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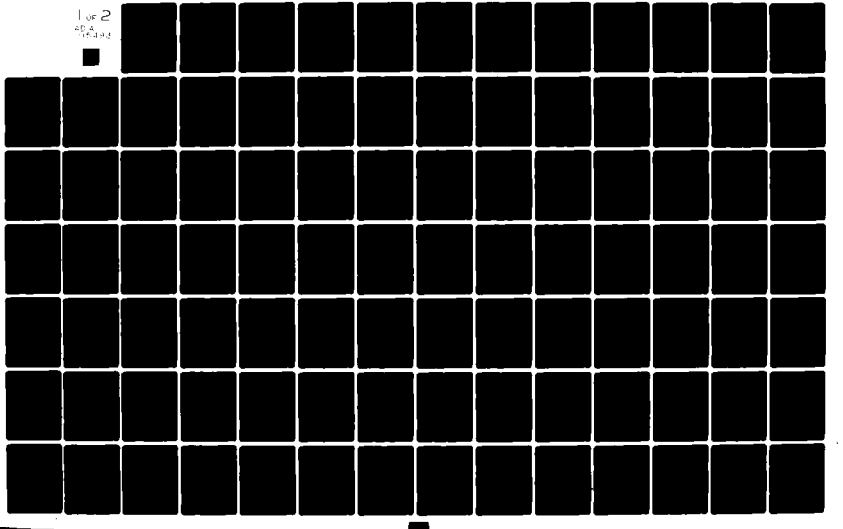

Pioneer Professional: General John M. Schofield and the Development of a Professional Officer Corps, 1888-1895.

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Final report- 23 Apr 82

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A thesis submitted to Rice University, Houston, Texas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Schofield had a clear view of both the nature and the importance of professionalism by 1888. He had concluded that

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Schofield instituted major reforms in officer education, ethics, and policies and legislation designed to make officership a rewarding profession for accomplished men. He worked also to establish an effective command system in the Army, where near chaos had existed before. The success of his program indicates that previous assessments of his contributions have been incomplete.

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by

ROBERT W. MIXON, JR.

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

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Historians have not given General John M. Schofield much credit for contributing to the development of professionalism in the Army officer corps, particularly during Schofield's tenure as Commanding General (1888-1895). Such assessments do not adequately describe his efforts.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Military historians agree that the United States Army underwent fundamental changes between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the First World War. Perhaps the most significant of these changes was the development of professionalism.[1] It is commonly agreed that this characteristic first emerged in the officer corps when prominent officers sought to prepare the Army for modern warfare and, at the same time, to gain popular support for a standing army.

One of the first scholars to examine the history of military professionalism was the political scientist Samuel P. Huntington. In his The Soldier and the State (1957) he argued that the emergence of a professional officer corps in the United States Army could be traced to the Prussians, who reformed their army in 1806. Prussia's decision to eliminate nobility as a requirement for officership after suffering numerous defeats in the Napoleonic wars started a world-wide movement toward professional military leadership. "Its [the Prussian system's] revolutionary aspect," Huntington wrote, "was its assumption that genius was superfluous, and even dangerous, and that reliance must be placed upon average men succeeding by superior education,

organization, and experience." Huntington believed that American officers began to accept the Prussian ideas of professionalism after the Civil War. The horrors of America's first experience with "mass warfare" and the rise of "business pacifism" associated with the acceleration of the Industrial Revolution after 1865 combined to isolate the Army from the rest of society. Army officers, faced with the dilemma of civilian rejection and the need for increased expertise in order to cope with the complexities of mass warfare, turned inward to seek a solution to their problems. In so doing, Huntington stated, they had the opportunity to develop a "distinctly military character" which became professionalism. Officers, led by Generals William T. Sherman, Philip H. Sheridan, and Colonel Emory Upton, accepted the Prussian concept of professionalism and molded it to fit the American environment. "The dark ages of military political influence," Huntington wrote, "were the golden ages of military professionalism."[2]

The foremost historian of the United States Army, Russell F. Weigley, adopted Huntington's theory of the development of professionalism in the officer corps in his The History of the United States Army. Weigley concluded that the movement toward professionalism in the Army was prompted by physical isolation as well as by civilian rejection and indifference. Reducing the size of the Army and scattering it across a series of tiny frontier outposts and

coastal forts forced officers to turn inward and examine their group structure. Despite the hostility and indifference which civilians displayed toward a standing army, officers viewed themselves as essential members of society. Weigley credited Sherman, Sheridan, and Upton with being the leading military intellectuals of the late nineteenth century, whose efforts enabled Army officers to grow professionally despite their separation from the rest of society. The emergence of a structured education system for officers, the growth of associations, the appearance of journals and other literary publications, and the study of European armies were, Weigley thought, the primary manifestations of Army professionalism.[3]

Like Weigley, other historians have accepted Huntington's theory of the development of professionalism in the officer corps. In 1971, Graham A. Cosmas based his account of the Army's participation in the Spanish-American War on the premise that professionalism existed, albeit in rough form, by the time war broke out with Spain in 1898. He credited Sherman's educational reforms and efforts to foster officer associations as well as Upton's writings with having substantial influence on the development of professionalism during the years 1865-1898. Similarly, C. Robert Kemble wrote that the late nineteenth century marked the end of the era of the "patrician-soldier" and the beginning of

professionalism. In 1975, Allan R. Millett stated that the isolation of the Army and the awareness of the need for expertise among officers transformed the officer corps into "an institutionalized profession." Finally, Timothy K. Nenninger wrote in 1978 that the late nineteenth century was a time of professional pioneering in America, a time when men such as Sherman and Upton realized the need for the creation of a corps of officers extensively trained in the theory and practice of war.[4]

While these historians do not agree on the exact forms professionalism took, all agree with Huntington that the late nineteenth century was a period of important professional developments. Schools, ethical standards, associations, journals, and efforts to foster a sense of community among officers have been cited by one or more of these historians as evidence of the emergence of a professional officer corps during this period. Similarly, Sherman, Sheridan, and Upton are credited with being the principal sponsors of professionalism.

But nearly all accounts of the development of professionalism in the Army after the end of the Civil War neglect one of the major military figures of the period, Lieutenant General John M. Schofield. Schofield (1831-1906) spent forty-six years as a commissioned officer and seven years (1888-1895) as Commanding General of the Army. From the

lack of attention given to his career, it might be assumed that historians think he contributed little to the growth of military professionalism, that as Commanding General he was merely a caretaker, a man who minded the store for seven years.

Those scholars who have touched on Schofield's career as Commanding General, who have considered his contributions to the development of professionalism, can be separated into two groups. One, typified by C. Robert Kemble, has credited Schofield with merely continuing the reforms begun by earlier influential officers. Kemble said nothing about Schofield's administration other than it was a period when professional development continued. Like other historians who agreed that Schofield was no more than a caretaker commander, Kemble implied that the years 1888-1895 brought comparatively little development in the officer corps.

A second group has credited Schofield with making only modest reforms which contributed to the professionalization of the officer corps. Weigley, more than any of the members of this group, acknowledged Schofield's efforts to improve professionalism, but even he viewed Schofield's tenure as relatively insignificant when compared to those of Sherman and Sheridan. At best, this second group has credited Schofield with expanding educational programs and improving the authority of the Commanding General.

The scant attention Schofield has received thus far is perhaps best exemplified by the absence of study of his whole career. Only one historian, James L. McDonough, has written a book about him. McDonough's book, Schofield: Union General in the Civil War and Reconstruction, covers Schofield's career up to the end of his service as Secretary of War in 1868. In the preface, McDonough explained the limited scope of his study and in doing so shed some light on the current thought concerning Schofield's later career:

> Viewing the Civil War and Reconstruction as the most significant events in United States history in the nineteenth century, and perhaps the most important in all U.S. history, I can only think of Schofield's later career as anticlimatic.[5]

Was McDonough right? Was General John M. Schofield merely a caretaker Commanding General, as the lack of attention to his tenure suggests? Were his contributions to professionalism in the Army officer corps limited to the continuation of earlier reforms with a few minor additions? This thesis attempts to answer these questions.

NOTES ON THE INTRODUCTION

[1]See Appendix.

[2]Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and the State, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 51, 222-229. Three years after this book was published, Morris Janowitz, another political scientist, wrote The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960), in which Huntington's ideas received strong support. Janowitz stated that the problems faced by twentieth century officers had to be viewed within the context of professional traits which were developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He argued that the basic structure of officer professionalism was formed during that time and the modern officer had to adapt modern requirements to that framework.

[3]Russell F. Weigley, The History of the United States Army (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), 266-292.

[4]Graham A. Cosmas, An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War (Columbia: The University of Missouri Press, 1971), 3, 5-33. C. Robert Kemble, The Image of the Army Officer in America: Background for Current Views (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973), 82, 96. Allan R. Millett, The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the United States Army, 1881-1925 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 9. Timothy K. Nenninger, The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army: Education, Professionalism, and the Officer Corps of the United States Army, 1881-1918 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 26-34. See also James L. Abrahamson, America Arms for a New Century: The Making of a Great Military Power (New York: Macmillan Company, 1981), 1-41, and Heath Twichell, Allen: The Biography of an Army Officer 1859-1930 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 271-275.

[5]James L. McDonough, Schofield: Union General in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1972), vi.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND OF SCHOFIELD'S CONCEPT OF PROFESSIONALISM

At the time John M. Schofield was commissioned and entered active service, the United States Army was not a professional body. There was no collective identity among officers and no formal training system for preparing young officers for subsequent positions of greater responsibility. Almost every citizen of note held some form of military rank in the local militia, and the population of virtually every city or major rural area had its own military unit which drilled once or twice a year. Most people viewed war as an unfortunate event which could be prepared for adequately when danger was imminent.

In Europe, however, the development of military professionalism had made considerable progress by 1853. The Prussian Army had been the first to begin an institutional system of officer training based on the lessons of the Napoleonic Wars. In addition to adopting an organized structure for officer procurement, training, and promotion after 1806, Prussian military leaders made concerted efforts to study war. One of these leaders, F. Dietrich Von Bulow, wrote that the practice of war had been completely altered

by the French Revolution. He believed that the rise of the French masses against the monarchy signalled the fusion of government with the people in the pursuit of political goals and heralded the involvement of the entire nation in war. As the historian R.R. Palmer wrote, the French Revolution taught Von Bulow that "the wars of kings were over; the wars of peoples had begun."[1]

On the continent, other countries soon followed the Prussian example, reforming their officer corps and encouraging the full-time study of mass warfare. "Prior to 1800", Samuel Huntington wrote, "there was no such thing as a professional officer corps. In 1900 such bodies existed in virtually all major countries."[2] By the mid-1850's, this transformation was well under way in continental Europe: military academies, general staffs, journals, and progressive officer training programs were everywhere. Military leaders studied the tactics and doctrine in neighboring armies with great interest. Improvements in military technology made in one country were quickly copied elsewhere. Popular support for large standing armies became commonplace, and the preparation for war became the preoccupation of military forces in times of peace. In light of these developments, officership became universally recognized as a full-time occupation. Officers gained expertise in the emerging science of war. Military leadership evolved

into a profession that amateur nobles could not practice successfully.

There were some signs of the beginning of a professional officer corps in the United States by 1853, but they were not the result of a concerted effort. The Artillery School of Practice, organized in 1824 by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, continued to train officers in gunnery techniques. Tactical manuals had been introduced in the 1840's during the tenure of General Winfield Scott as Army Commanding General. The first American work on the theory of war, General Henry W. Halleck's Elements of Military Art and Science, had been in print since 1846. The United States Military Academy, founded in 1802, was beginning to train cadets in military subjects as well as in civil engineering. Graduates of this revised West Point program, such as Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, were already serving as junior officers.[3]

Early efforts to ensure the competence of officers and institutionalize the way they were procured, trained, and promoted suffered, however, from "Jacksonian suspicions."[4] Political appointees dominated many of the Army's senior positions, and these appointees were sensitive to the popular distrust of elites that Andrew Jackson had fostered as President. The heroic image of the militia soldier, rushing from his home with rifle in hand to turn back an

attacking army led by mercenaries or aristocrats, still accurately reflected public sentiment. There was little support for programs designed to transform soldiering into a career occupation. The regular Army understandably suffered in this environment, offering little to young men as a way of life.

The horrors of the Civil War taught some officers the dangers of continued stagnation in professional development. One of the most prominent of these men was General William T. Sherman, who commanded the Army from 1869 to 1883. He was, in the words of Russell Weigley, "something of a military intellectual."[5] His brilliant reputation as a battlefield commander during the war gave him great popularity, and he utilized this popularity to influence people in Congress and elsewhere to support a standing army.

