

OLD NEWS

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Professor Organizes Bus Boycott

By David Vachon

In late December of 1949, Jo Ann Robinson, a thirty-seven-year-old black professor of English at all-black Alabama State College, boarded a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama. She was on her way to the airport, where she planned to join some friends on a Christmas visit to Cleveland, Ohio.

On the bus were two other passengers: a white woman in the third row and a black man in a seat near the back. Robinson, who normally drove her own car around town and rarely used public transportation, took a seat in the fifth row. Then she closed her eyes and began thinking about her upcoming holiday plans. Soon after sinking into her reverie, she heard the loud voice of the white bus driver. She later wrote, "He was standing over me, saying, 'Get up from there! Get up from there!' with his hand drawn back."

Afraid that the driver was about to hit her, Robinson quickly got off the bus and walked back to the college. In her memoir she wrote, "My friends came and took me to the airport, but my holiday season was spoiled." She later learned that by sitting in the

fifth row, she had violated a municipal law stating that the first five rows of double seats in Montgomery buses were reserved for white passengers.

When she returned from Cleveland, Robinson told friends about her experience with the angry bus driver, and she learned that many other blacks had suffered similar abuse on Montgomery buses. It occurred to Robinson that because she worked at an all-black college, drove her own car to and from work, and lived in a single-family dwelling, she had become insulated from many of the daily indignities that poorer blacks suffered under segregation.

In 1950 Robinson joined the Women's Political Council (WPC), a group of professional black women devoted to improving conditions for blacks in Montgomery. WPC founder Mary Fair Burks later recalled: "Jo Ann regarded everybody as a friend [and] she did the work



Jo Ann Robinson.

of ten women. I had organized the council in 1946 and had served as its president since its founding. . . . Fortunately, at the end of the year Jo Ann agreed to accept the presidency."

Robinson began encouraging women in the community to bring their complaints to her about abuse on the buses. She soon decided that for blacks in Montgomery, bus segregation was the most pressing issue needing to be redressed.

Robinson knew that segregation on buses in the South was based on the "separate-but-equal" legal doctrine, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1896 case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*. It allowed southern states to provide separate services to whites and blacks. Although Robinson wanted to end segregation on buses, she knew that the white segregationists in power at city hall would not consider any demands for integration. She wrote, "Just to say that minorities wanted 'better seating arrangements' was bad

enough. . . . The word 'integration' never came up."

City ordinances pertaining to municipal buses in Montgomery did not specifically mention race or segregation but gave bus drivers the right to assign seats to all passengers. Seventy-five percent of bus passengers in Montgomery were black, and in some neighborhoods there were almost no white passengers, so bus company policy reserved only the first five rows of seats for whites, but bus drivers were legally empowered to change that rule at their whim.

All bus drivers were white, and some of them were habitually rude to black passengers. On some mornings and evenings, when every seat in the black section was taken,

blacks would have to stand while the first five rows remained empty. At other times, if the first five rows were filled with white passengers, and more whites came aboard, bus drivers would demand that blacks in the rows immediately behind the reserved section give up their seats to the white passengers.

Robinson and her group decided to lobby city hall for changes to the seating arrangements. In March of 1954, she and other representatives of the WPC, including Mary Fair Burks, met with Montgomery Mayor W. E. Gayle and asked for three changes to municipal law: (1) to allow "Negroes to sit from back toward front, and whites from front toward back until all the seats are taken." (2) "That Negroes not be asked or forced to pay fare at front and go to the rear of the bus to enter." (3) "That buses stop at every corner in residential sections occupied by Negroes as they do in communities where whites reside."



The bus that Rosa Parks was riding when she was arrested, now on exhibit at the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan.

Two months later, buses were stopping more frequently in black neighborhoods, but conditions on the buses remained unchanged. Robinson decided to write the mayor a letter reiterating the WPC demands. In her letter, she threatened to organize a bus boycott if seating rules were not changed. She wrote:

Mayor Gayle, three-fourths of the riders of these public conveyances are Negroes. If Negroes did not patronize them they could not possibly operate. More and more of our people



Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, now a National Historic Landmark.



Martin Luther King, Jr., was appointed pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church on September 1, 1954.



Deputy Sheriff D. H. Lackey fingerprints Rosa Parks. On this occasion she and other civil rights activists were being arrested for their involvement in organizing the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

are already arranging with neighbors and friends to ride to keep from being insulted and humiliated by bus drivers.

There has been talk from twenty-five or more local organizations of planning a city-wide boycott of buses. . . .

Please consider this plea, and if possible, act favorably upon it, for even now plans are being made to ride less, or not at all on city buses.

Robinson did not receive a reply from Mayor Gayle, and over the following months, bus drivers continued to intimidate and degrade black passengers.

Robinson discussed her boycott ideas with Edgar Daniel Nixon, the city's most outspoken civil rights advocate. Nixon, who worked as a railroad Pullman porter, did not have to fear losing his job because he was an official of a powerful national union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Although Nixon, fifty-five, had only one year of formal schooling, he was a good organizer who headed the state branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He had once led a parade of several hundred black citizens to the Montgomery County Courthouse, where they had tried in vain to register to vote.

Nixon told Robinson that he agreed with her that bus segregation was the most urgent problem for blacks in Montgomery. They both knew Fred D. Gray, one of only two black attorneys in Montgomery, and a former student of Robinson's, who was eager to challenge Montgomery's bus segregation laws. With Gray's help, Nixon was hoping to launch a court challenge if a black bus passenger was arrested for violating the segregation rules of the city buses. Nixon and Gray agreed with Robinson that a bus boycott coupled with a court challenge would be the most effective way to fight segregation.

While Robinson was making plans for a bus boycott, she joined her church's Social and Political Action Committee, led by the new pastor, Martin Luther King, Jr. At twenty-five, King had just earned his PhD

from Boston University, and the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church was his first pastorate.

Robinson, as a veteran community organizer, saw something unusual in King. She wrote, "There was no other leader [in Montgomery] with the humility, with the education, with the know-how of dealing with people who were angry and poor and hungry." Although Robinson considered King to be cautious and untested, he showed an ability to put people at ease so they could "maintain themselves under pressure."

In early 1955 a number of incidents on Montgomery buses angered the black community. In one case some black passengers who had paid their fares were told to get off the bus and enter by the rear door; but before they could reenter, the driver drove off, leaving them on the sidewalk. In another incident a mother with two infants boarded a bus where there were no white passengers. She laid the babies on the front seat while searching her purse for the fare. The driver demanded that the woman remove the "black dirty brats" from the reserved seat; however, before the mother could pick up her children, the bus lunged forward, and then stopped, throwing the infants onto the floor. The children were not hurt, and the distraught woman got off the bus at the next stop.

On March 5, 1955, when fifteen-year-old high school student Claudette Colvin was ordered to give up her seat in a non-reserved section to a white passenger, she refused. Two policemen dragged her from the bus. She was charged with misconduct, resisting arrest, and violating city segregation laws.

Nixon and Robinson considered using the Colvin case as a rallying cry for a bus boycott, but then they discovered that the fifteen-year-old girl was pregnant. They felt that any person representing black passengers would have to be beyond reproach. They decided to wait for another case.

On Thursday, December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a black seamstress in a clothing store and secretary of the local NAACP, was on her way home from work on a packed downtown bus. She was seated among twenty-six blacks, just behind twelve white people. When more whites boarded, the driver ordered Parks and three other blacks to give up their seats to whites. The other three got up, but Parks was tired from working all day, and tired of being disrespected by bus drivers. She refused to move. She later recalled, "This seemed to be the place for me to stop being pushed around, and to find out what human rights I had, if any." Parks was arrested.

