



Shared Experience

Organizational Culture and Ethos at the
U.S. Marine Corps Basic School, 1924–1941

Jennifer L. Mazzara

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To the lieutenants.

Every Marine officer without exception, whether he's air or ground or sea, is trained as an infantry platoon leader. It's one of the unique things about the U.S. Marine Corps, it's a tie that binds all Marines together. Because every Marine, whether he's flying an airplane or shooting a cannon, understands that 18 year old infantryman that's carrying a rifle and occupying the enemy ground that has to be taken and held to win.

~Leonard Fielding Chapman Jr., "Recollections Interview" for *The Middle Tennessee Voices of Their Time* television show

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Foreword

The shelves in academic libraries groan under the weight of books about the great deeds performed by war colleges, the curious evolution of staff colleges, and the many metamorphoses of military academies. When, however, I go looking for information about the one school attended by all but a handful of the commissioned officers to serve in the U.S. Marine Corps of the past century, the existing body of literature has had little to offer. Readers can therefore imagine my delight on the day when I learned that an extraordinarily capable young historian had decided to write a history of The Basic School during the interwar period.

Jennifer Mazzara is extraordinarily well-suited for this task. The daughter of an officer of the U.S. Navy who married into a family of Marines, she understands the language, heritage, and culture of America's most curious military institution. Having served as a teaching fellow of the Case Method Project of the Marine Corps University, Dr. Mazzara knows a great deal about professional military education. Better yet, she possesses the rare ability to make sense of what, to other eyes, might appear as nothing more than an arbitrary assembly of autonomous facts and figures.

Throughout the decade or so of our acquaintance, I have learned much from Dr. Mazzara. The decision-forcing cases I teach and the articles I write are better in part because of the advice she has been kind enough to offer, but chiefly because of her example. I am therefore confident that the readers who engage with *Shared Experience* will not only enjoy the experience, but also will benefit greatly from time spent in the company of Marines of

the past—a past that was, in terms of the life of a great institution, not that long ago.

Bruce I. Gudmundsson, DPhil
Major, USMCR (Ret)

Acknowledgments

I spent three years supporting The Basic School (TBS), watching the traditions continue and new generations of students become what their predecessors had become so long ago—officers of Marines. The staff were consistently helpful and accommodating. The students I worked with confirmed my sense that this project about TBS’s history was worth undertaking. Special thanks are owed to Frances DePree, Gina Cai, Marina Hierl, Dylan Rine, Christian Heller, Mackenzie Gage, Andrew McClinton, Jen Noreña, and Pram.

At the Marine Corps History Division, then-director Dr. Charles Neimeyer and historian Annette D. Amerman had advice, anecdotes, files, and shortcuts that pointed me in the right direction very early in this project—long before I knew what was what. The head of History Division’s Archives at the time, Dr. Jim Ginter, and the Archives staff have my infinite thanks, as well. They retrieved many a personnel file and copied many a photo for me. At the History Division’s Oral Histories Branch, then-branch head Dr. Fred Allison found treasures I asked for, plus several I missed, and he helped give the TBS instructors of the interwar era a voice.

In Louisville, Kentucky, at the Filson Historical Society, Jana Meyer set me on the path to meeting General Van Stockum, the only still-living TBS student from the time discussed herein, and helped me view his personal papers when I visited their archive. Jennifer and Cassie made the copies and mailed the packages. (Also in Louisville, Dr. Neimeyer drove me and my eldest son out into the snowy Kentucky countryside to meet the general in person—an experience not to be forgotten.)

On my trip to Columbus, Georgia, Genoa Stanford, Sherri Floyd, and Charlene Carter helped me sift through the School of Infantry's remaining records at Fort Benning's Donovan Research Library. At the Naval War College in Rhode Island, Elizabeth Delmage guided me through their collection of student papers, bringing Dion Williams and John Russell into focus for me as pioneers of amphibious landing techniques. From Norwich University in Vermont, Gail Wiese shared scans of Joseph O'Donnell's personal papers. From Widener University in Pennsylvania, Jill Borin shared documents about Gene M. Schraeder. From the University of Maine, Desiree Butterfield scanned and sent pages from General Totman's manuscript.

From the enormous community of amateur military historians and collectors, many offered advice and tips. "Brig" generously shared scans of photographs from his personal collection of League Island Marines' personal effects. Geoff Roecker of the Missing Marines website generously answered questions and put me in touch with Ms. Noel Oliff, niece of a League Island student. She welcomed me to her home and shared family photos, scrapbooks, and other mementos of her uncle's service.

On the staff at Marine Corps University Press, Angela Anderson exercised great patience as I navigated the paperwork to get started. Then project editor Stephani Miller exercised great patience as I navigated . . . everything else. Thank you for your insight and expertise.

Dr. Bruce Gudmundsson deserves much credit (but no blame) for the existence of this book and my underlying interest in professional military education. Covering all the educational bases himself, he has graduated from Parris Island, Quantico, The Basic School, Yale, and Oxford. His encouragement, mentorship, and good advice at all stages of this project were unflagging.

Thanks to my parents for the gift of patriotism and for my education. Thanks to my children for enduring all the writing, editing,

traveling, and library time. Thanks to both groups for accompanying me on many trips into the boonies looking for obscure records or visiting the graves of Marines now at rest.

And finally, thank you to my wonderful husband and very own Marine. Authors always put the person last who is most important. Thank you, Joseph, for bringing me into the Marine Corps family, for living its virtues, and for imbuing our life with its stories.

Preface

Methodology: Primary Sources and Collections

Most of the sources available about The Basic School (TBS) are related to the personal careers of Marine officers, and some come from official records. All of the primary source records used for this study have shortcomings, however. For example, Anthony Frances's unpublished "History of the Marine Corps Schools" is a chronological record and often presumes that class schedules from one year carried into the next, but the limited records that do exist actually disprove that presumption. So rather than extrapolate multiple years' worth of programs of instruction from incomplete records, this work presents only the solid evidence available.

The first source consulted was the Muster Rolls of the U.S. Marine Corps, 1893–1940. The original physical muster rolls no longer exist, so all modern research is done in reference to a series of microfilm records held by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC. The rolls have been digitized and can be searched from a number of third-party research databases. They are organized in sheets by date and location; each roll contains the complete personnel listing for a single Marine Corps unit for a single month. In some cases the original record was damaged before being transferred to microfilm. For example, the records for the School of Application while it was located in Annapolis, Maryland, during the 1900s are virtually indecipherable. In other cases, errors of spelling (common) or complete

omission of individuals (at least one instance) caused problems with creating a complete record. I created a spreadsheet of 1,182 Marine officers for this project using data from the muster rolls. That group of officers, all assigned as students at TBS between 1924 and 1941, form the core of the research.

Using the listing of names, additional primary sources were consulted in order to verify, substantiate, and correct information gathered on the muster rolls. First, I turned to the personal papers collections of the Marine Corps History Division's archives, housed at Marine Corps Base Quantico, Virginia. Personal papers are original documents, including official records, which were donated to the History Division archives by the servicemember or their family. The personal papers of 164 officers on the spreadsheet are held in the History Division archive, and of those 164 collections, fewer than two dozen contain any documents related to TBS.¹ The relevant documents found included transcripts, graduation certificates, partial copies of assignments or exams, official orders to or from TBS, and a few photographs. Perhaps by coincidence, the most helpful collections belonged to officers who had been both students and instructors at TBS during the interwar period. It was very surprising to find that the personal collections of notables such as Victor H. Krulak and Robert D. Heinl contained no documents pertaining to TBS.

History Division maintains personnel files on 886 Marines, each containing a variety of photocopies of documents such as speeches, newspaper clippings, awards and citations, official orders, official biographies, special event programs, and correspondence. For this project, I examined the personnel files of TBS instructors in detail to confirm assignment dates, rank at retirement, and supplementary biographical information that helped

¹ Most collections contain photographs, official biographies, newspaper clippings of obituaries, world war records, copies of awards and medals, and correspondence from late-career assignments at the regimental level and above.

to corroborate or correct the muster rolls. Thirteen officers who served as instructors at TBS between the world wars also recorded oral histories that are held by History Division. References made to TBS in these oral histories were included in my research. The oral histories contained the best material for showing what Marines thought about TBS and how they felt about being assigned there as a student or instructor. However, oral history subjects were prone to minor errors of memory in recounting events that occurred years or even decades earlier. So, while the oral histories often set me on the path of finding a new fact, in the end, the content included from them were primarily anecdotes and personal opinions, rather than hard data.

The muster rolls and three History Division collections established the identities of the officers who attended or taught at TBS between the wars, and together create reasonable certainty that no individuals have been overlooked in creating a database for recording demographics, career statistics, combat assignments, awards and citations, and military specialties.

In order to populate the database with further information, I used additional sources. For the TBS students who were also graduates of the Naval Academy, copies of the *Lucky Bag* (annual yearbook) and an online listing of deceased midshipmen called the Memorial Hall provided information about college years, extracurricular activities, and places of origin.² For all students, copies of the *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and United States Marine Corps* for the years 1935–75 provided commissioning dates, duty station listings, retirement dates, and retirement rank for all students except a select few who died or left the Corps soon after commissioning. For those students whose full biographical information was not

² A physical Memorial Hall displaying a series of commemorative plaques exists on the property at the Naval Academy as well.

available in any of the above collections, the U.S. Social Security Administration Death Index, Department of Veterans Affairs Beneficiary Identification Records Locator Subsystem (BIRLS) files, newspaper obituaries, and cemetery records were variously employed to determine dates of death and terminal ranks. For the first two sources, Ancestry.com has a digitized collection available. For cemetery records, national cemeteries (maintained by the U.S. government) have searchable grave indices. Others I searched for using Google and similar search engines, visiting in person any location within reasonable travel distance.

Establishing the names, career information, and biographical details for the full list of TBS students and staff created reasonable certainty that, once information related to each name had been exhaustively searched within each database, no further information on the topic would come to light. It was a name search that led to the discovery of the Brigadier General Ronald R. Van Stoc-kum collection held by the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky, for example. Likewise, the personal memoirs of various TBS students who wrote books after retirement were discovered by searching for their names online. Once a complete search for individual records was complete, I considered a smaller collection of official records and primary sources.

First, the Marine Corps History Division holds two collections of documents that relate to the Marine Corps Schools. TBS has its own collection of more than 250 boxes, the vast majority of which pertain to student records and programs of instruction from 1960 to the present. One box contains original records for the League Island Navy Yard period. In addition to the League Island TBS records kept in the collection of History Division, official collections for the Marine Corps Schools (MCS) were considered, as well as the personal papers of a select group of Marines who had an impact on professional military education (PME) in the Marine Corps during the early twentieth century but who did not attend

or teach at TBS during the interwar period. The thoroughness of MCS records (including ones for TBS) improves dramatically after 1950. The change coincides with the final relocation of all schools to Marine Corps Base Quantico and the establishment of the History and Museums Division as a permanent fixture at Marine Corps Headquarters. The lack of a fixed location helps explain the extreme paucity of records for the years 1891–1924, when the school frequently was closed and moved.

Second, NARA maintains a small collection of papers relevant to the office of the Commandant of the Marine Corps. For the interwar period, records at NARA are confined to Record Group 127 with correspondence between the Commandant and his staff, the Commandant and outside parties, and some staff correspondence with outside parties. The items relevant to TBS included copies of TBS commanders' reports to the Commandant, intra-staff discussions at Headquarters about the program of instruction at TBS, and a limited number of daily schedules from TBS for the 1924–26 time period. A search of the Marine Corps collection at NARA under subject headings for *education*, *training*, *facilities-Philadelphia*, and *schools* did not result in additional items relevant to TBS. Pressures of limited space explain the small size of the Marine Corps collection at NARA.³

Third, the archives collection of the Donovan Research Library at Fort Benning, Georgia, provided insight into the education received by TBS instructors who attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning between 1920 and 1935. The Donovan Library maintains indices for curricula taught at the Infantry School, as well as a card catalog of student papers, beginning in 1930. The indices were analyzed for similarities to the program of instruction at TBS, since Marine officers who served at League Island as instructors (and

³ Anecdotally, when asking NARA archivists about Marine Corps records, the invariable first response was, "Have you looked at Quantico?" The History Division archivists always asked, "What did you find at NARA?"

wrote the teaching notes and exams for their courses) brought educational concepts with them from the Army school. The card catalog yielded results for only two of the 83 instructors covered by this study, meaning the vast majority did not write a capstone or thesis research paper while at Fort Benning. Put another way, that proves the vast majority were enrolled in the Company Officers Course. Unfortunately, it also meant that no individual-specific records were available. The Army did not maintain any comprehensive record sets, such as lists of students organized by class year, and none of their existing collections at Fort Benning are digitized. Significant research potential exists at Fort Benning, where little to no work has been done to analyze the junior officer education courses or to survey the demographic makeup of the schools' students and staff prior to World War II.

In the end, I returned to the spreadsheet of 1,182 Marines. What had been my starting point and only source of information—the names of the students themselves—turned into the superstructure on which this story of TBS was built. Their dates of birth, home states, colleges and universities, career arcs, and personal accounts are the story. Verification and deconfliction from official sources was a necessary step, but the overall lack of records meant those locations bore limited fruit. I have become convinced by my experience here that histories of organizations cannot be thought of coherently unless they are understood as the sum of individuals' experiences. Those 1,100-plus Marines rub digital elbows in my database file, but their shared experience at League Island is what revealed the form and function of the school itself—and created the title of this book.

Shared Experience

Introduction

At five minutes until 1000 on a Wednesday morning, the passageways of Heywood Hall are silent. The somber faces of past commanders, Medal of Honor recipients, and other notable Marines hung on the concrete walls regard one another impassively. Somewhere near the quarterdeck, a portrait of Major General Charles Heywood, ninth Commandant of the Marine Corps, occupies a wall; Heywood Hall is the only building on the campus not named after a lieutenant of Marines. At 1000 exactly, 250 second lieutenants pile out of classroom one, headed north toward the barracks buildings. They have managed to stay awake for all 90 minutes of “Marine Corps Air Ground Task Force Operations II.” At the same time, 250 more second lieutenants leave classroom three’s map problem on patrolling and head south, dispersing toward small group discussion rooms and the mess hall. Caught in the middle, a group of visiting members of the Class of 1969 recall how they, too, once sat in classrooms in this same corner of Camp Barrett. They sagely observe how much has changed and yet stayed the same. At 1010, the halls are silent again. This is The Basic School, a unique institution among military schools and one that holds a central place in the U.S. Marine Corps’ system of training and education.

Every year, the Marine Corps educates about 1,000 newly commissioned second lieutenants at its Basic Officers Course. Each class of 200–250 students, organized as a company with a major in command, completes a six-month course, at the end of which each participant is considered qualified to serve in the Fleet Marine Force (FMF) as a rifle platoon commander. The Basic School

(TBS) is unique among the military schools operated by the U.S. armed forces. It is the only post-commissioning school categorically required for all officers of any Service to attend before joining an operational unit. There are no substitutions for TBS. The Marine Corps does not differentiate among the various sources of commissions for officers: U.S. Naval Academy graduates, four-year Naval Reserve Officer Training Course (NROTC) graduates, and other university graduates who attend a 10-week Officer Candidates School are all mixed together at TBS, and no group receives individual or specialized treatment.

The uniqueness of TBS comes from two primary features: its structure, and what it proposes to provide to its graduates. It is the only basic-level post-commissioning school in the United States that imparts a generalist education rather than one directed at a particular military operational specialty (MOS) or a community of experts. Lawyers, pilots, comptrollers, and infantry officers all attend the same course. To date, no academic study of what they actually do or teach has been completed. Without that groundwork, it would be difficult or impossible to analyze the second primary feature. There is today a strongly held belief among Marine officers that the school contributes something fundamental to the identity of a Marine officer and thus to the Corps itself, and that without TBS, unity of purpose among Marine officers might cease to exist. The author suggests that the commonality among officers created by attending TBS is equivalent to the bond enlisted Marines share having passed through the recruit depots at Parris Island, South Carolina, or San Diego, California. Colonel George M. Van Sant, a graduate of Parris Island in 1945 and TBS in 1951, gave the two institutions equal billing in his memoir: “The lessons of Parris Island and Basic School [were] deeply emblazoned on

my soul.”¹ By beginning with a study of the “what” of TBS, scholarship can be developed that digs into the questions of “how,” “why,” and “to what end?”

Is TBS really so central to the identity of Marine officers that their ethos would fade away without it? Why do other Services not seem to need a similar school to accomplish unity of purpose among their officers? Unfortunately, the history of TBS spans more than 120 years and a detailed history of the entire span risks becoming either overlong or too cursory. Rather than give superficial treatment to the entire history of the school, this work undertakes a study of one pivotal moment in Marine Corps organizational development and examines TBS specifically as it existed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, between the world wars. This work seeks to answer the question: What was the nature of the curriculum and conduct of the Marine Corps’ Basic Officer Course during the interwar era? By showing how TBS was conducted during the interwar period, we can shed light on the backgrounds and experiences of the officers who were most responsible for carrying out the Pacific campaigns of World War II. The TBS students discussed in this work are the mid-grade officers described by General Alexander A. Vandegrift on Guadalcanal as “the men on whom so much depended.”²

“The best teacher of war is war,” wrote Martin van Creveld.³ In the modern era, admirals and generals have searched far and wide for a means to circumvent this ancient truth and to discover how to learn war before fighting one—in other words, how to train for an event the terrible realities of which cannot be replicated. To answer this question, the science of professional mili-

¹ George Van Sant, *Taking on the Burden of History: Presuming to Be a United States Marine* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Books, 2008), 198.

² Alexander A. Vandegrift and Robert Asprey, *Once a Marine: The Memoirs of General A. A. Vandegrift* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966), 131.

³ Martin van Creveld, *More on War* (London: Oxford University Press, 2017).

tary education (PME) has developed. We now understand PME to mean some combination of classroom exercises, field exercises, reading assignments, expert lectures, and mentor-mentee interaction with individuals who have experienced war firsthand. If a PME program succeeds, the students are better prepared to fight a war than is their enemy. Guaranteeing that students can defeat the enemy when the enemy's program of training and education is unknown creates a burden on instructors to somehow cover an infinite number of potential combat lessons in a finite amount of time. That is the central problem in any military school.

Since the publication of Carl von Clausewitz's *On War*, most modern militaries have attempted to (or claim to have attempted to) teach principles of combat in lieu of preprogrammed technical behaviors. They strive to cultivate philosophical and logical mental models in their officers; *coup d'oeil* is the gold standard of battlefield prowess.⁴ Depending on the year and the location, attempts to turn combat leaders into military geniuses began earlier or later in the officers' careers. In the Marine Corps, principles of leadership, "strategic intuition," creative decision-making, and innovation are taught from the very beginning. In this way, TBS forms a foundational component of the PME program for officers. As a parallel example, enlisted Marines are taught teamwork, small unit leadership, and creativity beginning at boot camp, not later at specialty schools.⁵ TBS establishes an institutional vocabulary, shared knowledge of basic combat principles, a baseline expertise, and a common experience for all Marine officers. There is a confidence among TBS graduates that their experience there is a replication of a proven, consistent educational model, and that

⁴William Duggan, *Coup D'Oeil: Strategic Intuition in Army Planning* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute, 2005). *Coup d'oeil* is a French term literally meaning "sweep of the eye." It refers to a good commander's ability to observe the entire space and assess what action should be taken in a single calculating gaze.

⁵Dan Carrison and Rod Walsh, *Semper Fi: Business Leadership the Marine Corps Way* (New York: Harper Collins, 1998), 59.

as graduates they share an identical knowledge base with every other Marine officer. TBS creates a bond of culture, identity, camaraderie, community, tradition, and most importantly trust. In 2004, the commanding officer of TBS, then-colonel John R. Allen, wrote, “Today, our Corps is defined by [this bond] and America depends on it.”⁶

This bond may in fact be identical with the ethos scholars attempt to locate and analyze. What makes ethos exist changes from generation to generation, and what makes a given military organization different from its peers and near-peers shifts over time. In the United States in particular, the overriding influence of an ideological civilian government prevents military Services from behaving in an entirely self-determining manner. However, in spite of all those barriers to building a consistent organizational culture, the Marine Corps undeniably has a very strong one. As mentioned before, Marine officers feel that TBS is central to their identity despite its short length and relatively limited scope of content. It is, after all, only a “basic” course. In order to make up for what the rational outsider sees as a lack of justification for idolizing TBS, a number of myths have grown up around the school over the years. Their very existence says something about why the school matters so much to Marines. For example, many Marine officers believe that every one of their number has endured the trial known as TBS, from themselves all the way back to some vague point in the past, maybe as far as Pressley N. O’Bannon, whose exploits in Tripoli are referenced in “The Marines’ Hymn.” This belief is incorrect. In fact, there were times in the school’s past when an officer could be excused from attending TBS or when a correspondence-based equivalent was acceptable. Moreover, the school only came into existence in 1891, precluding attendance for the

⁶J. R. Allen, Foreword in “Official History: The Basic School,” coll. 3706, box 1, folder 10, Historical Resources Branch, Marine Corps History Division (MCHD), Quantico, VA.

many Marine officers who served between the Corps' 1st and 114th birthdays. Myths notwithstanding, Marines correctly understand that TBS is a critical element of their PME system; they simply are uneducated as to how TBS has perpetuated elements of the Marine Corps ethos over the years and have no scholarly account of the details of its history.

There is no single comprehensive history of PME in the U.S. military, much less one for the Marine Corps in particular. Omnibus volumes considering battle histories are plentiful, as are biographies of luminaries like John Basilone and Dan Daly. Introspective studies on administration, organizational culture, and even technical training did not appear until the Cold War era. As a result, the formative early twentieth-century years must be pieced together from scant sources and at the same time laboriously separated from the hagiography that sprouted up in the absence of serious histories. This study primarily examines two things: the composition of the curriculum at TBS between the world wars and the experience and qualifications of the instructors assigned to TBS between the world wars. The primary sources available answer these two questions satisfactorily, and the data could serve as a springboard to future research into the role of TBS within the Marine Corps over its institutional lifetime.

U.S. Marines: Historical Context

Marines take great pride in their familiarity with their own past. Casual conversational references to long-dead Marines are everyday fare among Marines today, and their scripted traditions (such as a Birthday Ball or Mess Night) work to maintain those connections. The available literature for students of Marine Corps history reflects this fact: the shelves are heavy on the biographies and battle accounts but light on the analyses and data sets. However, the myths' longevity speaks to there being some underlying truth. Else, how would the legends live so long? In the context of edu-

cation and TBS, there are a few particular facts about the Marine Corps and Marine Corps Schools that help frame, if not completely explain, why the legends persist unchanged. Factors of size, mission, origin, legal structure, organizational culture, and geography all contribute to the Corps' ability to possess, disseminate, oversee, and manage its corporate heritage.

Prior to the American Civil War, the Marine Corps was a small, tightly integrated force on board ships of the U.S. Navy or serving as guards at Navy Yards. The senior officer of the Marine Corps prior to 1820 was a major or lieutenant colonel. Between 1820 and 1860, Archibald Henderson alone ruled the Corps, retiring as a brevet brigadier general more by virtue of his extremely long service than because of any fundamental structural change to the Marine Corps. The Corps was a small Service with a unique and limited mission. Occasional overseas duty in Korea, South America, the Philippines, China, and the Mediterranean during those decades provided many high-adventure heroes. It did not create a large Marine Corps nor give rise to a radical new mission. Neither did the Civil War itself transform the Marines: the Corps never grew significantly (despite congressional authorizations to do so) and after the war it returned to the ship-and-yard guard duties that had previously occupied it. Sailing to far-off destinations to protect American lives and property also continued as before.

The civilian governments of 1865–85 made very little political use of the Navy and it fell into disrepair. The Marine Corps continued to keep to its old mission and shared in the Navy's state of neglect, while the other Service armed with rifles (the Army) was growing by leaps and bounds and drawing all kinds of new tasks under its tent. The westward growth of the country gave rise to a pressing need for Army schools, development, and recruitment above any other national defense priority. American newspapers were full of the so-called Indian Wars and the rush of industrialization, not foreign policy or maritime strategy. In particular, sala-

cious tales of massacres and murders proved extremely palatable to the reading public.⁷ The U.S. Naval Institute and its journal, *Proceedings*, were founded in order to draw attention to, and attempt to remedy at the ideological level, the plight of the neglected sea Services. It would be unfair to characterize the officers of the late nineteenth-century Navy and Marine Corps as desperate, but they were certainly correct to sense that they faced a serious fight.

In particular, the minor crisis of a temporarily unused Navy threatened a permanent end to the Marine Corps. What actually occurred, however, was a renaissance, as the era of small wars truly came into its own and the high-adventure heroics of the occasional trip overseas during the early 1800s turned into the everyday life of the rank-and-file Marine from 1890 until the First World War. Beginning in 1891, officers received education at the basic level and enlisted Marines gradually were shifted to training at centralized recruit depots. Starting in 1910, distance education for Marines of all ranks was introduced. After 1920, a full three-tier officer education system was in place and technical specialists of all ranks were sent to a broad range of schools around the country for further professional education. The Marines had managed, through careful observation of sister Services and through some trial and error, to create a strong corporate culture that was effectively communicated through permanent PME institutions. When existential questions were raised about the Marine Corps' role after World War II, it was clear the leathernecks had spent the previous 50 years well: Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal allegedly remarked that the Marines had guaranteed their existence

⁷ Peter Cozzens, *The Earth Is Weeping: The Epic Story of the Indian Wars for the American West* (New York: Knopf-Doubleday Publishing, 2016), 150.

“for the next 500 years” with their prowess in battle and their creative lobbying on Capitol Hill.⁸

The current operational culture of the Marine Corps (official since 1989) is called *maneuver warfare*. In the theoretical work that defines the Corps’ ideology at length, PME is given a pivotal role.

Military Education is basic to the definition of maneuver warfare and is an integral component of tactics and the operational art. Without military education, tactics and operations become little more than applied checklists. True education removes the need for checklists and “school solutions,” enabling commanders to approach each problem equipped with a large array of possible solutions, placing the problem in a larger context and evolving innovative answers. The common thought process developed in officers through military education binds techniques, tactics and the operational art. As noted earlier, it is also a basis of command and control in maneuver warfare.⁹

The modern maneuverists looked back for inspiration at educational models that preceded the Second World War. After 1941, American military education shifted into a kind of emergency mode in which education, even of officers, was optimized for speed and efficiency but not depth. The reformers of the 1980s wanted to return to a model more like that of the German *Kriegsakademie* (War Academy), where the focus was on active learning, creativity, and placing more responsibility on an officer in training than

⁸ Gen Holland M. Smith related Forrestal’s comment in an account he gave of their conversation at Iwo Jima at the time of the famous flag raising. It has been repeated many times since. Gen Holland M. Smith and Percy Finch, *Coral and Brass* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1949), 38.

⁹ William S. Lind, *Maneuver Warfare Handbook* (New York: Westview Press, 1985), 42.

would be given to him in the operational forces. According to the author of the *Maneuver Warfare Handbook*, the interwar Marine Corps Schools were also such places.¹⁰

Unfortunately, modern Marines claim a connection with the schools of the 1920s and 1930s but know virtually nothing about them. The product of the interwar schools was amphibious warfare doctrine and the officers who executed it, but the process is shrouded in mystery. This study, by shedding light on the content of TBS in the interwar era, helps fill in a gap in the history of professional military education. It is arranged in three parts: first, the introduction and first two chapters set the stage, providing context for the history of PME in the Marine Corps, as well as covering the early years of TBS. Since few records are available for the 1920s and 1930s some extrapolation from 1890 to 1918 helps fill in the gaps. In particular, the explicit discussions of TBS in the annual reports of the Commandant of the Marine Corps provide insight into the Marine Corps' corporate viewpoint on the purpose of the school.

The curriculum at the school has been under continuous development, but from its founding until at least World War II, it was clearly divided into three main areas. These areas align with chapters 3 and 4 of this work (sea service and small wars, and conventional land warfare, respectively). Each chapter examines the missions undertaken by the Marine Corps, in particular the experiences of various TBS instructors in each of the three primary areas of study. Since the curriculum was developed by the instructors themselves, it was heavily influenced by their own careers and combat experiences. Chapters 5 and 6 form the keystone, giving a chronological picture of how TBS functioned during the interwar years (1920s through early 1940s). Records from personal papers collections, memoirs, official histories, the Marine Corps

¹⁰ Lind, *Maneuver Warfare Handbook*, 44.

archives, annual reports of the Commandant, and the holdings of the National Archives were all used extensively for these chapters. Chapter 7 studies the existing examples of TBS curriculum from the interwar era, including items preserved in the Marine Corps archives in Quantico, Virginia, and the complete collection of student papers preserved by Brigadier General Ronald R. Van Stockum, who attended TBS at League Island in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1937–38.

In his 1921 report to the senior leadership of the Marine Corps, the popularly styled Father of Amphibious Warfare Major Earl H. Ellis wrote,

To affect a landing under sea and shore conditions obtaining and in the face of enemy resistance requires careful training and preparation, to say the least; and this along Marine Corps lines. It is not enough that the troop be skilled infantry men or artillery men of high morale: they must be skilled water men and jungle men who know it can be done—Marines with Marine training.¹¹

Ellis was confident that the Marines were training their officers and enlisted troops to do something unique, even unprecedented. Six years later, the Navy’s updated *Landing-Force Manual* presumed a similar level of unique ability on the part of Marines:

Marines will be employed as landing forces whenever the numbers present are adequate. In a mixed force the special training of marine officers and men

¹¹ Earl H. Ellis, “Naval Bases: Location, Resources, Denial of Bases, Security of Advance Base,” as quoted in B. A. Friedman, ed., *21st Century Ellis: Operational Art and Strategic Prophecy for the Modern Era* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2015), 85, in collection 294, box 13, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD.

will be used to the greatest practicable extent to increase the efficacy of the entire force.¹²

When the 1927 *Landing-Force Manual* was released, company and senior level Marine schools had been in operation for six and five years, respectively. Clearly some source of specialization and continuity within the Marine Corps was producing confidence in the competence of Marines to carry out specific missions. That source was TBS.

In the summer of 1941, there were fewer than 1,800 officers on active duty in the Marine Corps.¹³ By 1945, more than 35,000 officers would have been brought into active service via the Marine Corps Reserve, the U.S. Naval Academy, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) commissions, and the draft.¹⁴ Only the former group had received the benefit of a professional school experience through TBS. The remaining Marine officers completed abbreviated training courses at Quantico, some of which were as short as 10 weeks long. The data show not only that a large percentage of senior Marines attended TBS specifically while it was located at League Island but also that those officers progressed at a high rate through the leadership positions of the Marine divisions. Those who served as junior staffers or company commanders at Guadalcanal were chiefs of staff and regimental commanders at Iwo Jima. The prevalence of League Island officers in tables of organization for the Pacific campaign strongly supports presuppositions that the school and its curriculum had a profound effect on the Marine Corps as a whole. It is true that League Island graduates were raised to these positions by default. However, it does not less-

¹² *Landing-Force Manual, United States Navy* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1927), 231.

¹³ *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942).

¹⁴ 1stLt Anthony Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools" (unpublished manuscript, 1945), 106.

en the necessary impact that the TBS education had on the Fleet Marine Force, when all but a handful of its most senior leadership had attended TBS at the same location and within a span of only 16 years.

Literature Review:

The Marines' Compromise between Land and Sea

Before the American Civil War, Marine Corps history was so closely tied to that of the Navy that a unified maritime history tradition was sufficient for both institutions. Since 1875, however, every generation of Marines has produced its own single-volume history of the Marine Corps, distinguishing the Corps' identity from that of the Navy. Accompanying most of these are specialized monographs that consider more narrowly the conduct, composition, missions, or personalities of the Corps and its identity as influenced by its history. In general, these works were written by active duty or former Marines and were not of a strictly scholarly nature prior to World War II. After 1945, professional historians, who also (usually) happened to have served in the Marine Corps, wrote the histories. These latter works contain the bibliographical references and citations expected from a scholarly effort, while the former do not.

However, the unsubstantiated works of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are still useful. They contain personal accounts and often refer to at least a body of sources (if not a specific chapter and verse) that give the researcher an idea of their methodology. These books help establish the array of primary sources that have been available to scholars of Marine Corps history since 1775. They also establish a tradition of laudatory books on the Marine Corps. The early histories set out to demonstrate what made the Marine Corps interesting and exciting. Gradually, more scholarly historical work was done by chroniclers, while the unequivocally flag-waving works continued as a separate genre. Marines today

continue to write elegies and valedictions with varying degrees of scholarly discipline. These works, such as Lieutenant General Victor “Brute” Krulak’s modern *First to Fight*, were written for the express purpose of elevating esprit de corps and relating the legends, customs, and traditions of the institution. While such works are historical in nature, they lack consistent rigor of scholarship. They are not considered in this work, except where any relevant legends related by them can be reconsidered, corrected, or occasionally confirmed by the historical record.

The grand, single-volume histories are expository in nature. They typically follow the highlights of Marine Corps history, which means describing battles and memorializing participants. There are few controversies, and the major points of transition (i.e., amphibious warfare doctrine development in the 1930s) are glossed over in order to return to battle chronologies as quickly as possible. None of these works appear to take a philosophical position about how or why the Marine Corps *should* have developed a certain way. Facts are presented simply and the genre tends to lack commentary or analysis. There are few identifiable themes present in the single-volume histories. There are errors of fact, which unfortunately tend to be repeated in successive single-volume histories, each of which uses the previous work as a source. Insofar as any internal history or scholarship about the Marine Corps exists, the bulk of it is found in these types of books.

To find analytical work relevant to the Marine Corps, one must expand the literature to include studies done on peer institutions. Many of these works are comparative studies and sometimes mention the Marine Corps in passing. It is entirely reasonable to expect comparisons to arise between the Marine Corps and its partner Service, the Navy, as well as with the Army. The Marine Corps, which did not belong wholly in either world, cherry-picked the portions of each larger Service’s doctrine to meet its needs. Primary sources, such as the Commandant’s annual report and

the curricula of the schools themselves, suggest that the Marines observed and imitated the Army and Navy closely. However, since much of the development of Marine Corps education was on an ad hoc basis, a very small amount of archival material is left as evidence. If we infer that ideology was also being imitated as well as practical application, then the letters, memoirs, orders, articles, personal papers, and published works of the individuals who founded and ran the Army and Navy institutions become highly relevant to this study. Those writings by Army and Navy officers form the bulk of the primary sources on PME; they are the sources used in the few analytic works available on the subject of PME in the United States prior to World War II. This is the relevant literature for review.

Published in 1977, Ronald Spector's monograph *Professors of War: The Naval War College and the Development of the Naval Profession* describes an evolutionary institution's beleaguered founding. Spector spends no time on the Marine Corps or on basic-level instruction in the Navy (confined at the time solely to the U.S. Naval Academy). Moreover, his study begins and ends in the late 1800s, more than two decades before the interwar period at TBS, which is the subject of this work. The tangential relationship of his work to our topic revolves around the central philosophical ideas behind the education of military officers, for any reason and at any level of experience. In addition, Spector provides letters and papers from the Naval War College founders that describe funding problems. Similar problems were experienced by the Marine Corps when it founded its schools. Finally, Spector's work considers an institution, the Naval War College, which was familiar to all Marines and which helped shaped the educational background of several senior Marine Corps commanders who influenced TBS.

Spector begins by describing the development of American society and professional educational thought between the Civil War

and the year 1900. Harvard established a business school during that era, and the American College of Medicine was established. The military attempted to do the same. In particular, the Navy wanted a college of war that could train officers in operational and strategic thinking. The increasing technical complexity of maritime equipment (from individual guns all the way up to ships) and the resulting larger personnel structures created new roles for officers. The pioneers of the Naval War College, especially Admiral Stephen B. Luce, felt that on-the-job training was no longer sufficient, and they pressed for an academic institution purpose-built to supply much-needed knowledge.¹⁵ Spector quotes at length from the papers of Alfred Thayer Mahan, Admiral Luce, Emory Upton, Stephen B. Chandler, John G. Walker, and even William T. Sherman. These names read as a who's who of American innovators in military education at the end of the nineteenth century. Their letters, along with the extensive collection of articles written by Luce in the U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings* journal, are the primary source of material for Spector. They show what the founders of the schools were thinking, what they intended to accomplish, and what difficulties they saw going forward. *Proceedings* became a lyceum in which the officers of the Navy could come together, at least intellectually, and work through the existential questions of the day.¹⁶

One key misconception about the war college was that it would function as a "second Naval Academy."¹⁷ It was common, says Spector, for both friends and foes alike to view the Naval War College as a type of post-graduate school that merely continued the work begun by the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Instead, Luce and the

¹⁵ Ronald Spector, *Professors of War: The Naval War College and the Development of the Naval Profession* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1977), 10–11, 14.

¹⁶ J. A. Mudd, "The Reorganization of the Naval Establishment," U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* 35 (1909): 63.

¹⁷ Spector, *Professors of War*, 53.

other founders wanted the war college to be seen as a school of philosophy, strategy, and creativity; the students would not merely memorize history, but build new lessons by studying its patterns.¹⁸ By 1893, the means of exercising creativity was well established and took the form of wargaming. This “applicatory” type of active analysis and engagement with problems would be directly imitated by the Marine Corps Schools. Spector credits the idea to German military education methods, which came into vogue in the United States during this general time period.¹⁹ He does not examine the effectiveness of those methods over time. The second half of Spector’s book deals with the role the Naval War College played as a planning cell and is not relevant to this study.

Alongside Spector’s well-known book, a new work by historian Scott Mobley fills in more of the Navy’s professional education history. *Progressives in Navy Blue: Maritime Strategy, American Empire, and the Transformation of U.S. Naval Identity, 1873–1898* outlines the sweep of modernization that characterized the late 1800s but goes deeper than Spector in analyzing the cultural changes within the Navy that were occasioned by the end of the age of sail. In particular, Mobley challenges the notion that the Navy was slow to react to the professionalism movement. He provides evidence that the U.S. Navy was in fact almost 20 years ahead of peer institutions. The creation of the U.S. Naval Institute, the founding of the Naval War College, and the integration of engineer and line officer communities were all pioneering moves on the Navy’s part.²⁰ According to Spector, the Navy saw the purpose of PME in terms of the conflict between the armed forces

¹⁸ Spector, *Professors of War*, 71.

¹⁹ Dr. Timothy Nenninger makes this point as well in reference to Army schools: that the broad concept of “mental field exercises” and applicatory learning came from Germany. Timothy K. Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army: Education, Professionalism, and the Officer Corps of the United States Army, 1881–1918* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 14–15, 90.

²⁰ Scott Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue: Maritime Strategy, American Empire, and the Transformation of U.S. Naval Identity, 1873–1898* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2018).

and the civilian government: “To insure [*sic*] for the officer a place in the public esteem and a voice in the conduct of national affairs by demonstrating that his profession was necessary, and indeed, vital to the general welfare.”²¹ Mobley puts that purpose in context, showing how the Navy’s effort to adapt to the modern world provided it with both an administrative structure and a strategic vision.

The Army, on the other hand, felt that its seat at the strategic table was always guaranteed, so few efforts to justify its existence were needed in the late nineteenth century. In the practical realm, the Army also had no need to adapt to radical equipment or organizational changes in the late nineteenth century; land warfare’s technological revolution had occurred some generations before. So the Army schools aimed to “rationalize military administration, develop a regular officer selection process, and cultivate an intellectual, scientific approach to solving military problems.”²²

Published in 1978, Timothy Nenninger’s *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army: Education, Professionalism, and the Officer Corps of the United States Army, 1881–1918* remains a key source on the founding phase of PME in the Army. Drawing on the records of the National Archives, Nenninger creates a systematic understanding of how the post–Civil War Army transitioned into the twentieth century. Memoirs, published and unpublished, help fill out the details of the lives and motivations of the individuals who made that transition a reality. Every Service has its professional journal, and the Army’s *Cavalry Journal*, *Infantry Journal*, and *Journal of the Military Service Institution* all printed various discussions on topics relevant to military service. Nenninger makes use of these journals as well. The Service journals are especially helpful since they preserve a chronological record of ideas,

²¹ Spector, *Professors of War*, 11.

²² Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 6.

responses, adjustments, and implementations. For more general background, Nenninger cites a number of well-known biographies of general officers of the Army (e.g., Forrest Pogue's *George C. Marshall: Education of a General, 1880-1939*), single-volume histories of the Army (e.g., Russell F. Weigley's *History of the United States Army*), and thematic works on civil-military affairs (e.g., Samuel P. Huntington's *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*) to establish context for the Leavenworth experiment.

Also on the subject of Army schools, T. R. Brereton's *Educating the U.S. Army: Arthur L. Wagner and Reform, 1875-1905* examines the progress of education in the Army through the biography of one of its chief reformers.²³ Born in 1853, Arthur L. Wagner was the son of a Civil War veteran and a graduate of West Point. His highly intellectual approach to military science made him unpopular among some of the career officers of his day but eventually found support among the influential soldiers who founded and presided over the Leavenworth schools in their early years. Wagner served as an instructor at the Infantry and Cavalry School beginning in 1886 and composed materials ranging from exams and lectures to full-length textbooks. His reach was long: the *Organization and Tactics* manual used at TBS in the 1920s was authored by Wagner. Brereton's biographical study makes use of Army records, collections at the National Archives and Records Administration, unit records from Wagner's years as a line officer, and personal journals and diaries.²⁴ He chronicles the difficulty posed by old-school veterans like Nelson Miles, who believed that leadership was a mysterious, mythical talent that only manifested on the battlefield and could not be taught or even cultivated.

²³ T. R. Brereton, *Educating the U.S. Army: Arthur L. Wagner and Reform, 1875-1905* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

²⁴ Arthur L. Wagner, *Organization and Tactics*, 7th ed. (Kansas City, MO: Franklin Huson Publishers, 1906).

He includes a clear and detailed outline of the context of the Army's Leavenworth courses and a record of changes over time. This work provides detail that complements Nenninger's *Leavenworth Schools* and provides much-needed evidence of Army officers' reflections on the value of education.

The Corps began its PME system more in line with that of the Army than the Navy, as the adoption of promotion by examination in 1889 created a need for standardized officer instruction. The founding of TBS in 1891 was the first step. Organizational reforms ensued, but they were largely confined to administrative and practical measures to increase the efficiency of the Marine Corps in general. By the 1920s, the Corps had passed through phases of focus on administrative efficiency, standardization of technical knowledge, operational or even strategic mission, and back to standardization of technical knowledge. The interwar era has always been considered a period of mission development for the Marine Corps as a whole, due to the advent of amphibious warfare doctrine and its accompanying operational and tactical procedures. A variety of historical and technical studies have already examined the amphibious warfare doctrine development. Because that doctrine was developed within the context of the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico, the Company Officers' and Field Officers' courses received excellent attention as well.

The occasional paper *Curriculum Evolution: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1920-1988* was written by Lieutenant Colonel Donald Bittner, PhD, in 1988. Bittner had at that time been serving as the military historian on staff at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College for 13 years. Bittner's project was produced by the Marine Corps in response to an investigation by a congressional subcommittee on "the historical content

of the senior service schools' curricula."²⁵ When he produced his monograph in 1988, Bittner, then a graduate of the University of Missouri, was breaking new ground. He explicitly stated, "No real history of the professional military education system of the Marine Corps has been written."²⁶ He also helpfully explained why such a history was lacking: the divorced relationship between the Marine Corps Schools (most of which have changed locations multiple times since their founding) and the military installation(s) they call home resulted in local histories leaving out the schools' full lineage, or else the schools' histories being fragmented by multiple relocations. In attempting to create such a history from nothing, Bittner used the *Quantico Sentry* (a local military base newspaper), the *Marine Corps Gazette* (the professional journal of the Marine Corps), and any archived materials from preceding academic years. He found the archive collections from the 1920s and 1930s were the most complete.²⁷

One of Bittner's key sources, the *Marine Corps Gazette*, has functioned as a forum for professional discussion since its inception in 1916, similar to *Proceedings*. In its earliest days, the *Marine Corps Gazette* was a more informal publication, with news items (both factual and scuttlebutt) and essays sharing print space. Some issues of the journal reprinted speeches and portions of monographs on a given topic.²⁸ It was a smaller, more narrowly focused cousin, but still certainly a close relative, of the more familiar *Infantry Journal* or *Proceedings*. Its official publisher was the Marine Corps Institute, and those who read or contributed to it were also usually those who were active in developing the Marine

²⁵ LtCol Donald F. Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1920-1988* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1988), iii.

²⁶ Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution*, xvii.

²⁷ Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution*, xix.

²⁸ Eventually, *Leatherneck* magazine was established, and the less-academic content gradually migrated to *Leatherneck*. Today, the *Marine Corps Gazette* is still largely a professional opinion journal, where *Leatherneck* is an informal magazine targeting enlisted Marines.

Corps organization. Especially in the early twentieth century, the staff and students at the Marine Corps Schools were heavily represented among the authors featured in the *Marine Corps Gazette*.

Early staff, Commandants, and boosters of the Field Officers' Course were enthusiastic about its founding. This course was to be a stepping stone to the Naval War College, which these sea soldiers considered their pedagogical homeland in the world of military philosophy.²⁹ To maintain discussion about the role of the Marine Corps Schools, faculty and staff submitted articles to the *Marine Corps Gazette*. Essays and commentary served to keep the active Marines interested in debate over what should be taught, to whom, and at what level of seniority. Most important of all, the proponents of military education at all levels continuously explained how classroom education was relevant for those who fight wars.³⁰ The *Marine Corps Gazette* is a major source for all books on the Marine Corps that have been published since 1916, but for those who study professional military education in the Marine Corps, occasionally it is the sole source.

Bittner's study outlines internal discussions at the Field Officers' Course as to which subjects should be taught and the best way to teach them. That is helpful here since it can be presumed that similar debates went on at the Company Officers' Course and at TBS.³¹ The next portion of Bittner's study is taken up by an essential question for the interwar Marine Corps: "Where was the *institution* heading?"³² The answer to the question is *amphibious*

²⁹ Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution*, 5.

³⁰ Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution*, 7.

³¹ Bittner does not cite them in his study, but letters and speeches from the Marines in command at the various schools confirm this supposition. See Maj Jesse F. Dyer, "Military Schooling in the Marine Corps," *Marine Corps Gazette* 7, no. 1 (March 1922): 22–30; "Marine Corps War Planning Course," *Marine Corps Gazette* 14, no. 1 (March 1929): 57–60; Col J. C. Breckinridge, "Some Thoughts on Service Schools," *Marine Corps Gazette* 14, no. 4 (December 1929): 230–38; Col J. C. Breckinridge, "Why Quantico?," *Leatherneck*, May 1931, 7, 50–54; and BGen Dion Williams, "The Education of a Marine Officer," *Marine Corps Gazette* 18, no. 1 (May 1933): 16–26.

³² Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution*, 15, emphasis original.

warfare but more than a decade of debate, development, refinement, progress, failure, and contention would have to pass before that became clear. During the interwar period, both the Field Officers' Course and Company Officers' Course became heavily involved not just in academic discussion of the future role of the Marine Corps, but in developing the doctrine itself. Bittner says the result of this process was a set of Marine Corps Schools that departed sharply from their old Army-inspired focus. Greater flexibility was one trait especially desired in the new, improved courses.³³

This study relies on Bittner's scholarship for insight into the conduct of the Marine Corps Schools organization as a whole. The director of TBS reported to the Marine Corps Schools during the interwar period, with the Marine Corps Schools staff located in Quantico and TBS slightly distant in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. However, Bittner's study does not describe or explain the content of the Corps' basic-level course. In contrast to the doctrine-developing schools in Quantico, TBS was focused on proficiency and consistency in already-established tactical skills. This work will show that the fundamental mission of the Marine Corps did not change between 1900 and 1945; moreover, the basic skills taught to lieutenants were the same whether the Marines were deploying in the Caribbean as an advanced base force or in division-size elements across the South Pacific.

The final relevant literature is concerned with lower level military education. Studies of near-peer institutions shed much more light on the conduct of TBS than do studies of career, staff, and command level schools. In particular, the U.S. Army's Infantry School had critically important influence on the interwar TBS, as many of the interwar Marine officer instructors at TBS went to the Infantry School first. Jörg Muth's *Command Culture: Officer Education in the U.S. Army and German Armed Forces, 1901-1940*,

³³ Bittner, *Curriculum Evolution*, 15.

and the Consequences for World War II compares and contrasts the officer education systems of the U.S. Army and German Army. The most important new material Muth covers is not in his general discussion of German-American interaction, something that other scholars previously covered. In terms of unique contribution, Muth takes the time to examine the conduct of the Infantry School at Fort Benning. This key element in the Army education system has been wholly overlooked by other scholars and *Command Culture* is the only published book to place it in the larger context of American PME. Since interwar-era Marine officers who intended to become instructors were required to attend the Infantry School, this portion of Muth's study is particularly relevant.

Muth boldly asserts that the Infantry School was “more important . . . than any other institution” for American officers.³⁴ It was the place young Army lieutenants were sent to get hands-on instruction on the weapons and tactics of infantry units from the company to regimental level. Fort Benning's Infantry School suffered from many of the problems Muth identifies elsewhere in the Army (excessive paperwork, canned exercises, memorization and recitation, etc.) but during the time period he writes about, it also experienced a renaissance under the leadership of George C. Marshall. The Marines who went to the Infantry School all attended during or immediately after the years of Marshall's command. Continued use of Army materials at TBS up until 1941 points to the ongoing influence these schools had on the Corps' educational institutions. The ongoing use of Army schools, and for an even longer period of time the use of Army publications, was the primary link between the Marine Corps PME system and European (especially German) ideas about military education.

³⁴ Jörg Muth, *Command Culture: Officer Education in the U.S. Army and German Armed Forces, 1901-1940, and the Consequences for World War II* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2011), 137.

In conclusion, the literature considered here provides context for the interwar TBS, but the conclusions reached by previous scholars do not touch on the specific topic of this work. At the outset, the author expected to find archival evidence that would show TBS following along with the patterns of the Army and Navy schools, which changed dramatically in response to the larger, faster, more complex conflicts of the early twentieth century. It was reasonable to expect that the preponderance of the literature on the turn-of-the-century Marine Corps was correct, and that the institution was locked in a struggle for survival that stemmed from a complete lack of direction. Instead, this work shows that while the Corps did imitate the technical content of peer Army schools and did imbue its schools with a cultural element that echoed that of the Navy, the Corps' institutional approach to education was truly unique. The Marine Corps was not engaged in a desperate search for meaning at the corporate level, but it was working out how to update its traditional mission. The Corps did not reinvent itself, but instead continued to convey foundational, fundamental, and elementary skills to its most junior officers in a manner ideologically unchanged since the 1890s. A soldier of the sea, the Marine lieutenant departing TBS in 1900 was a judge, a rifleman, a jungle warrior, a diplomat, a logistician, and a drillmaster. That picture, despite significant changes in the world around them, was not fundamentally different when lieutenants departed that same school in 1940.

Chapter 1

Professional Military Education in Context

In October 1929, Lieutenant Colonel Elias R. Beadle submitted a report to the Commandant of the Marine Corps detailing the routine inspection he had just completed at The Basic School. Beadle, a career Marine with 30 years of service, was serving in the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office at Headquarters Marine Corps. Like most Marines of his day, Beadle's career had taken him to a variety of foreign duty stations; while stateside, he once commanded the recruit depot at Parris Island. Beadle's report to the Commandant included his findings regarding the class schedule, fitness of the instructors, and competence of the students. In addition, he commented

A serious consideration of the mission of the Basic School brings us to the conclusion that it is a work of the utmost importance. The old adage, "As a twig is bent so the tree is inclined" is most apt. Habits are made here which will probably be carried throughout the lives of the individuals under instruction. Here is our opportunity to lay a foundation for officers of true Marine Corps caliber, and it is incumbent upon us to leave nothing undone to give them every opportunity and every advantage to get from this service in the school the very utmost.¹

¹Elias R. Beadle, "Report of Findings: Inspection of the Basic School," letter, 8 October 1928, box 115, folder General Correspondence Feb 1928–Dec 1932, Record Group (RG) 127, series 18, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, DC.

Beadle's high regard for TBS in 1929 helped establish its importance within the Marine Corps organization. At the same time Beadle made his report, other highly placed Marines were writing about the role of TBS, as well. Perhaps most significantly, Brigadier General James C. Breckinridge, commander of the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico, sent lectures and essays to his friend Lieutenant Colonel Julian C. Smith, then commanding officer of TBS, with the intent that "they may serve to stimulate discussion in the Basic School." For Breckinridge and other pioneers of professional military education, TBS was not mindless technical training, but rather the place where "difference of opinion [that will reason] rather than copy" would first be taught.²

Professional Military Education: Definitions

The phrase *professional military education* can be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as early as 1889 and appears in niche educational journals in the United States in the late 1860s. In these early instances, the grouping of the word *professional* with *military* and *education* was more accidental than a deliberate term of art. *Military education* in one essay written by Asa D. Smith, president of Dartmouth College in 1868, was a descriptor for whatever courses of study had military subject matter and were taught in a school. When Smith added *professional* to the definition, it was merely to distinguish general knowledge of military subjects from the particular study of those military subjects by persons who had embarked on a military career.³

² James C. Breckinridge to J. C. Smith, November 1934, personal papers of J. C. Breckinridge, box 2, folder 8, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

³ Asa D. Smith, "New Scheme of National Military Education," *Dartmouth* 2, no. 2 (February 1868): 68. Smith was a Protestant minister and a graduate of Dartmouth College. An abolitionist, he was named president of the college during the Civil War. He expanded the number of departments to include agriculture, mechanic arts, and engineering. Dartmouth doubled in size while Smith was president. Today, he would probably be considered a sociologist.

This circular definition was, over time, replaced with a technical one, which in the American military today varies slightly from Service to Service. This definition from the 1990s is a good representative of current definitions of PME:

The education that provides individuals with the skills, knowledge, and understanding that enable them to make sound decisions in progressively more demanding command and staff positions within the national security environment. It addresses the military, political, economic, social, and psychological dimensions of national security with varying degrees of emphasis. These include planning and conducting war, organization of the services, joint and combined operations, force employment and deployment concepts, and military leadership.⁴

Between the 1868 tautology and this elaborate paragraph came a century of debate, discussion, development, and refinement of the term *professional military education*. In his mid-twentieth-century work on civil-military affairs, Samuel P. Huntington wrote, “The peculiar skill of the officer is the management of violence not the act of violence itself.”⁵ Huntington was writing on the role of military officers from a political or strategic perspective; he took it for granted that every officer, no matter their rank or responsibility, must be something more than a mere technician. He went on to explain that one generation of soldiers having established a successful formula for waging war does not mean that the next generation has nothing to contribute. Like all professions, that of the military officer develops over time and must adapt to changing circumstances.

⁴ *Briefing Report to Congressional Requesters: Military Education—Information on Service Academies and Schools* (Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1993), 1.

⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 13.

American military organizations did not develop in sync with their older European counterparts, and for that reason a discussion of PME in the context of the United States has multiple distinct parts. First, we must understand the European development of military education as a concept. The U.S. Army closely imitated many European education systems. It was also European technology that Americans adopted or copied. European wars drew the attention of the American military leadership. Second, we must discuss professionalization in American thought. The push for practitioners of certain crafts, trades, and vocations to create standards of performance (and schools to teach those standards) originated outside of and reached far beyond the military. Third, we must consider the impact of technology on military organizations. The U.S. Navy underwent a seismic technological shift at nearly the same time professionalism and military education began to merge. Its journey toward establishing a PME system was much more complex and dramatic than was that of the Army. Between the Army's deliberate path and the Navy's dramatic revolution, the Marine Corps developed its own sort of compromise, educating its officers and enlisted troops where the shore met the sea.

PME in Europe: Enlightened Soldiers and National Armies

For centuries, the conduct of armies and navies stood or fell on the strength of the person in charge. Genius and authority combined to make a general successful, or incompetence and authority combined to make him a failure. During the dynastic era and before, the identity of an army was bound up entirely with that of the monarch. Apathy and amateurism during peacetime operated as a kind of safety mechanism, meant to ensure that no upstart general was inclined or equipped to challenge the military authority of the monarch. The coming of national armies in the 1790s changed that security to a liability. The shift in identity prompt-

ed an explosion of military education and academies to furnish it, because a central national authority was now available to shape and promulgate military ideals, which needed to be shaped and improved over generations, not jealously guarded by hegemonic monarchs.⁶ Put another way, the newfound freedom for a nation to create an identity *in bello* carried with it an imperative that some guiding force present itself and channel that identity into something that would be constructive and beneficial to the nation. Unbounded military enthusiasm was a recipe for barbarism, not progress. During the Enlightenment, it was natural that education be identified as the means to military success.

However, it would be inaccurate to say that the period of national warfare was the beginning of all military education in the West. The centuries-old apprenticeship programs that elevated the page into a squire and the squire into a knight were certainly forms of education. This one-on-one method was costly, time consuming, and largely social; it produced effective feudal knights but was not suitable for creating professional soldiers on a large scale. At the opposite end of the spectrum, technical schools for military practitioners also existed for centuries prior to the advent of national armies. Those schools educated many but did not provide them with more than the basic means of employing battlefield technology (quite literally how to construct or employ an arbalest, a cannon, a bridge, etc). National armies and the wars they brought about far outmatched both the feudal leadership system and the technical schools that operated in parallel. Students were suddenly in need of a more intellectual and comprehensive education in the art of war, and the development of institutions to meet that need was one of the single greatest accomplishments of the great powers during the nineteenth century.

⁶ Steven Gunn, David Grummit, and Hans Cools, "War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Widening the Debate," *War in History* 15, no. 4 (2008): 371–88.

In essence, the PME schools codified a new way of commanding in battle. Beginning during the Napoleonic Wars (1800–15), large armies with complex technical and logistic demands became the norm across Europe. A staff and corps system allowed Napoléon Bonaparte to effectively command and control a field army of more than 200,000 troops for the first time in history. Without some kind of mechanism to teach his generals to all think alike, Napoléon would have been unable to wield the massive weapon that was the French *Grande Armée* (the Grand Army). It is evident from his preserved correspondence that Napoléon did not keep his methods of war a secret from his subordinates. The individual marshal was not treated as an automaton, ordered to march his army from one point to another without getting a glimpse of the master plan. Rather, the entire concept of operations was revealed from supreme commander to army commanders.⁷

A particularly clear example of Napoléon's rudimentary strategic education of his generals is found in the Franco-Austrian War of 1809. In January 1809, Napoléon sent a series of notes to his stepson and commander of the Army of Italy, Eugène de Beauharnais; these were operational plans of campaign for the Army of Italy in the event of war with Austria. Eugène's general approach to war and the conduct of his army illustrates a "broad understanding of Napoleonic methods and practices."⁸ Napoléon's *manoeuvre sur les derrieres*, *masse primaire*, *masse de manoeuvre*, and *masse de rupture* were employed by Eugène just as Napoléon would have done.⁹ The divisions of the Army of Italy into a left, center, right,

⁷ Robert M. Epstein, *Napoléon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 134.

⁸ Epstein, *Napoléon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern War*, 96.

⁹ *Manoeuvre sur les derrieres*: a flanking strategy using one pinning force and one mobile force at the enemy's flank or rear. *Masse primaire*: a baiting strategy drawing the enemy's main force into the open. *Masse de manoeuvre*: an enveloping strategy that uncovers the enemy's flanks. *Masse de rupture*: a frontal assault.

and reserve mirrored Napoléon's organization of his own army. Robert M. Epstein observed that

Eugène was no Napoléon, but these similarities show that there was commonality in approach to organization, operations, and tactics. This commonality cannot guarantee victory, but it does provide the basis that makes victory possible.¹⁰

It was precisely that commonality that gave the French an edge over their enemies for nearly two decades. France's contribution to the battlefield was a completely new relationship of commander to army—one in which the contested field was so large that no single officer could manage it. Instead, great generals had to convey their strategy to intellectual officers who could bring it to life using column and line. There is no doubt that Napoléon's crushing victory over the old-style Prussian Army at Jena (and Auerstedt) provided the catalyst for major changes in European armies. Military reformers among the vanquished helped to bring about innovations that turned European armies into national forces, with the stellar accomplishments of Prussia being the brightest example.¹¹ Timothy Nenninger calls these catalysts "national military calamities," events that led to the establishment of all three of the first European staff schools.¹²

The Prussian military establishment was the first to create a real war academy in which subjects like strategy and military theory were studied. Although military academies existed before this, their programs of study were almost exclusively technical and/or historical. Everything that was new about the Napoléonic battlefield

¹⁰ Epstein, *Napoléon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern War*, 96.

¹¹ Larry H. Addington, *The Patterns of War Since the Eighteenth Century*, 2d ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 142.

¹² Timothy K. Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army: Education, Professionalism, and the Officer Corps of the United States Army, 1881-1918* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 11.

demanded a more nuanced education for officers, and demanded an especially homogenous concept of strategy among the army's leaders. Beginning in 1770, some forward-thinking commanding officers established regimental schools. Mathematics, tactics, engineering sciences, field sketching, gunnery, fortifications, history, and geography were featured in the curricula. These schools were for already-commissioned men but more closely served the equivalent function of a modern undergraduate or precommissioning military academy.¹³ In 1772, a young man named Gerhard von Scharnhorst entered the military academy of Count Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst zu Schaumburg-Lippe-Buckeburg. Count Wilhelm was a significant thinker and educator and his private academy filled an otherwise very broad gap in available military learning in the German state of Hanover. It supplemented the technical education of regimental schools with philosophical and strategic courses.¹⁴ Count Wilhelm taught his pupils that the profession of arms demanded a continuous process of development that could not be mastered by simply learning existing techniques.

In 1801 the primitive level of education in the officer corps was the most serious shortcoming of the Prussian Army. The lack of professional study had caused the army to become hopelessly anachronistic in its tactical and operational concepts. Combat experience in France and Poland had especially demonstrated the poor quality of Prussian military leadership. Without further education, Scharnhorst believed, officers would be of very little use during war.¹⁵ In 1801, Scharnhorst took charge of the small and moribund Berlin Institute in the Military Sciences for Young Infantry and Cavalry Officers. Under his leadership the institute became the Prussian Army's central institution for professional

¹³ Charles Edward White, *The Enlightened Soldier: Scharnhorst and the Militarische Gesellschaft in Berlin, 1801-1805* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1989), 7.

¹⁴ White, *The Enlightened Soldier*, 3.

¹⁵ White, *The Enlightened Soldier*, 31.

education. The new course of instruction would extend over three consecutive winters and would emphasize both theoretical and practical knowledge that would benefit officers in their profession. No longer did mental drill comprise the entire education.

Scharnhorst identified three key elements in the program: training, education, and leadership. . . . Skillful synthesis of training and education would develop leadership and promote realism and intellectual independence, avoiding the tendency of most earlier military schools of solely conveying facts and drilling officers in a particular theory of war.¹⁶

In that era, the picture of genuine higher education included reading, writing, and extensive discussion. The Berlin Institute provided all three as part of the daily routine.

Any junior officer of good character, having “studied the basic elements of mathematics and military knowledge,” and seeking “to educate [themselves] further in the higher and applied components of the same,” could apply for admission to the Institute.¹⁷

To strengthen the commander’s control in battle, Scharnhorst advocated the development of a general staff corps of considerable talent and ability. Only intelligent, well-educated, and trained staff officers could bring “flexibility to size, agility to might.”¹⁸ Flexibility and agility were applied as descriptors not just to military organizations themselves, but to the minds of those officers who wielded armies in operational and strategic contexts. In the strict context of schools’ curricula, German military thinkers of the eighteenth century used applicatory methods to create that mental agility.

¹⁶ White, *The Enlightened Soldier*, 90–91.

¹⁷ White, *The Enlightened Soldier*, 90.

¹⁸ White, *The Enlightened Soldier*, 65.

Active problem solving was the key elements of those educational methods. Scharnhorst's ideas were imported to the United States a century after he began to advocate for them, and the salient features of his educational ideology survived the transition: map problems, terrain studies, and live field exercises.¹⁹

Developing curriculum was an ongoing process and continued well after the departure of the *Kriegsakademie's* (Berlin Institute) brilliant founder. Questions about how much general education was necessary, issues with how to train instructors, and difficulty obtaining troops for use in training were perennial problems. Sometimes mistakes were made. For example, graduates of the Prussian school were often criticized as "competent operations officers who sometimes had a far too narrow focus and far too limited concept of the conduct of war."²⁰ In the nineteenth century, the British Staff College at Camberley suffered for many years from an overreliance on an "unsophisticated lecture and recitation course" that created knowledgeable officers who lacked the ability to make firm decisions.²¹ These officers performed well in the classroom but did not function well in ambiguous tactical situations or when isolated from higher command and facing a significant operational juncture. Both schools grew, changed, and improved over time. These activities were observed by the U.S. Army and Navy throughout the nineteenth century, but the observations would not be converted into courses of action until after 1865.

U.S. Military: Approach to PME

On the western side of the Atlantic, American military theorists failed to make any significant headway with regard to grand strat-

¹⁹ All of these are present throughout the curriculum of the war colleges, staff colleges, and the Army's Infantry School at Fort Benning. At TBS, there were no troops available for live training, but map problems and terrain exercises were a consistent part of the curriculum from the earliest years.

²⁰ Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 12.

²¹ Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 13.

egy, military ideology, or professional education until the American Civil War was behind them. Though two Service academies existed, little else in terms of education, staff development, or even professional performance standards was put in place. When journals and schools began to appear, however, they gave credit to the long process of military professionalization that had been taking place in Europe. The Army officers who helped establish the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, explicitly pointed to German models for “justification of advanced military education, for methods of instruction, and for books to use in the curriculum.”²² By following the well-trod path of the European armies, the Americans were able to avoid some mistakes.

However, military schools in the United States still developed relatively haphazardly. The Army and Navy each started with a military academy, but during the great age of professionalization the Navy skipped all the intermediary steps and created its senior-level Naval War College. The Army eventually settled on the Command and General Staff School as its principal vehicle for education of officers. Later, intermediate institutions were established that filled in the gaps in both the Army and Navy systems. At all times, the American military and political corporate cultures pushed back against educational development for a variety of reasons. Some reasons, such as fears in the Navy that ship captains would cease to be good sailors if they spent all their time in a classroom, had some basis in reality and were worked out carefully in professional journals and personal correspondence over a period of decades. Other pushback, such as petty political squabbles or

²² Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 13. Before the German model achieved dominance, the French model was the most popular inspiration for doctrine and tactics. The writing of Henri de Jomini, for example, was widely translated and read by American officers throughout the nineteenth century. The Franco-Prussian War's outcome put an end to the dominance of French thought.

unwillingness to alter departmental budgets, was less rational and has yet to be eradicated even today.

Only the Marine Corps started its system of professional development from the bottom, creating its Basic Course in 1891, decades before the Field Officer Course (1920) and Company Officer Course (1921) came into being. The stark difference between the Corps' apparently orderly method and the piecemeal efforts of the Army and Navy is explained by chronology: just as the Army observed the European process and evaded some pitfalls, so the Corps waited and observed, eventually imitating proven systems that had been painfully wrought by the efforts of its counterparts in the larger Services. Though much imitation was going on during this time period, it is important to note that only educational methodology was copied from the other institutes. German tactical doctrine, as Nenninger points out, was not adopted by the U.S. Army, and the Corps in turn did not create an exact copy of the Army's tactics, techniques, or procedures.²³ Put another way, methods of leading a classroom made their way from institution to institution, but the content of the courses did not automatically follow.

The flagship institutions for the establishment and development of American professional military education were the U.S. Army's Command and Staff School in Fort Leavenworth and the U.S. Navy's Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Both were established at the close of the nineteenth century. The founding of the military schools was squarely in the middle of the broader national movement to give structure to professional education. For example, though many medical schools had existed in the United States since the late 1700s, in 1876 the American Association of Medical Colleges was formed in order to systematize the methods for instructing new doctors, especially to create a "min-

²³ Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 15.

imum standard requirement” for medical schools, one that “must be attainable by the average medical school and meeting the requirements of the average medical student.”²⁴ Toward the end of this same time period, Harvard formally gathered its extant courses and professors of business into a School of Business in 1910.

In particular, the Navy wanted a war college that could train officers in operational and strategic thinking. The founders of the Naval War College, especially Admiral Stephen B. Luce, felt that on-the-job training was no longer sufficient, and they pressed for an academic institution purpose-built to supply much-needed knowledge.²⁵ Proponents worked tirelessly to distinguish their institution from merely a postgraduate school that continued the work begun by the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Instead, Luce and the other founders wanted the Naval War College to be seen as a school of philosophy, strategy, and creativity; the students would not merely memorize history but build new lessons by studying its patterns.²⁶ This is yet another manifestation of applicatory learning methods that seeped into American PME programs through the example of the German military schools.²⁷

On the plains of Kansas, a different group of visionaries attempted to define professional military education for officers of the Army. The U.S. Military Academy at West Point had been sufficient for creating and maintaining a competent officer corps up until the American Civil War. During the war, the Army’s size was a demographic fluke: 1862’s 350,000-man Army of the Potomac

²⁴ Albert R. Baker, “Evolution of the American Medical College,” *Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine* 5, no. 7 (August 1901): 495.

²⁵ Ronald Spector, *Professors of War: The Naval War College and the Development of the Naval Profession* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1977), 10–14.

²⁶ Spector, *Professors of War*, 71.

²⁷ French officers occasionally published articles or books advocating active problem-solving in schools, but their efforts have not received much attention from scholars. This author’s French is too unsophisticated to analyze their contributions in much detail. See “Un Kriegspiel d’armée en 1775,” *Journal des Sciences Militaires* 10, no. 27 (July 1905): 237–50; and Capt Paul Simon, *De L’Entraînement Intellectuel Necessaire A L’Officier* (Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1907).

was 23 times larger than the organization that had existed prior to the secession of South Carolina a year earlier. The million-man Grand Army of the Republic in 1865 was even more out of proportion to the peacetime force of the 1850s.²⁸ The post-Civil War Army dwindled to fewer than 10,000 men in the late 1860s and only slowly balanced by congressional action. By 1877, there were about 24,000 troops in the Regular Army, most of whom were scattered in detachments across the midwest and Texas.²⁹ Even after a postwar recalibration of size and disposition, the scattered Army of the 1870s was still a larger and more complex organization than its peacetime predecessor. By 1880, General William T. Sherman and Colonel Emory Upton could discern that something additional was needed to elevate the officers' experience and education. Their efforts to create a career-level course were significant, and the model that grew out of the first school at Fort Leavenworth is admirable. Upton was a visionary who foresaw the role that education could play in professionalizing the officer corps of the Army, shifting away from a cryptoaristocracy (a system based purely on seniority and personal political influence) and creating a standards-based culture. Upton and Sherman were the thinkers on deck when the U.S. military finally grew large enough to need the staff, corps, and army-level structures that had been developing in Europe. Scholars identify three permanent characteristics that helped the American military emerge as a true professional entity: journals, professional associations, and graduate schools.³⁰ All three characteristics were in place for both the Army and the Navy by 1895.

The Army's School of Application for Cavalry and Infantry officers was founded by Sherman in 1881, but no action was taken to

²⁸ Richard W. Stewart, ed., *The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775-1917*, vol. 1, *American Military History* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2005), 213.

²⁹ Stewart, *The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775-1917*, 308.

³⁰ Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 7.

provide a set program of instruction and permanent regulations until 1887. The result of the new regulation was, for the first time in history, an American Army school that taught practical field instruction in minor tactics; officers left the lecture hall and tested their abilities in the 1880s version of a tactical decision game. This was a direct copy of the German educational style, which emphasized active learning and applicatory problem solving. This system provided the Americans with a crop of much-improved officers, but they left the colleges to go to war with Spain in 1898. The Spanish-American War not only closed the Army schools but caused a suspension of all systematic theoretical instruction in the Army.³¹

Army officers had been thinking and debating educational concepts for a number of years prior to the Spanish-American War. Professional journals proliferated and advocates of institutional reform often included expansion of the schools as a key improvement.³² However, the war threatened to severely hinder or perhaps even halt plans for such reforms. With officers leaving school to join the operational forces, educators feared that the Army leadership would be unwilling to remove students from the Army in the field after hostilities subsided. Such fears were unfounded; immediately after the close of the Spanish-American War, the single most significant effort of an administration to expand and standardize the PME system in the American armed forces began. Elihu Root, secretary of war, decided to reopen the School of Application for Cavalry and Infantry and to greatly enlarge its influence. Where Upton had been a progressive theorist and enthusiastic promoter of modernization, Root had the power to put reforms in place.

I cannot speak too highly of the work done in our service schools for a number of years before the war with Spain. It was intelligent, devoted and effective,

³¹Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 53.

³²Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army*, 17.

and produced a high standard of individual excellence, which has been demonstrated by many officers in the active service of the past four years. There was, however, no general system of education. The number of officers who could avail themselves of the very limited accommodations afforded was comparatively small.³³

In 1901, the School of Application for Cavalry and Infantry at Fort Leavenworth was enlarged and developed into a General Service and Staff College. It became a school of instruction for all arms of the Service, and by official order its design became a postgraduate school rather than an institution for imparting knowledge of an elementary nature. This marked a revolution in the whole plan and scheme of military education within the Army. When the General Service and Staff College was opened in September 1902, 29 cavalry officers and 65 infantry officers formed the inaugural class.

Nothing of significance was written on the topic of professional military education between the 1880s and the turn of the century. Upton's interpretive study *The Military Policy of the United States* was still the default text a generation after its original publication.³⁴ The General Service and Staff College had Upton in mind when it outlined its military art segment to include staff duties, tactics, military history, strategic and tactical cooperation of the Army and Navy, and care of troops.³⁵ Root's work as secretary of war also resulted in the creation of the Joint Army-Navy Board. His think-tank board was the predecessor of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and was made up of officers who had completed the education provided by the war or staff colleges or both. For the better part of

³³ Capt Ira L. Reeves, *Military Education in the United States* (New York: Free Press, 1914), 209.

³⁴ John E. Jessup Jr. and Robert W. Coakley, *A Guide to the Study and Use of Military History* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1979), 210.

³⁵ Reeves, *Military Education in the United States*, 221.

two decades, the Joint Army-Navy Board coordinated the development of U.S. national strategy in conjunction with the secretary of war and the president. By way of a vastly improved educational apparatus, the United States was entering the twentieth century with a new, functioning command system at the highest level.³⁶

For their part, naval thinkers were working hard to develop a professional education system. However, unlike the Army, the U.S. Navy was at the same time undergoing a pivotal restructuring that impacted its educational efforts. The Army officer of 1860 was the commander of an infantry unit. The Army officer of 1920 was both an infantry commander and a strategist. The Marine officer of 1860 was an infantry commander who arrived at the scene of battle by ship. In 1920, the Marine officer was still fundamentally the same. The Navy officer of 1860, however, was a fundamentally different kind of military professional than that of 1920. The sailing Navy, built on an ancient apprenticeship system and a strategic mindset that began and ended on the vessel's quarterdeck, was ontologically different from the steel Navy of the twentieth century. The warrior-sailor and the warrior-engineer were different and the growth of the Navy's educational institutions was impacted by that transition in a way that the Army and Marine Corps schools were not.

Professionalism and Professionalization: Navy Developments

In his recent book *Progressives in Navy Blue*, naval officer and historian Scott Mobley provides a useful framework for defining and analyzing the concept of professionalism. Dictionaries, he writes, use isolable phrases like *specialized knowledge* and *formal qualification* to distinguish the professions from other types of vocations. However, those phrases are then developed by historians and so-

³⁶Cynthia A. Watson, *Military Education: A Reference Handbook* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), 25.

ciologists, who introduce additional concepts, such as authority, prestige, service, and identity. From these more nuanced ideas, Mobley identifies “seven cardinal characteristics” that give meaning to the term *profession*:³⁷

1. Expertise: the application of specialized occupational knowledge and techniques, built upon a coherent body of theory.
2. Service-oriented mission: motivates the members of the occupation to meet the needs of a wide community and to place client benefit over personal benefit.
3. Well-defined standards.
4. Formal regime of education.
5. Autonomy: the right to exercise control over itself as a community of professionals.
6. Sense of community.
7. Singular identity.³⁸

This useful list is easily applicable to a military organization. The fourth characteristic, a formal regime of education, is the most relevant to this study. To examine professionalism in the Navy in particular, the effort to create the Naval War College provides a concise case study.

Naval Professionalism: Social Context

During the nineteenth century, the United States experienced steady and consistent population growth. A nation of 10 million in 1820 grew to 50 million in 1880 and 106 million in 1920. At the same time, the centers of population shifted from rural to urban areas, with a fourfold increase in the number of city dwellers

³⁷Scott Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue: Maritime Strategy, American Empire, and the Transformation of U.S. Naval Identity, 1873–1898* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2018), 58.

³⁸Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 58.

between 1830 and 1870.³⁹ From 1790 through 1849, the U.S. Patent Office awarded nearly 17,000 patents to inventors; during the second half of the nineteenth century, patent officers issued more than 21,000 patents for inventions per year.⁴⁰ None of those social changes brought about any abrupt alteration to citizens' daily life. The transformation of America was rapid and significant, but more or less smooth.

Similarly, developments in naval technology and complexity proceeded at a brisk pace, but none of the innovations forced sudden or abrupt change. Instead, Navy leaders awoke one day to realize their centuries-old sailing culture was somehow at odds with using the new technology effectively. As a result, most professional mariners of the late nineteenth century found themselves forced either to object to the technological developments or else to admit that things were so different from their past experiences as to require a serious reexamination. Most took the former approach.⁴¹ Quarterdeck culture emphasized mariner and warrior proficiency over academic subjects such as mathematics and history. Seaman-ship was still largely considered more art than science.⁴² The Navy did not change on its own; outside forces made the status quo impossible to maintain.

First, events like the American Civil War helped change some Navy leaders' viewpoints, particularly toward strategy and intelligence. The tactical and operational facts of naval warfare during the Civil War led many officers to believe that the age of sail, if not

³⁹ Michael R. Haines, Table Aa684–698, “Urban and Rural Territory—Number of Places, by Size of Place: 1790–1990,” Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition Online.

⁴⁰ Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, Table Dd1–12 “Manufacturing Summary—Establishments, Persons Engaged, Payroll, Value Added, Capital Expenditures, and Inventories: 1949–1995,” Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition Online.

⁴¹ Lance C. Buhl, “Mariners and Machines: Resistance to Technological Change in the American Navy, 1865–1869,” *Journal of American History* 61, no. 3 (December 1974): 704, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1899928>; and William M. McBride, *Technological Change and the United States Navy, 1865–1945* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 8.

⁴² Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 24, 76.

drawing to an actual close, was at least being asked to share the stage with steam power and armor. Second, even the most intractable traditionalist had trouble denying how complex the industrial age had become and by extension how much more complicated even basic education or training had to be. Third, decisions of the U.S. government forced the Navy to alter its structure and style to meet the demands of an imperialist foreign policy. A fourth factor technically came from within the Navy: the establishment of the journal *Proceedings* created a semiofficial place for naval officers to discuss professional issues and develop a corporate identity. Before this, individual ship commanders had operated largely in an ideological vacuum.⁴³

Relative to the Army, and even to civilian communities such as law and medicine, the Navy's professional infrastructure matured early. Mobley asserts that a "full battery of educational, associational, and regulatory elements" were in place within the Navy by the mid-1880s.⁴⁴ In the spirit of the day, naval innovators embraced progressivism and a confidence that science and technology were the means to improve not only their professional ability, but society in general.⁴⁵ Similar developments in youth education, social welfare programs, and corporate structure surrounded the average American at the time. Between the Civil War and World War II, the American industrial labor market underwent a kind of homogenization. Scientific management theory, Fordism, and increased production speed reduced formerly skilled jobs to unskilled or semiskilled levels. Control of the labor process was wrested from skilled workers (artisans). Methods of mass production and automation created an ever-growing supervisory corps

⁴³ Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 139.

