Art of War Papers

"Army Training, Sir":

The Impact of the World War I Experience on the Evolution of Training Doctrine in the US Army

Gregory C. Hope, Major, US Army

US Army Command and General Staff College Press
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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

The cover photo is courtesy of New York National Guard; The 27th Division trained for WWI in South Carolina. A postcard depicting soldiers on the march at Camp Wadsworth, South Carolina, where the soldiers of the New York National Guard's 27th Division trained before deploying to France in 1918. The division trained at the camp, outside of Spartanburg, South Carolina, from September 1917 until April of 1918. Source: photo New York National Guard, taken 2 November 2017, Photo ID: 3926043, VIRIN: 171102-Z-A3538-1005, Spartanburg, SC, https://www.dvidshub.net/image/3926043/27th-division-trained-world-war-1-south-carolina.

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Program Description

The Command and General Staff College (CGSC) Art of War Scholar's program offers a small number of competitively select officers a chance to participate in intensive, graduate level seminars and in-depth personal research that focuses primarily on understanding strategy and operational art through modern military history. The purpose of the program is to produce officers with critical thinking skills and an advanced understanding of the art of warfighting. These abilities sare honed by reading, researching, thinking, debating and writing about complex issues across the full spectrum of modern warfare, from the lessons of the Russo-Japanese war through continuing operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, while looking ahead to the twenty-first century evolution of the art of war.

Abstract

The American Army's mobilization for World War I was fraught with difficulties, resulting in a number of failings that produced a capable but flawed expeditionary force. The traditional interpretation of army training during that conflict was lackluster as it produced combat units that lacked critical capabilities. The experience of learning how to train and how to write training doctrine produced positive results that have been largely overlooked by historians. This study examines the status of training in the pre-war army, to include both existing doctrine and institutional management organizations. It then chronicles the wartime experience and traces the evolution of training doctrine and practices during the war. It concludes by looking at the immediate post-war years to determine what lasting impacts the wartime experiences had on training doctrine and management. Overall, this study concludes that the training effort during World War I had significant long-term benefits for the army, producing the foundation of the army's training practices through World War II.

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My first platoon also deserves a great deal of thanks. Those soldiers who served in 1st Platoon/Delta Company/3-7 Infantry/4th Brigade Combat Team/3d Infantry Division from February 2007 to February 2009 played a bigger role in my life than they probably know. As a new lieutenant, I did a poor job training those men for combat. I did not understand training doctrine and I made no effort to learn it, utterly failing in my primary responsibility as an officer. I went along with the company's activities, never really understanding how I was supposed to supplement them with my own training agenda. As a result, when we arrived to combat, we were unprepared. Thankfully, we were in a quiet area and never received the test that we almost surely would have failed. With the help of newly arrived Noncommissioned Officers and the motivation provided by the omnipresent possibility of death a combat zone offers, I was able to see where I had gone wrong and started addressing our shortcomings. I came to understand training as both an art and a science and from that moment forward took seriously the notion that training was far more than practicing a series of tasks. So, I thank those soldiers for—perhaps unwilling—teaching me the value of training, and just how difficult it is to do it properly. I am eternally grateful that the cost of learning that lesson only came in the form of my own bruised ego, and not in the physical well-being of any of you.

I would also be remiss, and would no doubt end up sleeping on the couch, if I did not thank my wife, Lauren, who patiently tolerated my absurdly unpredictable work schedule while writing this thesis. Her understanding and unwavering support have been immensely important, letting me write the paper in a method that is conducive to my methods and madness.

Contents

Illustrations

Acronyms

AEF	American Expeditionary Force
FSR	Field Service Regulations
GHQ	General Headquarters
GO	General Order
IDR	Infantry Drill Regulations
IG	Inspector General
NDA	National Defense Act
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
TR	Training Regulation

Introduction

In a post-World War I survey, Corporal Eldon Gool of the 125th Infantry Regiment, 32d Division, asserted in a somewhat cocky manner "I think we could consider we were pretty well trained. I guess the enemy thought so too, as they ran from us most of the time."[1] Gool had been a member of the regular army before the war, having enlisted in 1916, and served along the Mexican border during the Punitive Expedition against Pancho Villa. When war came, Gool remained in the service, received a transfer to the newly mobilized 32d Division, and went through training with that unit prior to deploying to France. The brash and arrogant assessment of his training and his unit's combat performance makes Gool's comments entertaining, but what makes them truly unique is that it expresses a positive opinion of training in the American Army during World War I.

The corporal is certainly in the minority when it comes to assessing the effectiveness of his training regimen. Much of the literature that discusses the American Army's training effort for World War I concludes that the planning, execution, and results of said training were lackluster at best, and criminally negligent at worst. In his study of doctrine in the American Expeditionary Forces, Mark Grotelueschen offers one of the stronger endorsements of American training, concluding that while "training in the United States and France was far from a waste, it was nonetheless inadequate in quality and duration."[2] The renowned historian Edward Coffman is decidedly more negative, spending the majority of Chapter 3 in his study on the American experience in World War I discussing the factors that contributed to the poor quality of training in the United States.[3] In *The School of Hard Knocks,* Richard Faulkner asserts "The army's failure to train and develop its junior leaders had blunted the combat effectiveness of the American Expeditionary Forces."[4] Summarizing his doctoral dissertation, James Rainey penned an article entitled "The Questionable Training of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I," in which he points to confused tactical doctrine and poor training practices as key reasons why the American Expeditionary Force was unable to "Serve as an effective instrument of its nation's policy."[5] This small sample of the available literature makes it clear that the United States Army's success in World War I—to the extent that it succeeded—was certainly not due to the effectiveness of its training apparatus. This work does not dispute that conclusion. An evaluation of American training efforts ends in 1918 and its only metric of utility is the combat performance of American divisions which creates an artificial backstop to the story. Such an analysis

ignores the long-term impact that wartime experiences have on training management and doctrine within the army. Further, it discounts activities that took place from late May 1918 until the end of the war. Those advances in training doctrine and practices came into being too late to impact any division that participated in combat in France, but they reflected significant progress in understanding and producing training doctrine. Further, because the war required training soldiers and units on a massive scale, it gave relevance to what had been largely theoretical pre-war debates about training among army professionals. Similar developments continued after the war, as army and civilian leaders examined the reasons behind the army's mixed performance in France. As a result of those investigations, the US Army and Congress instituted a series of reforms that solidified the more successful training practices into official doctrine and legislation. Thus, while training during World War I did not effectively produce combat-capable units, the American experience in developing and implementing training plans during World War I produced numerous previously overlooked benefits, many of which played a key role in transforming the army's training doctrine.

To support that assertion, this work is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 examines the state of training practices and administration in the US Army from the turn of the twentieth century until the outbreak of the war in 1914. It traces the gradual sophistication of ideas regarding training and the attempt to put those ideas into practice. Institutional and cultural factors inhibited the impact those ideas could have on the peacetime army. Chapter 2 looks at the first nine months of America's participation in the war, from April to December 1917, focusing on the improvised training methods of both the United States War Department and the American Expeditionary Forces in France. The period was important as various staffs and commanders began a lengthy process of trial and error development to improve training methods. Throughout that process, officers and units learned how the existing training methods were completely insufficient, but they also identified what needed to be fixed to improve the quality of instruction. Chapter 3 chronicles the army's efforts to reform its defunct training system throughout 1918 as well as the barriers that impeded those efforts. War Department products and the management systems to govern training improved dramatically by late 1918, but the war ended before the effects of those efforts could be seen in the divisions deploying to combat in France. The story of these late-war units is essential to understand the evolution of army training methods during the war. Chapter 4 proves that assertion by following two divisions, the 31st and the 35th, through their respective training programs. The different experiences of

these two divisions shows that training improved with each iteration of War Department publications, eventually becoming fairly advanced and more than sufficient to allow amateur officers and sergeants to train civilian conscripts. Finally, Chapter 5 chronicles the immediate post-war training reforms. During this period, wartime experience dominated every officer's thoughts about how the army should look, what it should do, and how it would accomplish those tasks. Naturally, officers and legislators alike sought to retain the best practices from the war and devise solutions to address the worst failures. The final products of the reform years bore remarkable similarities to late-war products, practices, and organizations, indicating that there were a number of previously overlooked positive aspects to the wartime training experience.

Grasping the full impact of the wartime training effort requires an adequate understanding of training as a system. Training is a complex enterprise with a number of interrelated elements working together to produce an army-wide training program. The first of these is some form of centralized administrative body to oversee and standardize the system. Without a unifying presence at the top of the chain of command to establish and enforce policy, any training program is guaranteed to become a series of disjointed plans under the direction of local commanders as opposed to a standardized system. For the US Army after 1903, that centralized body was the chief of staff and the associated general staff. Its evolution as a central directing body was responsible for the growing effectiveness of training in the United States. The administrative organization produces the second element of a training system when it publishes training doctrine. Training doctrine is communicated through various publications. Those publications clearly state approved methods, principles, and systems commanders are to use in their training programs. Before World War I, the army had not produced any such documents that outlined training doctrine. The closest thing was a series of branch-specific drill manuals, containing lists of tasks and instructions detailing how to execute those tasks. During and after the war, a series of new War Department publications first implied and then definitively stated approved training doctrine.

The final element of a training system is determining the effectiveness of the system, usually by assessing unit proficiency after a completed training cycle, and then modifying accordingly. This final component is closely associated with the first, but differs because it requires a dedicated organization whom will ensure that training aligns with the centralized administration vision. The central authority deals with training as part of the bigger design and function of a military establishment, while the dedicated training organization examines training to ensure the activities stay within

that design. To assess how well units are adhering to published guidance, armies often produce objective metrics for determining the success of a training regimen. For the United States, no such organization or metrics existed before the war. During the war, a series of increasingly influential staff sections within the general staff appeared, culminating in the training branch of the operations and training division. Those staff sections, in conjunction with the various branches and services of the army, produce assessments that inspectors can use to determine how well trained a unit is. The development of these three training aspects occurred in fits and starts before World War I, accelerated during the war, and became established official doctrine in its aftermath.

A synchronized effort among training establishment elements results in trained individuals and units. When a centralized body produces coherent doctrine, it is then assessed and modified by an empowered training organization, resulting in a standardized approach to training. This will support a nation's vision for planning, mobilizing, and conducting major wars. When the pieces do not come together, or when one or more elements do not exist, the military training system will either produce insufficiently trained individuals and units or those trained organizations will not support their nation's approach to war. Prior to and during most of World War I the latter was the case, resulting in poorly trained units and, in all likelihood, unnecessary casualties. Following the war, those failures prompted reform and the question: how to effectively train soldiers and units in the United States Army? The solution came from unheralded success during the war but it was too late to make a positive and measurable impact. This is the story of those successes and the system that they produced.

Notes

1. "Questionnaire of Corporal Eldon I. Gool," *World War I Veterans Survey Collection,* USAHEC, Carlisle PA, 2. The survey was dated as 1983, so it is possible that the respondent's memories had faded in the intervening sixty-five years, but the general tone of the entire questionnaire indicates that Corporal Gool and his unit were both well trained and successful in combat.

2. Mark Grotelueschen, *The AEF Way of War: The American Army and Combat in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 349.

3. Edward Coffman, "War Isn't All Brass Buttons and Cheering," in *The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 54-85.

4. Richard Faulkner, *The School of Hard Knocks: Combat Leadership in the American Expeditionary Forces* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), 324.

5. James Rainey, "The Questionable Training of the AEF in World War I," *Parameters* 22 (Winter 1992-93): 102.

Chapter 1
Starting with Nothing: Pre-War Training Doctrine

> Drill makes the automaton soldier and perfects him in all those duties of the soldier that involve only physical movements. Training makes the dependable soldier who can be relied upon when the qualities of the mind and the soul must be called into play.
>
> —Major J. W. McAndrew, "Infantry Training"[1]

The years between the Spanish-American War and America's entrance into World War I were an immensely important period in the history of the United States Army. The difficulties the army experienced, drafting, training, equipping, and deploying an expeditionary force in 1898, signaled a need to revamp the administration of the army. During this period, the decentralized system of management in which personalities exerted far more influence than institutional systems, and the centralized direction which slowly gave way to reformers who emphasized centralization and the structured processes, have provided the foundation from which the institutional army of the twentieth century grew.[2] Unfortunately for the army, this period of reform did not extend far enough to significantly impact training. The army entered this period using an informal training system that was little more than a collection of drills, none of which were directed, supervised, or standardized by a central authority. Despite the introduction of training doctrine and concepts throughout the period, meaningful results required both cultural and institutional changes that were not forthcoming; this drove the steady evolution of the army's ideas concerning training. When World War I began in 1914 and the army faced the possibility of mobilizing a large force of citizen soldiers, it did so without the requisite doctrine, literature, organizational oversight, or experience necessary to create training programs that could mobilize the nation's wealth of manpower, transforming them into trained individuals and units.

At the turn of the twentieth century the United States Army did not have a strong training legacy on which to draw. For the majority of the army's existence, training and drill were interchangeable concepts. Repeated execution of individual tasks from company to regiment maneuvers, all under the supervision of the unit commander and aimed at producing robotic compliance with orders and instructions, constituted the bulk of instruction. Given the nature of linear warfare that was prevalent during the eighteenth century, this rudimentary training system was appropriate and

effective enough. The proliferation of weapons such as bolt-action rifles, fast-firing artillery, and machine guns necessitated more dispersed infantry formations and greater autonomy on the part of small-unit leaders and individual soldiers.[3] This new battlefield meant a soldier would "be thrown more and more on his own resources … to use his own head, to get himself to the best place, and to do his best possible toward the common end."[4] The role officers played in managing these dispersed infantry soldiers who were now thinking for themselves evolved as well. Platoon leaders and company commanders assumed increased roles on the battlefield in directing and controlling fire and maneuvering their units in a semi-independent manner.[5] Taken together, these tactical changes necessitated a more elaborate training system that focused less on repetition of basic tasks and more on thoughtful application of learned skills.