That evening Robinson received a call from Nixon telling her about Parks's arrest. Nixon said that he had posted bond, and that Parks had been released. Her trial was set for the following Monday, December 5. Robinson knew and respected Parks. She suggested to Nixon that they call for a bus boycott for the day of the trial.

At 11:30 p.m. she received a call from lawyer Fred Gray. Gray told Robinson that he was going to represent Parks at her trial on Monday, and that if Parks was convicted, he planned to use her case to try to overturn the bus segregation law. Robinson was delighted with this news. She wrote: "I informed him that I was already thinking that the WPC should distribute thousands of notices calling for all bus riders to stay off buses on Monday, the day of Mrs. Parks's trial.

"Are you ready?" he asked. Without hesitation I assured him that we were. With that he hung up and I went to work."

When Robinson got off the phone, she began writing the leaflet:

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down. . . . Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you or your daughter or mother. This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are therefore asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school or anywhere on Monday.

Robinson did not sign the leaflet. She didn't want her name or the name of her group identified with it. She intended to distribute copies throughout the black community without people knowing where it had originated. She realized that if the leaflet were traced back to her and to her colleagues, many of whom worked at the college, their jobs and funding for the school would be jeopardized. She called John Cannon, chairman of the business department at the college. She wrote, "When I told him that the WPC was staging a boycott and needed to run off the notices, he told me that he too had suffered embarrassment on the buses [and] would happily assist me."

At midnight Robinson met two trusted female students at the college, and together they printed thousands of pamphlets on the business

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department's mimeograph machines. She later wrote, "We were able to get three messages to a page, greatly reducing the number of pages ... to produce tens of thousands of leaflets."

At around two in the morning, Robinson called Nixon to let him know what she was doing. Nixon was pleased. He told her that Parks had consented to let her case be a rallying point, and that he was going to call King and the other ministers in the morning. Robinson and Nixon agreed that if the boycott had the endorsement of the black ministers, the boycott would gain wide community support.

In his book *Stride Toward Freedom*, King claimed that when Nixon asked for his support early Friday morning, he "agreed at once." Nixon later said that when he called King and asked him to get involved, King said, "Let me think about it awhile." Nixon said he called King back later, and King agreed to get involved. Nixon then said, "I'm glad of that 'cause I've called eighteen other people and they all said yes, and I told them we were all gonna meet at your church this evening."

On Friday morning Robinson called dozens of WPC members, telling them that bundles of leaflets were on the way. The WPC had already planned a leaflet distribution route in case of a boycott. Now Robinson put the plan into effect. Throughout the day she and the two students, using separate vehicles, dropped off packages of leaflets to several dozen addresses. Some went to schools, where students and staff distributed them; others went to beauty parlors, factories, storefronts, barber shops, and churches. Fred Gray later commented, "The ministers didn't know anything about those leaflets until they appeared."

On Friday evening, according to Robinson, "all the ministers, all club presidents and officers, all church organization heads, and any interested persons," attended the meeting called by Nixon at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Special committees were set up to plan the boycott. Robinson worked on the transportation committee. She wrote: "Routes had to be mapped out to get workers to all parts of the city. Regular bus routes had to be followed so that workers who walked along the streets could be picked up." Black-owned taxi companies agreed to provide ten-cent-per-passenger fares during the one-day boycott. Community leaders decided to meet again Monday evening to evaluate the success of the boycott.

Robinson had been hoping that the boycott would come as a surprise to city authorities, but by Saturday morning the city commissioners, the chief of police, and the press were all aware of the leaf-

let's contents. There were reports in the *Alabama Journal* and the *Montgomery Advertiser*, and on local radio and television.

On Sunday afternoon City Commissioner Clyde Sellers, in charge of the police department, appeared on television falsely claiming that black "goon squads" had threatened many Negroes with physical violence if they did not cooperate with the boycott. He issued orders for motorcycle police to follow city buses on Monday morning, and patrolmen to watch bus stops to allow anyone to ride the buses who wanted to. Robinson knew that the increased police presence was meant to persuade the many black cooks, cleaners, and babysitters to board the buses and go to work where they were needed by their white employ-

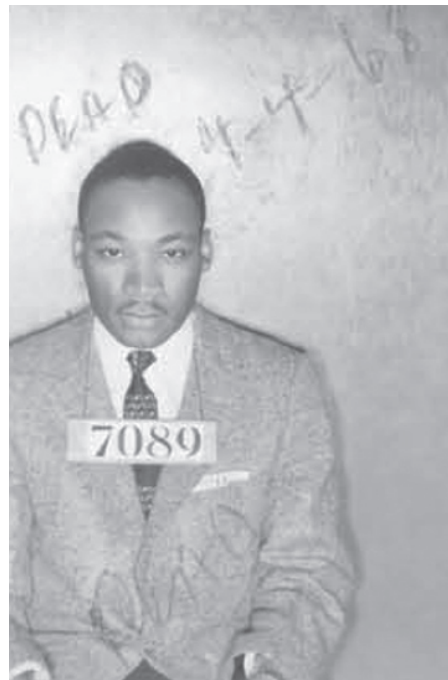
At 5:30 a.m. on Monday, the first buses rolled onto the streets. Following each bus were two motorcycle police to "protect Negro riders." Robinson was one of many volunteer car owners who drove along bus routes and picked up people needing a lift.



Jo Ann Robinson.



E. D. Nixon.



Martin Luther King, Jr.



Fred D. Gray.

These police-booking photographs show some of the civil rights activists who were arrested during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the 1950s. The archive of grainy mug shots was discovered in 2004 by a deputy going through the files of the Montgomery County Sheriff's Office. The images are now preserved at the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

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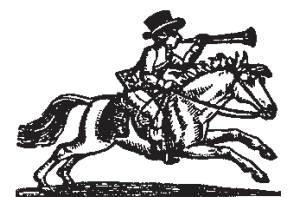
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She watched as empty buses rode through the black neighborhoods. A few elderly people rode the buses, but over ninety percent of regular passengers either walked or rode with volunteers. Many frantic white women picked up their cooks, cleaning ladies, and babysitters in their own cars.

The one-day bus boycott was an unqualified success. On Monday evening six thousand people attended a mass meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church. One of the speakers informed the audience that Parks had been found guilty at her trial that day, and that Gray planned to appeal her conviction. People at the meeting voted to extend the boycott until the city accepted their demands or Parks's conviction was overturned.

Leaders of the various community groups at the meeting realized that they needed to select a speaker who would both inspire them and unite them. Attorney Gray wrote, "Jo-Ann Robinson believed that her pastor, a young newcomer to Montgomery, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., could be that person. He was . . . articulate, knowledgeable, highly educated, and had not identified himself with any community activities other than his church. It was generally agreed to arrange it so that Dr. King would be designated the spokesman. . . . Jo Ann Robinson, as a professor at Alabama State College, was a state employee; for her to have any official position would have cost her job."

At the urging of many community leaders, King was elected president

of the newly formed Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA).

Over the following months, the Montgomery bus boycott turned into a test of wills between black citizens and segregationist city officials. Rosa Parks became a symbol of resistance and refusal to comply with segregation. Behind the scenes, Robinson, Burks, and the other WPC women kept the boycott organized. WPC secretary Erna Dungee Allen recalled: "We were the ones who carried out the actions. Driving the cars . . . we organized the parking lot pick-ups and many things like that. . . . We took the position that if anything comes up, all you have to do is whistle and the men will be there. They'd come, but the little day-to-day things like taking care of the finances, things like that, the women still took care of that."

In February Attorney Gray filed a civil suit in federal court, charging "a conspiracy to interfere with the civil and constitutional rights of the Negro citizens" of Montgomery by employing "threats, violence, intimidation, and harassment." It asked that sections of the Montgomery civil code pertaining to segregation be ruled "null and void."