Sherman worked hard to foster professional growth among officers. He revitalized the Artillery School at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and he created a similar school for Infantry and Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Sherman encouraged the exchange of ideas among officers by endorsing the publication of periodicals such as The Cavalry Journal and the creation of discussion forums like the military Service Institution of the United States. He felt that the Prussian military system was far superior to others in Europe, and he sent several officers to study the German

Army after the Franco-Prussian War ended in 1871. He also ordered a review of the instructional program at West Point which resulted in the addition of more leadership training for cadets.[6]

Sherman's varied efforts to develop a professional officer corps were reflected in his adoption of Karl von Clausewitz's ideas on the nature of war. Clausewitz (1780-1831) served in the Prussian Army in the years following its reforms and took part in several campaigns against Napoleon. From 1818 until shortly before his death in 1831 he held the position of Managing Director of the Military Academy of Berlin. During this last assignment he secretly wrote a study of the nature of war and its effects on society, On War. In this work Clausewitz defined limited and total war and discussed the political elements of violence among nations. He stated that warfare had evolved to the stage where it could not be prosecuted successfully except by a corps of experts whose sole occupation was the preparation for and conduct of war. He emphasized the need for an institutional system of officer procurement, training, and utilization to meet the requirements of modern warfare.[7]

In 1873, Sherman ordered that On War be translated into English and widely distributed throughout the officer corps. The result of the influx of Prussian military thought into

the American military was a heightened interest in the technical aspects of combat. As officers became increasingly concerned with the techniques of fighting, they also came to realize the need for constant study in order to maintain proficiency. This was the heart of Sherman's theory of how the American Army should exist. He believed that education, training, and the continuing study of warfare as a science would produce a corps of professional officers for this country.

One of the principal benefits of Sherman's efforts to increase awareness among officers of the need for full-time devotion to the science of war was the positive influence such ideas had on younger officers. Colonel Emory Upton was one of these officers. In 1876, he travelled around the world, making a critical study of foreign armies under orders from the Commanding General. Upton was a West Point graduate with a brilliant combat record, having risen from a newly commissioned lieutenant to a brevet major general in the Civil War. Like Sherman, he felt the war clearly demonstrated the need to eliminate amateur officers from the Army's ranks. By the time he embarked for his world tour, Upton had served as Commandant of Cadets at West Point for five years and spent an equal period arguing for tactical reform in the infantry.

Upton's travels took him to Asia and Europe where he watched maneuvers and staff operations with keen interest. Of all the armies he observed, the Prussian evoked his greatest admiration. As his biographer Stephen Ambrose stated, "Upton regarded the Prussian system, with its general staff, mass army, and freedom from civilian control, an ideal one." His observations led him to write two books, The Armies of Asia and Europe and The Military Policy of the United States. The latter proved to be his most significant when it received wide distribution throughout the officer corps after Upton committed suicide in 1881.[8]

The Military Policy of the United States emphasized Upton's belief that the Army should be purely professional and free from civilian control (except for the governmental decision to declare war). He supported the progressive system of postgraduate schools Sherman had begun and he proposed the creation of a general staff and a merit promotion system. Upton believed the militia system tc be inadequate for modern war. As an alternative, he recommended that the United States establish a large standing army led by a highly skilled officer corps. Despite the fact that many of Upton's ideas were unrealistic for a democracy, his writings aided Sherman's efforts and helped to maintain a sense of pride and purpose in the officer corps "that might have otherwise sunk into a permanent morass."[9]

Sherman's campaign for the development of a corps of career officers received additional support from his successor as Commanding General, Philip H. Sheridan. During his tenure as Army commander, Sheridan tried to obtain increased funds for the system of schools Sherman had instituted and sought to gain Congressional support for improvements in the quality of combat equipment. He also favored increasing the amount of military instruction provided to the cadets at West Point, and he endeavored to sustain the growth of military thought that had begun to surface in journals and discussion forums throughout the Army.

Both Sherman and Sheridan faced a major problem in their efforts to establish a professional officer corps because neither had all of the authority he needed to carry out reform. Sherman had tried but failed to take command of the ten staff "bureaus" several times during his administration. Sheridan had met a similar fate in his attempts to command the whole Army. Both generals became embroiled in conflicts with their civilian bosses over this issue, and both had failed to make any progress. Both moved their headquarters from Washington in futile protests over their lack of authority. A divided system of command restricted their efforts to improve officer education, training, and promotion because they could not enforce their orders.

While Sherman and Sheridan managed to make some professional gains despite the problem of a lack of authority, the Army as a whole suffered during their administrations. By the mid-1880's, lack of funds had created a situation where most Army equipment was antiquated, especially in such critical areas as communications and transportation. Twenty-seven thousand soldiers were scattered thinly across scores of decaying coastal forts and dreary frontier outposts. There was practically no incentive for young men to join the Army or to stay in beyond the initial five year term of enlistment. The pay for a private was $13.00 per month in 1888, and the condition of the frontier posts, in particular, was dismal. Soldiers were frequently confined to their fort, even if they were lucky enough to be located close to a town. They were a rough lot--stupid, drunken, and inclined to desert. No wonder, then, that one of the most common sayings among officers of the day was that the Army "would be delightful if it were not for the---- soldiers."[10]

The problems of a lack of unified command and sagging quality of the troopers and their environment were compounded by a rise in anti-military sentiment in the 1880's. Prominent men such as Andrew Carnegie and Herbert Spencer publicly declared war to be obsolete. Others who were less idealistic expressed hostility or indifference toward a

regular army. In 1887, John A. Logan published a rousing tribute to the virtues of the militia and a condemnation of regular officers, especially those educated at West Point. Logan's Volunteer Soldier of America reflected the attitudes of many members of Congress, who consistently ignored proposals for reorganizing the Army or improving its defense capabilities. There was little support for the idea of increasing the size of the force above the level of 27,000 set in 1877. Despite the obvious signs of an arms race in Europe and the rapid advances in military technology being made worldwide most Americans felt secure behind the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It is possible that the efforts of Sherman and Sheridan kept the regular Army from extinction in the face of such attitudes on the part of the rest of society.[11]

John M. Schofield had been very much a part of the efforts of Sherman, Upton, and Sheridan to create a career officer corps dedicated to the science of war. His personal association with Sherman went back to 1864 when Schofield commanded the Army of the Ohio in the Atlanta campaign. He admired Sherman as the epitome of a professional soldier. He and Sherman worked together on the issue of civil-military relations during the 1870's. Like Upton, Schofield went to Europe, at Sherman's direction, to study foreign military operations. He spent the fall of 1881

observing the French Army conduct maneuvers, later commenting that he found the experience both "instructive and interesting."[12]

When the manuscript of Upton's Military Policy was circulated among officers after his suicide in 1881, Schofield was one of the first to read it. He sympathized with Upton's distaste for civilian authority over the military, but he did not make Upton's mistake of allowing such feelings to stand in the way of looking realistically at the role of the Army in American society. From his study of The Military Policy of the United States Schofield gained an appreciation for the frustration of those officers who resented the blatant disregard of military interests taking place in Washington. Also, he learned from the popularity of Upton's work that there was a great deal of support among officers for the establishment of a sense of common identity.

From Sheridan, Schofield developed a position of the proper role of the Commanding General with regard to the Secretary of War and the chiefs of the ten staff bureaus. Schofield served as a department commander during most of Sheridan's tenure as Commanding General, and thus he knew a lot about what was going on "behind the scenes" at Army headquarters. General officers were few in number in the late nineteenth century, and they corresponded with each other frequently. After he had replaced Sheridan as

Commanding General, Schofield described the limits imposed on his predecessor's authority as he viewed them:

> The command of the Army had become, before the death of General Sheridan, little more than nominal. The functions exercised by the General had become extremely limited, such as to occupy a very small portion of his time; while the Secretary of War was so overburdened with his manifold duties as to feel the need of an Assistant Secretary. It is respectfully submitted that this burden resulted from the assumption of duties which properly belong to the Commanding General of the Army, or might properly be intrusted to him.[13]

Aside from his knowledge of the problems encountered by Sherman and Sheridan in gaining complete control of the Army and his study of Upton's writings, Schofield had developed an appreciation for professionalism through his own experiences prior to becoming Commanding General. Raised in a strict household on the frontier of Wisconsin, Schofield learned the value of hard work and personal integrity early in life. His West Point training helped him to incorporate these ideals into a philosophy of officership which had professional traits. Through his varied assignments after graduation, he formed a clear opinion of what a professional officer should be, and he tried to live up to his own high standards of conduct during the formative years of his military career.

During his first assignment after graduation from West Point, Schofield developed an understanding of the "special"

relationship officers should share with one another. He became a close friend and comrade of a fellow lieutenant, A.P. Hill, in 1854, and travelled with him to West Point the following year. Through their service together, he came to admire Hill's dedication to duty, personal integrity, and passion for training the men who served under him. Although Schofield felt that Hill made a mistake in deciding to serve in the Confederate Army when war broke out in 1861, he continued to admire many of Hill's qualities as an officer. When Schofield heard that Hill had been killed in the battle of Petersburg, he mourned the loss of his former comrade:

> With the glad tidings from Virginia that peace was near [in 1865], *there came to me in North Carolina* the report that Lieutenant General A.P. Hill had been killed in the last battle at Petersburg. A keen pang shot through my heart, for he had not ceased to be esteemed as my kind friend and brother, though for four years numbered among the public enemy. His sense of duty, so false in my judgment, I yet knew to be sincere, because I knew the man.[14]

Schofield learned another important lesson which shaped his view of professionalism during the early years of his military career--the need for officers to be highly educated men. He himself had been a diligent student at West Point, graduating seventh in his class of fifty-two in 1853. When he went back to the Military Academy in 1855, he began a five year tour of duty as an Assistant Professor

of Philosophy there. Although he found the task of teaching to be the most difficult he had ever undertaken, he enjoyed the academic environment immensely. Schofield developed the attitude that officers had to study the theory and practice of war continuously in order to be competent leaders. This notion was reinforced through his experiences after he left West Point in 1860.

Perhaps no other experience convinced him that officers had to be intellectuals in the science of war more than his service in the Civil War. Schofield rose through the ranks rapidly as the war progressed, and he credited his success as a combat leader to his intellectual approach to battle. He studied his potential enemies at length before committing his troops on the battlefield, and he always placed his men carefully so that their weapons would have maximum effect. His careful, calculated method of combat leadership reflected his urbane, sophisticated personality. While he did not achieve the spectacular results that commanders such as Grant and Sherman enjoyed, he was never defeated. His consistent success convinced him that his method of military leadership, based on a careful analysis of the enemy capabilities and selective employment of troops available, was the product of his educational background.

Similarly, he felt that commanders who failed in combat did not possess the proper appreciation for mental

preparation for war. To Schofield, the competence required for victory on the battlefield could not be attained by amateurs. He was appalled by the enormous loss of life in the Civil War. He believed much of this loss to be unnecessary. Schofield blamed officers who had gained high military rank through political connections for the loss of almost 600,000 of America's best young men. He resolved to do what he could to insure that the concept of amateurism among officers would end with the war.

During his twenty-three years of service after the Civil War, Schofield obtained an education of a different kind. He became, through a number of experiences, a "worldly" officer who knew a great deal about life outside the military. This knowledge affected his perception of officer professionalism, for he learned that civilians, in general, did not understand the military. It was therefore essential, he believed, that military leaders understand civilians. Through his service as special envoy to France, Secretary of War, and commander of civilian governments in North Carolina and Virginia, Schofield developed a keen understanding of the way civil government operated. He became adept at dealing with civil authorities without causing controversy, and he realized that military leaders had to be able to deal with the rest of society in order to gain popular support for their own professional development.

Additionally, Schofield learned that effective cooperation with the civilian sector was imperative if the Army was to be able to prepare for war efficiently during peacetime. He was convinced this preparation was essential if the tragedies of the Civil War were to be avoided in future conflicts.

Schofield had very definite ideas about what the professional officer corps should be by the time he became Commanding General. From other military intellectuals and his own experiences he learned that officers should be trained formally in the theory and practice of war throughout their careers. Moreover, the experience of seeing thousands of lives wasted on the Civil War battlefields by incompetent officers taught him that warfare had progressed to the stage where it could be conducted successfully only by men who were full-time military leaders. The "special" nature of officership indicated that officers had to share a sense of common identity and remain devoted to the performance of their duties above personal considerations. Through his early career, then, Schofield developed a recognition of the need for officer professionalism and definite ideas about what that professionalism should be. Finally, his experiences outside the Army convinced him that professional officers had to understand the way civil government worked in order to gain the necessary support from the

rest of society for the continued existence of a standing army in peacetime. He felt that unless the military could get along with the rest of society, the professional development of the Army would be jeopardized.

