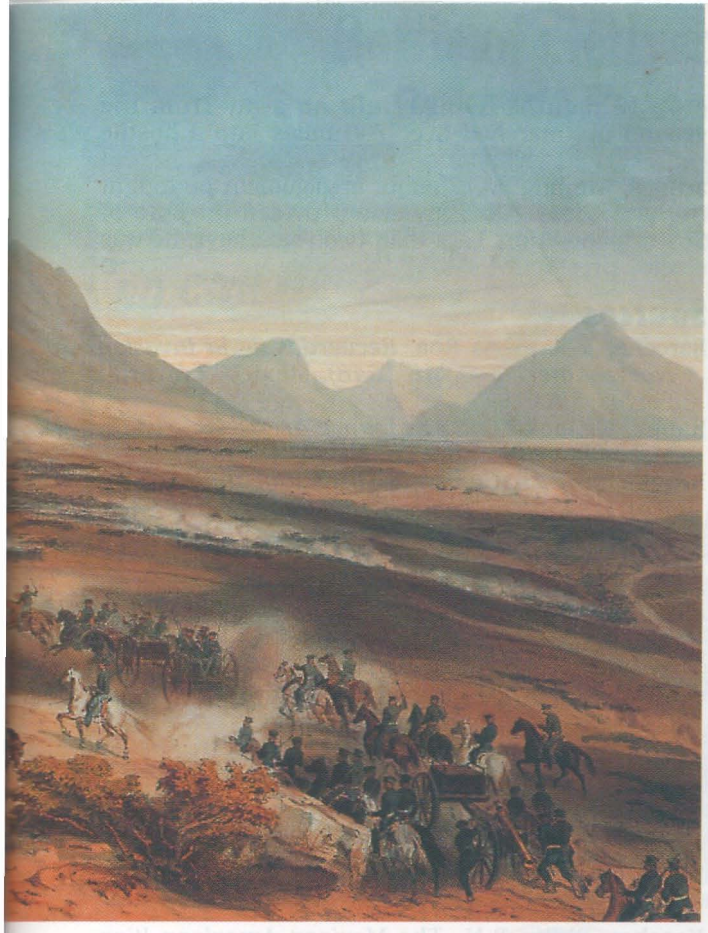
Uncertain of the American position, Santa Ana moved directly toward Saltillo through Agua Nueva. He detached Gen. Miñon's cavalry division to Saltillo by an alternate route, hoping to cut the American supply line. Taylor had lost several cavalry patrols to the south, so he detailed a small detachment of Texas Rangers under Ben McCulloch to find the Mexican army and determine its strength. Meanwhile Lt. Col. May and 400 dragoons moved east, where they learned of Miñon's flanking maneuver.

Taylor moved north to guard his supply route. Gen. Wool, with the main body of nearly 5,000 men, was ordered to establish a defensive position near the Hacienda of San Juan de la Buena Vista. Taylor took Davis' *Mississippi Rifles* and a battery the additional five miles to Saltillo to protect his supply line from Miñon's cavalry.

Wool chose his position well. The main road ran through a narrow valley between impassable mountain sides. East of the road a wide plateau cut by deep ravines extended to the base of the mountain. To the west the ground was dominated by a deep, tangled canyon. The roadway itself narrowed to 40 feet between the canyon and the base of the plateau.

There, at the Narrows, Wool placed a battery supported by two infantry regiments. On the plateau were three more infantry regiments and two batteries, screened by the cavalry. To the west, Wool placed a single regiment and two batteries behind the canyon. Taylor's column joined the main body during the day, though Taylor remained concerned about Miñon.

Wool's move north had been so rapid it encouraged Santa Ana to believe the Americans were in



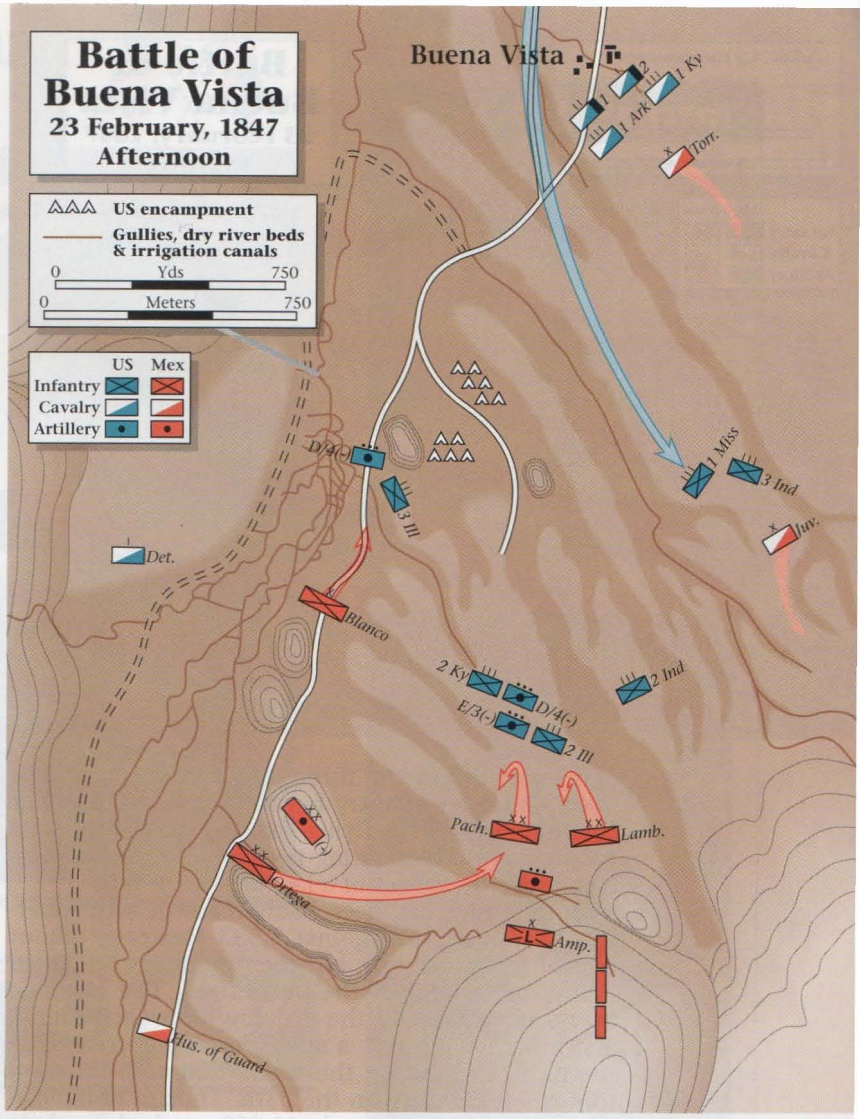
ean-Baptiste-Bayot. General Taylor and his staff are in the an Army are the guns of Captains O'Brien and Bragg. At to fill the weak point.

flight. Reaching the valley on 22 February, he was surprised to find them in battle formation. While his troops deployed, he sent Taylor a demand of surrender that was politely refused.

The Mexican deployment took most of the day, with Santa Ana himself deploying the cumbersome artillery. In the late afternoon the fighting started with a feint across the canyon to the west. Meanwhile, the army's light infantry comapnies under Gen. Ampudia moved onto the mountainside along the east flank. They were met by dismounted American cavalry. The skirmishing continued until darkness, with both sides sleeping on their arms across the exposed mountainside. Taylor, satisfied the position was secure for the night, again led his column north to Saltillo.

The fighting picked up where it had left off the day before. Reinforced during the night, Ampudia's troops successfully pushed the Americans off the high ground. Down on the roadway, the elite Mexican *Regiment of Engineers* charged into the teeth of the American position at the Narrows. It was stopped cold by the concentrated fire of Washington's battery.

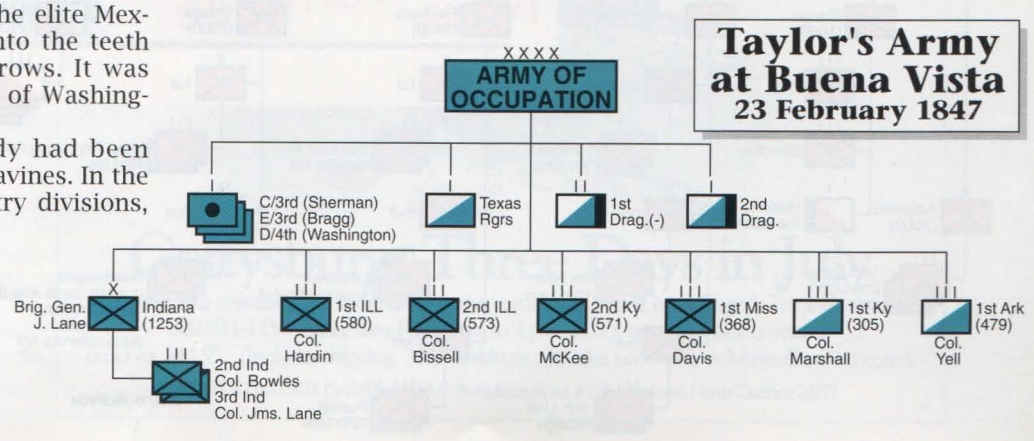
Meanwhile, the Mexican main body had been wending its way up through the deep ravines. In the center of the plateau, two huge infantry divisions, under Gens. Lombardini and Pacheco, formed in deep columns for the assault. The Americans gave ground grudgingly after causing heavy losses. Farther east, a combined infantry-cavalry assault under Ortega and Juvera drove the American cavalry back to the hacienda.

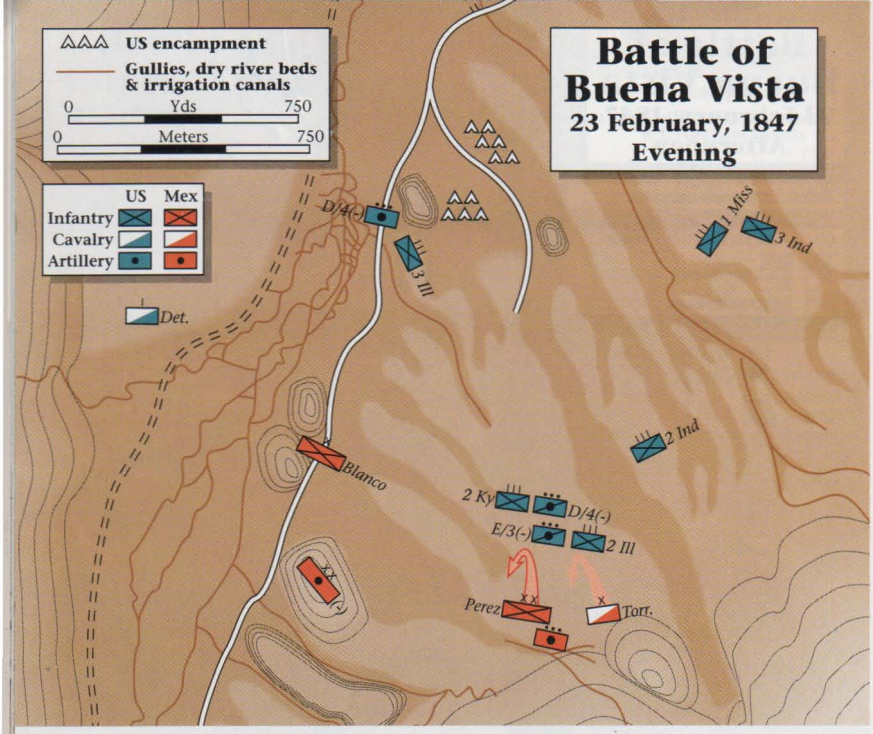


Fortunately, Taylor had just returned with his hard-marching Mississippians. Positioned near Buena Vista to defend the supply train, their rifle fire tore into Juvera's cavalry. Assaulted by the reorganized American cavalry, the Mexican riders routed back to their original positions.

Back on the main plateau, the thin American line was on the verge of collapse. Again in the nick of time, the *2nd Kentucky* and its supporting batteries moved from the quiet front west of the road to the plateau. Their firepower was enough to finish off the battered Mexican columns.

But Santa Ana was not done yet. One of his staff officers, Gen. Perez, formed a new assault column out of the *Regiment of Engineers*, Torrejon's cavalry





and remnants of the three infantry divisions. The tired American infantry began to give ground, but the firepower of the flying batteries halted this last gasp charge. The fighting petered out and was finished with the on-set of a late afternoon rain

Both armies had been badly mauled, with American losses of 665 against 3,533 Mexicans (about half of them missing); but the Americans remained firmly in control of the battlefield. The Mexican army, exhausted by the grueling approach march and a hard fight, was a spent force. It retreated to Augua Nueva during the night, and continued on toward Mexico City on the 25th. Though unmolested by the Americans only 11,000 reached San Luis Potosí.

Aftermath

Buena Vista was the last fighting of consequence in Northern Mexico. Taylor would shortly relinquish command to Wool, leaving it to him to occupy a hostile territory in the face of Mexican irregulars waging a guerilla campaign.

Taylor had completed a remarkable campaign. In only 10 months he had built an army from the ground up, marched over 700 miles into a hostile country, and virtually destroyed two Mexican field armies, winning every major engagement he fought in the process. His army also provided the core of Scott's expedition. Less than two years later, he was elected president. ✪

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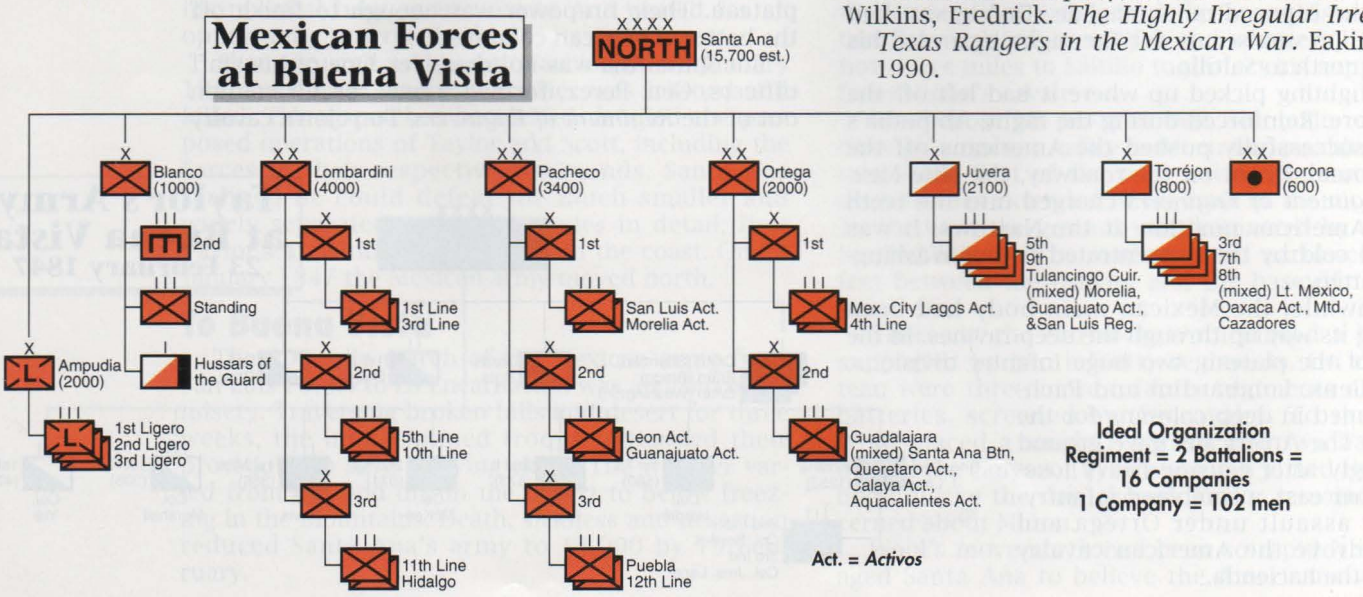

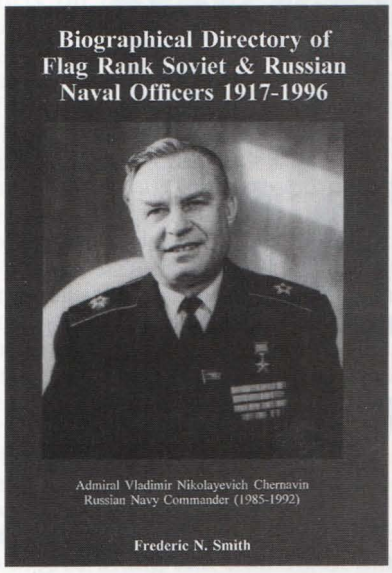

This book is unusual in that there are no books like it in the English language. To gather information on high ranking Russian naval officers requires searching in many places. This book attempts to fill the gap for the period 1917-1996. For those readers completely unacquainted with the Russian Navy, it includes a short history. It also contains a chronology of important dates in Russian naval history for the 1917-1996 period, plus a chronological listing of Russian Navy commanders for the same period.

When you read the biographies of some of the admirals you learn that a high position is also a dangerous position in the days of Lenin and Stalin. Some commanders were in the job for only a few months. Some were in for a long time as in the case of Admiral Gorshkov, who had the job for nineteen years. One held the job twice – Admiral Nikolay Kuznetsov. Once Stalin replaced his commander with a Deputy Chief of the Secret Police (NKVD). In more recent times, several admirals were summarily removed for backing the wrong side in the August 1991 coup attempt in Moscow.

This is a good reference book for military history buffs and veterans of the "cold war."

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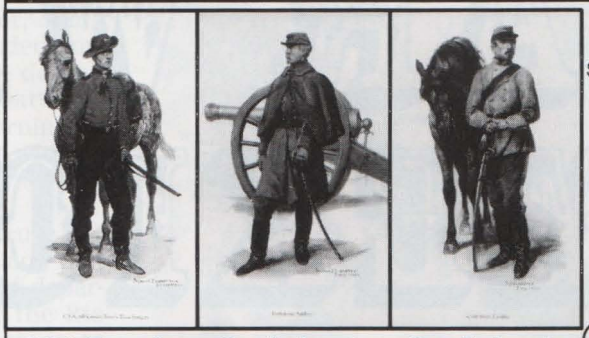

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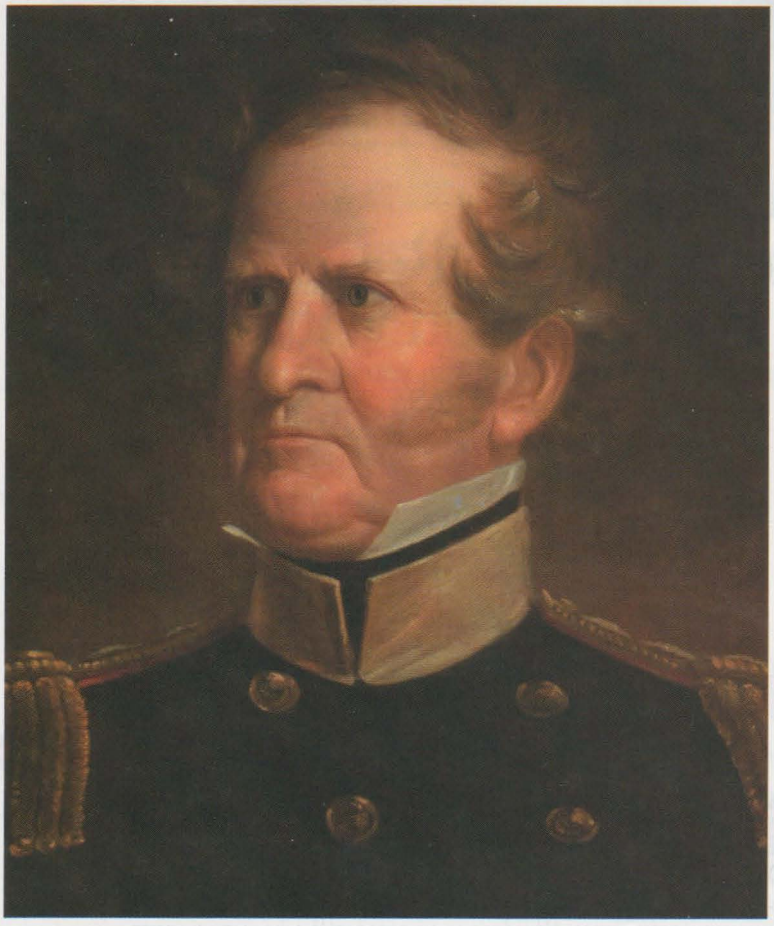
WAR WITH MEXICO!

With Scott in Mexico

by G. P. Stokes

On 19 November 1846, US President James K. Polk appointed Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott to command the expedition that was to seize the port of Vera Cruz and then advance from there to capture Mexico City. At the time of his appointment, Scott was 60-years-old and had been a general officer since the War of 1812.

Born in 1786 to a wealthy Virginia family, Scott was commissioned a captain of light artillery in 1809. After a brief return to civilian life, he reentered the Army as a lieutenant colonel at the outbreak of the War of 1812. In the ragtag American Army of that day, led mainly by political appointees and incompetents, Scott, a self-educated student of war, and his well-drilled command performed so well that by March 1814 he'd become a brigadier general.



Portrait of General Winfield Scott.

On 4 July of that year, Scott's brigade charged and routed two regular British regiments at the Battle of Chippewa. Though hardly more than a skirmish, it ended a depressing succession of US defeats at the hands of the Anglo-Canadians, and Scott emerged as a national hero. Later, following the Battle of Lundy's Lane, where he was severely wounded, Scott was brevetted a major general.

After the War of 1812, Scott elected to remain in the Army, which was reduced to a few thousand men stationed in small posts along the frontier and the coastal defenses on the eastern seaboard. A man of independent means with a keen interest in his profession, he spent 1815-16 in Europe visiting the battlefields of the Napoleonic Wars and interviewing many of the participants.

Though known for his delight in showy uniforms and military pomp, "Old Fuss and Feathers" was also an excellent administrator and tactician, whose library reflected his vast knowledge of military history. Service in the Seminole War and along the frontier gave him a practical knowledge of campaigning under severe conditions and stood him in good stead in Mexico.

Made commanding general of the Army in 1841, Scott hastened to incorporate the most recent advances in artillery. By improving the design of limbers and carriages, he ensured mobile batteries, ranging from rocket launchers to massive 10-inch mortars and 24-pounder siege guns, would be available to the commanders in the field.

Perhaps his greatest contribution was his development of so-called "flying batteries." Detaching one company from each of the artillery regiments manning the coastal fortresses, he formed them into the horse-drawn six-pounder batteries that would be used with such telling effect at Palo Alto, Reseca de Palma and, later, during his own advance on Mexico City.

Toward Vera Cruz

On 28 November 1846, while Scott was in New Orleans en route to a conference with Gen. Zachary Taylor, he received unexpected good news. Since the beginning of hostilities, Commodore David Conner, commander of the Home Squadron, though short of both ships and men, had managed to maintain an effective blockade of the principal Mexican

ports on the Gulf coast. Though Conner's small force lacked the vessels necessary for an amphibious landing, during the month of October, Santa Anna, fearing an attack on the lightly defended port of Tampico, had withdrawn its garrison, demolished its defenses, and sent its coastal batteries inland rather than risk their capture. Learning of the withdrawal, Conner occupied the port without resistance, garrisoning it with 450 men sent down from Port Isabel.

When Scott learned of Tampico's seizure, he immediately modified his own plans. By using that port and its adjacent coastline as a point of departure, instead of a base as the mouth of the Rio Grande, the distance the Americans had to go to reach Vera Cruz was more than halved. Isla Lobos, an island off the coat 60 miles south of Tampico, with adequate water and a good anchorage, was selected as the new forward base from which the expedition would sail to attack Vera Cruz, 170 miles farther south.

As recruiting and training new men for the expedition would take months, Scott, with the approval of Polk, decided much of his force had to be drawn from Taylor's army. Though Taylor complained bitterly, Scott took Brig. Gen. William Worth's and Brig. Gen. David E. Twiggs' regular divisions, as well as Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson's division of volunteers, a total of 9,000 men.

Lack of troop transports delayed the arrival of troops at Lobos, and it wasn't until 2 March 1847 the expedition, still short of supplies and ammunition, sailed for Anton Lizardo, an anchorage 20 miles south of Vera Cruz.

On 6 March, after the transports had arrived and were off-loading their flat-bottomed landing craft, Scott and his staff conducted a reconnaissance of possible landing sites nearer the city aboard a small steamer. At Conner's suggestion Scott selected Collada, a beach accessible for troops disembarking from landing craft in shallow water. Collada, 2.5 miles south of the city walls, was also out of range of the heavy batteries of the Castle San Juan de Ullloa, which guarded the harbor of Vera Cruz.

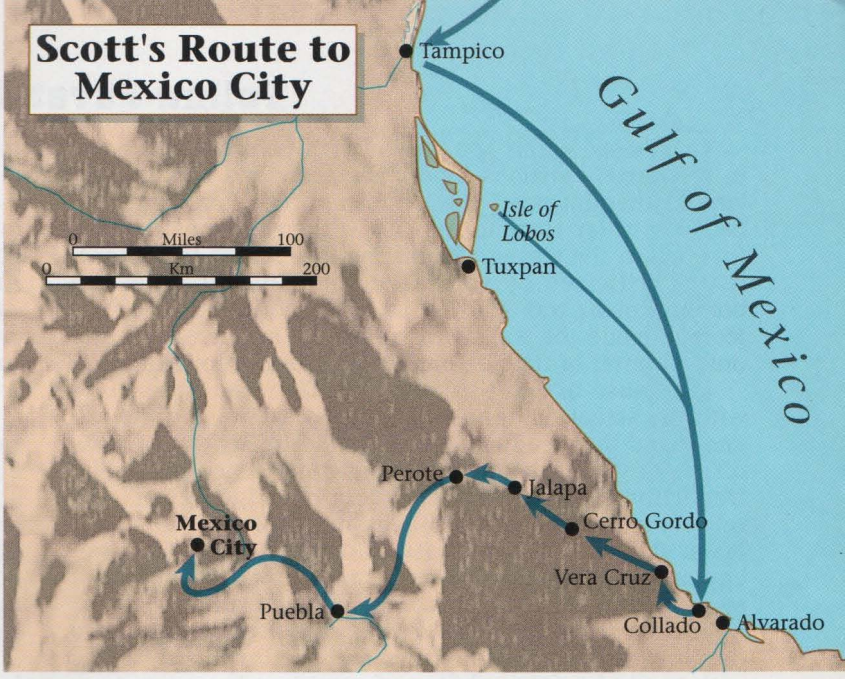
Scott organized his command into three brigades. Worth's was composed of four regular infantry regiments supplemented by two companies of volunteers and two artillery regiments. Twiggs' brigade was made up of four regular infantry, and two artillery regiments (fighting as infantry), plus one of mounted riflemen (which, lacking mounts, ended up fighting on foot).

Patterson's division of volunteers was composed of three brigades commanded by Brig. Gens. James Shields, John Quitman and J. Pillow, though only the latter's five regiments of volunteers arrived in time to participate in the landing.

The few companies of the *1st* and *2nd Dragoons* and the *Tennessee Mounted,* a little over 500 troopers, constituted the expedition's entire cavalry force and were commanded by Lt. Col. William S. Harney.

The Landing

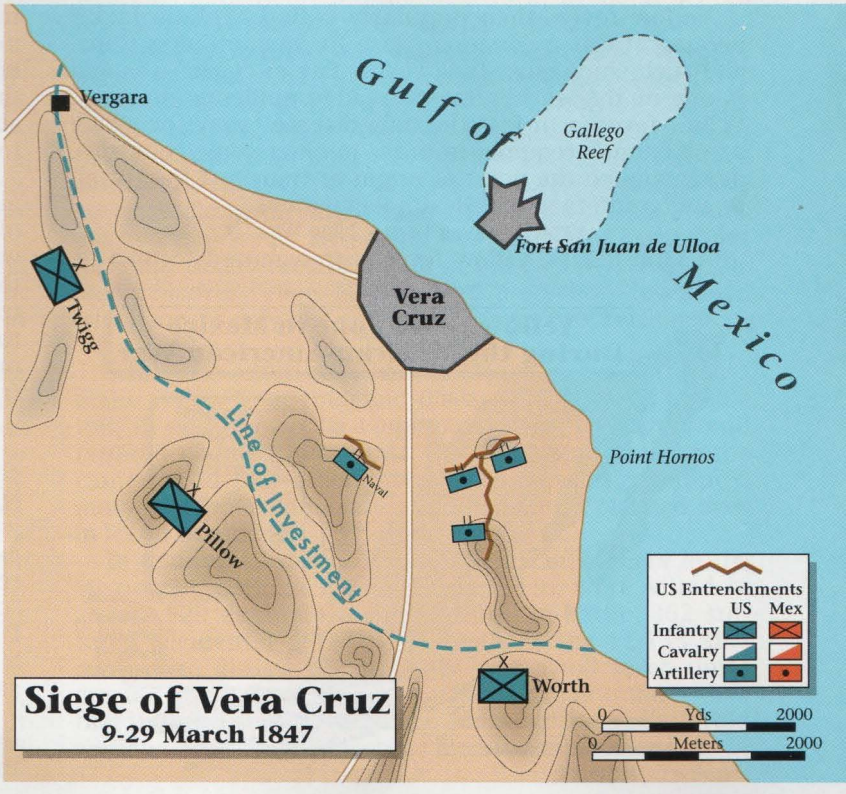
Late in the afternoon of 9 March 1847, the first wave of landing craft, crewed by navy oarsmen, formed a line 450 yards from the beach and swept forward. Mexican cavalry were visible on the beach, but they rode off without firing a shot as the first boats grounded and the men, waist high in the water, waded the rest of the way ashore. In anticipation of Mexican resistance, a line of warships had



anchored off the landing area, their 32-pounders ready to sweep the beach with grapeshot. But to Scott's surprise, during the six hours spent placing the force of 8,600 men ashore the landing was unopposed.

Mexican Brig. Gen. Juan Morales, who commanded the 3,800 man Vera Cruz garrison, had chosen to keep his men behind the massive walls of the city along which over 200 guns were mounted. During its long history, Vera Cruz, the main Mexican seaport on the Gulf, had successfully repelled many attempts to capture it.

With the landing completed, Scott moved rapidly to encircle the city. By the 12th, after Quitman's brigade arrived, all roads leading into Vera Cruz had been cut and the city isolated. But stormy weather and high surf prevented the landing of the siege batteries for several more days. During the



Yellow Fever & Strategy

Twenty-six March 1847 found Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott in a strangely anxious mood. His army had successfully landed, then invested, the Mexican port of Vera Cruz. His decision to lay siege to the city — then the most heavily fortified in the western hemisphere — rather than storm it was criticized by some, but the constant American bombardment was starting to have the intended effect. Morale inside the walls was collapsing and it was clearly only a matter of time before the defenders capitulated.

The cause of Scott's anxiety, in fact, had little to do with the actual military situation. His eye was on the calendar and the steady march of days. Already two months off his original timetable due to incompetence in the War Department, Scott's nerves were on edge because of reports from his medical officers of disease in the ranks. It was the same disease that had dictated the entire strategy and timing of his assault, and now it looked as if every day was bringing it more in contact with his forces.

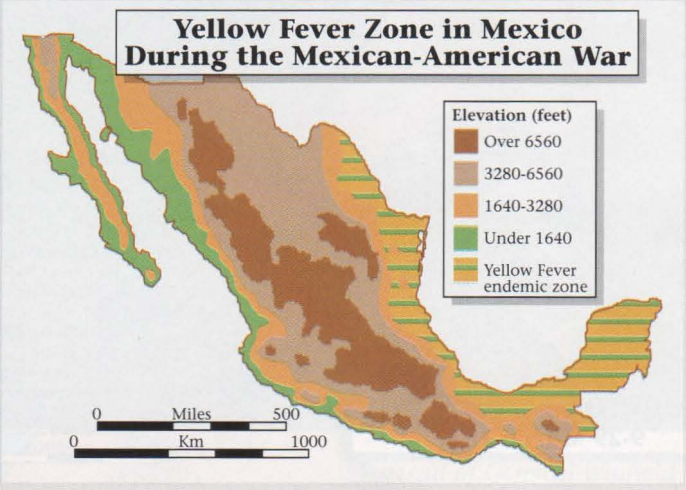
The Mexicans called it *La Vomito.* A fifth of those who developed it were doomed to die. Victims were racked with headache, fever, chills and vomiting. Their skin took on a pronounced yellow color as their liver was damaged then failed. Splotches of blue and black appeared on the skin as blood vessels ruptured and hemorrhaged into the surrounding tissue. Inside the body the same process cut off the blood supply to major organs. Blood seeping from damaged arteries and veins filled the lungs and the victim began to drown in his own fluids. In the severely stricken, the vomit took on the consistency and color of coffee grounds — in reality coagulated blood — as they literally began bringing up their own life blood.

La Vomito frightened Scott more than the Mexicans. Santa Ana's force he knew he could defeat, but this disease — yellow fever — was an opponent he felt helpless against. Nineteenth century physicians knew neither its cause nor how it was transmitted. All they could do was provide clinical support for a victim's symptoms and hope for the best. Scott's only workable strategy was to avoid the disease. But it was getting too close to the *La Vomito* season to suit the American commander.

Yellow fever, then popularly called "Yellow Jack," because it was a common cause for quarantining ships, and such ships must fly a yellow flag or "jack," was and is one of the world's most dreaded epidemic diseases. Yellow fever is in fact the only disease today for which vaccination is required in order to enter some countries, depending on the point of origin or transit of the traveler, under International Health Regulations.

Yellow Fever in the New World

A viral illness, yellow fever is transmitted to man by the bite of the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito. It was imported into the New World as the result of the African slave trade, which itself had been necessitated by the earlier importation of European-based diseases that had resulted in the die-off of about 80 percent of the native American population in the span of two generations. *Aedes aegypti* appears to have arrived as larval stowaways traveling in the water casks on the same ships as the slaves. Shipboard outbreaks could wipe out entire crews and their human cargo.



Between 1693 and the start of this century, 95 separate yellow fever epidemics ravaged the US, inflicting 500,000 persons and killing 100,000. Philadelphia was struck 11 times, with one outbreak in 1793 killing 10 percent of that city's population. Boston and New York were each hit seven times during the period. The disease occurred regularly in Charleston, Mobile, Norfolk, Baltimore, New Orleans and other cities along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

Yellow fever had a number of effects on New World history. Its presence effectively closed the Amazon basin to European exploration and colonization. In 1801 Napoleon sent a French army to suppress the Haitian rebellion of Toussaint l'Ouverture. No sooner had the force landed than the men were attacked by yellow fever. Of an army of 25,000 only 3,000 survived to return to France. Napoleon thereby lost interest in any effort to create a New World French Empire. He called in the American commissioners James Monroe and Robert Livingston, who'd been seeking to purchase New Orleans, and surprised them by offering to sell them all of the vast Louisiana Territory for little more than they'd been prepared to pay for the city alone.

Together with malaria, yellow fever would defeat the attempts of Ferdinand de Lesseps to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. De Lesseps, fresh from his canal building success at Suez, planned a canal to cross 120 kilometers of swamp and mountains. In 1884 he brought in 500 French engineers to supervise construction of the new waterway, which he thought would take three years to complete. None of them lived to draw their first month's pay. In September the entire crew of a visiting British warship died of the disease. After losing a third of their entire European work force of 20,000, de Lesseps abandoned the project. The construction rights were sold to the US.

Because of the new understanding of the role of mosquitoes in the transmission of the disease, and the work of Walter Reed and William Gorgas, the Panama Canal was finally completed in 1904. Even then it was a close thing. An outbreak of *La Vomito* that year caused coffins to accumulate at the project's railway stations faster than they could be removed. Panic seized the workers and only a heroic anti-mosquito campaign saved the effort from collapse.

Vera Cruz — Planning

As 1846 drew to a close, the Mexican-American War could be seen to have gone well for the US to that time. Maj. Gen. Zachary Taylor's successes in the northern Mexican territories and the conquest of California were causes for national jubilation. But the goal of a Mexican surrender hadn't yet been achieved and the political need to "conquer a peace" was growing acute. President James K. Polk and his military advisors decided in order to force a Mexican capitulation further offensives would be necessary.

Mexico City was the obvious target. As well as being the political, financial and military capital of the country there was still another reason to take it: it stood on the

site of the ancient Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, and was thus also of great symbolic value to the Mexican nation as a whole. Capturing it would convince them of their complete defeat.

The immediate problem for the Americans was how to get there. An approach by Taylor's forces from the north was ruled out since he would have to cross too much desert and the supply problems would be insurmountable. Instead, Polk decided on a landing at Vera Cruz. Once that great city had fallen, the American army, following the same path as Cortes had centuries earlier, would march on the Mexican capital and end the war.

Gen. Scott's plan, supported by Commodore David Conner, the naval commander, called for an invasion before the end of January. Conner wanted to avoid the terrible "Northers," the storms that annually wreaked havoc with Gulf weather and could threaten the invasion force with sinking. Those same Northers also cleansed the swamps of mosquitos and eliminated yellow fever in the area for a few weeks following. By April, however, the winds would disappear and the spring rains would bring forth a new generation of disease-bearing insects.

Those biological interactions, of course, were unknown to Scott. All he knew was taking Vera Cruz would not be easy and he wanted to be in the high country of the Sierra Madres by spring, before *La Vomito* could whittle away his army. The best time to attack, Conner and Scott therefore agreed, was in late January. But both men failed to anticipate the ineptitude of the War Department.

It's doubtful the War Department could have served the American cause any worse if the men running it had been in the pay of the Mexican government. In comic opera fashion they sent ships to the wrong ports, assigned troops to the wrong locations and failed to deliver equipment where it was needed. Elements of the Army and Navy arrived at the designated assembly point, the Island of Lobos, about 75 miles east of Tampico, in dribs and drabs. It was maddening to Scott, whose attention to detail had earned him the nickname "Old Fuss and Feathers," as the entire month of February slipped away amid the confusion. As if to remind him of what disease could do, an outbreak of smallpox caused the entire *2nd Pennsylvania Regiment* to be quarantined on Lobos.

The Landing

Finally, on 9 March 1847, two months behind schedule, Scott launched the first amphibious invasion in American military history. It was a roaring success. In less than five hours 10,000 men had landed without a single casualty. Scott and his soldiers besieged Vera Cruz and maneuvered to completely invest it while the Navy blockaded and bombarded it.

Siege life was miserable for both the besiegers and the besieged. Mexican skirmishers kept the American sentries wary and trigger happy. Sand was everywhere and in every thing. Happily living in that sand were sand fleas — all of them hungry. Battling them took on almost the same importance as fighting the Mexicans, with some unusual results. Young Lt. Robert E. Lee and a colleague hit on the idea of covering themselves with pork grease to keep the pesky creatures from feasting on them. The smelly experiment had no impact on the fleas, but cost Lee some of his friends for a time. Others tried to deal with the fleas by enclosing themselves completely in their canvas sleeping bags, but that usually only resulted in the complete encasement of the bag by an even larger number of fleas.

More ominously, cases of *La Vomito* began to occur in small numbers almost as soon as the Americans landed, though not in epidemic strength. Scott knew, though, it was only a matter of time before an epidemic that would cripple his army would occur.

Inside Vera Cruz the citizenry was subjected to a demoralizing bombardment from the warships gathered in the harbor. Further lowering of civilian morale followed the American ground-investiture. Depressing the inhabitants even more, no relief appeared from the direction of Mexico City. In fact, troops from the upland provinces of Mexico refused to venture into the coastal region for fear of *La Vomito,* whose season they knew to be rapidly approaching.

As time passed, Scott resolved to finally take Vera Cruz by storm. He couldn't afford to be in the low country when the yellow fever season hit — around 15 April — and though he estimated US losses would be close to 2,000 if such an assault were conducted, he saw the move as inescapable.

On 25 March a brief cease-fire was sought by the Mexicans. The foreign consuls inside the city asked they be allowed to evacuate their civilians. Scott rejected the request. Dismayed, the Mexicans realized nothing would end the constant bombardment. Chaos was already widespread and morale had sunk to a nonexistent level. A late Norther struck that night and worked to break the last of what psychological strength remained to the defenders. On the 27th, after a day of negotiations, the city and its fortress of Ulua surrendered to Scott. Two days later the Mexican garrison was allowed to march out to stack their weapons and then continue westward. By noon Scott's forces were in sole possession of Vera Cruz.

Scott couldn't afford to dally, and he began to advance along the National Highway toward Mexico City on 2 April. At Cerro Gordo a motley collection of Mexican troops, the so-called "Army of the East," attempted to halt the American advance. On the 18th Scott's forces won a crushing victory against them. He continued to advance along the highway higher into the mountains, passing the city of Jalapa and the fortress of Perote. But he could finally breathe a sigh of relief as he crossed the Sierra Madres range. He'd passed the yellow fever line, which meant only one enemy, no longer two, remained.

The Cost

While the American Army in Mexico never suffered a major yellow fever epidemic, disease did extract a terrible toll. In addition to *La Vomito,* diarrhea, dysentery and typhoid claimed lives amid the poor sanitation of the camps. And still other diseases — measles, smallpox, mumps, syphilis, gonorrhea and cholera — claimed lives in lesser numbers.

In totaling all deaths among American soldiers in the Mexican-American War, we find 1,192 were killed in action, 529 died of wounds received in battle, 362 suffered accidental deaths, and a staggering 11,155 succumbed to disease. Thus illness took a toll seven times greater than that of Mexican weapons. Small wonder then that in preparing his campaign Scott had sought to avoid adding to the count of victims for his unseen enemies.

— David W. Tschanz

Bombardment of Vera Cruz, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot.*

delay several of his commanders pressed for an all out assault on the city gates, as the arrival of the rainy season in April would be accompanied by *La Vomito,* yellow fever (see sidebar), which might decimate the army if they were still in the marshy lowlands at that time. But Scott refused, stating he preferred to take the place by "headwork, the slow scientific process," rather than by storming it with heavy losses to his troops and the civilians inside.

When the weather abated, the expedition's heavy artillery was landed and sited behind field works 1,000 yards south of the city. On 22 March the bombardment began. Though Scott's 10-inch mortars caused enormous damage within Vera Cruz, neither they nor his 24-pounder batteries were capable of destroying the thick walls.

At Scott's request, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, who'd relieved Conner, landed three 68-pounder shell guns and three 32-pounder solid shot guns. That naval battery, served by crews from the Home Squadron's ships, opened fire on the 24th. The effect was devastating. As the southern wall began to crumble under the impact, overtures for a ceasefire were made by the consuls of England, Spain and Prussia. But Scott refused, demanding the surrender of the city and its garrison.

On 29 March, with all his batteries along the south wall destroyed, Morales resigned his command and his successor agreed to Scott's terms. Unwilling to hold the garrison as prisoners, Scott allowed them to march out of the city after receiving their parole not to take up arms against the US again. He had taken the city at a cost of only 19 dead and 57 wounded. Isolated, the garrison in Ulloa surrendered the same day.

Though Scott was anxious to leave the coast before the advent of *La Vomito,* he still lacked the transport needed to support his army during its 260 mile march to Mexico City. Because of confusion in the Quartermaster Department in Washington and the loss of many draft animals when the ships carrying them foundered, his requisition for 800 wagons and 7,000 horses and mules remained only partially filled.

Polk mistakenly thought Scott could make up his deficiencies by the seizure and purchase of Mexican stock. But though some horses were rounded up from adjacent *estancias,* the expedition remained short of the number required to properly outfit the army. Finally, rather than risk his command to yellow fever, on 8 April Scott ordered Twiggs to take the road to Jalapa. Worth's and Patterson's brigades followed the next day.

Cerro Gordo

Jalapa, 74 miles inland, was located in fertile country 4,680 feet above the coastal fever belt. Scott planned to base his army there before pushing on to the Mexican capital along the National Highway, the same route Cortes had taken. But Santa Anna, who'd returned to the capital after leading his army back from Buena Vista, correctly anticipated the American commander's intention. Determined to keep the *Yanquis* from climbing out of the fever belt, he placed a newly raised army of 12,000, including several hundred of the recently paroled Vera Cruz garrison, at Cerro Gordo, 20 miles east of Jalapa.

There the National Highway threaded its way between the deep gorge of the Rio del Plan to the

south and El Telegrafo, a 500 foot hill, to the north. The position was a strong one, forcing an attack up the National Highway into a narrow corridor between the river and hill. The Mexican left rested on La Atalaya, a second hill 1,000 yards northeast of El Telegrafo. Beyond La Atalaya lay deeply ravined terrain Santa Anna judged to be impassible.

Anticipating the Americans would make their attack up the road, Santa Anna placed three batteries, totalling 19 guns and 1,800 men, between the Rio del Plan and the National Highway. Confident the rough terrain would prevent an attack on his left, he put only a single battery of four-pounders and 100 men on El Telegrafo, and only a few lookouts on La Atalaya. The bulk of his force he kept in camp near the village of Cerro Gordo, ready to be deployed against the enemy as they came up the highway.