City officials fought back. A local grand jury found the boycott to be illegal. Police arrested eighty-nine boycott organizers, including Robinson, Nixon, Gray, Parks, and King. All defendants pleaded not guilty, posted bail, and continued supporting the boycott pending the setting of trial dates.

The *New York Times* gave the story front-page coverage, and the NAACP offered its legal team to assist those arrested. As news of the boycott spread through the media, the story became of interest to the whole nation.

Robinson devoted all her free time to organizing the boycott. King later wrote about her, "Apparently inde-

fatigable, she, perhaps more than any other person, was active on every level of the protest. She took part in both the executive board and the strategy committee meetings. [She edited the newsletter and she was] present whenever negotiations were in progress. And although she carried a full teaching load at Alabama State, she still found time to drive both mornings and afternoon."


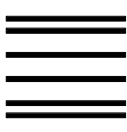
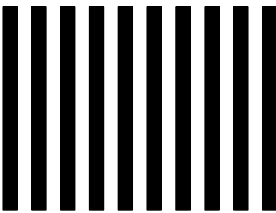
In mid-November, as a result of Gray's civil suit, the Supreme Court ordered Montgomery's buses to be integrated. On December 20, 1956, U.S. Marshals served the Supreme Court order on Montgomery officials, and they complied. The next day MIA organizers ended the boycott.

During and after the boycott, Robinson and the other members of the Women's Political Council downplayed their pivotal role in organizing the protest. WPC secretary Erna Dungee Allen later recalled that the women had a policy of giving the male leaders credit for every good idea, to make the men look as wise and competent as possible. Allen wrote: "Mary Fair Burks and Jo Ann Robinson were very vocal and articulate, especially in committee meetings. But when it came to the big meetings, they let the men have the ideas and carry the ball. They were kind of like the power behind the throne."

The success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott brought national publicity to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who used his sudden celebrity to organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on January 10, 1957. This organization of black ministers from many southern states was dedicated to fighting racial segregation everywhere by means of nonviolent protests. King was elected the first president of the SCLC, and under his leadership, with attorney Fred Gray on the legal team,



Rosa Parks rides at the front of a bus after the end of the boycott.

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it successfully battled segregation in many southern cities. In 1963, for example, the city of Birmingham, Alabama, repealed its segregation ordinances after police violence and mass arrests failed to stop the SCLC's campaign of boycotts, sit-ins, and nonviolent parades.

While King was founding a regional civil rights movement, Robinson continued to work quietly in Montgomery until 1960, when Alabama State College fired several professors for involvement in civil rights activities, and Robinson resigned. She taught at Grambling College in Louisiana for one year, and then moved to Los Angeles, California, where she worked as a

public school teacher until her retirement in 1976.

The fact that Robinson had organized the Montgomery bus boycott was not known to most historians until she was interviewed by David J. Garrow, who won the 1987 Pulitzer Prize for his book *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*. Garrow edited a memoir of Robinson that was published in 1987.

By the time Robinson died in 1992, at the age of eighty, she was starting to be recognized as a heroine of the American civil rights movement. In 2000 Rosa Parks's biographer, Douglas Brinkley, wrote: "More

than any other individual, including Gray and even Parks herself, it was Robinson who organized the Montgomery bus boycott."

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Allies Face Bottleneck In Italian Mountains

By Paul Chrastina

Charles Minot "Minnie" Dole was a successful New York insurance broker and an avid skier. On New Year's Day in 1938, he took a bad fall in slushy snow that left him with a broken ankle and no easy way off the steep slopes of Mount Mansfield, Vermont.

Dole lay in the snow for several hours while friends tried to find help. They eventually brought back a small sheet of tin roofing that they used as a sled to lower him, shivering and in shock, to the bottom of the mountain. Two months later, one of the friends who had helped him died after hitting a tree during a ski race, and Dole decided that an organization of trained ski patrollers was needed to deal with accidents and injuries on the slopes. Working under the auspices of the National Ski Association, which regulated competitive skiing events, he organized the National Ski Patrol System, which trained patrollers in first aid and rescue procedures to mitigate the risks inherent in the sport.

In 1939 the National Ski Patrol boasted fifteen hundred members. That autumn, war broke out in Europe with the German invasion of Poland and then the Soviet invasion of Finland. Dole and his skiing friends were intrigued to learn that Finnish troops on skis and horse-drawn sleds were successfully thwarting the Soviet invasion of their homeland by staging hit-and-run attacks on lumbering Soviet infantry and artillery columns. Although vastly outnumbered and outgunned, the Finns routed their enemies for several months until a peace treaty was agreed upon in which Finland ceded nine percent of its territory to the Soviet Union.

One night in February of 1940, Dole later recalled, he was sitting by the fire at a ski lodge in Vermont when the conversation turned to "the phenomenal job the Finns were doing." The success of the Finnish ski troops was "a perfect example of men fighting in an environment with which they were entirely at home and for which they were trained."

Although the United States had not yet entered the European conflict, Dole and many other Americans were uneasy at the seemingly insatiable territorial ambitions of Nazi Germany. News of German submarine attacks on transatlantic shipping and rumors of Nazi spies infiltrating American political circles fanned an increasing mood of patriotic alarm. "It occurred to us that the United States was the plum that Germany really had her eyes on, and that our country is under snow a good portion of the year," Dole wrote. Most ominous of all to the small group around the fire was the fact that the German army was reported to be training regiments of troops in the tactics of winter mountain warfare.

As winter turned to spring, Dole continued to discuss his concerns with Roger Langley, president of the National Ski Association. In May, Langley wrote to Secretary of War Harry Woodring, offering the services of the association to assist in national defense. According to Dole, Langley received "the usual, well-known 'Thanks for your patriotic suggestion,'" making it clear that the government was not really interested, but Dole refused to let the idea drop. Later in May he made his own sales pitch to the United States Army. Dole wrote:

I had nothing to do at lunch time so I took a ferry to Governor's Island, the nearest Army post, to get it off my chest. I was put in touch with a young Southern captain, who had never seen any snow, and explained that I headed the NSPS, a group that I felt could be of prime assistance in the event of an attack on this country in the winter. He was polite and I went on my way.

A week later, Dole was called by Major General Irving Phillipson, an administrative director of public affairs at Governors Island. "You are right as rain," Phillipson told Dole. "If we were attacked in winter, it would be down the Saint Lawrence to split Canada off and then down the Champlain valley to split the east from the west in that segment. And we would be in a hell of a mess, for we don't know a damn

thing about winter warfare."

General Phillipson suggested that Dole go directly to Washington and meet with the secretary of war, although, he warned, "I don't think you'll get anywhere." Secretary Woodring was a dedicated isolationist who disapproved of the United States's getting involved in the European war, and would most likely reject a proposal to boost the nation's winter defenses as an outlandish and unnecessary scheme.

Nevertheless, Dole decided to take his chances: "First I wrote to President Roosevelt, announcing I was coming and why." In the letter, Dole mentioned that Roosevelt could count on the full support of the National Ski Patrol's membership, and concluded: "In this country there are two million skiers, equipped, intelligent, and able. I contend that it is more reasonable to make soldiers out of skiers than skiers out of soldiers."



Dick Durrance, Roger Langley, and Charles Minot "Minnie" Dole.

Dole was convinced that his letter to the president would end up in the wastebasket. He recalled: “[I] almost fell off my seat when he replied, thanking me and saying he was turning my letter over to proper Army authority.” On June 20, Dole’s prospects seemed more hopeful when Secretary Woodring was replaced by Henry Stimson, who felt that American participation in the war was inevitable. “Encouraged, I got a letter of introduction to one of Secretary Stimson’s aides,” Dole wrote. Along with NSPS treasurer John Morgan, Dole made the trip to their nation’s capital. Upon their arrival at the War Department, they met with the aide.