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

[1]R.R. Palmer in Edward M. Earle (ed.), Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), 67-74.

[2]Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and the State (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 19. One major European country, England, suffered a lag in professional development in comparison to the armies of continental Europe. As a result, its impact on early American military professionalism was less significant than that of France and Prussia in the nineteenth century.

[3]Russell F. Weigley, The History of the United States Army (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), 147-172.

[4]Ibid., 172.

[5]Ibid., 266.

[6]Ibid., 266-279.

[7]Ibid. See also Theodore Ropp, War in the Modern World (New York: Collier Press, 1962), 14, and a chapter by H. Rothfels on Clausewitz in Edward M. Earle's Makers of Modern Strategy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), 93-111.

[8]Stephen E. Ambrose, Upton and the Army (Baton Route: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 96.

[9]Ibid., 159.

[10]John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army (New York: The Century Company, 1897), 20.

[11]John A. Logan, Volunteer Soldier of America (Chicago: R.S. Peale and Company, 1887). Logan's scathing indictment of regular officers, especially West Pointers, represented the sentiment of many influential men in the late 1800's. Congress went so far as to fail to appropriate any funds at all for the Army in 1877 (until November). For further discussion of the anti-military feeling in the public during this period see Maurice Matloff (ed.), American Military History (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1969), 287-289.

[12]John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army, 451. In the Schofield Papers at the Library of Congress there is a notebook which Schofield used to makes notes on his observations. Unfortunately, Schofield made those notes in pencil (as he had a habit of doing), and the notebook is not legible. I was able to determine from studying it that most of the comments concerned tactics.

[13]John M. Schofield, "Questions and Suggestions Relative to Military Administration and Command," a report submitted to President Grover Cleveland in February of 1889. The draft of this report is located in the Schofield Papers, Library of Congress. The quotation cited comes from page 11 of that report.

[14]John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army, 26.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

By the time John M. Schofield became Commanding General of the Army he had become a firm believer in the value of officer education. It was one of the main elements in his definition of professionalism. Through his experiences earlier in his career he had been involved in a wide variety of educational programs, both formal and informal. He had been exposed to the opinions of other officers on education, and he had witnessed the battlefield chaos caused by amateur commanders in the Civil War. He assimilated the lessons of this background into his own idea of how the officer corps should be trained.

In 1888 only a rudimentary system of officer training existed in the United States Army. But after becoming Commanding General, Schofield moved quickly not merely to sustain formal education initiated by Sherman but also to start an informal training program designed to broaden the knowledge officers gained during their careers. This two-fold approach to education reflected Schofield's concept of the training required of a professional officer.

Schofield viewed the formal education system as a pyramidal structure with the United States Military

Academy serving as the base. He advocated changing the curriculum there to reduce the amount of engineering instruction and increase the amount of military training. He believed that West Point should be the foundation of a continuing educational system which gave officers more complex instruction as they rose in rank. Schofield felt there were two types of instruction integral to the formal school pyramid--theoretical and practical. While some postgraduate schools would concentrate on one type, Schofield believed that West Point should provide an equal measure of theoretical and practical military instruction to the cadets. He explained this philosophy in a memorandum to the Secretary of War:

> The object of the military academy is to lay a broad and solid foundation of a military education, both theoretical and practical. The postgraduate schools . . . supplement the military academy to a very great extent . . . . This continued, well-sustained effort to increase valuable professional knowledge is one of the most essential conditions of contentment and efficiency.[1]

He told the cadets themselves virtually the same thing in a speech to the graduating class in June of 1892:

> You have now laid a broad and solid foundation for your military education . . . . Your future task will be . . . that of building upon this foundation a structure growing more complete . . . as time advances.[2]

Schofield believed that the purpose of West Point was to teach future officers how to absorb and apply the science

of war. He worked to make the Military Academy conform to that goal from the outset of his administration.

Schofield also sought to expand Sherman's postgraduate school system to capitalize on the training provided at West Point. He directed that each postgraduate school have a specific purpose, be it theoretical or practical instruction. In June of 1889, he ordered that the instruction at the Artillery School at Fort Riley, Kansas, be changed to give student officers practical training in battery operations. He felt that there were enough schools already providing theoretical instruction for artillery officers. In a letter to the school commandant explaining the order, Schofield said that the shift to practical training would "secure the best results in training for war service."[3] Apparently, the message did not get through, for three years later Schofield was informed that his 1889 order was not being properly carried out. In a sharp letter to the commandant, Schofield elaborated on his concept of theoretical and practical education in the postgraduate school system:

> [Your] School . . . is to be a school of instruction for <u>drill</u> and <u>practice</u> . . . . The more I consider the matter the wiser the decision seems to me. We already have five schools for theoretical instruction of officers . . . no attempt should be made by you to compete with them. The School is for drill and practice of everybody in the command . . . superior officers as well as juniors. Every officer . . . must be proficient in the tasks he must do in the field without referring to books. Constant, challenging practice is necessary.[4]

While Schofield emphasized his preference for practical instruction at the Artillery School, he realized that provision had to be made for those officers who lacked the theoretical tools to practice their profession. In the conclusion of his 1893 letter, he told the school commandant that he should retain the capability to provide "remedial" instruction of a theoretical nature to those officers who showed a need for it.

Having designed a comprehensive educational system for officers, Schofield worked to enhance it by improving the equipment available at the various schools. In his annual report to the Secretary of War in 1890, he pleaded for more money to purchase new equipment for officer training. He told the Secretary that the funds were necessary, as "the most important of the preparations of men for war is education."[5]

From a theoretical standpoint, Schofield felt that the most important "equipment" he could provide was an extensive library system. In 1889, he directed that copies of the regulations of European armies be placed in all existing school libraries. The next year, he asked the Secretary of War for $5,000.00 for the acquisition of new books for the library at Fort Riley, Kansas. In the request, he told the Secretary that "a professional library shall enable officers . . . to keep up with professional development. It is a

necessity." Continuing a policy he began in early 1889, Schofield ordered that the works of prominent authors be placed in every military library as soon as they became available: in November of 1890, Winthrop's Military Law; two months later, a new edition of The History of Julius Caesar's Civil War; and in late 1892, Alfred Thayer Mahan's most recent work, The Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution. If Schofield could have gotten Secretary of War Stephen Elkins to go along with the idea, he would have placed a network of military libraries across the country. As it was, he made great improvements in the military library system during his tenure as Commanding General. His efforts had a highly positive effect on the formal education system.[6]

Apart from improving libraries, Schofield sought to make attendance at postgraduate schools more rewarding to officers by instituting a policy of designating "honor graduates" in each class. As an additional incentive, he directed that these honor graduates be officially cited in the Army Register for their efforts. These policies, begun in 1892, encouraged students to devote themselves to diligent study and practice during school attendance, and have been continued to the present.[7]

In addition to working to make school attendance both challenging and rewarding by improving the facilities and

recognizing outstanding students, Schofield required officers to demonstrate professional skills outside school. A principal way in which this requirement was enforced was through an 1892 order directing all officers to write a paper on a professional subject. Soon after issuing the order, Schofield received a letter from a Captain T.C. Lobo complaining of his inability to meet the requirement. The Commanding General used the opportunity to make a general statement about the purpose of his directive:

> This declaration of Captain Lobo must necessarily be accepted as a total failure, and proof of his incapacity to perform the service required of officers . . . . In this connection, however, it is important to observe that the purpose of this [order] is . . . to educate officers . . . and thus bring the line of the Army to the high standard of professional acquirement which the War Department has indicated.

But Schofield did not penalize Lobo for being unable to write on a professional subject. Lobo was a senior officer (in time of service) and had not had the opportunity to attend a postgraduate school. In the closing paragraph of his statement, Schofield stated that his order was intended to make young officers pay close attention to the development of literary skills. It was not meant, in his words, "to condemn those gallant and meritorious officers who by lack of early educational advantages have now reached the age when a high degree of education has become impossible to them."[8]

In conjunction with his efforts to develop professional officers through formal education within the Army, Schofield also pursued a policy of sending officers outside the Army to broaden their knowledge and cultivate the civilian community. Thus he sent officers on "detached service" as members of scientific research teams, as delegates to scholarly conferences, and as instructors in colleges.

Despite some initial opposition to the program, Schofield expanded the detached service education effort throughout his administration. In 1891, he told a disgruntled battery commander at Fort Warren, Massachusetts, that the loss of junior officers through assignments away from their units would have to be accepted. "Detached service in time of peace," he wrote, "is very desireable [sic] to young officers seeking professional improvement ... it is thereby beneficial to the individual officer and to the regiment to which he belongs." Later that year, he supported the participation of officers in scientific work, stating that it would make them "better fitted for any duty the Government may at any time require of them."[9]

During the next two years, officers began to make substantial contributions to applied science, particularly in the development of new weapons. In April of 1893, Schofield rewarded the research being done by one officer, First Lieutenant G.M. Whistler, by extending his tour with

the project. "The work on which Lieutenant Whistler is now employed," he wrote to the Secretary of War, "is . . . more important to the military service than the ordinary duties of an Artillery officer with his regiment in time of peace."[10]

Whistler's success encouraged Schofield to continue the support of officer participation in scientific enterprises. He gave money to a group of officers presenting papers to the International Congress of Engineers in July, 1893, stating that "the importance of the duty to be performed will fully justify that expense." Schofield's decision to finance the venture was a bold one, as military funds were extremely scarce due to the prevailing lack of Congressional support for the Army.[11]

The next year, Schofield received good news regarding the progress of his detached service program. After reading several letters praising the performance of five officers who served with the World Columbian Exposition, he recommended to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont that they be rewarded formally for their efforts. "Their excellent service and constant application," he told the Secretary, "has been a credit to the Army."[12]

Finally, Schofield sent officers as military science instructors to civilian universities both to broaden their education and to strengthen civil-military ties. He felt that expanding this program, which had begun in 1866, would

create mutually beneficial interaction between civilian and military leaders. Schofield lost no time in encouraging officers to apply for these teaching assignments, and the results of his efforts proved to be most favorable. The number of officers seeking instructor positions had grown such that, by 1893, only the best in the Army could hope to get a teaching assignment at a civilian university.

The heads of universities where Army officers were assigned became increasingly impressed with the program. In 1894, the President of Harvard University, Charles William Eliot, saw the merits of having officers on the faculty and wrote to Schofield requesting that his school be included among those receiving Army instructors. The request delighted Schofield, who quickly approved it. "This is a singularly favorable opportunity," he told Eliot, "for diffusing proper ideas of the relation of the Army to the people . . . and generally of military policy, administration, and operations."[13]

By 1895, the merits of Schofield's program reached Congress, and the House of Representatives considered legislation which would have expanded the assignment of officers as instructors to all public schools in the country. The Commanding General wrote a strong letter to the Military Affairs Committee supporting the measure:

> I regard the broad dissemination of military education among the young men of the country as one of the most important objects for which a permanent military establishment is maintained. In my judgement the number of officers so employed in time of peace may be limited only by the discretion of the President.[14]

Although the bill did not survive on the floor of the House (largely because the lawmakers were reluctant to support a law which would have required a huge increase in the number of officers authorized), it was an important step in the recognition of the officer corps as a body of experts in the science of war. Moreover, the proposed legislation showed that Schofield's informal education program was having a positive impact on public opinion about the idea of maintaining a standing army.[15]

Schofield's informal education program, based primarily on the use of detached service to expose officers to civilians in a learning environment, was successful in improving officer professionalism. Participating officers learned as much from teaching college students as the students learned from them. The same can be said for those officers who were engaged in scientific research and scholarly conferences with civilians. The favorable results of Schofield's informal program demonstrated that civilian appreciation for officer expertise was growing. Officership became recognized as a profession by civilians, and officers became more

familiar with the civil society it was their duty to protect.