Twiggs' advance guard made contact with a group of Mexican lancers on 11 April; the following day a reconnaissance in force revealed the enemy's positions. But Twiggs' order for an immediate attack straight up the highway was countermanded by Patterson, his senior, who elected to wait for Scott's arrival on the 14th. After surveying the strong Mexican position commanding the road, Scott ordered his engineers to find a way around their left. Under Capt. Robert E. Lee's direction a path was found north of La Atalaya, and during the 16th it was made passable for infantry and, with difficulty, even for artillery. Late that night Scott ordered Twiggs to move around the Mexican left and cut through to the National Highway behind their batteries the following morning.

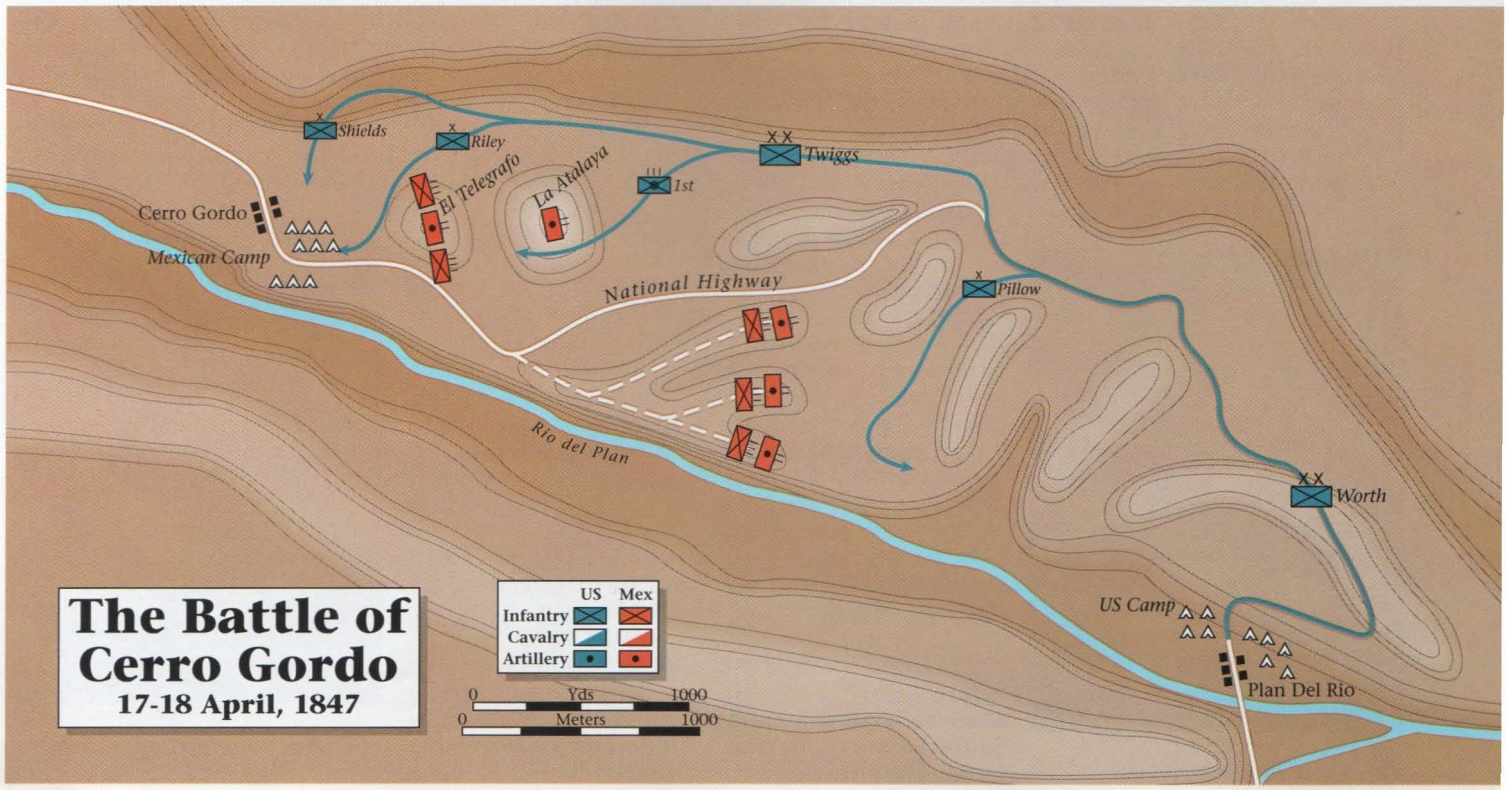
Twiggs' advance remained undiscovered until about noon, when lookouts on La Atalaya spotted them and opened fire. Without orders, Lt. Frank Gardner charged up the hill leading a company of the *7th Infantry Regiment.* Realizing his attempt to swing back on the highway was now compromised, Twiggs sent the men of the *1st Artillery,* acting as infantry under command of Lt. Col. William S. Harney, to support Gardner's effort. La Atalaya fell, but the follow on attempt against El Telegrafo was repelled.

Alerted by the appearance of Americans on his left, Santa Anna, though still convinced the main assault would come up the highway, reinforced El Telegrafo with additional artillery and two infantry regiments.

Scott, realizing his plan was unraveling, ordered a general assault for the 18th. Early that morning, after an artillery duel between the Mexican guns on El Telegrafo and a battery of 24-pounders just manhandled onto La Atalaya, the Americans advanced in three columns. Shields swung wide to come down on the Mexican camp from the north, while Brig. Gen. Bennett Riley's brigade cut its way down to the highway to join Shields in his attack on the camp. At the same time, Harney, leading Persifor Smith's brigade, drove the enemy off El Telegrafo. Fearful of having their retreat cut off, the Mexican regiments at Cerro Gordo began to disintegrate, their men scattering into the countryside.

The only flaw was Pillow's mishandling of his brigade. Ordered to attack the three batteries between the gorge and the highway, he was late in forming his regiments and then mistakenly brought his men within close range of the Mexican batteries. Within minutes the lead regiment in the column, the *2nd Tennessee,* had taken 80 casualties. Pillow, paralyzed by indecision, then failed to bring up his other regiments to support them. Fortunately, when the Mexican battery commanders saw the road behind them had been cut, they surrendered and Pillow's units were spared further losses.

By 10:00 a.m. organized Mexican resistance had collapsed. American losses amounted to 63 men killed and 367 wounded out of the 8,500 involved. Over 3,000 Mexicans, including five generals, were captured along with 40 guns, while all the rest, including Santa Anna, were forced to flee westward.



But He Didn't Stay Bought

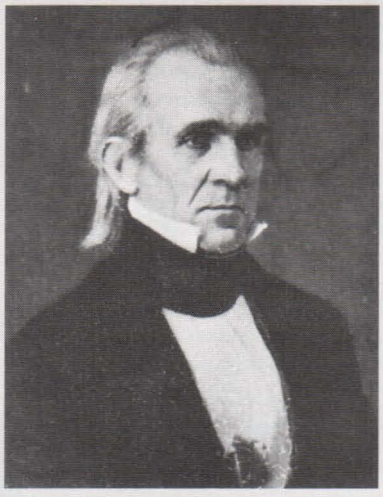
In 1846, after Gen. Zachary Taylor's victories at Palo Alto and Reseca de Palma during May, President James K. Polk anticipated an early end to hostilities with Mexico. The campaign along the Rio Grande, regarded as the primary theater of war, was going well, and when the thousands of volunteers pouring into his camps had been adequately trained, Taylor would move south into the the Mexican province of Nuevo Leon. With much of northern Mexico thus controlled by Taylor's army, and the mouth of the Rio Grande and the coastal cities of Tampico and Vera Cruz blockaded by the US Navy, Polk was confident the government in Mexico City would agree to a negotiated peace. To further increase the pressure, Polk also continued to pursue the war in the far west.

With his desire for the annexation of California uppermost in his mind, Polk, on 31 October 1845, the day war was declared, had ordered Col. Stephen W. Kearney, then at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to take Santa Fe in the Mexican province of New Mexico. From there, Kearney was to proceed to the province of Upper California and complete its conquest in conjunction with Capt. John C. Fremont, of the Topographical Engineers, who was already fomenting revolt against the Mexican authorities in that region. To further those designs, Polk also dispatched Marine Lt. Archibald Gillespie to California with orders to assist Fremont. Those actions were all taken during the four months before Taylor moved south from Corpus Christi.

Polk also fished in the troubled waters of Mexican politics to achieve his goal of incorporating the northern tier of Mexican provinces into the United States. On 13 February 1846 an agent of Santa Anna (who'd been deposed as president of Mexico and was then living in exile in Havana), Col. Alejandro Jose Atocha, visited the White House. The colonel brought with him a surprising offer from Santa Anna: for $30 million El Generalissimo, upon returning to Mexico and regaining power there, would cede to the US all of New Mexico and northern California.

The money, the ex-dictator claimed, would be used to "stabilize" the Mexican government and rebuild the army. However, a show of force by the Americans on the Rio Grande and the continued blockade of Mexico's Caribbean ports would also be necessary to make the Mexicans believe Santa Anna had no option but to negotiate.

The meeting ended inconclusively, but after the American triumphs at Palo Alto and Reseca de Palma, Polk concluded Santa Anna's convoluted proposal might have merit. On 13 May he sent a message to Commodore David E. Conner, whose squadron was blockading Vera Cruz, to permit Santa Anna to pass unhindered if he chose to return from his exile on Cuba.



President James K. Polk.

But as the summer of 1846 wore on, Polk became increasingly impatient. The news from the far west was good, with Monterey, California, falling to Commodore John B. Sloat early in July, and Santa Fe surrendering to Kearney in August. Taylor, though, who by that time was (unfairly) being called "General Delay" by an increasingly hostile press, continued to remain on the Rio Grande, preoccupied with training and assimilating the thousands of volunteers into his army.

On 16 August, Conner informed Polk that Santa Anna had arrived on a merchant ship off Vera Cruz and had been permitted to go ashore. The same letter also included the bad news Santa Anna, having assured himself of support among the factions plotting against the incumbent President Paredes, was now declaring he intended to lead his countrymen to victory over the hated *Yanquis*. All hope Santa Anna was going to be amenable to a peace in which territorial concessions would be made in exchange for dollars vanished with the arrival of the commodore's letter.

Still reluctant to broaden the scope of the war by sending an army deep into southern Mexico, Polk hoped Taylor's advance on the capital of Nuevo Leon might still lead to peace. On 11 October, news of Taylor's victory over Gen. Pedro de Ampudia at Monterey, in Nuevo Leon, reached Washington. But in contrast to the wild enthusiasm with which the fall of the Mexican city was greeted by the American public, Polk received the news coldly. For, in violation of what the president claimed were his express orders, Taylor had permitted Ampudia to leave the city with his army intact. As Polk remarked to his cabinet: "If Taylor had made prisoners of Ampudia's army it would probably have ended the war in Mexico."

With Santa Anna raising a new army, and all hope of a negotiated peace gone, Polk and his advisors realized only a campaign deep into the heart of Mexico would bring an end to the war.

The conquest of the enemy capital by a move south from the Rio Grande was briefly considered, but was quickly discarded when it was realized the logistical support needed to maintain an army over 700 miles of such inhospitable terrain simply wasn't available. Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, who'd commanded the US Army since 1841, offered an alternative plan: the seizure of the port of Vera Cruz, followed by an advance on Mexico City. Though Polk, a highly partisan Democrat, disliked and distrusted Scott, an ardent Whig, he was persuaded by his advisors the plan was feasible.

Taylor, also a Whig, was proposed as the leader of the new expedition. But the President, suspicious of that general's presidential aspirations, rejected the idea. That left Scott himself as the next most logical choice. But though he'd worked tirelessly in support of the war effort, Polk remained convinced Scott was too hostile to his administration and might also become a dangerous political opponent after the war. Only when Secretary of War William L. Marcy pointed out there were no Democratic generals who could match Scott's demonstrated ability was he given command of the expedition on 19 November 1846.

General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.

Though there were several points along the National Highway west of Cerro Gordo where the Mexicans could have made another stand, Santa Anna, his army now little more than a mob, chose to withdraw all the way to the capital. The following day Scott occupied Jalapa with Patterson's and Twiggs' brigades, while Worth pushed on to take Perote.

Cutting Loose

Logistics now became the primary American concern. The continuing shortage of transport, the losses inflicted by guerrilla raids on the supply trains, combined with the need to support the garrisons stationed along the National Highway in order to protect the line of communication as they moved deeper into Mexico, all hampered the advance. Though combat losses had been light, many men were falling victim to "diarrhea blue," a virulent form of dysentery that either killed a man within days or reduced him to an invalid too weak to march.

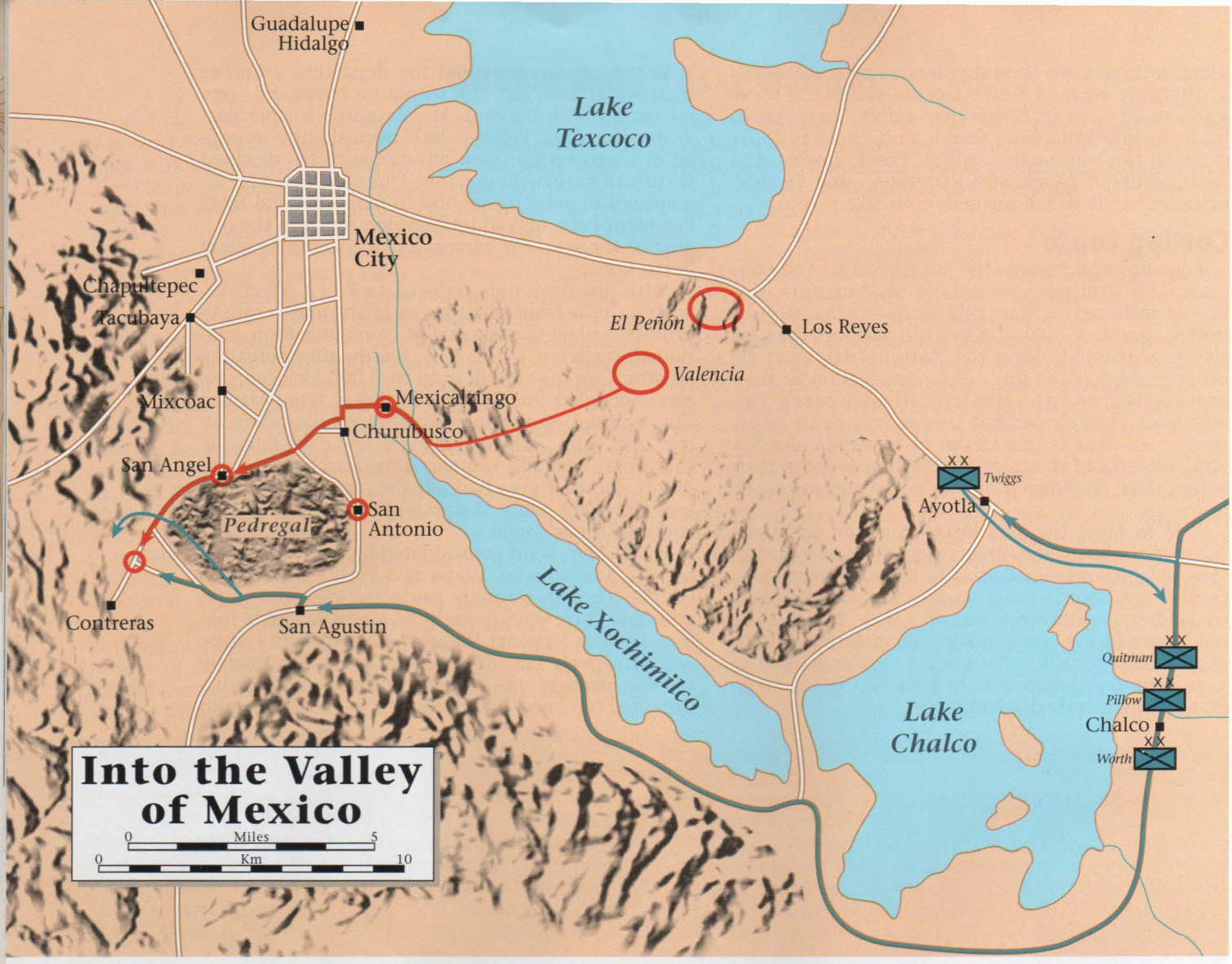
Late in April, the men in seven of the volunteer regiments whose enlistments were to expire during May and June were polled as to their willingness to reenlist. To Scott's chagrin, only four officers and 64 soldiers volunteered out of 3,000. Rather than hold them to the end of their enlistments and thus expose them to yellow fever when they embarked at Vera Cruz for transportation back to the US, Scott granted them early discharge.

Patterson accompanied the departing units, as their withdrawal left him without a command commensurate with his rank. He played no further part in the campaign. Pillow, who'd been slightly wounded at Cerro Gordo, took advantage of his disabled status to return home too. Once back there, he managed to get a promotion to major general from President Polk, his old law partner, much to the disgust of those who'd witnessed his incompetence at Cerro Gordo.

With his army thus reduced to 7,113 effectives, Scott, after leaving garrisons at Jalapa and Perote to protect his lengthening line of communication, continued westward. On 15 May, Worth, after defeating an attack on his supply train by 3,000 Mexican cavalry, occupied Puebla, just 70 miles from Mexico City, without opposition. Scott joined him there on the 28th, with Twiggs arriving a few days later. By this point, though, the garrison detachments and losses due to illness had left the commanding general with little more than 5,000 men — too few to continue the advance.

On 31 May, Scott consolidated his army by ordering the garrisons at Jalapa and Perote to come to Puebla. Though strongly protected convoys could still fight their way through the guerrilla bands that prowled the National Highway, the American army was effectively cut off from the coast. Fortunately for the invaders, the fertile country around Puebla provided food and forage enough to enable them to

Battle of Cerro Gordo, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot.*



remain self-sufficient. During this halt, Scott also kept his men busy with training, repairing gun carriages and supply wagons, and breaking the half-wild horses taken from the nearby *estancias* for use by Harney's understrength cavalry brigade.

As the summer passed, reinforcements arrived from the coast. Pillow, returning from the US, brought 2,000 men with him. Thus by 8 July, Scott's overall strength was over 10,000, though some 2,000 remained incapacitated by sickness or wounds. Anxious to close with Santa Anna before he could further improve the defenses of Mexico City, Scott continued to delay until Brig. Gen. Franklin Pierce arrived with another 2,500 men, including the *Provisional Marine Battalion* of 300 men under Lt. Col. Samuel E. Watson, along with some additional guns for the siege train.

Following the arrivals of Pillow and Shields, Scott reorganized his army into four divisions and a 500 strong cavalry brigade. Harney commanded the cavalry, now composed of squadrons from the *1st, 2nd* and *3rd Dragoons.* The two brigades of Twiggs' division were commanded by Brig. Gen. Persifor F. Smith and Col. Bennett Riley. In Worth's division the brigades were led by Lt. Col. John Garland and Col. Newman S. Clarke. Each of those brigades consisted of three regiments. Quitman's division, smaller than the others, had one brigade of two volunteer regiments commanded by Brig. Gen. James Shields, and a second under Lt. Col. Watson, made up of the Marines and yet another volunteer regiment. In Pillow's division, Brig. Gen. George Cadwalader commanded two recently recruited regiments of regulars and the *Voltigeur Regiment.* (Trained as light infantry, those men were uniformed in gray instead of the regulation Army blue.) Brig. Gen. Franklin Pierce commanded Pillow's second brigade, also of two regiments.

The American infantry were armed with percussion rifle muskets, superior to the Mexican flintlocks in both range and rate of fire. The six-pounder flying batteries were assigned to the divisions on an as-needed basis, while Maj. Benjamin Huger, of the Ordnance Corps, continued in command of the 24-pounders and 10-inch mortars making up the siege train.

Outside the army proper, Scott's inspector general, Col. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a scholarly man with a talent for intrigue, created a network of spies and informers. Drawing on the services of foreign merchants residing in Mexico city, along with the political enemies of Santa Anna, he managed to keep Scott informed of the defenders' efforts. Hitchcock also recruited Manuel Dominquez, a notorious bandit, along with 200 of his followers, to act as guides, couriers and spies. Possessing an unmatched knowledge of the country, they served faithfully through the remainder of the campaign.

On 7 August 1847, then, with no further reinforcements expected and nothing more to be accomplished through reorganization, Scott moved west from Puebla with 10,738 men, headed for Mexico City. In his typically flamboyant style he wrote to the secretary of war: "We had to throw away the scabbard and advance with the naked sword in hand!"

The decision to cut loose from his line of communications was greeted with unanimous condemnation by military authorities around the western world. President Polk reacted by saying it was "a great military error." British newspapers scoffed that, like Napoleon in Russia, the Yankee general had over-reached himself. The Duke of Wellington exclaimed: "Scott is lost! He cannot capture the city and he cannot fall back on his base!"

The Valley of Mexico

Leaving Puebla, Scott kept his divisions within a half-day's march of each other. They slowly climbed the 10,000 foot Rio Frio Pass where, at its highest point, the highway became only a narrow defile. Surprised to find that natural strongpoint undefended, the Americans began their descent into the Valley of Mexico, actually a high plateau surrounded by even higher mountain ranges. Mexico City, with its 200,000 inhabitants, lay in the center.

Since much of the area around the capital was marsh land, access to the city was limited to causeways raised above the water soaked ground. Each causeway had an elevated aqueduct running down its center to provide the city with water. Where each causeway entered the city there was a *garita,* a fortified customs house. Easily defended, Mexico City had not fallen to an invader since Cortes' time. And behind those defenses waited Santa Anna with 25,000 men and 104 cannon. His corps of lancers and dragoons alone was half the size of the entire invading army.

Anticipating Scott would continue to advance toward the capital along the National Highway, Santa Anna fortified El Peñon, a 450 foot hill overlooking the road, with 30 guns and a 7,000 man garrison. To strike at Scott's left and rear when he tried to force his way past El Penon, the dictator stationed Maj. Gen. Gabriel Valencia with another 7,000 men south of the highway, along with Maj. Gen. Juan Alvarez's cavalry brigade.

After the US vanguard reached Ayotla on 12 August, Scott paused to send forward Lee and other engineers to reconnoiter. They reported El Penon could be taken, but at a heavy price. An approach along the road bordering the north side of Lake Xochimilco, through the town of Mexicalzingo, was then considered. But other surveys revealed that place was also heavily fortified and manned by a large garrison.

Scott decided to flank those strongly held positions and assault the city from the south, leaving Twiggs in front of El Penon to mask the movement. He took a rough but serviceable road that ran south of Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco to establish a new base at San Augustin. Marching in a long column, the American divisions presented Alvarez's cavalry a fine opportunity to attack. But the Mexican cavalry commander was slow to react, confining himself to harassing Twiggs' division when it finally took the Chalco road to rejoin the rest of the force. By 18 August the four divisions were reconcentrated at San Augustin.

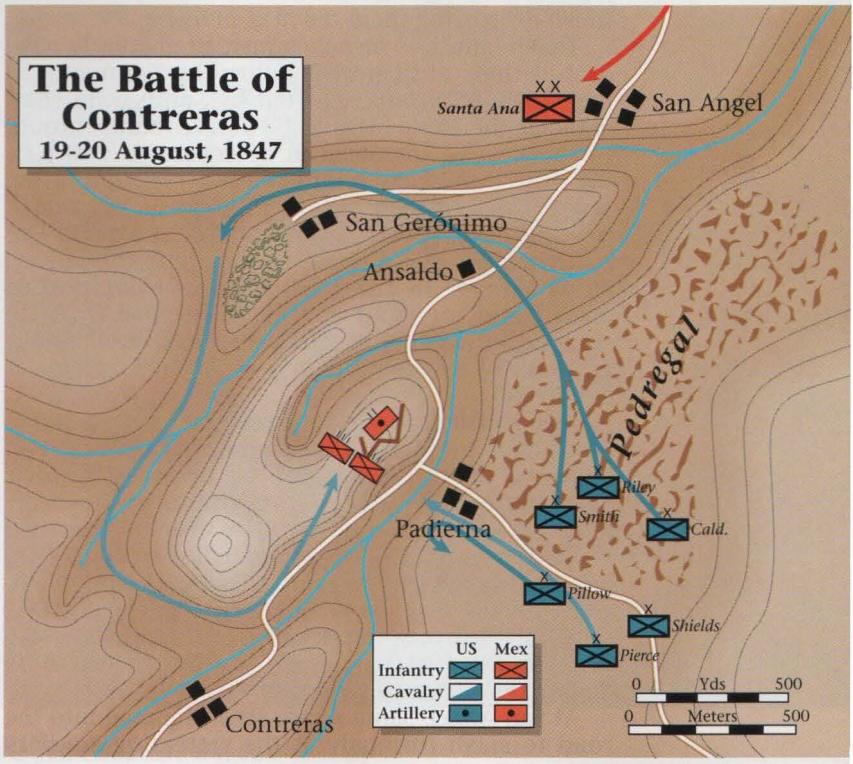
Learning of the enemy flank move, Santa Anna, who had the advantage of interior lines, moved quickly, placing a strong force at San Antonio, two miles north of Scott's new position. He then ordered Valencia, with 4,000 men and 23 pieces of artillery, to occupy San Angel, on the Contreras road. Between those two positions lay the Pedregal, an apparently impassible wasteland of volcanic rock.

Unwilling to attack San Antonio directly, Scott decided to turn the Mexican position by placing two divisions on the Contreras road south of San Angel and sending his engineers to find a way across the Pedregal. During the evening of the 18th, Lee returned with the information a rough track did indeed run across the southern edge of the lava bed.

Earlier that day Santa Anna had ordered Valencia to retire to a point midway between San Antonio and San Angel, from where his brigade would be in a position to either support the garrison at the former place or block an American advance up the Contreras road. But Valencia, confident he could stop any attempt to cross the wasteland to the Contreras road with his battery of 23 guns, chose instead to move his brigade two miles south of San Angel to a hill overlooking the southwest tip of the Pedregal.

On the morning of 19 September, Pillow's vanguard, with orders to widen the path discovered by Lee for the passage of artillery, appeared in front of Valencia's position, a rancho at Padierna, where they were immediately brought under cannon fire. Supported by only one six-pounder battery and a few mountain howitzers, Pillow was forced to withdraw. However, while the Mexicans were distracted, Riley's brigade, followed by Persifor Smith's and Cadwalader's units, crossed the Contreras road one mile north of Valencia's position. They then moved into a ravine just northwest of the Mexicans.

Late in the afternoon, Santa Anna, alerted by the sound of gunfire, arrived with over 4,000 men at San Angel, which thus put three US brigades bet-



Assault at Contreras, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot.*

ween two larger Mexican forces. But Santa Anna, instead of attacking, ordered Valencia to spike his guns and retire to San Angel, slipping past the Americans in the dark. But again Valencia disobeyed his chief, sending him word the *Yanquis* in front of him were already beaten and that he would finish destroying them the next morning.

That night, as Valencia's men prematurely celebrated their anticipated victory by carousing in their bivouac, scouts sent out by Smith, who commanded the three-brigade US force, found a route to the west of the Mexican defenses. At 3:00 a.m. the Americans, now reinforced by Shield's brigade, quietly worked their way to the rear of the unsuspecting enemy. As they prepared to attack, Lee reached Scott with a request from Smith for a diversionary move in front of Valencia's position to mask the effort about to begin to his rear. Quick to respond to his subordinate's initiative, Scott ordered Pierce to demonstrate in front of the Mexicans at daybreak.

Just at dawn, as the Mexican sentries were being distracted by the sudden appearance of Pierce's men east of their camp, Smith's brigades hit their bivouac from the rear. First they fired a volley then charged with bayonets fixed. Within 17 minutes Valencia's command was shattered, with 700 killed, over 800 taken prisoner and the rest fleeing northward on the Contreras road. The Americans lost only 60 killed or wounded and, to their delight, the six-pounders lost at Buena Vista were found to be among the captured artillery.

At San Angel, Santa Anna, after stepping into the road to slash furiously at the retreating soldiers with his riding crop, ordered Maj. Gen. Nicolas Bravo, at San Antonio, and Brig. Gen. Antonio Ganoa, at Mexicalzingo, to withdraw before they were flanked by the Americans now pressing up the Contreras road. To cover their retreat, Maj. Gen. Manuel Rincon was directed to hold Churubusco, at the juncture of the San Antonio and Mexicalzingo roads.

Churubusco

The right flank of the Churubusco position rested on the Convent of San Mateo, which was surrounded by a garden wall and earthworks pierced for seven guns. It was defended by 1,800 men, including the *San Patricio Battalion* of foreign volunteers. Many of the 204 *San Patricio* soldiers were in fact deserters from Zachary Taylor's army, Irish immigrants who'd accepted Mexican offers of free land and the opportunity to serve in a Catholic army. Trained artillerymen, they also served as infantry and were regarded as elite troops. As they stood an excellent chance of being hung if captured, they could be counted on to fight to the last.

Some 300 yards to the east of the convent, the bridge over the Churubusco River was defended by a fortified bridgehead in which Santa Anna placed one of his best regiments. Two others lined the north bank of the river from the convent to several hundred yards east of the bridgehead. To prevent a flank attack left of Churubusco, infantry was deployed along the road leading northward to the San Antonio *garita.*

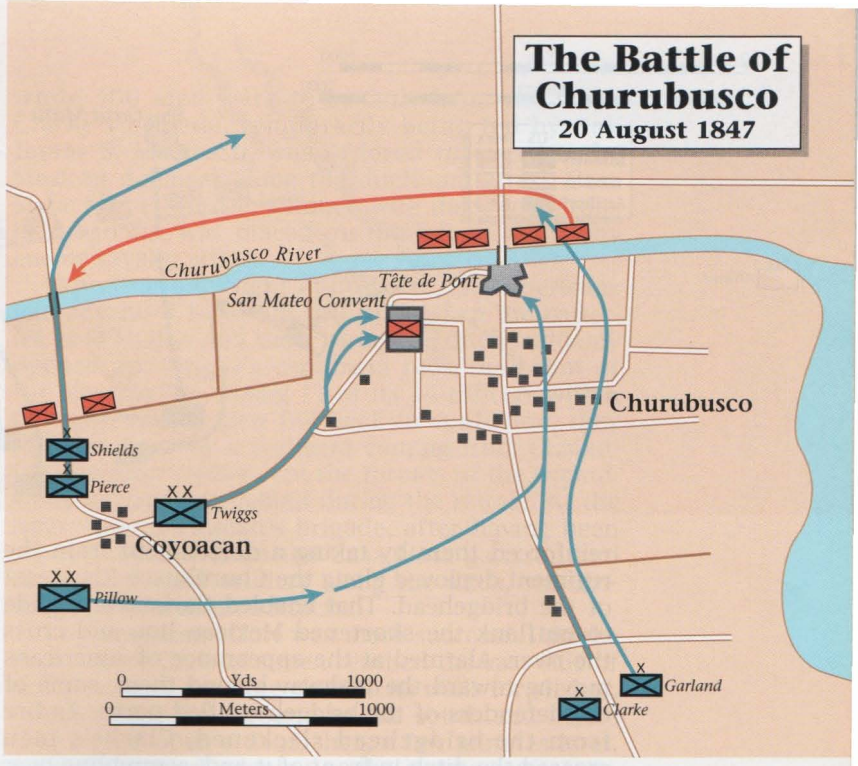
As Bravo began his withdrawal from San Antonio, Worth sent Clarke's brigade through the border

of the Pedregal paralleling the route of the retreating Mexicans, and ordered Garland's brigade to proceed up the road from San Augustin. When they saw Clarke's men threatening their left, the raw militia that had been left in San Antonio to cover the retreat spiked their guns and fled north, mingling with Bravo's baggage train. To add to the confusion, when the head of Bravo's column reached the bridge it collided with the rearguard covering the retreat from San Angel. Observing the mass of fleeing Mexicans struggling to cross the bridge, Scott ordered Twiggs to take the convent to clear the way for an attack on what was left of Bravo's command.

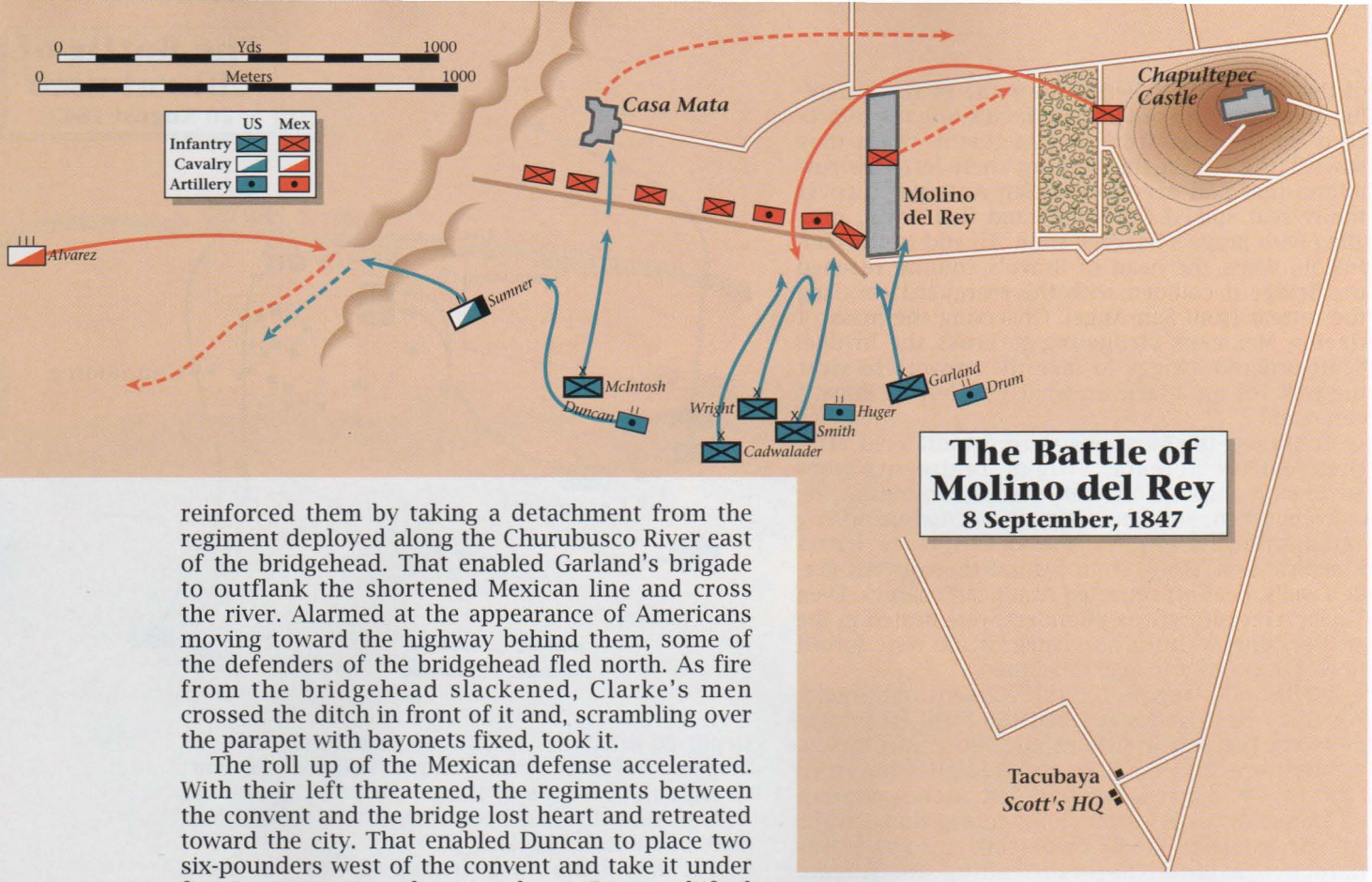
Confident the Mexicans were demoralized after their earlier defeats, Twiggs' regiments were advancing through the tall corn surrounding the convent when, suddenly, Rincon opened up with a salvo from his battery. For nearly three hours Rincon's men, firing from behind the convent garden walls, beat off repeated American charges. Even Taylor's recaptured six-pounders were bested in the artillery duel with the *San Patricios* and were forced to withdraw after losing 24 gunners.

While the struggle for the convent continued, Worth's two brigades reached the fortified bridgehead on the south side of the Rio Churubusco. Again a spirited defense checked the American charges, while marshy ground and ditches prevented Duncan's battery from going into action. On the American left an attack by Shields and Pierce was launched against the road leading north from Churubusco. But 2,200 Mexican infantrymen deployed in ditches behind the road stopped the US brigades cold with their accurate fire. By 3:00 p.m., though all of Scott's divisions except for Quitman's at San Augustin had been committed, the Mexican lines remained unbroken.

But then Santa Anna, fearing Shields was about to overrun the regiments defending the highway,



Battle at Churubusco, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot.*



reinforced them by taking a detachment from the regiment deployed along the Churubusco River east of the bridgehead. That enabled Garland's brigade to outflank the shortened Mexican line and cross the river. Alarmed at the appearance of Americans moving toward the highway behind them, some of the defenders of the bridgehead fled north. As fire from the bridgehead slackened, Clarke's men crossed the ditch in front of it and, scrambling over the parapet with bayonets fixed, took it.

The roll up of the Mexican defense accelerated. With their left threatened, the regiments between the convent and the bridge lost heart and retreated toward the city. That enabled Duncan to place two six-pounders west of the convent and take it under fire. In response to that new threat, Rincon shifted a gun from the south end of the parapets encircling the convent. But its withdrawal weakened those defenses, enabling the *3rd Infantry Regiment* to force its way into the convent grounds.

There followed several minutes of hand-to-hand fighting before the garrison abandoned its guns and retreated to make a last stand inside the convent. But the Americans, following them closely, also surged inside, still thrusting with their bayonets. Three times the Mexican commander raised a white flag and each time the *San Patricios,* fighting desperately, pulled it down. Finally, Capt. J.M. Smith of the *3rd Infantry* raised a white handkerchief to signal a halt to what was becoming a slaughter. The garrison, still containing 1,200 effectives, 85 of them *San Patricios,* surrendered.

As the convent fell, Shields rallied his men and again attacked the infantry deployed along the road. At first they resisted stubbornly, but when Worth's men appeared to their rear they joined the long column of Santa Anna's men fleeing into Mexico City. With the entire Mexican army in disordered retreat, the van of Worth's division linked with Shields' and pursued them for two miles before halting. In one disastrous day Santa Anna had lost about 10,000 men, a third of his command, with the remainder scattered and disorganized.

Critics of Scott maintain he should have been able to seize the capital that same day. But his 8,497 troops, who'd been marching and fighting since first light, had lost 273 killed and 865 wounded. Ammunition was low and there was still the prospect of a five mile march and a night action through the streets of a city of over 200,000. Confident the battered Mexicans would sue for peace, Scott brought up his siege guns and ordered his tired regiments to camp on the ground they'd just taken.

Armistice

Early the next morning Brig. Gen. Igancio Mora y Villamil entered the American camp under a flag of truce, carrying a request from Mexican Foreign Minister Francisco Pacheco for negotiations. Nicholas P. Trist, a US diplomat accompanying Scott's headquarters who'd been authorized by Polk to negotiate with the Mexican government, made the suggestion for a short armistice to allow for peace talks.

Trist's objective was to secure a treaty in which the Mexicans officially ceded the territory they'd already lost to American arms. But both Scott and Trist were naive in believing the wily Santa Anna actually intended to reach an agreement. The terms of the armistice, signed on 23 August, permitted the Mexicans to bring supplies into the beleaguered city while also allowing Scott's quartermasters to purchase food and other provisions there. A key stipulation was that neither side would reinforce or strengthen its positions during the stand down.

Trist's meetings with the Mexican negotiators between 27 August and 6 September produced nothing but peremptory demands on the part of the latter for the return of California and New Mexico. In the meantime, Santa Anna was ordering all the soldiers within 30 leagues of Mexico City to join his army, while also working furiously to strengthen the capital's *garitas* with earthworks and artillery. On 3 September he banned further sales to Scott's quartermasters and expelled them from the city. Three days later, Scott, whose spies were keeping him informed of the Mexican build up, denounced the armistice and prepared to resume the offensive.

On the evening of 7 September, at Tacubaya, where the Americans were now concentrated, Scott and his four division chiefs met to consider the best approach into the city. One of Hitchcock's

informants arrived to report church bells were being melted and cast into cannon in El Molino del Rey. El Molino, actually a 200 yard long line of connected buildings along the western boundary of the walled park of Chapultepec, housed a foundry and flour mill. Concerned the newly made guns were being added to Mexico City's defenses, Scott ordered Worth to attack the complex that night and, after destroying the foundry works and guns, retire again. But Worth persuaded him to delay the strike until the following morning.

Well aware of Scott's concentration at Tacubaya, Santa Anna had placed two brigades in and around Molino del Rey, and a third, supported by seven guns, along a cactus lined ditch running 100 yards in front of the Casa Mata, a large stone building 500 yards west of El Molino but extending eastward to it. He'd also garrisoned Casa Mata with 1,500 infantry, and placed Gen. Juan Alvarez, with 4,000 cavalrymen, west of it with orders to strike the left of any force moving against the complex.

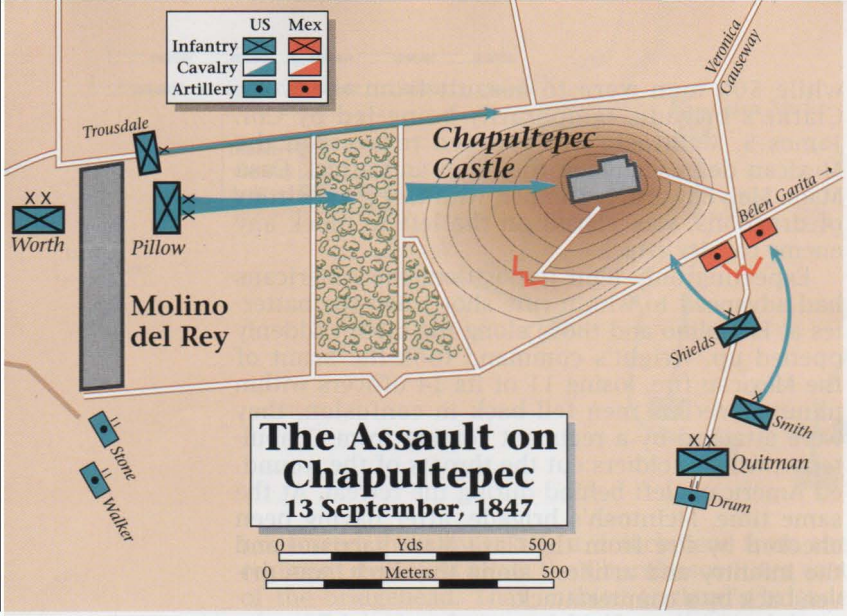
El Molino

The next morning, after Capt. James L. Mason had scouted the foundry before sunrise and reported it appeared to be abandoned, Worth ordered Huger's 24-pounders to open fire. When there was no return fire, he cut short Huger's bombardment and precipitately sent forward his division and one of Pillow's brigades. On the right, Garland's brigade was to strike the south and east sides of El Molino, while 500 men were to assault from the west. Clarke's brigade, temporarily being led by Col. James S. McIntosh, was ordered to overrun the Mexican defenses along the ditch and attack Casa Mata. Maj. Edward V. Sumner, with three squadrons of dragoons, was placed on the left to block any enemy cavalry attack.

Expecting only light opposition, the Americans had advanced to within rifle shot when the batteries at El Molino and those along the ditch suddenly opened up. Wright's command took the brunt of the Mexican fire, losing 11 of its 14 officers within minutes. As his men fell back in confusion, they were attacked by a regiment coming from Chapultepec, whose soldiers cut the throats of the wounded Americans left behind during the retreat. At the same time, McIntosh's brigade, after having been checked by fire from the Casa Mata garrison and the infantry and artillery along the ditch, was driven back by a counterattack.

The American effort was more successful on the right. There Garland's men reached the east side of El Molino, and pressing close to its walls for shelter, worked their way around to the south end where they forced open a door, then, a few minutes later, gained a second opening at the northwest corner. Joined by battalions from Cadwalader's brigade, and one of light infantry commanded by Capt. Ephraim K. Smith, they fought their way from room to room in almost total darkness, driving the Mexicans from the foundry.

Molino del Rey – Attack upon the Molino, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot. Looming at the far left is the Castle of Chapultepec.*



With McIntosh's brigade still checked in front of Casa Mata, Alvarez's 4,000 cavalry advanced on the American left. Outnumbered nearly 10 to one, Sumner's three squadrons charged, losing 44 troopers in a vain effort to check the enemy horse. Alvarez, with a golden opportunity to roll up the American left, came on. But when Col. James Duncan, whose six-pounders had been covering McIntosh's retreat, swung his battery around and put a few rounds into their ranks, the Mexican horsemen fell back, contenting themselves thereafter by merely observing the fighting at a distance.

