Eisenhower’s Prewar Anonymity: Myth or Reality?

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Dwight D. Eisenhower ranks among the preeminent military leaders of the 20th century. In the wake of the centennial year of his birth, historians have showered him with well-deserved accolades for his leadership and contributions. Yet, even among experts, the popular perception still persists that had it not been for World War II, Dwight Eisenhower would have lived his entire life in relative obscurity. Samuel P. Huntington best reflects the conventional wisdom in his assertion that Eisenhower was still an unknown lieutenant colonel as the world moved toward involvement in the war.¹ Forrest Pogue, George Marshall’s foremost biographer, echoes Huntington’s sentiment in his claim that Eisenhower was “relatively unknown” on the eve of the war.² Even Eisenhower’s principal biographer, Stephen Ambrose, claims that only World War II saved Eisenhower from forced retirement. Had Ike died in 1941, Ambrose continues, he would be completely unknown today.³ Indeed, in some quarters at least, the future general of the army was apparently so obscure that as late as the Texas-Louisiana maneuvers of 1941, a national newspaper incorrectly identified the then Chief of Staff of the Third Army as “Lieutenant Colonel D. D. Ersenbeing.”⁴

However, the recent declassification of Ike’s personal papers and official 201 file supports an entirely different view. Based on such evidence, this article posits that although Eisenhower may not have been as recognizable within the civilian community, he was widely respected within the Army as a brilliant staff officer whose extraordinary skills had made him virtually indispensable to some of the most distinguished soldiers and statesmen of his generation. Moreover, the evidence demonstrates that Eisenhower’s performance of duty since his graduation from Command and General Staff School in 1926 marked him for the highest echelons of military command, war or no war.

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There was clearly nothing about Eisenhower's humble origins that would present even the most attentive observer any indication of his future greatness. Born in Denison, Texas, in 1890, Eisenhower spent his formative years in Abilene, Kansas. Following his failure to obtain an appointment to Annapolis, young Eisenhower secured an appointment to the US Military Academy in 1911. He viewed West Point more as an opportunity for a free education and for participation in intercollegiate athletics than as a stepping stone for a military career. One biographer notes that Eisenhower's academic performance was comfortable, but undistinguished.5 Graduating 61st in a class of 164, he considered himself fortunate even to be commissioned due to a knee injury and subsequent reinjuries that almost terminated his cadet career. He certainly did not imagine that he would eventually join 58 other classmates who would become general officers from "the class the stars fell on."

Commissioned in infantry, Eisenhower spent his first years as an officer in various posts in Texas. Taking time to get married in 1916, he followed events in Europe closely. Like many Regular Army officers, he actively sought duty in France. So frequently did Eisenhower request overseas duty in Europe that the Adjutant General in the War Department finally reprimanded him for his constant requests for transfer.6 Instead Eisenhower received orders to report to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to establish a training camp for the fledging Tank Corps. Greatly disappointed at missing the opportunity to ply his trade on the European battlefields, he characteristically focused his efforts on the present task, in this case making Camp Colt an ideal training base.

This assignment, coming only three years after graduation from West Point, was the first to suggest greatness in Eisenhower's future. By the summer of 1918, Major Eisenhower commanded over 10,000 men, the manpower equivalent of a modern light infantry division. His organizational ability and supervisory skills immediately attracted the attention of the War Department. Following repeated recommendations from Colonel Ira C. Wemborn, director of the newly designated Tank Corps, Eisenhower become one of the first members of his class to be promoted to lieutenant colonel.

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So conspicuous was Eisenhower's performance of duty as camp commander at Camp Colt that Welborn recommended him for the Distinguished Service Medal. Although the War Department repeatedly rejected Welborn's request on the grounds that officers serving in training camps and depots were ineligible for the award, a 1922 amendment to the law paved the way for Eisenhower to receive the award on 7 October 1922. The citation read in part that Lieutenant Colonel Eisenhower had displayed "unusual zeal, foresight, and marked administrative ability in the organization, training, and preparation for overseas service of the Tank Corps."

