Creating the Modern Army

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Published by University Press of Kansas

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Introduction


4. Unless otherwise noted, this discussion of the work of Emory Upton is based on Clark, *Preparing for War*, 64–125.


8. Root’s political struggles to secure the passage of his reform legislation are described at length in Clark, *Preparing for War*, 187–96.

9. While the new professionals rallied around the *Journal of the Military Service Institute*, the young professionals rallied around the new *Infantry Journal*.


13. Wood Diary, Jan. 12, 1911, LOC, Wood Diary and Papers, Box 11.


15. In an editorial published in the *Infantry Journal* in the summer of 1911, the editor claimed that this debate was going on “in our quarters and in our clubs.” “Where Does

16. By early 1912, the *Infantry Journal* commented editorially on what it saw as a widespread feeling of severe disorientation and alienation in the army. Editorial, *IJ* 8, no. 6 (May/June 1912): 874.


19. Wood Diary, Nov. 21, 1911, LOC, Wood Diary and Papers, Box 6.


23. Ibid., 12.


26. Wood to Theodore Roosevelt, Sept. 27, 1913, LOC, Wood Diary and Papers, Box 65. J. P. Clark claims that Wood was more interested in the social benefits of universal military training than in the military ones. Clark, *Preparing for War*, 250.


30. Chief, Division of Militia Affairs to the Chief of Staff, Nov. 28, 1914; William H. Johnson, Memorandum, Dec. 17, 1914; Hugh Scott, Memorandum for the Secretary of War, Jan. 19, 1915, NA, RG 165, 8222–2.


Military Affairs, U.S. Senate, six oldstyle four oldstyle th Congress, one oldstyle st Session


40. The Army and Navy Journal made the Continental Army the focus for its attack especially because it was based on voluntarism. See, for instance, “Secretary Garrison’s Plan,” ANJ 52, no. 10 (Nov. 6, 1915): 304.


48. Chief of Staff, Memorandum for the War College Division, Oct. 31, 1916, NA, RG 165, 9832–1; Chief of Staff, Memorandum for the War College Division, Dec. 11, 1916, NA, RG165, 9832-5.

49. John T. Pratt to Palmer, Nov. 21, 1916; Pratt to Palmer, Nov. 30, 1916, LOC, Palmer Papers, Box 2

50. War College Division, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 9, 1916, NA, RG 165, 9832–4.


57. Kuhn, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Feb. 20, 1917, NA, RG 165, 943.
58. John W. Chambers, To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America (New
59. Secretary of War Annual Report for 1917 (Washington, D. C. Government Printing
Office, 1917), 42. 42.
60. Secretary of War Annual Report for 1918 (Washington, D. C. Government Printing
Office, 1918), 66; Edward M. Coffman, The Hilt of the Sword: The Career of Peyton
61. Henry Jervey, Jr. to Lytle Brown, Oct. 17, 1918, NA, RG 165, 7942–2(h) (emphasis
in the original document).
62. War Plans Division, Memorandum, Nov. 19, 1919, NA, RG 165, 7942–2(c).
63. March to Pershing, Dec. 18, 1919, LOC John J. Pershing Papers, Box 123; E. S.
Hartshorn, “Plan for the Reorganization of the War Department,” n. d., NA, RG 165,
7942–2(o).
64. The bill was introduced by Congressman Stanley Dent, Democrat of Alabama,
on January 16, 1919.
65. Lytle Brown to Chief of Staff, Jan. 28, 1919, NA, RG 165, 9625–148.
Officers Testify,” ANJ 57, no. 6 (Oct. 11, 1919): 176.
73. Palmer, “Inner History of the National Defense Act of 1920,” LOC, Palmer Pa-
pers, Box 4; William Lacey, “Report by the Committee of the War Plans Division on S
3632,” NA, RG 165, 8481–132.
75. Palmer to H. B. Clark, Apr. 9, 1920, LOC, Palmer Papers, Box 4.

Chapter 1

4. “Reducing the Army to 175,000,” ANJ 58, no. 20 (Jan. 15,1921): 531.

7. *Army and Navy Journal* reported that one committee member thought that the Coast Guard was a branch of the army. “Changes in Military Legislation,” *ANJ* 59, no. 5 (Oct. 1, 1921): 102.


15. Alfred Boynham to Palmer, Feb. 12, 1924, LOC, John McAuley Palmer Papers, Box 5.

16. The General Staff saw a perceived hostile press as so serious a problem that the War Department News Bureau was transferred to the Morale Bureau of the War Plans Division and given the assignment of countering unfriendly articles. General Staff, War Plans Division, *Annual Report, 1920*, 51.


18. Most of the preparedness articles appeared in *Infantry Journal*, which was less narrowly professional in its outlook, but some appeared in *Cavalry Journal* and *Coastal Artillery Journal* as well. For an example of these, see James Harbord, “National Defense,” *IJ* 22, no. 3 (Mar. 1923): 274–77. For the last article to appear in *Cavalry Journal* on how the act would ease the army’s social isolation, see “Creating a Citizen Army: Our Principal Mission,” *CJ* 32, no. 133 (Oct. 1923): 114–15.


34. “Lighten the Soldiers’ Burdens,” ANJ 61, no. 9 (Oct. 27, 1923): 204.
35. “Army Officer Leaves to Be Few This Summer,” ANJ 61, no. 29 (Mar. 15, 1924): 690.
43. The Legislative Committee was made up of the deputy chief of staff; the five assistant chiefs of staff, G-1 through G-4; the head of the War Plans Division; and a representative from the Judge Advocate General’s Office.
48. This anger was expressed in a spate of service journal articles. See, for instance, Pershing, “Citizen Army,” 621–23; and Editorial, “Economy,” CAJ 53, no. 6 (Dec. 1925): 511–12.
49. There were only three such articles in the major service journals in the first half of 1925, while there could have been as many as three in a single issue of any of them in the first half of 1923.

Chapter 2

3. Ibid., 5.
5. War Department, General Order 48, Aug. 12, 1920, NA, RG 407, 321.11.
6. War Department, General Order 24, June 17, 1921, NA, RG 407, 321.11.
7. War Department, Special Order 155–0, July 7, 1921, NA, RG 407, 321.11.
8. G-1, Personnel; G-2, Intelligence; G-3, Operations; G-4, Supply, and War Plans Division.
10. Adjutant General to Commanding Generals of all Corps Areas, Sept. 27, 1921 (emphasis on “brief” in original).
12. L. D. Gasser, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 14, 1921, NA, RG 407, 321.11.
13. Pershing, Memorandum for General Lassiter, June 21, 1922, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134.
15. Adjutant General to the Chiefs of Branches, Aug. 3, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134; Pershing to Guy S. Presler, May 16, 1922, Ibid., Box 165.
16. Pershing to Palmer, Apr. 15, 1921; Pershing to Palmer Aug. 15, 1921, LOC, Palmer Papers, Box 4.
17. Palmer’s major effort in this regard was a lecture he delivered at the Army War College on September 23, 1921, which was later distributed to all officers. See War Department Bulletin #16, Oct. 3, 1921, LOC, Palmer Papers, Box 4.


20. Robert Whitfield, Memorandum for the Director, Operations Division, Mar. 25, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 13.4; William Wright, Memorandum to the Director, War Plans Division, Apr. 28, 1921, LOC, Hines Papers, Box 5.