Duncan then redirected his fire on Casa Mata, setting it ablaze. Its commander, seeing El Molino was about to fall, ordered the garrison to retreat. Shortly afterward the powder magazine exploded, killing six Americans who'd entered Casa Mata in search of plunder. By 1:00 p.m., after two counterattacks from Chapultepec had been turned back, the battle was over.

Though Scott's men took 683 prisoners and killed or wounded an estimated 2,000 more, they'd lost over 700 killed and wounded. Hitchcock's informant had misled them. Only a few unused gun molds were found in El Molino. After ordering the building complex destroyed, Scott withdrew his men. For the overconfident Americans the frontal assault on El Molino, based on poor intelligence, was a pyrrhic victory, one which the dwindling army could ill afford. Gloom fell over the American camp as the wounded were being loaded on wagons and taken back to Tacubaya, where Scott's exhausted surgeons worked throughout the night.

Chapultepec

With his army reduced to little over 7,000, Scott and his division commanders realized to further delay the assault on Mexico City was to invite their own ultimate defeat. Within hours after the destruction of El Molino, Lee and other engineers were surveying the approaches to the city. The San Antonio *garita,* 1,000 yards south of the city proper, appeared to be vulnerable because of its isolated position. But when Scott personally surveyed the three southern approaches on 9 September, he saw the strengthened defenses there now included a line of entrenchments connecting the San Antonio and Nino Perdido *garitas.*

At a council of war on the 11th, Scott's division commanders, with the exception of Twiggs, advocated an attack up one of the three southern causeways. But Lt. Pierre G.T. Beauregard, an engineer/scout, argued the water logged land between those causeways would severely hamper the movement of batteries and troops. On the other hand, he pointed out, the seizure of Chapultepec could be made over solid ground from the ruins of El Molino and, once it fell, Mexico City could be entered by either the Belen or San Cosme causeways. Scott, possibly influenced by the fact the ruined foundry lay only 1,000 yards west of Chapultepec, adopted Beauregard's proposal.

The defenses of Chapultepec were centered on El Castillo, a large building that housed the Mexican national military academy. Located on a 200 foot hill, El Castillo and several smaller buildings were protected by 15 foot high parapets encircling the academy grounds. Steep banks made any attack from the north or east impractical; however, to the south a road ran from the base of the hill to El Castillo. A redan, an angled field work, defended it at its base, while a second redan was located where the road turned half way up the hill. An assault from the west could be launched from El Molino, from which the attacking force, after working its way through a cypress grove, had to drive the Mexicans from a redoubt located half way up that portion of the hill before reaching the parapet. Unknown to the Americans, an extensive minefield of buried, powder-filled canvas tubes had been planted in front of the parapets.

During the daylight hours of 12 September, Scott ordered Quitman's division to make a demonstration at Piedad, in order to fix the enemy's attention on the southern causeways. Later, under cover of darkness, Quitman was to move to join Worth's and Pillow's divisions and Persifor Smith's brigade at Tacubaya, leaving only Twiggs' and Riley's brigades and two batteries of six-pounders to secure the right.

In the meantime, Huger placed four batteries of heavy guns, including two eight-inch howitzers and a 16-pounder, near El Molino and opened fire from there on Chapultepec. Originally built to be the summer residence of the Spanish colonial viceroy, and not as a fort, El Castillo's thin walls were soon heavily damaged.

During the early hours of that same day Santa Anna had inspected the defenses of Chapultepec. Bravo, who commanded the garrison, asked for reinforcements as his 1,000 infantry and artillerymen were too few to properly man the parapets. But El Generalissimo, misled by Quitman's demonstration, refused. Later, after it became apparent El Castillo was the real American objective, heavy fire from Scott's siege guns prevented all but a few of the reinforcements belatedly dispatched by Santa Anna from reaching the garrison.

Indeed, Scott hoped the bombardment alone might drive Bravo's men from atop the hill. But inspired by the resolute behavior of the cadets from the military college, the garrison still held as darkness fell.

That evening Pillow was ordered to attack the western parapets of Chapultepec from El Molino the following morning; while Quitman's division, reinforced by Persifor Smith's brigade, was to fight its way up the southern road. Quitman was also to keep the Mexicans from reinforcing the garrison from the two causeways that converged east of Chapultepec.

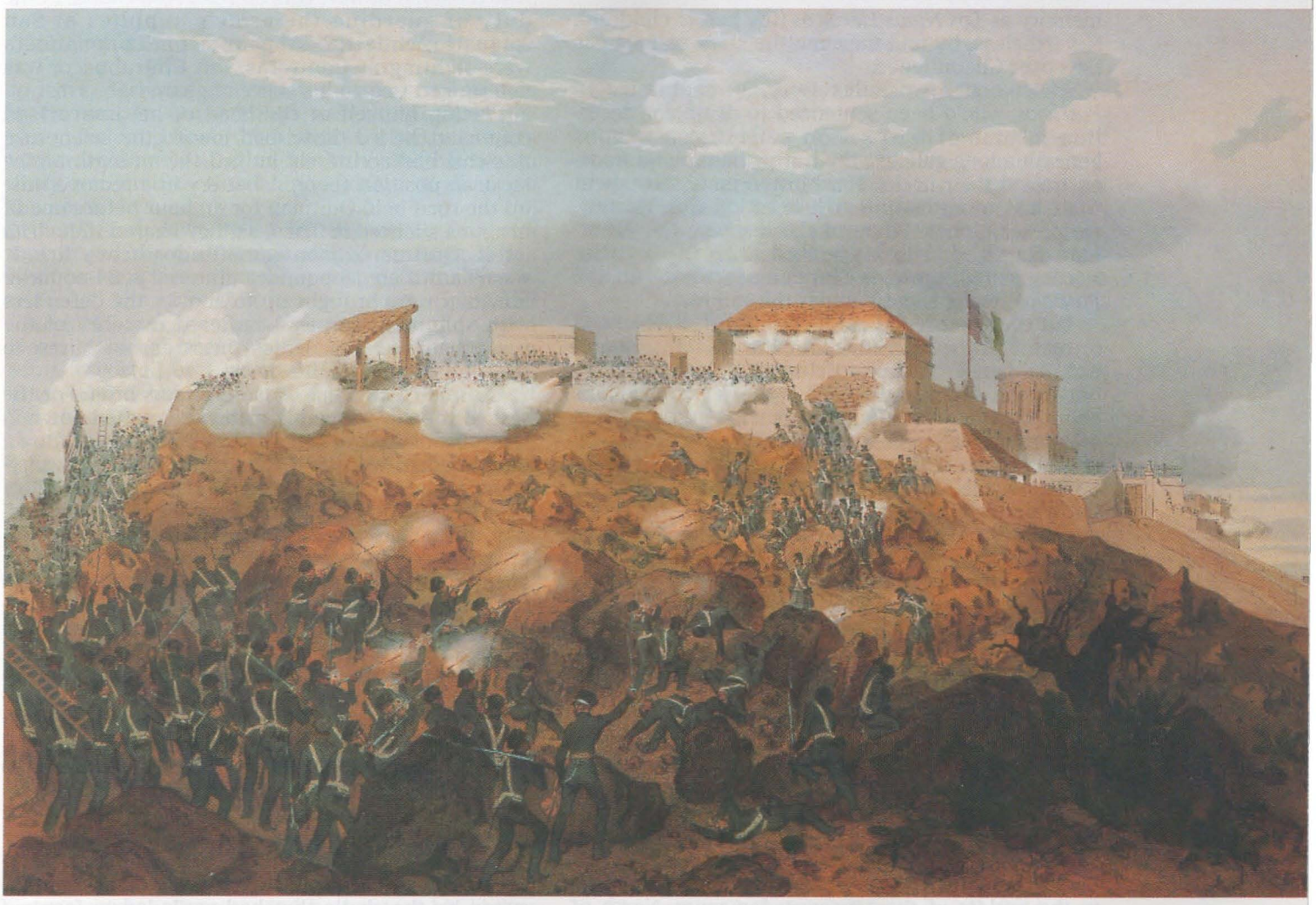
Once El Castillo fell, Worth, whose division would be in reserve during the initial assault, was to take the San Cosme *garita*. Scott had selected that *garita* because Santa Anna, believing the *Yanquis* would use a more southern approach, had also failed to reinforce it. Though the distance to the Belen *garita* was shorter, its garrison had been increased and allocated three guns. It also lay under the protection of the 18 guns of the Ciudadela, a fortress 300 yards to the northeast. Quitman was ordered to make a feint at the Belen *garita* during Worth's advance to conceal as long as possible Scott's true objective. Only Riley's brigade, south of the city, remained uncommitted.

Early the next morning the siege guns resumed their battering of Chapultepec with solid shot for two hours before shifting to canister to clear snipers from the area between El Molino and the west face of the fortress. Promptly at 8:00 a.m., Scott's artillery checked fire as Pillow's brigade surged out of the ruins of El Molino. Dodging from tree to tree, the *9th* and *15th Infantry Regiments,* covered to the south by four companies of light infantry, cleared the grove of the last snipers, overran the breastworks half way up the hill and rushed to the base of the parapets.

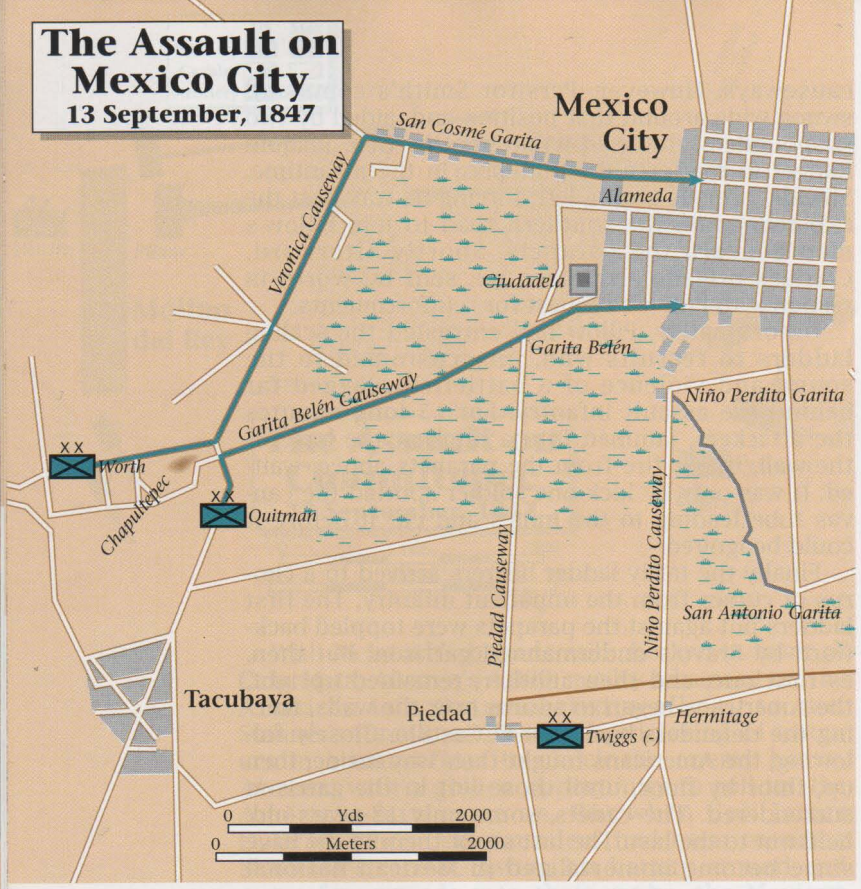
Watson's brigade, ordered by Quitman to block any attempts to reinforce the Chapultepec garrison, was at first checked by a well handled Mexican battery at the juncture of the San Cosme and Belen causeways. However, Persifor Smith's command swung wide around that position and, aided by two six-pounders, thwarted an attempt by Gen. Joaquin Rangel to reinforce Chapultepec. In the meantime, Shields' brigade swung left, forcing its way past the two redans on the southern road to join Pillow's men beneath the parapets. Shortly afterward, Clarke's brigade also came up, sent by Worth in response to Pillow's request for reinforcements.

Unfortunately, Pillow had entrusted the scaling ladders to recruits who, unaccustomed to the sound and violence of a battlefield, lagged far behind the assault infantry. For 15 long minutes the attackers, jammed into a ditch at the base of the wall, under fire from the parapets above, waited. It was only by luck one soldier spotted the canvas tube leading to the mines and cut it before it could be ignited.

Finally the tardy ladder bearers arrived to a chorus of curses from the impatient infantry. The first ladders put against the parapets were toppled backward by Bravo's undermanned garrison. But then, as first one, and then another, remained upright, the Americans began to swarm over the walls, forcing the defenders back into El Castillo. Closely following, the Americans fought their way inside, then up, floor by floor, until those left in the garrison surrendered. The cadets, some only 13-years-old, held out to the last. The last six of them to die have since become immortalized in Mexican national



Storming of Chapultepec – Pillow's Attack, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot.*



memory as *Los Ninos Heroicos* (the heroic children). Nevertheless, by mid-morning the stars and stripes flew over Chapultepec.

At Mixocoa, two miles away, 30 captured *San Patricios,* who'd been sentenced to death for desertion in time of war, sat on mule-drawn wagons beneath a long gallows, their arms bound and nooses around their necks. Hard bitten men, they spent their last minutes on earth berating Col. Harney, their executioner. When in the distance the American flag suddenly appeared atop El Castillo, Harney sent the wagons lurching forward and the *Patricios* swung silently under the gallows.

But even before El Castillo fell, Scott, determined to maintain the momentum of the assault, ordered Col. William Trousdale to clear the road along the north side of Chapultepec for the rest of Worth's column, using two infantry regiments and a section of guns under Lt. Thomas J. Jackson. With Rangel retreating in front of them, Worth's force went north on the Veronica causeway, augmented by Cadwalader's brigade, two six-pounder batteries and the dragoons. As it neared the junction with the San Cosme causeway, Worth halted to clear two small field works and turn back a half-hearted attack by 1,500 cavalrymen before he turned east toward the San Cosme *garita.*

When he saw Worth's men take the Veronica causeway, Santa Anna hastily sent three battalions and three guns to that *garita.* Later, as Rangel passed the *garita* during his withdrawal, he threw up a redoubt and posted sharpshooters on the housetops overlooking the northern side of the road.

As it neared the *garita,* Worth's column found itself checked by accurate fire from the redoubt. But then Garland's brigade began to inch forward, dodging among the arches supporting the aqueduct in the middle of the causeway for cover. North of the causeway sappers in the van of Clarke's brigade, after battering an entrance in the adobe wall of the first house they reached, began to burrow from one building to the next with pickaxes and crowbars, while the infantry cleared the snipers from the roof tops. Lt. Ulysses S. Grant enlisted the aid of the men of the *4th Infantry Regiment* to hoist a short-barreled mountain howitzer to the top of a church tower to take the *garita* under fire.

By 6:00 p.m. the sappers had tunneled their way past the Mexican defenses. Unaware the *Yanquis* were to their rear, the defenders were stunned when Lt. George Terrett and a party of Marines suddenly appeared on a housetop behind the *garita.* Laying down a deadly fire, those Americans eliminated the remaining Mexican gunners and then charged out of the house with fixed bayonets just as Garland's brigade reached the redoubt.

Caught between two fires, the Mexicans collapsed, the garrison fleeing into Mexico City. With darkness approaching, however, Worth halted the advance, ordering his men to bed down in the houses they'd just taken. Later that night he had Huger lob five 10-inch mortar shells into the Grand Plaza to give the city's defenders a harbinger of what the next day would bring.

While Worth was reforming his column, Quitman, ignoring Scott's order to merely feint in the direction of the Belen *garita,* gathered most of the troops that had just taken Chapultepec and pushed down that causeway. A fiery campaigner, Quitman, who'd chafed at having been relegated earlier to the duty of guarding the army's supplies at San Augustin while the other division commanders were fighting at Contreras and Churubusco, was determined to gain his share of glory.

Placing himself at the head of his improvised command, he led those men toward the Belen *garita.* Scott had accurately judged the strength of the Mexican position there. A battery in a redan a mile up the road held Quitman for an hour before one of his guns silenced it. Then, as they neared the *garita* itself, Quitman's men came under heavy fire. It wasn't until an 18-pounder gun and a 24-pounder howitzer were brought up to shower the defenders with splinters from the shattered masonry of the walls that the Mexicans lost heart and withdrew to the Ciudadela to the northeast.

Quitman's moment of triumph was brief. For the rest of the day, while his men were pinned down in the ruins of the *garita,* his guns were forced into an unequal duel with the Ciudadela's battery. Twenty-eight gunners became casualties, and almost all of Quitman's officers were wounded. Low on ammunition, the Americans had to turn back several counterattacks from the Ciudadela's garrison before spending an uneasy night with little water and no food. Later Scott was critical of Quitman's impetuous advance, though he praised the soldiers who made it.

Though the Americans had by this time penetrated the city's defenses at two points, in doing so they'd lost another 159 killed or missing and 703 wounded. The Mexicans had lost about 3,000 men, but Santa Anna still held the Ciudadela with 5,000 and had about 7,000 other reliable troops elsewhere in the city.

The End

But the city officials had enough. Possibly influenced by the shells that had exploded in front of the Presidential Palace, they called on Santa Anna

Genl. Scott's Entrance into Mexico, *hand colored lithograph by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot.*

to leave, declaring the capital an open city. Shaken by the success of the *Yanqui* assaults, El Generalissimo, declaring honor had been satisfied, agreed to withdraw. Shortly after midnight he and his beaten army retreated to Guadalupe Hidalgo, a village to the north.

Just before dawn on 14 September, Mexico City's mayor and three aldermen waited on Scott at his headquarters near Chapultepec and formally surrendered the city. Quitman, after occupying the Ciudadela, was the first to march into the Grand Plaza. Moments later Worth's division entered with Scott, escorted by Harney's dragoons, at its head. Then, as the mounted band of the dragoons played "Yankee Doodle," Scott's ragged army cheered themselves hoarse as their gray haired commander, resplendent in a dress uniform with gleaming epaulets and an abundance of gold braid, raised his hat in acknowledgement.

In the following month Scott reopened the road to Vera Cruz, enabling supplies and reinforcements to reach the army. Santa Anna, after being soundly beaten in an attempt to seize Puebla, resigned the presidency and no longer threatened the American occupation. Faced with the prospect of further defeats at the hands of Scott's reinforced army, the Mexican public tired of war and, long before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo officially terminated hostilities on 2 February 1848, all effective resistance to the invaders had ended.

Except for the poorly executed frontal attack at El Molino, Scott had always employed flanking movements to defeat his opponents. Cerro Gordo, the avoidance of a frontal assault on El Penon, Crontreras, Churubusco, and the attack on the San Cosme *garita,* all succeeded because of his ability to outmaneuver his adversaries, who in contrast relied almost exclusively on static defenses and fortified positions.

For sheer audacity, Scott's push into the heart of Mexico, and his capture there of the enemy capital, is regarded by many US military historians as equal to MacArthur's Inchon/Seoul campaign of 1950. Wellington, who had at first predicted his defeat, later wrote: "His campaign is unsurpassed in military annals. He is the greatest living soldier." ✪

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The Sick Bear

Russia's Armed Forces Today

by Ted S. Raicer

End of Empire

While the end of the Cold War has brought about a reduction in the size of the US armed forces, the collapse of the USSR has led to the near-implosion of that empire's once mighty military machine. When the Soviet Union was dissolved in December 1991, attempts to form a unified defense command among the emerging Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) were thwarted by Ukraine, which feared Russian domination. As a result the Soviet armed forces were soon divided among the Russian Federation and the 14 newly independent former Soviet Republics.

Ironically, Soviet officers, especially veterans of the war in Afghanistan, had been among the strongest supporters of Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to reform the Communist system. Recognizing the Soviet Union was falling rapidly behind the west technologically, the military leadership had accepted serious reductions in the size of the Red Army to free funds for military research and development.

Instead, Gorbachev, who never served in the armed forces, sought ever increasing savings in military spending. The so-called "Metal Eaters' Alliance" (the Soviet term for their own "military-industrial complex") was eating up 15 percent of the economy by the late 80s, stifling economic growth. Gorbachev was wary of cutting funds from the Interior Ministry (the MVD) and the KGB, and focused instead on making reductions in the defense budget.

Even worse from the military standpoint, the once unassailable Red Army became the object of harshly critical public scrutiny. Under *Perestroika*, tales of drunkenness, brutality, corruption and

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Armenia

Population: 3,700,000
Capital: Yerevan

Armenia declared its independence from the USSR in August 1990, but didn't achieve it until September 1991. In December of that year Armenia joined the CIS. Since 1987, Christian Armenia has been in conflict with its Islamic neighbor Azerbaijan over the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabach. In a 1991 referendum the people of Karabach voted to unite with Armenia, but Yerevan has denied plans to annex the region. Because Armenia insists the struggle is between Karabach and Azerbaijan, the Karabach defense forces (20,000 men), though supplied by Armenia, have remained under local command.

In 1992 Armenian regular army forces seized the Lachin corridor between Karabach and Armenia, but were unable to prevent an Azeri offensive from overrunning almost half of Karabach. In November of 1993, however, Armenian and Karabach troops drove the Moslem forces out and also occupied adjacent areas of Azerbaijan territory. Since then the Armenians have maintained the upper hand in sporadic fighting.

Armenia's success in battling its more populous neighbor has been a remarkable achievement. Though six Armenian divisions fought in the Red Army in World War II, Armenia has not had a national army since the destruction of the short-lived Armenian Republic in 1920. The first modern Armenian units were militias formed to defend Karabach in 1987-89. Not until January 1992, after Moscow decided to disband the *7th All Arms Army* based in Yerevan, did Armenia create a ministry of defense. Two months later the first Armenian military unit, the *1st Airborne Assault Regiment*, was formed.

Currently the army has a strength of 35,000 men, organized into two motorized infantry and two tank divisions, supported by four artillery brigades. The armored divisions consist of two regiments, each regiment with fewer than 30 tanks (mostly T-55s and T-72s). The infantry divisions each contain up to six motorized regiments.

The government also controls three regiments of border troops (3,000 men), and can call upon some 25,000 paramilitary forces belonging to an organization called *Erkraph* (Guardians of the Homeland). *Erkraph* soldiers have been involved both in the fighting over Karabach and in suppressing religious minorities within Armenia.

The Armenian air force has 1,000 men, along with 100 combat planes and some 50 armed helicopters. The Armenians lost six helicopters to Azerbaijan anti-aircraft guns in 1993, but the Russians apparently made good these losses in 1994.

The greatest threat to Armenia is the possibility of Turkish military intervention, either directly or by supporting Azerbaijan. For this reason, Yerevan has allowed Moscow to station a motorized infantry division (7,000 troops and 90 tanks) inside Armenia to protect "Russian and Armenian interests."

incompetence became a staple of press reports. Morale in the armed forces was shattered by this sudden change in public attitudes. Gorbachev's defense minister, Dimitri Yazov, complained bitterly of "irresponsible elements" in the press. His growing disillusionment with reform eventually led him to support the August 1991 coup.

While some senior officers joined in the attempt to oust Gorbachev, Pavel Grachev, commander of the elite Soviet Airborne Forces, and his deputy Alexander Lebed held their paratroopers aloof from the coup. They refused both to attack Boris Yeltsin's followers at the White House (the Russian parliament) or to defend Yeltsin from possible assault by other military units.

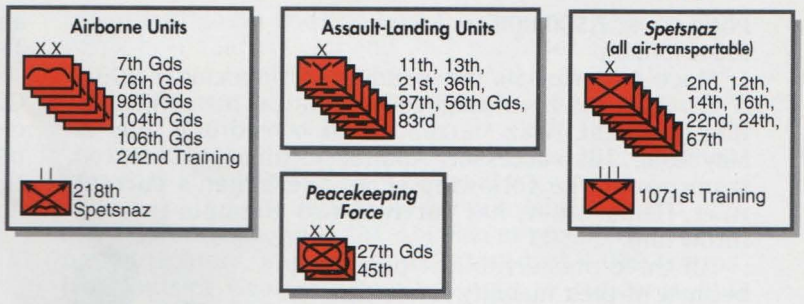
When Yeltsin emerged victorious, however, Grachev managed to make his studied neutrality appear as loyal support for the cause of democracy. He was rewarded in April 1992 with the post of defense minister in the Russian Federation. In contrast, Lebed made his own distaste for both democracy and Yeltsin clear, temporarily ending his own chance for higher command.

The new Russian army was formed by presidential decree on 7 May 1992. At the top of the chain of command is the current Russian President, Boris Yeltsin. Under him responsibility for the armed forces belongs to Pavel Grachev and the general staff, the historic brain trust of the Russian armed forces.

The influence of the general staff declined in the late Gorbachev era, but has revived under Yeltsin, who in 1995 made them subordinate to the Russian president rather than the defense minister. That was partly due to the abilities of the chief of the general staff, army Gen. Mikhail Kolesnikov, but mostly because of the increasing loss of confidence in Grachev throughout the armed forces and the government. A respected combat officer, Grachev has shown himself to be an inept administrator. More importantly, he has been unable to protect the defense budget from the predations of the MVD and Federal Security Service (FSB-the successor to the KGB).

Neither has his popularity been improved by his handling of the Chechen crisis. Before intervention he alternated between opposing the use of force and blustering he could take Grozny with one airborne brigade. In the end he was outflanked by the heads of the MVD and FSB, who went so far as to negotiate with local army commanders behind his back to organize and launch the December 1994 invasion.

Despite those and other failures, Grachev has continued in office because of the lack of an obvious successor. Kolesnikov seems to prefer his more



The Near Abroad and the CIS – Azerbaijan

Population: 7,500,000
Capital: Baku

Since declaring its independence in December 1991, Azerbaijan has been plagued by political instability. Its first president, Ayaz Mutalibov, was ousted in a coup in May 1992. His successor, Abulfaz Elchibey, was forced from power the following year. Azerbaijan's current ruler, Heidar Aliev, has survived two attempts to overthrow him.

All three presidents lost popularity because of their inability to win the war with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabach. Despite a considerable superiority in manpower, the Azeri army has been outfought by its Armenian opponent. Since May of 1994 a Russian-sponsored truce has generally been observed, but has left 20 percent of Azeri territory under Armenian control.

The Azeri Ground Defense Force has 50,000 men. In theory the army is made up of 50 percent volunteers, but many are youths forcibly rounded up from the streets of Baku. Defeat has added to morale problems, and desertion and draft evasion are common.

The army is organized into 10 mechanized brigades (two battalions each), three motorized rifle brigades, an air assault brigade, two training brigades and two mountain infantry regiments. The army has 280 T-72 tanks in service and another 70 in storage. There are also a number of old T-55/54 tanks in use.

The Azeri air force (7,000 men) is limited by the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty to 100 combat aircraft and 50 attack helicopters. Sixty of the Azeri warplanes are L29/39 trainers. The Azeris have lost more than a dozen helicopters and several combat planes (including one MiG-21) over Karabach.

Azerbaijan has a naval flotilla on the Caspian Sea. It consists of two frigates and three fast attack missile boats. The navy is used in an anti- smuggling role, and has played no part in the war with Armenia.

There are also nearly 50,000 police and several thousand border and security troops. Many of those units have been employed in the fight for Karabach, but they've also taken part in the string of coups and attempted coups in Baku. Aliev was forced to disband several police formations after they attempted to overthrow him in 1994.

With Armenia receiving Russian support, there is little chance for an Azeri military victory. But though Baku needs peace, so far Aliev has been unable or unwilling to purchase it at the price of conceding Karabach. The current relative peace in the region is one of exhaustion and must be considered fragile at best.

politically neutral niche, while the other candidates represent competing factions that would exacerbate rather than resolve the tensions within the armed forces.

The Army

Those tensions are most keenly felt in the Russian army. Though the largest and most prestigious of the armed services, the army has also suffered the greatest dislocation since the fall of the Soviet empire.

The army currently has a strength of 1,000,000. On paper there are 60 motorized rifle divisions, 18 tank divisions and 14 artillery divisions. But many of the rifle divisions are mere cadres, with only 1,500 men. That's barely adequate to guard and maintain equipment in serviceable condition. Even many active divisions are greatly understrength, the result of widespread draft evasion and desertion.

Morale among those who do serve is low. Russia's best and brightest avoid the draft, and the quality of conscripts has fallen to the point where

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Belarus

Population: 11,000,000
Capital: Minsk

At the time of the USSR's collapse, the highest concentration of Soviet military power was located in Belarus. Two tank armies, an all arms army and an air army were based in White Russia, for a total of over 170,000 men. That was a force far beyond what the new Belarus government either needed or could afford, and by early 1995 her armed forces had been reduced by more than half, to 80,000.

The army (50,000) currently consists of four divisions: two motorized rifle, one tank and one airborne, along with three mechanized brigades and a field artillery division. They are organized into two corps *(5th* and *28th),* with a third cadre corps headquarters *(65th)* to be activated at full mobilization. There are 300,000 trained reserves.

The air force (30,000) has approximately 150 MiG aircraft (primarily MiG-25 interceptors), but lack of fuel and spare parts has limited pilots to 40 hours flying time a year, one-third that of their NATO counterparts.

The government of Belarus has maintained the closest ties to Moscow of any former republic, and in March 1996 the president of Belarus joined with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in an effort to lower economic barriers among those three former Soviet lands and Russia. At the same time Belarus has agreed to join Russia in a "Union of Two Republics," in which Belarus would give up much of its independence in economic and foreign policy. The exact effects of the Union Treaty on the armed forces remains unclear at this time.

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Georgia

Population: 5,500,000
Capital: Tbilisi

Georgia began to break away from the Soviet Union as early as 1989, when dozens were killed demonstrating for independence. Since becoming independent the nation has been torn by a multi-sided civil war between Tbilisi and the non-Georgian peoples of South Ossetia (in the north central part of Georgia) Abkhazia (in the northwest along the Black Sea), and Adjara (in the southwest bordering Turkey).

Ziviad Gamsakhurdia, Georgia's leader from October 1990 to January 1992, was a fierce nationalist whose hostility to Russia led him to oppose Georgia's joining the CIS. The Russians in turn provided arms, training and "volunteer" military forces to the Ossetian and Abkhazian rebels.

Gamsakhurdia's successor, former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, has adopted a more cooperative policy toward Russia. In July 1992, CIS peacekeeping forces were introduced into South Ossetia. When the Russians intervened in Chechnya in 1994, Shevardnadze endorsed Moscow's action. The Russians then withdrew their backing for the Abkhazian rebels, who've nevertheless maintained their independence from Tibilisi.

The Georgian defense force consists of 25,000 ground troops organized into six motorized infantry brigades and one armor regiment. There are two corps headquarters, *1st* and *2nd,* the latter commanding the Georgian forces that fought in Abkhazia in 1992–93. The *2nd Corps* suffered heavy losses during that period and was finally withdrawn. The Georgian air force has fewer than fifty serviceable aircraft, and the Georgian navy, based at Poti, has only 16 small vessels.

The South Ossetians' Secessionist Militia Guard has some 3,000 men, while the Abkhazian rebels have 4,000 native fighters, along with an additional 4,000 troops from outside Georgia. The rebels have no air force, but do have a handful of tanks and armored personnel carriers.

The Russian army has some 20,000 "peacekeepers" inside Georgia, including a motorized rifle division, a helicopter regiment, an airborne regiment and an air assault battalion. The presence of those forces has ended large scale fighting.

Shevardnadze must walk a fine line; he needs Russian support, or at least neutrality, in his struggle with the rebels. At the same time, his embrace of Yeltsin has alienated extreme Georgian nationalists, which led to an attempt by some of his own security forces to assassinate him in August 1995. Unwilling to grant Abkhazian independence, Tbilisi currently lacks the military might needed to enforce its will. Thanks to Scheverdnadze's diplomatic maneuvers and Russian intervention, Georgia has regained some stability, but its future remains uncertain.

20 percent of all recruits have criminal records at the time of their entry into service. Discipline is often both brutal and lax, as officers bully recruits but fail to maintain order in the established ranks. It's estimated one in 20 soldiers will be the victim of rape from his fellows in uniform.

Matters are little better among the officer corps. Roughly 180,000 officers, along with their families, are homeless. Pay remains low, and is often months in arrears. Under such conditions corruption has flourished, with officers selling the weapons under their command to criminals and foreigners. There are even rumors, which the Kremlin denies, that as many as 23 nuclear warheads are now unaccounted for.

Elites

Conditions are somewhat better among the airborne forces, which have retained their status as the cream of the army. The paratroop force now consists of five airborne divisions (reduced from six in 1989), not including the division-sized *242nd Training Center* at Omsk. There are also seven helicopter air assault brigades, though they have always been looked down upon by the paratroopers.

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Kazakhstan

Population: 17,500,000
Capital: Almaty

With a land area of over a million square miles, Kazakhstan is the largest CIS country apart from Russia. Ruled by President Nursultan Nazarbayev (who recently had himself confirmed in office until the year 2000), a former first secretary of the communist party. Kazakhstan has sought to strengthen ties with Russia while firmly maintaining its independence.

The Kazakh army (the former Soviet *40th Army)* has 45,000 men: one motorized rifle division, one tank division, an anti-tank brigade, a special purpose *(Spetsnaz)* brigade and two artillery brigades. The army has 2,700 tanks, including 2,180 T-72s, and one regiment of attack helicopters.

Kazakh military doctrine is defensive, with the large size of the nation dictating a policy of mobile response to areas under threat. There is also a substantial (23,000 men) internal security force, including a 2,000-man Republican Guard sworn to protect the President.

The air force has an additional 20,000 men and approximately 200 serviceable aircraft. The air force's major need is for more long range interceptors and — in common with the rest of the CIS states — more funding for training and repair.

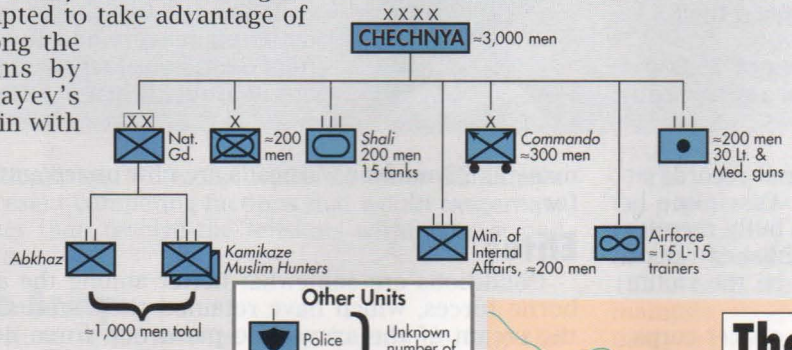
Chechnya

The Moslem Chechen tribesmen of the North Caucasus waged a bitter war against the Russian Empire before they were finally conquered in 1859. In 1918, after the fall of the czar, the Chechens briefly established an independent state, but the Red Army retook control of the region two years later. In 1940 the Chechens rose in revolt. Stalin responded by having the entire population deported to Central Asia in 1944. At least 200,000 died. The Chechens were only allowed to return to their homeland in 1957.

In November 1990 the National Congress of the Chechen People elected air force Gen. Dzhokar Dudayev as their leader, then adopted a declaration of independence, which Moscow ignored. A year later Dudayev was elected president of Chechnya, and a second declaration of independence was issued. Yeltsin responded by sending a small security detachment to the Chechen capital of Grozny to arrest Dudayev. Mobs of his supporters prevented their leaving the Grozny airport. The Russian parliament meanwhile voted against the use of troops to resolve the Chechen dispute.

Moscow next tried to remove Dudayev from power by offering support to his political rivals in Grozny. In March 1992 there was a an attempted coup by pro-Russian rebels. When that failed, Russia instituted an economic blockade.

In 1993 Dudayev dissolved the Chechen parliament and began to rule by decree. Once again Moscow attempted to take advantage of divisions among the Chechen clans by backing Dudayev's rivals, but again with little result.



By the end of 1994, a hard-line clique around Yeltsin convinced the Russian president only military intervention could put an end to the Chechen ulcer. Among the hawks were the minister of the Interior and the minister of nationalities and regional policy, the head of the Federal Counter-intelligence Service (FSK), and Yeltsin's advisor and bodyguard Alexander Khorzhakov. Intervention was initially opposed by Defense Minister Grachev, but his attempts to negotiate a settlement were undermined by the FSK.

On 11 December 1994, the Russians invaded Chechnya with a hurriedly gathered force of 10,000 men, many of them poorly trained Interior Ministry (MVD) and FSK troops. Three columns were launched to encircle Grozny from the north, west, and southeast. But the Chechens had nearly 7,000 highly motivated volunteer fighters. The western and southeast pincers were halted. The northern pincer only reached Grozny on 31 December, where intense street fighting began.

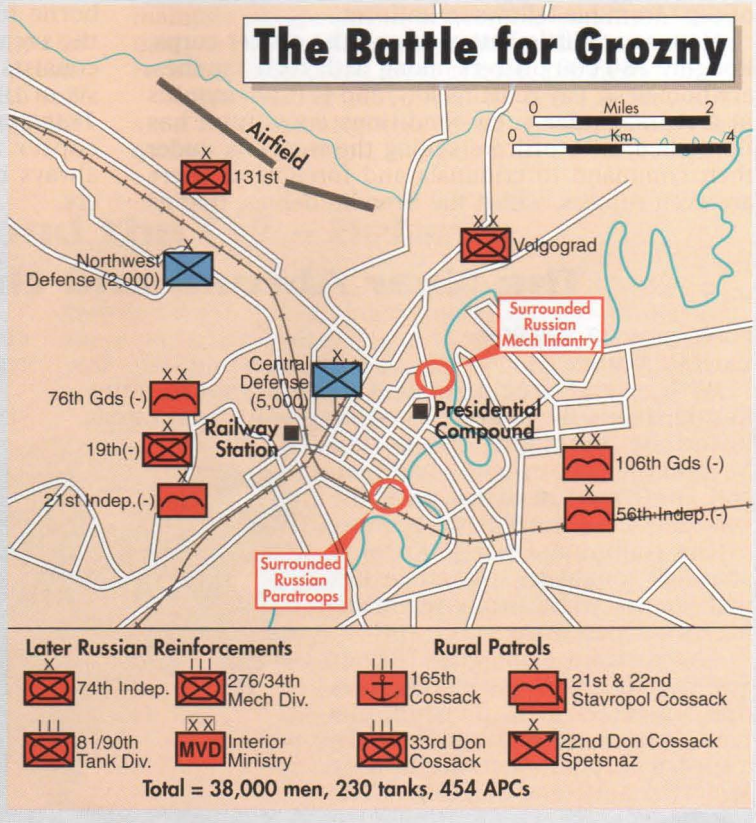
After the Russian commander in Chechnya was killed on 7 January 1995, Moscow ordered in reinforcements. By March the Russian force had grown to over 35,000 men, including an *ad hoc* airborne division made up of elements from the *76th, 104th* and *106th Airborne Divisions,* assault groups from three naval divisions of the Northern, Black Sea and Pacific Fleets, the *31st Maikop Motor Rifle Brigade,* and four additional motorized infantry regiments.

On 19 January the *276th Motor Rifle Regiment* and the *876th Independent Assault-Landing Battalion* captured the Chechen presidential palace. By 31 January the official Russian causalty figures listed 735 Russian dead, but the actual number was certainly higher. Moscow was not able to pronounce Grozny "secured" until 6 March, and even then Dudayev's fighters continued to wage guerrilla war from the surrounding hills and countryside.

Adopting a "destroy the village to save it" policy, the Russians responded to Chechen raids with indiscriminate shelling and bombing of towns. In reprisal, in June 1995 Chechen fighters slipped into the Russian town of Budennovsk, taking 2,500 hostages at the local hospital. After two futile Russian assaults, which cost the lives of 140 hostages, the Chechens were granted safe passage back to their homeland.

The war in Chechnya has been a debacle for the Yeltsin government. Criticized from the left for waging an unnecessary war, the Kremlin has also been attacked from the right for military ineptitude. The armed forces themselves have been split over the intervention, with several senior commanders resigning in protest over the invasion. Morale among the soldiers is poor. Moscow's attempt to improve esprit by handing out over 5,000 medals for bravery might have been more effective if fewer of them had been posthumous.

Yeltsin had thus been reduced, at the start of the presidential campaign in April 1996, to simply announcing the war is over. But the war continues and Russian losses are mounting. The question now is not whether Moscow can afford to grant Chechnya independence, but how long it can afford not to.



The Near Abroad and the CIS – Kyrgyzstan

Population: 4,600,000
Capital: Bishkek

A relatively stable nation, Kyrgyzstan recently joined Kazakhstan and Belarus in signing a treaty to lower economic barriers with Russia. Its small army consists of a single motorized rifle division (12,000). The air force (4,000 men) has access to a number of former Soviet air bases and over 300 aircraft, but no first-line interceptors.

The Kyrgyzstan armed forces remain closely integrated with and reliant upon the Russian armed forces. The Russians have loaned the air force a unit of MiG-21 interceptors for air defense, and Kyrgyzstan is a member of the Russian-sponsored Joint CIS Air Defense System. The Russians provide training to the officer corps, including training for battalion and brigade officers at the famous Frunze Military Academy in Moscow.

Kyrgyzstan's relations with neighboring Uzbekistan are tense, as the nation contains a large Uzbek minority. With its defenses remaining largely in Moscow's hands, Bishkek has found it expedient to support Russia in economic and foreign affairs.

In the west the Special Purpose Brigades (special forces, or *Spetsnaz*) have long been portrayed as the best of the best in the Russian armed forces. That title now more rightly belongs to the airborne brigades, but the *Spetsnaz* remain a cut above most Russian units. Often depicted as a force of saboteurs and assassins, their primary missions are actually intelligence gathering and reconnaissance. The *Spetsnaz* have been reduced from 10 brigades to eight. The establishment strength of each has been cut to 900 men, and several are seriously undermanned below that level. Overall, unlike the paratroops, the effectiveness of the Special Purpose Brigades is in steep decline.

Command & Doctrine

Command of the ground forces is divided. The airborne forces are under the operational control of the chief of the general staff, while the infantry, tank and artillery forces are assigned to the military districts (wartime "fronts"). The planned, but not yet implemented, creation of a rapid reaction mobile force, and the restructuring of the military districts into four "strategic groupings" will place a force of 100,000 under the direct control of the Russian president, operating through the general staff.

The old Soviet military districts, which were essentially unchanged from the days of czarist Russia, have also survived in the Russian Federation. The most obvious change is the reduction in the number of districts, with the loss of those in the newly independent republics (what the Russians term the "Near Abroad").

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Moldova

Population: 4,300,000
Capital: Chisinau

Under the USSR, the Moldovian Soviet Socialist Republic had been formed from the union of Bessarabia, seized from Romania in World War II, and the Moldovian Autonomous SSR east of the Dniester River. In 1990, as part of the wave of nationalist unrest sweeping the Soviet Union during the late Gorbachev era, Moldova declared itself a sovereign republic. Full independence was declared on 27 August 1991.

Fearing Chisinau planned to reunite Moldova with Romania, Russian nationalists in the Dniester region (who make up 23 percent of the population there) began to demand their own autonomy. In late 1991 they declared themselves an independent republic.

From the start the Dniester Republic has received backing from the Russian *14th All Arms Army* stationed there. The first military advisors to the rebel republic were two retired commanders of that force. Officers of the *14th Army* helped organize and equip the rebels' army, the *Dniester Guard.* Russian and cossack volunteers also arrived to support the breakaway republic. Throughout 1991 and the first half of 1992 fierce guerrilla fighting erupted along and east of the Dniester river.

For Moldova, the existence of the Dniester Republic has been the focus of both military and foreign policy. Though in theory the government can call upon 100,000 reservists, Chisinau's army numbers only 11,000 men, organized into three motorized infantry brigades. The army has 250 armored vehicles, but fewer than 100 tanks. The air force has fewer than 100 planes, including 12 MiG-29s. Opposing the Moldovian army, the *Dniester Guard* has 10,000 troops, including 4,000 Cossack volunteers.

In June 1992, as all-out war seemed about to break out in Moldova, Gen. Alexander Lebed arrived to take command of *14th Army.* He immediately mobilized the 10,000-man *59th Guards Motorized Rifle Division,* and announced his forces would retaliate fully against any attacks on Russian troops. He then conducted negotiations that led to the introduction of CIS peacekeeping forces (including four Russian airborne battalions) along the Dniester. In effect, Lebed used *14th Army* to shield the fledging Dniester Republic from invasion.

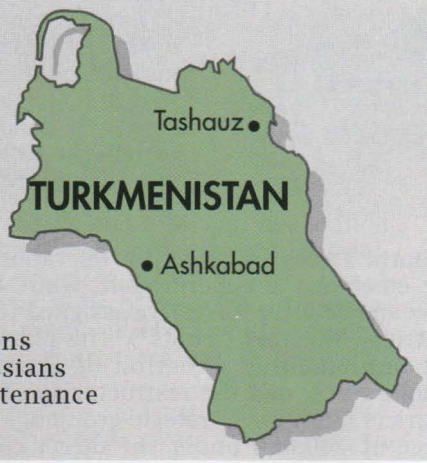
Moscow has since been ambivalent about its policy toward Moldova. In October 1994, Russia and Moldova agreed to the gradual withdrawal over three years of *14th Army,* but the Russians now claim pulling out that army's 90,000 troops will take longer to complete.