Transformation proved difficult to effect change for the American Army given its lack of overarching doctrine and strong central agency. Prior to 1891, the War Department had never produced any original training literature. From the publication of Friedrich von Steuben's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States* through the majority of the nineteenth century, the army relied on enterprising individuals instead of its own institutions to produce its drill and training literature.[6] The department's inability to organically produce and standardize such literature led to significant confusion; at various times multiple manuals were in use throughout the army. Without appropriate literature prescribing methods, practices, and policies regarding training, officers and noncommissioned officers improvised. These adaptations provided individual and unit drills at the regimental level and comprised the bulk of training. There were no metrics by which to certify an individual or unit as "trained," further, there were no answers to how long it took to properly execute a training regimen for either individuals or units. At no point did existing drill manuals require any sort of exercises which would require officers to maneuver their units in such a way as to solve tactical problems in simulated environments. In short, there was no training system, but instead simply a collection of tasks that commanders taught their units to execute. The mass mobilization of volunteer regiments during the American Civil War was an example of the chaos and disparity in proficiency resulting from the decentralized nature of the existing system.[7] The culture and attitudes regarding training were such in the early 1890s that one office opined "only a very small portion of our training would be of the slightest use in war."[8]

Centralizing, standardizing, and systematizing training required the War Department to take a more active role in the development of doctrine

and training literature. The first step of this process occurred in 1891 when the War Department published its first *Infantry Drill Regulations.* The new drill manual was commissioned by a board of officers who were working under the direction of the War Department, marking an important first step in the development of the institutional army's ability to produce its own doctrinal literature. Despite this event's importance for the army, the 1891 *Infantry Drill Regulations* did not make a significant change in army training practices or philosophies. The manual's purpose was to communicate tactical doctrine, not to revolutionize training methods.[9] Instructions in the manual made it clear that close-order and extended drill were still the chosen order of the day used to prepare men for combat and weld them into effective units. Gathering troops together and repeating prescribed movements for a few hours a week was still the accepted method of attaining proficiency on the battlefield. In short, training and drill were synonymous. This narrow definition of training had consequences that lasted for some time. Early in the twentieth century there existed the notion that "a soldier who has once learned the details of the drill regulations—the mere mechanism of tactical and calisthenic exercises—may be excused from drill without detriment."[10]

The responsibility to train units and the authority to produce training doctrine was equally insufficient. The 1895 *Regulations for the Army of the United States* charged territorial commanders with "the administration of all the military affairs of his department, and the execution of all orders from higher authority."[11] "All military affairs" included scheduling annual maneuvers, practical instruction in drill, and designating periods for post commanders to conduct lyceums, lectures, and recitations with their officers to ensure continued education. The regulations were more explicit regarding post commanders, making each responsible for "discipline, drill, and tactical instruction of his command."[12] The small size and widely dispersed nature of the army meant commanders usually had no more than two or three company-sized formations at their post, most of which were occupied with work details and day-to-day procedures, leaving little time for training. Similarly, the number of posts under a territorial commander and the strain of the administrative duties required to run them meant that department commanders rarely made training a top priority. At the national level the War Department was too segmented to provide any semblance of centralized control over virtually all functions, especially training. The existing system divided running the army between the bureau chiefs and the commanding general of the army. The bureau chiefs managed issues of supply and administration and reported to the secretary of war. The commanding general of the army, in theory, was in charge of

the line units which were spread across the country. In reality, the system was a muddled mess that lacked a clear legal role for the commanding general and caused friction and confusion regarding the chain of command and responsibility.[13] Commanders at all levels thus lacked clear guidance, sufficient numbers of troops, and above all the impetus to conduct and evaluate meaningful training.

The poor performance in the mobilization for the Spanish-American War provided the stimulus to address the army's administrative apparatus, and with it the mechanisms that directed training. In August 1899, President William McKinley appointed Elihu Root as secretary of war in an effort to address the department's litany of managerial shortcomings. In Root's view, the sole purpose of the War Department was to prepare for war. Given the domestic attitude towards standing armies and the lack of persistent ground threat, preparing for war by the United States meant developing the required systems for mass mobilization of citizen-soldiers and creating a central body with the sufficient authority and capability to manage those systems.[14] In the immediate aftermath of Root's appointment, the War Department acted to realize his vision.

In September 1900, the War Department issued General Order 125, mandating the "general system of instruction emanating from headquarters of the army will be uniformly followed throughout the different departments."[15] The system featured actual battle maneuvers which combined infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It stipulated the nature of marches and field exercises and explained their importance relative to garrison duty. The mandate concluded with instructions regarding the selection and training of non-commissioned officers and reemphasized the nature of officers' lyceum programs in training leaders.

General Order 125 marked one of the first attempts by the US Army to establish a training philosophy that went beyond robotic repetition of drills, but significant issues negated its impact. First, it was clear that training was not an area of focus for the War Department. Within General Order 125, the training section was the third of three topics mentioned: first, instructions regarding how to properly display patriotism during national holidays and second, the importance of discipline in garrison. Additionally, at just over four hundred words it was remarkably short and far too vague for commanders to structure any meaningful training from its guidance. Finally, there was insufficient command-emphasis on enacting the policies stipulated in the order. Department commanders reported compliance in their annual reports in 1901, but the efforts seemed half-hearted. The commander of the department of Texas noted because "strict compliance with the scheme … has been impracticable," post commanders had devised

their own training schemes.[16] The inspector general's office should have, in theory, enforced compliance, but the inspectors themselves worked for and reported to geographic department commanders. As the department commanders were nominally in charge of ensuring compliance with general orders, inspectors reporting noncompliance to them would be a bit foolish.[17] Without a centralized executive body to enforce compliance, edicts like General Order 125 were little more than hollow gestures. While they served as an indicator that officers were slowly coming to realize that training was much more complicated than drill, they failed to usher in real change.

In February 1903, a key element of Root's vision became reality when Congress passed the General Staff Act. This legislation replaced the commanding general with the chief of staff and created a general staff to "prepare plans for the national defense and for the mobilization of the military forces in time of war [and] to investigate and report upon all questions affecting the efficiency of the army and its state of preparation for military operations."[18] Army regulations further clarified the chief of staff's role, he was vested with supervisory powers to ensure that the field army's complied with the directions of the secretary of war regarding "duties pertaining to the command, discipline, training, and recruitment of the army." These supervisory powers enable the chief to continually inspect and ensure compliance with the mandates of the secretary of war, and "to direct necessary instructions for their correction."[19] The chief of staff, working with the general staff, constituted the army's first centralized body with any direct appreciable power, thus possessing the legal authority to effect change regarding a myriad of issues across the army and enforce measures like General Order 125. The creation of an organization with such influence, combined with Root's ideas regarding preparation for war, seemed to indicate that changes to the army's training establishment were guaranteed.

Despite the promise the general staff offered as a centralizing body, in its early years its potential often exceeded achievement. Disputes between the general staff and the existing bureaus—namely the adjutant general's department—regarding the role of each organization, led to infighting. This caused proponents of the old bureau system to campaign for and enact legislation that ensured a smaller and less efficient staff by 1912.[20] The resistance to centralized authority, along with an undermanned and overworked general staff, were the primary reasons why the War Department was unable to effect serious and lasting changes to the existing training literature and practices.

While major changes were still years away, some advances in training did occur in the period. In 1904, the War Department reestablished individual recruit depots to standardize reception and training of new soldiers. Previously, enlistees had received the bulk of their training from non-commissioned officers upon arriving at their first unit. With the activation of the depots, enlistees proceeded from their recruiting station to one of several depots across the country where they received medical evaluations and were enlisted into the service. Initially, field training was not officially part of the regimen at the depots, instead, recruits received elementary indoctrination and were subject to daily close order drill from non-commissioned officers. This situation changed in 1905 when the War Department directed that depots retain recruits for up to twenty-five days in order to issue more complete initial entry training, including lectures and demonstrations on basic soldier skills.

These developments continued and in 1910 the army adopted a standardized thirty-six-day course that provided basic entry training, inculcating recruits into the military service. This regimen taught new inductees how to maintain their equipment, practice basic hygiene, the basics of first-aid, and their responsibilities while on guard duty.[21] This system provided improvements as it removed some of the onus to train soldiers that had traditionally fallen on the line units providing new recruits with some degree of confidence and allowed them to perform at a higher level upon arrival at their units.[22] Whereas before units had acknowledged the need to train new recruits and had executed training programs for new arrivals; they now operated on the assumption that new arrivals were sufficiently trained to function as privates and thus turned them over to their units as soon as they arrived. The result was that the unit—often a company-sized formation—often had to conduct remedial training to accommodate the lower skill level of the new soldiers. This impacted company-level training which rarely progressed very far beyond basic individual drill. The problem was one of expectation management: now that recruits remained at depots longer, units assumed they were adequetly trained. With no clear delineation of training responsibilities for new recruits—the kind that a centralized training authority would have provided—the problem continued.[23] Standardization was starting to take root, as was the development of systematic approaches to training, but there were still significant issues to address.

Advances in officer education exceeded those in recruit training. The personal intervention of talented and interested individuals—particularly Chief of Staff Major General Franklin Bell—transformed the schools at Leavenworth from remedial training centers to institutions that offered ad-

vanced, post-graduate military education. More thorough entrance exams and appointing qualified instructors permitted the institutions to increase the complexity of subject material. By 1907 two schools existed, each a year long. The School of the Line focused on the basics of applied military tactics. Distinguished graduates of the School of the Line went on to attend the staff college where they studied general staff work and explored advanced applications using the previous year's material. From reorganization along these lines and through the beginning of the war, the Leavenworth schools drew praise from across the army.[24] The increasing curriculum complexity and the requirements that students critically analyze and apply the material which they had learned, were examples of the kinds of changes that resulted when reformers with sufficient influence committed to increasing the sophistication level of training. Despite that promise, the lack of a centralized administrative body to provide training reform direction and to implement and enforce these changes, confined these improvements to the Leavenworth schools, which led to a disparity in the quality of training received between field grade officers and everyone else.

In addition to the individual entry training and officer education, collective unit training also evolved. In 1902, the army conducted its first modern maneuvers. Executed at the instruction of Root's War Department and under the direction of the Department of the Missouri, the maneuvers brought together approximately six thousand regulars and militia members at Fort Riley, Kansas. The maneuver was not a continuous tactical exercise, but was instead more of an instructional camp that permitted a training environment free of distractions. The administering command instituted the first umpire system and executed elementary after-action reviews following each day's training. While the first maneuvers did little to train commanders how to handle large formations, they did allow for closer ties between the active and reserve armies and began the developmental process that eventually led to large-scale maneuvers during World War II. In 1909 and 1912, the army conducted free play force-on-force maneuvers with sophisticated umpire systems in order to increase the realism of the exercises. By 1912 annual maneuvers were commonplace and their value was undisputed among senior leaders.[25]

The most important development during this era was the growing body of literature that detailed how commanders should conduct training. These documents signaled that the army was moving beyond a definition of training that was limited to the repeated execution of drills or a program designed purely at the local commander's discretion. Instead it was thinking about training as a science that required guiding principles and systematic execution. In 1906 the War Department published General Order

44 which clearly delineated between garrison and field training.[26] Garrison training included methods of instruction familiar in the army at that time: close-order drill, lectures, demonstrations, and inspections. Field training took the skills learned in garrison and required troops to use them, "To instruct and prepare the soldier in peace for his actual duties in war."[27] General Order 44 required weekly marches, suggested balance between field and garrison training, introduced progressive training plans, emphasized marksmanship training, and mandated frequent inspections by department commanders. Most importantly, training was separated into two distinct categories communicating the idea that not all training was the same, and by extension, not all training could be conducted in the same manner. Different tasks (in this case garrison versus field tasks) required different approaches. The order mirrored General Order 125 from 1900 in its brevity, and notably absent were discussions regarding realism, evaluation standards, progressive strategies, or general principles governing training events. While it was far from perfect, General Order 44 was another small step for the army as the understanding of training matured.

The reaction to General Order 44 was mixed. After a full training year under the new guidance, Major Robert Lee Bullard penned an article in the Journal of Military Service Institute praising the departure from, "Close-order and parade-ground drills which … have ceased to teach the soldier any of the things which he needs to know when he nowadays comes to the business of war."[28] To Bullard, the new system emphasized getting out into the field in order to address what he described as the penultimate issue of the army: preparing for war. Bullard continued by explaining the benefits of the new approach to training:

> Wherever men in great numbers must be taught the same things, as for war, there is but one way to accomplish it—a system, worked out according to needs, settled, prescribed. From system alone come paying results; In uniformity beyond practical reality, however, there is no sense—it is unrepaid worrying—and in prescription to details there is nothing but irritation. While, therefore, the system should be prescribed, it should be prescribed generally.[29]

It was in that over-prescription that some officers apparently found fault. As just one example, the order included a detailed list of items for soldiers to carry in their field kit. In stipulating details normally left to company-grade officers, the War Department did not just see the trees instead of the forest; unfortunately, it focused on the individual leaves.

Enough complaints reached the War Department and in early 1907 a circular went out to department commanders requesting feedback to General Order 44. The critiques resulted in General Order 177, published in August 1907. The balance between field training and tactical preparation for war remained the crux of the order, but subordinate commanders received greater latitude to exercise initiative in formulating their training plans.[30] Thus, early in the development of a systemized training philosophy the army encountered an enduring problem of balance between issuing:

- Overarching guidance,
- Ensuring uniformity,
- Providing flexibility, and
- Allowing subordinates to craft their own programs.

The back-and-forth nature of the reforms cried out for centralized direction. Without it, change would continue to come in haphazard and disjointed fashion as it had between General Order 44 and General Order 177.

Updated versions of the Infantry Drill Regulation supplemented the steady stream of general orders emanating from the War Department. This provided commanders with more context to understand how drill and training affected their role in preparing units for combat. The 1911 Infantry Drill Regulation was the first such manual to mimic the ideas of General Order 177 by departing from the idea that training was the same activity as drill. Unlike previous incarnations of the Infantry Drill Regulation, the 1911 version contained an introduction—included at the direction of and signed by Chief of Staff Major General Leonard Wood—explaining a theory of training. It stated:

> Success in battle is the ultimate object of all military training. The excellence of an organization is judged by its field efficiency. The field efficiency of an organization depends primarily upon its effectiveness as a whole. Thoroughness and uniformity in the training of units of an organization are indispensable to the efficiency of the whole; it is by such means alone that the requisite teamwork may be developed.[31]

Seemingly obvious, the impact of this excerpt was not in what it said, but rather in its inclusion. Prior manuals made no mention of training goals and instead only outlined tasks to train, assuming that all military

professionals were on the same page regarding how to conduct training and how it facilitated success. Clearly stating the desired outcome of training—the "why" behind the training as opposed to simply explaining the "what" to accomplish—provided a common understanding of these concepts, and by extension granted commanders greater freedom in devising training plans. Further guidance gave even more latitude to commanders, explaining that, "In the interpretation of the regulations, the spirit must be sought. Quibbling over the minutiae of form is indicative of failure to grasp the spirit."[32] This statement went far beyond just freeing commanders from the rigid confines of simply executing what the manual stipulated. It required them to interpret, analyze, and understand the material then to properly apply it. The danger of such freedom was lost in the uniformity that was once one of the goals of training. In part this was mitigated as the 1911 Infantry Drill Regulation which still told commanders "what" to train, but left the "how" up to them. The new tone of the 1911 Infantry Drill Regulation marked an important step forward in the Army's theoretical approach to training.[33]

The 1911 Infantry Drill Regulation was generally well-received by officers and stimulated wide-spread dialogue regarding training. Two of the more widely-read professional journals of the day, The *Infantry Journal* and the J*ournal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* contained multiple articles throughout their 1912 volumes in response to the new regulation. Taken together, these articles reflected maturity of thought regarding the planning and execution of training, but also revealed how well the army's culture was assimilating these new practices. An officer working on the general staff explained how the manual's purpose was to correct the tendency of officers who were, "Forever learning detailed and prescribed methods of action without giving any heed to their reason or their proper application."[34] Approving its performance towards that goal, Colonel Charles Morton praised the manual as "beyond criticism" and noted that it provided the springboard from which the War Department could develop "uniform progress on well considered lines."[35] Other officers pushed back on this centralization as they attempted to implement the ideas in the Infantry Drill Regulations and the general orders. With the 1911 Infantry Drill Regulations in hand, one infantry officer asserted, "The essential point needed in our infantry training today is more independence for organization commanders … [as] no single officer or group of officers has any monopoly of ideas on the methods to be pursued in training infantry."[36] Thus, while the army continued to refine its vision of effective training, the officer corps battled to understand and implement

that vision within the confines of its cultural norms, again signaling the haphazard nature of change.