23. War Department, General Order 31, July 18, 1921, LOC, Hines Papers, Box 7.

24. See, for instance, Odom, After the Trenches, 93–94.


26. Many senior regular officers felt that the Guard had been shabbily treated in the world war. Haan, in particular, stated, “We will have many things to explain when we get home as to what was done to so many of the National Guard divisions.” Haan to William Lassiter, Feb. 15, 1919, WSHS, William G. Haan Papers, Box 4. Richard S. Faulkner provides a number of examples of what he calls an almost Prussian attitude taken by regular officers toward their counterparts in the Guard during the war. Faulkner, The School of Hard Knocks: Combat Leadership in the American Expeditionary Forces (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), 221.


30. Carter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 12, 1919, NA, RG 357,4.


33. By the end of 1920, the numbers were up to 54,017. Annual Report, Chief of the Militia Bureau, 1920 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1920), 7.

36. Ibid., 6.
37. George C. Rickards, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, July 6, 1921, NA, RG 407, 325.4.4.
38. Rickards, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Sept. 20, 1922, NA, RG 407, 325.4.4.
40. James Harbord, Memorandum for the Chief of the Militia Bureau, Dec. 22, 1921, NA, RG 407, 325.43.
41. Palmer to Pershing, Feb. 18, 1922, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134.
43. This problem was mentioned in Infantry Journal only once. “The End of the Year,” IJ 23, no. 2 (Aug. 1923): 214.
44. Ibid., 212.
46. Many earlier armories had special galleries from which the public could watch drills.
52. “National Guard Policies to be Revised,” ANJ 59, no. 6 (Oct. 8, 1921): 229; Rickards, Memorandum for Col. Hunt, Mar. 20, 1922, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134; George C. Marshall to General Pershing, Apr. 28, 1922, Ibid.
53. L. D. Gasser, Memorandum for the Director of Operations Division, July 8, 1921; Pershing to Director of Operations Division, July 22, 1921, NA, RG 407, 321.15.
57. The Militia Bureau conceded that a typical guardsman received only about 150 hours of training a year. Annual Report, Chief of the Militia Bureau, 1925 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925), 23.
58. "Place of the National Guard in the National Position of Readiness," Nov. 1, 1922, LOC, Palmer Papers, Box 5.
60. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1921, 2.4; General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. Annual Reports, 1922. 6.
66. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Haan, Memorandum to the Adjutant General, May 17, 1921, NA, RG 407, 354.1.
70. "Citizens' Military Training Camps" (brochure), n.d., LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 39.
71. Haan, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Jan. 12, 1921, NA, RG 407, 341.1.
73. Ibid.
77. Palmer, Memorandum for General Pershing, Nov. 16, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 39. The dissenter was the governor of North Dakota, who denounced the camps for teaching militarism.
78. Palmer, Memorandum for General Pershing, Nov. 16, 1921.
81. William Cruikshank, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, May 1, 1922, NA, RG 407, 354.1.
82. Horace Stebbins to Pershing, May 3, 1922, LOC, Hines Papers, Box 5.
84. Pershing to Stebbins, May 19, 1922, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 137.
88. T. Q. Donaldson, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 19, 1924; C. H. Martin, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 7, 1924, NA, RG 407, 354.1.
89. “General March’s Weekly Interview,” ANJ 56, no. 23 (Feb. 8, 1919): 815.
92. Chief of Staff Annual Report, 1919, 281.
100. John W. Weeks to State Governors, June 3, 1921, NA, RG 407, OR 326.1.
101. Lassiter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Sept. 12, 1921, NA, RG 407, OR 320.
102. Adjutant General to Corps Area Commanders, Apr. 5, 1921, NA, RG 407, OR 326.1.
104. Adjutant General to the Commanding General of the Fifth Corps Area, June 24, 1921, NA, RG 407, OR 326.1.
105. William Lassiter, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, July 17, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134.
106. See, for instance, Jonathan A. Straat to Commanding General, Seventh Corps Area, Dec. 9, 1921; T. J. Powers to Commanding General, Sixth Corps Area, Dec. 14, 1921, NA, RG 407, OR 320.
107. Lassiter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Sept. 12, 1921.
108. Lassiter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 22, 1921, NA, RG 407, OR 320.
112. Palmer pleaded with Pershing that the number of regular officers assigned to duty with the Reserve not be cut further. Palmer to Pershing, Jan. 31, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134.
113. W. D. Connor, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Sept. 9, 1922; Pershing, Memorandum for General Lassiter, Oct. 3, 1922, NA, RG 407, OR 400.35.


117. Lassiter, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, NA, RG 407, OR 354.1.

118. Hines to Pershing, Apr. 23, 1922, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 94.

119. Ibid.


123. “Reserve Officer Department,” *IJ* 58, no. 6 (Dec. 1921): 705.

124. This vision is summarized in Palmer, “Remarks of Col. J. M. Palmer before a Board of Review of Reserve Officer Regulations, January 8, 1923,” LOC, Palmer Papers, Box 5.


128. Robert L. Collins to all Corps Area Commanders, Apr. 7, 1923, NA, RG 407, OR 322.


130. S. D. Sturgis to Adjutant General, Dec. 2, 1924, NA, RG 407, OR 322.


134. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Apr. 23, 1925, NA, RG 407, OR 300.