Whether the Dniester Republic can survive without the protection of the *14th Army* is an open question. The removal of Lebed in May 1995 is another sign the Kremlin's support for the rebels may be weakening. But the greatest blow to the rebel government was Moldova's decision not to unite with Romania, which has undermined much of the popular support east of the Dniester for continued separation.

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Turkmenistan

Population: 4,250,000
Capital: Ashkhabad

Turkmenistan is a relatively stable nation. It's foreign policy aims at closer relations with neighboring Turkey without offending Moscow. The Turkmen army has 20,000 men in three motorized rifle divisions, one tank and three artillery brigades. The Turkmen air force is sizable but much of it is in storage (there over 500 MiG-29 interceptors in mothballs, but only 16 in service), and the air force remains dependent on the Russians for spare parts, maintenance and even pilots.



Today seven military districts remain. They are the Leningrad (the name has apparently not been changed, though the city of Leningrad itself is again officially and popularly known as St. Petersburg), Moscow, Volga, Urals, North Caucasus, Transbaikal, and Far East military districts. There are also seven Combined Headquarters Groups, and a special Western Group of Forces (100,000 men) within the Kaliningrad enclave on the Baltic.

Despite the organizational similarity, there is one profound difference between the military districts of the Russian Federation and the Soviet Union. Previously the districts consisted of two layers, with the outer layer of districts acting as a buffer protecting the internal layer (the Moscow, North Caucasus, Siberian, Urals, and Volga districts). The inner layer in turn acted as force generators and sources of replacements for the forces in the frontier districts.

With the loss of the Baltic States, Belarus, the Caucasus, the Moslem republics of Central Asia, and most of all Ukraine, the outer layer has been peeled away. For the first time since Peter the Great, excepting the Russian Civil War of 1918-20, Moscow doesn't control the areas immediately surrounding the vulnerable Russian heartland. That geographic fact, along with new limits placed on the army by the chaotic post-Soviet economy, and the changing nature of the threats to the Russian state, have led to a profound rethinking of military doctrine.

The military doctrine of the Soviet Union had been geared to protecting the Communist Empire from the perceived threats of NATO in the west and China in the east. The Red Army had been preparing itself to refight (albeit with modern weapons) the great mechanized battles of World War II. Remembering the destructiveness of those battles, the armed forces' highest goal was to insure any future war be fought outside the territory of the

The Air Force & Navy

The Russian Air Force in Europe is limited by the Conventional Forces Europe Treaty to 3,450 combat aircraft, 850 armed helicopters and 300 naval aircraft. The actual Russian inventory currently includes 145 strategic bombers, 250 long range bombers, 2,000 close air support craft and 1,050 interceptors in service. But many of those aircraft are either out of date or in poor repair.

Not all combat planes are under air force control. In 1991 the role of close ground support was assigned to the army, leaving the air force with control over strategic bombing and "Front Aviation." The latter is a newly reinstituted concept from World War II, combining fighter and fighter-bomber assets in support of ground operations distinct from immediate tactical requirements.

Much of the air force budget and manpower (165,000 men) is devoted to the Air Defense Force, which includes fighters, surface to air missile units, and detection and tracking installations. The end of the Soviet Union meant key radar and tracking stations were suddenly located in territory no longer under Moscow's control, in the independent nations of the Near Abroad. The Russians have attempted to remedy that problem by the creation, at the February 1995 Almaty CIS summit, of a Joint CIS Air Defense Command. Russian Air Defense forces are currently stationed in Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

The air force's largest problem is lack of fuel, which drastically limits training. Fighter pilots receive only 40 hours of flying time per year, strategic bomber crews only 80. These numbers are less than a third the flying time for NATO pilots, and they are considered less than the amount required to maintain basic piloting skills, much less combat effectiveness. Until the problem is remedied, the Russian air force will be not much more than a hollow shell of its former self.

The Russian navy is also suffering from shortages of fuel for training. Recent photographs show major surface vessels anchored in port with peeling paint and skeleton crews. Of the four Russian fleets (the Northern, Baltic, Black Sea and Pacific), only the submarines of the Northern Fleet continue to operate at near Cold War levels.

The submarine service now has 39 SSBNs (nuclear ballistic missile), 19 SSGNs (nuclear guided missile), five SSGs (guided missile), 51 SSNs (nuclear attack), and 60 SS (conventional attack) subs. New subs continue to enter service while older vessels are scrapped. The trend is toward a smaller but more modern fleet. The effectiveness of the Russian silent service is expected to be enhanced by the increasing use of professional contract sailors in place of conscripts.

The Russian surface navy has two helicopter carriers, three battle cruisers, 10 cruisers, 33 destroyers and 131 frigates. There is also Russia's first conventional aircraft carrier, the *Admiral Kuznetsov,* which has been assigned to the Northern Fleet.

The Russian navy has 300,000 men, roughly one-third of whom serve aboard ships, with the remainder involved in training, logistical and other support services and naval aviation. Each fleet also has its own naval ground force. The largest group, equipped with 350 tanks and 800 armored personnel carriers, belongs to the Northern Fleet. It includes two naval infantry brigades, a coast defense division, a coastal artillery regiment, and a special purpose brigade.

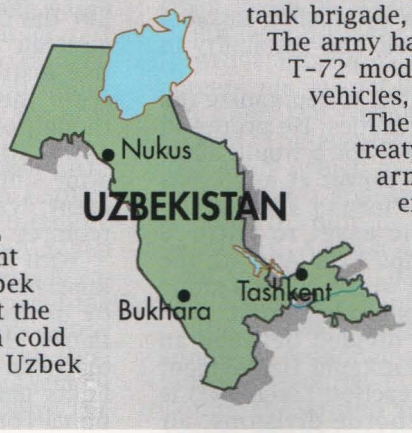
Naval units have been heavily involved in both the war in Chechnya and in CIS peacekeeping operations. Further expansion of the naval ground force, possibly at the expense of the fleets, can be expected in the future.

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Uzbekistan

Population: 22,000,000
Capital: Tashkent

Bordering all four of the new central Asian republics (Kazakhstan to the north and west, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to the east, Turkmenistan to the south), Uzbekistan has emerged as one of the strongest states in the region. While maintaining close relations with Moscow, Tashkent has also moved to strengthen ties with Turkey.

Uzbekistan has a large Tajik minority, and fear the turmoil inside Tajikistan might spread across the border has led to Uzbek economic and military aid to Dushanbe. At the same time, Tashkent has been waging a cold war with Kyrgyzstan, which has a large Uzbek population.



The Uzbek armed forces are a mix of conscripts and contract volunteers. The army has a strength of 10,000 men: one motorized rifle division (of two regiments), one tank brigade, one artillery and one airborne brigade. The army has 350 tanks in service (mostly T-62 and T-72 models). There are also 750 other armored vehicles, with another 1,000 in storage.

The air force is being reduced to adhere to treaty obligations: 100 combat aircraft and 32 armed helicopters. This downsizing will effectively halve the nation's air assets.

The Russian military has two air defense regiments based in Uzbekistan, along with a regiment of SU-27 interceptor aircraft. It's also rumored the Russians may have as many as 800 artillery pieces stationed in Uzbekistan as well.

USSR, and was therefore conducted on at least an "offensive-defensive" basis.

Under Gorbachev a new doctrine was introduced. It called for a "reasonable sufficiency" of force to conduct a "defensive defense." The motivating factor behind the new doctrine was simply the USSR's shrinking defense budget, and after 1989 the loss of its eastern European satraps. The nation could no longer foot the bill necessary to maintain the older definition of "sufficiency." Attempts by the military to resurrect pre-Gorbachev doctrine in 1992 were thus rejected out of hand by the Russian parliament.

Not until November 1993, following the army's support for the armed attack on his political enemies that October, did Yeltsin approve (in Presidential Decree 1833) a new doctrine for the armed forces, which has remained in effect since.

That new doctrine, developed by the general staff under instruction from Grachev, is an attempt to reconcile the limits of post-Soviet power with the generals' desire to revive the army's power and influence in both domestic and foreign policy. On the domestic side it calls for the government to protect both the army's material well-being and its public prestige. The decree also authorizes use of the military at home in matters ranging from organized crime to attempts to secede from the Federation.

In foreign affairs the document clearly states the interests of Russia are to be considered before those of the CIS, even in contravention of already signed CIS accords. Moscow has also made clear its intention to protect the interests of the millions of ethnic Russians in the Near Abroad.

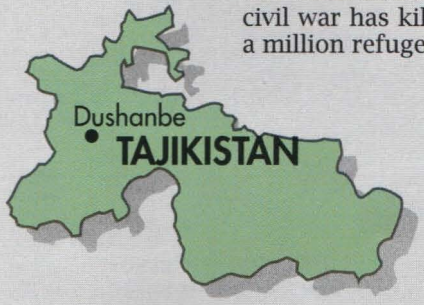
On a strategic/operational level, Russian doctrine has changed to take account of the receding

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Tajikistan

Population: 6,000,000
Capital: Dushanbe

During the Russian Civil War, Enver Pasha, the deposed war minister of the Ottoman Empire, attempted to create a new Islamic state in Tajikistan. He was killed fighting the Red Army in 1922, but it wasn't until 1933 the Soviets finally crushed all Moslem opposition in the region. Today Tajikistan is again the site of conflict between Russian and militant Islamic forces. The war in Afghanistan (a country with 4,000,000 ethnic Tajiks) during the 1980s led to a rise in Moslem fundamentalism. But anti-Russian riots took place in Dushanbe as early as 1978, the year before the Afghan war began.

After independence was declared in 1991, the first Tajik president was Rahman Nabiyev, leader of the Tajik Communist Party and chairman of the local supreme Soviet. Nabiyev's communist past, and his eagerness to establish close ties with Moscow, alienated the mullahs (the Islamic religious leadership). At the same time, his decision to rule by decree angered more progressive elements. In May 1992 the opposition People's Volunteer Corps seized control of most of the capital. Nabiyev was forced to share power with his enemies.



Not surprisingly this arrangement soon collapsed and open civil war began. Nabiyev was forced to flee Dushanbe. Then, in the fall, his own supporters voted him out of power, replacing him with Imamali Rakhmonov.

Lacking any organized military, the new Tajik leader turned to Moscow for help. CIS troops from Russia and Uzbekistan intervened against the rebels. In October 1992 the Russian *201st Motorized Rifle Division* launched an offensive against the Islamic Popular Democratic Army. In December the rebels were driven out of Dushanbe after bloody street fighting. Over 25,000 Islamic fighters were driven over the border into Afghanistan.

The rebel defeat did not end the fighting. Though Moscow arranged a cease-fire in April 1994, and a UN observer mission arrived to monitor it that December, the truce has been honored only sporadically. To date the Tajik civil war has killed tens of thousands and created almost a million refugees.

The Tajik army numbers fewer than 5,000 men, and Dushanbe has no air force. The Kremlin has been growing increasingly impatient with this state of affairs. But Moscow can't withdraw without risking an Islamic victory that might lead to similar Islamic revolts throughout the CIS.

threat from both NATO and China. The dangers to Russian security now are largely internal, from ethnic, religious and nationalist forces inside the Federation, as in the ongoing war in Chechnya. The remaining external threats are from militant Islam, with its appeal to the millions of Moslem Russian citizens around the Caspian Sea, and instability in the neighboring republics.

In 1992 Grachev outlined plans to reorganize the army to deal with these new realities. He proposed the creation of a "Mobile Force," which would allow the Kremlin to inject military power at any crisis point within or around the Russian Federation. With this powerful strategic asset to enforce Moscow's will at home or in the Near Abroad, the remainder of the armed forces would adapt a static defensive role guarding the Russian heartland.

The Mobile Force is to be divided between an Immediate Reaction Force and a Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). The Immediate Reaction Force (IRF) is to be formed around the airborne divisions, air assault and *Spetsnaz* brigades, along with an amphibious assault force of seven navy and marine battalions, 12 to 14 aviation regiments and three army airlift divisions. The IRF is to be kept on constant alert status, ready to move within 24 hours to any trouble spot. It would be backed by the RDF, three army corps and an air army, which could be deployed as reinforcements in three to seven days.

The Mobile Force idea represents a radical departure from the mass mechanized armies of the USSR. But the concept is well suited to Russia's current strategic needs, and could no doubt prove an effective instrument of Russian power. Unfortunately, from the Kremlin viewpoint, the Mobile Force, though originally slated to become operational in 1994, still exists mostly on paper. The Russian army simply lacks the money to provide the equipment, training, transport and logistical support required.

With the creation of the Mobile Force stalled, the Russians have attempted to increase their security by beefing up the forces holding their strategic flanks, the North Caucasus and Leningrad military districts. To do this they have had to violate the limits placed on their forces there by the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), signed by the Soviet Union in 1990.

The CFE Treaty dealt with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from eastern Europe and set limits on deployments of tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery and combat aircraft in the Soviet Union

Guardians of The State

The Russian security forces now control almost 350,000 well armed troops, 35 percent of the size of the rest of the Russian ground force. The budgets of the security services have continued to grow at the expense of the Defense Ministry. Yet the role of the security forces in Russia remains unclear. In general, though, they can be seen as an expensive and potentially dangerous legacy of the USSR.

The Border Troops

The Russian Border Guards were first established in 1893. In 1993, Boris Yeltsin made them an independent force, the "Border Service of the Russian Federation." Today there are 190,000 Border Troops, though their authorized establishment calls for 250,000. They are equipped with armor, light artillery and assault helicopters.

Their primary responsibility is of course the security of Russia's immense borders. There are seven Border Districts, with separate operational groups stationed in Kaliningrad and outside Russia in Kyrgyzstan (2,500), Turkmenistan (15,000), Georgia and Armenia (2,000), and Tajikistan (20,000). Border troops have also been used in Chechnya.

The Director of the Border Service is Gen. Andrei Nikolayev, an able administrator who's won Yeltsin's confidence. He was thus able to block Defense Minister Grachev's attempt to gain control of the border troops, and has even been considered a candidate to replace that minister. But Nikolayev was embarrassed in June 1995 when he issued a self-congratulatory statement on his troops' success in sealing the border with Chechnya on the same day Chechen rebels seized hostages in the Russian town of Budyonnovsk.

The Federal Security Service

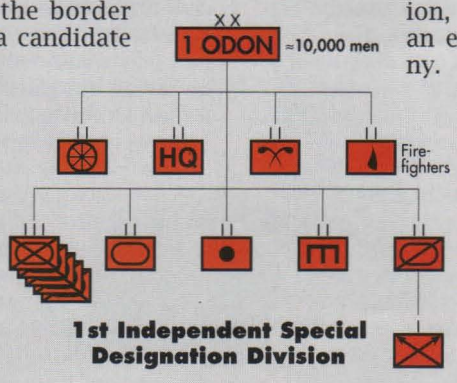
The Federal Security Service (the Federal Counter-intelligence Service prior to April 1995) is the latest incarnation of the combined 2nd and 5th Chief Directorates of the Soviet KGB. With a strength of 10,000, its responsibilities include counter-intelligence, anti-terrorism, providing armed bodyguards and trained assassins, and "gathering information on threats to Russia's security." That last mandate is sufficiently broad to allow the conduct of operations abroad in competition with the Foreign Intelligence Service (the former KGB First Chief Directorate).

The Federal Security Service is headed by Gen. Mikhail Barsukov, an ally of Gen. Alexander Khorzhakov, who controls the 10,000 troops of the Presidential Security Service. The two men are the leading hawks in Yeltsin's inner circle.

Ministry of Internal Affairs Troops

The Russian Interior Ministry (the MVD) controls 70,000 mechanized light infantry troops. These are divided between static garrison units and a mobile 30,000 man Operational Designation Force (OPNAZ). OPNAZ troops are armed with tanks, armored personnel carriers and helicopters.

The most important OPNAZ unit is the 1st Independent Special Designation Division (1st ODON) stationed just outside Moscow. A reinforced mechanized unit, its 10,000 troops are organized in five mechanized regiments, a tank battalion, an artillery battalion, various specialized support units, and an elite anti-terrorist Special Forces company.



1st Independent Special Designation Division

The 1st ODON was formerly the *Felix Dzherzhinsky Division,* founded in 1924 to protect the communist leadership from counter-revolution. Traditionally the *1st ODON* is noted for its absolute obedience to authority. In 1991 it obeyed orders from the leaders of the August Coup. Two years later it obeyed Yeltsin during the assault on the Russian parliament.

west of the Urals. After the Soviet Union was dissolved, the emerging CIS republics generally accepted a share of the forces allowed to the Soviet Union under the treaty.

In the case of Ukraine, that left the Russians facing a potentially hostile neighbor possessing 4,080 tanks to Moscow's 6,400, and 1,420 combat aircraft to 4,340. With its vastly greater airspace to protect, Russia considered Ukraine's air allocation under the CFE too high, and was also alarmed by the near parity in tank strength.

The Russians have complained, with some justification, the CFE was intended to deal with a Soviet empire that no longer exists, and should therefore be renegotiated. So far this plea has largely fallen on deaf ears in the west. James Woolsey, who negotiated the CFE agreement for the US, has called the Russians' arguments "spurious." In rhetoric rarely heard since the Cold War, he's accused the Russians of seeking a chance to destroy the agreement to serve their "ambitions for dominance in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe."

The Russians have tried to get around the force limits imposed by the CFE in various ways. Tanks and air assets have been transferred from the armed forces to the MVD, for example, while Georgia has been forced to count Russian units on its soil as part of her own force limits.

The war in Chechnya and the general instability in the Caucasus have also increased the Russians' dissatisfaction with the CFE, and their violations of its limits have grown more blatant. From Moscow's perspective the treaty imperils their ability to station forces in an area of genuine threats to national security. But Russia's actions, however logical militarily, have only served, at least so far, to increase suspicion in the west.

But even if those CFE violations are taken to flatly prove Russia cannot be trusted to honor its agreements, even if Russia returns to its authoritarian past, the former Soviet menace cannot be revived. The events of 1989 to 1991 shattered the Red Army (which in hindsight was probably less a threat than it appeared at the time). What remains is powerful only in comparison to its immediate neighbors. Against the forces of western Europe, even without the United States, the Russian army would stand no chance of offensive success.

The problem for the Kremlin can be stated most simply in economic terms. In the 1980s the Soviet military devoured 15 percent of the USSR's wealth. Today the armed forces, including the Border Troops and the forces of the MVD, take 22 percent of a vastly reduced Russian budget. But to bring the military up to the level of effectiveness envisioned by Presidential Decree 1833 would require a staggering 44 percent of the annual budget. It cannot be done.

The greatest threat to the west is posed not by Russian strength but by Russian weakness. But the opportunity, if it ever really existed, for a new Marshall Plan to secure the foundations of a stable

The Near Abroad and the CIS – Ukraine

Population: 51,500,000
Capital: Kiev

The most populous CIS nation after Russia and the largest CIS nation lying entirely within Europe, Ukraine's defense establishment is the second largest within the area of the former Soviet Union.

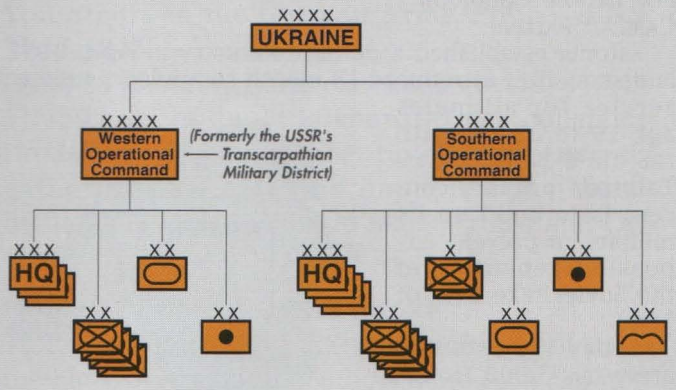
The army has 217,000 men. In addition to the units in the diagram, there are six attack and five support helicopter regiments; however, many of those units are only at cadre strength.

The Ukraine has over 4,000 tanks, including 1,500 T-72s and 350 T-80/90s. That's a formidable force, comparable to the 6,400 Russian tanks allowed in Europe under the CFE treaty.

The army is supported by over 50,000 border guards, 12,000 internal security troops, and a 35,000-man national guard. There are also 100,000 paramilitary troops in the country, though Kiev has recently begun cracking down on the largest of these, the 70,000 member right wing Union of Ukrainian Officers.

Ukraine inherited the Russian system of military districts (the Kiev, Odessa and Carpathian Military Districts), but they've since been disbanded and replaced by two "strategic groupings," Western and Southern. It's also planned to replace the Soviet army and division order of battle with more western-style corps and brigade designations.

Under the CFE, Ukraine's air force is limited to 1,090 combat aircraft and 330 armed helicopters. But Kiev inherited some 3,000 Soviet military aircraft, and the air force currently has 1,150 combat planes (not including trainers), with another 500 in reserve, including 314 MiG-21s.



The Ukrainian navy has a strength of 15,000 men. In 1995 Ukraine signed a treaty giving it 18.3 percent of the Black Sea Fleet, the remainder going to the Russian Federation. The core of the fleet is two frigates and 40 smaller vessels.

That resolved one thorny issue between Kiev and Moscow, but others remain. The status of the Crimea, with its large Russian population and the huge naval base at Sevastapol, continues to be a major source of friction. Both Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma have an interest in improving relations, but both are likewise wary of provoking a nationalist backlash at home by seeming to give away too much.

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and democratic Russia has passed. We shall have to live in the future less under the threats posed by Russian expansion than by those posed by continued Russian implosion. ✪

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The Baltic States

The three Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are the only former Soviet Republics that didn't join the CIS. All three nations have worked to establish a joint Baltic States battalion to participate in UN peacekeeping operations.

Estonia

POPULATION: 1,600,000
CAPITAL: TALLINN

Estonia established a defense ministry in April 1992, and soon after introduced 18 month compulsory military service for all males age 19 to 28. As with the other Baltic States, Tallinn's primary concern is to build up its military to prevent any possible repetition of the Soviet take over of 1940.

Today the Estonian army has 5,000 troops organized into six mechanized infantry battalions and a rapid reaction regiment. The army is backed by a nationalist paramilitary force, the Defense League *(Kaitselitt),* which has 16 battalions (6,000 men). The *Kaitselitt* is a mixed blessing, for its members have provoked incidents with Estonia's large Russian population. One Estonian politician has compared it to "a large gentlemen's club, rather than a responsible paramilitary organization."

Latvia

POPULATION: 2,700,000
CAPITAL: RIGA

Latvia's first security concern was insuring the removal of the 60,000 Russian troops based there. That was accomplished by September 1994, with the help of diplomatic pressure from the west. Latvia's second military objective has been the formation of an army large enough to discourage any Russian return.

Currently the Latvian armed forces consist of four 800-man mechanized infantry battalions and 11 frontier guard infantry battalions. Ultimately it's planned for a standing army of 9,000 men, backed by 10,000 national guards. The latter is an all volunteer force, which in peacetime is under parliamentary control. In the event of war, however, it would subordinate to the army and the ministry of defense.

Lithuania

POPULATION: 3,900,000
CAPITAL: VILNIUS

Lithuania was the first of the Baltic States to declare its independence, in March 1990. Six weeks later an embryo defense ministry, the Department for the Protection of the Region, was established. By January 1991, the Lithuanian armed forces had reached 12,500 men, in addition to 32,000 paramilitary volunteers.

Today Lithuania has 25,000 men under arms, including border and civil defense units. The army's main formation is the recreated *16th Lithuanian Division,* a World War II Red Army unit that had been disbanded in the 1950s.

Lithuania has maintained the most cordial relations with Moscow of all the Baltic States. As a result, it was first to be freed of Russian troops. That was accomplished by September 1993, with most of the Russian personnel, some 45,000, being transferred to the coastal enclave of Kaliningrad.

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A Fleet Squandered

Hitler's Surface Ships

by Tom Dworschak

Preparations for War

For Germany's navy — *Der Kriegsmarine* — World War II came six years too early. On 3 September 1939, when France and England declared war on Germany in response to Hitler's invasion of Poland, the naval rearmament program, the "Z-Plan," was only eight months old. That grandiose building scheme would eventually have given the Third Reich a fleet to rival the Royal Navy, including eight battleships and 10 battlecruisers, but the majority of the units were not to have been ready until 1945.

In the meantime, Germany would have to fight the world's greatest sea power with what ships were on hand. Adm. Erich Raeder, commander in chief of the German navy since 1928, had overseen the resurrection of his service after World War I. After throwing off the limitations imposed by the Versailles Treaty, which had barred Germany from possessing military planes, aircraft carriers, submarines and all warships in excess of 10,000 tons, by the time the new war began Germany possessed a modern, though small, fleet: two battlecruisers, three pocket battleships, one heavy cruiser, six light cruisers and 22 destroyers.

Hitler (right center), with Adm. Raeder on his right, departs after launching the heavy cruiser Prinz Eugen *on 22 August 1938.* National Archives

But even when the two new battleships, *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz,* joined the fleet, the outnumbered *Kriegsmarine* would still be no real match for the British navy, which in 1939 had a dozen battleships, three battlecruisers, seven aircraft carriers, 62 cruisers and 159 destroyers.

As the war began, Raeder hoped the German inferiority in numbers would be offset, at least in part, by the qualitative superiority he assumed would be inherent in his more modern vessels. In fact, though, there really wasn't much basis for such a hope. The single heavy cruiser, *Hipper,* was in refit until January 1940. The *Scheer,* one of three pocket battleships, was beset by protracted engine problems and would remain under repair until October 1940. The battlecruiser *Scharnhorst* was also suffering engine problems; while even more importantly, she and her sister ship *Gneisenau* lacked the firepower required to successfully engage British battleships, and both needed to be upgraded from 11-inch to 15-inch guns before they could be considered true capital ships.

Deployment of the major German warships would also be hamstrung by the destroyers available as escorts for the larger units. They were not designed for long ocean cruises, and their limited range was further reduced because their poor seakeeping qualities required them to retain at least 30 percent of their fuel or risk capsizing in heavy seas.

Even more serious shortcomings existed in the light cruisers. The weight-saving technique of welding their hulls brought on critical structural deficiencies, which were aggravated by the addition of more topside mass after commissioning. Simple peace time operations had already caused cracking in their superstructures. Consequently, all six light cruisers had to be barred from operating in the Atlantic and were also prohibited from dropping below half their fuel capacities.

Equally grievous faults handicapped the German capital ships, destroyers and heavy cruisers. The propulsion system Raeder had personally chosen to propel those vessels — superheated, high-pressure, steam boilers — proved to be of dubious reliability. Under the rigors of extended use, the boilers broke down with alarming frequency. Worse, the heavy cruisers' turbines were not fuel efficient, so any combat voyages would be operationally hampered by the requirement to pre-position tankers to keep them fueled.

But the most serious of the *Kriegsmarine's* flaws was the almost complete absence of a naval air arm. *Luftwaffe* chief Herman Göring secured personal control over virtually all the Reich's military aircraft. The only planes operated independently by the navy were the few seaplanes actually carried on some of the larger ships. Even they were serviced and flown by air force personnel. Raeder opposed the arrangement, but his apolitical background left him at a distinct disadvantage in arguments with Göring, Hitler's long time Nazi crony.

The *Luftwaffe's* aircraft monopoly, besides hindering the formation of an air group for the planned aircraft carrier *Graf Zeppelin,* meant that in any naval operation only land based air support would be available, and then only at Göring's whim. The *Kriegsmarine* also contributed to the bad situation when its command declared torpedoes to be exclusively naval weapons, refusing to give any to the *Luftwaffe* to provide the basis for development of air-launched versions.

When the war began, Raeder told his officers: "Gentlemen, we have no choice — total engagement. Die with dignity!"

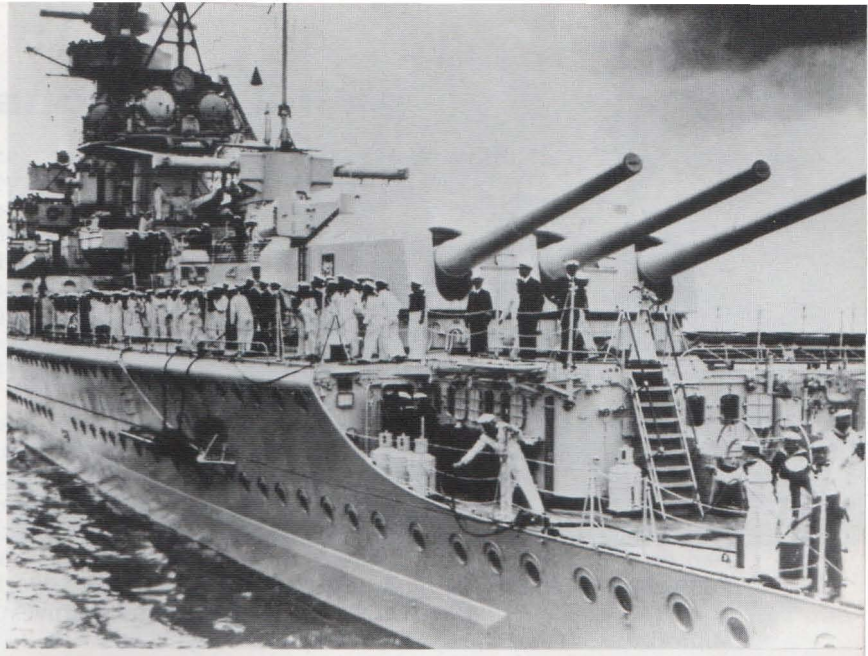
Later he wrote in his diary that in the expanding war his navy men could hope to do little more than show they knew how "to die gallantly."

The Early War at Sea

Despite his pessimism, Raeder was determined to imbue an offensive spirit in the fleet. In late August, before the outbreak of war, he dispatched a pair of pocket battleships to two areas in the Atlantic. The *Deutschland* and the supply ship *Westerwald* were sent to a position off Greenland, while the *Graf Spee* and the replenishment vessel *Altmark* were deployed halfway between South America and Africa.

When France and Britain declared war, however, Hitler still refused to permit the two warships to attack enemy merchantmen, hoping hostilities would end after the fall of Poland. Only on 26 September, after it had become apparent the war would continue, did he give in to Raeder's requests and release the pocket battleships for commerce raiding.

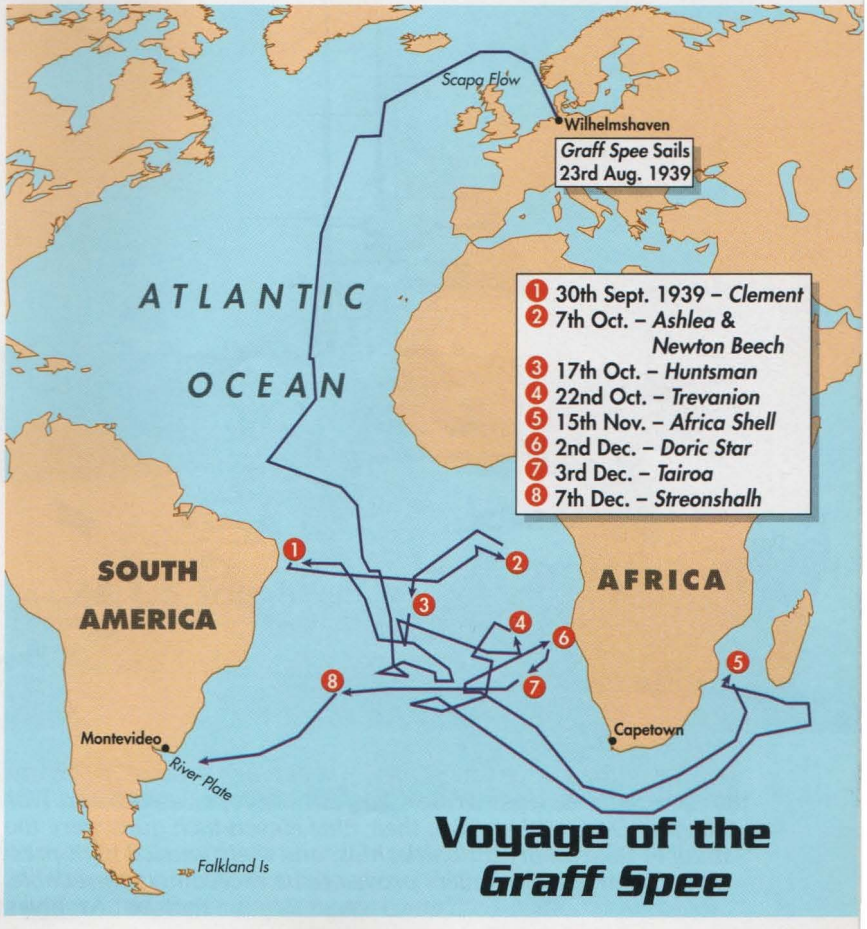
The *Deutschland's* cruise was soon cut short by Hitler, who ordered her back to port, fearing a blow to Germany's prestige and national morale if the ship bearing the nation's name were lost. But for two and a half months the *Graf Spee* marauded across the South Atlantic and western Indian Oceans, picking off nine merchantmen while eluding the 23 Allied ships sent to hunt her down. On 13 December, outside the River Plate estuary, looking for one last target before heading back to Germany, *Graf Spee* was caught by three British cruisers, the *Exeter, Ajax* and *Achilles.* In the ensuing "Battle of the River Plate," the German ship got the better of the engagement, heavily damaging



The crew of the Admiral Graf Spee *musters on deck. Along with her sisterships* Deutschland *and* Admiral Scheer, *the* Graff Spee *was unlike any other warship in the world, since she mounted battleship-caliber guns on a hull smaller than that of some heavy cruisers.* National Archives

Exeter, but still suffered enough to cause her to take refuge in the nearest port, the Uruguayan capital of Montevideo.

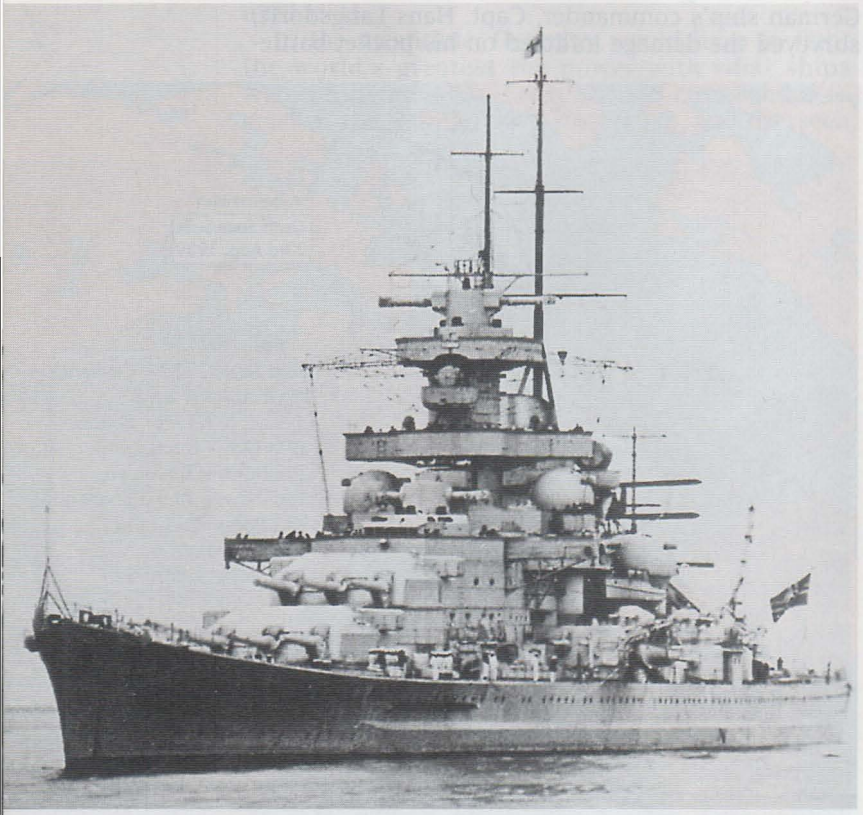
The *Graf Spee* dropped anchor at Montevideo just before midnight on 13 December, while *Achilles* and *Ajax* remained outside the harbor. The German ship's commander, Capt. Hans Langsdorff, surveyed the damage inflicted on his pocket battle-



The Deutschland, *with guns at full elevation, at sea in 1936.*
National Archives

ship, concluding he needed 14 days to make her seaworthy again. But after just 24 hours in port, the Uruguayan authorities, citing international law, informed Langsdorff he'd be allowed only 72 more hours to make repairs, departing then or suffering internment.

As the crew furiously patched holes and made other repairs as best they could, the ship's gunnery officer reported sighting the battle cruiser *Renown* and the carrier *Ark Royal* outside the port. In fact, however, only the heavy cruiser *Cumberland* had arrived, replacing the damaged *Exeter.*



The battlecruiser Gneisenau. *She and her sister ship* Scharnhorst *were the* Kriegsmarine's *largest warships when World War II began. Despite their size, their nine eleven-inch guns were too small to take on British battleships, and their untried high-pressure steam boilers proved to be exceedingly unreliable.*
National Archives

Regardless of the actual number of enemy vessels immediately outside the port, Langsdorff was fully aware the Royal Navy would be concentrating against his lone ship. On the 15th, after presiding over funeral services ashore for his slain crewmen, he signaled Berlin for instructions. Raeder, aware of the Uruguayan government's pro-Allied sentiments, considered internment in Montevideo to be tantamount to surrendering the ship to the British. He told Langsdorff to either fight through to Buenos Aires, Argentina (a country with a much more pro-Axis neutrality at that time in the war), breakout completely and return to Germany, or scuttle the ship.

Langsdorff was thus left with few options. Having been given enough time to only partially repair his ship's damage, battling past the blockading vessels and then steaming alone the 7,000 miles back to Germany through a fully alerted British fleet seemed a bleak proposition. Even the much shorter cruise to Buenos Aires would have required a ship the size of *Graf Spee,* due to the course of the estuary channel, to go out through the British and then turn back toward the Argentinean harbor.

The *Graf Spee* had expended over half her ammunition in the Battle of the River Plate; another action would surely use up the remaining shells with no hope for resupply. In addition to limiting him to no more than one engagement, the ammunition shortage also restricted Langsdorff's freedom of action in another fashion: the shallow waters around Montevideo precluded him from merely pulling the ship's seacocks if scuttling became necessary. He would have to conserve what ammunition remained so he could explode the ship if circumstances forced him to scuttle.

Faced with such dismal alternatives, Langsdorff put 700 of his men ashore, and at 6:15 p.m. on 17 December 1939, an hour and 45 minutes before the Uruguayan deadline expired, he and a skeleton crew sailed the *Graf Spee* past some 750,000 onlookers out to shallow water. At 8:54, exactly at sunset, the captain detonated the charges that blew the bottom out of his ship. Returning to shore, he wrote a letter to the German ambassador in Argentina, justifying his actions, then two days later wrapped himself in his ship's battle ensign and killed himself with a pistol shot.

The *Graf Spee's* demise in this way infuriated Hitler, who'd expected the pocket battleship to either break out successfully or at least take some British ships with her to the bottom. The ignominious suicide of both the ship and her captain sparked a growing distrust in the *Führer* of the *Kriegsmarine's* surface ships and their captains.

The *Graf Spee's* loss was not the only cause for consternation in the navy high command during this period. In Europe itself, coordination with the *Luftwaffe* was also far short of satisfactory. For instance, the air force's use of its own call signs and map coordinate system caused critical interservice communication breakdowns. Relations between the two services reached a low point in February 1940, when *Luftwaffe* aircraft inadvertently attacked and sank two *Kriegsmarine* destroyers. A livid Raeder accused Göring or "sabotaging naval warfare," and even implied a court martial should be convened against the Reichsmarshal.

The navy's other primary effort in the early months of the war centered on two mine laying operations. A mine barrier — then referred to as

A Flight of Fancy: The Z-Plan

Though upon coming to power Hitler professed he sought no war with England, his aggressive foreign policy soon set Germany on a path that inexorably led to just such a conflict. In November 1937, he confided to his closest associates he expected Britain would eventually move to block his expansionist policies. The following year he officially informed Raeder that, contrary to his prior assertions, war with England was indeed inevitable, but not before 1944, and that the fleet should plan its construction program accordingly.

In response, the navy drew up two possible programs. One called for primarily a submarine force, augmented by surface raiders, while the other aimed at a big-ship, big-gun surface fleet. In January 1939 Raeder presented both schemes to Hitler, who chose the big-ship, big-gun option — the "Z-Plan" — which called for eight battleships, 12 battlecruisers, 17 light cruisers, two aircraft carriers, 50 destroyers, 64 torpedo boats and 229 submarines by 1945.

Hitler's personal fascination with big, prestigious battleships was a decisive factor in his adoption of the capital-ship-laden alternative. His selection delighted Raeder, who was also a big-ship, big-gun devotee who'd served aboard the battlecruiser *Seydlitz* at Jutland in World War I and had authored a book on cruiser warfare in 1922. The passage of time had done nothing to alter the admiral's views; as late as 1939 he claimed: "Battleships alone are able to win or defend the supremacy of the seas." The Z-Plan relegated aircraft carriers to a minor role. Raeder derisively referred to them as mere "gasoline carriers," useless in the stormy North Atlantic and Baltic, where the decisive actions were expected to take place.

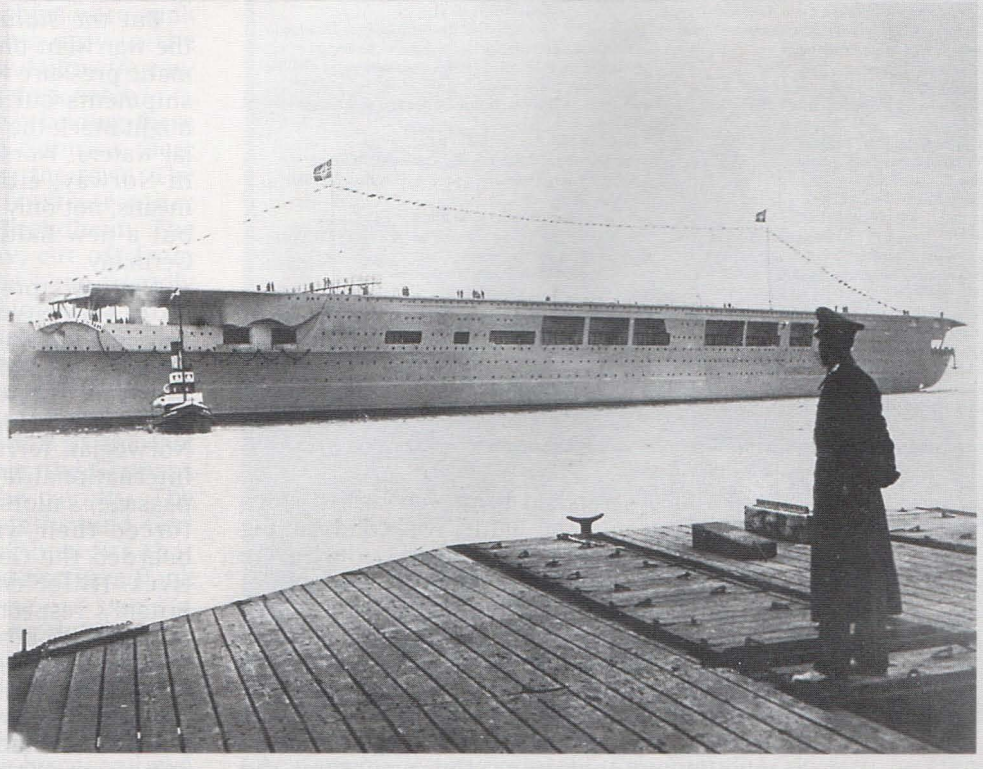
While constructing a big-gun surface fleet was the objective, movement toward that end was immediately frustrated by massive obstacles, for the German shipbuilding industry had been devastated after World War I. As retribution for Germany's scuttling of her interned fleet at Scapa Flow in 1919, the British had confiscated 80 percent of the nation's floating dockyards.

Warship construction orders were of course scarce in the postwar years, and the merchant ship industry also languished in the hard economic times. Consequently, German shipyards were hard pressed to provide the skilled manpower and facilities needed to fulfill the immense contracts that began to be issued by the *Kriegsmarine*. As early as 1937, even before the adoption of the Z-Plan, Raeder had complained those bottlenecks were threatening to bring naval construction to a standstill, and that even for the already existing ships a shortage of ammunition was looming.

Two years later the German shipbuilding industry was still struggling to meet the navy's burgeoning construction schedule, and on the day Hitler approved the Z-Plan Raeder warned him completing it within six years might well be beyond the nation's abilities. The *Führer* was not sympathetic; he told the admiral: "If I can build the Third Reich in six years, then the navy can surely build these ships in six years."

