

## **"George C. Marshall: Global Commander"**

**a part of the**

### **Harmon Memorial Lectures in Military History**

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The Department of History, United States Air Force Academy, is the sponsor of the oldest and most prestigious lecture series at the United States Air Force Academy. The purpose is twofold: to promote a greater knowledge of military history in the United States and abroad, and to stimulate a lifelong interest among cadets in their professional subject.

Each year a committee of internationally known historians and Academy representatives select an outstanding military historian, or a first-rate scholar from a closely related field, who is invited to present a lecture on a subject of his or her choice within broadly construed field of military history. In keeping with the purpose of the series, the lecture is published and distributed to leading scholars and libraries throughout the world.

These lectures are known collectively as the "Harmon Memorial Lectures in Military History," in memory of the accomplishments of the late Lieutenant General Hubert R. Harmon, the first Superintendent of the Academy. General Harmon's lifelong personal interest in military history makes it particularly appropriate that he be honored in this way.

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**Dr. Forrest C. Pogue** received a Ph.D. from Clark University in 1939. He served with the U.S. forces in Europe as a combat historian for the First Army (1944-1945) and is the holder of several military decorations. He later joined the Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, becoming one of the principal authors of the U.S. Army in World War II series. In 1952 he joined the Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University, based in Heidelberg, Germany. This was followed (1954-1956) by a professorship of

history at Murray State College, Kentucky, the institution from which he received his A.B. in 1932 and where he had taught earlier from 1933 to 1942. In 1956, Dr. Pogue was chosen Director of the Research Library, George C. Marshall Research Foundation, Lexington, Virginia, a post he still holds. He is the author of several works, including *The Supreme Command* (1954). He is the coauthor of *The Meaning of Yalta* (1956) and has contributed to *Command Decisions* (1960) and *Total War and Cold War* (1962). He has also completed the first and second volumes of a projected four-volume work that promises to be the definitive biography of Gen. George C. Marshall. Volumes published to date are *Education of a General, 1880-1939* (1963) and *Ordeal and Hope, 1939-1942* (1966).

It is a privilege to be invited to give the tenth lecture in a series which has become widely known among teachers and students of military history.

I am, of course, delighted to talk with you about Gen. George C. Marshall with whose career I have spent most of my waking hours since 1956.

Douglas Freeman, biographer of two great Americans, liked to say that he had spent twenty years in the company of General Robert E. Lee. After devoting nearly twelve years to collecting the papers of General Marshall and to interviewing him and more than 300 of his contemporaries, I can fully appreciate his point. In fact, my wife complains that nearly any subject from food to favorite books reminds me of a story about General Marshall. If someone serves seafood, I am likely to recall that General Marshall was allergic to shrimp. When I saw here in the audience Jim Cate, professor at the University of Chicago and one of the authors of the official history of the U.S. Army Air Forces in World War II, I recalled his fondness for the works of G. A. Henty and at once there came back to me that Marshall once said that his main knowledge of Hannibal came from Henty's *The Young Carthaginian*. If someone asks about the General and Winston Churchill, I am likely to say, "Did you know that they first met in London in 1919 when Marshall served as Churchill's aide one afternoon when the latter reviewed an American regiment in Hyde Park?"

Thus, when I mentioned to a friend that I was coming to the Air Force Academy to speak about Marshall, he asked if there was much to say about the General's connection with the Air Force. Then the deluge started. Marshall, I said, recalled being in Washington on leave in 1909 when Lt. Benjamin Foulois flew the Wright Brothers' plane from Fort Myer to Alexandria. Two years later during maneuvers at San Antonio, Texas, while serving temporarily with the Signal Corps, Marshall assigned the three pilots attached to the Maneuver Division to simulate the roles of brigade commanders in a command post exercise using wireless communications for the first time. One of the pilots was Lieutenant Foulois, then carrying out the first air reconnaissance in association with Army troops, and another was Lt. George Kelly, after whom Kelly Field would be named. Billy Mitchell was a student in classes of Marshall's at Fort Leavenworth in 1908-09 and "Hap" Arnold became a friend in the Philippines in 1914. Much earlier than most of his Army contemporaries, Marshall developed an interest in the Air Corps

I do not propose to argue that Marshall foresaw all of the future potential of the air forces in World War I or that he escaped some the ground force bias against air in the early postwar period. What is important is that he was aware that a strong bias existed and that he determined shortly after he came to Washington in the summer of 1938 as Chief of the War Plans Division to do something about it. Maj. Gen. Frank M. Andrews, then Chief of The General Headquarters Air Force, took his air

education in hand, inviting Marshall to accompany him on a visit to air stations and airplane plants throughout the country. A few months later, Marshall became Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, just as Gen. Arnold assumed the duties of Chief of the Army Air Corps. In the following spring, President Roosevelt announced that Marshall would succeed Gen. Malin Craig as Chief of Staff of the Army at the completion of his term. Shortly after the announcement, Marshall proposed to his superiors in the War Department that Andrews, who had reverted to his permanent rank of colonel after completing his tour with General Headquarters, be restored to general officer rank and made Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations in the War Department. Against strong opposition by top officials in the Department—"the first time I found them united on anything"—he carried his point. Andrews not only filled that slot, but Marshall sent him later to key posts in the Caribbean, in the Middle East, and finally to the post of Commanding General, European Theater, in London, before his career was tragically ended in an air crash in Iceland.