Reverting to permanent rank of captain after the war, Eisenhower decided to remain with the Tank Corps, based largely on the fact that he had
alienated Major General Frank L. Sheets, Chief of Infantry, by publishing enthusiastically on mechanization in future conflicts. After meeting George Patton in 1919 at Camp Meade, Eisenhower had begun writing extensively on the subject of the future role of armor on the modern battlefield. In a sense, Patton and Eisenhower were true pioneers in the development of theories on armored warfare. Writing for *Infantry Journal* in 1920, Eisenhower stated that “the clumsy, awkward, and snail-like progress of the old tanks must be forgotten and in their place the Army must picture a more steady, reliable, engine of destruction.” Sheets considered Ike’s views incompatible with published infantry doctrine and told Eisenhower that he should keep his ideas to himself. If he should choose to ignore Sheets, it was suggested, then he would face the distinct possibility of court-martial. Fortunately, Ike’s association with Patton paid a huge dividend. It was through Patton that Eisenhower met Major General Fox Conner in 1921. Conner had been Pershing’s operations officer in France and was recognized as one of the Army’s foremost intellectuals. Eisenhower later called Conner the ablest man he ever knew.

Eisenhower’s chance meeting with Conner was the first of three watershed episodes in the interwar period that led to his eventual rise to general officer. The other two were Ike’s graduation first in his class from Command and General Staff School in 1926 and his decision in 1939 to leave MacArthur’s camp in the Philippines and cast his lot instead with the Army’s mainstream. Ike’s repeated association with Conner prepared the younger officer to assume positions of increased responsibility and attracted the attention of the senior leadership of the military establishment.

Impressed with Eisenhower’s theories on the use of the tank and his unusual professional dedication, Conner invited the young major to serve as brigade adjutant and executive officer in Panama, where Conner was to command the 20th Infantry Brigade. Eisenhower enthusiastically accepted. He was happy to leave Camp Meade, where the recent death of his first son, Icky, had totally devastated him.

In addition to the tragedy of Icky’s death, a recent Inspector General investigation into alleged financial improprieties surrounding Icky almost terminated Eisenhower’s career. The investigation charged Eisenhower with offenses for which he might not only have been dismissed from the service but also imprisoned. Investigators charged Eisenhower with knowingly violating Army regulations by accepting $250.67 reimbursement for housing and utilities for Icky, who had been residing in Denver with relatives, while Mamie was residing with Ike at Camp Meade in public quarters, heated and lighted with public funds.

By the strict letter of the regulation, Ike had clearly violated the law, which stipulated that only one abode was authorized for dependents. Had Eisenhower willfully violated the regulation? He said no; General Eli Helmick,
Acting Inspector General of the Army, said yes. When the Judge Advocate General of the Army ruled in Helmick’s favor, Eisenhower immediately repaid the full amount at issue.

The investigation did not end until Conner’s request for Eisenhower’s services reached Pershing, now serving as Chief of Staff. Pershing was only too happy to honor a personal request from Conner, with whom he had maintained close contact after the war. The approval of Conner’s request terminated the investigation of Eisenhower, who received a written reprimand stating in part that he had “failed to take ordinary precautions to obtain from proper authority a decision as to the validity of his claims and such action reflected great discredit.” Writing on behalf of the Secretary of War, the Adjutant General informed Eisenhower that his failure to conform to regulations had led to the grave charges being properly preferred against him. The reprimand could have been far worse.

The years at Camp Meade had been trying years for Eisenhower and his family. On several occasions, he even contemplated resigning his commission to work with his brothers, all of whom were prosperous businessmen. Later Eisenhower remembered his service at Meade as frustrating, but it was also a place where he gained important experience in handling men and studying weapons.