Though more time might have allowed Germany to expand her maritime industrial base, no amount of time could have furnished her with the natural resources necessary to complete the Z-Plan. When he approved the plan, Hitler also attempted to stimulate shipbuilding by formally giving the *Kriegsmarine* priority in raw materials over both the army and air force. But in 1939, Germany was already importing nearly 70 percent of her iron ore, and virtually all her nickel, tungsten, vanadium and manganese, all indispensable elements for the production of the high-grade steel required for warships. The German economy, still recovering from the hyperinflation of the 1920s and the global depression of the 1930s, was further shackled by a shortage of both hard currency reserves and foreign earnings, which prevented a rapid increase in domestic production.

The supply of oil to fuel the proposed ships was equally precarious. Germany possessed no domestic oil reserves, and even though production of synthetics more than tripled between 1929 and 1937, in that year the Reich still imported nearly 60 percent of its *peacetime* oil requirements. Germany was thus extremely vulnerable to sharp reductions in the supply of essential raw materials in the event of a peacetime embargo or wartime blockade, either of which would abort the Z-Plan. The outbreak of war in fact prevented the Z-Plan, unrealistic to begin with, from ever coming anywhere near completion. Once embroiled in a shooting war that eliminated the luxury of being able to wait five years for battleships to join the fleet, Raeder suspended the plan and ordered priority be given to the construction of U-boats, which at the time were being completed at the rate of only two per month.



A German naval officer casts a forlorn glance at the unfinished hull of the aircraft carrier Graf Zeppelin; *although construction began in 1936, work continued only sporadically during the war and the ship was never completed.* National Archives

Naval Orders Of Battle For Weser Exercise

GERMAN

Group I: Narvik
Two Battlecruisers: *Scharnhorst, Gneisenau* (flagship)
Ten Destroyers: *Wilhelm Heidkamp, Anton Schmitt, Wolfgang Zenker, Hans Ludemann, Herman Kunne, Dieter von Roeder, Erich Giese, Erich Koellner, Georg Theile, Bernd von Arnim,* with 2,000 troops embarked.

Group II: Trondheim
One Heavy Cruiser: *Hipper*
Four Destroyers: *Paul Jacobi, Theodore Riedel, Bruno Heinemann, Friedrich Eckoldt,* with 1,700 troops embarked.

Group III: Bergen
Two Light Cruisers: *Koln, Konigsberg*
One Training Cruiser: *Bremse*
Seven Torpedo Boats: *Leopard, Wolf, S-19, S-21, S-22, S-23, S-24,* with 1,900 troops embarked.

Group IV: Kristiansand/Arendal
One Light Cruiser: *Karlsruhe*
Ten Torpedo Boats: *Greif, Luchs, Seeadler, S-7, S-8, S-17, S-30, S-31, S-32, S-33, Tsingtau,* with 1,100 troops embarked.

Group V: Oslo
One Heavy Cruiser: *Blucher*
One Pocket Battleship: *Lutzow*
One Light Cruiser: *Emden*
One Gunnery Training Ship: *Brummer*
Three Torpedo Boats: *Mowe, Albatross, Kondor*
Eight Minesweepers: *R-17, R-18, R-19, R-20, R-21, R-22, R-23, R-24,* with 2,000 troops embarked.

Group VI: Egersund
Three Minesweepers: *M-2, M-9, M-13,* with 150 troops embarked.

Groups VII-XI
These ferried 3,300 troops of the 198th Infantry Division to the Danish ports of Korsör, Nyborg, Copenhagen, Middlefart, Esberg and Tyborön, escorted by the obsolete battleship *Schleswig-Holstein.*
Plus 28 to 36 U-boats concentrated in and near Norwegian waters.

BRITISH

Mine Laying: Operation Wilfred
One Battlecruiser: *Renown* (Adm. Whitworth's flagship)
Thirteen Destroyers

From Home Fleet
Two Battleships: *Valiant, Rodney* (Adm. Forbes' flagship)
One Battlecruiser: *Repulse*
Two Light Cruisers: *Sheffield, Penelope*
Ten Destroyers

First Battle of Narvik, 10 April
Five Destroyers: *Hunter, Havock, Hotspur, Hostile, Hardy* (Cpt. Warburton-Lee's flagship)

Second Battle of Narvik, 13 April
One Battleship: Warspite
Nine Destroyers: *Bedouin, Cossack, Eskimo, Punjabi, Hero, Icarus, Kimberly, Forester, Foxhound*

the "West Wall" — was laid to prevent Allied ships from penetrating into the Baltic. A second mining mission, begun in October 1939, sent 11 destroyers on series of sorties to drop more than 2,000 mines off the coast of England. That undertaking was successful. By March 1940 it claimed 76 merchantmen, totalling over a quarter-million tons, along with nine small warships, without a single destroyer ever being so much as detected, let alone intercepted.

While the *Kriegsmarine* suffered no losses in its early mine laying operations, those missions did reveal chronic problems in the destroyers' high pressure steam power plants. The flaws resulted in excessive time spent undergoing repairs, and in two instances ships were nearly lost at sea due to engine fires.

On 13 December 1939, while in support of one of the mine laying missions, the light cruisers *Nuremberg* and *Leipzig* were torpedoed by a British submarine. While the *Nuremberg's* damage was not catastrophic, the *Leipzig* went dead in the water. Though she soon got underway again and, she was torpedoed again by a different submarine the next day. The *Leipzig* limped home, in need of repairs that would take a full year to complete, and even when returned to service she was afterward suitable only for training missions. The *Nuremberg* was back in service by the spring of 1940, but she, too, was late for the *Kriegsmarine's* biggest surface operation of the war: the invasion of Norway.

Norway: German Victory, Kriegsmarine Defeat

The Scandinavian countries, though neutral at the war's start, exerted a decisive pull on Germany's war effort. The Reich annually consumed 15 million tons of iron ore, 11 million tons of which came from Sweden. Half of that ore was transshipped to Germany via the northern, but ice free, Norwegian port of Narvik, and from there south along that same nation's coast. In fact, during the winter months, when many Baltic ports froze over, all Swedish ore was moved via Narvik.

Germany at first had little incentive to use force to secure the ore trade, for conquering Norway was seen to be a potentially prodigious undertaking. Even if an invasion were successful, it would then be another formidable task to garrison the country and protect the coastal ore freighters from the Royal Navy. Hitler therefore began the war content to rely on Swedish and Norwegian cooperation to maintain the flow of the vital natural resource.

But the *status quo* became more precarious as the war went on. Hitler began to fear British diplomatic pressure would compel Norway to halt all ore shipments out of Narvik, or that the Royal Navy might block the trade by mining Norwegian territorial waters. Worse still, if the British secured bases in Norway, either through political or military means, not only would the ore traffic be vulnerable, but a new Baltic flank would be opened against Germany.

Norway's precarious neutrality was highlighted on 16 February 1940. The *Altmark,* the *Graf Spee's* supply ship, was completing her transit across the Atlantic, headed for Germany, carrying 299 British prisoners, survivors from the ships sunk by the lost pocket battleship. Though the *Altmark* had reached Norwegian territorial waters, where according to international law she was entitled to unimpeded passage, sailors from the destroyer *HMS Cossack* forced their way past Norwegian patrol boats, boarded the German ship and liberated the captives. Hitler concluded from the incident that Britain's respect for Norwegian neutrality was perfunctory at best and the indispensable iron ore trade was indeed in jeopardy. He ordered his staffs to begin preparing for the invasion of Norway.

Raeder wholeheartedly supported the decision, and in fact had been urging just that course of action on Hitler for months. The conquest of Norway would give the *Kriegsmarine* bases allowing its ships easier access to the Atlantic while also preventing the British navy from sealing the Baltic.

But the practical problems inherent in landing an invasion force so near to the main bases of the numerically superior Royal Navy were daunting. Because the northernmost objectives — the ports of Bergen, Narvik and Trondheim — were actually closer to British naval bases than to German ones, conventional pre-invasion bombardments with follow-on landings would be impossible. The Germans would instead have to rely on stealth, surprise and bluff, including assigning Royal Navy aliases for their warships to use if challenged on their approach by Norwegian vessels.

Raeder fully realized the operation risked the loss of virtually his entire fleet, since every available *Kriegsmarine* ship would be called on to participate in transporting 8,800 soldiers to five simultaneous landings at Norway's five major ports: Narvik, Bergen, Trondheim, Kristiansand and Oslo. Still, he believed the potential gain outweighed the unescapable risk.

The plan for the invasion of Norway, codenamed *Weserübung* (the "Weser Exercise," deceptively after a river in western Germany), commenced in the early hours of 9 April 1940. Troops were put ashore with little or no loss at Bergen, Trondheim and Kristiansand, but at Oslo the Norwegian shore batteries sank the cruiser *Blücher* with heavy loss. The German landing force there withdrew, but paratroopers meanwhile landed outside the city and seized nearby Fornebu airfield. Quickly reinforced by a flown in infantry regiment, Oslo was soon taken without navy assistance.

At Narvik, 10 German destroyers successfully landed 2,000 infantrymen, but then all those ships were sunk when the Royal Navy arrived and counterattacked.

After the initial moves, the *Kriegsmarine* played almost no further combat role while the outcome of the Norwegian campaign on the ground remained in doubt. Fourteen German supply ships were sunk before reaching their destinations; only in the southernmost ports, over which the *Luftwaffe* controlled the sky, could merchantmen dock safely.

A 24,000 man Anglo-French-Polish landing force retook Narvik on 28 May, with the Germans there retreating into the hills surrounding the town. The German navy was powerless to frustrate other Allied landings above and below Trondheim. The German units in northern Norway, cut off from resupply, could only hold on in the hope friendly forces advancing overland from Oslo would arrive before they were forced to capitulate.

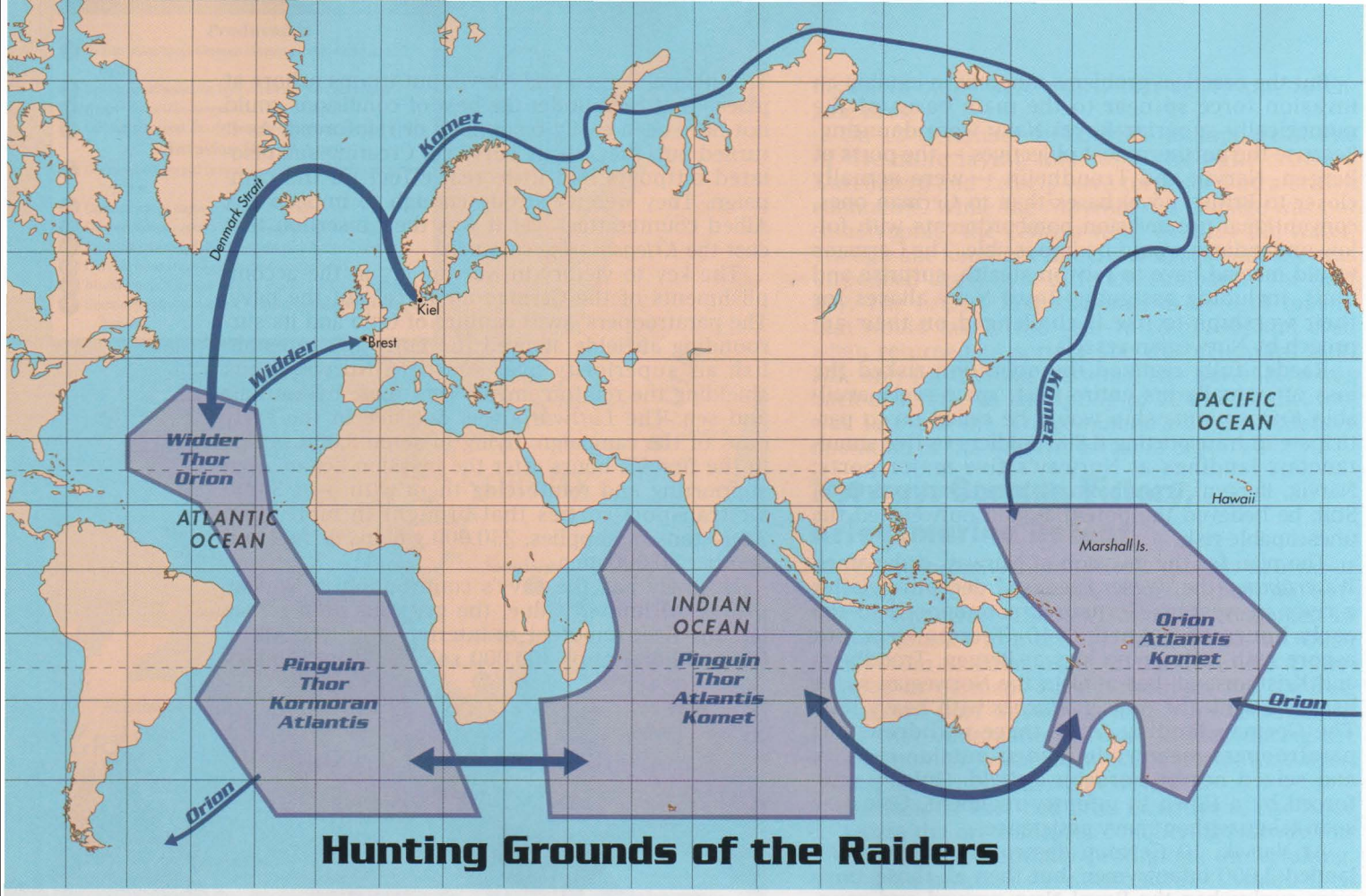
After the German invasion of France and the Low Countries began on 10 May, however, the Allied situation rapidly deteriorated, forcing their abandonment of Norway. With the evacuation of the last British forces from Narvik on 8 June, the Germans at last had complete control of the country. The conquest had taken barely two months, and Germany then reaped the substantial benefits that came from gaining such an extended northern flank on the British.

But the triumph had exacted an exorbitant price from the navy. *Weserübung* claimed 10 of Germany's 20 destroyers, one of two heavy cruisers and two of four light cruisers, as well as five U-boats and several smaller vessels. Raeder's serviceable "fleet" consisted of but a single heavy and two light cruisers and seven destroyers. All the major losses had come in the first four days of the campaign in support of the landings. The landings at Trondheim, Bergen and Narvik put troops ashore at places that even under the best of conditions could not have been easily resupplied or reinforced. As it turned out, they barely survived. Creating such isolated outposts had little real effect on the campaign. They weren't strong enough to impede any Allied counterattack yet it was their insertion that cost the *Kriegsmarine* so much.

The key to victory in Norway lay in the accomplishments of the German air force, not the navy. The paratroopers' swift capture of Oslo and its surrounding airfields allowed the *Luftwaffe* to establish air superiority over southern Norway, thus shielding the reinforcements sent there by both air and sea. The *Luftwaffe* was decisive in the early days of the campaign, flying in some 8,000 troops in the first 72 hours after the invasion began, then supporting and reinforcing them with over 3,000 air transport sorties that brought in more than 2,000 tons of supplies, 250,000 gallons of fuel and another 30,000 men.

Not only had the navy's contribution in Norway proved of limited value, the grievous ship losses left the fleet impotent to interfere with the Allies' later withdrawal of 300,000 soldiers from Dunkirk

The German destroyers Jacobi *(foreground),* Lody *(left), and* Ihn *(right) escort the damaged cruiser* Hipper *(center background), which had been rammed by a British destroyer the day before* Weserübung. National Archives



Hunting Grounds of the Raiders

and 200,000 more from elsewhere in France. With no warships to speak of, Operation Sea Lion, the proposed invasion of England, was transformed from what would have been a difficult task to an impossible one. The devastated *Kriegsmarine's* inability to formulate any plan acceptable by the army undoubtedly helped quash whatever real interest Hitler may have had in the undertaking.

Most importantly, though, the *Kriegsmarine's* Norway losses deprived Germany of her best opportunity to help knock England out of the war. As the Royal Navy husbanded all its strength around the British Isles in the summer and fall of 1940 to contest any attempted Channel crossing, stripping convoy escorts in the process, U-boats ravaged Allied shipping. That ushered in six months of submarine successes later dubbed "The Happy Time." But for Germany's surface ships, sunk or damaged and therefore unavailable to escalate the attack on the exposed shipping lanes into outright decimation, there was to be no Happy Time.

By its very nature, convoying reduces overall shipping efficiency by 30 to 40 percent, due to the delays inherent in gathering enough ships to form a convoy and the inevitable congestion at the destination. Those inefficiencies could have been greatly aggravated if German surface raiders had been available to inject further chaos into the process by compelling the British to assemble strong warship escorts. With British imports already falling precipitously, such a combined U-boat and surface assault might well have generated the results necessary to allow Raeder to prevail in his efforts to get Hitler to concentrate the *Luftwaffe* against England's ports. That would have also hampered London's attempts to supply its forces in North Africa, perhaps even becoming the back-breaking straw that would have forced them to the peace table.

The Auxiliary Cruisers War Badge (left, armed merchant raiders), and the High Seas Fleet War Badge.

Glory Days

While the *Kriegsmarine's* main surface units were embroiled in *Weserübung,* Raeder was able to maintain the assault on Britain's ocean lifelines with armed merchant cruisers only. Those vessels, merchantmen of between 3,000 and 9,000 tons, had been converted to warships after the outbreak of hostilities, yet maintained their harmless appearance even after the addition of hidden deck guns and machineguns, torpedo tubes and spotter planes.

The mission of these ships involved moving unnoticed across the immense expanse of the

world's oceans, eluding detection by mixing with the many legitimate freighters always plying the seas. Beginning with the departure of the *Atlantis* on 31 March 1940, six disguised raiders had sailed by 9 July. Preying on lone merchantmen steaming outside normal trade routes, striking quickly before their victims could transmit distress signals, by November 1942 the raiders had sunk 88 ships totaling 538,000 tons.

This form of attack intensified late in 1940, after the fall of France and Norway gave the *Kriegsmarine* new positional advantages. With France out of the war and Italy an active German ally, the Royal Navy was forced to cover the Mediterranean alone. More importantly, with Germany in control of some 3,000 miles of coastline from the Arctic to the Spanish border, England's overstretched fleet was hard pressed to maintain the blockade of Germany. Raeder was suddenly well positioned to carry on commerce raiding in earnest.

On 23 October 1940, the *Scheer,* one of the two remaining pocket battleships, began one of the most successful naval missions of modern history. By the time she returned to Kiel, 161 days later, she had steamed 46,419 miles, sunk 17 ships totaling 113,233 tons, and had caused immeasurable disruption to the convoy system.

Similarly, the heavy cruiser *Hipper* sortied from Brest on 1 February 1941 and attacked an unescorted convoy. She sank 17 merchantmen and damaged three more before docking in Norway on 26 March.

It was Adm. Günther Lutjens, in overall command of two battlecruisers, however, who carried out the most spectacular raid of the war. *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* had been out of action for six months repairing torpedo damage received during the Norway operation, but by the end of 1940 both were again ready for duty. Between departing on 22 January 1941 and returning to Brest 60 days later, the two ship steamed 17,800 miles without receiving so much as a scratch. Lutjens' bag, 22 ships of 116,610 tons, was impressive by itself, but even more sensational was his convincing demonstration of the German battlecruisers' ability to run rings around the Royal Navy.

Despite their best efforts, nothing the British tried kept the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* from breaking out into the Atlantic. There they remained undetected, striking and moving off at will, finally returning unscathed to port. As successful as the battlecruisers' winter cruise had been, even more was expected in the spring, when the new super battleships, *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz,* would be ready for action. It seemed then there would be nothing to stop Germany from sweeping clear the seas of British convoys.

Enter the Scientists

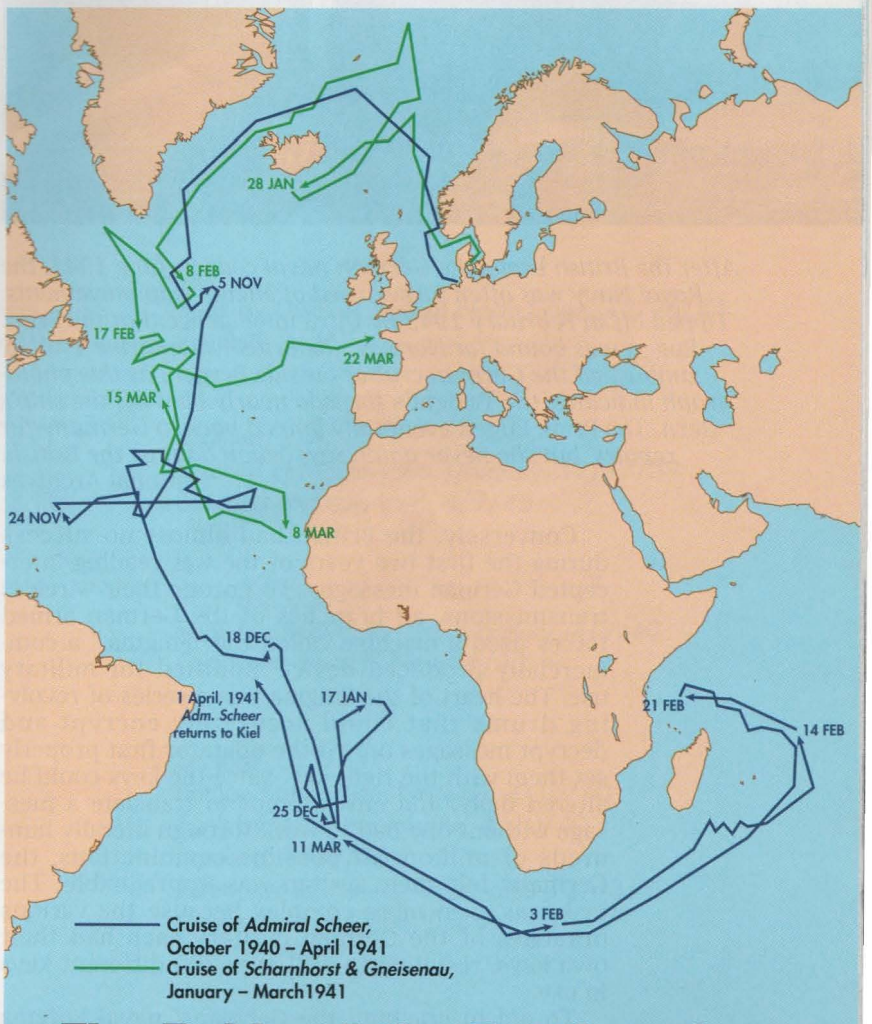
Before the wintering German surface ships reentered the North Atlantic in May 1941, two developments took place that were to prove decisive in determining the outcome of the war at sea. The first involved radar, the second the ULTRA code breaking effort.

When war had broken out in 1939, radar was still in its infancy. Though promising, the technology was still fraught with imperfections and prone to frequent breakdown. The *Kriegsmarine* held a lead in radar technology at the onset of hostilities, and from the war's first days their superior equipment was instrumental in helping German ships find targets while eluding pursuers. But German radar development stagnated, in large part because they chose to conduct little research below the 80 centimeter wave length, instead placing emphasis on expanding production of existing sets.

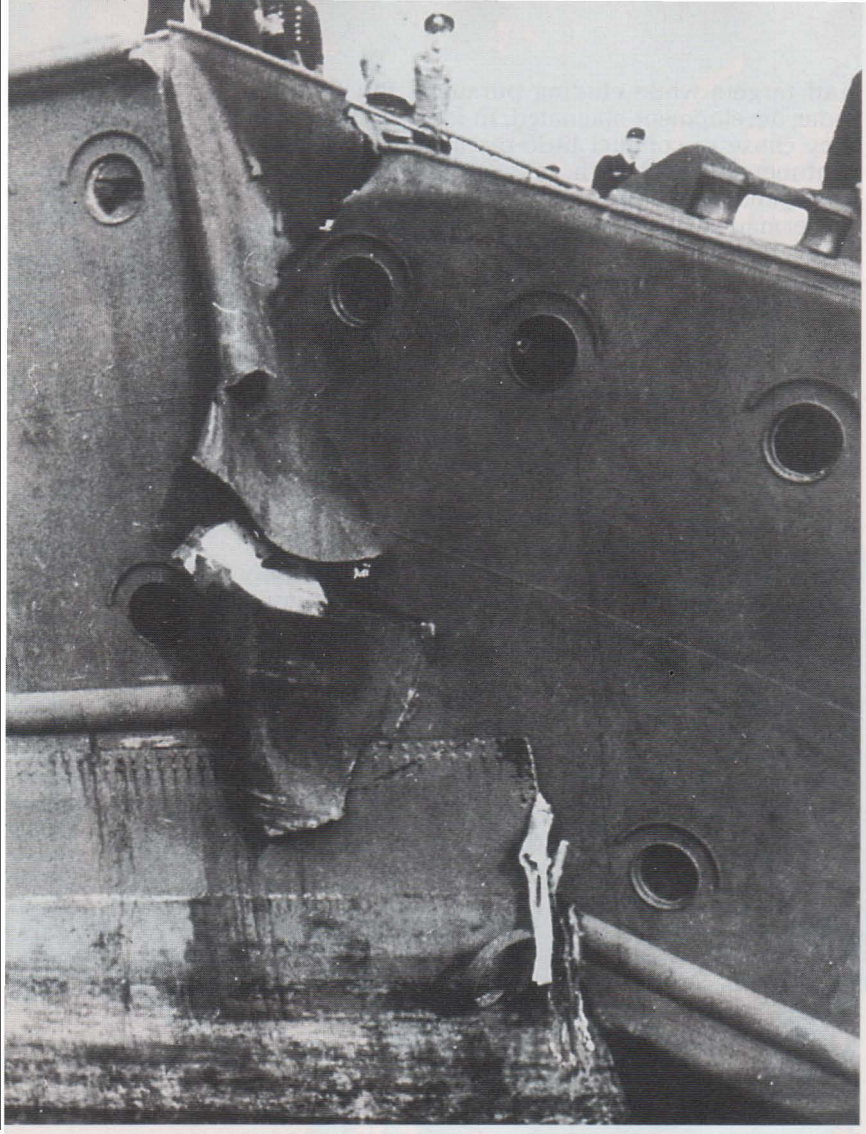
German doctrine also called for limiting radar use, since the device could reveal the user's position at distances greater than it could detect opposing vessels. Consequently, they came to use it primarily to improve gunnery against known targets rather than to search for still unseen ships. The British meanwhile concentrated on shorter wave lengths, and success in the 50 centimeter band resulted in the "Type 284" set, which had much greater range than its German counterpart.

As with radar, Germany at first also enjoyed an advantage in communications security. The Royal Navy employed code books to encrypt its signals, but the *Kriegsmarine* had actually been reading those ciphers since 1938. By the time of the invasion of Norway, the Germans were decoding about 30 percent of all British naval message traffic. One British admiral complained: "It is most galling that the enemy should know just where our ships... always are, whereas we generally learn where his major forces are [only] when they sink one or more of our ships."

Not until the British modified their ciphers at the end of August 1940 did the Royal Navy regain a modicum of signals security.



The Raids of the Battlecruisers



After the British broke the German naval code in June 1941, the Royal Navy was often forewarned of enemy ship movements. Tipped off in February 1942 by Ultra intelligence that the Prinz Eugen *was bound for Norway, the British submarine* Trident *ambushed the German cruiser outside Bergen; as this photograph indicates, the* Trident's *torpedo nearly blew off the ship's stern. The* Prinz Eugen *eventually limped back to Germany for repairs, but she never again saw action against the British.* National Archives

Conversely, the British had almost no success during the first two years of the war reading intercepted German messages. To encode their wireless transmissions, all branches of the German armed forces used a machine called the "Enigma," a commercially produced device modified for military use. The heart of the Enigma was a series of revolving drums that could accurately encrypt and decrypt messages only if the operator first properly set them with the right key. Since the keys could be altered daily, and any attempt to translate a message without one had to work through literally hundreds of millions of possible combinations, the Germans felt their system was impregnable. The task was even more complex because the various branches of the German military each had their own keys, resulting in well over 200 different keys in use.

To aid in cracking the Germans' naval Enigma codes, on 7 May 1941 British warships ambushed the weather ship *München*, with the sole purpose of capturing its code machine. Though the ship's crew managed to destroy the actual Enigma machine, the British retrieved the "Home Waters" key, which was used for 95 percent of German naval traffic.

Two days later, in an unrelated incident, British escorts depth-charged *U-110*, forcing her to the surface, where the crew abandoned ship. The British boarded the submarine, seizing both an intact Enigma machine, with that day's settings intact, as well as a variety of code books containing several U-boat and surface ship codes.

Suddenly, starting in June 1941, using information taken from the *München* and *U-110*, the Royal Navy was able to read most German naval Enigma messages within 36 hours of intercept, and sometimes much faster. That was done almost continuously for the rest of the war, with the messages' contents distributed to select, high ranking commanders in documents prefixed "ULTRA." The system was not infallible, and was subject to lapses and misinterpretations, yet for the next four years the Allies repeatedly took advantage of the forewarning ULTRA provided.

Nine Days of the Bismarck

When she was commissioned on 24 August 1940, over four years after she'd been laid down, the *Bismarck* was unquestionably the single most powerful warship in the world, manifestly superior to the new King George V class of battleships then

The

	Com.*	Disp. (tons)	Lgth (ft)	Beam (ft
Bismarck	8/40	41,700	822	118
Tirpitz	2/41	42,900	822	118
Scharnhorst	1/39	31,800	771	100
Gneisenau	5/38	31,800	771	100
Deutschland†	4/33	11,700	616	68
Graf Spee	1/36	12,100	616	71
Admiral Scheer	11/34	12,100	616	71
Admiral Hipper	4/39	13,900	675	70
Blücher	9/39	13,900	675	70
Prinz Eugen	8/45	14,800	689	71
Emden	10/25	5,600	508	47
Königsberg	4/29	6,650	570	50
Karlsruhe	11/29	6,650	570	50
Köln	1/30	6,650	570	50
Leipzig	10/31	6,710	580	53
Nuremberg	11/35	6,980	593	53

Notes

*On average, a ship is not ready for active operations for s

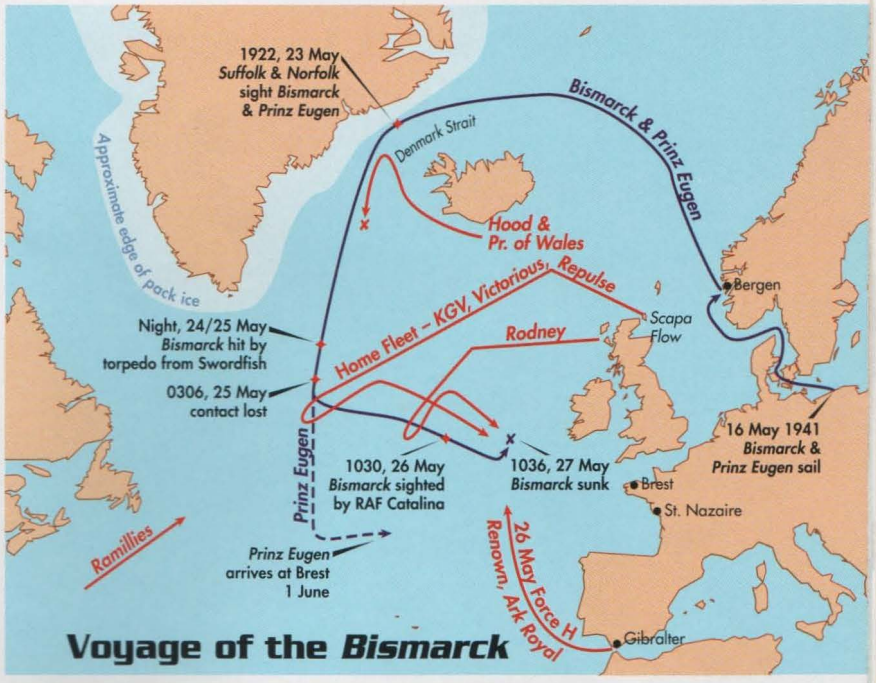
†Rechristened *Lutzow*, 11/39.

joining the British fleet. Over 40 percent of her displacement — some 17,000 tons — consisted of Krupp armor plate, giving the *Bismarck* thicker and stronger protection than any British warship. Her exceptionally broad beam provided a remarkably stable platform for her eight 15-inch guns, producing a broadside more powerful and accurate than the *King George V's* ten 14-inch guns.

All that armor and firepower could charge through the seas at better than 30 knots, over two knots faster than the *King George V.* Though she'd been designed primarily for short range engagements in the Baltic and North Sea, the *Bismarck's* 8,300 ton fuel bunkers gave her an excellent range of 8,500 miles at a cruising speed of 19 knots.

In the early morning hours of 19 May 1941, Adm. Lutjens took the *Bismarck* on her first war cruise along with the newly commissioned heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen.* The mission was code named *Rheinubung* (Rhine Exercise), and according to their orders the ships were to break into the North Atlantic and ravage British convoys. But as they passed through the Denmark Strait they were spotted by the British cruisers *Norfolk* and *Suffolk.*

Those cruisers maintained radar contact, allowing two British capital ships, battlecruiser *Hood* and battleship *Prince of Wales,* to intercept. In the ensuing battle the *Bismarck's* fourth salvo penetrated *Hood's* magazine, blowing up the ship and killing all but three of her crew. But a hit on the *Bismarck*



left the fuel carried in her bow inaccessible, forcing Lutjens to cancel *Rheinubung* and try to return to port. As he headed for France, the shadowing *Suffolk* used radar to maintain a tenacious track on the

ajor Ships of the Kriegsmarine, 1939-45

pd (kts)	Crew	Armament	Fate
		Battleships	
30	2,200	8x15", 12x5.9", 16x37mm, 36x20mm	Sunk by gunfire, 5/27/41
30	2,530	8x15", 12x5.9", 16x37mm, 72x20mm, 6 TT	Sunk by air attack, Tromso, Norway, 11/12/44
		Battlecruisers	
32	1,800	9x11", 12x5.9", 14x4.1", 16x37mm, 38x20mm, 6 TT	Sunk by *Duke of York* at North Cape, 12/26/43
32	1,800	9x11", 12x5.9", 14x4.1", 16x37mm, 38x20mm, 6 TT	Scuttled, 3/45
		Pocket Battleships	
26	1,150	6x11", 8x5.9", 6x4.1", 8x37mm, 10x20mm, 8 TT	Scuttled, 5/4/45
26	1,150	6x11", 8x5.9", 6x4.1", 8x37mm, 10x20mm, 8 TT	Scuttled at Montevideo, Uruguay, 12/17/39
26	1,150	6x11", 8x5.9", 6x4.1", 8x37mm, 10x20mm, 8 TT	Bombed and capsized, 4/9/45
		Heavy Cruisers	
33	1,600	8x8", 12x4.1", 12x37mm, 39x20mm, 12 TT	Scuttled, 5/3/45
33	1,600	8x8", 12x4.1", 12x37mm, 39x20mm, 12 TT	Sunk by Norwegian shore battery, 4/9/40
33	1,600	8x8", 12x4.1", 12x37mm, 39x20mm, 12 TT	Confiscated by US Navy, 5/45
		Light Cruisers	
29	630	8x5.9", 3x3.5", 4x37mm, 4x20mm, 4 TT	Scuttled, 5/3/45
32	820	9x5.9", 6x3.5", 8x37mm, 8x20mm, 12 TT	Bombed at Bergen, Norway, 4/10/40
30	820	9x5.9", 6x3.5", 8x37mm, 8x20mm, 12 TT	Sunk by British submarine, 4/10/40
32	820	9x5.9", 6x3.5", 8x37mm, 8x20mm, 12 TT	Bombed, 3/30/45
32	850	9x5.9", 6x3.5", 8x37mm, 8x20mm, 12 TT	Relegated to training duties after 12/13/39
32	896	9x5.9", 6x3.5", 8x37mm, 8x20mm, 12 TT	Confiscated by USSR, 5/45

o eight months after commissioning.

The Battleship Bismarck *with an escorting destroyer (1941).* Watercolor painted by Gerth Biese.

German ship for 32 hours, allowing the Royal Navy to begin concentrating against her.

Though Lutjens managed to shake off the British cruisers (taking advantage of that to separate from *Prinz Eugen*), he inadvertently gave away his position by radioing back to shore. With the battleship again located, aircraft from the carrier *Ark Royal* torpedoed the *Bismarck* in her stern, jamming her rudders to port. British battleships were then able to track and catch her. They battered her into a flaming hulk, ending her career a mere nine days after she'd first left harbor.

Rheinubung officially ended on 1 July, when *Prinz Eugen* slipped into Brest without having sighted a single merchantman. Though World War II would rage for anoather four years, no other German surface warship would sail the North Atlantic.

Bismarck's excellent gunnery, demonstrated against *Hood,* and her ability to absorb punishment, demonstrated in her final hours, proved she was the world's best single ship at the time. But that individual superiority mattered little when she was forced to take on a large portion of the Royal Navy alone. The *Bismarck* was hunted down and sunk by a force of eight battleships, two aircraft carriers, 13 cruisers, 33 destroyers and eight submarines.

Lutjens and the *Bismarck* suffered a fate similar to that which had befallen Langsdorff and the *Graf Spee* 18 months earlier. Forced to fight, the Germans prevailed tactically, but the damage suffered so far from home restricted the available options. That converted tactical victory into strategic defeat by allowing the British to bring to bear their overwhelming numerical advantage.

Admiral Hitler

Not only was the loss of *Bismarck* a catastrophic defeat for the German navy, it also profoundly affected how that service would participate in the rest of World War II. Hitler was inconsolable after the *Bismarck's* loss — one aide described him as "melancholy beyond words."

The German dictator was moved to take upon himself nearly total control of all future naval operations. To avoid repeating the *Bismarck* debacle, he vetoed Raeder's plan to send her sister ship, *Tirpitz,* into the North Atlantic on a similar mission. He further ordered no cruiser or battleship was henceforth ever to leave port without his personal approval. Later, on 13 November 1941, he also denied Raeder permission to send the *Scheer* to raid shipping in the Indian Ocean.

Even if Hitler had approved another sortie, the British had succeeded in making such missions practically impossible. As catastrophic as the loss of *Bismarck* was, more long term harm came shortly after the battleship's demise, when the Royal Navy descended on the German fuel and supply ships scattered across the Atlantic. Informed via ULTRA intercepts, in the month after *Bismarck's* sinking the British virtually swept the swastika from the high seas, hunting down and destroying 14 ships, including four valuable tankers and two supply vessels.

Having told Raeder where German ships should no longer go, Hitler also instructed the admiral as to where they were to go. The *Führer* proclaimed Norway to be the *Kriegsmarine's* "zone of destiny." He was convinced an Allied invasion of Scandinavia was inevitable, but at the close of 1941, when he ordered the fleet to concentrate in Norway, most of the ships reacted only slowly, having spent much of the previous year in port.

The cruiser *Hipper* had been under repair for all of 1941. The pocket battleship *Lutzow* (formerly the *Deutschland*) was put out of action until January 1942 when a 14-plane British airstrike, acting on ULTRA information, torpedoed her off Norway two weeks after the loss of *Bismarck.* The *Tirpitz* was still working up in the Baltic, and though she spent a brief period in September supporting the

invasion of the Soviet Union, the *Kriegsmarine's* last true battleship was only considered fully ready for combat at year's end.

"Every ship which is not in Norway is in the wrong place," Hitler declared, and he then ordered the three in Brest — *Scharnhorst, Gneisenau* and *Prinz Eugen* — to sneak up the English Channel and transfer to Norway. On the night of 11 February 1942, the Brest squadron began heading north (Operation Cerebus, but better known as the "Channel Dash"), and though *Gneisenau* struck a mine, and *Scharnhorst* hit two, all three made it. Cerebus appeared a huge success for the Germans, for three major warships had run a gauntlet of vessels and aircraft and still survived.

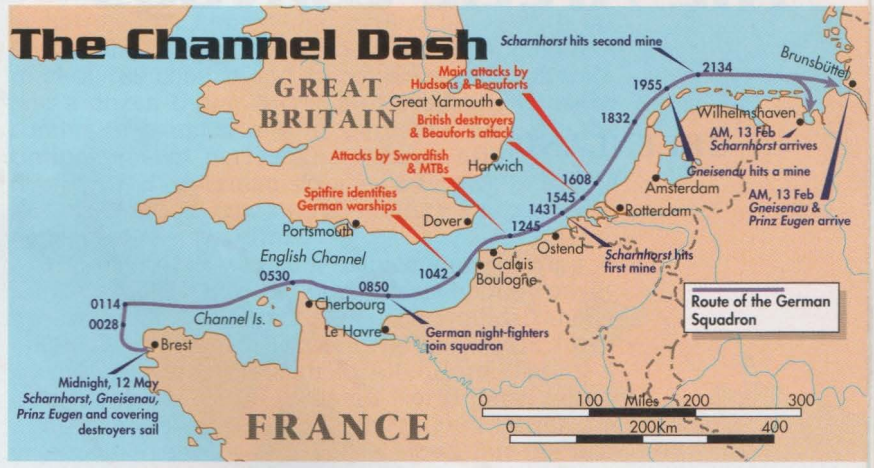
"Nothing more mortifying to the pride of our sea power has happened since the 17th century," charged the infuriated *London Times.* The Royal Navy indeed had ample cause for displeasure, in as much as simple bungling and delays in decrypting ULTRA intercepts had spoiled an unmatched opportunity to corner and sink three major enemy surface units. (ULTRA did at the last minute reveal the warships' route, but the only thing the British did correctly after that was manage to lay mines in their path.)

In the end, though, it was the British, not the Germans, who profited from the move. The mine damage to the German ships took several months to repair, and the withdrawal from Brest of the *Kriegsmarine* simplified the Royal Navy's Atlantic blockade by allowing its strength to be concentrated in the north. Further, the British were soon to prove German warships were just as vulnerable to air attacks in German and Norwegian ports as they were in French harbors.

Despite their escape from Brest, the battlecruisers contributed nothing to the immediate war effort. The *Scharnhorst* spent the balance of 1942 undergoing repairs. Her sister ship *Gneisenau* had, by the end of that year, been repaired and began preparing to sail for Norway. However, on the night of 26-27 February 1943, a single bomb hit from a British air raid started a massive fire that killed 112 men, wounded 21 others, and inflicted damage extensive enough to require an estimated two years to fix. *Gneisenau* went into drydock, where the repairs and an overdue upgrade were initiated. Her bow was lengthened by 30 feet and her triple 11-inch gun turrets were replaced with twin 15-inchers.

The *Prinz Eugen* was the only one of the Brest squadron to complete the Channel Dash unharmed. Along with the pocket battleship *Scheer* and four destroyers, she immediately headed north to join *Tirpitz,* which had arrived in Norway on 16 January 1942. But the Germans' plans were again betrayed by ULTRA, and the forewarned British sent four submarines to ambush the ships outside Bergen. *HMS Trident* fired three torpedoes at *Prinz Eugen,* and — reminiscent of the *Bismarck's* demise — one struck the cruiser aft, jamming her rudders 10 degrees to port as well as blowing away over 30 feet of her stern. *Prinz Eugen* crawled back to Trondheim, and after jury rigging a temporary rudder left for Kiel for repairs that would keep her out of action for the rest of the year.