Marshall's closest air tie, of course, was with General Arnold. The airman wrote later that the Chief of Staff needed "plenty of indoctrination about the air facts of life." "The difference in George," he continued, "who presently became one of the most potent forces behind the development of a real American air power, was his ability to digest what he saw and make it part of as strong a body of military genius as I have ever known." Aware of the growing importance of air power and the increased pressure for an independent air force, Marshall quickly stepped up Arnold's authority, giving him great freedom to develop the Air Corps. In the fall of 1940, he made Arnold one of his three deputy chiefs of staff. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Marshall turned over to another airman, Brig. Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, soon to be named Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, the task of pushing through a reorganization of the War Department. In the new structure, Arnold became Commanding General, Army Air Forces. Not long afterwards, Marshall arranged for the airman's name to be included by President Roosevelt in a statement listing the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is easy to understand why Arnold later wrote of Marshall: "It is hard to think how there could have been any American Air Forces in World War II without him."

Apparently we have wandered far afield, an illustration of the danger of stimulating a biographer to talk about his pet subject. But, then again, we have not wandered at all. Marshall's interest in the Air Forces is part of the story of his larger role in the war.

Clearly, Marshall was the first American general to be truly a global commander. As Chief of Staff, he commanded ground and air forces which at the end of the war in Europe numbered some 8 and 1/3 million men in nine theaters scattered around the world.

At the time of Pearl Harbor, Marshall's only important garrisons outside the continental United States were in the Philippines and Hawaii. A few months later, he had troops moving to the Hawaiian Command, now commanded by airman Lt. Gen. Delos Emmons, for support of operations in the Pacific. Marshall had appointed Gen. Douglas MacArthur as commander of the Southwest Pacific Theater and arranged for him to be named as commander of the Australian forces as well. To head Army and Army Air Forces in the South Pacific, he named Arnold's Chief of the Air Staff, Maj. Gen. Millard F. Harmon, brother of the distinguished general for whom this series of lectures is named. Air units and service troops were also on their way to India, Burma, and China, where Gen. Joseph Stilwell was to command. An air force was also set up in the Middle East.

One morning in 1944, General Marshall invited the representative of a commander who believed that his theater was being neglected to attend a morning briefing in his office. In accordance with the usual custom, the officers charged with this duty had placed on the map the pins showing the progress on the different active fronts of the world. At a glance one could see that fighting was raging in Italy, in northwest and southern France, on the Ledo Road, in the air against Germany and the possessions of Japan, or in the widely scattered islands of the Pacific. The Chief of Staff was amused as he saw his visitor's growing realization of the many fronts the War Department had to arm and supply.

In addition to his normal duties as Army Chief, Marshall had important special responsibilities. In 1941, he became the only military member of the high policy committee dealing with the atomic bomb project. Later, when implementation of the project was placed under Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves, that officer was made directly responsible to Secretary of War Stimson and to General Marshall.

General Marshall served as the executive of the Combined Chiefs of Staff in giving directives to Gen. Eisenhower while he was Allied Commander in the Mediterranean and, later, when he became Supreme Allied Commander in northwest Europe. He also represented the Joint Chiefs of Staff in dealing with General MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific and General Joseph Stilwell in the China-Burma-India Theater.

No other Chief of Staff in Great Britain or the United States carried a heavier burden in dealing with legislative bodies, the Press, state executives, and makers of public opinion. In frequent appearances on Capitol Hill, he gained votes for appropriations and for huge increases in manpower. His support helped to pass the first selective service legislation, after it had been brought forward by civilian leaders and bipartisan groups in Congress. In 1941, it was his strong appeal to a handful of members of the Lower House that secured the margin of one vote in the House of Representatives for the extension of the draft four months before Pearl Harbor.

Marshall found that his task did not end with obtaining appropriations and the men he needed. Early in his term as Chief of Staff he discovered that business leaders were distant to White House demands for increased war production and suspicious of Mr. Roosevelt's proposals. Using the same frank approach to the Business Advisory Council that he had used to Congress, he gained greater business cooperation in meeting the Army's needs.

This tremendous spreading of his time and energies was not to his liking. He had written an old friend soon after becoming Chief of Staff, "I wish above everything that I could feel that my time was to be occupied in sound development work rather than in meeting the emergencies of a great catastrophe." But he was to spend his long term of slightly more than six years as Chief of Staff in struggling to prepare the Army and Army Air Forces for their duties in a global war. Sworn in a few hours after Hitler's army invaded Poland, he remained at his post until the war was finished and demobilization had begun. With the exception of Marshal Stalin and the Japanese emperor, Marshall was the only wartime leader to retain the same position for this entire period. (Arnold, while chief of the Air Corps in September 1938, did not become Commanding General of the Army Air Forces and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff until 1942.)