Joining Conner in Panama renewed Eisenhower’s interest in a military career. Under Conner’s tutelage and mentorship, Ike soon developed a keen interest in military history and refined the managerial skills that later became his forte. Studying history’s great battles, he became well versed in the operational and logistical requirements of modern war. Moreover, Conner drilled into his protégé the certainty that America’s next great conflict would be waged by a coalition of Western powers in which allied unity of command would be essential. No assignment prior to 1941 better prepared Eisenhower for his future role as Supreme Commander than the years spent with Fox Conner.

During the decade of the 1920s, in official evaluations officers were rated in relation to others of similar rank and experience. The five rating categories were superior, above average, average, below average, and inferior. Conner rated his executive officer superior in almost every category, remarking that Eisenhower’s “natural and professional abilities made him exceptionally fitted for general staff training.”

Returning to the United States, Eisenhower received a coveted assignment to attend Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth for the term beginning in September 1925. Again the invisible hand of Conner, now serving as Deputy Chief of Staff, made itself felt as he had Ike temporarily transferred to the Adjutant General’s Corps to take advantage of that corps’ quota of officers at Leavenworth. Eisenhower was persona non grata in the
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infantry branch due to his alienation of General Sheets, still the Chief of Infantry.

The course at Leavenworth clearly was one of the great shaping events of Eisenhower's career. By graduating first in a class of 245 students, he received a special efficiency report in which the command stated that Eisenhower "was especially qualified for chief of staff of a division and a corps." For the second time in a decade, Eisenhower's career had taken a dramatic turn. The senior echelons of Army command were now truly open to the ambitious Kansan.

Following a brief stint as the executive officer of the 24th Infantry at Fort Benning, Georgia, Eisenhower returned to Washington. Again Fox Conner intervened to secure a better position for his protégé. He immediately assigned Eisenhower to the American Battle Monuments Commission, where his principal chore was to write a guidebook on the battlefields of Europe. Assignment to the commission was significant since it was Eisenhower's first duty with the General Staff. Moreover, he was working under the supervision of General Pershing, America's greatest living war hero. Completing his task in exemplary fashion, Eisenhower received superior ratings from his chiefs, including a laudatory endorsement from Pershing, who cited his exercise of "unusual intelligence and constant devotion to duty."

Conner, now Commandant of the Army War College, crossed paths with Eisenhower again during the first six months of 1928 when Ike was assigned to the War College as a student. The War College course represented the culmination of the Army's institutionalized professional education. The young major not only met the academic challenge, but received accolades for "superior performance and proficiency in theoretical training for high command on the War Department General Staff." Graduation from the War College presented greater opportunities for senior staff work.

Thereupon, Eisenhower toured France with Mamie to update the guidebook for the Battle Monuments Commission. This assignment allowed him to examine the battlefields about which he had written. On a negative note, his immediate superior, Major X. H. Price, secretary of the commission, reported that Eisenhower "had difficulty adjusting to changed conditions in France and that family worries sometime affected his proficiency." Price did not, however, document any specific details concerning Ike's alleged family
problems during the Paris assignment. Price was one of the few senior officers whom Eisenhower did not hold in deep affection. Ike later recorded in his diary that “the year in Paris was very interesting in spite of the old-maidish attitude of my immediate superior. I was not so successful as I should have been in concealing my impatience with some of his impossible ideas and methods.”

When Eisenhower returned to Washington in November 1929, he began a decade of service at the senior echelons of the Army. It was to be a decade in which he demonstrated his superb executive skills and attracted the attention of the military and civilian leaders who were to affect his career greatly on the eve of World War II. This was also the decade in which his efficiency reports clearly indicated he had begun to establish a deep reservoir of respect within the inner circle of the General Staff.

Eisenhower began his tour in the nation’s capital by serving as the military assistant to Assistant Secretary of War Frederick H. Payne. One of his first assignments was to study the problem of converting peacetime mobilization to wartime schedules. Ike soon attracted the attention of some of the country’s leading industrialists, including Bernard Baruch, who later superintended the nation’s industrialization during the war, Walter Giff of AT&T, and Daniel Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Secretary Payne was extremely pleased with Eisenhower’s performance and was instrumental in his selection to attend the Industrial War College in 1931.