With ULTRA divulging German naval movements and exposing their ships to attack while in passage to Norway, only gradually could Hitler mass his naval forces there. While some slipped through due to delays in decryption, by March 1942 only *Tirpitz,*



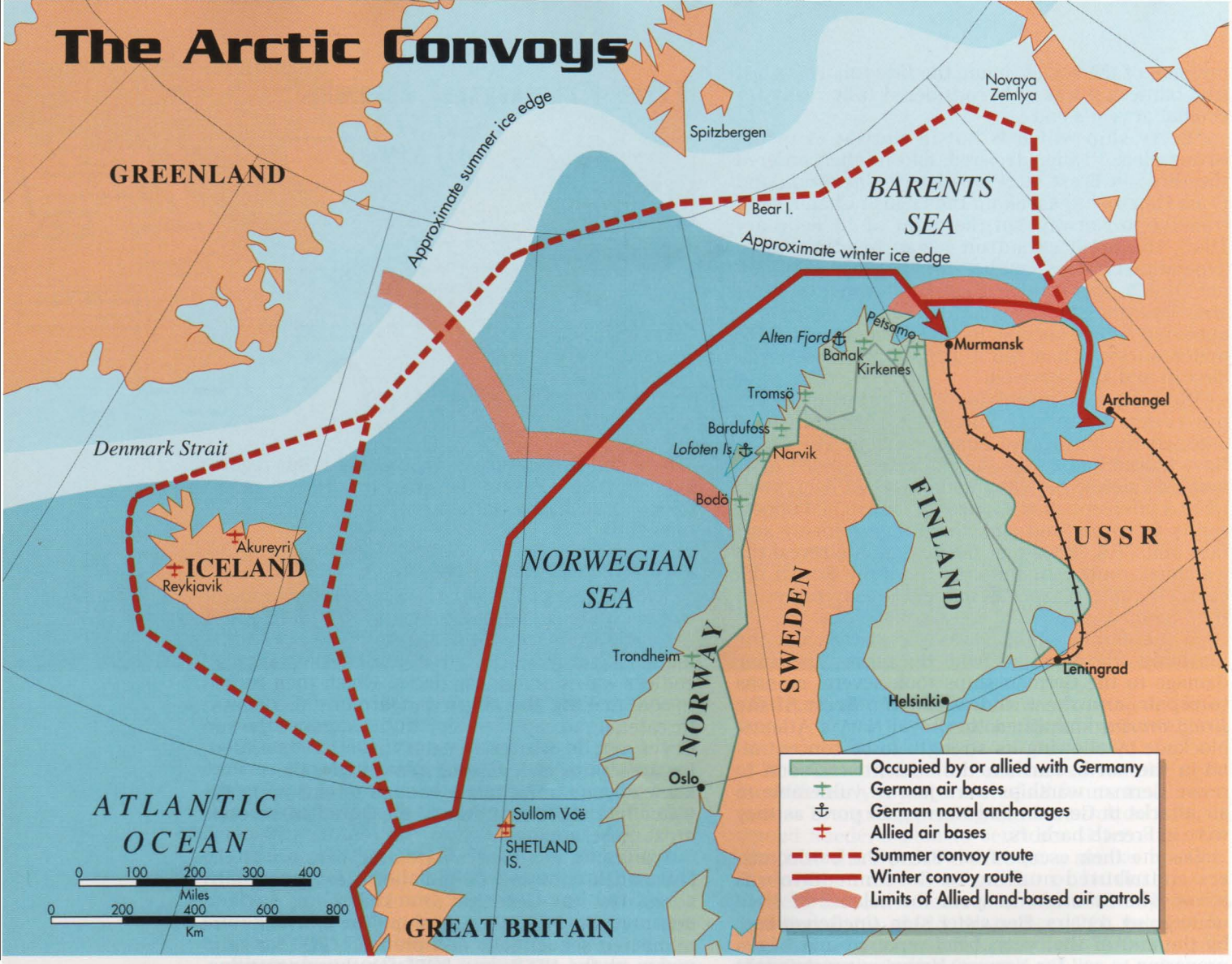
Scheer and five destroyers had arrived. But regardless of whether or not the *Kriegsmarine* was ready, the two year battle of the Arctic convoys was about to begin.

The Murmansk Run

For the rest of the war the *Kriegsmarine's* major surface units would battle in what has been called the world's cruelest ocean, the Arctic. Crews continually had to deal with harsh storms that cascaded endless waves across the decks, which then turned to ice, making the ships dangerously top heavy, threatening to capsize them. In the summer the sun never set; in winter the darkness never ended. Regardless of the season, pilots and sailors alike knew anyone unfortunate enough to end up in the water had a life expectancy measured in seconds or, at most, minutes.

War came to this desolate area because of the Murmansk convoys. To aid their new Soviet ally, soon after the Germans attacked them, England began sending supplies by ship. The convoys were numbered sequentially and prefixed "PQ" for shipments to the USSR, and "QP" for those returning. Moving supplies across the Arctic was the fastest way to get them to the Soviets, but using the route also meant the last leg of the voyage, the 2,000 mile, 10 day, passage between Iceland and the final destination, skirted within 200 miles of the north-

The German squadron in line ahead during the Channel Dash.



ern coast of German occupied Norway. Even when Allied ships arrived in Soviet ports, they were still subject to attack, since Murmansk, only 90 miles from the German airfield at Petsamo, was a frequent *Luftwaffe* target. Despite all those obstacles, though, during the critical first year of the Russo-German war, when the Soviet Union teetered on the brink of defeat, 3.6 million tons of material were shipped there by the Allies, nearly half of it via the Arctic.

PQ-1, the first Allied convoy to the Soviet Union, left on 21 August 1941, only two months after the German invasion began. For several more months, the convoys found the "Murmansk Run" uncontested. Even after the arrival of *Tirpitz* in Trondheim on 16 January 1942, there were still no efforts by the *Kriegsmarine* to attack the supply route. The shortage of destroyers — the enduring legacy of the losses suffered in the invasion of Norway — would have required the battleship sortie unescorted, a tactic far too risky in light of the history of successful British submarine attacks off the Scandinavian coast. Not until the small flotilla of destroyers returned to Norway in late February, after assisting the battlecruisers in the Channel Dash, could the Germans contemplate surface attacks against the convoys.

At last, however, when PQ-12 was spotted by the *Luftwaffe* on 5 March 1942, *Tirpitz,* with Adm. Otto Ciliax aboard, left Trondheim to destroy it. But not only did the battleship fail to locate the convoy, on her way back to port she had to evade a torpedo attack by aircraft from *HMS Victorious.* In a briefing three days later, Raeder explained to Hitler that, had it not been for some good luck, Ciliax and *Tirpitz* could easily have met the same fate as Lutjens and *Bismarck.* In light of the *Kriegsmarine's* complete inability to counter the British carrier threat, Raeder urged Hitler to resume construction of the carrier *Graf Zeppelin,* and to order Göring to reinforce the *Luftwaffe* in Norway. The dictator agreed to Raeder's requests and directed there be an increased effort to interdict the PQ convoys.

After PQ-12, the *Kriegsmarine* force in Norway was strengthened by the arrival of the heavy cruiser *Hipper,* which after a year of repairs and training arrived in Trondheim on 21 March. But given the apparent determination of the British to push through the convoys, Raeder was still loath to commit his ships before all available reinforcements had been assembled. Further, he would not countenance a repetition of *Tirpitz's* unescorted sortie into the Arctic, and since there were not enough destroyers to properly scout ahead of the battleships and cruisers, he demanded the *Luftwaffe* begin completely and accurately fixing enemy locations and strengths before his ships sailed. Still further, the fleet was not to be committed at distance

until it was verified the enemy was actually sending a convoy to Russia and not an invasion force to Norway, since the *Kriegsmarine* was also tasked to guard against any attempted landings in Scandinavia.

A growing fuel shortage also limited Raeder's options in the north. Already in November 1941 the navy's monthly fuel allocation had been slashed by more than half, and within a month after that the German naval staff began describing their service's fuel situation as "very critical." Thus, despite Hitler's 13 April 1942 pronouncement that "attacks on the Murmansk convoys are most important at this moment," and even though each succeeding one was larger than its predecessor and would therefore furnish even more means for the Soviets to resist the upcoming German summer offensive, the *Kriegsmarine* offered little opposition to the next four. The fuel situation had, in fact, gotten so bad during this period the navy high command was forced to order "all operations are to be discontinued, including those by light forces. The sole exceptions to this ban on consumption of fuel oil are operations made necessary by offensive enemy action."

By May, as the Royal Navy prepared to send through another convoy, again larger than the previous one, growing German air and U-boat opposition was at least beginning to cause London some misgivings. Adm. Dudley Pound, Britain's First Sea Lord, was unenthusiastic about the concept of continued Arctic convoys, complaining: "The whole thing is a most unsound operation, with the dice loaded against us in every direction."

But with Roosevelt and Stalin pressuring Churchill to accelerate deliveries to the embattled Soviet Union, cancelling the shipments was politically unthinkable, regardless of the increasing military obstacles. Consequently, 35 merchantmen of PQ-16 sailed from Iceland on 20 May, with the British Prime Minister rationalizing: "The operation is justified if a half gets through."

With the arrival of the pocket battleship *Lutzow* in Narvik on 25 May, the Germans completed the concentration of their big ships in Norway, now home to *Tirpitz, Scheer, Lutzow, Hipper* and eight destroyers. But during the upcoming fighting, *Tirpitz* would not put to sea to engage the convoy, but only to work up after her long period of inactivity. Instead, the assault on PQ-16 would be spearheaded by the *Luftwaffe,* which now numbered in Norway 129 combat and 72 reconnaissance aircraft.

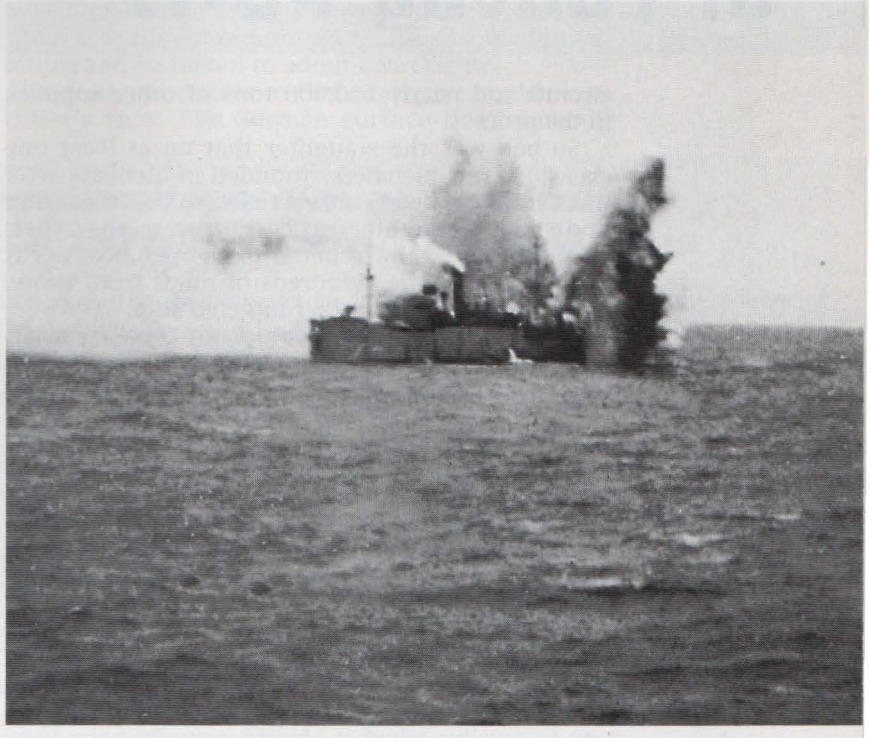
After detecting PQ-16 on 20 May, the Germans began their aerial assault five days later, climaxing with attacks by 108 planes on the 27th. The *Luftwaffe* sank six ships, damaging five more while another was sunk by a U-boat. Still, while the destroyed merchantmen went down carrying a total of 177 vehicles, 147 tanks and 77 aircraft in their holds, another 2,507 vehicles, 321 tanks and 124 aircraft were delivered to the Red Army, allowing Britain's Adm. Sir John Tovey to claim a "success beyond all expectations."

PQ-17

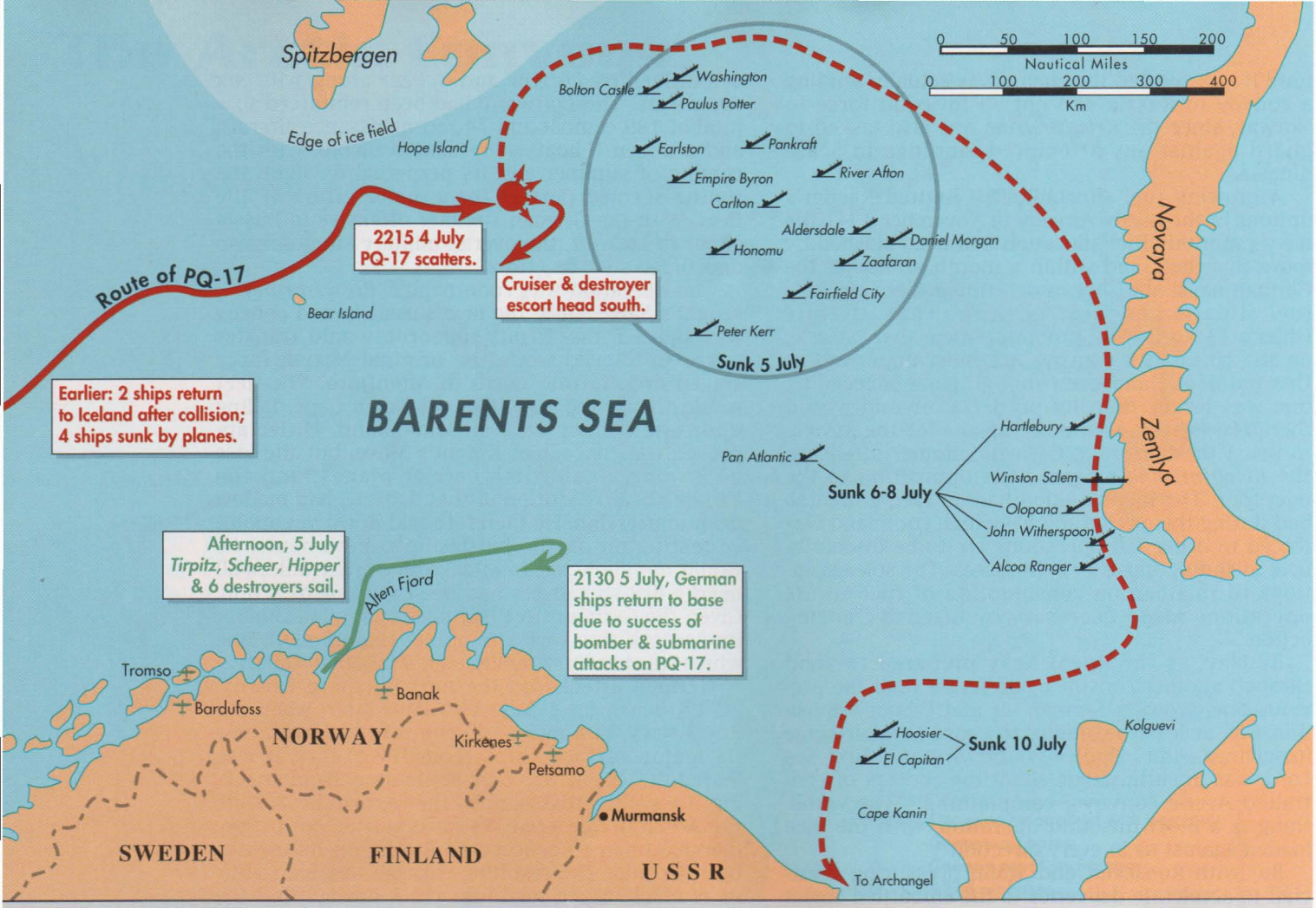
By June 1942 there was finally enough fuel on hand — 15,500 tons — to allow the fleet to be committed. *Tirpitz,* heavy cruiser *Hipper,* four destroyers and two torpedo boats were formed into the *1st Battle Group* at Trondheim, while farther north at Narvik lay *2nd Battle Group,* consisting of the pocket battleships *Lutzow* and *Scheer* along with six destroyers. The *Luftwaffe* had been reinforced to a total of 189 combat and 74 reconnaissance aircraft, and a dozen U-boats were also available. With the coming of summer and its perpetual daylight, the timing seemed perfect for a major effort by the fleet. With the German summer offensive in Russia about to kick off, the overall military situation also demanded such an effort.

The operation was code named *Rosselsprung* — Knight's Move. Once the next Russia-bound convoy was sighted, the *Tirpitz* squadron would transfer north to Narvik, while the original Narvik force staged even farther north to Altenfjord. The fleet would then unite 100 miles off North Cape, falling upon the convoy east of Bear Island. Hitler approved the concept of Knight's Move, but the loss of *Bismarck* to British carrier planes, and the *Tirpitz's* near repetition of that debacle, had made a deep impression. He therefore laid down yet another restriction on the battleship's movements: he would not allow her to attack the convoy unless all nearby British carriers had been put out of action. Given the German fleet had no attack planes under its control, this was a crippling requirement, one which was hardly within Raeder's power to satisfy.

German attacks on the next northern convoy, PQ-17, began on 2 July. Two days later, when the Royal Navy, in a move still controversial, withdrew its major surface ships from the escort, it was feared the *Tirpitz* was only hours away from attacking. To avoid a massacre by the German battleship, the Admiralty ordered PQ-17 to scatter, with every merchantman to proceed to Russia on its own as best it could. The resulting carnage was inevitable, in as much as the round-the-clock daylight left the unprotected freighters no place or time to hide. German aircraft and U-boats claimed 22 of the 33 ships, eliminating 3,350 vehicles, 430 tanks, 210



A German air-launched torpedo rips into an American freighter, one of the twenty-two merchantmen sunk while en route to Russia in convoy PQ-17. National Archives



The Slaughter of Convoy PQ-17

Merchant ships sunk by U-boats & bombers
Merchant ships run aground
German air bases

aircraft and nearly 100,000 tons of other supplies in the process.

So bad was the slaughter that on at least one occasion crew members, stranded in lifeboats after their ship had been sunk, refused to board another undamaged freighter, so certain were they their chance of survival was better in an open boat adrift in the frigid Arctic, hundreds of miles from shore, rather than aboard another targeted ship.

This German victory could not have been attained without the *Kriegsmarine,* for even though the surface ships never actually fired a shot their presence precipitated the scattering, allowing for the piecemeal destruction of the convoy. But the navy's failure to pursue the dispersed ships made the victory incomplete. Over the next 19 days 11 merchantmen, plus a tanker and 13 light escorts, trickled into Russian ports, delivering 896 vehicles, 164 tanks, 87 aircraft and over 50,000 tons of other cargo.

While it had certainly been prudent for the German command to recall the big ships to port once the convoy scattered, the failure to employ their smaller warships allowed a portion of the convoy to survive when it should actually have been completely eliminated. German surface ships would also have stood a reasonable chance of capturing solitary merchantmen along with their valuable cargos, especially considering that in nine separate instances merchant crews hurriedly took to the lifeboats after their vessels suffered less than fatal damage.

But instead of enjoying the huge morale and propaganda boost that would have accompanied the total destruction of an Allied convoy and the following well-publicized display of prizes, the *Kriegsmarine's* warships went back to port with nothing concrete to show for their efforts other than the damage sustained by three destroyers and the pocket battleship *Lutzow.* All of them had struck submerged rocks and had to sail back to Germany for repairs.

After PQ-17, the British suspended convoys to Russia for two months, in part to wait for the days to shorten, and in part to release forces to the Mediterranean for Operation Pedestal, a relief effort for beleaguered Malta. The next convoy, PQ-18, lost three ships to U-boats and 10 more to aircraft. While the Iceland-bound QP-14 had three merchantmen, a fleet oiler, and an escort sent to the bottom by U-boats, the Germans also lost 41 planes and four submarines in the effort.

Again conspicuous by their absence during those ferocious battles were the surface units of the *Kriegsmarine.* Even though *Tirpitz* was unavailable due to engine trouble, and *Lutzow* had been recall-

ed to Germany, the light cruiser *Köln* had arrived in Norway from the Baltic, and along with *Hipper, Scheer* and five destroyers was to have been used against the west-bound ships of QP-14 as they rounded North Cape. But the operation never came to pass, for on 14 September Hitler told Raeder the primary task of his surface ships was henceforth the defense of Norway. The admiral was ordered "not to accept any undue risks" going after convoys, prompting Raeder to keep his ships in port.

Beginning of the End

In December 1942 the convoys to Murmansk resumed, now prefixed with "JW" rather than "PQ," and broken into two parts, "A" and "B," to make them more manageable. On the 15th, convoy JW-51A, consisting of 15 merchant ships with 12 escorts, including seven destroyers, left for Russia, arriving intact on Christmas Day without having been attacked or even detected. The second part of the convoy, JW-51B, left Scotland on 22 December, and consisted of 14 merchantmen carrying 202 tanks, 2,046 other vehicles, 120 aircraft, 24,000 tons of fuel, and over 54,000 tons of other supplies. It was spotted by U-354 on 30 December.

At the time the convoy was located, Hitler was in a headquarters meeting with the *Kriegsmarine* representative there, Vice Adm. Theodore Krancke, and was in the process of berating the navy to him. He charged the surface ships were "lying idle in the fjords," and were "utterly useless, like so much old iron." When Krancke announced U-354's convoy sighting, Hitler immediately authorized the *Hipper* and *Lutzow* to attack, the only proviso being he be kept informed of developments.

That set into motion Operation *Regenbogen* (Rainbow). Though both *Tirpitz* and *Scheer* were refitting and therefore unavailable, nearly every other suitable German ship in Norway was committed to the attack. *Hipper* and three destroyers were to come in from the north, drawing off the convoy's escorts, allowing *Lutzow* and three more destroyers to pounce from the south the next morning. But in the event, instead of destroying the convoy, the Germans were unable to sink a single merchantman, losing a destroyer in the attempt.

An exasperated Hitler went berserk at the news, announced he intended to scrap the entire surface fleet, and demanded Raeder appear before him. The admiral stalled, hoping a few days delay would allow Hitler's temper to subside. When he finally met with the dictator on 6 January 1943, he was treated to a 90-minute tirade detailing the shortcomings of the navy since the mid-19th century. Hitler compared his decision to scrap the big ships to the army's disbanding of cavalry divisions.

Realizing he'd lost his superior's confidence, Raeder met again with Hitler privately and tendered his resignation, with an effective date of 30 January, the 10th anniversary of the Nazis' coming to power and a convenient news cover for all parties to avoid embarrassment.

As one of his last official acts, Raeder delivered a memorandum on 15 January setting out the consequences of Hitler's dismantling of the surface fleet. He pointed out the ludicrousness of such a move, explaining scrapping the ships "would constitute a bloodless victory for the enemy" that would allow the British to redeploy their naval forces while also laying bare Germany's coast. Worse, there would be no corresponding gain for Germany's war effort, for even scrapping all the ships would yield less than five percent of the total steel requirements for a month, furnish guns for only 15 shore batteries (none of which would be available for a year), and release fewer than 9,000 men for other duty.

Hitler remained unmoved, remarking only: "This time it must be done, for there is no other way." On 26 January he ordered all ships larger than light cruisers be either relegated to training duties or paid off.

Adm. Karl Dönitz, commander of the U-boat force, succeeded Raeder as Supreme Commander of the German Navy, and within nine days had submitted a schedule for getting rid of the ships. After another three weeks, though, he commuted the fleet's death sentence. Possibly seeing the merits of Raeder's position, Dönitz ordered the *Lutzow, Scharnhorst* and *Tirpitz* spared to continue operating in the Arctic against the convoys. The new navy commander persisted in his decision despite Hitler's vociferous objections: "Beginning with the *Graf Spee,* one defeat had followed another. Large ships are a thing of the past."

But the *Führer* eventually relented rather than suffer the loss of prestige that would have resulted had Dönitz resigned, as he threatened to do, so soon after having been appointed. When Dönitz went on to promise he'd get better results from the big ships within three months, Hitler predicted: "Even if it should require six months, you will then return and be forced to admit I was right."

Indeed, the results to that time gave credence to Hitler's view. The German surface fleet's overall

Comparative Naval Artillery
What a Difference an Inch Makes

Naval artillery is rated primarily by the width of the barrel, and secondly by the caliber of the gun. Thus a 15"/47 gun of the *Bismarck* had a width of 15 inches and a barrel 47 times as long as it was wide. Though a one inch difference in barrel width sounds insignificant, as this chart shows, a single inch greatly affects shell size and gun weight.

Gun Size	Found On	A.P. Shell Wt. (lbs)	Gun Weight (lbs)	Max Range (yds)
18.1"/45	*Yamato* (Jpn)	3,219	363,762	45,276
16"/50	*Iowa* (US)	2,700	267,904	36,900
16"/45	*Rodney* (UK)	2,375	266,000	34,766
15"/42	*Hood, Repulse* (UK)	1,938	224,000	39,589
15"/47	*Bismarck* (Ger)	1,764	244,000	39,590
14"/45	*King George V* (UK)	1,590	207,200	45,600
13"/52	*Dunkerque* (Fr)	1,235	155,503	41,700
11.1"/54	*Scharnhorst* (Ger)	728	117,396	46,749
8"/60	*Hipper* (Ger)	268	45,540	35,000

Note: A.P. = Armor Piercing

The Scharnhorst *being saluted by the crew of a departing U-boat.* National Archives

performance against the Murmansk convoys had been dismal. A total of 306 merchantmen had sailed in the first 21 Arctic convoys, with only 53 being sunk: 25 to air attack, 17 to U-boats, and only one to surface attack.

On 14 March 1943, over a year after she'd left Brest, the *Scharnhorst* finally arrived in Norway, joining *Tirpitz* and *Lutzow* at Narvik before the three sailed together to Altenfjord on the 22nd. They arrived just as the Allies again suspended the Murmansk Run for the summer. The Allies felt they could afford to make that move because by that time supply routes through the Persian Gulf and the Soviet far east had come to surpass the Arctic route as the main aid corridors.

The total supplies shipped to the USSR in 1943 amounted to nearly 4.8 million tons, almost double the 1942 total, with less than 15 percent routed via the Arctic. Consequently there was no longer a need to tie down Allied warships, while also risking heavy merchant ship losses, with Murmansk convoys during the long days of spring and summer. The Germans' opportunity to decisively sever the Anglo-American supply line to Moscow had irrevocably passed.

On 8 September 1943, *Scharnhorst, Tirpitz* and 10 destroyers made an inconsequential raid on the Allied base at Spitzbergen, an exercise worthy of mention because it was the only time the battleship fired her guns in the presence of the enemy. Two weeks later British midget submarines snuck into Altenfjord, detonating three two-ton mines beneath her, causing heavy damage. The German northern squadron was further depleted the next day when *Lutzow* returned to the Baltic for refit.

Under the protective cover of the endless Arctic winter nights, the Murmansk convoys resumed on 1 November 1943, with the first five in the new series all escaping *Luftwaffe* detection. In the fifth, the British, emboldened by the lack of resistance, for the first time used a battleship to escort a convoy all the way to Russia. With Allied escorts stronger than ever, and the Germans weaker than ever, the prospects for a successful attack on a convoy were bleak. But that didn't deter Dönitz, whose promise to Hitler of a victorious action was already eight months overdue. On 20 December he told his leader the *Scharnhorst* would attack the next Arctic convoy.

Soon after that next convoy was spotted, the *Scharnhorst* and five destroyers set out on Operation *Ostfront* (East Front). But twice British cruisers, equipped with superior radar — something invaluable for fighting in the perpetual winter darkness — kept the German battlecruiser from getting at the merchantmen. The *Scharnhorst* then ran for port, but before she could drop anchor the battleship *HMS Duke of York* cut off her retreat route. In the ensuing Battle of North Cape, the *Duke* used accurate radar-controlled fire to send the German battlecruiser to the bottom.

With the loss of *Scharnhorst,* the Germans were powerless to interfere effectively with the Murmansk convoys. *Tirpitz's* repairs weren't finished until 3 April 1944, and on that day she was damaged yet again, this time by an air strike. Further hits from planes on 14 September left her completely unseaworthy, and on 12 November *Tirpitz* capsized and sank after another air raid, her career ended without her ever having sighted a single enemy ship.

The German navy's efforts in the Arctic thus ended in what can only be described as colossal failure. During the course of the war 725 freighters delivered over 4 million tons of cargo to the Soviet ports of Murmansk and Archangel via the Arctic Ocean. Despite the near complete dedication of the *Kriegsmarine* to stop those convoys, only 62 merchant ships were sunk en route to Russia. Of that number exactly one — the *Bateau,* a straggler from PQ-13 — was sunk by German surface ships. Because of the marked inability of the German fleet to interdict the Murmansk convoys, by that northern route alone the Allies delivered 3,480 tanks — more than Germany used to launch the initial invasion of the USSR — and 7,000 aircraft — over 2,000 more than the Germans had possessed in their entire air force in June 1941.

A Fleet Squandered

History shows that minor naval powers rarely find an opportunity to use their fleets to any great effect, but in World War II Germany had two chances to use hers to change the course of the fighting. First, when England stood alone in 1940-41, the German surface fleet could have bolstered the air and U-boat attack on her ocean lifelines, perhaps decisively. Second, the warships could have

Allied Ship Losses to German Attacks in World War II

Type of Attacker	Merchant Ships Sunk	Tonnage Sunk
U-boats	2,828	14,687,231
Aircraft	820	2,889,883
Mines	534	1,406,037
Merchant Raiders	133	829,644
Surface Warships	104	498,447
All Other Causes	731	1,259,478
Total	**5,150**	**21,570,720**

butchered the exposed Murmansk convoys during the critical first year of the Russo-German War, perhaps thereby fatally weakening the already embattled Red Army. In both instances the *Kriegsmarine,* its command beset by the excessive caution that so often pervades outnumbered fleets, failed to act decisively.

Aside from those two missed opportunities, the surface ships of the *Kriegsmarine* also failed to create any other strategically significant accomplishments during the course of the war. Victories against enemy warships were few, an understandable result since battle was usually avoided, and by war's end the surface ships could take credit for sinking only one enemy battlecruiser, one aircraft carrier, one cruiser and a dozen destroyers. In contrast, the U-boats, though targeted almost exclusively against merchant shipping, were far more deadly to Allied navies. German submarines sank 50 Allied warships during World War II, including two aircraft carriers, two battleships and two cruisers by the end of 1941 alone.

The surface fleet was also essentially ineffective against cargo ships. During the entire war they never once fought their way past a convoy escort to sink even a single merchantman. Perhaps the greatest indictment against the big ships is that by V-E Day the mighty German battleships, cruisers and destroyers had actually caused less harm to the Allied merchant marine than had the nine converted merchant raiders.

The German surface fleet certainly died in World War II; by the end of the war only three cruisers and 15 destroyers were left to be claimed by the Allies as war prizes. But because the *Kriegsmarine's* surface ships failed so abjectly to influence the war's outcome, the fleet cannot be said to have died gallantly. Indeed the surface ships' greatest service to Germany was more social than military, and came in the Baltic during the war's last five months, when its units helped evacuate westward an estimated 2,116,500 soldiers and civilian refugees. But transporting people out of the path of an advancing enemy ground force was far from the intention that underlay the fleet's creation. ✪

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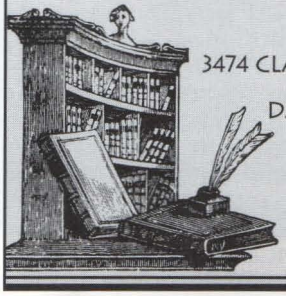

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I Remember. . .

Total War in Britain

D.J. Collier

At the outbreak of the Second World War, in September 1939, I was just a child. I vividly recall going with my best friend and her dog to say goodbye to the local park and all our favorite suburban haunts. We lived on the outskirts of London, and having seen newsreels of cities devastated during Spain's civil war, we were convinced we, too, were about to be bombed to bits. As it happened, we were only partly right; we were bombed, but not at that time.

First we endured several months of "Phoney War." During that time it was decided by our respective parents that, with London being the most likely target, the farther away from it we were the safer we'd be. Earlier we'd enjoyed a holiday on the south coast, so off to Eastbourne we went again — only this time it wasn't to play on the sands but to attend a newly opened junior high school at the foot of the South Downs.

When we got there we found the place already crawling with children whose parents had the same idea as ours, but thanks to staggered classes it was still possible to spend several hours a day at the beach. But our unexpected vacation came to an abrupt end when the lady with whom we were staying committed suicide. Overwhelmed with grief at the loss of her only son, who went down on the submarine *Thetis,* she went by what in those days was known as "taking a shilling's worth of gas."

We were immediately whisked back to London. Tired of waiting for the anticipated attack to begin, the authorities had reopened the schools. Though our local grammar school was brick-built and solid as rock, windows were taped and glass doors boarded up to reduce the danger, and the outside walls were reinforced with sandbags. A cloakroom in the heart of the building was the designated "safe area."

Meanwhile householders, who were issued with sheets of corrugated steel, were ordered to build air raid shelters in their back gardens. Ours must have been delivered while I was at Eastbourne, but it was never assembled. I can only think my father, a keen gardener, simply refused to dig up his precious flower beds to make space for an unsightly "Anderson Shelter." Instead we accepted the makings for an alternative "Morrison Shelter," which resembled a large steel table and was eventually installed in a downstairs room. With a full-size mattress on top and another below, it made as comfortable a haven as the old time "bed recess" in the home of my Scottish grandparents.

Despite the fact that to youngsters like myself the pace of life seemed no different than usual, Britain was slowly getting into top gear. Everyone was issued with an identity card and gas mask, and in due course everyone also received a ration book and clothing coupons.

Air raid sirens had already been in place, and air raid wardens' posts sprang up like mushrooms. Gun and searchlight emplacements joined the barrage balloons in public parks and vacant lots. They offered endless possibilities for play, and it was just as well the RAF ground crews kept them off limits or we undoubtedly would have completely commandeered them. We heard that one youth gang found a way to filch munitions from an isolated army camp and had used them to take on all comers — including a platoon of Royal Marines — until their ammo finally ran out and they were obliged to give up.

Inhabitants of London receive their government supplied "Anderson Shelters." The shelters were designed to be sunk deep into the ground. Unfortunately most of urban London was heavily paved.

The clearest signs of the impending danger came from the strictly imposed censorship and the blackout, of which the latter was far more irksome. Kids were hardly likely to possess vital information, let alone pass it on to Berlin, but remembering to obscure all lights during the hours of darkness proved quite a burden. If you went about at night using a flashlight, some over-officious warden might accuse you of "endeavoring to communicate with the enemy," but if you ventured out without one you were sure to be knocked down.

Nights were otherwise worry free until the time I awoke to find my parents, their backs toward me, staring out the bedroom window, watching the searchlights track German reconnaissance planes. The very next day I embarked on my second spell of evacuation, this time to a small market town some 30 miles to the west of our suburb. It wasn't nearly as congenial as my stay at Eastbourne. This time my friends were scattered far and wide and for the first time in my life I felt lonely. I attended the local school, hung around a nearby amusement arcade, spent countless hours at the cinema, and longed for home, never realizing thousands of other children across Britain were enduring the same pangs of loneliness.

After two or three months my parents gave in to my pleas, but my return unfortunately coincided with the start of the Blitz. That worried them but, initially at least, delighted me. I became an avid watcher of aerial dogfights and a collector of wartime memorabilia. As the Phoney War turned into a real one, my box of souvenirs gradually filled with shell casings, spent bullets, the tail fin from an incendiary bomb, a fragment from the fuselage of a downed aircraft and even a scrap of parachute silk.

Then in August 1940, RAF planes turned the tables by raiding Berlin. That so angered Hitler he ordered widespread bombing of London and other population centers. From then on every evening as dusk fell the air raid sirens would wail, signaling the approach of that day's first wave of heavily laden bombers.

Those civilians who had access to them went to specially prepared basements or underground railway stations. The rest of us retired to downstairs rooms or walk-in closets, there to listen to the thump-thump of guns firing in the park, the staccato crack of the Bofors guns (mounted on railway rolling stock), the whine and crump of the "block-busters," the strident bells of ambulances, and eventually — after about 12 hours — to the sweet sound of "all clear."

Until the bombing abated in May 1941 there were no good nights, only nights when, still sitting upright, we somehow managed to doze, or from sheer exhaustion fell asleep on the floor. There were many occasions when a stick of bombs would pierce my dreams and I would find myself making wild involuntary movements similar to those who were called "shell shock victims." On one occasion I was mildly concussed when the French

A British motorist fitting blackout shields to the headlamps of his car.

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doors of our living room were blown open, but that was the closest I came to physical injury.

Thank God there were no direct hits in our immediate neighborhood; the nearest were about a quarter mile away. No doubt my parents saw me as more and more of a liability, because I was again hastily packed off, this time to the Midlands, to stay with friends in a small village. Though my parents hadn't realized it, it was dangerously close to an ironworks near Coventry. Thus it was that on a moonlit night in November 1940 I watched that city be destroyed.

Next day it was almost my turn. Out wheeling a neighbor's child in a pushchair, I heard an aircraft overhead. Looking up I saw a bomb arcing its way toward the earth. Forgetting that the trajectory would carry it well away from me, I hurtled across the road, pushchair and baby bouncing wildly before me, and threw myself into the nearest ditch. When I looked up I found the baby still asleep, the pushchair undamaged, and the plane long gone.

When news of my narrow escape reached my Mum and Dad, I was ordered back to London. Their new unspoken philosophy seemed to be: "If we're going to die, let's all go together."

No sooner was I resettled at school then, out of the blue, *the* letter arrived. My mother, who must've known what was coming, waited until Dad had finished his evening meal. Putting the long brown envelope on the table, she said: "This came for you today."

Dad took one look and then fainted dead away. The funny thing was, I remember, that he did it in slow motion. First he leaned back, then the whites of his eyes appeared, and finally he slumped sideways, slipping off his chair and on to the floor. He never expected to be called up. Having enlisted as a boy of 16 during the First World War, he thought he'd be too old for a second turn, but the Signal Corps needed him and off he went. The cavernous railway station, where Mum and I went to see him off, echoed with continuously played sentimental music. Had we known all that was still to come we would've cried even more than we did.

In spite of our being on our own, with the danger increasing and rationing getting tighter, life still had its lighter moments. We ate out whenever we could, sometimes joined by Mrs. Smith, an old friend who catered to war workers in her home. One day we all went to a nearby "British Restaurant" (actually a kind of glorified soup kitchen), and when the food was served each of us had, in addition to a generous helping of potatoes and greens, two fat sausages. Before my plate had even touched the table, Mrs. Smith's arm reached out and one of my sausages was deftly removed and wrapped in a handkerchief. "That'll do for my lodger's supper," she said.

In those days the radio was not only our main source of news, but also a great source of comfort — keeping service men in touch with their families and providing music and laughter. Apart from the programs put out by "Aunty BBC," our morale was also boosted by the eventual arrival in Britain of the US *8th Air Force,* and the start of their raids against German cities. Though German bombers continued to rain death and destruction on us, their raids got more sporadic. But we'd scarcely recovered from the excitement of D-Day in June 1944 when the V1 attacks began.

Since the V1s' range was only about 150 miles, London and southeast England were hardest hit. Then in September the larger and more deadly V2s started to come in. But since they traveled faster than the speed of sound, it was impossible to anticipate their arrival, which robbed them of some of their horror. For six months our corner of England took another terrible pounding, until the Dutch and Belgian launch sites were eventually put out of action by advancing Allied troops.

With the celebration of V-E Day in May 1945 we could at last exhale, get a proper night's sleep, and think about putting our lives back in order. Fear was behind us, and only privation lay ahead. Times remained very hard indeed, as Britain and her people were emotionally and financially drained. Of course, the price paid by me and thousands of others was the premature loss of childhood innocence and trust. ✪

Londoners spending the night in their bomb shelter - the London underground.

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ART of WAR

Mort Künstler

It happened by accident. All Mort Künstler wanted was a quick bite to eat, but instead he discovered the American Civil War.

It was a cold, gray, wet winter's day in 1988, and Künstler was then known to many in American art circles as "America's foremost historical artist." He had come to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, site of the greatest battle of the War Between the States, to research a painting of Pickett's Charge for the battle's 125th anniversary. Aside from paintings for CBS-TV's "The Blue and the Gray" mini-series in 1982, Künstler had never seriously tackled a Civil War subject in more than 30 years of professional painting.

He had done lots of other things, however, including art school at Brooklyn College, UCLA, and Pratt Institute; a long and successful tour as an artist for national magazines like *Saturday Evening Post, National Geographic, Newsweek* and *Argosy,* and decades of work as an acclaimed artist of historical subjects. He had specialized for a while in the Old West, had done numerous one-man exhibitions, had become affiliated with New York City's prestigious Hammer Galleries and had seen his work showcased in a dazzling art book: *The American Spirit: The Paintings of Mort Künstler.* His historical art hung in prominent spots from Madison Square Garden to the White House, and after years of success he seemed to be at the pinnacle of his career. Then he discovered the Civil War.

After a long morning examining the battlefield that day in 1988, Künstler headed into Gettysburg searching for lunch — but was lured into a storefront by a two-word sign: "War Art." It was Gettysburg's American Print Gallery, and without realizing it the man considered by many to be America's leading historical artist had wandered into America's premier publisher of Civil War art.

The Last Council.

"I knew who he was and I had seen his work," remembers gallery owner and publisher Ted Sutphen. "I knew he had the talent and background to paint Civil War art like nobody else had ever done. He's an artist of the old school - the youngest of the great 20th century American magazine artists. I knew the potential of the Civil War art market and I knew with the proper exposure that he had the ability to really explode as a Civil War artist."

So Sutphen made an offer: he'd pay the royalties up front for the print rights to Künstler's proposed Gettysburg painting and he'd promise volume sales. The offer surprised Künstler. Even with his vast experience in the art field, he was unaware of the tremendous popularity of Civil War topics. He was also unprepared for the response to his first major Civil War canvas, "The High Water Mark," which was snapped up by a wealthy art collector straight from Künstler's studio before the work was even finished. As for the print? Sutphen did a limited edition, which produced a record response and quickly sold out.

Today, many paintings later, Mort Künstler specializes in Civil War subjects and is heralded as America's most popular Civil War artist. He's the only living artist to have a solo exhibition of Civil War art at a major New York City gallery. The US Army War College has commissioned him to do a record five paintings. Gramercy Books has produced a volume of 72 Künstler Civil War paintings entitled *Images of the Civil War,* accompanied with a narrative by Pulitzer Prize winning Civil War historian James McPherson. His work

has been showcased by a one-hour documentary on the A&E Channel that chronicled the War Between the States through Künstler's art. More recently, *Gettysburg: The Paintings of Mort Künstler,* a handsome collection of his art depicting the Battle of Gettysburg, has been published by Turner Publishing, Inc., in association with TNT's epic production of "Gettysburg," the feature film and miniseries based on the best-seller, *Killer Angels.*

"He has the ability to paint military art in a way that's generally lost today," explains Sutphen. "He's from the old school of artists who were trained in action artwork and then learned their craft in the great magazines of the 30's, 40's and 50's. He's only in his early 60's, but he was there and he was the youngest of the old-time magazine artists. His work emphasizes realism and action, and it captures key moments in a way that's rarely seen today. A Künstler painting is like a moment in history frozen in time."

On New York City's West 57th Street, where serious art collectors come to invest serious money in original art, Mort Künstler's work is majestically framed and hung in Hammer Galleries' tastefully furnished salons. There, in the same rooms that routinely display original paintings by Monet, Renoir and Grandma Moses, collectors examine and admire Civil War scenes from Lookout Mountain, Gettysburg, First Manassas and other battles as depicted by Mort Künstler.

"I consider Mort Künstler to be one of America's foremost artists, continuing in the tradition of Frederic Remington and Charles Russell," says Richard Lynch, Hammer's director. "Mort spends weeks doing extensive research, visits the actual locations and consults with leading experts. His paintings have portrayed every aspect of American history from the pioneers of the West to the pioneers of space. Now that he is specializing in the American Civil War, I think it's generally accepted his work in that field is unsurpassed. Not only is he America's foremost historical artist, he is now unquestionably America's leading Civil War artist."

And what does Künstler think about his rapid rise to popularity as a Civil War artist?

"I can still hardly believe it all," he marvels, sitting amid the brushes, oils and easels of his Long Island studio. "The response has been overwhelming. People are so appreciative and so excited to see the historical events they imagined for years finally depicted on canvas. I find it amazing that people are so fascinated about a period of history. I've never received so many letters in my career. Without question, Civil War buffs take their history and their art seriously. I did subjects from the Old West for years and people liked them, but the response to the Civil War subjects I paint now is just astounding."

High Water Mark.

In a sky-lighted studio high above Long Island's Oyster Bay, Künstler works at a sturdy but scarred and splattered easel, creating colorful images of desperate and dramatic moments on what earlier was an empty white canvas. Slim, energetic and cheerful, he looks like anything but "one of the old masters," as some admirers call him. When painting, he routinely consults a library of books about Civil War uniforms, equipment and weapons, double-checking details like cartridge boxes and military insignia. Puzzling over a detail, he'll pick up the telephone and call an obliging historical authority, inquiring about weather conditions during a battle or seeking some obscure fact about Civil War artillery.

While painting the Civil War requires demanding attention to historic details, Künstler notes, it also offers enterprising artists an immensely rich lode of untapped subjects. For an action-oriented artist like Künstler, the abundance of Civil War subjects is like a dream come true. Painting the War Between the States, he says, is even more satisfying than depicting scenes from the Old West.

Künstler is enthusiastic about what has become his favorite topic. Like countless other Americans today and in generations past, he has caught Civil War "fever." He is amazed by the drama of the conflict, by the courage and sacrifice demonstrated by both sides. ✪

Chamberlain's Charge.

BOOKS & VIDEO

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KILLING GROUND ON OKINAWA: The Battle for Sugar Loaf Hill, by James H Hallas. Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport CT. 203/226-3571

On May 12, 1945, the 6th Marine Division was nearing Naha, capital of Okinawa. To the division's front lay a low, loaf-shaped hill. It looked no different from other hills seized with relative ease over the past few days. But this hill, soon to be dubbed, "Sugar Loaf," was very different indeed. Part of a complex of three hills, Sugar Loaf formed the western anchor of General Mitsuru Ushijima's Shuri Line, which stretched from coast to coast across the island. Sugar Loaf was critical to the defense of that line, preventing US forces from turning the Japanese flank. Over the next week, the Marines made repeated attacks on the hill, losing thousands of men to death, wounds, and combat fatigue. Not until May 18 was Sugar Loaf finally seized. Two days later, the Japanese mounted a battalion-sized counterattack in an effort to regain their lost position, but the Marines held.