⁴⁴ Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 7.

⁴⁵ Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 66.

of foremen and managers.⁴⁶ In every context, there was a shift in society with which the military had to keep pace or risk disaster.

Finally, to cap the professionalization of the American military, a key strategist emerged for both the Army and the Navy. In 1953, Richard Brown made an extended comparison of the Army and Navy's respective godfathers of military theory and educational practice: Emory Upton and Alfred T. Mahan. Brown's study primarily focused on giving Upton the same philosophical adulation in land warfare circles that Mahan enjoyed in the maritime world. At the time, students of those men were still living, and their own students were in powerful leadership positions within the U.S. military. Two world wars had tested each thinker in a variety of ways, and confidence in the Mahanian and Uptonian systems was strong. Shared aspects of methodology, such as the use of a historical approach, tied the two together. Their approaches to the philosophy of military theory created complementarity: Mahan spoke of what great things could be accomplished with a strong Navy, while Upton warned of the dire consequences which followed from having a weak Army.⁴⁷ Theorists and practitioners of military science struggled with the proper balance to strike: when to educate, for how long, in what manner, focusing on what subjects. Moving into the twentieth century, an increasingly complex global community created an additional need for officers to learn concepts of international law, trade, and cooperative agreements regarding the use of force.⁴⁸ For analysts like Mobley, it was the project of naval professionalization itself that gave rise to the new strategic consciousness of the twentieth century.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Erin A. Smith, *Hardboiled: Working-Class Readers and Pulp Magazines* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 58.

⁴⁷ Richard C. Brown, "General Emory Upton—The Army's Mahan," *Military Affairs* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1953): 127, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1982668>.

⁴⁸ John B. Hattendorf, "The Conundrum of Military Education in Historical Perspective," in *Military Education, Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Gregory C. Kennedy and Keith Neilson (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing, 2002), 9.

⁴⁹ Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 89.

In the Marine Corps, only one school was in operation at this pivotal time, the School of Application (later The Basic School), which opened its doors in 1891. The name of the school points to a perceived connection between German PME concepts, such as active problem solving (sometime known as *applicatory learning*), and the Marine Corps plan for officer education. From the beginning, map problems or hands-on training were part of the curriculum as far as was possible with limited staff and resources. Its focus on entry-level military concepts shielded it from the ongoing, sometimes esoteric, discussions that populated the pages of *Proceedings* and the *Infantry Journal*. Instead, the Corps used its school primarily to prepare officers for commissioning examinations. A secondary effect, that of equalizing the knowledge base of new officers arriving from a variety of previous locations and occupations (Naval Academy midshipmen, enlisted Marines, graduates of private military colleges), could not have been lost on Headquarters Marine Corps. In fact, the leveling effect of requiring all new officers to attend the School of Application later became a source of cohesion and camaraderie.

The School of Application remained true to its mission of providing basic education to new officers, but it struggled to achieve the continuity already enjoyed by the Naval War College and the Command and General Staff School. The much smaller Marine Corps could not keep its school staffed: wars, constabulary missions, and even fleet maneuvers frequently shuttered the institution in the years before World War I. It was not until the period between the world wars that the Corps managed to keep the school open on a regular basis.

PME after 1900:

Development, War, and a Return to Peace

The Gilded Age theorists had several chances to test a variety of concepts in combat between 1890 and 1910. Besides the major

conflict of the Spanish-American War, there were several smaller engagements. After 1900, the work already begun became more sophisticated as the first generation of professional students matured and became the first generation of professional instructors. For the first time, the Army and Navy had a majority of officers with at least some experience in a professional education program. In that environment, PME programs' stability allowed them to become the subject of critical assessment and adjustment. In other words, school staffs no longer fighting for survival could focus on honing their curricula and developing their pedagogical methods.

The effort to professionalize the officer corps was not confined to the highest echelons. The oldest educational institutions—those for cadets and midshipmen just beginning a military career—were joined by schools at midcareer and senior levels. All of these schools became more sophisticated with concepts such as *the art of command* coming into vogue and the study of military history receiving increased emphasis.⁵⁰ However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, PME was no longer shaped merely by educational philosophies. The twin problems of expanding foreign policy and limited government budgets began to exert their much more pragmatic influence on the schools.

Questions of foreign policy were not new to military theorists in the twentieth century. What had changed was the impact that foreign policy had on military education in particular. The ongoing spread of classical liberal thought gave rise to a range of international agreements and globalization policies, and each of these placed some type of restraint on war or limited armed conflict in specific ways. Combined with changes in technology, this new style

⁵⁰ David French, "Officer Education and Training in the British Regular Army, 1919–1939," in *Military Education, Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Gregory C. Kennedy and Keith Neilson (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing, 2002); and Andrew Lambert, "History as Process and Record: The Royal Navy and Officer Education," in *Military Education, Past, Present, and Future*. Also see Spector, *Professors of War*; and Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools*.

of global interaction meant that military professionals needed education on these topics from the first moment of their careers—and needed continuous reinforcement an expansion at every level of command.⁵¹ This was merely a practical effect of over a century of trade, colonization, war, and reconciliation. In order to provide military officers with the necessary context, many schools turned to military history for insight. Naval and land strategy could be informed, some believed, by simple study of past military exploits.

One of the earliest projects undertaken by Navy visionaries with regard to thinking about creating and analyzing strategy was Foxhall Parker's *Fleets of the World*, an assessment of historic naval battles and the ships that fought them. Parker was a naval officer of the old breed, getting his initial seamanship training as a midshipman before attending the Philadelphia Naval School (similar to Annapolis) in his twenties. He served throughout the Civil War and exhibited a lifelong interest in educational material and training manuals. He published a new signals code for steamships in 1872 and his *Fleets of the World* in 1876.⁵² His final assignment was as superintendent of the Naval Academy, from which he participated in the founding of the U.S. Naval Institute.⁵³ Parker provided case studies and lessons for his readers that they were meant to use in their own careers. A growing effort to incorporate historical study in PME programs was a continuation of that concept.

Modern analysts note a difference between PME systems that focused on purely technical or mechanistic military concepts and those that attempted to incorporate a more holistic range of topics. "Competent knowledge of such sciences as mathematics, physics, geography, astronomy, navigation" was considered necessary, but occasionally that was confused for the ends of education rather

⁵¹ Hattendorf, "The Conundrum of Military Education in Historical Perspective," 9.

⁵² Foxhall A. Parker, *Fleets of the World: The Galley Period* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1876).

⁵³ James Grant Wilson, ed., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 4, *Lodge—Pickens*, (New York: D. Appleton, 1888), s.v. "Parker, Foxhall Alexander," 650.

than the means.⁵⁴ Those who did the worst at providing context for their technique—i.e., who became good at war for war's sake but lacked the philosophical grounding to conduct it for moral reasons or in moral ways—ended up in the service of the highly proficient, yet socially destructive, German armies of the two world wars.

It would be incorrect to propose that any early-century American program correctly identified all of the potential PME pitfalls and studiously avoided them. On the contrary, not only is such serendipity unlikely, the evidence does not support it. Americans were, in fact, not very good at developing PME systems. The overriding control of a civilian government (a government that switched parties every four to eight years and was always at the mercy of a variety of partisan political issues) prevented any branch of the military from turning too far in on itself and its technical tactical needs. Instead, the Army and Navy spent a great deal of time navigating the political climate and in spare hours pieced together systems that created a mediocre tactical proficiency. In wartime, industrial largesse could be counted on to make up for what was lacking. These practical barriers to development within the military branches were not, and are still not, unique to any time and place. The days of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson saw their fair share of interservice rivalry and lobbyist machinations, and the modern age is no different.

Further, scholars identify problems with the transfer of culture as another reason institutions fail to efficiently observe and adopt certain types of systems. In his 1962 study, educational historian Jurgen Herbst asserted

Culture may be said to consist of the interaction of an institution and its ideas. Thus the American who went to German universities to acquire the tools of

⁵⁴ Lambert, "History as Process and Record: The Royal Navy and Officer Education," 89.

scholarship brought home not only tools but ideas as well. When the ideas proved difficult to assimilate to American conditions, the scholars sought to modify or discard them, only to realize that their scholarly equipment, torn from its ideological setting, would no longer serve until a new context of ideas could be adapted.⁵⁵

Herbst was interested in the transfer of systems from one nation to another where the differences were significant. In the case of the various branches of the American military, cultural differences were less dramatic but still created confusion or incompatibility. It took time and effort for each group of military educators to work out which aspects of a peer institution should be kept and which discarded in favor of some in-house concept. For example, most Army commanders were of the Jominian school and clung to French-inspired tactics long after the implications of mass-produced firearms and skirmish lines should have led them to abandon or modify them.⁵⁶ More importantly, hot wars often interrupted or slowed the development of educational institutions in the United States.

During World War I, professional military education at the senior level ground to a halt, and attention switched to the mass production of junior officers and enlisted troops for both the Army and the Navy. Training overtook education in a real way, and although the participation of the U.S. forces in the Great War was brief, it had a significant effect on many aspects of American life. Contrary to the impression created by patriotic songs, artwork, and literature, the postwar United States was outwardly antiwar. That public isolationist attitude carried over into the ability of

⁵⁵ Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), 232.

⁵⁶ Addington, *Patterns of War Since the Eighteenth Century*, 70–71.

the military branches to capitalize on the combat lessons learned. The American public, influenced by the major arguments of the Wilsonian peace movement, was attracted to the concept of disarmament. The extent of this interest was, wrote political scientist Robert Hoover, "far greater in the United States in the early 1920s than anywhere else among the former Allied forces."⁵⁷ The overriding foreign policy feature of the interwar era was tailored toward stifling military development. For example, the Open Door policy the United States adopted toward Asia in the 1920s was not allowed to be supported by overt military action. Additionally, American trade in the Far East was actively damaged by the Nine Power Treaty.⁵⁸ Whatever effort was going to be made to forward American interests overseas, it had to be done out of the public eye so that peacetime pacifists did not notice the military and express their displeasure at the ballot box.

However, Navy and Army thinkers continued their planning and discussions, shielded from voters' displeasure by a series of talented secretaries of war and of the Navy. Since it was easier for the Navy to do this than the Army, much of the interwar development was maritime in nature. Fleet maneuvers and ship construction continued, as well as modernization of existing assets in order to meet threats that had emerged during the war: the torpedo, the airplane bomb, and the alarmingly effective submarine.⁵⁹ On land, the Army mechanized as a means of improving combat readiness; behind the scenes it worked diligently to ensure better integration between the Regular Army and the National Guard, especially

⁵⁷ Robert A. Hoover, *Arms Control: The Interwar Naval Limitation Agreements* (Denver, CO: University of Denver Press, 1980), 23.

⁵⁸ Hoover, *Arms Control*, 21, 40.

⁵⁹ Hoover, *Arms Control*, 71.

when it came to the level of education provided for the part-time officers of the various state militias.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, as already observed, peacetime restrictions and unfriendly political environments seem historically to energize development within the American military community. Though they innovate “with considerable uncertainty and ambiguity about the nature and context of the next major conflict,” they still innovate.⁶¹ In fact, the interwar developments which came out of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps were all the more effective because of their inherent flexibility. Not knowing what kind of war they would fight, each Service developed concepts of operations that could be adapted to a variety of strategic situations. The famous War Plan Orange, developed in 1926 at the Naval War College, may have identified Japan as a likely enemy, but it did not fixate on a tactical or operational solution to the Pacific problem. It merely provided the setting in which *some* solution would be brought to bear. At all times, this development of concepts and solutions was happening at the schools.⁶²

Finally, during the interwar period, military education in the United States was governed by one factor perhaps even greater than foreign policy: finances. In an oft-quoted 1997 essay for *Military Review* magazine, then-senator Ike Skelton (D-MO) wrote at length regarding the accomplishments of the interwar military.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, in a far harsher budgetary climate than that of today, all of

⁶⁰ Daniel Fullerton, “Bright Prospects, Bleak Realities: The United States Army’s Interwar Modernization Program for the Coming of the Second World War” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2006). George C. Marshall was sent on multiple circuits by the War Department, touring militia camps or meeting with National Guard leaders, to build a plan for improving the training and education prospects of those organizations.

⁶¹ Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, eds., *Military Effectiveness*, vol. 2, *The Interwar Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), xiii.

⁶² James Miller, “Gaming the Interwar: How Naval War College Wargames Tilted the Playing Field for the U.S. Navy During World War II” (PhD diss., U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS: 2013), 36.

the services found themselves reduced to “pauperdom.” The sizes of the forces were drastically cut, and modernization programs were, at first, postponed and then canceled. The Army, which during the Great War had numbered more than 2.3 million, was reduced to less than 128,000 by 1934. . . . The United States had the 16th largest army in the world, with Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Spain, Romania, and Poland possessing larger armies.⁶³

Too poor to train and equip their forces, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps took advantage of a difficult situation by sending their best officers to various schools to study, teach, and prepare for the future.⁶⁴

In what Skelton described as a renaissance, the primary institutions of all the Services put considerable effort into their schools’ curricula and conduct. Renowned future leaders such as George C. Marshall, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar Bradley, Chester W. Nimitz, and Raymond Spruance attended or taught at (or both) the Army or Navy war colleges. Nimitz was later reputed to remark, “We won the victories of the 1940s in the command and staff and war college classrooms of the 1920s and 1930s.”⁶⁵ Skelton’s opinion was not particularly groundbreaking, either. Half a century earlier, Samuel Huntington wrote in similar terms about the ability of the Gilded Age military to overcome post-Civil War retrenchment and demonstrate creativity.⁶⁶ Throughout these periods the applicatory style of learning was kept in place, maintaining a connection to the PME ideologies that had first inspired American military educators a generation before.

⁶³ Ike Skelton, “JPME: Are We There Yet?,” *Military Review* 77, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 99.

⁶⁴ Skelton, “JPME: Are We There Yet?,” 99.

⁶⁵ Skelton, “JPME: Are We There Yet?,” 99.

⁶⁶ Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 229.

The Basic School: A Different Kind of PME

When considering The Basic School in the context of professional military education, it is important to remember that the concept of PME is often understood in a limited sense that does not capture the ethos, culture, or content of TBS at all. As a basic course at the tactical level, many did not—and still do not—consider what happened at TBS to be *education* at all. It was and remains merely *training*. However, when examining the records of the school itself, it is clear that foundational principles for self-improvement and autodidacticism, for decision-making skills, and for leadership and management skills were all imparted at TBS from its earliest days. Those are critical educational concepts, not training procedures. In chapter 7, a detailed analysis of the military history course helps prove the particularly educational tenor of a TBS education. Furthermore, it is anachronistic to presume that the officers who founded the School of Application in 1891 or who commanded TBS between the World Wars would have put a great deal of thought into whether there was a difference between training and education. The distinction had not entered the lexicon during that time period, even among those military officers who were well known for their interest in PME.

The interwar Marines failed to leave behind much helpful, reflective commentary on their schools. Instead, the writing of their peers and contemporaries can be analyzed. The obvious, and perennial, comparison made by scholars is between the Marine Corps and the Army. The Corps has often been considered merely a small amphibious army. That is accurate, since the Marine Corps is in fact a small amphibious army. The Basic School has always focused on concepts that overlap with those taught at Army schools. It has enough in common with Army schools, in fact, that the available literature on Army PME provides good commentary on the Marine Corps as well. For that reason, the work of several scholars is considered in these pages, as they variously discuss

the U.S. Army War College, the U.S. Army Command and Staff School, the U.S. Army Infantry School at Fort Benning, the U.S. Naval War College, the Marine Corps Field Officers' Course, and the Marine Corps Company Officers' Course.

All of these schools were designed to teach officers with at least four or five years in military service. In its most complete form, this tiered structure had war colleges at the top, staff schools below, and a career course at the bottom. Below that, a Service academy provided preprofessional training and education. The Army sent lieutenants at the earliest opportunity to artillery, infantry, transportation, or air schools, sometimes before their first tour of duty but often immediately following it, after the officer had acquired one to two years of experience. At two to three and three to five years in service, Army officers had a variety of opportunities for more advanced education depending on their area of expertise. The Navy, by contrast, operated no intermediate schools for a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy: each was qualified upon graduation day to serve as a line officer in the Navy and that was that. If they survived the sea and the promotion boards, eventually they could attend the Naval War College.

It has been mentioned that the Marine Corps created a hybrid or compromise system of PME. More accurately, the Corps created an Army structure with a Navy culture. Like the Army, the Corps created career and senior courses for officers. Like the Army, these schools attempted to teach officers the mechanics of command both through classroom recitation and tactical games and field exercises. Like the Navy, the Corps operated generalist schools for the officers to learn and absorb the naval culture that transcended any technical specialty and united all mariners. Like the Navy, the Corps imbued its officers with a sense of independence and self-reliance; the ship's officer was as likely as not to be deprived of a senior colleague's advice and support when encountering an enemy far from home. However, there were still many differences.

The Corps was the only Service with a basic course. It insisted on all officers completing this basic course, no matter the source of their previous education (military academy, civilian college, etc). It operated no war college-level school due to its lack of corps- or army-size units. The differences made the Marine Corps unique as an institution, and consequently the current scholarship, which covers the Army and Navy well, is inadequate to completely explain how and why the Marine Corps' PME system was created.

What happens at TBS and what has happened since its inception is correctly understood as education. As Lieutenant Colonel Beadle is quoted at the beginning of this chapter: "Here is our opportunity to lay a foundation for officers of true Marine Corps caliber."⁶⁷ Beadle observed something more significant than Marine officers learning to clean a rifle or march in close order. The entire structure of the school adhered to the model set out by visionaries of military education, such as Stephen B. Luce and Alfred T. Mahan.⁶⁸ The basic concepts that formed the course content at TBS did not preclude the students from developing advanced learning skills; collaborative learning and individual inquiry were always part of the program. In short, the Marine Corps' basic officers course was and is an essential element of its PME system. How and when it originally developed is considered in the next chapter. Understanding TBS as an educational institution, instead of merely a training institution, helps frame it properly as the foundation and heart of the entire professional education system that builds on it.

⁶⁷ Beadle, "Report of Findings: Inspection of the Basic School," 1.

⁶⁸ Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 191.

Chapter 2

Early History of The Basic School

In 1890, an act of Congress ordered officer promotion in the U.S. Army to be based on examination rather than a mere assessment by seniority.¹ This groundbreaking measure was the first of many such legal acts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that cemented the transformation of the Army into a modern military force. Within six months, the Marine Corps followed suit. In an order by Colonel Commandant Charles Heywood, the Marines not only instituted promotion by examination but also authorized the foundation of a school that would teach the subjects necessary for officers who would be taking promotion examinations. This was the birth of the School of Application, which opened its doors to seven students in autumn 1891. By the time the United States emerged from the First World War, the School of Application had become a fully developed educational institution serving several dozen students each year and covering every basic topic of military knowledge deemed necessary by Headquarters Marine Corps.

“History of the Marine Corps Schools”:

Primary Source

There are few original records on the history of TBS. The nearest contemporary source exclusively focused on the topic of the Marine

¹ 51st United States Congress, *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1890).

Corps Schools was produced in 1945. Prior to that, no purpose-written history of any Marine Corps school had been created. The “History of the Marine Corps Schools” was authored by First Lieutenant Anthony A. Frances at the direction of the commandant of the Marine Corps Schools General Oliver P. Smith. There are two extant copies of this source. One is held by the Marine Corps University Research Library in Quantico, Virginia, and one by the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. The Quantico copy is the original. It is a library-bound typewritten manuscript.² A processing stamp indicates the work was cataloged by library staff in 1960.

The “History of the Marine Corps Schools” lacks citations, notes, or a bibliography. The short disclaimer Frances included at the beginning of the book is the sole explanation of his methodology.

Source material for this history includes files of the Marine Corps Schools and all its branches; the Schools Library and files of the old newspapers and magazines; the annual reports of the Commandant of the Marine Corps and Commandant of the Marine Corps Schools; general files at Marine Corps Headquarters, Navy Annex, Washington, DC; and the reference division of the National Archives, Washington, DC. Additional information was obtained by personal interviews with officers who held responsible positions at the Schools at the time of writing or who had served there in previous years. The writer was a candidate in the Marine Corps Schools, having been commissioned with the Sixteenth Candidates’ Class. He is indebted to First Lieutenant E. D. Lejeune, Officer-in-Charge of the Library and Record Section, Miss C. M. Waster, Libraries, and

² 1stLt Anthony Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools” (unpublished manuscript, 1945).

their staffs' [*sic*] for their pleasant cooperation and valuable assistance in compiling this history.

~Anthony A. Frances³

We are left to infer from the text itself which of these sources the author used for which portions of his work.

The "History of the Marine Corps Schools" is divided into eight sections, with an appendix at the end. The first three sections are the most relevant to this work: they discuss the foundation of TBS (as the School of Application) in 1891 and continue through 1935. Understanding the founding era is helpful because that period had the most detailed and explicit record of ideological discussions about PME in the Marine Corps. Frances included a great deal of this background material in his analysis of the first decade of the school's existence. Unfortunately, once he reached the time period most relevant to this study, Frances included far less background explanation about why the school was structured a certain way, merely relating what was being taught. Frances's history was a key source for this chapter; setting out timelines, creating a picture of the first school staff, and developing leads on better or more carefully considered works.

Given the official status of the writing project, it is hardly surprising that the introduction to the "History of the Marine Corps Schools" emphasizes industry, activity, and solidarity among the Marines engaged in academic pursuits. At the time Frances wrote, the Marine Corps Schools were all colocated in Quantico. The introduction provides a clear view of what Marines at the time thought was important about their professional schools.

On the shores of the wide Potomac and across the rugged terrain on the 60,000 acre military reservation in Prince William County, Virginia, thousands

³"Preface," in Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools."

of America's finest young men have labored long and hard for commissions in the United States Marine Corps. At the same time, thousands of other officers, generals, and lieutenants and majors, have studied and experimented there in order to better themselves, their Corps, and to contribute to a stronger and better first line of defense for their country.

Quantico has grown into one of the Corps' largest and most developed bases, largely because Quantico today is the center for Marine officers' training and education. The Marine Corps Schools are the Marines' Annapolis [the Naval Academy] and Naval War College all rolled into one.⁴

In this passage, Frances stressed that the schools were meant to cover every level of education, from the most basic (Naval Academy) to the most advanced (Naval War College). He also reflected on the work of previous generations:

Quantico, however, was not the first Marine Base that provided officers' training. Since the history of the Corps itself is a subtle study of world geography, the story of the Marine Corps Schools has its share of moving about. . . . It is a story of how the school grew from a teaching staff of two officers to an institution in which 400 officers served during World War II as administrators and instructors. It is a story of the struggle for classrooms, buildings, training areas, rifle ranges and impact areas. Likewise it was a continuous struggle to develop a better and more thorough curriculum.⁵

⁴ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 1.

⁵ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 2.

Frances's insight into the founding of TBS is important because he had access to sources that are no longer available. For that reason, his book is typically treated as a primary source by a variety of secondary works, including the official history of TBS and this work. The personal interviews he conducted cannot be replicated; the records and papers of the Marine Corps Schools that he seems to have consulted have largely vanished; the book lists and syllabi cannot be fully corroborated by any extant source.

Yet, Frances's book had the strongest endorsement of the Commandant of the Marine Corps and was read and forwarded by at least one senior officer who would have experienced TBS for himself between 1920 and 1950. The latter fact alone demands that the "History of the Marine Corps Schools" be treated with some deference as a source in its own right. Nevertheless, this book makes every effort to correct it where necessary by consulting other records.

School of Application: Establishment Under Heywood and Mannix

The 1890 congressional act on promotion by examination transformed the education projects of visionaries like Luce and Upton from prescient experiments into critical necessities.⁶ Once officers were required to pass such examinations, the creation of schools to prepare officers for the exams was a logical next step. Commandant Heywood was not one to ignore critical necessities and moved immediately to establish some type of officers' school for the Marine Corps. Heywood did not personally record his motivations, but according to some authors, Heywood acted quickly in part to preempt the Navy Department from setting standards for Marine officers.⁷ Marine officers at sea were often at risk of having

⁶ *Military Laws of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 346.

⁷ Anne Cipriano Venzon, *From Whaleboats to Amphibious Warfare: Lt. Gen. "Howling Mad" Smith and the U.S. Marine Corps* (Westport, CT: Prager, 2003), 10.

their authority undermined or reduced by the action of a nearby Navy officer.⁸ Perhaps awareness of that truth led Heywood to act. Perhaps it was just common sense that schools were needed.

Whatever the motivations, the end result was the establishment of the School of Application on 1 May 1891. General Order No. 1, as published in the secretary of the Navy's annual report for that year, outlined the purpose and structure of the school Heywood envisioned.⁹ Examining this document in detail will reveal much of his thinking. His precedent-making document provided an outline of the Marines' first professional school, one that not only justified its existence to Congress, but helped the school's first staff understand their mission.

DESIGNATION.

The school is officially designated the "School of Application of the United States Marine Corps," and it will be under the direct care and supervision of the colonel commandant.

ORGANIZATION.

The School of Application shall consist of a director of instruction, who shall have the immediate command of the school and post; instructors and assistant instructors, and such officers and enlisted men as may be assigned to it for duty or instruction.

ADMINISTRATION.

Instructors and assistant instructors shall, as far as practicable in the judgment of the commanding officer of the school, be exempt from all duties that will in any way interfere with the preparation for and

⁸ Fullam, "The System of Naval Training and Discipline Required to Promote Efficiency and Attract Americans," U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* 16, no. 4 (1890): 473–536.

⁹ Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for the Year 1891* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Officer, 1891), 621–23, hereafter Heywood, 1891 report of the Commandant.

proper performance of duty as instructors and assistant instructors. . . . The instruction as prescribed shall be obligatory for all commissioned officers and noncommissioned officers, and for such other enlisted men as may be assigned to the school for duty or instruction.¹⁰

This new school would assist the Corps in moving away from a system of officer education that was wholly dependent on on-the-job training. By using a school-based system, the officers of the Corps would impart a more consistent and predictable knowledge set, while their leadership style could be formed from a central model. The available evidence does not indicate that the school's foundation catalyzed a change in organizational culture. Instead, the use of experienced Marine officers as instructors meant that the schools reproduced and perpetuated the existing culture of the Corps in a centralized environment. This conclusion is consistent with the analysis of interwar education, where the experience of the instructor staff had a bigger impact on the school than any other single factor; it was the same in the 1890s, as well. The Marine Corps Schools, beginning with the School of Application, codified and systematized an ethos and ideology that already animated the Marine Corps.

The "History of the Marine Corps Schools" helps to make this point, by focusing on the persona of the School of Application's first commanding officer, Captain Daniel Pratt Mannix Jr. Frances saw Mannix as the Marine who set the cycle of influence in motion.

When benign-looking Captain Mannix took over his new post his career in the Marine Corps had nearly run its course. Evidence by his white goatee,

¹⁰ Heywood, 1891 report of the Commandant, 622; and Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 5.

he was an old hand, and his years of service, rich in experience, and typical of the old Marine Corps, were highlighted by a decoration from the Chinese Emperor. During the Civil War he served aboard the *Ohio* [*sic*], the steamer *Cricknet* [1863], and the ironclad steamer *Chillicothe* [1862]. He was commissioned in the Marine Corps in 1865. His assignments included a tour aboard the *Saugus* [1863], the usual round of guard duty ashore, three years of duty with the Quartermaster's Department, artillery school at Fort Monroe, Virginia, Navy Torpedo School at Newport, Rhode Island, two cruises aboard the steamer *Ticonderoga* [1862], finally a torpedo instructor for the Chinese Army for which the Emperor made him a member of the Order of the Imperial Dragon for distinguished services. In 1886 he returned to Washington, took a last cruise to the Far East aboard the flagship *Brooklyn* [1858] and returned to headquarters in 1887 where he was again detailed to the Quartermaster Department. His last tour of duty was as commanding officer of the School of Application, which post he held at the time of his death in February 1894.¹¹

Frances carefully projects the image of a long-experienced, widely traveled Marine. Mannix, like Heywood, served in all the various posts common for Marines to hold in the nineteenth century and in addition had served lengthy periods ashore overseas.¹² Both the

¹¹ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 6, 12. It appears that Frances misread Mannix's record in the Navy register, mistaking his home state of Ohio for the ship to which he was assigned, as the columns for this information run side by side. The register records Mannix's ship or station for 1862–65 as the USS *General Thomas* (1864).

¹² Jack Shulimson, *The Marine Corps' Search for a Mission, 1880–1898* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 29–32.

Commandant and the school commander had no formal professional education. They had life experience. Once a PME system for the Marine Corps had been initiated, the ongoing, informal, on-the-job, apprenticeship experience of their lifetimes had to be converted into something new. It would become part of the fabric of the school-based framework. Those who were shaped by the school as students returned later as instructors to influence the next generation, but their fleet experience in the meantime was what made them effective, interesting mentors.

Next, Frances reported that a group of seven second lieutenants arrived for duty at the School of Application on 1 July 1891. All were members of the U.S. Naval Academy's class of 1889 and had just completed two years at sea as naval cadets. One of those seven, Benjamin H. Fuller, would go on to serve as Commandant (1930–34). After they completed the course of instruction, they took a proficiency exam before being allowed to graduate. Frances reported that Mannix decided what was on the exam.

Captain Mannix developed a nine-month course of study which was followed, with minor changes, for many years afterward. Undoubtedly, his long years of experience in the Corps, his specialized training in artillery and torpedoes served him well in conducting the affairs of the school. For his first class, he prepared 214 questions which comprised the final examination. The questions were purely academic. There were no practical exercises or problems. All seven students passed the course, and continued with their Marine Corps careers.¹³

The course as set up by Mannix always lasted nine months and it was located at the Marine Barracks, Washington, DC.

¹³ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 12.

The annual reports of the Commandant for 1892, 1894, and 1895 demonstrate that the School of Application was an important piece of Heywood's vision for the Marine Corps. Multiple pages were dedicated to a lengthy report from the officer in charge of the school (Mannix). No other officer of the Marine Corps was allotted so much space, with the exception of the paymaster general. Generally, items that received the most attention in an annual report were those that needed the most explanation or justification. Heywood knew that his new school continued only at the pleasure of the secretary of the Navy and he repeatedly sought to make its value clear.

In October 1892, three new officers passed exams for promotion. Continuing the pattern of highlighting the School of Application, Colonel Heywood wrote

The most excellent results have been obtained in the course of instruction to both officers and enlisted men, and show in a very gratifying manner the advisability of its establishment, and the benefit that will result to the corps. . . . Owing to the limited number of officers and men, and the duty that is required of them, it has been impossible to order as many here for instruction as I would like. Many officers and enlisted men have applied to be detailed, and I hope, if the corps is increased, to see large classes here in the future, and gradually to have everyone in the corps instructed at this school.¹⁴

Heywood's high praise included not only a glowing report, but the unheard-of suggestion that all Marines would eventually be at-

¹⁴ Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of Marines," in *Report of the Secretary of the Navy; Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the Second Session of the Fifty-Second Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1892), 628, hereafter Heywood, 1892 report of the Commandant.

tending school. To propose that *all* Marine Corps personnel be instructed at a formal institution demonstrated that Heywood was on board with the professionalization movement in a serious way.

The 1892 annual report included the long report of Captain Mannix on the progress made at the new school during its first year. "With the view of supplying a want long felt by the corps for a school of practice," Mannix confidently relayed how the school's location was ideally suited to the task of educating new officers and was already contributing to improving the Marine Corps.¹⁵

The headquarters of the corps has special advantages not possessed by any other place for a school of practice. Here student officers and men are comparatively free from the care of guard duty, except so much as may be necessary for instruction, and in consequence display more interest in their drills and studies and have more time to devote to them. The naval experimental ground for ordnance at Indian Head is of easy access, as is the naval magazine with its excellent range for target practice, and a few miles back of the Potomac's eastern branch the country is well adapted for field training. The navy-yard and gun foundry are conveniently at hand, combining a water front admirably suited for instruction in boat pulling and sailing, with the advantages afforded by the gun shops of acquiring a practical knowledge of the manufacture of guns, carriages, etc., not to be obtained elsewhere.¹⁶

¹⁵ Report of Capt D. P. Mannix, Commanding School of Application, in Heywood, 1892 report of the Commandant, 641, hereafter Report of Capt D. P. Mannix.

¹⁶ Report of Capt D. P. Mannix, 641.

Next, he detailed the courses he oversaw, dividing the program into sections for officers and enlisted. For officers, Mannix provided a description for each course.

The course of infantry is divided into four parts, embracing the drill instructions, guard duty, small-arms firing regulations, and infantry fire discipline, and consists of recitations, drills, problems, and field exercises.

The course of artillery is divided into two parts, embracing artillery drill instruction and naval gunnery, and consists of recitations, drills, and practical exercises.

The course in administration and sea service is divided into two parts, military administration and sea service, and consists of lessons and exercises in application.

For the present the course of law is limited to one part, military law and courts-martial, and consists of lessons supplemented by lectures.

The course of torpedoes is divided into four parts, torpedoes offensive and defensive, torpedo fuses, electricity, and explosives, and consists of lessons and exercises in application.

The course of engineering is divided into four parts: topography, field engineering, signaling and telegraphy, military hygiene, and consists of lessons, lectures, and exercises in application.

The course of military art is divided into three parts: minor tactics, grand tactics, and strategy, and consists of lessons and exercises in application.¹⁷

¹⁷ Report of Capt D. P. Mannix, 641-45.

Mannix's inclusion of grand tactics and strategy in the course on military art is critical. Instructing newly commissioned officers is an educational undertaking, one that goes beyond mere technical training. In the list of courses for enlisted Marines, only military law and military art are missing. Since enlisted Marines did not serve any role in courts martial, they did not need a law course. In place of the military art course, enlisted Marines received abbreviated instruction only in minor tactics. This structure emphasizes the aspects of officer education that relied on creativity, analysis, and a philosophical understanding of warfare. In his own commentary, Frances also noted the inclusion of grand strategy, then highlighted the mention of "combined action of the three arms of battle" under the military art subheading.¹⁸

Certainly Colonel Heywood and his colleagues had no way of knowing that "combined action" would come to mean, in later years, a gargantuan force on the land, sea and in the air. . . . The progenitors of the School of Application were not visionaries, but they knew that any battle would be determined by the close coordination of all arms and units.¹⁹

There is no question that advanced concepts were being taught to the lieutenants at this school from the first day it opened.

Mannix's report went on to summarize the operation of the School of Application. He explained how he and his staff of three first lieutenants had to prepare their own notes and circulars for use in class in lieu of having actual textbooks on hand. Mannix's staff consisted of First Lieutenants Harry K. White, Thomas C. Prince, and Charles G. Long. White would spend almost 40 years serving the Marine Corps. He was recalled to active duty during

¹⁸ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 11.

¹⁹ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 11.

World War I in order to manage courts martial (health problems precluded him from combat duty) and again after the war to manage naval records for the Marine Corps.²⁰ Prince graduated from the Naval Academy in 1875 and retired from the Marine Corps sometime before 1915. He served in the Adjutant and Inspector's Office for several years.²¹ Long remained in the Marine Corps until 1921 and was the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps during World War I. His career included combat engagements at Guantánamo Bay, Tientsin (China), Nicaragua, and Vera Cruz.²² None of the three Marines published articles in the *Marine Corps Gazette* or the U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings*. For the first semester, only Prince was actually present at the School of Application. Whatever writing these instructors completed, it was either published anonymously or was otherwise forgotten as newer materials replaced their original notes and lectures.

Not everything was an unqualified success. A lack of sufficient quarters in the early part of the year meant that the start of classes was delayed. In contrast to his glowing introduction on the suitability of the Marine Barracks, Washington, DC, in the operations section of his report, Mannix complained that while many facilities were nearby, it was time-consuming and complicated to arrange use of those facilities for the School of Application students. Surveying and drawing equipment were in short supply. However, the assistance of several Navy officers in Washington, serving essentially as volunteers, helped ease the teaching burden with lectures and lessons on naval ordnance, military hygiene, and first aid. According to the 1892 report, each subject was taken in turn and the course work completed before the class moved on to the

²⁰ *The Danville (VA) Bee*, 7 November 1924, 1. See also *Muster Rolls of the United States Marine Corps 1893-1943*.

²¹ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910), 180.

²² Charles G. Long official biography, Historical Resources Branch, Marine Corps History Division (MCHD), Quantico, VA.

next subject. The written portion of the final examination was included in the annual report, filling close to eight pages and giving a very clear idea of what topics had been covered during the course of instruction.²³ At the end of the year, the students were given their oral examinations by the Commandant, with the aid of Major H. B. Lowry, quartermaster of the Corps.²⁴

The Frances manuscript described the first decade as a long struggle for existence, since the School of Application was in competition with hot wars, expeditionary activities, training needs, and the perennial fight over funding. This was in contrast to the struggle for existence experienced by the Army's school at Leavenworth and the Navy's War College, both of which faced all of those basic challenges plus the active opposition of some senior officers within their respective organizations.²⁵ It is significant that Heywood did not mention any lack of cooperation on the part of other Marines. In fact, he specifically stated that more officers and enlisted Marines applied to the school than could be spared from the fleet. The primary dangers to the School of Application, at least in the Commandant's eyes, were the challenges of manpower availability and limited funding.

By contrast, Frances's 1945 account does allege the existence of reluctant officers. Paralleling some of the lack of cooperation seen in the Army and Navy at their more senior schools, Frances described officer students sometimes being the biggest problem:

The attitude of the officers toward the "schooling" did not enhance the growth of the school at first. Most of the officers in the Corps in the early days were drawn from the Naval Academy where they spent

²³ Report of Capt D. P. Mannix, 648–55.

²⁴ Report of Capt D. P. Mannix, 647.

²⁵ T. R. Brereton, *Educating the U.S. Army: Arthur L. Wagner and Reform, 1875–1905* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); and Ronald Spector, *Professors of War: The Naval War College and the Development of the Naval Profession* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1977).

four years under Navy tutelage. Following this, all graduates of the Academy were immediately sent on a two-year tour of sea duty with the Fleet. Returning from their cruises, they were far from anxious to sit for more schooling. Later, some of the older officers were assigned to the school as students. Their protest was the loudest. Some of these salty old characters were in no mood to hold down a school desk after years at sea and several more years of duty in the Far East or Central America. Most of them did not join the Marine Corps to go to school, and some of them were far from hesitating about saying so.²⁶

The inclusion of Central America in this passage demonstrates that Frances was referring to Marines as late as 1912, when the first expeditions to Nicaragua were dispatched. When Frances wrote his manuscript he was stationed at Quantico and would have interacted with a variety of senior Marines there. Individuals such as Oliver P. Smith (commissioned 1917), James Devereux (enlisted 1923), Edward Dyer (commissioned 1929), Francis Fenton (enlisted 1917), and Merrill Twining (commissioned 1923) were familiar with the “Old Corps” and officers from that era who might have had less than a positive attitude about schooling. All were at Quantico or Headquarters Marine Corps in 1945. While Frances was stationed in Washington, DC, several interwar-era TBS instructors passed through Headquarters Company C and he could have interviewed them as well: Colonel William C. Purple, Lieutenant Colonel George L. Hollett, Major General Graves B. Erskine, Captain Harold D. Harris, and Colonel Emmett Skinner. Frances listed personal interviews as one of his sources, and these are the type of officers he had the chance to engage at that time.

²⁶ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 13.

Regardless of individual anecdotes about antieducation Marines, the official opinion of the Commandant in the early years of the School of Application was positive and supportive. Scholars such as Jack Shulimson assert that the debates within the Marine Corps during the late 1800s did not focus on the attitude of Marines *toward* education at all. Instead, broad and existential questions about the role of the Marine Corps in a modernizing Navy, or its “jurisdictional area,” occupied the forward thinkers of the day.²⁷ If true, the internal debate described by Frances was relegated to informal media such as letters and personal discussion. Furthermore, Frances interviewed officers about those discussions 40 and 50 years after the fact. Much of that testimony would have consisted of relatively unreliable second- or third-hand recollection.

The Commandant’s annual report for 1893 contains much of the same information as Mannix provided for the inaugural year at the School of Application. The same courses in infantry, artillery, administration and sea service, law, torpedoes, engineering, and military art were offered. In 1893, the final examinations were presumably also conducted by the Commandant and quartermasters of the Marine Corps, but in addition a board of visitors was convened to attend the closing exercises and make a report on the school. The board included one Navy officer, one Army infantry officer, and a lieutenant colonel of Marines. Their “unanimous opinion” was that the school deserved “highest praise.”²⁸

In a separate paragraph, the board praised the instructors for their work in creating and distributing new written works on the subjects taught at the school.²⁹ This commentary from the board

²⁷ Shulimson, *The Marine Corps’ Search for a Mission, 1880–1898*, 202.

²⁸ Report of Board of Visitors, hereafter Report of Board of Visitors, in Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, “Report of the Commandant of the United States Marine Corps,” in *Report of the Secretary of the Navy; Being Part of the Messages and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the Second Session of the Fifty-third Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893), 584.

²⁹ Report of Board of Visitors, 584.

sheds some light on the production and dissemination of professional materials, something the reports of Mannix and Heywood fail to explain. The annual reports give the impression that an immense amount of writing was done by the school staff. More than three decades before any formal school would be established for the purpose, Mannix foresaw the usefulness of a correspondence course or similar program of professional development. In his 1892 report, he suggested that if someone could procure a hand press for the school staff, they could reprint their notes and distribute them to the entire Marine Corps.³⁰ The request was not repeated in his 1893 report, but neither did Mannix mention having acquired a printing press. Instead, only the board's report confirms the role that School of Application instructors had in developing not just their school but the Marine Corps itself.³¹ If the instructors were composing their own textbooks, they were exerting direct influence on the thought processes of future Marine officers.

End-of-Century Developments

Captain Mannix died on 6 February 1894. Captain Paul St. Clair Murphy took command of the School of Application and completed the course with the class then in session, which included 6 officers and 23 enlisted Marines.³² He continued the initiatives begun by Mannix and reemphasized the use of practical teaching methods. Murphy was especially proud of the employment of local terrain to teach topography.

While work in all departments of study was exceptionally good, the practical exercises in topography are deserving of special mention. In this depart-

³⁰ Report of Capt D. P. Mannix, 647.

³¹ Report of Board of Visitors, 584.

³² Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," *Report of the Secretary of the Navy; Being Part of the Messages and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the Third Session of the Fifty-third Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1894), 643.

ment parties were organized and sent out from time to time to make reconnaissance of the neighboring country, the conformation of which is sufficiently diversified to offer a good test to the knowledge of the students in field work. These reconnoitering parties made very creditable reports and sketches and showed a thorough comprehension of the principles that govern the making of hasty surveys and the collecting and recording of data necessary for military operations. The plotting of campaigns in connection with the study of the Operations of War (Hamley), in which much original work was done, showed an intelligent understanding of the subject and a high degree of merit in the art of map drawing.³³

During the 1894–95 academic year, Captain Murphy extended the course from 9 months to 12. He brought in guest lecturers to present on “Modern Small Arms” and “Naval Law and Procedure.” Seven officers and 18 enlisted men undertook instruction that year. Two of them did not graduate: one officer resigned his place in order to join the Navy, and one private was dismissed.³⁴

Between 1895 and 1901, further minor alterations were made to the course of study. A new commanding officer arrived in 1896, Captain Francis H. Harrington. Harrington was known in the Marine Corps for his interest in the naval expeditionary brigade and was among the Marines who pioneered the Advanced Base Force concept around the turn of the century. His presence at the School of Application preceded his most famous assign-

³³ Capt Paul St. C. Murphy, Report of the School of Application, hereafter Murphy, Report of the School of Application, in Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, “Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps,” in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for the Year 1895* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895), 530.

³⁴ Murphy, Report of the School of Application, 530.

ment as commanding officer of the First Marine Battalion during the landing at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In the annual report of 1895, Murphy's report noted that topography, terrain comprehension, and the ability to make hasty sketches had been added to the final exams.³⁵ The Frances manuscript dates the shift to 1897, unequivocally stating that 1897 was the year terrain sketches were added to the exams.³⁶ The 1897 annual report includes Harrington's full report on the School of Application, but it does not make any special mention of additional courses in topography. On the contrary, Harrington described a course in sketching and reconnaissance very similar to that conducted by Mannix in 1892 and 1894. He also requested that newer and more modern topography textbooks be provided for the school, which perhaps led Frances to erroneously date the shift to Harrington's tenure.³⁷ Certainly practical exercises on real terrain had been part of the curriculum since before 1895 and the reason for such confusion in the record is unclear. Words such as *more*, *significant*, and *increased* are relative and do not provide an overly clear idea of the scope of change. Whenever it happened, making terrain-related work a key element of the School of Application curriculum brought it in line with the emphasis on terrain and sketching that was already well established in the U.S. Army schools.

According to Frances, Arthur L. Wagner's *Organization and Tactics* was added to the list of textbooks between 1895 and 1900. *Organization and Tactics* premiered in 1894 as a companion to Wagner's first book, *The Service of Security and Information*. Both were designed to fill a lacuna in the existing literature which

³⁵ Murphy, Report of the School of Application, 530.

³⁶ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 15.

³⁷ Capt F. H. Harrington, Report of School of Application, in Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," in *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1897* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), 565, hereafter Heywood, 1897 report of the Commandant.

lacked references to American campaigns and battles.³⁸ The use of Wagner's textbook was recommended by the board of visitors during their spring visit to the School of Application in 1897, as it was "up to date and [being] used at all the military schools of the country."³⁹ Wagner was an officer of the U.S. Army, heralded across the military Services as the new Emory Upton. Wagner was the officer who put Upton's ideas into practice, transforming the Leavenworth schools into premier PME institutions.⁴⁰ In 1898, he was "universally regarded as the army's chief spokesman on matters of tactics and doctrine."⁴¹

A central feature of Wagner's military philosophy was that leadership, command, and strategy could be taught to officers, primarily through the use of military history. He spent most of his career battling officers who believed the opposite: that no amount of teaching could give an officer an idea of how to lead or how to create and employ strategy. Instead, many Army leaders subscribed to a caricature of the Clausewitzian *genius*: according to one of Wagner's chief detractors, Army major James Chester, a real leader "controls the spirits of his men *silently, mysteriously, magnetically*."⁴² Such was the prevailing view among many of those who had led the Army during and immediately after the American Civil War. By implementing a schools system, the Marine Corps had clearly aligned itself with the Uptonian, Mahanian, and Wagnerian ideology, which advocated for the education of officers not only in tactics or drill but in the art of command itself. Including Wagner's textbooks in the curriculum at the School of Application was the logical next step in the improvement of their infant PME system.

³⁸ Brereton, *Educating the Army*, 39.

³⁹ Report Board of Visitors School of Application, in Heywood, 1897 report of the Commandant, 567.

⁴⁰ Brereton, *Educating the Army*, xi.

⁴¹ Brereton, *Educating the Army*, xii.

⁴² Brereton, *Educating the Army*, 27, emphasis original.

Unfortunately, the explosion of the USS *Maine* (1895–98) in Havana harbor and the beginning of the Spanish-American War resulted in the 1898 annual report on the School of Application being truncated: no full-length report from the school's director was included for the school year that had just ended. Likewise, the 1899 and 1900 reports contained no information on the school, since it was closed in mid-1898 and all the students and staff reported for duty. In 1900, Headquarters Marine Corps relocated the School of Application to the newly constructed Marine Barracks Annapolis, Maryland, where it reopened.

The muster rolls for Annapolis from 1899 to 1903 are damaged and a complete record of students and staff is difficult to recreate. The "History of the Marine Corps Schools" indicates that the director of the School of Application in 1900–1 was Captain John H. Russell Jr. In Commandant Heywood's words, Russell was "the instructor for the year," implying that he was the only instructor present. Overseeing Russell was Lieutenant Colonel B. R. Russell, commanding officer of the nearby Washington Marine Barracks.⁴³ (Captain John H. Russell would later serve as Commandant of the Marine Corps, 1934–36.) Another officer present during that time was Captain Louis J. Magill, a veteran of the 1898 landings at Guantánamo Bay and one of the early participants in the Advanced Base Force (as a member of the staff of Captain Francis Harrington).⁴⁴ Magill was the officer in charge of the Marine Barracks at Annapolis, Maryland. He later published articles in the *Marine Corps Gazette* on the topic of administration and paperwork, in which he detailed his long career and the variety of posts he had held. According to the combat accounts from the 1896–

⁴³ School of Application, hereafter 1901 School of Application report, in Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1901*, pt. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 1234.

⁴⁴ Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898), 826, 838–45.

1900 annual reports, Magill and Russell both served alongside or in close relationship to former School of Application instructors including Thomas Prince and Charles Long, as well as former school director Harrington. There was ample opportunity for all of these officers to discuss the school, its curriculum, and means for improving it.

The officers under instruction in the 1900–1 academic year were all “appointed from civil life,” meaning they were not graduates of the Naval Academy.⁴⁵ Their course of instruction did not begin until November 1900 due to ongoing difficulties preparing the facilities at Annapolis to receive students. The eight officer students were First Lieutenant Harold C. Snyder and Second Lieutenants Thomas H. Brown, Rupert C. Dewey, Hamilton D. South, James K. Tracy, Berton W. Sibley, William Brackett, and William L. Redles.⁴⁶ Practical exercises took the form of company and battalion drills, practice marches, scouting, operating 3-inch field guns, and signaling. Theoretical exercises included recitations or lectures three times per day, six days per week, and two recitations or lectures on Sunday.⁴⁷ At the end of the 1900–1 school year, Heywood ordered the honor graduate, Second Lieutenant Dewey, to remain at the School of Application as an instructor. There is no record of how poor Lieutenant Dewey felt about the assignment.

Some Departures from the Established Narrative: 1900

No enlisted Marines were instructed at the School of Application during the 1900–1 year. According to the annual report, this was because not enough noncommissioned officers were available to justify running a course of instruction for them. The careful division of School of Application reports into officer and enlisted divi-

⁴⁵ 1901 School of Application report, 1234.

⁴⁶ 1901 School of Application report, 1234.

⁴⁷ 1901 School of Application report, 1235.

sions shows that although there was a single School of Application with a unified staff, students who came from a Service academy or civilian college completed a different course of instruction than did the enlisted Marine students. Prior to the school's closure in 1898, the enlisted division was a simplified version of the officer's program, leaving out some more advanced skills such as mapmaking and the sections of military art that dealt with grand strategy. No one in the 1890s used the terms, but the differences between the two programs are essentially the difference between *training* (enlisted) and *education* (officers). All of the additional topics covered by officers but not enlisted students had less to do with ability and complexity and much more to do with which additional skills were needed by those who assumed decision-making responsibility on the battlefield.

The program changed slightly in 1900. According to Brigadier General Heywood (then in his 10th year as Commandant), after the Spanish-American War ended, he intended to reopen the School of Application and add a new course specifically designed to instruct Marines who would be promoted to gunnery sergeant.⁴⁸ In 1901, gunnery sergeant was still a relatively new rank, equivalent to the rank of first sergeant in the U.S. Army. According to the 1899 annual report, an extensive list of qualifications was necessary for promotion to this rank.

Candidates for appointment as gunnery-sergeant are subjected to a thorough examination as to their competency. They are required to demonstrate their proficiency in the drill regulations, their ability to thoroughly drill recruits, and to drill the squad and company. They must be thoroughly conversant with the nomenclature of the rapid-fire and machine guns used in the naval service, and be sufficiently

⁴⁸ 1901 School of Application report, 1236.

acquainted with their drill to be able to act as gun captain and to instruct the enlisted men in their duties at such guns. They are required to have knowledge of the kinds and quantities of ammunition used in those guns, and they must have a thorough knowledge of the instructions pertaining to target practice. They must also have a sufficient knowledge of the system of accountability of the United States Marine Corps to take charge of and properly render the accounts of a guard aboard ship, and be competent in all respects to perform the duties of a first sergeant in charge of a guard on a ship to which no marine officer is attached, as well as a knowledge of the duties involved in the subsistence of men ordered on detached duty, and the duties of an officer in command of a part of a landing party on shore.⁴⁹

Heywood's detailed explanation of the gunnery sergeant role helps explain the presence of enlisted personnel at what was traditionally viewed as an officers' school. These senior noncommissioned officers of the Marine Corps enjoyed parity with the junior officers in terms of their level of technical knowledge. In fact, the newly commissioned second lieutenant often relied on experienced Marines to guide him in technical matters, and trusted that they would take command of the unit should the officers become incapacitated. This insight helps correct one of the TBS myths: that it has been the place where all officers, and only officers, of the Marine Corps have received instruction. This clearly is not the case. Enlisted Marines were instructed at the School of Application from its first day, while some Marine officers did not attend

⁴⁹Col Cmdt Charles Heywood, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1899* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), 915.

the school at all, as it periodically opened and closed in response to manpower challenges.

Heywood's design in sending enlisted Marines to school was a key element in ensuring that as the duties and responsibilities of the junior officer became simultaneously better defined and more complex, the noncommissioned officer was educated to a similar level of subject matter expertise. The gradual increase in the size of the Marine Corps eventually led to there being sufficient numbers of enlisted personnel to establish schools for their exclusive use. By World War II, officer education and enlisted education tracks were well-defined and clearly separated.⁵⁰

An additional departure from the popular myths deserves attention at this point. Not only do many Marines believe that all officers (and only officers) have attended TBS, it is commonly believed that no other school for new officers ever existed. In the 1901 annual report, that myth is dealt a serious blow by the "Officers' Class at Boston, Mass."⁵¹ According to Commandant Heywood's report, nine officers of the Marine Corps received theoretical and practical instruction at the Marine Barracks in Boston, their duty station. The program closely followed the School of Application's model, and the officers who completed the Boston school were not required to also attend the school in Annapolis. The Boston course lasted eight months and covered standard topics: "drill regulations for infantry and artillery, the guard manual, firing regulations for small arms, naval ordnance and gunnery and explosives, security and information, military and naval signals, military field engi-

⁵⁰ Maj E. W. Sturdevant, "A System of Instructions for Officers of the Marine Corps," *Marine Corps Gazette* 4, no. 3 (September 1919): 232-38; and Lt John H. Gleason and Lt Martin J. Maloney, "School for Combat: The Camp Elliot Training Center," *Marine Corps Gazette* 27, no. 6 (October 1943): 22. Neither of these Marines appear in the various muster rolls or annual reports detailing the names of school staff. Lt Gleason in particular was likely a journalist or reporter assigned to author articles for the *Marine Corps Gazette* in order to educate Marines and raise morale. His writing style is very similar to that of 1stLt Anthony Frances.

⁵¹ 1901 School of Application report, 1236.

neering, infantry fire, military topography, and sketching.”⁵² Heywood set the Boston school apart from other, less formal courses that other Marine barracks conducted on an ad hoc basis. Typical courses, common across the fleet, only covered drill, formations, and the duties of advance and rear guards. The Boston school’s robust curriculum was clearly aligned with the more professional program at the School of Application, and Heywood gave credit to the commanding officer of Marine Barracks Boston, Colonel Percival Pope, for his direction.⁵³ The small school only trained perhaps 15 to 18 Marines over the years it existed, but the correction to the myth of TBS as a singular phenomenon should be noted.

School of Application: Early 1900s Lack of Stability

Six months of studies had been completed at the new location in Annapolis when Major Charles A. Doyen, commanding officer, had to close the School of Application due to high demand for officers in the Philippines. It would not reopen until 1904.⁵⁴ When the School of Application reopened, the students returned to the Maryland location. It is not clear, however, why Annapolis was chosen in 1900, nor why the school returned there: the conditions did not seem to merit it. According to Colonel Clyde Metcalf,

The school was housed in unsuitable quarters and barracks which proved to be quite a shock to some of the newly appointed officers from civil life. Before this class had completed its study, another section joined it, making a total of sixty-five, making the crowded conditions still more uncomfortable, and necessitating the erection of tents for added living space.⁵⁵

⁵² 1901 School of Application report, 1236.

⁵³ 1901 School of Application report, 1237.

⁵⁴ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 15–16.

⁵⁵ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 16.

Frances did not provide a citation for Colonel Metcalf's statement, and Metcalf's own work, *A History of the United States Marine Corps* (1940), does not contain any similar passage. This is another example of a statement that was certainly based on an eyewitness account. Metcalf was a student at the School of Application in 1913 when it was located in Norfolk, Virginia. Metcalf's staff had attended the School of Application in 1909, and so on. Metcalf was working at Headquarters Marine Corps during the period Frances was assigned to make use of the archives and records held at Headquarters. Whatever anyone thought of the conditions, classes continued despite the lack of space and, except for a continued lack of ammunition and the facilities on which to train with it, the school prospered. "European ideas" about infantry were introduced during the 1905 class year, said Frances, and terms such as *fire power*, *mass*, and *economy of force* made their way into the institutional vocabulary.⁵⁶

Future major general Logan Feland (in 1904 still Captain Feland) served as an instructor at the School of Application while it was in Annapolis. Feland had not attended the school as a lieutenant, since he was commissioned during one of the many periods when school operations were suspended. However, he was serious about his career and took advantage of the professional journals and books that abounded at the time. Keeping up with the latest in professional thinking meant reading the *Infantry Journal* produced at Fort Leavenworth, and Feland did so. While an instructor, he taught classes in tactics, field engineering, ordnance and gunnery, military law, hygiene, and signaling. Before and after classes, the instructors also ran drill, conducted physical exercise sessions, and guided students through the various processes of garrison duty. Some of Feland's fellow instructors would go on to

⁵⁶ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 16.

become luminaries in the Marine Corps' PME system: James C. Breckinridge, Robert Dunlap, and John Russell in particular.⁵⁷

In his history, Frances spent time editorializing on the School of Application as it operated in the 1900s and 1910s. His perspective as a World War II Marine must be kept in mind. For example, he relates the story of a field officer who refused to adopt new theories about infantry: there was no proof they worked, said the officer.⁵⁸ Frances had little patience for the reluctant innovator. He wrote,

“We have always done it that way,” has stymied improvements more than once. It cannot be said truthfully that the school was always progressive and always decadent. Rather the school is the arena in which the diehards and the radicals argue their points, and the amount of progress made is in direct proportion to the caliber of thinking involved.⁵⁹

There is no citation or indication as to the identity of this field officer, or how Frances came to know his story. Frances wrote his history from the perspective of a junior officer who had just spent nearly two years in the Pacific. He had many opportunities to solicit the opinions of the more-experienced officers around him. No doubt, in a tense combat environment, a fair share of critical or blame-placing comments were made. Failure, large or small, had to be examined and some reason had to be found for the failure. It was easy for a combat commander to blame a distant school or backward colleague for failures that led to death and defeat, and the assignment of blame at the school level had the added benefit of seeming easy to fix. A school curriculum could be amended

⁵⁷ David J. Bettez, *Kentucky Marine: Major General Logan Feland and the Making of the Modern USMC* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2014), 45.

⁵⁸ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 18.

⁵⁹ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 18.

much more easily than a complicated operational doctrine. Although tasked with writing a history, Frances had been trained as a journalist and his method appears to have been based on the interview, making note of others' thoughts. When he included those thoughts in his history, he failed to provide information on who offered those thoughts or in what context. It is also probable that the Corps itself had little desire to include too many names and assign opinions to them, as those interviewed were still serving within the organization.

Relocation in 1907: Port Royal, South Carolina

In 1907, the school moved to Port Royal, South Carolina, making use of recently vacated spaces at the former Parris Island Navy Yard.⁶⁰ The move to South Carolina was notable primarily because it gave students the opportunity to conduct live training with troops from the Marine Barracks at Port Royal. It is unclear how much of the training was done using Marine Barracks personnel and how much was done using the students. As a point of reference, in interwar Philadelphia none of the local Marines were used in training exercises for TBS students. However, the Port Royal move was specifically praised because of the availability of troops, so it is reasonable to conclude that the troops were used at least occasionally for training the lieutenants. The billeting spaces were also larger than previous school environments, enabling more officer students to attend and enjoy better living conditions. In years past, the commencement of the school year varied according to the availability of enough officers to form a class, when instructors were able to report for duty, and when school facilities were constructed or repaired. The Port Royal School of Applica-

⁶⁰ Earl Hardy, "The Marine Factory, Parris Island," *Marine Corps Gazette* 14, no. 10 (October 1931): 10-12, 52. The Corps did not establish its famous recruit depot at Parris Island, SC, until 1915.

tion stabilized the pattern, operating on a calendar-year schedule that began in January and ended in December.⁶¹

A key account of the Port Royal era is the autobiography *Once a Marine* by General Alexander A. Vandegrift, who graduated from the School of Application in 1910. In 1963, Vandegrift recalled

The School of Application . . . was located at Paris Island, a short distance by boat from Port Royal, South Carolina. From the deck of an ancient mail boat, *Summer Girl*, the island appeared about as inviting as the Arctic and a first look ashore did not change matters.⁶²

Quartered on the upper floor of a machine shop, Vandegrift and his classmates slept three to a room and the entire class shared a single lavatory. But, he goes on, those physical hardships were only the “first shock.”⁶³

All of us being college men, we had expected to be treated as commissioned officers. Instead we learned we were to resemble inmates of some sort of penal institution. Organized into a company of sections, we began a routine that did not greatly vary in the next eleven months. Reveille sounded at six. We fell out to setting-up exercises followed by a doubletime run around the station. We then washed, made up bunks, breakfasted and marched to class. Class lasted for forty-five minutes, then a short break followed by another class, and so on all day.⁶⁴

⁶¹ MajGen Cmdt George F. Elliot, “Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps,” *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1910* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910), 802.

⁶² Alexander A. Vandegrift and Robert Asprey, *Once a Marine: The Memoirs of General A. A. Vandegrift, Commandant of the U.S. Marines in WWII* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964), 27.

⁶³ Vandegrift and Asprey, *Once a Marine*, 28.

⁶⁴ Vandegrift and Asprey, *Once a Marine*, 28.

During the year in which Vandegrift attended, the name of the institution was changed to the Marine Officers' School, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Eli K. Cole. The change in name was not accompanied by any sharp departure from the existing course content. Vandegrift listed the curriculum in his memoir: drill regulations, guard duty, small arms regulations, the rifle, signals, security and information, organization and tactics, military law, administration, engineering, hygiene, and naval gunnery.⁶⁵ Classes involving live firing weapons were conducted during the summer months at a range near Sea Girt, New Jersey. The trip to Sea Girt would have been a welcome change from the oppressive humidity and insect-infested swamps of Parris Island. Vandegrift, who would go on to command the 1st Marine Division during the invasion of Guadalcanal, summed up his basic education: "The school proved interesting in a number of ways and I certainly learned a considerable amount, including discipline. . . . But I cannot say I regretted graduation day."⁶⁶

In 1909, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps was George F. Elliot, a veteran of the Spanish-American War and popular hero of the battle at Cuzco Well in Cuba. Elliot's annual report for 1908 did not contain a section on education. In one passage there was a request that officers being examined for promotion have their "moral examination" before they had a physical examination.⁶⁷ To Elliot, it was a waste of time and manpower to provide a medical exam to a man who would soon afterward be disqualified due to educational, behavioral, or legal shortcomings. Commandant Elliot did not appear to be hostile to educational pursuits, but his priorities were clearly not the same as those of

⁶⁵ Vandegrift and Asprey, *Once a Marine*, 28.

⁶⁶ Vandegrift and Asprey, *Once a Marine*, 30.

⁶⁷ MajGen Cmdt George F. Elliot, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1908* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1908), 992–93, hereafter Elliot, 1908 report of the Commandant.

Commandant Heywood. His longest single report was on the state of target practice ranges and the need for more space to train the Marines in marksmanship. Elliot did not include any full-length reports from school directors or any detailed lists of textbooks or curricula in his annual report.

When he did mention the Marine Corps' various schools (at the time, these were only the Advanced Base School in Rhode Island and the Marine Officers' School), he did so in the context of reporting on the Marine Barracks at which each was located. Elliot used the same standard compliments for the course of instruction and the students as had his predecessors, such as "very thorough" and "very satisfactory." He requested that the Navy Department consider retaining Port Royal for the Marines for at least two additional years (beyond the existing lease), in order that a new two-month course on "the sea service" be added to the curriculum. However, in the 1910 report, Elliot also described the poor living conditions at Port Royal, and requested that serious repairs be made to the facility in order that instruction could be better carried out.⁶⁸

The Navy and Marine Corps had allowed the Port Royal facilities to fall into disrepair as early as 1903, in preparation for a relocation to nearby Charleston, South Carolina.⁶⁹ The use of the Parris Island location for officer education had not been foreseen at that time. But there may be a different explanation for the poor condition of the facilities and the lack of updates undertaken while the Marine Officers' School continued at Port Royal: another, larger, more convenient, less disease-prone location was high on the Commandant's list. In the same 1910 report, Elliot revealed his personal hope that Philadelphia might in the future be the home of the Corps' educational institutions. Though he desired a perma-

⁶⁸ Elliot, 1910 report of the Commandant, 802.

⁶⁹ *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1903* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1903), 1216.

ment Marine detachment at Port Royal, the Philadelphia station was better suited to long-term use for educational purposes. Elliot asserted that

Philadelphia is rapidly becoming the most important post of the Marine Corps. It is at this station that nearly all expeditionary forces are mobilized and equipped and from there transferred to their destination, especially so in view of the fact that the depot of supplies of the Marine Corps is located in that city. It is hoped that in the near future Philadelphia can be made a depot for the institution of all recruits enlisted in the East, as well as the location of the Marine Officers' School and the Advanced base School, which are now located at Port Royal, S.C., and New London, Conn., respectively.⁷⁰

Elliot's vision did not fully come to pass. The Marine Officers' School and Advanced Base School did relocate to Philadelphia, and the Depot of Supplies at Philadelphia hosted Marines, soldiers, and sailors on their way to Europe in 1917–18, but the great hub of Elliot's imagination faded in the late 1930s as the Quantico base proved more spacious.

But the Philadelphia era was still to come, and more changes for the Marine Officers' School would take place in the meantime. In a striking indicator of relative priorities, in 1911 the Marine Officers' School was moved to Norfolk, Virginia, in order to make room for a military prison at Port Royal. Norfolk was even more crowded and ill-suited to be a school than Annapolis had been. In his annual report for 1911, Major General William P. Biddle, the new Commandant, highlighted the plight of the Marine Officers' School:

⁷⁰ Elliot, 1910 report of the Commandant, 799.

There are no quarters for the student officers nor for the instructing officers; the former are living in tents in a camp which has been erected on the parade ground, and the latter are living outside the station.⁷¹

The continual placement of the school in inadequate buildings and poor locations highlighted the lack of priority given to education, at least from a facilities perspective. The Naval War College experienced similar problems finding and keeping a location, detailed in Ronald Spector's *Professors of War*.⁷² Biddle's annual report of 1912 reemphasized the poor conditions in Norfolk, but the Marine Officers' School remained in place for the time being.⁷³

Final Years Prewar: Officer Quality and School Stability

In 1914, problems with officer quality came to the fore. This was not necessarily a reflection on the Marine Officers' School, however, as the primary issue was the source of officer commissions, not their training at the school. Major General Commandant George Barnett wrote in his annual report for the secretary of the Navy that he was facing a twofold problem with regard to officer procurement: he was not getting enough officers, and he was not getting good ones. In particular, Barnett discovered that the new second lieutenants who were commissioned from civilian life (meaning those who attended a public college, private college, or military preparatory college such as the Virginia Military Institute) were often

⁷¹ MajGen Cmdt William P. Biddle, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1911* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912), 527.

⁷² Ronald Spector, *Professors of War: The Naval War College and the Development of the Naval Profession* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1977).

⁷³ MajGen Cmdt William P. Biddle, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1912* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1913), 584–85.

physically unfit to perform their duties.⁷⁴ He recommended that priority be given to Naval Academy graduates for commissioning in the Marine Corps. More interesting, he proposed an alteration to the officer rank structure, creating a provisional or acting rank of second lieutenant so that non-Naval Academy graduates would only be given a provisional second lieutenant's commission. This would allow the Marine Corps to weed out any substandard officers over a probationary period of two years. However, Barnett's suggestion was not taken up by the Navy Department before he relinquished control of the Marine Corps in 1920 to John A. Lejeune. Lejeune did not address the question of officer quality in the context of sources of commissions in any detail, at least not in the preserved correspondence at the National Archives. In the meantime, the establishment of ROTC programs at civilian colleges had remedied many deficiencies in the civilian candidates. That improvement allowed Headquarters to kick any remaining issues with sources of commissions down the road.⁷⁵ A permanent system for balancing the number of commissions from the various undergraduate sources would only be finalized after World War II.⁷⁶

In his brief discussion of the Marine Officers' School, Barnett spent more time emphasizing the lack of satisfactory accommodations at Norfolk than discussing the content of the course.⁷⁷ It seems that, by the 1910s, the curriculum and conduct of the Marine Officers' School was more or less taken for granted. This should

⁷⁴ MajGen Cmdt George Barnett, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Report of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1914* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915), 459–60, hereafter Barnett, 1914 report of the Commandant.

⁷⁵ Bernard Nalty, *A Brief History of U.S. Marine Corps Officer Procurement 1775–1969* (Washington, DC: Historical Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1970), 6. Military Services used to distinguish between officer procurement and enlisted recruitment. This is probably an accident of the word *recruit* referring to an enlisted person specifically. Studies on officer procurement do not examine any part of the officer's career after the moment they accept their commission or accept an appointment to a Service academy. Studies on recruitment typically ignore the process of officer procurement altogether. Today, officers are said to be selected rather than recruited.

⁷⁶ Nalty, *A Brief History of U.S. Marine Corps Officer Procurement 1775–1969*, 6.

⁷⁷ Barnett, 1914 report of the Commandant, 471.

be understood in a positive sense: the Commandant's assumption that the school was going along as usual demonstrated that it had achieved a stable existence. There was no longer a need to justify the educational project to Congress by means of lengthy, detailed reports. The school existed, it was performing an essential task, it was flourishing, and the instructors were qualified and competent. These are the assertions implicit in Barnett's lack of commentary. Elsewhere, his reports critiqued at length any program that was underperforming, so it is reasonable to expect that any problem with the school would have made its way into his reports. Instead, he merely wrote,

The policy of sending the student officers to camp for a period of approximately six weeks for practical exercises in military topography, field engineering, and minor tactics has been of great advantage and without question increased the efficiency of all officers completing the course.⁷⁸

Barnett believed he was presiding over a mature educational establishment. The six-week encampment, an innovation introduced sometime after 1909, was a capstone element, proving the Marine Officers' School was a stable and essential part of the Corps.

Frances suggested in his history that, interruptions for temporary expeditionary duty in Central America notwithstanding, the 1910s were the real pinnacle of the Marine Corps' school development prior to World War I. He described the program at the time:

The curriculum now contained a great deal of practical work, and the theory of learning by doing was having a new vital influence on most courses. Standard Army textbooks were used in tactics and field engineering. The law course was augmented by the

⁷⁸ Barnett, 1914 report of the Commandant, 471.

study of elementary law, criminal law, and the law of evidence, supplementing the prescribed course in naval law and procedure. In addition a course in bookkeeping was available to all officers for the first time.⁷⁹

But the heyday was not without its drawbacks. Frances complained that the general state of education, coupled with the lack of professional training for instructors, rendered the staff less than ideal and the students less than dedicated.

Few of the instructors were “educators” in the sense that they had studied the psychology of learning and perfected the art of teaching. At the same time universal higher learning was still something comparatively new—even in civilian life. . . . There was still the tendency to regard schooling only as a delay in getting a job. This same attitude was reflected to some extent in the Marine Corps. The young officers were invariably eager to get on with the more serious business of duty.⁸⁰

It was somewhat anachronistic for Frances to suppose any instructor in a professional school was likely to also be a professional educator; even today very few uniformed staff members of a given PME institution answer that description. Furthermore, memoirs written by students placed much higher value on an officer’s career experience than his teaching credentials. The focus on expeditionary duties and the coming whirlwind of World War I eclipsed any interest in prewar professional military education from either bi-

⁷⁹ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 20.

⁸⁰ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 21.

ographers, memoirists, or historians. No official Marine Corps position on the credentialing of instructors has survived, either.

Frances, proving this point, disposes with the remaining years prior to World War I in one deft paragraph, describing a tempo that must have been very familiar to him from his experiences in 1941.

On August 29, 1916, Congress passed the National Defense Act, providing for a substantial increase in Marine Corps personnel, fixing the total strength at 600 officers, 40 warrant officers, and 14,891 enlisted men. A month after the Defense Act was passed, 23 officers were commissioned from the ranks and were given a brief course at the Norfolk school. Forty-two were given commissions in February 1917, followed by a brief period of instruction. Several more contingents followed, but many officers, including those holding temporary commissions made during the war, were hurried off to their new stations without any study at the Marine Officers School, which was then virtually eclipsed by the urgent need for basic training. The school all but closed, and what remained of it moved to Marine Barracks Quantico, Virginia.⁸¹

Barnett's 1915 and 1916 annual reports each dedicated one paragraph to the Marine Officers' School, reporting that the conduct of the institution continued as it had before. By his 1916 report, an encampment at Gettysburg had been added to the program of instruction, to give students additional field training. Unfortunately Barnett's terse reporting style did not include details of the encampment. An extended period at the rifle range at Winthrop,

⁸¹ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 22.

Maryland, was also added for more strenuous marksmanship practice and examinations.⁸² In 1917, the Marine Officers' School was effectively discontinued in favor of a three-month course held at Quantico.⁸³ As soon as one course ended, a new course began, with no pause in between. The Marine Corps was putting itself on a war footing.

⁸² MajGen Cmdt George Barnett, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1915* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), 765; and MajGen Cmdt George Barnett, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1916* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 768–69.

⁸³ MajGen Cmdt George Barnett, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1917* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1918), 837.

Chapter 3

Sea Service Heritage

The Basic School was located at the Philadelphia Navy Yard from 1924 until 1941. During that time, more than 80 Marines served as instructors. There was always one officer serving as commanding officer or director or officer in charge. The rest of the staff were captains or first lieutenants with the simple title instructor, basic school, until the late 1930s, when the size of the school demanded the introduction of a major's billet for an executive officer. A small auxiliary staff of enlisted Marines were also present at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. The program of instruction was informed by the career experiences and educational background of the instructors. In later chapters, we will examine the explicit or formal doctrine contained in the TBS curriculum. This chapter and the next examines the curriculum's implied or informal doctrine, made up of the instructors' aggregated experiences and ideological backgrounds.

The TBS instructors were born between 1890 and 1916. Their childhoods were colored by the Spanish-American War, the ebullient president Theodore Roosevelt and his Steel Navy, and the birth of a new technological age. The typewriter, the diesel engine, and safety razors had recently made their debut. Indoor plumbing was no longer an urban luxury but had made its way across the Great Plains and was a fixture in all but the poorest homes. Electric lighting was commonplace. Almost all of these men could remember what life was like before the ocean liner RMS *Titanic* sank and before the world became engulfed in the Great War. Nearly all of

them would live to see another world war of even greater scale and to see the Marine Corps grow rapidly from a peacetime strength of 17,000 in 1938 to more than 475,000 in 1944.¹

The experience of these men as career military officers was filled with change, innovation, development, adjustment and the need for flexibility. However, the early days of their professional lives were primarily occupied with the theme of naval expeditionary warfare. This played out at sea, in the form of naval maneuvers, or on land as the Marines formed the extremity of early twentieth-century American efforts at carrying out the Monroe Doctrine. There are several strongly worded analyses of the Marine Corps during this period that insist that the Marine Corps was apathetic and its mission ill-defined, and that the Corps was aimless or purposeless in the post-sail Navy world prior to the publication of the *Tentative Landing Operations Manual* in the late 1930s.² Contrary to these assessments, however, the evidence indicates that the Marine Corps carried out the limited and well-defined task of serving with the Naval Expeditionary Brigade (later the Advanced Base Force) with regularity and effectiveness continuously from its introduction in the late 1880s until the adoption of the Fleet Marine Force concept in 1934. That was the Corps' mission, and it was conveyed to the newest officers at TBS throughout the inter-war period as a matter of course.

There is also a common theme among scholarly works on the subject that the Marine Corps was merely a resting ground for

¹Gordon L. Rottman, *U.S. Marine Corps World War II Order of Battle: Ground and Air Units in the Pacific War, 1939–1945* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 546.

²Jack Shulimson, *The Marine Corps' Search for a Mission, 1880–1898* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); and Leo J. Daugherty III, *Pioneers of Amphibious Warfare, 1898–1945: Profiles of Fourteen American Military Strategists* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009). Both authors describe the industrious activity of the Marine Corps at the turn of the century and just beyond, but do not connect that activity with any underlying purpose. They omit any study of Marine Corps schools during the time period and thus miss key evidence that the Corps did, in fact, have a mission in mind for itself. This author believes overemphasis on outspoken Marine reformers like Henry Clay Cochrane also contributes to this skewed perspective.

“Useless Sons Made Comfortable:” the derisive name for a group of politicians’ younger sons or rebellious nephews whose commissioning in the Marine Corps supposedly marked only the moment when they ceased to be a social liability for their family. Still other authors emphasize that the Marine Corps “had new responsibilities” beginning in 1900 or began engaging in peacekeeping operations around the world.³ On the contrary, the Marines had not ceased such operations from the end of the Civil War until World War I. The pre-1900 Marine Corps was small, administratively backward, and suffering from the same stagnation in its officer corps as were the Army and Navy. However, it did not lack for things to do, and when called upon it performed satisfactorily.

The U.S. Naval Academy

Though memoirists and scholars agree that career shapes an officer more than college, it is appropriate to take a moment to consider the U.S. Naval Academy and its influence on the Marine Corps. It is a maritime service academy and, in varying percentages over the years, has typically provided a large number of new Marine officers on an annual basis. Many Commandants of the Marine Corps were graduates of the Naval Academy; during the interwar period there was consistently a 10- to 25-percent portion of each TBS class entering the Marine Corps directly from Annapolis.

In a preface to the *Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.: Seventy-eighth Academic Year, 1922–1923*, its superintendent, Rear Admiral Henry B. Wilson, wrote,

The broad mission of the Naval Academy has been defined as follows: to mold the material received into educated gentlemen, thoroughly indoctrinated with honor, uprightness and truth, with practical

³David J. Bettez, *Kentucky Marine: Major General Logan Feland and the Making of the Modern USMC* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 29.

rather than academic minds, with thorough loyalty to country, with a groundwork of educational fundamentals upon which experience afloat may build the finished naval officer, capable of upholding, whenever and wherever may be necessary, the honor of the United States.⁴

Wilson served as head of the school from 1921 to 1925 and had as good a grasp as anyone of his institution's purpose. The Naval Academy, founded in 1845, predates the Civil War. Its biographers typically consider the real beginning of its history as a serious educational institution to be 1851, when a four-year academic cycle was initiated.⁵ Prior to that, the state of naval education was probably best described as primitive, and it reflected poorly on the naval establishment in comparison to the U.S. Army and its highly regarded military academy at West Point.⁶ The education and training of future naval officers was always the goal, but post-Civil War improvements in recruitment, applicant screening and instructor qualification meant the goal was much more consistently achieved in the second half of the nineteenth century than it had been in the years between the Mexican War and the Southern rebellion.