At the war's close, the British Chiefs of Staff, Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Cunningham of Hyndhope, and Marshal of the Royal Air Force Lord Portal, who had served with Marshall during much of the conflict, hailed him as "architect and builder of the finest and most powerful Army in American history." Prime Minister Winston Churchill spoke of him as the organizer of victory. Marshall's old friend, Bernard Baruch, called him the first global strategist.

What were the roads he followed to reach this end? One was that of the good soldier who learned his trade and another of an officer with a burning desire to know and the willingness to see problems whole. It is the story of a man who learned to control and order his own life, gaining through his personal struggle the secret of commanding men.

His early experience did not provide special training for global leadership. He often said that he was born in a parochial society, which had little knowledge or interest beyond state borders, that knew Manila only as a maker of rope and places in Europe as far-off spots of little concern to Americans. Yet in the limits of his own small area of western Pennsylvania there were reminders of the bonds which tied it to a part of Europe. A week after he became Chief of Staff he journeyed back to his birthplace and recalled for his audience that as a boy he had hunted along the Braddock Trail and had picnicked near the grave of Braddock some six or seven miles from his own home. Just beyond it, he had seen the ruins of Fort Necessity, which young Col. Washington had built and surrendered later to the French. One of his favorite trout streams, he recalled, "rose at the site of Washington's encounter (Jumonville Glen) at the opening of the French and Indian War where the first shot was fired there which was literally heard around the world."

He learned more of the outside world in his career as a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute. Initially, his mind had been filled with the deeds of "Stonewall" Jackson, who had taught there before leaving at the beginning of the Civil War to gain fame and death, and of Robert E. Lee, who had spent his last years as President of nearby Washington College, showing how a great soldier could turn his talents to the task of postwar reconstruction.

In 1898, his second year at VMI, the cadets debated America's proper course in regard to Cuba; the sinking of the *Maine* and McKinley's call for action stirred Marshall and his fellow cadets deeply. They met in Cadet Society Hall and to a man volunteered their services to the Army. Reluctantly, they heeded their Superintendent's reminder that they would serve best by completing their military education. But the cadets got vicarious satisfaction out of the fact that one of the members of the Class of 1898 gained a captaincy and returned as Commandant in Marshall's last year. Another officer, Charles F. Kilbourne, classmate of Marshall's older brother at the Institute several years earlier, won the Medal of Honor.

Six months after leaving VMI, Marshall was commissioned as second lieutenant of infantry. A week later he was married. After a week's honeymoon in Washington, he reported to Fort Myer and within a month was in San Francisco bound for Manila.

In his first tour in the Philippines, Marshall gained his initial ideas of America's global responsibilities. At the same time he struggled through the necessarily painful process of learning how to command. The Philippine Insurrection had just ended and the volunteer officers who had

served in the recent war and the ensuing fighting in the Islands were going home. As a result of the shortage of Regular Army officers, Marshall found himself<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> a few months after arrival<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> as the only officer in charge of a company in the southern half of the island of Mindoro. With little training to guide him, with no manual on how to deal with occupied territory, cut off from the outside world except for the monthly visit of a small supply boat, he fell back on what "the Corps, the Institute, expected of a cadet officer in the performance of his duty." He was green in military affairs, but he got by, as he recalled, with "the super-confidence of a recent cadet officer" and the help of two seasoned sergeants.

The young officer, returned to the United States after 18 months in the Islands, could never again take a wholly narrow view of the world. Although he would not return to foreign duty for more than a decade, he knew that American interests lay beyond restricted boundaries. Indeed, his career was to parallel almost exactly the first 50 years of the twentieth century as the tasks of the United States Army grew and as the United States expanded its global role.

In 1913, he went again to the Philippines. This time, he had behind him two years of intensive study at Fort Leavenworth and two years of teaching there. A ferment had been working at the Army schools and Marshall had found in one of his teachers, Maj. John F. Morrison, a man who brought a breath of fresh air to his subjects, emphasizing sound tactics and attention to practical lessons. In his summers from 1907 onward, Marshall worked with state militia and National Guard units in numerous maneuvers, learning the art of staff work and gaining experience in handling large units of troops. There had also been a four months' trip with his wife to Europe in 1910, during which he added to his fund of knowledge some idea of London, Paris, Rome, Florence and managed to observe British army maneuvers near Aldershot in the bargain.

Growing Japanese aggressiveness worried the small Army force in the Philippines during Marshall's second tour. He and his colleagues became involved in exercises designed to test the ability of an unnamed enemy to overrun the Islands. In 1914, the sudden illness of the officer charged with acting as chief of staff of the "enemy" landing force in southern Luzon gave Lt. Marshall his big chance to show his ability as a staff officer. Stepping into a role for which he had rehearsed in maneuvers in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, and Texas, only a few years before, he gained a reputation for genius with battle plans that would be exaggerated in the telling. One who watched him in those exciting days was young Lt. "Hap" Arnold. Observing Marshall dictate a field order with nothing but a map before him, Arnold told his wife that he had seen a future Chief of Staff of the Army.