The War Department issued its final prewar training guidance in 1913 as General Order 17. It was by far the most comprehensive training document to appear and signified the culmination of developments in the army's training philosophy. It began by clearly articulating the goal of training, mirroring the introductory idea of the 1911 Infantry Drill Regulation.[37] Then it described the need to combine study, drill, and practical application to form a base of training upon which units could then develop tactical proficiency:

> By study, knowledge of principles and methods is acquired; by drill, skill in the mechanism of methods and in the performance of habitual duties is gained. It is by practical application that officers and men learn to adapt to actual cases the knowledge and skill they have acquired. Facility in so doing is of the utmost importance since on service a great variety of practical problems present themselves, each of which must be solved on the basis of its own particular requirements. Hence, as soon as proficiency in elementary methods is attained, the applicatory system will be employed, commencing with simple problems and gradually widening the scope so as to introduce the greatest possible variety of conditions.[38]

The order also addressed points of friction with respect to training. Regarding the commander's role in developing training programs, General Order 17 acknowledged cultural conflict caused by the competing needs of standardized training executed in compliance with centralized guidance and the importance and necessity of the commander's authority to execute training in a decentralized manner as he saw fit.

Training must conform to the principles laid down in existing regulations and to doctrine disseminated through the service by the means of the service schools; but unit commanders will be given great latitude in the choice of way and means for training their units, and will be held to corresponding responsibility for results obtained. Higher commanders interpose to change the ways and means employed by their subordinate commander only when convinced, after careful observation, that the necessity for interposition is such as to justify impairment of the initiative ordinarily left to subordinates.[39]

Here was the army's first training philosophy. It had taken a long and disjointed road to produce, but it had arrived. The balance between study, drill, and application showed how the army understood that each training

had its place, and it was not only the commander's prerogative but also his obligation to find the right balance of these three exercises for his formation. Its comprehensive nature showed that the army had moved beyond an understanding that training was synonymous with drill. The order kept the distinction between garrison and field training, but went into greater depth by explaining what kind of events constituted each category and how commanders should use them to build towards solving applicatory problems. In addressing issues that still plagued the army such as lack of funds, scattered formations, insufficient officers, and inadequate time, the order permitted commanders to develop plans tailored to their unique situations but required superiors to also ensure subordinate commanders did not go too far outside the actual intent of the order.[40]

A related and meaningful development occurred when the army updated its Field Service Regulations in 1914; the final update prior to entering World War I. First printed in 1905, the Field Service Regulations provided a "keystone doctrine" for the army that sought to formalize and regulate that which had previously been informal practices.[41] The keystone doctrine emphasized what units had to do while in tactical environments and provided a conceptual treatise on how the army wanted its officers to envision battles and campaigns. With respect to training, the early versions of the Field Service Regulations provided commanders with a list of battle tasks that their units must be prepared to execute in order for them to perform the role outlined for them.[42] As with the new editions of the Infantry Drill Regulation, one of the most notable differences between the 1914 Field Service Regulation and its previous incarnations was another of Wood's introductory notes. Wood stressed that success in war was a product of cooperation among arms, and that while drill manuals set forth the basic tactics of each arm, it was the job of the commander to weld those pieces together to fight in accordance with the doctrine in the Field Service Regulation. Only through knowledge of the basic principles in the manual could commanders hope to know when it was necessary to deviate from those principles.[43] The 1914 Field Service Regulation thus repeated a key concept from General Order 17 and the 1911 Infantry Drill Regulations. This central idea implied that realistic, structured training programs were the only means by which to gain the required level of understanding.

The response among officers to these new philosophies was mixed. The army's long-standing norm of decentralized administration and execution conflicted with the progressive and managerial revolutionary ideas that were permeating the force. It was difficult for officers to determine how training could be both directed from a central authority but executed in a decentralized fashion. In an attempt to help officers reconcile these

disparate cultural practices, Colonel John F. Morrison published Training Infantry in 1914. At the time of publishing, Morrison had served for thirty-three years, spending almost his entire career in infantry regiments or instructing at one of the various Leavenworth schools. He was a veteran of both Cuba and the Philippines and carried enormous influence among field grade officers given his position of prominence at Leavenworth.[44]

Morrison published his work at the request of other officers with whom he had interacted in order to pass on his experience and ideas; in their view, the army's "Infantry training has improved … but there still exists in places a lack of completeness and system."[45] Morrison's work was an unofficial supplement to assist commanders in implementing official doctrine and guidance. The central thesis of the work was that while "as much latitude as practicable should be given to subordinate commanders in carrying out any system of instruction," commanders had to realize "absolute liberty for the subordinate to do as he pleases is impracticable."[46] Individuals came together to form units, and small units came together to form larger units. Without uniformity or centralized direction, the pieces would not come together properly. Morrison devoted the rest of the book to explaining salient features commanders should include when developing their training schemes and illustrating their usefulness. Many of these ideas were not new; they included an emphasis on realism, the difference between essential skills and tasks as opposed to those that were desirable, a suggested progressive training system, and methods for inspecting and evaluating unit proficiency at various points in the training plan. The difference in how Morrison presented these ideas and how they appeared in official publications, lay in the inclusion of explanations regarding their utility and suggestions for their implementation. Given that Morrison was attempting to facilitate the adoption of new institutional practices by changing the culture of the officer corps, these additions make perfect sense.

At least some officers received Training Infantry with enthusiasm. One officer referred to it as a, "Stimulating book with real purpose and usefulness … received with respect by officer[s] of all arms … the success of this book is assured."[47] A slightly less enthusiastic review still maintained the book as, "A valuable contribution … [that] aims to carry the student progressively through the requirements of company and regimental training … present[ed] in a most entertaining and instructive manner, the results of years of practical experience and observation."[48] The enthusiasm with which officers received Morrison's work indicates the willingness of the officer corps to deal with the seemingly contradictory ideas of centralized direction and decentralized execution. Thus, as institutional advances

faced decreasing resistance and culture showed more signs of changing, the substantial challenge of reforming the army's training system became less imposing.

Significant hurdles to truly operationalize the new system remained. Both official publications and Morrison's approach called for officers to achieve a level of understanding and expertise that could only be obtained from a high number of repetitions. It was unlikely that officers would achieve that volume given the army's lack of funding. The army was also chronically undermanned on the eve of war. Infantry companies, while authorized at one-hundred-fifty officers and enlisted, maintained a peacetime strength of sixty-five.[49] Most of those units were widely dispersed across the army's forty-nine posts which meant most regimental commanders rarely assembled their entire regiment for training. While this situation improved as the army progressively concentrated its forces in larger posts, the country was still without an existing tactical division in 1914.[50] In short, the regular officers, educated at Leavenworth and increasingly cognizant of what it took to properly train a professional force, advocated for and attempted to implement a training system that was beyond their means.

The new training doctrine faced a more significant long-term threat to its success than overcoming either cultural barriers or practical limitations. For training doctrine to be useful, it has to be appropriate for training the country's small peacetime army, as well as a larger conscript army during war. Within the existing structure of American military policy, the regular army comprises a very small portion of the force that would actually be called upon to fight a large war.[51] In the event of war, the responsibility of training these newly inducted civilian-amateurs either fell on regular officers promoted to levels of responsibility with which they had no experience, or by newly minted amateur-officers.[52] Accordingly, the training needed to be simple, with defined goals and metrics for success. There needed to be a clear process to achieve those standards and some proponent whose job ensured that units can and did execute that process.[53] None of those things existed in 1914.

The systems and organizations evolved at directing, managing, and molding the army's approach to training following the Spanish-American War was impressive compared to any previous improvements, but it was limited as shown in Figure 1.1. While the training philosophy was relatively advanced given where it had started a decade prior, these advances had been haphazard, occurring at different times and to varied extents. There was no unifying idea or entity ensuring that the movement had a defined vision or plan to enact that vision. The resulting developments signified a mature approach to training as a science, but left the army with-

out an effective approach to train its peacetime regulars or the projected masses of a wartime citizen-army.

	1900	1914
Goal of Training	-Produce soldiers and units capable of immediate response to commander's orders	-Produce thinking soldiers and flexible units that can exercise initiative on the battlefield
Philosophical Approach to Learning	-Learn tasks through repetition	-Understand tasks by balancing drill with class instruction and practical exercise
Administration of Training	-Territorial commanders oversaw and managed training; no centralized control beyond that	-Chief of Staff nominally in charge of training, but lacked appropriate staff to plan and oversee responsibility
Role of the Commander	-Total reliance on commander's judgement to train and develop his unit as he saw fit, so long as it was in accordance with existing manuals	-Expected to execute training plans in accordance with existing manuals and broad guidance from superiors -Personal ownership important, requiring a certain degree of freedom
Unit Collective Training	-No expressed strategy for training units of different sized -Limited to executing parade-field close order drill	-Progressive in nature, starting with companies and progressing to regiments -Included balance between field and garrison events
Testing and Evaluation	-Non-existent	-Higher commanders required to evaluate basic soldier skills -Higher commanders required to file reports following key maneuvers and field exercises -No standardized system to administer tests or assess performance
Maneuvers	-Occurred rarely -Utility questioned -No doctrine or regulations governing execution	-Accepted as part of annual events -Recognized as essential -Established doctrine to include umpire regulations
New Recruit Training	-Responsibility of units	-Reception centers provide requisite basic skills -Units can better train soldiers to be part of combat teams with that base of training

Figure 1.1. Evolution in US Army Training: 1900 to 1914.

Source: Created by author.

Notes

1. J. W. McAndrew, "Infantry Training." *The Infantry Journal* 10, no. 3 (November-December 1913): 318-335.

2. Daniel R. Beaver, *Modernizing the American War Department: Change and Continuity in a Turbulent Era, 1885-1920* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2003), x; J. P. Clark, *Preparing for War: The Emergence of the Modern U.S. Army* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 2.

3. Michael Howard, "Men against Fire: The Doctrine of the Offensive in 1914," in *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age,* ed. Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 516-517. Europeans were of mixed opinion regarding the extent to which infantry formations needed to be dispersed, but there was consensus that the days of linear formations in the image of Napoleonic warfare were obsolete.

4. *Infantry in Attack,* Course in Organization and Tactics, Lecture No. 14, by 1LT R. H. Peck, 13 December 1904, Department of Military Art, Infantry and Cavalry School, 19, Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, KS.

5. *The Rifle in War,* Lecture delivered at the Army Services School, Fort Leavenworth Kansas, by CPT Henry E. Eames, 1908, 55-57, Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, KS.

6. Examples include *Winnfield Scott's Infantry Tactics: or Rules for the Exercise and Manoeuvers of the United States' Infantry* (1835), William Hardee's *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics for the Exercise of Manoeuvers of troops When Acting as Light infantry or Riflemen* (1855), Silas Casey's *Infantry Tactics for the Instruction, Exercise, and Manoeuvers of the Soldier, a company, line of skirmishers, battalion, brigade, or corps d'armee* (1862), or Emory Upton's *A New System of Infantry Tactics, Double and Single Rank, Adapted to American Topography and Improved Fire-Arms* (1867).While some of these manuals were commissioned by the United States War Department, none of them were written by officers assigned to the United States War Department agency.

7. Earl Hess, *Civil War Infantry Tactics: Training, Combat, and Small-unit Effectiveness* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), Chapter 4, "Training." Infantry regiments mobilized for the American Civil War used a number of different drill manuals, trained to varying standards based on their commanders, often wore different uniforms, and were rarely uniform in size. The disparity in quality from one regiment to the next often resulted in questions from commanders concerning the capability of new formations.

8. W. H. Johnston Jr., "Practical Drill for Infantry," J*ournal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 13, no. 58 (July 1892): 705-715.

9. United States War Department, *Infantry Drill Regulations, United States Army 1891* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), 1. The opening page read "With a view to insure uniformity throughout the Army, all infantry exercises and maneuvers not embraced in this system are prohibited and those herein prescribed will be strictly observed."

10. “Report of Brig. Gen. Henry C. Merriam, Commanding the Department of the Missouri,” United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department, 1901* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 3:255. Hereafter cited as United States War Department, Annual Report of the War Department, with associated year.

11. United States War Department, *Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), paragraph 192. Territorial and geographic departments (sometimes referred to as divisions) were administrative headquarters responsible for all military functions within a particular geographic region. Commanders of these departments oversaw the posts and units within their geographic limits. Formed after the War of 1812, they remained in place until the National Defense Act of 1920 established Corps and Army areas.

12. United States War Department, *Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), paragraph 200.

13. Archibald King, *The Command of the Army: A Legal and Historical Study of the Relations of the President, the Secretaries of War and the Army, the General of the Army, and the Chief of Staff, with one Another* (Charlottesville, VA: The Judge Advocate General’s School, U.S. Army, 1960), 52-53. King cites one of the primary reasons for the friction was the “lack of proper definition of the powers and duties of the General of the Army.” He clarifies by stating that during the majority of the time the position was in existence, there were no laws or regulations that clearly defined the powers, duties, and responsibilities of the post.

14. “Report of the Secretary of War,” United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1899,* 1:44-48. Initially, training did feature heavily in Root’s work. In the 1899 Report, Root also laid out four items required in the preparation for war. His first and fourth points dealt directly with training. In the first he emphasized proper selection of training camps and grounds for mobilization, while in the fourth he called for a series of peacetime maneuvers to prepare officers to maneuver formations larger than a regiment.

15. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), GO 125.

16. “Report of Col. James N. Wheelan, Commanding the Department of Texas,” United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1901,* 3:259.

17. Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, The inspectors general of the United States Army, 1903-1939 (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1998), 41-42. These reports eventually went to the chief of staff’s office—after its formation in 1903—but given the nebulous status of that position in its early years, the consequences of such reports were minimal.

18. “Report of the Secretary of War,” United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1903,* 4.

19. United States War Department, *Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), paragraphs 764-766.

20. James E. Hewes Jr., *From Root to McNamara: Army Organization and Administration, 1960-1963* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1975), 12-19. The action in question was the result of a dispute between Major General Fred Ainsworth—the longtime chief of Adjutant General—and Chief of Staff Major General Leonard Wood and Secretary of War Henry Stimson. Ainsworth saw any attempt by the general staff to address administrative matters as an encroachment on his powerbase, while Wood and Stimson sought to continue works towards Root's vision of streamlining the central nervous system of the army. The dispute continued after Ainsworth retired as he helped pass legislation that reduced the general staff from an already paltry forty-five down to thirty-six.

21. Leonard L. Lerwill, *The Personnel Replacement System in the United States Army* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1954), 157-159.

22. "Report of Major General Frederick D. Grant, Commanding the Department of the Lakes," United States War Department, *War Department Annual Reports, 1910* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1910), 3:197. Hereafter cited as Annual Report War Department, with associated year.

23. A. J. Dougherty, "The Making of a Soldier," *The Infantry Journal* 7, no. 5 (March 1911): 727-731. Dougherty proposed a system used in his formation that grouped recruits into training organizations of at least seven men and ran them through a seven-week program designed to bring them up to speed on elementary individual drill, thereby allowing them to join their company at advanced stages of training.

24. Timothy K. Nenninger, *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army: Education, Professionalism, and the Office Corps of the United States Army, 1881-1918* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 74-78.

25. Charles Douglas McKenna, "The Forgotten Reform: Field Maneuvers in the Development of the United States Army, 1902-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, Durham, NC, 1981), 224-228.

26. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), GO 44.

27. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), GO 44.

28. Robert Lee Bullard, "At Field-Training and Maneuvers," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 40, no. 146 (March-April 1907): 221. To Bullard, the "thing which he needs to know" could be found in field training. Extended order drill, in the field, required soldiers to use exercise discipline and think independently. Having recently observed the inability of squads to maneuver during field maneuvers, Bullard was convinced such independence was imperative to success.

29. Bullard, "At Field-Training and Maneuvers," 223-224.

30. “Report of the Chief of Staff,” United States, *Annual Report of the War Department 1908,* 1:351-352.