Beginning in the 1880s, the national political mood of the United States allowed the Navy to enjoy a resurgence in importance. Popular writers have pointed out the American habit of failing to prepare adequately for crisis, trusting that grit or determination can make up the difference when needed.⁷ The will to compete

⁴ RAdm Henry B. Wilson, *Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.: Seventy-eighth Academic Year, 1922-1923* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1923), 4.

⁵ John Crane and James F. Kieley, *United States Naval Academy: The First Hundred Years* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945), 43.

⁶ Scott Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue: Maritime Strategy, American Empire, and the Transformation of U.S. Naval Identity, 1873-1898* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2018), 60.

⁷ John Keegan, *Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America* (New York: Random House, 1998), 334.

with major European powers, particularly Great Britain, was not enough: grit was going to have to be backed up with something substantial. In this case, the Americans began to work toward a position of maritime strength that could put force behind the desire for the ability to compete with major European powers.⁸ Midshipmen were put through programs of navigation, geography, advanced mathematics, foreign language, gunnery and ordnance, marine engineering, law, naval construction, physics, seamanship, and English. Increasingly complex technology led to alterations in the content of courses such as naval construction and engineering, but in general the list of topics considered important to a Navy officer's education remained constant. The struggle for acceptance faced by advocates of the Naval War College during the late 1880s showed very clearly the nature of the Naval Academy curriculum: the postgraduate school was criticized for being merely "a continuation of the scientific and engineering curriculum taught to . . . midshipmen."⁹ That perception was in error, of course, but those who failed to see the strategic and operational development made possible at the Naval War College naturally saw any further technical education of naval officers as redundant.

Students at the Naval Academy, from its founding until well into the 1900s, completed a generalist curriculum. They were offered no electives or customization, other than a limited branching opportunity to choose a specialty field during their final year. For example, engineer officers and line officers would take slightly different tracks based on the relative needs of their chosen specialties. The detailed, mechanistic nature of the education at the school during this time period was in keeping with the ideas of progressivism and progressive education that were in vogue at the time. The supreme importance of having a scientific mind, for ex-

⁸ Robert A. Hoover, *Arms Control: The Interwar Naval Limitation Agreements* (Denver, CO: University of Denver Press, 1980), 12.

⁹ Mobley, *Progressives in Navy Blue*, 219.

ample, was a hallmark of the era. Data, studies, comparative analyses and experimentation framed the educational environment in many professions, not just the military. Those ideas were still part of the Naval Academy environment in the 1920s and 1930s, though the emphasis on rote memorization of facts—the “purely academic mind” Superintendent Wilson warned against—had faded somewhat in favor of a more active learning style.

During the interwar period, the average class of midshipmen at the Naval Academy was between 700 and 800. From each class, anywhere from 5 to 30 graduates would join the Marine Corps. Graduates were intimately familiar with the rank structure, social mores, daily life, customs and courtesies, and physical discipline involved in military life. They had a better chance of making good political connections than the average civilian did, since they had a preexisting relationship with their elected representatives who appointed them to the academy in the first place. But they were not guaranteed to be better officers or more successful leaders. The only real reason Naval Academy graduates tend to be examined and commented upon in the context of military education in the Navy and Marine Corps is simply that they are an easy group to identify. Their status as midshipmen is easy to trace in Navy lists and public records, as opposed to the widely varied and unpredictable records of a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) cadet. However, they did not make up a majority of Marine officers. Rarely did they comprise more than 50 percent of a class of new officers in a given year, and by the late 1930s they represented fewer than 20 percent of all Marine second lieutenants.¹⁰ The number of Marines commissioned from the ranks, as well as the number of Marines who attended a military college or ROTC program, was just as significant as the midshipman demographic: they are merely harder to group together.

¹⁰ League Island master personnel sheet, author's working file.

One genuine benefit of the midshipmen's presence at TBS was the amount and type of maritime knowledge they brought with them. The explicit consensus among senior Marines was that commissioning a Naval Academy midshipman was preferable to commissioning a cadet from West Point. That clearly indicates that the Marine Corps was a *naval* Service and that new officers who already understood something about sea service would be at an advantage. Looking beyond Annapolis at the experience of Marine officers with the fleet, it is clear that the maritime heritage of the Marine Corps continued to shape its identity throughout the interwar period.

Sea Service: The Advanced Base and Naval Expeditionary Brigade

The strategic options for American sea power after the age of sail were understood as either *secure permanent overseas colonies* or *be capable of seizing temporary overseas bases for the home fleet*. The latter option was more palatable to the American Congress. So Navy planners set about making their infant fleet into an oceangoing flying column.¹¹ First, the type of fleet had to be decided upon. Despite sharp opposition, the "battleship faction" won out in the 1890s and the Navy began building a fleet based on capital ships. The resulting "top-heavy" fleet was located on the eastern seaboard and as a result it was designated, by 1907, the Atlantic Fleet.¹² The General Board of the Navy, established after the Spanish-American War, directed the Marine Corps to develop some procedure for establishing advanced bases around the world, to protect the Navy's resupply positions.¹³ Almost immediately, the board's instruc-

¹¹ William J. Philbin, "The Roots of the S-2: The Role of the Naval Brigades and the Advance Base Force in the Development of the Marine Corps Tactical Intelligence Officer" (master's thesis, Royal Military College of Canada, 1995).

¹² George W. Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power: The U.S. Navy, 1890-1990* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1958), 19, 40-41.

¹³ Bettez, *Kentucky Marine*, 59.

tion was validated by events in the Pacific: fatal damage done to the Russian fleet at the battle of Tsushima in 1905 clearly showed what could happen to a capital fleet whose journey toward the battlespace had been long and arduous.

In addition, the famous cruise of the Great White Fleet in 1907 shone a light on the fleet's inherent problems of supply and self-defense. Intended as a training mission, field test, and flag-showing all in one, the cruise consumed 430,000 tons of coal, all of which was supplied by foreign entities (primarily the British).¹⁴ The United States was unwilling to become an openly global empire, but the need to support and supply its mobile fleet was undeniable. Something similar to the British infrastructure was needed for the American plan of national defense via seapower to be realized. Logistic support for the Atlantic Fleet was made a priority. This was a welcome relief for the officers who had been personally serving on coal-boiler ships for the previous 20 years, and who knew all too well the perils of traveling around an ocean in which fuel supplies and trouble-spots were rarely located near one another.¹⁵ It would be a matter of years, not months, before the Navy, Congress, and the Army settled on exactly how the fleet was going to be supplied and from what locations.

At the end of that long development process was a decision to use the Marines, in battalion-size formations, to secure or defend bases needed for coal-powered ships.¹⁶ This was the Advanced Base Force, first established in 1910 as a detachment of 10 officers and 50 enlisted Marines at the Marine Barracks in Newport, Rhode Island.¹⁷ According to the Commandant, the Advanced

¹⁴ Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power*, 46–47.

¹⁵ A. T. Mahan to Ashe, 12 March 1885, in Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Letters and Papers of Alfred T. Mahan*, vol. 1 (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1975), 594.

¹⁶ Daugherty, *Pioneers of Amphibious Warfare, 1898–1945*, 16, 20.

¹⁷ Philbin, "The Roots of the S-2," 142; and MajGen Cmdt George F. Elliot, "Report of the Commandant of United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1910* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910), 802, hereafter Elliot, 1910 report of the Commandant.

Base School was a post-graduate type of school, and proficiency at the basics of military science was presumed. Commandant Elliot wrote a memorandum detailing his expectations that the school be “practical and theoretical.”¹⁸

In the first decade, the Marine Corps could ill afford to dedicate so many personnel to the Advanced Base mission, and fleet exercises suffered from a lack of manpower. Even those commanding officers who strongly believed in the Advanced Base mission were often hesitant to give up any men from their already undermanned ship’s detachments or sparse Marine Barracks complements. But the emphasis on base seizure and defense grew rapidly within the Navy. A bigger Marine Corps was called for in every annual report from the Commandant to the secretary of the Navy. By 1912, greater than 15 percent of the entire Marine Corps had passed through the tiny Advanced Base School in Rhode Island.¹⁹ Soon, discussions about the use of Marines in base-seizure operations occupied many pages of the *Marine Corps Gazette* during its initial years in print.²⁰ One anonymous author even informed readers of the professional journal that the Advanced Base Force mission was not only familiar to all Marines, it formed “the rock whence we are hewn.”²¹ All signs were pointing toward the Advanced Base Force being the future of the Marine Corps; the size of the Corps just needed to catch up to the vision.

¹⁸ Elliot, 1910 report of the Commandant, 802.

¹⁹ Bettez, *Kentucky Marine*, 63.

²⁰ Maj Samuel W. Bogan, “Where Should Advanced Base Organizations Be Permanently Stationed?,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 4, no. 2 (June 1919): 132–38; BGen Dion Williams, “The Temporary Defense of a Fleet Base,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 15, no. 4 (February 1931): 9–12, 53–62; Capt J. L. Underhill, “The Permanent Location of Marine Corps Advanced Base Organizations,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 5, no. 2 (June 1920): 142–48; Maj Howard C. Judson, “Advanced Base Searchlights,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 2, no. 4 (December 1917): 309–25; and Maj Julian C. Smith, “Advanced Base Mines and Mining,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 4, no. 3 (September 1919): 221–31. Julian C. Smith served as commanding officer of TBS during the 1930s.

²¹ “The Marine Corps and the General Board of the Navy,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 16, no. 2 (August 1931): 31.

The Advanced Base Force was the direct predecessor of the Landing Operations and Amphibious Landing Doctrine concepts which emerged from the Marine Corps Schools in the 1930s. It is true that other adventures occupied the Marines in the early twentieth century (i.e., Legation Guard duty in China), but the starting point for most missions from 1900-30 was some kind of naval expeditionary action. The Advanced Base Force was the pre-World War I Marine Corps' solution to their ongoing need to remain relevant as means of waging war changed. It was not a new problem. As one *Marine Corps Gazette* article opined,

Harnessing complex logistics to produce functionally simple tactical units, so flexible that they can fight either sea or land forces, has been our root problem ever since technology invaded war.²²

Put more simply, the Marine Corps had to marry its naval heritage to the land warfare environment. Because these naval expeditions formed the majority of the Corps' activities during this time period, they were necessarily familiar to the instructors at TBS. TBS instructors were the direct contemporaries and sometimes the classmates—and occasionally the combat-seasoned peers—of those who developed amphibious landing doctrine. While they were unable to be part of the Quantico-based research and revolution in doctrine development because they were assigned to instructor duty in Philadelphia, they shared an intellectual heritage with those planners. The products of this generation, both instructors and doctrinaires, were seen on the battlefields in World War II. The evidence for naval-type mission influence on the Marine Corps is found in the pages of the *Marine Corps Gazette*, as well as

²² W. H. Russell, "The Genesis of FMF Doctrine: 1879-1899," *Marine Corps Gazette* 35, no. 7 (July 1951): 53.

in the actual missions carried out by the Marines during the first half of the twentieth century.

Using the *Instructions for Infantry and Artillery, United States Navy* (until 1904) and *The Landing-Force and Small-Arm Instructions, United States Navy* (1905 onward), Marines of the Advanced Base Force developed a system for approaching, securing, and defending land bases.²³ Training for the mission was, at least by modern standards, rudimentary at best, but the Marines were still training in a systematic fashion. The level of detail and specialization provided was comparable to that of other militaries at the time, and compatible with the small size of the Marine Corps. In later years, specialists in intelligence, logistics, supporting arms, engineering, and communication would be given exhaustive training comparable to that already inflicted on Marines in areas like marksmanship and drill. That training extended to education of officers as well.²⁴

Classroom training was the least important part of the system. Whenever possible, hands-on training in the form of practice maneuvers was conducted. Exercises such as at Culebra, Puerto Rico, in 1902–3, Grande Island, Philippines, in 1904, and in Subic Bay, Philippines, in 1907 formed the bulk of Advanced Base Force operations during the first decade. The lack of manpower, as well as political questions over whether the Army should be responsible for commanding any land-based operations, kept the Marines

²³ Philbin, "The Roots of the S-2," 118.

²⁴ *Instructions for Infantry and Artillery, United States Navy, Adoption for Use of Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: 1892); and *The Landing-Force and Small-Arm Instructions, United States Navy* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute, 1905). Awareness of a distinction between *training* and *education* is not evident in the pages of contemporary journals for the time period. In the case of specialized training for logistics, etc., it simply was not considered necessary to provide extra schooling. In the early 1900s, it was enough that someone was asked to collect intelligence and someone was in charge of supply. Any competent junior officer was capable of fulfilling those tasks. There was no table of organization or other mechanism to ensure that someone with the correct knowledge, skills, and abilities was placed in a given role. No parameters were laid out. This strikes the modern eye strangely, but helps shed light on exactly the type of generalist education schools such as TBS aimed to achieve.

from developing the concept beyond the basics outlined in manuals such as *The Landing-Force and Small-Arm Instructions, United States Navy*.²⁵ In 1910, the secretary of the Navy ordered the Commandant to take responsibility for the Advanced Base Force equipment being stored at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He did so, but it was another year before the Marine Corps decided to locate the Advanced Base Force itself in Philadelphia. With equipment, storage space and berthing now co-located, the Marine Corps began developing the Advanced Base Force concept in earnest. The first test of the Advanced Base concept at a large scale, with a brigade of two understrength regiments, occurred in January 1914 on Culebra.²⁶

One future commanding officer of TBS, Major Julian C. Smith, attended the Advanced Base School in Philadelphia in the 1910s. At that time, Marine Corps visionary Logan Feland was an instructor at the school. The approach to education there was on-the-job and students held a variety of garrison duty positions in addition to completing coursework. Smith learned to lay mines, build fortifications, operated land-based defense artillery, and practiced field living, all on the same property that would house TBS 15 years later. The Advanced Base School at that time was already beginning to develop and teach concepts of amphibious landings, but Smith noted that the danger of enemy fortifications had not yet been foreseen, so the Marines did not practice any techniques for landing under fire.²⁷

The Marines were clearly emerging as specialists in the field of landing operations. In the archives of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, a number of lectures delivered by Marines focused on the Advanced Base Force. Major Dion Williams was an

²⁵ Philbin, "The Roots of the S-2," 145.

²⁶ Philbin, "The Roots of the S-2," 150.

²⁷ Gen Julian C. Smith, USMC (Ret), Oral History Transcript, 15 November 1967 session, Dr. Benis M. Frank interviewer, Marine Corps History Division, Quantico, VA, 25–26.

especially enthusiastic speaker on the topic, contributing student papers, lectures, and pamphlets to the school's library shelves. Former commander of the School of Application Major R. H. Dunlap and future Commandant of the Marine Corps Major John H. Russell Jr. also wrote papers on the subject. These lectures by Marines are the only items in the Naval War College archive that pertain to the Advanced Base Force. Navy officers of the same era do not appear to have written or lectured on the topic at all. In 1909, Russell lectured on construction of advanced bases and wrote papers titled "An Outline Study of the Defense of Advanced Naval Bases" and "Additional Notes on Field Construction Work and Guns for Advance Naval Bases." In 1910, Russell delivered a lecture titled "The Preparation of War Plans for the Establishment and Defense of a Naval Defense Base."²⁸ Dunlap gave a lecture titled "The Naval Advanced Base" in 1911 and one called "The Temporary Naval Advanced Base" in 1912.²⁹ Williams attended the War College in 1912–13 and gave a lecture titled "The Naval Advanced Base."³⁰ All three held leadership positions at Headquarters Marine Corps during the interwar period and all three wrote articles or made policy decisions related to Marine Corps Schools in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Most importantly, the establishment of the Marine Corps as the designated Advanced Base Force, and by extension as the resident experts on landing operations, continued after World War I seamlessly into the era of amphibious warfare doctrine. In 1934,

²⁸ Maj John H. Russell Jr., "An Outline Study of the Defense of Advanced Naval Bases," October 1909, box 79, folder 9, Record Group (RG) 13, Naval Historical Collection Archives (NHCA), U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI; Maj John H. Russell Jr., "Additional Notes on Field Construction Work and Guns for Advanced Naval Bases," December 1909, box 79, folder 9, RG 13, NHCA; and Maj John H. Russell Jr., "The Preparation of War Plans for the Establishment of a Naval Defense Base," 1910, box 79, folder 8, RG 15, Guest Lectures, NHCA.

²⁹ Maj R. H. Dunlap, "The Naval Advanced Base," 1911, box 79, folder 10, RG 15, Guest Lectures, NHCA; and Maj R. H. Dunlap, "The Temporary Naval Advanced Base," 1912, box 79, folder 10, RG 15, Guest Lectures, NHCA.

³⁰ Maj Dion Williams, "The Naval Advanced Base," 26 June 1912, box 79, folder 10, RG 15, Guest Lectures, NHCA.

Navy captain Dudley Knox published “Bases Mean Ships” in the February issue of the *Marine Corps Gazette*. He described the “major mission” of the Marine Corps as directly related to naval strategy: to multiply “the number and power of naval ships through ensuring the availability of naval bases.”³¹ Knox hearkened back to the battle of Jutland, when British ships were forced to make a long journey home to refit while the German Navy’s forward bases, with prepositioned supplies, gave the Germans operational flexibility. Knox, already retired by the mid-1930s, used his influence and connections to urge military planners to draw on lessons of history. His calls for bases would be heeded in World War II, though (somewhat ironically) for the benefit of heavy bombers more than for battleships.³²

Other articles appeared in the *Marine Corps Gazette* in the 1930s that perpetuated the Advanced Base Force concept. In 1932, Colonel E. B. Miller took the time to define the mission of the Marine Corps in three parts:

1. To assist the fleet in establishing and maintaining American sea-power in the theatre of war by land operations in the seizure, defense and holding of temporary advanced bases until relieved by the Army, and by such other land operations as may be essential to the prosecution of the naval campaign.
2. To support the Navy by the prompt mobilization and dispatch to designated areas of such expeditionary forces as may be required by the Navy in protecting the interests of the United States in foreign countries, and in carrying out government policies in emergencies not involving war.

³¹Capt Dudley W. Knox, USN, “Bases Mean Ships,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 18, no. 1 (February 1934): 5.

³²See David Kohonen, ed., *21st Century Knox: Influence, Sea Power, and History for the Modern Era* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2016), chap. 2 and 4.

3. To assist the Navy in the maintenance and defense of certain naval establishments within and without the continental limits of the United States, furnish detachments for service on board certain vessels of the fleet, and perform and maintain certain administrative duties and agencies throughout the Marine Corps.³³

Those three areas were the current, up-to-date, modern mission of the Marine Corps circa 1932. That was prior to the introduction of the Fleet Marine Force in 1933 and before the promulgation of the amphibious operations manual. Yet one would be hard-pressed to find any essential difference between Colonel Miller's definition and one for 1940 or 1945.

Small Wars: Battle Beyond the Sea

The other primary Marine Corps mission between 1900 and 1940 was the small wars mission, which played out in Central America, the Caribbean, and (in a more limited sense) in China. This was a different kind of fusion of naval expeditionary warfare and land warfare. An Advanced Base Force exercise took only days or weeks to complete and was focused on employing quick-action tactics to seize a stronghold or defend a supply area. In contrast, small wars usually ended up being years-long conflicts that may have begun with Marines disembarking from a ship but otherwise were more traditional land warfare engagements. They came complete with garrison life, lengthy occupations, and civil peacekeeping. The interwar students at TBS received instruction in small wars and antiguerrilla warfare from old campaigners like Captain Lewis B. Puller.³⁴ But the interwar instructors had received no such train-

³³ Col E. B. Miller, "The Marine Corps: Its Mission, Organization, Power and Limitations," *Marine Corps Gazette* 17, no. 3 (November 1932): 12.

³⁴ George Clark, *With the Old Corps in Nicaragua* (New York: Presidio Press, 2001), 149.

ing; the formulae for jungle battles and impromptu street fighting in tiny villages were developed on the job. This situation recalled the founding days of the School of Application, in which Captain Mannix and his fellow instructors relied on their own experience to create a curriculum. The small wars Marines of the twentieth century did the same, and the schools were dependent on those individuals.

The official Marine Corps *Small Wars Manual* was written in the mid-1930s and published multiple times, with a finalized version released in 1940. However, several decades of experience went into the composition of that work, beginning long before 1930. All during the time the *Small Wars Manual* was being written, an oral version was being taught at TBS. The *Small Wars Manual* was comprehensive, covering many topics: general characteristics of small wars, the strategy of small wars, psychology in small wars, concentration, transportation, ports of embarkation, training management for small wars, operations orders and instructions (Navy), debarkation, supply plans, neutral zones and movement inland, disarming populations, collection and custody of arms, armed native organizations, military-naval-civil relations, military territorial organization and methods of pacification, principles and functions of the Marine staff, signal communication, infantry weapons and equipment, light artillery in small wars, defense-attack-occupation of small towns, animal transportation and mounted detachments, convoys and convoy escorts, organizing the infantry patrol, infantry patrols in the field, use and employment of aviation, river operations, chemical agents, medical topics, withdrawal from foreign territory, military government, and supervision of elections.³⁵ However, despite its exhaustive table of contents, the *Small Wars Manual* was not accompanied by

³⁵ *Small Wars Manual* (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Schools, 1935).

training plans or a curriculum through which its lessons could be communicated to young Marines.

Like the Advanced Base Force, small wars fighting was a concept with which all Marines of the era were familiar, even if they did not personally fill a billet involved in that mission. Based on the number of articles in the *Marine Corps Gazette* from this time period, the small wars missions were considered romantic and garnered much attention in the way of published anecdotes, updates from the field, and glowing reports of decorations awarded. It was not treated with the same academic analysis and scientific inquiry that the Advanced Base mission received. It is unfortunate that the finalization of Marine Corps doctrine on small wars coincided with the beginning of World War II, an event that marginalized the importance of small wars fighting and guaranteed that only minimal study of nonamphibious operations in the Marine Corps would be carried out over the following decades. It was completely overshadowed by the landing operations and amphibious warfare doctrine that rocketed the Marine Corps to fame beginning in 1943.

This remained true until the 1980s, when fear over proxy wars in the Caribbean fueled interest in small wars once again and the original 1940 *Small Wars Manual* was reintroduced in Marine Corps Schools.³⁶ Unfortunately, that interest came too late for many of the banana wars campaigners, who had long since died and taken many of their recollections with them. Reconstructing the memory of small wars fighting from memoirs and oral histories is only a partial substitute. The manual has since been replaced by post-11 September 2001 (9/11) doctrinal works on counterinsurgency operations, and today many books and papers have been

³⁶ Keith B. Bickel, "Mars Learning: The Marine Corps' Development of Small Wars Doctrine, 1915-1940" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1999), vi.

written on the subject with the assistance of a new generation's memories and experiences.

In addition to its experience in the Caribbean, the Marine Corps capitalized on the limited amount of small wars experience the U.S. Army gathered during the Spanish-American War.³⁷ The Army struggled to convert its long experience in the American West, where conflict with some Native American tribes went on for decades, to the jungle terrain of the Philippines. Even more difficult was the new concept of nation-building, which the Army had not previously encountered: attempting to create a functioning civil structure in the midst of civil war was beyond its expertise.

There was also an extensive amount of experience to be gained from the British Army, especially in the Indian subcontinent where a great deal of insurgent activity took place.³⁸ The British understood the need for cultural awareness and devoted much training time in learning how to track, identify, subdue, and communicate with enemy combatants. The Corps' challenge was to convert those various experiences, both the Army's culturally familiar ones and Britain's actually successful ones, to the mission at hand.

Marine Corps historians identify three small wars between 1915 and 1933 in which Marines deployed in an active role: Haiti, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. About one-third of all Marine officers were deployed to one or more of those theaters during their careers, and the distribution of those officers was evenly balanced across all ranks.³⁹ Informally, the lessons learned in those three wars were instilled in junior officers—and in peer officers who did not personally participate in the conflicts—through journal articles, personal correspondence, and shared follow-on

³⁷ Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1860–1941* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2004).

³⁸ Gordon Casserly, *Manual of Training for Jungle and River Warfare* (London, UK: T. Wener Laurie, 1934).

³⁹ Bickel, "Mars Learning," 23–24.

assignments. Formally, the Marine Corps developed official manuals and training materials to instruct Marines on how to properly prosecute small wars.

In 1921, a pioneer of small wars tactics, Major Samuel Harrington, composed a report titled *The Strategy and Tactics of Small Wars*. Portions of his report were printed in the *Marine Corps Gazette* in 1921 and 1922. He believed that small wars fighting was a central part of the Marine Corps' mission:

United States Marines have engaged in numerous small wars as of late in Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti and Santo Domingo. It is not improbable that Marines will continue to perform duty of this nature so that the subject is peculiarly fitting for study.⁴⁰

After classifying types of small wars, Harrington immediately began outlining what type of preparation an officer must make for fighting a small war, and emphasized that much of the preparation was mental. Understanding the culture and habits of the people living in the target territory, for example, was key to overcoming opposition. All of his examples were drawn from the three recent wars fought by Marines in the Caribbean, or from China.⁴¹

Harrington would later serve as an umpire and official observer of Navy, Marine Corps, and Army training maneuvers conducted in 1941 as U.S. forces made their first attempts at planning and executing a real wartime amphibious landing.⁴² He was especially critical of mock landings that were poorly supported logistically or that failed to take into account geographic and hydrologic conditions on the target terrain. He was considered an expert in the field of landings, logistics, and operations, with detailed and

⁴⁰ Maj Samuel M. Harrington, "The Strategy and Tactics of Small Wars," *Marine Corps Gazette* 6, no. 4 (December 1921): 474.

⁴¹ Harrington, "The Strategy and Tactics of Small Wars," 474–91.

⁴² Daugherty, *Pioneers of Amphibious Warfare, 1898–1945*, 376.

extensive knowledge of military history. Harrington's articles in the *Marine Corps Gazette* emphasized the importance of strategy, strategic thought, high-level planning, and thorough staff work. Throughout the 1920s, his essays were a major source of authority on the subject of small wars. When proposed topics for TBS students' papers are compared with the concepts put forward in Harrington's articles, there is a clear connection. Though Harrington did not serve as an instructor at TBS himself, he clearly influenced small wars theory in the Marine Corps as a whole. The instructors who did serve at TBS had personally taken part in the operations Harrington described and carried out operations exactly like the ones he recommended.

The *Small Wars Manual* of 1935 was a doctrinal publication written to codify decades of experience, rather than a formative document meant to dictate behavior. It was to be used during operations undertaken under executive authority wherein military force is combined with diplomatic pressure in the internal or external affairs of another State whose government is unstable, inadequate, or unsatisfactory, for the preservation of life and of such interests as are determined by the foreign policy of our nation.⁴³

It is important to note that the *Small Wars Manual* was published after the Fleet Marine Force concept was revealed. Even though the new mission (amphibious landings, which were really just a restatement of the old mission) had been identified, the small-wars knowledge base was understood not to be obsolete. It was not until the landing operations development was validated by the World War II experience that small wars fighting was definitively relegated to second-class status. In the meantime, the Marine

⁴³ *Small Wars Manual*, 1.

Corps continued to be actively interested in its various incarnations throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

Officers and Gentlemen: Diplomatic Skill and the Marines

Finally, the Marines Corps' mission in China should be considered. The employment of Marines on legation guard duty was in practice around the globe during the early twentieth century, but was particularly important in China. In a delicate international environment, the Marines were required to inspire confidence and comfort in American citizens living abroad but without sending inappropriate signals of interference or imperialistic intent. The number of American forces stationed in China varied widely during those years. In general, permanent duties were assigned for the protection of the foreign concession districts in Beijing (at the time Peking) and later also in Shanghai, areas that had been amicably set apart by the Chinese government as early as the 1880s for the use of foreign residents.⁴⁴ The existence of the concession at Beijing was formalized in 1901 at the end of the Boxer Rebellion, and the right to permanent military guard was granted by China to each resident nation.⁴⁵ The Marines who manned these outposts were armed with rifle and bayonet and were fully trained and prepared to engage in active defense of American lives and property. It is a testament to the hard work of both the U.S. military and the foreign service that they were called upon very infrequently. In the 1920s, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson would praise the first decades of the century as a truly remarkable era, which he considered a "rare instance where a nation recognized that farsighted self-interest was dependent on justice and fair play

⁴⁴ Capt Evan F. Carlson, "Marines as an Aid to Diplomacy in China," *Marine Corps Gazette* 20, no. 1 (February 1936): 28.

⁴⁵ Carlson, "Marines as an Aid to Diplomacy in China," 48.

towards a neighbor.”⁴⁶ Specifically, Stimson and thinkers like him were proud of the lack of aggression shown by the United States, despite the fact that up to 2,000 armed Marines at a time had been present in China between 1905 and 1920.⁴⁷

Beginning in the 1920s, the relationship with China became much more complicated. This was due less to bilateral relations between the two countries and much more to the significant changes that took place in the region as a whole—changes that impacted not only the countries of the Far East but also all the nations whose long presence there gave them a commercial interest in the region. It was the official stance of the American government, for example, to avoid any direct intervention in Chinese affairs, though many individual Americans were vocal supporters of Chinese autonomy.⁴⁸ By 1925, the official policy was explicitly codified into guidance for the State Department and the military. This placed some restraints on the Marines and required all military leadership, including junior officers, to understand and be able to properly represent the diplomatic position of the United States. These types of missions, which were far more sophisticated than the average infantry patrol or machine gun deployment, were considered everyday duty by early twentieth-century Marines. More than one-quarter of the interwar staff at TBS had served in China, some for multiple tours. It was part of the Corps’ mission at the time, and, like small wars and sea service, would have been at the forefront of the instructors’ career experience.

⁴⁶ Henry L. Stimson, *The Far Eastern Crisis: Recollections and Observations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), 13.

⁴⁷ Carlson, “Marines as an Aid to Diplomacy in China,” 27.

⁴⁸ William Braisted, *The United States Navy in the Pacific, 1909–1922* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 654.

Rifle Marksmanship: A Corps-wide Requirement

The next chapter will consider the role of traditional land warfare concepts and training on the development of the Marine Corps and its schools in the early twentieth century. A critical component of that training was rifle marksmanship. However, emphasis on small arms proficiency in the Marine Corps predated the organization's first real encounter with traditional land warfare. Rifle marksmanship was a critical component of the Marine Corps' identity as early as the 1880s and will be considered here, alongside the three primary missions that had occupied the Marines during the Gilded Age and the early twentieth century.

At the turn of the century, the Marine Corps numbered fewer than 6,000 enlisted personnel. Stationed in small groups around the globe, never more than a few hundred together in one place at a time, it was imperative that there be no wasted effort when it came to firepower in combat. Commandant Charles Heywood wanted target practice to be part of every Marine's training.

However, other issues in the enlisted Marine's daily life were more pressing. Heywood worked to improve the physical and moral living conditions of the Corps by rebuilding barracks, improving mess facilities and food, and attempting to reduce fraud and corruption in the quartermaster's department. But he did not complete all of the reforms on his list.

Following in his footsteps, Commandant George Elliot put the finishing touches on the improvements with a system of pay incentives and competitive marksmanship programs initiated in 1906. Enlisted Marines who qualified at increasing levels of proficiency with the rifle (and later for noncommissioned officers, the pistol), would receive financial compensation. Shooting competitions were developed as a further means to incentivize weapons pro-

iciency.⁴⁹ The symbolic structure of competitive teams—whose chance at an award rested on the collective proficiency of the entire team, and where weak members' poor performance could not be balanced or saved by one exceptionally proficient shooter—recalled the life-and-death reliance on other members of the unit in combat situations.

All of this marksmanship training eventually extended to officers, as well. Along with close order drill, marksmanship was a skill taught to officers as a means of instilling discipline, creating good habits of communication and understanding among members of a unit, and (judging from the enthusiastic reports included in the bulletins and Marine barracks journals of the era) providing a significant source of community morale. Officers whose personal marksmanship abilities ranked very high were often excused from certain garrison duties and from foreign postings altogether so that they could focus their energies on training and coaching competitive marksmanship teams. In 1910, the Corps obtained property south of Washington, DC, and constructed a rifle range, using enlisted Marines' labor to save costs. From then until the beginning of World War I, any Marine who received extended range training with a weapon did it there at Marine Detachment Winthrop, Maryland.⁵⁰

The Marine Corps relied on efficient marksmanship much more than did the Army or other large organizations. The U.S. Army's *Field Service Regulations* and *Infantry Drill Regulations* manuals, even into the 1920s, were still emphatic about the principle of massing firepower as the primary objective of infantry units. Achieving superiority of firepower in an Army unit was done with numbers, and the Army had them. In Army doctrine manuals, the need for individual proficiency with small arms was never dis-

⁴⁹ Maj Robert Barde, *The History of Marine Corps Competitive Marksmanship* (Washington, DC: Marksmanship Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1961), 9.

⁵⁰ Barde, *The History of Marine Corps Competitive Marksmanship*, 36.

cussed, and the existence of supporting arms rarely mentioned. Instead, the Army relied on mass. It is clear that the Corps did not attempt to make use of massing techniques in any of its primary missions of the early twentieth century. It was highly inadvisable in the jungles of Cuba to presume traditional infantry company tactics would be effective, much less safe. It was completely impossible to employ such tactics in most of the mountainous terrain of Haiti or Santo Domingo. More to the point, there were never enough Marines in a given location for traditional use of mass to even be attempted. A full-strength infantry company of 150 Marines using the Army doctrine of the day could cover a frontage just less than 200 yards.⁵¹ There were only 358 Marines present in all of Panama in 1922; how could they possibly mass against anything?⁵² They did not even attempt it.

After World War I, it was desirable that officers maintain proficiency on a variety of additional weapons, including machine guns, even though it was not typical for an officer to actually fire a crew-served weapon in a combat environment. Thus, throughout the League Island period (1924–41), the students at TBS not only spent time on the range with the automatic rifle and pistol, but also with several different types of machine guns. Officers could qualify as marksman, sharpshooter, or expert on the rifle, pistol, and Browning M1917 (and later M1919) .30-caliber machine gun. The organization-wide emphasis on individual marksmanship was a critical part of the Marine Corps culture throughout the interwar period (and before and after) and played an important role in the structure of TBS.

⁵¹ John Sayen, "World War I and the USMC" (unpublished paper, Quantico, VA, 2017), given to the author by Dr. Bruce Gudmunsson from his personal collection.

⁵² MajGen Cmdt John Lejeune, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1922* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1923), 822.

Naval Heritage and Marine Corps Culture: Conclusions

There were 86 Marines detailed as instructors at TBS during the entire interwar period. Thirty-five of them served at least one tour in Haiti, Nicaragua, Cuba, or Santo Domingo; most served in two or more of those places and for multiple tours. Some, such as Captain Nels Nelson or Lewis Puller, served more than five years on those missions. Twelve of the instructors served in China. Every single instructor at TBS between 1924 and 1941 also completed at least one tour of sea duty. Their experience, both in terms of type of billet and years spent, was overwhelmingly that of a naval service officer. By contrast, only eight of the instructors went to France in 1918 and of those, only four served with a unit that saw combat. So, the majority of TBS staff in the interwar period were far more experienced with small wars and the Advanced Base Force mission than with traditional field army operations such as those encountered during World War I. From articles published in the *Marine Corps Gazette*, the preserved personal and military records of TBS instructors, it is clear, when examining the body of documentation left behind, that these missions resonated with the Marines and were an important part of their heritage.

Chapter 4

Land Warfare Doctrine and Fort Benning

Traditional land warfare went through a series of now well-known developments during the modern era. The American Civil War has been called the last of the Napoleonic wars, or perhaps the first modern war.¹ It was certainly the last to make large-scale use of traditional line tactics. Advances in technology quickly sent the maneuverable armies of the late nineteenth century into increasingly elaborate systems of self-defense. North American trench warfare was born outside Petersburg, Virginia, in 1864–65 during the Siege of Petersburg, and perfected itself to an extremity by 1917. Within a generation, it was overtaken by mechanized warfare and a new type of maneuverable army. During this period, the U.S. Army put great effort into modernization in the technical, tactical, administrative, and educational senses. The Army's development process was painstaking, producing a multitude of volumes to analyze the historical, organizational, educational, professional, and political implications of the various changes made in the Army between the American Civil War and World War I.

Because the Army had a clear claim to national expertise in land warfare, it was natural that the early twentieth-century Marine Corps turned to the Army for insight into the more traditional aspects of land warfare. American military officers had already fought during the previous generation to produce professional

¹Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* (Marlborough, UK: Crowood Press, 2014), 11.

reading material in their own language to analyze the exploits of their own Army.² There was no sense in the Marines slogging over ground already won by the Army. It was also out of keeping with the Marine Corps' general culture to overemphasize European armies' influence, as doing so meant absorbing principles of war that deemphasized the individual autonomy of the fighting man, which was prized highly in the United States.³ The premier army of the time was German and it was the ultimate source of influence, but schools in the United States filtered that influence through their own writers and thinkers so that at the basic level only American sources were referenced.

World War I's Impact on the Marine Corps

In August 1918, the Marine Corps' total strength stood at more than 60,000 officers and enlisted. Officer training for the war in France took place primarily at a newly acquired base near Quantico, Virginia.⁴ Prior to the arrival of the Marines, Quantico was a narrow, muddy field between a riverboat pier and the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad's tracks.⁵ There was a little general store and a lot of forest. After the Corps moved in, space for 7,000 Marines to live and drill was speedily erected and was soon ablaze with activity day and night. Some of the exercises undertaken by the Marines at Quantico included "perfecting themselves in close-order drill . . . learning new tricks of trench warfare,

² T. R. Brereton, *Educating the U.S. Army: Arthur L. Wagner and Reform, 1875-1905* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 39.

³ Antulio J. Echevarria, *After Clausewitz: German Military Thinkers before the Great War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 116.

⁴ MajGen Cmdt George Barnett, "Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps," in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for the Year 1891* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 1595.

⁵ LtCol Charles A. Fleming, Capt Robin L. Austin, and Capt Charles A. Braley III, *Quantico: Crossroads of the Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1978), 18.

practicing new bayonet strokes on dummies in the company streets, and acquiring skill in the art of hand-grenade throwing.”⁶

Enlisted Marines trained at Parris Island, South Carolina, on an installation that was increased dramatically to accommodate the almost 30,000 new Marines who would be sent overseas with the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). Their program of study also included drill and bayonet tactics with the addition of swimming, rope climbing, camp equipment use, and other basic skills.⁷ Unfortunately for these adventure-seekers, only about 30,000 Marines ever made it to Europe before the end of World War I.⁸ American involvement in the war simply came too late for many to participate. Those present at Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, recalled later that when armistice was declared on 11 November 1918 there were no cheers; those present knew that they had missed their chance to go to war. It was a moment of bitter disappointment rather than relief for some members of the Old Corps, as well. Alexander A. Vandegrift, who later took the 1st Marine Division to Guadalcanal, was a captain in China and Haiti during the 1910s and tried several ways to get himself recalled to the United States. He believed that returning to one of the expeditionary brigades and going to France was critically important for an officer who wanted combat experience (and improved chances at promotion). He was finally brought back from the Far East in 1918, but the war ended before he received orders. He later wrote, “The big one, the war to end wars, had come and gone and I had missed it. This was a personal calamity of tremendous proportions.”⁹

⁶ 2dLt Charles Phelps Cushing, “Quantico Barracks,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 2, no. 4 (December 1917): 331.

⁷ See W. R. Coyle, “Parris Island in the War,” in Annette Amerman, *United States Marine Corps in the First World War: Anthology, Selected Bibliography, and Annotated Order of Battle* (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps History Division, 2016), 39.

⁸ Amerman, *United States Marine Corps in the First World War*, xiii.

⁹ Alexander A. Vandegrift and Robert Asprey, *Once a Marine: The Memoirs of General A. A. Vandegrift, Commandant of the U.S. Marines in WWII* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964), 53.

Personal calamities and missed opportunities aside, the Marine Corps as an institution quickly returned to business as usual. The majority of enlisted Marines in World War I were on a “duration of the war” basis and were rapidly discharged during 1919. In March 1920, the Corps’ enlisted ranks had fallen far below its authorized strength of 27,400 and stood at 15,249.¹⁰ The *Marine Corps Gazette* and local periodicals such as the *Recruiters’ Bulletin* discussed the need to bring in new Marines. Newspaper ads abounded. Soon, an influx of regular (four-year) enlistees balanced the precipitous drop in numbers, and by 1922 the Marine Corps had returned to a total enlisted strength of 21,000.¹¹ During that same period, the number of officers remained between 800 and 2,000. The surplus of officers postwar was dealt with by returning many officers to the Marine Corps Reserve, which had been the original vehicle for offering them commissions during 1917–18. The Marines had intended to use TBS to train many of these Reserve officers for future wars, but instead the school was temporarily shut down and the remaining active officers detailed to other duties, primarily in China and the Caribbean. The Reserve officers were left merely with the training they had received prior to embarking for France. Many simply disappeared back into the civilian world by resigning their commissions.¹²

Thirty thousand Marines joined the AEF and traveled to Europe, with just over one-third of them participating in active combat. Battle streamers and popular histories speak to the combat exploits of those Marines, and their contribution to the war effort is not in question. However, at the same time, another 20,000 Ma-

¹⁰ MajGen Cmdt John A. Lejeune, “Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps,” in *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1920* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1921), 1055.

¹¹ MajGen Cmdt John A. Lejeune, “Report of the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps,” in *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1920* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1923), 817.

¹² *The Marine Corps Reserve: A History* (Washington, DC: Division of Reserve, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1966), 21–22.

rines were in combat zones elsewhere in the world, mostly in locations that had been the scene of Marine Corps action for several decades already. Participation in the AEF did not radically change the Corps' overall mission or fundamentally alter the direction in which the Corps was moving as an organization. On the contrary, within a year of armistice, the Marines had settled back into their naval expeditionary unit role, developing it into amphibious warfare doctrine through a process of experimentation and research that consumed the energies of the Corps' two senior schools for a decade. The *Marine Corps Gazette* only published technical or tactical articles related to trench warfare between 1916 and 1919.¹³ After that, articles that mentioned the Great War focused on the exploits of the great heroes or were retrospective battle studies.¹⁴

However, the Great War did have an impact: it brought the Marine Corps onto the land warfare stage in a serious way for the first time, giving them their first chance to fight in a real war against a peer nation. In that sense, World War I catalyzed the nascent professionalization of the Marine Corps. The retrenchment environment of the postwar years forced the entire American military to focus closely on existential questions of mission, education, and equipment.¹⁵ The financial and ideological realities of that environment enabled the Corps to develop itself into a modern

¹³ "Somewheres in France," *Marine Corps Gazette* 1, no. 1 (March 1916): 39–42; "My Year of the Great War," *Marine Corps Gazette* 1, no. 2 (June 1916): 182–84; Capt André Lafargue, "Hints to the Foot-Soldier in Battle," *Marine Corps Gazette* 2, no. 1 (March 1917): 37–66; Maj M. E. Locke, "Artillery in Europe," *Marine Corps Gazette* 2, no. 4 (December 1917): 375–81; "German Principles of Elastic Defence: Translation of a Captured German Document," *Marine Corps Gazette* 3, no. 3 (September 1918): 215–17; and Raoul Blanchard, "An American Battlefield—From the Marne to the Vesle," *Marine Corps Gazette* 4, no. 1 (March 1919): 25–37.

¹⁴ Maj Edwin N. McClellan, "The Fourth Brigade of Marines in the Training Areas and the Operations in the Verdun Sector," *Marine Corps Gazette* 5, no. 1 (March 1920): 81–110; Maj Edwin N. McClellan, "The Battle of Blanc Mont Ridge," *Marine Corps Gazette* 7, no. 1 (March 1922): 1–21; Gen Joury Daniloff, "Russia's Part in the Initial Period of the World War," *Marine Corps Gazette* 8, no. 2 (June 1923): 49–79; and Maj W. R. Coyle, "Parris Island in the War," *Marine Corps Gazette* 10, no. 3 (December 1925): 187–91.

¹⁵ LtCol Kenneth J. Clifford, *Progress and Purpose: A Developmental History of the U.S. Marine Corps, 1900–1970* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1973), 26.

fighting force. World War I came not at the beginning but at the end of a decades-long process that formalized the structure of the Marine Corps, created and maintained a system of education for both officers and men, and solidified the primary mission of the organization.¹⁶

It is clear that intense study of trench warfare tactics did not become part of the Marine Corps' long-term education plan. In fact, in the broader context of the whole twentieth century, any focus on World War I's lessons appears to be a fluke. What need did an amphibious assault force have for large numbers of machine guns or for extensive knowledge of how to combat-load a railway train? The Corps quickly abandoned close study of those traditional land-service topics in favor of the amphibious doctrine that was developed between the wars. All that remained was a continued focus on small units' use of machine guns, which began in the Marine Corps long before the war in Europe. However, in the process of learning and then discarding the "big Army" way of doing things, the Corps learned something about its place in the military establishment of the United States. By sending its officers to Army schools, the Corps was able to develop a baseline expertise in the standard topics understood by land-based military leaders.

There was a correct formula for many of the usual activities undertaken by a land forces commander, and the Marine Corps cheerfully acknowledged in the first two decades of the twentieth century that the U.S. Army employed that formula. In addition, students who attended Army schools and then returned to the Marine Corps gained some prestige among their peers. Receiving an assignment to Fort Benning, Georgia, was considered an honor, and Marines tended to do well in the Company Officer Course there. In 1936, when First Lieutenant Russell Jordahl attended the Company Officer Course, he reported that all of the Marine stu-

¹⁶ John Sayen, "World War I and the USMC" (unpublished paper, Quantico, VA, 2017), 2.

dents did very well with the entire curriculum, including “many hours spent riding” despite having little prior equestrian experience. The year Jordahl spent as a student “was by far the best professional year I had experienced up to that time,” he recalled.¹⁷ By the mid-1930s, the leaders at Headquarters Marine Corps became aware that their officers, while benefiting from most of the Army instruction, needed schools that catered to the particular demands placed on them—especially regarding the equipment and techniques under development for amphibious operations. The Corps began shifting away from relying on the Army institutions and instead put its own new schools to work addressing Marine officers’ distinct educational needs.¹⁸

Fort Benning: Origins and Development

Located approximately 100 kilometers south of Atlanta, Georgia, Fort Benning is one of several large training areas east of the Mississippi River that were acquired by the Army in the early twentieth century. It was established as a training camp in September 1918. The wide-open area was excellent for training troops and the small nearby town of Columbus posed little in the way of distractions or dissipated entertainment. Other installations, such as Fort Sill, Oklahoma, (artillery) and Fort Knox, Kentucky, (armor) were established to focus on other combat arms—Fort Benning was dedicated to the study and rehearsal of infantry troop tactics. General John J. Pershing took personal interest in the infantry institution: those who chose the site at Fort Benning claimed to have his personal endorsement—Pershing was obsessed with obtaining a suitable training area for soldiers to learn to fire machine guns.¹⁹

¹⁷ Russel N. Jordahl, interview with Benis M. Frank, 3 June 1970, transcript (Oral History Section, Marine Corps History Division [MCHD], Quantico, VA), 44.

¹⁸ 1stLt Anthony Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools” (unpublished manuscript, 1945), 24, 37–39.

¹⁹ Peggy A. Stelpflug and Richard Hyatt, *Home of the Infantry: The History of Fort Benning* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), 1, 3.

When justifying the opening of another school, Army colonel Henry Eames explained to a Senate committee that the kind of basic education received at a Service academy was not enough for the modern professional soldier.

West Point is the foundation school which has nothing to do with the teaching of the technical use of arms. Every officer who comes into the service must go through these [Fort Benning] schools.²⁰

Congressional budgeters were soon convinced that the “peacetime Valley Forge” project, as Fort Benning was known, was justified.²¹ The older schools, including the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, were watching with interest how the new infantry school would develop. It was initially a “combination” and amplification of the old Infantry School and Machine Gun School (which in turn descended from the Musketry School, first operated at the Old Presidio in Monterey, California).²² In 1920, it settled on the name the Infantry School.

Virtually no one paid any attention to Fort Benning’s Infantry School. Perhaps this was because the American students at Fort Benning, as captains with field experience, were nevertheless four or six years behind their German peers in education. U.S. Army second lieutenants went straight from West Point to command their platoons or companies “without deeper knowledge of tactics and the efficiency of the weapons in the inventory of the U.S. Army.” They relied heavily on the seasoned noncommissioned officers in their units and were not given the opportunity to fill that knowledge gap until years later at the Infantry School. This meant the Infantry School content was likely far below the ability level of

²⁰ Stelpflug and Hyatt, *Home of the Infantry*, 23.

²¹ Stelpflug and Hyatt, *Home of the Infantry*, 29.

²² “Service Schools: The Infantry School, Camp Benning, GA,” *Military Engineer* 12, no. 62 (March–April 1920): 216.

the average German officer, who had been commanding battalion-level units since his days as a cadet at military college. However late blooming they might be, though, American officers who attended the Fort Benning School benefited from it immensely. For the first time, they would gain hands-on experience of infantry weapons and tactics at the company, battalion, and regimental levels.²³

George C. Marshall's Influence

Even before George C. Marshall took over as assistant commandant at the Infantry School with full responsibility for the curriculum, the school was highly regarded. After Marshall arrived in 1927 and began a series of reforms, during what was called the "Benning Renaissance," it was considered exemplary.²⁴

It is unclear exactly when the Corps began sending officers to Fort Benning, but it is certain many of the interwar TBS staff attended the Infantry School during or immediately after Marshall's tenure there. Marshall was known for his AEF service, his role as confidant to General John J. Pershing, and (within the Army) for his campaign to revitalize and revolutionize the Army education system. His lifelong interest in professional development at all levels is evidenced throughout his letters and personal papers. Marshall is a prime example of a well-educated military officer of this time period who had long experience with military life, with training, with professional education, and with the administration of a school; and yet he continuously conflated training with

²³ Jörg Muth, *Command Culture: Officer Education in the U.S. Army and German Armed Forces, 1901-1940, and the Consequences for World War II* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2011), 138.

²⁴ Larry I. Bland and Sherry R. Ritenour, eds., *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, "The Soldierly Spirit," December 1880 to June 1939 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 316.

education in his papers.²⁵ Perhaps highlighting the difference between the two was not then seen as critical, as it would be today. It seems that everyone concerned at that time knew the difference between *training*, which was scientific and formulaic, and *education*, which was creative, and because no one disagreed no scholar ever took the time to point out the difference. Educational manuals and essays of the time period use the two words interchangeably or sometimes use *education* as a kind of genus to describe any process by which learning has occurred, whether via technical training or some more esoteric species.

Once put in a position to effect real change in an academic setting, Marshall did so energetically. The school he influenced the most was the School of Infantry at Fort Benning, and therefore his influence on the Marine Corps Schools would be difficult to deny. This is perhaps a little ironic, since Marshall is reflexively thought of in the Marine Corps, even today, as an enemy because of his career-long conviction that the Marines simply were not capable of operating a unit larger than a brigade. Marshall was among those who felt that landing operations were relatively simple and were either well within the ability of a small Marine Corps or could and should be handled by the Army.²⁶ However, during the interwar years, such disagreements were not yet being aired.

²⁵ Marshall to Chief of Militia Affairs, Boston, 1 January 1912; Marshall lecture at the Army War College, "The Development of the National Army," 10 September 1923; and Marshall to Pershing, Washington, DC, 23 January 1924, all in Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 72, 235, 251. The first comments on the variety of schools available to Massachusetts national guardsmen; the second comments on the superiority of a years-long gradual training system for national guardsmen over the old system of a six-week intensive course immediately before combat deployment; and the third comments on the need to include a course on leadership and command at West Point.

²⁶ Chester G. Hearn, *Marines: An Illustrated History* (St. Paul, MN: Zenith Press, 2007), 110; and Gordon W. Keiser, *The U.S. Marine Corps and Defense Unification 1944-1947: The Politics of Survival* (Forest Grove, OR: University Press of the Pacific, 2002), 3-4. The 1946 Collins Plan was the product of Marshall's close associate, Gen Lawton Collins, USA. Their proposal reduced the Marine Corps to 60,000 personnel, abolished the Marine Reserves, and removed all aviation assets from the Corps.

When Marshall was appointed director of the Academic Department at Fort Benning, Marshall's voice carried particular weight thanks to his involvement in the AEF during World War I. As a result, many of his suggestions for reform were adopted without argument.²⁷ According to General Omar N. Bradley, interviewed a number of years later, it was Marshall's style to simply "recruit a superior staff" and leave them to execute assignments as they saw fit. This mission command or mission analysis method was inspired by German principles of leadership. While on the Infantry School staff, Bradley recalled being summoned to speak with Marshall only once to discuss course matters.²⁸ Marshall was also determined to improve the facilities, reduce class size, standardize the course material, and prevent field exercises from becoming stale or scripted and thus lose the students' interest.²⁹ The War Department accepted all of Marshall's recommendations for the 1929–30 school year.

Marshall's presence and ideology created a school heavily influenced by the applicatory method. The centerpiece of this method was the use of actual war-strength units for field exercises, conducted on real terrain rather than around a map board with game pieces.³⁰ Marshall added another layer to the concept by surprising students at the end of a tactical exercise with a task, for example, to sketch terrain recently ridden over—terrain they had not been studying in a mapmaking sense up to that point.³¹ His initiatives combined to create a system of education that was active, dynamic, and required the students' continuous input. The element of surprise was a key part of German officer education

²⁷ Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 319.

²⁸ Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 320.

²⁹ Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 331–33.

³⁰ "Service Schools: The Infantry School, Camp Benning, GA," 218.

³¹ Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 320.

but was not commonly implemented in American military schools before Marshall introduced the idea at Fort Benning.³²

Marshall's vision for professional military education was geared toward creating something thorough, but also standardized. His letters and lectures were preoccupied with the problem of creating a corps of officers that could easily be expanded in wartime through institutions such as the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, but still remained small enough to satisfy the American political taste for a cheap military.³³ On his own time and with his own funds, Marshall invited officers to his home for discussions and encouraged professional reading on the part of students during their leisure hours.³⁴ He explained that four things were necessary for officers who would lead others into battle: discipline, grasp of technique, an appreciation for simplicity, and correct methods for maintaining control.³⁵ His efforts to reform the curriculum at Fort Benning were always directed toward one of those ideas. When he felt that an impasse had been reached or there was a lack of imagination at Fort Benning, Marshall would travel to other Army schools and observe the methods in use there, returning to Georgia with new ideas.³⁶

Fort Benning: Better than Homemade

But why did the Corps send its officers to Fort Benning in the first place? In 1920, a Company Officers' Course for Marines was established at Quantico and, though the course experienced a few challenges before stabilizing, the Corps could have sent its captains to the Quantico course instead of to the Army equivalent. But it was not until the late 1930s that Marine captains were sent to Quanti-

³² Muth, *Command Culture*, 145.

³³ Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 239.

³⁴ Muth, *Command Culture*, 141.

³⁵ Bland and Ritenour, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 1, 337.

³⁶ Stelpfung and Hyatt, *Home of the Infantry*, 68.

co for school instead of to Fort Benning. A variety of factors probably influenced the Corps' decision to use the Army school for as long as it did. First, it was already established. The Army schools had good reputations, and even Marines who attended them tended to be complimentary. Graves Erskine declared that the Infantry School at Benning was "the most practical school I've ever been to, or that I know of."³⁷ The Army was a highly respected military organization and had recently won a major war. It was entirely reasonable that that Army's formula for success in land warfare would be of interest to the Corps. Second, more Marine officers attending Fort Benning's Infantry School meant the Quantico Company Officers' Course and its staff could remain small; it was a savings in cost and in personnel.

Third, inter-Service education is an old practice and the Corps' decision to send its captains to an Army school could simply have been the result of tradition: the Corps had always sent its officers to other Services' schools and saw no reason to change that. Many senior Marines already attended senior Army and Navy schools. Finally, the Corps was not ready to begin teaching land warfare tactics at the company level; it had next to no experience doing so in the traditional sense and was not likely to gain that experience any time soon. The Corps' manuals, maps, exercises, techniques, and equipment all came from the Army or were very closely based on Army materials. Though its own school was in the making, and would eventually be a respected institution in its own right, it was not equal in quality to the Army's Infantry School during the early interwar era.

³⁷ Graves B. Erskine, interview with Benis M. Frank, 16 October 1969, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD, Quantico, VA), 118.

Fort Benning: Structure of the Infantry School

The Fort Benning curriculum was built around a modular system of multiformat courses. Each course was taught in at least one, and usually three or four, different ways over the length of the program of instruction. The exercises were cumulative, beginning with simple problems at a low tactical level and proceeding through the levels of organization. All Fort Benning courses operated like this, including the Company and Advanced Courses, using company-to-regiment exercises for the former and battalion-to-corps exercises for the latter. The Company Officers' Course at the Infantry School was the course attended by most members of the TBS staff. Then-captain Lewis "Chesty" B. Puller, an exception, attended the Advanced Course.³⁸ The Marshall influence was evident in the emphasis on active learning, though an honest assessment shows that some courses were less active than others. The logistics and motor transport courses were especially focused around paper-based problems with predetermined solutions, controlling the students' answers at the minute level. Tactical exercises such as the terrain walk and the official field exercise at the end of the course had school solutions included in the teaching notes. It is not clear how closely the student solution was supposed to align with the school solution. However, most topics were covered with a mix of field exercise or map problem, combined with a lecture or conference. The available format options listed in the 1937–38 academic year curriculum index are (alphabetically): conference, conference and illustrative problem, conference and map problem, demonstration, exercise, field exercise, fire problem, illustrative problem, illustrative map problem,

³⁸ Evidence for Puller's presence at the Advanced Course was found in the form of his capstone paper being listed in the Fort Benning Donovan Research Library's card catalog. Puller and Gilder D. Jackson Jr. (who did not serve on the TBS staff) were the only Marines with papers in the catalog for the 1924–36 timeframe. Puller's personal papers collection does not include any documentation from his time at the Infantry School.

illustrative terrain exercise, lecture, map exercise, map problem, terrain exercise, tactical ride, and tactical walk.³⁹ These formats appear in indexed curricula as far back as 1930.

Only a few Marines who became instructors at TBS kept records from their pre-World War II career. One of them, Graves B. Erskine, preserved a variety of course materials from Fort Benning, as well as his graduation certificate. Erskine was commissioned in the Marine Corps in 1917 and saw combat with the AEF at the Battle of Saint-Mihiel in France. He served in all three small wars theaters and was an instructor at the Marine Corps Schools in 1926–27.⁴⁰ He was an instructor at TBS from 1930 to 1932. According to the graduation certificate, Erskine completed the Company Officers' Course in May 1928 and was considered proficient in the following subjects:

History of the Army of the United States; Military Policy of the United States; Military History; Applied Psychology; Military Courtesy; Administration; Organization and Equipment; Mass Athletics; Equitation; Transportation; Management of Animals; Close-order Drill; Military Sketching and Map Reading; Instructional Methods; Training Principles; Mechanics and Marksmanship of the Rifle, the Pistol, the Automatic Rifle, the Machine Gun, the 37-mm Gun, the 3-inch Trench Mortar, and Grenades; Bayonet Practice; Musketry; Combat Practice; Communications and Command Posts; Field Messages and Orders; Staff and Logistics to include the Regiment; Combat Intelligence; Organization

³⁹ Index to *Instruction Matter*, vol. 1, Instructional Material, Infantry School Academic Department 1938, U.S. Army Fort Benning and Maneuver Center of Excellence Headquarters Donovan Research Library Special Collections, Fort Benning, GA, hereafter Donovan Research Library.

⁴⁰ Graves B. Erskine biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

of the Ground; Field Engineering; Tactics to include the Company.⁴¹

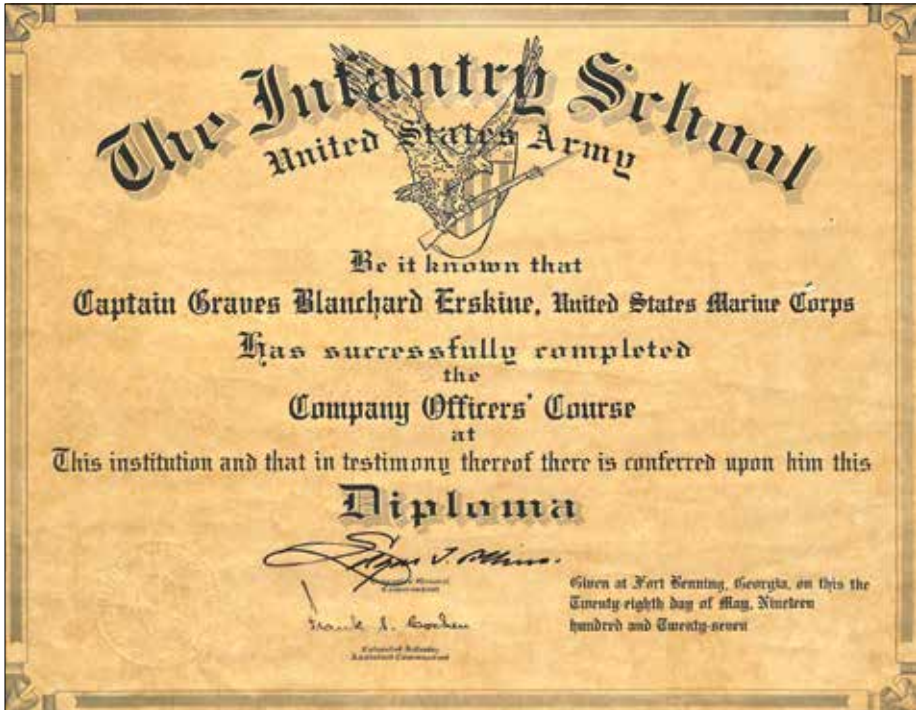
This list does not correspond exactly to the listing of courses preserved in the Fort Benning archive. Some courses, such as Military History and Military Sketching and Map Reading, existed as standalone classes dealing exclusively with a subject. Other subjects from the graduation certificate are covered in multiple formats. For example, there is no Field Messages and Orders class listed in the curriculum index, but sections on writing a field message or delivering an order are present in the course materials for all the classes for company in the defense, battalion in the attack, and so forth. Erskine's graduation certificate gives a complete picture of the subject areas covered and what kind of experience the Army believed it was giving its students at the Infantry School.

By comparison, the graduation certificate for TBS in 1930 listed the following subjects: administration; boats; drill regulations; first aid and military hygiene; interior guard duty; signal communications; aviation ground course; military field engineering; marksmanship; musketry; naval and military law; tactics; topography; naval ordnance; and individual combat.⁴² Nearly 40 percent of the topics on the Infantry School certificate were covered at TBS. Of the remainder, some were only marginally relevant to the Marine Corps (such as History of the Army and Management of Animals); these courses would eventually be used as evidence in support of sending Marine officers only to Marine schools instead of the Army schools, where so much irrelevant material was taught.⁴³

⁴¹ "Graduation Certificate—The Infantry School," Graves B. Erskine personal papers, box 27, folder 14, collection 3065, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴² "Graduation Certificate—Basic Course," Joseph H. Berry personal papers, 1930, box 2, folder 6, collection 3A11, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴³ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 29.



Personal papers collection of Graves B. Erskine, Archives, Marine Corps History Division
 Capt Graves B. Erskine's graduation certificate from the Infantry School at Fort Benning. He was on the TBS staff from 1930–32.

Technical Courses

The courses at Fort Benning fell into one of several broad categories. Technical courses were neither historical nor informational, nor were they concerned with troop leading skills. Technical topics include administration, skill-based classes such as drawing, or the mechanics and use of weaponry. These courses took place in a classroom, and presumably a lecture was given by an expert in the field as an introduction to the material. Sometimes textbooks were provided or an Army manual that functioned as a textbook.⁴⁴ The

⁴⁴ Frank J. Pearson, *Modern Military Map Reading and Sketching* (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing, 1924); and *Infantry Drill Regulations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911, 1918, 1929, 1940). Inexplicably, lists of books in use at the Infantry School are not part of the archived records.

Infantry School curriculum indices currently preserved do not include descriptive material on how the courses were structured, so the exact format of any is unclear. However, by looking at the examination material from each index, we can at least know what the Army considered *proficiency* in the subject matter.⁴⁵

The courses on map reading and mapmaking are easiest to reconstruct. The textbook in use at the Infantry School in the 1920s was *Military Map Reading and Sketching*, by Army captain Frank J. Pearson. Pearson was an instructor at Fort Benning during the 1920s and his textbook included a preface that explicitly stated that his book was written for, and in use at, the Infantry School at Fort Benning. The book on map reading covers topic areas including scale, orientation, elevation, coordination, aerial photography, and the tools used to read a map. In the sketching portion students learned to sketch a landscape while observing it, as well as to create notes from which a sketch could be drawn later.⁴⁶ In the early 1930s, the material being tested still aligned with Pearson's text. An exam from the Topography: Map Reading course began with basic questions such as, "What do you find at the following coordinates?" However, it soon progressed to more complex problems, such as the following.

After an attack on this (Fort Benning) reservation, you find an enemy map. The section showing SCALES has been torn off. You compare this map with your 1:20,000 Fire Control Map, Fort Benning, and find that a line drawn from the Water Tank on RIGHT HILL (near intersection of 17-21 grid) to the junction of the MARNE and SANTA FE ROADS

⁴⁵ Curriculum indices (arranged by year) are held at the Donovan Research Library at Fort Benning, GA. At the time of this writing, the Donovan library has been without a research librarian for almost three years, making the records difficult to access or interpret in detail.

⁴⁶ Pearson, *Modern Military Map Reading and Sketching*, 169.

(19.21-21.40) measures 8 inches. State the REPRESENTATIVE FRACTION of the enemy map.⁴⁷

In an associated course, Military Mapmaking and Map Reading, the class on sketching from notes was delivered as a classroom exercise headed by these guidelines:

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. a. On a card or piece of paper, construct a graphical scale of yards for use on a map with a representative fraction of 1:10,000. Show 900 yards on the primary portion; show 100 yards on the secondary portion and make it read to the nearest 10 yards. The length of a 100-yard division on the scale will be 0.36 inch.

b. On the opposite edge of the card, construct an angle of differences of elevation for use on this map . . . show 10 feet on the secondary portion and make it read to the nearest foot. The length of a 10-foot division on the scale will be 0.69 inch.

c. Place a sheet of sketching paper before you with the long axis parallel to your front. Lay off three vertical grid lines 1000 yards apart, the first one being 1,000 yards from and parallel to the left edge of the paper.

d. Station A (elevation 608 feet) will be located on the first vertical grid line at a point three inches from the bottom edge of the paper. Magnetic North is 6 degrees west of grid north.

e. First: plot the boundary traverse and if it is not close, adjust it. Second: plot the buildings along the

⁴⁷ "Topography and Map Reading: Exam," *Infantry School Instruction Manual*, vol. 5, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section 2-60, 24.

boundary. Third: plot the interior of the traverse.
Fourth: put in the contours and other topography.⁴⁸

Students then used the guide to design a map according to a description furnished by the instructor, including a variety of terrain features and military symbols. When instructors arrived at TBS after completing the Infantry School course, they used the same maps for their students' classroom work as had been used at Fort Benning. When the Marines went to the field, however, they used maps made for the terrain at hand (either Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, or Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania).⁴⁹

The Browning machine gun was the subject of a separate course. Students were tested on knowledge of the gun's function, how to disassemble and assemble it, how to prepare it for immediate action, and how to conduct an elementary gun drill. For gun drill, each portion of the drill was timed. Major errors counted against a student's grade more than lesser errors (for example, failing to level the gun when mounting was a greater error than was using the incorrect hand to clamp the tripod legs into place).⁵⁰ Other weapons courses in the curriculum index varied in their exact content, but covered a basic range of technical background about the weapon itself, ways to train or increase proficiency with the weapon, and finally outlines for tactical use of the weapon in a given combat scenario. The Grenades course included diagrams explaining the construction of common types of grenades and detailed drawings of proper grenade-throwing form.

⁴⁸ "Military Mapmaking Exam: National Guard and R.O.T.C. Officers' Course," *Manual of Instructional Materials*, vol. 5, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, 30.

⁴⁹ Ronald R. Van Stockum, transcription of personal journal (no. 1 of 3), 1937, folder 1, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Diaries, 1937-1942, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY, 28.

⁵⁰ "Browning Machine Gun Caliber .30 - Model of 1917 Exam" (1931-32), *Manual of Instructional Materials*, vol. 5, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section 3-41, 41.

It is possible that the use of a particular technical course was up to the discretion of course leaders at the time. While the tactical or command courses are indexed in full in each volume of Fort Benning's curriculum (archived by year), the courses on weapons, fortifications, and other ancillary subjects are not part of the index. Occasionally, one course may be included, such as Military History, but the record is not complete. This may simply be because the quantity of material was too much to include in the index for each academic year. It may also be because the technical courses changed more quickly (to adapt to alterations in weaponry, for example) than did the troop leading skills or command courses. In general, the Company Officers' Course had more technical courses, especially on weapons. The Advanced Course was mostly tactical courses, with field fortification and motor transport being significant exceptions.

Field or Command Courses

Each series of field courses began with a map problem. They were cumulative courses, beginning with platoon or company problems and moving up to battalion or regiment (Advanced Course only) level problems. For example, to teach concepts associated with an advance guard, students worked through a map problem at the battalion level, then a field exercise at the regiment level, followed by a field exercise at the brigade level. For a section on attack, students completed 21 map problems, 17 terrain exercises (on a sand table or similar in a classroom) and five field exercises.⁵¹ In every instance, the field exercise followed multiple other formats. It was not the first event presented to students on a given topic. The students were all given chances to command their classmates, and in the field they were assigned to a given staff or command billet. As

⁵¹ Index to *Infantry School Instruction Manual*, vol. 1, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library.

then-retired Marine general Russell Jordahl (TBS staff 1938–39) recalled in an interview,

We never knew what assignment we were going to have, and relative rank for students from major to 1st lieutenant meant absolutely nothing. . . . So you might be send out in command of a platoon one day, a battalion the next day, a regiment the next day.⁵²

For the Marines who attended the school, the freely given opportunities to demonstrate competence in the field were precious.

For the field exercise “regiment in the attack,” students were assigned to billets: battalion commanding officer, executive officer, S-1 (adjutant), S-2 (intelligence), S-3 (operations), S-4 (logistics), surgeon, and platoon commanders (two, for the battalion headquarters troops). Below each battalion, the companies were assigned one commanding officer, one executive officer, and three platoon commanders. Twenty-seven of the students were assigned as umpires/observers. The umpire students were required to develop a solution to the exercise’s problem ahead of time, which would be compared to the billeted students’ performance during the exercise itself. The curriculum summary does not indicate how the exercise was graded. The field exercise problem was written by school staff and included firing of blank ammunition, flags, and smoke signals to indicate success or failure of a movement.⁵³

⁵² Russel Jordahl, interview with Benis M. Frank, 3 June 1970, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD, Quantico, VA), 44.

⁵³ For fans of American war films, a scene from *The Dirty Dozen* (1967) depicts this type of exercise, in which opposing teams wear colored armbands and execute a carefully choreographed series of maneuvers. The blue team was the preplanned winner of the exercise. Students in the movie version were graded on their ability to adhere to the plan, and organizers became enraged when the protagonist cheated by obtaining some enemy arm bands and sneaking through the line. Students at Fort Benning were expected to adhere to the plan, but (because of Marshall’s influence) would also encounter unexpected developments to which they must react, drawing on principles they learned during previous exercises or classroom events.

The central element of the field exercise, that which made it such a valuable experience for students, was the ability to lead live troops. Each battalion, company, and platoon was supplied with a full complement of Army soldiers, armed with rifles and bayonets. The Marine Corps lacked the ability to supply such a large number of troops for a training exercise, so this experience was perhaps the single most important opportunity for Marine officers who attended the Benning school. Until they deployed to a foreign post, they would have no experience leading real men (in training or in combat) other than that they gained at Fort Benning.

Other Classroom Formats

The lecture was used rarely. Only one lecture, entitled “Organization of the British Army,” is listed in the course of instruction for 1931–32.⁵⁴ Notes for the lecture were not preserved, so we cannot compare the lecture format to the conference format, though they appear to be closely related. The latter was used for conveying general principles in a variety of subjects, such as security, tank employment, river crossings, use of motor transportation in reconnaissance, night operations, pursuit, field artillery organization, employment of troops for domestic disturbances, combat orders, characteristics of cavalry, and the air corps. Each of these conferences was followed by at least one applicatory exercise, so presumably the conference was keyed to follow-on exercises in particular, whereas the lecture was delivered for the general edification of the students. This idea is supported by the fact that student memoirs

⁵⁴ Another lecture appears in the archived curriculum, but not the index to the volume, on the topic “Medical Care of Students” and intends to “inform the student as to what measures have been taken by the authorities at this post to keep his family and himself in good health, and what he himself can do to aid the authorities in this good work.” It goes on to explain the location and quality of the post hospital and give phone numbers for a civilian doctor in the nearby town of Columbus. “Medical Care of Students,” lecture, Infantry School Academic Department 1931–32, Donovan Research Library. Today, this lecture would be considered part of in-processing and not part of the course of instruction. There are other portions of the curriculum that pertain to medical subjects and are clearly part of the course of instruction, such as a conference on Organization of the Medical Service.

and reports by school staff indicate that visiting experts on military subjects frequently gave evening lectures which students were expected to attend.

Within the tactics section of the 1931–32 course, pursuit was taught with a conference as the first element. It begins

Pursuit, as considered in this conference, will be used in its broader sense—that is, as aggressive (i.e. offensive) action against an enemy withdrawal. . . .

Obviously the earlier a commander learns of his opponent's withdrawal, or better still, his intention to withdraw, the better able he is to combat it.⁵⁵

The instructor went on to give students a framework for deciding to pursue, for choosing a precise aspect of the enemy to pursue, how to estimate a dynamic enemy situation, for how to organize and deploy an encircling force, how to use supporting arms in the context of pursuit, and finally some special considerations when pursuing an enemy at night. The conference closed with a summary of variations on the idea of pursuit and some exceptions to the rules.

The illustrative problem appears in several subject areas and is often listed immediately before an equivalent field exercise. The illustrative problem served as a classroom-based rehearsal for a field exercise, having the multistage aspect of a field exercise, as well as the requirement to formulate and issue orders to a large unit, but without the student actually being in the field. Problems and solutions for “battalion in the attack,” for example, are divided into three parts and each solution was required to be evaluated and graded against a school-designed standard before the stu-

⁵⁵“Conference Notes on Pursuit,” *Materials for Instruction 1931–1932*, vol. 1, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section 1-31.

dent moved on to the next portion of the exercise.⁵⁶ Some classroom problems list an amount of time allowed for the student to complete the exercise (three hours, one hour, etc.) and others are open-ended. It is not clear from the composition of the archived course materials whether the students ever worked in groups, or if assignments were ever completed as homework outside of class.

Classes to Teach the Teacher

Many of the courses at the Infantry School were specifically designed to serve officers' future roles as instructors. For example, the Rifle Marksmanship class in the Company Officers' Course included a written exam. The questions were not about the officer's own ability as a marksman, but rather were all in relation to the officer's need to instruct their troops on principles of marksmanship.

SITUATION: You are inspecting the rifles of your organization, preparatory to engaging in target practice.

REQUIREMENT: Indicate hereon the particular points of your inspection and the common defects that should be corrected.

SITUATION: You are coaching an individual who yanks the trigger and flinches on every shot. He admits these errors but states that he is unable to control himself.

REQUIREMENT: Indicate hereon the procedure that you would take on the firing line to correct this deficiency.

⁵⁶"Battalion in the Attack," *Materials for Instruction*, vol. 1, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section 1-19.

SITUATION: The soldier in this exhibit [illustration] firing instruction practice at 300 yards rapid fire.

REQUIREMENT: A list of all errors of commission or omission made by the soldier.⁵⁷

Other problems followed the same format. By contrast, the Pistol Marksmanship exam did not emphasize instruction skills. Instead, that course's exam asked the officer to strip and then assemble a pistol, explain safety requirements on a pistol range, and calculate firing scores from sample targets. The course on the automatic rifle did include sections on instruction skills. For example, students learned to compose a marksmanship training schedule for their unit. The suggested schedule in 1931–32 included 16 hours of mechanical (stripping and assembling) training, 5 hours of preparatory range training, 7 hours of training at the 1,000-inch range, and 70 hours at the “known-distance” range.⁵⁸ On exams, students were given varying amounts of time intended to be insufficient for training, and then were asked to modify the ideal schedule to meet the reduced time availability. These skills are all management or staff skills, necessary for an officer who commanded at the company or battalion level and who needed to plan and execute a unit's training schedule. They were incorporated into classes that appear to be technical or tactical in nature, showing that the Army school at least partially subscribed to the idea that officer education should include skills above the individual's current level; for example, a future company commander learned to compose a training schedule for an entire battalion or regiment.

⁵⁷“Company Officers Course: Rifle Marksmanship Exam,” *Infantry School Instruction Manual*, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, 56.

⁵⁸ Known distance ranges are marked with measured distances, for example, at intervals of 100 or 200 meters.

Students also learned how to create classroom exercises, such as a map maneuver. An event titled Preparation and Conduct of Map Maneuvers told students the purpose of such an exercise, how to write one, and how to conduct one.

A map maneuver is an exercise in which a military operation, having at least two successive situations with opposing sides, is conducted on a map under the supervision of a director; solutions of the players for the preceding situations constituting the basis for the one following. When both sides are represented the map maneuver is called "two sided". When one side is represented by the table director it is called "one sided."⁵⁹

Map maneuvers were introduced at Fort Benning in 1916, according to the 1931–32 course materials. They had fallen out of use in the early 1920s, but were reintroduced in 1927 and formed a significant part of the curriculum by 1931.

The value of the map maneuver as a flexible, simple tool was significant. While the success of the tool was dependent on the ability, initiative, and versatility of the table director, it was still highly regarded. Future instructors were taught to compose map maneuvers by considering the maps available to them, the number of troops they wished students to command, the general principles of warfare they wished to convey, the amount of time in which they had to conduct the problem, and the previous experience of the students. Those familiar with the concept of wargaming will recognize in this list the elements typically needed for any indoor tactical work, whether imaginary (as the map maneuver is designed to be) or based on a historical scenario (called a *historical terrain*

⁵⁹ "Preparation and Conduct of Map Maneuvers," *Materials for Instruction*, vol. 5, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section I-81.

exercise or historical problem in the indices).⁶⁰ In the austere budget environment of the interwar American military schools, any learning mechanism that was affordable was bound to be popular.

The officer in charge of the exercise is responsible for the arrangements and equipment of the place where the map maneuver is to be conducted. Some few years ago it was thought that elaborate facilities and equipment was necessary. . . . [But] It has been found that the arrangements and equipment can be extremely simple. For the two-sided maneuver maps and tables for each side and for the table director are desirable. For the one-sided maneuver only two sets are necessary. All the equipment that is needed is paper and pencils. Troops may be represented on the maps by markers, charcoal, or colored pencils.⁶¹

The composer of the school's notes on the map maneuver believed that any good officer who graduated from the Infantry School would be able to create good map maneuvers and execute them successfully with students.