Marshall was to have one more experience with duty in the Far East before World War II. In the years between the great wars, he asked for duty in China. From 1924 to 1927, he served in Tientsin as Executive Officer of the 15th Regiment, which was charged with the duty of helping other foreign powers keep open the railroad from Peking to the sea. Left in command on two occasions when warring factions threatened to overrun the American sector, he managed by quiet firmness and persuasion to turn the marauders aside from the city.

Although his mental horizons were immeasurably widened by the three tours he spent in the Far East, Marshall perhaps gained most in his global outlook by his two years in France from the summer of 1917 to the fall of 1919. A member of the first division to go to France, training officer and then chief

of operations of the 1st Division, he advanced to a planning assignment at Pershing's General Headquarters at Chaumont, and then to the post of chief of operations of Gen. Hunter Liggett's First Army in the closing weeks of the war. In one of his later assignments, he helped plan the operation at St. Mihiel. Then, while that battle was still in progress, he was shifted to supervising the moving of units into the Meuse-Argonne area for the final United States offensive of the war. This task, which required the orderly withdrawal from the line of French and Italian units and moving in over three main roads troops from the St. Mihiel front and other areas, approximately 800,000 men, brought into play his logistical talents. Newsmen referred to him as a "wizard" and Gen. Pershing in his memoirs singled out his contributions for special praise. A member of Pershing's staff later wrote that Marshall's task at First Army was "to work out all the details of the operations, putting them in a clear, workable order which could be understood by the commanders of all subordinate units. The order must be comprehensive but not involved. It must appear clear when read in a poor light, in the mud and the rain. That was Marshall's job and he performed it 100%. The troops which maneuvered under his plans always won."

Marshall's rise in the Army was greatly assisted by his work in France, and his later leadership as Chief of Staff was strongly influenced by what he observed in World War I. He recalled the shocked faces of the French when they saw the almost total unpreparedness of the first American troops sent to France. Unlike many of his colleagues, most of whom arrived later when trained American units showed up well alongside weary, battle worn French contingents, he understood French reservations about fighting qualities of American troops and was patient with their unfavorable reactions. He returned to the United States determined, if he had anything to do about it, never to let another Army go abroad until it was prepared to fight.

Several other lessons stayed with him. He recalled that there had been no proper sifting out of officers before the units came overseas and that Pershing at one time had thirty or more general officers on the road to the rear for reassignment. He was angered when he found a lack of concern for fighting men by the Services of Supply. Told that items such as candy and small necessities would be available by purchase only through post exchanges, he protested. When the Chief of Staff of First Army chided him about his remarks, he angrily exclaimed, "By God, I won't stay as G-3 if the man at the front can't have these things. I don't favor sending men up to die if I can't give them a free box of matches." He fumed because recognition of bravery was long delayed, insisting that the value of medals and battlefield promotions lay in prompt recognition of performance so that other men could see that fine qualities of leadership and valor were appreciated by the Army. He was furious when red tape in the rear areas made unnecessarily difficult and unpleasant the process of demobilization. He was impressed by the fact that the officers responsible were fine men but "it was a huge machine and they were reluctant to make changes in it which would complicate things." As Chief of Staff of the Army, he never let his commanders forget that "we must do everything we could to convince the soldier that we were all solicitude for his well being. I was for supplying everything we could and [only] then requiring him to fight to the death when the time came. . . . If it were all solicitude then you had no Army. But you couldn't be severe in your demands unless [the soldier] was convinced that you were doing everything you could to make matters well for him."

In the five years following the war, Marshall served as senior aide to General Pershing. With his chief, he visited the battlefields of France, Belgium, and Italy and shared with him the victory parades in Paris, London, New York, and Washington.

As his assistant, he sat through lengthy congressional hearings on the future National Defense Act of the United States. From the planning sessions and his observations of the legislative process, he gained a vital knowledge of how to work with Congress. This period of training was followed by trips with Pershing and his staff to the chief army posts and war plants of the country.

Marshall was not certain that the United States would again go to war, but he was convinced that the Army should continue to train good officers, encouraged to develop new approaches to problems, and that it should devise teaching methods and manuals which could be applied by men with a few months training in command of soldiers suddenly drawn from civilian life.

These views he got an opportunity to apply, after his return from China in 1927. For five years as assistant commandant in charge of instruction at the Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia, he showed his great talents as a teacher as he influenced many of the top ground commanders of the generation. During his stay at Benning, he had either as instructors, students, or staff members more than 160 future general officers. Their number included Generals Omar Bradley, Matthew Ridgway, Courtney Hodges, Bedell Smith, Joseph Stilwell, Joe Collins, George Decker, four future chiefs of staff besides himself, six or more future army commanders, and many top corps and division commanders of World War II and afterwards.