Schofield felt that both formal and informal types of education were invaluable components of officer professionalism. He worked to foster the development of each throughout his administration. In his autobiography, he described the goal of his comprehensive education program:

> What constitutes valuable education, military no less than civil, is often greatly misunderstood. Elementary education and practical training are indispensable to everybody, while higher education may be rather injurious than beneficial, unless it is so regulated as to cultivate the reasoning faculties and independence of thought, rather than the mere acquisition of knowledge . . . . Men who had become famous military scholars were total failures in war, not only as commanders in the field, for which no amount of theoretical education alone can qualify a man, but also as military advisers. This was apparently because their elaborate studies had made them mere imitators or copyists. Whatever originality of thought or power of invention they ever possessed had ceased to exist from disuse.[16]

Schofield desired that the officer education program would prepare officers to be thoughtful men with individual leadership styles developed through a broad range of learning experiences. He worked to mold the education system to achieve this goal. In so doing, he endeavored to create a corps of professional officers who were worldly experts in the theory and practice of warfare, fully cognizant of the role they played in American society. He took the lessons he had learned from watching other educational reformers as well as from his own experiences and developed a

comprehensive, continuing program for training officers that prepared them for the challenge of military leadership in an era of increasingly complex warfare.

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

[1]Memorandum from Major General John Schofield to Secretary of War Stephen Elkins, September 25, 1891. The John M. Schofield Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Cited hereafter as The Schofield Papers.

[2]Draft of speech to the West Point Class of 1892, dated June 7, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[3]Letter from Schofield to the Commandant of the Cavalry and Light Artillery School, Fort Riley, Kansas, June 5, 1889. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[4]Letter from Schofield to the Commandant of the Cavalry and Light Artillery School, April 7, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[5]Schofield made this comment in his annual report to the Secretary of War (Redfield Proctor) on October 10, 1890. The draft of this report is included in the Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[6]Schofield requested the funds for the library at Fort Riley in a message to Secretary of War Proctor dated February 13, 1890. He initially ordered the placement of the works of Alfred Thayer Mahan in early 1889. He continued the policy of procuring Mahan's works with his order of December 28, 1892. For the other works listed, see Schofield messages of November 29, 1890, and January 12, 1891, the Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[7]Schofield agreed to the inception of this policy (including both the designation of honor graduates and the listing of such graduates in the Army Register) in a reply to a suggestion made by his aide, Captain Tasker H. Bliss, on May 7, 1892. The Schofield Papers. In the past five years, the Army has experimented with the idea of dropping the recognition of honor graduates and using a pass/fail grading system. The performance of students dropped during the period of the use of the pass/fail system, and the honor graduate program is now back in effect in most postgraduate schools. Having attended postgraduate schools under both systems, I can attest to the motivational value of the honor system over the pass/fail one.

[8]Memorandum to the Adjutant General, April 1, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[9]Schofield message to the Adjutant General, September 25, 1891. He made the statement in support of scientific work to Secretary of War Stephen Elkins on December 14, 1891. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[10]Message from Schofield to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, April 20, 1893. This statement reflected Schofield's agreement with a policy of assigning line officers to arsenals which was originally suggested to him by the Chief of Ordinance in early 1892. Schofield referred to this proposal in a message to Secretary of War Stephen Elkins on June 29, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[11]Letter from Schofield to Secretary of War Lamont, July 1, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[12]Message from Schofield to Lamont, May 29, 1894. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[13]Letter from Schofield to Charles William Eliot, March 12, 1894. It is part of a memorandum in the files of the papers of Tasker H. Bliss at the United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

[14]Letter from Schofield to Lamont, January 31, 1895. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[15]The House consideration of the bill, number 8273, consisted mainly of two debates which took place on January 31 and February 21, 1895. The bill was introduced on January 23rd by Representative William J. Coombs of New York as an amendment to the Revised Statutes "which would provide for the detail of officers of the Army and Navy to assist in military instruction in the public schools." Schofield's letter to the Military Affairs Committee was favorably received, and the bill was submitted to the entire House with the Committee's approval on January 31st. On that day, the bill was considered in light of its provisions that any public school with more than 300 students desiring an officer would be allowed to have one as an instructor--if there was a military post nearby which had one available. Representative Dingley led the opposition, stating that there could not possibly be enough officers available to support such a large program. Coombs' supporters argued that increasing the number of officers to 150 (100 Army, 50 Navy)

would provide the necessary number to conduct the program. This represented an increase in the allocation of 50. Dingley challenged the size of the increase, saying that the number of public schools which would ask for officers would be "a good many more than 50." He went on to say that the proposed increase would not even approach the number needed to implement such a plan because "there are thousands of public schools that have more than 300 pupils." Needless to say, the majority of the House members agreed with this observation, and the bill died on the floor in February. The transcript of the debate may be found in volume 27 of The Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Fifty-Third Congress (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895), 1259, 1588-89, 2510.

[16]John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army (New York: The Century Company, 1897), 522-523.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAMPAIGN TO FOSTER A CODE OF ETHICS

The United States Army which Schofield took command of upon the death of General Philip H. Sheridan was isolated from the rest of American society. Since the end of Reconstruction in 1877, most Americans had chosen to ignore the Army--except the frontier settlers who depended on its protection from Indian attacks. Frontier settlers lacked political power, however. Their scant numbers as well as their understandable concern with more pressing problems such as survival in the harsh environment of the West left them with little clout in Congress. The rest of the population, caught up in the Industrial Revolution, cared little about the seemingly remote problem of maintaining the capability for national defense. Those few civilians who paid any attention at all to the Army were generally hostile to the idea of having a standing army, for reasons Samuel Huntington called the result of "business pacifism."[1]

The development of military professionalism set the officer corps further apart from the rest of society. Educational programs designed to foster a unique expertise in the conduct of war formed one element of the military profession. Another part of the professional environment

which resulted from the turning inward of officers was the development of a feeling of comradeship. The exclusive nature of military expertise and the feeling of group identity among officers were enhanced further by the appearance of an unselfish devotion to the welfare of the nation as the primary goal of officership. All of these characteristics of the profession of arms developed in conjunction with each other: no one trait emerged in a vacuum. Isolated both physically and socially, the Army acquired distinct characteristics which served to set it apart even more from the rest of America.

Schofield realized that the officer corps was becoming a professional body when he became Commanding General. His strong attachment to the acquisition of expertise, the formation of corporate bonds, and the fostering of unselfish dedication to the republic above personal considerations which he was exposed to during the course of his early career guided his approach to the task of supporting the professional movement. From the outset of his administration, he resolved to incorporate these principles into the emerging profession. The way he chose to accomplish this goal was by fostering a code of ethics among officers. He felt that the enforcement of high standards of conduct would make officership more meaningful to the members of the officer corps and to the society as a whole.

Schofield viewed the proper conduct of officers as that which subordinated the officer's personal goals to those of the nation and the profession of arms. Throughout his tenure as Commanding General, he chastised officers whose conduct violated this guideline. Additionally, he gave similar treatment to those officers who failed to set a good example for their soldiers to follow.

In the first few months of his administration, Schofield took action against officers who displayed a lack of personal integrity. In October of 1889 he ordered that an officer in command of a company at Governor's Island, New York, be relieved of duty because he demonstrated that he could not be trusted. In a letter to the post commander, Schofield angrily denounced the offender:

> If he [the company commander] can not fulfill his obligations as a commander the sooner he gives up that command the better. I can not attempt to sustain him in his position as an officer . . . after he has shown that he can not be trusted. He must do that without any help, or give it [the command] up.[2]

Personal integrity was, he believed, one of the main elements of professionalism, and he would not tolerate deviation from that standard.

Schofield's dedication to high ethical standards went beyond personal considerations. In December, 1889, he told his brother-in-law, Colonel C.G. Bartlett, that his alcoholism would result in court-martial if it was not controlled.

Explaining his position, Schofield told his relative that he could not treat him differently than any other officer in a similar position. "It would be a very serious injury to the military service," he wrote to Bartlett, "if it became apparent that I could be influenced in official action by personal or family consideration. I am not at liberty to show you any more indulgence, officially, than I would to any other officer."[3]

The making of public statements by officers was another matter which Schofield believed was not in keeping with proper conduct. When he was forced to make a formal reply to a Congressional inquiry concerning the public comments made by several officers on the possibility of war with England, he made a general observation on the matter by writing that officers, "whether 'prominent' or not, ought not to talk so freely for publication in respect to military matters." Strangely enough, he had made a statement to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor only two weeks before in the same vein. On that earlier occasion, he used a situation where a Lieutenant Robertson, an officer stationed in Custer County, Montana, had made a comment to the press that the lack of troops assigned to that area reflected poor judgement on the part of the War Department. "Comments setting forth wrongs or defects in the action of any Departments of the Government," Schofield wrote, "should be

addressed by officers of the Army to the War Department and not made public." While Schofield desired that officers become better informed on all issues, he felt that they should be discreet in discussing them.[4] Officer conduct during the early years of his administration proved to be improper in many cases. Schofield received a letter from "an ex-Soldier" in January of 1890 which highlighted some of the problems of officer behavior in the field. The letter stated that troops were subjected to harsh conditions on the frontier posts in part because their officers were "lazy" and "stupid," caring little for the happiness of the men. The author went on to say that officers on these posts frequently paid attention only to their own personal needs, ignoring the bad food and boring training the enlisted men had to live with.[5]

Schofield received additional information regarding frontier officers not behaving properly in 1891. In this instance, a group of officers at Fort Niobrara, Indian Territory, wrote a letter of protest directly to the Secretary of War concerning the return to duty of a fellow officer. The group objected to the officer's return to active service despite that fact that he had been wounded in combat action against the Indians previously and thus had been forced into a period of recuperation. The Commanding General, when informed of the letter, rebuked the authors sharply:

> The letter . . . ought never to have been written. It contains criticism of the action of the War Department . . . and unjust criticism of a brother officer who has been so unfortunate as to be for a long time disqualified for active duty.[6]

The lack of fellowship the officers at Fort Niobrara displayed disturbed Schofield deeply, for he felt that the "special" nature of officership demanded that officers create strong bonds with one another. He believed that they should be "brothers" in their profession.

He indicated his firm commitment to the idea of officers sharing a special bond with one another in another case of impropriety which occurred in 1892. In this case, he ordered the forced retirement of one Major Overman for allegedly stealing funds from the New York Press Club. Despite the fact that Overman was acquitted by a court-martial for the crime, Schofield stated that the manner in which the officer conducted himself discredited all officers. "The irregularity of Major Overman's methods," he wrote to the Secretary of War, "and the scandal he has brought upon the Engineer Corps have destroyed his usefulness as an active member of the [officer] corps." Thus Schofield made it clear that he intended to enforce high standards of conduct among officers regardless of legal decisions.[7]

The Overman case did not mark the end of scandals involving officers. Two other situations of alleged improper

conduct occurred during Schofield's administration, both of which involved the Commanding General himself. In the first instance, Schofield elected to refrain from comment, and in the second he defended his actions only after he had retired from active duty. His restraint was in keeping with his belief that officers should refrain from making public statements whenever possible.

The first situation where Schofield found himself in the midst of public controversy involved the forced retirement of Brigadier General E.A. Carr in January 1893. Carr and Schofield had been personal acquaintances for several years. They were involved in a real estate purchase together in 1888, just prior to Schofield's appointment as Commanding General. Carr had served as a regimental commander during the first four years of Schofield's tenure, and there is no evidence that he and the Commanding General had any personal conflicts during that time.

With the retirement of Brigadier General Augustus V. Kurtz in June of 1892, Carr became a prime candidate for promotion to brigadier general. He received that promotion on July 22, 1892, and was ordered to report to Washington, D.C. In January of the following year, Schofield informed Carr that he was to retire, having reached the mandatory retirement age of 64. Carr immediately wrote a personal letter to President Benjamin Harrison protesting the

retirement order. The President referred the letter to the Secretary of War, Stephen Elkins, who contacted Schofield for an explanation. The Commanding General stood by his original decision, telling the Secretary that Carr must be retired due to age.

In mid-February, the press learned of the matter, and a rash of articles followed. The Republic of February 17, 1893, contained an article with the headline "An Army Scandal" which described the retirement of Carr as the result of "a good deal of chicanery" among General Schofield, Secretary Elkins, and President Harrison. The article alleged that Carr's promotion and retirement were part of a scheme among the three men to get rid of two older officers (Carr and Colonel W.P. Carlin) by promoting them to brigadier general as a reward for their services and then retiring them when they reached the mandatory age limit for active service (64). The object of the whole operation, according to The Republic, was to allow President Harrison to place a younger officer in the ranks of generals by promoting and retiring Carr and then Carlin. There was a time limitation on the plan due to the fact that Harrison was scheduled to leave office on March 5th.[8]

On February 18th another article appeared on the Carr retirement in The Army and Navy Register. It cited Carr's letter to President Harrison as indicating that Schofield

had made a "personal promise" to Elkins to retire Carr months before Carr knew anything about it. According to the Register, Carr's brother (the American ambassador to Denmark) was supposed to have been present when "the bargain was made" between Schofield and Elkins.[9]

Carr indicated his anger in a letter to a friend. His view of the situation was that the agreement to promote and then retire him violated proper conduct standards because it was made without his consent:

> On my arrival here [in Washington] I found that General Schofield had made a promise--he now calls it a personal promise--that if promoted I would retire in time to let the President appoint another man. I was dumbfounded. Such an action without my knowledge or consent! If I had been consulted I never would have accepted it . . . . It appears that Colonel Carlin told General Schofield that if he could be promoted he would retire, but I am not Carlin and I did not make that offer. No one had any authority whatever to compromise me.[10]

Carr all but accused Schofield of unethical practices in this instance for making a decision without consulting the officer who was most affected by the ruling.