Finally, detailed prescriptive courses on creating a program of training were part of the courses at Fort Benning. Questions of how to schedule training, or to what technical standard troops should be expected to perform, were included alongside more existential questions about what and why training was conducted. These are especially pertinent, since the Marine students who went on to become instructors would be responsible for composing and conducting their own courses at TBS and would be partly responsible

⁶⁰ Unfortunately, there are no examples of historical terrain exercises or historical problems in the archived Benning curriculum. A historical map problem on the Battle of Vicksburg is included in the course materials for TBS during this time period, presumably copied from the same or similar course taught to one of the TBS instructors while he was at the Infantry School.

⁶¹ Notes for "Preparation and Conduct of Map Maneuvers," *Materials for Instruction*, vol. 5, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section 1-81.

for deciding the overall educational ideology of that institution. In the course materials for “Training: Programs and Schedules,” students were admonished,

There is no prescribed form for a training program, nor is there to be found in regulations anything that lays down what its contents shall be. However, it is believed that there are three essential elements which should appear in a program: first, the training objective or objectives; second, the time available in which to accomplish the mission or missions; and finally, such instructions relative to the conduct of training as are necessary.⁶²

Students who went on to become instructors were expected to give their future staffs clear instructions and their own students reasonable standards. An understanding of how wartime training would look different than peacetime training was apparently presumed. No mention of that contrast is present in the extant Fort Benning materials.

The last type of instructional material included in the Fort Benning curriculum, particularly aimed at those students who would go on to become instructors, were reference texts and manuals located in the back of the *Materials for Instruction* volumes. These included subjects such as A Text for Self-Instruction in Morse Code, Training of Radio Operators (with a section on how to select good radiomen from one’s unit), Logistics Problems, Military Policy (a primer on American history and political behavior as pertains to the military), and a table organizing subject matters alongside relevant Army handbooks. Like the Marine Corps, the Army recognized that it did not have time to give officers all the

⁶²“Training: Programs and Schedules,” *Materials for Instruction*, vol. 5, Infantry School Academic Department 1931, Donovan Research Library, section 3-11.

information they were likely to need in the course of carrying out their duties. Consequently, they prioritized topics which required expert instruction for the classroom, and utilized a self-study model (as well as a correspondence school) to fill in the gaps.

Fort Benning: Conclusions

Nearly 20 percent (15 of 80) of the interwar TBS instructors attended a course at Fort Benning. Their presence at the Infantry School creates a close connection between the two institutions. Unfortunately, the records at the Fort Benning library today are limited. Much like the existing Marine Corps archives, the Army collections are sparse before 1945. There are no rosters or lists of students present. While the Marine Corps muster rolls can provide a list of personnel at a given time and place across the entire Corps, the Army did not create or maintain a centralized collection of muster rolls. The National Archives, for example, does not retain custody of unit records for the Army, except in cases where the individual record was preserved as part of a larger collection (for example, unit diaries or muster rolls for a battle or campaign).⁶³ These limitations severely restrict the amount of demographic data that can be produced about the number of Marines who attended the Infantry School between the world wars.

The Army pioneers who developed the Infantry School at Fort Benning, especially between 1920 and 1935, were firm believers in the importance of education for military officers. Led by Marshall, the school that they created influenced the Army perhaps more than any other single institution. More than 5,000 graduates left Fort Benning and carried their knowledge to “every corner of the United States and its possessions” while Marshall was in charge,

⁶³ See “Military Records Research,” National Archives and Records Administration. A large portion of crowd-sourced military history research on the internet today consists of individuals finding unit muster rolls or lists and sharing their isolated finds with one another. It is slow work trying to piece together the larger record since no official or centralized collection exists.

and the changes he made formed a central part of each student's experience.⁶⁴ The "Spirit of Benning," which encouraged creativity, individuality, and courage, was meant to inspire everyone who attended. The Marines already possessed a brash confidence; for those who attended the Fort Benning schools between the world wars, they found a place where their natural approach to combat leadership was fine-tuned and given context.

⁶⁴ "The School Came to Benning," *Benning Herald*, October 1949, 35, as quoted in Stelpflug and Hyatt, *Home of the Infantry*, 81.

Chapter 5

League Island in the 1920s

The Marine Corps has a long and legendary connection to the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, stretching back to the days of the American Revolution. It was near the waterfront in Philadelphia that the famed Tun Tavern was located, where the first Marines are said to have signed up for service with the nascent colonial armed forces. For most of the nineteenth century, the powerful influence of a few leading Philadelphia families ensured the continuation of that connection. Butlers and Biddles—surnames that would still be recognized by Marines today—used their good will, vast fortunes, and political influence regularly to bring new construction and expanded operations to the Philadelphia Navy Yard and its tenant, the League Island Marine Barracks. At the turn of the twentieth century, this became especially apparent. While the new Steel Navy was built and the Marine Corps cemented the Advanced Base Force concept, Philadelphia was home to a regular contingent of Marines who deployed to China, the Caribbean, and Central America. During the First World War, all of the Marines who joined the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) departed from Philadelphia. After the war, the relocation of TBS to Philadelphia introduced yet another new group of Marines to that venerable installation.

The Navy Yard at Philadelphia was closed in 1996, after the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure recommended it

no longer be maintained as an active naval base.¹ Today, the riverfront area once known for shipbuilding and festive launch ceremonies is home to a variety of corporate offices, a commercial bakery, and a few U.S. Navy administrative offices. Walking paths edge the waterfront, and information technology companies are building a series of glossy, modern buildings along the border between the old yard and the city. The only military ships remaining on site are decommissioned warships that await their final disposition: sunk, scrapped, or sold.² Some civilian ships are refitted in the still-operational dry docks, but the work is being done by private companies. The Corps' parade deck survives as a public park. The barracks and warehouse buildings that felt the presence of so many famous Marines are now occupied by a host of government contractors or, sadly, stand vacant. In a vague gesture of recognition, the Navy Yard site is designated a historic area, but no plaques or signs indicate which buildings hosted what important group; no markers inform the visitor that Chesty Puller once stood under this very archway, drawling his way through a lecture on the proper means of polishing brass buttons. One would never imagine that the massive receiving barracks across the avenue, now in extreme disrepair, was the place many Marines and sailors stayed their last night on shore before shipping off to the Pacific—some never to return. The sense of history that such a place should have is lost amid the bustle of the modern military-industrial complex.

Also lost is the base archive. The Naval History and Heritage Command (NHHC) lists collections for naval bases and facilities among its holdings, but the Philadelphia Navy Yard is not among

¹Jeffery M. Dorwart and Jean K. Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard: From the Birth of the U.S. Navy to the Nuclear Age* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 4.

²The Naval Sea Systems Command (NAVSEA) Inactive Fleet Inventory provides a summary of ships in mothballs at League Island. As of September 2016, there were 31 Fleet assets held there. "NAVSEA Inactive Fleet Inventory," report, 27 September 2016, Naval Sea Systems Command, accessed 19 January 2022.

them.³ Digitized photographs from League Island are part of the NHHC collections. Fortunately, prior to the shipment of the Philadelphia yard's records to permanent storage (and the likely loss of many irreplaceable documents), historian Jeffrey Dorwart produced a history of the installation, from the "earliest colonial roots to final deactivation."⁴ His excellent book, including many photographs, maps, and diagrams, was an invaluable source for this chapter.

History of the Navy Yard

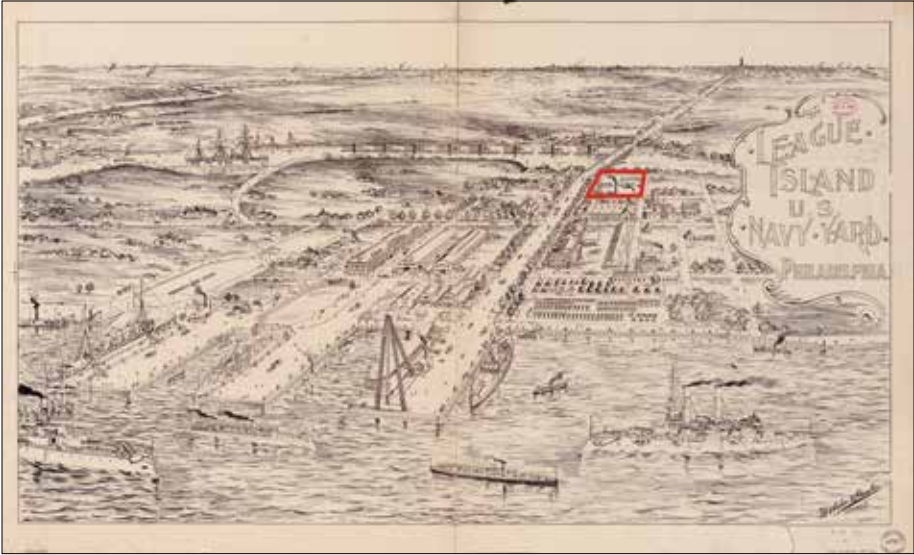
Philadelphia and the surrounding Delaware Valley were unlikely places for the first military shipyard to be established in the American colonies as the city had been founded by the pacifist Quakers. However, the relentless press of commerce overcame the religious fervor of the original Philadelphians, and a healthy arms business was in place by the mid-eighteenth century. The first complete warship to be built in the Philadelphia inlet was laid down in 1762. That ship, American privateer *Hero* (1777 ship), would later serve as the model vessel for the Continental Marine Committee's infant Navy.⁵ Though the great Alfred Thayer Mahan had once disparaged Philadelphia's harbor, the presence of the Continental Congress in that city and its designation as the first capital city of the United States guaranteed a naval presence. By 1801, the Marine Corps had settled into the yard at Southwark with its own barracks—a brick building once owned by the commercial shipbuilders of pre-Revolution days—and soon became a fixture.⁶ In fact, during the early part of the nineteenth century, while Federalists and anti-Federalists were still trying to work out whose ideas of

³ See "Collections (Finding Aids)," Resources for Researchers page, Naval History and Heritage Command, accessed 29 January 2019.

⁴ Dorwart and Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard*, vi.

⁵ Dorwart and Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard*, 11.

⁶ Dorwart and Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard*, 46, 53.

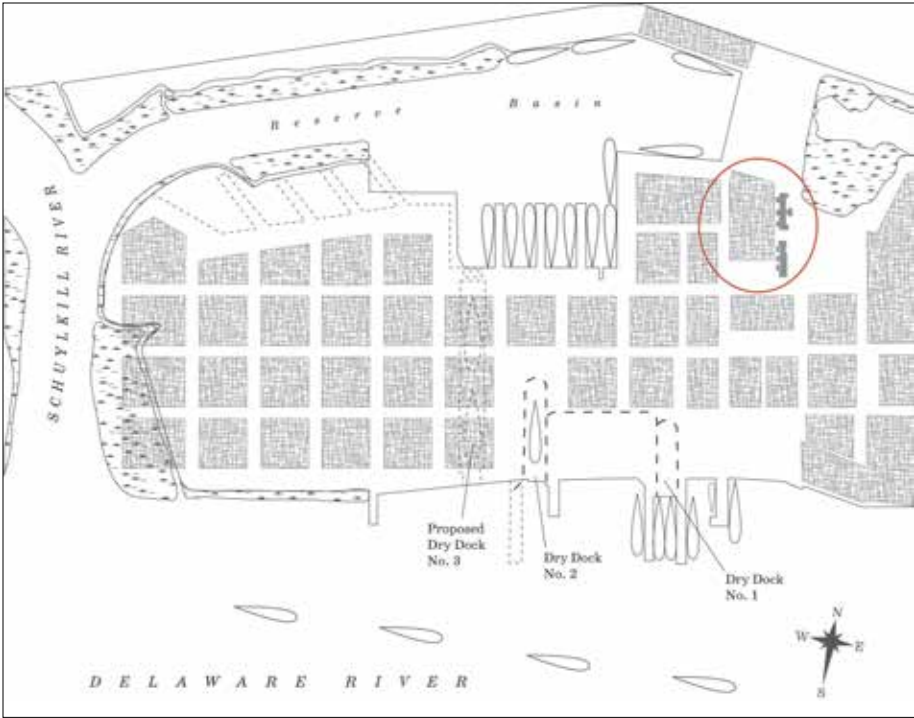


*Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.
Original artwork by Webster and Hunter, ca. 1897*

This circa 1897 drawing of the League Island Navy Yard shows the property immediately before the first of two Marine Barracks was built. The red outline delineates the location where the Marine Barracks would later be built.

government would shape the new nation, the Marine Corps was the only government body that had continuous residence at Philadelphia. The Navy came and went according to the shifting political winds of the day. Proper shipbuilding works, repair facilities, and permanent berthing for sailors failed to materialize until after the War of 1812, and the largely unsuitable channel leading into Philadelphia was continuously criticized before, during, and even after the establishment of permanent yard features.⁷ As the Southwark yard grew, the Marines were detailed to stand guard over the government's property at night. Until the time of the American Civil War, the Navy property at Southwark was slowly expanded and improved. After the war, need for additional space—especially dry docks with river approaches that could accommodate increas-

⁷Dorwart and Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard*, 57.



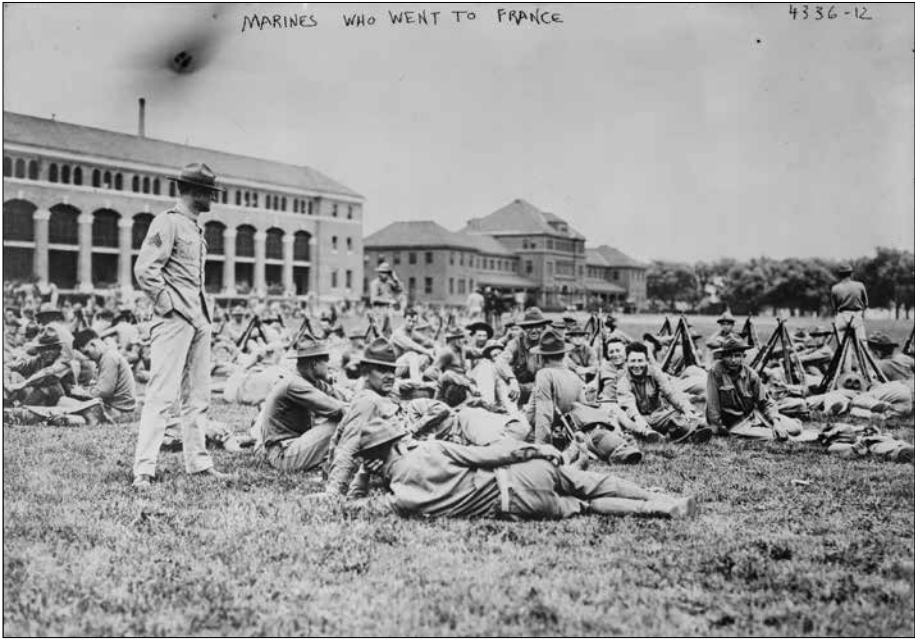
Adapted by MCU Press from Dorwart and Wolf; The Philadelphia Navy Yard

This map shows the League Island Navy Yard's Marine Barracks buildings' location demarcated by a red outline.

ingly larger ships—prompted the relocation of the yard to nearby League Island.

When the initial transfer to League Island was complete in 1876, a Marine Corps guard of 15 enlisted Marines and 2 officers formed the organized security force aboard the Navy Yard. One of the officers, Lieutenant William P. Biddle, was from a high-society Philadelphia family. His Marines initially resided on a leaky ship and in a temporary barracks near the gatehouse, waiting for better accommodations. They waited for an entire generation, while development of the Navy Yard took first priority.⁸ It was not until 1901

⁸Dorwart and Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard*, 100.



*Bain News Service, George Grantham Bain Collection,
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC*

These Marines are preparing to ship off with the American Expeditionary Forces. In the background are both the 1905 and 1911 Marine Barracks buildings.

that political forces in Philadelphia began to influence the growth of the Navy Yard, and finally provide some direct support to the Marines there. Patrons included the Biddle family, Senator Boise Penrose (Republican party boss and close friend of future president William H. Taft), Pennsylvania representatives to the U.S. Congress Michael Donohoe and J. H. Moore, and Representative Thomas S. Butler, whose son Smedley Darlington had joined the Marine Corps in 1898. Under the influence of these individuals, a series of federal administrations put increasingly large amounts of money into developing the Corps' infrastructure aboard League Island. By 1912, a "new Marine Corps barracks, officers' quarters, parade ground, drill field, rifle range, and bandstand" had been

constructed.⁹ The Advanced Base School had been transferred to Philadelphia the previous year, and this broad range of facilities completed the Marine Corps complement at League Island.

Philadelphia was the “biggest post” in the Marine Corps for a number of years. This was the bustling location that Elliot had in mind when he tried to move the Marine Officers’ School to Philadelphia during his tenure as Commandant. Marines whose careers carried into the 1960s would later describe it as “something like Quantico,” now known as the crossroads of the Marine Corps: a hub, warehouse, schoolhouse, and meeting ground for Marines of all ranks and specialties. The 1st and 2d Marine Regiments were headquartered at Philadelphia, as well as the 5th and 6th Marine Expeditionary Brigades. Every expedition to the tropics between 1900 and 1940 was chartered out of Philadelphia.¹⁰ In 1922, the Philadelphia War History Committee released a commemorative book in which it declared, “Philadelphia is probably the foremost Marine Corps city of the United States.”¹¹ It was this environment to which newly commissioned second lieutenants reported for instruction at TBS during the interwar period.

Quantico Prelude

There was no basic officer course in operation during World War I. Instead, an officer training camp at Quantico, Virginia, provided new second lieutenants with the rudiments of infantry platoon leadership. Between 1918 and 1924, TBS lacked a consistent format and was relocated more than once. Based on available evidence, for at least some of these years there was no formal basic class at all.

⁹ Dorwart and Wolf, *The Philadelphia Navy Yard*, 117.

¹⁰ Julian C. Smith, interview with Benis M. Frank, 15 November 1973, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 57.

¹¹ *Philadelphia in the World War, 1914–1919* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia War History Committee, Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1922), 333.

However, something like TBS reappeared at Quantico in the early 1920s. In his “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” Anthony Frances wrote,

The first basic class began training in 1922 with 17 newly-appointed second lieutenants and 11 Marine Gunners. The general organization initiated by this first class was followed until the Basic School was disbanded during the Second World War.¹²

The precise structure of this course is difficult to pinpoint. The usually helpful muster rolls provide few clues, as the Schools Detachment at Quantico did not separate the student-officers by class but rather by rank. There are no surviving records about who served as instructors for the basic classes at Quantico, nor examples of the curriculum.

The summer 1922 edition of the *Marine Corps Gazette* partially corroborates Frances’s account, listing 15 second lieutenants and 6 noncommissioned officers graduating from a “Basic Class.”¹³ Whether that class was truly comparable to TBS (and how many students actually attended) is unknown. Accounts like Frances’s that collapse the entire interwar period into a single sentence mischaracterize the amount of development and growth that took place during that time period. More troubling, the official history of TBS glibly repeats Frances’s account (without citing his book), noting that “a more modern curriculum was introduced in 1922” and implying that the move to Philadelphia in 1924 effected only a change in location and no other alteration to the school structure.¹⁴ The truth is much more complex and contains the story of an institution that, while remaining steady in its mission and

¹² 1stLt Anthony Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools” (unpublished manuscript, 1945), 28.

¹³ “The Chronicle of the Marines,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 7, no. 3 (September 1922): 303.

¹⁴ “Official History—The Basic School,” 2001, The Basic School Collection, collection 3706, box 1, folder 10, Archives, MCHD, 7.



*Detroit Publishing Company photograph collection,
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC*

The Marine Barracks, built in 1911, as it appeared in the early 1920–30s.

overall structure, grew and adapted to the increasing needs of the Marine Corps.

Regardless of the size or structure of the mysterious Quantico class, it is certain that some basic courses were held and that they were overburdening the facilities at the small Marine base there. This is made crystal clear by the correspondence among senior officers both at the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico, and at Headquarters Marine Corps. Throughout the 1920s, multiple officers at Headquarters Marine Corps and at Quantico raised the question of TBS's location, and their message was consistently critical of the separation between the basic course and the other Quantico schools. These complaining parties were not random Marines but

serious players in the world of Marine Corps PME. Major General James C. Breckinridge, commanding officer of the Marine Corps Schools, strongly felt that TBS should remain at Quantico and be more closely modeled on the curriculum taught at the Company Officers' School.¹⁵ Breckinridge saw TBS as an element of the larger schools organization and, when he was unable to relocate TBS, he instead occupied himself by sending letters and essays to the commanding officers in Philadelphia. Whenever possible, he attempted to mentor and guide other senior Marines engaged in the business of educating young officers. Multiple reports and inspections written during the interwar era echoed Breckinridge's concerns about the Marine Corps Schools being ill-served by TBS being located so far away. The consistent reply from Major General Commandant Lejeune and his successors was simply that the move to Philadelphia had been made for good reason, and when billeting and classroom shortfalls were corrected, TBS would return to Quantico. In the meantime, the lieutenants would spend their school days in the City of Brotherly Love.

1924–26 Split Cycle Years

On 22 July 1924, Major John R. Henley arrived at the League Island Navy Yard. A recent graduate of the Army Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, he was the new officer in charge of TBS. Along with Major William Smith (post quartermaster) and Colonel Charles S. Hill (barracks commanding officer), Henley was one of only three field-grade Marine officers in Philadelphia. Henley was what interwar Marines sometimes

¹⁵ CO Marine Corps Schools, memorandum, "The Basic School," to MajGen Cmdt, 16 August 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA. Breckinridge objected so strongly to TBS being in Philadelphia that he effectively refused to comment on the curriculum in use there. He wanted the school moved back to Quantico; but if Headquarters insisted on leaving it in Philadelphia, then he felt "it should be allowed to proceed unmolested, as the Commanding Officer of the Marine Corps Schools is not in a position to judge as to its facilities and the conditions under which it operates."

called a turn-of-the-century Marine. He was stern and unbending, with students as well as staff, as illustrated by an anecdote later recalled by TBS instructor Captain Robert C. Kilmartin, who arrived two years later.

Henley called me in and gave me the devil one time. He said, "I'm just looking at the records of the student class. You didn't fail a man in this class, in your course." I said, "Of course not." . . . He said, "You've got to fail some of these people. You've got to fail them. How are you going to educate them? You've got to put the fear of God in them."¹⁶

Henley, thought Kilmartin, "meant to be nice but didn't know how to do it."¹⁷

Henley commanded a small staff of instructors as the *officer in charge, Basic Class*.¹⁸ The instructors, Captains Franklin A. Hart, Stephen F. Drew, and Julius T. Wright, all joined from Quantico. Drew had been serving as an instructor at the Company Officers' Course there, and Wright had been attending as a student. Drew's fellow instructor Kilmartin recalled that Drew was "former enlisted who had been commissioned, and was a fine officer."¹⁹ Hart was a recent graduate of the Infantry School at Fort Benning. All four Marines had long careers behind them, with combined experience that spanned Marine Corps missions in Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and France.

In his annual reports, Commandant Major General Lejeune seldom mentioned TBS in any detail. Only his ongoing concern about officer procurement had some bearing on the League Island

¹⁶ Robert Kilmartin, interview with Benis M. Frank, 22 May 1979, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 101-2, hereafter Kilmartin oral history.

¹⁷ Kilmartin oral history, 101-2.

¹⁸ Later, the position of officer in charge, Basic Class, was retitled as commanding officer.

¹⁹ Kilmartin oral history, 86.

institution. By contrast, the intra-staff workings of Headquarters Marine Corps showed a great deal of active interest and influence on the conduct of TBS. Major Henley was the officer in charge, but he was being closely watched. From 1924 to 1926, he submitted a weekly schedule to Headquarters for endorsement. Each schedule included the daily class periods, subjects taught in each, and a copy of any exams being administered that week. Though largely a formality, the exercise of submitting the weekly schedule for approval demonstrated the active role Headquarters intended to play in how TBS would be run. When the Marine officer in charge of TBS took on the title of commanding officer a few years later, these nods to the hierarchy went away. But for Major Henley, they were part of daily life.

A total of 28 students joined TBS in the summer of 1924. Fourteen were 1924 graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy. The fall 1924 class graduated in December 1924, having completed a five-month course. In the Marine Corps Archives at Quantico, the personal papers collection of Lieutenant General Robert O. Bare includes an academic transcript for this fall 1924 basic course. The individual subjects were each assigned a weight (indicated in parentheses): topography (150), infantry drill regulations (150), law (150), weapons and tactics (270), ordnance and gunnery (70), administration (80), marksmanship (20), musketry (20), signaling (25), boats (25), and field engineering (50).²⁰ Bare's graduation certificate from TBS listed the course content in detail.

1. Tactics

Automatic Rifle

Combat Orders

Combat Principles

²⁰ "Academic Transcript: Basic Course," 1924, Robert O. Bare Personal Papers Collection, collection 150, box 1, folder 13, Archives, MCHD, hereafter Bare 1924 academic transcript.

Grenades, Hand and Rifle
Light Mortars
Machine Guns
Marches
Military Field Engineering
Musketry
Scouting and Patrolling
Security and Information
Terrain Exercises
37 M.M. Guns

2. Topography

Conventional Signs
Map Reading
Military Sketching, Theoretical and Practical

3. General Subjects

Administration
Bayonet Fighting
Boats
Infantry Drill Regulations and Training Education
(USA, '24)
Landing Force Manual
Naval Ordnance and Gunnery
Rifle and Pistol Marksmanship
Signalling

4. Law

Naval Courts and Boards²¹

This formulation for the courses seems to establish general areas of study (tactics, topography, etc.) and provide particular exams of the subsets taught in each area. The subsets listed on Bare's transcripts do not exactly correspond with the number of exams given

²¹ Bare 1924 academic transcript.

in each area; for example, topography was covered over 17 separate graded events but was divided into three topic areas on the certificate.

In the 1920s, there were no courses related to air power. Typically, a small portion of the graduates would proceed immediately from TBS to naval aviation flight training. Only one member of the fall 1924 class did so. William W. Conway was a “mustang” with prior service in World War I. He was killed in a plane crash in 1931. Clemson University graduate James B. McHugh completed flight training sometime before 1929 (when he died in a crash in Nicaragua) but not immediately after completing the TBS course in the fall of 1924.²² Classmate William G. Manley went on to complete flight training as well, at some later point in his career. He retired as a major general after commanding 3d Marine Aircraft Wing in the 1950s.²³

Four members of the fall 1924 class resigned early in their careers, some immediately after graduating from TBS—and all four had been members of the 1924 class at the Naval Academy. Of the remaining Marines, Charles F. Cresswell (USNA '24) returned to TBS as an instructor in the mid-1930s, and retired as a colonel.²⁴ His brother, Leonard B. Cresswell, attended Mississippi A&M College and also returned to TBS as an instructor in the mid-1930s. He was promoted to major general upon his death in 1966.²⁵ Kenneth Chappell and Walter Stuart also returned to TBS as instructors in the 1930s.

²² “Three Marines Depart for Nicaragua War,” *Healdsburg (CA) Tribune*, no. 75, 2 February 1928, 1; “Marine Corps News,” *Evening Star*, 27 January 1929, 24; and “James Beatty McHugh,” Scroll of Honor, the Clemson Corps, accessed 24 October 2022.

²³ “VMJ-3 Panther Jets Fly ‘Recon’ over ‘Enemy’ Territory,” *Airscoop Magazine*, 1 April 1955, accessed via “MCARA Units > VMJ-3 (1952–1955): Marine Photo Reconnaissance Squadron Three (VMJ-3) History,” Marine Corps Aviation Reconnaissance Association, accessed 5 May 2022.

²⁴ C. F. Cresswell retirement info from Navy register 1945, U.S. Marine Corps Marine Barracks, Philadelphia Naval Yard muster roll, April 1927, roll 0401, Ancestry.com; and “Marine Corps Assignments,” *Army, Navy, Air Force Journal & Register* 81, no. 27-52 (12 April 1944): 988.

²⁵ L. B. Cresswell biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and Leonard B. Cresswell burial detail, Arlington National Cemetery, accessed 9 January 2023.

The remaining Marines of the fall 1924 class were a typical assortment of college graduates and Marines promoted from the ranks who went on to a variety of careers. St. Julien Ravenal Marshall, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, went to Harvard Law School and retired as a brigadier general. His career included serving on Holland Smith's staff during most of the Pacific campaigns of World War II, then working with the group that established the Central Intelligence Agency.²⁶

Robert O. Bare was one of the highest-scoring students in the class and seemed destined for an illustrious career. However—as a good example of how the tempo of the early twentieth century operations made careers less than predictable—at retirement in the 1960s, Bare only slightly outranked classmate Otto Lessing, who resigned his commission in late 1924 and returned to the Marine Corps after an absence of several years. In the end, nine members of the fall 1924 class made general.

In January 1925, a spring short-cycle class commenced. First Lieutenant George Hollett joined the staff of TBS at this time but departed in the summer along with the spring 1925 graduates. Hollett's was one of the shortest stays recorded among the instructors, who typically averaged an 18-month tour of duty. Also in January 1925, Major Henley became the commanding officer, Basic Class, rather than officer in charge. The change was the result of conversations at Headquarters Marine Corps, in which senior Marines felt it was an injustice to Henley's excellent performance to continue referring to him as a mere officer in charge. Though Henley's role and daily life did not change, the alteration to his title was a significant moment in the history of TBS, as Marine Corps culture valued command and leadership roles highly.

With 27 members, the spring 1925 class met from January until April, completing a four-month course. Eleven students were

²⁶ St. Julien Ravenal Marshall Personal Papers, Archives, MCHD.

graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy. Five members of the class completed TBS but resigned their commissions within the year afterward. Of the remaining Marines, few left personal records or memoirs of any kind. Easily the most famous name among them was Lewis Puller, a Marine promoted from the ranks with prior service as a breveted officer in World War I. Eight other lieutenants in this class were also commissioned from the ranks, though none left any record of their service. One of those mustangs, Albert D. Cooley, was awarded a Navy Cross for his participation in the “Cactus Air Force” on the island of Guadalcanal in 1942–43. Other members of the spring 1925 TBS cycle graduated from St. John’s College in Annapolis and from the Virginia Military Institute. Both were on the Marine Corps’ list of distinguished military colleges. Colonel John Groves, another notable, remained on active duty until the early 1950s and was instrumental in the creation of the Republic of Korea Marine Corps.

In July 1925, a new group of 20 students arrived. The four instructors divided the course of instruction among themselves. Captain Drew taught infantry drill, Captain Hart taught tactics and weapons courses, Captain Wright taught topography, and Captain Kilmartin taught administration and law.²⁷ This group was under instruction from August until November, completing a five-month course. Ten members of this class were graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy, very similar to the previous League Island-period classes. Six Marines were commissioned from the ranks. And—one of only three such during the entire interwar era—one Marine officer was a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

Brigadier General Wilburt S. Brown, a member of the fall 1925 class, preserved his academic transcript and graduation certificate from TBS. They are part of his collection of personal papers held in the Marine Corps Archives. The courses were listed on the cer-

²⁷ Kilmartin oral history, 97.

tificate as well as the transcript cover page, and on the transcript a weight or value was assigned to each course (indicated in parentheses): administration (80), boats (30), drill regulations (130), first aid and military hygiene (20), interior guard duty (30), military field engineering (30), marksmanship (30), musketry (20), naval and military law (170), tactics (195), and topography (180).²⁸ Even though only one year had passed, the staff of TBS had already begun altering or adjusting the curriculum. For example, the signaling course noted on Bare's 1924 transcript was now absent. Brown's grades placed him 11th out of 20, and he performed especially badly in topography and field engineering. However, he had already served as an enlisted Marine from 1918 to 1920 and 1922 to 1925, receiving a Purple Heart. His collection of personal papers included a letter from Lejeune personally congratulating him on receiving a commission. He would go on to receive a Legion of Merit during World War II and a Silver Star in Korea. Today, performance at TBS is said to be a strong indicator of how successful an officer's career will be. In the 1920s, that was not the case for Brown.

Brown would return to TBS as an instructor in the 1930s, along with four of his classmates. One of them, University of California graduate Andrew Mathiesen, would die as a prisoner of war on Manila in early 1945. Another, U.S. Naval Academy graduate David K. Claude, died on Tarawa in November 1943. Many more members of the class enjoyed long lives and careers, however. James P. S. Devereux certainly thought both his career and life would be cut short; as the senior Marine on Wake Island, Devereux endured his fair share of combat, suffering, and imprisonment.²⁹ Other classmates included Verne McCaul, pilot and future Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps. McCaul and another

²⁸ "Certificate, Basic Class," 1925, Wilburt S. Brown Personal Papers Collection, collection 702, box 1, folder 1, Archives, MCHD.

²⁹ James P. S. Devereux, *The Story of Wake Island* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Publishers, 1947).

TBS classmate, Leslie Narum, graduated from the University of North Dakota.

Among the Naval Academy graduates, Robert E. Hogaboom achieved some fame and flag rank before retirement in 1959. Hogaboom served on the staff of the Quantico schools in the mid-1930s and again in 1941–42. After World War II, he attended the Naval War College before serving in policy roles at Headquarters Marine Corps, retiring as the chief of staff (plans) in 1959.³⁰ In his personal account of being a student at TBS, Hogaboom outlined the equalizing effect of its structure, one of the positive qualities that Marines still emphasize today.

We were made up of those who came from the Academy, we were made up of those who came from the civilian colleges and we were made up of those who came from the enlisted Officer Candidate School. And we almost immediately stratified by interests and characteristics and friendships across the board. There was no stratification by source from which we came, none whatsoever. And this has been true and this was a very great appeal to me about the Marine Corps, the people were judged not for where they came from, people were judged not from any particular background, but you judged a man on what he was good for . . . and I noticed that this was not just in my basic school class. It soon became apparent to me that this was characteristic of the entire Corps.³¹

At the same time, Hogaboom did not feel that “real professionalism,” as he termed it, was quite achieved by the curriculum at TBS, because the course was too simple. While students did learn how

³⁰ Robert E. Hogaboom biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD.

³¹ Robert Hogaboom, interview with Benis M. Frank, 1 April 1970, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 32, hereafter Hogaboom oral history.

to be good officers and carry out garrison duties, the very small amount of field work was severely limiting in his estimation.³²

The students began to depart during June, usually directly to their first duty assignment. The muster roll did not typically note whether a student would take leave between school and the next station. However, summers were definitely not time off for instructors. On the contrary, they worked “like the devil” preparing the next term’s coursework. That included creating new materials, revising old ones, drawing charts, and more. One instructor said they were lucky to get a full week’s leave during the entire year.³³

In January 1926, a group of 24 students arrived to begin the five-month course. Only five were Naval Academy midshipmen. Like the preceding short classes (fall 1924, spring 1925, and fall 1925), the spring students undertook marksmanship training during a two-week period early in the school cycle. The importance of marksmanship was emphasized in the communications between the Headquarters Marine Corps staff and the commanding officer of TBS. While James C. Breckinridge was concerned primarily that the TBS curriculum was going to stray from that of the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico, most of his peers were more concerned with the lack of shooting ranges in Philadelphia, and great effort was expended to transport the students to suitable marksmanship training areas. The spring classes also traveled to Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, for a month of field exercises. At Mount Gretna (and later at Indiantown Gap, when the classes began to grow in size), the students probably completed map-reading exercises and land navigation tests and learned to fire larger weapons. That was the case in the late 1930s, but unfortunately, no official record of the field exercises during the 1920s was preserved.

³² Hogaboom oral history.

³³ Kilmartin oral history, 100.

Along with the five midshipmen, the spring 1926 class included three mustangs, three graduates from the University of Maryland, two from Virginia Military Institute, and one each from Texas A&M, the Citadel, and Norwich. While most League Island students would see their careers take off during World War II, those who graduated in the 1920s had multiple tours in either Haiti, Nicaragua, or China (or all of the above). One 1926 student, John Dean Blanchard, received the Navy Cross for his actions as a lieutenant in Haiti. Six members of the class achieved flag rank, but the only one who achieved notoriety did so in an unfortunate fashion. Joseph Burger was commanding general at Parris Island in 1956 when the Ribbon Creek Incident took place, an event that ended his career abruptly as the Marine Corps sought to deal with the public relations disaster that resulted.³⁴

In June 1926, Major Alley D. Rorex arrived at League Island to take command of TBS. Henley departed at around the same time. Rorex was an old Marine with a career going back to at least 1905, and he had his own high standards when it came to relating to students. At the end of the first week of the fall 1926 cycle, Major and Mrs. Rorex hosted a party at their home. He called Captain Kilmartin to his office beforehand and demanded,

“You know all these kids. You make the introductions. You stand in front of me and act as aid[e] and make the introductions.” He said, “I want you to know every name.” I said, “Gee Major. We just started the class. This is only a week from their . . .” “I didn’t ask you how long it is from now . . . I want you to know every name!” So by God, I studied them in class, fixed them by some personal characteristics or something.³⁵

³⁴ William B. McKean, *Ribbon Creek: The Marine Corps on Trial* (New York: Dial Press, 1958), 19.

³⁵ Kilmartin oral history, 109.

Also arriving at the school during the summer of 1926 was Captain Robert L. Montague, who had received the Silver Star for actions during World War I and was the first member of the TBS staff to have served in France with a combat unit. Captains Hart and Wright departed around the same time.

Captain Robert Kilmartin was beginning his second year as an instructor at TBS and later recalled that the quality of officer students in those days was very high. Reminiscing about several particular students, Kilmartin said,

But that's the case with almost everybody in those classes. These were really picked people. They were academy graduates who had chosen the Marine Corps; graduates of distinguished military colleges; and men who had made it from the ranks. . . . Here the Marine Corps could pick and choose on its commissioned personnel and its enlisted personnel. Anybody who got a commission in the Marine Corps and came up to the Basic School, you would recognize as a pretty high type of man.³⁶

So, the fall 1926 students had with them a staff of four: Major Rorex, Captain Drew, Captain Montague, and Captain Kilmartin. All four were veterans of World War I. Though it was a small staff, it seemed to meet the needs of the school fairly well. More than one commanding officer complained about the insufficient amount of instruction time available in a five-month course (an issue that would be resolved within the next few years), but they did not complain about insufficient staff. The authorized size of the TBS staff was controlled by Headquarters Marine Corps. On at least one occasion during the late 1920s, a vacancy on the staff could not be filled because no officer of the correct rank was able

³⁶ Kilmartin oral history, 89–90.

to take the place of the departing instructor. The small interwar Marine Corps was extremely flexible, however, and simply rewrote the table of organization so that the vacancy matched the rank of an available officer.³⁷

Another interesting piece of documentary history appears at this point: an interwar era gear list. On 2 July 1926, Headquarters Marine Corps issued a memorandum informing newly commissioned officers from civilian life what items they would need to purchase (or acquire within a reasonable time) after arriving at TBS:

- 1 belt, officers, Sam Browne pattern
- 1 belt, trousers, woven
- 2 blankets, wool
- 3 pairs breeches, service summer
- 1 pair breeches, service winter
- 1 pair buttons, cuff
- 1 cap, service, summer (Khaki cap cover may be substituted)
- 1 cap, service, winter
- 6 collars
- 1 pair gloves, gray
- 1 hat, field (with cord)
- Insignia, bronze, as required:
 - 1 pair insignia of rank for shoulder straps
 - 1 pair insignia of rank for collar of flannel shirt
 - 1 knot sword, undress, commissioned officers
- 1 pair leggings, russet
- 1 ornament, cap and hat, bronze
- 1 pair ornaments, collar, bronze
- 1 overcoat
- 1 scabbard, sword

³⁷Director, Division of Operations and Training, to MajGen Cndt of the Marine Corps, "Authorized Complement of Basic Class (Staff)," 27 March 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

- 1 scarf, field
- 3 coats, service, summer
- 1 coat, service, winter
- 2 shirts, flannel
- 4 shirts, white
- 2 pairs shoes, russet
- 1 sling, sword, undress
- 1 watch, wrist, with illuminated dial³⁸

The iconic blue dress uniform was not required but was recommended for use at social functions. The Depot of Supplies, conveniently located on the Philadelphia Navy Yard property, was recommended as a good place to find all the items on the list, and for reasonable prices.³⁹

Students from civilian life (entering service through ROTC) were a sort of third-tier source of commissions during the 1920s. Most students came from the Naval Academy, with some from the ranks. These two were the preferred groups of candidates. However, they did not provide enough lieutenants for the Corps' needs, even the very small needs of the 1920s. The Marine Corps established a sort of priority list for ROTC programs in 1926–27, creating a list of distinguished military colleges based on a similar list developed by the Army at the same time. Thirty-six military colleges, including the Virginia Military Institute and the Citadel, were placed on the list, and ROTC commissions from those schools were preferred to those from other sources.⁴⁰ Some debate later arose between the Navy and War Departments over wheth-

³⁸ "Memorandum for the Newly Commissioned Second Lieutenants from Civil Life," 2 July 1926, box 229, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

³⁹ MajGen Cmdt of the Marine Corps, "Memorandum for 2ndLts," 2 July 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁴⁰ MajGen Cmdt to Presidents of Distinguished Military Colleges, "Letter, in ref. Bulletin of July 28, 1927," 28 July 1929, box 229, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

er it was fair to prefer students from a particular group of colleges, but no record remains of any official directive revoking the system.⁴¹ Certainly the memos on the subject were only making official what had been in practice for a number of years—and continued unchanged throughout the interwar period.

There were 29 fall 1926 students who completed a course of instruction from September to December. The total number of instruction hours was 675, using a schedule that closely copied Major Henley's. A comprehensive restructuring of the TBS curriculum was on the horizon, undertaken by Major Rorex and the Headquarters Marine Corps staff. However, no such innovations were undertaken during his first cycle aboard. Instead, the usual assortment of students took the usual classes during the usual four to six months cycle. Sixteen of the students were graduates of the Naval Academy, and one had a commission as a graduate of the University of Oklahoma. Two, Peter Schridder and Walter Hoxell, arrived together from the University of Maryland's ROTC program (by then, a formidable organization in terms of size and reputation). Five were commissioned from the ranks.⁴²

Notable among the fall 1926 graduates was Edward Snedeker, later a decorated veteran of Nicaragua, World War II, and the Korean War. Snedeker's final assignment before retirement as a lieutenant general was as commanding officer of the Marine Corps Schools, including TBS (then located at Quantico alongside

⁴¹Secretary of War to SECNAV, "Cooperation with the Navy Department in Selecting Second Lieutenants, United States Marine Corps, from Graduates of Reserve Officers' Training Corps Units," 8 February 1923; Secretary of War to SECNAV, "Appointment of Graduates of Distinguished Military Colleges as Second Lieutenants in the United States Marine Corps," 16 December 1924; Secretary of War to SECNAV, "Procurement of 2nd Lieutenants for U.S. Marine Corps from Distinguished Colleges and Other Institutions Maintaining Senior ROTC Units, US Army," 11 March 1926; and Secretary of War to SECNAV, "Vacancies in the Grade of Second Lieutenant (probationary) in the U.S. Marine Corps to be Filled by the Appointment of Civilians," 14 January 1929, all box 229, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁴²Ten additional second lieutenants arrived in Philadelphia at the same time but did not participate in the fall course. They instead participated in the activities of the Marine Corps football team, a source of great pride for the interwar Corps.

the Officer Candidates School, Amphibious Warfare School, and Command and Staff College). A classmate, John Robert Griebel, had his own admirable career and retired as a brigadier general but stands out in history books because of his wife, Helen Rogers Griebel, who was a 1943 graduate of the first Women Officers' Class of the Marine Corps Reserve.⁴³

Paul Albert Putnam achieved notoriety as a major on Wake Island alongside James Devereux of the 1926 spring class; Putnam commanded the small defense squadron while Devereux was charged with the shore defenses. He had enlisted in the Marine Corps initially, with most of a college degree from Iowa State under his belt, then took advantage of the infant Marine Corps Institute's correspondence courses in civil engineering. "Not a social critter" by his own description, the Marine Corps was a place for him to escape a small hometown and its too-familiar social scene of grade school and high school classmates. He spent about two years enlisted before receiving his commission on 4 March 1926. Multiple tours in Nicaragua formed the bulk of his prewar career, during which he was proud to "have escaped" administrative and logistics billets, instead always serving as an infantry platoon commander. He "pulled a quickie on them" and convinced the Corps to send him to flight training after his first tour in Nicaragua, returning there after a year to conduct reconnaissance and mapping flights.⁴⁴ Putnam spent nearly four years as a prisoner of war, along with the other surviving defenders of Wake Island. He retired as a brigadier general in 1960.

Naval Academy graduate Frank Pyzick survived his own prisoner-of-war experience in the Philippines, though his ordeal did not begin on Wake. After graduation from TBS, Pyzick was

⁴³ *Roads That We Have Traveled, 1923-1965* (New York: Class of 1923, Vassar College, 1965), accessed via Internet Archive, 15 June 2022.

⁴⁴ Paul Albert Putnam oral history interview with Donald R. Lennon, 13 November 1975, recording, OH0027, digital collections, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, accessed 15 June 2022.

eventually stationed in Japan for the purpose of learning the Japanese language and culture. A pilot, one of his first wartime assignments was to assist in the destruction of the American Navy Yard at Luzon.⁴⁵ Pyzick retired as a colonel.

Naval Academy graduate Russell N. Jordahl graduated with the fall 1926 class and returned to TBS as an instructor in the late 1930s. He retired as a brigadier general and spent time with the Marine Corps Historical Division staff in the early 1970s. He recalled his days as a student with some negativity: “We young men were subjected to rules and regulations suitable for high school boys. . . . The manner of operation and the daily associations of that year did not in any way encourage any of us to believe that we were being welcomed into the officer corps.”⁴⁶

However, when asked about the quality of instructors at TBS, Jordahl related fond memories of “one fine old ranker” named Captain Drew, who was affectionately known as the keeper of a cocktail shaker and alcohol—during Prohibition and at the height of the rule of Smedley D. Butler (then commanding general of Marine Barracks Quantico) as enforcer of teetotaling, no less.⁴⁷ He corroborated Hogaboom’s description that all students were equally motivated, equally treated, and equally well-equipped to

⁴⁵ Anastasia Harman, “Frank Pyzick: The US Marine Who Destroyed the Olongapo Navy Yard,” AnastasiaHarman.com, accessed 15 June 2022.

⁴⁶ Russel Jordahl, interview with Benis M. Frank, 1–3 June 1970, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 11, hereafter Jordahl oral history.

⁴⁷ Robert Hogaboom had his own memories of Smedley D. Butler from the year before, and his account of Butler and of TBS life helps show what an exciting time it was for a young officer to be entering the Marines. The great World War I heroes were still young (captains), serving in close mentor relationships with the students (lieutenants), and the previous generation that had served in China, the Philippines, Panama, Haiti, and Nicaragua was very much alive and well. Hogaboom wrote: “I would like to recall the first Marine Corps birthday party that I ever attended, which was of course November of 1925 in Philadelphia. Smedley Butler was at that time the Director of Public Safety. We all went up and got in our best dress, finest, with our cloaks and all on and we went up to the Bellevue Stratford, which I believe is the principal hotel there and we occupied the great ballroom. And we went through the birthday ceremony and in the midst of the ceremony Smedley got the spotlight and walked out in the middle of the floor and made a great speech about the Corps and said as I recall, among other things, he said he was having his difficulty with the local politicians in his job as Director of Public Safety. I think his concluding words were, ‘to hell with the politicians, God bless the United States Marine Corps.’” Hogaboom oral history, 37.

succeed, regardless of the source of their commission.⁴⁸ Jordahl declared that “when you have a Marine officer teaching weapons, map reading and sketching, things of that sort, they live with this all the time. . . . While they were pretty impersonal with all of us, they did a pretty good job with the teaching.”⁴⁹ This was in contrast to his comments about his instructors at the Naval Academy, whom he sharply criticized as being totally unqualified to teach. So, even for a bluntly critical officer such as Jordahl (much of his oral history interview is taken up with strident, though thoughtful, criticism of some old Marine Corps practices), the quality of instructors was considered to be adequate and even superior to what the students had found at the Naval Academy.⁵⁰

By this time, many of the instructors joining the TBS staff were recent graduates of the Army’s School of Infantry at Fort Benning. Though courses in educational methods do not appear in any Fort Benning materials, apparently the Marine officers who attended there picked up some good habits. Captain Kilmartin, who did not attend the Fort Benning school (he had advanced law degrees already and, to his chagrin, was used as a kind of expert in that field), noted the difference.

The minute we start to get [instructors] fresh out of the school . . . I sort of catch the devil from Major Rorex all the time. He said, “Look at those boys who’ve just come up here as instructors. Watch them. They do everything right. They put a chart on the board. They put a chart before a class, they cover with a curtain. They only pull the curtain hook when they are going to use that chart. They pick up a pointer only when they are going to use [it].”

⁴⁸ Jordahl oral history, 13.

⁴⁹ Jordahl oral history, 15.

⁵⁰ Jordahl returned to TBS as an instructor in 1937, and his recollections of that time period are included in chapter 6 of this book.

He said, “My God, you take a pointer and you walk around the platform with [it] and you go down and sit on the edge of a student’s desk!”⁵¹

Kilmartin’s shortcomings aside, the staff presumably did good work. An additional instructor, First Lieutenant Edward Fellows, joined the staff in time for the spring 1927 class to begin. At the same time, Major Rorex was already well engaged in discussion about alterations to the curriculum.

In January, the football team returned to League Island to begin their studies as members of the spring 1927 class. One of the players, David M. Shoup, spent a considerable amount of his time as a young lieutenant trying to leave the Marine Corps to join the U.S. Army’s new Air Corps.⁵² Permission was never granted and he never served as a pilot. Instead, he became famous as commander of the 2d Marine Regiment at Tarawa, for which he was awarded the Medal of Honor, later serving as the 22d Commandant of the Marine Corps in the early part of the Vietnam War.⁵³ The 10 football players were joined by 22 new students. Sixteen of the 32 members of the spring 1927 class were Naval Academy midshipmen. Three received ROTC commissions from the University of North Dakota, one from the University of Mississippi, one from the University of Georgia, one from Virginia Technological Institute, two from the Citadel, one from the University of South Dakota, and one from the University of Maryland.⁵⁴ Three were commissioned from the ranks. Of the latter, Laramie D. Snead holds the distinction of being the only Marine from this entire time period to have deserted. Another pair of lieutenants resigned

⁵¹ Kilmartin oral history, 118.

⁵² David M. Shoup Personal Papers Collection, Archives, MCHD.

⁵³ David M. Shoup biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD.

⁵⁴ Besides the built-in diversity that stems from the Naval Academy as a source of students, TBS represented the American population in a generally balanced way due to ROTC commissions, as well. Many universities from all parts of the country were represented during the interwar period.

their commissions fairly soon after graduation from TBS, and two more were killed in air crashes within a few years.

Unlike David Shoup, 1927 spring graduate Lofton Henderson did manage to get assigned to flight school. His untimely demise during the defense of Midway was the beginning of his immortal memory on Guadalcanal as the namesake of the tiny airstrip so many Marines died to defend: Henderson Field. Henderson's was the only combat death from among his TBS classmates. Four members of the class returned to TBS as instructors in the late 1930s: Roy Gulick, Nels Nelson, John Lanigan, and Chester Graham.

The class had the pleasure of passing in review for the 29th governor of Pennsylvania, John Stuchell Fisher, while completing their field exercise at Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, in June.⁵⁵

The 1927–28 academic year was the final split-cycle year. The fall 1927 class had 27 members, of which 19 were Naval Academy graduates, which was a very high percentage of the overall class composition. Fourteen of the students went on to achieve flag rank, also a very high percentage of the overall class size. Only one class member was commissioned from the ranks. These students completed the same curriculum as the classes of previous years, including a trip to Mount Gretna for practice on the rifle and pistol ranges there.⁵⁶ Their careers, though unusually starry-shouldered, covered the typical breadth of the Marine Corps of their day.

Naval Academy graduate and Marine aviator Samuel Sloan Jack was awarded a Navy Cross in 1930 for a bombing run that killed a Sandino leader in Nicaragua. His classmate Raymond Poston Rutledge, a Naval Academy graduate, received the Distinguished Flying Cross posthumously after his death in a combat crash in Nicaragua in 1932. A third Naval Academy graduate and

⁵⁵“Fisher to See Marines,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 June 1927, 14.

⁵⁶The 30-day stay at Mount Gretna cost \$295. Director, Division of Operations and Training to MajGen Cmdt, “Basic School: Practical Work at Mount Gretna,” 16 March 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Officer of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

pilot, John Calvin Munn, retired as a major general and served as Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps.

John S. Letcher, on the other hand, graduated from the Virginia Military Institute and then studied law, not returning to the prospect of military service until he had decided law was not for him. Letcher served multiple tours in China and left memoirs and letters detailing his experiences there. Of his TBS experience he said very little, in the formal and matter-of-fact style that characterized his other writing. Letcher's description of the staff and school year was the last one written by a student during the short-cycle, small staff days:

The faculty was composed of an elderly major who bore the title of Director, and four captains who taught us the things which a young lieutenant needed to know before going to duty with troops. We had courses concerning all the weapons with which Marines were armed. We learned to strip and assemble the weapons in the classroom and afterwards we fired them at a nearby range. We were taught Military Law, Naval Courts and Boards procedure, Topography, Close and Extended Order Drill, Sanitation, Hygiene and First Aid, Tactics for the platoon, company and battalion and other subjects which I have forgotten.

The course lasted five months and I learned a great deal and enjoyed most of it. My classmates were without exception fine fellows and their company more agreeable.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ John S. Letcher, *One Marine's Story* (Verona, VA: McClure Press, 1970), 4–5. Letcher was off in his description of Maj Rorex, who did have the full title of commanding officer by this time. Presumably the nearby rifle range was the one in New Jersey (about 1 hour away).

Over the course of the 1927–28 class year, the staff grew considerably. Perhaps this was a result of the ongoing discussion between TBS and Headquarters staff about the future of the school program. Major Rorex continued as the commanding officer, but promotions, departures, and arrivals among the captains resulted in a very different roster. Captain Kilmartin, Captain Montague, Captain Fellowes, Captain William Riley, Captain Clarence Ruffner, First Lieutenant Bayard Bell, and Reserve major Anthony Biddle formed the staff by the summer of 1928.

Major Anthony J. Drexel Biddle Sr. formed a unique part of the League Island history. His biography is shrouded in some mystery due to legends that grew up around his personality, his eccentricities, and his contributions to the art of hand-to-hand fighting.⁵⁸ Born in Philadelphia in 1874, Biddle was a member of the famous Biddle family—the same family as that of Marine Corps Commandant William P. Biddle (1911–14) and the businessman Clement Biddle who donated the League Island property to the U.S. Navy in the early 1800s. The family’s political influence in the region was significant, but Major Biddle mostly stood apart from his family’s political ways, except where ensuring profitable marriages of his children was concerned. He was a “gregarious individualist” and became known around Philadelphia for founding an interdenominational Bible class movement, which combined memorization of scripture with physical activity such as calisthenics.⁵⁹ During World War I, his imagination was captured by the idea of military service and he procured a captain’s commission in the Marine Corps. He financed the setup of a training camp near Philadelphia and oversaw physical fitness training for more

⁵⁸ Kilmartin specified Biddle’s eccentricities thus: “Tony Biddle was so rich that he didn’t know what to do with his money. So he would come to work each day in a taxicab. And keep the taxi there from 9 o’clock in the morning until 4 o’clock that afternoon to take him home. He just kept a taxi following him around wherever he wanted to go.” Kilmartin oral history, 118.

⁵⁹ Robert Franklin Durden, *The Dukes of Durham, 1865–1929* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 175.

than 1,000 AEF-bound troops at that location. Discharged after the war, Major Biddle sought and received a position in the Marine Corps Reserve. His unconventional free-agent status allowed Biddle to come and go from postings more or less as he pleased. Sometimes he was present at League Island, and sometimes he was absent for months at a time. Biddle served at Marine Barracks Quantico, Virginia, as a TBS instructor in individual combat in August and September 1935. At the time, the 5th Regiment of Marines was undergoing training there, and Biddle personally instructed them.⁶⁰

Major Biddle's lifelong interest in physical fitness and boxing had by that time led him to develop a focused set of training exercises for the use of the bayonet. During the League Island period, he trained new lieutenants at TBS in his bayonet fighting methods using his training exercises. Several popular legends survive from this time, in particular a story in which Biddle would challenge a new student to "kill me!" and give them a rifle with unsheathed, fixed bayonet. Once the youngster overcame his shock and fear and charged at Biddle, the old man never failed to disarm the opponent.⁶¹ Another story, popular among the Marines, was that Biddle would have his students greet visitors to the Marine Barracks with a bayonet demonstration that ended in knocking the guest's hat to the ground with the thrust of a bare bayonet. While they might not recount facts, these legends speak to Biddle's personality and the lasting impression he made on a whole generation of Marines. Biddle drew no pay from the Marine Corps for his service at TBS,

⁶⁰ A. J. Drexel Biddle, *Do or Die: A Supplementary Manual on Individual Combat* (Brattleboro, VT: Echo Point Books, reprint, 2017; Philadelphia: W. J. Dornan, 1937), 7.

⁶¹ The challenge portion of this legend is likely true, though the assertion that Biddle never "lost" is almost certainly not. In the book written by his daughter, Cordelia Drexel Biddle Duke, Biddle was said to have borne at least 23 separate bayonet scars on his "chest, forearms, and abdomen." See Cordelia Biddle Duke, *My Philadelphia Father* (New York: Pocket Books, 1955), 225. A newspaper article from the League Island period also described Biddle being injured in an "exhibition engagement" with TBS 1stSgt E. J. Snell. *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 29 July 1919, 1.

but also participated on a somewhat laissez-faire schedule and was sometimes absent from the muster rolls for multiple months.

The sizable collection of correspondence preserved for the 1927–28 years reflects the close interest Headquarters Marine Corps took in TBS. While the correspondence files preserved do not rise to the level of orders or administrative directives, they do indicate both awareness and activity. The inspections conducted by representatives from Headquarters were very detailed, and recommendations made sometimes drilled down to minute issues. For example, in September 1927, the commanding officer of the Marine Corps Schools, Colonel Dunlap, visited Philadelphia and recommended to the Commandant that instruction in general courts martial be eliminated from the program of instruction entirely and that no study of company or battalion tactics be attempted at the basic course.⁶² Full records of student grades and class performance were also periodically transmitted to Headquarters at least through 1929.

In December 1927, at the midpoint of the academic year, the Headquarters Aviation Section weighed in on an “extension course” for TBS. Dismayed at the lack of aviation training possessed by officers commissioned from civilian life or ROTC programs, the Aviation Section recommended the addition of several classes at TBS that would mimic the aviation courses then being taught at the Naval Academy. In their eyes, lengthening the overall program of study “so that it will include preliminary ground instruction in aviation” was a worthwhile alteration to the program.⁶³ Major Rorex acquiesced to the proposal, and Colonel Dun-

⁶² Director, Division of Operations and Training to MajGen Cmdt, “Inspection Basic Course, MB, NYd, Philadelphia, Penna., by Colonel R. H. Dunlap, USMC., CO., Marine Corps Schools,” 21 September 1927, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁶³ D. E. Woods to Headquarters Marine Corps, “Re: Basic School Extension Course,” 5 December 1927, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, NARA.

lap also endorsed it. However, Major General Commandant John A. Lejeune declined, writing, "I do not believe it advisable at this time to make changes."⁶⁴ The following year, the Aviation Section made another attempt to add a basic aviation ground course to TBS, proposing a six-week morning-only schedule covering "aviation history and organization, theory of flight, aerial photographic interpretation, aerology, aviation engines, radio, aerial navigation, structure and rigging, and gunnery and bombing."⁶⁵ No responses were preserved, but the extension of the school year did not occur as they had proposed. Aviation would remain a nonpriority for Marine lieutenants for a few more years. As late as 1931, Marine officers were not even allowed to apply for aviation duty until their two years' post-commissioning period of service had passed.⁶⁶

This was only the beginning of a long series of proposals for curriculum change, some related to peripheral topics but others related to the core of the school itself. One proposal came from Major J. C. Fagan, athletic officer, who favored a nine-month course of instruction based on his direct contact with new second lieutenants arriving at TBS.

Those graduating from the Naval Academy are pretty well fed up with studies, and would I know prefer four or five months in which to become oriented and to procure their uniforms. The lieutenants coming to the Marine Corps from civil life are always embarrassed by the fact that they have to start school before they have their uniforms and before they know

⁶⁴ CO, Marine Corps Schools, to MajGen Cmt, "Subject: Basic School—Length of Course," 5 January 1928; and handwritten note in reply, both box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁶⁵ F. O. Rogers to Headquarters Marine Corps, "Memorandum for Division of Operations and Training in regard to the proposed Basic School Course in Aviation," 16 March 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁶⁶ Letter from BGen J. T. Myers to Major Roy D. Lowell, Marine Barracks Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD, 23 March 1931, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

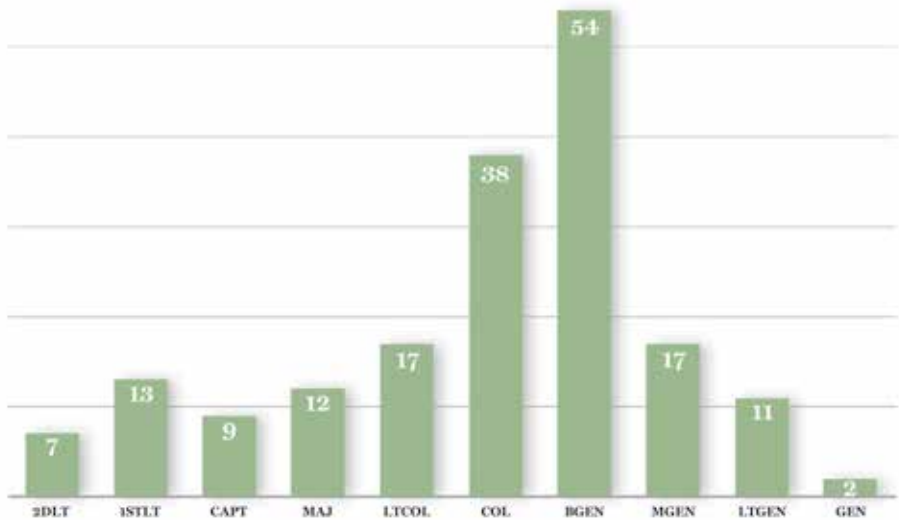
exactly what the Marine Corps is all about. Those taken from the ranks are in a more advantageous position because they are familiar with Marine Corps conditions; however they too are tired of studies and would prefer four or five months away from books.⁶⁷

Fagan proposed assigning these lieutenants to a post that would enable them to adjust to military life or to send them to rifle ranges in the three months prior to starting a course of instruction in January. The second lieutenants, he wrote, “believe they should first learn something of Marine Corps life; besides they have the impression that they are going to spend most of their time studying instead of performing the duties required of an officer as outlined in our advance literature.” Fagan urged that school should begin at the start of January and continue for nine months or less.⁶⁸

Finally, at the close of the split-cycle phase at League Island, the spring 1928 class convened in January 1928 and remained until April. This final short class was also a small one, with 20 members, of which only 5 were Naval Academy commissions—an unusually low percentage. However, the small class size yielded a fantastically high flag rank statistic: eight brigadier generals, one major general, and one lieutenant general. It is even more impressive when factored in are one class member who resigned his commission in 1930, one who was medically retired around the same time, and a third who died in a training accident in 1936. Future TBS instructors Karl Louthier and Jamie Sabater were among the students. Sabater was one of the first Puerto Rican officers in the Marine Corps and had a very unusual early career. Sabater completed two years of study at the College of

⁶⁷ Athletic Director, TBS, to Director, Division of Operations and Training, USMC, “Memo: Basic School, length of course,” 9 December 1927, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁶⁸ “Memo: Basic School, Length of Course,” 9 December 1927.

Chart 1. Short cycle terminal ranks, TBS classes from 1924–28*Adapted by MCU Press*

Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, Puerto Rico, before receiving an appointment to the Naval Academy. After graduating, he received his commission in the Marine Corps and went to League Island, but he did not complete the TBS course at all. Instead, he remained for one month, left to attend a signals communications school run by the U.S. Army, then returned in 1931 to serve as an instructor at League Island until May 1933.⁶⁹ He was the only second lieutenant to serve as an instructor during the interwar period. Unfortunately, none of the other members of this class left behind biographical trails of any kind, making them more enigmatic than most groups from this already misty period of history.

When the spring 1928 class departed, it signaled the end of the split-cycle system and the beginning of a period of transition for

⁶⁹ Col Jamie Sabater historical reference file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD; and Marine Corps Barracks Philadelphia, Schools Detachment muster roll, June 1928, U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798–1958, Ancestry.com.

TBS. These small, half-year classes had a significant impact on the Marine Corps during World War II. Chart 1 shows the terminal (career-end) rank for each member. A total of 203 officers completed TBS between August 1924 and June 1928. Several of those officers resigned their commissions or were dismissed very soon after TBS, leaving 180 who continued into active service. In 1942 they were the most senior officers in the Marine Corps who had completed TBS and were well positioned to lead units whose entire down chain of command shared that same school experience. Eighty four of them (46 percent) achieved general officer rank.⁷⁰

Curriculum Adjustments: Shift to the Long Course

The shift from a half-year course to a full-year course at TBS was the culmination of lengthy debate and discussion, which took place via three-way memoranda between Headquarters Marine Corps, the commanding officer of TBS, and the commanding officer of the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico. During 1927 and 1928, a host of senior Marines contributed to the debate, among them Colonel Louis McCarty Little (director of operations and training at Headquarters Marine Corps, 1927–31), Brigadier General Dion Williams (director of operations and training, Headquarters, September 1924–July 1925, and assistant to the Commandant, 1925–28), Colonel James C. Breckinridge (commanding officer of the Marine Corps Schools, July 1928–December 1929), and Major General William P. Upshur (commandant

⁷⁰ For all data tables, *unknown* quantities represent those officers for whom conclusive evidence of terminal rank could not be found. In most cases, these were officers who resigned or were dismissed from service. They typically disappeared from the lineal list within 10 years of completing TBS. Any officer at the rank of brigadier general or above has an official biography maintained by the MCHD; for that reason, it is certain that none of the unknowns are general officers. In some tables, the unknowns have been removed with an explanation made in the accompanying text.

of the Marine Corps Schools).⁷¹ The ultimate disposition of the curriculum was eventually agreed by some unknown group of officers, the final word resting as always with General Lejeune. By January 1928, it was decided to make TBS a nine-month school, but the details of the curriculum shift were still being hammered out.

The ongoing debate that continued during the first half of 1928 shines a light on how the lengthening of the course fit the Corps' plan. The consistent advice coming from the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico was to make the focus of TBS more tactical; the response from the commanding officer of TBS, Major Rorex, was that he lacked the space and the time to do so. In the middle, the Office of the Commandant served as referee, seldom giving lengthy commentary or participating actively in the debate.

In January 1928, Major Rorex submitted a draft schedule for the spring 1928 cycle, comprising 717 hours of instruction. He was the first commanding officer to operate relatively freely (compared to Major Henley, who submitted weekly reports and schedules), and he was wary of too much interference from the distant Quantico-based schools command. The subjects (and hours) Rorex proposed were: administration (46), law (35), hygiene (6), topography (108), engineering (15), interior guard duty (8), boats (4), musketry (12), infantry drill (51), marksmanship (68), tactics (65), infantry weapons (192), and individual combat (55). Individual Combat was the title Rorex proposed for Major Biddle's classes on boxing, fencing, martial arts, and bayonet tactics. The proposed curricu-

⁷¹Louis McCarty Little official biography, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD; Dion Williams official biography, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD; Capt R. Scott Moore, "The Legacy of J. C. Breckinridge," *Marine Corps Gazette* 68, no. 4 (May 1984): 68; and "Major General William P. Upshur, USMC (Deceased)," Medal of Honor Recipients by Unit, Marine Corps History Division, Marine Corps University, accessed 23 February 2022. Upshur's tenure as commanding officer of Marine Corps Schools during these discussions could not be confirmed by his biographical information or any other records, however, his signature appears on a 2 February 1928 memo as Commander, Marine Corps Schools, Marine Barracks Quantico. The author posits that he may have served as TBS's interim commanding officer prior to Breckinridge's tenure.

lum included the field exercises and rifle range time he hoped to spend at Mount Gretna, as well.⁷² Colonel Little at Headquarters singled out the Individual Combat course right away, noting that the length of time devoted to such a class was “excessive and inconsistent with its relative importance.”⁷³

Colonel Upshur, then serving as commanding officer of the Marine Corps Schools, responded with a three-page commentary.⁷⁴ Like McCarty Little, he did not see the utility of a 55-hour course in individual combat, but suggested that the time spent on boxing might still be beneficial if done after class hours and considered athletic exercise. Upshur went on to provide his own proposed schedule, with changes both minor and major. The most significant alteration was an increase of 100 hours in the tactics course, which he broke down into sections (and hours): combat orders (19), marches and shelter (2), military organization (3), scouting and patrolling (16), and combat principles (125). Upshur also increased the infantry drill portion by 25 hours. Elsewhere, he cut between 4 and 20 hours from several courses to make up the difference. In his comments, he provided rationales for several of his changes, such as for infantry drill. “It is believed students should drill during approximately 50 school days. . . . The drill should include the school of the company, as platoon leaders must know company drill in order properly to command platoons in the company.”⁷⁵ Each of Upshur’s comments was based on his own experience as a career officer and as an educator, but most were

⁷² CO, Basic School, to MajGen Cmdt, “Schedule for spring class, Basic School,” 19 January 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁷³ MajGen Cmdt to CO, Marine Corps Schools, “Schedule for spring class, Basic School (2nd Endorsement),” 21 January 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁷⁴ CO, MCS, to CO, TBS, “Schedule for spring class, Basic Course,” 2 February 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁷⁵ “Schedule for Spring Class, Basic Course,” 2 February 1928, 6.

minor adjustments meant to eke out the maximum benefit from a tight schedule.

However, the really significant alterations that Upshur recommended, those for the tactics course, were changes that would have a fundamental impact on the course going forward. They were not minor shifts but represented a total revamp of the heart of TBS's curriculum. The course in tactics is still the centerpiece of TBS's education, and the importance of each student being proficient in a broad variety of tactical command situations cannot be overstated. It is not clear exactly what was taught during the short-cycle years in terms of tactics. It is clear that the pattern suggested by Upshur in his 1928 memo is nearly identical to the one adopted in the fall of that year and continued in use at TBS throughout the entire interwar period. In his notes, he explained that his five "sub topics" were meant to convey the scope of instruction, of which all but the last part were considered self-explanatory.⁷⁶ For combat principles, however, Upshur explained that "combat principles include the tactics and technique of all infantry, machine gun and howitzer weapons, in attack and defense, and security from the squad to the company, inclusive. It is basic and most important. The schedules here are entirely suitable for use by basic course students."⁷⁷

Unfortunately, the schedules Upshur referenced were not included in the archival material. However, in a later communication, he made reference to schedules for infantry weapons, and those he specified were taken from the curriculum at the Company Officers' School in Quantico.⁷⁸ The Basic School students stood to benefit from this change. But there was also a secondary motive: Upshur's efforts to have Rorex teach principles of tactics at the basic level would better prepare those officers to more quickly

⁷⁶"Schedule for Spring Class, Basic School," 2 February 1928.

⁷⁷"Schedule for Spring Class, Basic School," 2 February 1928.

⁷⁸"Schedule for Spring Class, Basic School," 2 February 1928.

engage complex material at the Company Officers' Course, where Upshur was in charge. In effect, Upshur was improving the quality of his own school by making the prerequisite basic course more sophisticated.

Upshur's second major alteration was to lengthen the portion of the course dedicated to infantry weapons. In this case, it is less clear what changes he was advocating. In his paragraph on tactics, quoted above, he specifically indicated that the use of infantry weapons was a central part of the tactics course itself. How the additional 125 hours of infantry weapons as a separate course fit into his plan is unclear other than that both additions were meant to expand the amount of knowledge imparted to TBS students and to better prepare them for the Company Officers' Course. The Office of the Commandant endorsed Upshur's recommendations and requested Major Rorex submit a revised schedule proposal that took the suggestions into account.

On 14 February, Rorex replied with his own objections, defenses, explanations, and partial acquiescence. His overriding objection to the suggestions was that there already was not enough time in the short cycle to cover all the topics needing to be covered. Put another way, he accepted the need for additions to courses like tactics but did not want to draw away hours from any of the existing curriculum. The primary reason, explained Rorex, that some classes needed to be lengthy was that the students had received no previous exposure to the content whatsoever. It was unfair, he wrote, to expect a newly commissioned officer to comprehend topography or administration so quickly as an officer who had been in service for four or five years. He also pointed out that while the Quantico standard was admirable, it was not possible for his staff of five officers at TBS to imitate what the Quantico schools had been accomplishing with a staff of at least 11. As was often the case

in the small Marine Corps, it was a logistics problem that prevented TBS from covering more ground.⁷⁹

Finally, Rorex responded at length to the alterations suggested for the tactics course. It is apparent from his memo that he was feeling pressure to alter the short-cycle course right away (in January and February 1928) rather than wait for the already-approved long cycle to commence in the fall of 1928. His explanation is worth reproducing in full.

Regarding Tactics, it may be stated that heretofore the course at this school has not included the tactical use of other than infantry rifle units, squad, section, platoon and company. This [is] because of the fact that comparatively few, if any, graduates go immediately to howitzer or machine gun units. Because of the limited time under the present scheme, it has been found necessary to devote the time to rifle units only. In this connection, I cannot see the necessity of devoting 19 hours to combat orders for second lieutenants. The reason for, and details of construction of combat orders, followed by some practice is all a junior second lieutenant must have. They are not being trained as staff officers. In my opinion, until the Basic Course is lengthened, the time available is needed on other subjects more in line with the students' immediate requirements. The same remarks apply generally to the idea of increasing the tactics by 100 hours. It is true that practically all subjects taught here should have more time allotted. . . . It is not fair to the officer nor the unit he joins to deny him sufficient instruction in the subjects that will, in

⁷⁹ CO, Basic School to MajGen Cmdt, "Schedule for Spring Class 1928, Basic School," 14 February 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA, hereafter "Schedule for Spring Class 1928, Basic School," 14 February 1928.

all probability, be required of him immediately after leaving this school. Such subjects will be in most cases Administration, Law, Marksmanship, Topography, Drill and Infantry Weapons, and I believe that these subjects should by no means be reduced in the time allotted. As has been stated, all subjects should have more time and will have when the longer course begins next fall.⁸⁰

Rorex was determined to stand his ground. As a result, Commandant Lejeune responded with a one-page endorsement of his plan, except that individual combat was to be removed from the daily schedule and taught only in off-hours.⁸¹ The alterations suggested by Upshur would come in time.

1928–31 Transition to Long Course and Large Classes

In August 1928, 14 graduates from the Naval Academy arrived at League Island for instruction at TBS. They undertook rifle range training during September before returning to Philadelphia to begin classes. One nonacademy student, Louis C. Plain, joined the group in November. (Plain began the course in January 1928 with the last split-cycle class but had spent most of the spring in the Naval Hospital at Philadelphia.) These 15 students formed the smallest group to attend TBS during the entire League Island period. Four went on to become pilots; two were captured in the Philippines while serving with the 4th Marines. At the same time this small class arrived, the staff continued a pattern of slow growth. Serving under Major Rorex for the 1928–29 academic year were

⁸⁰ "Schedule for Spring Class 1928, Basic School," 14 February 1928.

⁸¹ MajGen Cmdt to CO, Basic School, "Schedule for Spring Class 1928, Basic School," 7 February 1928, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant, Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

Captains William Ashurst, Clarence Ruffner, Clate Snyder, John Walker, and Julius Wright.

Unlike the previous six classes to pass through TBS, this group remained until May 1929, marking the first time in the interwar period the course of instruction lasted longer than six months. Though the process of lengthening the course documented above was deliberate and thorough, when juxtaposed with the broader condition of the Marine Corps in late 1928, it is somewhat surprising. Due to the increased need for troops in Nicaragua, the Marines had actually suspended the Company Officers' Course altogether, and a significant number of students and staff from the Quantico schools were detached for foreign duty.⁸² In contrast, during those same years the TBS staff was increased and the course of instruction lengthened. This approach demonstrated the value Headquarters attached to a basic course: it maintained the school during a severe manpower crunch. Lieutenants' knowledge of the topics covered at TBS was critical if they were going to perform well in the fast-paced, complex Nicaraguan theater.

Also in 1929, an additional layer was added to the Marine Corps' PME system, one that was tied directly to TBS. Beginning in the spring, a School for Candidates for Commission from the Ranks was established at the Marine Barracks in Washington, DC. This school was created for enlisted Marines who intended to apply for a commission but were too old to simply attend the Naval Academy as midshipmen. The school provided more of a self-study program, intended "to provide an opportunity free from distraction for selected men . . . to REFRESH their knowledge of the more difficult subjects in which they will be examined for

⁸² Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 34. By this time, Col Breckinridge was the commanding officer of the school at Quantico and his annoyance at the lack of priority given to schools was "forcefully stated" in his annual report to the Cmdt, according to Frances's manuscript. That report no longer exists, so we must take Frances's word for it.

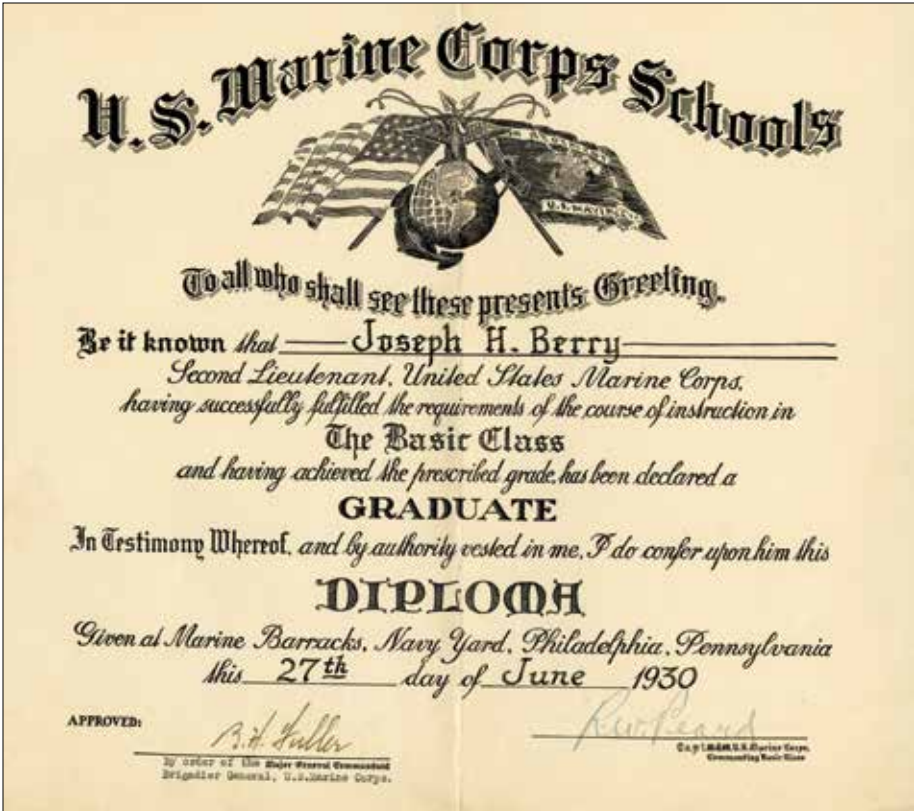
appointment as second lieutenants in the Marine Corps.”⁸³ A staff was assigned, though General Fuller assured them they would not be required to instruct the students, merely aid them in their individual study. It is not clear whether every prior-enlisted Marine destined for TBS was able to complete this short course at the Marine Barracks first. The small 1928–29 class remained on active duty for full careers with only one exception. All but five achieved a rank of colonel or higher.