135. Ibid.

136. James K. Reaves, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, May 1, 1925, NA, RG 407, OR 300.

137. Reserve Officer Committee #3, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, n.d., NA, RG 407, OR 300.

138. Davis to Delafield, Sept. 14, 1925, NA, RG 407, OR 300.


140. J. C. Carsten to the Adjutant General, Aug. 16, 1923, NA, RG 407, OR 353.

141. Drum to the Adjutant General, Apr. 30, 1924, NA, RG 407, OR 353.


143. Quoted in “Reserve Officer Department,” *IJ* 27, no. 3 (Sept. 1925): 340.
145. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 5, 1925, NA, RG 407, OR 322.
150. “Slash Student Army Training Corps,” ANJ 56, no. 5 (Oct. 18, 1918): 175.
151. Lytle Brown, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. [?], 1918, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
152. COEST to District Inspection Officer, Third District, Dec. 7, 1918, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
157. Enrollments reached over 100,000 in September 1919.
161. Wyllie, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Apr. 11, 1919, NA, RG 407, ROTC 475; Lytle Brown, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 17, 1919, NA, RG 407, ROTC 246.85.
163. P. G. Harris, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, Operations and Training Division, Jan. 23, 1922, NA, RG 407, ROTC 245.845.
166. Ibid.; Adjutant General to Commanding General Northeastern Department, June 7, 1920 NA, RG 407, ROTC 403.401.
167. H. A. White to Director, War Plans Division, Mar. 24, 1920, NA, RG 407, ROTC 400.35.
168. At a conference held by Morrow at the War Department in 1920, college presidents cited uniforms and the bonding requirement as the two most critical issues related to ROTC. “ROTC Conference at the War Department,” ANJ 57, no. 27 (Mar. 6, 1920): 817.
172. Ibid.
173. In 1922 the ROTC Branch of the Operations and Training Division listed the problem of rapid rotation of officers as the second-most-important problem facing the program. Instructor, “Military Training at Colleges,” 406.
175. As was the case with the CMTC, officers in charge of summer camps took pride in publishing figures on gains in average weight and chest expansion obtained attendees experienced. See, for instance, General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. Annual Reports, 1920–21, 34.
177. Robert C. Davis, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 1, 1922, NA, RG 407, ROTC 312.3.
180. Training regulations governing the camps were issued in May 1918. Seven camps, limited mostly to students in the advanced course, were scheduled for June. Special Regulations 4.4a; H. P. McCain, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, May 22, 1918, NA, RG 407, ROTC 354.14.
182. For instance, see A. Donaldson to Chief of Cavalry, Feb. 1, 1922, NA, RG 407, ROTC 354.17.
183. For instance, see Lassiter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 30, 1921, NA, RG 407, ROTC 354.1.
184. For instance, see Farnsworth, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Jan. 12, 1922, NA, RG 407, ROTC 354.17.
185. Enrollments in camps were 3,163 in 1919; 6,228 in 1920; 6,300 in 1921; and 8,000 in 1922. General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. Annual Reports, 1922, 14.
186. Adjutant General, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, May 6, 1921, NA, RG 407, ROTC 111.02.
188. Don Gilman, “The R.O.T.C. and the C.M.T.C.,” JI 24, no. 6 (June 1924): 749; General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3, Annual Reports, 1923, 25; General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3, Annual Reports, 1924–25, 34.
189. Archibald Campbell to Adjutant General, Jan. 12, 1924; Robert L. Collins to Corps Areas Commanders, Apr. 9, 1924; Rudolf Springer to A. P. Echols, July 9, 1924; D. E. Nolan, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, June 27, 1924, NA, RG 407, ROTC 421.
194. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 18, 1924, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862; Edgar T. Collins, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, May 20, 1924, ibid.
195. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 3, 1924; Drum, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Dec. 24, 1924.
196. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 19, 1924, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
197. Livingston Farrell to the Secretary of War, Sept. 15, 1925; Wm. Snow, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Aug. 26, 1925, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
198. Drum, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Sept. 16, 1925, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
199. Drum, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, June 29, 1925; E. J. Conley to All Professors of Military Science and Tactics, July 30, 1925, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
200. F. W. Coe to the Adjutant General, Aug. 25, 1925; Snow to the Adjutant General, Aug. 26, 1925, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
201. Farrell to the Secretary of War, Sept. 15, 1925; Kenyon Rutherford to the Secretary of War, Sept. 25, 1925; Drum, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Sept. 10, 1925, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
Chapter 3

2. Editorial, ANJ 66, no. 27 (Mar. 2, 1929): 528.
6. Campbell King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 11, 1925; Dwight F. Davis to John M. Morin, May 5, 1926, NA, RG 407, 320.2.
13. B. H. Wells, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, June 24, 1926; Calvin Coolidge to Dwight F. Davis, June 18, 1925, NA, RG 407, 111.
14. Walker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Sept. 16, 1926; Walker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 27, 1926, NA, RG 407, 320.02.
Notes


Chapter 4


4. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 12, 1925, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.

5. Malin Craig, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Jan. 11, 1927, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.

6. Drum, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 12, 1925.

7. Frank Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 7, 1927, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.


11. In a representative article in *Infantry Journal*, the author notes opposition to ROTC on campus but reassures his fellow officers that the “level-headed” students would prevail and defend the program. Garrett Drummond, “Military Training in the Universities and Colleges,” *IJ* 32, no. 1 (Jan. 1928): 60.


16. Ibid.


19. Hammond to the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Nov. 21, 1925, NA, RG 407, 111.


23. Ibid., 3.


27. Ibid.


29. Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Aug. 15, 1928, NA, RG 407, 353.

30. Ibid.


32. “Speech by Creed Hammond,” 1928, 56.


35. "Items on the National Guard," *IJ* 28, no. 6 (June 1926): 652.


38. Harry A Smith, Memorandum for General King, Feb. 27, 1926; Fox Connor, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, Mar. 4, 1926, NA, RG 407, 321.15.
42. Ibid.
44. Official Proceedings of the National Guard Association of the United States General Conference, 1929, 41–42.
52. General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. Annual Reports, 1925-1926, App. G.
58. “Now It Must Be Told,” RO 2, no. 6 (July 1926): 47.
64. “Reserve Decision Made,” ANJ 64, no. 41 (June 11, 1927): 917; “Reserve Regulations Approved by the W. D.,” ANJ 64, no. 1 (July 2, 1927): 977.
68. Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 7, 1928; Lutz Wahl, Memorandum for the Deputy Chief of Staff, Dec. 30, 1927; Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 8, 1928, NA, RG 407, 354.1.
69. Edward L. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 31, 1929, NA, RG 407, 354.1. An exception was made for the Signal Corps.
70. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 5, 1929; Harry Hawes to Dwight Davis, Feb. 23, 1929, NA, RG 407, 354.1; Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Feb. 23, 1929.
71. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 5, 1929.
72. One writer, Floyd Logan, pointed out to President Hoover that the National Defense Act of 1920 contained no reference to holding segregated camps. Logan to the President of the United States, Mar. 13, 1929, NA, RG 407, 354.1.
73. Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 27, 1929, NA, RG 407, 354.1.

Chapter 5

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Office of the Chief of Staff, Memorandum, Mar. 8, 1919, NA, RG 407, 353.
10. Pershing to James Harbord, July 23, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134.
11. Pershing to Chief of the War Plans Division, Sept. 6, 1921; Pershing to Harbord, Dec. 8, 1921, LOC, Pershing Papers, Box 134.
Notes

13. “Proceedings of a Board of Officers Convened at Washington, D.C., pursuant to para. 4.4 S. O. 175 WD,” July 28, 1922, Combined Arms Library, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

14. All during the early twenties, officers suggested that Leavenworth be made accessible to all officers, indicating that the schools may have suggested an exclusivity that was resented. C. S. Farnsworth, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, May 4, 1922, NA, RG 407, 353.


16. “Proceedings of a Board of Officers.”

17. Lassiter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Apr. 17, 1922, NA, RG 407, 350.


20. One colonel remarked that one of his officers was called “the Professor” since he was the only officer in the regiment with a college degree. Archie M. Palmer, “Details of Officers to Educational Institutions,” IJ, 20, no. 2 (Feb. 1920): 180.

21. Lassiter to Adjutant General, Apr. 25, 1923, NA, RG 407, 353. In most branches it was estimated that it would take between ten and thirteen years to overcome the backlog for the company officers course and over thirty years to get through the backlog for the advanced course. Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Jan. 3, 1929, NA, RG 407, 350.

22. Ibid.

23. John H. Hughes, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, July 17, 1933, NA, RG 407, 353.


26. There were hardly any articles in the service journals about the military-education system apart for those advising officers regarding what to expect there.

27. One can see a similar falloff in interest in professional education in the professional journals during the second half of the 1920s.


33. Ibid., 131.
39. Ibid., 194.
40. “Gen. E. L. King Talks at Opening of the General Service Schools,” *ANJ* 44, no. 2 (Sept. 11, 1926): 25. The comment was republished in several other venues.
41. Michael R. Matheny summed up the difference between the Command and General Staff School and the War College by saying that Fort Leavenworth was about training, the War College about education. Matheny, *Carrying the War to the Enemy: American Operational Art to 1945* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 57.