Both The Republic and The Army and Navy Register were quick to denounce the whole scheme as improper conduct on the part of everyone involved in the decision. The Republic stated that the Senate should decline to confirm the promotion of Carr's successor (Carlin) until a new President and Secretary of War took office. "The Senate may very properly decline to confirm a man," it concluded, "promoted

under such very suspicious, if not absolutely disgraceful circumstances." The Register advocated that the Senate act in similar fashion, saying "if it is possible to block the rest of the bargain in the Senate, it ought to be done to set an example to those who desire to use the Army as a political plaything." Both newspapers portrayed the Carr retirement as part of a shady "deal" where Schofield and his civilian bosses acted improperly. Carr appeared to be the innocent victim of a political ploy.[11]

Schofield made no statements on the matter. He was quoted in The Register only through the reprint of his formal request to the President for Carr's retirement. In the request, Schofield stated that the subsequent promotion and retirement of W.P. Carlin would allow the President to select a younger officer for promotion, "with reference to the valuable service he may be able to render in that and higher grades." This comment indicated that Schofield favored the multiple promotion and retirement plan because it served the best interests of the Army. It is more likely, however, that the Commanding General did his best to accomplish what the Secretary of War and the President desired--to get a particular officer promoted. Since the mission could be accomplished without violating any regulations, Schofield agreed to cooperate.[12]

The Carr case demonstrated the tendency of officers to express their grievances publicly. Schofield did not believe this type of conduct was appropriate. He stated his opinion on other occasions and he demonstrated it in this case by his refusal to comment. While General Carr may or may not have had a legitimate complaint, he did not hesitate to foment a scandal when the opportunity arose.

The adverse publicity Schofield received in retiring Carr did not deter him from continuing to insist upon high ethical standards in the officer corps. At the end of his administration his efforts to enforce these rules again placed him in the center of public controversy. This time he chose to defend himself, since his active career had ended.

Schofield ordered the arrest and confinement of Captain George A. Armes on September 28, 1895, for sending a letter to Schofield "accusing him of wilful and malicious persecution." The Commanding General ordered the arrest and confinement in his capacity as Acting Secretary of War, Secretary Daniel Lamont being out of Washington at the time. Captain Armes had been retired for several years prior to his arrest.

Perhaps more than any other officer who served in the Army during the latter portion of the nineteenth century, Armes embodied the type Schofield deplored. He had

originally entered the service as a volunteer in the Sixteenth Virginia Infantry on September 1, 1862. He received a commission in the regular Army in 1866 and rose to the rank of captain before his retirement in 1883. Active or retired, Armes was alternately in and out of trouble. Schofield had been involved in the administration of discipline to Armes in almost every case. Thus the two men were well acquainted by the time Schofield ordered Armes' arrest.

Their "association" began in 1870, when Schofield had recommended that Armes be court-martialed for making false charges against his commanding officer at Camp Supply, Indian Territory. Armes was tried, convicted, and dismissed from the Army shortly thereafter. He had many influential friends, however, and he obtained a review of his case in 1878 and subsequently was allowed to return to active duty (over Schofield's objections). In 1889, Armes assaulted the Governor of Pennsylvania, James Beaver, during the inauguration of President Benjamin Harrison. Schofield recommended that Armes be tried by court-martial once again, and Armes was tried and convicted in May, 1889. He was sentenced to remain within a fifty mile radius of Washington, D.C. for a period of five years. In 1890, Armes made the rather incredible request for a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy, which Schofield promptly disapproved. Armes still had many

allies through his real estate business, however, and he applied for reconsideration of his promotion request (with a substantial amount of Congressional support) in early 1895. Despite such support, Schofield stood by his earlier decision. He based his disapproval on the lack of sufficient evidence to justify Armes' claim that he merited promotion due to his conspicuous gallantry against Indians in 1867. "I believe it is never regarded as possible," Schofield told Secretary of War Lamont, "to base official recognition of an officer's gallantry in action upon his report alone."[13]

Then, on the night of September 27, 1895, Armes tried to force his way past the guard at Schofield's quarters and deliver a personal letter to the Commanding General. Although he was unsuccessful in his attempt to see Schofield personally, his letter was delivered to the General. Upon reading it, an angry Schofield ordered the arrest of Armes, calling the letter "threatening and abusive in its tones."[14]

For the next month the "Armes case" received widespread newspaper coverage. There was considerable discussion of the background of the Armes-Schofield relationship, and the editorial opinions generally sustained Schofield's actions. The arrest itself was not so favorably received, as Supreme Court Justice Joseph Bradley declared it "tyrannical, unjust, arbitrary and unlawful."[15]

The press, however, shared Schofield's view that Armes was a consistent troublemaker whose actions cast discredit on the officer corps. In the October 14th edition of The Philadelphia Times, the editor stated his support for Schofield:

> We cannot see that General Schofield's 'temper' is in any way the issue in the case of Captain Armes . . . . A retired officer, under the present statutes . . . is still in the Army, and still subject to the laws which govern the conduct of an officer and a gentleman. If he violates these laws, it is only through a military court that he can be held accountable and the dignity of the service maintained. Justice Bradley's decision goes beyond any individual case. We do not believe that it can be sustained in law. We are sure it cannot be sustained on grounds of public policy.[16]

Schofield's decision to have Armes arrested received additional support from The New York Mail and Express, which stated that "public opinion sustains Schofield" in an article covering the incident.[17]

Beyond the issue of the legality of the arrest was the question of officer standards of conduct, which Schofield believed Armes had violated consistently. The Captain's letter, which stated that Schofield owed Armes an apology for his constant "wrongs" during the history of their association, served as the culmination of years of impropriety by Armes.

Although Schofield defended his arrest order by saying that it "was a case requiring the enforcement of discipline . . . there was nothing personal in the matter whatever," it

appears that this statement was not entirely true. Schofield had very deep feelings about the integrity and devotion to the nation officers should have as part of their professional "heritage," and Armes seemed completely to lack these qualities. Armes was selfish, temperamental, and arrogant. These traits made him undesirable as an officer, and Schofield did everything possible to make it clear to other officers that Armes did not act as he should, whether active or retired.[18]

There was another aspect of Schofield's view of proper ethical standards which emerged, in part, from the Armes case. In the letter Armes wrote prompting his arrest, he said that Schofield had been unfair in denying the promotion requests in 1890 and 1895 because he accepted the testimony of Negro soldiers in the investigation of Armes' claims. Although the only living members of the company Armes fought with at the time he allegedly acted heroically were Negroes, he felt their testimony was not as valid as his own account of the fighting. Schofield disagreed, stating that the testimony of the Negroes was the best evidence available in an investigation where he "gave more attention to the case than I ever did for another officer." Schofield believed soldiers were soldiers, regardless of race.[19]

Schofield's attitude toward men of other races in the military reflected his belief that soldiers who performed

their duties in a professional manner deserved equal treatment. Therefore he did not share Armes' view that the testimony of one white officer was automatically more credible than that of several black soldiers.

Schofield did have a sophisticated understanding, however, of the problems soldiers of other races had in meeting a uniform standard of behavior. He demonstrated this awareness in an 1894 case involving the conduct of a black officer. He wrote to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont in October of that year requesting clemency in the court-martial conviction of Chaplain H.V. Plummer. Plummer had been convicted of "improper association" with enlisted men of the 9th Cavalry Regiment. Schofield requested that the officer's sentence be reduced to suspension on one-half pay for a period of one year. He justified the reduction by saying that while all officers should adhere to high standards of personal conduct:

> Yet, in view of the antecedents of the race that constitute the mass of these [Negro] regiments, it may neither be just nor expedient to apply to them so high a standard of personal conduct as may justly be applied to the more fortunate race.[20]

The criteria Schofield used to determine proper ethics for officers was based on the idea that officers should be devoted to the performance of their duties, be discreet in their conduct, be honest in their statements and actions, and be dedicated to the welfare of the nation above all other

allegiances. He believed these principles should guide officers in their approach to officership. In 1890, he proposed that "personal and professional character" be included as one of the three main criteria to be evaluated prior to an officer's being recommended for promotion. He stated that this criterion reflected an essential part of an officer's fitness to serve in higher grades. "Nothing is required of him [the officer desiring promotion], he wrote, that he should not be ashamed to fail in." Schofield felt a "higher calling" should guide officers in their lives, and there was no room for personal considerations to stand in the way of duty to the nation or personal integrity. It followed, then, that officers who performed their duties meticulously, maintained high levels of honor, and devoted themselves to the goals of the nation fulfilled this "calling."[21]

Throughout his administration, Schofield sought to foster a sense of ethics among officers. Clearly such a sense was needed. At least one "ex-soldier" thought officers "stupid" and "lazy" and indifferent to the welfare of their men. Schofield himself knew that personal weakness, as demonstrated by the alcohol problem Colonel Bartlett had, hindered officer performance. The incident involving Major Overman's improper dealings with the New York Press Club indicated some officers had little appreciation for high

standards of personal honesty. Other officers demonstrated that they could not be trusted with the responsibility of command. And still others such as General Carr and Captain Armes placed personal advancement above the goals of the service, regardless of the scandal their actions brought the Army. The protest made by the officers at Fort Niobrara upon the return of a disabled comrade showed the absence of a sense of brotherhood among members of the military profession. Through his reactions to these cases Schofield tried to correct the lack of devotion to a "higher calling" and thereby make the officer corps more professional--more responsible and corporate minded.

In this effort Schofield demonstrated a keen understanding of the need to be realistic in dealing with the problems of unethical conduct. His sensitive handling of the conviction of Chaplain Plummer indicated his awareness of the social problems which affected the military. He realized that many of the cases where officers behaved improperly were caused by the lack of clear standards of performance. That is why he chose to include the evaluation of "personal and professional character" in the criteria for promotion. He understood that attitudes could not be changed unless rules were established and enforced. Additionally, he knew that there were problems in society that influenced the way some officers acted. As he demonstrated in his efforts to

reform the educational system, he moderated his reforms to account for social factors which influenced officer behavior.

Schofield's plan to make the officer corps professional was aided by his efforts to dictate proper standards of performance among officers. He believed military leaders should be "officers and gentlemen." He thought they should command respect from both soldiers and civilians. The selfish conduct of one officer cast discredit on all officers, and Schofield endeavored to instill his abhorrence of selfishness among all of his subordinates. He fostered a code of ethics by his reactions to the violation of his standards by selected officers and by making personal ethics part of the formal evaluation system. As a result, officership became "special." In his view, officers should be more than merely experts in the practice and theory of war; rather, they should be members of a "brotherhood" endowed with the responsibility for the survival of the nation. His code of ethics helped to foster this awareness among officers.

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

[1]Samuel Huntington, The Soldier and the State (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 143-160. Huntington described the emergence of "business pacifism" as a result of the Industrial Revolution. He stated that the rejection of the military occurred in the business community because prominent businessmen came to believe that the purpose of the industrial world was to produce and sell goods. To them, war threatened trade. Thus the maintenance of an army and the equipment for combat was a waste of money. Additionally, the maintenance of soldiers and weapons increased the likelihood that the nation would use them. It followed, then, that by eliminating the tools of war would reduce the probability of conflict. Trade would thereby continue to grow, and the nation would prosper.

[2]Message from General Schofield to Major James H. Lord, Governor's Island, New York, October 27, 1889. The John M. Schofield Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[3]Letter from Schofield to Colonel C.G. Bartlett, December 28, 1889. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[4]Memorandum from Schofield to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, July 31, 1890. The earlier message was also from Schofield to Proctor, July 14, 1890. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[5]Letter to General Schofield signed "an ex-Soldier," January 15, 1890. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[6]Letter from Schofield to Secretary of War Proctor, April 30, 1891. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[7]Letter from Schofield to Secretary of War Stephen Elkins, and a reply to a letter received from Mr. W.E. Gilchrist of the New York Press Club, May 11, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[8]"An Army Scandal," The Republic, February 13, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[9]"General Carr's Retirement," The Army and Navy Register, February 18, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[10]Ibid.