The second long-cycle class at League Island commenced in the late summer of 1929. This class of 1929–30 better represented how TBS would do business going forward: a total of 53 students—nearly four times that of the previous class, and about double the typical size of the short-cycle classes. Put another way, a year’s worth of students were now arriving all at once in the late summer, instead of half in the fall and half in the spring. The schedule set the pattern for operations at TBS until the late 1930s, and the class size was the beginning of a slow but steady yearly growth in enrollment.

First, 17 Naval Academy graduates arrived as a group in August 1929. As the TBS class sizes really began to grow in the 1930s, it is useful to note that the overall student body size at the Naval Academy did not expand at the same rate, so neither did the total number of midshipmen allotted to the Marine Corps. As a result, the percentage of academy-commissioned Marine officers began to drop. The academy graduates for 1929 included Joseph Berry, Melvin Brown, and Raymond Crist, all of whom returned as instructors in the late 1930s and all of whom retired as brigadier generals. Crist further showed his love for the extended Marine Corps family by marrying the younger sister of James Devereux.⁸⁴ Two other classmates resigned their commissions after complet-

⁸³ MajGen Cmdt to All Marine Officers, “Selection of Candidates for Commission from the Ranks of the Marine Corps,” 20 April 1919, box 115, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

⁸⁴ Obituary for Mary Devereux Crist, *Capital* (Washington, DC), 1 April 1986.



Personal papers collection of Joseph Berry, Archives, Marine Corps History Division

TBS certificate of graduation for 2dLt Joseph H. Berry.

ing TBS. Another, Chandler W. Johnson, commanded the 2d Battalion, 28th Marines, at Iwo Jima—the unit that raised the flag on Mount Suribachi. Surviving not only World War II and Korea was Naval Academy graduate Samuel B. Griffith. Griffith served lengthy tours in China, where he learned modern Chinese and developed a lifelong interest in the Far East, and was wounded while commanding the Raider battalion on Guadalcanal. A well-known

author, Griffith's translation of Sun Tsu's *The Art of War* was used as a textbook at TBS in the 1990s.⁸⁵

The non-academy members of the 1929–30 TBS class arrived individually through the rest of August and early September. Officers with ROTC commissions came from the usual broad variety of colleges, including the University of Georgia, University of Florida, University of Mississippi, University of Missouri, Clemson University, Norwich University, Georgetown University, and Northwestern University. University of Washington graduate Randall M. Victory returned to TBS as an instructor within a few years. Joseph Patrick McCaffrey, a graduate of the tiny Pennsylvania Military College, died on Bougainville while commanding the Marine Raider battalion.⁸⁶ Two other members of the 1929–30 class were captured in the Philippines and died while prisoners of war.

At least six members of the class were commissioned from the ranks. One of them, Alva B. Lasswell, was later immortalized in the film *Midway* (1976) for his role as a cryptologist in breaking Japanese communication codes. James R. Hester, a graduate of the University of Kentucky, was captured during the Korean War and spent an unknown amount of time in a prisoner of war camp. He retired as a colonel and nothing further is known about his life or career.

By contrast, much is known about Hester's TBS classmate and fellow Korea prisoner of war Frank Schwable. A decorated pilot during World War II, Colonel Schwable was captured by a Korean Army unit in 1953 and, unluckily, was the highest ranking prisoner in his area—in fact he was the second-highest ranking U.S. military officer captured during the entire war. As such, he

⁸⁵ He also translated *On Guerrilla Warfare* and wrote a comprehensive history of the battles fought on and around Guadalcanal. See "Brigadier General Samuel B. Griffith II," Who's Who in Marine Corps History, MCHD, accessed 4 October 2022.

⁸⁶ Obituary of Joseph Patrick McCaffrey, *Delaware County Daily Times* (Chester, PA), 4 March 1948, 1-2, accessed 15 June 2022.

became a specific target for psychological conditioning by Korean intelligence officers. At the end of their treatment, he agreed to sign a document stating he had conspired with the American government to conduct a “germ warfare” campaign against Korean and Chinese troops. A massive investigation into his conduct was undertaken once he was returned to American custody. Serving as his military attorney throughout the inquiry, which did eventually clear him of wrongdoing, was TBS classmate, friend, and lawyer, Colonel Paul Albert Sherman. With surnames adjacent in the muster rolls and many other alphabetical lists, one wonders how many times the two had stood side by side. Though the board did eventually clear Schwable of wrongdoing, declaring that torture had made him unable to do anything other than sign or commit suicide, his reputation was already shattered in the public eye. The Marine Corps found him a billet as an aviation accident investigator and he completed his career in quiet obscurity.⁸⁷

A general pattern emerges around 1930, in which future billets for TBS students from a given class year can be reasonably predicted. For example, the members of the classes of 1928–30 were typically majors at the beginning of World War II and served as lieutenant colonels and colonels throughout the war. Members of classes slightly before or slightly after this period show a corresponding pattern of more- and less-senior rank and position. There are exceptions to this rule, especially for those officers who attended flight training or a specialist school (such as artillery or signals communication) after entering the Fleet. But in general, from around 1930 it is possible to predict the future operational billets and combat leadership roles of TBS students with a fair amount of certainty. In 1947, there were 46 living members of the

⁸⁷ Raymond B. Lech, *Tortured into Fake Confession: The Dishonoring of Korean War Prisoner Col. Frank H. Schwable, USMC* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011).

1929–30 class, with 34 still on active duty. Twenty-eight (82 percent) were colonels or above when they retired.

Arriving with the students were two new instructors, Captains Merritt B. Edson and Roger W. Peard, bringing the total number of instructors to eight. Edson would become famous during World War II for his role in founding the Marine Raiders. Peard served as the *de facto* commanding officer of TBS during transitions and periods of leave. Though only listed as “instructor, basic school” on the muster rolls, Peard clearly had an advanced administrative role at the school, as evidenced by his signature on diplomas, rosters, orders, and other intraschool communications. A few years later, this *de facto* role was formalized and a major from the staff was specifically designated to serve as the executive officer.

The next class repeated the new long-cycle pattern of students arriving in August and departing the following June. There were 41 students admitted, 27 from the Naval Academy. Fourteen were commissioned from the enlisted ranks, an unusually large number. By this time, it was clear the commissions from the ranks were definitely tied to available Marines with the interest and aptitude for officer training, and not to a predetermined quota. Two members of the 1930–31 class resigned their commissions shortly after completing TBS.⁸⁸

One of the mustangs, William F. Battell, returned to teach at TBS before the decade was out. In his reminiscences, Battell recalled that the course at TBS was a challenge. However, the students found time to enjoy themselves as well. One student, Michael Mahoney, found an antique French textbook on engineering and brought it with him to Captain Julius Wright’s field fortifications

⁸⁸ This very consistent pattern is a bit of a mystery. Many of the Marines resigning their commissions were Naval Academy graduates, but not all. Only a few had a reason, such as health trouble, listed as the reason for resignation. The bottom line is that a certain percentage of every class resigned. On the other hand, because records like transcripts or gradebooks are not preserved, there is no evidence that any Marine ever failed TBS. Perhaps the mystery resignations and the documentary gap are related.

class. Mahoney's oddball answers to test questions—taken from the outdated textbook—did not amuse the instructor. Instead, Captain Wright declared, “Now the whole class will sit here until Lieutenant Mahoney has memorized the entire chapter in the training manual.”⁸⁹ Mahoney was killed in action at the Solomon Islands in October 1942.

Lawrence C. Brunton served the usual tour of duty in Nicaragua, as did many of his classmates and peers. However, Brunton was one of only a few ground combat casualties sustained by the Marine Corps in that theater, killed in action as a first lieutenant in April 1932. Two TBS classmates also perished early in their careers: fellow Naval Academy graduates Nicholas J. Pusel and Glen Herndon were killed in aviation accidents in 1935 and 1937, respectively. Nearly two decades into Marine Corps aviation as an organized program, flying was still an extremely dangerous occupation.⁹⁰ Also a former midshipman, Harold W. Bauer was killed at Guadalcanal in November 1942, downed while flying wild missions as the squadron commander of the “Cactus Air Force.” He was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor. Robert Edward Hill and Russell Lloyd, also academy graduates, commanded battalions of the 1st Marine Regiment on Guadalcanal.

The second League Island-graduated Commandant also graduated with this class—Wallace M. Greene Jr. came to TBS from the Naval Academy and would serve as Commandant of the Marine Corps from 1964–67. His Naval Academy and TBS classmate (and likely neighbor when at attention during musters and drill) Charles Harold Hayes served as Assistant Commandant of the

⁸⁹ William P. Battell, interview with Thomas E. Donnelly, 24 March 1971, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 45.

⁹⁰ In 1924 the casualty rate for aviators was about 25 percent. The aviation community remained so small throughout the interwar period that even one lost pilot was a major blow. See Robert Sherrod, *History of Marine Corps Aviation in World War II* (Washington, DC: Combat Forces Press, 1952), 21.



Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, Archives, Marine Corps History Division

LtCol Harold W. Bauer, Marine Corps aviator in World War II, was awarded the Medal of Honor for his heroic actions during the battle for the Solomon Islands.

Marine Corps from 1963–65. Eighteen members of the TBS class were flag officers.

Without personal papers or other evidence left behind, it is difficult to determine exactly how many Marines returned to some kind of school-related billet over the course of their careers. Wal-fried Fromhold, an academy graduate and future Silver Star recipient, returned to TBS as an instructor just before the start of World War II. Possibly some members of the classes served as instructors at the Career Course or Field Officers Course, but that record is not preserved. The only other Marine from this class with a strong connection to education and training was William B. McKean. He was a colonel in command of Weapons Training Battalion at Parris Island, with only weeks to go before his retirement, when a disaster occurred there. One staff instructor took a group of recruits on an unauthorized, and dangerous, night hike through the swampy brush terrain at the edges of the depot property. The result was the death of six recruits, a court martial for the offending instructor, and a public relations drama that marred the end of McKean's career (and the Marine Corps' image regarding treatment of its recruits).⁹¹ McKean wrote a book about his experience which is fairly dispassionate, though his sadness and bitterness at the way his three-decade career ended is evident.⁹²

Two final characters rounded out the 1930–31 TBS class, whose very different paths speak to the variety among commissioned officers of the time. The first, John Wehle, was perhaps the bravest Marine of all—he married the only daughter of Smedley Butler. The other, Vincent Usera, left the United States to join the Abra-

⁹¹ BGen William B. McKean, *Ribbon Creek: The Marine Corps on Trial* (New York: Dial Press, 1958), 19.

⁹² McKean was up-front about this and he bluntly said that his own personal tragedy had an impact on his writing. On the first page, he says the six recruits tragically lost their lives due to human frailty, and because the public became “stirred up” many people paid the price. But when his oldest son was killed by a reckless driver only a few months later, also due to human frailty, there was no press and thus no outcry. He dedicated his book to the six lost recruits.

ham Lincoln Brigade, a mixed unit of various military and civilian personnel from many countries that formed itself to fight against Franco's army during the Spanish Civil War.⁹³

In June 1930, two new members were also added to the staff: Captain Graves B. Erskine arrived from the Infantry School at Fort Benning, and Lieutenant Colonel William D. Smith took over command from Major Rorex. Erskine stepped into the executive officer role, replacing Captain Peard. Smith was the first lieutenant colonel to command TBS. He was a member of one of Philadelphia's famous socialite families, and some Marines considered his hometown assignment to TBS as a kind of reward for many years of foreign duty.⁹⁴ When he arrived, his family included four small children, so it was likely a pleasant change of pace. Regardless of pedigree, Smith was a soft-spoken, uncontroversial pick, and he was thought of as a "very nice gent" by students.⁹⁵ Smith neither wrote a memoir nor preserved any of his personal papers.

Captain Erskine was a well-known veteran of the First World War and a recipient of the Silver Star for actions at Saint-Mihiel. He also wrote extensively, kept many personal papers, and recorded a lengthy oral history after retirement from the Marine Corps. His strong opinions on the Marine Corps Schools were out in the open and often negative: late in his career, he said that Corps schools of the interwar era were "very poor" compared to those of the Army. Primarily, Erskine referred to the lack of field exercises conducted at Marine Corps Schools. His own experience at the Army's Infantry School at Fort Benning, where field work formed a large percentage of the work, had shaped Erskine's opinion of

⁹³ See Marion Merriman, *An American Commander in Spain: Robert Hale Merriman and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2020). Usera is not mentioned by name in the book but his name appears in records kept by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives in New York City.

⁹⁴ Battell oral history, 46.

⁹⁵ Battell oral history, 46.

military education.⁹⁶ When he held command at the Marine Corps Schools after World War II, Erskine continued to call for increased amounts of wargaming, field exercises, and practical application.⁹⁷

However, he had a much more positive view of TBS. He felt it was “quite a thrilling thing” to influence young officers and especially appreciated the challenge of mentoring those students who were disinclined to work hard. In his eyes, the students who had risen from the ranks were better students and were more diligent than the Naval Academy students. Erskine taught scouting and patrolling, machine guns, and customs of the Service, which was a lecture rather than a full-length class.⁹⁸

The existing copy of Erskine’s 10-page lecture comes from his personal papers collection. With the full title “Military Courtesy and Customs of the Service,” it is a typewritten essay without citations or notes. Instead, the final page references “Marine Corps Manual, 1926; IS Pamphlet, 1927; general experience,” indicating that two published documents were consulted as well as the author’s own knowledge of the subject. The paper used the Infantry School at Fort Benning’s formatting and heading style; Erskine was a recent graduate. The lecture did not cover details that a modern reader might expect, such as how to wear uniforms or what types of greetings are appropriate in which social or professional situations. Instead, it was an ideological admonishment, detailing the underlying principles that should motivate military officers to be courteous.

The officer who comes into the service to make it his life work, may be unfamiliar at first with many

⁹⁶ Graves B. Erskine, interview with Benis M. Frank, 22 October 1969, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 77, 115, hereafter Erskine oral history.

⁹⁷ Erskine oral history, 111–13.

⁹⁸ Erskine oral history, 111–13. Erskine’s testimony was recorded in 1969, when he was 70 years old. Some of Erskine’s memories, such as that there were “no civilian college men” at TBS during his tenure, are in error. However, generally his sentiments on TBS are useful, and he was able to accurately recall the names (and details of future careers) of more than a dozen students from 1930–32.

military matters but he must be a gentleman—he must have character. By this is not meant the passive character to live decently, pay his bills promptly, and to show kindness to the weak and unfortunate, but the vital character to know right from wrong, to stand for what is right against all odds, to be true to his men and brother officers, to fight his men's battles, and really to live and act in such a way that his men and the people who come in contact with him, be they civilian or military, will have someone to admire and emulate. His title and uniform single him out from the crowd: they make him conspicuous, and in so doing they impose not only distinction but also an added responsibility.⁹⁹

This paragraph encapsulates what continues to be true about TBS even today: that it is meant to form a mentality about leadership and what it means to be a military officer, in addition to teaching technical and tactical skill. Ethos is not created out of thin air; conscious efforts, such as this lecture, are required to develop a unified mentality among a group of individuals.

The lecture did contain some illustrations and anecdotes on general courtesy, personal courtesy, common discourtesies, and customs. Presumably, since this lecture was written and delivered by Erskine personally, they were examples drawn from his own memory. In the second half on customs, he wrote,

The Statutes, Navy Regulations, Marine Corps Manual and Orders are written: consequently anyone can obtain a knowledge of them quite easily by study. Customs of the service, however, are another matter.

⁹⁹ "Military Customs and Courtesies" lecture, 1931, Graves B. Erskine Personal Papers Collection, collection 3065, box 24, folder 7, Archives, MCHD, 1.

To acquire a knowledge of them it requires a long association with the military and naval establishments. During this association one achieves more or less a liberal education, usually experiencing his share of embarrassments and chagrin.¹⁰⁰

He then continued to discuss what types of things are customs and how a practice can grow to be a custom rather than just an ordinary behavior. The six qualities of a custom, for Erskine, were “habitual or long established practice, continuance without interruption, acceptance without dispute, exactitude, compulsory compliance, and consistency with other customs.”¹⁰¹

Some of the limited examples of customs in the lecture are now out of date, such as a detailed list of how to leave a calling card and what time of day it would be appropriate to visit a senior officer’s quarters. But the general sense of the document is more timeless. Erskine’s decision to keep the material indicates its importance to him. He was quite organized and carried on correspondence long after retirement. He even maintained a connection with education and training after his retirement, corresponding with Marines who were engaged in writing tactical problems for the various schools. This short lecture, though, is one of only two items he kept from his time at TBS (the other was his set of Machine Gun Drill course notes). It is a prime example of PME in the Marine Corps, encompassing not only technical training but also the intangibles that shape officers’ careers.

Erskine’s other preserved TBS papers were copies of four full-length sets of study questions relating to Machine Gun Drills. The course was taught over the course of several weeks and many parts, resulting in a slightly confusing set of documents with ungainly

¹⁰⁰ “Military Customs and Courtesies,” 5.

¹⁰¹ “Military Customs and Courtesies,” 5.

titles. There are two sets of study questions, one for 1930–31 and one for 1931–32. Each set was divided into three parts, but Erskine only kept two of three parts from each set. For 1930–31, part two and part three are in the History Division archives. Erskine’s study questions are not lecture notes or instructional materials—they are more like a practice exam. A partial copy of the actual course materials does turn up in the archives a few years later.

The machine gun used for training at TBS in 1930–32 was the Browning .30-caliber M1917. This was a water-cooled, belt-fed weapon popular in the American, British, and French armies of the day. In operational units it had already been replaced by the M1919 (air cooled) model, but for training, the M1917 was in active use. “Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part II” contains 62 questions. All of the questions in part two are under the sub-heading “Elementary and Advanced Gun Drills.” Some examples of questions asked of the students included

- How should the gun squad be trained to work?
- What is the primary purpose of elementary gun drill?
- When are close order drills executed by machine gun units?
- Are movements during gun and battery drills at attention or at ease?¹⁰²

Students were also expected to be able to list and describe all the equipment needed to execute an elementary or advanced gun drill. Then, in questions 15–30, the student was asked to explain a series of commands. These commands were the *drill* part of machine gun drill:

¹⁰² “Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part II,” 1930, Graves B. Erskine Personal Papers Collection, collection 3065, box 24, folder 5, Archives, MCHD, 1.

FORM THE SQUAD; SECURE EQUIPMENT FOR ELEMENTARY DRILL; LAY OUT EQUIPMENT FOR ELEMENTARY DRILL; POST; STAND CLEAR; FALL OUT ONE (TWO); EXAMINE EQUIPMENT; MOUNT TRIPOD; DISMOUNT TRIPOD; MOUNT GUN; DISMOUNT GUN; LOAD; HALF LOAD; UNLOAD; CLEAR GUN.¹⁰³

For several key commands, students were instructed to explain the command itself, then describe (and correct) some common errors. The subquestions for each of those commands created an additional 52 pieces of information the student needed to memorize.

For example, the command “mount gun” had 19 additional errors the student should watch for and be able to correct:

- Failure to complete the test in the prescribed time.
- Failure to grasp right side of cradle with right hand.
- Failure to straddle the trail.
- Wrong movements of hands in unclamping the legs.
- Failure to grasp the tripod correctly when mounting it.
- Failure to glance at the target when mounting the tripod.
- Failure to steady tripod correctly when clamping both legs.
- Failure to clamp both legs of the tripod with the right hand.
- Trail not pointing to the rear and aligned with target.
- Leg clamps not tight.
- Traversing dial not level.
- Elevating screw threads not exposed about one inch when tripod was brought forward.

¹⁰³ “Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part II,” 1–2, emphasis original.

- Tripod and gun not at suitable height for the gunner.
- Traversing clamp not properly adjusted.
- Long axis of the gun not approximately horizontal.
- No. 1 not in proper position at the gun.
- Elevating pin not inserted properly by No. 1.
- Command not repeated by No. 1.
- Movement made after signal is given that test has been completed.¹⁰⁴

The commands “dismount gun,” “load,” and “unload” also had multiple subquestions dealing with common errors. It was expected that a second lieutenant graduating from TBS would immediately enter the operating forces and be able to command a rifle or machine gun platoon. Drilling the unit was part of the job. The lieutenant needed to be as proficient with drill as were the Marines who would be operating the machine gun: parity of skill with the Marine gunners who had multiple years of enlisted service was a good marker. Before the 1950s, American infantrymen did not receive any specialized combat training beyond what they experienced at recruit depots, so time in the field and during drill was the sum total of their experience with weapons. Drill was thus not just a critical component of preparation for combat, but the only component.¹⁰⁵

Part two continued with questions related to which tasks were carried out by the various members of the machine gun crew and asked students to account for variations in terrain when laying the gun. Question 44 was expanded into a multipart answer detailing common errors the students were expected to spot: “Explain the manner of going into action at the command: 1. Range eight fif-

¹⁰⁴ “Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part II,” 5.

¹⁰⁵ Capt C. A. Willoughby, “Aiming and Sighting Drills—Machine-Gun Known-Distance Practice,” *Infantry Journal* 18, no. 6 (June 1921): 600–4.

ty, 2. paster No. 3, 3. ACTION.”¹⁰⁶ In addition to the usual errors outlined in the “mount gun” section, students were also looking for errors related to aiming for the target identified. Doubtless, tables were provided to students and they would have known at what height “paster No. 3” was placed. Those helpful supplements were not preserved in the archives. Part two then concluded with questions about rates of fire, instructions for “two man load,” a variety of specialized or target-specific commands, and resighting the gun after use.¹⁰⁷

Part three of the machine gun study questions from 1930–31 deals with a particular technique of fire called *direct laying*. There were 137 questions asked of students in the direct laying section of the study questions. Unlike the drill questions in part two, the part three questions were all short-answer questions or calculations. Some examples include:

- What is the relation of DIRECT LAYING to MARKSMANSHIP?
- What are the advantages of indirect laying over direct laying?
- When, if ever, should indirect laying supplement direct laying?
- What is meant by the term “cone of fire”?
- At what rate does the width of the cone of fire increase for every 1000 yards?
- What is meant by the term “effective beaten zone”?
- How are ranges usually determined when direct laying is used?¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶“Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part II,” 5. Aiming *pasters* were paper circles that could be affixed to a larger board or cardboard target, indicating either upper/lower and left/right limits or to mark a bullseye.

¹⁰⁷“Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part II,” 6.

¹⁰⁸“Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part III,” 1930, Graves B. Erskine Personal Papers Collection, collection 3065, box 24, folder 5, Archives, MCHD, 1, emphasis original.

For the last question, there are handwritten notes on Erskine's copy of the study questions. A light red pencil has marked on the page in multiple places, and here someone has written "estimates—range finders—adjustment." Only a few questions have pencil markings, and some have an X rather than a written note. Part three continued with a 57-question review section on machine guns, which asked general questions about the use of guns in various situations. There were a total of 194 questions in "Machine Guns, Part III" for 1930–31.

Erskine remained on the TBS staff the next academic year, and his papers include part one and part three of the machine gun study questions for that year. Part one has many penciled answers included. It is subtitled "Mechanics" and asks 156 questions. Some examples (with penciled answers in italics):

- What type of machine gun does the Browning Machine Gun, calibre .30, model 1917, represent? *Recoil operated, belt fed, and water cooled machine gun.*
- What is the function of the tripod? *To gain the gun a firm mount.*
- What is the weight of the model 1917 tripod? *48lbs.*
- Into what unit of measurement is the rear sight windage arc graduated? *Mils.*
- How may the lubricant for the machine gun be thinned in cold weather? *By adding a small quantity of kerosene or gasoline.*¹⁰⁹

Later questions required longer answers, such as descriptions of parts of the weapon or explanations of multistep operations for using it. As in the 1930–31 materials, several types of common errors or common malfunctions are included in the study material.

¹⁰⁹ "Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part I," 1931, Graves B. Erskine Personal Papers Collection, collection 3065, box 24, folder 5, Archives, MCHD.

For some problems, students are asked to provide the solution to the malfunction, for other problems they are asked to explain the cause of the malfunction. The section on maintenance and repair, including keeping records for each weapon, is very detailed.

Part three of the 1931–32 study questions has many of the same questions as the 1930–31 version. However, there are five new questions, and many of the questions have a penciled answer written on the page. Some additional material at the end of the study questions asks the student about the utility of drilling machine gun operators using direct laying problems, and about methods for conducting direct laying problems. Some questions from 1930–31 were eliminated; all of them either subquestions for a question that was kept in the new version or that were closely related to another question. Many of the penciled answers on the 1931–32 set of questions for part three have diagrams, equations, and lengthy notes included.¹¹⁰ In more than one instance, the back of the paper was used to draw out a complex series of calculations. It seems likely that all four sets of machine gun materials kept by Erskine were his own sets of teaching notes with his own penciled answers.

Erskine's materials bear a strong resemblance to the machine gun instruction materials used at Fort Benning. For example, the Fort Benning exams were written in order to test the officer students on their ability to conduct drills with their Marines. Similar to Erskine's notes, lists of common errors were also included on the Fort Benning exams.

MAJOR ERRORS

1. Traversing dial not level.
2. (____) axis of the gun not approximately horizontal.

¹¹⁰ "Machine Gun Drills: Study Questions Part III."

3. (Leg) clamps not tight.
4. Tripod and gun not at suitable height for the gunner.
5. Elevating screw threads not exposed about one inch when tripod was brought forward.
6. No 1 not in proper position at the gun.

LESS IMPORTANT ERRORS

7. Command not repeated by No 1.
8. Failure to grasp right side of cradle with right hand.
9. Failure to straddle the trail.
10. Wrong movements of hands in unclamping the legs.
11. Failure to grasp the tripod correctly when mounting it.
12. Failure to glance at the target when mounting tripod.
13. Trail not pointing to the rear and aligned on the target.
14. Failure to steady tripod correctly when clamping both legs.
15. Failure to clamp both legs of the tripod with the right hand.
16. Traversing clamp not tight.
17. Elevating pin not inserted properly by No 1.¹¹¹

Erskine would have been proficient with the machine gun himself, having used it since 1917 and his own entrance into the Marine Corps. He did not necessarily learn the mechanics of machine guns from the Infantry School, but the evidence shows he made

¹¹¹ "Elementary Gun Drill—Section IV," *Infantry School Instruction Manual, Curriculum Indices* (Fort Benning, GA: U.S. Army Donovan Research Library, 1931).

use of the Army's organization and teaching style. Besides these personal items from Erskine, no other examples of curriculum from the 1930–31 course year have been found.

Captain Louis Whaley joined the TBS staff halfway through the academic year, replacing Captain Skinner, and the staff strength remained at eight. Around this time, the instructors at TBS began to receive some recognition for their abilities as experts in education. In February 1931, the Commandant requested that a member of TBS staff deliver a series of 14 lectures on field artillery, to be used for preliminary instruction of the officers of the 1st Battalion, 21st Marines (a reserve unit). The lectures were written by the staff of the 10th Marine Regiment (artillery), but Headquarters wanted a "qualified instructor" to deliver them to students, so a TBS staff member was chosen.¹¹²

Over the summer months of 1931, Captains Curtis, Erskine, Joseph T. Smith, and John Thaddeus Walker were joined by First Lieutenant Walter Wachtler and Second Lieutenant Jamie Sabater. Sabater's unique early career was mentioned earlier. Lieutenant Colonel W. D. Smith remained as commanding officer and Major Biddle reappeared on the muster roll for most of the academic year.

The 1931–32 class consisted of only 35 students, 24 of whom came from the Naval Academy. Three would return to League Island to serve as instructors before the decade ended. Clifton R. Moss was an academy graduate who retired due to medical reasons, as a major, in 1942. Commissioned from the ranks, Marcellus Howard and Norman Hussa also served as TBS instructors. Later in his career, Howard was instrumental in the development

¹¹² MajGen Cmdt to CO, Basic School, "Instructor for First Battalion, 21st Marines (Reserve)," 9 February 1931, box 109, Correspondence of the Office of the Major General Commandant Series 18, RG 127.2, entry 18, NARA.

19

IN REPLYING ADDRESS
THE MAJOR GENERAL COMMANDANT
AND REFER TO

0984-122
42-104-mcd
H. Keenins Co
Philadelphia

72⁵¹ Phila. Pa. 18
St. Copping, Ga.
73d. Coast. Co.
J. H. ...

HEADQUARTERS U. S. MARINE CORPS
WASHINGTON 26 April 1932.

J. H. ...
Quartermaster, 42nd St. N.Y.C.

From: The Major General Commandant.
To: First Lieutenant Gerald C. Thomas, Marine Corps,
The Infantry School, Fort Benning, Ga.
Via: The Commandant.
Subject: Change of station.

1. On completion of course at the Infantry School and when directed by the Commandant of that school, you will stand detached from your present station and duties, will proceed to the Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa., and report to the Commandant, for duty at the Marine Barracks there on the staff of the Basic School.

2. The travel herein enjoined is necessary in the public service.

RECEIVED
THE INFANTRY SCHOOL
APR 28 1932

Copy to The Quartermaster,
The Paymaster - 3,
CO, MB, NYd, Phila.,
1st Lt. Thomas - 2.

201-Thomas, Gerald C. (Off.MC) 1st Ind.
(4-28-32)
HEADQUARTERS THE INFANTRY SCHOOL, Fort Benning, Georgia, April 28,
1932. - To: 1st Lieut. Gerald C. Thomas, Marine Corps.

2nd Lt
P. L. T.

Fort Benning, Georgia. 28 April 32.
Received at 4:00 p.m. this date.
Gerald C. Thomas
Gerald C. Thomas.

Personal papers collection of Gerald C. Thomas, Archives, Marine Corps History Division
1stLt Gerald Thomas proceeded directly from the course at Fort Benning to his assignment on the TBS staff.

of a Marine paratrooper program.¹¹³ Future pilot Henry T. Elrod was one of the non-academy students; he would posthumously receive the Medal of Honor for his actions in the defense of Wake Island in December 1941. Another student, John H. Cook, had an unusual future as the commander of Marine Corps tank units that were assigned to Iceland in July 1941.¹¹⁴ Finally, Harlan C. Cooper and Fredericks Weiseman were TBS classmates, but no other biographical information could be found to tell where their careers took them in life: there is only the incredible coincidence that they are now buried side by side at Arlington National Cemetery.

The following year, another small class of 30 students convened, this time in June (two months earlier than usual); 24 were Naval Academy graduates. Despite arriving early, they remained through May 1933 to complete the usual one-month field exercise at Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, as had the classes before them. No record has survived to explain how the students occupied themselves during the extra two months. A ninth staff member was also added: Captain Gerald C. Thomas. Thomas was a favorite among the students, admired for his World War I experience and respected for his impressive command of the course material. Thomas himself remembered the assignment as particularly fulfilling, and felt he had a great deal of talent as a teacher.¹¹⁵ That did not mean he was satisfied with the billet.

When off-duty, Thomas was an avid reader and committed himself to a program of self-guided education in history and military subjects. He was well aware of the ongoing developments in Marine Corps thought and the creation of new landing forc-

¹¹³ J. T. Hoffman, *Silk Chutes and Hard Fighting: USMC Parachute Units in World War II* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps Historical Division, 1999).

¹¹⁴ William K. Jones, *A Brief History of the 6th Marines* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 2001); and Clifton La Bree, *The Gentle Warrior: General Oliver Prince Smith, USMC* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001), 18.

¹¹⁵ Allan Reed Millett, *In Many a Strife: General Gerald C. Thomas and the U.S. Marine Corps, 1917-1956* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1993), 110.

es doctrine, all taking place back at Quantico. Just as Alexander A. Vandegrift felt that missing the fight in France in 1918 was a personal loss, Thomas chafed that his “rewarding” assignment as an instructor prevented him from taking part in the amphibious doctrine development project at Quantico. He resolved to leave TBS as soon as possible and join the cadre of officers who were in the process of reshaping the Corps. An appeal to his congressman, Augustus Keyser, won him the desired billet in Quantico, but only after he promised to finish his tour in Philadelphia.¹¹⁶ Thomas’s account of his desire to be at Quantico is the only source that partially corroborates Frances’s “History of the Marine Corps Schools” account that some officers did not want to serve as instructors or otherwise be involved with schools.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, not only did Thomas complete his entire tour at TBS, his reason for requesting an early transfer had nothing to do with any opposition to education.

Lieutenant Sabater left TBS in May 1933. With a staff of eight, the 1933–34 class of 21 students also completed an extralong cycle, arriving in June and departing in May. Only two members of this class were not Naval Academy commissions. One of them, Frederick S. Bronson, was almost certainly commissioned from the ranks, as he retired sometime before 1940 as a second lieutenant, indicating he already had many years of service before he attended TBS. The other, Eustace Smoak, left behind no historical trail whatsoever, other than a retirement announcement, his name, and the rank of colonel on his headstone at Arlington National Cemetery.¹¹⁸

At this point, TBS had established the equilibrium that would carry it through the remaining interwar years. While class sizes

¹¹⁶ Millett, *In Many a Strife*, 112.

¹¹⁷ Frances, “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” 13.

¹¹⁸ “Marine Colonel E.R. Smoak Retires Today,” *Coronado (CA) Eagle and Journal* 46, no. 35, 27 August 1959.

(and their staffs) would steadily increase, the overall course of instruction remained the same. Pieces of curriculum from 1930 to 1940 bear a strong resemblance to one another. The influence of Fort Benning on the instructors, visible in the growing consistency of their teaching styles and course materials, was now a significant factor in the TBS experience. The school was ready to ramp up for whatever came next, which turned out to be a very big war indeed.

Chapter 6

League Island in the 1930s

In the broader Marine Corps, December 1933 marked the moment when the Fleet Marine Force (FMF) was unveiled to the operating forces as a concept and simultaneously as a system of organizing the Corps' mission.¹ This meant changes in focus at some Marine Corps schools, but it did not alter the curriculum or structure at TBS. The only change at TBS that coincided with the FMF was coincidental: although the overall class size at TBS would continue to change, the 1933–34 cycle marked the end of fluctuation in the number of students sent to TBS from the Naval Academy. For the rest of the interwar period, between 20 and 25 midshipmen would be given Marine Corps commissions, no matter the overall size of the TBS class they were destined to join. Such equilibrium suggests that congressional committees and the Department of the Navy had settled on a quota.

The 1933–34 students left behind little personal documentation. However, that is balanced by an amazing set of files found in the Marine Corps History Division's archives. The most complete set of interwar curriculum in the archive is related to the Military History course and it belongs to the 1933–34 academic year. Three out of five parts of the TBS course in military history are preserved in the archives. In addition, the Military History course taught at Fort Benning was also preserved by the Maneuver Center of Excel-

¹ *General Order No. 241, The Fleet Marine Force* (Washington, DC: Department of the Navy, 7 December 1933).

lence Headquarters Donovan Research Library archive there, so a direct comparison can be made between the materials instructors received (as students) at Fort Benning and the materials they later gave their students in Philadelphia. There are many close parallels between the two sets.

For the TBS materials, there are: “MH-2, Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses, and Oral Presentations”; “MH-3, Military History Notes on Lecture”; and “MH-5, Books Recommended for reading on Military History.”² Like the lecture on military customs and courtesies mentioned earlier, these are not technical/tactical materials, but lectures on a “soft” subject of professional interest to military officers. They are ideological and philosophical lectures, and almost certainly carry within them strong hints of the instructor’s personality. Less personalized than the other materials, the list of recommended books (document MH-5) is a window to the broader interests of Marines during the interwar period.

“MH-2: Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses, and Oral Presentations” is a 17-page explanation of the central assignment in the military history course: writing a thesis. The entire course centered on the students’ development of a military thesis, which they would then present to the class for peer critique. The initial writing portion was due to the instructor in January of the academic year, so presumably the entire second half of the course was taken up by student presentations. The theses had the following stated purpose:

- (a) They are intended to afford the student an opportunity to continue his study along lines which he

²The archive also contains an MH-1 from the 1935–36 school year, which covers identical material to the 1933–34 MH-2. In that document, MH-2 is described as a mimeograph that the students fill out with their personal information and proposed topic for writing the military history thesis. There are no other portions of the 1935–36 military history curriculum preserved.

is already interested, and to offer his ideas for the benefit of the class.

(b) They afford experience in the presentation of the results of the student's study and thought.

(c) They give each student an opportunity to collect material for his prepared talk.³

Students were then given instruction as to what type of subjects each could consider in their thesis, and some examples were provided. While Navy or Marine Corps topics were preferred, other subjects "which deal with the important problems of leadership, organization, and technique" were also permitted.⁴

Students were instructed to express immediately to the instructor their preferred subject. The instructor would assign their topics by 10 November 1933. The class convened in August that year, but it is not clear whether the military history class began immediately or if there was some delay. Once topics were assigned, the students were held to a strict length requirement (1,500–2,500 words), and no paper outside the requirement was accepted. Further format details were then outlined for cover pages, typing or longhand standards, use of quotations, and so on. Finally, the instructor noted that students would give an oral presentation later in the year, and that the school presumed the written thesis of the fall semester (turned in on 24 January) would form the basis of the oral presentation given in the spring.

It is contemplated that the subjects of the prepared talks which members of the Basic Class are scheduled to deliver in the school year will be the same as the subjects of the students' monographs or theses. At the time of submission of the written work, each

³"MH-2, Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses and Oral Presentations," 1933, The Basic School Collection, collection 3706, box 3, folder 7, Archives, MCHD, 1.

⁴"MH-2, Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses and Oral Presentations," 2.

student should retain either a copy of his paper or adequate notes with which to prepare his oral presentation.⁵

This means that students had the option to write a thesis on one topic and give an oral presentation on a different topic. There is no record of any student having done so.

The next section of MH-2 was on the oral presentation, which was meant to serve a dual purpose. First, students gained practice in “the presentation of instructional matter to others,” which was critical for young officers who would immediately enter the operational forces and be responsible for training a unit.⁶ Second, the exercise served the general art of public speaking. During the 1930s, it was commonplace for military officers to be invited to speak to civic groups, at colleges or universities, and at other public gatherings. The staff at TBS was interested in making sure that the students would show the Marine Corps in a positive light when they did so. Their 20-minute time limit would help them learn to present ideas in an efficient manner without rambling.

All of the instructions on the military thesis, up to this point, covered four typed pages. The remaining 13 pages of the document were devoted to a lengthy list of suggested topics. Despite its length, though, the teaching notes emphasized that the list was “merely a guide and a suggestion and . . . is not intended to be all-inclusive in any sense.” The topics suggested give a fascinating look at the aspects of war that were of interest to the interwar Marine Corps leadership who set the curriculum. The first topic series was centered on land battles and campaigns, including

⁵“MH-2, Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses and Oral Presentations,” 4.

⁶“MH-2, Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses and Oral Presentations,” 4.

- The development of Frederick the Great as a soldier, up to and including the battle of Leuthen (5 Dec., 1756).
- Burgoyne and the campaign of Saratoga, from the inception to the surrender, October 17, 1777.
- Wellington's Peninsular campaign, with special reference to the development of linear tactics and the battle of Talavera [*sic*].
- The first battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.
- The battle of Chancellorsville, May 1–3, 1863.
- The battle of Vionville-Mars-la-Tours from immediately after the battle of Colombey to 10:00AM the 16th of August, 1870.
- The Philippine insurrection, February 1899 to include the advance on Malolos.
- The battle of the Mazurian Lakes, September 1–14, in the East Prussian campaign of 1914.
- Verdun Operations, January–July 1916.
- British operations at Etrux, August 27, 1914.
- British operations at Nery, September 1, 1914.
- The mission of Captain Wachenfeld of the staff of the German V Corps on August 21, 1914.
- Gutavus Adolphus' crossing of the Lech.
- Incidents of the German anti-tank defense near Cambrai on November 21 and 23, 1917.
- The methods by which the Germans attained surprise on May 27, 1918.
- Machine gun support for the attack of the 29th U.S. Division on Etrayes Ridge.⁷

⁷“MH-2, Preparation of Military History Monographs, Military Theses and Oral Presentations,” 5–10.

Note that on this list only one operation involved the Marine Corps, and very few had any relation to amphibious or from the sea operations.

The next section of recommended topics were technical topics: education, training, athletics, discipline, character building, organization, close order drill, communications, field engineering, rifles and bayonets, and the sub-machine gun. Suggestions for each technical topic centered on means of training Marines in that area or developing ways to improve the unit. No matter which topic the student chose, it would be up to the individual to research and compose his essay according to the parameters outlined in pages 1–4. Examples of student papers from later class years indicate that sometimes students consulted only one or two sources for their papers, and that the level of analysis was somewhat simplistic.

The next portion of the curriculum in the archives file is “MH-3, Military History, Notes on Lecture.” This document was an overview on the purpose of studying military history and the structure of the course at TBS. Like the customs and courtesies lecture, this piece of curriculum said as much about the ideology of the school as it did about the course content itself. Not only did students learn history via the military history course, they were encouraged in “originality, thoroughness, veracity and logical presentation.” The title “Notes on Lecture” clearly defines the structure of the course in a way that MH-2’s did not. This strongly suggests that the MH-2 paper was presented to students right away, perhaps even handed out without comment, at the beginning of the course. MH-3 was probably the first set of material actually lectured on by the course instructor. As stated in the “Notes on Lecture,” the three parts of the military history course were:

1. A series of lectures and demonstrations enunciating the general principles the school desires to emphasize.
2. The preparation by the student of a thesis or a short, historical monograph.
3. The oral presentation of the thesis or monograph before the class.⁸

The instructor then drew a sharp contrast between ordinary means of teaching history (such as lectures and recitations) and the means employed at TBS. To use those traditional methods alone, wrote the instructor, would be “inconsistent with the policy of this school to avoid, as far as possible, the employment of ‘school-boy’ methods.”⁹ Instead, they sought to give students opportunities to practice applicatory or active methods of learning, such as demonstration and public presentations. Besides the field exercises conducted at the beginning and end of the program of instruction, this military history thesis and presentation and the roleplay court martial in the naval law class are the most obvious evidence of applicatory methods of learning at TBS.¹⁰

The next section in this document gives a clue about why these few papers survived when so little else from TBS was kept from this time period. The military history class, unlike a technical course on maps or weapons, was formative for the student as a leader and as a thinker, not merely a practitioner of tactics. The following paragraph from MH-3 provides a better explanation of what military officers were meant to gain from PME and thus what they were meant to learn at TBS than any other account available.

⁸“MH-3, Military History, Notes on Lecture,” 1933, The Basic School Collection, collection 3706, box 3, folder 6, Archives, MCHD, 1.

⁹“MH-3, Military History, Notes on Lecture,” 1.

¹⁰The court martial exercise is discussed in chapter 7, in the analysis of class of 1938 student Ronald Van Stockum’s notes on the naval law course.

The study and mastery of technical subjects taught in the Marine Corps Schools and acquired by individual study, work and experience are valuable items in the education of an officer but they are far short of constituting such a military education as fits an officer for the responsible duties of a high command in time of war or for the important staff duties. These should be the ultimate aim of every young officer. The seemingly important questions of post administration dwindle to the proportions of triviality when compared with the military and naval policy of a nation, the organization and mobilization of its forces, the strategy of a war, the tactics of a modern battle and the organization of the lines of supply. No officer should neglect his technical education, for he will find himself greatly handicapped if he does, and in these days of educational competition in the service, a lack of proper attention to these matters will inevitably result in leaving the officer far behind his fellow-officers. But he should supplement this study of the technical aspects of his profession by the careful reading and study of military history. He must in this way lay a foundation for building to greater capacity. This is one of the surest ways of acquiring that power, confidence and satisfaction which knowledge gives and is one of the best means of acquiring a knowledge of leadership.¹¹

TBS was the place where the Marine Corps intended to instill life-long habits of self-discipline and autodidacticism. The instructors were career officers who lived the habits described above; many

¹¹“MH-3: Military History, Notes on Lecture,” 2.

had already spent time and effort to attend advanced schools or take correspondence courses. Several would go on to great fame as commanders during World War II. This was a place where the individual's motivation to excel was supposed to be ignited, not a place where reliance on external compulsion was born.

There is no clearer documentation describing the ideology of the Marine Corps' officer education programs for this time period. One student wrote that the purpose of the school was to "take newly commissioned officers . . . and train them as 'Soldiers of the Sea,' in the process instilling in each the spirit and morale associated with the Marine Corps."¹² In particular, during the 1920s and 1930s the spirit and morale of the Marine Corps was closely associated with the social concept of the *gentleman*. As expressed by Rear Admiral William Rodgers at the commencement ceremonies at the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico, synonyms for the elements of character that comprise *gentlemanliness* can be found in the words "loyalty, justice, sympathy, judgement, and above all, courage. It takes much courage to behave as a gentleman at all times."¹³ Rodgers's audience included Marine gunners who were completing a commissioning course. In the address, he emphasized the duty of officers to their men and the critical importance of respect owed by leaders to their subordinates; without using the phrase, Rodgers strongly referenced the concept of "consent of the governed."¹⁴ The idea of formation of character as a central goal for the Marine Corps Schools was very strong during this time period.

Returning to the military history curriculum, the MH-3 document continued with instructions on how the student should continue the study of history throughout his career. Emphasis was placed throughout on the inadequacy of mere technical education.

¹² Ronald R. Van Stockum, *Remembrances of World Wars* (Shelbyville, KY: self-published, 2013), 52.

¹³ RAdm William L. Rogers, USN, "Address to the Graduating Class of Marine Officers at Quantico on June 9, 1923," *Marine Corps Gazette* 8, no. 2 (June 1923): 88–89.

¹⁴ Rogers, "Address to the Graduating Class of Marine Officers at Quantico on June 9, 1923," 89–93.

Instead, officers should study history on their own: “This is one of the best means of acquiring that power, confidence and satisfaction which knowledge gives and is one of the best means of acquiring knowledge of leadership.”¹⁵ Next, the document outlined some principles for ensuring the student was accurate in his historical research. Proper vetting of sources was the principal means of ensuring accuracy, and various types of sources were listed and commentary provided on how to select each, as well as what pitfalls were associated with the various types.

Often, military professionals prefer to read memoirs and first-hand accounts of battles. They are engaging and help provide a sense of connection between the modern practitioner of war and their predecessors; this seems to be the case regardless of the accuracy of the narrative or the credentials of the author. However, the MH-3 lecture took a somewhat dim view of memoirs.

MEMOIRS: Search carefully for the interest of the writer. He may have been exploiting himself for the Presidency or other public office. He may have been following a policy dictated by the Government or by his family. He may be emphasizing certain facts to the exclusion of others so that the proportion of the book may suffer. He is not likely to place himself in a bad light. Memory is faulty and one forgets, especially if a book is written long after the occurrences.¹⁶

Likewise, magazine articles, newspapers, official reports, combat orders, personal letters, general histories, diaries, political documents and proclamations, speeches, and oral testimony were described and evaluated, each in a separate paragraph. In general, the military history lecturer was highly suspicious of all sources,

¹⁵ “MH-3: Military History, Notes on Lecture,” 2.

¹⁶ “MH-3: Military History, Notes on Lecture,” 3.

and pressed the students to use many types in conjunction with one another in order to develop a truthful account of a battle or campaign.

Finally, the lecture covered some mechanics of essay writing. Students were instructed to keep note cards for both quotes and sources. An example was provided showing what information should be included on each card, along with suggested means of organizing them. The Navy Yard recreation center library and Philadelphia Free Library were immediately available to students, but they also could access the Marine Corps Schools' infant library (located in Quantico, Virginia) via a type of library loan program, as well as the Navy Department Library in Washington, DC. Assistance from the recreation center librarian was promised. Finally, the instructor gave a stern order to begin research immediately, not at the last minute.

Once the students gathered their material and composed their written essays, the final step was to prepare for the oral presentation. Like the written essay, the oral presentation was subject to length requirements. Also like the written essay, some suggestions were provided on how to organize the presentation, and some example cue cards were provided. The students were encouraged not to memorize their entire essay, "but to depend on the outline, greatly skeletonized, as notes to assist his memory if required; he will then talk more naturally; can give greater attention to the effect of his discourse upon his audience; and can spend more time on points which are likely to cause the class some difficulty."¹⁷ Then, in all bold letters: "NO STUDENT WILL BE PERMITTED TO READ HIS PRESENTATION FROM MANUSCRIPT." Students were encouraged to form groups and practice delivering their presentations to one another ahead of time. Going without practice, the lecturer warned, was "fatal." And finally, the lecturer

¹⁷"MH-3: Military History, Notes on Lecture," 7.

explained in detail how students were to seek out criticism and accept it when offered.

In the criticism of this practical work it is the adverse criticism that is of the greatest value. It does not serve any useful purpose if we bring out only the good points. . . . Look carefully for the defects and call them to the attention of the speaker. He may not be aware of some little defect or peculiarity and your criticism may be instrumental in correcting this fault and making a better speaker of him. It is requested that you be free, specific, and absolutely impersonal in your discussions of these exercises, and above all, candid.¹⁸

Unfortunately, no MH-4 document was preserved in the Marine Corps History Division archives. Perhaps the missing piece of curriculum contained the lecturer's notes for the first half of the academic year, or perhaps there were additional periods spent discussing the ideal way to study military history.

The final document preserved from the 1933–34 academic year is MH-5, a list of recommended reading materials for the military history subject.¹⁹ This 20-page typewritten list was organized into six topic categories: general history, military history, the art of war, tactics and technique of the separate arms, international law, and small wars.²⁰ Under the “General History” heading, books on both the United States’ and foreign countries’ histories were recommended, organized by period (for the United States) and by region (for foreign countries). Under “Military History,” American books were listed first, including Emory Upton’s *Military Policy of the*

¹⁸ “MH-3: Military History, Notes on Lecture,” 8.

¹⁹ “MH-5” is reproduced in full in this work as appendix G.

²⁰ “MH-5: Books Recommended for reading on Military History,” 1933, The Basic School Collection, collection 3706, box 3, folder 6, Archives, MCHD.

United States as a general reference. Books for chronological periods of American military history included Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*; Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*; and Alfred T. Mahan, *Lessons of the War with Spain and Other Articles*. Books on foreign wars were arranged chronologically: early wars (ancient and classical era), the Seven Year's War, the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, the Austro-Prussian War, the Franco-German War, the Russo-Turkish War, the Sudan, the China-Japanese War, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, and "minor wars." While American military schools expressed a preference for textbooks that focused on their own military history, clearly the suggestions for extracurricular reading were much broader. The next three pages of the reading list focused exclusively on books related to World War I, followed by a section of biographies. The "Art of War" section began with philosophical works (Carl von Clausewitz, Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, and Georg Brandes), then listed "Strategy and Combined Tactics" works (Charles Jean Jacque Joseph Ardant du Picq, Ferdinand Foch, Alfred T. Mahan, and Sir Julian Stafford Corbett). "Tactics and Technique of the Separate Arms" was a brief section, with subheadings for infantry, cavalry, artillery, air service, chemical warfare, and medical topics. Even more brief was the "Law" section: James Bryce, *International Relations*; L. F. L. Oppenheim, *International Law*; James Molony Spaight, *War Rights on Land*; and William Whiting, *War Powers Under the Constitution of the United States* comprised the entire list. Finally, the "Small Wars" section included five books (including Charles Edward Calwell's *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*) and two full pages of journal articles written by U.S. Army and Marine Corps officers about their experiences in the Indian and jungle wars.²¹

²¹"MH-5: Books Recommended for reading on Military History."

At the end of the document, particular books were arranged into a “Reading List for Officers,” in which the works were aligned with various stages in the officer’s career. Modern readers might recognize in this format an embryonic Commandant’s Reading List. The lecturer’s foreword indicates from which lists the books had been assembled into this collection.

The following bibliography of standard books and other available publications has been taken, for the most part, from the following sources: 1) the list of books recommended by the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for a course of reading on military history; 2) a partial bibliography of small wars prepared by the Marine Corps Schools, Field Officers’ Course, Quantico, Virginia; 3) a bibliography of selected literature relating to historical, political, economic, and military subjects, prepared by the Army War College. The publications selected are, in most instances, of recognized value and cover in a general way the subject named, no claim being made for absolute completeness.²²

There follows a detailed explanation of how to obtain copies of the books from a variety of military libraries. The lecturer was careful to explain the process of borrowing a book from a distant library, and students were responsible for paying the fees associated with sending the materials via registered mail. Finally, it was suggested that students keep a copy of the list for their reference, and attach any additions or changes to that copy, as needed, throughout their career. This was a tool meant to be used for many years, not a list the instructors expected students to complete while they were engaged in study at TBS. As General William Upshur wrote in

²²“MH-5: Books Recommended for Reading on Military History,” 1.

the *Marine Corps Gazette*, “It requires a lifetime of conscientious study and attention” to become a quality, efficient officer.²³

In June 1934, Lieutenant Colonel William D. Smith departed, and Major Julian C. Smith took command of TBS. Smith’s long career gave him extensive familiarity with both military education and the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in September soon after the start of the academic year. James Breckinridge, in command at the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico, was a close friend and the two often corresponded about PME and the schools. Under Smith’s command, the students stood officer-of-the-day duty and served on real courts martial. He believed they should complete as many tasks at school as possible as they would find in the fleet.²⁴ For the balance of the year, Smith, four captains, and three first lieutenants formed the staff of TBS. Captain Lee Hoxie Brown had the de facto but still informal role of executive officer, taking command of the school whenever Smith was temporarily absent.

Thirty-one students arrived in July 1934, and all but five of them came directly from the Naval Academy. One of the former midshipmen was a short, thin young man named Victor H. Krukak. Two future TBS instructors were among them. One, Harold Deakin, later remarked that his experience as a student at TBS was that individual weapons were the primary focus, and he cited the extensive amount of marksmanship practice conducted both at Cape May and Indiantown Gap.²⁵ The other future instructor was Charles Miller, who was commissioned from the ranks and participated in the short-lived Marine paratroop program. After the departure of the class of 1934–35, the TBS staff had a two-

²³ William Upshur, “Some Qualifications for Leadership and Command,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 22, no. 4 (December 1938): 77.

²⁴ Julian C. Smith, interview with Benis M. Frank, 15 November 1967, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 157.

²⁵ Harold O. Deakin, interview with Benis M. Frank, 21 March 1968, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 7.

month break—the first time there had been no students present at the school since mid-1931. It seems certain that a great deal of planning and preparation was being done by the staff during the short summer break, as the incoming class of 1935–36 was very large and uniquely structured.

For example, some changes were made to the texts used at TBS between 1934 and 1935. Minor alterations to the military history course are apparent from the differences in the MH-series curriculum in 1933–34 and then 1935–36. The Marine Corps' 1935 revisions to the *Manual for Small Wars* were also published in time for TBS to update the small wars course materials, which were based on the manual.²⁶ We know from a variety of student memoirs that the large incoming class was at least partially divided based on the previous military experience of the students; for example, naval law was only taught at TBS to those new lieutenants who had not already learned it at the Naval Academy.

Finally, a piece of the archival puzzle was preserved that shows the other side of Graves Erskine's study questions for the machine gun: a document entitled "MHG-2: Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon." This is an 11-page set of teaching notes divided into four sections. The format for this document is very similar to that used at Fort Benning, and the type of class is a *conference*, another term used at Fort Benning.²⁷ The exact difference between a conference and a lecture is not clear. Based on the fact that the conference materials usually have a diagram or opportunity for the instructor to make a demonstration of the principle being explained, it is likely that the conference is a more interactive version of a lecture. There is not a problem pre-

²⁶ 1stLt Anthony Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools" (unpublished manuscript, 1945), 51.

²⁷ "MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon," 1935, The Basic School Collection, collection 3706, box 3, folder 13, Archives, MCHD.

sented to the students in any of the conference materials. Instead of a problem to solve, the teaching notes begin with a general explanation of the use of the machine gun in a particular setting. Under “Scope,” it reads,

This conference deals with the factors governing the formations of extended order of machine-gun units. It furnishes a guide for instruction in the use of ground and other cover, the selection of gun emplacements, and the employment of combat formations in various tactical situations.²⁸

The use of extended order formations is a more advanced tactic than that of close order formations, so this is probably a later portion of the tactics course. Students were already familiar with deploying the weapons from columns or files and with the technical operations of the weapons themselves. However, a review of the use of the machine gun squad in close order takes up the first page of MHG-2. The pattern of reiterating and reinforcing an earlier concept within the teaching notes of a particular lecture is present in Fort Benning materials as well.

Part two contains the material on extended order formations at the squad level. First, the materials outlined the duties of squad leaders. Though Marine officers would not serve as squad leaders, they were responsible for selecting those squad leaders from within their unit and training them. Squad leaders were responsible for properly utilizing cover, preventing the squad from bunching during gun placement, and for ensuring the entire squad received and understood instructions on movement before actually moving.

Next, part two discussed formations for extended order. The use of carefully counted paces and separations between Marines

²⁸ “MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon,” 1.

in the squad was paramount. The MHG-2 material required students to maintain a five-pace separation between Marines and gave instructions for leading the squad both with and without gun carts. Gun carts, designed by the U.S. Army to aid in transporting the machine gun equipment to and from static positions, were still in use during the 1930s. Each hypothetical squad had a cart, pulled by a mule. Carts were used as a guide in formation and their presence had an impact on how the individual members of the squad were combat loaded.²⁹ When the cart was present, the ammunition, tripod, pioneer tools, and seven cans of ammunition were loaded onto it. Without a cart, the gunners carried all of the equipment themselves. There is no evidence of TBS retaining pack animals in order to train with them, so it is likely that the students at TBS never actually used the gun carts while they learned tactics. As far as any research has discovered to date, the use of gun cars was not only theoretical at TBS but also throughout the Marine Corps. However, the existence of the cart is acknowledged in the training material so it was presumed the students at least needed to be familiar with the concept.

Part three of the document discussed the section leader and proper formations for a machine gun section. Like the machine gun squad leader, the section leader was responsible for gun placement and movement. The squad leaders reported to the section leader, who was required to remain in constant contact with the platoon commander (lieutenant). Formations for sections were based on the formation in use by the squad: squad columns (line or echelon) were the default formation.³⁰ Again, much of the material in this document was formulaic, based on the unit-by-unit attacks employed during the First World War. It was still current

²⁹ *Machine Gun Drill Regulations (Provisional), 1917* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army War College, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1918).

³⁰ "MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon," 1.

in the 1930s but it would not be employed by the Marines during the upcoming Pacific campaigns. The careful delineation of pacing and the provision for use of carts are two good examples of training given to students at TBS that would be defunct when they saw combat in a major conflict. On the other hand, use of machine guns in static positions was still a reasonable employment of the weapons in the small wars settings in the Caribbean, as well as during brief conflicts in China in the late 1930s. No Marine ever complained in his memoirs that TBS wasted time on outdated machine gun tactics, though plenty had ample criticism for retaining close order drill and courts martial.

Part four of the MHG-2 document described duties that would be carried out by the lieutenant himself, in his capacity as platoon leader. This section contained:

- Duties of a platoon leader.
- Duties of a platoon sergeant.
- Duties of ammunition corporal.
- Duties of corporal agent.
- Formations of platoon.
- Advancing over rough ground and through woods in various formations, with and without carts.
- Selection, occupation, and concealment of gun positions.
- Supply.³¹

All of these aspects of guiding the platoon were presumed to be the sole responsibility of the platoon commander. The text explained that a company commander may provide direction, but then presumed that the student would act independently (no company commander available) and expected decisions to be made at the

³¹“MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon,” 9–10.

platoon level. This included combat environment decisions as well as precombat decisions such as selection of the platoon sergeant, corporal, etc. The platoon commander acting alone was usually operating in support of a rifle company. The commander in that case would do the following:

Determine both the time and method of deployment, assign the general direction of march, reconnoiter the route of approach, and select firing positions for his unit. In addition, he provides for the supply of ammunition, water, and oil; he disposes of the carts when the company commander relinquishes control of them, he issues the necessary orders, controls the fire of the platoon, determines the time and method of advance to successive firing positions, maintains communication with the company commander and with the rifle unit which the platoon may be supporting, and (when ordered or when necessary) places his section for the defense of the ground gained. The platoon commander does not remain in a fixed position with respect to his unit, but goes wherever his presence is required.³²

Duties of the platoon sergeant were those of a second-in-command figure. The ammunition corporal marched in the rear and ensured the platoon moved along smoothly. When machine gun carts were in use, he was responsible for moving them to cover and retrieving them when needed. The corporal was also responsible for intraplatoon communication and supervised a team of runners. (This corporal role would become obsolete as field radios became more reliable and available, and actual Marine corporals

³²“MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon,” 4.

would be given a leadership role at the squad level.) Each of these positions was critical to the operation of the platoon, and the students needed to be able to train Marines to fill each position competently.

Putting the platoon into position was considered the most difficult part of commanding a machine gun unit. Instructions on marching included methods for remaining in defilade and ensuring that progress of the unit was undetected. However, “the last part of the approach and the actual mounting of the gun” was especially susceptible to enemy fire.³³ Preventing excessive noise or movement on the part of the gunners was critical. The lesson material suggests the platoon commander adapt the advance gun drills already learned, particularly in cases where the ground was rough or the guns were to be placed in a low area. Extra practice for the gun crews in crawling with the weapon and ammunition was recommended.

Number 1 must crawl forward with the tripod. The gunner folds the legs of the tripod back against the trail and drags the tripod with him by hooking his arm under the cradle. Number 2 must crawl forward with the gun, exercising great care so that it will not be damaged.³⁴

The next section in part four is a set of diagrams explaining the layout of the machine gun platoon in line of section columns; line of section columns, echeloned; line of squad columns; and line of squad columns, echeloned.³⁵ Use of consistent marching and deployment formations was important if the sections became un-

³³“MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon,” 5.

³⁴“MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon,” 5.

³⁵“MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon,” 6-7.

able to see or hear one another in a combat situation: predictable patterns of movement were the best way to prevent instances of friendly fire. The section concluded with instructions on placing the guns quickly. In this section, the squad leaders were to be given extreme freedom in moving their gun crews into position. For example, if the gun was to be placed on relatively exposed terrain, the platoon commander should allow the squads to proceed individually, and the squad leaders could give each Marine the opportunity to rush forward at their own pace, rather than bunch in a single group.

Paragraph 16 of the document (near the end of part four), reads a little differently than the rest. In discussing the movement of the platoon over rough ground or through woods, some explicit direction on how much freedom to provide subordinates is given.

The leaders of machine-gun units must exercise a great deal of resourcefulness. The weight and awkwardness of the loads . . . must be considered by all commanders; and section and squad leaders, particularly, must be prepared, on their own initiative, to alter the distances of intervals between their own and neighboring units, and at times even to change temporarily the formation or direction of march if this will render the crossing of difficult ground unnecessary or less dangerous. . . . This does not mean that subordinate leaders should be allowed to change formations at will. The tactical requirements, especially as governed by the available maneuver space and the hostile fire, may render desirable changes impossible. Exercise in which subordinate leaders are faced with these problems are the only real

methods of teaching the need for and limits on individual decision.³⁶

The final two sections explained types of positions the machine gun platoon might use, and supply. Like previous sections, detailed formations and procedures were laid out for a variety of situations. Then, the instructor explained how the platoon commander should relax control or leave decision-making at the squad or section level in certain combat environments. Presumably, the extended order materials had their own set of study questions to mirror those used by Graves Erskine a few years earlier in a different part of the machine gun tactics course. Those are lost to history.

1935–39: The Building Years

In mid-July 1935, newly commissioned second lieutenants began to arrive at the League Island Marine Barracks schools detachment. The beginning of a period of rapid growth had begun, and much larger classes became the norm at TBS for the rest of the 1930s. With the FMF now established and promulgated as a frame for the Corps' mission, it was time to align funds and structure with the new vision. Congressional funding was finally catching up to the oft-sounded alarms of past Commandants, who insisted that the very small "old Corps" was no match for the expansive missions of the postwar era. The officer corps was increased, leading inevitably to enhanced promotion opportunities for all preceding entries. At the same time, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized other increases in military spending, such as establishing the Naval Construction Battalions (the Seabees).

³⁶"MHG-2: Tactics—Machine Gun Part I—Summary of Extended Order Machine Gun Squad Section and Platoon," 8.

Going forward, the majority of new lieutenants arriving at Philadelphia would be graduates of ROTC programs at civilian universities.³⁷ For more than a decade, ROTC programs at a select group of military colleges had been designated as distinguished programs by the War Department. Those schools were producing ROTC graduates who were not only welcome but sought after.³⁸ No contemporary source ever mentioned a lack of satisfaction with the ROTC commissions compared to those from the Naval Academy. Besides the parity in competence, it was of course a welcome savings to admit an ROTC officer versus the expensive four-year education of a midshipman.

The TBS class that was present at League Island from 1935–36 left a wealth of documentation behind. They had a very strong class spirit, stayed in touch throughout their careers, and even some documentation of their reunions has been preserved.³⁹ At their 50th class reunion in 1985, they celebrated not only the lives of their classmates who had passed away but also their distinction as the “most-promoted” class of the era; two Commandants were members of this class, as well as a large number of two- and three-star generals.

The 1935–36 group was so large that a staggered arrival pattern was created. The staggered reporting, which was not repeated

³⁷ League Island master personnel sheet, author's working file.

³⁸ Capt Oliver P. Smith, “You Are Hereby Detached . . .,” *Marine Corps Gazette* 11, no. 1 (March 1926): 2.

³⁹ Their explicit records help explain a confusing tradition revolving around designating class years at TBS. Sometime during this era (perhaps the entire time), the members of TBS classes began the convention of referring to themselves not by the year in which they graduated from TBS but instead by the year in which the Naval Academy graduates in that TBS class had commissioned. Thus, the TBS “class of 1935” graduated from the Naval Academy in 1935 and attended TBS from 1935–36. This convention was in place for additional class years in the late 1930s (see Van Stockum, *Remembrances of World Wars*), and may have been for some time. This very disorienting feature of memoirs and other records is why this book refers to “spring 1926” or “the 1935–36” class. After World War II, the format of TBS was retooled once more, and a six-month course of instruction was created that continues to the present. During the 1950s, the six-month classes began adopting monikers taken from a fusion of the company name and a date: as a more recent example, “Fox 6-08” is the class name for Company F, which arrived at TBS in June of 2008; “Golf 8-08” (Company G) arrived in August of 2008.

by later TBS classes, attempted to balance the differing degrees of military experience of the various incoming student groups. In early July 1935, 26 graduates of the Naval Academy arrived at League Island. The Naval Academy graduates remained at TBS for only three months and were known as “the June group.” At the same time, 50 ROTC graduates and 3 meritorious noncommissioned officers also arrived. These students remained until March 1936 and completed their month of training at Mount Gretna in April 1936; they were known as “the July group.” Finally, in August and September 1935, another 44 ROTC graduates and one meritorious noncommissioned officer arrived to complete the total of 124 members of the TBS class of 1935–36. The September group remained at League Island until April 1936 and completed their field training at Mount Gretna in May 1936. Each group retained a distinct identity, evident in their memorial books and reunion programs, but all referred to themselves throughout their careers as members of the “class of ’35.” Marines from the surrounding generations usually had high praise for the class of 1935, crediting a variety of factors for their collective successes. One possible explanation for their consistently excellent performance, for example, was the fact that the U.S. Army declined to accept any ROTC officers during 1935, so the Marine Corps “caught the cream of the lot.”⁴⁰

Leonard F. Chapman and Robert E. Cushman, the 24th and 25th Commandants of the Marine Corps, attended TBS together during the 1935–36 year. Cushman was a graduate of the University of Florida and declared that he “had never seen a Marine before in my life” when he arrived at League Island. “The Marine Corps was very small in those days,” he recalled. “It was a very tight, elite, high quality little outfit with a tremendous amount of

⁴⁰ Jordahl oral history, 57.

experience in the officers and NCOs.”⁴¹ Cushman was interviewed after retirement, and noted that going to TBS immediately after commissioning

was the standard practice in those days, and still is; the Basic School still exists, it’s at Quantico, Virginia now. It was the standard training course for new Marine second lieutenants. It teaches them, basically, to be an infantry platoon leader, and all new Marine officers are required to go there. After that they go to specialty training, but every Marine officer without exception, whether he’s air or ground or sea, is trained as an infantry platoon leader. It’s one of the unique things about the U.S. Marine Corps, it’s a tie that binds all Marines together. Because every Marine, whether he’s flying an airplane or shooting a cannon, understands that 18 year old infantryman that’s carrying a rifle and occupying the enemy ground that has to be taken and held to win.

There’s a tie that binds all Marines together, there’s no doubt about that. It’s often referred to as a “band of brothers.” I think it comes for the enlisted from the training at Parris Island, the boot training, at Parris Island and San Diego, and for officers I think it’s the Basic School.⁴²

Robert Cushman was on board the USS *Pennsylvania* (BB 38), in dry dock, when the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor began on 7 December 1941. His career was long and illustrious, typical of his generation, though it became marred at the end by his close

⁴¹ “Leonard Fielding Chapman Jr., Recollections Interview Part 1,” Albert Gore Research Center, YouTube video, 33:38, accessed 21 June 2022.

⁴² “Leonard Fielding Chapman Jr., Recollections Interview Part 1.”

friendship (and professional association) with disgraced President Richard M. Nixon.⁴³

Raymond L. Murray, like Chapman, left behind memoirs. Also like Chapman, the very small Marine Corps was not on his radar as a young ROTC cadet, until a recruiter asked him if he was interested in taking the “Marine Commission” for his land grant college, Texas A&M University. “I don’t know,” replied Murray. “What is a Marine?” He accepted the offer because money was tight and he planned to remain in service only a short time: either until what seemed like an inevitable war in Europe had come and gone, or until it was clear there would be no war. Whichever came sooner. Instead, after arriving at League Island, he said, “I never looked back after I found out what the Marine Corps was all about.” He reported that the only problem he had at TBS was that “all the women looked good. Years later, we thanked the Marines for making the rule that officers could not get married for two years. We could have made some bad choices.”⁴⁴

A third classmate, Clayton O. Totman, shared his TBS experience in an unpublished memoir. A graduate of the University of Maine, Totman spent a few summer weeks drilling with an Army guard unit before receiving his orders to proceed to League Island.

When I arrived home the orders to Philadelphia had arrived, with my commission as a Regular, so I repacked my suitcase, got on a bus, travelled all night and reported at 0800 the following morning to the basic school in Philadelphia where I was sworn in and I became from then until the day I die a Com-

⁴³ David E. Rosenbaum, “Marine Commandant,” *New York Times*, 7 May 1973.

⁴⁴ Zona Gayle Murray, *Highpockets: The Man. The Marine. The Legend* (Conneaut Lake, PA: Page Publishing, 2019), 26.

missioned Officer in the UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS.⁴⁵

While he described the school experience as “phenomenal” and was extremely proud to detail the many accomplishments of his TBS class, Totman was not blind to the shortcomings of the Philadelphia Navy Yard.

Philadelphia was not an ideal place for the task assigned the basic school. There was no terrain at the Navy yard that could be used. We had to go to the Coast Guard Station at Cape May, New Jersey, for our small arms practice. We fired the U.S. Rifle .30cal model 1903, the Browning automatic rifle, the Thompson sub-machine gun and the .4cal. Colt automatic pistol. . . . We then went out into the central part of the State of Pennsylvania to an Army training area at Mount Gretna for .30caliber Browning machine gun firing.

While we were out at Mount Gretna, we all had a very sick day. It seemed that the Naval Academy classmates were to leave us for duty with the troops, while we spent the winter in classes taking academic courses which they had had at the academy, such as naval law and naval gunfire. We had a farewell party in Hershey, Pennsylvania, in order to drown our sorrows we each imbibed much more spiritous beverages [*sic*] than we had the capacity for and the Marine Corps buses were liberally covered with stomach contents but the following day was worse!

⁴⁵Clayton O. Totman, unpublished autobiography, SpC MS 1563, box 1, folder 2, Raymond H. Fogler Library Special Collections Department, University of Maine, Orono, ME, 28, emphasis original, hereafter Totman autobiography.

That day we were required to make a plane table survey of a closed road net. The heat was torrid, there was no water to drink. There actually were only a few places where the tables could be set up where one could make fore and back sights and at each of these some predecessor had tossed his cookies. The odor of that was enough to make each follower join the predecessor, and oh, what a sick crowd of second lieutenants there were in the field that day!⁴⁶

By the time World War II began, five members of the class had been killed in accidents (mostly plane crashes) or died of illness. Eight were killed in action. Major Kenneth D. Bailey was the first casualty, falling in September 1942 on Guadalcanal. One of the first Raiders, Bailey was submitted for the Medal of Honor for actions at Edson's Ridge but did not survive the larger battle. His award was made posthumously.⁴⁷ Two weeks later, pilot Gordon A. Bell died when the Marine Scout Bombing Squadron 141 bunker on Guadalcanal took a direct hit from a Japanese bomber.⁴⁸ Herbert R. Amey Jr. was killed as a lieutenant colonel in November 1943, while in command of the 2d Battalion, 2d Marine Regiment on Tawara. Amey was the most senior Marine to die in that battle. His death, at the edge of the water just as the battalion reached the shore, resulted in a posthumous Silver Star.⁴⁹ Chevey White, who had witnessed the Pearl Harbor attack as the officer of the deck on the USS *Tennessee* (BB 43), was killed in action on Guam in 1944.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Totman autobiography, 28–36.

⁴⁷ John T. Hoffman, *From Makin to Bougainville: Marine Raiders in World War II* (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Historical Center, 1995), 11, 15.

⁴⁸ John Lundstrom, *First Team and the Guadalcanal Campaign: Naval Fighter Combat from August to November 1942* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013), 302.

⁴⁹ John Wukovits, *One Square Mile of Hell: The Battle for Tarawa* (New York: Penguin Press, 2007), 139.

⁵⁰ Maj O. R. Lodge, *Marines in World War II: The Recapture of Guam* (Auckland, NZ: Pickle Partners Publishing, 2014), 55.

Classmate John A. Anderson was killed in May 1944 on New Britain. Anderson may have left active duty and returned at the start of the war; he was only a captain while all his classmates were lieutenant colonels. Kenneth F. McLeod was killed in June 1944 at Saipan while serving as the executive officer of the 6th Marine Regiment. John White Easley was killed at the Marianas Islands in August 1944. Clyde R. Huddleson and Benjamin McMakin were captured in the Philippines and died in captivity sometime late in 1944. Charles Solon Todd was captured at Guam but rescued from a prison camp before the war ended. Three more members of the class were killed in air crashes in 1945–46, though none were in combat.

The Korean War saw many members of the 1935–36 class back in combat. Arthur A. Chidester died in captivity in November 1950, very early in the war. Wesley M. Platt, who had survived the siege of Wake Island and several years in a Japanese prison camp, was killed in action in Korea on 27 September 1951.⁵¹ And a few members of the class were still on active duty during the Vietnam War (including both future Commandants). Bruno Hochmuth, a decorated officer with the rank of brigadier general, was the last member of the 1935–36 class to be killed in combat. On 14 November 1967, Hochmuth became the only Marine division commander to be killed in combat, when the Bell UH-1 Iroquois helicopter in which he was riding crashed in a Vietnamese rice paddy.⁵²

To meet the demands of the larger classes, a larger staff was gathered. Lieutenant Colonel Allen H. Turnage took command of TBS in July 1935. Turnage was a graduate of the University of North Carolina and served three tours in Haiti. He also served with the AEF in France as the commanding officer of the 5th Marine Brigade's Machine Gun Battalion. Turnage had been an instructor

⁵¹ "Wesley McCoy Platt," memorial page, Clemson Corps, University of Clemson, accessed 21 June 2022.

⁵² "Major General Bruno A. Hochmuth," Who's Who in Marine Corps History, MCHD, accessed 21 June 2022.

at both the Company Officers' School and Field Officers' School in the 1920s. He also completed an unusual sea-duty tour on the staff of an Atlantic battleship division.⁵³ Turnage had a reputation for being very personable with all ranks and positions under this command. He and Mrs. Hannah Turnage maintained a close relationship with the classes that passed through TBS while he was the commanding officer. The 1935 class held reunions at his home in later years.⁵⁴

Turnage was assisted by the first official executive officer of TBS, Major William P. Richards, an old "China Marine" who had served as the captain of the Corps' competitive marksmanship team during the late 1920s.⁵⁵ Captains Lee Hoxie Brown, John Muncie, William Orr, Amor Sims, and Merrill Twining were an even mix of old hands and new joins. Twining would become famous for his vocal participation in the political development of the Marine Corps in the late 1940s during the defense unification crisis. He taught naval law when he first arrived at TBS, but recalled that he "volunteered my head off" in other subjects, such as machine gunnery, in order to escape the law classroom.⁵⁶ In addition, seven first lieutenants joined the staff, all of whom had attended TBS as students while it was located in Philadelphia. All seven would also be promoted to captain at the end of the academic year.

Large classes continued to arrive at League Island until the entrance of the United States into World War II. The 1936–37 class consisted of 99 total students. Thirteen future general officers, including Vietnam-era Commandant Lewis W. Walt, were among them.

⁵³ Allen H. Turnage biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD.

⁵⁴ Kilmartin oral history, 135.

⁵⁵ George Clark, *Treading Softly: U.S. Marines in China, 1819–1949* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing, 2001), 59.

⁵⁶ Merrill Twining, interview with Benis M. Frank, 1 February 1967, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 59–60.

The first member of the 1936–37 class to meet their fate was William M. Ferris, who died in a training crash in 1941. While survival rates might have improved from the joked-about 25 percent of the 1920s, flying was still a dangerous occupation. After the war began, losses from the class began to multiply. Pilot Daniel Hennessey was killed at Midway in June 1942. Arthur B. Barrows was killed in action in August 1942, reported missing off the USS *St. Louis* (CL 49) in the Bering Sea. William Lee Crouch was killed at Saipan in July 1944. John F. Schoettel and Mayard Schultz were killed in the Marianas in the summer of 1944. Lewis H. Pickup, Noel O. Castle, and Robert Chambers were captured in the Philippines and died sometime near the end of 1944. Howard Lester Davis was also captured, but survived and retired in 1947 as a lieutenant colonel. Charles William May was killed in a combat crash in Korea in 1951. On the other hand, some class members enjoyed the most unlikely good fortune: James S. Blais survived the sinking of the USS *Hornet* (CV 12) and retired as a brigadier general.

Howard Hiett, a Purdue graduate, made it into the hometown paper upon receiving his commission, resulting in this contemporary journalist's description of TBS:

[Hiett] recently reported to the basic school, which all young officers of the marine corps are required to attend for six months or longer before they are given active assignments, either afloat or ashore. About 100 student lieutenants, nil of whom were given appointments in view of their scholastic standings or for other qualifications, attend the school. In addition to military subjects, they are taught how to command marine detachments either aboard ship or at shore stations at home or abroad.⁵⁷

⁵⁷“Purdue Graduate to Marine Corps,” *Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, IN), 27 August 1936, 1.

The uniqueness of the Corps' system for officer training did not seem to result in any confusion over the purpose of TBS, nor any inability for civilian observers to describe it accurately.