Chapter 6

4. In a letter to Senator David Walsh, Democrat of Massachusetts, Frederick H. Payne, the assistant secretary of war, pointed out that, due to the need to staff administrative positions, to carry out the military education programs, to service the citizen components, and other requirements, only 5,031 of the 12,133 officers then in the army were actually on duty with troops; of that number, 1,836 were assigned overseas, leaving only 3,155 serving with troops in the country. And, of course, many of these were detailed to the air corps. F. H. Payne to Sen. David Walsh, May 27, 1932, in *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905–1941*, ed. Daniel O. Holt and James Leyerzapf (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 222–23.


7. War Plans Division, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Aug. 27, 1920, NA, RG 177, Entry 39.


12. Ibid., 37.


17. Ibid.


28. Omar Bradley, when he was detailed to the Infantry School as an instructor in 1929, was impressed by the fact that George C. Marshall, who was then the assistant commandant, was able to bring to Benning virtually anyone he wished to serve as instructor. Omar N. Bradley, *A Soldier’s Story* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), 64.


30. Ibid., 58; Colby, “Teaching Methods,” 284–89.


37. Switzer, “Department of Experiment,” 221.

38. One officer, Captain George Rarey, spent several years searching for a way to protect tank drivers from bullet splash. His efforts involved the development of a relationship with private industry in the search for a transparent material for windows in tanks or for use in tanker goggles. A second officer, Captain Sydney Negrotto, spent several years developing a cradle for the .50-caliber machine gun that would make it adaptable for use as an antiaircraft weapon for infantry units on the march. R. H. Kelly, “Department of Experiment,” *IJ* 41, no. 4 (July/Aug. 1934): 249–53.


40. Ibid., 49.


42. The heart of the military-history course was an assignment to prepare a monograph on an operation in the world war that would be the basis of a fifteen-minute classroom presentation; this aimed at teaching student officers public speaking. Sterling A. Wood Jr., “Life of a Student Officer,” *IJ* 27, no. 4 (Oct. 1925): 388. Psychology was adopted to giving an academic basis for teaching leadership. “Infantry School Notes,” *IJ* 16, no. 8 (Feb. 1920): 675.

43. Ibid., 672.


46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.


50. Bradley, *Soldier’s Story*, 54.

51. Robert A. McClure, “Housing Student Officers,” *IJ* 32, no. 6 (June 1928): 616.


55. Ibid.

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66. Even mass calisthenics were reorganized to make them a form of athletic contest. Alfred G. Hill, “Athletics on a Large Scale,” IJ 15, no. 11 (May 1919): 872–77.
68. Ibid., 375.
69. Ibid., 376–79.
70. Ibid., 381.
75. Emons B. Whisner, “Polo and Horse Shows,” IJ 32, no. 6 (June 1928): 629.

Chapter 7

7. Ibid.
15. In his report for 1928, the chief of field artillery completed a set of brief comments regarding the National Guard with this enigmatic statement: “War Department policies not contemplating any supervision or inspection of National Guard activities by this office, no contact was had with that important component of the National Defense, except as was brought about by the attendance of officers and enlisted men of the National Guard at courses in the Field Artillery School.” “Annual Report . . ., 1928”, 576. This statement was then repeated in all subsequent annual reports as the only comment concerning the National Guard.
17. Edwin P. Parker Jr., “The Development of the Field Artillery ROTC,” FAJ 25, no. 4 (July/Aug. 1935): 33-42. Two units were lost later.
24. Ibid., 218.
26. Ibid.
28. The following discussion of weapons modernization was largely taken from Dastrup, King of Battle, 172–202.
30. This position is suggested by the reverence with which Snow was treated in the *Field Artillery Journal*, including the publishing of portions of his memoirs in two major articles. See Snow, “The First Chief of Field Artillery,” *FAJ* 30, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1940): 2–14; 30, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 1940): 97–106.


34. The United States Field Artillery Association offered an annual prize to essays on set topics, with the top entries being published annually. Editorial, *FAJ* 10, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1920): 652.


37. The fundamental ideas behind the field artillery’s initial educational plans were spelled out in an article written by the Training Section of the Office of the Chief of Field Artillery. “A Proposed Scheme of Officers’ Schools for the Field Artillery,” *FAJ* 9, no. 2 (Apr./June 1919): 207–17. The commitment to this new professional model of military education rather than one based on mere technical training was symbolized by changing the name of the school at Fort Sill from the “School of Fire” to the “Field Artillery School.” Sunderland, *History of the Field Artillery School*, 74.

38. “Proposed Scheme of Officers’ Schools,” 208, 212; William Bryden, “The Field Artillery of the Army of the United States,” *FAJ* 11 no. 3 (May/June 1921): 265. Snow also argued that the highly technical nature of field artillery made control of the lower schools by the Training Section of the General Staff inappropriate. “Proposed Scheme of Officers’ Schools,” 207.

39. Ibid., 211.

40. Ibid., 213.


42. Ibid., 79–80.

43. At the basic school at Camp Zachary Taylor in 1920, the division of class hours between the four areas were Tactics, 428 hours; Materiel, 413; Gunnery, 508; and Equitation, 215. *Annual Report of the Chief of Field Artillery, 1920*, 15.

44. Lassiter to Adjutant General, Dec. 3, 1920, NA, RG 177, Entry 34, 319.1.

46. Ibid., 75.
47. An effort was made in 1920 to reduce the number of hours given to animal transport at the battery officers course at Fort Sill. But this was squashed by the commandant, Major General Ernest Hinds, who expressed disappointment with the quality of horsemanship displayed by students in riding and in horse shows. Sunderland, *History of the Field Artillery School*, 82–83. Hinds’s successor actually increased the hours devoted to equitation. Ibid., 89.

49. Dwight E. Aultman to the Chief of Field Artillery, July 19, 1922, NA, RG 177, Entry 34, 319.1.

51. There is a real dearth of firsthand accounts of the student experience at Fort Sill, so the degree of officer-graduate satisfaction is almost impossible to gauge. But one sees little evidence of the same enthusiasm at Fort Sill that generated major volunteer building programs at Fort Benning. Even the lack of articles in *Field Artillery Journal* regarding the Fort Sill experience might be telling.
53. Ibid., 83.
68. In 1932, 409 field-artillery officers were participating members of the Army Polo Association. “Polo: The Army Polo Association,” *FAJ* 22, no. 3 (May/June 1932): 315.
69. By 1928, an officer was assigned on a full-time basis to be army polo-team manager. The army had also built Mitchell Field on Long Island, New York, which was home of the Army Polo Center and was considered one of the finest polo facilities anywhere on the East Coast. “Plans of the Central Polo Commission,” *FAJ* 18, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 1928): 173–75.

70. As one officer of modest means remarked, “By the grace of a benevolent government, I, though a lowly second lieutenant in the first pay period, was enabled to live as horsey an existence as though I had been born to the Elysian Fields of Meadowbrook or Pinehurst.” He also noted the large amount of work associated with maintaining animals, indicating that it was the social mobility rather than any love of horses that had gotten him involved in polo. “Confessions of an Ex-Horseman,” *FAJ* 35, no. 4 (July/Aug. 1935): 343.