[11]See notes 8, 9.

[12]Schofield's letter to President Harrison was reprinted in The Army and Navy Register article cited in note 9.

[13]Letter from General Schofield to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, February 15, 1895. This letter was in reply to a formal request for reconsideration of the promotion request made by Captain Armes in 1890. The combat action cited by Armes as being where he displayed gallantry against Indians occurred August 2, 1867, on the Sabine River.

[14]Schofield as quoted in "The Arrest of Major Armes," The Washington Post, September 28, 1895. Armes was referred to as a major due to the newspaper's recognition of his militia rank instead of his regular Army rank. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[15]Justice Joseph Bradley as quoted in "An Arbitrary Arrest," The Washington Post, October 11, 1895. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[16]"Military Discipline," The Philadelphia Times, October 11, 1895. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[17]"The Arrest of Captain Armes," The New York Mail and Express, September 28, 1895. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[18]Ibid.

[19]"The Arrest of Major Armes," The Washington Post, September 28, 1895. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[20]Letter from Schofield to Secretary of War Lamont, October 17, 1894. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress. The 9th Cavalry Regiment was made up of Negro soldiers and white officers, except for the chaplains and a few others. While Schofield believed soldiering transcended racial barriers, he did not hold this opinion above his realistic understanding of American society. Negroes, in his opinion, could be good soldiers (he recommended one for the Medal of Honor in 1893), but they had social drawbacks which hindered their potential for high ethical performance as officers.

[21]Letter from Schofield to Secretary of War Proctor, October 21, 1890. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLICY AND LEGISLATION REFORMS

In addition to taking steps to improve the officer education system and establish a code of ethics, Schofield worked to establish policies and secure legislation designed to make the officer corps a professional body. Throughout the course of his administration, Schofield originated or supported proposals in three areas: 1) measures to increase the authority of the Commanding General; 2) measures to make officers more accomplished; and 3) measures to make the Army more attractive to officers. He believed that improvement in all three areas would enhance the professionalism of the officer corps.

Perhaps the biggest problem General Schofield faced in his efforts to create a professional officer corps was the lack of authority he had as Commanding General. His predecessors, particularly Sherman and Sheridan, had experienced numerous frustrations in attempting to command the Army, for the title of "Commanding General" was in many ways a misnomer during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since 1865, The Secretary of War and the ten bureau chiefs of the Army's staff departments had acted as serious obstacles to the establishment of a proper system

of military command. Thus by the time Schofield became the titular commander of the Army there was a history of ineffective command in his office.

President Ulysses S. Grant had begun the postwar difficulties in Army command by reneging on a pledge to General Sherman in 1870. Grant had agreed to allow Sherman to control the staff agencies as Commanding General, but he changed his mind soon after becoming President. Sherman had responded to this rebuff by moving his headquarters to St. Louis, Missouri. This move left the control of the Army to the Secretary of War, W.W. Belknap, and the bureau chiefs. Although Sherman returned to Washington later, he never gained complete command of the Army.[1]

General Philip H. Sheridan forced a showdown with the Secretary of War and the staff soon after taking over from Sherman in 1883. He, too, sought to have complete authority over the Army. He announced that the order assigning him to the post of Commanding General meant that he was to command the whole Army. Schofield, who was a department commander at the time of Sheridan's succession to the position of Commanding General, followed the controversy with great interest. In his autobiography he described the showdown in the following way:

> He [Sheridan] announced his interpretation of the President's order [assigning him to the command of the Army] . . . as necessarily including the chiefs of the staff departments;

> and he soon gave evidence of his faith by ordering one of the chiefs on an inspecting tour . . . without the knowledge of the Secretary of War. Thus the Secretary found the chief of one of the bureaus in his department gone without his authority. It was not difficult for the Secretary to point out to the general . . . that such could not possibly be the true meaning of the President's order.[2]

Following this incident, Secretary of War Robert Lincoln "punished" Sheridan by not allowing him to serve as Acting Secretary during the civilian cabinet member's absences from Washington. That honor was given to one of the bureau chiefs--who was junior in rank to Sheridan. This act humiliated the Commanding General, and he moved his headquarters to New York City in disgust.

Understandably, the setbacks Sherman and Sheridan suffered in their attempts to command the Army hindered the progress of policies and legislation which would foster professional development among officers. Schofield had studied the problems his two predecessors had encountered in trying to establish firm control over the service. "It was my good fortune to have had . . . exact knowledge of the difficulties which my predecessors had encountered," he wrote in 1897. He continued by stating, "I have not thought it surprising that none of my great predecessors were [sic] quite able to endure the trial."[3]

Schofield resolved not to repeat the mistakes made by Sherman and Sheridan in his approach to the task of

commanding the Army. However, he realized that he had to gain control of the staff and maintain a working relationship with the Secretary of War in order to improve the professional structure of the Army. His solution to the problem was to try and gain the support of the President in the consolidation of power in the office of the Commanding General while not challenging the authority of the Secretary of War. He believed that this course of action would allow him to institute policies and promote legislation favorable to the progress of professionalism in the officer corps. Russell F. Weigley described this plan, in part, when he wrote that Schofield understood the need for American military professionalism to "come to terms with the constitutional position of the Secretary of War and the President."[4]

After spending five months preparing his argument, Schofield submitted a detailed memorandum to President Grover Cleveland in February 1889. He proposed that the resolution of the problem of defining roles among the Secretary of War, the Commanding General, and the chiefs of the staff agencies was critical to the proper functioning of the Army. "It is essential," he told the President, "at least, that some well defined principles be established as a guide to all concerned in the complex duties and responsibilities of military administration and command."

Schofield hoped that the President would agree that the Commanding General should hold command authority over all military functions. The Secretary of War, Schofield argued, would serve as the immediate superior of the Commanding General. The Army commander, in turn, would control the staff as well as the line units.[5]

The proposal was a calculated risk, for it could have caused another controversy such as those which had plagued Sherman and Sheridan. Schofield timed the memorandum carefully. He submitted it just as Cleveland and his Secretary of War (William Endicott) were leaving office. Thus, he felt, they would not have the time or inclination to mount a serious challenge to the plan. The gamble worked, as the President was impressed with Schofield's proposal. Cleveland agreed with Schofield that there were "dangers present" in the lack of a definite relationship among the powers controlling the Army. "I am satisfied," he wrote to the Commanding General, "that a careful adjustment would be wise and for the good of the service." With the tacit approval of the President, the way was clear for Schofield to act.[6]

For the next three years, Schofield worked steadily to increase his control over the staff while maintaining an effective relationship with the Secretary of War. Subordinate commanders, aware of Schofield's success in obtaining

Presidential support for command authority over the staff, moved to limit staff interference over their commands. In the summer of 1892, one of these efforts by a subordinate commander led to a direct confrontation between Schofield and the Secretary of War over the power of commanders to control their staffs.

There were signs earlier in the year that a confrontation was brewing in headquarters over the command-staff relationship. In February, Schofield had written a memorandum to the War Secretary Stephen Elkins expressing his disappointment over the increasing reluctance of the bureau chiefs to seek approval from the Commanding General before sending orders to field units. "It must, I think, be conceded," Schofield told Elkins in a tersely worded statement, "by all officers that the staff departments serving with troops are, under the plain meaning of the general regulations, under the orders of the General Commanding." The situation worsened in the next few days, however, and Schofield was prompted to write the Secretary again:

> Cases have come to my notice recently in which the construction or alteration of military posts . . . under my command have been conducted without my knowledge . . . . There have also been cases in which requisitions for material . . . have been rejected, and no notice of the action taken in the bureau of the War Department given at Army headquarters nor any indication that such negative action was sanctioned by the Secretary of War . . . . The wants of commanding officers of the several grades have not been supplied, and the

> Chief of Bureau has assumed the authority to decide such matters regardless of the views of the commanding officers . . . . The general regulations are sufficiently clear . . . . They prohibit the chiefs of staff departments from giving orders to officers of their departments serving with troops. General Regulations, Paragraph 187, says that all orders referring to military operations go from the President and the Secretary of War through the Commanding General . . . . No military principle is more thoroughly well established in all armies than the Commanding General should be informed of everything that concerns his troops. This is the military principle . . . which has so often been disregarded.[7]

This argument, too, fell on deaf ears. On July 16th, the Quartermaster General issued an independent order to the Chief Quartermaster of the Department of the East which led to the confrontation between the bureau chief (Quartermaster General R.N. Batchelder) and Schofield over the command of the Army.

Batchelder had ordered Colonel Charles H. Tompkins, the Chief Quartermaster of the Department of the East, to begin the process of discharging a civilian engineer, James Norton, stationed at Fort Myer, Virginia. Tompkins relayed the order to the respective staff officer at Fort Myer, First Lieutenant Charles W. Taylor. The message went through the office of the post commander, Lieutenant Colonel Guy V. Henry. Henry asked Lieutenant Taylor to explain why Norton was to be fired. Taylor replied that he had no reason to discharge Norton; in fact, he felt the engineer was exceptionally competent. Henry decided upon

hearing this opinion that he would not obey the order, and he wrote an angry letter to General O.O. Howard, the Commander of the Department of the East. He asked Howard to forward the letter to Schofield.

Henry's letter demonstrated that subordinate commanders far down the chain of command had come to accept Schofield's view of the proper relationship of commanders to the staff. "I do not recognize the authority of the Quartermaster General," Henry wrote, "to give orders concerning the administration of my post. If it is admitted that the Quartermaster General can give orders concerning my post, the same can be done by any Chief of Corps, and no limit placed on the interference with proper rights of a Post Commander."[8]

General Howard backed his subordinate commander in his endorsement of Henry's letter. On July 25, 1892, Howard wrote that staff interference in the affairs of commanders had resulted in "confusion worse confounded." He concluded his endorsement by stating what he considered to be the proper command-staff relationship:

> There is but one line of command and but one line of authority from the President through the Secretary of War to the generals and officers of the line. Staff officers are simply the advisers of the commanders to whom they are assigned.[9]

Schofield sent the letters from Henry and Howard to General Batchelder on August 2nd in order to give the bureau

chief an opportunity to defend his order before the matter was referred to the Secretary of War, Stephen Elkins. Batchelder justified the issuance of the order for Norton's discharge by stating that the bureau chiefs had statutory authority to control "the employment of civilians required for administrative service" as an exception to the rules of command set forth in Paragraph 851, Army Regulations.[10]

Secretary Elkins agreed with the Quartermaster General on September 2nd and approved the firing of Norton. This decision was reached apparently without questioning Batchelder's reference to statutory authority. Schofield had pointed out to Elkins in a handwritten note on September 2nd that the regulation cited by Batchelder had been changed in 1889. One week later, he sent Elkins a formal letter reiterating the fact that the quartermaster General had used an outdated regulation to justify his action. In this second attempt to get the Secretary to change his mind, Schofield cited an earlier case where Secretary of War William Endicott had "revoked his mistake" when Schofield told him that the regulation used in deliberation was no longer valid. Despite such evidence, Elkins steadfastly refused to change his decision.[11]

Although it was a setback in his campaign to gain control of all elements of the Army, Schofield remained convinced of the correctness of his view of proper command.

The statements made by Henry and Howard showed that his perception of the way the command structure should work was filtering down to lower ranking commanders. The way in which his subordinates had opposed Batchelder's order must have heartened the Commanding General, for he kept up his effort to command the entire Army during the remainder of his tenure.

In early 1893, Schofield sent a memorandum to the Adjutant General defining command and staff responsibilities. He stated that routine matters could be handled by the staff without his personal scrutiny. "In all cases of doubt, or difference of opinion," he wrote, "it is the desire of the Major General Commanding that all cases . . . be presented to him." Schofield concluded the message by saying that no regulation exempted any staff bureau from communicating through him.[12]

When Daniel Lamont succeeded Stephen Elkins as Secretary of War in March 1893, Schofield saw the change as an opportunity to move closer to his goal of a unified command structure in the Army. He used a dispute between the Inspector General and the Adjutant General over the authority to detail officers to militia duty as a chance to tell Lamont of his feelings:

> . . . the conflict demonstrates the evils inseparable from an attempt by the several staff departments at administration of the Army without any concert or harmony, or union under a common head. Officers of the line of the Army . . . are entirely beyond

> the control of any Chief of Bureau. The impropriety of such correspondence is manifest . . . . The manifest remedy for this evil is, namely, the union of all the Staff Departments under one head, or Chief of Staff. I consider this the greatest necessity of the military service at the present time.[13]

Schofield's message to Lamont, like his other efforts, did not resolve the command-staff relationship problem. Things did improve, though, at least in the relationship between the Commanding General and the Secretary of War. Unlike Elkins, Lamont displayed a growing respect for Schofield and his view of Army command during their two years of working together. The two men corresponded with each other in friendly terms, and Lamont did not hesitate to leave the War Department in Schofield's hands when he was away from Washington. Schofield recognized this trust as a positive development in his attempt to increase the authority of the Commanding General, and he was careful not to abuse the privilege.