Multiple pilots from this class survived the war. Paul J. Fontana was well known for his combat exploits as a pilot at Guadalcanal and then for a long career in Marine aviation after the war. Fellow pilot Marion MacGruder did something unusual with his career and intense experiences as a radar interceptor: he shared it with his family in the form of stories and reminiscences. From him we have one lieutenant's tale of arriving at TBS, the first time he had ever set foot outside his home state of Kentucky:

Punctually at 08:00 hours, Basic School Commanding Officer Lieutenant Colonel Turnage presented himself and addressed the men with a pointed indoctrination. He turned proceedings over to Captain Chriswell [*sic*], the class commander, who promptly ordered the men into formation for roll call. Captain Chriswell wasted no time in letting everyone know just where they stood. . . . The students were summarily notified they would march in formation everywhere they went and would need permission to do anything but breathe.

The students billet was a three-story brick building, well used for over sixty years as part of the Naval Facility. On the third floor, [MacGruder] joined twenty two additional officers. The day had been a whirlwind of nonstop "do this, get that—on the double" and accumulating armfuls of gear.

At exactly 04:00 hours the next morning, blaring bugles roused Mac to a new life of military indentured servitude. The new routine consisted of reveille, inspections, calisthenics, chow, classes, tests, close order drills, classes, show, training, classes, tests,

and marching, until 22:00 hours and lights out—except for when night operations were added on.

MacGruder had to fight classmate Arthur Barrow (a man nearly twice his size) to settle the pecking order, but once the high spirited students had their differences settled via bloody knuckles and torn shirts—during the first week of school—the remainder of the year was completed “with a new sense of teamwork.”⁵⁸

More records might be available for this class if an important piece of history was not missing—records on which Marines were graduates of the Naval Academy. Where most TBS muster rolls indicated the Marines’ previous duty station as Annapolis (making identifying the former midshipmen very easy), the summer rolls for 1936 did not include that information. Other sources of this information, such as the Naval Academy’s yearbook, the *Lucky Bag*, or the academy’s in-house memorial and casualty lists, do not provide complete (or conclusive) evidence. In fact, the only member of the Naval Academy class of 1936 listed as a Marine Corps officer in the academy’s Memorial Hall is an unusual case: Captain Ralph Haas, who graduated from the academy in 1936 but did not join the Marine Corps until after the start of World War II. Haas did not attend TBS at League Island, but he may have attended the shorter officers’ training school at Quantico sometime after 1941. He attended naval aviation training immediately after graduation from the academy, presumably as a Navy ensign.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Mark A. MacGruder, *Nightfighter: Radar Intercept Killer* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 2012), 25–27. MacGruder or his biographer were mistaken about the age of the Marines’ barracks building, which was only about 30 years old when he was a student. The Capt Chriswell referred to is probably Charles F. Cresswell.

⁵⁹ “Ralph Haas, LtCol, USMC,” U.S. Naval Academy Memorial Hall, accessed 25 February 2022.

At the same time the TBS class of 1936–37 was arriving, Captain Russell N. Jordahl joined the staff of TBS. Jordahl’s recollection from his days as a student at TBS was very negative due to his perception of coldness in the relationship between the instructors and students. Although he agreed that the instructors were competent, it was Jordahl’s sense that when he was a student the instructors completely failed to welcome him and his classmates into the officer community and camaraderie. So, when he arrived as an instructor, the memory “prompted [him] to take some positive actions,” and he went to great effort to entertain every student in his home at least once during the program of instruction. In the classroom, Jordahl was the chief instructor for military history during his entire time at League Island. He also assisted with classes on the machine gun, defense tactics, and administration. By Jordahl’s account, the younger members of the staff served as instructor assistants, while the most senior members had final say over the class schedule, grades, etc.⁶⁰ Those instructors who had been to Fort Benning had an advantage, he opined, because some part of the curriculum there had been instruction on how to teach, not merely instruction in the military subject matter.⁶¹

But not all instruction was directly from the heads of the on-site instructors. According to accounts by both students and instructors, occasionally a lecture would be presented in the evening hours. Members of the staff typically presented these lectures, which focused on some current issue being discussed within the Marine Corps, but not every lecture was composed by the staff. A copy of one such lecture entitled “The Bayonet” was included in the Marine Corps History Division archives collection for the 1936–37 academic year. It was a reprint from a conference given by Major Oliver P. Smith to students at the Company Officers’

⁶⁰ Jordahl oral history, 52–53.

⁶¹ Jordahl oral history, 60.

Course in 1932. Presumably, a member of the TBS staff felt Smith's enthusiastic lecture would benefit the TBS lieutenants.

In the lecture, Smith first provided a highly stylized account of warfare from the seventeenth century to the present. Over the course of only a few paragraphs, he established the utility of bayonet fighting as an extension of the musket and rifle but immediately admonished listeners to cease presuming the bayonet was "tactically a defensive weapon." In the American Civil War, he scoffed, the Army provided only two ways to use the bayonet: in "defense against cavalry" and "defense against infantry." This was not the way Smith wanted his Marines to think of the bayonet. From page three until the end of the lecture, he used the bayonet not as a technical example of hand-to-hand fighting technique but instead as a symbol of initiative.⁶²

Beginning with an example from the Boer Wars, the bayonet lecture proceeded to build a kind of theatrical pattern. First, the lecturer told a story of historical combat. Then, he abruptly called on a member of the audience: "Lieutenant _____, what is your deduction as to the effect the absence of bayonets in the ranks of the Boers and their presence in the beleaguered garrison had on the operations of the Boers?" Next, he explained in ostentatious detail how the use of the bayonet, an emblem of courage and decisiveness, was really what made the victor victorious. Giving examples from China, South Africa, the Russo-Japanese War, and even World War I, Smith's lecture was not a scholarly exposition on the technical use of the bayonet. He even admitted in the text that he had not studied many battles in which the bayonet figured prominently. But what really mattered, he said, was that "bayonet training develops alertness and quickness and, above all, the spirit of combat. Men do not get the spirit of combat on the rifle range."⁶³

⁶² Maj Oliver Prince Smith, "The Bayonet" (lecture, Marine Corps Schools Company Officers' Course, Archives, MCHD, 1932).

⁶³ Smith, "The Bayonet," 10.

This lecture was a means of conveying ethos and the Marine Corps mentality toward fighting, something that somehow combined the refined and lightning fast reflexes of a highly trained fencer and a blunt kill-them-first aggression.

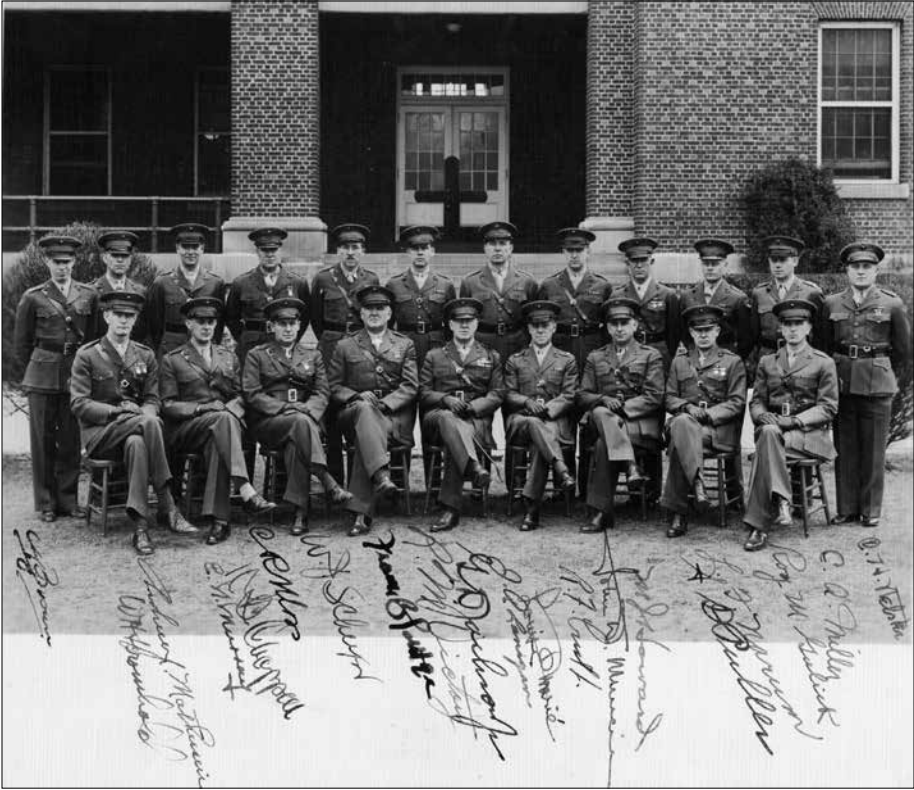
One other, less brash, item preserved in the archives from the 1936–37 class year is a historical map problem simply entitled “Vicksburg.” The two-page document begins with a “brief outline of the operations leading up to the crossing of the Mississippi and the investment of the fortified garrison.”⁶⁴ Taken directly from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the background material explains to students which troops, supplies, lines of communication, and march routes were available to the U.S. Army commanders who were approaching Vicksburg, Mississippi, in the spring of 1863. Next, a summary of the actions that had been taken by senior commanders in the previous few months was provided, so that students had a clear picture of how the campaign had been progressing up to that point. However, the material did not provide a complete picture of the siege of Vicksburg. Instead, the encyclopedia article was abruptly cut off and students were given a problem:

State briefly your plan to effect the river crossing for the investment of Vicksburg, to be executed on the 20th of April and during the days immediately following. State this plan in your own words and make plans for the supply. State your immediate alternative in case your initial landing may be unsuccessful.⁶⁵

This apparently simple problem combined several elements of the TBS experience: military history, map reading, and on-the-spot development of solutions to problems. However, it added an element of strategic thought that proves TBS was not merely a techni-

⁶⁴ “Vicksburg” historical map problem, 1936, Archives, MCHD, 1.

⁶⁵ “Vicksburg” map problem, 2.



Personal papers collection of Joseph Berry, Archives, Marine Corps History Division
 File photograph, with signatures, of TBS Staff, ca. 1937.

cal school but an educational experience. Like the military history course, the Vicksburg map problem shows that much more than a simple technical education was being imparted to the students at League Island.

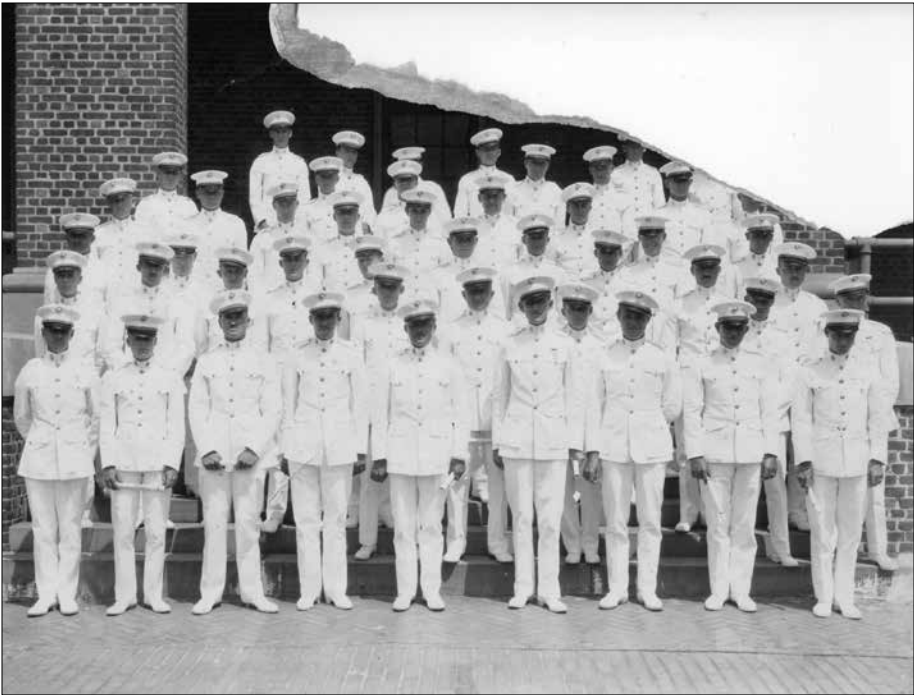
The 1937–38 class comprised 83 students. Twenty-two were members of the Naval Academy class of 1937. Fourteen achieved flag rank, and many were decorated for heroism during World War II. Three were among the many Marines captured by the Japanese in the fall of the Philippines and died in early 1945. At least 15 became pilots. One member of that class preserved his student papers from the entire program of instruction, giving a detailed

look at the full scope of the curriculum from the student's perspective. Another member wrote a detailed memoir, including some passages about the social and extracurricular opportunities available to TBS students in the late 1930s. The two accounts of the 1937–38 class year provide an interesting range of perspective, as one student had an ROTC commission and the other was a graduate of the Naval Academy. All of that material is examined closely in a later chapter of this book.

In 1938–39, only 74 students were on deck, but the staff continued to grow. Eleven captains, three majors, and a new commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Gilder D. Jackson, formed the staff. Acting as executive officer was Major Frank Goettge. He was already famous in the Marine Corps for his football exploits from former days; he would later be famous for being killed in action on an ill-fated reconnaissance patrol on Guadalcanal in the opening weeks of the battle there. The already-famous Lewis B. Puller was also among the staff. The nine more junior staff members had attended TBS while it was located at League Island, creating a close community of common knowledge. As already mentioned, Captain Jordahl worked hard to be sure that his own negative experiences as a student were not perpetuated during his time as an instructor. Others, such as Captain Howard N. Kenyon, were more austere. Kenyon taught naval law and was a very serious mentor with a very dim opinion of anyone who exaggerated or invented tales for the sake of the audience's enjoyment.⁶⁶ Telling sea stories in his class was ill-advised.

The students in 1938–39 included the usual 23 Naval Academy graduates. Among them were two recipients of the Medal of Honor, First Lieutenant George C. Cannon (killed on 7 December 1941 at Midway) and General Raymond G. Davis, who received the

⁶⁶Jordahl oral history, 52–53. See also Capt Howard N. Kenyon, *American Kenyons: History of Kenyons and English Connections of American Kenyons, Genealogy of the American Kenyons of Rhode Island, Miscellaneous Kenyon Material* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Books, 1979).



Personal papers collection of Joseph Berry, Archives, Marine Corps History Division

TBS students in summer dress uniforms, ca. 1938–39. The upper right corner of this photograph was damaged.

Medal of Honor as a lieutenant colonel in Korea, where he force-marched his unit at night in order to reopen a blocked pass and prevent the isolation of two stranded Marine regiments.⁶⁷ Eleven members of the class went on to complete flight training.

The 1939–40 class marked the final transition year, with 132 students attending. Twenty-three were former midshipmen, and from that group 9 were captured together in the Philippines in late 1944. One, Lieutenant Colonel William F. Harris, survived his ordeal in World War II and was also captured during the Korean War. He was last seen in December 1950 and was never officially

⁶⁷ George C. Cannon biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD; and Raymond G. David official biography, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD.

recovered.⁶⁸ Harris was featured as a character in the 2014 film *Unbroken*. Another prisoner of war, Captain William Hogaboom, recorded a detailed operational report of the fall of Corregidor, which he buried in a tin can immediately prior to his position being overrun by the Japanese. He did not survive.⁶⁹ A total of 17 members of the TBS class of 1939–40 were captured as prisoners of war in World War II; 10 died in captivity.⁷⁰

The few pieces of the archived curriculum suggest that the program of instruction did not change dramatically during this time period. Jordahl even suggested that the old-school emphasis on some increasingly outdated topics, such as close-order drill, detracted from the overall usefulness of the course, providing clear evidence that the old material was still in the program as late as 1939.⁷¹ However, the pace of operations at TBS left little time for reworking the course in any significant fashion. Additionally, the commanding officers were still old corps officers whose attachment to early-century ways of instruction were likely much stronger than those of their young staff members. In the meantime, class sizes were growing and the introduction of the FMF concept had a focusing effect on the Marine Corps Schools as a whole. While the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico worked through their process of transformation and developed the landing manuals to be used in the next war, TBS continued without interruption.

In a time period where many aspects of the military professional's life were changing, TBS may have been the only source of real continuity for the officer corps. With the shared experience of having attended TBS, combat commanders in 1941–45 had a common knowledge base from which to work at all levels of the

⁶⁸ Charles R. Smith, ed., *U.S. Marines in the Korean War* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division, 2007), 81.

⁶⁹ Hogaboom oral history, 53.

⁷⁰ "US Navy Personnel in World War II: Service and Casualty Statistics," Naval History and Heritage Command, accessed 25 February 2022.

⁷¹ Jordahl oral history.



Personal papers collection of Joseph Berry, Archives, Marine Corps History Division
Col Clifton Cates (front, center) and TBS Staff, 1939 or 1940.

fleet organization. In December 1941, there were just over 1,600 Marine officers on active duty. All but 400 of them had attended TBS while it was located at League Island. Approximately 150 of those old corps officers had attended the Marine Officers' School (Port Royal and Norfolk) or School of Application (Washington, DC, and Annapolis, MD) where the program of instruction had also been very similar.⁷²

1940-42: End of the League Island Era

The final change to occur at TBS during the League Island period that truly signaled the transformation of the school into a permanent fixture in Marine Corps PME was the appointment of a full

⁷² Lineal lists, muster rolls, and the Commandants' annual reports were used to develop these statistics.

colonel to command the institution. In July 1940, Colonel Clifton B. Cates arrived to take command. Cates was a decorated veteran of World War I and had served extensively overseas. He came to TBS from the Army War College. Cates was one of the few commanding officers who mentioned TBS in any personal notes or histories: he described it as “about only 140 young college boys . . . that course lasted approximately eight months and then during the summer we trained.”⁷³ In one interview, he was questioned about rumors that the League Island school had “inbred problems” due to a lack of land for field training. Cates replied,

I don't think that's quite true. There wasn't an area right by the school where you could fire but there was plenty of vacant territory where we'd hold maneuvers and things and then every summer we would go to Indian Town Gap. We had something like 30,000 acres up there with no one there. We were the only ones there. The Army, you see, had closed up the camps and we had wonderful accommodations, wonderful ranges, and you couldn't ask for better. We'd be there for—as I remember we stayed there for eight weeks. So we got in a world of firing up there.⁷⁴

When Cates went on to command a regiment on Guadalcanal in late 1942, 50 percent of his regimental staff were members of the TBS classes he had overseen.

But the writing seemed to be on the wall that Philadelphia could not support proper educational pursuits much longer. Classes were increasing in size and subjects were growing in complexity, and as late as 1940 there were still few opportunities for

⁷³ Clifton B. Cates, interview with Benis M. Frank, 11 April 1967, transcript (Oral History Section, MCHD), 110.

⁷⁴ Cates oral history, 111.



Hagley ID, J. Victor Dallin Aerial Survey collection (Accession 1970.200),

Audiovisual Collections and Digital Initiatives Department, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE

This 1939 aerial view of League Island Park makes clear the unsuitable nature of the Philadelphia property for conducting land navigation exercises.

hands-on training. For example, according to one student, the class on *Landing Operations*, Fleet Training Publication 167, “reflected years of study and field trials in the complexities of amphibious warfare. But, where the drama of such warfare fired our imaginations, the resources needed to give it life were still lacking. Our amphibious training was more theory than practice.”⁷⁵ The Philadelphia property was adequate only in terms of classrooms and a fine parade deck. Otherwise, shortcomings ranged from purely theoretical learning like that above all the way to downright absurdity. “Scouting and patrolling in League Island Park,

⁷⁵ Victor J. Croizat, *Journey Among Warriors: The Memoirs of a Marine* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishers, 1997), 8.

just outside the main gate, had us dodging park benches, well-fed pigeons, and unwary strollers.”⁷⁶

Serving under Cates was Lieutenant Colonel Frank Goettge, who had been at TBS since June 1938 in the position of executive officer. Majors on the staff were Kenneth Chappell, Louis Marie, Andrew Mathiesen, Dwight Muncie, and William Scheyer. Captains Joseph Berry, Melvin Brown, Raymond Crist, Walfried Fromhold, John Lanigan, Clifton Moss, Ellsworth Murray, Marcellus Howard, Charles Miller, Samuel Puller, and Randall Victory were joined by First Lieutenant Harry Schmitz. The outbreak of war in December 1941 did not materially alter the program of instruction at TBS right away. Rather, the curriculum and course length remained steady. In fact, it is almost surprising how unruffled the TBS organization was by the outbreak of war: more than one student remarked that everyone “dashed around” and expected some immediate excitement. Instead, they were disappointed to find that business would continue as usual until the end of the school year. Cates remained in command at TBS until the school was closed and relocated to Quantico in May 1942, marking the end of the League Island period.

The 1940–41 class was also a large one, with a total of 154 members. Only 23 were graduates of the Naval Academy, continuing the downward trend of midshipmen as a percentage of the total number of new Marine officers. However it was in line with the increasing interwar numbers of the Navy, which had more need of the specially trained midshipmen. At least three members of the 1940–41 TBS class would remain on active duty for a long enough period that they were credited with combat service in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. Twelve were killed in action between 1942 and 1945.

⁷⁶ Croizat, *Journey Among Warriors*, 7.

In Brief: The Basic School in Wartime

During World War II, TBS was a highly abbreviated program that produced more than 30,000 second lieutenants in a three-year period.⁷⁷ The school was relocated to Quantico, Virginia. In February 1942, the commandant of the Marine Corps Schools had recommended to Headquarters (and by extension the Navy Department and Congress) that the Quantico reservation be expanded by 50,000 acres. It took until October to finalize the purchase of the additional property, but by the end of 1942, ample training space had been made available in the swampy Virginia woods. TBS's relocation brought it into the same physical location as the already-established Reserve Officers' Course, the Platoon Leaders' Course, and the two-part Marine Corps Schools establishment.⁷⁸

Since 1938, the Marines had been operating the Reserve Officers' Course as a way to create trained but unpaid officers, ready to be activated at a moment's notice. In 1942, the reserve officers were immediately being activated and sent to operational units: an assembly line program of 10-week courses turned out more than 300 new officers each cycle.⁷⁹ Whatever was left of TBS was absorbed into this mass-production officer factory. No mention of a separate course for ROTC- or Naval Academy-trained officers is present in Frances's "History of the Marine Corps Schools," and the Quantico muster rolls for the Schools Detachment do not delineate. Recruiting efforts focused on ensuring that the quality of all officer candidates was high, and great pride was taken in the ability of the Quantico schools to turn "civilian into Marine" in such a short time.⁸⁰ By 1944, explicit elimination of TBS as a separate program came in the form of a memo by General Cates, now the commanding officer of all Marine Corps Schools at Quantico,

⁷⁷ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 89.

⁷⁸ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 70.

⁷⁹ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 71.

⁸⁰ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 78.

in which he listed the education operations under his watch: Officer Candidates' School, Reserve Officers' School, Field Artillery School, Ordnance School, Correspondence School, Command and Staff School, and Aviation Ground Officers' School.⁸¹ TBS would not return until the war was over.

⁸¹ Frances, "History of the Marine Corps Schools," 82.

Chapter 7

A Personal View of the Shared Experience: Class of 1937–38 Case Study

In July 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum (8 July 1916–24 April 2022) arrived at the League Island Navy Yard, reporting for duty as a student at TBS. He was a recent graduate of the University of Washington, where he had participated in the university ROTC program. His mother was English, the widow of a British Army soldier killed in 1916, and his stepfather was a World War I veteran of the U.S. Army. Van Stockum spent more than 30 years in the Marine Corps, retiring in 1969 as a brigadier general. Throughout his career he kept a journal, notes, copies of documents, incidental papers, mementos, and even items of historical interest that had belonged to other Marines. Among his carefully organized collection of personal papers—which now form the Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers held by the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky—is a complete set of graded student materials for the 1937–38 TBS class year. Arranged by course (not by date), the materials provide detailed insight into the content and scope of the program of instruction, as well as a limited view of the daily schedule and assignment of staff to various courses. The collection includes exams, map problems, and some handouts. When he donated his collection to the Filson Historical Society, Van Stockum included a detailed inventory with commentary on some of the more interesting items. He also published a memoir entitled *Remembrances of World Wars* (2012), which sheds additional light on the collection of TBS papers. Van

Stockum's collection of graded student materials gives the other side of the TBS curriculum coin, opposite the instructors' teaching notes.

Using the Van Stockum collection, we can reconstruct the letter and number classification system used for organizing the program of instruction. Courses were given letter codes, and items within the course have a multinumber item code. For example, the course Drill and Command has the letter code A, Field Engineering has the letter code D, and so on. The numbering system within each course is unclear because many items are missing from each series. The Field Engineering course is a good example since some course handouts were preserved along with the exams themselves. Exam number one from the collection of graded papers is item D-6, and a handout on "Hasty Trenches and Emplacements" is item D-7. The next item is a handout numbered D-9, "Trench Drainage." Exam number two is item D-12. Some additional handouts, exercises, or practical demonstrations probably fill in the gaps in the numbering. Field Engineering is a relatively simple course. Large courses, especially the enormous Tactics course, use three and four sets of numerical codes to identify individual items. Without the entire set, it is very difficult to determine how many items formed the program of instruction for a given course. Instead, the dates on numbered exams provide only a relatively clear picture of which topics were taught and in what sequence.

Commissioning and Arrival at Philadelphia

When Van Stockum graduated from the University of Washington in June 1937, he was living at home with his mother near Kelso, Washington. He received his commission from the U.S. Marine Corps in the mail on 4 August 1927 and was sworn in by the local police commissioner, Bert Van Moss. According to his journal, Van Stockum chose to travel via rail coach from Washington to Philadelphia, in order to save the expensive sleeping car fare, even

though he had been notified that all his travel expenses would be paid. At Kansas City, Missouri, he left a lunch counter in shock that a meal of waffles and bacon was priced at an exorbitant 70 cents.

He arrived at League Island late on 10 August 1937, a Tuesday. The next morning he recorded, "It's a wonderful thing that I have stepped in to. The fellows who have been at the school a few weeks drill wonderfully—it's beautiful to see their manual of arms."¹ Van Stockum was referring to the graduates of the Naval Academy, 49 of whom had arrived about three weeks prior. The former midshipmen, having lived at a military college with daily drill for four years, were presumed to be proficient in that art. However, at least one academy graduate was willing to admit that the Marines' standards for drilling troops were a step above what they had been used to at the Naval Academy.² All of the students would endure a lengthy Drill and Command course no matter the source of their undergraduate education.

The first week of instruction was at a very brisk pace for the ROTC officers. The TBS staff remaining in Philadelphia focused on the new joins, while the Naval Academy officers and a small staff detachment were away at Cape May, New Jersey, on the rifle range.³ Topics covered in the first week were hygiene and sanitation, drill and command, rifle marksmanship, and a technical course on how to assemble and disassemble the automatic rifle. Van Stockum felt he was working "every minute of every day, do-

¹Journal entry for 12 August 1937, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, Filson Historical Society (FHS), Louisville, KY, 2.

²BGen Woodrow M. Kessler, *To Wake Island and Beyond: Reminiscences* (Quantico, VA: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1988), 12–15.

³The 1937–38 class year appears to be the only one in which the fall rifle qualification trip to Cape May was split between the Naval Academy officers and the ROTC officers. In contrast, the 1938–39 travel orders show the entire student body and staff traveling to Cape May together. It is unclear whether the split rifle range program was the usual one or if keeping the class together was the norm.

ing in three weeks, four weeks' work." At the end of the first month, though, he was "still very enthusiastic over the Marines."⁴

During the interwar period, rifle and pistol marksmanship had become a central feature of training for all Marines. Undated exams for rifle marksmanship and pistol marksmanship are part of the Van Stockum collection and presumably were administered before the students fired weapons on a live range.⁵ The Philadelphia Navy Yard lacked facilities for firing weapons, so small arms shooting was done at Cape May, New Jersey. The Marines were quartered more than a kilometer from the ranges, so the lieutenants included nearly 5 kilometers of hiking on each qualifying day in addition to firing upwards of 150 rounds daily. Mosquitoes made the use of netting a priority at night, but Van Stockum felt the insects were at their worst during inspection or "other times when we are at attention."⁶ After completing exercises on the rifle range, the students returned to League Island to resume classes. A number of the TBS staff members throughout the interwar period were well-known marksmen, and several interrupted their instructor tour to join (or train) the Marine Corps' competitive shooting teams for international and inter-Service matches. Though the phrase "every Marine a rifleman" did not come into use until 1953, the idea of universal marksmanship training and a high standard of proficiency with small arms was taken for granted long before.

Back in the classroom, machine gun subjects were the focus in preparation for October's field exercises at Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania. Each student would qualify on the 37mm machine gun on the extended ranges at Indiantown Gap, so proficiency in the use, assembly, cleaning, and tactics of the weapon was pre-

⁴Journal entry for 27 August 1937, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 3.

⁵"Rifle Marksmanship exam 1" and "Automatic Pistol Marksmanship exam 1," 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6a, FHS.

⁶Journal entry for 3 September 1937, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 3.

requisite. Machine gun mechanics, direct laying, and technique of fire, the first three tests in the Course U and Course X materials, were all administered during September and early October prior to the field exercises.⁷ Being able to disassemble and reassemble the Browning machine gun blindfolded was the goal.⁸

However, students did not simply study machine guns during the opening weeks of the course of instruction. A hygiene and first aid exam was administered in mid-August, along with the first of 10 drill and command exams. The 26 August drill and command exam covered formations of the platoon while in line and column. Using a combination of fill-in-the-blank and true-or-false questions, the exam covered positions of the platoon commander, positions of the platoon sergeant, role of the guide, use of the whistle, and some basic commands. The exam was weighted five points.⁹ According to Van Stockum's memoir, close order drill on the parade deck was taught by Captain Lewis B. Puller.¹⁰ Finally, four exams from Course C, Military Sketching and Mapmaking, were administered before the students departed for Indiantown Gap: topography, logical contouring, topography part two, and military sketching.

Indiantown Gap: Marksmanship and Field Exercises

In early October, the entire TBS student body traveled approximately 160 kilometers into the Allegheny Mountains west of Philadelphia. The military reservation at Indiantown Gap served as a replacement for the Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, installation that had served the Pennsylvania National Guard (and TBS) through-

⁷ "Machine Gun Mechanics" and "Browning Machine Gun Direct Laying," 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS; and "37mm Gun — Technique of Fire, 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

⁸ Kessler, *To Wake Island and Beyond*, 12.

⁹ "Drill and Command Exam 1," 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

¹⁰ Ronald R. Van Stockum, *Remembrances of World Wars* (Shelbyville, KY: self-published, 2013), 49.

out the 1910s and 1920s. The National Guard units used the Mount Gretna training areas for their annual maneuvers but had outgrown the facility.¹¹ Van Stockum reported that the weather was “rather cold” and blamed the namesake gap in the mountains as the source of a sharp wind. The TBS students were housed in squad-and-a-half rooms, which were heated. Classmate Woodrow Kessler recalled that the students made hard cider by leaving jugs of apple cider near the stoves in each sleeping area.¹²

The staff and students remained at Indiantown Gap for three weeks. The 37mm machine gun was the primary weapon fired while on the ranges there. During the interwar era, Marine officers not only fired but qualified on the machine gun and could receive a marksman, sharpshooter, or expert badge for increasingly high levels of proficiency. The students spent the first full week of camp on the 1,000-yard range with the 37mm machine gun. Additional time on the ranges to practice direct and indirect laying was included later in October. These range exercises coordinated with the exams students had taken in Philadelphia immediately before traveling to Indiantown Gap.

In addition to firing on the machine gun ranges, the students also completed map making and sketching exercises. All of these exercises were part of Course C, Military Sketching and Mapmaking. For example, three road sketch exercises were completed by students on 14, 19, and 26 October.¹³ Each sketch was graded, with a weight of 5 or 10 points. In his journal, Van Stockum noted that the first road sketch exam was administered by Captain Howard Kenyon, who required students to use conventional signs and map symbols, and include contour lines. Van Stockum received a sat-

¹¹ “National Guard Units Start the Annual Training Periods July 11,” *Morning Call* (Allentown, PA), 14 June 1931, 12.

¹² Kessler, *To Wake Island and Beyond*, 8.

¹³ “Topography—Road Sketch,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

isfactory grade, which he thought was “lucky . . . because I had a large error of closure in both traverse and elevation and didn’t have time to complete the landscape.” Captain Kenyon was not so forgiving later in the course, so some room for error was clearly being allowed the new lieutenants. In early November, an area sketch was also completed, with a weight of 15 points. The area sketch is graded item C-9 in Course C. Item C-6 is missing from among the Van Stockum papers, but it chronologically would have fallen during the time at Indiantown Gap, so it was probably administered there.

Finally, in addition to range work and exams, the students did practical application exercises in the field. The use of field marches, terrain studies, and “hip pocket” training was a natural continuation of the original TBS design and mission.¹⁴ School of Application, the 1891 name of the institution, was meant to indicate a type of education in which students practiced and applied the lessons learned in class rather than merely memorize and repeat predetermined solutions. At Indiantown Gap, that meant combining the drill, command, sketching, and marksmanship skills from the classroom into an immersive mission.

We had a real day’s work last Friday. We spent all morning on scouting work including advancing the attack with scouts out. In the afternoon we marched seven miles along a dirt road as a patrol to relieve a “marine detachment.” . . . At night we had the compass problem of following a course of 144 degrees across the hill to the east of the Gap.¹⁵

¹⁴The term *hip pocket* seems to have originated in the 1980s, with the idea that a training exercise or tactical game that could be completed with minimal preparation, no equipment, and a short amount of time was one that fit in the instructor’s hip pocket. Today, the Marines’ use of the idiom also implies the hip pocket training is like a weapon, holstered but ready to be drawn at a second’s notice so the user can train their Marines at an opportune moment.

¹⁵Journal entry for 24 October 1947, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 6.

An undated exam for Course T, Scouting and Patrolling, was probably administered immediately before this field exercise.¹⁶ At the completion of the patrol and scouting exercises, the students returned to the machine gun ranges once more. Van Stockum qualified as a second class gunner, blaming the difficult 1,000-yard range portion for not qualifying as expert. Only 5 of the 82 students received that highest qualification—a point of pride, as it meant that “the Marines’ course [of firing is] tough.”¹⁷

Return to League Island, November and December

After returning to League Island, students completed the Military Sketching and Mapmaking course with two additional exams on aerial photography and topography. The final exam (exam 11) was not cumulative, but only tested material pertaining to aerial photography. It consisted of a single question asking students to analyze an overlay and then “describe one method of restitution” and “explain how to put direction lines on an aerial photograph.”¹⁸ Restitution is a branch of topography in which the locations of features from a photograph are indicated on a map.¹⁹ The photograph used for the exam was not archived, but an overlay of a nearby rural area was part of the material. In his journal, Van Stockum recalled traveling to Broomall, Pennsylvania, where Captain Kenyon supervised the students making overlays of the terrain. Presumably the overlay included with Van Stockum’s exam is the overlay that he composed while at Broomall.²⁰ Exam 11 bears the item code C-75-76, so many items were included in the course that did not form part of Van Stockum’s collection of student papers: only

¹⁶ “Scouting and Patrolling,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

¹⁷ Journal entry for 30 October 1937, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 6.

¹⁸ “Topography Exam 11,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

¹⁹ *Engineer Course in Topography* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, General Service Schools Press, 1922), 97.

²⁰ “Topography Exam 11.”

10 exams were preserved, no handouts and no notes on practical demonstrations or lectures.

After completing Military Mapmaking and Sketching, the students began Course D, Field Engineering. Course D had only two exams, which covered topics introduced in handouts entitled, chronologically, “Balanced Defense,” “Hasty Trenches and Emplacements,” and “Trench Drainage.”²¹ Without the ability to practice engineering skills in the classroom, this course appears to be less instructor-intensive than others. Students were given handouts then simply took exams on them. Practical demonstrations or further effort on the part of the instructor were not included. The drill and command exam two was administered on 12 November, covering march speeds, commands for executing the salute while passing in review, and rules for carrying the rifle. As an indication that TBS students were not learning for their own edification but for their eventual need to train Marines, question nine was: “When is the recruit taught the use, care, and nomenclature of the rifle?” Van Stockum’s answer, marked correct by the instructor, was: “Whenever practicable, as soon as possible after his enlistment. He will not fire on the range until he has been taught these subjects.” A separate sheet of possible solutions was provided along with the marked exam, giving page numbers in the drill manual, to which students could refer when checking their answer.²²

Rounding out the late fall were some short courses, as well as the first events in the long springtime courses that began in January. A brief administration course (two exams) began in late November after the completion of Field Engineering. Ability to create and manage payroll was the central feature of both exams, as well

²¹ “Field Engineering—Balances Defense Project,” “Field Engineering—Hasty Trenches and Emplacements,” and “Field Engineering—Trench Drainage,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6a, FHS.

²² “Drill and Command Exam 2,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

as that of a practical exercise included with the course materials.²³ At the same time, the very brief Interior Guard Duty course (one exam) was completed during the week of 20 November. Drill and command exam three was administered on 17 December, one of the very last assignments to be completed before the Christmas holiday. Students must have completed many intervening assignments and practical work for this course between exam two and exam three as the item codes jump from A-56 (exam two) to A-102-103 (exam three). The “Drill and Command” exam three contained the following questions:

- The platoon is in line, describe the movements of the right and left guides at the preparatory command “take interval.”
- A platoon has opened ranks, the platoon leader has verified the alignment, and commanded “front.” What is his position now?
- Describe the position of the platoon leader, while verifying the alignment of the front rank of his platoon. The platoon is in line; give the proper commands to form column of squads and march to the front.
- The platoon is in column of squads: give the proper commands to form line to the front.
- What formation of the platoon is the habitual column of route?
- The platoon is in column of squads; give the proper commands to diminish the front to a column of twos.
- The platoon has been marching in route step. The command to resume attention has been given. What

²³“Administration,” 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

is the prescribed way of carrying the automatic rifle?²⁴

A total of 50 questions were included on exam three, which had a weight of 20 points.²⁵

In December, the labor-intensive Course F, Naval Law, began. Course F had few exams but each was lengthy and complex. Van Stockum recorded in his journal that the school was “becoming a bit more difficult” and mentioned the law course in addition to courses titled Signal Communications, Tactics, and Administration. At the same time, he expressed frustration that because no overall class standing was published at TBS he had no sense of how his performance compared to that of his fellow student officers. On 10 December, he related

We have certainly not been given much encouragement as to our future in the Marine Corps. Capt. Kenyon . . . and his “your days are numbered”, and “red lights ahead”, and “you’ll get the ax.” . . . However, most of the Marine Officers seem to laugh at their troubles and take things as they come. I understand that this class has been doing remarkably well. No one has yet failed a course.²⁶

However, his hopes for class standings to be released before Christmas seem to have been unfounded. No mention of class standing appears in the journal at that time, and no graded exam or paper indicates an overall class standing. The students left Philadelphia on 16 and 17 December, traveling home to visit friends and family.

²⁴ “Drill and Command Exam 3,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

²⁵ Only two items from Van Stockum’s collection had a weight higher than 20: the small wars exam and the tactics exam for a rifle platoon “in the attack.”

²⁶ Journal entry for 10 December 1937, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 10.

They returned just after 1 January (Van Stockum, coming from the West Coast, was on a train through New Year's Eve) and resumed classes.

Midwinter at League Island: Work Begins in Earnest

Just as the August-to-September classroom work prepared students for their October field exercises at Indiantown Gap, the winter months were also spent preparing for a field event. In April, the TBS students and staff traveled back to Indiantown Gap for a monthlong field exercise, and much of the course work in January, February, and March directly pertained to subjects that were covered at that event. A cumulative exam in the form of a field exercise was the standard for military schools around the world at the time and remains so in the Marine Corps today. In particular, the progression of tactics, engineering, and weaponry classes at TBS mirror the curriculum at the Infantry School at Fort Benning. The influence of that school's structure on the Marine officer instructors at League Island is very clear. Since preparation for a field exercise was the primary goal of the spring term, the Tactics course formed the largest portion of the work. Unfortunately, almost all of the tactics materials preserved by Van Stockum lack dates; they are discussed later in a separate section in this chapter.

On 2 January, the Administration exam two was administered, followed the next day by the Naval Law exam two.²⁷ The naval law exams were unique. There is no exam paper with questions or prompts. Instead, it appears that the students took notes on either a performed dummy court martial or on a transcript of a court martial that was read aloud. Facts of the case are included in the student answers, along with an outline of how courts martial typically proceed. Unfortunately, Van Stockum did not mention in his journal anything about the Naval Law course, and no instruc-

²⁷ "Naval Law Exam 2," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

tor notes have survived. The mysterious naval law exams are all very large, some running as long as 10–15 pages of handwritten answers in the form of trial transcription. Some include a cover sheet for court martial, and others are only the student notes. By volume, Naval Law contains more graded material than any other course except Tactics. Kessler noted that the instruction in naval law at TBS was much more extensive and “far better” than had been the legal instruction at the Naval Academy.²⁸

In early January, Van Stockum noted that work days were six hours long, all spent in the classroom. He lamented that there was “no drill to break the monotony.”²⁹ Instead, students found ways to be active on weekends including ice skating, hiking, and traveling to Wilmington, Delaware, or Washington, DC, to sightsee.³⁰ Van Stockum often took time to attend plays or concerts with his friends, Lieutenants Edmond Glick, Arthur Fisher, and Golland Clark. Art museums or botanical gardens rounded out extracurricular opportunities. For those students who had made local friends, dinner with Philadelphia families (often the families of another student’s girlfriend) was a regular event as well.

For the rest of January, students finished some short courses and began longer ones. The second Signals Communications exam was administered on 11 January, with questions such as

- What information does the communication officer plot on his own map when accompanying his unit commander during the issuance of the attack order?

²⁸ Kessler, *To Wake Island and Beyond*, 12–15.

²⁹ Journal entry for 9 January 1938, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 12.

³⁰ In one of the most enjoyable passages in the Philadelphia portion of his journals, Van Stockum recounts in detail his visits to the Smithsonian museums in Washington, DC. He noted the appearance and interesting features of a number of exhibits that are still enjoyed by visitors today. The connection between generations via these monuments to human endeavor is powerful.

- What four main agencies are normally employed by a communication platoon in a battalion or a regiment in either attack or defense?
- Who is responsible for the proper functioning and coordination of the above agencies within his own unit and with that of adjacent and superior units?
- In time of war, how is worn out, lost or expended communication material replaced?
- Where may material required by all communication units for garrison, maneuvers and war-time operations be found listed?
- Sketch a field “pick-up” set as you would erect one for plane pick-up in the field.³¹

The Signals Communication exam two was weighted 15 points. At the same time, students were studying for an Administration course exam administered on 14 January, which covered payroll. The following week, only Naval Law exam four (19 January) appears in the Van Stockum collection. Naval Law exam three is missing, but presumably it was administered sometime between 2 January and 19 January. These were busy weeks for the students.³² Around this time, Van Stockum’s journal shifted in focus, mentioning fewer items related to TBS and more about his social and personal life.

February at TBS was similar to January. New courses included Service Afloat, Chemical Warfare, and Military History. The Signals Communications and Naval Law courses were complete. For Service Afloat, two lengthy manuals were included in the Van

³¹ “Signals Communications exam 2,” 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

³² The Tactics course began sometime during the last weeks of January, as one dated event (“Tactics—Field Orders”) appears in the collection, dated 31 January. Since most of the Tactics items are undated, they are treated as a whole, in a later section of this chapter.

Stockum collection along with four exams. It was critical for a Marine officer to seamlessly work alongside the officers and sailors of a battleship. The course on service afloat focused on familiarizing the students with naval terminology and the ship environment, and on the operation of the battleships' secondary gun batteries. Exam one covered boats: classes of small boats organic to vessels of the U.S. Navy, emergency equipment to be carried aboard small boats at all times, some terminology for small boats, procedure for entering and exiting a small boat, rudimentary procedures for landing a small boat on a beach (not in combat situations), and a variety of hails for communication among small boats or between the boats and the ship.³³

The Military History course materials from Van Stockum's collection align with those preserved in the Marine Corps History Division archives from 1933–34. A lecture or series of lectures was delivered, but the primary means of instruction for military history was the students' writing assignment. Van Stockum was assigned the topic of the Battle of Cowpens on 1 February.³⁴ No exams for the Military History course were given. Instead, the composition of the history paper and the delivery of the same or similar in class were graded. A reading list was included as well, similar to that given to students in 1933. Van Stockum's paper was seven pages long, typewritten, and referenced three sources.³⁵ He also included two hand-drawn maps of the battlefield, one for general location and one indicating tactical events that took place during the engagement. There is no grade on his paper.

³³ "Service Afloat exam 1," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

³⁴ Ronald R. Van Stockum, "Battle of the Cowpens," student paper, 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

³⁵ Van Stockum's paper cites the following: *Proceedings of the 70th Congress, 1st Session, House Document 328: Historical Statements Concerning the Battle of Kings Mountain and the Battle of the Cowpens, South Carolina* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1928); Maj H. W. Caygill, "Cannae in the Cowpens," *Infantry Journal* 44, no. 5 (October 1937): 415–21; and *ROTC Manual, Infantry*, vol. 4, 17th ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Military Service Publishing, 1934), 20–23.

In March, students completed the second and final Chemical Warfare course exam. The course materials in the Van Stockum collection include two exams, one lecture, and one tactical exercise (on paper). The lecture appears to have been handed out to students but reads as if it was being delivered by an instructor. Due to the very fast pace of the program, it is possible that the Chemical Warfare class was primarily completed by students as homework rather than use valuable classroom time. The lecture begins

Gentlemen: During this lecture I am going to follow the origin and development of chemical warfare by dividing it into three phases. The first phase deals with chemical warfare prior to the World's War. The second phase deals with the subject during the World War and the third phase deals with the subject matter subsequent to the World War.³⁶

Exams on chemical warfare included types of chemical weapons, tactics for employment, emergency and protective measures when made the target of a chemical attack, and applicable rules of engagement governing the use of chemical weapons. At the same time, the Drill and Command course also resumed, presumably with the return of good weather. Exam five for Drill and Command was administered on 17 March. Exam two for Service Afloat, on ship and gunnery drills, was administered on 18 March.

Also in March, the brief Small Wars course began, taught by Captain Puller. Van Stockum recorded in his journal, [March 1] "Capt. Puller . . . is starting his course in Small Wars. His tales of Haiti are most interesting especially since they are true. . . . Tales told as only 'El Tigre' can tell them assure wide awake classes during Small Wars lectures."³⁷

³⁶ "Chemical Warfare," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

³⁷ Journal entry for 1 March 1938, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 17.

The Small Wars tests were less romantic. Exam one began with discussing the Monroe Doctrine and asked students to outline the characteristics of a foreign country that officers should familiarize themselves with before being assigned there. The proper channels of civilian and military authority were also discussed. Exam one was made up of 20 short-answer questions.³⁸ The influence of early century missions for the Marine Corps is evident in these exams. While manuals from this era focused on jungle fighting, the dangers of disease in warm climates, and rudimentary (and often erroneous) studies of native populations' habits and practices, the exams focused on administrative and governmental aspects of small wars.

Captain Puller had been an officer in the Haitian *Gendarmerie*, so his interest in the use of American military officers as a proxy authority for the tenuous civil government was unsurprising. Exam two had the same format as exam one but shifted topic. The second exam discussed the mechanics of patrolling in a small wars environment. For the purposes of Puller's class, *small wars environment* meant one where the hostile troops in the vicinity were difficult or impossible to identify. Some questions included

- Discuss the factors that govern the size, composition, and armament of the infantry patrol in a small war.
- Discuss the advisability of including friendly native troops in Marine patrols.
- Why should not canned fruits and vegetables be carried on patrol?
- In general, the infantry patrol in a small war differs from one in a major war in what respects?³⁹

³⁸ "Small Wars Exam 1," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6a, FHS.

³⁹ "Small Wars Exam 2," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6a, FHS.

The problem of protecting a local population from insurgents who look and dress identically to the population was not a new one for the Corps. It continues to be a factor today. Other students recalled Puller's interest in protecting his Marines and his noted disregard for any modern conventions about the civilian population's right to protection: "One day in a class on Small War[s] . . . Louis intoned in a deep guttural, 'When you occupy a native village, you provide security; the first thing to do is put a machine gun in the church steeple.'"⁴⁰

April was the final month of classroom work before students departed for Indiantown Gap. During April, the final Drill and Command exam was administered and the Service Afloat course was completed. The 81mm mortar was introduced at this time and an exam administered on the use of the weapon. Students fired it on the ranges at Indiantown Gap the next month. Students had to name the parts of the gun and projectile and state the purpose of each. Knowledge of the mechanical and chemical processes of firing the weapon was also tested. Significantly, students also had to describe a misfire and give five reasons a misfire might occur. Demonstration of targeting calculations and of the correct command sequence for loading and firing the mortar were the final components of the exam.⁴¹ Along with the Tactics course, which is examined next, these events formed the program of instruction for second lieutenants at TBS.

Tactics: The Main Event

When TBS operated in Philadelphia between the wars, the focus on a Marine officer as a rifle platoon commander was still in its early stages. The Marine Corps had identified, through decades of small wars and then 18 months of trench warfare, what type

⁴⁰ Kessler, *To Wake Island and Beyond*, 12.

⁴¹ "81mm Gun," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 4, FHS.

of education an officer would need in order to command units ashore. Despite the fact that nearly every Marine to graduate from TBS would immediately serve a tour of sea duty (unless they remained in school to complete aviation training), the central event in the program of instruction was a series of classes and exams on land warfare tactics.⁴² The various influences of Army schools, World War I, emerging military technologies, and an increasingly independent Navy led the Corps to dedicate its schools' energies to land warfare tactics. The FMF concept demanded that the Marines pass over water to reach the battlefield, but once on shore the fighting was done according to standardized techniques familiar to any conventional soldier of the time period.

The Tactics course at TBS is better understood not as a single class but as a framework. Like the structure of a building, the elements taught in the Tactics course served as pegs on which the various other knowledge and skills acquired at TBS were hung. Marine officers do not use machine guns absent tactics, nor are small wars fought in a setting without a platoon or company engaging in either defense or attack. Everything learned at the school finds context in a tactical setting. The three levels of war, a popular means of discussing warfare since the late 1800s, are tactical, operational, and strategic. This formulation considers small military units, those below battalion size, to be tactical units. The Marine lieutenant is a tactical commander, and the skills taught at TBS are tactical in nature.

The interwar Tactics course was always lengthy, roughly double the size of any other course, maintaining that proportion even as the overall scope and size of the program of instruction shifted. In 1937–38, there were 42 separate graded items for the student to complete, in a variety of formats: exam, map problem, map exercise, lecture, quiz, estimate of the situation, combat order, dia-

⁴²“Basic School Graduates Leave Studies for Sea Duty,” *Leatherneck*, June 1935, 33.

gram, pamphlet, historical map problem, terrain walk, and terrain exercise. The Van Stockum collection contains only the items a student brought home from class. The final numbered item in the course materials is 107, so many more items were included that Van Stockum, at least, did not keep. The early problems use small units (rifle sections) and teach isolated elements of a tactical situation, such as covering forces or security, then the rifle section is examined in the attack and in the defense. The rifle platoon and rifle company are introduced in sequence, each with separate attack and defense exams. A second Indiantown Gap exercise, a kind of final exam for the Tactics course and for the overall TBS program of instruction, was focused on firing all the weapons previously practiced in the fall, in addition to larger weapons such as the 81mm mortar.

Major Amor L. Sims introduced the Tactics course to students in a lecture. His five-page overview began

The course consists of 122 hours embracing studies in organization, technique, and the infantry tactics of units up to and including a reinforced battalion. Some time will be devoted to supporting arms, the service of supply of infantry units in combat, marches and shelter, and combat intelligence. As separate courses there will be given by the school; Landing Operations, and Small Wars. These courses will tie in so far as possible with the tactics course. The school hopes that through the efforts of the Director of the school and his staff, and through the constructive cooperation of the students, a well grounded foundation for this study will be gained by the students.⁴³

⁴³“Tactics Lecture,” 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6, FHS.

Sims further explained that the course was divided into many parts, which generally fell into either offensive, defensive, or special operations. Finally, students were instructed to seek clarification from the *Field Service Regulations, US Marine Corps*, and “such training regulations and manuals as have been designated and approved by the Major General Commandant. There is no other source for authoritative doctrine or policy in this course.”⁴⁴

Tactics item H-17, “Combat Orders,” laid out the basic principles for composing a combat order. Combat orders are “orders of any type that contain directives for subordinate units pertaining to any phase of operations in the field.” Fundamental characteristics of a combat order included a concise description of the situation, a definite decision and plan, tactical instructions for each element of the command, instructions for administration and supply, and arrangements for communication.⁴⁵ An example order for an attack and for a defense were included with item H-17. Since many combat orders included diagrams or maps, a sample map with operational unit notations was also included. Students were required to replicate some parts of a combat order in their first tactics exam.

To further cement the lessons on combat orders, the course documents numbered H-18 and H-21 used map problems to demonstrate actions taken by a rifle section in the attack and defense, respectively. The combat orders for each situation were sketched loosely in the course materials. In classrooms, map problems were demonstrated using transparent films and projectors or using chalkboards, and relied heavily on the instructor’s ability to describe the lesson in detail. As they walked students through the problems, attendant tasks for the section commander (in these

⁴⁴ “Tactics Lecture.”

⁴⁵ Today, this formulation has been enshrined in the acronym SMEAC (Situation, Mission, Execution, Administration/Logistics, Command/Signal) and is known as a five paragraph order. The contents of each subheading have not undergone any change since the 1920s. See *Warfighting*, Marine Corps Doctrine Publication 1 (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 1997).

examples, a sergeant) were considered and completed under the instructor's guidance. Use of cold calls and student input was probably used extensively.

The only tactical walk in the Tactics course is item H-23,²⁵ "Rifle Squad and Section—Security on the March and Offensive Combat." This exercise took students out of the classroom and onto the parade ground of the League Island Navy Yard. Beginning in the southeast corner of the Navy Yard, students walked through the property and discussed correct formations for patrolling, conditions needing to be met or considered for security, and the like. The situation was provided in order to give the exercise some realism.

Company A is the advance guard of the 1st Battalion 1st Marines, which is marching west from the Delaware River via this road, with the mission of seizing the line of that railroad embankment in the vicinity of that tall building, in order to cover the crossing of a larger force over the Delaware. Small enemy patrols have been reported in the territory to our front but no actual contact has been made with them so far.⁴⁶

The tactical walk was immediately followed by a terrain exercise, also conducted on the Navy yard grounds. The terrain exercise was for a platoon-size element, rather than a squad (security) and section (offensive combat). Students were asked to sketch the terrain as informally described by their company commander, and prepare to issue orders to their platoon according to those given by the company commander. After 30 minutes, they put their sketch to use deploying the men of their platoon around the Navy yard grounds according to principles of tactics they had learned.

⁴⁶ "Tactics: Rifle Squad and Section—Security on the March and Offensive Combat," 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6, FHS.

Next, item H-26 returned students to the classroom. In this map problem, students were presented with a historical problem centered on British operations against local tribes located in the Northwest Territory (modern Afghanistan/Pakistan) in 1919. The problem was divided into two sections: posting a flank guard and advancing across open country. This historical case study provided the students a different learning experience from the previous exercises. In this case, the historical protagonist (a British sergeant) made an error in his estimate of the situation that caused some of his force to be lost. The materials provided to TBS students included the erroneous historical solution, along with a discussion of the sergeant's mistake and how he should have acted differently. In materials created for the students elsewhere in the program of instruction, solutions provided were always correct. In this case, students examined a poor solution and discussed its consequences.

The last item in the first section of the Tactics course is a conference on the map problem itself. First, different types of tactical exercises were listed and defined.⁴⁷ Most of the exercises described in this list were used by the TBS students. Students were cautioned to answer only the question asked and not indulge in overly complex solutions or solutions that solved a problem not presented by the exercise. At the same time, it emphasized paying careful attention that all of the elements of the problem were solved.⁴⁸ Some of the provided answer keys for tactics tests had prewritten criticisms typed on a sheet, and the instructor merely circled the relevant criticism: on all of these, an option for "did not complete all elements of the solution" was included, so this was a common error.

After this groundwork was laid, the course developed quickly. A map problem on the rifle platoon in the defense was followed

⁴⁷The types of exercises in this list are the same as those used at the Infantry School at Fort Benning.

⁴⁸"The Solution of Map Problems—Conference," 1937, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6, FHS.

by terrain exercises for platoon in the attack and in the defense. A checklist for combat orders served as a kind of review for the material already covered. On 1 February 1938, the first Tactics exam was administered. Exam one began with a map problem, on which students were to indicate positions or movement of troops. On Van Stockum's copy of the map, his pencil markings are visible but there is no accompanying problem set. This portion of the exam must have been related to the class orally by the instructor. The next section posed some questions for the rifle platoon commander in the defense, beginning with how he would respond to one of his Marines being injured by enemy fire. Finally, the platoon commander's established defenses were overrun, and he was asked to react to the presence and action of new enemy troops. In exam one, section three, students were required to label a diagram of outposts. Pickets, lines of observation, lines of resistance, support posts, detached posts, and outguard posts were all featured on the diagram. Finally, a set of solutions to the exam questions was included with the student's graded papers.

Tactics exam two was given on 3 February 1938. "Rifle Platoon in the Attack" relied more heavily on the concepts of combat orders than the defense-oriented exam one. Given a situation, students were to issue a combat order to their platoon, based on the remarks given by the company commander. The time allowed for this part of the exam was 40 minutes and the answers were given in five-paragraph form. In the next part, the current position of troops (i.e., after the movement described in part one was complete) was indicated for students on an overlay, and one section of the platoon (2d Section) was singled out. Students were asked to detail the combat orders given by the sergeant of 2d Section in response to the updated situation. Next, a short answer section, lasting 20 minutes, covered additional concepts.

- What general considerations govern the distance at which a support platoon follows the assault section?
- What is the position of the platoon leader of a support platoon in the attack? Why?
- Give 5 of the most usual missions which may be given the support platoon exclusive of that of furnishing protection during the reorganization of the assault echelon?⁴⁹

Finally, students had 10 minutes to answer 10 true or false questions about the correct positions occupied by various members of the platoon when marching, patrolling, in a fixed position, and when withdrawing. The final lesson: "It is pardonable to be defeated, but never to be surprised."⁵⁰ None of the other graded items in Van Stockum's collection included time limits on individual sections.

Throughout February and March, this pattern was repeated with increasingly large combat units. The rifle company and machine gun platoon were introduced together, first with a pamphlet, then a quiz, then a map exercise, then an estimate of the situation exercise, followed by a combat orders exercise, an illustrative map problem (solution provided during class rather than later), and finally a map exercise. Supply, ammunition, and combat first aid were also introduced at this time. Items H-54 through H-70 all contributed to the development of students' knowledge of the rifle company and the machine gun platoon in direct support. Item H-73/74/75, Tactics exam three was administered on 3 March 1938 and used a combat orders exercise to test the students' knowledge of the rifle company.⁵¹ Unlike the first two tactics exams, however, exam three was weighted only 10 points. The principles taught in

⁴⁹ "Tactics Exam 2," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

⁵⁰ "Tactics Exam 2."

⁵¹ "Tactics Exam 3," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

this portion of the course were tested in the field at Indiantown Gap: there would be another chance to grade students' knowledge.

Exam four (item H-79/80/81) was given 8 March. Two map problems on the howitzer platoon, one in the attack and one in the defense, were the only items taught between exam three and exam four. Exam four continued the same format, however, and asked students to provide a combat order or give instructions to their unit in response to a tactical situation. For this exam, the student played the part of a machine gun platoon commander. Unfortunately, the first typewritten pages of exam four are missing from the Van Stockum copy, and his handwritten answers have faded with time. Section four is thus the beginning of the document, which finds the rifle platoon commander "in the north corner of the woods," planning to continue the attack according to plans established earlier in the exam.⁵² The introduction of new information creates the next exam problem.

At this time a messenger from the 1st Section on WELLS HILL reports to Lieutenant 1st Platoon, that one machine gun was destroyed and two of the gun crew killed by enemy 37mm shells. The other gun has moved to an alternate position and is still firing. Captain Company A heard the report and made no change to his orders.⁵³

The solution to this problem formed the final part of exam four.

As promised in the introductory lecture, combat intelligence was included in the Tactics course. Item H-82/83 "Combat Intelligence" was a map exercise. The role of the intelligence officer in the late 1930s was still being defined. Though several scholars have pointed out that the provenance of the role stretches back into the

⁵² "Tactics Exam 4," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

⁵³ "Tactics Exam 4."

late 1890s and the Advanced Base Force, it was still the case in 1938 that there were no military occupational specialties.⁵⁴ The precise role of intelligence and detailed procedures for gathering it were not established. For TBS students, the combat intelligence class was in two parts. First, the students were required to fill out an overlay according to written notes provided to them from a scout. The overlay was completed ahead of time and brought into class. During the class, a series of enemy prisoners were encountered. Students had to demonstrate proper information-gathering techniques, the procedure for reporting intelligence to higher headquarters, and what deductions they would draw from each enemy prisoner encounter. Late in the exercise, a friendly civilian was also encountered, and the students were cautioned that even a friendly source of information may have innocent errors in their report. Finally, all of the intelligence gathered during the various encounters was to be summed up in an official report to the battalion commander, using a standardized format and including a reference map filled out by the students.⁵⁵ This lengthy exercise was the only dedicated piece of curriculum for combat intelligence included in the program of instruction.

Tactics exam five was the final classroom event for rifle company problems. Administered on 25 March, it covered the rifle company and machine gun platoon in the defense. In a format that was by then very familiar to the students, it began

1st Battalion, 1st Marines, as part of a larger force, has been ordered to defend the sector shown on the situation overlay. An attack is not expected before daylight tomorrow (0630). An outpost is covering

⁵⁴ William J. Philbin, "The Roots of the S-2: The Role of the Naval Brigades and the Advance Base Force in the Development of the Marine Corps Tactical Intelligence Officer" (master's thesis, Royal Military College of Canada, 1995).

⁵⁵ "Tactics—Combat Intelligence Map Exercise," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6, FHS.

the occupation of the position. By 0800 today, Lieutenant Colonel 1st Battalion has completed his reconnaissance of the assigned area and is on SMITH HILL conferring with Captain Company D. The position of the machine gun sections as shown on the overlay has been definitely decided by the battalion commander, and he now asks Captain Company D to recommend two sections of machine guns in B company's sector. You are Captain Company D.⁵⁶

Students were expected to include sectors of fire for each section, as well as final protective lines for each section. Next, they shifted to play the part of captain of Company B, issuing a complete set of orders to their company according to the notes given by the battalion commander. Finally, students were to plot the situation overlay for Company B, including strength and location for each combat group in the sector, fields of fire, and location of the command post.

In Van Stockum's collection, Tactics exam five included a complete set of very clear instructor comments on the student solution. Though Van Stockum received a grade of *satisfactory* on the exam (and a good grade on the course overall), all but one of his answers to the requirements received some criticism or correction.⁵⁷ For example:

- It would be better to first take out the enemy 37mm gun at (2), which is endangering your machine guns and 37mm guns.
- This is not a suitable target for this weapon.

⁵⁶ "Tactics Exam 5," 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 5, FHS.

⁵⁷ Journal entry for 4 March 1938, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 18.

- A position on COOK RIDGE would provide better observation and a better field of fire in the battalion zone for both 37mm guns.
- There is a lack of mutual support between the various machine gun sections in the battalion sector.⁵⁸

This rigorous exam was followed by only four more classroom events and then the Tactics course would draw to a close. Map problems for the machine gun company and howitzer platoon were completed on 23 March, and students were issued a lecture handout on supplying infantry units. Finally, Tactics exam six, "Machine Gun Company and Howitzer Platoon Map Problem," completed the course.

Without a complete set of dates, it is impossible to say when the tactics course began, but certainly exams were first administered on 1 February, meaning the bulk of the material had been covered in less than two months. This was a major accomplishment: students were now considered equipped to lead a rifle platoon with ease, to understand the workings of a rifle company, and to be able to use machine guns, artillery, mortars, engineers, intelligence, signal communications, and air reconnaissance in support of their missions as ground combat elements. Added to the courses already completed on drill and topography, the TBS student was now in possession of a really comprehensive basic military education. Given the lack of equivalent basic schools in any other part of the U.S. military at the time, they would have been justified in claiming they had the best professional military education, for their grade and experience, in the country. To complete the experience, the students and staff of TBS returned to Indian-town Gap for additional qualification using small arms, as well as

⁵⁸ "Tactics Exam 5."

the opportunity to fire larger weapons that had been introduced during the Tactics course.

Spring Exercises at Indiantown Gap

Van Stockum traveled back to Indiantown Gap with classmates in their personal car. Unlike going to the field today, students on the field exercise at Indiantown Gap were free to leave on weekends or long afternoons. However, during the day they were very busy. First, they fired both .22-caliber and .30-caliber rifles again. A .45-caliber pistol course was also included, and it was the goal of every student to qualify as expert. No one wanted to join the FMF without the expert badge on their uniform. It was a pleasant time of year to be in the field, and Van Stockum listed the reasons all of the students said the final field exercise felt less grueling than it otherwise might have seemed.

1. Hot weather
2. Good wholesome chow and lots of it
3. No more book work and its accompanying cut-throating
4. Only three more weeks til [*sic*] end of Basic School⁵⁹

Firing the 81mm mortar was completed the following week. After that, qualification with the Browning automatic rifle finished on 12 May. Students were given two rounds of firing with the Thompson submachine gun as well—once for practice, the first time they ever shot the weapon, and once for record. Van Stockum managed to qualify as expert on all of these but the Thompson.

The firing of weapons did not fill three weeks of field time. In between, students had classes covering some of the big weapons

⁵⁹ Journal entry for 2 May 1938, transcription of personal journal, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, folder 1, FHS, 28.

and their employment in combat. Course Z provided combat practice for machine gun and howitzer units. Item Z2 on demonstration and field exercise asked students to survey the terrain and place the weapons from an 81mm mortar platoon and a .37mm machine gun section in the correct positions to stop an oncoming enemy force. At the end of the class, one student's answer was selected and live weapons were emplaced and fired according to that solution.⁶⁰

Another day, the lesson "Machine Gun Barrages and Concentrations" was taught, also in a field demonstration format. With map in hand, students received oral instructions on the situation and were asked to assess the terrain given the enemy units described by the instructor. The use of machine gun barrage relied on complex communication mechanisms for the infantry battalion, so for this exercise a staff officer was provided to the student to provide support when interacting with the battalion. The tasks were:

- Task A: a portion of the enemy front line will be interdicted from H-4 to H.
- Task B: a portion of the enemy front line will be interdicted from H-3 to H+1.
- Task C: an area suspected of containing enemy reserves will be neutralized from H+2 to H+4.
- Selection of positions for the emplacement of your guns is restricted to the area northeast of a line running 800yds northwest from CR 666 (near ST JOSEPH SPRINGS). HILL 727 is at your disposal.

⁶⁰ "Machine Gun and Howitzer Units—Combat Practice," Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6, FHS.

- R-4 will deliver 8000 rounds of ammunition, loaded in belts, to your assembly position as soon as notified of its location. You will expend this ammunition on these missions.
- H-hour will be announced shortly.⁶¹

Students would then explain which type of machine-gun laying was to be employed in such a mission and indicate locations for two battery positions.

Finally, a terrain exercise was conducted at Indiantown Gap that placed the students in the shoes of a rifle company commander. This exercise fulfilled another of Major Sims's promises, that students would consider problems up to the level of a reinforced battalion. The exam was divided into three sections. First, given a situation that included an infantry battalion supported by a battery of 75mm pack howitzers, the students were to give the formation for an advance guard, which was required for the battalion to cross the battle area. Once the advance party began to move, a group of enemy troops in the vicinity of a nearby house fired on the party at its position on the crest of a hill. Because this was a terrain exercise, it was written to match the actual terrain; the features identified in the exercise material would have been physically present for the students to act on as references. Students had to react to the attack, deploying the advance party to protect itself and the howitzer battery. Their decisions during the exercise were controlled by the instructor: at some point, no matter what the students had proposed, the correct solution would be offered so that the next stage of the exercise could begin. In this case, the enemy troops were driven away by the correct solution, and students were asked to turn their attention to a new group of enemy machine guns that had crept up on the flank during the initial

⁶¹“Machine Gun Barrages,” 1938, Ronald Reginald Van Stockum Papers, Mss. A V217, folder 6, FHS.

attack. Having done so correctly, the exercise concluded and the battalion was considered safe.

Conclusions on the Curriculum

Van Stockum's unique collection provides the most complete picture of TBS's curriculum during the interwar era. It is clear from his records that the courses were organized systematically, gradually building toward higher skill levels of leadership, tactical command, and proficiency in ancillary skills such as mapmaking or administration. The obvious emphasis on old-fashioned topics such as sea service and small wars helps solidify the claim that TBS was still teaching lieutenants traditional topics and had not fully shifted to the amphibious warfare doctrine model that would come to define the 1940s. At the same time, seeing the curriculum in full supports the argument that the subjects that aligned with the Advanced Base Force concept were natural and direct predecessors to amphibious warfare, which in turn developed into the modern Air-Ground Task Force system for quick-reaction mobile forces that the Marine Corps has espoused since the 1980s.

The personal journal that accompanied his personal papers helped give a broader picture of student life at TBS as well. Van Stockum shared weekend activities, impressions of instructors, and anecdotes from training. All of these clarify how much work was expected of the students, how they viewed the school experience, and whether the learning environment was rigid, relaxed, or something in between. Van Stockum was a good student, graduating near the top of his class and going on to enjoy a long career. His command of the material was solid, so no opportunity to assess instructors' methods for grading is available. The notable exception is the map sketch that was featured prominently in his journal, his memoir, and even in his notes that accompanied the personal papers collection. The episode of Captain Kenyon awarding an unsatisfactory grade merely because Van Stockum had turned in

his sketch before time was called made a deep impression on the student. That and similar lessons lasted longest and were the most important to be conveyed at TBS. Technology and time caused rapid changes in the techniques of war, but lessons of leadership were taught with the belief that they were unchanging.

Conclusion

Origin of an Ethos

It remains only partially clear how TBS operated between the world wars, as the official record is incomplete and eyewitness accounts fail to fill in all of the gaps. However, by combining several disparate sets of evidence, this study provides a fuller picture of the officers' course than has previously been available. The League Island TBS's historical background, instructor expertise, records of school conduct, and archived curriculum all inform modern Marine officers' understanding of the PME system that they encounter, how it has developed, and (perhaps more importantly) how it has stayed the same. The Marine Corps prizes its heritage above all else, and traditions that are old, unbroken, and most closely connect the current Corps to its past receive great respect. When Marines gather to celebrate their collective birthday or remember a fallen comrade, the formulaic recitation of Marine Corps history is part of their ritual. Places like TBS or the Recruit Depots at Parris Island and San Diego provide structure for those chronologies.

The extensive personal papers collection of Brigadier General Ronald R. Van Stockum previously analyzed provides the most detailed overview of the program. The structure of the officers' course, start to finish, is clear. The archived exams and the notes that accompany them show that the Tactics course was the centerpiece of the school. It was the longest and most detailed event, and all of the other classes either directly referenced it or naturally filled ancillary roles. The course documents make the connec-

tion between the Marine Corps school system and the larger U.S. Army education system explicit by showing that the structure of TBS and the course materials bear a strong resemblance to materials found in the Fort Benning archives. The size and scope of the Naval Law and Service Afloat courses speak to the importance of those officer roles in the interwar Marine Corps. TBS student Woodrow Kessler went so far as to say that “the Marines were expected to provide” judge advocates for the entire naval Service.¹ Whether that impression was correct or not does not change the fact that the Corps trained its officers extensively, even at the most basic educational level, for courts martial. Van Stockum’s carefully preserved collection of student papers serves as a springboard for reverse engineering TBS while it was located at League Island. This near-complete chronological record allows the fragmented records from other archives to be cross-referenced and contextualized. The fact that Van Stockum’s personal collection is a *sine qua non* provides hefty proof for one of the ideological points made here: without the stories of individuals, there is no organizational story at all.

However, an official organizational history is still necessary. The few isolated examples of the TBS curriculum preserved in the Marine Corps History Division archives show small portions of the course for the years 1930, 1931, 1933, 1934, 1936, 1940, and 1941. They corroborate the complete set of materials from Van Stockum’s personal collection, showing that the program of instruction did not vary significantly from 1930 to 1940. No curriculum samples for the 1920s exist, but two academic transcripts from 1924 and 1925 show at least a similar array of course topics as those present in the 1930s curriculum (examples that corroborate the Van Stockum collection). For example, the presence of a “Customs

¹BGen Woodrow M. Kessler, *To Wake Island and Beyond: Reminiscences* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1988), 7.

and Courtesies” lecture in both 1931 and 1937–38 shows that the material was important. It outlasted multiple changes of instructors and two changes of school directors, as well as the dramatic restructure of classes in 1935 that heralded the Corps’ shift from small postwar force to large prewar force. Likewise, the Oliver P. Smith lecture “The Bayonet” also survived the 1934 advent of the FMF and the 1935 restructure of TBS, indicating that its topic remained relevant.

The Marine Corps’ muster rolls provided a primary source of data on TBS’s administrative conduct. The raw numbers showing how many students were present, when they arrived and departed, how many instructors served on the staff at a given moment, and the source of commissions had not previously been analyzed. It is true that raw class size information was recorded by First Lieutenant Anthony A. Frances in his unpublished “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” but he offered no analysis. More important, the critical question of the size and composition of the staff was not recorded in Frances’s manuscript. While at League Island, TBS grew from a 4-person staff and 25 students to a powerhouse educational institution commanded by a full colonel with a staff of 17, producing more than 100 graduates per academic year. The Marine Corps’ transformation into the FMF was not sudden or accidental. On the contrary, the growth of the Marine Corps was steady and controlled. Commandants throughout the interwar period took an active interest in congressional proceedings and the strategic environment within the U.S. military as a whole. They had attended the war colleges, where student exercises focused on future operations. In response, the Corps slowly increased class sizes at its schools and cultivated additional means of procuring both officers and enlisted Marines. The only dramatic leap in size came in 1935, when a double class passed through TBS, allowing less-experienced ROTC officers and well-seasoned Naval Academy graduates to complete customized courses that deposited them on

the far side of graduation day with comparable levels of ability. All of these sources, both personal and corporate, create a clear picture of how TBS looked during the interwar period.

To pave the way for an understanding of the interwar school, the larger organization needed to be placed in its unique historical and philosophical context as a land-sea Service. Lacking a complete archival record of the TBS curriculum, and knowing that the interwar school instructors had a critical role in creating the course materials, it was helpful to outline what kinds of sea service and land warfare missions and schools had influenced the instructors. A significant number of the early TBS instructors attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning. The quality and availability of the Army's professional schools made them an easy choice for early interwar-period Marine officers. They not only attended Army schools but modeled their Marine Corps Schools curriculum on the Army systems. Eventually, the Corps shifted to training officers at its own career- and senior-level courses as each became better developed and was able to accommodate more students. The influence of Army education on Marine officers between the wars is undeniable. However, six to nine months of schooling, no matter the venue, is seldom the most influential experience in a military officer's life. Missions, billets, and operational activities were significantly more important.

The creation of amphibious warfare doctrine during the 1930s has cast a long shadow, obscuring many of the significant missions undertaken by Marines in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Navy material on the maritime heritage of the Corps shows how the use of Marines on board ships and on foreign shores was never seriously in doubt. The Corps absolutely had a unifying and consistent mission in the Advanced Base Force from the time of its inception in the 1890s. Marines remained on board ship (despite the efforts of some Navy officers and Theodore Roosevelt) in order to operate the ships' secondary gun batteries, but they also

were prepared to leave the ship and establish bases ashore from which the Fleet could be supplied or protected.

It is a mistake to believe that the “power from the sea” mantra originated with amphibious warfare doctrine. It goes back the Advanced Base Force. The transition from the latter to the former was seamless, a logical progression from the dreadnought era to the age of the aircraft carrier and super battleship. The interwar-era TBS absorbed the impact of transition and shows—perhaps more clearly than any other aspect of Marine Corps life—how closely related the two missions really were. TBS began the 1920s teaching tactics, service afloat, and small wars, and ended the 1930s the same way. Moreover, there was never a sharp break from that tradition after World War II. All of the aspects of the Advanced Base Force mission can be described using modern terms with which the current operating forces would be familiar. Naval expeditionary warfare was and is the lifeblood of the Marine Corps.

Since TBS was the first of the Marine Corps Schools to be established (as the School of Application), it was helpful to understand why it was founded. In 1891, Colonel Commandant Charles Heywood foresaw how promotion examinations would create a need for officer schools. What some have called the Age of Professionalism ushered in a new desire for codification and consistency of knowledge within a variety of professional communities, such as medicine and law. The military was no exception. Though it took longer for American military Services to implement the ideas espoused by Professionalism, this was due to the inability of the political leadership of the country to achieve unity of purpose, not because military thinkers failed to see the importance of professional education. Beginning with the Army’s Command and General Staff School, schools at every level were established and began a long process of systematizing PME in the United States between 1880 and 1900. The Corps was the only Service that established a school for junior officers at a basic level. It is still the only Service

with a dedicated basic course required for all newly commissioned lieutenants regardless of educational background or future occupational specialty. By understanding the purpose of the institution back to the 1890s, one can then properly analyze whether the interwar school was living up to its founders' ideals.

TBS exists not only within the context of the Marine Corps' PME system but also within the broader PME system of the United States. Moreover, that larger system does not exist in a vacuum but is just one piece of the history of PME the world over. Understanding PME's origins going as far back as the Napoleonic era is key to understanding why military schools exist and what factors influence their development. In the case of the Marine Corps, the land-sea combination that has always defined the organization led the Corps to bide its time on the issue of education, carefully observing and then imitating the Army's and Navy's efforts rather than striking out on its own.

Finally, TBS does not teach ethos. The existence of the school itself is the ethos. The ability of a Marine today to reach back across more than 100 years and assert "Ben Fuller completed this course," "this is how Chesty Puller learned tactics," or "this is where Wesley Fox practiced patrolling" is powerful. None of the errors or myths that are perpetuated as part of the Corps' heritage are existential, and correcting the record does not lessen TBS's impact as an institution. Indeed, during the interwar period—which was formative for the entire officer corps that later served in World War II—TBS perpetuated and enhanced a preexisting tradition of professional education. That same tradition would be recalled and renewed after World War II.

During World War II, traditional education was set completely aside in order to meet the massive manpower demand of a global conflict. For that reason, a history of TBS during World War II should be its own work entirely. The school was expanded in size, shortened in length, physically relocated, and dramatically

restructured more than once between 1941 and 1945. Those years saw amazing leaps forward in administrative efficiency. They also saw the commissioning of one of the first female Marine officers, Ruth Cheney Streeter, though female Marines would not begin to attend TBS itself until many years later. Immediately postwar, the first African-American Marine officer, Frederick C. Branch, was also commissioned. These innovations signaled cultural changes in the Marine Corps but did not immediately impact TBS. The wartime structure was allowed to lapse after 1945, and when small class sizes returned, integration of women and minorities into the regular course was put on hold again.²

The Korean War spurred another temporary leap in TBS's size, followed by a return to the pattern established in the mid-1940s. From then on, TBS would not change significantly, other than ongoing updates to the curriculum as the Marine Corps altered its force structure. It had become the institution that Marines serving anywhere—from Vietnam to Iraq or Afghanistan—would recognize readily and reminisce about together without difficulty. This shared experience not only binds modern Marines together but springs from a genuine connection to the Marines of a century earlier.