71. Interest in playing competitive polo was army-wide and enjoyed considerable support from within the General Staff. See, for example, “Army Polo Plans for the 1927 Season,” *FAJ* 17, no. 3 (May/June 1927): 323. By 1928, army teams, made up chiefly of officers from the cavalry and field artillery, were winning championships with great frequency. “Plans of the Central Polo Commission,” *FAJ* 18, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 1928): 173.

**Chapter 8**

1. “Establishment of the Coast Artillery School and its Operations until the War,” *CAJ* 60, no. 6 (June 1924): 479. Upton’s efforts to elevate the curriculum at Fort Monroe are noted in J. P. Clark, *Preparing for War: The Emergence of the Modern U.S. Army, 1815–1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 108. Clark also notes that it was after his experience at Fort Monroe that Upton began his career as a military reformer. Ibid., 109.


5. The Chief of Artillery, Major General Arthur Murray, was also a highly influential lobbying force with Congress and the administration. Addington, “U.S. Coast Artillery,” 1.


7. Gaining these missions was largely the product of the lobbying efforts of another energetic Chief of Coast Artillery, Major General Erasmus Weaver. Addington, “U.S. Coast Artillery,” 2.
8. The Superior Board, convened to study the lessons of the world war, recommended shifting responsibility for seacoast fortifications to the navy, which would effectively end the coast artillery branch. Brian McAllister Linn, *The Echo of Battle: The Army’s Way of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 121–22.


18. “Notes of the Coast Artillery Association,” *CAJ* 76, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1935): 47. Over 300 members attended the 1937 national convention of the association. The two-day program offered little except a few speeches and a large number of receptions. The convention was touted as promoting fellowship. “The Convention,” *CAJ* 80, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 1937): 497.


27. One officer claimed that the prevailing feeling within the corps was that permanent forts were now obsolete. J. C. Matheson, “The Future of Permanent Fortifications,” *JUSA* 52, no. 2 (Feb. 1920): 181. Another agreed, asserting that this view was held by “a very large majority of coast artillery officers.” F. E. McCammon, “The Future of Seacoast Artillery,” *JUSA* 59, no. 2 (Feb. 1921): 137.
28. Frank W. Coe, “The Chief of Coast Artillery and the Corps,” *JUSA* 52, no. 3 (Mar. 1920): 199. In fact, Coe was a major force in the effort to shift the mission of the coast artillery away from fixed gun emplacements to control of mobile heavy artillery. Emanuel R. Lewis, “U.S. Coast Artillery,” 2.


30. This idea was discussed in a number of articles in *Coast Artillery Journal*, but the seminal explication was in Jarmon, “Future Seacoast Defense Artillery,” 201–26. This article was the winner of the gold medal in the *Journal’s* 1919 essay contest. It was cited later as being the center of a debate, with most officers in the coast artillery in agreement with its position. McCammon, “Future of Seacoast Artillery,” 132. Coe also endorsed the idea. Coe, “Chief of Coast Artillery and the Corps,” 199–200. The idea was also attractive since the United States had fallen heir to a large amount of mobile ordnance at the end of the world war. Emanuel R. Lewis, *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States: An Introductory History* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), 102.


32. Coe, “Chief of Coast Artillery and the Corps,” 401.

33. Ibid.


35. No copy of the Coe letter could be found, but the basic ideas were discussed in the many responses to it. For instance, R. H. C. Kelton to Coe, Dec. 8, 1919, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 322.2.

36. Coe to the Adjutant General, Sept. 29, 1924, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 322.2.


46. The 1938 prize essay was largely a recapitulation of the coast-defense doctrine, the author stating, “The defense of a coastal frontier is an Army problem which requires the direct cooperation of troops of all arms and services.” E. M. Benitez, “The Backbone of Sea Power,” *CAJ* 82, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1939): 9.


49. D. W. Collins to John B. Murphy, Aug. 7, 1919, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 322.76.

50. Coe, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 21, 1919, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 322.76; Adjutant General to CG North Atlantic Coast Artillery District, Oct. 30, 1919, ibid.

51. John B. Murphy to Commanding General, Training Center, Fort Monroe, Mar. 2, 1920, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 322.2.

52. Bulletin A. A. 1.001, n.d. [although the first Bulletin indicated that the publication was established on Nov. 25, 1922], NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 300.53.

53. Some coast-artillery officers did question the branch’s continued interest in the area, suggesting that it might be better to turn the job over to the air service, but this was a distinctly minority position. H. J. Knerr, “Anti-Aircraft?,” *JUSA* 52, no. 2 (Feb. 1920): 152–59.


An officer writing in 1922 mentioned the “Coast Artillery officers who have hitherto fought shy of Anti-Aircraft work, feeling it was still too inchoate and undeveloped to warrant their attention.” “Harmony in Anti-Aircraft Doctrine,” *JUSA* 56, no. 6 (June 1922): 564. On the other hand, the artillery journal actively encouraged the development of antiaircraft artillery, calling on officers to submit articles on the subject. Ibid. 551.

56. Many officers were also discouraged by the fact that the air service was getting so much press attention, while the antiaircraft service was ignored. Ben F. Harmon, “The Past and Future of Defense against Aircraft,” *CAJ* 63, no. 5 (Nov. 1925): 449; R. R. Welshman, “A Discussion of Sky and Coast Defense,” *CAJ* 65, no. 1 (July 1926): 15–30.


59. Coe, when he was chief of coast artillery, pointed to the success of his guns in hitting practice targets as the main reason for dismissing alternative strategies. F. W. Coe, “The Coast Artillery and the Engineers,” *ME* 15, no. 3 (Sept./Oct. 1923): 402.
60. In rejecting alternative tactical approaches, Coe characterized them as “negative.” Coe, “Coast Artillery and the Engineers,” 402. Many writers justified the legitimacy of coast artillery taking over the mission of antiaircraft artillery on the idea that it was similar to the branch’s traditional mission of shooting at moving targets. Andrew Hero Jr., “Present Status and Development of Coast Artillery,” CAJ 69, no. 6 (Dec. 1928): 463.


65. Ibid., 353.


69. Parker, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Apr. 3, 1929, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 320.10. The origin of the memorandum is uncertain. There is evidence that it was initially drafted by a member of the coast artillery on service in Parker’s office, even though the memorandum clearly was not initiated by the coast artillery.

70. H. T. Burgin to the President of the Coast Artillery Board, Oct. 19, 1929, NA, RG 177, Entry 9, 352.5; “Coast Artillery School,” CAJ 72, no. 6 (June 1930): 531; “Coast Artillery School,” CAJ 74, no. 7 (Nov./Dec. 1931): 541; “Coast Artillery School,” CAJ 75, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1932): 61.


73. The shift was already noticed by the editors of Coast Artillery Journal by 1930. “Air Defense,” CAJ 72, no. 2 (Feb. 1930): 108.

74. The earliest discussion in JUSA was Anderson, “Defense against Aircraft,” 256–62.


82. By 1936, it was estimated that an antiaircraft regiment would be issued 232 miles of wire (weighing over sixteen tons) to link this network. A new unit, the Antiaircraft Intelligence Service, was created to be attached to each antiaircraft artillery regiment to create and maintain this network. Robert W. Berry, and John A. Sawyer, “Antiaircraft Intelligence Service,” CAF 79, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1936): 50–52; L. W. Bartlett, “Antiaircraft Communications,” CAF 81, no. 3 (May 1938): 209–11.
84. Ibid.
85. This idea was already in circulation in 1921. Anderson, “Defense against Aircraft,” 256.
94. The annual reports of the chief of coast artillery broke down the issues the board considered into those it raised itself and those brought to it from others. The ratio was normally about ten to one in favor of the latter.