Dole wrote:

Stimson’s aide listened and agreed and asked who we would like to see. “Anyone in the War Department who will listen,” I replied. There was a heat wave in Washington [and the temperature was] 110 degrees in the old War Department building. We were ushered into Colonel Clarence Hubner’s office. Sweat was running off his nose.

What do you want to talk about?” he asked.

The training of troops in winter and mountain warfare, Sir,” I said.

You wouldn’t mean ski troops, would you?” he asked.

Well, they might be necessary under certain circumstances,” I suggested.

Colonel Hubner was clearly not interested, according to Dole. “He rang a bell and a Major Bruce came in and led us to very nice offices.” Bruce then handed Dole and Morgan off to Captain Ridgely Gaither. “It’s tricky getting out of this building,” Bruce said to Gaither: “Will you show these gentlemen the way?”

With their interview apparently over, Dole and Morgan made one final effort to interest Captain Gaither

in their idea. “I think he sensed the situation,” Dole wrote. “As we were leaving he said, ‘Darn interesting thought. If we were ever to do anything like that could you help us on equipment?’ I nudged John and said, ‘Yes, we surely could. Thanks, we’ll be back in a month.’”

Determined to keep trying, Dole and Morgan spent the next month gathering “every bit of information that we could find about mountain and winter troops in foreign countries.” They pasted their findings into a large scrapbook.

The two men paid a visit to Governors Island to see the helpful General Phillipson, who said: “I knew you would get that kind of treatment, but you had to go through it. Now let me tell you that you are wasting your time unless you can get to see General Marshall. He might listen to you.”

Armed with this piece of advice, Dole contacted Gaither and requested a meeting with Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall. Then, one day in September, he wrote:

A wire came saying our appointment was the next morning at 10:00 a.m. That resulted in a quick purchase of a clean shirt, and Morgan and I took the night train. Introduced to General Marshall on the dot of our appointment, we sensed a quick and decisive decision one way or the other. His questions were direct and to the point and his manner kindly, but serious. After a 20-minute talk he thanked us and stated he would let us know about his decision.

From that moment on,” Dole wrote, “the wheels began to turn.” Members of General Marshall’s staff visited Dole and Morgan in New York, and meetings were held in Washington to outline plans for infantry units to receive instruction from National Ski Patrol volunteers, “to act as wilderness patrols, to know our own back

country, and to act as airplane spotters and anti-parachute patrols.”

Despite the progress that had been made, Dole and his colleagues still fought military bureaucracy and a strong anti-war sentiment in Congress. In early 1941, however, after the Italian army suffered a catastrophic loss of twenty-five thousand troops due to exposure in the rugged mountains of Albania, the U.S. Army began to take more seriously the idea of developing a cadre of specialized mountain-warfare troops. A high-level report on the Italian disaster noted: “The divisions were not organized, clothed, equipped, conditioned, or trained for either winter or mountain fighting. . . . An army which may have to fight anywhere in the world must have an important part of its major units especially organized, trained and equipped for fighting in the mountains and in winter. The army and equipment must be on hand and the troops fully conditioned, for such units cannot be improvised hurriedly from line divisions.”

Finally, on October 22, 1941, Dole was informed by Marshall and Stimson that the 87th Mountain Infantry Regiment would soon be constituted at Fort Lewis, Washington, to specialize in winter and mountain combat. A team of professional ski instructors was recruited at Dole’s recommendation to serve as advisors to the nascent regiment.

Forty-six days later, on December 7, the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor, and the United States was drawn suddenly and irrevocably into the global conflict. The very next day, Charles McLane, a skier from Manchester, New Hampshire, reported for duty as an officer candidate with the 87th Regiment. McLane was a Dartmouth University graduate and professional ski racer who had brought his own rucksack and skiing equipment with him to Fort Lewis. Saluting the duty officer, McLane announced that he had been assigned to the mountain troops. The officer replied: “Son,

at this point, you *are* the mountain troops.”

Within the next few months, McLane was joined by thousands of recruits, and mountain-warfare training began in earnest. True to his promise to President Roosevelt, Dole delivered 3,500 volunteers directly from the National Ski Patrol, marking the first and only time to date that a civilian organization has been officially contracted to recruit for the U.S. military. The unit was dubbed “Minnie’s Ski Troops” in Dole’s honor, and newspapers, magazines, and radio and television programs enthusiastically promoted the new mountain troops, attracting outdoorsmen, loggers, hunting guides, and trappers to enlist in the regiment.

Beside learning how to ski while wearing ninety-pound backpacks and carrying M-1 rifles, the troops received training in backcountry survival skills, snowshoeing, rock and ice climbing, and winter camouflage techniques.

In August of 1943, the 87th Regiment was sent to Alaska, charged with dislodging Japanese forces that had seized Kiska Island in the Aleutian archipelago. Upon landing, however, they found that the Japanese had abandoned the island.

Meanwhile, General Marshall decided to create an entire division of troops especially trained and equipped to fight in mountainous terrain and winter weather. When the 87th Regiment returned from Alaska in December, it was relocated to Camp Hale, Colorado, and merged into the newly formed 10th Light Division (Alpine), which included two new infantry regiments, plus medical, engineering, and artillery battalions, signal, ordinance, and quartermaster companies, a reconnaissance troop, and a counter-intelligence detachment, totaling nearly fifteen thousand soldiers.

At forty-four years old, Dole was ineligible to join the army, but he spent long periods at Camp Hale, where he continued to arrange for



Still from a 1943 documentary, *Mountain Fighters*, filmed at Camp Hale, Colorado.



Riva Ridge in the northern Italian Apennine Mountains.

top ski instructors and mountaineers to supervise the training programs. As time went on, however, he began to hear disturbing rumors that the division was “going to sit out the war right there.” Meanwhile, Allied forces were fighting their way north through the mountains of southern Italy, in conditions perfectly suited to the specialized skills of the 10th Division. In April of 1944, Dole met with General Marshall and asked: “Sir, why is it that this top division has been kept training at Hale so long?”

Marshall answered: “Dole, I have only one mountain division. If I commit it at point X and it turns out a month later that I need it much worse at point Y, I can’t get it there. My problems of transportation are too great.”

Dole asked: “Sir, you do believe in this type of training, don’t you?”

Marshall showed Dole a map of Italy. He pointed to Cassino, seventy-five miles southeast of Rome, and said, “If I had had a mountain division there during the winter of 1943, when we were held up seventeen days by deep snows, I could have knocked out the entire German communication center in Italy. Of course I believe in it.”

Three months later, Allied forces reached a stalemate with German troops defending the Apennine Mountains of central Italy. U.S. General Mark Clark requested the aid of the 10th Division to dislodge Nazi forces from redoubts north of Florence. On November 7 the 10th Division was renamed the 10th Mountain Division, and plans were initiated to deploy its regiments to the Italian front. Dole later recalled how he felt when the division embarked: “It was a dark day for me,” he wrote. “My life had been wrapped up in the Division for the past five years, and [its] departure left a tough void to fill.”

The 10th Mountain Division first entered combat duty on January 28, 1945, in the Apennine Mountains of northern Italy. Ironically, warm weather made the division’s skis and snow-white camouflage uniforms useless, but it soon became clear that their mountaineering training would prove invaluable. German troops had established seemingly impenetrable positions on two ridges, known as Riva Ridge and Mount Belvedere, preventing Allied troops from advancing northward. Capturing Mount Belvedere depended on first disabling German artillery high on Riva Ridge.

On the night of February 18, 1945, the nine hundred men of the 10th Division’s 86th Regiment set out to climb Riva Ridge.