Ike’s efficiency ratings during the time he served as Payne’s military assistant were uniformly superior. The reports included such laudatory remarks as: “the best type of Regular Army officer;” “he will go far in the army;” “possess[es] the qualities of an ideal soldier.” So impressed was Secretary Payne by his subordinate’s performance that Eisenhower became his first choice for the Deputy Chief of Staff position. Only the fact that Eisenhower was a major and could not be jumped to a grade appropriate to the position prevented Eisenhower from having the job.

Prior to departing the War Department on 4 March 1933, Payne wrote a letter to Major General James F. McKinley, Adjutant General of the Army, commending Eisenhower for the record. The letter read in part:

Major Eisenhower has been of great personal help to me. . . . He excels, he has a remarkable power of expression, a rare balance of judgment, and a special aptitude for quickly picking out the critical points in any subject assigned him for study. . . . I have the utmost confidence in his ability and in the soundness of his judgment.

Major General George Moseley, the incumbent Deputy Chief of Staff, fully concurred with Payne’s assessment. As Eisenhower’s immediate superior, Moseley cogently summarized the secret of Eisenhower’s success:
You possess one of those exceptional minds which enables you to assemble and to analyze a set of facts, always drawing sound conclusions and, equally important, you have the ability to express those conclusions in clear and convincing form. Many officers can take the first two steps of a problem, but few have your ability of expression. ... My earnest hope is that you will guard your strength and talents carefully and that ... your government may use your talents in positions of great responsibility.20

Moseley’s words were more prophetic than he could have realized.

Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army at this time, also recognized Eisenhower’s professional competence. According to MacArthur, Eisenhower had “no superior in his grade.”21 For his last year as “assistant to the assistant,” as Eisenhower called his job, he worked directly for MacArthur. Although the MacArthur-Eisenhower relationship deteriorated in later years, there was no evidence of that now. Eisenhower admired MacArthur’s intellectual ability, but thought his chief egomaniacal and idiosyncratic. Still, Eisenhower was a major, working directly for the Army’s senior officer. Despite MacArthur’s odd hours, Eisenhower was his indispensable right arm. His ratings from 20 February 1933, when he joined MacArthur’s entourage, until the Chief relinquished the position on 1 October 1935, were always superior.

By the time MacArthur left his position as Chief of Staff, Eisenhower’s reputation was so firmly established that MacArthur frequently received personal requests for Eisenhower’s services from the heads of many of the Army’s principal agencies and bureaus.22 Moreover, his civilian superiors in the War Department had also clearly identified Eisenhower as a rising star whose career should be carefully nurtured, even though he had not yet reached 20 years of service.

In late 1935, Manuel Quezon, newly elected President of the Philippines, requested MacArthur to serve as his military advisor. MacArthur readily agreed, although acceptance eventually required his retirement from the Army. MacArthur believed Eisenhower was so indispensable that he insisted he accompany him to Manila. It was probably not the best career move because Eisenhower had been away from troops since 1924. What Eisenhower needed and wanted was command, but his sense of obligation prevailed.

Eisenhower remained at MacArthur’s side in the Philippines until 1939. It was not a happy time for the 45-year-old lieutenant colonel. True, he gained valuable experience in civil-military relations, but the untimely death of his classmate and closest friend, Jimmy Ord, in January 1938 and a rift with MacArthur at about the same time darkened his spirits considerably. Ike’s relationship with MacArthur had steadily deteriorated as the decade of the 1930s drew to a close. At the beginning of 1938, MacArthur conceived the idea that Filipino morale would be enhanced if the people of Manila could actually view the troops of the newly emerging national army. Although the
cost of assembling such a formation was enormous, Eisenhower began to work out the details at MacArthur’s direction. Soon President Quezon learned of the preparations and asked Ike what was happening. Eisenhower assumed MacArthur had Quezon’s authorization for the endeavor and was incredulous when he learned that such was not the case. He suggested that Quezon do nothing until Eisenhower had a chance to discuss the episode with MacArthur.