Chapter 9

5. “Congressman Collins Planning Army Cuts,” ANJ 69, no. 5 (Oct. 3, 1931): 97. Collins also argued that ridding the army of 4,000 older officers would ease the promotion problem.


10. “2,000 Army Officer Cut Recommended to House,” ANJ 69, no. 36 (May 7, 1932): 841.


17. C. C. McCormack, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Aug. 15, 1932, NA, RG 407, 111.


22. “Army Training Suffers in Slash of $52,500,000,” ANJ 70, no. 43 (June 24, 1933): 849. Appropriations approved by Congress were for fiscal year 1932, $339,517,017; for fiscal year 1933, $309,739,924; and for fiscal year 1934, $276,550,381. The president’s confidential executive order reduced the 1934 figure to $225,000,000.


27. Ibid.
32. Gole, Road to Rainbow, 5.
35. “Senate Votes to Drop 15% Pay Cut on July 1,” ANJ 71, no. 26 (Feb. 2.4, 1934): 505.
37. “President Retains General Douglas MacArthur as Chief of Staff to Aid Program in Congress,” ANJ 72, no. 16 (Dec. 15, 1934): 319.
47. “House Group Votes a $50,000,000 Rise in Funds for Army,” NYT (Feb. 20, 1935): 1.
50. William T. Carpenter, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Jan. 30, 1935; R. E. Callan, Memorandum for the Deputy Chief of Staff, Nov. 2, 1934, NA, RG 407, 111.
52. Initial service estimates called for appropriations of $513 million. The General Staff reduced this to $428 million. The army’s budget for fiscal year 1936 was $356 million. Douglas MacArthur to D. W. Bell, Sep. 14, 1935, NA, RG 407, 111.
56. “Record Army Fund for 150,000 Troops is Voted by House,” NYT (Feb. 15, 1936): 1.
57. “Record Army Bill Voted by Senate,” NYT (Mar. 24, 1936): 1. Most of the debate on this legislation was focused on a canal project in Florida.
58. “Advancement of Enlisted Men Approved,” ANJ 73, no. 42 (June 20, 1936): 937.
64. The army’s estimates for fiscal year 1938 were $481 million as compared to the $409 million authorized by Congress the previous year. Statement of the Chief of Staff before the Director of the Bureau of the Budget on Estimates for the Fiscal Year 1938, NA, RG 407, 111.
67. “$24,000,000 More Sought for Army,” NYT (Jan. 24, 1938): 1. Roosevelt was surprised by the charges that he was neglecting the army. He had a conversation with Secretary of War Harry H. Woodrilling, who suggested a list of items totaling around $30 million that the president might include in new legislation. Roosevelt included all of those items. Harry H. Woodrilling to the President, Jan. 24, 1938, NA, RG 407, 111.
Chapter 10


2. The trends in enrollments in ROTC in this period can be seen in the following tables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollments in the Basic Course</th>
<th>Enrollments in the Advanced Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>60,545</td>
<td>12,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>62,692</td>
<td>13,194</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>60,188</td>
<td>13,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>55,676</td>
<td>14,056</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. A. G. Crane to the Secretary of War, Oct. 14, 1933, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
5. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 27, 1930, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
6. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 27, 1930; Edgar T Collins, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, July 13, 1932, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862; John H. Hughes, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 7, 1933, NA, RG 407, ROTC 320.2.
7. Charles P. Summerall, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, May 12, 1930, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
8. Ibid.
10. King, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, June 30, 1931, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
11. Duncan K. Major Jr., Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 27, 1932, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
12. Both the National Educational Association and the American Federation of Teachers supported legislation ending the compulsory feature of ROTC, even though both organizations supported the ROTC program in general. The American Student Union and the National Student Federation of America also supported legislation ending the compulsory feature. Victor B. Hirshauer, “The History of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, 1916–1973” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1975), 171–72.
15. Patrick J. Hurley to W. Frank James, Dec. 31, 1930, NA, RG 407, ROTC 000.862.
17. Hughes, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 30, 1937, NA, RG 407, 000.862.
18. Brown, Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Oct. 10, 1934, NA, RG 407, 00.862; Hughes, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Mar. 30, 1937.
28. Quoted from War Department, *Officers' Reserve Corps*, A.R. 140-5 (1931), in King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Aug. 8, 1931.
33. During the lean years of the Depression budgets, 1934 and 1935, appropriations allowed only around 12,000 and 17,000 reserve officers, respectively, to take active-duty training. After 1937, appropriations began to increase, allowing nearly 32,000 to take active-duty training in 1940. Crossland and Currie, *Twice the Citizen*, 49.
34. Over 5,000 of the reserve officers taking active-duty training in the summer of 1931 were repeaters. Irving J. Phillipson, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 24, 1931, NA, RG 407, OR 353.
36. The number of officers involved rose dramatically, from around 38,000 in 1930 to around 46,000 in 1932, possibly because of the tightening of standards needed for promotion. It leveled off there. General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. *Annual Reports, 1931*, 5.
38. The interest problem is discussed well in F. J. Baum, “What’s the Matter with the Reserve?,” *CAJ* 74, no. 2 (Feb. 1931): 116–18.
40. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Aug. 8, 1931.
41. Ibid.
42. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 3, 1931, NA, RG 407, OR 353.
44. King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 29, 1930, NA, RG 407, OR 353.
45. Edgar T. Collins, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, July 20, 1932, NA, RG 407, OR 353.
53. Applications rose from 58,695 in 1929 to 82,959 in 1931. But after the program was reduced by budget cuts in 1934 and 1935, interest dwindled, and applications in 1938 were back down to 57,673. General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. Annual Reports, 1931, 3; King, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Nov. 20, 1931, NA, RG 407, 354.1; General Staff, Operations and Training Division, G-3. Annual Reports, 1938, 2.
55. Hagood Johnson to Adjutant General, Apr. 23, 1931; C. J. Bridges to Commanding General, 7th Corps Area, Apr. 29, 1931, NA, RG 407, 354.1.