31. United States War Department, *Infantry Drill Regulations, United States Army, 1911* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 9.

32. United States War Department, *Infantry Drill Regulations, United States Army, 1911* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 9.

33. While the 1911 *Infantry Drill Regulation* marked an intellectual step forward with regards to training, J. P. Clark points out that it marked a distinct step backwards with regards to doctrine. The tactical principles it outlined marginalized the importance of machine guns and prescribed massing infantry as opposed to spacing it out. The result was to “set American tactics back several decades.” Clark, *Preparing for War,* 225.

34. A. W. Bjornstad, “The Infantry Drill Regulations, 1911,” *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 50, no. 176 (March-April 1912): 222.

35. Charles G. Morton, “Progressive Infantry Instruction,” *Infantry Journal* 9, no. 4 (January-February 1913): 463.

36. Dana T. Merrill, “Infantry Training,” *Infantry Journal* 9, no. 1 (July-August 1912): 69-70.

37. That objective was “readiness for active service, and especially the for the particular kinds of active service in which the troops are most likely to be engaged.” United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), GO 17, 1.

38. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins,* GO 17, 1.

39. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins,* General Order 17, 5.

40. “Report of the Secretary of War,” United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1911,* 16. A change in administrative duties permitted commanders to circulate among their units and better understand the challenges of their subordinate formations. On 1 July 1911, the administrative burden on the seven geographic departmental commanders transferred to three territorial divisions. This change absolved the geographic commanders of sufficient administrative work that they were now able to devote more time to inspections and participation in field training. The increased awareness of their subordinate units justified the new flexibility found in General Order 17.

41. Walter E. Kretchik, *U.S. Army Doctrine from the American Revolution to the War on Terror* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 109-110.

42. For example, in explaining offensive combat the 1914 *Field Service Regulation* described the attack as consisting of two parts: one unit to conduct the assault and another to conduct an attack or feint so as to fix the enemy in their position. Critical to both parts was achieving fire superiority. Additionally, the manual explains criteria to consider for selecting which flank the assaulting force should strike. In this single explanation a commander could infer his needs to train an individual task of rifle marksmanship, collective tasks of conduct-

ing an attack and a feint, and a leader task of selecting which flank to assault. Combining this list of what his units needs to do with the instructions found in the *Infantry Drill Regulations* regarding the steps to conduct those actions, a commander had the beginnings of a training plan. United States War Department, *Field Service Regulations, 1914* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 82-83.

43. United States War Department, *Field Service Regulations, 1914* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 3.

44. See Clark, *Preparing for War,* 220-228 for a brief discussion of Morrison, his ideas, and his influence in the Army.

45. John F. Morrison, *Training Infantry* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Cavalry Association, 1914), 3.

46. John F. Morrison, *Training Infantry* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Cavalry Association, 1914), 3.

47. Infantry Journal, "Review of *Training Infantry,*" *Infantry Journal* 11, no. 4 (January-February 1915): 586-588.

48. Infantry Journal, "Review of *Training Infantry,*" *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 56, no. 194 (March-April 1915): 327.

49. Morrison, *Training Infantry,* 135.

50. By 1914 the division was the basic building block of all tactical and operational maneuver in Europe. Compared to the American Army, which was without a single division save the ad-hoc provisional division sent to pursue Pancho Villa, the French could field forty-six front-line divisions and another twenty-five reserve divisions. Similarly, the Germans had available seventy-two first and second-line divisions for their attack into France in the summer of 1914. See William Philpott, *Three Armies on the Somme* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2009), 18.

51. "Secretary of War Annual Report: Appendix A: Report on the Organization of the Land Forces of the United States," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1912* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 76. This study was a proposed reorganization of the army conducted by the War College division of the general staff and circulated among generals and politicians as an effort to continue the development of an American military system. The study notes that the foundation of this system had to acknowledge the political reality that America would maintain a small standing military during times of peace and call on some form of reserve during a time of war, concluding it "is therefore our most important military problem to devise means for preparing great armies of citizen soldiers to meet the emergency of modern war."

52. In theory, the Dick Act of 1903 brought the regular army and the national guard into closer cooperation by increasing federal funding for the guard and by detailing regular army officers to instruct guard units. The legislation was part of Root's attempts to better prepare the nation for war. Due to long-standing disdain many professional officers had for what they perceived to be amateur soldiers of the guard, the war department largely ignored its responsibility and

focused instead on better preparing the professional soldiers of the regular army. Russell Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), 321-325.

53. Morrison advocated for standardized efficiency tests in *Training Infantry,* but none had been officially adopted. The *Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1913* included instructions for department commanders to conduct annual concentrations of their troops, during which they were to administer annual proficiency tests. These tests were limited to those found for individuals in the *Small Arms Firing Regulations* and did not include any collective tasks. See United States War Department, *Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), paragraph 193(k).

Chapter 2
Stumbling Through the Dark April-December 1917

> To sum up, the state of instruction is not brilliant in spite of the efforts made during the last 8 months to improve it.
>
> —US Department of the Army, Historical Division, Center for Military History, *United States Army in the World War,* 1917-1919[1]

On 1 April 1917, there were two hundred and ninety thousand soldiers and officers—including regular army and national guard—in federal service with the army. By the time of the armistice, that number had increased to more than four million, almost all of whom had no prior military experience.[2] Transforming those civilian-amateurs into effective soldiers proved the ultimate test for the training doctrine, methods, and philosophies which the army had developed since the Spanish American War. The army squandered the first nine months of the war while learning that its training doctrine failed the test in three key areas. First, the administrative and organizational shortcomings resulted in a confused chain of responsibility with respect to developing training literature and its programs. Second, existing programs progressively trained professional soldiers and units—up to regimental size—over the course of a year, which was wholly insufficient to build full divisions of recruits in time-constrained situations. Finally, army officers were poor at keeping abreast of and truly understanding the tactical changes which resulted from the stalemate on the Western Front. In the first nine months of America's participation in the war, these failings of structural and cultural shortcomings manifested to negatively impact the effectiveness of training efforts. These failures:

- highlighted key weaknesses in the army's prewar training establishment,
- identified areas that had largely been overlooked,
- identified areas that were unable to substantively change,
- presented the opportunity and impetus to address these issues in the last year of the war.

The first real step towards mobilization occurred in 1916. President Woodrow Wilson's deployment of US troops to Mexico in February of that year provided the incentive to make military reform a key issue in Congress. The increased national attention came in May with the passing of the National Defense Act of 1916. The 1916 National Defense Act in-

creased the size of the regular army, federalized the state militias into the national guard, and formalized the summer training camps through an officer reserve corps. With respect to training, the legislation provided federal funding for national guard maneuvers and required those units to train to regular army standards.[3] Almost immediately after the bill passed, Wilson deployed over 150,000 guardsmen to reinforce the southern border. Many guard units were understrength and their state of training was abysmal, putting them in a poor state of readiness. At the time of deployment, the recently passed 1916 National Defense Act had not made an impact, instead, the 1903 Dick Act led to the poor relations between the regular army and the national guard.[4] Those failures had been targeted by the 1916 National Defense Act. Once the nation had declared war, each initiative was supposed to prepare the army on how to train large numbers of amateur soldiers; it was not to further increase the capability of the regular army. Developing the national defense establishment made little sense and did not sit well with professional officers.

Reactions to the various preparedness initiatives and military training for civilians dominated the summer and fall editions of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* in 1916.[5] The author of the leading article in the volume went so far as to openly mock the new defense measures as "ridiculousness" and opined that they were more dangerous than doing nothing at all since they perpetuated a false sense of security. The author proposed that the half-measures of the National Defense Act would teach basic skills but was not likely to instill key qualities which should be the goal of all military training for its citizens:

> This foundation must be courage rather than cowardice, physical fitness in place of lack of development, patriotism, not self-interest, constraint rather than license, discipline rather than lawlessness, quick initiative not dullness, courtesy in place of boorishness. To secure this development a constant degree of military training is necessary.[6]

The leading ideas on training reforms prior to the war espoused that proper training required more than repeatedly executing a set of drills and lectures to acquire these skills. Instead it was constantly conditioning the individual's state of mind. For example, it could not be executed quickly by working recruits through a checklist. Rather, to be effective, training had to transform an individual's character so that each soldier understood his personal role and responsibilities in the larger military machine. Less than a year before America's entry into World War I there was a drastic mismatch between existing mobilization legislation and the definition of military training among the officers. Army officers advocated what their

doctrine stated: that training required time and could not be achieved by an assembly-line process. Contradicting official legislation asserted that training would take place on a massive scale and in a short amount of time. Since no agency or command possessed the requisite authority to reconcile the disparity, it remained until the outbreak of the war. This negatively impacted the army's ability to establish training methods to match the nation's strategy for raising a large citizen-army. With this ideological conflict simmering below the surface, the nation went to war in April 1917.

The War Department had limited time to prepare its training plans. The Selective Service Act of 1917 became law on 18 May. The first registration drive yielded over 9,000,000 names, of whom some 516,000 arrived in army training camps by the end of the year.[7] On 3 July President Wilson federalized the national guard, then enacted their service less than a month later, beginning on 5 August. Throughout June and July, regular army regiments began concentrating together and formed tactical divisions. With plenty of new recruits on the way, the pressing need to determine exactly how to prepare them became apparent. Officers at all levels faced three daunting questions: (1) what should they train, (2) how should they train it, and (3) who was going to be in charge of designing such a training system and carrying out its mandates? Given the scope of the problem and the inadequacy of the existing training doctrine and policies, answering these questions was problematic. The dispatch of General John Pershing and his staff— designated general headquarters, American Expeditionary Force—further complicated matters, as Pershing and his staff began developing their own answers to those questions, often contradicting the work of the War Department.

Stateside authority for directing training resided with the chief of staff and the general staff within the War Department. Since the inception there had only been marginal increases in the ability of those entities to exercise that responsibility. The 1916 National Defense Act increased the size of the general staff from thirty-six to fifty-five officers but also placed a limitation that no more than half of the officers detailed to the general staff could be stationed in Washington, DC, at any one time. Thus, when the United States declared war on Germany on 6 April 1917, only nineteen staff officers were on duty in Washington and the other twenty-two were spread around the army—some as far away as the Philippines. Eleven of those nineteen served in the War College Division, the section most closely associated with training. On 12 May legislation increased the cap on staff officers to ninety-one, and on 18 May an additional act allowed the president to temporarily appoint as many officers as the situation required.[8] The increase in the general staff corresponded to an increase in the

War College Division to fifty officers, who by 16 June found themselves permanently assigned to one of six committees: recruitment and organization, military operations, equipment, training, legislation and regulations, and military intelligence.

In this new organization, the training committee's role was to "coordinate the theoretical and practical instruction of the United States forces and to handle all questions connected with such instruction."[9] The training committee of the War College Division thus became the first centralized body at the War Department to solely be focused on managing and directing training. Its diminutive size, especially given the enormity of the task at hand, along with its lack of executive authority to issue directives and ensure their compliance, limited its ability to develop training doctrine and plans in the first months of existence. Part of that problem lay in the practice of managing training "by exception."[10] In this system of control, each of the army's branches, bureaus, services, and arms was free to develop training literature according to their own set of priorities and doctrinal understanding, and then forward it to the training committee for approval. Acting in this capacity, the training committee functioned as another layer of bureaucracy and not as a directing agency.

The officers in the training committee spent the first months of the war trying to augment existing training literature with material that was designed to align American doctrine with the contemporary practices in Europe. In June and July the first of these documents appeared. *Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action: Document Number 613* (War Department document) and *Instructions for the Training of Divisions for Offensive Actions: Document Number 623* (War Department document) were both reprints of British manuals. Neither manual was particularly useful. *Document No. 613* started by explaining the organization of a British infantry platoon and briefly described the doctrine for trench-to-trench attacks before describing the theory of training and some methods of attaining the requisite proficiency in key tasks. It was perhaps an interesting read on a theoretical level as it described a progressive training methodology and characteristics of successful training, but as a practical document for US officers it lacked detail and an executable schedule.[11] *Document No. 623* was not designed for training in general, but rather for preparing a division for a particular offensive. The training timeline made the assumption that the division had first achieved some level of training proficiency; this was measured in days or weeks as opposed to the months required to make a division combat ready following its activation.[12] A third pamphlet, *Infantry in the Defense: Document Number 642* (War Department document) was a translation of a French lecture and appeared in

July. It was not a training manual but rather a doctrinal treatise that sought to explain the nature of the defense in trench warfare.[13] These documents had little impact on training plans, since it all appeared before the soldiers and units in the United States had begun to concentrate at training camps. These were soon supplanted by War Department training documents that were specifically written for American units. Despite their negligible impact, the publication of these documents is notable since it revealed just how poorly developed the American training system was at the outbreak of the war.

First, the training establishment of the War Department was caught so completely off-guard by the need to prepare divisions for modern war; that its first recourse in providing guidance to commanders was to copy documents from foreign armies even though the prescriptions of those documents did not conform to American organization, equipment, or doctrine.[14] While the practice of providing lessons learned from contemporary conflicts was not uncommon, these lessons were often used to supplement existing literature, not replace it. Second, the documents opened with the tagline "published for the information of all concerned," supporting the notion that unit commanders needed a broad outline of how to train, and would then rely on their own judgement and experience to develop the details of the plan.[15] The problem with such an approach is that American officers—both long-serving professionals and newly commissioned "amateurs"—lacked the required judgement and experience to properly apply the lessons contained within the manuals.[16] The idea that a commander's prerogative simply trumped the need for uniformity—persisted among many officers, including those on the general staff. By the end of the war most officers agreed on the need for uniformity, though many disagreed on how to achieve it. That conflict would be settled, but only after becoming painfully obvious how inadequate a non-uniform system is when preparing a citizen army for modern warfare.

Symbolic of the disjointed nature of authorities regarding the direction of mobilization and policy, the first impetus to change came not from the War Department, but from the American theater commander in France. As the commander of the American Expeditionary Force, General Pershing was theoretically subordinate to the chief of staff. In practice, Pershing often acted as if he was the ranking American officer and the War Department operated at his direction and existed solely to support his vision of how the country should prosecute the war. This notion resulted at least in part from his initial instructions.[17] Upon Pershing's departure from the United States, Secretary of War Newton Baker empowered him with "the authority and duties devolved by the laws, regulations, orders, and cus-

toms of the United States upon the commander of an army in the field in time of war."[18] Without a strong chief of staff to keep him in line, Pershing ignored the laws and regulations of his instructions and instead exercised his authority in line with the customs of the army; the field commander was the de facto head of the entire army. Pershing's mindset created the conditions where he and his staff felt it their right and obligation to dictate to the War Department about how it should do its job in order to best support the field army. This was especially true regarding training.

When Pershing departed for France his idea regarding training was as underdeveloped as the War Department. Brigadier General James Harbord, Pershing's chief of staff, explained that almost nothing was certain and that as a staff "our first duty was evidently to plan for planning."[19] During their trip to France, Pershing's staff was organized into three sections: handling combat, intelligence, and administrative actions—which set about identifying the most salient issues confronting the rudimentary army. This initial effort to answer key questions regarding the organization, size, method of supply, tactical doctrine, and strategic role of the American Expeditionary Forces imbued the officers on Pershing's staff with the mindset that they were the decision makers in the war and that the War Department was a support organization.[20] That assumption received a challenge shortly after their arrival in France.