Ironically, these losses may not have been necessary. General Lemuel Shepherd, Jr., argued for an amphibious assault to the rear of the Japanese defense line, but his proposal was rejected by US *Tenth Army* Commander General Simon Bolivar Buckner. That refusal led to a controversy that has continued to this day.

HERAKLES & THE SWASTIKA Greek Volunteers in the German Army, Police, and SS 1943-45 by Antonio Muñoz, Axis Europa, Inc.68 pages, $17.95 +$3.00 S&H

With this latest book on the Axis forces allied with Germany during the Second World War, Antonio Muñoz has placed an underline under his name as one of the most knowledgeable experts in the study of the foreign volunteer movement of Nazi Germany.

His latest effort is a thought provoking account of what has up until now been a little-known subject: Greek participation on the Axis side. With personal anecdotes, interviews, and hard documentary evidence, Mr. Muñoz has shattered forever the myth that only a few thousand Greek "traitors" ever served the Axis.

He proves conclusively the figure was in the tens of thousands. The 8 1/2" by 11" book features a glossy cardstock cover that is in color. It is the first time ever a full-page photograph is used on the cover. The color photograph chosen is quite impressive. It is a German STG-IV assault gun with crew, moving under a hill. On top of the hill you can see the Greek Parthenon. A most impressive picture to be sure.

The quality of this 68 page book is excellent, with thick, 60lb paper used on the inside. The backcover has two additional photographs of Greek Axis forces, plus a full-color view of the Greek flag and some captions. The book has 36 never before seen photographs plus 35 maps and tables.

Putting the excellent esthetics aside, however, the value of the book lies with the incredible amount of hard and scarce data Muñoz has been able to gather.

The number of tables with troop strengths, locations, losses, etc., are simply awesome. Mr. Muñoz goes into some detail about some of the lesser known collaborationist formations and he manages to cover every single one of them well.

I have all of Mr. Muñoz's books, including his voluminous "Forgotten Legions," but I must say that, like a fine wine, has writing skills and his research have matured to my taste. I noticed no typing or spelling errors in this, his latest effort. I know a few typos did creep into some of his earlier studies, but they do not retract from the books at all.

Muñoz is to be congratulated on a job well done. We can only hope he continues to astound us with his incredible knowledge. A great bargain at $17.95.

THE IRISH GUARDS IN THE GREAT WAR The First Battalion by Rudyard Kipling 320 pp. 16 pp. illus. 1-885119-38-0 6 x 9 cloth, $35.00 Nov.

Rudyard Kipling's "forgotten masterpiece," republished after 70 years.

Rudyard Kipling's son was killed in battle while serving with the Irish Guards in World War I. When, soon after the war, the Guard's commander asked if the author would like to write a regimental history, Kipling dropped everything and spent the next five years creating one of the world's most remarkable works of military history.

Out of print since 1923, Kipling's masterpiece is now lavishly republished with never-before-seen illustrations from the Irish Guards' archives plus their original maps.

In this complete record of the 1st Battalion, Kipling demonstrates his masterful powers of description. Always gripping, he shows with simplicity and attention to detail how life was for the soldier, for whom he shows great empathy.

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-The Glasgow Herald

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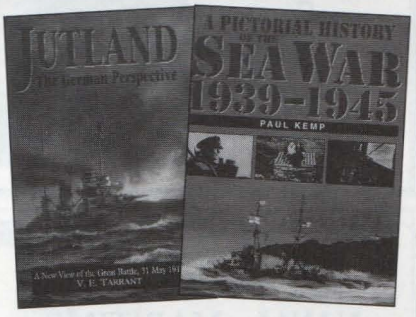

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Volume II of Rudyard Kipling's The Irish Guards in the Great War, "The Second Battalion," is scheduled for publication in fall 1997.

FORGOTTEN SUMMERS:
The Story of the Citizens' Military Training Camps, 1921-1940
by Donald M. Kington
Two Decades Publishing
Illus. Notes. Bibli. Index Pp. xv, 238. $18.95

Finally an account of the 20-year history of the Citizens' Military Training Camps (CMTC) has been published. Donald M. Kington, a retired Army colonel, recounts the history of those 20 years when young men from all over the nation attended month-long camps run by the Army. Of the nearly 400,000 young men who attended a year or more of CMTC, many - probably most - later served in America's World War II fighting forces. Two future U.S. presidents took part; a future literary giant was inspired to write his first poem while training; and three of the country's most esteemed military leaders played major roles.

In addition to extensive and thorough archival research, Kington makes use of the memories of more than 200 CMTC alumni, 93 of whom are quoted in the text.

Even though *Forgotten Summers* obviously fits into the overall category of "military history," it is also a short history of American youth between the World Wars. It would have been a pity for the 20th Century to end with this story untold. The author has not only told it, he has told it well.

ROUGH NOTES OF SEVEN CAMPAIGNS
By John Spencer Cooper
Introduction by Ian Fletcher
160 pp. 1-885119-35-6 6x9 cloth, $29.95 Sept.

Cooper's account of his experience in Wellington's army and in America 1809-15 has been much sought-after by historians. It includes eyewitness accounts of some of the bloodiest battles of the Peninsular War, including Talavera, Albuera and Badajoz, including descriptions that are widely quoted by writers on the subject. Insights into the army include comments on executions, floggings and the treatment of wounded soldiers Cooper fought

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in the War of 1812 and saw action at the "disastrous" Battle of New Orleans, before returning to the war against Napoleon in France. The book also contains one of the best descriptions of uniforms and equipment, including a list of items carried by each man.

NO SURVIVORS
by Mike Sutton, Hardcover, 416 pages, $28.95, Marshall Jones Company, PO Box 2327, Manchester Center, VT 05255

War indelibly brands the minds of its participants and victims. Nothing exorcises war's psychological residue. In that very real sense, there are no survivors. That's the devastating premise set forth by Mike Sutton, who spent three tours as a member of the relatively unknown Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV).

No Survivors follows three infantry advisors and an Army nurse in combat. A spy has been planted in the advisor's team house and, as a result, the enemy is waiting at every turn. Only skill, luck and combat experience allow the advisors to survive the most inhuman ground assaults and bloody ambushes. Following an unthinkable climax, the primary characters come to the bitter, painful realization that sometimes the life you give for your country is not your own.

Sutton, now president of a Washington, DC consulting firm, was awarded the Combat Infantryman's Badge and the Bronze Star. He is donating 33 percent of his royalties to the Center for Homeless Veterans. Advance orders of *No Survivors* will be signed by the author and mailed in early February, 1996.

KONTUM DIARY:
Captured Writings Bring Peace to a Vietnam Veteran, by Paul Reed and Ted Schwarz. Summit Publishing, Arlington TX, 1996.
262 pages, photos, $22.95
ISBN 1-56530-205-2.

This is the story of two men. Paul Reed, a young American, volunteers for duty in Vietnam. While there, he undergoes that common transformation from naive youth to hardened soldier. He has learned to kill, and to do that he has learned to hate. After the war, he returns home but suffers from Post Traumatic Stress. One day, he opens a box of war souvenirs he

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had sent home years before. In that box is the diary of the second man.

Lieut. Nguyen van Nghia is nearly twice Reed's age at the time of the war. He had already fought the French, left the service and started a family. When the "American War" started he rejoined the NVA and served until severely wounded.

Reed traveled to Vietnam to meet Nghia, and the two became friends. Reed even goes so far as to raise money to help Nghia's medical condition. This is a fascinating personal story from a long war.

CLASH OF CHARIOTS: The Great Tank Battles, by Tom Donnelly and Sean Naylor, ed. by Walter J. Boyne. Berkeley Publishing Group, New York, 1996, 212/951-8800. 304 pages, $31.95, ISBN 0-425-15307-X.

This is an examination of the tactics and operations of the major tank campaigns of this century, from Germany's crushing victory over France in 1940 through the Arab-Israeli wars to the 1991 Gulf War. The narrative runs from corps and army-sized battles down to the actions of single tank crews.

Interwoven with the narrative is a discussion of the evolution of tank technology and its effects on tactics. Looking to the future, the authors discuss the effects of intelligence gathering and its rapid dissemination to individual tanks — the information age at war.

The overarching theme of the book is the nature of what we call the Blitzkrieg; a rapid, overwhelming attack intended to dislocate the enemy and achieve victory at a low material cost. Tank warfare has above all been the pursuit of such a victory. This book examines the various attempts to achieve that ideal: where and why the succeeded, where and why they failed.

TACTICAL DEDUCTIONS FROM THE WAR OF 1870-1871 by Albrecht von Boguslawski. Absinthe Press, Minneapolis, 1995. 160 pages, paperback. $15.95

Ever wonder what made the Prussian Army of the later part of nineteenth century so great? Find the answer in the excellent *Tactical Deductions from the War of 1870-1871.* The author (former captain and company chief of the 3rd Silesian's/Prussian Line Regiment #50

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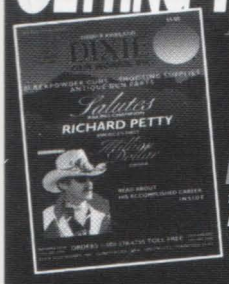

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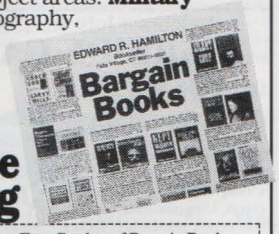

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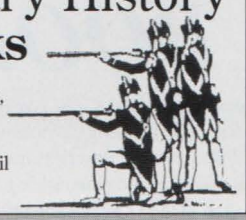

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and veteran of the Franco-Prussian war) highlights the successes and failures of the Franco-Prussian War, weaving a blend of concise tactical thought with a good dose of European military history. His astute observations of the war include how the opposing sides fought and explain how effective the needlegun and chassepot really were. Further, he reveals many of the "real time" tactical problems that present themselves during actual combat. This is an in-depth book. At times the author wears his Prussian pride on his sleeve but, despite this, it rarely clouds his vision. This is a worthy volume, better than most books written well after the fact. Boguslawski's observations of the war are fresh, entertaining and flush with Prussian pride.

IT NEVER SNOWS IN SEPTEMBER: The German View of Market Garden and the Battle of Arnhem, September 1944, by Robert J. Kershaw, 364 pp, 200 Illus, Hardcover, $39.95, Sarpedon Publishing, NY

This remarkable book is simply a "must-have" for every serious student of World War II. Unlike other works that have focused on the views of enemy generals, *It Never Snows* draws on the experiences and recollections of the ordinary enemy soldiers and small unit officers.

The story of Arnhem - the "Bridge Too Far" - is well-known. With the Germans reeling out of France, the Allies launched the greatest airborne attack in history to vault the Rhine. Three full divisions of paratroopers landed behind the German front to hold the bridges of Holland, while Allied armor columns broke through the frontier.

The entire battle became a contest of not only speed and strength, but skill at improvisation. The accounts of the German troops reveal a wide array of feelings - from fatalism to fear to a poised professionalism as they held off the tanks while gradually annihilating the *1st British Airborne.* In the "corridor," roaming German armor shot up the Allied columns, delaying any assistance for the paras.

The German forces consisted of an unusual mix of elite SS and paras, and *ad hoc* units who had no business firing a gun. In the end, the bravery and skill of the Allied paratroopers consistently made a deep impression on the Germans, and the opposite was also true. ✪

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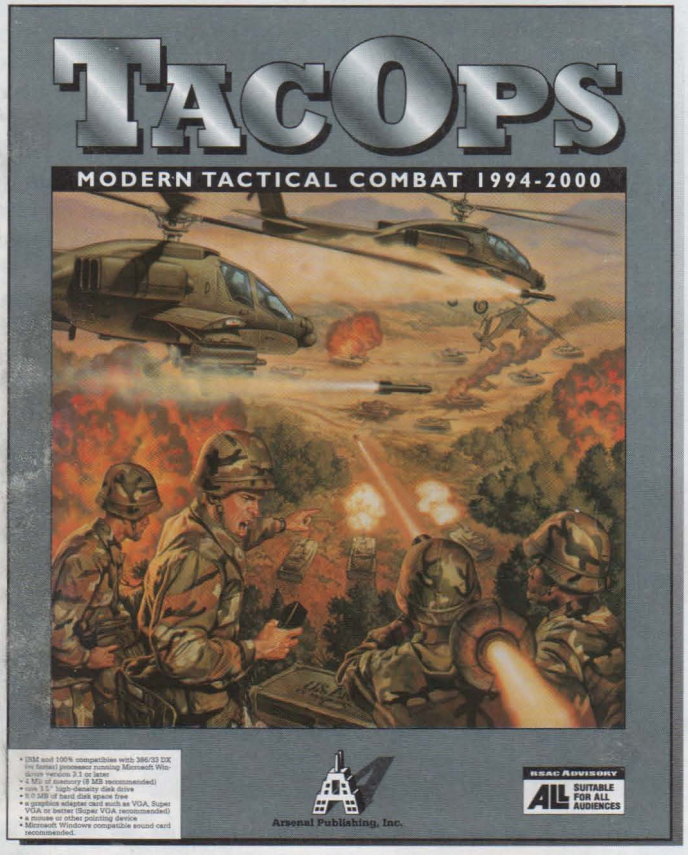

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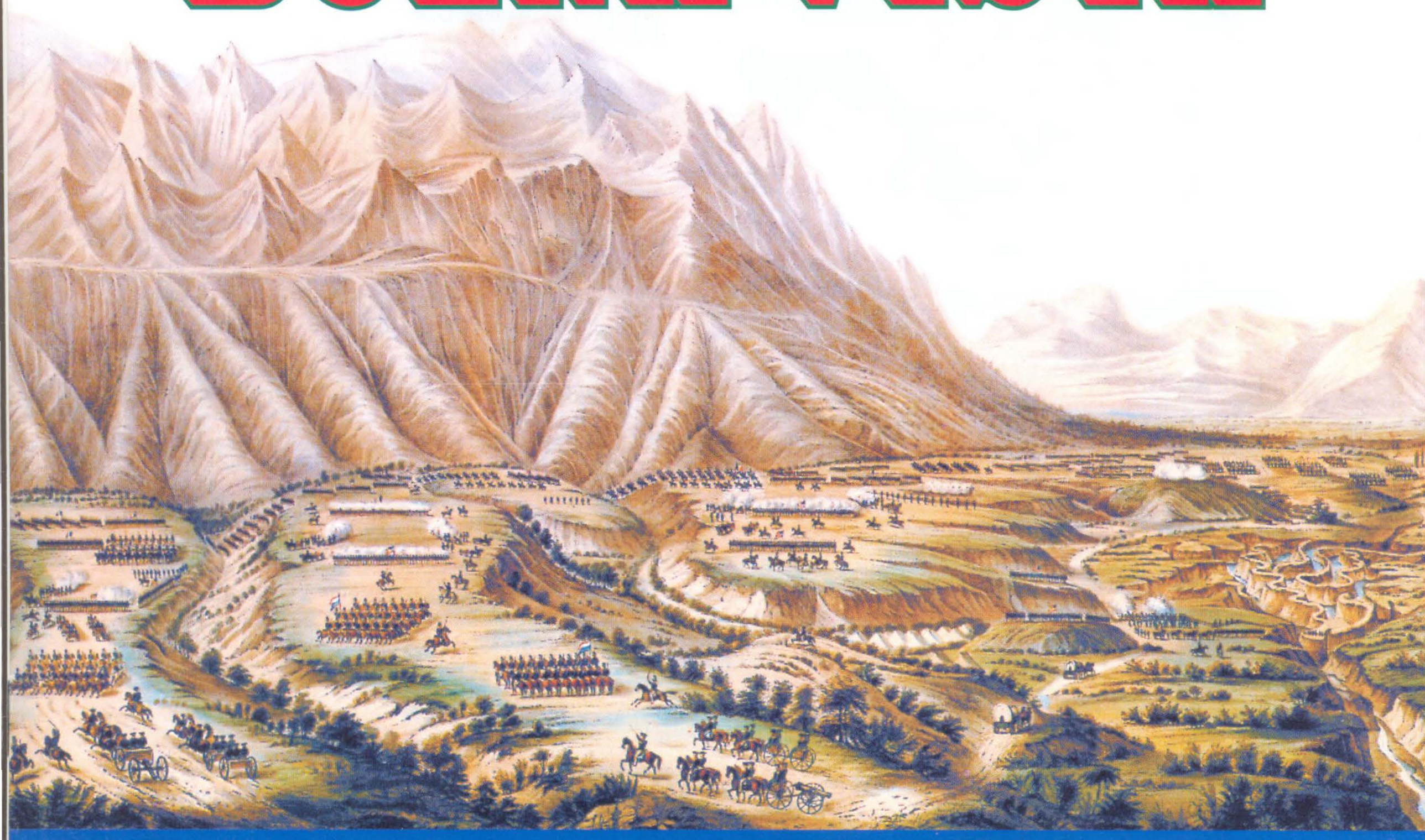

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Read the rules before you punch out the playing pieces. During play, look up specific rules when you need to, and make notes at places giving you trouble.

The rules are numbered to help you find the ones you need. The first number indicates the major rules section. Those to the right of the decimal indicate specific rules within each section. For example, section 2.0 deals generally with the various game components, while rule 2.5 explains specifically about the meaning of the numbers on combat unit counters.

The boxed "Notes" give examples of play or explain the rationales behind various rules. This is a wargame of low-to-intermediate complexity. You can learn to play it on your own, but the best way to learn it is to have an experienced gamer help you.

During your first few matches of the game, skip the rules and sections marked Ω. You won't get the full competitive or historical experience, but you will become accustomed to the rhythm and flow, and that will make playing later with all the rules easier.

Most of all, remember — the main reason to play these games is to have fun.

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10.0 THE SALTILLO TRACK 8

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Playtesters: Ty Bomba, Jack Greene
Map: Beth Queman
Counters & Production: Cheryl Scollan & Chris Perello

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Buena Vista is a simulation of the battle between Gen. Zachary Taylor's American Army of Occupation and the Mexican Army of the North under Santa Anna in northern Mexico, 23 February 1847. Santa Anna hoped to defeat Taylor's force before returning south to stop Winfield Scott's invasion of central Mexico. The game covers only the decisive second day of the battle.

To win the game, the Mexican Player must defeat the American army and capturing its supply base. The American Player must avoid such destruction and reduce the attackers sufficiently so they would present no immediate threat to Scott.

2.0 COMPONENTS

2.1 Components Generally

The components are these rules, the mapsheet and 123 die–cut counters, of which 17 are double–sized. Players must provide a six–sided die.

The mapsheet includes the playing area and the following play aids, each described in the rules noted: Terrain Effects Chart (2.3), Loss Track (4.0), Random Events Table (4.2), Turn Record and Impulse Tracks (5.1), Mexican Reserve Box (5.4), Shock Combat Table (8.0), Fire Combat Table (9.0), Rout Table (9.8), and the Saltillo Track with Saltillo Combat Table (10.0).

2.2 Game Scale

Each hex represents approximately 100 yards from side to side. Each game turn represents 1 hour of real time during the decisive second day of the two day battle.

2.3 The Map & Terrain

The map represents the terrain around the Buena Vista Hacienda as it existed in February 1847. The hexagonal grid is printed on the map to regulate the placement and movement of units. The terrain has been altered to fit within this hex grid, but the relationships between the various types of terrain are such the players will face the same time–space problems faced by their historical counterparts.

There are six types of in-hex terrain: clear, slope, ravine, buildings, cornfield and stream. Any amount of the last five in a hex make the entire hex that type of terrain. None of those five can co-exist in a hex. A clear hex can have none of other types within it.

There are three types of hexside terrain: gully, impassable, and stone wall. These hexsides affect movement and combat across that particular hexside only; they have no impact on units in either adjacent hex.

Roads and trails may exist in combination with any other terrain type or types. Roads negate all other terrain effects for movement purposes only. To receive this effect, a moving unit must move from one trail hex to another across a trail hexside.

Elevation is important for both fire and shock combat: generally, the unit on higher ground has an advantage. Each hex except a slope hex is at hill, mesa or ground level; if there is more than one elevation in a hex, treat it

as being the higher of the two. The terrain type of the hex has no effect on its elevation and vice versa. A slope hex is in between the two levels next to it. When comparing slopes on the hillsides, the slope closest to a clear hill hex is the higher of the two.

The breastwork markers represent defensive positions constructed by the Americans. When the counter is in the hex, the breastworks printed on the map are active and affect combat across the hexsides indicated. A breastwork marker is removed if a Mexican unit enters the hex or if the hex is vacant after an American player impulse. They may not be rebuilt.

The terrain effects are summarized on the Terrain Effects Chart and on the combat tables.

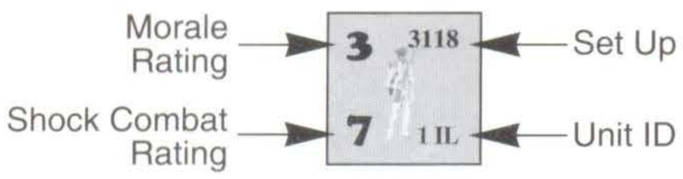
Design Note. The severe stream effects represent the vertical-walled ravines associated with the stream, many over 20 feet in height.

2.4 The Counters

Most of the counters represent combat units. The other counters serve a variety of functions, which are explained later in these rules. After reading the rules, carefully punch out the counters. Trimming the dog–ears off the corners with a fingernail clipper will facilitate handling.

2.5 Combat Units

There are three types of combat units: infantry, cavalry (any figure on a horse) and artillery (cannon figures). Infantry and cavalry units represent between 50 and 350 men each, except the double-sized Mexican brigades, which represent 1,000-1,250 men each. Artillery units represent 2-6 cannon. All American army units are printed with a gray background. All Mexican army units are printed with a white background.



Each counter has an icon indicating its type, morale and shock combat ratings (see 8.0), set up information (see 3.0), and its ID (see box). The ID is important for command and activation (see 6.0).

All combat counters have two steps. When a counter takes a loss (9.6), flip it to the reverse side. When the unit takes a second loss, it routs (9.8).

Some units are represented by a single counter. Others (including all the American infantry regiments) have two counters on the map at the same time; these counters are independent of one another for all purposes (but see 6.0). The Mexican infantry brigades each have two double–sized counters. Only one of these counters may be in play at any one time. The second counter is used after the brigade takes two step losses.

2.6 Leaders

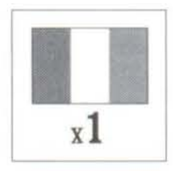
The leader counters represent the entire command structure of the units in question, not just the individual commander. They don't get killed (except by random events), but remove them once all subordinate units have been eliminated.

The morale rating and shock combat ratings are used in shock combat (see 8.2). The Fire Combat Rating is used in fire combat (see 9.2).

2.7 Other Counters

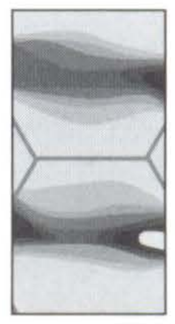
The uses of these markers are are explained in the rules sections noted.

Breastworks
2.3, 8.3

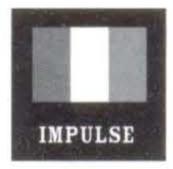


Loss Marker
4.1

Supply Train
4.3, 7.1, 7.3


Stream Crossing
5.3

Game Turn
5.1



Impulse
5.1

Mexican Artillery Moving
7.2

Mexican Army of the North

Pr = Presidential Guard (Pr)

1st Division, Maj. Gen. Manuel Lombardini
- 1/L = 1st Brigade: 1st & 3rd Inf.
- 2/L = 2nd Brigade: 5th & 10th Inf.
- 3/L = 3rd Brigade: Hidalgo Bn, 11th Inf.

2nd Division, Maj. Gen. Francisco Pacheco
- 1/P = 1st Brigade: San Luis & Morelia Activos
- 2/P = 2nd Brigade: Leon & Guanajuato Activos
- 3/P = 3rd Brigade: Puebla Bn, 12th Inf.

3rd Division, Maj. Gen. Jose Ortega
- 1/O = 1st Brigade: Mexico City & Lagos Activos, 4th Inf.
- 2/O = 2nd Brigade: Guadalajara Bn, Santa Anna Bn, Queretaro, Aquacalientes & Calaya Activos

Villamil's Brigade *(ad hoc)*, Gen. Mora y Villamil
- 2Eng = 2nd Regiment of Engineers (2)
- SRM = Standing Regiment Mexico (2)
- TCG = Tampico Coast Guards
- HG = Hussars of the Guard

Light Infantry Brigade *(ad hoc)*, Maj. Gen. Ampudia
- 1L = 1st Ligero (2)
- 2L = 2nd Ligero (2)
- 3L = 3rd Ligero (2)

Juvera's Brigade, Maj. Gen. Julian Juvera
- TC = Tulancingo Cuirassiers
- 5 = 5th Cavalry (2)
- 9 = 9th Cavalry (2)
- Guan = Guanajuato Activos
- Mor = Morelia Activos
- SL = San Luis Activos

Torrejon's Brigade, Maj. Gen. Torrejon
- 3 = 3rd Cavalry (2)
- 7 = 7th Cavalry (2)
- 8 = 8th Cavalry (2)
- LRM = Light Regiment of Mexico
- Oax = Oaxaca Activos
- Caza = Mounted Cazadores (Rifles)

Miñon's Brigade, Gen. J.V. Miñon
- JL = Jalisco Lancers (2)
- 4 = 4th Cavalry (2)
- Pueb = Puebla Activos

Artillery
- S Pat = San Patricio Battery
- MT = Micheltorena Battery
- SA = Santa Anna Battery
- Amp = Ampudia's Battery

American Army of Occupation

Infantry
- 1IL = 1st Illinois (2), Col. Hardin
- 2IL = 2nd Illinois (2), Col. Wm. Bissell (includes one company of Texans)
- 2IN = 2nd Indiana (2), Brig. Gen. Jos. Lane,* Col. Bowles
- 3IN = 3rd Indiana Inf. (2), Col. James Lane
- 2KY = 2nd Kentucky (2), Col. Wm. McKee
- 1MS = 1st Mississippi Rifles (2), Col. Jefferson Davis

Cavalry
- 1D = 1st Dragoons, Capt. Enoch Steen
- 2D = 2nd Dragoons (2), Lt. Col. Chas. May
- 1AR = 1st Arkansas Cavalry (2), Col. Archibald Yell
- 1KY = 1st Kentucky Cavalry (2), Col. H. Marshall
- TxR = Texas Rangers

Artillery
- Bragg, Kilburn = C/3rd Artillery (2)
- Washington, O'Brien = D/4th Artillery (2)
- Sherman, Thomas = E/3rd Artillery (2)

Saltillo Garrison (2), Maj. Wm. Warren (One coy. 1st Artillery as infantry, two coys. 1MS, four coys. 1 & 2 IL, one gun C/3rd)

*Gen. Lane was officially in command of both Indiana regiments, but Taylor had had to separate the two Lanes after a fistfight. Gen Lane remained with the *2nd Indiana.*

3.0 SETTING UP

One player controls the American forces, the other the Mexican forces. Each unit has set up data on it, either a four digit hex number or a single letter. Place all units with four digit number in the corresponding hex(es) on the map. Place units with a letter on the corresponding hex on the Saltillo Track. A leader with no set up data may be placed with any unit in its command. Set asidethe eight Mexican brigade replacement counters. Place the turn marker on the Turn 1 box. Place the Impulse marker, American flag up, on the "1 box of the Impulse track. Place all Loss Markers in the "0" box of the Loss Track.

4.0 HOW TO WIN

4.1 The Loss Track

Buena Vista is won on Victory Points (VP), representing damage to the enemy army; the more damage done, the greater the impact on the war. Each time a unit loses a step in combat (see 2.5 and 9.6), move that player's "x1" Loss marker up one box on the Loss Track. When the marker is in the "9" box and a loss occurs, move it back to the "0" box and move the "x10" marker up one box.

4.2 Random Events

Each time either loss marker of either side moves into or through the "4" box or the "9" box of the Loss Track, a random event is triggered. Once the combat causing the loss(es) has been resolved and all retreats and advances taken, roll two dice and consult the Random Events Table. Apply the random event immediately, then return to the main sequence; random events are in effect mini-turns occurring within the impulse. Any number of random events may be triggered each game, each turn, or by each single combat. Each random event may occur any number of times per game, though in some cases there will be no game effect after the first.

Design Note. Random events were initially included just to add variety, but we found it actually helped mirror the course of the battle. They are now an integral part of the system, and players will find it necessary to plan for and even count on their occurrence.

4.3 Victory

At the end of the game (either the end of Turn 12 or earlier if Rain has started), the player with the most VP wins. To determine the level of victory (the impact of the battle on the war), subtract the American VP total from the Mexican VP total and consult the following:

30 or more — Decisive Mexican Victory: Taylor's army is destroyed by pursuing Mexican cavalry. Northern Mexico, California and New Mexico are liberated and the war ends.

11 to 29 — Substantial Mexican Victory: Taylor's remnants escape to Texas, there to be joined by Scott's army. The Vera Cruz landing is cancelled, but the Americans resume the offensive in the north.

0 to 10 — Marginal Mexican Victory: Taylor's army escapes but cannot hold northern Mexico. The morale boost in Mexico leads to a tremendous outpouring of money and volunteers for the next phase of the war.

-1 to -10 — Marginal American Victory (historical): Santa Anna's army limps home, but is in position to contest Scott's advance. Taylor's army can do no more than continue the occupation of northern Mexico.

-11 to -20 — Substantial American Victory: Taylor follows Santa Anna south. The division of Mexican effort is enough to speed Scott's march on Mexico City.

-21 or less — Decisive American Victory: his army crushed, Santa Anna falls from power. Taylor and Scott "Race to Mexico City," ending the war in early fall.

Shift the final victory by one level in the Mexican favor each for the capture of Saltillo or either American supply train (a maximum of three shifts possible). Shift the final victory by one level in the American favor for the capture of the Mexican supply train.

5.0 SEQUENCE OF PLAY

5.1 Turn Structure

Buena Vista is divided into 12 Game Turns, each subdivided into several phases. Each action taken by a player must be taken in the appropriate phase. Once a phase is over, a player may not perform a forgotten action or take back a poor one unless his opponent graciously permits it. The active player (the player whose impulse it is) is referred to as the moving player and/or the attacking player. Use the Game Turn and Impulse markers and the Turn Record and Impulse Tracks to keep track of the current turn and impulse. The game ends at the end of Turn 12 (or sooner if rain starts, see 5.5); determine victory according to rule 4.3.

5.2 Turn Sequence Outline

A. Activation Phase

1. On Turns 1, 2 and 3, roll for the discovery of the Stream Crossing (5.3)
2. Beginning on Turn 5, roll for the Mexican Reserve Attack (5.4)
3. On Turns 10, 11 & 12, roll for Rain (5.5)
4. The Mexican player may flip his artillery to its moving side if desired (7.2)
5. Activate Mexican Leaders (6.2)
6. Activate American Leaders (6.3)

B. Saltillo Track Phase

1. American Movement
2. American Combat
3. Mexican Movement
4. Mexican Combat

C. Player Impulses

1. First American Impulse
2. First Mexican Impulse
3. Second American Impulse
4. Second Mexican Impulse
5. Third American Impulse
6. Third Mexican Impulse

During each impulse, the active player's units may each either move (7.0, activated units only) OR shock attack (8.0, activated units only) OR fire (9.0). Conduct all movement first, then all shock attacks, then all fire combat.

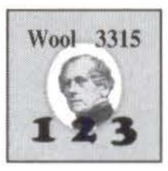
D. Administrative Phase

1. Flip all leaders to their inactive sides (6.1).
2. Flip all Mexican artillery to its firing side (7.2).
3. Move the Turn marker to the next turn, reset the Impulse marker to the "1" box.

5.3 Stream Crossing

In the activation phase of turns 1, 2, & 3, the Mexican player rolls one die to attempt a Stream Crossing Discovery. On a roll of "1," a location is discovered. There are six potential crossing sites, numbered 1 to 6 on the map. Roll the die again and place the Stream Crossing Marker in the appropriate hexes. Once discovered, no more attempts may be made. No attempts may be made after Turn 3. The stream crossing is the only place at which units of either army may cross the stream (see 2.3)

5.4 Mexican Reserve Attack



Beginning in the activation phase of turn 5, the Mexican player may attempt to initiate a reserve attack. Roll one die; if the result falls within the span noted on the Turn Record Track for that turn, the reserve has been organized. All units in the Mexican Reserve Attack Box, including General Perez, are placed on the map inside the Mexican Reserve Deployment Area on the map; this area is a limiting factor on the size of the reserve. The reserve units may be commanded by their own leaders or by Gen Perez, who may command any or all Mexican units. The Mexican player may only organize one reserve attack.

5.5 Rainfall

The battle historically was ended by a heavy winter rain. This may occur in the game either by the Rain check die rolls in turns 10, 11 and 12 or by random event (4.2). Starting with the activation phase of turn 10, the American player rolls one die; if the result falls within the span on the Turn Record Track for that turn, the rain starts. Determine victory according to rule 4.3.

6.0 Activation & Leaders

6.1 Activation & Leaders Generally

The activation rules reflect the limited and different command control abilities of each army. Each game turn, only some leaders on each side can be activated. Only units with active leaders can move or launch shock attacks during their impulses; all units can always fire. A leader may only command the units belonging to him. Activation lasts for an entire game turn.

All leaders should have their inactive sides showing at the start of each game turn. As leaders become activated, flip them to the active sides. Eligible units stacked with or adjacent to the leader are activated. In addition, any eligible unit adjacent to an activated unit is activated; that is, an activated leader may activate a chain of units out to any length.

Gens. Taylor, Wool and Santa Anna, all artillery, the Mexican Presidentials cavalry, and American Dragoons are exempt from activation requirements. Those leaders and units are always active and have blank reverse sides.

Gens. Taylor, Wool, Santa Anna and Perez may command any unit/units in their army; that is, all units are eligible to receive command from them.

6.2 Mexican Activation

Roll one die. If Santa Anna has not been wounded by a random event, add his Leadership Rating of 2 to the result. The modified roll is the number of leaders the Mexican player may activate that turn. He may activate any leaders, including those on the Saltillo Track.

6.3 American Activation

American activation depends on Gens. Wool and Taylor. If either is on the Saltillo Track, he can activate leaders only on the Saltillo Track; if he is on the main map, he can activate leaders only on the main map.

Wool can activate one leader. Select the leader to be activated and roll one die. The leader is activated on a roll of 1-4. On a roll of 5-6, select another leader and roll again. As soon as one leader is activated, stop rolling. Wool may make only one attempt for each leader; it is possible no leader will be activated.

Taylor can activate three leaders. Use the same procedure as above, but he succeeds on a die roll of 1-5.

Both Wool and Taylor may treat all units stacked with him (on either map portion) as being a single leader for activation purposes; that is, he may always activate the units stacked with him whether their leader is present or not. The activation of that one stack is automatic, no die roll is necessary.

7.0 Movement

7.1 Movement Generally

Within the activation limits, a player may move all, some or none of his units in each of his Player Impulses. Units move one at a time from hex to adjacent hex in any direction or combination of directions. The movement of each unit must be completed before that of another is started; once the movement of a unit has begin, a player may not go back and adjust the movement of a previously moved unit.

Each unit has a Movement Allowance with a set number of Movement Points (MP). MP may not be accumulated from turn to turn nor loaned from one unit to another. The MP cost to enter a hex depends on the terrain in that hex or along the hexside to be crossed (see the TEC). If a unit does not have enough MPs to enter a given hex, it may not enter it. Units which do move are not required to expend all their MPs.

All infantry units have a Movement Allowance of 6 MP. Leaders, cavalry and American artillery have a Movement Allowance of 8 MP. The trains may not move. Mexican artillery has a variable movement allowance (see below). In addition, any unit staring movement stacked with a leader has its movement increased by one hex; the MP cost of the extra hex is immaterial.

7.2 Mexican Artillery Movement

The Mexican artillery was not equipped with limbers and caissons, so movement was torturously slow. To move a Mexican battery, mark it with a "Moving" marker at the start of a game turn; it may now move in each Mexican impulse. It may not fire or conduct shock combat, and defends against a Shock attack with a strength of "0." Roll one die each impulse; the result is the number of MP available to the unit that impulse.

7.3 Stacking

Two infantry and/or cavalry units, or one double sized counter, may be in a hex at any one time. The limits apply at all times: during each unit's movement, combat and retreat or advance after combat (8.0 & 9.0). If unable to retreat due to stacking limitations, the retreating unit routs (see 9.8).

Artillery, Leaders, Trains and Breastworks do not count for stacking purposes.

7.3 Effects of Enemy Units on Movement

If a moving unit moves adjacent to an enemy unit, and can be fired on in that hex, temporarily stop its movement and conduct any and all fire combat against it. If the unit is forced to retreat, back it up into the hex it came from and end its movement there. A moving unit may be fired on any number of times for entering a single hex or during a single impulse. A single non-moving unit may fire at moving units each time one moves adjacent. For a moving double-sized unit, it triggers this fire each time any part of the counter moves into such a hex.

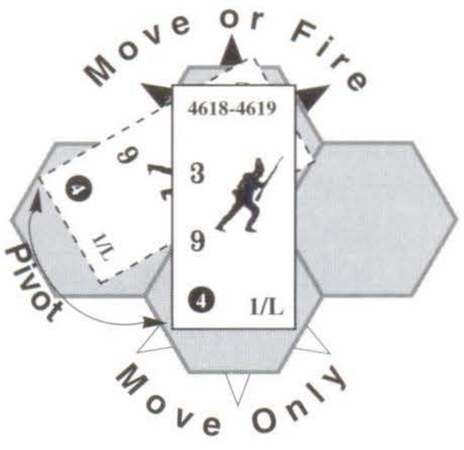
If an enemy leader is alone in a hex, a moving unit may ignore it for all purposes — the moving unit may enter the leader's hex (see 7.5).

Design Note. This is the only effect of enemy units; there are no zones of control.

7.4 Double Size Counter Movement

These counters can fire and shock only through the front three hexsides. The unit is penalized if attacked through any but the front three hexsides (see 8.0 & 9.0).

They can move out of the front three and back three hexsides only. When moving, the tail of the counter must move into the hex vacated by the front of the counter. Alternatively, the counter may pivot by expending all its available MP for one impulse; while one end of the counter remains in the same hex, the other may be moved into either adjacent hex.



Design Note. The formations represented by these counters were not really 200 yards deep. The double-sized counter presents the player with an idea of how cumbersome these formations were. Be careful how you move them or you'll find they block the movement of the rest of your army.

7.5 Leader Movement

Santa Anna, Taylor and Wool can move independently and need not be stacked with a friendly unit at any time. If an enemy unit moves into a hex where one of those leaders is alone, the leader moves to an adjacent hex. They are killed or wounded only by random events.

All other leaders must be stacked with a subordinate unit at the end of each friendly impulse. If that unit is routed in combat, the leader must remain with the unit if it stays on the map, otherwise he must be placed on another subordinate unit anywhere on the map. If all subordinate units have been routed (even if placed in the Mexican Reserve Box), remove the leader from the map.

7.6 Moving Off the Map

No unit may voluntarily move off the map. If forced off the map by combat, it routs (9.8). Units may move back and forth to the Saltillo Track (see 10.0).

8.0 Shock Combat

8.1 Shock Combat Generally

Shock Combat takes place after movement and before fire combat. Shock combat is voluntary unless the unit begins its impulse already engaged (see below). Only infantry and cavalry units may initiate shock. All units may be attacked by shock.

Shock combat takes place between one unit or stack on each side. A unit attempting shock may not have moved that impulse. In the case of a stack, the units must start the impulse stacked. A unit/stack may attempt shock once per impulse; a defending unit/stack may be shock attacked any number of times per impulse.

8.2 Shock Combat Procedure

1) Make a morale check for the attacking unit (or the top unit of an attacking stack). Roll one die: if the die roll is less than or equal to the unit's morale rating (modified by the morale rating of any one leader stacked with it), the unit may conduct shock combat; move it (or the stack) onto the defender's hex. If unsuccessful, the unit (or stack) is finished for that turn.

2) Total the shock factors of all attacking units with any one attacking leader. Total the shock factors of all defending units with any one defending leader. Subtract the defender's total from the attacker's total to get the shock differential.

3) Find the column on the Shock Combat Table corresponding to the differential. Make any applicable differential shifts (8.3). All shifts are cumulative, but the differential may not be shifted off the chart.

4) Roll one die. Cross–index the die roll with the modified differential to get the combat result. Apply the results (8.4), Mexican player first in all cases.

8.3 Differential Shifts

1 Left if infantry is being attacked by cavalry or dragoons.

2 Right if the defender is a double sized counter and the attacker attacked across any hexside other than one of the front three (see 7.4)

2 Right if the attacker is higher than the defender (2.3)
1 Left if the attacker is lower than the defender (2.3)
1 Left if the attacker is coming across a gully, stone wall or active breastworks hexside
2 Left if the attacker is coming out of a stream hex
2 Left if the defender is in a building hex

8.4 Shock Combat Results.

Combat results left of the slash apply to the attacker; results right of the slash apply to the defender.

- = No Effect. Both units remain in the hex; neither may move out and the defender must shock attack in its next impulse. A double-sized Mexican brigadeis presumed to be entirely in the contested hex; ignore the tail of the counter for all purposes in the following impulse.

r = make a morale check for the unit by rolling one die; if the die roll is greater than the unit's morale rating, it fails and must retreat (8.5). If it passes the check, it remains in place.

R = the unit must retreat; no die roll is needed.

8.5 Retreat After Shock Combat

To retreat, a unit must move three hexes away from the contested hex. If this retreat brings it adjacent to an enemy unit other than the one in the contested hex, that unit may fire at the retreating unit. The retreat may not end in such a hex; the unit must keep retreating until it is no longer adjacent to an enemy unit that can fire at it. If at any time the unit is unable to complete a retreat, it routs (see 9.8).

8.6 Special Rules

Trains do not contribute to and are not in any way affected by shock combat. If an enemy unit is alone in a hex with a train, remove the train. It is captured and affects the victory level.

Mexican artillery may not retreat; if forced to retreat, it is eliminated (removed from the game) instead.

If infantry only is attempting to shock attack cavalry, the cavalry may withdraw prior to combat. It must move three hexes. If the hex is vacated as a result of the withdrawal, the attacking infantry may occupy the vacated hex, then move one more hex.

If Mexican infantry is attempting to shock attack American artillery, it may with draw on a die roll of 1-4; on a 5 or 6 it must remain in the hex. The withdrawal is conducted the same as cavalry withdrawal.

9.0 Fire Combat

9.1 Fire Combat Generally

Fire combat consists of a single unit firing at a single target unit (not hex). The active player's units may fire during his impulses. The inactive player's units may fire during the other player's impulse as a result of enemy movement (see 7.3). Either player's units may fire at retreating enemy units. Fire combat is always voluntary. During his impulse, the active player may conduct as many attacks as he wishes, in any order, but must complete the resolution of one before the next is begun. Fire attacks are conducted after all shock attacks are completed. No fire combat may be conducted into or out of a contested hex (see 8.0).

A unit may fire only once in a friendly impulse, and any number of times during enemy movement/retreat. A single unit or hex may be fired at any number of times. Only the top infantry/cavalry unit in a hex may fire; all artillery units in a hex may fire. Trains do not fire and are not affected by fire combat.

9.2 Fire Combat Procedure

1) Determine if a line of sight exists from the firing unit to the target unit (9.3).

2) Find the firing unit type at the top of the Fire Combat Table. Except for the 3 & 4 step Mexican brigades, the step strength of the firing unit is immaterial; only the unit types matters.

3) Determine the range to the target (9.4).

4) Move across the firing unit row to the column corresponding to the range. Shift the column for terrain (9.5) or one column to the left if the target is a double-sized counter being fired at through a non-frontal hexside (7.4). The column can never be shifted off the table.

5) Roll one die. Add the leadership value of any one leader stacked with the firing unit, subtract the leadership value of any one leader stacked with the target unit, but an original roll of "6" remains a "6." Any other roll modified to less than "0" is treated as "0," any other roll modified to more than "6" is treated as "6."

6) Cross index the modified die roll with the column from #4 to get the combat result 9.6). Apply the results to the target unit.

9.3 Line of Sight

A line of sight (LOS) is a straight line from the center of the firing unit's hex to the center of the target unit's hex. The elevation of the terrain along the LOS may block it, preventing the fire combat from taking place. If the LOS follows a hexside and either hex adjacent to that hexside would block the LOS, the LOS is blocked.

The LOS is blocked if any of the following is true:

1) any hex along the LOS is higher than both the firing unit and the target unit.

2) the firing and target units are on different elevations, and there is a hex, at the same elevation as the higher of the two, equidistant between the two or closer to the lower of the two (for example, hex 2211 blocks the LOS from 2210 to 2212).