At Benning, Marshall emphasized the practical over the theoretical, the innovative over the staid, the realistic situation over the ideal. He insisted that his officers study the first six months of a war, when arms and men were lacking, rather than the closing phases when supplies and troops were plentiful. "I insist," he wrote at the time, "we must get down to the essentials, make clear the real difficulties, and expunge the bunk, complications, and ponderosities; we must concentrate on registering in men's minds certain vital considerations instead of a mass of less important details. We must develop a technique and methods so simple that the citizen officer of good common sense can grasp the idea."

When he wrote this statement, American participation in war was almost a decade away. Yet he had touched upon the vital point for future training. His remaining assignments before he went to Washington as Chief of the War Plans Division in 1938 were closely bound up with the supervision and training of young civilians and with National Guard and Reserve officers. In Georgia and South Carolina and in Oregon he grappled with the problem of housing and supervising members of the Civilian Conservation Corps without the use of formal military discipline; in Chicago he served as senior instructor of the Illinois National Guard. As a member of a special committee on civilian-military relations in the early thirties, he served as chairman of national conferences between ROTC officers and college representatives at Lehigh and Purdue universities. It was vital training for one whose tasks as Chief of Staff involved the mobilizing of National Guard and Reserve units and the training of millions of draftees for war duty.

In the years between the wars, Marshall shared the frustrations of many of his fellow officers and dreamed of the day when he might have an opportunity to put some of his ideas into effect. Some of his colleagues relaxed as the Army, with an authorized strength of 280,000 sank at one point to less than half that number. Marshall kept at his tasks as if there would still be a chance for improvement. One of his friends, recalling Marshall's continued labors at his profession, remarked, "I wish I had

spent less time on my golf game and more on my duties like George."

Named to the post of Chief of Staff in 1939, Marshall moved at once to bring the Army up to its authorized strength. He found, however, that he could not ignore the competing claims of America's friends abroad for a share of the aircraft and other military equipment then being produced in limited quantities. After the German invasion of France in the spring of 1940 and Britain's loss of essential guns and munitions in the evacuation of Dunkirk, both General Marshall and Adm. Stark were confronted by new appeals for assistance. When Hitler attacked Russia in the summer of 1941, one more suppliant for planes was added to the list. In meeting the requirements of what Churchill aptly called "the hungry table," Marshall performed one of his most important global services. By carefully balancing the needs of his new units against those of potential Allies abroad, he managed to keep our friends in the fight and also hastened the day when American units could bear their share of the battle.

Until the United States entered the war, Marshall played a cautious role in the discussions of the part the Army might play in case of expanded conflict. But in the first wartime Anglo-American conference, held in Washington less than a month after Pearl Harbor, he clearly became the leading figure among the Allied Chiefs of Staff. On Christmas Day, 1941, he opened the fight for the principle of unified command. Finding the Prime Minister and his advisers somewhat skeptical about a proposal for an Allied Command in the Pacific, he carried the fight to Mr. Churchill and with the aid of President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins got his way. A few days later, he won agreement for the establishment of a Combined Chiefs of Staff organization in Washington consisting of the United States Chiefs of Staff and a British Mission, whose members represented the British Chiefs of Staff in London. Recalling the delays and disagreements that had marked the actions of the Allies and Associated Powers in World War I, until reverses finally brought them to a unified command in the closing months of conflict, he urged them to avoid the needless sacrifice of valuable time and blood.

The Combined Chiefs of Staff organization worked in part because of the fruitful collaboration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. No less important was the fact that Marshall's ability to think in global terms was matched by the constructive attitude of the head of the British Mission in Washington, Field Marshal Sir John Dill. From the day the two men met at Argentia in the late summer of 1941 until the latter's death in November 1944, their friendship was a vital element in Anglo-American understanding.

As Chief of Staff of the Army, looking at a world map which showed pre-Pearl Harbor commitments to the proposition of defeating Germany first and the growing lines of red thumb tacks which showed continued Japanese conquest in the Pacific, Marshall found it difficult at times to agree with British proposals for ending the war. Although he accepted the need of making full use of British and Russian power to end the struggle first against the strongest of the Axis powers, he opposed a strategy which might delay the speedy defeat of Japan. In this he was influenced by General Douglas MacArthur and the supporters of full scale action against the Japanese and by Adm. King's desire to strike back at the enemy in the Pacific. Forgetting the task Marshall faced in holding steadily to the Germany first concept, some British commentators have criticized him for reluctance to follow up opportunities in the Mediterranean and his obstinate insistence on the Cross-Channel approach. In fact he did much to support the British line in the Mediterranean. After ceding reluctantly to Roosevelt's pressure for operations in North Africa for November 1942, the Army Chief of Staff accepted the logic of events in the Mediterranean, agreeing to the invasion of Sicily, landings in

southern Italy, the Anzio operation, the drive for Rome, and a thrust northward to the Pisa-Rimini line. Even while holding resolutely to the commitment to land in southern France in support of Eisenhower's operations to the north, Marshall managed to give a measure of assistance to the Italian campaign.