On the same day Pershing and his staff departed New York, the War Department issued instructions to Colonel Chauncey Baker to take a team of eleven officers to Britain and France to "make such observations as may seem of value for the organization, training, transportation, operations, supply, and administration of our forces in view of their participation in war."[21] Those orders made the Baker Mission a direct threat to the American Expeditionary Force's independence, signalling the coming friction between the American Expeditionary Force and the War Department. Reporting directly to the War Department, the Baker Mission had the potential to circumvent Pershing and influence what he perceived to be strictly within his cognizance. Pershing's Chief of Staff Brigadier General James Harbord, lamented that the mission was "free to suggest to the War Department any organization it fancied, with no obligation to consult with either him [Pershing] or his staff."[22] Pershing's staff was already in the process of preparing its own recommendations on many of the same topics and Pershing wanted to avoid a situation whereby the reports contradicted each other. After Baker contacted Pershing to request that the two groups meet, Pershing engineered the conference to assure that his ideas were well represented by bringing eighteen members to the conference to outvote Baker's twelve. The two groups met from 7 to 8 July, after which they

separated and prepared their reports. Baker's team completed their trip, returned to Washington, and submitting their report on 26 July. Pershing's staff submitted their General Organization Project on 11 July, attaching to it a memorandum recommending certain training methods. Both reports arrived in Washington on 30 July.

Had the reports disagreed on important matters, then the delayed arrival of Pershing's report might have influenced actions at the War Department, but Pershing's efforts to influence Baker's suggestions had paid off. The two reports were strikingly similar in their recommendations, particularly regarding training. The Baker mission's training proposal included a robust school system to train individual specialties, a centralized training agency, and a series of training circulars as a means to address the special challenges presented by trench warfare. The school system was a direct copy of British and French practice, designed to train officers and non-commissioned officers who then take that training back to instruct their subordinates. To administer this school system, the report recommended:

> That there be established in the War Department a section of the general staff which shall have supervision over the general subject of training and be charged with:
>
> - The adoption and prompt promulgation of general principles of training.
> - The establishment of a system of schools for the army.
> - Supervision of their operation and coordination of the schools in France with those at home.[23]

Finally, the War Department should issue a collection of authoritative training circulars. The report did not explain how authoritative these circulars should be, but it stipulated that their purpose was to make minor modifications to existing manuals, specifically the *Infantry Drill Regulations.* The findings of the report made it clear that training would take place both in the United States and France, necessitating two separate but complimentary efforts. Pershing's recommendations accounted for this as well; acknowledging that the bulk of American troops would not arrive in France for almost a year and would require further training in the United States.

Despite acknowledging the need to allow someone else to train "his" troops, Pershing found it unacceptable to have no input on that training. Pershing had a very clear vision of the kind of war he wanted to fight and

the army that he needed to accomplish this. Without the control of or at least influence on the training of that force, he could not ensure that they would be properly prepared to execute his operational approach. Pershing followed the Baker Report by recommending the creation of a centralized training body within the War Department; this ensured that training policies and methods aligned with the lessons from troops in combat (i.e., his staff).[24] A centralized training agency, one that stayed in close contact with and took its cues from the American Expeditionary Force staff, allowed Pershing to control training in both France and in the United States. Ultimately neither report generated much change to the training establishment in the United States. The War College Division had already established and expanded the training committee, which had previously been working on its first major training circular. Despite their negligible impact, the reports' recommendations established Pershing's desire to exercise maximum control over the training process and set a precedence for later interactions between the general headquarters American Expeditionary Forces and the War Department.

While both reports made their way to Washington, Pershing and his staff set about their work of developing a training system for the troops that were arriving in France. Aside from fighting against the allies' efforts to mix American troops into their formations, training was foremost on Pershing's agenda. To him, training was the "most important question that confronted us in the preparation of our forces of citizen soldiery for efficient service."[25] In the long term he hoped that the War Department could establish a training apparatus in the United States that would transform the mass of draftees into combat soldiers. In the short term Pershing acknowledged that most of the training for the first American troops would occur in France. In order to cope with the magnitude of this task, and as a sign of its importance, Pershing established a training section within his staff on 14 August.[26] The training section was not an advisory body like the War Department's training committee. Instead it had the responsibility and authority to coordinate *all* training in American Expeditionary Forces schools, publish methods of instruction, conduct tactical inspections, and publish training plans for units to strictly follow.[27] Given Pershing's personal involvement with the training section, it eventually grew in both stature and influence to the point that it impacted training on both sides of the Atlantic throughout the war.

The first component of the training section's strategy was a robust system of schools designed to teach individual skills to officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers. In the beginning, the list of schools composed eleven army-level schools and nine corps-level schools.[28] The or-

ganization of these places of instruction resembled the branch and bureau specialization found in stateside training with various schools being responsible for training engineers, artillery employment, tank officers, staff officers, and various infantry specialists. The school system had both a positive and negative effect. While commanders at all levels came to appreciate the instruction and wanted men who had completed instruction at these locales, they also stripped units of key personnel—both to serve as instructors and to attend the schools—as they attempted to conduct collective training.[29]

The second element of the training regimen was the establishment of troop training—that is the process by which divisions arriving in France would finalize their collective training. The initial plans for troop training focused on preparing the 1st Division. The lead elements of the division arrived in late June without any specialty training for trench warfare or any experience operating together as a division.[30] The French initially proposed a plan to prepare the 1st Division by encamping it with a French division for a period of two months before rotating small units into the line to serve under the French. Fearing such a plan could lead down the path to amalgamation and would instill in the 1st Division a defensive mindset, Pershing disapproved the plan and insisted that his staff develop a more American version that minimized defensive doctrine and instead emphasized preparation for offensive, open warfare.[31] In response to this demand, Pershing's staff complied and published "A Memorandum Governing Divisional Training" on 18 July.

The memo did not contain a plan for training a division. Instead, it espoused a general training philosophy and laid out a plan to establish a school system that would train individuals within the division. The report echoed comments from the Baker Report and Pershing's General Organization Project of 11 July in its introduction:

> The fundamental principles of discipline, command and combat as set forth in our *Drill, Small Arms Firing* and *Field Service Regulations* remain unchanged. The modifications in courses of instruction are made necessary by the methods of combat developed during the war. This has necessitated a large increase in specialties and a more diversified knowledge on the part of officers.[32]

Here again was the idea that training individuals is essential to success. The directed system included schools for employing weapons, constructing field fortifications, conducting medical and signal operations, and a commander's school for leaders from platoon though battalion commander. Relying solely on such specialized instruction, the division's sol-

diers and subordinate units would gain those skills required for success in trench warfare, but the division itself would never combine those subordinate parts to function as a combined-arms divisional team. The 18 July memo addressed this shortcoming by establishing two training periods. The preliminary phase was to last three months. In addition to the school system, it would consist of training individuals and units in the business of warfighting in accordance with established manuals as modified by the training section to account for the unique nature of trench warfare.[33] Following the preliminary phase would be a month-long divisional phase designed to bring the various combat arms (infantry, artillery, etc.) and individual specialists together to function as a team.

Ambiguity was the defining characteristic of "A Memorandum Governing Divisional Training." Beyond the importance of instilling discipline through close-order drill and the supremacy of the offense over the defense—a theme present in all of Pershing's training—the instructions offered little firm guidance for division commanders. The body of material in each of the courses was left to the school commandants who were appointed by the division commander. There was no training calendar, no list of tasks to train, and no defined standards to strive towards. It gave no consideration to the staffing and overhead required to implement the school system. The plan gave no details regarding how the divisional phase would take place or what it would look like. It was a philosophy, not a plan, and it reflected prewar training methods that were not easily modified to support a compressed training timeline.

Leaders in the 1st Division executed the plan for the next two and a half months as best they could; given their lack of experience. The key element of the entire "training system" was the school system, but the Americans lacked the experienced officers to serve as cadre. To alleviate the problem, the French paired one of their veteran infantry divisions with the 1st Division, acting as its trainer. This method resolved one problem but created another. Pershing feared excessive reliance on the French could cause the impressionable young Americans to become too passive and defensive-minded. Additionally, the French relied heavily on lecture and demonstration to impart instruction, whereas the Americans valued hands-on exercises.[34] In an attempt to benefit from the French but still adhere to the guidelines of "A Memorandum Governing Divisional Training," the 1st Division commander implemented a split system whereby his soldiers trained half of each day under French instruction and half of each day under their own commanders. The bipolar system confused troops, as both the content of training and its methods of delivery varied depending on which nation was leading the training. The muddled system produced

lackluster results, forcing Pershing to order the production of a more specific—and more American—training plan for the 1st Division.

On 6 October the training section published "Program of Training for the 1st Division, American Expeditionary Forces." This was the first real training plan the Americans produced. It contained training principles, areas to emphasize during training, methods to achieve desired results, and a detailed four-month schedule for each topic broken down into hours spent per week of instruction.

The document left no questions about how the division commander should use the plan, declaring "strict compliance with these principles will be exacted and nothing contrary thereto will be taught."[35] The program echoed earlier sentiments from Pershing's headquarters insisting that the training methods must be: purely American, rifle marksmanship, dedicated to the offensive, decisive in modern warfare, and use current publications—the *Infantry Drill Regulations, Field Service Regulations,* and *Small Arms Firing Manual.* After these old ideas came new concepts that reflected a refined approach to training.

The program stressed the importance of progressive training that was planned, supervised, and executed personally by the unit's next higher commander. It also emphasized the use of post-maneuver critiques to evaluate exercises. Using these techniques, the division executed a four-month program. The first seven weeks constituted training at the battalion-level and below, then three weeks of regimental training, and an additional three weeks of brigade training, before finally bringing the entire division together for three weeks of culminating divisional training. As early as the eighth week of training, the program called for combined infantry-artillery live fire exercises. Instruction was a mix of trench and open warfare, with each phase culminating in either two-sided maneuvers or exercises against a simulated enemy, which formed something of a proficiency test for that phase of training. An interesting feature of the plan required that each unit submit weekly training schedules to division headquarters, the best of which were then forwarded to general headquarters American Expeditionary Forces for use in drafting future division training plans. After a few false starts, the American Expeditionary Forces had produced an executable plan for training divisions. While the "Program of Training for the 1st Division" was the foundation for every subsequent troop-training plan that the American Expeditionary Forces produced and significant portions of its text and ideas eventually appeared in War Department training documents, the real training of the 1st Division rarely conformed to the plan. As with most American training efforts during World War I, the process of writing and implementing the training plan was more futile than the results

it produced in combat capable units. During the process of trial and error, officers learned the difficulties surrounding training and the requirements for a successful plan. Unlike the prewar period, when learning such lessons from the various attempts to develop training plans somehow lacked the urgency that combat instilled in the same process in 1917, the pressing need to figure out how to properly train existing officers and staff organizations tasked specifically for that function facilitated rapid learning and improvements, ensuring such lessons would not be forgotten.

As early as 8 October—two days after publishing the "Program of Training"—general headquarters altered the plan by directing the 1st Division to make arrangements to rotate battalions into the front lines with the French 18th Division for ten-day periods.[36] These rotations became a training of sorts, with the Americans learning by doing as they executed patrols, defended against German raids, and suffered casualties.[37] At best, this process trained units and leaders at the battalion level and below while neglecting collective training of regiments and the division. At worst, it exposed troops and units to situations for which they were not ready. In short, the training value of the rotations was questionable.

The division left the trenches on 20 November and returned to its camp near Gondrecourt. After taking a week off for recuperation, it resumed training at the brigade and division level. In addition to dealing with changing guidance, the 1st Division had to contend with the absence of officers who were attending the American Expeditionary Forces school systems. During the brigade and division training in November and December, nine of the twelve infantry battalion commanders—important players in any training—were absent.[38] These losses had a negative impact as commanders did not receive crucial training in maneuvering their units as part of larger formations, but also subordinate commanders conducted training without oversight and feedback from their superiors. Absence of these key leaders violated the promising ideals expressed in the "Program of Training" which stressed commander involvement. In January the division received orders to assume a quiet section of the front Ansauville Sector, ending its initial phase of training.[39] The false starts and failed efforts to train the first American unit in France produced a training plan that was neither effective nor repeatable; no other division would train like the 1st Division had been trained. The experience provided valuable learning lessons for American Expeditionary Forces planners. The 6 October "Program of Training for the 1st Division" became the foundation for every other division training plan. The trials that American Expeditionary Forces staff went through to produce this cornerstone document proved valuable in experience; experience that was used to modify training plans

in 1918 France as the slow trickle of American soldiers arriving in France became a flood.

The process of developing the 1st Division's training plan revealed that the army's prewar training ideas were completely insufficient. The lack of knowledge regarding tactical practices in trench warfare and the widespread absence of modern weapons in American units necessitated establishing a school system. At the same time, a training system designed for individual specialists violated the prewar practice that championed the rights of commanders to determine their unit's training plan. Those prewar practices relied on the gradual conditioning of professional soldiers and were not easily changed for rapidly building units. Further, the lack of officers giving any meaningful thought to training beyond regimental-level created a training section of staff officers who grossly underestimated the amount of time required to bring together infantry regiments, artillery regiments, and support units to form combined-arms divisions.

By late October, the training section had published training programs for the 2d and 26th Divisions, the second and third divisions to arrive in France. Both training plans resembled the "Program of Training" for the 1st Division, differing only in allowing a few weeks longer to make-up for what the American Expeditionary Forces staff perceived as "a lower-level of readiness in those divisions."[40] Pershing understood that if the training readiness for future divisions did not improve, then the onus would increasingly fall upon his command to address the shortcomings. Looking to address the issue before it got out of hand, Pershing became involved closely with the War Department's management of training. In late October he proposed that "training in all the phases of open warfare be accepted as the principal mission of divisions before embarkation. If divisions arrive trained to these standards the completion of their training in the methods of trench warfare may be accepted as the mission of the training section at this headquarters."[41] In trying to relegate training trench-warfare to an afterthought, Pershing was going beyond attempting to deconflict training efforts and instead determined the War Department's training priorities. Pershing did not know that his suggestions directly contradicted what planners in the War College Division had recently published.

While the American Expeditionary Forces staff had been busy figuring out how to train the 1st Division, the War Department had been just as busy trying to figure out how to train an army. Shortly after initially publishing translated foreign manuals to assist commanders in devising training, the War Department issued its first original guidance for divisions to begin their stateside training. In early August, the War Department published *Document Number 656,* entitled *Infantry Training.* The manual was

an improvement over any prior War Department publication regarding training and was yet another indicator of the increasing understanding of the requirements for a successful training plan. It explained in detail how officers and non-commissioned officers should use the various manuals at their disposal—the *Infantry Drill Regulations, Field Service Regulations, Small Arms Firing Manual,* and *Manual Physical Training*—to structure training. It clearly laid out the responsibilities for commanders, methods for instruction, general training principles, and periods of instruction. It explained the importance of progressive training, the necessity of evaluating proficiency, and the practice of using theoretical and classroom lessons to supplement practical instruction. The manual defined a very broad training objective, stating that the ultimate goal was to attain *"field service efficiency* [original emphasis]*."*[42] There was also a sixteen-week training block that logically progressed from individuals to regiments, listing training hours allotted to each task on a weekly basis. Commanders could either follow the plan precisely or use it as a guide to formulate their own schedules.[43] By *not requiring* commanders to use the plan, the War Department struck a blow at uniformity of training between the various divisions. This deliberate action allowed the commander to exercise more independence, resulting in being more involved in training, which lead to increased uniformity of training within a division.