According to U.S. Army historian Ernest F. Fisher:

In the bitter cold, as darkness settled over the valley below Monte Belvedere, teams of picked rock climbers slung coils of ropes over their shoulders and hung clusters of pitons and snap links to their belts. For long months these men had trained in the Rocky Mountains for just this kind of action—scal-

ing the face of 1,500-foot Riva Ridge. . . . Climbing in the darkness, the men drove steel pitons into the rock, hooked snap links to them, then fastened ropes to the snap links to provide fixed hand lines for the main body of climbers to follow.

When the climbing teams reached the rim of the ridge, they signaled to the main body of the 1st Battalion, 86th Infantry, in the valley below. The battalion set out in a column of companies toward the base of Riva Ridge, each company to take a different route up the cliff to a series of peaks along the ridge. Aided by the ropes, the men scaled the cliff without difficulty. Before dawn, virtually the entire battalion had reached the top undetected.

The 86th Regiment completely surprised the German artillery gunners, who retreated after brief fighting atop the ridge. This success enabled the 85th and 87th regiments to attack Mount Belvedere. By April 20 the victorious regiments of the 10th Mountain Division broke out of the Apennines and led the Allied advance north into the Po River valley. The German Army in Italy surrendered on April 29. Simultaneously, Soviet and Allied armies converged on Berlin, and the next day Adolf Hitler committed suicide, effectively ending the war in Europe. In 114 days of combat duty, the 10th Mountain Division defeated five elite German divisions and suffered casualties of 969 killed in action and 4,154 wounded.

In the post-war economic boom of the late 1940s, veterans of the 10th Mountain Division returned to their favorite pastime of skiing, and took a leading role in the development of the recreational ski

industry. Resorts at Vail and Aspen, Colorado; Sugarbush, Vermont; Crystal Mountain, Washington; and Whiteface Mountain, New York were all established by 10th Mountain Division veterans.

Minnie Dole continued as president of the National Ski Patrol until he resigned in 1950 at the age of fifty-one. He retained a deep connection with the 10th Mountain Division until his death in 1976. “I think the proudest possession I own,” he wrote, “is a small yellow card that is with me always, stating that I am an honorary member of the 10th Mountain Division. . . . There is a War Department citation, for something or other, hanging on my wall, and it doesn’t compare.”

After World War II ended, the United States Army de-emphasized mountain training until 1985, when the 10th Mountain Division was reactivated at Fort Drum, New York. Since

the end of the Cold War, the division has frequently seen action, most recently in Iraq and Afghanistan.

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The 10th Mountain Division advancing in Italy in 1945. Unlike most American infantry units in World War II, the division kept mules to transport supplies over rough ground.



The 10th Mountain Division in action in Italy in 1945.

Artist Records Scenes At Fur-trade Rendezvous

By Rick Bromer

Alfred Jacob Miller was an aspiring artist in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1833, when he was twenty-three, he traveled to Paris to perfect his skills. After a year in Europe, he returned to Baltimore, opened a studio, and tried to make a living as a portrait painter. He failed to attract much business. In Miller's day, most financially successful American artists were extroverted showmen who created a demand for their art by generating publicity about themselves. Miller was too shy to promote himself to newspaper reporters, to march in parades with samples of his art on a float, or to push himself into the company of rich potential patrons.

After two years, Miller despaired of earning a living in Baltimore. He moved to New Orleans—a city noted for its French heritage—where he hoped that the citizenry might be keen to acquire fine art. He sold very few paintings in New Orleans, and he was feeling desperate in the spring of 1837, when a well-dressed stranger knocked at his studio door one day. The visitor, Miller later recalled, appeared to be about forty years old, with a large nose shaped like an eagle's beak. He "held himself straight as an arrow" and "had a military air."

The man introduced himself as Captain William Drummond Stewart of the British Army. He marched quickly about the studio, evaluating the paintings on display, and then invited Miller to join him on a sporting expedition to the Rocky

Mountains. The captain explained that he spent his summers hunting and fishing in the American far west; he proposed to bring Miller along to document his adventures. He would pay all the artist's expenses during the journey, when Miller would make sketches. After they returned to civilization, Stewart promised, he would commission a series of large paintings.

Miller was so astonished that he had no idea what to say. He stared at the captain, dumbfounded. Without waiting for an answer, Stewart handed Miller a card with his New Orleans address and departed from the studio.

To learn more about Captain Stewart, Miller called on the British consul in New Orleans, who informed him that Stewart was the son of a wealthy Scottish baronet. He was also a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo, retired at half-pay from the King's Hussars.

Miller made further inquiries about town, and learned that Captain Stewart's credit was excellent. He heard that the captain had come to America in 1832 after a quarrel with his elder brother, Sir John Archibald Stewart, who had inherited the family title and estates in Perthshire, Scotland. Because of the quarrel, Captain Stewart had vowed "never again to sleep under the roof of Murthly Castle," his family home.

Miller agreed to join Stewart's hunting party, which included a cook, wagon-drivers, and some professional hunters dressed in fringed buckskins.

The group traveled by steamboat to St. Louis, where many hands were needed to unload Captain Stewart's baggage, which included a large collection of custom-made firearms, a multicolored tent the size of a small house, Persian rugs, and a suit of armor that Stewart had purchased as a gift for one of his American friends, a Rocky Mountain trapper.

When the group began riding west across the prairie on horseback, Miller became unhappy with the discomforts of wilderness travel. After a long day in the saddle, he felt too weary to perform camp chores. As the expedition's artist, Miller felt that the only work he should be required to perform was sketching, and he asked Stewart to command one of the wagon-drivers to work as Miller's personal servant.

To Miller's surprise, the captain seemed annoyed by this request. Miller later complained: "He was the military martinet and rigidly exacted from me all the duties of the camp. He said I had been spoiled at home. . . . I now reflected how easy it was for a leader here at the head of a band of men to become a capricious tyrant, where there were no laws to restrict him."

Miller became increasingly unhappy, especially during periods of bad weather. He wrote, "When the rains continued sometimes 2 or 3 days, our captain would banter me about the depression I could not disguise. 'Your early training,' he would say, 'has been faulty.'"

Whenever the sun came out, Miller wandered away from the wagon train, looking for picturesque subjects to



Captain Stewart hunting a grizzly bear.



A war party of Pawnee Indians confronts the caravan. Captain Stewart sits calmly astride his horse.

sketch. Captain Stewart warned the artist to beware of lurking Pawnee Indians.

One day Miller was perched on a rock, sketching a scene, when Captain Stewart crept up behind him and seized his head and neck. Unable to see his assailant, Miller assumed that it was an Indian. He struggled wildly, expecting to soon feel the edge of a scalping knife, but he could not dislodge the steely grip of his unseen assailant. Finally Stewart released Miller, warning him not to concentrate so deeply on his art that he forgot the importance of vigilance.

A few days later, as the caravan got under way, a hunter galloped toward the wagons shouting, "Indians!" Another hunter arrived a few minutes later, shouting, "Indians is all about, and there will be some hair-raising sure as shooting!"

The men of the wagon train silently stared at a cloud of dust rising from the prairie. From this cloud emerged mounted Pawnee warriors, whom Miller described as "a piratical horde of painted wretches armed, yelling hideously, and riding round us in a menacing manner."

Captain Stewart and other leaders of the caravan remained calm and ordered the men to hold their fire. The trappers sat passively on their horses, and their restraint was rewarded when some Pawnee chiefs offered to parley.

Miller wrote, "At length we formed a circle, and put a pipe in circulation." Each of the Pawnee chiefs raised the pipe solemnly towards the sun and took a few whiffs of tobacco smoke. The chiefs then announced that the wagon train was trespassing on Pawnee territory. Miller wrote, "Learning that presents (blackmail) would be acceptable, we arranged matters on that footing, giving them blankets, knives, tobacco, ammunition, etc. We were glad on these terms to get rid of our most unwelcome guests."