Whatever the extent of Marshall's differences with the British, it is clear that no high level military chief was more consistently generous in his efforts to meet the request of foreign allies. Although they chronicled Marshall's refusal to give further backing to Mediterranean enterprises, Churchill and Alanbrooke never forgot his generosity after the fall of Tobruk when he stripped from American units tanks and guns they had only recently received and shipped them to the Middle East. When one of the ships carrying part of this precious cargo was sunk, he promptly made good the losses.

Such, in brief, are some aspects of the career of the American leader described by the British official historian, John Ehrman, as *primus inter pares* (first among equals) in the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Let us now ask about some of his basic qualities and the beliefs that marked his career as a soldier and as Chief of Staff.

First, said Dean Acheson, who served with him in the postwar period, "there was the immensity of his integrity, the loftiness and beauty of his character." Second, said Kenneth Davis, biographer of Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson, there was self-mastery. Third, said General Eisenhower, who had reason to appreciate his firm backing, there was constancy: Marshall stood like a rock. The Chief of Staff knew his mind and his capabilities and he showed to his fellows the presence of inner strength and certainty in troubled times. Recalling that Pershing, his mentor, had once said that he must not lower his head in weariness lest someone looking to him for courage interpret it as loss of hope, Marshall tried never to seem cast down.

A man of strong emotions, capable of burning or freezing anger, he fought to keep himself under strict control. In his last speech to the cadets at the Virginia Military Institute, his text "Don't be a deep feeler and a poor thinker" stressed the conviction that the mind and not the emotions should be the master. As a student, he had been quite willing to be what a later generation would call a "square." He had come to the Institute ill-prepared and he stood well down among his fellows in his first year class.

But he had worked at his subjects and the curve went steadily upward to place him in the upper half of his class at graduation. In the business of being a soldier, there was never any doubt. In picking cadet officers, his superiors named him first among the corporals for the second year, first sergeant for the third, and first captain at the last. When he went to the School of the Line at Fort Leavenworth, still a second lieutenant, in a course intended for captains, many of whom had gained experience in the Spanish-American War, he managed to place first. As a first captain and as company officer, he did not seek plaudits; he preferred respect to easy popularity. He once said, "The mothers should look with care in the training period to a popular commander; chances are nine out of ten that he's going to get licked."

Marshall was impatient of verbiage, of protocol, and of the polite palaver that often lubricates the wheels of administration. Contrary to the disciples of Dale Carnegie, he dispensed with preliminaries

and the soft sell. As a result he sometimes frightened his subordinates. Experienced members of his staff soon overcame their initial awe; newcomers sometimes became inarticulate in his presence. In part his toughness was a mask put on to save time in the midst of war.

For him, the careful ordering of his life was all-important. As a younger man, he had suffered two near breakdowns from overwork and inability to cast off the burdens of the day. As Chief of Staff, he determined to preserve his health by demanding brevity in papers, conciseness in briefings, and a vigorous, responsible staff. Men presenting papers were expected to understand them and be prepared to offer a recommendation for final action. He was noted for saying that no one had an original idea after three o'clock. This did not mean that he left his office that early but that he believed it essential to delegate responsibilities, organize his work, and rely on younger aides so that he had time for exercise and recreation and the chance to reflect.

To those with whom he worked, Marshall showed loyalty- loyalty to his superiors and support to those who worked under him. He early determined to follow the lead of the President and to work with him and his assistants as a member of a team. True loyalty required frank speaking but ruled out making covert appeals to the Congress and to the Press. His commanders got his backing, almost before they knew they needed it. When he decided that MacArthur should be shifted from the Philippines to Australia, he immediately moved to stop any suggestion that he had run away from capture by stating that the order would come from the President, by arranging for the award of a Medal of Honor, and by asking the Australian Prime Minister to announce that MacArthur had come at his request. When Eisenhower was sharply attacked by British and American critics for his agreement with Adm Darlan in North Africa in 1942, Marshall promptly met with key members of Congress and explained that the French admiral's assistance had saved thousands of American lives. He radioed Eisenhower to get on with the fighting and leave the defense of his position to Washington.

To Congress and to the public, he spoke with candor, admitting mistakes, accepting responsibility for error, explaining what a great nation must do to put its house in order. With the strong backing of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, he resisted pressures by individual congressmen for political appointments and promotions. He closely questioned members of a congressional delegation seeking to keep in command of the national guard division from their state a general whom Marshall deemed incompetent. When they explained that he was their constituent, he asked whose constituents were the 12,000 to 15,000 men who might suffer for the general's mistakes.