Chapter 11

5. George A. Lynch to Commandant, the Infantry School, July 12, 1937, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
9. Ibid.
10. Adjutant General to the Chief of Ordnance, Apr. 3, 1922, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8. Tanks larger than fifteen tons could still be carried on railroad cars but required the design of special cars. S. D. Rockenbach, “Weight and Dimensions of Tanks,” *IJ* 21, no. 1 (July 1922): 13.
12. H. L. Cooper to Chief of Infantry, July 22, 1925, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
13. O. S. Eskridge to Chief of Infantry, June 2, 1924, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
15. R. H. Allen to Adjutant General, June 6, 1926, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8 (emphasis in original).
17. Willey Howell to Oliver S. Eskridge, Aug. 27, 1925, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
18. Allen to Adjutant General, Jan. 6, 1926, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
20. Adjutant General to the Chief of Infantry, Mar. 11, 1926, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
21. Along with certain combat advantages that placing the engine in front provided, that design also made it possible to use the same chassis for building a tank-carrying truck, which would not have been available if the engine were placed in the rear.
22. Cooper to the Chief of Infantry, July 24, 1929, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
23. Ibid.
24. During the tests, the tank maintained an average speed of twelve miles per hour, as opposed to six for the world-war tank. It was able to run for two thousand miles without an overhaul, while the older tank could only go around eighty miles. Its maintenance costs were only a fifth of the world-war tank. Finally, it was armed with both a 37-mm cannon and a .30-caliber machine gun, while the older tank had only one weapon or the other.
25. Allen was, apparently, admonished by the secretary of war for failure to include the Tank Board in tank-development projects. Adjutant General to the Chief of Infantry, Jan. 4, 1929, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8. Fuqua expressed his personal respect for the officers of the board. Stephen O. Fuqua to James K. Parsons, Dec. 4, 1929, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
27. Parsons to Chief of Infantry, Aug. 22, 1929, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
28. George F. Hoffmann has disentangled the story of these three years. Hoffmann, “A Yankee Inventor and the Military Establishment: The Christie Tank Controversy,” *Military Affairs* 39, no. 1 (Feb. 1975): 12–18. Unless otherwise noted, Hoffmann is the basic source for this description of the Christie period in the infantry’s efforts to get a tank.

29. David Johnson claims that the Ordnance Department felt that the Christie tanks were unreliable and poorly engineered, while the infantry, which preferred fast tanks that could avoid gunfire, felt the Ordnance tanks were too slow. David E. Johnson, *Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers: Innovation in the U.S. Army, 1917–1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 118–19.

30. Fuqua, Memorandum for the Deputy Chief of Staff, Mar. 27, 1933, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.

31. Fuqua to the Adjutant General, Mar. 24, 1931, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 537.3.

32. Fuqua, Memorandum for the Deputy Chief of Staff, June 23, 1931, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.3.

33. Fuqua to the Deputy Chief of Staff, Mar. 27, 1933.

34. Wm. F. Pearson, 12th Endorsement, To the Chief of Ordnance, Apr. 29, 1933, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.


36. Croft to the President of the Infantry Board, Aug. 8, 1933, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.

37. F. L. Munson to the Chief of Infantry, Aug. 25, 1933, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.

38. Croft to the President of the Infantry Board, Sept. 5, 1933, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8; Johnson, *Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers*, 119.


41. Wm. C. Young, Memorandum for the Chief of Infantry, Apr. 26, 1934; Croft to the Adjutant General, May 7, 1934, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.

42. Jesse A. Ladd to the President of the Infantry Board, June 2, 1935, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.


44. J. B. Woolnough to the President of the Infantry Board, Nov. 18, 1935, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.


50. Lynch to the Commandant of the Infantry School, July 12, 1937, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 470.8.
52. Tyner, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 25, 1937.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
57. Johnson, Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers, 120–21. Indeed, Lynch was still advocating this approach to the use of tanks with infantry in his “Final Report,” written before he resigned as chief of infantry in April 1941. Chief of Infantry to Adjutant General, Final Report, Apr. [2], 1941.
66. Even after the invasion of Poland in September 1939, the school still taught that “mechanization is not a new arm of the service: . . . it is a new weapon for assisting combatant arms in the accomplishment of their mission” “Mechanized Cavalry—Armament, Organization, and Characteristics,” lecture given at the Command and General Staff School, Sept. 29, 1939, Curricular Materials, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS.

Chapter 12

and Equipment of Cavalry in the Principal World Powers and Its Probable Role in Wars of the Near Future,” *CJ* 41, no. 170 (Mar./Apr. 1932): 5. Henry was chief of cavalry at the time he wrote this article.

2. Henry was one of these officers and played a large role in this modernization, which he discusses at length in his memoirs. Guy V. Henry, Jr., “A Brief Narrative of the Life of Guy V. Henry, Jr.” Guy V. Henry Papers, USAMHI, 29–56.


6. As quoted in Odom, *After the Trenches*, 63.


18. “A Chief of Cavalry,” *CJ* 23, no. 93 (Nov. 1912): 543–46; “A Chief of Cavalry,” *CJ* 29, no. 119 (Apr. 1920): 83. The demand at this time was inspired by the effort of the French cavalry to get a chief as well, which puts the effort in the context of branch modernization based on copying French models and organization.

19. War Plans Division, Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Aug. 27, 1920, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.

20. H. R. Crosby to the Inspector General, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.


22. Kojassa, Memorandum for Colonel Kent, July 5, 1938, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 334.3. Henry, when he was chief of cavalry, privately negotiated an arrangement with
23. Truscott noted several occasions when a “Riley Man” arrived at a unit in which he served and sought to change the command along lines learned at the school. Truscott, _Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry_, 53, 66, 67.


26. The entering classes in September 1920 numbered nearly two hundred, while the classes before the world war totaled about fifty. “Notes for the Cavalry School,” _CJ_ 29, no. 121 (Oct. 1920): 316.


35. Truscott, _Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry_, 86, 87.

36. Ibid., 86.


38. In his history of the U.S. Cavalry, Major General John Herr devotes far more space to discussing polo and other equestrian activities in the interwar period than to mechanization or any other development in the branch. The only reference he makes to himself is a picture of the 1923 American Military Polo Team that captured the World Polo Championship. Herr was a member of the team. John K. Herr and Edward S. Wallace, _The Story of the U.S. Cavalry, 1775–1942_ (New York: Little Brown, 1953), 242, 244–48.

39. Truscott was also an outstanding polo player and notes the intensity of the interest in polo in the cavalry. At one point he was transferred from his regiment in Marfa, Texas, to First Cavalry Division headquarters at Fort Bliss, Texas, so he could play for its team in the national championships. Truscott frequently lists polo abilities among the qualities of officers he admired. Truscott, _Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry_, 74.

40. Mildrid H. Gillie, in her book regarding the role of Adna Chaffee in mechanizing the cavalry, claims that prior to taking on mechanization as a passion, he had considered himself a virtual polo professional within the cavalry. Gillie, _Forging the Thunderbolt:_


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43. Ibid.


46. Ibid., 4.

47. Ibid., 6, 7.

48. Some officers even argued that mobility was merely the means by which the cavalry applied firepower and shock. Clarence Lininger, “Mobility, Firepower, and Shock,” CJ 34, no. 139 (Apr. 1925): 179.


50. Ibid.


55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.