In July the caravan reached the site of the annual fur trappers' rendezvous in the Green River Valley of Wyoming, in the Rocky Mountains. After the tiring trek across the flat prairies, Miller was delighted to settle into a temporary city of teepees at the base of majestic mountains. The rendezvous was essentially a business fair, at which hundreds of professional trappers and thousands of Indians sold the beaver

pelts that they had acquired during the previous winter to fur company buyers from Vancouver and Missouri. The rendezvous was also the scene of endless celebration. At all hours of the day and night, men could be heard "singing, yelling, and firing their arms."

Miller happily recorded all the events of the rendezvous in his sketchbook. Although his own relations with Stewart remained somewhat prickly, Miller could see that the captain was very popular with everyone else at the rendezvous. Stewart hosted many parties, serving his guests canned fruit, preserves, sardines, cheeses, wines, and brandies. Two thousand Snake Indians staged a parade in the captain's honor, and Miller recorded the event in his sketchbook.

After the rendezvous Stewart led his party back to St. Louis, where he paid Miller a large sum of money and ordered him to return to his studio and start working on a series of oil paintings depicting the rendezvous.

At first the only customer for Miller's western paintings was Captain Stewart, who inherited Murthly Castle in Scotland upon the death of his elder brother in 1838. The next year Miller traveled to Scotland to present his completed oil paintings to Stewart.

The captain was delighted with the paintings, and he hired Miller to move into the castle and redecorate it for him. (Because Captain Stewart had vowed never again to sleep under the roof of the castle, he had built

himself a lodge in the garden of the castle.)

Miller was apprehensive that he might have trouble coping with Stewart's rough-edged manner, but he found that life in Scotland had mellowed the captain. When Miller asked for a personal servant to wait on him, Stewart politely provided one.

Miller remained at Murthly Castle for two years, completing all the work that Stewart wanted. Upon his return to Baltimore in 1842, Miller found that his association with a Scottish nobleman had made him a celebrity. When he displayed copies of the paintings that he had made for Stewart, large crowds flocked to see them. Few citizens of the eastern United States had any idea of what the Rocky Mountains looked like. Miller's paintings, and his depic-

tions of mountain men and western Indians created a sensation.

Thanks to his newfound fame, Miller discovered that the merchants of Baltimore had become eager to hire him to paint portraits of themselves and their families. Miller also continued to paint and sell his western scenes, but he never returned to the west, preferring the quiet comfort of a bachelor life in Baltimore, where he resided with his sisters.

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"The Trapper's Bride." The artist recorded that the groom spent six hundred dollars on trade goods to purchase the bride from her father.



William Drummond Stewart.



Captain Stewart gets a drink of water from a young woman.



A trapper accepts an invitation to share a feast of dog meat with a family of Snake Indians.



Alfred Jacob Miller, self-portrait.

New King Transforms Weak State of Macedonia Into Imperial Power

By Matthew Surridge

In 360 BC the kingdom of Macedonia in northern Greece was on the verge of annihilation. Its king, Perdiccas III, had been killed in battle with Illyrian tribes to the west, while armies from neighboring kingdoms had begun massing to invade. Perdiccas's son and heir was an infant, and so the control of Macedonia's discouraged army passed to the dead king's younger brother, Philip.

Philip, in his early twenties, was a cunning and inventive military leader. He sized up the dismal situation and decided that the only way to preserve Macedonia's independence was to go on the offensive. According to Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, Philip held a series of meetings with his military leaders and troops, "exhorting them with eloquent speeches

to be men, and building up their morale."

Philip knew that his army was outnumbered by invaders, so he tried to even the odds by providing his soldiers with innovative weapons and tactics. He began by equipping his infantrymen with spears twice as long as those carried by their opponents. Greek soldiers had traditionally carried spears that were short and light enough to be held in one hand, leaving the other hand free to support a large shield. Philip's spears were fifteen to twenty-one feet long, weighed more than twelve pounds each, and required both hands to brandish.

Philip taught his men to fight in a tight-knit unit called a phalanx, swinging their spears in unison while marching and rapidly changing direc-

tion together. The soldiers' shields were large enough to cover a kneeling man, and they wore them slung over their shoulders. Philip trained his men to be able to quickly switch from spear to shield as needed.

To supplement his new kind of infantry, Philip invented a new kind of cavalry that could be employed against enemy infantry; each cavalryman was protected by heavy bronze armor and equipped with long lances. Strategically speaking, Philip's infantry phalanxes with their long spears formed an "anvil" that could hold the enemy infantry in one place, while his cavalry formed a "hammer" that circled around the battlefield to strike the enemy from a flank or from the rear.

In addition to upgrading his army, Philip opened diplomatic negotiations that consisted mainly of bribing his enemies not to invade Macedonia. Invaders from the north and east of Macedonia were receptive to gifts of land and treasure in exchange for peace, but the Athenians, to the south, remained intent on capturing portions of southern Macedonia. In 359 BC a three-thousand-man Athenian army landed at Methone, on Macedonia's southeast coast, with the intention of replacing Philip with a puppet leader of their own choosing. Philip put his new army into service: he successfully ambushed the Athenians and put an end to their campaign. This victory emboldened the Macedonian army, and encouraged Philip to regain the lands he had given away as peace offerings to his other neighbors. In

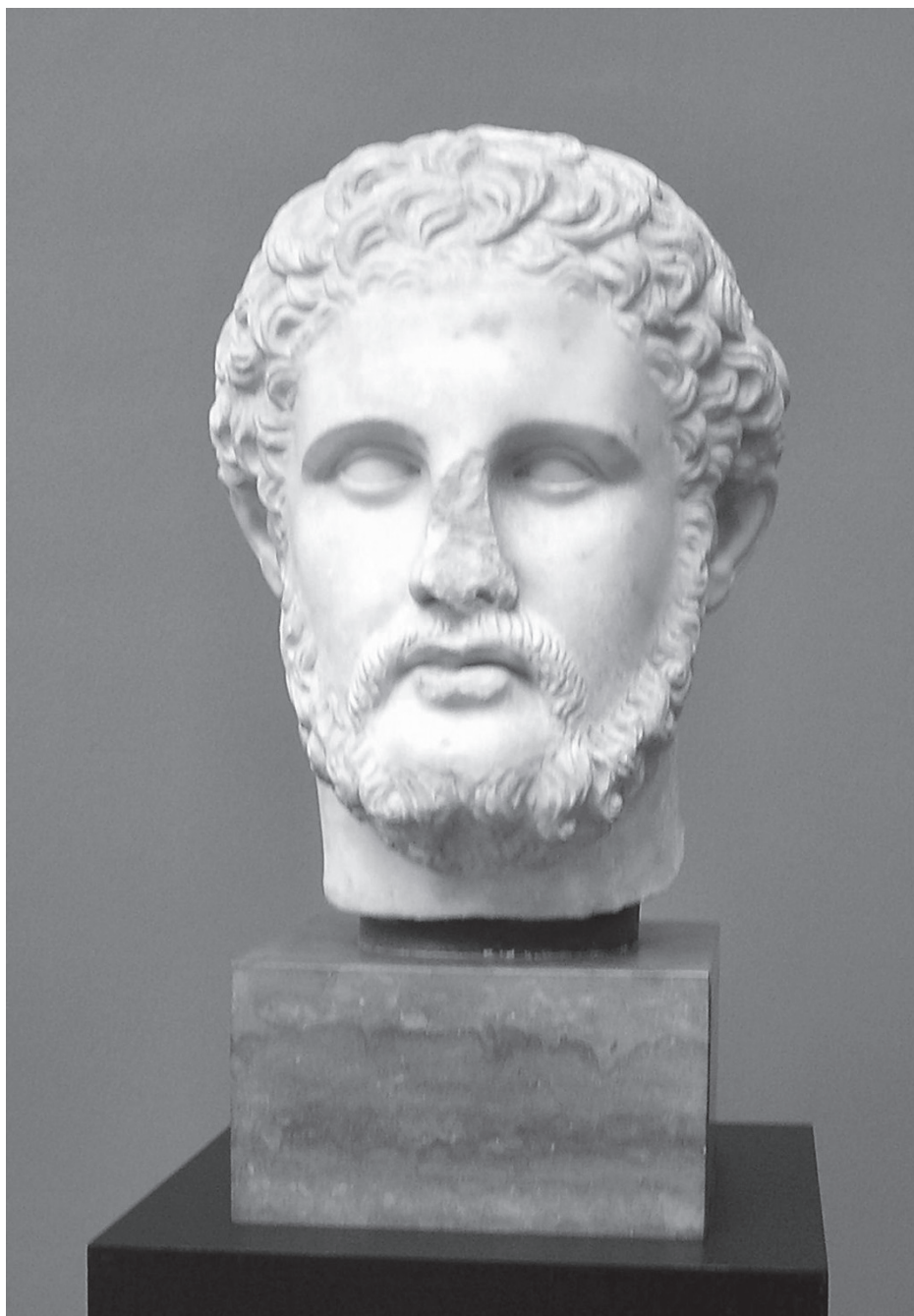
the following year, he marched his army into territories he had ceded to Paionia, Illyria, and Thrace, where he routed his enemies and forced them to pledge allegiance to Macedonia.