²“Rules for the Admission of Persons into the Marine Corps as Commissioned Officers—1869,” The Basic School Collection, collection 3706, box 1, folder 10, Archives, MCHD.

Appendix A

Biographical Notes on Instructors

William Wallace Ashurst served as an instructor at TBS from June 1928 until December 1929. He was born in 1893 at Green Ridge, Missouri, and attended the Wentworth Military Academy. He also attended Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, for two years. He joined the Marine Corps Reserve in 1917 and received an appointment as a second lieutenant on 24 September of that year. He did not attend TBS as a student. Ashurst was awarded a Silver Star and the French Croix de Guerre for “bravery, coolness and ability in leading his men into combat during the enemy attack” at the battle of Belleau Wood. He did not serve any tours in South America or the Caribbean, making him nearly unique among the interwar staff at TBS. However, he was heavily involved in the inception, development, and training of Marine Corps competitive shooting teams, first competing as an individual marksman before joining the Marine team. He eventually coached the Marine Corps National Rifle Team. From 1920–27, he served at various stateside Marine barracks. Ashurst left competitive shooting to attend the U.S. Army Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, and completed the Company Officers’ Course in May 1928. He then proceeded to TBS. Ashurst served in China from 1930–33 before returning to the United States and resuming an advisory role over marksmanship training. He was the commanding officer of the Marine detachment in China when Pearl Harbor was attacked, and he spent four years as a prisoner of war in China. Ashurst was advanced to the rank of brigadier general upon retirement and died in 1952.¹

Merton J. Batchelder served as an instructor at TBS in 1932–35. Batchelder was born in Massachusetts in 1896 and attended public schools but did not go to college. His career began as an enlisted Marine and he served in the Virgin Islands in 1917–18 before going to France with the 13th Marine Regiment. While in France, he was appointed a second lieutenant in August 1918, and he served in France as an officer for one additional year. He did not attend TBS as a student. His first experience with small wars was in Santo Domingo, from

¹William W. Ashurst biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, Marine Corps History Division (MCHD), Quantico, VA.

December 1919 until April 1922. While a first lieutenant, Batchelder attended the new Company Officers' Course during the Marine Corps Schools' first year of operation at Quantico, Virginia. Batchelder did not attend the Infantry School at Fort Benning. Instead, he completed tours at Quantico, Parris Island, Hawaii, Guantanamo Bay, Marine Barracks Washington, and China. After all of these assignments came Batchelder's tour as an instructor at TBS, while he was a captain (O-3). He served sea duty after finishing at TBS and later became famous for valor at Tinian during World War II. Batchelder retired as a brigadier general in 1949.²

William Putnam Battell served as an instructor at TBS in 1936–37. He was born in 1906 in Iowa and attended Iowa State University. He did not graduate but instead enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1927. He worked as a radioman and then served as an instructor at the Naval Radio Materiel School in Maryland. He was selected from the ranks and attended Officer Candidate School. He attended TBS as a student in 1930–31. His only overseas duty was to China (1932) and aboard the USS *Saratoga* (CV 3). Battell completed the U.S. Army Signal School course in 1936 and went immediately to Philadelphia to serve on the instructor staff at TBS. He left TBS in 1937 and served two sea duty tours before returning to Philadelphia and working as the signal supply officer at the Depot of Supplies (the primary East Coast logistics base at the time). He served as the Pacific Fleet supply services director during World War II, and retired as a major general. Battell preserved a large number of photographs pertaining to Nicaragua and the Pacific war, but unfortunately no service records were kept.³

Bayard L. Bell served as an instructor at TBS from February 1927 until February 1928. His name appears among the students at Quantico in 1922 for the special course in preparation for examination. He served in Nicaragua, but no detailed record of his Marine Corps service exists. While still a first lieutenant, he died of pneumonia in 1933.⁴

Joseph Howard Berry served as an instructor at TBS from June 1939 until July 1942. He was born in Los Angeles, California, in 1906 and attended the

²Merton J. Batchelder biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

³"Who's Who Calendar of 1995," Lowndes County Historical Society, Valdosta, GA; Philadelphia Schools Detachment muster roll 0310, October 1930, Ancestry.com; and *List and Station of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933).

⁴"Lieut. Bayard L. Bell to be Buried Tomorrow," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), 28 February 1933, A-9.

U.S. Naval Academy, graduating in 1929. He received his commission in July 1929 and attended TBS as a student in 1929–30. He was designated an aviation cadet while at TBS and received some flight training after completing the course in Philadelphia before reporting to his first duty station in Nicaragua. He returned to the United States in early 1933 and completed flight training. He also served a tour of sea duty. Berry attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning in 1938–39 and then reported to TBS as an instructor. He served as aide to the Commandant during most of the war, then as G-4 (logistics) for the 4th Marine Division during the Iwo Jima assault. He was advanced to the rank of brigadier general upon retirement in recognition of his combat service during World War II. Berry retained a very large collection of personal papers spanning his entire career, including certificates, photographs, orders, handouts, correspondence, and decorations.⁵

Dudley Brown served as an instructor at TBS in 1932–34. He was born in 1895 and attended the University of Arizona. Brown received a commission as a second lieutenant in 1917, at the beginning of the Marine Corps' efforts to grow the officer corps in preparation for war. Brown served as a member of the 11th Marine Regiment in 1918–19. His small wars experience included Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. He also served a tour of sea duty. Brown attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning (1931–32) and reported directly from Fort Benning to his instructor's billet at TBS. His official biography specifically states that he attended the Company Officers' Course while at Fort Benning. After TBS, he went on to attend the Army's Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and was an instructor at the Marine Corps Schools in the operations department. He served as an operations officer for a variety of units during World War II and served on the staff of the National War College after the war. His final active duty billet was as deputy commandant of the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico. Brown retired as a major general in 1950.⁶

Lee Hoxie Brown graduated from George Washington University in Washington, DC, in 1916 with a bachelor of law degree. He received a reserve commission in 1917 and moved to active status in September that year. Brown served in Haiti and Nicaragua during the 1920s and completed a tour of sea duty aboard the USS *Pennsylvania* (BB 38). In 1919, he joined the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in Europe, where he held the temporary rank of captain. Brown was a major when he served on the staff of TBS from June 1933 until August

⁵ Joseph Howard Berry biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and Joseph Howard Berry Personal Papers, collections 3A11, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁶ Dudley S. Brown biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

1936. Brown was the second in command for most of his tour at TBS, and often served as acting director while the commanding officer was absent. He attended the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico after completing his instructor billet at TBS, and served as commanding officer of the Transient Center, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, an administrative command responsible for both deploying replacement troops and rotating combat veterans back home. Brown retired in 1949.⁷

Melvin G. Brown served as an instructor at TBS in 1939–41. He was born in Ohio in December 1905. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1929 and proceeded immediately to TBS at Philadelphia. After completing TBS, he was stationed in Guam, Haiti, and China. He attended both the U.S. Army Signal School and the Company Officers' Course at Quantico before returning to TBS as an instructor. Brown held a variety of senior staff billets during World War II and completed advanced schools for logistics and supply after the war. He was serving as the commanding officer of the 3d Service Regiment, 3d Marine Division, in Japan when he suffered a heart attack and died in 1955. He was promoted to brigadier general posthumously, having been selected for that rank a few months prior to his death.⁸

Daniel Earle Campbell served as an instructor at TBS 1926–27. He attended St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1908.⁹ He was commissioned in December 1916. His foreign service included Haiti, Nicaragua, the Virgin Islands, Panama, and France. He served at TBS in 1926–27. He retired in September 1946 as a colonel. There are no extant records of Campbell's World War II service, but a Maryland register of military men lists the Order of St. Sava among his decorations. The award was given for military excellence or valor by the Yugoslavian government between 1910–48, so Campbell might have been among the few Marines who served alongside the Office of Strategic Service in eastern Europe.¹⁰

Kenneth B. Chappell served as an instructor at TBS in 1938–41. He attended TBS as a student in 1924. Chappell had several sea duty tours, as well as service

⁷ Lee Hoxie Brown biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁸ Melvin G. Brown biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁹ In the 1900s, St. John's was a military school and pioneered the concept of a Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps on their campus. The program was dropped in the 1920s when interest waned.

¹⁰ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 426; and *Navy Register: Retired Officers of the U.S. Navy*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1968).

in Cuba, China, and Nicaragua. Before serving as an instructor at TBS, he was on the staff of the Signal Battalion (school) at Quantico. He also attended the Company Officers' Course in 1935–36. During World War II he commanded the 1st Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division, on Okinawa. Chappell died in 1985.¹¹

David Kerr Claude was an instructor at TBS from January 1936 until June 1937. He was born in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1903 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy but did not graduate. Instead, he enlisted in the Marine Corps after three years at the academy, spending time in Santo Domingo. He completed the candidates class at Marine Barracks, Washington, DC, to receive his commission as a second lieutenant in 1925. He attended TBS from June to December 1925. He served in Cuba, Nicaragua, and on sea duty before his billet as an instructor at TBS. Claude was promoted to captain halfway through his time on the TBS staff, and attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning immediately after serving as an instructor at TBS. Then-lieutenant colonel Claude was killed in action in 1943 on Tarawa.¹²

Leonard Baker Cresswell served as an instructor at TBS from July 1936 until April 1939. He was born in Mississippi in 1901. He attended public schools and graduated from the Tupelo Military Institute (preparatory school) in 1919. His undergraduate degree was from Mississippi Agricultural and Military College. Cresswell attended TBS in 1924, immediately after receiving his commission as a second lieutenant. He was assigned an instructor's billet at the Infantry Weapons School in Quantico after completing TBS. He served in China and on sea duty, but did not participate in the small wars mission in the Caribbean, other than the 1935 fleet maneuvers. He did attend and complete the Field Officers' Course at Quantico in 1933. Cresswell received the Navy Cross for actions on Guadalcanal and retired as a major general in 1956.¹³

Charles F. Cresswell served as an instructor at TBS from June 1936 until April 1939. Cresswell was born in Wisconsin in April 1900. In his high school yearbook, he was listed as "deserving a medal" for "cramming."¹⁴ He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1924 and attended TBS as a student that same year.

¹¹ Kenneth Baldwin Chappell biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

¹² *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, various years); and "David K. Claude," World War II 1939–1945, Killed in Action Panel, U.S. Naval Academy Virtual Memorial Hall.

¹³ Leonard B. Cresswell Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

¹⁴ Neillsville High School yearbook, 1916, Neillsville, WI.

He attended the U.S. Army Signal School at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, in 1928. His other operational experience prior to becoming an instructor was in Nicaragua, Guam, aboard the USS *California* (BB 44), and at various Marine barracks. Cresswell was the only TBS instructor during the interwar period to serve on a department-level staff prior to his instructor billet, working in the office of the chief of naval operations in 1928–29. Cresswell retired as a colonel in 1946 and died in 1948.¹⁵

Raymond F. Crist Jr. served as an instructor at TBS in 1939–41. He was born in Maryland in 1908 and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1929. He attended TBS as a student from 1929 to 1930. Crist served two tours in China and multiple tours of sea duty during his early career. His shore duty included service with the 10th Marine Regiment (artillery) at Quantico, and he attended the U.S. Army's field artillery school at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1936. After his instructor assignment at TBS, Crist returned to Oklahoma to complete the artillery Field Officers' Course. He served as executive officer of the 12th Marine Regiment (artillery) during the campaigns for Bougainville and Guam during World War II. He commanded the regiment from January 1945 until the end of the Iwo Jima campaign. After the war, he held a variety of staff billets, retiring in 1955 at the rank of brigadier general.¹⁶

Merritt B. Curtis served as an instructor at TBS from 1931 until 1934. He was born in California in August 1892, and attended the University of California. He attended law school for two years before receiving a commission as a second lieutenant and joining the Marine Corps in 1917. He went to France with the AEF, but no record of decorations for that service are present in his biographical file. His overseas service prior to serving at TBS included Haiti and China. He retired in 1949 at the rank of brigadier general.¹⁷

James E. Davis served as an instructor at TBS for only two months, August–September 1928. Davis was born in Virginia in 1894 and received his commission as a second lieutenant in 1916. Davis received temporary promotions to first lieutenant and captain in 1918 and 1919, but he did not serve in France during the emergency wartime period that created the need for his promotions.

¹⁵ "Charles F. Cresswell," Arlington National Cemetery. See also *Pennsylvania Veterans Burial Cards 1929–1990*, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, PA.

¹⁶ Raymond F. Crist Jr. biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

¹⁷ Merritt B. Curtis biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and "Merritt Barton Curtis—Brigadier General, United States Marine Corps," Arlington Cemetery, accessed 19 January 2023.

Instead, he remained in the Dominican Republic throughout World War I, serving as detachment commander at multiple locations. He was given a permanent commission as a captain in October 1919. Davis was among the earliest pilots trained by the Marine Corps, attending flight training for naval cadets in the summer of 1920. He served in Nicaragua after flight school. Before his time at TBS he also attended the Air Corps Tactical School at Langley Field, Virginia. His first assignment after TBS was as squadron commander in Haiti. Davis, then a lieutenant colonel, was killed in a plane crash in New Mexico in October 1935.¹⁸

Harold O. Deakin served as an instructor at TBS from June 1940 until the beginning of World War II. He was present as a student in 1934–35. Deakin was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1913 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduating from the academy in 1935, he immediately attended TBS. Deakin completed sea duty and a tour at the Marine Barracks Newport, Rhode Island, before attending the Company Officers' Course at Quantico in 1939. June 1940 was the beginning of a two-year assignment to Philadelphia as an instructor. He served in Europe as an observer of the Italian and North African campaigns for one year before going to the Pacific in command of 3d Battalion, 5th Marines. He retired in 1957 and was promoted to brigadier general. Deakin kept no personal papers but did sit for an interview with the oral historian at Marine Corps History Division.¹⁹

Louis DeHaven served as an instructor at TBS from 1931 until 1935. He was born in Delaware in May 1894. He attended public schools and received his commission as a second lieutenant in 1917. He served in France, as well as China, Guam, and Santo Domingo. He was commended for his service with the National Rifle Team in 1923 and 1936. DeHaven kept no personal papers. He commanded the 14th Marine Regiment (artillery) during the Iwo Jima campaign. He later retired as a colonel and died in 1985.²⁰

Stephen Francis Drew served as an instructor at TBS from 1924 until 1927. During much of his time there, he was one of only four or five staff members. He was born in 1886 in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Drew enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1907 and served for a decade before taking the examination for second lieutenant. He accepted temporary appointments to second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain during July 1917 but did not retain those ranks. In 1919, he

¹⁸ James E. Davis biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

¹⁹ Harold O. Deakin biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

²⁰ Louis Glass DeHaven biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

accepted an appointment as Marine gunner. In 1921, he accepted a permanent appointment to the rank of captain. In 1924, he joined the staff of TBS. Drew attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning immediately after his instructor billet. Drew retired as a major in 1936 but was reactivated during World War II. He died in 1948.²¹

Merritt B. Edson was an instructor from September 1929 until May 1931. He was born in Vermont in 1897 and attended the University of Vermont for two years. In 1916, Edson enlisted in the Vermont National Guard and was sent to the Texas/Mexico border for duty. He served in Texas for only three months before returning to university, but joined the Marine Corps Reserve as an enlisted man in June 1917. He was given a regular commission as a second lieutenant in October 1917. TBS was closed during these years. Instead, Edson went to France with the 11th Marine Regiment but did not see combat. He returned to the United States and served on the staff of the new Marine Corps Institute, on mail guard duty, at military flight school, and on sea duty. He also served in Guam and Nicaragua. Edson attended the Company Officers' Course at Quantico before being promoted to captain. When he began his staff billet at TBS, he was assigned as tactics instructor. Throughout his career, he was famous for coaching the Marine Corps marksmanship team and was credited with making marksmanship a central part of training for all Marines. He would become famous for his raider unit during World War II, receiving the Medal of Honor for his service at Guadalcanal in 1942. Edson retired in 1947 as a major general. His collection of personal papers only pertained to his World War I and II service, and his connection to the Marine Raiders, which he helped develop.²²

Graves Blanchard Erskine served as an instructor at TBS from June 1930 until August 1932. He did not attend TBS as a student. Erskine was born in Louisiana in 1897. He attended the Louisiana State University and graduated in 1916. He received a commission as second lieutenant in 1917 and went to France with the AEF. He was awarded a Silver Star for action at Saint-Mihiel. After the First World War, he served in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua. He attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning in 1925–26 and served on the staff of the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico in 1926–27. After his tour at TBS, he returned to serve on the staff of the Marine Corps Schools again. Erskine preserved many papers about the various schools, including several sets of teaching notes from TBS. The papers he kept do not correspond to the years during which he taught at TBS but with his second tour at Marine Corps Schools as an

²¹ Stephen F. Drew biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

²² Merritt B. Edson biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

instructor there. This suggests that the two schools maintained close contact, and that the parent command at Marine Corps Schools had some input into the course content at TBS. During World War II, Erskine commanded the 5th Amphibious Corps and 3d Marine Division. His interest in education led him to organize vocational schools on Guam, his final duty station during the war, so that Marines preparing to return to civilian life could develop useful trades and skills. Erskine retired in 1953 and was advanced to the rank of general. His personal collection of documents was key in the development of this monograph.²³

Edward Ansley Fellowes served as an instructor at TBS from August 1927 until July 1928. He was a graduate of Yale University (1918). Fellowes's personnel file at Marine Corps History Division is missing, but he published two articles in the *Marine Corps Gazette* about the Corps' involvement in Santo Domingo, so his presence there as a subordinate officer to Lieutenant Colonel Presley Rixey is known. Fellowes retired as a major and died in California in 1946.²⁴

Walfried H. Fromhold served as an instructor at TBS from May 1938 until January 1941. He was born in New York in 1907 and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1930. Prior to his appointment to the academy, he served on active duty as an apprentice seaman for one year. He attended TBS as a student in 1930–31. Fromhold began flight training early in his career, spending 1932 in Hampton Roads, Virginia, and Pensacola, Florida, at Navy pilot schools. He then served a tour in China and the Philippines. Fromhold attended the Company Officers' Course at Quantico in 1937–38, immediately before reporting to TBS. During World War II, he served in staff and support billets in 1942–43, before being promoted to lieutenant colonel. After promotion, he received command of the 22d Marine Regiment and led that unit through the Marshall Islands and Guam campaigns. He retired in 1948 and was advanced to the rank of brigadier general. Fromhold died in 1996 in California.²⁵

Frank Goettge served as an instructor at TBS from June 1938 until January 1941. He was born in Canton, Ohio, in 1895 and attended Ohio University in 1916–17. In 1917, he left the university and enlisted as a private in the Marine

²³ Graves B. Erskine biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and Graves B. Erskine Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

²⁴ Lt Edward Fellowes, "Training Native Troops in Santo Domingo," *Marine Corps Gazette* 8, no. 4 (December 1923): 215–33; and "Alumni Notes," *Yale Alumni Weekly* 29, no. 1 (September 1919): 694.

²⁵ Walfried Fromhold biographical file, Historical Resource Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Corps. He was appointed a provisional second lieutenant one year later. Goettge went to France with the 5th Marine Regiment and served for one year there. He also served in Haiti and China. Goettge was a senior major while at TBS, so he had completed both the Company Officers' and Field Officers' Courses at Quantico prior to his arrival at Philadelphia. He also attended the Army's motor transport school. He had served as a White House aide and on the Headquarters Marine Corps staff. He also coached the Marine Corps football team for a number of years. Goettge is well known for his role in leading a combat patrol on Guadalcanal that was ambushed; all but three members were killed. The patrol became famous due to postwar controversy about the failure of the Marine Corps to recover the bodies of the fallen, including Goettge. Personal papers preserved by the Marine Corps pertaining to Goettge are all about his Guadalcanal patrol and his great fame in the 1920s and early 1930s as a star football player.²⁶

Chester B. Graham served as an instructor at TBS from 1935–38. He was born in New York in 1904 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduation from the academy in 1926, he was commissioned a second lieutenant and immediately proceeded to TBS in Philadelphia. He served in China and Nicaragua during his early career. Graham attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning immediately prior to his tour as an instructor at TBS. During World War II, he was an observer in the European theater. He was advanced to the rank of brigadier general upon retirement and died in 1961.²⁷

Roy M. Gulick served as an instructor at TBS from 1937–40. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1904 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduation from the academy in 1926, he immediately proceeded to TBS as a student. He served in Nicaragua and China as well as on sea duty during his early career. He completed the Company Officers' Course at Quantico immediately prior to joining the staff at TBS. Gulick may have had special training in finance, as he served as paymaster to several Marine Corps installations during World War II and immediately afterward. He did not hold a combat command during the war. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1954, and major general in 1958, at which time he was named quartermaster general of the Marine Corps. He retired from that billet in 1960 after 34 years of active service.²⁸

²⁶ Frank B. Goettge biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

²⁷ Chester B. Graham biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

²⁸ Roy M. Gulick biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Harold Harris served as an instructor at TBS from 1935–37. He was born in Wyoming in 1903 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduating from the academy in 1925, he attended TBS as a student during one of the short courses soon after the school moved to Philadelphia. His early career tours included sea duty, China, and Nicaragua. Harris attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning immediately prior to his tour as instructor at TBS. When he left Philadelphia, it was to report to the *École Supérieure de Guerre* in Paris as a student. He was still on duty in Europe when hostilities began in 1939, and he received a commendation from the American ambassador in Paris for his help evacuating the American nationals in France at the time. He served as an instructor at the Army and Navy Staff College (Washington, DC) after World War II. Harris was advanced to the rank of brigadier general after retirement in 1949.²⁹

John R. Henley served as the commanding officer of TBS from 1924–26, during the first years at Philadelphia. While an instructor at Quantico in 1922, Henley was listed among the staff of the department of law. When he arrived at Philadelphia, he checked in directly from the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Henley first appeared on the *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers* in 1906 and had retired by 1936. He kept personal papers pertaining to service in Haiti in 1927, after his time at TBS, and a photograph of the Marine Barracks at Bremerton, Washington, from 1909, indicating he may have been stationed there. No other records about his service have been preserved.³⁰

George L. Hollett served as an instructor at TBS in 1924–25. He was born in Illinois in 1885 and enlisted in the Marine Corps in June 1918. He received a commission as a second lieutenant in December 1918, indicating that he had some higher education, though where and when is not chronicled in his personnel file. Hollett served in Santo Domingo during World War I and did two tours of sea duty. In 1922, he reported to Quantico for the Company Officers' Course, and records seem to indicate that he took the class two times. Other records for the Marine Corps Schools suggest that the course was briefly structured like the courses held by the Army at Fort Leavenworth, which were split into two years, with less-experienced officers completing both years and more-experienced officers only taking the "second half" of the course. Hollett may have been one of those who did the course under the two-part plan. He died in 1948 at the rank

²⁹ Harold Harris biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

³⁰ John R. Henley Personal Papers, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and Barracks Detachment, Marine Barracks Navy Yard Philadelphia muster roll 0251, August 1926, Ancestry.com.

of lieutenant colonel. Orders and information on his duty assignments were donated to the Marine Corps Archives, helping create a picture of the typical career arc and training assignments of a Marine officer of this era.³¹

Marcellus J. Howard served as an instructor at TBS from 1938 until 1940. He was commissioned from the ranks in 1932 and attended TBS as a student soon after. He later became known for helping establish and train the first airborne units in the Marine Corps.³² His personnel file is missing and he kept no personal papers.

Norman Hussa served as an instructor at TBS from 1937 until 1938. Along with fellow TBS instructor Harold Deakin, Hussa served as an observer in Europe during the Salerno campaign. When stationed in the Pacific, he served as executive officer for the 7th Marine Regiment at Pelelieu. His personal papers collection included a copy of his observer's report from Salerno.³³

Gilder Jackson served as the commanding officer of TBS from 1937–40. He was born in Delaware in 1893 and attended the Wenonah Military Academy. He joined the Marine Corps in 1917 and was decorated multiple times for action in France. He remained in Germany with the Army of Occupation until 1919. He served sea duty and recruiting duty and in China and Haiti during his early career. He was in command of the Marine Barracks at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in 1941 and fought on Guadalcanal after the initial invasion there. Because of combat service he was advanced to the rank of brigadier general upon retirement in 1946. He died in California in 1966.³⁴

Blythe Gold Jones served as an instructor at TBS from 1932–35. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1891 and received a degree in mechanical engineering from the Drexel Institute, also in Pennsylvania. He enlisted in the National Guard in 1916 and served for a year before being given a Reserve commission in the Marine Corps as a second lieutenant. He was honorably discharged in 1919 but received a permanent commission in 1921. He served in Santo Domingo in 1919 and 1922 and in China in 1927 and 1932. He also completed several sea duty

³¹ George Lyon Hollett biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

³² Charles Updegraph, *Special Marine Corps Units of World War II* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, 1977), 42.

³³ Norman J. Hussa Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

³⁴ Gilder Jackson biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

tours. Jones, then a colonel, was stationed at Pearl Harbor at the beginning of World War II. He was reported missing in action (MIA) in May 1943. There are no personnel records relating to him other than a biographical statement released with his MIA announcement.³⁵

Russell Jordahl served as an instructor at TBS from 1936–39. He was born in Minnesota in 1903. He attended the Iowa State University before joining the U.S. Naval Academy's Class of 1926. After graduation from the academy, he attended TBS as a student in 1926–27. Jordahl served in Haiti, Nicaragua, and China in his early career. He attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning in 1935–36, immediately before joining the staff at TBS. Jordahl was highly decorated during both World War II and the Korean War, retiring as a brigadier general in 1957.³⁶

Howard N. Kenyon served as an instructor at TBS from 1936–38. He was born in Oklahoma in 1898. He attended the Oklahoma Agricultural and Military College briefly before attending the U.S. Naval Academy. He graduated from the academy in 1921 and was commissioned a second lieutenant. Kenyon was the only TBS instructor to serve on mail guard duty during the early 1920s, when the Marines were used to discourage thefts from U.S. Mail trains crossing the continent. Also stateside, he served as a drill instructor at the recruit depot at Parris Island. He was a company commander in both Haiti and Nicaragua. He completed three tours of sea duty. Kenyon was responsible for courses in topography and mapmaking while an instructor at TBS. His students referred to him as “Quack Quack” due to his distinctive, gravelly voice. During World War II, he held staff billets until September 1944, and he commanded the 9th Marine Regiment at Iwo Jima. Kenyon was apparently interested in history and continuing education and he wrote a family history of the Kenyons. From 1946–49, he served as the officer in charge of the Marine Corps Historical Division. Kenyon retired as a brigadier general in 1951 and died in 1958. He kept no personal papers, but his name appears in several sets of archived papers from his time as the director of Historical Division. His career record does not indicate when, but before retirement he completed law school and was admitted to the bar in Virginia and Oklahoma, as well as the Maryland Court of Appeals, the U.S. District Court for the Canal Zone (Panama), and U.S. Supreme Court.³⁷

³⁵ Blythe Gold Jones biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

³⁶ Russell N. Jordahl biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and “General Tschirgi to Head LFTU,” *Coronado (CA) Eagle and Journal*, 8 May 1958.

³⁷ Howard N. Kenyon biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Robert C. Kilmartin Jr. served as an instructor at TBS from 1925–27. He was born in Virginia in 1896. Kilmartin began service in the Marine Corps while still a college student, receiving a temporary commission as second lieutenant in 1917. He received temporary advancements to first lieutenant and captain in 1918–19 and was assigned to the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy. He attended George Washington University in Washington, DC, and completed a law degree while there; he then began postgraduate work in international law in 1920–21. During that era, typical study for a bachelor of law was three to four years, so Kilmartin likely undertook studies during most of the time he was stationed in and around Washington, DC. In 1921, he was detached to Santo Domingo and remained on duty there for two years. He worked as aide to Brigadier General Dion Williams from 1924–25, in Quantico. General Williams was a well-known lecturer who played a significant role in the development of the Advanced Base Force concept in the Marine Corps. Kilmartin completed the Company Officers' Course while he was stationed at Quantico. He went directly from Quantico to his assignment at TBS. Between then and World War II, he served in Nicaragua, Cuba, and on sea duty; completed the Field Officers' Course at Quantico; and returned to the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy. He served in a combat role at Guadalcanal and the Solomon Islands. His remaining wartime billets were on division and Fleet Marine Force staffs. Kilmartin retired in 1949 and was advanced to the rank of brigadier general in recognition of wartime service. He kept no personal papers, but the Marine Corps Schools collection retained two lectures he delivered while at Quantico.³⁸

John R. Lanigan served as an instructor at TBS from 1939–41. He was born in Washington, DC, in 1902. He attended the University of Maryland and graduated in 1926. He immediately proceeded to Philadelphia and attended TBS as a student from 1926–27. He was a member of the all-Marine football team and was briefly stationed at Quantico to participate in the team's activities. His nickname while on the football team was "the fighting Irishman." During his early career, he also served in Nicaragua and China. He was selected for aviation training but was not able to complete the assignment due to illness. He served a sea duty tour aboard the USS *California* (BB 44). Lanigan completed the Company Officers' Course at Quantico immediately prior to joining the staff at TBS. During World War II, he was decorated for heroism as the commanding officer of the 25th Marine Regiment at Iwo Jima. After the war, he served as commanding officer of the Marine Barracks at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and as chief of staff at Parris Island. Lanigan was advanced to the rank of brigadier general at his retirement in 1957. He kept personal papers pertaining to the Iwo

³⁸ Robert C. Kilmartin Jr. biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Jima campaign and two photographs. One photograph showed him along with other combat commanders at Saipan in 1944. The other is a photograph of the TBS Class of 1926–27, with members of the class identified in pen. Lanigan's classmates included future Commandant of the Marine Corps and fellow football star David M. Shoup.³⁹

Harry B. Liversedge served as an instructor at TBS from 1936–38. He was born in 1894 in California. He attended the University of California at Berkeley and participated in track and field events. He enlisted as a private in the Marine Corps in 1917 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1918. He went to France with the 5th Brigade and was promoted to first lieutenant while overseas. After returning to the United States in 1919, he was assigned to Quantico, Santo Domingo, and Quantico again in quick succession. He was well known as a football player during his early career. He also participated in the 1920 Olympic Games at Antwerp, earning a bronze medal in track and field events. He then served in Haiti. He participated in the 1924 Olympic Games, and later that year went to Quantico to complete the Company Officers' Course. After completing it, Liversedge was stationed in China where he coached the boxing team and participated in international sports competitions. He served a tour of sea duty before returning to Quantico to complete the Field Officers' Course. He began his time on the TBS staff in June 1936 and was promoted to major in July. He fought with the Marine Raider battalion at New Georgia during World War II, receiving a Navy Cross. He commanded the 28th Marine Regiment at Iwo Jima and was awarded his second Navy Cross for action there. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1948 and died on active duty in 1951.⁴⁰

Karl K. Louther served on the staff at TBS in 1936–37. He was born in Missouri in 1901 and attended the University of Michigan. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1925 and served two years before accepting a commission as second lieutenant in 1928. He attended TBS as a student in 1928–29. Louther then attended the aviation course at Hampton Roads, Virginia. He served at Parris Island, on sea duty, and at Mare Island (California) and was a distinguished marksman on the Marine Corps pistol team. Immediately after his tour on TBS staff, he proceeded to China. He was present in China during a brief combat exchange between local Chinese and American forces and Japanese troops who had entered the area. Louther returned to the United States to take the Company Officers' Course, and stayed at Quantico as a member of the school's staff after completing the course. During World War II, he served as a courier pilot

³⁹John R. Lanigan biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and John R. Lanigan Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴⁰Harry Bluett Liversedge biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

for special confidential documents. He later worked on the planning staff for the 6th Marine Division. After the war, he attended the National War College. Records indicate Louther was a brigadier general at the time of his death, which may have been a promotion granted at retirement in recognition of combat service.⁴¹

Louis E. Marie Jr. served as an instructor at TBS from 1938–40. He was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1897. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy and received a commission as second lieutenant in the Marines in 1920. He served in China and the Philippines, as well as multiple tours of sea duty. From 1936–38, he studied at the *École Supérieure de Guerre* in Paris. He retired as a colonel and died in 1959.⁴²

Andrew J. Mathiesen served as an instructor at TBS from 1938–40. He was born in 1903 in California and graduated from the University of California in 1925. He attended TBS as a student in 1925–26. His early career included tours of sea duty, service in China, and time coaching and participating with the Marine Corps marksmanship team. He attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning immediately prior to his tour on the TBS staff. While on the staff at TBS, he completed the Naval War College's correspondence course in international law. Mathiesen left TBS to take a billet with the 4th Marine Regiment in the Philippines, where he was promoted to major in 1941. He was captured by the Japanese and died while a prisoner of war sometime in 1943. Mathiesen's name is prominent in several memoirs by prisoners of war.⁴³

Charles A. Miller served as an instructor at TBS from 1940–41. His service record is missing and he kept no personal papers. Miller is likely the Captain Charles A. Miller who served alongside fellow TBS instructor Marcellus Howard in the first airborne units of the Marine Corps. He retired in 1947 as a major.

Robert M. Montague served as an instructor at TBS from 1926–28. He was born in Virginia in 1892 and graduated from the University of Virginia. He

⁴¹ Karl K. Louther biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴² Louis Marie Jr. Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴³ Andrew J. Mathiesen biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA. See also Betty B. Jones, *The December Ship* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011); George Weller, *First into Nagasaki* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006); and Duane Heisinger, *Father Found* (Maitland, FL: Xulon Press, 2003).

enlisted in the Marine Corps Reserves in 1917 and received an appointment as a second lieutenant in October of that year. Montague was decorated for valor during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, receiving the Navy Cross and Distinguished Service Cross. He was discharged in 1919 and left the Marine Corps. In 1921, he accepted a reappointment and served on the staff at Headquarters Marine Corps for one year. He then completed a tour of sea duty aboard the USS *Pittsburgh* (Armored Cruiser no. 4). Montague returned to France briefly in 1923 to command the Marine detachment participating in dedicated ceremonies for memorial at Belleau Woods. He then attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning from 1925–26. After completing his tour at TBS, he went to China, Haiti, and back to France. He attended advanced schools in Paris and served as an exchange officer with several French Army units. During World War II, he served on the staff of the Naval War College and on planning staffs for the 5th Amphibious Corps and 1st Marine Division. Montague wrote a memoir for his children, which was preserved among his personal papers. Other items in his collection included documents describing his World War training, which took place at Quantico. Montague retired as a brigadier general in 1946. He maintained an interest in historical artifacts and preservation, serving as superintendent of Gunston Hall, home of George Mason, during the 1950s and '60s. He died in 1972.⁴⁴

Clifton R. Moss served as an instructor at TBS from June 1939 until January 1941. He attended TBS as a student in 1931–32. Newspapers during the interwar era frequently reported on competitive shooting matches among military units; Moss is mentioned as an accomplished marksman. He was medically retired in 1942, having achieved the rank of major. He died in 1991 and is buried in Annapolis near the Naval Academy grounds.⁴⁵

John Dwight Muncie served as an instructor at TBS in 1935 and 1936. He was born in Illinois in 1900 and attended the University of Illinois. He received his commission as a second lieutenant in 1923. He reported to Quantico immediately, but his name does not appear among students for the basic course that was held there that year. He participated in exercises with the East Coast Expeditionary Force in late 1923 and attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning before his tour as an instructor at TBS. In 1937–38, he worked in the office

⁴⁴ Robert Latane Montague biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA; and Robert L. Montague Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴⁵ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942, 1945); and “Maj Clifton Revell Moss,” FindAGrave.com.

of the naval attaché in Paris, France, before returning to League Island as an instructor in 1939–40. He was serving as executive officer for the 5th Marine Regiment at Okinawa when his service record ends. He kept no personal papers.⁴⁶

Ellsworth Murray served as an instructor at TBS from June 1939 until the school closed in 1942. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1932, attending TBS beginning that fall.

Leslie F. Narum served as an instructor at TBS from 1937–40. He was born in 1903 in Iowa. He attended the Agricultural College of North Dakota and participated in that institution's ROTC program. Narum received a second lieutenant's commission in 1925. He attended TBS as a student in 1925–26 alongside fellow instructors Andrew Mathiesen and David Claude. In 1948, he was court-martialed and ejected from the Marine Corps on charges of misuse of U.S. government funds. The conviction was upheld, based on a procedural technicality, by the U.S. Court of Claims in Washington, DC, in 1960. Narum was a colonel at the time of his dismissal.⁴⁷

Nels H. Nelson served as an instructor at TBS from 1934–36. He was born in South Dakota in 1903 and attended both Dakota Wesleyan University and the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduation from the academy he accepted a commission as a second lieutenant in 1926. He attended TBS as a student in 1927–28 for only a half year. He served in China and Nicaragua in the late 1920s. In 1931, he attended the Army Signal School at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. He served in Haiti as the officer in charge of the Haitian government's radio, telephone, and international communications systems. He then joined the staff of TBS. After his tour at TBS he completed the Company Officers' Course at Quantico. He then returned to China, where he was present for the active hostilities between Chinese and Japanese forces during 1938. From 1940–43, he was the officer in charge of the Signal Supply Division at Headquarters Marine Corps. From 1943 until the end of World War II, he was the signal officer for the 1st Amphibious Corps. He commanded Marine detachments, the 12th Marine Corps Reserve District, and the Landing

⁴⁶ *The University of Illinois: The Fifty-third Commencement, Nineteen Hundred Twenty-four* (Urbana: University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1924), 30; "The U.S. Marine Corps Commissioned," *Leatherneck*, June 1932, 1, 3; Schools Detachment, Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, Philadelphia, muster roll 0322, September 1931, Ancestry.com; and Army Motor Transport School, Camp Holabird, MD, muster roll 0357, 1933–34, Ancestry.com.

⁴⁷ Leslie Narum biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Force Training Unit, Pacific. He also attended the National War College and sat on the general board of the Navy from 1949–50. He was advanced to the rank of major general after retirement, in recognition of his combat service.⁴⁸

William Orr served as an instructor at TBS from 1934–37. He was born in Nevada in 1901 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduation from the academy in 1922, his service record indicated he completed the basic course at Quantico. His name does not appear on muster rolls for the schools detachment at Quantico during 1922 or 1923. He then served in Haiti once and Nicaragua three times before 1928. He served two tours of sea duty. Orr attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning in 1933–34 immediately before joining the staff at TBS. After leaving Philadelphia, he served in China. He served as an instructor at the Marine Corps Schools in Quantico until early 1941.⁴⁹

Roger W. Peard served as an instructor at TBS from June 1929 until June 1930. He was born in Iowa in 1891. Peard enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1915 and served for one year before accepting a commission as second lieutenant. He went to France and remained there until 1919; for some time he was detached to the U.S. Army, probably participating in occupation duties. He took some courses at the Sorbonne during that time. He served in China, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Cuba. The final entry in his personnel file indicates that he was missing in action in 1943. However, his death record indicates he died in California in 1948 and is buried at the veterans' cemetery in San Diego. His son, Roger W. Peard Jr., was a Marine pilot in Vietnam.⁵⁰

Lewis B. Puller served as an instructor at TBS from 1936–39. One of the most famous Marines to ever live, he is one of the few instructors consistently mentioned in histories about the League Island era of TBS. Puller was born in Virginia in 1898 and attended the Virginia Military Institute. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1918 and was frustrated by his inability to get attached to a unit that was going overseas. He was given a commission as second lieutenant in 1919, but the drawdown of the Marine Corps at the same time meant he was shifted to inactive status after only 10 days. Puller wanted to serve actively and so he resigned the commission and reenlisted. He served in Haiti for several

⁴⁸ Nels H. Nelson biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁴⁹ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928); and *The Lucky Bag: The Annual of the Regiment of Midshipmen, United States Naval Academy* (Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Academy, 1922), 201.

⁵⁰ Roger W. Peard biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

years. His official biography states that he attended the Basic Course at Philadelphia in 1924, but his name is not among the student lists for that year. He attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning prior to serving as an instructor at TBS. While at TBS, Puller taught courses on drill and marksmanship. He served in China between his time as an instructor at TBS and World War II. He held a variety of combat commands during World War II, as well as during the Korean War. He amassed a record five Navy Crosses during the course of his career. Puller's personnel records and personal papers collections are extensive. Most of the memorabilia relates to his early career in Haiti, and to his combat commands during World War II and Korea. Puller's own memoir does not mention his time at TBS, but his students from League Island mention it in their own.⁵¹

Samuel D. Puller served as an instructor at TBS from 1939–42. He was born in Virginia in 1905 and attended St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1929 and served three years before accepting a commission as second lieutenant. He attended TBS as a student from 1932–33. Puller served tours of sea duty and a variety of garrison billets in the continental United States. He attended the Company Officers' Course at Quantico immediately before joining the staff of TBS. After leaving Philadelphia he served in a variety of combat commands. He was the younger brother of Lewis B. Puller, but testimony from some students at TBS (1939–42) indicated that "their" Captain Puller figured very significantly in their experience as students, and some were even unaware that the older Puller existed. He was killed in action on Guam in 1944.⁵²

William C. Purple served as an instructor at TBS from 1935–37. He was born in 1901 in Pennsylvania and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. He graduated from the academy in 1924 and attended TBS as a student in 1924–25. He attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning in 1934–35. He retired from the Marine Corps as a colonel.⁵³

William E. Riley served as an instructor at TBS from 1927–28. He was born in 1897 in Minnesota. He attended the College of St. Thomas and graduated in 1917. He accepted a commission as second lieutenant that year and departed for France in September. Riley was decorated for action at Verdun and Aisne-Marne. After returning to the United States, he served in Haiti, Puerto Rico,

⁵¹ "Lieutenant General Lewis B. Puller," *Who's Who in Marine Corps History*, MCHD.

⁵² Samuel Duncan Puller biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁵³ Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, League Island, PA, muster roll 0387, August 1936, Ancestry.com.

Santo Domingo, and Cuba. During World War II he served on senior staffs before commanding the 3d Marine Division. During his late career, he held key billets related to the State Department and diplomatic missions, especially related to the formation of Israel. Riley retired as a lieutenant general in 1951 and died in 1970.⁵⁴

Alley David Rorex served as the commanding officer of TBS from 1926–30. He was the longest-serving officer at TBS during the League Island period and was instrumental in maintaining the length and vigor of the course in the face of attempts at alteration by the staff at both Headquarters Marine Corps and the Marine Corps Schools. Rorex was born in Alabama in 1882. He joined the Marine Corps in 1909 when he accepted a commission as second lieutenant. Unfortunately, no official personnel records exist to document his military service. The *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps* indicates that he served in Haiti in 1915 and Santo Domingo in 1923, and he was in Quantico from 1920–22. Rorex was a major at the time he commanded TBS. In 1938, he retired from the Marine Corps as a colonel and died in 1946. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.⁵⁵

Clarence Monroe Ruffner served as an instructor at TBS from 1927–29. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1892. Census and draft records indicate that he joined the Marine Corps in 1916 or 1917, and he retired as a major in the late 1930s. Muster rolls for the Marine Corps place him in Haiti prior to his TBS service and in China afterward. Ruffner reregistered for the draft in 1941 (at age 50) and indicated as his employment status that he was “awaiting reactivation.” There is no record to indicate that he was recalled to active duty at that time. He died in 1945.⁵⁶

Jamie Sabater served as an instructor at TBS in 1931–33. He was born in Puerto Rico in 1904 and attended the College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts there for three years. He then entered the U.S. Naval Academy. While at the Naval Academy he received aviation training. After graduating in 1927, he attended TBS in 1927–28. He was stationed in Nicaragua right away, then traveled to Quantico to serve as the officer in charge of the radio school there. Sabater served as an instructor at the Company Officers’ Course in Quantico for three months in 1930. Still a second lieutenant, he next returned to Philadelphia, serving as an instructor at TBS beginning in June 1931. Sabater is the only

⁵⁴ William E. Riley biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁵⁵ Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, League Island, PA muster roll 0309, June 1930, Ancestry.com.

⁵⁶ Clarence Ruffner biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

second lieutenant to serve on the staff at TBS. During World War II, he was the commanding officer of the 1st Battalion, 9th Marine Regiment. After the war, he served in China and at Headquarters Marine Corps. He was stationed in Argentina as a military advisor when he was killed in a jeep accident at 1955 at the rank of colonel.⁵⁷

Morris L. Shively served as an instructor at TBS from 1936–38. He was born in 1896 and enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1917. His personnel record is missing, but the *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers* indicates that he served in Haiti and China before his time on the staff at TBS. He was known as a competitive marksman.⁵⁸

Amor LeRoy Sims served as an instructor at TBS from 1935–38. He was born in 1896 in Ohio. He completed two years of college before enlisting in the Marine Corps. He served during the First World War and in Nicaragua. Sims retired as a brigadier general and died in 1978.⁵⁹

Emmett W. Skinner served as an instructor at TBS from 1929–30. He was born in 1894 and accepted a commission as second lieutenant in 1917. He saw World War I service, but his personnel record is missing so no further information about his military service is available. He attended the Infantry School at Fort Benning from 1927–28. Skinner retired as a colonel in 1946 and died in 1954.⁶⁰

Joseph Thomas Smith served as an instructor at TBS from 1930–31. He was born in Livermore, California, in 1895. He attended the University of California, graduating in 1917, and accepted a commission as second lieutenant at that time. He did not serve in France but instead went to Haiti and Guam. He com-

⁵⁷ Jamie Sabater biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁵⁸ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, various years); and Maj Robert E. Barde, *The History of Competitive Marksmanship* (Washington, DC: Marksmanship Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1961), 230–31, 242–43, 429.

⁵⁹ Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, League Island, PA, muster roll 0360, May 1934, Ancestry.com; and *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and United States Marine Corps*.

⁶⁰ Headquarters, Washington, DC, muster roll 0121, April 1917; Motor Transport School, Camp Holabird, MD, muster roll 0291, December 1928; Schools Detachment, Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, Philadelphia, muster roll 0301, October 1929; and Company C, First Headquarters Battalion, Headquarters Troops, Headquarters Marine Corps, Washington, DC, muster roll 1140, July 1946, all Ancestry.com.

pleted the Company Officers' Course at Quantico in 1922, graduating first in his class. He held a combat command at Guadalcanal and was the chief of staff for the Fleet Marine Force for operations at Tinian, Saipan, and Guam. He retired in 1946 as a major general.⁶¹

William Dulty Smith served as the commanding officer of TBS from 1930–34. He was born in 1883. He attended Swarthmore College until 1904 and his name appears in the records of the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity for many years as a “well known marksman” and crack pistol shot. Smith participated in the Marine Corps marksmanship teams for a number of years. He retired as a colonel and died in 1965.⁶²

Clate Charles Snyder served as an instructor at TBS from 1928–31. He was born in 1893. His personnel record is missing, but the *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers* indicates that he served in Santo Domingo at Quantico before his tour at TBS. He retired in 1938 as a major and died in 1964.⁶³

Walter James Stuart served as an instructor at TBS from 1935–36. He was born in New Jersey in 1900 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy, graduating in 1924. He was among the students of the first TBS class to convene at Philadelphia in 1924, but the muster roll record is incomplete. Stuart likely completed only a partial basic course since he was an academy graduate. Before his time as an instructor, he went to Nicaragua. During World War II, he was the commanding officer of the 2d Marine Regiment and was decorated for heroism in connection with the assault on Saipan. He retired as a brigadier general in 1949 and died in 1969.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Joseph Tomas Smith biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁶² *Halcyon, 1905*, Swarthmore College yearbook, 127; *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, various years); Depot of Supplies, Navy Yard, Philadelphia muster roll 0083, December 1911; Schools Detachment, Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, Philadelphia muster roll 0344, March 1933; Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, Philadelphia muster roll 0403, June 1937, all Ancestry.com; and “Col William Dulty Smith,” FindAGrave.com.

⁶³ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1925), 420.

⁶⁴ Corps Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, League Island, PA muster roll 0243, December 1924, Ancestry.com; Maj Carl W. Hoffman, *Saipan: The Beginning of the End* (Washington, DC: Historical Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1950); and “Walter J. Stuart,” Citation for Legion of Merit, Hall of Valor Project, accessed 14 October 2022.

Gerald C. Thomas served as an instructor at TBS from 1932–34. He was born in Missouri in 1894 and was attending college at the start of World War I. He enlisted in the Marine Corps and fought in France in 1917–18. He was awarded the Silver Star for actions at Belleau Wood. In September 1918, he accepted a commission as second lieutenant and continued to serve in France until July 1919. He served in Haiti in late 1919–20, then was stationed at Quantico where he completed the Company Officers' Course. He served sea duty, attended the U.S. Army Motor Transport School, commanded the transportation company at Parris Island, and then returned to Haiti, all during the 1920s. In 1931, he returned to the United States and attended the Army Infantry School at Fort Benning. Thomas was the only TBS instructor to attend both the Company Officers' Course and the course at Fort Benning. Immediately after completing the Fort Benning course, he joined the staff at TBS. In his memoir, Thomas expressed misgivings about serving as an instructor at TBS, since the assignment did not have a command component and he was "losing time" that could have been spent on active service with the Fleet. Regardless, he remained for a full two-year tour at Philadelphia before being assigned to take the Field Officers' Course at Quantico. He then sailed for China. Thomas was a staff planner for the initial invasions of Guadalcanal and Tulagi, and was present on the islands as chief of staff for the 1st Marine Division. He received several decorations in conjunction with those campaigns. After World War II, Thomas commanded the Fleet Marine Force, Western Pacific, until that unit was disbanded in 1949. He then commanded the 1st Marine Division during the Korean War, where he was decorated by the U.S. Army. He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1952 and named Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps. He retired in 1956 after a two-year tour commanding the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico. He died in 1984. General Thomas left a large collection of personal papers, most of which relate to his service in World War II and as Assistant Commandant.⁶⁵

Allen H. Turnage served as the commanding officer of TBS from 1935–36. He was born in 1891 in North Carolina and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. He graduated from the academy in 1913 and then attended TBS while it was located in Norfolk, Virginia. At that time, the course was 17 months long. He served in Haiti prior to World War I. In France, he served as the commanding officer of the 5th Marine Regiment's Machine Gun Battalion. After the war, he served as an instructor at the Quantico Marine Corps Schools, then returned to Haiti from 1922–25. He then returned to Quantico to complete the Field Officers' Course. He had one tour of sea duty before being assigned to TBS as commanding officer. After his tour at TBS, Turnage served in China. He commanded the

⁶⁵ Gerald Catharae Thomas Personal Papers Collection, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

new Marine Corps Base at New River, North Carolina, (later renamed Camp Lejeune) before traveling to the Pacific to take command of the 3d Marine Division in September 1943. He was Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps from 1944–46. His final assignment was as commanding general, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific. He retired in January 1948, and was promoted to general in recognition of his combat service.⁶⁶

Merrill B. Twining served as a TBS instructor from 1936–37. He was born in Wisconsin in 1902 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. He graduated from the academy in 1923. His official record indicates that he attended TBS at Quantico in 1923, but no record of his name appears on the muster rolls during that time period. He participated in fleet maneuvers and in China during the 1930s. From 1929–32, he was with the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy, and he completed a bachelor of law degree at George Washington University at that time. He participated in competitive marksmanship events throughout his early career. In July 1935, he began a course at the Infantry School at Fort Benning. Twining likely took the senior course at Benning, unlike many of his instructor peers who attended the junior course. This is evidenced by a lengthy term paper included in the Benning archive, submitted by Twining while a student there; typically, only senior students wrote papers. He joined the staff of TBS immediately after completing the course at Fort Benning. After leaving Philadelphia, he served as a company commander at Quantico and also worked on the staff of the Marine Corps Schools. He participated in fleet maneuvers in the late 1930s as well. Twining was on the staff of General Archer A. Vandegrift in 1941–42 and was the assistant operations officer and assistant chief of staff, G-3 (operations), during the Guadalcanal campaign. Twining was one of the two officers who flew initial reconnaissance flights over the Solomon Islands. He remained on Vandegrift's staff when the general took command of the 1st Marine Amphibious Corps. From November 1943 until 1947, Twining was back at Quantico, again on the staff of the Marine Corps Schools. He was promoted to colonel during that time. Twining held staff billets throughout the late 1940s and served as assistant division commander for the 1st Marine Division during the Korean War. In 1956, he was promoted to lieutenant general and returned to Quantico a final time, serving as commandant of the Marine Corps Schools until his retirement in 1959. Twining kept an extensive personal papers collection with significant portions dedicated to the Marine Corps Schools. Many of his papers related to TBS, though not for the years during which he was a member of its staff.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Allen Turnage biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁶⁷ Merrill Twining Personal Collection Papers, Archives, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Randall M. Victory served as an instructor at TBS from 1939–41. He was born in Wisconsin in 1904 and attended the University of Washington from 1925–29. He participated in the university's ROTC program while a student, and completed the Officer Candidates School. After graduation he accepted a commission as second lieutenant in the Marine Corps. He attended TBS as a student in 1929–30. After completing TBS, he served in China and on sea duty. When he returned to the United States, he attended the U.S. Army Field Artillery School in Fort Sill, Oklahoma, the first TBS instructor to undertake special instruction in field artillery. He did not attend the Company Officers' Course or the Infantry School at Fort Benning. Victory's combat assignments during World War II were all related to the 10th and 14th Marine (artillery) Regiments. After the war he served in staff and command billets related to Marine Corps logistics and installations in several locations. He retired in 1959 with the rank of major general.⁶⁸

Walter Aloysius Wachtler served as an instructor at TBS from 1931–34. He was born in 1896 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy, graduating in 1919. His official biography indicates that he attended a basic course at Quantico in 1920, but no record for his name appears on muster rolls for that time and place. He also attended the Officers School for Service Afloat in Norfolk, Virginia. He then departed the United States for service in Santo Domingo. He returned to attend the Army Signal School, then departed again in 1925 for Nicaragua. He left Nicaragua for China, where he served as the detachment communications officer until 1930. Wachtler completed the Company Officers' Course at Quantico in 1930–31 and then reported to TBS. After his time on TBS staff, he held staff billets as communications officer in Quantico and at Headquarters Marine Corps. He traveled to Europe as an observer for most of 1942. During the rest of World War II, he served in a variety of commands throughout the Pacific, always in some specialty related to communications or personnel. He retired in 1947 and was advanced to the rank of brigadier general in recognition of his combat service.⁶⁹

John Thaddeus Walker served as an instructor at TBS from 1928–32. He was born in Texas in 1893 and attended the Texas A&M University. He graduated in 1917 and accepted a commission as second lieutenant immediately. He went to France with the 5th Marine Regiment in June 1917. He saw active combat but was soon ordered back to the United States to serve as an instructor at the Bayonet School at Quantico. He remained there until 1920, when he left for

⁶⁸ Randall M. Victory biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

⁶⁹ Walter Wachtler biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Santo Domingo. He spent two years in the Caribbean before returning to serve as an aide to the commandant of the Norfolk Navy Yard. He then attended the Company Officers' Course at Quantico from 1925–26. Walker then completed a tour of sea duty, as detachment commander aboard the USS *West Virginia* (BB 48). His tour at TBS was the longest of any other officer serving during the League Island period. In 1932, he left Philadelphia and went to Haiti then to Headquarters Marine Corps. He observed the fighting in Egypt prior to the United States' entry into World War II in 1941. Newly promoted to colonel, he took command of the 22d Marine Regiment in June 1942. He participated in hand-to-hand fighting on Eniwetok, for which he was awarded a Navy Cross. He then held staff billets before joining the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade as chief of staff. He received a Legion of Merit for participation in the recapture of Guam in 1944. After the war he commanded training centers, the 3d Marine Brigade, and the Department of Personnel at Headquarters. His final billet was as commanding officer of Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego. He retired in 1954 and was advanced to the rank of lieutenant general in recognition of combat service. He died in 1955.⁷⁰

Louis J. Whaley served as an instructor at TBS for only seven months, from December 1930 until June 1931. He was born in New York in 1892 and attended the Citadel military academy, graduating in 1914. His specialty was civil engineering. He accepted a commission as second lieutenant in 1917 and went to Haiti, where he participated in the regular activities of the 1st Provisional Brigade in addition to helping install a new water supply system at Cape Haitien. In 1929, he worked as aide to the Commandant of the Marine Corps before attending the Infantry School at Fort Benning. After his tour at TBS, he worked as an intelligence officer, security officer, instructor at the Naval Medical School, and provost marshal at different installations on the Atlantic coast. The final entry in his personnel records indicates he was missing in action in April 1943. However, both a retirement and death record are entered in the U.S. Department of Veterans' Affairs database. These indicate that Whaley retired in 1946 as a colonel and died in 1979.⁷¹

Julius Wright served as an instructor at TBS from 1924–26. He was born in Indiana in 1896 and attended the U.S. Naval Academy. After graduating from the academy in 1917, he accepted a commission as second lieutenant. He did not

⁷⁰ "Major General John T. Walker, United States Marine Corps, Commanding General," Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego, California, Third Battalion, yearbook, 1954, Korean War Veterans of Mount Horeb Collection, University of Wisconsin-Madison Library, 7; and "LTG John Thaddeus Walker," FindAGrave.com.

⁷¹ Louis Whaley biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

go to France, but traveled to Quantico, Fort Sill (possibly for artillery training but only for two months), and China. He also served tours of sea duty. Wright also participated in mail guard duty in the early 1920s before his assignment to TBS. His official personnel record ends in 1930 and he kept no personal papers. Death record indices suggest that he died in 1931.⁷²

⁷² Julius Wright biographical file, Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

Appendix B

Staff and Students from the Marine Corps Muster Rolls

The initial League Island classes averaged 30 students and employed a correspondingly small staff. By 1940, the average class size numbered more than 100 students with a significantly larger staff, including multiple senior officers. Throughout the League Island period, about 25 of the students each year received their commissions on graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy. Between 5 to 10 students were commissioned from the ranks each year, but their number dwindled to zero by the mid-1930s. Making up the difference were commissions from college graduates, initially from a select group of distinguished military colleges. As classes grew, an increasingly broad sample of colleges and universities were represented among the sources of commissions as ROTC programs became more plentiful. The lists in this appendix are separated by staff and students; student lists indicate from which institution each student was commissioned into TBS.

STAFF

Class of 1924, Fall Cycle (August–December)

Major John R. Henley, officer in charge
Captain Daniel Earle Campbell
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Franklin A. Hart
Captain Julius T. Wright
First Lieutenant George R. Hollett

Class of 1925, Spring Cycle (January–May)

Major John R. Henley, officer in charge
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Franklin A. Hart
Captain Julius T. Wright
First Lieutenant George R. Hollett

Class of 1925, Fall Cycle (August–December)

Major John R. Henley, officer in charge
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Franklin A. Hart
Captain Julius T. Wright
First Lieutenant Robert Kilmartin

Class of 1926, Spring Cycle (January–May)

Major John R. Henley, officer in charge
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Franklin A. Hart
Captain Julius T. Wright
First Lieutenant Robert Kilmartin

Class of 1926, Fall Cycle (August–January)

Major Alley D. Rorex, officer in charge
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Robert Kilmartin
Captain Robert M. Montague
First Lieutenant Edwin A. Fellowes

Class of 1927, Spring Cycle (February–June)

Major Alley D. Rorex, officer in charge
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Robert Kilmartin
Captain Robert M. Montague
First Lieutenant Bayard Bell
First Lieutenant Edwin A. Fellowes
Major Anthony D. Biddle, USMCR

Class of 1927, Fall Cycle (August–December)

Major Alley D. Rorex, officer in charge
Captain Stephen F. Drew
Captain Edwin A. Fellowes
Captain Robert Kilmartin
Captain Robert M. Montague
Captain William E. Riley
Captain Clarence M. Ruffner
First Lieutenant Bayard Bell

Class of 1928, Spring Cycle (February–July)

Major Alley D. Rorex, officer in charge
Captain Edwin A. Fellowes
Captain Robert Kilmartin

Captain William E. Riley
Captain Clarence M. Ruffner

Class of 1928-29 (August-May)

Major Alley D. Rorex, officer in charge
Captain William W. Ashurst
Captain Clarence M. Ruffner
Captain John T. Walker
Captain Julius Wright

Class of 1929-30 (August-May)

Major Alley D. Rorex, officer in charge
Captain William W. Ashurst
Captain Roger W. Peard
Captain Merrit Edson
Captain Emmet W. Skinner
Captain Clate Snyder
Captain John T. Walker
Captain Julius Wright

Class of 1930-31 (August-May)

Lieutenant Colonel William D. Smith, director
Captain Merrit Edson
Captain Graves B. Erskine
Captain Joseph T. Smith
Captain Clate C. Snyder
Captain Louis Whaley
Captain John T. Walker
Captain Julius Wright

Class of 1931-32 (August-May)

Lieutenant Colonel William D. Smith, director
Captain Merritt A. Curtis
Captain Louis G. Dehaven
Captain Graves B. Erskine
Captain Joseph T. Smith
Captain John T. Walker
First Lieutenant Walter M. Wachtler
Second Lieutenant Jamie Sabater
Major Anthony Drexel Biddle, USMCR

Class of 1932-33 (June-May)

Lieutenant Colonel William D. Smith, director
Captain Merton J. Batchelder

Captain Dudley S. Brown
Captain Merritt A. Curtis
Captain Louis G. Dehaven
Captain Graves D. Erskine
Captain Blythe G. Jones
Captain Gerald C. Thomas
First Lieutenant Walter M. Wachtler
Second Lieutenant Jamie Sabater

Class of 1933–34 (June–May)

Lieutenant Colonel William D. Smith, director
Captain Merton J. Batchelder
Captain Dudley S. Brown
Captain Merritt A. Curtis
Captain Louis G. Dehaven
Captain Blythe G. Jones
Captain Gerald C. Thomas
First Lieutenant Walter M. Wachtler

Class of 1934–35 (June–May)

Lieutenant Colonel Julian C. Smith, director
Captain Merton J. Batchelder
Captain Lee Hoxie Brown
Captain Louis G. Dehaven
Captain Blythe G. Jones
First Lieutenant John D. Muncie
First Lieutenant Nels H. Nelson
First Lieutenant William D. Orr

Class of 1935–36 (June–May)

Lieutenant Colonel Allen H. Turnage, officer in charge
Major Lee Hoxie Brown
Captain John D. Muncie
Captain William Orr
Captain Amor Sims
Captain Merrill Twining
First Lieutenant David K. Claude
First Lieutenant Chester Graham
First Lieutenant Harold Harris
First Lieutenant Karl K. Louthier
First Lieutenant W. M. Nelson
First Lieutenant William Purple
First Lieutenant Walter J. Stuart

Class of 1936-37 (June-May)

Lieutenant Colonel Allen Turnage, officer in charge

Major Lee Hoxie Brown

Major Harry Liversedge

Major Amor Sims

Captain David K. Claude

Captain Charles F. Cresswell

Captain Leonard B. Cresswell

Captain Chester R. Graham

Captain Harold Harris

Captain Howard Kenyon

Captain Karl K. Louther

Captain William Orr

Captain Samuel D. Puller

Captain Morris L. Shively

Class of 1937-38 (June-May)

Lieutenant Colonel Gilder D. Jackson, commanding officer

Major Harry Liversedge

Major Amor Sims

Captain James Brauer

Captain Charles F. Cresswell

Captain Leonard B. Cresswell

Captain Chester R. Graham

Captain Roy M. Gulick

Captain Harold Harris

Captain Russell N. Jordahl

Captain Howard Kanyon

Captain Leslie F. Narum

Captain Samuel D. Puller

Captain Morris L. Shively

Captain Norman Husa

Class of 1938-39 (June-May)

Lieutenant Colonel Gilder D. Jackson, commanding officer

Major Frank B. Goettge

Major Howard N. Kenyon

Captain James Brauer

Captain Kenneth B. Chappell

Captain Charles F. Cresswell

Captain Leonard B. Cresswell

Captain Walfried Fromhold

Captain Roy M. Gulick

Captain Marcellus J. Howard

Captain Russell N. Jordahl
Captain Andrew J. Mathiesen
Captain Leslie F. Narum
Captain Samuel D. Puller
Captain Louis E. Marie

Class of 1939–40 (August–June)

Lieutenant Colonel Gilder D. Jackson, commanding officer
Major Frank B. Goettge
Major Louis E. Marie
Major William J. Scheyer
Captain Joseph H. Berry
Captain James Brauer
Captain Melvin G. Brown
Captain Kenneth B. Chappell
Captain Raymond F. Crist
Captain Walfried Fromhold
Captain Roy M. Gulick
Captain Marcellus Howard
Captain John R. Lanigan
Captain Andrew J. Mathieser
Captain Clifton R. Moss
Captain John D. Muncie
Captain Ellsworth Murray
Captain Leslie F. Narum
Captain Samuel D. Puller
Captain Randall M. Victory

Class of 1940–41 (July–May)

Colonel Clifton B. Cates, commanding officer
Lieutenant Colonel Frank Goettge, executive officer
Major Kenneth B. Chappel
Major Louis E. Marie
Major Andrew Mathiesen
Major John D. Muncie
Major William J. Scheyer
Captain John Berry
Captain Melvin G. Brown
Captain Raymond Crist
Captain Walfriend Fromhold
Captain Howard
Captain John R. Lanigan
Captain Charles A. Miller
Captain Clifton R. Moss

Captain Ellsworth Murray
Captain Samuel D. Puller
Captain Randall Victory

STUDENTS

Class of 1924, Fall Cycle

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| John L. Allen | U.S. Naval Academy Class of 1924 (USNA24) |
| Robert O. Bare | USNA24 |
| Samuel K. Bird | University of Oklahoma |
| Kenneth B. Chapell | USNA24 |
| William W. Conway | From Ranks |
| Charles F. Cresswell | USNA24 |
| Lenard B. Cresswell | Mississippi A&M |
| Arthur W. Ellis | University of California |
| Richard Fagan | From Ranks |
| William A. Hamilton | College of William & Mary |
| James H. N. Hudnell | USNA24 |
| James E. Jones | From Ranks |
| Walter J. Jordan | Virginia Military Institute (VMI) |
| Otto Lessing | University of Wisconsin-Madison |
| William G. Manley | USNA24 |
| St Julien R. Marshall | VMI |
| Ralph D. McAfee | USNA24 |
| James B. McHugh | Clemson |
| Charles C. Meints | USNA24 |
| Thomas C. Perrin | Citadel |
| Charles L. Pike | USNA24 |
| William C. Purple Sr. | USNA24 |
| Charles F. Replinger | USNA24 |
| John R. Rhamstine | USNA24 |
| Ernest E. Shaughnessey | From Ranks |
| Prentice A. Shiebler | USNA24 |
| Gerald H. Steenberg | USNA24 |
| Walter J. Stuart | USNA24 |

Class of 1925, Spring Cycle

| | |
|---------------------|------------|
| Raymond A. Anderson | USNA24 |
| Herbert F. Becker | USNA24 |
| George H. Bellinger | USNA24 |
| William V. Calhoun | From Ranks |
| Arthur D. Cooley | From Ranks |

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Lepage Cronmiller Jr. | St Johns College |
| Paul A. Curtis | From Ranks |
| Edwin C. Ferguson | From Ranks |
| Floyd M. Fletcher Sr. | USNA24 |
| Charles C. Forbell Jr. | Unknown |
| Walter H. French | USNA24 |
| John Groves | Unknown |
| Theodore A. Holdahl | From Ranks |
| Alan T. Hunt | USNA24 |
| Alexander W. Krieser Jr. | USNA24 |
| Thomas J. McQuade | University of Maryland |
| Robert J. Mumford | From Ranks |
| Robert B. Payne | Unknown |
| Lewis B. Puller | From Ranks |
| Tilghman H. Saunders | VMI |
| Frank E. Sessions Jr. | USNA24 |
| Clyde Shoesmith | From Ranks |
| Perry K. Smith | USNA24 |
| Henry P. Stevens | USNA24 |
| Earl A. Thomas | From Ranks |
| Donald G. Willis | USNA24 |
| Class of 1925, Fall Cycle | |
| Samuel S. Ballentine | From Ranks |
| James O. Brauer | U.S. Military Academy West Point (USMA) |
| Francis H. Brink | USNA25 |
| Wilburt S. Brown | From Ranks |
| Milo R. Carroll | From Ranks |
| David K. Claude | USNA25 |
| Francis J. Cunningham | Unknown |
| James P. Deveraux Sr. | From Ranks |
| Albert L. Gardner | From Ranks |
| John N. Hart | USNA25 |
| Robert E. Hogaboom | USNA25 |
| Homer L. Litzenberg | From Ranks |
| Andrew J. Mathiesen | University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) |
| Verne J. McCaul | University of North Dakota |
| Arthur E. Mead | Unknown |
| Leslie P. Narum | University of North Dakota |
| Alfred R. Pefley | USNA25 |
| James Snedeker | USNA25 |
| John H. Stillman | USNA25 |

Frank J. Uhlig USNA25
Sidney R. Williamson USNA25

Class of 1926, Spring Cycle

Lon M. Bethel Texas A&M
John D. Blanchard USNA25
Glenn M. Britt Oregon State University
Joseph C. Burger University of Maryland
Frank K. Clements Jr. VMI
David L. Cloud Jr. University of Georgia
Calvin R. Freeman VMI
Archie V. Gerard University of North Dakota
Lionel C. Goudeau USNA25
Thomas C. Green Citadel
Robert L. Griffin Unknown
Harold D. Harris USNA25
John F. Hough University of Maryland
Richard N. Johnson University of Nebraska
Theodore B. Millard From Ranks
Joel L. Mosley Unknown
William M. O'Brien Norwich
Robert C. Orrison From Ranks
Edward L. Pugh University of Maryland
Floyd A. Stephenson From Ranks
Edward J. Trumble USNA25
Adolph Zuber USNA25

Class of 1926, Fall Cycle

Kenneth W. Benner USNA26
Richard S. Burr USNA26
Charles E. Chapel USNA26
John H. Coffman University of Oklahoma
Kenneth H. Cornell USNA26
Ward E. Dickey USNA26
James A. Donohue USNA26
Granville K. Frisbie Pennsylvania State
John H. Griebel Rutgers
Donald N. Hamilton From Ranks
Russell N. Jordahl USNA26
Austin Kautz Jr. From Ranks
Francis B. Loomis Jr. USNA26
Thomas D. Marks Unknown
Francis J. McQuillen USNA26
Lawrence Norman From Ranks

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Waldo A. Page | USNA26 |
| Edward T. Peters | University of California |
| Earl H. Phillips | From Ranks |
| Paul A. Putnam | Iowa State |
| Frank Peter Pyzick | USNA26 |
| Martin S. Rahiser | USNA25 |
| Peter P. Schrider | University of Maryland |
| James F. Shaw Jr. | Norwich |
| Edward W. Snedeker | USNA26 |
| Walter H. Troxel | University of Maryland |
| Lee N. Utz | From Ranks |
| Hawley C. Waterman | USNA26 |
| Hartnoll J. Withers | USNA26 |

Class of 1927, Spring Cycle

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Cyril N. Arnold | University of North Dakota |
| Earl J. Ashton | USNA26 |
| Arthur H. Butler | USNA26 |
| Mortimer S. Crawford | USNA26 |
| Earle S. Davis | USNA26 |
| Chester B. Graham | USNA26 |
| William E. Griffith | University of North Dakota |
| Roy M. Gulick | USNA26 |
| Lofton R. Henderson | USNA26 |
| Raymond E. Hopper | Unknown |
| Matthew C. Horner | From Ranks |
| Thomas B. Jordon | USNA26 |
| Benjamin F. Kaiser | USNA26 |
| John R. Lanigan | University of Maryland |
| Sol E. Levensky | USNA26 |
| Marshall C. Levie | University of Georgia |
| Robert H. McDowell | Citadel |
| Thomas McFarland | Citadel |
| Nels H. Nelson | USNA26 |
| James M. Ranck Jr. | From Ranks |
| Presley M. Rixey | From Ranks |
| Elvin B. Ryan | University of South Dakota |
| Elmer H. Salzman | USNA26 |
| William D. Saunders Jr. | Virginia Tech |
| David M. Shoup | DePauw University |
| Con D. Silard | USNA26 |
| Laramie D. Snead | From Ranks |
| Wallace O. Thompson | University of North Dakota |
| Charles G. Wadbrook | USNA26 |

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| Joseph L. Wolfe | USNA26 |
| Thomas Wornham | USNA26 |
| John S. E. Young Jr. | USNA26 |

Class of 1927, Fall Cycle

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Walter L. Bayler | USNA27 |
| Roger T. Carleson | Norwich |
| Guy D. Chappell | USNA27 |
| Jesse S. Cook Jr. | USNA27 |
| Mercade A. Cramer | North Dakota State |
| Marion L. Dawson | USNA27 |
| Joseph W. Earnshaw | USNA27 |
| Harold D. Hansen | USNA27 |
| Samuel S. Jack | USNA27 |
| Jack P. Juhan | USNA27 |
| Frank M. June | USNA27 |
| Allen E. Koonce | USNA27 |
| John S. Letcher | VMI |
| Robert B. Luckey | University of Maryland |
| Elmer G. Marks | North Dakota State |
| Francis M. McAlister | USNA27 |
| John C. Munn | USNA27 |
| Harold G. Newhart | USNA27 |
| Miles S. Newton | USNA27 |
| Robert A. Olson | USNA27 |
| Archie E. O'Neil | USNA27 |
| Henry R. Paige | USNA27 |
| Earl S. Piper | USNA27 |
| George H. Potter Jr. | USNA27 |
| Raymond P. Rutledge | USNA27 |
| Frank M. Wirsig | University of Nebraska |

Class of 1928, Spring Cycle

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| William W. Benson | From Ranks |
| Frank G. Dailey | University of Nebraska |
| Richard J. Delacey | From Ranks |
| Paul Drake | Unknown |
| Jefferson G. Dreyspring | USNA27 |
| Clinton E. Fox | Unknown |
| William E. Griffith | Unknown |
| Bernard H. Kirk | From Ranks |
| Harold R. Lee | From Ranks |
| Karl K. Louthier | Unknown |
| David F. O'Neill | USNA27 |

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Robert L. Peterson | Unknown |
| Walter A. Reaves | University of Alabama |
| Richard P. Ross | USNA27 |
| Jamie Sabater | USNA27 |
| Raymond Scollin | From Ranks |
| Alan Shapley | USNA27 |
| George O. Vanorden | USNA27 |
| Carroll Williams | USNA27 |
| George E. Williams | USMA |
| William R. Williams | Unknown |

Class of 1928–29 (First Academic Year Cycle)

| | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Robert Ballance | USNA28 |
| Boeker C. Batterton | USNA28 |
| Arthur F. Binney | USNA28 |
| Clovis C. Coffman Sr. | USNA28 |
| Frank C. Croft | USNA28 |
| Wilson T. Dodge | USNA28 |
| Thomas G. Ennis | USNA28 |
| John J. Heil | USNA28 |
| Charles B. Mitchell | USNA28 |
| Perry O. Parmelee | USNA28 |
| Louis C. Plain | Unknown |
| Ernest E. Pollock | USNA28 |
| Charles Popp | USNA28 |
| Max W. Scheaffer | USNA28 |
| Kenneth H. Weir | USNA28 |

Class of 1929–30

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| Chester R. Allen | Florida |
| Joseph H. Berry | USNA29 |
| Claude I. Boles | Unknown |
| James V. Bradley Jr. | University of Maine |
| Melvin G. Brown | USNA29 |
| William F. Bryson | USNA29 |
| Seville T. Clark | From Ranks |
| William F. Coleman | Unknown |
| Gordon Cone | USNA29 |
| Raymond F. Crist | USNA29 |
| Manly L. Curry | USNA29 |
| Harvey E. Dahlgren | From Ranks |
| Edward C. Dyer | USNA29 |
| Samuel B. Griffith | USNA29 |
| Lester S. Hamel | Kutztown State |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Hewin O. Hammond | Unknown |
| John Heinrichs | Unknown |
| James R. Hester | University of Kentucky |
| John B. Hill | University of Georgia |
| John S. Holmberg | Unknown |
| Zebulon C. Hopkins | Lehigh |
| Wilfred J. Huffman | Unknown |
| Chandler W. Johnson | USNA29 |
| James B. Lake Jr. | USNA29 |
| Harry C. Lang | USNA29 |
| Alva B. Lasswell | From Ranks |
| Otho C. Ledbetter | USNA29 |
| Frederick G. Lippert | USNA29 |
| Joseph P. McCaffery | Pennsylvania Military College |
| Richard J. McPherson | University of Missouri |
| Albert F. Moe | University of California |
| Homer C. Murray | USNA29 |
| Clarence J. O'Donnell | Norwich |
| William F. Parks | Unknown |
| William F. Phipps | From Ranks |
| Orin K. Pressley | Clemson |
| Lloyd K. Reilly | Unknown |
| Carson A. Roberts | University of Wisconsin |
| Clyde C. Roberts | USNA29 |
| Deane C. Roberts | USNA29 |
| John V. Rosewaine | From Ranks |
| Frank H. Schwable | USNA29 |
| Paul D. Sherman | Boston University |
| Joe A. Smoak | Unknown |
| John F. Stamm | From Ranks |
| Raymond B. Sullivan Jr. | USNA29 |
| Joseph J. Tavern | Georgetown University |
| Randall M. Victory | Unknown |
| Charles D. Warfield | USNA29 |
| George R. Weeks | Citadel |
| Keith R. Willard | Northwestern University |
| Robert H. Williams | Ohio State |
| William A. Willis | Unknown |
| Class of 1930-31 | |
| Archibald D. Abel | From Ranks |
| William F. Battell | From Ranks |
| Harold W. Bauer | USNA30 |
| Fred D. Beans | USNA30 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| James P. Berkeley | From Ranks |
| Stewart Boyle | USNA30 |
| Lawrence C. Brunton | USNA30 |
| William W. Childs | Unknown |
| George H. Cloud | From Ranks |
| James M. Daly | USNA30 |
| John M. Davis | USNA30 |
| Walfried H. Fromhold | USNA30 |
| Ernest W. Fry Jr. | USNA30 |
| Wallace M. Greene | USNA30 |
| Charles H. Hayes | USNA30 |
| Glen C. Herndon | USNA30 |
| Robert E. Hill | USNA30 |
| Thomas B. Hughes | USNA30 |
| Russell Lloyd | USNA30 |
| Edson L. Lyman | Maryville College |
| Michael M. Mahoney | From Ranks |
| Peter A. McDonald | Unknown |
| William B. McKean | USNA30 |
| Edward A. Montgomery | USNA30 |
| Paul Moret | USNA30 |
| Edgar O. Price | USNA30 |
| Nicholas J. Pusel | USNA30 |
| Frank M. Reinecke | USNA30 |
| Paul W. Russell | USNA30 |
| Ronald D. Salmon | USNA30 |
| Charles E. Shepard Jr. | Unknown |
| William B. Steiner | USNA30 |
| Lewis R. Tyler | Unknown |
| Vincent Usera | From Ranks |
| Cornelius P. VanNess | From Ranks |
| Frank G. Wagner Jr. | USNA30 |
| John W. Wehle Jr. | Unknown |
| Donald M. Weller | USNA30 |
| James T. Wilbur | USNA30 |
| Francis H. Williams | USNA30 |
| Samuel S. Yeaton | USNA30 |
| Class of 1931-32 | |
| Wayne H. Adams | USNA31 |
| James H. Brower | VMI |
| Nelson K. Brown | USNA31 |
| Robert S. Brown | USNA31 |
| Austin R. Brunelli | USNA31 |

| | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Edward B. Carney | From Ranks |
| John H. Cook Jr. | USNA31 |
| Harlan C. Cooper Sr. | USNA31 |
| Edward J. Dillon | USNA31 |
| Henry T. Elrod | From Ranks |
| Robert E. Fojt | USNA31 |
| Edward G. Forney Jr. | USNA31 |
| Edmund B. Games | USNA31 |
| Richard W. Hayward | From Ranks |
| Bankston T. Holcomb Jr. | USNA31 |
| Marcellus J. Howard | From Ranks |
| Lewis C. Hudson Sr. | USNA31 |
| Norman Hussa | From Ranks |
| Charles R. Jones | USNA31 |
| Albert J. Keller | USNA31 |
| Billy W. King | USNA31 |
| August Larson | From Ranks |
| Harold I. Larson | USNA31 |
| Harry S. Leon | USNA31 |
| Robert L. McKee | From Ranks |
| Luther S. Moore | USNA31 |
| Clifton R. Moss | USNA31 |
| William K. Pottinger | USNA31 |
| George R. E. Shell | VMI |
| Clifford H. Shuey | USNA31 |
| Donovan D. Sult | From Ranks |
| Samuel G. Taxis | USNA31 |
| Wright C. Taylor | VMI |
| John A. White | USNA31 |
| Frederick L. Wieseman | USNA31 |