Following the model established by the training section in the American Expeditionary Forces, *Document No. 656* required each division to establish a series of schools including an infantry school of arms and schools for cooks, bakers, mechanics, supply sergeants and clerks, and signalmen. The manual even alluded to the importance of testing subordinate units as they performed tasks in a field environment at the culmination of each training phase.[44] The production of such a manual on a short timeline was impressive work for the War Department's training committee and showed growing appreciation for the magnitude of preparing a division for combat, much more than anything the American Expeditionary Forces training section had initially produced.

Despite these strengths, *Document No. 656* possessed a number of flaws. While it alluded to the importance of testing individual's or unit's proficiency, the pamphlet provided no methods for how to conduct such tests or the metrics for assessing such performance.[45] The training plan template would turn raw recruits and inexperienced officers into a trained division in an ambitious—and unrealistic—sixteen weeks. That program culminated at the battalion level and did not integrate the division's organic artillery or support troops. Still an advisory document, it did not require division commanders to comply with its guidelines, meaning, achieving a

uniform standard of training across the army was still nearly impossible. Organizationally, the training committee lacked any command ability to inspect or even enforce the guidelines of the manual. Most seriously, the one characteristic that ensured the manual had a short lifespan was its doctrinal foundation. Its first paragraph declared:

> In all the military training of a division, under existing conditions, training for trench warfare is of paramount importance. Without neglect of the fundamentals of individual recruit instruction, every effort should be devoted to making all units from the squad and platoon upwards proficient in this kind of training.[46]

Such a declaration was poorly received by an army whose doctrine orientation was almost exclusively maneuver and the offense. Major General William Haan, commander of the 32d Division, lamented the idea of training on what he perceived as defensive tactics and cheered the War Department's retraction of the manual in December.[47] That replacement was due to Pershing's reaction to the manual, and was the most serious indicator yet that the administration and direction of training was a confused mess.

In November the War Department sent *Document No. 656* to Pershing as a response to his various cablegrams containing recommendations regarding the scope and direction of stateside training.[48] On 7 December Pershing responded to the War Department, sternly declaring that the manual was not in accordance with his recommendation to train for open warfare.[49] Pershing gave no other feedback regarding the document. His critique carried weight as the War Department acted quickly to address his concerns. On 17 December the army published *Training Circular No. 5* to modify and amend *Document No. 656.* The first two paragraphs of *Training Circular No. 5* displayed the primary need for change. The new manual effectively declared war on the notion that training for trench warfare was important. It omitted the assertion from *Document No. 656* that declared the primacy of trench warfare and allowed commanders to delay construction of a mockup trench system for use in training until they completed their initial open-warfare training program. It lengthened the training program from sixteen to eighteen weeks, allowing more time for field maneuvers and training of units above the battalion level. That new program permitted more flexibility, as it listed training tasks in seven periods (each was several weeks) as opposed to the week-by-week schedules found in its predecessor.[50] It also placed a greater emphasis on discipline, physical fitness, and rifle marksmanship—all things Pershing mentioned in his previous cablegrams regarding training.[51] Each of these changes em-

powered division commanders to take greater control over their training programs.

In addition to issuing new training plans, the War Department enacted another of Pershing's suggestions. The War Department created the new position of director of training in the War College Division as the head of the training committee—having grown to twenty officers—and at Pershing's suggestion appointed Major General John Morrison as the first holder of the title.[52] Morrison was a known quantity to Pershing and was a recognized expert in the field of training across the army given his tenure at the Leavenworth schools and his publication of *Training Infantry* in 1914. In theory, Morrison's appointment would provide the required influence that the training committee needed to avoid being ignored or overruled by the branch chiefs, bureaus chiefs, chief of staff, or division commanders. It had the added benefit of providing Pershing with a trusted man inside the War Department who could affect real changes in training. The plan worked for Pershing, at least initially, as Morrison was one of the driving forces behind the revisions to *Training Circular No. 5*.[53] The events in 1918 showed that while the director of training had influence in focusing the efforts of the training committee and in producing training literature, his ability to control or even impact training among the divisions was extremely limited.

Having started the war without a clearly defined, authoritative training body, the army faced difficulties in determining precisely how such an organization should function. The training committee of the War College Division primary mandate was to study current conditions in Europe and devise training guidance that allowed commanders to modify existing literature so as to prepare their troops for the unique circumstances of trench warfare. They found themselves ignored by officers, namely Pershing, who relied on preconceived notions of combat and insisted on devising training programs based almost exclusively on prewar doctrine. These officers believed that a unit which practiced basic tasks in accordance with existing *Field Service Regulations* and *Infantry Drill Regulations* need only educate its personnel on certain individual specialties to cope with trench warfare. This belief gave rise to the school system in the American Expeditionary Forces and within divisions stateside, and resulted in the failure of initial training publications. The uncertainty regarding who had the final say in developing training guidance, added to the difficulties that divisions encountered stateside, as the publication of new plans required many divisions to redesign their training programs to adhere to the changing guidance.[54] These structural and cultural barriers within the army impeded the initial training efforts.

Additionally, neither Pershing's staff nor the War Department fully appreciated what it takes to train citizen-soldiers and transform them into trained divisions. Initial plans lacked specifics due to the cultural belief that commanders required wide latitude to instill ownership of their training. The dearth of professional, experienced officers to serve as commanders mandated an adjustment to more specific plans. The increased specificity resulted in rigid plans that did not respond well to the stresses of mobilization in 1918. Furthermore, planners had no understanding of how long it would take to properly build a division, and as a result created plans that were overly optimistic with respect to the time permitted to complete training. The brevity of the plans was due in part to the strategic situation on the Western Front which demanded the timely arrival of American manpower, but another driving factor for the unrealistic plans was the lack of prewar thought given to the difference between training citizen conscripts versus professional soldiers, or the complexity of conducting combined-arms collective training above the regimental level. In short, both the prewar organization to direct and manage training and the theoretical basis upon which existing doctrine was built proved insufficient for the nation's needs in mobilizing for war in Europe. The army spent much of 1917 figuring out the extent of these shortcomings in their training doctrine.

Addressing these issues was a priority for the War Department and the American Expeditionary Forces in 1918. Pershing's final training cablegram of 1917 reiterated his feelings on the inadequacies. He noted that deficiencies among divisions which were arriving in France, included a lack of proper instruction regarding rifle marksmanship, open warfare, and leadership oversight of training. He railed against commanders who felt their job encompassed administrative matters and who published training orders without ensuring that they were carried out or checking on the progress of their subordinate units. He praised Morrison's appointment as director of training and suggested that "supervision by inspectors or by officers of the War Department in charge of training should be ordered to prevent ignorant and incompetent officers in high places from retaining command."[55] Over the next eleven months the War Department attempted to rectify this damning critique of its performance in preparing troops for war.

Notes

1. US Department of the Army, *United States Army in the World War 1917-1919* (Washington, DC: Center for Military History, 1990).

2. United States Army, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775-1945* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1955), 247.

3. Weigley, *History of the United States Army,* 346-349.

4. Weigley, *History of the United States Army,* 322-325. The Dick Act succeeded in federalizing state militias to create the national guard, but failed in many of its other goals, notably to bring the national guard up to a higher state of readiness as a result of a close relationship with the regular army. Both sides were guilty of the failed relationship. Many members of the national guard were not eager to adopt the new responsibilities or adhere to federal standards. Likewise, many regular army officers treated the guard with disdain, tolerating them during the required interactions.

5. Of the ten original papers in the *Journals of the Military Service Institution of the United States (JMSI),* vol. 59 (covering the July, September, and November printings for 1916) seven dealt directly with preparedness topics. Volume 58 also contains a number of pieces offering input regarding the nation's military establishment, most of which favored some form of universal military training.

6. Richard Stockton, "Military Training-Valuable and Valueless," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 59 (July-December 1916): 6.

7. John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (New York: Free Press of Macmillan, 1987), 185-186.

8. "Annual Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, Annual Report of the War Department 1919, 248-249.

9. "Annual Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, Annual Report of the War Department 1919, 292-295.

10. James Rainey, "The Training of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I" (Master's Thesis, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, 1981), 85.

11. United States War Department, *Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action: Document Number 613* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917).

12. United States War Department, *Instructions for the Training of Divisions for Offensive Actions: Document Number 623* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917).

13. United States War Department, *Infantry in the Defense: Document Number 642* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917).

14. For example, *Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action* makes numerous references to Lewis light machine guns within the platoon, even though the American Army did not have Lewis guns in 1917. Similarly, *Instructions for the Training of Divisions for Offensive Action* described actions for brigade, division, and corps commanders and staffs to take in preparing for

an attack, while the United States did not possess a fixed organization for any unit larger than a regiment.

15. Later training manuals were "published for the information and guidance of all concerned." The difference is slight, but significant. Prewar training theories agreed that the regimental and company commanders that would take a force into battle had the right to train their units as they saw fit. Accordingly, these early-war documents supported that idea by providing commanders the requisite information to devise their own training plans. See James Victory, "Soldier Making: The Forces that Shaped the Infantry Training of White Soldiers in the United States Army in World War I" (Ph.D. diss., Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS, 1990), 137-138.

16. The inexperience of American officers was a significant issue facing the army, and by extension derailed any effort to devise and implement a training program. The enormous expansion of the army required an equal expansion of the officer corps, meaning many officers were incapable of performing their basic duties, let alone interpret how to incorporate foreign publications and lessons learned into existing doctrine. The idea that unit commanders had the requisite knowledge and expertise to best design their own training programs fit a small, professional force with career officers, but not a large conscript army led by amateurs. See Faulkner, "Chapter 5: 'Ninety-Day Wonders' and 'Jumped-up Sergeants' Stateside Mobilization and the Challenges of Small-Unit Leadership," in *The School of Hard Knocks,* 99-139.

17. It also came from the long-standing practice in the American army that, prior to the creation of the chief of staff the country was devoid of a uniformed officer exercising strong central authority, freeing field commanders to exercise enormous independence. The nebulous relationship between the general of the army and field commanders is summarized in King, *The Command of the Army,* 52-58.

18. Memorandum from Secretary of War Baker to Major General Pershing, Subject: Command, authority, and duties in Europe, 27 May 1917, United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1919,* 7.

19. James G. Harbord, *The American Army in France, 1917-1919* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936), 90.

20. This organization was in accordance with the *1914 Field Service Regulations* that governed the formation of staffs at the division level and above. "A Year as Chief of Staff, AEF," by Major General James G. Harbord. Lecture delivered to the Army War College, 9 February 1929, Box 1, Entry NM-10 11: Papers of Major General Harold B. Fiske, RG 200, National Archives Gift Collection, NARA II, College Park, MD.

21. "Report of the Baker Mission," Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 1:55.

22. Harbord, *The American Army in France,* 100.

23. "Report of the Baker Mission," US Department of the Army, Historical Division, Center for Military History, *United States Army in the World War, 1917-1919* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948, Reprint 1990), 1:76. Hereafter cited as Department of the Army, *USAWW.*

24. “Final Report of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5,” Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 14:315.

25. John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1931), 1:150.

26. Draft Manuscript, “Training in France,” Box 1397, Entry NM-91 11: Correspondence Relating to American Expeditionary Force Schools Training File, RG 120, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces, NARA II, College Park, MD, 1.

27. For the specific duties of the training section, see “General Order Number 8, 5 July 1917,” Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 3:13. This general order established the section as part of the operations section of the staff. It was not until August the training section became its own section on the in the American Expeditionary Force general headquarters.

28. “General Orders No. 45” and “General Orders No. 46,” Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 16:92-95.

29. Robert Bullard, *Personalities and Reminiscences of the War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Chase and Company, 1925), 64.

30. To form the 1st Division, the army pulled four regiments from the Mexican border–the 16th, 18th, 26th, and 28th Infantry Regiments–combined them with requisite support and artillery units, filled their ranks with recruits to ensure they were up to strength, and dispatched them for France. Many units did not have their assigned special weapons such as machine guns, mortars, and artillery pieces. Given how the division came into existence, it is an understatement to refer to it as “untrained.” Weigley, *History of the United States Army,* 356.

31. On Pershing instructions to his staff, see Rainey, “The Training of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I,” 60. The term “open warfare” has come to define Pershing’s obtuse understanding of the realities of trench warfare on the Western Front. Pershing desired to prosecute the war in accordance with the *1914 Field Service Regulations,* meaning he wanted a war of maneuver. He insisted that once the enemy was driven from his trenches, such a style of war could become reality and the American forces could destroy the German armies. On the term, see Grotelueschen, *The AEF Way of War,* 31-32.

32. “A Memorandum Governing Divisional Training,” Box 7, Entry NM-10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD, 1.

33. The memorandum makes no mention of how units are supposed to train with large numbers of their troops and leaders absent as they attended the specialty schools.

34. Draft Manuscript, “Training in France,” Box 1397, Entry NM-91 11, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD, 7. This describes the difficulty in merging the plans. These ideas were echoed by Pershing in his memoirs, 151-153. Major General William Sibert, the 1st Division’s commander, complained that the system of French instruction bored his troops, see Frank Freidel, *Over There: The Story of America’s First Great Overseas Crusade* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990), 126.

35. “Program of Training for the 1st Division AEF,” World War I American Expeditionary Force Division Training Documents, USAHEC, Carlisle PA, 1.

36. Memorandum from Adjutant General, General Headquarters, to Commanding General, First Division: “Training of the Division” 8 October 1917, Box 3095, Entry NM-91 267: General Correspondence of the G-3, General Headquarters General Staff, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD. It is unclear whether this was part of the original plan or not. The “Program of Training” published on 5 October makes no mention of this concept, while the draft manuscript “Training in France” explains such an action was part of the plan from the beginning. Given the existence of the 8 October memo, it seems likely the plan to send battalions into the line was a late addition. In either case, the practice became a standard feature of every divisional training plan the American Expeditionary Force published.

37. Society of the First Division, A.E.F., *History of the First Division during the World War, 1917-1919* (Philadelphia, PA: The John C. Winston Company, 1922), 27-31.

38. “1st Division War Diary, 26 November, 1917,” Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 3:456.

39. The division continued training while it occupied the front, rotating one brigade in the line and one in reserve training. After the 26th Division relieved the 1st Division on 3 April, it resumed training for both trench and open warfare. Grotelueschen, *The AEF Way of War,* 67-72.

40. “Program of Training for the 2d Division AEF,” World War I American Expeditionary Force Division Training Documents, *USAHEC,* Carlisle, PA, 4-6.

41. “Cable No. 228-S, Pershing to Adjutant General, War Department, 19 Oct 1917,” Box 6, Entry NM-10 19: Papers of General John J. Pershing, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

42. United States War Department, *Infantry Training, Document Number 656* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917), 10.

43. The intent from the war department was to give commanders something to start with and allow them flexibility to adjust as needed. Experienced commanders with strong subordinates could advance the schedule and proceed thru it quickly in order to augment the later phases. Conversely, newer commanders with raw formations had a ready-made plan to begin executing. See draft manuscript, “Military Training in the United States After Declaration of War,” Box 1397, Entry NM-91 11, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD, 16-17.

44. United States War Department, *Infantry Training, Document Number 656,* 10.

45. None of the associated manuals provided such instructions. No previous manuals had even discussed how to conduct training, let alone how to evaluate its effectiveness.

46. United States War Department, *Infantry Training, Document Number 656,* 5. Despite the emphasis on trench warfare, the document did not ignore open warfare. It included time for training in both methods of combat, again underscoring the ambitiousness of the sixteen-week timeline.