With the support of his victorious army and the Macedonian public, Philip declared himself king and began a campaign of foreign aggression, rapidly expanding his kingdom. By the time he was twenty-five, he felt confident that he would eventually dominate all of Greece. After accomplishing that, he planned to invade the wealthy Persian Empire to the east. He formed an ambition to become the greatest soldier in history, the founding hero of an imperial dynasty that would endure for generations.

To found a dynasty, Philip needed a son. Although Macedonians were generally monogamous, kings were allowed to be polygamous because marriages were used to cement alliances. By 357 BC, Philip had acquired three wives, but his only son, Arrhidaeus, was mentally deficient.

Philip then married his fourth wife, Olympias, a princess of Molossia. Although the marriage had a diplomatic purpose, Philip reportedly fell passionately in love with Olympias, with whom he had a stormy relationship. In 356 BC, while Philip was in the process of conquering the Greek city of Potidaea, a messenger brought him news that Olympias had given birth to a son. Philip commanded that the newborn be named Alexander, a traditional name of Macedonian kings.

Over the following years, Philip continued to expand Macedonia's power through wars and negotiations. He also continued to sire sons by other women he married to further his policies. Meanwhile, Alexander was growing up to be not only strong, but also highly intelligent. Philip hoped that the boy would develop into the heir he dreamed of for the empire he was forging. He therefore frequently tested Alexander as he grew. According to the Greco-Roman historian Plutarch, when reports once reached Philip that Alexander had criticized his father for having children by many different wives, Philip told Alexander: "Since you have so many rivals for the throne, prove yourself so brave and virtuous that you receive the kingship,



This bust of King Philip II of Macedonia shows an idealized version of his battle-scarred face. It does not convey the fact that he had lost one eye in combat.



This portrait of a grizzled-looking King Philip appeared on an ancient coin.

not because I am who I am, but because you are who you are.”

Plutarch also says that at another time, Philip and his men were attempting to tame a magnificently strong but unruly stallion. Alexander, about ten years old, watched man after man fail to tame the horse, and then said: “They are ruining this horse through their lack of skill, and they are not able to handle him.” Philip challenged Alexander to prove himself against his elders. Alexander bet that he could tame the horse and win it for himself or else pay three times the horse’s great purchase price. To Philip’s surprise, the boy turned the horse toward the sun, so that it could no longer see its shadow; then he calmed it and soon was riding it without bit or bridle. An impressed Philip wept with joy, kissed Alexander when he dismounted, and told him, “My son, seek a kingdom equal to yourself—Macedonia is not large enough for you.”

To prepare Alexander to rule the empire that Philip was building, Philip hired the most famous scholar of his day, Aristotle, to be the boy’s tutor. In exchange for Aristotle’s services, Philip agreed to rebuild Aristotle’s native city of Stageira, which Philip had destroyed in one of his campaigns.

By the time Alexander was sixteen, Philip controlled most of Greece north of the powerful city-state of Athens. The Athenians seemed determined to resist him, and Philip was reluctant to march south to conquer them. He was impatient to attack the rich empire of Persia—the prize that he most desired. He decided to leave the Athenians in peace and to finish conquering the remaining states lying between his own empire and the Persian empire of Asia.

Philip ended Alexander’s schooling and left the teenager in charge of Macedonia while he marched north. Philip’s plans began to unravel when he tried to launch a surprise attack on Byzantium—a Greek city guarding the strait between Europe and Asia—during a rainstorm on a moonless night. Howling dogs gave away his advance, and his men were thrown back.

Philip then began an unsuccessful siege of the city. Word of Philip’s difficulties emboldened his opponents. Athens declared war on him, and a rebellion arose in southern Thrace, which Philip had conquered years earlier.

To Philip’s relief, he eventually got word that Alexander had dealt with the rebellion by leading an army into Thrace, defeating the rebels there, and building a fort called Alexandropolis to permanently secure the rebel area. Very pleased by his son’s success, Philip called off his own campaign in the north. He decided that he had to consolidate his grip on Greece by defeating the Athenians before he could safely march off to Persia.

Macedonia, along with Athens, was part of the Great Amphictyonic League, an association of city-states that oversaw certain religious responsibilities, including maintaining the temple of Apollo at Delphi. In mid-339 BC a long-running dispute among the cities of the league led to the league’s asking Philip to lead his armies to punish the city of Amphissa, which had been cultivating land sacred to Apollo.

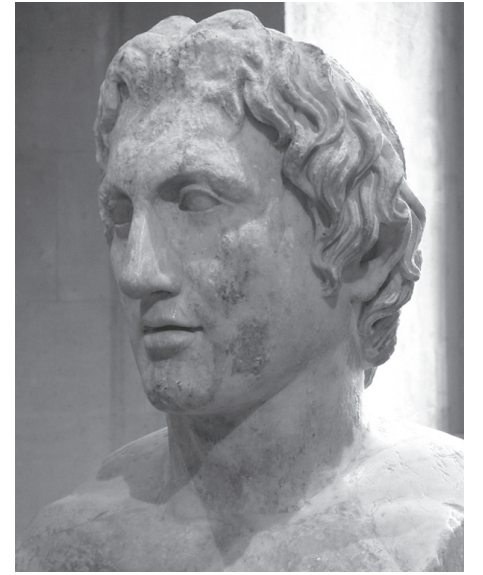
Although Philip had been seriously wounded in a recent battle, he eagerly seized the pretext to send his army south, where he would be able to strike at Athens. By doing so under the aegis of the league, he would be acting according to Greek religious

beliefs, which he hoped would encourage many of his potential opponents in other independent city-states in the south to hesitate before taking the field against him. While recovering from his wounds, Philip put Alexander in command of the army. Knowing that all of Greece expected him to use this opportunity to strike at Athens, Philip tried to maintain some element of surprise by making a false announcement that he would invade Illyria before leading his men south. Philip himself was surprised when the Illyrians, hearing of his supposed plans, launched a pre-emptive invasion of Macedonia of their own. But the seventeen-year-old Alexander defeated the Illyrian forces and drove them back over the border.