60. Crosby to Adjutant General, Apr. 12, 1927, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.

61. Crosby to Adjutant General, July 23, 1928, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.


63. Crosby to Adjutant General, Apr. 12, 1927; Douglas McCaskey to Adjutant General, Apr. 21, 1927; Robert L. Collins to the Chief of Cavalry, May 19, 1927, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.
65. Except where otherwise noted, the material for the discussion here regarding the mechanized force is taken from Gillie, *Forging the Thunderbolt*, 19–47.
66. L. D. Gasser, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Feb. 20, 1931, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 537.7.
67. Gasser, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Feb. 20, 1931.
68. Charles S. Lincoln to the Adjutant General, Oct. 1, 1928, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 537.7.
69. Gasser, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Feb. 20, 1931.
70. The budget for 1928 had already been approved by Congress before the creation of the Experimental Mechanized Force was ordered. Charles L. Lincoln to the Adjutant General, Oct. [?], 1928; H. G. Wells, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 31, 1928; Adjutant General to James Parsons, Sept. 13, 1928, NA, RG 177, Entry 40, 537.3.
75. Ibid.
77. Henry to the Chief of Staff, Mar. 24, 1931.
78. Ibid.
79. David E. Johnson claims that Major General Moseley, who was then deputy chief of staff, was a major force in the army’s mechanization program and was likely the author of MacArthur’s memorandum of May 1, 1931. Johnson, *Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers*, 128.
80. “General Principles to Govern Mechanization and Motorization,” in Douglas MacArthur to Adjutant General, May 1, 1931. It is unclear as to how and to whom this statement of General Principles was originally delivered. It is found in archives only as enclosures to later documents. See, for instance, Malin Craig to Various, Apr. 5, 1935, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.0. It was copied into a press release given out on May 18, 1931 (NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 400.14).
82. Barry, *Battalion Commanders at War*, 49. Also, David E. Johnson notes, “Major General Adna Chaffee designed the armored division to conduct traditional light cavalry missions.” Johnson, *Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers*, 222.
83. Aubrey Lippincott to Commander, Cavalry School, Oct. 10, 1931, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 320.2. Johnson claims that the selection of Camp (later Fort) Knox as the base for the program of mechanizing cavalry was made because it was far removed from both the Office of the Chief of Cavalry in Washington and the Cavalry School at Fort Riley. Johnson, *Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers*, 129.
84. On Henry’s first visit with MacArthur as chief of staff, MacArthur pointed to cars parked in the street and said, “Henry, there is your Cavalry of the Future.” Henry, “Brief Narrative,” 65.

85. Henry Jr. to Floyd Hyndman, Apr. 22, 1933, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.

86. The Chief of Cavalry’s Office was responsible for developing the tables of organization for the regiment and for the mechanized brigade planned in the future. The development of these “TOs” provided opportunity for direct communications between Henry and Fort Knox. Memorandum for the Adjutant General, July 7, 1931; Memorandum for the Adjutant General, Jan. 6, 1932, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 400.14; Henry to Commanding Officer, HQ Det. Mechanized Force, Jan. 15, 1932, NA, RG 407, 322.02; Memorandum for the Adjutant General, July 7, 1932, NA, RG 407, 400.14; E. M. Offley to Commandant, Cavalry School, Feb. 27, 1932; A. M. Miller, Memorandum for General Kromer, May 27, 1936, NA, RG 407, 322.02.

87. Mechanized Cavalry (Fort Riley, KS: Cavalry School, 1933), 3.

88. Ibid., 41, 47, 62.

89. J. R. Lindsey to Commanding General, Fifth Corps Area, Mar. 16, 1932, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.

90. The idea, as formulated by MacArthur, provided for two kinds of cavalry units: “one, (horsed) in which the horse and mule may remain only where they cannot be replaced and the performance of difficult tactical missions, or for operations in difficult terrain where the horse and mule still give us the best mobility.” MacArthur, “General Principles to Govern Mechanization and Motorization.”

91. The Cavalry School adhered to the doctrine of two cavalries in its general statements. But in its text it devoted only two of eighty-five pages to combined operations. Mechanized Cavalry, 41, 42.


94. Kromer to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Feb. 27, 1935, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.

95. Hughes, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Apr. 17, 1935, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02; Kromer to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Feb. 27, 1935.

96. War Department, Cavalry Field Manual, 3:1.

97. Ibid., 3:67, 76, 78, 80, 81, 95, 96.

98. As R. W. Grow, a leader in the cavalry mechanization program worried, “The General Staff (and the Army) is drifting more and more toward a ‘mechanized force’ which is the first step in alienating a part of the cavalry and reducing the role of cavalry.” Grow, Memorandum for Miller, Jan. 10, 1937, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.

99. FSR, 15.
100. Henry to Chief of Cavalry, May 9, 1936, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.
102. Henry indicated that he saw the rift between horse and mechanized cavalry growing in 1937. Henry to Chief of Cavalry, July 30, 1937, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 334.3.
103. Kromer to President Cavalry Board, July 1, 1937, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 334.3.
104. Daniel Van Voorhis to Chief of Cavalry, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 334.3.
105. Miller, Memorandum to the Chief of Cavalry, Sept. 1, 1937, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 334.3.
106. Herr first formulated his “not one man, not one horse” stand in a General Staff conference in which the Mechanized Board and Mechanized School were the major topics discussed. Herr, “Remarks re Conference with Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3,” Oct. 10, 1938, NA, RG 177, Entry 39. 334.3.
108. Hughes, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Apr. 17, 1935.
109. Malin Craig, Memorandum for the Deputy Chief of Staff, June 28, 1937, NA, RG 407, 537.3. Craig was heavily influenced by the Spanish Civil War and by the progress and direction of the mechanization program in Germany.
110. George B. Tyner, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 25, 1937, NA, RG 407, 537.3.
111. Kromer to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Nov. 29, 1937, NA, RG 407, 537.3.
112. Herr, to Adjutant General, Apr. 13, 1938, NA RG 177, Entry 39, 334.3.
113. Lucian Truscott says that nearly all the instructors at Fort Riley and most of the students there were supportive of mechanization. Truscott, Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry, 103.
114. Hawkins referred to mechanization in 1938 as “Imagination Gone Wild” since it was based on “no foundation of knowledge.” Hamilton S. Hawkins, “Imagination Gone Wild,” CJ 47, no. 210 (Nov./Dec. 1938): 491. At the same time, Bruce Palmer Jr. referred to his father, Bruce Palmer, who was a leading mechanization advocate, as “a dreamer.” “Conversations between General Bruce Palmer, Jr., and Lt. Col. James E. Shelton and Lt. Col. Edward P. Smith,” Typescript USAMHI, 3. In their correspondence, supporters of mechanization tended to use evangelical terms such as “prophets,” “conversion,” and “gospel.” This is noted in many places in Gillie, Forging the Thunderbolt.
116. In talking about mechanized cavalry in late 1938, Herr declared: “It has not yet reached a position in which it can be relied upon to displace horse cavalry. For a considerable period of time it is bound to play an important but minor role while the horse cavalry plays the major role.” Herr, Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Oct. 17, 1938, NA, RG 177, Entry 39, 322.02.
Notes


118. Hawkins pronounced the end of “complementarity” in 1939: “No large unit without a main or principal element in it which sets its pace and dictates its employment can be kept under control by its commander or operate with unity and effectiveness.” Hawkins, “Imagination Gone Wild,” 491.

119. One officer wrote: “Unquestionably the Cavalry service has fallen into a low estate in War Department circles within the last few years. Much of this was due to the presence in key positions of certain officers definitely hostile to cavalry, who were able to block the aims and ambitions of the Cavalry at every turn. Some of this hostility extended even to the form of attempting to create the impression that the principal role of Cavalry was reconnaissance rather than combat.” Willis D. Crittenden, Memorandum for the Chief of Cavalry, Aug. 4, 1938, Willis D. Crittenden Papers, USAMHI.


121. The endgame of mechanization is best described in Johnson, Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers, 138–44.


124. Odom, After the Trenches, 146–47.

Conclusion


3. Ibid., 14–16.

4. Marshall was quoted as saying in regard to the ORC: “Just what we would have done in the first phase of our mobilization without [ROTC graduates] I do not know. I do know that our plans would have had to be greatly curtailed and the cessation of


7. Ibid. 16.