In 1894, Schofield noted the pleasant change which had occurred in relations with the Secretary of War due to the presence of Daniel Lamont in the Secretary's chair. At the bottom of an 1888 speech he had prepared describing the Army's command system as a "Hydra-headed monster," he appended a pencilled footnote. "Now, in 1894," he wrote, "the practice [of ignoring the proper authority of the Commanding General] has been greatly altered . . . conforming very nearly to . . . military professionalism."[14]

The following year, Lamont demonstrated his respect for the job Schofield was doing as Commanding General by endorsing legislation promoting Schofield to the rank of Lieutenant General. Schofield's promotion was unanimously approved in the Senate on February 7, 1895. An article on the promotion the following day noted that not since the confirmation of Ulysses S. Grant as Commanding General in 1864 had there been a promotion as "complimentary to the recipient of repeated and various marks of high distinction."[15]

While working to establish an effective command structure throughout his administration, Schofield also devoted considerable attention to improving the competency of officers. One of the major thrusts of this effort was his reform of the promotion system. He began changing the way officers could be promoted in March of 1889, when he recommended passage of legislation favoring the implementation of a "lineal" promotion plan. This plan called for the elimination of the archaic "regimental" promotion method, whereby officers were advanced on seniority.

The regimental promotion system had caused stagnation in the officer ranks. Under this system, an officer could advance to the next higher grade only on the death, retirement, or promotion of another officer in a higher rank within a particular regiment. Moreover, an officer was

eligible to be promoted only within his branch of service, such as Infantry, Cavalry, or Artillery. Thus a cavalry Captain in the 10th Cavalry Regiment could not be promoted until a cavalry Major in his regiment retired, died, or was promoted himself. Even then, the Captain had to be the senior member among all the captains in the regiment in order to be advanced. The result of this arrangement was that the Army was full of elderly officers in the lower grades. Fifty-year old captains were not uncommon. Officers had little incentive to exceed the normal requirements of their grade and duty position. To make matters worse, those officers in the smaller branches were promoted even more slowly than their counterparts in the larger ones.

One of Schofield's first steps in reforming this archaic system was to alert the Secretary of War to the problems inherent in the regimental method of advancement. In a message to Secretary Proctor in 1889, Schofield told the Secretary that the regimental promotion policy caused "huge irregularities in promotion opportunities for junior officers." The following January, he strongly supported pending legislation which would provide for the introduction of a lineal format for promotion based on seniority within the branch of service instead of a particular regiment. While Schofield by no means felt this legislation to be the optimum solution to the promotion problem, he

believed it was an important step toward the eventual resolution of the woes caused by the regimental system. In his recommendation for approval of the measure, he also favored the retention of two grades of Lieutenant (First and Second) which was part of the proposed legislation:

> Since the test of professional fitness for the first promotion is the most important of all, it should be applied within a few years after the young officer's entry into service, so as to impress him from the start with the necessity of constant study of his profession.[16]

Schofield's justification for keeping two grades of lieutenant revealed part of his view of the need for changes in the way officers were promoted. He believed "professional fitness" should be the proper standard for promotion, not seniority. Later in 1890 he defined this term explicitly as being "acceptable physical condition, personal and professional character, and professional efficiency" in the provisions of a draft General Order establishing promotion requirements for officers below the rank of Major.[17] He justified the order to Secretary of War Proctor by stating that "the scheme outlined . . . relates solely, as it ought to do, to the immediate and real fitness of an officer to serve in the grade to which he is about to be promoted.[18]

The heart of Schofield's lineal system, then, was the criterion that officers had to be competent to perform the duties of the next higher rank before they could be advanced to that rank. The way he chose to insure that officers

could be evaluated in terms of this criterion was through a formal examination system, which he proposed as part of his 1890 order. All officers below the rank of Major, according to his plan, were to undergo a formal examination before being considered for promotion. They would have to appear before a board of senior officers before they were recommended for advancement. Each officer would be evaluated not merely for demonstrated proficiency in combat skills, military knowledge, and physical fitness but also for performance in previous duty assignments. Senior officers were required to prepare efficiency reports on officers as part of this program. Through the examination program, Schofield forced officers to demonstrate competency as a requirement for promotion. By concentrating on junior officers, he insured that the program would result in a corps of competent senior officers in the future.

As with some of his other reforms, Schofield had to adjust the requirements of his new promotion system to help officers who had languished under the stagnant provisions of the regimental one. He moderated his reforms so that no officer suffered unnecessarily, exempting those who were already in line for promotion under the old guidelines from the new requirements. For the junior officers who had spent thirty years in service (and thus had little hope for future advancement) Schofield proposed that they be promoted

immediately and retired. "It would be a benefit to the service," he wrote, "as well as just to those officers to retire them."[19]

Schofield's lineal promotion system allowed officers to gain higher ranks through efficient service and demonstrated proficiency and his retirement policy for older officers enabled others to be eligible years earlier than they could have expected under the old system. The Commanding General was careful, however, not to give the public or the Army the impression that the professional devotion of the officer corps to the nation had been forgotten. In February 1892, he opposed passage of a Senate resolution which would have increased the number of high ranking officers authorized in the Army. He told Secretary of War Elkins that he could not support the measure because "it proposes to increase the number of officers of the higher grades out of all proportion to the necessities for the services of such officers." He implied in his statement that the Army should control its rank structure so as to convince the public and the military that promotions would be predicated on the needs of the nation.[20]

Throughout 1892 he made a number of other proposals and recommendations designed to improve earlier promotion reforms. In February, he strongly supported Senate Resolution 2305, which authorized a "Record and Pension Office"

at Army headquarters for keeping standardized unit records. In April, Schofield recommended passage of legislation formalizing the procedures for enlisted men to apply for commissions. And he continued to supervise the administration of the new lineal system to insure that uniform examinations were being conducted throughout the Army.[21]

During the remainder of his administration, he kept a close watch on the progress of his promotion reforms. In 1894, Schofield opposed passage of legislation which would separate the Artillery into "light" and "heavy" branches. He believed that this change would cause a return to the old problem of stagnation in the ranks. The existing system (whereby the two types of artillery were organized into one branch) gave commanders the freedom to transfer officers from light batteries to heavy ones when they could no longer endure the physical strain of maneuver. Heavy batteries, assigned to a series of coastal forts guarding ports on the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of Mexico, provided officers with an opportunity to avoid the hardships of riding horseback and moving about the countryside. While Schofield knew that transferring aging officers to heavy batteries was not the best way to treat their physical deficiencies (he would have preferred to retire them), he felt that the program at least provided light battery commanders with a means of maintaining optimum effectiveness.

Additionally, the unified artillery structure allowed elderly officers (who were victims of the regimental promotion system) to serve their waning years of active duty where they could contribute the most to the Army. "It is not likely," Schofield told Secretary Lamont, "that Congress will ever authorize the retirement of officers merely because they are too stout to ride well . . . or other causes [of old age] . . . which currently result in the relief of a light artillery Captain from that duty and sending him to a heavy battery."[22]

In the last year of his tenure as Commanding General, Schofield tried to achieve a permanent solution to the problem of officers becoming physically unfit for duty by ordering regular physical fitness training at all Army posts. He told Secretary Lamont that "regular, systematic, and thorough gymnastic training is believed to be of very great importance to the military service." In order to accomplish the improvement of officer fitness, Schofield asked Lamont for funds to buy athletic equipment and put it at every post.[23]

Fittingly, one of Schofield's last actions in office was to combine his efforts to make the officer corps more competent. In September of 1895, he ordered the Adjutant General to begin compiling all available information on officers into "Efficiency and Individual Service Reports."

With Secretary Lamont's approval, he directed that uniform files be assembled on every active officer in the Army. These files were to contain the following records:

1) Record of assignments
2) Troop and staff experience
3) Family data
4) Summary of efficiency reports
5) Foreign language skills
6) Results of physical examinations
7) Record of performance in formal inspections

Schofield sought to insure that each officer had an equal chance to serve in positions of responsibility during his career and that he was evaluated fairly in those positions. Additionally, he wanted to be able to monitor the promotion system so that officers serving in remote assignments had the same opportunity to advance as their contemporaries serving "closer to the flagpole."[24]

The compilation of individual service records codified Schofield's standards of competence into a uniform format. Along with promotion examinations, the files outlined clearly the method in which officers were judged to be professional. Schofield believed that all officers had to be accomplished leaders who adhered to the highest personal standards. He felt his promotion system and standardized records provided officers with specific rules to follow in order to achieve professional status. Moreover, his program to increase officer competence, by being uniform, eliminated favoritism from the process.

Schofield also pursued reforms in policy and legislation designed to make officership more rewarding. He realized that officer life was expensive, and he worked to ease the financial burden experienced by officers and their families in a number of ways. In 1892, he recommended to Secretary of War Elkins that officers should have free burial rights at Arlington Cemetery in order to spare their families the expense of internment. In 1894, he requested extra funds for officers who were forced to live in civilian housing. That same year, he urged Secretary Lamont to support legislation which would increase resettlement, readjustment, and certain dues payments to officers. He felt that the lack of such payments favored "well-off" officers who could afford to move frequently and live in comfortable civilian housing when military quarters were unavailable.[25]

Similarly, he worked throughout his tenure to improve the retirement rewards for officers who had rendered faithful service to the nation. In 1892, he recommended to Secretary Elkins that retired officers be allowed to use the Soldier's Home if they desired. He consistently fought to retain the provision that officers who served thirty years of active duty would receive 75% of their active duty pay at the rank they held when retired. He wanted officers to look forward to the time when their active service ended,

secure in the knowledge that they could live their retirement years in comfort. He believed that they deserved it.[26]

What then may be said of Schofield's efforts to establish policies and legislation to make the officer corps more professional? Shortly after relinguishing command of the Army, Schofield assessed his often frustrating campaign to increase his command authority during his seven years in office:

> I can only say that my own plan worked well enough so long as I helped to work it. How it may be with anybody else, either with my plan or some other, only the future can determine. I so far succeeded that the most intelligent staff officers used to say, 'For the first time the general actually does command the army.'
>
> 'Be ye wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove' is the only rule of action I have ever heard of that can steer a soldier clear of trouble with the civil powers of this great republic. Yet he must sometimes, when his honor or the rights of his subordinates are involved, make the fight, though he knows he must be beaten. A soldier must then stand by his guns as long as he can, and it has happened that such a fight, apparently hopeless at the time, has given victory to a future generation.[27]

Schofield thus indicated that he considered the first part of his campaign to foster policies and legislation favorable to officer professionalism to have been only a limited success. His setback in the Norton firing was a case where he "stood by his guns" despite the fact that he failed to convince Elkins that the staff was infringing on proper

command authority. Schofield was obviously pleased with the way Lieutenant Colonel Henry and General Howard adopted his view of command, and he felt that their outlook on the command-staff relationship was in keeping with what professional officers should believe. He sought to reinforce the attitude that professional officers should follow command authority along structured lines for the rest of his administration.

Some years later, Secretary of War Elihu Root acknowledged Schofield's contributions to professionalism through his efforts to establish an effective system of Army command. Root called upon Schofield in 1902 to testify before a Senate committee considering reform of the command structure. Root credited Schofield with accomplishing many of the changes in relationships which led to the unification of all staff functions under a single head, the Chief of Staff. The passage of the General Staff Act of 1903, in Root's opinion, was directly attributable to Schofield's "great and commanding influence" over the staff during the years 1888-1895. Root believed that Schofield's defeats in his efforts to limit the authority of the bureau chiefs led "to victory for a future generation."[28]

The structural difficulties Schofield encountered in dealing with the staff and the Secretary of War were part of a larger dilemma that he faced when he became Commanding

General. This problem was the lack of an institutional system in which officers might experience professional growth. Schofield moved quickly to rectify this deficiency by reforming the promotion system, by establishing formal criteria for the advancement of junior officers. His concentration on junior officers insured the survival of professional performance requirements.