3) it crosses an impassable hexside adjacent to the target unit (impassable hexsides have no effect other than for adjacent target units).

4) the firing unit is in a stream hex.

5) the target unit is in a stream hex and the firing unit is not on an adjacent, non-stream hex.

Design Note. Impassable hexsides create quirky situations due to their odd nature. From the mesa level, they drop straight down for 20 to 30 feet, then out and down until bottoming out. Units firing from above would have to push literally to the very edge to fire on troops below. Units firing from below could not see anything that wasn't literally on the edge of the Mesa.

9.4 Range

A firing unit may only hit targets within range. A unit's maximum range is indicated on its row at the top of the Fire Combat Table. When counting range, do not count the firing unit's hex, do count the target unit's hex.

Design Note. American artillery range is based on the known performance of the cannon and shells. Because of the poor gunpowder and worse shells, the range for the Mexican artillery could only be determined empirically — out to the range at which it was actually effective during the battle.

9.5 Terrain Effects on Fire Combat

In addition to the LOS effects, terrain may require a column shift for a particular fire combat. Shift the appropriate number of columns, but never off the chart in either direction. The column shifts are cumulative. If the firing unit is at a higher elevation than the target unit, shift two columns left. If the firing unit is at a lower elevation than the target unit, shift one column right. If the LOS crosses either a stonewall or active breastwork (see 2.3) hexside, shift one column right. If the target unit is in a building hex, shift two columns right.

Artillery units may not fire from either a ravine, slope or stream hex.

9.6 Fire Combat Results

- = No Effect

1,2 = one or two steps lost by the target unit. Move the owning player's loss marker up one box for each step lost. If the unit loses its last step, it routs (see 9.8).

r = make a morale check for the unit by rolling one die; if the die roll is greater than the unit's morale rating, it fails and must retreat (9.7). If it passes the check, it remains in place.

R = the unit must retreat; no die roll is needed.

9.7 Retreat After Fire Combat

A unit required to retreat by fire combat must move one hex (not three) away from the firing unit (if the unit was already retreating as a result of another fire combat or a shock combat, do not add one. Otherwise the retreat is conducted in the same way as retreat after shock combat (8.5). Artillery never retreats as a result of fire combat; ignore all retreat results against artillery.

9.8 Rout

When a unit loses its last step, roll one die and consult the Rout Table. Mexican units are either eliminated and out of play for the rest of the game, or placed in the Mexican Reserve Box (see 5.4).

American units are either eliminated or placed back on the map. If a unit is to be placed in Saltillo and there is a Mexican unit within 5 hexes of Buena Vista or on Saltillo Track Hexes E,F or G, the routing unit is eliminated instead. If the unit is to be placed with Supply Wagon A or in Buena Vista, it must be placed on that hex. If the hex is full, it may be placed adjacent to the hex, but not if it will also be adjacent to a Mexican unit. If no such placement hex is available, the unit is eliminated instead.

10.0 THE SALTILLO TRACK

Design Note. The American occupation was organized around a few key towns forming the lines of communication from Texas. The safety of Saltillo was a major headache for General Taylor during the battle.

10.1 Saltillo Track Movement

Units on the Saltillo Track must be activated to move or fight. Infantry units move one hex on the track; all other units and leaders move two hexes. There is no one hex leader bonus. Units may move into, but not through, enemy occupied hexes (see 10.3). Any number of units may stack on a single Saltillo Track hex.

Units may move off and on the Saltillo Track through hexes A, B, D, and G. Any unit moving off from hexes A, B or D are not eliminated, but are out of the game for good; they may not reenter the map at any point. See 10.2 for movement through Box G.

If at any time there is no American unit in the Saltillo hex, the Mexican player is assumed to have occupied it whether a Mexican combat unit is present or not (see 4.3).

10.2 Movement Through Buena Vista

Units may move between the main map and the Saltillo Track through Buena Vista. During the Saltillo Track Movement Phase, any unit in hex G of the Saltillo Track may be placed in hexes 1012, 1013 (Buena Vista) and/or 1014. The placement does not cost any MP and the units need not be activated to be placed.

During the same phase, any units in hexes 1012, 1013 and/or 1014 may be placed in Hex G of the Saltillo Track. Movement into Hex G counts as one hex moved on the Saltillo Track, and the units must be activated (they count against the Saltillo Track limit, see 6.3) to make the move.

Within those restrictions, there is no limit to the number of units of either side moving back and forth one any game turn or during the game as a whole.

10.3 Saltillo Track Combat

Saltillo Track Combat is voluntary, but only activated units in the same hex as the enemy unit may attack. Each combat consists of one attacking unit (attacker's choice) versus one defending unit (defender's choice). Only one combat can occur in each Saltillo Track hex per combat phase.

Follow each of these steps for each combat.

1) To the shock combat value of the attacking unit, add one for each combat unit and leader stacked with the attacking unit.
2) To the shock combat value of the defending unit, add one for each combat unit and leader stacked with the attacking unit. Add two if the combat is in the Saltillo hex.
3) Subtract the defender's total from the attacker's total. Find the corresponding differential on the Saltillo Track Combat Table. Roll one die and cross index the result with the differential column.
4) All results are in steps lost. Only the involved unit may take losses; ignore any excess. ✪

BUENA VISTA

FRONT 1 of 1

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4618-4619 | 3 9 | 4 1/L

3 9 | 2 1/L

4717-4718 | 3 9 | 4 2/L

3 8 | 2 2/L

5 3620 | 8 2 Eng/V

5 3620 | 8 2 Eng/V

3 3720 | 3 SRM/V

3 3720 | 3 SRM/V

3 3821 | 3 TCG/V

4 3821 | 6 HG/V

4 4423 | 8 TC/J

3 4623 | 7 5/J

3 4623 | 7 5/J

3 4523 | 7 9/J

3 4523 | 7 9/J

3 4423 | 6 Mor/J

Mexicans

4817-4818 | 3 9 | 4 3/L

3 8 | 2 3/L

4020-4120 | 3 9 | 4 1/P

3 8 | 2 1/P

3 4424 | 6 Guan/J

3 4424 | 6 SL/J

3 4516 | 7 3/T

3 4516 | 7 3/J

3 4417 | 7 7/T

3 4417 | 7 7/T

3 4317 | 7 8/T

3 4317 | 7 8/T

4 4318 | 6 LRM/T

3 4318 | 6 Oax/T

4 4219 | 6 Caza/T

4 A | 9 JL/M

4119-4220 | 3 9 | 4 2/P

3 8 | 2 2/P

3920-3921 | 3 9 | 4 3/P

3 8 | 2 3/P

4 A | 9 JL/M

3 A | 7 4/M

3 A | 7 4/M

3 A | 6 Pheb/M

5 4222 | 6 Pr

5 4222 | 6 Pr

3 5210 | 2 1L/A

3 5210 | 2 1L/A

3 5211 | 2 2L/A

3 5211 | 2 2L/A

3 5014 | 2 3L/A

3 5113 | 2 3L/A

4820-4919 | 3 9 | 4 1/O

3 8 | 2 1/O

4720-4621 | 3 9 | 4 2/O

3 8 | 2 2/O

4 5209 | 2 Amp

4 5226 | 5 SPat

Lombardini | 1 2 5

Pacheco | 0 1 4

Ortega | 0 -1 4

Villamil | 1 2 4

4 4916 | 3 MT

4 4321 | 3 SA

Juvera | 1 2 5

Torrejon | 0 1 5

Miñon | 1 3 6

Ampudia | 1 1 6

Santa Anna | 2 2 6

Perez | 1 1 6

4522

x1

x10

MOVING

MOVING

MOVING

GAME TURN

IMPULSE

Hardin/1 IL | 1 0 1

3 3118 | 7 1 IL

3 3219 | 7 1 IL

Bissell/2 IL | 0 0 1

3 3814 | 7 2 IL

3 3913 | 7 2 IL

Lane/2 IN | 1 1 1

3 4213 | 6 2 IN

3 4113 | 6 2 IN

Lane/3 IN | 1 1 1

3 2619 | 7 3 IN

3 2921 | 7 3 IN

Davis/1 MS | 1 2 2

4 E | 7 1 MS

4 E | 7 1 MS

Warren/SG | 0 2 7

3 H | 6 SG

3 H | 6 SG

Yell/1AR | 1 0 1

1 4109 | 4 1 AR

McKee/2KY | 1 1 1

3 3231 | 7 2KY

3 3129 | 7 2KY

Mrschl/1 KY | 1 1 1

1 4308 | 4 1KY

1 4301 | 4 1KY

May/2D | 1 2 2

4 F | 5 2D

4 4209 | 6 2D

1 F | 4 1 AR

Americans

Steen/1D | 1 2 2

4 2417 | 4 1D

5 3315 | 7 TxR

2418

1013

Wool 3315 | 1 2 3

Taylor E | 2 4 3

3020

3118

3219

5 3020 | 5 Wash

5 3230 | 2 Bragg

5 2116 | 2 Sherm

5 3913 | 4 Sherm

5 4113 | 4 OBrn

5 F | 2 Kilb

x1

x10

This is a supplement to Command #40

4 3 HG/V | 3 2 TCG/V | 3 2 SRM/V | 3 2 SRM/V | 4 6 2 Eng/V | 4 6 2 Eng/V | 3 7 ❶ 2/L | 3 9 ❸ 2/L | 3 7 ❶ 1/L | 3 9 ❸ 1/L

3 4 Mor/J | 3 6 9/J | 3 6 9/J | 3 6 5/J | 3 6 5/J | 4 7 TC/J

3 6 7/T | 3 6 7/T | 3 6 3/J | 3 6 3/T | 3 4 SL/J | 3 4 Guan/J | 3 7 ❶ 1/P | 3 9 ❸ 1/P | 3 7 ❶ 3/L | 3 9 ❸ 3/L

4 7 JL/M | 4 5 Caza/T | 3 4 Oax/T | 3 5 LRM/T | 3 6 8/T | 3 6 8/T

4 5 Pr | 4 5 Pr | 3 4 Pueb/M | 3 A 6 4/M | 3 6 4/M | 4 7 JL/M | 3 7 ❶ 3/P | 3 9 ❸ 3/P | 3 7 ❶ 2/P | 3 9 ❸ 2/P

3 5113 1 3L/A | 3 5014 1 3L/A | 3 5211 1 2L/A | 3 5211 1 2L/A | 3 5210 1 1L/A | 3 5210 1 1L/A

Villamil INACTIVE | Ortega INACTIVE | Pacheco INACTIVE | Lombardini INACTIVE | 5 4 SPat | 3 1 Amp | 3 7 ❶ 2/O | 3 9 ❸ 2/O | 3 7 ❶ 2/O | 3 9 ❸ 1/O

Ampudia INACTIVE | Miñon INACTIVE | Torrejon INACTIVE | Juvera INACTIVE | 4 1 SA | 4 1 MT

IMPULSE

Lane/3 IN INACTIVE | 3 4 2 IN | 3 4 2 IN | Lane/2 IN INACTIVE | 3 4 2 IL | 3 4 2 IL | Bissell/2 IL INACTIVE | 3 4 1 IL | 3 4 1 IL | Hardin/1 IL INACTIVE

1 2 1 AR | Yell/1AR INACTIVE | 3 4 SG | SG | Warren/SG INACTIVE | 3 4 1 MS | 3 4 1 MS | Davis/1 MS INACTIVE | 3 4 3 IN | 3 4 3 IN

1 2 1 AR | 4 3 2D | 4 3 2D | 1 2 1KY | 1 2 1KY | Mrschl/1 KY INACTIVE | 3 4 2KY | 3 4 2KY | McKee/2KY INACTIVE

5 5 TxR | 4 3 1D

5 1 Kilb | 5 2 OBrn | 5 2 Sherm | 5 1 Sherm | 5 1 Bragg | 5 3 Wash

TERRAIN EFFECTS CHART

Infantry — 6 MP
Cavalry — 8 MP
American Artillery — 8 MP
Mexican Artillery — Roll die (see 7.2)
Leaders — 8 MP

Terrain	Movement Cost
Clear	1
Cornfield	Infantry 3, Others 1
Ravine	3
Slope	Stop on entering
Road	1/2 (see 2.3)
Trail	1 (see 2.3)
Buena Vista	1
Stream	Not Allowed (but see 5.3)
Hexside Terrain	
Impassable	Not Allowed
Gully	+2
Stonewall	+1
Breastwork	+1*

*(while active, see 2.3)

ROUT TABLE

Die Roll	American	Mexican
1	Hex 2418*	Mexican Reserve Box†
2	Saltillo**	Mexican Reserve Box†
3	Buena Vista***	Mexican Reserve Box†
4	Eliminated	Eliminated
5	Eliminated	Eliminated
6	Eliminated	Eliminated

Notes

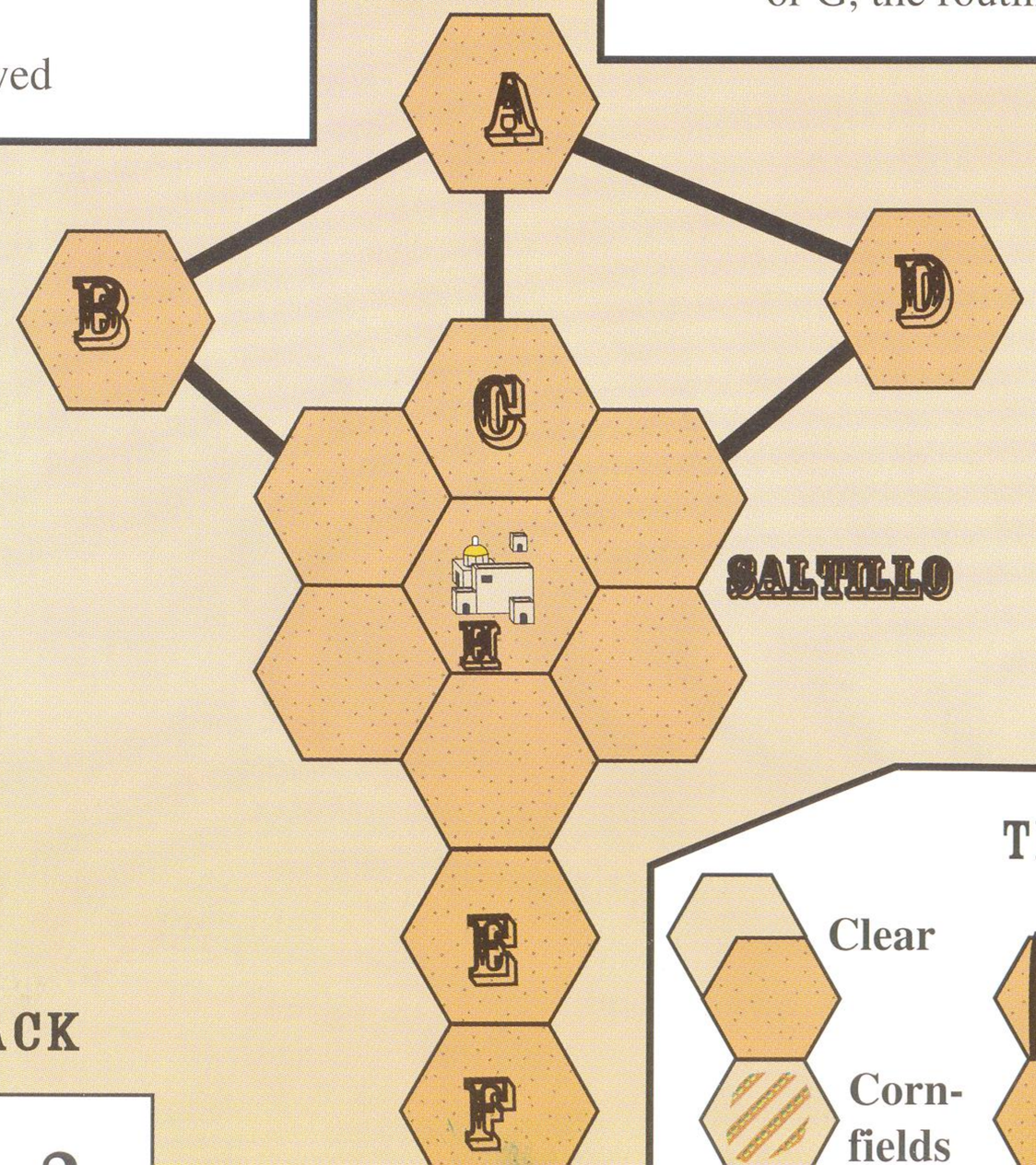
If a unit is eliminated, remove it from play. There is no additional loss point assessment.

* — if the supply wagon is still there; if not, the unit is eliminated.

** — if any Mexican unit is in or adjacent to Buena Vista, or on Saltillo Track hexes E,F or G, the routing unit is eliminated.

***– If the supply wagon is still there; if not, the unit is eliminated.

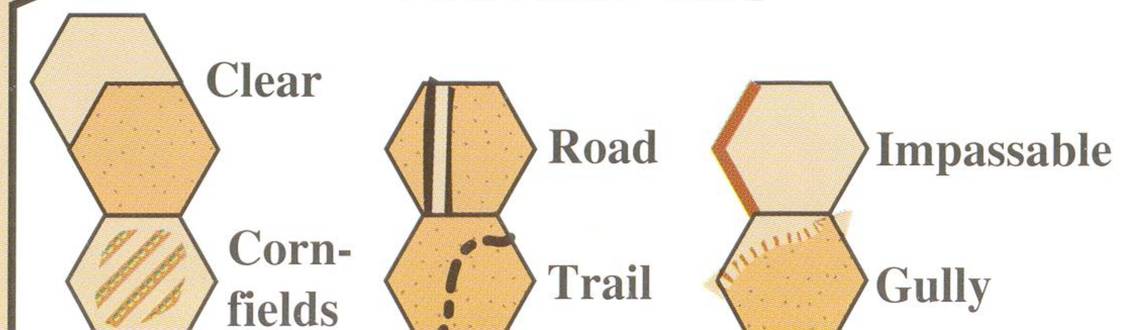
† — Once the Mexican Reserve Attack is triggered, routed units are automatically eliminated.



IMPULSE TRACK

1	2	3

TERRAIN KEY



SALTILLO COMBAT TABLE

Die Roll	Differential <-4	-4 to -1	0	1 to 4	5+
1	2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-
2	2/-	2/1	1/1	1/1	-/1
3	2/1	1/-	1/-	1/-	-/2
4	2/-	1/-	-/1	-/1	1/2
5	1/-	1/1	1/1	1/2	-/2
6	-/2	-/2	-/2	-/2	-/2

Results left of the "/" apply to the attacker, results to the right to the defender. All results are steps lost.

Differential = shock combat strength +1 for each other unit and leader int he hex, +2 to the defender in Saltillo (H).

SHOCK COMBAT TABLE

Die Roll	Differential <0	0-1	2-3	4-5	6+
1	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-/r	-/r
3	R/r	R/r	r/r	r/r	r/R
4	R/r	R/r	r/r	r/r	r/R
5	r/r	r/r	r/R	r/R	-/R
6	R/-	r/-	R/r	-/R	-/R

Column Shifts

Attacker higher: 2 columns right
Cavalry attacking infantry: 1 column right
Across a gully: 1 column left
Defender higher, across stonewall or

IMPULSE TRACK

1	2	3

10	11	12
1-2	Rain 1-3	Rain 1-4

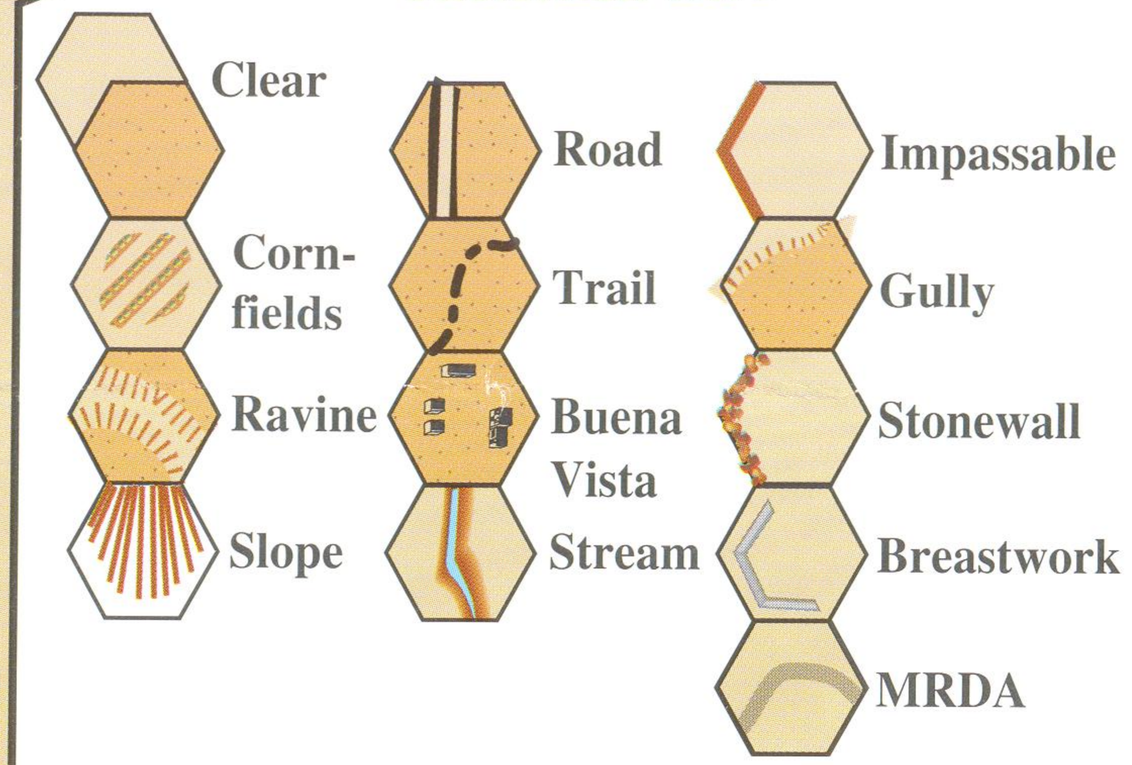
E

F

G

BUENA VISTA

TERRAIN KEY



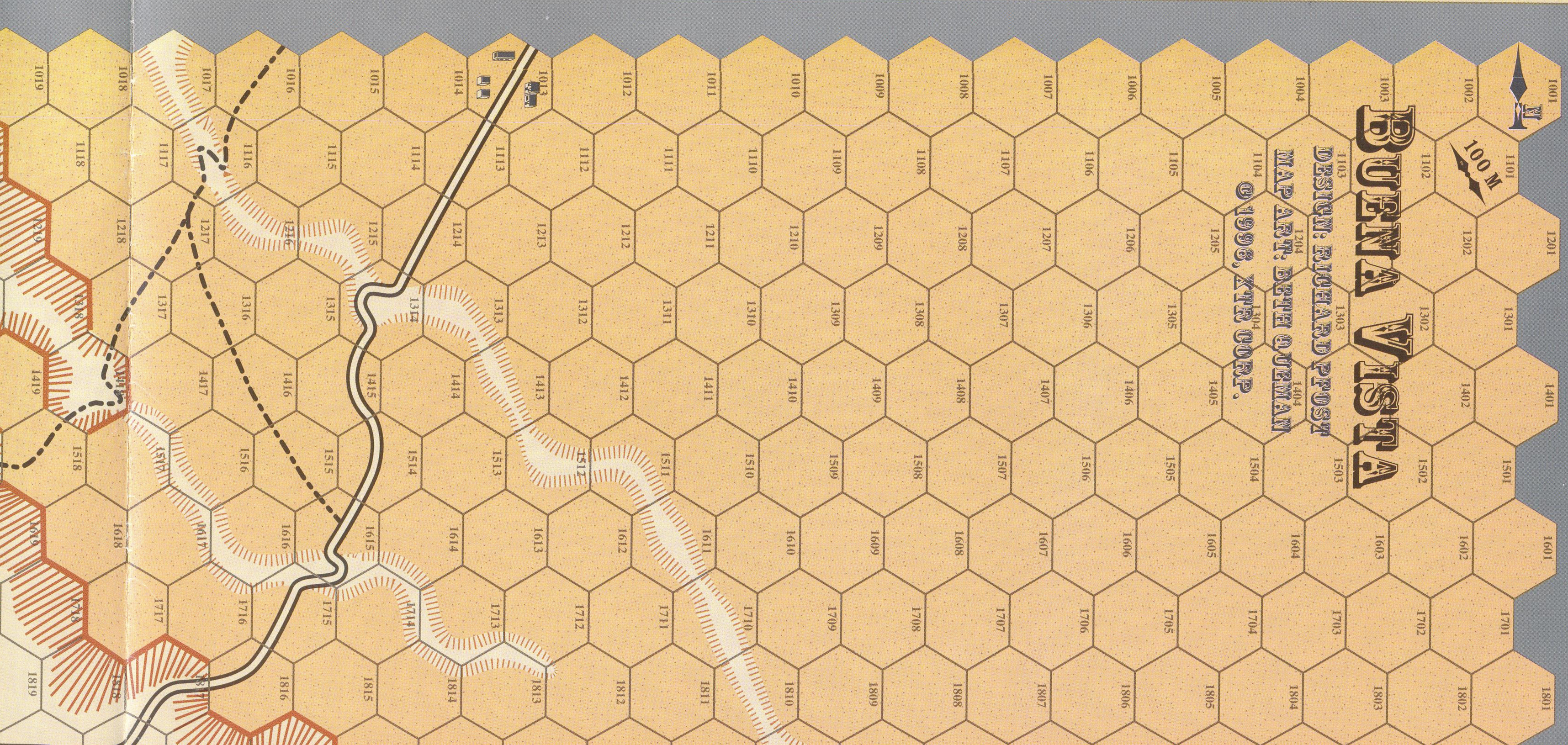
6	R/-	r/-	R/r	-/R	-/R

Column Shifts

Attacker higher: 2 columns right
Cavalry attacking infantry: 1 column right
Across a gully: 1 column left
Defender higher, across stonewall or breastworks, into Buena Vista, into or out of stream: 2 columns left

Results

- = no effect, units remain engaged
r = unit retreats 3 hexes if it fails its morale check
R = unit retreats 3 hexes



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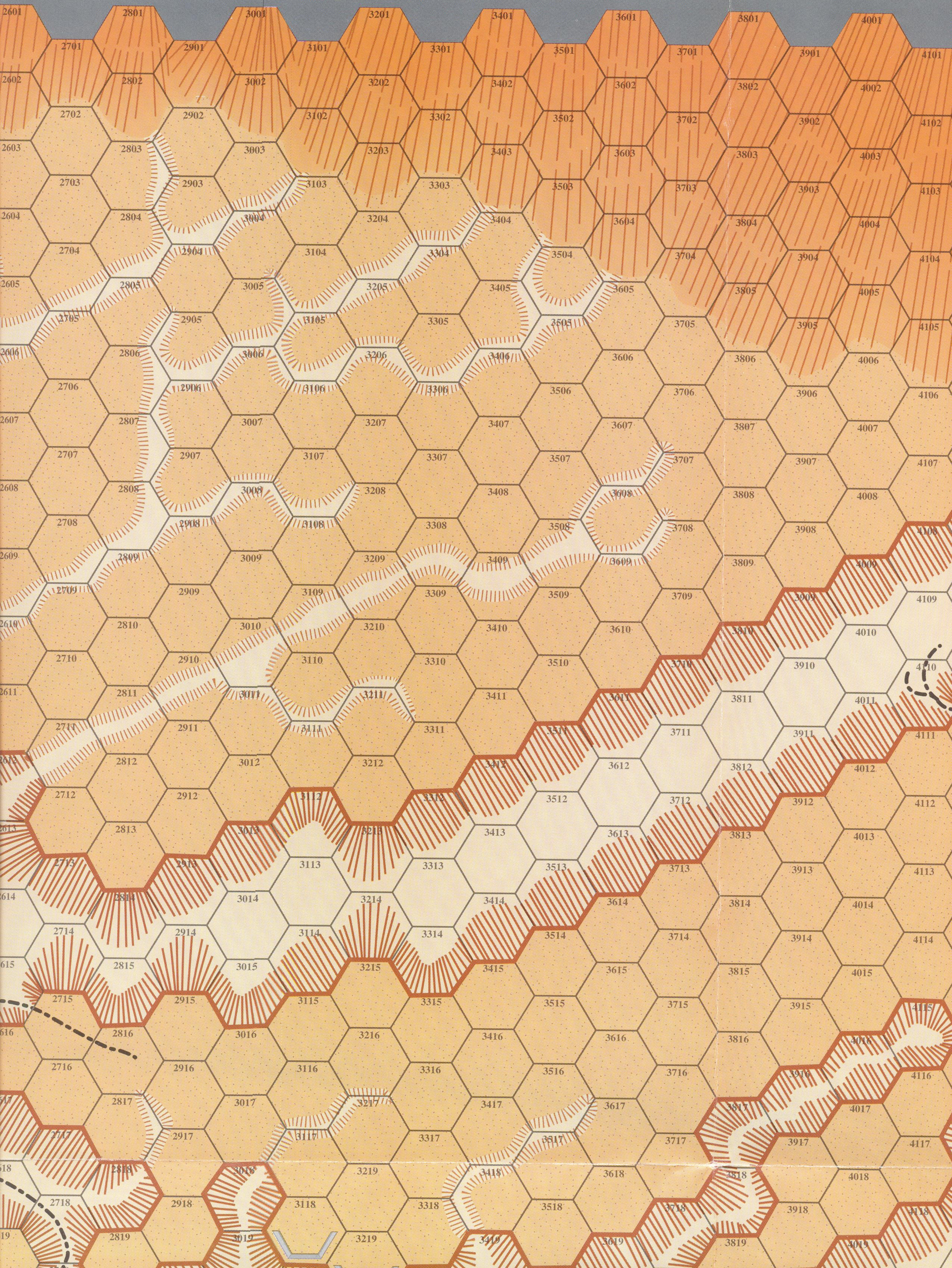
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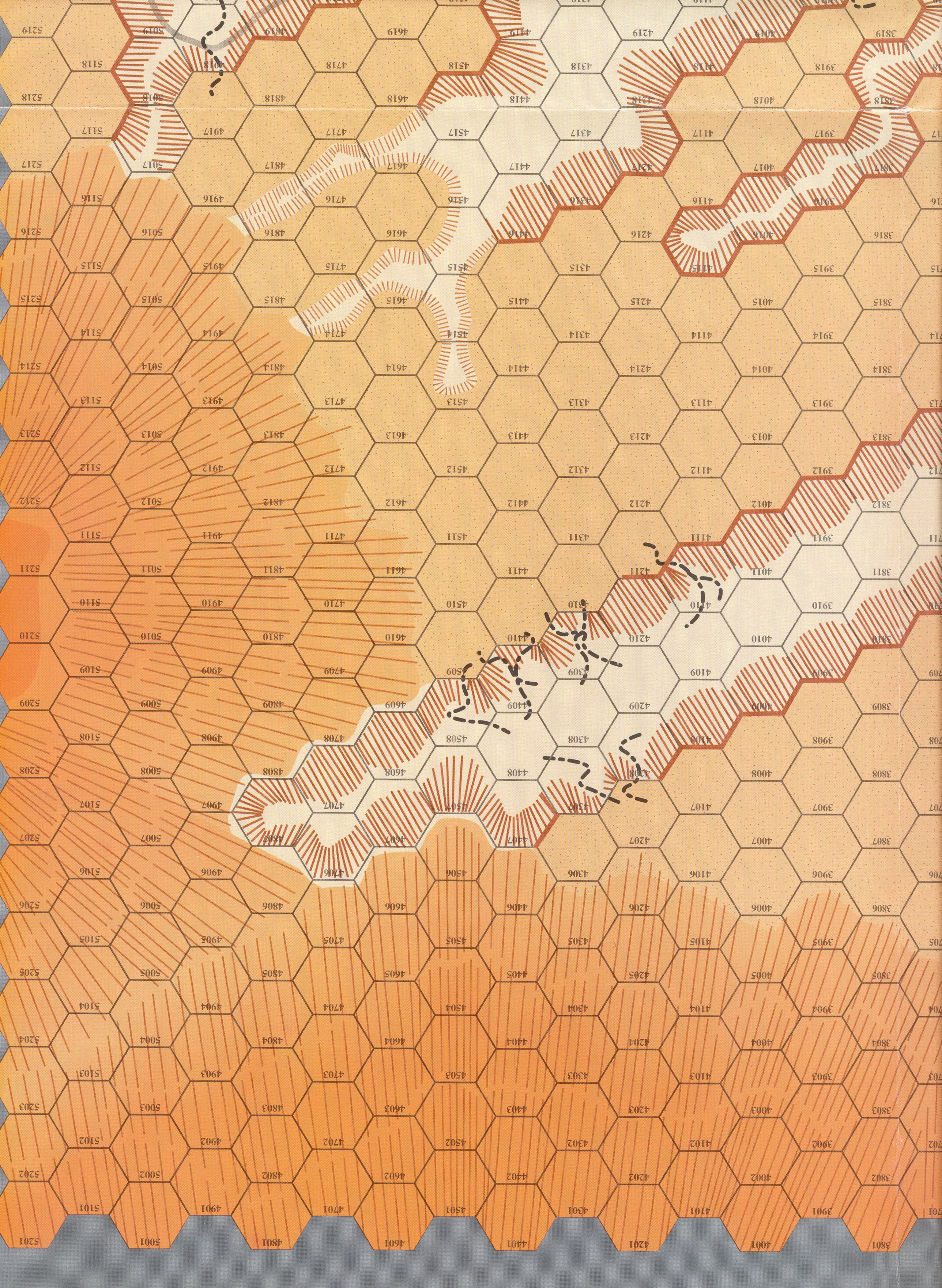

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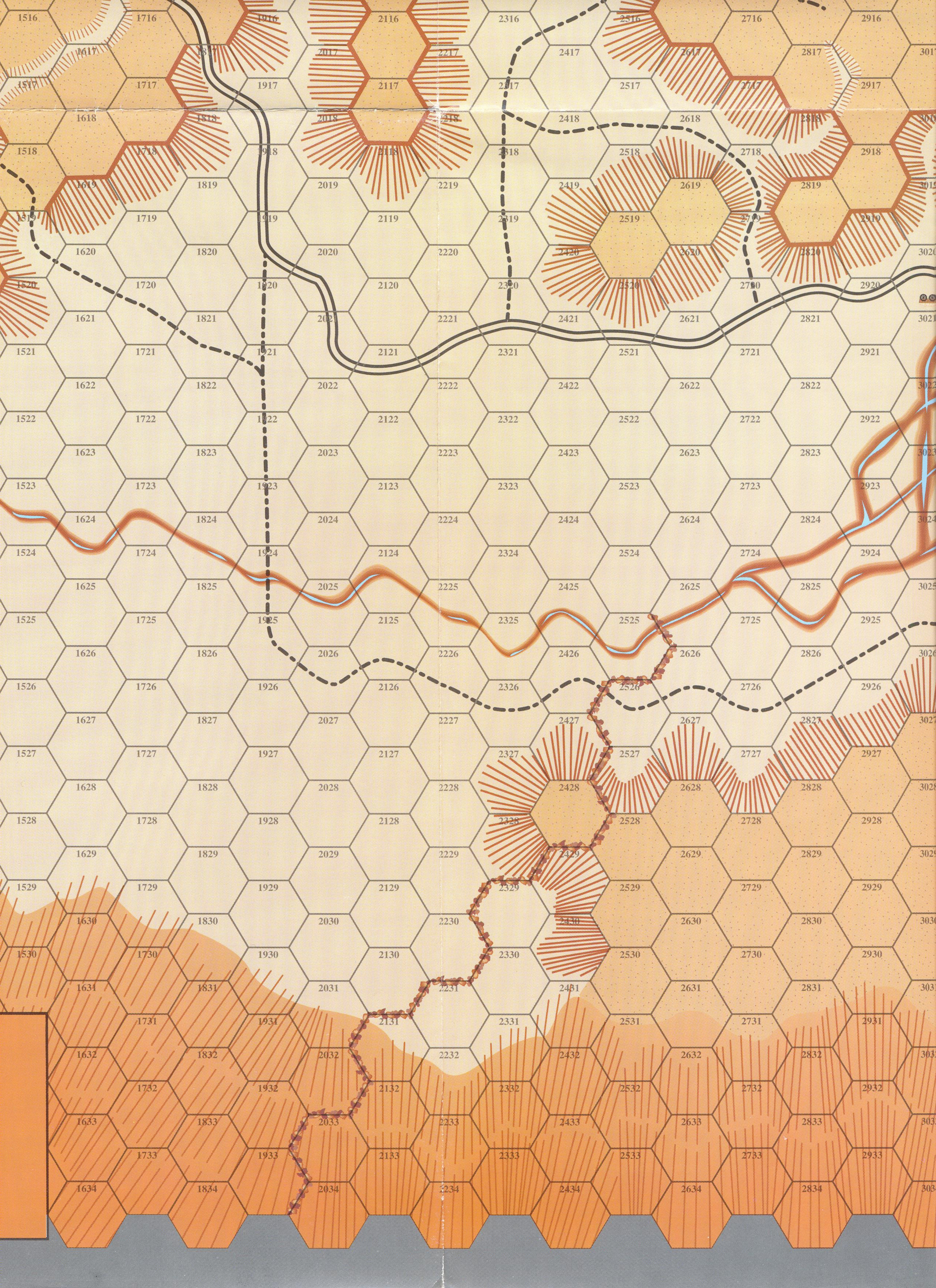


	step any one American combat unit on the main map within 3 hexes of any Mexican combat unit. If a loss is inflicted, the American suffers one loss point.
9	The Mexican player may move one American combat unit (with any stacked leader) on the main map subject to movement restrictions.
10	Miñon's command retreats off Saltillo Track and out of the game. Remove the units from play. The Mexican suffers one loss point for each unit (not step) moving off the track.
11	Rain: the battle ends immediately; establish the winner per rule 4.3.
12	Taylor is wounded; remove his counter from play. In his place the American player may now make only two activation attempts, on the main map only, with success on a rollof 1-3. The American suffers five loss points.

Die roll less than 0 = 0; die rolls greater than 6 = 6.
1, = 1 or 2 steps lost.
R = target unit retreat.
r = target unit retreats if it fails it morale check.
Artillery may not fire from slope or ravine.
No firing from/to stream.
see 9.3 for Line of Sight.

LOSS TRACK

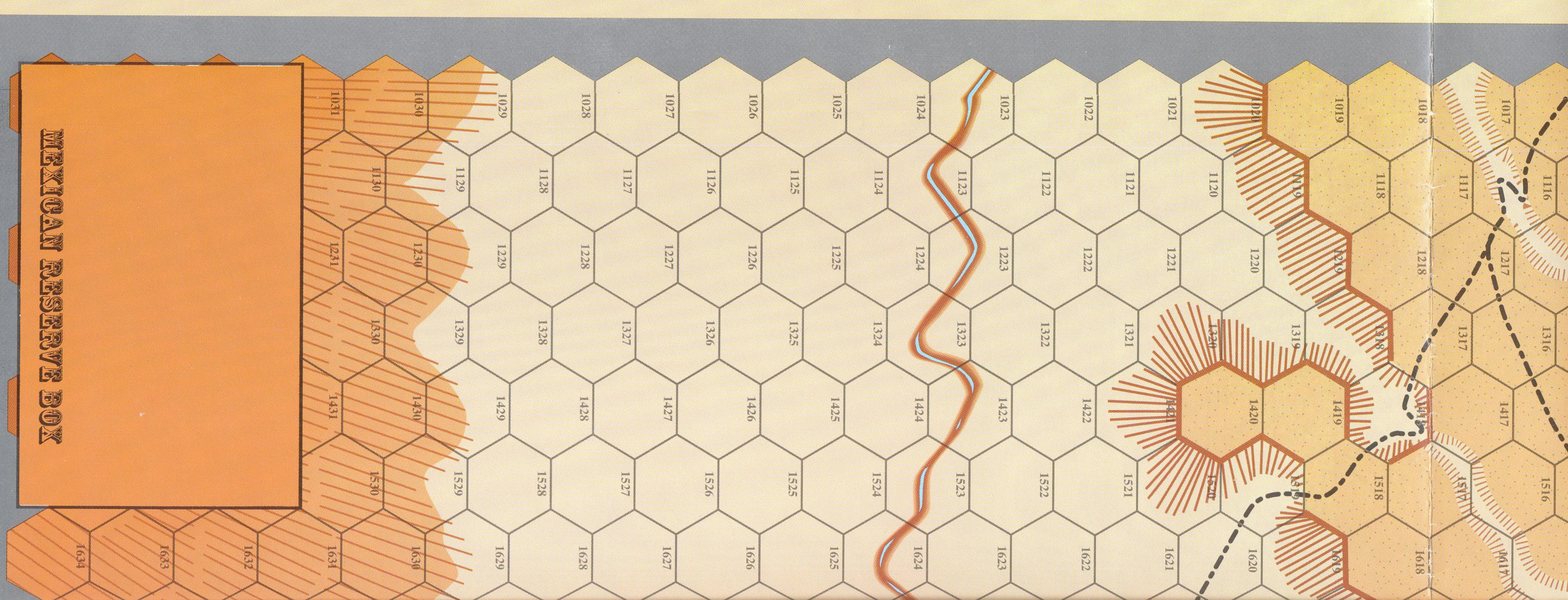
1	2	3	4 Random Event	5	6	7	8	9 Random Event

IMPULSE TRAC

1	2

TURN RECORD TRACK

1 Stream Xing 1	2 Stream Xing 1	3 Stream Xing 1	4	5 Mex. Reserve Attack 1-2	6 Mex. Reserve Attack 1-4	7 Mex. Reserve Attack 1-5	8 Mex. Reserve Attack 1-6	9	10 Rain 1-2	11 Rain 1-3	12 Rain 1-4



RANDOM EVENTS CHART

Dice Roll	Result
2	Santa Anna is wounded and removed from play. Do not add his leadership value to future activation die rolls. The Mexican Presidential Cavalry is also immediately removed from play. The Mexican suffers five loss points.
3	One American Saltillo Garrison counter routs to Monterrey. Remove one of the Saltillo Garrison counters from play (no effect if they both have been eliminated). The American suffers two loss points.
4	Wool is killed; remove his counter from play. The American suffers five loss points.
5	The American player may move one Mexican combat unit (with any stacked leader) on the main map subject to movement restrictions.
6	The American player may reduce by one step any one Mexican combat unit on the main map within 4 hexes of any American combat unit. If a loss is inflicted, the Mexican suffers one loss point.
7	No Effect
8	The Mexican player may reduce by one step any one American combat unit on the main map within 3 hexes of any Mexican combat unit. If a loss is inflicted, the American suffers one loss point.
9	The Mexican player may move one American combat unit (with any stacked leader) on the main map subject to movement restrictions.
10	Miñon's command retreats off Saltillo Track and out of the game. Remove the units from play. The Mexican suffers one loss point for each unit (not step) moving off the track.
11	Rain: the battle ends immediately;

FIRE COMBAT TABLE

Column Shift

Downhill: 2 columns left
Uphill: 1 column right
Across Breastworks or Stonewalls: 1 column right
Into Buena Vista: 2 columns right
At double-counter across non-frontal hexside: 1 column right

Fire Unit	Max Range	Range to Target					
Mexican Artillery	10	1	2-3	4-6	7	8	9-10
Mexican Cavalry	1						1
3-4 Step Mexican Brigades	2			1		2	
All Other Mexican Infantry	2				1	2	
American Infantry	3		1	2		3	
1st Mississippi	4		1	2	3	4	
American Cavalry	1						1
American Dragoons	1					1	
American Artillery	7		1-2	3-4	5	6	7

Die Roll + firing leader - target leader							
	0	r	—	—	—	—	—
	1	1r	r	—	—	—	—
	2	1R	1r	r	—	—	—
	3	1R	1R	1r	r	—	—
	4	1R	1R	1r	1r	r	—
	5	2R	1R	1R	1r	1r	r
	6	2R	2R	1R	1r	1r	1r

Die roll less than 0 = 0; die rolls greater than 6 = 6.
1, = 1 or 2 steps lost.
R = target unit retreat.
r = target unit retreats if it fails it morale check.
Artillery may not fire from slope or ravine.
No firing from/to stream.
see 9.3 for Line of Sight.

LOSS TRACK

1	2	3	4 Random	5	6	7	8	9 Random

TERRAIN EFFECTS

Infantry — 6 MP
Cavalry — 8 MP
American Artillery — 8 MP
Mexican Artillery — Roll d
Leaders — 8 MP

Terrain	Movement C
Clear	1
Cornfield	Infantry 3, O
Ravine	3
Slope	Stop on enter
Road	1/2 (see 2.3)
Trail	1 (see 2.3)
Buena Vista	1
Stream	Not Allowed

Hexside Terrain	
Impassable	Not Allowed
Gully	+2
Stonewall	+1
Breastwork	+1*

*(while active, see 2.3)

IMPULSE TRACK

1	2