47. William G. Haan, "The Division as a Fighting Machine: What It Is, How Prepared from Its Inception to its Action in Battle, and Its Troubles and Pleasures in Its Hardest Day's Fighting," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 4, no. 1 (September 1920): 5.

48. "Cable 352-R, War Department to Pershing, 2 November, 1917," Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 14:317.

49. "Cable 348, Pershing to Adjutant General, War Department, 7 December 1917," Box 6, Entry NM-10 19, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

50. The new periods still included the number of hours commanders should spend on each task, but by being able to spread those tasks over three weeks instead of executing them all in one, a commander could move training events to account for available ranges, resources, or instructors. Additionally, a commander could arrange the training of a particular task that was spread over three weeks in *Document No. 656* into a condensed time if he felt that would better build proficiency in the task. Of course, the increased flexibility led to a decline in standardization.

51. United States War Department, "Training Circular No. 5", dated 20 December 1917, Box 93, Entry NM-91 1241: Records of the 35th Division, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

52. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1919,* 1:296-297; Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War,* 266. There is no evidence that the director of training position was a result of Pershing's 7 December cablegram, but on other occasions Pershing had suggested a singular chief of training.

53. Robert S. Thomas, *The United States Army, 1914-1923, Volume 1: Draft Manuscript* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1940), VI-14.

54. Chapter 4 examines the impact this change had on those divisions that had already begun training in accordance with *Document No. 656,* as well as the litany of other training challenges divisions encountered in 1917 and 1918.

55. "Cable 408-S, Pershing to Adjutant General, War Department, 22 December 1917," Box 1393, Entry NM-91 11, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

Chapter 3
Gaining Traction: January-November 1918

> Experience here has shown conclusively that unless a schedule of training is strictly adhered to there is a wide difference in the proficiency attained by the different units, and the general result is below the standard required.
>
> —Memo from the American Expeditionary Forces Inspector General to Pershing, "Data Relative Training in United States"[1]

The army's failures during the mobilization and training period of 1917 established the War Department's agenda for 1918. As the training committee started trying to address some of those issues, the accelerated pace of mobilizing divisions and then deploying them to Europe made implementing these solutions increasingly difficult. The divided authority between Pershing and the War Department further interfered with that process. The doctrinal debate was largely settled, but a dispute between the two headquarters regarding differing definitions of "uniformity" with respect to training and how to achieve it still lingered. While grappling with these issues, the War Department started an assessment process identifying those facets of the training system that were working well and also what divisions needed to change to improve their performance. The evaluation process led to the refinement of existing manuals and the production of new ones. At the same time, the chief of staff took steps to further empower the War Department by giving it a greater ability to enforce its own directives. Unfortunately for the army and its soldiers, many of the changes implemented throughout 1918 came too late to benefit those units which were already deployed to France. They did constitute a fairly sophisticated training system that could potentially prompt future developments should the army choose to preserve its core tenants after the war.

At the beginning of 1918 there were reasons for both optimism and doubt regarding the direction that the training administration would take in the coming year. While Pershing had been unimpressed with the proficiency of the troops he had in 1917, at least some officers thought the system was working. In a memorandum to the inspector general department, the commander of the 32d Division described the plan from *Document No. 656* as superior to anything which the army had previously had. He elaborated:

> If this system is thoroughly supervised and coordinated by the central training committee of the general staff located in Wash-

> ington, and covered by experienced inspectors from that committee, and the present instruction modified from time to time as defects develop, we should get from this system of training, uniformity of instruction throughout the army and we would progress with greater speed than has been heretofore possible.[2]

While the endorsement came with a number of caveats, it was an endorsement nonetheless. Seemingly, the War Department had a solid base on which to build an efficient training system, so long as it could implement some of the listed conditions.

More encouraging news came from Morrison's appointment as the director of training. The move seemingly created a central figure who possessed sufficient authority to effect change stateside that would bring the War Department into greater harmony with Pershing and the American Expeditionary Forces, thereby smoothing a point of friction. Two major organizational shortcomings within the War Department kept Morrison from having the kind of influence on stateside training that Pershing desired. First, the various branch and bureau chiefs still retained significant influence over training. Their role was to develop training plans for their specialists within each division and to supervise the progress of such units. These activities occurred outside of the control of the general staff, and especially the training committee, severely hindering their ability to control these programs or develop division training plans that integrated the various pieces of the division into a single combined-arms force.[3] Second, the army was still without a permanent chief of staff, having gone through three of them since the declaration of war in April. The lack of a strong, central authority who could provide direction to the general staff, wrangle together the branch and bureau chiefs, stand-up to Pershing, and provide a guiding strategic vision for the War Department was a significant impediment that resulted in disjointed efforts and conflicted authorities. Developments in the first half of 1918 addressed both of these issues.[4]

In February, 1918, the War Department reorganized the general staff in order to deal with the increasing burdens placed upon it by the "planning of the army program in its entirety, [and] the constant development thereof in its larger aspects."[5] The shakeup consolidated the various sections, committees, and services of the prior organization and streamlined them into five divisions. These were the (1) executive division, (2) purchase and supply division, (3) storage and traffic division, (4) army operations division, and (5) war plans division—formerly the War College Division—which included the training committee, rechristened the training and instruction branch. The new branch received refined guidance to "study the

methods of the war and methods of instruction which are learned from them by means of the latest information sent from the front by the staffs of Gen. Pershing and our allies."[6] The reorganization clarified the roles of the various divisions of the general staff, formalized their status, and began to establish their permanence. These changes normalized the existence of a centralized agency at the heart of the War Department and helped the army to overcome the institutional resistance to the general staff that still lingered more than a decade after its creation. This reorganization did nothing to lessen the power of the branch and bureau chiefs, as they were instructed to "cooperate to the fullest extent in the execution of this order … [and to] communicate directly with the chiefs of the several divisions of the general staff."[7] Given the chiefs' responsibility to develop and oversee training plans, the lack of clearly delineated authority between the general staff and the chiefs meant that the synchronization of training plans which was sought after by all parties, would not be forthcoming.

In March, Major General Peyton March became the acting chief of staff and set to work addressing inefficiency in the War Department, focusing on the defects of the bureau system.[8] March immediately streamlined every War Department process in order to maximize the number of troops reaching France. With respect to training, March sought to cut existing training timelines, implementing a replacement training system which produced trained soldiers to augment sustained casualties, and developed uniform standards for evaluating the effectiveness of training programs.[9] On 20 May 1918, March received help in two forms: the removal of *acting* from his title, receiving confirmation as chief of staff and the passage of the Overman Act. The Overman Act allowed the president to unilaterally reorganize government agencies for the duration of the war. He could choose to delegate that authority to members of the executive branch such as the secretary of war. The legislation increased March's control over the bureaus. This changed the working relationship between the general staff and the bureaus from one of loose coordination to that of detailed supervision.[10] In short, the Overman Act helped Secretary of War Newton Baker and March realize the intent of the 9 February reorganization. The culmination of these efforts came in August 1918 with the publication of General Order 80 which clearly subordinated the branch and bureau chiefs to the chief of staff, and by extension the general staff.[11] Army administration was slowly breaking down the old system based on the parochial interests of individual entities, replacing it with a centralized organization which eliminated redundant functions and bringing like activities under the control of individual agents. The implication for the training and instruction branch was that its ability to direct training issues gradually in-

creased from those that had traditionally fallen under the purview of the branch and bureau chiefs. That shift in authority presented the potential to further standardize training across the army.

With these new responsibilities and authorities, the training and instruction branch continued its work to produce training doctrine that balanced rigid plans and schedules while still providing commanders with sufficient flexibility to train as they saw fit. The branch also attempted to navigate the divergent philosophical views of Pershing and the general staff. Realizing the need to evaluate training programs, the War Department circulated and solicited feedback for a draft of a new manual entitled *Training Circular No. 8, Provisional Infantry Training Manual 1918* in March. The purpose of the manual was to further the "use of the standardization and test system of infantry training and for furnishing assistance in arranging programs of instruction and training schedules and in prescribing progress tests."[12] The idea behind the manual was sound. The green officers and noncommissioned officers that constituted the majority of the army were provided with a beginner's guide to training, complete with a means to evaluate proficiency. The execution of the initial draft was of mixed quality. Part I outlined the qualification of trained infantry for both individuals and units. The specifications for individuals was a rather extensive list of simple tasks that soldiers should be able to perform and further described some of the component parts, but the specifications for units was just a list of tasks. The unit lists went from squad through regiment and varied in specificity. Part II presented training methods to be used at various stages of training, such as initial introduction of a task, retraining of deficient soldiers, maintaining proficiency in learned skills, and instruction of collective tasks to large groups.[13] The training and instruction branch revised the manual and formally published it in August 1918.[14] While the final version of *Training Circular No. 8* arrived too late for any stateside division to use prior to deploying to combat, the draft of the manual was the first time that commanders had possessed a template to measure the effectiveness of their subordinate units, and corollary, their training programs, as well as a semi-formalized set of methods by which to achieve the desired results.[15]

Other training publications mirrored the more scientific approach to training. In May, *Training Circular No. 14, Intensive Basic training of Infantry Recruits—Standardization and Test Method* appeared. *Training Circular No. 14* attempted to address a growing problem among divisions. A side-effect of March's insistence on sending as many soldiers to France as quickly as possible was that divisions were often stripped of semi-trained personnel in the middle of their training programs to fill deploying units,

only to receive raw recruits in their place.[16] For obvious reasons, adding untrained recruits to a unit in the middle of executing a progressive training plan was suboptimal. *Training Circular No. 14* provided division commanders with a scheme by which they could train these new men without completely disrupting the ongoing progress of existing training programs. It was prescriptive in its course of instruction to provide the most complete training plan possible, but it was not binding. It was instead "suggestive," being based off practices in use at infantry replacement training at Camp Gordon, Georgia, and only offered a method for division commanders to train their replacements.[17] Its' dual nature—being both prescriptive and suggestive—indicated that the training branch continued to struggle with settling on a method of training.

The Americans in France did not concern themselves with dual-natured plans in crafting their training policy. Not only did the American Expeditionary Forces have the unifying figure of Pershing, but in February 1918 it received a director of training who was capable of executing the role in France which Pershing had envisioned for Morrison in the United States. On 16 February, Pershing reorganized general headquarters American Expeditionary Forces into five "G" sections, with the fifth section being training. The G-5 section had essentially the same responsibilities as the training section had, but the creation of a formalized staff along the same lines as the French system gave the newly christened section an added degree of legitimacy.[18] Around the same time the American Expeditionary Forces' training establishment received a new name it also received a new chief when Lieutenant Colonel Harold Fiske assumed the role as assistant chief of staff, G-5 section. In both temperament and doctrinal outlook, Fiske was the perfect enforcer to implement Pershing's training vision.

Fiske loathed commanders who abdicated their responsibilities. Prior to the war he had complained that "many colonels [have] a very decided tendency to turn over all tactical and most training matters to subordinates." Administering training plans was the business of a unit commander, so long as he adhered to existing guidance, but inspecting and testing the unit was the job of the next higher commander.[19] In the American Expeditionary Forces, this guidance was to be particularly specific, even stipulating the number of hours a unit should spend on each topic for each week. Fiske felt that "unless a program was prepared in this manner and adherence rather rigidly compelled, it was found too great a diversity in ideas and standards prevailed among division commanders." Further explaining the rationale for this, Fiske explained:

> In my opinion an army containing a properly indoctrinated corps of officers might get better results without such programs, but in an army containing the wide diversity of opinion and practice of our men, specific programs are essential for the attainment of anything like uniform results.[20]

Fiske realized, quicker than many of his contemporaries, that training a mass-citizen army required a more directed approach than one training professionals. Accordingly, he devised detailed plans and supervised their implementation to account for the difference. The insistence on "a definite system, policy and doctrine somewhat rigidly and uniformly prescribed by the highest authority, and a constant follow up by inspector-instructors" defined training in the American Expeditionary Forces and formed the key philosophical difference between it and the War Department with respect to designing training plans.[21]

Pershing's new training officer also saw eye-to-eye with him regarding the primacy of the offense. In a lecture given in January 1917, Fiske asserted "only by the attack can decisive results be obtained, and since the attack is the most difficult operation that the infantryman is called upon to perform, I propose to talk to you this morning only of it, neglecting entirely the much simpler defensive."[22] What made Fiske particularly well suited to the role was his personality. He was tenacious in executing his duties. In the opinion of one of his contemporaries the "firmness in execution and skill in military instruction of Fiske held up the whole Expeditionary Force to the hardest, most uncompromising and intensive system of drill that the American Army has ever known or probably will ever know."[23] In nearly every way, Fiske was perfectly suited to be an extension of Pershing himself.

Fiske used the training plans developed for the 1st and 2d Divisions in 1917 as the basis for plans for each division that arrived in France. The heart of the new plans remained the same: rifle marksmanship, discipline, progressive training, and above all the idea that training methods must be purely American were among the salient ideas. The plans were much shorter in duration as they assumed an increased proficiency of newly arriving units owing to their stateside training.[24] The plans Fiske's section adopted consisted of three periods. The first would focus on instilling skills particular to trench warfare at the battalion-level and below. The second would see battalions and regiments rotate into the line with French divisions (reminiscent of the plan the 1st Division actually executed) and the third period provided opportunities for the division to come together for division-scale maneuvers plus needed retraining. Shortly after adopt-

ing and issuing the first of these plans, tactical necessities required that the second and third phases be shortened or abandoned completely.[25]

These plans, and the philosophies behind them, impacted stateside training as another example of Pershing exerting power over the War Department. In mid-June Pershing received two memorandums from his inspector general that pushed him into action. The first on 15 June concluded that training in the United States, while progressing beyond the elementary stage, was still not uniform in its approach, resulting in divisions of varying quality. To correct the issue, the inspector general recommended that divisions in the United States should adopt the methods used by the American Expeditionary Forces in France.[26] The second memo was perhaps unnecessary as it reaffirmed what Pershing already believed; that the training schedules and system devised for divisions in France were sound, but that if improperly executed, would not produce results. The solution to the lack of uniformity was to implement a system in the United States that ensured officers complied strictly with issued schedules.[27] These memos reinvigorated Pershing's desire to bring stateside training into closer harmony with training in the American Expeditionary Forces.

On 20 June, Pershing cabled the War Department criticizing the level of training in recently arriving divisions and suggested methods to combat this shortcoming. The memo noted "inspections of divisions recently arrived show that the training is uneven and varies much in different divisions. The training appears to have been carried on in a perfunctory way and without efficient supervision."[28] Pershing's suggested solution mirrored what he had previously suggested to the War Department and what he had put in place in the American Expeditionary Forces: an authoritative centralized staff to direct and supervise training. Taking no risks that such an enhanced organization might develop training policies counter to his own, Pershing suggested that an exchange of officers take place between the training organizations of the American Expeditionary Forces and the War Department.

Pershing continued to press the issue after not hearing a response to his suggestions. On 19 July, he cabled the War Department with more suggestions. He moved first to adjust divisional training plans and integrate the combined arms of a division stateside prior to its departure, a move which would increase the role of the division commander and decrease the influence of representatives from the branches and bureaus. He reiterated the need for uniformity and went so far as to inform the War Department that his G-5 Section was working on a plan that would address the stateside training shortfalls, so long as the general staff ensured that stateside commanders complied with the plan in the strictest sense. To ensure such

compliance, Pershing recommended that the general staff inspect each division prior to its deployment in order to certify it was combat-worthy. Inspections similar to what Pershing suggested had been underway since April, but because the inspectors came from the training and instruction branch of the war plans division they lacked both the authority to enforce change and the direct access to any entity that could enforce compliance—namely the chief of staff. Pershing suggested the training and instruction branch be made an independent entity within the general staff and that it report directly to the chief of staff.[29] Such reorganization would be a radical adjustment and would send the message that training was becoming less and less the purview of unit commanders and was instead a function worthy of direction and management at the highest levels.