The final step in Schofield's campaign to increase officer competence, the creation of a uniform system of individual service files, culminated years of effort to standardize the profession of arms. Using this record keeping system, senior officers in Washington could monitor the progress of their subordinates to see that each officer had an equal opportunity to serve in positions of responsibility, attend schools, and be judged fairly. The inclusion of efficiency reports, physical examination results, personal data, and service assignments gave Army leaders the means to insure that all officers had the chance to be promoted when they were eligible. The files served to place all officers of the same rank on equal footing and thereby reduce the amount of favoritism in the ranks.

Schofield also worked to make officership more attractive to its membership by trying to relieve some of the financial hardships officers and their families faced in the course of military service. He wanted to enable the

middle class officer to serve wherever he desired, to keep him from having to turn down an attractive assignment because he could not afford to live in civilian housing or bear the costs of moving or resettling. He did not want the profession to be for rich men only. Similarly, Schofield supported the improvement in retirement benefits which took place during his administration. He felt that professional soldiers who devoted the sum of their efforts to the nation in active service should enjoy the nation's gratitude when they retired.

Like Schofield's education and ethics programs, the policy and legislation efforts were comprehensive reforms. They were directed toward creating a professional officer corps which was made up of accomplished men who were adequately rewarded for faithful and efficient service. His campaign to establish proper control of the Army helped to provide officers with a responsive, efficient chain of command which supported professionalism. Schofield perceived correctly that all of his reforms to create a professional officer corps would seem hollow if the command structure was allowed to remain chaotic.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

[1]Russell F. Weigley, The History of the United States Army (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), 280-282.

[2]John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army (New York: The Century Company, 1897), 471.

[3]Ibid., 476.

[4]Russell F. Weigley, Towards an American Army (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 167.

[5]Memorandum from Major General John Schofield to President Grover Cleveland, "Questions and Suggestions Relative to Military Administration and Command," February, 1889. The John M. Schofield Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[6]Letter from President Grover Cleveland to General Schofield, March 3, 1889. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[7]Messages from Schofield to Secretary of War Stephen Elkins, February 23, 27, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[8]Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Guy V. Henry to Major General O.O. Howard, July 22, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[9]Endorsement of Lieutenant Colonel Henry's letter by General O.O. Howard, July 25, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[10]Endorsement to Henry's letter by Quartermaster General R.N. Batchelder, September 2, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[11]Letter from General Schofield to Secretary of War Elkins, September 9, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[12]Message from Schofield to the Adjutant General, February 24, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[13]Message from General Schofield to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, August 8, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[14]Draft of a speech, "Our Military and Naval Policy," 1888, with footnote dated 1894. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[15]A copy of this article, untitled, is in a scrapbook in the Schofield Papers. It was cut out of the February 8, 1895 edition of The Washington Post.

[16]Messages from General Schofield to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, February 21, 1889, January 22, 1890. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[17]Draft General Order dated October, 1890. The Tasker H. Bliss Papers, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

[18]Message from General Schofield to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, October 21, 1890. The Tasker H. Bliss Papers, United States Army Military History Institute.

[19]Message from Schofield to Secretary of War Proctor, January 22, 1890. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[20]Memorandum from Schofield to Secretary of War Stephen Elkins, February 4, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[21]Message from Schofield to Secretary Elkins, February 15, 1892. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[22]Message from Schofield to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, March 19, 1894. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[23]Memorandum from Schofield to Secretary Lamont, January 28, 1895. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[24]Letter from Captain Tasker H. Bliss to Schofield, January 9, 1897, concerning the progress of officer files. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

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[25]Messages to Secretaries Elkins and Lamont, April 30, 1892; October 9, November 13, 1894 from Schofield. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[26]Messages from Schofield to Secretary Elkins, April 23, 1892, and to Secretary Lamont, November 11, 1893. The Schofield Papers, Library of Congress.

[27]John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army, 480.

[28]Letter from Elihu Root to J.R. Hawley, April 7, 1902. The Schofield Papers. See also Elihu Root, The Military and Colonial Policy of the United States (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), 425.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

John M. Schofield is not so well known as a Commanding General as his predecessors, William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan. Nor is he as clearly identified with the rise of a professional officer corps as Emory Upton. Yet Schofield's contributions to the development of professionalism were more original, more extensive, more enduring, and more subtle than historians have recognized. Graham A. Cosmas, C. Robert Kemble, and Allan Millett felt that Schofield merely continued the reforms begun by earlier officers. Russell Weigley and Timothy Nenninger credited Schofield with only minor innovations in officer professionalism.

Schofield knew what professionalism was when he became Commanding General. He had very definite ideas about how to implement professional programs. And his educational reforms, his insistence on high ethical standards, and his initiation or support of policies and legislation improving the structure of the officer corps all contributed to the development of a professional Army.

Schofield's background had a lot to do with his concept of what a professional officer corps should be. From

his observations of the efforts of Sherman, Sheridan, Upton, and others as well as from his own experiences he had developed a clear idea of military professionalism by 1888. He had come to the conclusion that a professional officer corps was a body of selfless men who devoted their careers to studying and practicing the science of war and who lived secure within an institution that rewarded competence and provided a comfortable life. His approach to professionalism as Commanding General reflected this conclusion.

Schofield worked very hard to improve the education of officers. Instead of merely trying, as historians have suggested, to continue the programs developed by his predecessors, Schofield expanded the professional education system far beyond their formal schools and discussion forums. He insisted on both theoretical and practical instruction in Army schools, and he required officers to attend schools providing both types of training, in ever increasing difficulty, as their careers progressed. To complement this formal system, he organized and implemented an informal training program which encouraged officers to interact with the civilian community. Mutual understanding between civil and military segments of society was essential, in his opinion, to increase civilian acceptance of the need for professional officers and to heighten military

awareness of civilian attitudes toward the Army. Schofield believed the professional officer had to be a scholarly, worldly soldier. His programs in education were designed to allow officers to learn as much as they could about the theory and practice of war and about the officer's place in society. He structured his reforms to make education a continuous process. Thus West Point formed the foundation of his progressive education system. Schofield felt that the rest of an officer's formal training should build upon the broad theoretical and practical base that the Military Academy provided. Informal training, introduced in between troop duty and formal schooling, rounded out his educational process.

Schofield's ethical code for officers reflected his understanding of a "special" nature of officership. He wanted to make sure that all officers shared this appreciation for the unique role they played in society. He refused to tolerate officers like Captain Armes who placed personal gain above service to the nation. The "higher calling" of officership put a special burden on officers. In Schofield's view, this burden could be carried only by selfless men who prided themselves on maintaining the highest standards of personal integrity and responsibility. Through his treatment of subordinates, Schofield tried to foster these qualities among officers. As a result, the

officer corps became a more professional body.

The policies and legislation he supported as Commanding General complemented the professionalization process he began through educational and ethical reforms. His objective in this campaign was to make officers more competent while enhancing the rewards of good performance. He expected officers of a professional Army to be highly skilled practioners of war. Additionally, he desired that they have the highest moral standards. His promotion reforms made expertise and proper behavior part of the evaluation process. The compilation of Individual Service Records insured that officers could be monitored throughout their careers, not just during periods when they were eligible for promotion. Officers were encouraged to comply with professional standards of performance and behavior. He also advocated measures designed to ease the financial hardships associated with officership so that men of average means would not become discouraged with military life. Schofield felt that professional officers would be willing to achieve high levels of competence, physical fitness, and moral propriety if they knew that they would not have to suffer unnecessary hardships in the process. In keeping with this philosophy, he believed that the costs of relocation, resettlement, and retirement should be borne by the Army. He thought the use of "fringe benefits" to assist officers was in accordance with what professionals deserved.

Schofield realized that his professional program would not succeed unless he could achieve an effective command system among the Secretary of War, the Commanding General and the chiefs of the staff bureaus. While he did not succeed in reforming the chaotic system he inherited from Sheridan, he made significant strides toward increasing the authority of the Commanding General. One of these strides was the attainment of a relationship of mutual respect between himself and Secretary Lamont. Another was in the influence he asserted over subordinates who came to demonstrate, as in the Norton firing, an acceptance of his ideas about the proper command structure for a professional Army. Elihu Root recognized the value of Schofield's efforts in this regard, and he used Schofield's plan of command as the foundation of his reforms which led to the creation of the office of the Chief of Staff of the Army in 1903. Thus, Schofield's setbacks in his attempts to gain control of the Army were only temporary. He knew this to be the case, for in his autobiography he noted that the success of his plan of command would become apparent in the near future.

Schofield demonstrated a remarkable sensitivity in all of his efforts to make the officer corps professional. He moderated his reforms to minimize the hardships they would create. He did not punish Captian Lobo for his inability

to write effectively. He sought to temper changes in promotion procedures so that officers who had advanced under the regimental system were not forgotten in a new program. And he was sensitive to the deficiencies of society as a whole when imposing his own high standards on officer behavior--when granting clemency to the black Chaplain Plummer. Indeed, Schofield's sensitivity was part of his view of professionalism. He felt that professional officers had to demonstrate understanding of the ramifications of their decisions, particularly those which changed policy.

So it was that Schofield contributed far more to the development of a professional officer corps than has previously been acknowledged. His concept of a professional officer corps has endured, with only minor changes, up to the present day. He built upon the work of his predecessors, transforming their scattered efforts and ideas into a comprehensive, structured professional program for officers. He made professionalism a way of life. In so doing, John M. Schofield was instrumental in preparing the Army for the trials of world war--a significant contribution by any standard. The last years of his career, the years in which he was Commanding General, were far more than "anticlimactic."

APPENDIX

This paper attempts to use "professionalism" as General John M. Schofield used it. Schofield never tried to define professionalism per se; however, he used the word "profession" many times in his official correspondence. Perhaps the best example of his writings on the subject comes from his autobiography:

> The art of war has in all ages called forth the highest order of genius and character, the great captains of the world having been esteemed as among the great men. So, also, in continually increasing degree in modern times, the military art has called for scientific education of the very highest character, supplemented by practical experience. It cannot be questioned that the military profession requires ability, education, and practical training no less than the legal or any other profession. The Supreme Court of the United States composed of merchants and bankers would no more of an anomaly than a body of general and staff officers of like composition.

There are several other examples of his use of the term which are cited in the main body of this thesis. He used the word "professional," in the military sense, to refer to officers who were educated, ethical, and selfless. He also used it in the form "profession" to describe the brotherhood of officership, saying that the profession of arms created bonds among its members.

From his use of the term (in the forms referred to above) and the emphasis he placed on the development of

certain traits among officers his concept of the professional officer can be determined. Schofield believed a professional officer was a man who rendered a service to the nation, without seeking personal gain, in order to protect and preserve society. He was a man of intellect, integrity, and loyalty. He had a skill that no one else in society could offer, and it was his duty to render his services as society required them.

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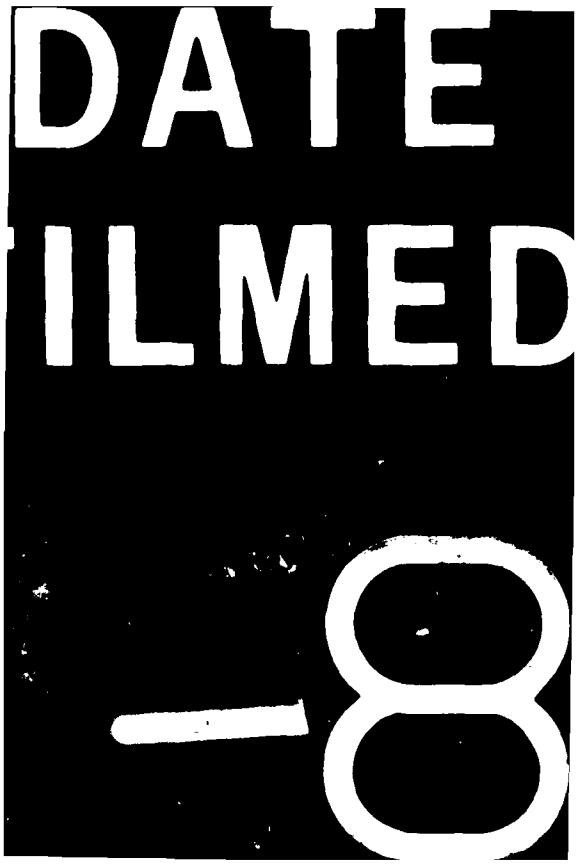
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