Class of 1932-33

| | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| Walter Asmuth Jr. | USNA32 |
| Roger W. Beadle | USNA (likely) |
| James C. Bigler | USNA32 |
| Robert O. Bisson | USNA32 |
| Alpha L. Bowser Jr. | USNA32 |
| George N. Carroll | USNA32 |
| Clarence O. Cobb | USNA32 |
| Thomas J. Colley | USNA32 |
| George Corson | USNA32 |
| Robert L. Denig Jr. | USNA32 |
| Hector J. De Zayas | USNA32 |
| William K. Enright Sr. | USNA32 |

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Marion A. Fawcett | USNA32 |
| Oscar A. Heinlein Jr. | USNA32 |
| John B. Hendry | From Ranks |
| Julian Humiston | USNA32 |
| Cleo A. Keen | USNA32 |
| Henry T. Klinksek | USNA32 |
| Ellsworth Murray | USNA32 |
| Robert R. Porter | USNA32 |
| Samuel Puller | VMI |
| Paul J. Shovestul | USNA32 |
| James G. Smith | USNA32 |
| Marvin T. Starr | USNA32 |
| James R. Stephens | Unknown |
| Forest C. Thompson | USNA32 |
| Harvey C. Tschirgi | USNA32 |
| Howard J. Turton | USNA32 |
| Ernest R. West | Georgia Tech |
| Frederick B. Winfree | Unknown |

Class of 1933–34

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| Edward E. Authier | USNA33 |
| Joslyn R. Bailey | USNA33 |
| Nixon L. Ballard | USNA33 |
| James L. Beam | USNA33 |
| Etheridge C. Best | USNA33 |
| Robert O. Bowen | USNA33 |
| Frederick S. Bronson | USNA33 |
| James F. Climie | USNA33 |
| Donald W. Fuller | USNA33 |
| William A. Kengla | USNA33 |
| James M. Masters Sr. | USNA33 |
| David O. McDougal | USNA33 |
| Wilbur J. McNenny | USNA33 |
| Guy M. Morrow | USNA33 |
| James Rockwell | USNA33 |
| Eustace R. Smoak | From Ranks |
| Theodore Turnage Jr. | USNA33 |
| Marshall A. Tyler | USNA33 |
| Sidney S. Wade | USNA33 |
| Paul E. Wallace | USNA33 |
| Gerald R. Wright | USNA33 |

Class of 1934–35

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| Henry W. Buse Jr. | USNA34 |
|-------------------|--------|

| | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| John A. Butler | USNA34 |
| Lawrence B. Clark | USNA34 |
| John P. Condon | USNA34 |
| Harold O. Deakin | USNA34 |
| Joseph L. Dickey | USNA34 |
| Robert S. Fairweather | USNA34 |
| Joseph P. Fuchs | USNA34 |
| Arthur J. Hagel Jr. | USNA34 |
| Reynolds H. Hayden | From Ranks |
| Robert E. Hommel | USNA34 |
| William M. Hudson | From Ranks |
| Edward L. Hutchinson | Unknown |
| Maurice T. Ireland | USNA34 |
| Lehman H. Kleppinger | USNA34 |
| Victor H. Krulak | USNA34 |
| Douglas C. McDougal Jr. | Unknown |
| Charles A. Miller | From Ranks |
| Clyde R. Nelson | USNA34 |
| Floyd B. Parks | USNA34 |
| Bennet G. Powers | USNA34 |
| Frederic H. Ramsey | Princeton |
| Ralph K. Rottet | USNA34 |
| George C. Ruffin III | USNA34 |
| John W. Sapp Jr. | USNA34 |
| Elmore W. Seeds | USNA34 |
| Samuel R. Shaw | USNA34 |
| Frank C. Tharin | USNA34 |
| Harry Vadnais | USNA34 |
| John E. Weber | USNA34 |
| Samuel F. Zeiler | USNA34 |

Class of 1935-36

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Herbert R. Amey Jr. | Pennsylvania Military College |
| John A. Anderson | Unknown |
| Kenneth D. Bailey | University of Illinois |
| Wilmer E. Barnes | North Carolina State University (NC State) |
| Gordon A. Bell | University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) |
| Ferdinand Bishop | Unknown |
| Robert A. Black | USNA35 |
| William E. Boles | University of Alabama |
| Elmer E. Brackett Jr. | Dartmouth |
| George H. Brockway | University of Wyoming |

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| William W. Buchanan | Unknown |
| Henry B. Cain Jr. | USMA |
| Leonard F. Chapman | University of Florida |
| Dwight M. Cheever | University of Michigan |
| Arthur A. Chidestar | Unknown |
| James M. Clark | Unknown |
| William R. Collins | Georgetown University |
| Odell M. Conoley | Texas A&M |
| John J. Cosgrove Jr. | USNA35 |
| Richard H. Crockett | Unknown |
| James W. Crowther | USNA35 |
| Michael S. Currin | From Ranks |
| Robert E. Cushman Jr. | USNA35 |
| Kenyth A. Damke | Colorado State University |
| Leonard K. Davis | USNA35 |
| Donald J. Decker | Cornell |
| Elmer T. Dorsey | USNA35 |
| Bernard E. Dunkle | USNA35 |
| Wendell H. Duplantis | University of Nevada |
| John W. Easley | College of William & Mary |
| Lewis J. Fields | From Ranks |
| Willard C. Fiske | University of Arizona |
| Marvin H. Floom | Unknown |
| Loren S. Fraser | University of Illinois |
| James G. Frazer | University of Washington |
| Dixon Goen | Unknown |
| Gould P. Groves | University of Arkansas |
| Dwight M. Guilotte | Stanford |
| Frank P. Hager Jr. | Citadel |
| Charles W. Harrison | Unknown |
| Donn C. Hart | University of North Dakota |
| Bruce T. Hemphill | USNA35 |
| Frederick P. Henderson | Purdue |
| Gordon E. Hendricks | USNA35 |
| Bruno A. Hochmuth | Texas A&M |
| Merlyn D. Holmes | USNA35 |
| Ralph L. Houser | University of Iowa |
| Clyde R. Huddleson | University of North Dakota |
| Richard D. Hughes | USNA35 |
| Thomas S. Ivey | Unknown |
| Arnold F. Johnston | USNA35 |
| Kenneth A. Jorgensen | Unknown |
| Kenneth D. Kerby | USNA35 |
| Frank L. Kilmartin | Virginia Tech |

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Roy L. Kline | Iowa State |
| Carl A. Laster | USNA35 |
| Edwin A. Law | Unknown |
| Frederick E. Leek | Unknown |
| Joseph R. Little Jr. | VMI |
| Eschol M. Mallory | Florida |
| Mortimer A. Marks | Unknown |
| William S. McCormick | Mississippi State |
| Lawrence H. McCulley | NC State |
| Robert A. McGill | UC, Berkeley |
| Joe C. McHaney | Texas A&M |
| Kenneth F. McLeod | Michigan State |
| Benjamin L. McMakin | Virginia Tech |
| Hoyt McMillan | Citadel |
| Albert F. Metze | USNA35 |
| John C. Miller Jr. | Unknown |
| Floyd R. Moore | Purdue |
| Robert D. Moser | Unkown |
| Raymond L. Murray | Texas A&M |
| Peter J. Negri | Georgia Tech |
| Wallace M. Nelson | USNA35 |
| Herman Nickerson Jr. | Boston University |
| John J. Nilan Jr. | Lehigh University |
| James S. O'Halloran | Norwich University |
| John S. Oldfield | Unknown |
| Edwin P. Pennebaker | USNA35 |
| Wesley M. Platt | Clemson |
| Frederick A. Ramsey Jr. | USNA35 |
| Carey A. Randall | Louisiana State |
| Louie C. Reinberg | Louisiana State |
| Joseph N. Renner | University of Oregon |
| Thomas F. Riley | VMI |
| William G. Robb | Unknown |
| George A. Roll | Unknown |
| Elmer C. Rowley | UC, Berkeley |
| Michael Sampas | Unknown |
| Harry A. Schmitz | Unknown |
| Charles W. Shelburne | USNA35 |
| Harry O. Smith Jr. | Norwich University |
| Leo R. Smith | Oregon State |
| Earl A. Sneeringer | USNA35 |
| Peter J. Speckman Jr. | Rhode Island State |
| John W. Stage | UC, Berkeley |
| Robert E. Stannah | Carnegie Mellon |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Robert T. Stivers Jr. | USNA35 |
| Leo F. Sulkosky | University of Washington |
| Alexander B. Swenceski | University of Washington |
| Eugene F. Syms | Norwich University |
| Jack Tabor | Unknown |
| Richard E. Thompson | Unknown |
| Charles T. Tingle | USNA35 |
| Charles S. Todd | Ohio State |
| Clayton O. Totman | University of Maine |
| Stanley W. Trachta | University of Montana |
| Norman Vandam | University of Utah |
| Alexander A. Vandegrift Jr. | VMI |
| William J. Van Ryzin | Wisconsin University |
| Harold G. Walker | Unknown |
| Harvey S. Walseth | USNA35 |
| Julian F. Walters | University of Maryland |
| Richard G. Weede | USNA35 |
| William R. Wendt | Unknown |
| Chevey S. White | Unknown |
| Ronald B. Wilde | University of New Hampshire |
| Herbert H. Williamson | Unknown |
| Joseph L. Winecoff | Unknown |
| | |
| Class of 1936–37 | |
| Clint Atkinson Jr. | Unknown |
| Arthur B. Barrows | University of Ohio |
| Chester E. Bennett | Unknown |
| Graham H. Benson | University of Kentucky |
| Spencer S. Berger | Unknown |
| James G. Bishop Jr. | Georgia Tech |
| Orin C. Bjornsrud | Unknown |
| James S. Blais | University of Oregon |
| George S. Bowman Jr. | Louisiana State |
| George F. Britt | Georgia Tech |
| Otis B. Brown | Southern Illinois University |
| Jean H. Buckner | UC, Berkeley |
| Joseph O. Butcher | University of Indiana Bloomington |
| Noel O. Castle | University of Maryland |
| Robert Chambers Jr. | Unknown |
| Max C. Chapman | Clemson |
| Stuart M. Charlesworth | University of North Dakota |
| Francis H. Cooper | Rhode Island State College |
| Henry H. Crockett | Unknown |
| William L. Crouch | Purdue |

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Howard L. Davis | Ohio State |
| Robert M. Dean Jr. | Unknown |
| Malcolm O. Donohoo | UCLA |
| Edward H. Drake | Unknown |
| Charles F. Duchein Jr. | Unknown |
| Louis A. Ennis | University of Maryland |
| Richard A. Evans | Unknown |
| William M. Ferris | Unknown |
| Walter N. Flournoy | NC State |
| Paul J. Fontana | University of Nevada |
| Glenn C. Funk | Unknown |
| Allen B. Geiger | University of Florida |
| John H. Gill | Unknown |
| Bryghte D. Godbold | Auburn |
| John B. Heles Jr. | Unknown |
| Daniel J. Hennessy | University of North Dakota |
| Howard V. Hielt | Purdue |
| Thornton M. Hinkle Sr. | Yale |
| Russel E. Honsowetz | University of Idaho |
| Gavin C. Humphrey | University of Nebraska |
| Robert J. Johnson | Unknown |
| George W. Killen | UCLA |
| Howard G. Kirgis | Kansas State |
| Oscar K. Laroque Jr. | NC State |
| Frank H. Lemmer | Unknown |
| Thomas C. Loomis Sr. | New Mexico A&M |
| Marion M. Magruder | University of Kentucky |
| Leonard M. Mason | Unknown |
| Charles W. May | Unknown |
| Arthur P. McArthur | University of Cincinnati |
| Henry L. McConnell | Unknown |
| Robert C. McGlashan Sr. | UC, Berkeley |
| Lee C. Merrill Jr. | Auburn |
| Ronald K. Miller | University of Iowa |
| James E. Mills | University of Oklahoma |
| Harold J. Mitchener | Carnegie Mellon |
| Thomas C. Moore Jr. | Georgia Tech |
| John E. Morris Jr. | University of Utah |
| James C. Murray Jr. | Unknown |
| Gene S. Neely | Unknown |
| Charles S. Nicholas Jr. | Unknown |
| Kermit M. Pennington | University of Illinois |
| Lewis H. Pickup | Unknown |
| William J. Piper Jr. | University of Connecticut |

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Douglas E. Reeve | University of Utah |
| Robert H. Richard | University of Wyoming |
| Robert W. Rickert | University of Montana |
| Noah J. Rodeheffer | Ohio State |
| Thomas G. Roe | University of Montana |
| Lindley M. Ryan | University of Nebraska |
| Joseph P. Sayers | Connecticut State College |
| Dewolf Schatzel | Carnegie Mellon |
| John F. Schoettel | Unknown |
| Maynard C. Schultz | Oregon State |
| Robert F. Scott | Clemson |
| Charles J. Seibert II | Georgetown University |
| Frank Shine | Unknown |
| George T. Skinner | Unknown |
| Everett W. Smith | Unknown |
| John L. Smither | Unknown |
| Arthur R. Stacy | Ohio College |
| John P. Stafford | University of Nebraska |
| Jack L. Stonebanks | NC State |
| David W. Stonecliffe | Michigan State |
| Robert W. Thomas | University of Oregon |
| Ellsworth G. Van Orman | University of Illinois |
| Harry A. Waldorf | UC, Berkeley |
| Lewis W. Walt | Colorado State |
| Gordon Warner | University of South Carolina |
| Russel B. Warye | State University of Iowa |
| John J. Wermuth Jr. | Cornell |
| Cecil W. Wright | Unknown |
| John E. Willey | State University of Iowa |
| Marlowe C. Williams | Iowa State College |
| Roger Willock | Princeton |
| William T. Wingo Jr. | Auburn |
| Noah P. Wood Jr. | Oklahoma Military Academy |
| Erma A. Wright | Middlebury College |
| Carl A. Youngdale | State University of Iowa |

Class of 1937–38

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Hewitt D. Adams | USNA ³⁷ |
| Merritt Adelman | USNA ³⁷ |
| Clarence A. Barninger Jr. | USNA ³⁷ |
| Richard A. Beard Jr. | Georgia Tech |
| James C. Bennett | USNA ³⁷ |
| Albert H. Bohne | Yale |
| Charles R. Boyer | From Ranks |

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| James R. Bromeyer | USNA37 |
| Fletcher L. Brown Jr. | University of Florida |
| Wayne M. Brown | USNA37 |
| Zedford Burris | Unknown |
| Paul R. Byrum Jr. | USNA37 |
| William R. Campbell | Unknown |
| Owen A. Chambers | USNA37 |
| Golland L. Clark Jr. | Unknown |
| Parker R. Colmer | Boston University |
| John P. Coursey | University of Michigan |
| Thomas A. Culhane Jr. | USNA37 |
| John F. Dobbin | Boston College |
| John F. Dunlap | Clemson |
| James A. Embry Jr. | University of Oklahoma |
| Arthur W. Fisher Jr. | USNA37 |
| Glenn E. Fissell | Ohio State |
| Robert E. Galer | University of Washington |
| Joseph A. Gerath Jr. | USNA37 |
| William E. Gise | UCLA |
| Edmond M. Glick | University of Illinois |
| John J. Gormley | University of Maryland |
| Alfred T. Greene | From Ranks |
| Milo G. Haines | Purdue |
| Virgil E. Harris | From Ranks |
| John D. Harshberger | California Tech |
| Brooke H. Hatch | Unknown |
| Lawrence C. Hays Jr. | Georgia Tech |
| Robert D. Heintz Jr. | Yale |
| David L. Henderson | VMI |
| James D. Hittle | Michigan State |
| Donald E. Huey | USNA37 |
| Edward W. Johnston | Purdue |
| Sidney M. Kelly | University of Kentucky |
| Woodrow M. Kessler | USNA37 |
| Kenneth A. King | Unknown |
| Gordon H. Knott | Unknown |
| Cedric H. Kuhn | USNA37 |
| William F. Lantz | USNA37 |
| William W. Lewis | Unknown |
| John R. Lirette | USNA37 |
| Neil R. MacIntyre | Unknown |
| Keith B. McCutcheon | Carnegie Mellon |
| George A. McCusick | USNA37 |
| Rivers J. Morrell Jr. | USNA37 |

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Guy G. Nanartonis | USNA37 |
| James L. Neefus | Unknown |
| Hugh R. Nutter | UCLA |
| William J. O'Neill | Unknown |
| Donald N. Otis | Dartmouth College |
| Frederick R. Payne Jr. | USNA34 |
| William F. Prickett | University of Oklahoma |
| Alben C. Robertson | USNA37 |
| Robert F. Ruge | USNA37 |
| Robert H. Ruud | Unknown |
| Harry N. Shea | Unknown |
| Clair W. Shisler | From Ranks |
| Austin C. Shofner | University of Tennessee |
| McDonald I. Shuford | Clemson |
| David W. Silvey | Purdue |
| Webster D. Smith | Unknown |
| Joseph L. Stewart | Auburn |
| Marvin C. Steward | Louisiana State |
| Arthur J. Stuart | USNA37 |
| Zane Thompson Jr. | USNA37 |
| Herbert H. Townsend | From Ranks |
| Thomas M. Trotti | Citadel |
| Frank G. Umstead | University of North Carolina |
| Robert T. Vance | USNA37 |
| Ronald R. Van Stockum Sr. | University of Washington |
| Ray L. Vroome | Unknown |
| John G. Walsh Jr. | USNA37 |
| Jack F. Warner | UC, Berkeley |
| Gregory J. Weissenberger | From Ranks |
| Radford C. West | USNA37 |
| Pelham B. Withers | Norwich |
| Donald K. Yost | Princeton |
| | |
| Class of 1938–39 | |
| Robert A. Abbott | University of Idaho |
| John W. Allen | Unknown |
| Harvey B. Watkins | From Ranks |
| Paul E. Becker Jr. | USNA38 |
| William E. Benedict | UC, Berkeley |
| Howard B. Benge | USNA38 |
| Clarke J. Bennett | USNA38 |
| Randolph C. Berkeley Jr. | USNA38 |
| Alfred L. Booth | USNA38 |
| Howard F. Bowker Jr. | UC, Berkeley |

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Gregory Boyington | University of Washington |
| John W. Burkhardt | Unknown |
| Jackson B. Butterfield | Norwich |
| George H. Cannon | University of Michigan |
| Robert B. Chadwick | Unknown |
| Bruce B. Cheever | University of Washington |
| James R. Christensen | Unknown |
| Richard B. Church | USNA38 |
| Ralph A. Collins Jr. | University of Maryland |
| Frank W. Davis | California Tech |
| Raymond G. Davis | Georgia Tech |
| Merrill M. Day | Unknown |
| Charles M. Dehority | USNA38 |
| William H. Doolen | From Ranks |
| Hugh M. Elwood | USNA38 |
| Fred R. Emerson | Unknown |
| Cyril E. Emrich | USNA38 |
| Charles N. Endweiss | Massachusetts Institute of Technology |
| Lowell E. English | University of Nebraska |
| Jess P. Ferrill Jr. | Unknown |
| Carl J. Fleps | USNA38 |
| Maurice W. Fletcher | University of Alabama |
| Albert H. Follmar | University of Oklahoma |
| William M. Frash | UC, Berkeley |
| Raymond H. George | USNA38 |
| Alton D. Gould | USNA38 |
| Francis F. Griffiths | Unknown |
| Benjamin S. Hargrave Jr. | Carnegie Mellon |
| William A. Houston Jr. | USNA38 |
| John W. Howe | USNA38 |
| Robert S. Howell | Syracuse University |
| Edward H. Hurst | Mercer University |
| Douglas E. Keeler | USNA38 |
| Guy H. Kissinger Jr. | Texas A&M |
| Thomas L. Lamar | USNA38 |
| Byron V. Leary | Boston College |
| John S. MacLaughlin Jr. | USNA38 |
| Charles W. McCoy Sr. | Unknown |
| George R. Newton | USNA38 |
| Walter S. Osipoff | Ohio State |
| James J. Owens | USNA38 |
| Lawrence V. Patterson | From Ranks |
| Monfurd K. Peyton | From Ranks |

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Daniel C. Pollock | From Ranks |
| Nathan T. Post Jr. | USNA38 |
| Charles J. Quilter | Unknown |
| Dorrance S. Radcliffe | USNA37 |
| Thomas L. Ridge | University of Illinois |
| Donn J. Robertson | University of North Dakota |
| Albert J. Roose | Citadel |
| Carlo A. Rovetta | USNA38 |
| Edward N. Rydalch | UCLA |
| Alvin S. Sanders | Clemson |
| John A. Saxten Jr. | USNA38 |
| Robert W. Shaw | USNA38 |
| William P. Spencer | USNA38 |
| Robert F. Steidtmann | VMI |
| Harold R. Warner Jr. | Unknown |
| Richard D. Weber | USNA38 |
| Freeman W. Williams | Georgia Tech |
| Ransom M. Wood | Auburn |
| Elmer A. Wrenn | University of North Carolina |

Class of 1939–40

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Mark S. Adams | Unknown |
| Samuel Agabian | USNA39 |
| Edwin C. Aiken | USNA39 |
| James R. Anderson | Unknown |
| Warren P. Baker | Norwich |
| Theodore F. Beeman | University of North Dakota |
| Charles H. Bennett | USNA39 |
| Wendell H. Best | University of Utah |
| Warner T. Bigger | Unknown |
| Fred T. Bishopp | University of Maryland |
| Hoyt U. Bookhart Jr. | Clemson |
| Roger S. Brauford | Unknown |
| Wayne M. Cargill | University of Wyoming |
| Claude J. Carlson Jr. | Unknown |
| Wyatt B. Carneal Jr. | College Of William & Mary |
| Lee A. Christofersen | Unknown |
| Francis C. Clagett | Unknown |
| Hugh D. Clark | USNA39 |
| William A. Cloman Jr. | USNA39 |
| Frank H. Collins | University of Maine |
| Royce W. Coln | University of Arkansas |
| Donald B. Cooley Jr. | Unknown |
| Jino J. D'Alessandro | Unknown |

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Richard M. Day | Unknown |
| Robert O. Dirmeyer | Unknown |
| Michiel Dobervich | North Dakota Agricultural College |
| Raymond W. Dollins | Unknown |
| Harland E. Draper | From Ranks |
| Russell Duncan | Unknown |
| Justin G. Duryea | Syracuse University |
| John S. Fantone | USNA39 |
| Frederick R. Findtner | University of Oregon |
| Morris E. Flater | Purdue |
| George T. Fowler | University of Maine |
| Louis L. Frank | University of New Hampshire |
| Frank E. Gallagher Jr. | Boston University |
| Gordon D. Gayle | USNA39 |
| Elmer L. Gilbert | Unknown |
| James I. Glendinning Jr. | USNA39 |
| James B. Glennon Jr. | USNA39 |
| George F. Gober | Unknown |
| Edwin C. Godbold | Auburn |
| Alfred N. Gordon | USNA39 |
| George A. Graves | Unknown |
| Joseph A. Gray | Northwestern |
| Frederick N. Hagan Jr. | Unknown |
| John P. Haines Jr. | Dickinson College |
| George V. Hanna Jr. | NC State |
| Gordon A. Hardwick | Unknown |
| Edwin A. Harper | University of Idaho |
| William F. Harris | USNA39 |
| Jack Hawkins | USNA39 |
| Melvin D. Henderson | Carnegie Mellon |
| Chester A. Henry Jr. | Unknown |
| Homer E. Hire | Unknown |
| William F. Hogaboom | USNA39 |
| Willard B. Holdredge | USNA39 |
| John D. Howard | Unknown |
| Richard M. Huizenga | USNA39 |
| Robert F. Jenkins Jr. | University of Pennsylvania |
| Sidney F. Jenkins | UC, Berkeley |
| Lewis A. Jones | University of Maryland |
| Robert W. Kaiser | Oklahoma State |
| Joseph W. Kean Jr. | UCLA |
| James W. Keene | Citadel |
| Howard E. King | Unknown |
| John F. Kinney | Washington State |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Lorys J. Larson | South Dakota State |
| George M. Lhamon | USNA39 |
| Glenn R. Long | Kansas State |
| Julian V. Lyon | NC State |
| Benjamin B. Manchester Iii | Rhode Island University |
| Frank Mandell | Carnegie Mellon |
| Samuel D. Mandeville Jr. | North Georgia College |
| Ralph C. Mann Jr. | USNA39 |
| Alan S. Manning | Harvard |
| William D. Masters | Unknown |
| James D. McBrayer Jr. | USNA39 |
| Robert C. McDonough | Louisiana State |
| Richard T. McNown | Knox College |
| Louis Metzger | Stanford |
| Albert W. Moffett | University of Kentucky |
| James B. Moore | Clemson |
| William G. Muller Jr. | University of Illinois |
| James S. Mullins | Northwestern |
| Thomas V. Murto Jr. | Lehigh |
| Louis J. Nissen Jr. | Stanford |
| Martin E. Oelrich | Unknown |
| William B. Oldfield | University of Oklahoma |
| William H. Pace | USNA39 |
| Wilfred L. Park | Kansas State |
| Ralph R. Penick | Ohio State |
| Michael E. Peshek | University of Oklahoma |
| Robert Philip | Unknown |
| Albert H. Potter | Unknown |
| Robert C. Power Jr. | Unknown |
| Richard Quigley | University of Maine |
| Henry J. Revane | Unknown |
| Harry F. Rice | Unknown |
| Jonathan F. Rice | USNA39 |
| Robert S. Riddell | South Dakota State |
| John E. Reibe | North Dakota State University |
| Charles A. Rigaud | Syracuse University |
| Alfred F. Robertshaw | USNA39 |
| Elliott B. Robertson | Unknown |
| Harold S. Roise | University of Idaho |
| John T. Rooney | Colorado State |
| John W. Ryland | UCLA |
| Lester A. Schade | University of Wisconsin |
| Joseph Schmedding | Unknown |
| Richard K. Schmidt | Unknown |

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Daryle N. Seely | University of Washington |
| Luther R. Seibert | University of Oregon |
| Cecil W. Shuler | Citadel |
| Carter B. Simpson | USNA39 |
| Nicholas A. Sisak | University of Pittsburgh |
| William F. Spang | Pennsylvania Military College |
| Norman E. Sparling | Michigan State |
| Lyman D. Spurlock | University of Nebraska |
| Randall L. Stallings | University of Arkansas |
| John W. Stevens Ii | University of Maryland |
| William A. Stiles Jr. | USNA39 |
| Edwin J. St. Peter | University of Pittsburgh |
| Richard D. Strickler | VMI |
| James D. Taul | Unknown |
| William G. Thrash | Georgia Tech |
| Hugh A. Tistadt Jr. | USNA39 |
| Curtis Vanderheyden | UCLA |
| Tom R. Watts | University of Oklahoma |
| Boyd O. Whitney | Oregon State College |
| John B. Williamson Jr. | USNA39 |
| Waite W. Worden | University of Michigan |

Class of 1940-41

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| David Ahee | Unknown |
| Earl E. Anderson | West Virginia University |
| Wendell W. Andrews | South Dakota University |
| John W. Antonelli | USNA40 |
| Henry Aplington Ii | Princeton |
| James O. Appleyard | University of Michigan |
| Robert H. Armstrong | Auburn |
| Robert M. Ash | University of Illinois |
| John D. Atkins Jr. | NC State |
| Frank L. Avbel | Unknown |
| Charles R. Baker | University of Delaware |
| Virgil W. Banning | University of North Dakota |
| Allen T. Barnum | Unknown |
| Edward M. Barrett | Washington State |
| Roy J. Batterton Jr. | University of Kentucky |
| Francis X. Beamer | University of Maryland |
| James O. Bell | Unknown |
| Alexander R. Benson | Pennsylvania Military College |
| Orville V. Bergren | University of North Dakota |
| John H. Blue | Unknown |
| John P. Brody | USNA40 |

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Otis V. Calhoun Jr. | USNA40 |
| Earl A. Cash | Unknown |
| Leon E. Chabot | USNA40 |
| Hugh L. Chapman | Unknown |
| Mason F. Chronister | University of Maryland |
| Max B. Clinkinbeard | Utah State |
| Talbott F. Collins | USNA40 |
| Darrell L. Cool | Montana State |
| Walter F. Cornnell | University of Virginia |
| Stoddard G. Cortelyou | Unknown |
| Lloyd G. Coutts | University of New Hampshire |
| Winsor V. Crockett Jr. | Unknown |
| Victor J. Croizat | Syracuse |
| Claude B. Cross | Oklahoma State |
| Francis P. Daly | Georgetown |
| John E. Decher Jr. | Lehigh |
| John L. Donnell | Citadel |
| William R. Dorr Jr. | Unknown |
| Clifford B. Drake | UCLA |
| Eugene A. Dueber Jr. | USNA40 |
| Walter L. Eddy Jr. | Rhode Island State College |
| Horace H. Figuers | USNA40 |
| Edward V. Finn | University of Connecticut |
| Clyde P. Ford | Unknown |
| Lawrence F. Fox | USNA40 |
| William F. Frank | Unknown |
| Fred J. Frazer | Ohio State University |
| Ernet C. Fusan | University of Pittsburgh |
| Harry H. Gaver Jr. | University of Virginia |
| William M. Gilliam | From Ranks |
| Walter C. Goodpasture | Citadel |
| Elbert D. Graves | Unknown |
| John W. Graves | Unknown |
| John H. Gustafson | New Mexico State College |
| Victor J. Harwick | Syracuse |
| Robert O. Hawkins | Tufts |
| Alfred B. Hebeisen | USNA40 |
| Dale H. Heely | VMI |
| George W. Herring | USNA40 |
| Wade H. Hitt | Virginia Tech |
| Walter Holomon | Georgetown |
| John F. Holt | Unknown |
| Marshall J. Hopper | Unknown |
| Kenneth C. Houston | Unknown |

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| John W. Hughes | Unknown |
| Wilson F. Humphries | Unknown |
| Homer Hutchinson Jr. | Georgia Tech |
| Wade M. Jackson | Unknown |
| Paul T. Johnston | Unknown |
| Paul M. Jones | University of Connecticut |
| William P. Kaempfer | Syracuse |
| George B. Kantner | Unknown |
| Frederick J. Karch | USNA40 |
| William C. Kellum | UCLA |
| Bernard T. Kelly | Northwestern |
| John W. Kennedy Jr. | Davidson College |
| Edwin C. Kimball | USNA40 |
| Louis N. King | USNA40 |
| Karl W. Kolb | Clemson |
| Carl V. Larsen | Oregon State |
| Crawford B. Lawton | Clemson |
| Walter E. Lischeid | University of Minnesota |
| Charles S. Manning | Unknown |
| David E. Marshall | Unknown |
| Kenneth E. Martin | George Washington University |
| Marlin C. Martin Jr. | Lafayette College (Pennsylvania) |
| Phillip B. May | VMI |
| Robert C. Maze | UCLA |
| Jack F. Mccollum | USNA40 |
| William S. Mclaughlin | NC State |
| Paul B. Mcnicol | Boston University |
| Robert F. Meldrum | Unknown |
| Edward V. Mendenhall Jr. | USNA40 |
| Robert A. Merchant Jr. | VMI |
| Ross S. Mickey | University of Virginia |
| Hector R. Migneault | Boston University |
| Alan R. Miller | University of Maryland |
| Harvey M. Miller | USNA40 |
| Harry T. Milne | University of Oregon |
| Louis G. Monville | USNA40 |
| Richard I. Moss | University of Pennsylvania |
| Franklin B. Nihart | Occidental College |
| Arba L. Norton | Unknown |
| Thomas J. O'connor | Unknown |
| Robert J. Oddy | South Dakota University |
| Jeff P. Overstreet | Mississippi State |
| John H. Partridge | USNA40 |
| Edward L. Peoples | Unknown |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Tillman N. Peters | University of Mississippi |
| William E. Pierce | Unknown |
| Jonas M. Platt | Norwich |
| Daniel S. Pregnall | Citadel |
| Baptiste D. Pronovost | North Dakota State |
| John A. Ptak | South Dakota University |
| Robert T. Raby | Gettysburg College |
| Howard J. Rice | Michigan State |
| Wallace H. Robinson | Virginia Tech |
| Leyton M. Rogers | Norwich |
| Albert H. Schierman | Unknown |
| Donald M. Schmuck | Colorado State |
| Gene N. Schraeder | Pennsylvania Military College |
| Frederick A. Seimears | Pomona College |
| Robert D. Shaffer | University of Illinois |
| Homer W. Sharpenburg | West Virginia University |
| Carleton E. Simensen | University of North Dakota |
| Joseph S. Skoczylas | USNA40 |
| Frederic R. Smith | Norwich |
| Robert E. Snider | Unknown |
| Raymond O. Sommers | University of Oklahoma |
| William H. Souder Jr. | University of Maryland |
| Edward M. Staab | University of Toledo (Ohio) |
| Robert Y. Stratton | Unknown |
| Elmer E. Sutphin III | Rutgers |
| Robert D. Taplett | University of South Dakota |
| James D. Tatsch | USNA40 |
| Harry W. Taylor | Unknown |
| Eugene N. Thompson | UC, Berkeley |
| Paul S. Treitel | USNA40 |
| Walton L. Turner | Pennsylvania State University |
| Clarence E. Van Ray | Unknown |
| Erwin F. Wann Jr. | USNA40 |
| Charles E. Warren | Unknown |
| George F. Waters Jr. | University of Tennessee |
| John A. White | Unknown |
| Gerald G. Williams | USNA40 |
| Elliot Wilson | Unknown |
| John Winterholler | University of Wyoming |
| David C. Wolfe | USNA40 |
| Herbert F. Woodbury | Rhode Island State College |
| Richard W. Wyczawski | Unknown |
| Howard A. York | University of Washington |
| Kermit C. Zeig | Unknown |

Appendix C

Biographical Note for First Lieutenant Anthony A. Frances

According to the author's preface, Anthony Frances was in the Marine Corps Reserve when he wrote the "History of the Marine Corps Schools," a manuscript that was not published but is held in the collection of the Library of the Marine Corps and Gray Research Center, Quantico, Virginia. Born in 1920 in Ohio to Italian immigrant parents, Frances attended Bowling Green Community College in the late 1930s and continued on to Columbia University's journalism school before being drafted into the Marine Corps in 1942.¹ He served with multiple infantry divisions in the Pacific campaign before being wounded at Iwo Jima in 1944. No explicit description of Frances's career after his injury exists. The muster rolls of the Marine Corps provide his location from summer 1944 until summer 1945, as he passed through a series of reserve (i.e., holding) battalions, moving first to San Diego, California, and eventually to the East Coast. First Lieutenant Frances was present in Quantico for only six months in 1945. During that time, he published an article for the *Marine Corps Gazette* entitled "The Battle for Banzai Ridge" which followed one company from the 21st Marines during an assault on Guam.²

His official billet was as a member of an awards board, an entity responsible for reviewing the documentation provided by combat commands on behalf of Marines nominated for decoration. On two days in October 1945, he traveled to Headquarters Marine Corps, about 45 miles from Quantico in Arlington, Virginia, for "business relating to the Marine Corps Schools." Next, we find his name on the title page of the "History of the Marine Corps Schools," printed in 1945. His discharge paper is not accessible to the public, due to the recentness of his death (in 2014), but the next official public record pertaining to his life is

¹"Bee Gee News July 26, 1944," *BGSU* (Bowling Green State University) *Student Newspaper* 703 (26 July 1944).

²Anthony Frances, "Battle for Banzai Ridge," *Marine Corps Gazette* 29, no. 6 (June 1945): 13.

a marriage, which took place in Ohio, in 1948. Presumably he left the Marine Corps soon after the writing assignment was complete.³

Returning to the “History of the Marine Corps Schools,” we see a good example of a document that has ended up in the right place, though its path to the library shelves is somewhat mysterious. Two sets of handwritten corrections run throughout the document, one in pen and the other in pencil. These handwritten edits include corrections to spelling, additions to information, adjustments to the grammar and punctuation, and whole sections in the appendix. The appendix section’s amendments appear to be additions of information from late 1945 referring to events that occurred after the initial manuscript was completed. Given these handwritten notes, one would expect to find Frances’s manuscript in an archive of original documents. Instead, it is hardbound on a library shelf alongside mass-produced monographs, mimeographs of Army tactics manuals, bound periodicals, and official reports. The “Carlisle copy” of the manuscript is a typed and bound manuscript as well, but both the ink and pencil corrections from the “Quantico copy” have been implemented. The page numbers do not exactly align, due to the manuscript being on legal-size paper and the Carlisle copy on standard letter-size paper. This work will refer only to the Quantico copy, since it is the original source.

Frances’s work was never published in the traditional sense, nor was it routed to various Marine Corps institutions for their edification. The fact that no real hard-copy monograph exists is unsurprising. The fact that the document did not make it through the typical process of publication and promulgation throughout the Marine Corps is surprising, however. Mimeographed papers were often circulated in this fashion, and multiple copies of such papers—Dr. Donald Bittner’s occasional paper on the Command and Staff College is a modern example—are easy to find on the library shelves. Frances’s book is alone. Besides the lack of extant copies in other formats, we can also assume that the document did not make it into the publishing queue based on a quarter-sheet piece of blue office memo paper, cello-taped to the front matter of the Quantico copy that reads

17 Nov 1953

To: Capt Amos

From: MSgt D. E. Sullivan, USMC

Subject: History of the Marine Corps Schools

General Wensinger feels that the attached folder may be of interest to the Historical Branch.

Respectfully, D. E. Sullivan

³“United States, Muster Rolls of the Marine Corps’ Database with Images,” NARA microfilm publication T1118, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; and 21st Marine Division muster roll, April–October 1944 (Fleet Marine Force); 21st Marine Division, October 1944–July 1945 (Rear Echelon) muster roll; and 1st Headquarters Battalion muster roll, July 1945–January 1946 all Historical Resources Branch, MCHD, Quantico, VA.

In 1953, today's History Division was called the Historical Branch, which then was an entity under the direct authority of Headquarters Marine Corps, located within its complex of buildings in Arlington, Virginia.

Major General Walter Wensinger was the recently assigned commander of the Plans and Policies Division of Headquarters Marine Corps at the time. Wensinger was a veteran of both world wars and had served multiple tours of sea duty, command of Marine Barracks and detachments at Navy Yards, and commanded the 23d Marine Division during the Pacific campaigns of 1942–44. He was a graduate of the University of Michigan and a lawyer.⁴ There is no indication on the memo as to where the monograph was found. General Wensinger's office had no hierarchical connection with the Historical Branch. None of his assignments between 1945 (when General O. P. Smith wrote his endorsement of the "History of the Marine Corps Schools,") and 1953 (when the manuscript was sent to a Captain Amos) suggest that Wensinger was in personal contact with any historical or archival functions of the Marine Corps on an official basis. However, upon his death in 1972, Wensinger's papers were donated to the Marine Corps Archives, perhaps indicating that during his lifetime he had expressed an interest in the preservation of historical documents and Marine Corps memorabilia.

The aforementioned Captain Amos is presumably Raymond Lee Amos, commissioned a second lieutenant in 1949 with a relatively unusual status: authorized for limited duty only. Part of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, the Limited Duty Officer program was "established to provide officers in fields requiring considerable technical skill and training."⁵ The typical limited duty officer was a technical specialist, analogous to the warrant officers of the modern Marine Corps, who populate fields dealing with specialized weaponry or other niche military occupations such as biochemical warfare. In the 1950s, this program was much larger and included administration, intelligence, infantry, logistics, artillery, engineers, tanks and amphibian tractors, ordnance, communications, supply, food, motor transport, and aviation.⁶ It is not a foregone conclusion that Amos was a historian, writer, or journalist and thus was assigned to Headquarters in that capacity, but it seems likely given the connection General Wensinger made between him and the manuscript. Unfortunately, the muster rolls for Headquarters Marine Corps in 1953 are incomplete, and Amos does not appear on any of the extant papers. As a result, it cannot be independently confirmed that "Captain Amos the limited duty officer" is the same person addressed in the blue memo taped to the Frances manuscript.

The genesis of France's paper itself is mysterious and unusual. It serves as a primary source for this monograph and it has been adopted as such by a num-

⁴ *The Michigan Alumnus* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1953).

⁵ Bernard Nalty, *A Brief History of U.S. Marine Corps Officer Procurement 1775–1969* (Washington, DC: Historical Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1970), 21.

⁶ Nalty, *A Brief History of U.S. Marine Corps Officer Procurement 1775–1969*, 22.

ber of well-known secondary works on the history of the Marine Corps, notably Williamson Murray and Allen Millet's *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*, William Parker's *A Concise History of the United States Marine Corps, 1775-1969*, and Donald Bittner's monograph on *Curriculum Evolution: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1920-1988*, as well as all of the official histories that quote Frances or refer to his book.

Appendix D

Marine Corps History Division

Today, the Library of the Marine Corps is located in a dedicated facility aboard Marine Corps Base Quantico, Virginia. A research library and family-use library share one wing of the General Alfred M. Gray Research Center building, constructed in 1991, and a conference center occupies the other wing. In October 2016, a new building opened adjacent to the research center, triggering a shift in resources as well as an official reorganization. Prior to this, the Marine Corps Archives was located within the Gray Research Center and was considered part of the library. Today, the archives are located next door (in a new, purpose-built facility) and are managed by the Marine Corps History Division. Scholars wishing to do research on the Marine Corps have three Quantico-based options for source material: the Gray Research Center's library of published works, the Marine Corps Archives collection of original unpublished documents, and the Marine Corps History Division's more varied collection of photocopied papers, photographs, transcripts and recordings of speeches, unit histories, and some original records (such as 1950s-era casualty cards for killed or wounded Marines), some managed by the division's Historical Resources Branch and some by the Oral History section. The Frances manuscript, for example, is currently shelved in the research library, but was given to the library by History Division during the 1950s, and apparently before that it was stored in Headquarters Marine Corps' informal archive (anecdotes from current archivists indicate this was a closet in an out-of-the-way hallway) which was the predecessor to today's Quantico-based archive.

The Marine Corps History Division was originally located in Arlington, Virginia, as a subordinate command of Headquarters Marine Corps. The Marine Corps Order forming a historical branch was signed by Commandant George R. Barnett in May 1919. That entity fell under the authority of the adjutant general's office and consisted of civilian clerks and historians. Their first project was obtaining copies of National Archives documents relative to the Marine Corps. Their second, more pressing, project was to locate any records pertaining to the American Expeditionary Forces, which were largely still in the possession of units who participated in World War I and which were in constant danger of accidentally being lost or damaged among the files of a still-active combat unit. The Marine Corps Archives was nonexistent at the time. Files compiled by the civilians at the historical branch formed the heart of a slowly growing collection

of archival material, but the majority of papers were still held by units, installations, and individuals. Multiple reorganizations and location changes have resulted in the archive collection being dramatically increased, but it remains incomplete and, in some areas, unorganized. The permanent establishment of most Marine Corps educational activities at Quantico solidified the future of the historical branch, and an academic library was established at Quantico during the interwar years. The stories of History Division (so renamed in 1942) and of the Marine Corps Schools are thus closely related.¹

¹Allen G. Mainard, "They Chronicle the Corps," *Leatherneck*, November 1956, 52.

Appendix E

Full-format Sample of Fort Benning Infantry School Curriculum¹

THE INFANTRY SCHOOL
Fort Benning, Georgia
1931-32
TACTICS
BATTALION IN ATTACK

ILLUSTRATIVE PROBLEM
SECTION I

SITUATION AND FIRST REQUIREMENT

1. SITUATION. - a. Topographical Map, Gettysburg-Antietam, 1:21, 120; Kingsdale sheet.

b. A Blue force, moving southeast on an offensive mission, having encountered a Red force late this afternoon (25 April), is deploying preparatory to an attack.

c. At 5:30 PM, Colonel "1st Infantry" in the vicinity of RJ 636-C (364.9-730.7) issues oral orders, extracts of which follow:

"For enemy information, see overlay.

"Line now held by our advance guard - Big Pipe Creek.

"The 2d Infantry on our left will make the envelopment. The 3d Infantry will be on our right.

"The 1st Battalion 1st Field Artillery will support this regiment. It will fire a preparation along the hostile front line commencing at H-20.

"This regiment will attack, capture the high ground between RJ 706-A and RJ 691 and continue the attack in its zone of action.

"Time of attack: 4:15 AM, 26 April.

"Line of departure - Big Pipe Creek.

"Formation: 1st and 2d Battalions in assault. 1st Battalion on the right.

¹This appendix is an exact reproduction of the document "Tactics, Battalion in Attack" used as part of the Fort Benning Infantry School curriculum.

“Boundaries: see overlay.

“The 1st Battalion will capture that part of the regimental objective in its zone of action and continue the attack to the south.”

d. The 1st Battalion 1st Infantry has not been engaged. It is to be assembled in the woods 700 yards east of Green Valley School by 6:15 PM. The 1st Platoon Howitzer Company is attached to and with the battalion.

2. FIRST REQUIREMENT - Orders as actually issued by Lieutenant Colonel “1st Battalion 1st Infantry” for the attack.

ILLUSTRATIVE PROBLEM

SECTION II

SECOND SITUATION

3. A SOLUTION OF FIRST REQUIREMENT - At 6:30 PM, Lieutenant Colonel “1st Battalion 1st Infantry” on hill 647, issued the following oral orders to his assembled unit commanders and staff:

“For information of the enemy known at this time, see overlay.

“Our advance guard holds the line of Big Pipe Creek.

“For disposition of our force, see overlay.

“The 1st Infantry will attack, capture the high ground between RJ 706-A and RJ 691 and continue the attack in its zone of action. the 1st Battalion 1st Field Artillery will support our regiment. It will fire a preparation along the hostile front line commencing at 3:55 AM.

“This battalion with at least the 1st Platoon Howitzer Company attached will attack at 4:15 AM tomorrow, capture the hill at RJ 691 and continue the attack to the south.

“formation: Companies A and B in assault, Company A on the right.

“Boundary between companies: stream to our front (pointing) to junction with Big Pipe Creek—RJ 517-H (pointing)—unimproved road to house at road bend—RH 691 (all to Company A).

“Line of departure: Big Pipe Creek.

“Company A will capture the small hill in its zone of action and then continue the attack.

“Company B will assist the advance of Company A until that hill in the zone of Company A has been captured.

“Company D will support the attack; one platoon from the vicinity of RJ 621-B will support the attack of Company B, paying particular attention to the open ground on the eastern portion of this company’s zone; the company (less one platoon) from positions in the vicinity of CR 539-G will initially support each assault rifle company with one platoon; thereafter, one platoon will be sent forward in the zone of each assault rifle company for the close support of that company.

“The 1st Platoon Howitzer Company from positions in the vicinity of RH 553-D, will support the attack. Initially it will pay particular

attention to the zone of Company B.

“Company C will await orders near RJ 520-E (364.1-730.5) (pointing) in reserve.

“The battalion will form at 2:25 AM with head of column at RJ 515-H in the order Companies A, B, D, Howitzer Platoon, Company C. On reaching RJ 590-K (363.6-730.5) (pointing), organization commanders will lead their units into attack positions. Every precaution will be taken to keep this movement secret.

“Administrative details later.

“Command post: RJ 515-H until 3:30 AM; thereafter RJ 520-E.”

4. SITUATION, CONTINUED. - a. The attack jumped off as ordered and has progressed slowly. At 5:30 AM, Lieutenant Colonel “1st Battalion” has just arrived on hill in Company A’s zone and has the following information:

----- END OF MATERIAL -----

Appendix F

Books Written by or about League Island Students and Staff

This appendix does not include the many excellent histories of the war in the Pacific, during which almost all of the League Island officers served and whose exploits are frequently described by name. This list includes only books written by or specifically about the League Island Marines.

Aloha Class of 1926. Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Academy Press, 1982. A collection of memories from the U.S. Naval Academy Class of 1926, including a section featuring submissions from the class members who were commissioned in the Marine Corps.

Biddle, A. J. Drexel. *Do or Die: A Supplementary Manual on Individual Combat (The Trusted Guide to Fighting Like a MARINE)*. Brattleboro, VT: Echo Point Books, 2017. Originally published in 1937, with a wider printing in the mid-1940s, Major Biddle's instruction manual on hand-to-hand combat covers all of the topics he taught while serving as an instructor at TBS. He mentions several school directors in his introduction, thanking them for the opportunity to train lieutenants and for their personal interest in making hand-to-hand combat part of the training of every Marine.

Boyington, Gregory. *Baa Baa Black Sheep: The True Story of the "Bad Boy" Hero of the Pacific Theatre and His Famous Black Sheep Squadron*. New York: Bantam Books, 1977. Gregory Boyington attended TBS in 1938–39. His book is classically autobiographical and focuses on the more exciting parts of his career—namely, time as a pilot and eventual squadron commander in the Far East.

Croizat, Victor J. *Journey Among Warriors: The Memoirs of a Marine*. Shippenburg, PA: White Mane Publishing, 1997. This memoir covers Croizat's entire fascinating life, beginning with early childhood in Libya and as the son of immigrants in the United States. He discusses his time at TBS, which he attended 1940–41, in some detail. In particular, he mentions the limitations of training in a city and that students prized the limited time they spent out of Philadelphia doing field exercises. He mentions Captain Samuel Puller and Colonel Clifton Cates as

instructors. Croizat also wrote history books about amphibious warfare tactics and equipment, of which he is considered a pioneer.

- Devereux, John P. S. *The Story of Wake Island*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Press, 2020 (original 1947). This is Devereux's eyewitness account of the attacks on Wake Island from his perspective as the commander of a Marine detachment. He mentions many other League Island officers in his narrative, most of whom were only newly graduated when the war began. Devereux had been a student in the fall of 1925, during a short-cycle class at the very beginning of the League Island period. He had several years of prior enlisted service.
- Earle, Joan Zuber. *The Children of Battleship Row: Pearl Harbor, 1940–41*. Oakland, CA: RDR Books, 2002. Joan Zuber Earle is the daughter of Adolph Zuber (TBS Class of 1926) and she describes her life as a Marine officers' child living in the Pacific at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. She gives a personal picture of the *esprit* of a Marine Corps family and how her father approached wartime service and its associated dangers and sacrifices.
- Heinl, Col Robert D. *Soldiers of the Sea: The United States Marine Corps, 1775–1962*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1962. Heinl was a noted historian and wrote numerous general histories about World War II, the Marine Corps, and military topics. *Soldiers of the Sea* is the most well-known.
- Kessler, Woodrow M. *To Wake Island and Beyond: Reminiscences*. Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, 1988. Colonel Kessler attended TBS in 1937–38 and this memoir focuses primarily on his wartime experience.
- Kinney, John F., and James M. McCaffrey. *Wake Island Pilot: A World War II Memoir*. Washington, DC: Basseys's, 1995. Kinney attended TBS in 1939–40. His experiences as an engineering officer and pilot on Wake Island are incredible, ending with capture and three years as a prisoner of war in China.
- Krulak, Victor H. *First to Fight: An Inside View of the U.S. Marine Corps*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999. This large volume covers the Marine Corps' entire history, with particular focus on areas that were familiar to the author. Krulak attended TBS in 1934–35, in the last small class before Fleet Marine Force structure began to remake the Corps. His book is often required reading for students at various Marine Corps schools.
- Lech, Raymond B. *Tortured into Fake Confession: the Dishonoring of Korean War Prisoner Col. Frank H. Schwable, USMC*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press, 2011. Frank Schwable was a member of the TBS Class of 1929–30. This book details his experiences as a prisoner of war in Korea during 1952–53, and the court of inquiry that was convened after the war to assess whether Colonel Schwable was culpable for his part in

“confessing” to the United States practicing biological warfare against Chinese and Korean citizens and troops. The book also mentions Schwable’s TBS classmate, Colonel Paul Sherman, who volunteered to serve as his lawyer during the inquiry.

- Letcher, John Seymour. *Good-Bye to Old Peking: The Wartime Letters of U.S. Marine Captain John Seymour Letcher, 1937–1939*. Edited by Roger B. Jeans and Katie Letcher Lyle. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998. Letcher’s letters were edited and published by his daughter, Katie, after his death. They provide a unique look at interwar duty for Marines stationed in China.
- . *One Marine’s Story*. Verona, VA: McClure Press, 1970. Letcher was a student at TBS in the fall of 1927 during one of the final short cycle classes. He mentions his time at League Island (with some minor factual errors) at the beginning of his memoir.
- Magruder, Mark A. *Nightfighter: Radar Intercept Killer*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Books, 2012. Colonel Marion M. Magruder attended TBS in 1936–37 and went on to become a pioneer of night aviation tactics. *Nightfighter* was written by his son, Mark, based on his father’s recollections.
- McBrayer, James D., Jr. *Escape!: Memoir of a World War II Marine Who Broke out of a Japanese POW Camp and Linked up with Chinese Communist Guerrillas*. Jefferson, NC: MacFarland, 1995. McBrayer attended TBS in 1939–40 and was stationed in the Philippines when the war began.
- McKean, William B. *Ribbon Creek: The Marine Corps on Trial*. New York: Dial Press, 1958. McKean attended TBS in 1930–31. At the time, several recruits at Parris Island were drowned during a controversial training accident, dubbed the Ribbon Creek scandal, William B. McKean was the commanding officer of the Weapons Training Battalion there.
- Murray, Zona Gayle. *High Pockets: The Man. The Marine. The Legend. An Autobiography of Major General Raymond Murray*. Connaught Lake, PA: Page Publishing, 2019. Raymond Murray attended TBS in 1935–36. *High Pockets* was published by his third wife as an edited manuscript of his personal memoir, expanded by using letters, diaries, and personal accounts from friends. It largely focuses on his Korean War experience, with brief descriptions of prewar China service and fighting on Tarawa and Saipan. Murray later served as both an instructor at TBS in the 1940s, and as the commanding officer from 1952–54.
- Nelson, James Carl. *I Will Hold: The Story of USMC Legend Clifton B. Cates, from Belleau Wood to Victory in the Great War*. New York: Caliber, 2016. This biography only covers Clifton B. Cates’s career during World War I. Cates served as the commanding officer of TBS in 1940–41, the first full colonel to hold that position. He went on to become Commandant of the Marine Corps.

- Twining, Merrill B. *No Bended Knee: The Battle for Guadalcanal*. Edited by Neil G. Carey. Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1996. Twining served as an instructor at TBS in 1935–36.
- Van Stockum, Ronald R. *Remembrances of World Wars*. Louisville, KY: self-published, 2013. Van Stockum attended TBS in 1937–38. His memoir has extensive descriptions of the training he received at TBS.
- Warner, Gordon. *Japanese Swordsmanship: Technique and Training*. Fairfield, CT: Weatherhill Publishing, 1982. Warner was a protege of Major Anthony Biddle and became a world-famous martial artist and swordsman. He wrote several books about martial arts and the philosophy of hand-to-hand combat.
- Williams, Robert H. *The Old Corps: A Portrait of the U.S. Marine Corps Between the Wars*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1982. Brigadier General Robert H. Williams was a graduate of The Ohio State University and member of the TBS Class of 1929–30. His classmate Samuel B. Griffith wrote the forward for this book, describing it as “not an autobiography in the generally accepted sense of the word, but rather a collection of reminiscences.” With many general comments on the Marine Corps’ ethos of the era, Williams’s book focuses on his China service, which formed the bulk of his early career.

Appendix G

MH-5, Books for Recommended Reading (1933–34)¹

BASIC SCHOOL
MARINE BARRACKS, NAVY YARD
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
1933–1934
BOOKS RECOMMENDED
for reading on
MILITARY HISTORY
FOREWORD

The following bibliography of standard books and other available publications has been taken, for the most part, from the following sources: 1) the list of books recommended by the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for a course of reading on military history; 2) a partial bibliography of small wars prepared by the Marine Corps Schools, Field Officers' Course, Quantico, Virginia; and 3) a bibliography of selected literature relating to historical, political, economic, and military subjects, prepared by the Army War College. The publications selected are, in most instances, of recognized value and cover in a general way the subject named, no claim being made for absolute completeness. A number of the texts quoted are out of print; however, students can generally obtain a considerable part of them from public and private libraries and from second-hand dealers.

It is anticipated that the instructor in Military History will have on hand, when subjects for the students work in that course are to be selected, complete list of books and other publications which may be available for loan to the individual officer in the loan collection of the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, and in the library of the Marine Corps Schools, Marine Barracks Quantico, Virginia. Further instructions will be issued at a later date as to the conditions under which books from these sources may be obtained.

¹This appendix is an exact reproduction of the document "MH-5: Books Recommended for Reading on Military History" supplying a list of necessary titles for new officers, referred to in chapter 6.

Upon direct application to the librarian of the War Department, officers may obtain such books in the War Department Library as are not necessary for reference purposes in the library rooms. Books so obtained may be retained 30 days from the date of their receipt, at the end of which they must be returned by registered mail to the librarian of the war department. The officer must pay the registration fees.

Under the same conditions books may be obtained from the Military Information Division Library (War College Division, General Staff).

It is suggested that this list be retained by each student for use in connection with the course in Military History and that subsequent additions to the list in the form of changes or instruction memoranda, be affixed to this publication.

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**BIBLIOGRAPHY - RECOMMENDED READING
FOR OFFICERS**

I. GENERAL HISTORY - THEORY

Writing of History - Fling

Historical Criticism of Documents - R.L. Marshall

1. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Ancient Times. History of the Early World - Breasted

The Story of Mankind - Van Loon

2. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES**a. GENERAL WORKS**

History of the United States, 8 Vols - McMaster

History of the United States - Channing

American Commonwealth - Bryce

The Riverside History of the United States, 4 Vols

The Development of the United States from Colonies
to a World Power - Farrand

The Discovery of American, 2 Vols - Fiske

b. COLONIAL PERIOD

The Beginning of New England - Fiske

New France and New England - Fiske

The Dutch and Quaker Colonies of America, 2 Vols - Fiske

c. REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The American Revolution, 2 Vols - Fiske

The Critical Period of American History - Fiske

Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, 2 Vols - Lossing

True History of the American Revolution - Fisher

3. GENERAL HISTORY OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES**a. MEXICO**

Monograph on Mexico - U.S. War Department

b. SOUTH AMERICA

History of Latin America - Webster, H.

South American - Koebel

History of South American - Alers

c. BRITISH EMPIRE

A Short History of England - Cheney (1914)

Short History of England and the British Empire - Larson (1915)

Leading Facts of English History - Montgomery (1912)

d. FRANCE

A Short History of France, 2 Vols - Duruy

History of France, 3 Vols - McDonald (1915)

The French People - Hassall

e. GERMANY

A Short History of Germany, 2 Vols - Henderson

History of Germany - Marshall

f. ITALY

History of Italy - Abbott

Greater Italy - Wallace

g. SPAIN

The Spanish People - Hume

Isabelle of Castille and the Making of the Spanish Nation - Plunkett (1915)

h. RUSSIA

Autocracy and Revolution in Russia - Korff (1923)

Russia Today and Tomorrow - Miliukov (1922)

Revolt against Civilization - Stoddard (1922)

i. JAPAN

The Far Eastern Question - Millard

Japan-The Rise of a Modern Power - Porter

Japan and Japanese-American Relations - Blakeslee

k. CHINA

The Problem of China - Russell (1922)

The Middle Kingdom, 2 Vols - Williams

l. MOHAMMEDAN COUNTRIES

The Turkish Empire - Lord Eversley (1917)

Foundations of the Ottoman Empire - Gibbons (1916)

New World of Islam - Stoddard

Rising Tide of Color - Stoddard

II. MILITARY HISTORY

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The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World (From Marathon to Waterloo) - Creasy

The Decisive Battles of Modern Times - Whitton

Battlefields of the World War - Johnson

The Influence of Sea Power upon History - Mahan

War and the World's Life - Wilkinson

2. AMERICAN WARS

a. GENERAL WORKS

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 American Campaigns, 2 Vols - Steele
 The Military Unpreparedness of the United States - Huidekoper
 History of the United States Army - Ganoe
 History of Our Navy, 3 Vols - MacClay
 History of Our Navy - Spear

b. REVOLUTIONARY WAR

American Revolution, 4 Vols - Trevelyan, G.O.
 History of the American Revolution, 2 Vols - Fiske
 Naval History of the Revolution, 2 Vols - Allen
 Navy of the American Revolution - Paullin
 Story of the Revolution - Lodge

c. WAR OF 1812

Field Book of the War of 1812 - Lossing
 The Diplomacy of the War of 1812 - Updyke
 The Invasion of the City of Washington - Stahl
 Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812 - Mahan
 Naval War of 1812 - Roosevelt
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d. MEXICAN WAR

The War with Mexico, 2 Vols - Smith

e. CIVIL WAR

Campaigns of the Civil War (13 volumes)
 Vol I - The Outbreak of the Rebellion - Nicolay
 Vol II - From Fort Henry to Corinth - Force
 Vol III - The Peninsula - Webb
 Vol IV - O.P.
 Vol V - Antietam and Fredericksburg - Palerey
 Vol VI - Chancellorsville and Gettysburg - Doubleday
 Vol VII - The Army of the Cumberland - Cist
 Vol VIII - The Mississippi - Greene
 Vol IX - The Campaign of Atlanta - Cox
 Vol X - The March to the Sea, Franklin and Nashville -
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 Vol XI - The Shenandoah Valley in 1864 - Pond
 Vol XII - The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65, The
 Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James -
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 Vol XIII - Statistical Record - Phisterer
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- The American Army in the Civil War - Chanal
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 - The Campaign of Waterloo - Ropes
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 - Napoleon and the Campaign of 1814 - Houssaye
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 - Jena to Eylau - vonDer Goltz
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 - f. THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR (1870)
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 - A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany - Scott
 - President Wilson's Foreign Policy - Scott
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 - What Really Happened at Paris - Mouse and Seymour
 - The Peace Negotiations - Lansing
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 - The Economic Consequences of the Peace - Keynes
 - Inside Story of the Peace Conference - Dillon
 - c. GENERAL WORKS
 - A Guide to the Military History of the World War - Frothingham
 - Little History of the Great War - Vast
 - The Literary Digest History of the World War, 10 Vols - Halsey
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 - History of the World War - March
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 - The Great War, 5 Vols - George A. Allan
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 - The History of the War, 5 Vols - Nelson
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Journal of the Great War, 2 Vols - Dawes
A Reference History of the War - Guernsey
Direct and Indirect Cost of the War - Bugart
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Battlefields of the World War, 2 Vols - Johnson

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Industrial American in the World War - Clarkson
Comment Finit la Guerre - Mangin

e. FRENCH SIDE

Germany in Defeat, 4 Vols - de Souza
Les Premiere Crise des Commandement - Joffre
Le Plan de Campagne Francais - Lanrezac
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f. BRITISH SIDE

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A History of the Great War, 6 Vols - Doyle (British Campaigns
in France and Flanders, 1914-18)
Sir Douglas Haig's Despatches - Boraston
Canadians in France - Steele
Indians Corps in France - Mereweather

g. BELGIAN SIDE

Belgium under German Occupation, 2 Vols - Whitlock

h. ITALIAN SIDE

Italy and the World War - Page

i. RUSSIAN SIDE

With the Russian Army, 1914-1917, 2 Vols - Knox
Russia from the American Embassy - Francis
Memoires de Russie - Legras

War and Revolution in Russia - Gourko

j. GERMAN SIDE

Out of my Life - Hindenburg

Ludendorff's Own Story, 2 Vols - Ludendorff

The General Staff and its Problems, 2 Vols - Ludendorff

My Three Years in America - Bernstorff

My Memoirs - Windischgraetz

k. THEATERS OF OPERATIONS

(1) WESTERN FRONT

Le Plan de Campagne Francais - Lanrezac

The March on Paris and the Battle of the Marne - von Kluck

Marne Campaign - Whitton

The Battle of the Marne - Perris

The Strategy of the Western Front - Sargent

My Report on the Battle of the Marne - Buelow

Nineteen-Fourteen - Field Marshall Viscount French

The Way to Victory, 2 Vols - Gibbs

Bapaume to Passchendaele - Gibbs

The Battles of the Somme - Gibbs

Our Greatest Battle (The Meuse-Argonne) - Palmer

The Turn of the Tide - Wise

The Last Four Months: How the War was Won - Maurice

Comment Finit la Guerre - Mangin (A Review of all the operations on the Western Front)

Sir Douglas Haig's Despatches - Boraston

S.O.S. Miracle in France - Marcossou

Gallieni's Memoirs

Ypres, 1914

(2) RUSSIAN FRONT

War and Revolution in Russia (1914-17) - Gourko

Ludendorff's Own Story - Ludendorff

General Headquarters 1914-1915 - Falkenhayn

In the World War - Czernin

(3) ITALIAN FRONT

In the World War - Czernin

Six Months on the Italian Front - Price

(4) THE BALKANS

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The Story of the Salonika Army - Price

Salonika and After - Owen

Through the Serbian Campaign - Gordon Smith

From Serbia to Yugoslavia (1914-1918) - Gordon Smith

Non Commandement en Orient - Sarrail

General Headquarters, 1914-18 - Falkenhayn

Constantine I and the Greek People - Hibben

(5) TURKISH THEATER

(a) The Dardanelles

Gallipoli Diary - Sir Ian Hamilton

The Dardanelles Campaign - Nevison

With the 29th Division in Gallipoli - Creighton

(b) Mesopotamia and Persia

Beseiged in Kut - Babber

My Campaigns in Mesopotamia, 2 Vols - Townsend

Mesopotamia - Birch/Reynardson

(c) Syria and Egypt

With the Turks in Palestine - Aarson

With our Army in Palestine - Bluett

The Desert Mounted Corps - Preston

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Three Years of War in East Africa - Buchanan

General Smuts' Campaign in East Africa - Crowe

With Botha and Smuts in Africa - Waittall

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The History of the Transport Service (American) 1917-19 -
Cleaves

Naval Operations, 3 Vols - Corbett

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Germany's High Seas Fleet in the World War - Scheer

The Grand Fleet 1914-1916 - Jellicoe

Victory at Sea - Sims

With Beatty in the North Sea - Young

The Fighting at Jutland - Fawcett

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The Life of Lincoln - Nicolay

Personal Memoirs - U.S. Grant

Personal Memoirs - W.T. Sherman

Stonewall Jackson, 2 Vols - Henderson

The Life of Winfield Scott - Wright

From Manassas to Appomattox - Longstreet

Military Memoirs of a Confederate - Alexander

Reminiscences of a Marine - Lejeune

My Experience in the World War - Pershing

Diary of Gideon Welles, 3 Vols - Welles

The Life of Farragut - Mahan

Life and Letters of John Hay, 2 Vols - Thayer

An Autobiography - Roosevelt

The Admiral's Log - Evans
 Robert E. Lee, the Soldier - Maurice

b. FOREIGN LEADERS

Plutarch's Lives - One Volume
 Alexander - Dodge
 Caesar - Dodge
 Hannibal - Dodge
 Napoleon, 4 Vols - Dodge
 The Life of Napoleon - Rose
 The First Napoleon - Ropes
 Napoleon I - Fournier
 The Life of Napoleon - Tarbell
 Napoleon - Johnson
 The Life of Nelson - Mahan
 Wellington's Campaigns - Robinson
 The Life of Kitchener, 3 Vols - Arthur
 Foch the Winner of the War - Recouly
 From Private to Field Marshal - Robertson

III. THE ART OF WAR

1. GENERAL WORKS

The Art of Fighting - Fiske
 On War, 3 Vols - Clausewitz
 The Nations in Arms - von der Goltz
 The Conduct of War (Dickman) - von der Goltz
 The Science of War - Henderson
 Great Captains - Dodge
 War According to Clausewitz - Pilcher
 War and Policy - Wilkinson
 The Spirit of Old West Point - Schaff
 Arms and the Race - Johnson
 On War of Today, 2 Vols - Bernhardt
 The War of the Future - Bernhardt
 The Day of the Saxon - Lea
 Biology of War - Nicolai
 The World at War - Brandes
 Direction of War - Bird
 Sea Power in the Pacific - Bywater
 The Political Economy of War - Hirst
 The Press and the General Staff - Lytton
 International War, Its Causes and Its Cure - Crosby
 Causes of International War - Dickinson

2. STRATEGY AND COMBINED TACTICS

Letters on Strategy - Hohenlohe

Battle Studies - Du Picq
The Evolution of Modern Strategy - Maude
Napoleon's Military Maxims - D'Aquilar
The War of Positions - Azan
The Principles of War - Foch
The Principles of Military Art - Fletcher-Vane
Topography and Strategy in the War - Johnson
The Strategy of Minerals - Smith
Naval Strategy - Mahan
Principles of Maritime Strategy - Corbett
An Introduction to the History of Tactics - Becke (British)
The Evolution of Tactics - Gilbert (British)
History of Tactics - Johnson (British)
Tactics - Balck (German)
Study in Troop Leading - von Verdy du Vernois
Development of Tactics Based on the World War - Balck
Open Warfare - Gibbs

3. LOGISTICS

Pure Logistics - Thorpe

4. MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

Military Intelligence, A New Weapon in War - Sweeny
The Art of Reconnaissance - Henderson

5. PSYCHOLOGY AND LEADERSHIP

The Crowd - Lebon
Military Manpower - Andrews
Morale: The Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct - Hall
Leadership - Miller
The Management of Men - Munson

IV. TACTICS AND TECHNIQUE OF THE SEPARATE ARMS

1. INFANTRY

History of Infantry - Llord
Development of Infantry Tactics - Beca
Infantry Tactics, Vol 1 - Balck
Summer Night's Dream - Cawne
Defense of Duffer's Drift - Swinton
The Battle of Booby's Bluff
Tanks in the Great War 1914-1918 - Fuller
The Australian Victories in France in 1918 (Employment of Tanks)
- Sir John Monash

2. CAVALRY

A History of Cavalry - Denison
Achievements of Cavalry - Sir Evelyn Wood

Cavalry in War and Peace - Bernhardi
 Cavalry in Future Wars - Bernhardi
 Letters on Cavalry - Hohenlohe
 History of the Cavalry of the Army of the Potomac - Rhodes
 Cavalry in the Russo-Japanese War - Wrangel
 The Desert Mounted Corps - Preston
 The German Cavalry in Belgium and France - von Posek
 Cavalry on Service - Pelet-Narbonne

3. ARTILLERY

Letters on Artillery - Hohenlohe
 Notes on Field Artillery - Spaulding
 Antiaircraft Defence - Officers of the 61st A.A. Bn.

4. AIR SERVICE

Aerial Navigation - Zahm
 History of Aeronautics - Vivian Marsh and Lockwood
 Our Air Force - Mitchell

5. CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE

Chemical Warfare - Fries and West
 Gas Warfare - Farrow

6. MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

The Principles of Sanitary Tactics - Munson
 Medical Services in Modern War - Bond and Martin

V. LAW

International Relations - Bryce
 International Law, 2 Vols - Oppenheim
 War Rights on Land - Spaight
 War Powers Under the Constitution - Whiting

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SMALL WARS

SMALL WARS - Their Principles and Practice
 Lt-Col C.E. Callwell, British Army
 GUERRILLA OR PARTIZAN WARFARE
 T. Miller Maguire
 BUSH WARFARE
 Lt-Col W.C.G. Heneker, British Army
 CHITRAL - The Story of a Minor Siege
 Sit George S. Robinson
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VII - A READING COURSE FOR OFFICERS

1. FIRST PERIOD (AVERAGE FOUR YEARS)

Military Memoirs of a Confederate, 1 Vol - Edward P. Alexander

The American Army in European Conflict - Col. Jacques de Chambrun and Captain de Merenches

The River War (An historical account of the reconquest of the Sudan), 2 Vols - Winston S. Churchill

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American Campaigns, 2 Vols (Text and atlas) - Matthew F. Steele

The Outline of History, 2 Vols - Herbert G. Wells

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Reflections on The Basic School¹

*by Brigadier General Ronald R. Van Stockum,
U.S. Marine Corps (8 July 1916–24 April 2022)*

As an inveterate recorder of experiences, I have created voluminous written files. While my record as a student at the University of Washington majoring in business administration was acceptable, it was as a cadet in the Army Infantry Reserve Officer Training Course (ROTC) that I excelled. Upon graduation, I was offered a direct commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps, with date of rank of 1 July 1937, a week before my 21st birthday. It took a few weeks for the U.S. Senate to approve commissions that year, so I was not sworn in until 4 August.

In those days the only route to a regular commission as a line officer of the U.S. Army or U.S. Navy was through the U.S. Military Academy at West Point or the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. The Marine Corps, however, had been participating in a program whereby distinguished ROTC graduates from certain land-grant colleges, of which the University of Washington was one, could receive regular commissions. Officers thus chosen were placed in a probationary status for two years, at the end of which, upon passing an exam, their commissions were made permanent. This was not a difficult condition. Of the 82 officers in my class, only one failed to achieve permanent status. We were also required to be single and to remain so during the two-year period. Later we were told by one of our instructors that “the service, gentlemen, is a jealous mistress.”

My first duty station as a second lieutenant was at the Philadelphia Navy Yard at The Basic School (TBS) as a member of the Class of 1937–38. My salary was \$125 a month, supplemented by an \$18 ration allowance and reduced by 20 cents to cover medical care. Our class included 25 graduates of the Naval Academy who had chosen to receive Marine Corps commissions. These were selected among volunteers, in accordance with their class standing. The demand in 1937 for the 25 slots allotted was such that those accepted

¹The author met BGen Van Stockum on a snowy afternoon in April 2018. He was happy to chat about all things Marine Corps and anything else that he experienced in his century-long life. The author corresponded with him while writing the dissertation and through the first stages of turning it into this monograph. In spring 2020, he wrote this little reflection after reading the draft manuscript. It was with great sorrow the author learned of his death in 2022.

in the Marine Corps all ranked in the upper third of their class at the academy. This group included the captains of both the football and the basketball team. In addition to those from the academy, there were 35 honor graduates of ROTC programs, 7 distinguished noncommissioned officers selected from the ranks, and 15 Marine aviators, formerly aviation cadets—a total of 82.

While we all bore the rank of second lieutenant, we were treated like privates and considered ourselves to be “brass bar cadets.” We drilled like enlisted men, carrying the M1903 Springfield rifle, using time-honored maneuvers of close order drill, such as Squads Right, Squads Left, etc. The Marine Corps in 1937 consisted of about 1,100 officers and 18,000 enlisted men. Including Marine Barracks personnel, our instructors, and our TBS class, there were more than 100 Marine officers in Philadelphia, so we already had personal contact with nearly 10 percent of all regular Marine officers.

It was on the parade ground that we first encountered Captain Lewis “Chesty” Puller, the officer in charge of drill and command, later to become the best-known of many true heroes of the Corps. He was by far the most popular of our instructors. We called him Lewie (when we could), but later he became universally known and admired as Chesty, his prominent chest being emphasized by his upright bearing. As an enlisted man, at a time when decorations were seldom awarded, he had twice received the nation’s second highest award for valor, the Navy Cross, in the 1930 and 1932 campaigns in Nicaragua, where he was called “El Tigre.”

Before each formation, we were inspected by Captain Puller, who was never satisfied. The Corps’ bible, the *Marine Corps Manual*, mandated that the hair be no longer than two inches and the back of the neck remain unshaved. If nothing wrong as to posture, uniform, or rifle could be found, Puller would growl, “Get a haircut,” whether needed or not.

Shortly after arriving in Philadelphia, we were required to purchase an unbelievable array of Marine uniforms: greens, traditional high-collar blues, whites, khakis, and the magnificent evening dress uniform, complete with gold collar, gold shoulder knots, and gold striped trousers. To these were added a heavy overcoat, a boat cloak (like that worn by President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Yalta), the Sam Browne belt and the traditional Marine Mameluke sword. I purchased all my uniforms from Horstmann’s, the most famous of all Philadelphia tailors, which claimed to have made the uniforms of the fastidious U.S. Army general George A. Custer. These uniforms were literally built on the body through several fittings. Unfortunate was an officer who was not yet fully “filled out!” I paid my uniform bill in full, a \$1,000 personal expense, before completing my year in Philadelphia.

It was Captain Puller who was charged, also, with the challenge of ensuring that all of us purchased regulation and properly fitting uniforms—“properly fitting” according to Captain Puller. He believed that we second lieutenants, especially those of us from the universities, had customarily worn sloppy, ill-

fitting attire. For example, I had always worn a size $7\frac{3}{8}$ hat, the few times I had worn a hat, and my neck size was $15\frac{1}{2}$. For Captain Puller these figures became $7\frac{1}{8}$ and $14\frac{1}{2}$, and I was fitted accordingly. He was particularly pleased with his guidance in my case. I quote from my military journal, written during my first five years in the Corps, now in possession of the Filson Historical Society:

13 January 1938. I have been very much dissatisfied with my uniform caps, which I believe too small for me. A $7\frac{3}{8}$ sits on top of my head like Happy Hooligan's hat. Imagine my surprise today when Capt. Puller called me out in front of the company as an example of an officer wearing a correct size hat correctly.

I still remember his exact commands: "Mr. Van Stockum [pronounced Van Stoke 'em]. Front and center, Mr. Van Stoke 'em. Right Face. Show 'em your profile [pronounced "profil"], Mr. Van Stoke 'em."

In those days the Corps was renowned for its marksmanship. Every Marine, officers included, was required to qualify each year with the rifle, firing an exceptionally demanding course. It was in our small wars course that we were pleased to encounter again the popular and colorful Puller. He regaled us with anecdotes from the Nicaragua and Haiti campaigns, punctuated by pithy remarks, such as,

- "If you come under fire, don't run away. A bullet can travel faster than you can."
- "Get up with the leading element of your patrol. Your life is no more valuable to you than an enlisted man's is to him."
- "In an ambush as soon as the first shot is fired hit the deck. There will be a second or two interval before the rest open up on you and their shots will go overhead."
- "Almost anywhere, except on a tennis court or baseball diamond, there is cover for a prone man."
- "A hand grenade is not very dangerous to a man who hits the deck and lets the fragments fly over his head."
- "Just remember when you have a tough job to do that hundreds have done it successfully before you and you're better than 50 percent of them."

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