After he had recovered from his wounds, Philip resumed command of the Macedonian forces, and led them south. Rather than march directly to Amphissa, however, he led them to Elatea, only a matter of days from Athens. He occupied the city, and decided to open negotiations with a potential ally—the city of Thebes, which lay between Elatea and Athens. Thebes had allied itself to him in the past, and now Philip hoped to lead Thebes to side with him against Athens. He sent ambassadors to Thebes, but so did Athens.

The Athenian envoys offered Thebans political guarantees, including command of two cities, if they would join with Athens. The Thebans accepted the Athenian offer. Philip held his position over the winter, during which both sides engaged in small-scale guerilla warfare.

In the spring and early summer of 338 BC, Philip led his men in the punitive expedition against Amphissa that the league had originally requested. He then made his move toward the Athenians and their Theban allies.



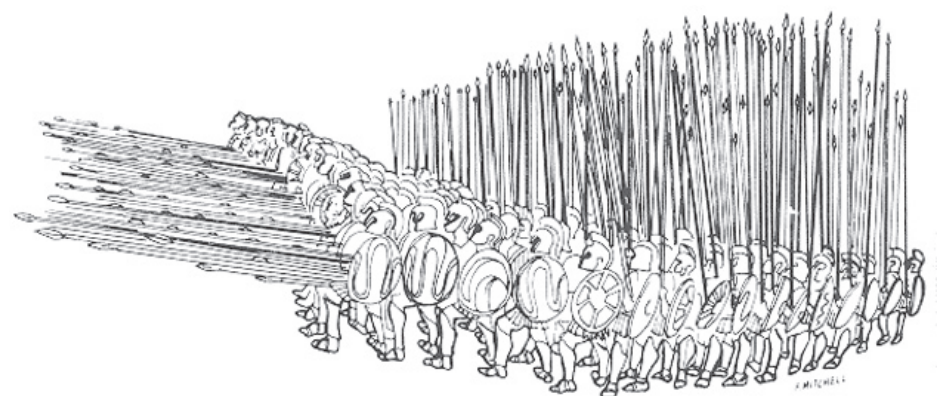
This bust of Philip’s son Alexander is thought to be a realistic likeness.



Queen Olympias.



The painting on this vase shows traditionally equipped Greek infantrymen with large shields carried in their left hands.



In the Macedonian phalanx, each infantryman used both hands to carry a spear fifteen to twenty-one feet long. To compensate for their smaller shields, the men in the rear ranks held their spears aloft to deflect enemy arrows.



Greece in the fourth century BC.

Both sides had about thirty thousand infantry, and about two thousand cavalry. The Thebans had an elite three-hundred-man force called the Sacred Band. Examining his enemies' defensive position, Philip decided to try to take advantage of his men's greater maneuverability. Alexander would take control of the left wing, while Philip commanded the right. After the battle began, Philip would try to draw the Athenians out of position by staging a false retreat. At that point, Alexander would attack the Athenian flank, which Philip hoped would be in disorder as they pursued his retreating men.

The battle began at dawn. The combat was intense, with neither side able to gain the upper hand for some time. Then Philip commanded his men to begin a fighting retreat. Slowly, step by step, the Macedonian right fell back, maintaining their phalanx formation.

The Athenians, thinking that the Macedonians were giving out, pushed forward. Philip heard the Athenian general shout, "We won't stop until we've pushed the enemy back to Macedonia." Philip saw the Athenian lines begin to break apart due to their eagerness to pursue, and, according to the later Macedonian historian Polyaeus, himself remarked, "Athenians do not know how to win."

For roughly half an hour, Philip continued to fall back, drawing the Athenians out of position. The Thebans, including their elite unit, the Sacred Band, did not abandon their position, continuing the fight against the Macedonian left.

Despite being embroiled in the battle himself, Alexander realized that the time had come for him to lead a charge, as Philip had planned. He gath-

ered the two thousand Macedonian cavalymen and led a charge into the increasingly confused Athenian lines. Alexander broke through their formation and sent some of his men against the Athenian rear, while he led the rest of his forces against the Thebans, concentrating on their Sacred Band.

At that moment, Philip, seeing Alexander's charge, ordered his men to cease their retreat. The Athenians found themselves caught between the cavalry at their rear and Philip's resurgent forces at their front. They broke their lines and fled, while Alexander cut down the Sacred Band.

The battle of Chaeronea was a great victory for the Macedonians. Philip forced Thebes, which he now viewed as treacherous and untrustworthy, to yield much of its territory to former enemies as a way of weakening the city. But he was more lenient with Athens, which he respected for its long-standing cultural importance to the Greeks; he hoped that by treating the city well, he would encourage the rest of the Greeks to accept his rule.

Neither city had the strength or inclination to rebel against him. According to Plutarch, Philip was pleased that Alexander had proven himself in the battle, and he was pleased to hear the Macedonians say: "Philip is our general, Alexander is our king." Philip believed this meant that Alexander would be a strong heir to his empire in the years to come, and would be accepted by his people as a ruler.

In the wake of the battle, Philip led his army through the south of Greece, establishing his effective mastery of all of Greece except for the city-state of Sparta. Rather than garrison the various city-states or change their existing forms of government, he ordered a council of the city-

states to take place at Corinth. There, he laid down the framework for a permanent council, with himself as military chief, or hegemon. Every city-state would contribute military forces, with the ultimate aim an invasion of Persia.

The city-states considered this proposal, debated it internally, and in 337 BC agreed to Philip's terms. He had realized his dream of unifying Greece, and in so doing had created a military force capable of challenging Persia.

But the same year, Philip decided to take another wife, a Macedonian named Cleopatra. According to the Greek historian Satyrus, at the wedding celebration, a guest, Cleopatra's uncle, cried out: "Now legitimate sons, not bastards, will be born to be kings." This appeared to be a reference to the non-Macedonian origin of Alexander's mother. Alexander, already suspicious that Philip's new marriage would lead to a loss of status for Alexander's mother, and now believing his legitimacy as heir to his father's throne had been questioned, threw his tankard in the guest's face. A drunken and outraged Philip tried to draw his sword to attack Alexander but tripped and fell. "See, you men," Alexander cried out. "Here is the man who was planning to cross from Europe to Asia. Why, in crossing from one couch to another he has fallen flat on his face."

Alexander and his mother, Olympias, fled to Epirus following this squabble. Philip, when sober, realized that he had to reconcile with his son, who was still his heir. Philip publicly apologized, and managed to unite his household, at least so far as the Greek public was concerned. Privately, it seems that his relationship with Alexander continued to

be strained. When Philip sent his first units into Persia in 336 BC, he ordered Alexander to remain behind.

Philip prepared elaborate festivities to mark the beginning of the Persian invasion, including the marriage of his daughter to the king of Epirus at Macedonia's capital of Aigai. At the wedding, the guests, including Alexander and Olympias, were to attend a ceremony praising the gods; as Philip entered, unattended, he was assassinated by his bodyguard, who held a personal grudge for a past slight.

The assassin was killed on the spot, and Alexander moved swiftly to take control of Macedonia. He led the army south to Thebes, before convening a council of the Corinthian League, which confirmed him as hegemon for the coming invasion of Persia. Though he had been estranged from his father at the time of Philip's death, he immediately proved that he had grown into the heir Philip had wanted. He prevented rebellion in Greece, and then in the following years fulfilled his father's dream of leading the Greeks against the Persians—and conquering them.

Alexander, who came to be called Alexander the Great, went on to lead his men as far as India, forming the greatest empire of his times.

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This partially destroyed ancient Roman mosaic from Pompeii shows Alexander the Great, at left, battling Persian Emperor Darius III, at center. Darius drives an old-fashioned war chariot, while Alexander is a mounted knight armored in a breastplate and backplate. The artist depicted Alexander without the helmet that he would normally have worn into battle.