Since he had nothing to hide he did not flinch at congressional investigations. To staff members who wanted to hold back on revelations to a Senate committee, he argued, "it must be assumed that members of Congress are just as patriotic as we. . . I do not believe that we should adopt an attitude of official nervousness." Nevertheless, he felt that the War Department heads had become too defensive between the two wars and had failed to defend their subordinates in appearances before congressional committees. "I swore if I got up there I wasn't going to have any more of that damn business and I carried the flag when we went before the committees of Congress," he declared. "There is bound to be deterioration when there is no responsibility." He recalled that when a member asked if the Army was not seeking far more than was needed, he had replied: "That was the first time I knew of in American history that American troops in the field had too much of anything and that I was very, very happy that I was responsible." Because of his frankness, his evident mastery of the

facts regarding the Army's needs and difficulties, his complete lack of interest in a future political role, he gained the confidence of Congress in a period when many Democrats and Republicans strongly opposed the President.

In choosing commanders, Marshall used no single criterion. Eisenhower and Bradley conformed to his personal model, quiet, non-showy, working with a minimum of noise and friction. And yet he had tolerance and even fondness for the more colorful, such as Patton, or the abrasive, such as Stilwell, delighting in their toughness and in their boldness in the field. He could forgive much in violent language and outrageous conduct if an officer was prepared to fight. He helped save Patton from his folly on at least two occasions and he brought back to fight again several officers who were relieved for earlier mistakes. But for the long pull, he prized the quiet men, who did their jobs with little fanfare and achieved their purpose with a minimum of display.

He had little patience for those who could not work with a team and who insisted that their theater or their unit needed more support than others. He applied the withering term, "localitis," to the ailment suffered by commanders whose requests were marked by a blindness to the needs of other fronts. He ridiculed efforts of those who were chiefly concerned by the prerequisites of their positions, saving his choice scorn for those who sought advancement so that they could have two cars or an extra bathroom for their wife. He barred military attaches from accepting decorations from countries drawing aid from the United States, and forbade commanders to employ members of their families as aides. He leaned over backward in respect to his own family to the point that it seemed that kinship to him brought a penalty. His two stepsons won their commissions by the accepted route of officers candidate school. He waived regulations in the cases of the stepsons and his son-in-law, so that they could see service overseas more quickly than by remaining in their regular units, explaining that he had no objection to speeding their passage to the fighting fronts. He followed their progress with pride but did nothing to lighten the way.

Marshall applied the same rigid standards to himself that he set for others. During the war, he told his Secretary, General Staff, that if he received any decorations, honorary degrees, or had a book written about him, he would transfer him out of the Pentagon. Only at the President's personal direction did he waive the first prohibition. But he held personal honors to the minimum, explaining, "I thought for me to be receiving any decorations while our men were in the jungles of New Guinea or the islands of the Pacific especially or anywhere else there was heavy fighting would not appear at all well." It was of a piece with his postwar resolution not to write his memoirs, saying that he had not served his country in order to sell his story to a popular magazine. Even when he agreed to cooperate with a biographer, he stipulated that the writer must be selected by a responsible committee in whose deliberations he would have no part and that any payment received from the book or articles based on his statements or his papers could not go to him or any member of his family but must be given to a non-profit foundation to aid further research.

He was an austere man, but he had a saving sense of humor and a passion for simple justice. In a story which erases some of the grimness sometimes associated with him, he recalled that near the close of his first tour in the Philippines, he and some twelve to fifteen friends had a farewell dinner on the second floor of a hotel in Manila. The room was large, with a huge bay window with curtains. Someone proposed after the meal that they improvise an operetta using the area as a stage. As most of

the company scurried about making preparations, there was suddenly a knock at the door and an American policeman appeared to complain that someone was dropping chairs from the room on people in the street. They discovered that one of the company, somewhat far gone in drink, was amusing himself by tossing furniture out of the window. Fortunately, one of the young ladies in the group persuaded the young policeman to take part in the entertainment and the complaint was dropped. Years later, Marshall recalled, when he was assistant commandant at Fort Benning, the culprit, now a rather stern member of the Inspector General's staff, came to investigate the conduct of two young officers who had committed some "semi-outrageous" offense. When Marshall suggested moderation of punishment, the officer retorted, "I hope you don't condone that sort of thing." Marshall's reply was, "at least they didn't drop chairs out windows." "You know," he told me with a chuckle, "they got off rather light."

Here was no Prussian-style martinet, barking out stern orders and harassing those who dared his wrath. There was compassion here and understanding and sympathy. "Write a letter to General \*\*\*\*\* on the death of his son," he directed once, "I had to relieve him and I fear I broke his heart." Obviously he bore personally a touch of the tragedy that he had inflicted by demanding that a high standard of leadership be met.

He had time to see that warm and adequate clothing was devised and provided for his soldiers, that intelligent planning went into their care, that thought was given to the individual. Early in the war, he recalled a suggestion that he had made for the Civilian Conservation Corps that arrangements be made so that men could get away for a day or two from the routine of camp and permitted to arrange their own vacations. He turned down a suggestion that transient barracks be left unpainted to save money, pointing out the importance of a touch of color and attention to men brought into a new and regimented life. He insisted that men be told why they were fighting. When he found that the lectures he had initially suggested were not always well prepared, he turned to a series of films, *Why We Fight*, that achieved his purpose.