When Eisenhower returned to headquarters, MacArthur, who had received a call from Quezon, was furious. MacArthur then claimed to his staff that he had not wanted them to proceed beyond the planning stage. Flabbergasted, Eisenhower demurred in strong terms: “General, all you’re saying is that I’m a liar, and I am not a liar. I’d like to go back to the United States right away.” MacArthur attempted to placate his irate subordinate, but the damage was done. The relationship between MacArthur and Eisenhower was never cordial after this incident. In spite of this and other disagreements, Eisenhower continued to earn commendations for his superlative performance. In his last efficiency report, MacArthur recommended that Eisenhower receive immediate promotion to general officer rank in the event of war.

The next year, Eisenhower finally secured an assignment to the States. Although MacArthur and Quezon repeatedly asked him to remain in the Philippines, his decision was irrevocable. Europe was at war, and Ike had no intention of fighting another war from behind a desk.

Although he did not realize it at the time, Eisenhower’s break with MacArthur would have a significantly beneficial effect on his career. As was the case with his long association with Fox Conner and his distinguished graduation standing from Command and General Staff School, the end of the MacArthur phase opened exciting new vistas for the aspiring leader. In 1935, Eisenhower had removed himself from the power base of the Army by accepting MacArthur’s request for his services. Former Chief of Staff or not, MacArthur was not in the political and military mainstream of America. Roosevelt still considered him one of the most dangerous men in the country. Moreover, Malin Craig was now the Chief of Staff and he was not a MacArthur supporter. Nor was George Marshall, Craig’s principal deputy. Severing his link with MacArthur facilitated Eisenhower’s reentry into the powerful military circles that were currently controlled by Marshall’s supporters.

Upon his return to the United States, Eisenhower received a long-sought troop assignment. He became the regimental executive officer of the 15th Infantry located at Fort Lewis, Washington, and commander of its First Battalion. The regiment had an excellent reputation and the First Battalion was known as the regiment’s best. Eisenhower was a stern taskmaster, particularly with regard to his junior officers, but he was extremely popular with his soldiers. Commanding a battalion, even in the peacetime Army, was an
exhilarating experience. From Eisenhower’s perspective, however, it was entirely too fleeting.

On 30 November 1940, he became Chief of Staff, 3d Infantry Division at Lewis. This assignment, too, was temporary. Less than four months later, still at Lewis, he assumed the duties of Chief of Staff, IX Army Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Kenyon Joyce. Promotion to full colonel, a milestone in Eisenhower’s career and the promotion of which he was most proud, accompanied the new assignment. 26

The year 1941 marked the beginning of the truly meteoric phase of Eisenhower’s career. He served as Joyce’s Chief of Staff scarcely long enough to receive an efficiency report. In June, he received orders to report to San Antonio for duty as Lieutenant General Walter Krueger’s Chief of Staff. Krueger, commanding Third Army, had personally recruited Eisenhower because of Ike’s reputation as a brilliant staff officer and organizer. Moreover, Krueger submitted his request for Eisenhower’s service directly to Marshall, who was now the Army’s Chief of Staff, having enjoyed something of a meteoric rise himself.

In describing the qualities he desired in a chief of staff, Krueger wanted “a man possessing broad vision, progressive ideas, a thorough grasp of the magnitude of the problems involved in handling an army, and lots of initiative and resourcefulness.” 27 Marshall asked Krueger if such an officer existed. The Third Army commanding general immediately named Eisenhower.