He reacted strongly to efforts of the Press and of certain politicians to stir soldier protests against policies of the government. In 1941, the draft was unpopular in many sectors, and there was a tendency for anti-Administration congressmen to fish in troubled waters. Cards were sent to camps, asking for signatures against the extension of Selective Service. Some publications played up soldier threats to go "over the hill in October," suggesting that there might be widespread desertion if the men were held in military service beyond a year. Despite his desire to have an Army that was a thinking Army, Marshall believed there was a point at which such agitation must halt. He told members of the House Military Affairs Committee that he could not allow recruits to engage in politics: "We must treat them as soldiers; we cannot have a political club and call it an Army. . . . Without discipline an Army is not only impotent but it is a menace to the state."

While he would not coddle soldiers, he would not attempt to kill their spirit. "Theirs not to reason why- theirs but to do or die" did not fit a citizen army, he said. He believed in a discipline based on respect rather than fear; "on the effect of good example given by officers; on the intelligent comprehension by all ranks of why an order has to be and why it must be carried out; on a sense of duty, on esprit de corps."

Regularly there was laid on his desk a summary of all the letters from soldiers, bearing complaints and praise, which had found their way to the Pentagon and a summary of the gripes that had been gleaned by censors from the letters written by soldiers on the fighting fronts. Not only did he read them and pass on to commanders in the United States and abroad specific complaints about their commands, but he selected at least six letters a day from soldiers for personal reply.

No matter how busy he became, he never forgot the war's cost in lives. He recalled later, "I was very careful to send to Mr. Roosevelt every few days a statement of our casualties and it was done in a rather effective way, graphically and in colors, so it would be quite clear to him when he had only a moment or two to consider, because I tried to keep before him all the time the casualty results because you get hardened to these things and you have to be very careful to keep them always in the forefront of your mind."

In an address to the first class of officer candidates at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, General Marshall summarized the task of the military leader. "Warfare today," he declared, "is a thing of swift movement<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> of rapid concentrations. It requires the building up of enormous firepower against successive objectives with breathtaking speed. It is not a game for the unimaginative plodder."

The Chief of Staff explained to them the difficulties of commanding American troops. Their characteristics of individual initiative and independence of thought, which made them potentially the best soldiers in the world, could become possible sources of weakness without good leadership. The American soldier's unusual intelligence and resourcefulness could become "explosive or positively destructive . . . under adverse conditions, unless the leadership is wise and determined, and unless the leader commands the complete respect of his men."

He emphasized alertness and initiative as essential qualities in both junior and senior officers. "Passive inactivity because you have not been given specific instructions to do this or do that is a serious deficiency," he declared. Then, after listing the various responsibilities of the new officers, he concluded: "Remember this: the truly great leader overcomes all difficulties, and campaigns and battles are nothing but a long series of difficulties to be overcome. The lack of equipment, the lack of food, the lack of this or that are only excuses; the real leader displays his qualities in his triumph over adversity, however great it may be."

What have we found in this recital? It is a sketch of a leader with great self-certainty, born of experience and self-discipline, an ability to learn, a sense of duty, a willingness to accept responsibility, simplicity of spirit, character in its broadest term, loyalty, compassion. Many of these were old-fashioned characteristics then; they may seem even more archaic now. But they helped make him a world leader and they still have relevance to leaders in a new era.

These qualities impressed greatly Marshall's good friend and civilian superior, Secretary of War Stimson. On the last day of 1942, on Marshall's 62d birthday, Mr. Stimson summoned a number of Marshall's friends to his office for sherry and birthday cake. He then proposed a toast to the Chief of Staff.

In his long lifetime, Stimson declared, he had found that men in public life tended to fall into two

groups, "first, those who are thinking primarily of what they can do for the job which they hold, and second, those who are thinking of what the job can do for them." He concluded: "General Marshall stands at the very top of my list of those in the first category. . . . I feel, General Marshall, that you are one of the most selfless public officials that I have ever known."

Among all the British and United States Chiefs of Staff, Marshall was the leading figure in developing a global force, in cooperating with the Allied powers, in leading the fight for unity of command, in sharing his resources and production priorities with Allied forces around the world, and in attempting to find the means to help Allied interests while also protecting those which were purely American. I can think of no better ending than that tribute paid by Sir Winston Churchill not too long before Marshall's death:

During my long and close association with successive American administrations, there are few men whose qualities of mind and character have impressed me so deeply as those of General Marshall. He is a great American, but he is far more than that. In war he was as wise and understanding in counsel as he was resolute in action. In peace he was the architect who planned the restoration of our battered European economy and, at the same time, laboured tirelessly to establish a system of Western Defence. He has always fought victoriously against defeatism, discouragement, and disillusion. Succeeding generations must not be allowed to forget his achievements and his example.