The culmination of Eisenhower’s service with Third Army was doubtless the oft-noted Texas-Louisiana maneuvers of September 1941. Involving 19 divisions, the maneuvers were the largest in the peacetime Army’s history. Krueger’s Third Army opposed Lieutenant General Ben Lear’s Second Army. Although there were no official winners or losers, the military hierarchy viewed the war games as the proving ground for aspiring commanders. In addition, hundreds of newspaper reporters converged on Louisiana to cover the biggest spectacle in the country.

To Eisenhower’s professed astonishment, his tent turned into something of a cracker-barrel corner where reporters and officers frequently stopped for a respite or a discussion of the ebb and flow of the action. Robert Sherrod, one of the military reporters who spent a great deal of time covering the maneuvers, recalled later that he heard the brightest fellow in the games was a colonel named Eisenhower. 28 Drew Pearson, a syndicated columnist, came to the same conclusion. 29 Indeed, it was Eisenhower who conceived the strategy that twice routed Lear’s Army. 30

In the middle of the maneuvers, Krueger and his staff were the guests of Louisiana’s governor, Samuel H. Jones. During the course of the dinner, Krueger turned to Jones and confided that Eisenhower possessed one of the “brightest minds in the American Army.” According to Krueger, Eisenhower

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was "going places." Not only did Eisenhower receive a promotion to brigadier general as a result of the exercises, but Krueger recommended him for divisional command and cited him as the second best general officer of his grade in a field of 170 brigadier generals. Ike's star was clearly in the ascendancy and Pearl Harbor was still three months distant.

Although Eisenhower professed that the War Department must be distributing stars with considerable abandon if he had received a brigadier's promotion, he knew he had performed well. Within two years of his returning to the United States from the Philippines, a number of senior officers, including Joyce, Krueger, and Marshall, had clearly come to recognize his superior potential. Even before departing Louisiana at the conclusion of the maneuvers, Marshall had asked Krueger whom he would recommend to head the War Plans Division of the General Staff. Unequivocally, Krueger named Eisenhower although the Third Army commander was loath to lose his Chief of Staff. Consequently, Eisenhower could not have been too surprised when early on the morning of 12 December 1941 he received a call from Walter Bedell Smith, Secretary of the General Staff, telling him that Marshall wanted him in Washington right away. He immediately packed a bag and departed San Antonio for his rendezvous with destiny.

Was Eisenhower, as Samuel Huntington suggested, an unknown lieutenant colonel at the outset of the war? Hardly. The available evidence emphatically says no. Here was an officer who had commanded in excess of 10,000 men within three years of his graduation from West Point. He was promoted early to lieutenant colonel. He earned the Distinguished Service Medal for conspicuous service in a stateside environment. He graduated first in his class at the Command and General Staff School. From 1926 to 1941, he earned superior ratings and commendations from Pershing, MacArthur, and Krueger, as well as from the senior civilian executives in the War Department. Ike was not unknown.

While the Texas-Louisiana maneuvers of 1941 introduced Eisenhower to the national press, the exercises only confirmed what the senior military echelons had known a decade earlier. Few if any officers of Eisenhower's generation matched his versatile record of unsurpassed skill in administration, management, command, staff work, and communications. And what is perhaps more important, this record was known to the people who mattered before the United States entered World War II.

NOTES


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9. For a complete analysis of the Inspector General investigation, see Miller, Ike the Soldier, pp. 196-203.
11. Miller, Ike the Soldier, p. 205.
15. Ibid. See efficiency report dated 9 August 1930.
16. Diary quoted in Miller, Ike the Soldier, p. 246.
18. Ibid. See efficiency report dated 20 December 1930.
22. Ibid. See letter, MacArthur to Eisenhower, dated 30 September 1935.
30. Ibid.
31. Miller, Ike the Soldier, p. 325.
32. Pogue, Ordeal & Hope, p. 163.
33. See efficiency report covering the period 1 July to 19 December 1941 in Efficiency Reports File (1941), DDE Personal Records, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, RG 407.
34. See letter, Eisenhower to Gerow, as quoted in Miller, Ike the Soldier, p. 329.