The War Department conducted an internal review of Pershing's recommendations. In a memo to the chief of staff, the director of the war plans division agreed in principle to the inspections Pershing suggested, but conceded that such a rigorous inspection program was not possible without greatly increasing the strength of the training and instruction branch. He further concurred with the idea of integrating the various arms and branches of a division before they departed for France and stated that plans were underway to adjust stateside training according. Most strikingly, he agreed with Pershing's recommendation regarding the independent nature of training and instruction branch, but was overruled by the chief of staff.[30] It had been over a year since the American Expeditionary Forces and War Department had started seriously developing training plans along disparate paths, but it appeared they were finally coming into harmony. That congruence proved to be an illusion.

On 21 August, Pershing made good on his promise from his July cablegram and sent the War Department his "Program of Training for Divisions in the United States." The first pages of the program mirrored the proclamations from the various divisional training programs produced by Fiske's G-5 Section. Following this foundational treatise, the plan presented a four-month schedule broken down by week that listed the tasks to be trained and the number of hours to spend on them. Divisional training began in the second month with terrain exercises for leaders, and in the third month the first full divisional exercises which subsequently increased in frequency and complexity into the fourth month. The program called for divisional schools to train specialists, and listed the appropriate manuals for officers to use in preparing programs of instruction.[31] It was a comprehensive and detailed program designed for training a combined-arms team in a time-constrained environment in the absence of qualified officers to

conduct the training. Unfortunately, it was not in harmony with the War Department's philosophical approach to training principles.

The War Department had already conducted an evaluation of its training methods over the previous year and had begun working on a new training directive that conflicted with several of the ideas found in the "Program of Training for Divisions." In late July, the war plans division presented recommendations regarding the training policy for new divisions which were formalized in a training directive dated 27 August 1918.[32] The 27 August directive incorporated a divisional phase, but it was one month long as opposed to the two months Pershing desired. The difference reflected the War Department's tendency to still defer to the branch and bureau specialists about training over the division commanders. It was much less prescriptive than the American Expeditionary Forces' plan, suggesting a priority of topics to train and providing projected proficiency levels to reach each month.[33] Lastly, the directive suggested that the battalion, not the company, be the basis for training most individual tasks, thereby absolving the company commanders of significant responsibility for their subordinates. This suggestion was based on the difficulty of producing enough officers at the company-level to be experts in the number of individual tasks. It was more likely to find one or two suitable instructors in a battalion who could train the entire battalion's compliment of soldiers than it was every company would have experts in every training task. These differences in the plans were significant, but paled in comparison to the philosophical difference that separated them.

War Department publications espoused the belief that uniformity in training standards came from overarching principles that division commanders implemented as they saw fit, not from detailed plans that removed from the commanders any ability to craft their own plans. This concept was abundantly clear in the revised *Training Circular No. 5*—third iteration in year—that appeared in August 1918.[34] Its opening paragraph declared the "responsibility for the training of a division rests solely upon the division commander … [t]herefore the following pages will be considered as suggestive and advisory in character."[35] Just a year earlier, other elements of the circular might have seemed novel but were now commonplace:

- A suggested sixteen-week program,
- A discussion of after-exercise critiques and methods to conduct them,

- The requirement for training to be planned and assessed, and
- The importance of progressive instruction.

The revised *Training Circular No. 5* was an advanced document like the American Expeditionary Forces's "Program of Training for Divisions," but took a philosophically different approach. For the American Expeditionary Forces, uniformity meant every division looked the same even if it cost division commanders some of their independence. Conversely, the War Department trusted that division commanders possessed the aptitude necessary to train their units to a published standard, meaning that uniformity ended at the division-level. Assuming divisions followed the plan, the American Expeditionary Force approach probably lowered the potential some units could achieve by hamstringing good division commanders to a lock-step program, but it also raised the minimum proficiency by ensuring weak division commanders possessed and implemented an adequate plan. The War Department's approach offered the opposite possibilities. In the short term, the War Department's plans won out. On 22 October, the director of the war plans division recommended publishing the American Expeditionary Force's plan as a guide for division commanders, along with the 27 August directive, the new *Training Circular No. 5, Training Circular No. 8,* and a new *Training Circular No. 12*.[36]

The final training publications represented an enormous improvement from where the army stood twenty months prior, but they never got a sufficient test on the Western Front. The last division to leave the United States and see combat, the 88th Division, left the United States at the end of July and thereby missed any benefit that the late-war training initiatives might have offered. The army started the war without a centralized administrative body to oversee training, doctrine regarding training principles or methods, an approved scheme of progressive training, or any tests to certify trained units. Worst of all, the most widely-accepted training philosophies in the army were geared towards training professional soldiers, not civilian-conscripts in a time-constrained environment. The mismatch between the strategic design of the army's defense establishment in the case of a large-scale war and the emerging training practices was a serious impediment to mobilization.

In the year and half America spent at war, the army had conducted more serious discussions and made more progress with respect to training doctrine, management, and methods than in the previous two decades. At the end of the war, after a trying period of learning from failure, the army had the beginnings of a robust training system that featured each of the elements listed above in some measure. Further, it was clear that officers had

learned the difference in drill and training, and were gaining a greater appreciation for the science surrounding the latter. While the training efforts of both the American Expeditionary Force and the War Department had generally failed to produce combat-capable units, the process of designing those methods had produced other benefits. It had provided experience with which reformers could work from, had identified solutions to some of the long-standing issues that plagued prewar efforts to develop training doctrine, and had raised some of the most pressing issues they would have to confront in order to further refine training administration and doctrine. Evidence of those benefits was found within the activities of divisions as they trained in the United States throughout 1917 and 1918.

Notes

1. Grotelueschen, "Data Relative Training in United States," *The AEF Way of War: The American Army and Combat in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

2. Memo from Commanding General, 32d Division National Guard, to Colonel T.Q. Donaldson, Inspector General, "Merit of training system as prescribed by War Department, 27 August 1917," Box 74, Entry NM-91 1241: Records of the 32d Division, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

3. Rainey, "The Training of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I," 85-87.

4. These developments did not start to have an impact until after Morrison left the position in March. His replacement in the role garners virtually no mention in contemporary correspondence or annual reports, perhaps indicating that he played little significant role in matters for the rest of 1918. It seems that the director of training position never realized the purpose for which Pershing intended.

5. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins, 1918* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), GO 14, 1.

6. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1919,* 1:296.

7. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins* (1918), GO 14, 9 February 1918, 5.

8. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1919,* 1:245-247.

9. The full scope of March's actions is beyond the scope of this study. More complete examinations of his role with respect to training are found in Rainey, "The Training of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I," 93-95; and Douglas Valentine Johnson, "A Few 'Squads Left' and Off to France: Training the American Army in the United States for World War I" (PhD diss., Temple University, Philadelphia, 1992), 202-215.

10. Johnson, "A Few Squads Left," 203.

11. United States War Department, *General Orders and Bulletins* (1918), General Order 80, 26 August 1918, 5-6.

12. Cover letter for *Training Circular No. 8, Provisional Infantry Training Manual 1918,* Box 1, Records of Combat divisions, Entry NM-91 1241; Records of the American Expeditionary Forces, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

13. Provisional Infantry Training Manual 1918, 30, Box 1, Records of Combat divisions, Entry NM-91 1241; Records of the American Expeditionary Forces, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

14. The differences between the draft manual and the final publication were slight. The tone and scope of the manual remained the same, with the emphasis being on evaluating individual soldiers but also addressing tasks that companies, battalions, and regiments should be able to perform. Both manuals included ex-

cerpts on open warfare and trench warfare, signaling Pershing's goal to expunge trench warfare from stateside training programs was never completely realized.

15. Semi-formalized here acknowledges that none of the training circulars were yet accepted as army doctrine. At the time, the only manuals considered as binding were the *Field Service Regulation* and the various branch drill manuals. All other publications contained guidance, not doctrine.

16. Cable 1543-R, June 16, 1918, from AG, WD to Pershing, and Cable 1337-S, June 19, 1918, from Pershing to AG WD, Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 14:323-333. The first cable explained the practice to Pershing, while the second noted Pershing's response and his insistence that the practice stop as it was detrimental to the combat effectiveness of divisions.

17. United States War Department, "Training Circular Number 14: Intensive Basic Training of Recruits, Standardization and Test Method," *Infantry Journal* 15, no. 4 (October 1918): 11. The war department initially published *Training Circular No. 14* on 8 May 1918. That version circulated among units in limited quantities. It was found to be useful enough that a larger printing was in order. The *Infantry Journal* supplemented the Government Printing Office by printing the manual in its October 1918 issue. That is the version cited here.

18. For duties of the G-5 section, see, Final Report of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5, Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 14:289. For the opinion that the new section was more legitimate, see, Harold B. Fiske, "Training in the AEF," (1919), Box 3, Papers of Major General Harold B. Fiske, Entry NM-10 11, National Archives Gift Collection, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

19. Memo, Fiske Response to Official Bulletin No. 2, 12 July 1915, from Fiske to Commandant, Army Service School, Box 9, Entry NM 10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

20. Harold B. Fiske, "Training in the AEF," (1919), 39, Box 3, Entry NM 10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

21. Quote from Fiske, 39. The philosophical difference remained the single greatest friction point between the war department and American Expeditionary Forces general headquarters until the end of the war, as the dispute between training for open warfare vice trench warfare had been resolved in 1917 with the new *Circular No. 5.* This dispute is dealt with in greater depth later in the chapter.

22. Harold B. Fiske, Lecture on Infantry at the Army Service School (29 January, 1917), 4, USAHEC, Carlisle, PA. Other notable excerpts from this lecture include Fiske's championing of Morrison's work on the 1914 *Infantry Drill Regulations* and his assertion that the circumstance of the Great War would not require any sort of radical change to existing American doctrine. Fiske later changed his mind regarding this idea, as in a post-war report, he stated that pre-war manuals had been completely inadequate. See, Harold B. Fiske, "Training in the AEF," (1919), 38, Box 3, Entry NM 10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

23. Bullard, *Personalities and Reminiscences of the War,* 62.

24. The G-5 section requested and was granted by the war department that each division send a contingent ahead with the division's training records so that the G-5 section could craft a training plan unique to that organization's current proficiency. See Harold B. Fiske, "Training in the AEF," (1919), 24, Box 3, Entry NM 10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

25. Appendix 31, Divisional Training, to G-5 (American Expeditionary Force) Final Report, 36, Box 25, Reports of the Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, Staff Sections, and Services Relating to the History of the US Army in Europe during World War I, Entry NM-91 22, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

26. Memo from the American Expeditionary Forces Inspector General to Pershing, "Data relative training in United States" 15 June 1918, Box 1393, Correspondence Relating to American Expeditionary Forces Schools Training File, Entry NM-91 11, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

27. Memo from the American Expeditionary Forces Inspector General to Pershing, "Training" 17 June 1918, Box 1393, Entry NM-91 11, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD. The issued schedules, of course, came directly from general headquarters American Expeditionary Forces.

28. Cable 1337-S, June 19, 1918, from Pershing to Adjutant General, War Department, in Center of Military History, Department of the Army, *USAWW,* 14:323-333.

29. Cable 1482-S, 19 July 1918, from Pershing to Adjutant General War Department, Box 1393, Entry NM-91 11, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

30. Memo for the chief of staff from the director, War Plans Division, "Steps taken to meet recommendations made by General Pershing in Cablegram No. 1482, 19 July 1918," dated 20 July 1918, Box 191, Office of the Chief of Staff Correspondence, Entry NM 84-8; Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

31. "Program of Training for Divisions in the United States," in World War I American Expeditionary Force Division Training Documents, USAHEC, Carlisle, PA.

32. Memo from the Adjutant General of the Army, Subject: "Training and Instruction of new divisions," 27 August 1918, Box 176, Records of the Historical Section Relation to the History of the War Department, Entry NM-84 310, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

33. The proficiency levels were laughably vague. The directive offered no specific standards to assess progress, but instead had assessments for each skill ranging from "fair-good-very good-excellent." Task standards were not defined so it was useless for commanders when determining which assessment level their unit had reached. In short, it was completely subjective.

34. The first version had been *Document No. 656,* appearing in August 1917. The second was *Training Circular No. 5,* published in December 1917. It constituted minor variations from the base document. The 1918 version of *Training Circular No. 5* contained significant changes and was, in many ways, a new document.

35. United States War Department, *Training Circular No. 5: Infantry Training, Document Number 849* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 7.

36. *Training Circular No. 12, Combined Training of a Division,* first appeared as a draft in May 1918 and as a final product in October, 1918. The manual was designed for divisions that had completed their initial four-month training period and had additional time. It was meant to increase proficiency of the various arms of a division in working together in tactical problems. For the 22 October memo, see Memo from the Director, WPD to the CoS, "Proposed Schedule for new divisions," 22 October 1918, Box 191, Entry NM 84-8, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

Chapter 4
Building the Plane While Flying it: Implementing the United States War Department Guidance at the Division Level

> No detailed reports are found as to the execution of these [training] schedules; but assuming that they were carried out in general, the spirit of the US War Department circular should have been thoroughly instilled into the division.
>
> — Oliver Spaulding and Army War College Historical Section, *The Thirty Fifth Division 1917-1918: An Analytical Study*[1]

In the American Army during World War I there was often a significant difference between the approved training plans the War Department issued and what the divisions actually executed. Some of these discrepancies were intentional. The War Department's attempt to craft plans that allowed division commanders the flexibility to train their formations as they saw fit, based on their own experience and the unique circumstances they faced, ensured that no two divisions would execute identical training programs. Many deviations from the approved plans were unintended as the plans were simply not practical given the difficulties facing divisions. Looking into how some divisions implemented War Department directives, then specifically how those practices evolved over time, clearly there was a marked improvement in the quality and efficiency of training as the war went on. That progress partly resulted of the nation overcoming some of the initial hurdles of mobilization, but much of it reflects the benefits derived from improved centralized management and an increasingly sophisticated collection of training literature. The advances in training management showed results by the end of the war, proving useful as the foundation for post-war training reforms.

In attempting to implement War Department guidance, divisions in the United States faced several difficulties that made training challenging even if a strong training management system had existed. Massive shortages of equipment, ranging from personal and crew served weapons to uniforms and bed rolls, made training almost impossible. A particular example from the 82d Division illustrates the problem; its entire complement of soldiers in the mortar platoons never saw a Stokes mortar until they arrived in France.[2] Material barriers slowed progress. The massive influx of personnel and organizing dozens of divisions in the summer of 1917 demanded that construction programs evolve across the country, building the camps necessary to house and train an army. Many of these were not ready upon the first recruits arrival which left soldiers with inadequate

housing and most posts with incomplete rifle ranges or training areas.[3] Nonmaterial factors took their toll as well. The winter of 1917 through 1918 was particularly cold, and when combined with soldiers who lacked adequate housing and clothing, created a situation where learning the finer points of soldiering, was far from a priority for most of the new draftees.[4] With the cold came a familiar foe for armies: disease. While the outbreak of the Spanish flu was still a year away in 1917, outbreaks of: smallpox, chicken pox, measles, mumps, and a dozen other diseases incapacitated or killed thousands of soldiers.[5] These impediments would have challenged a well-developed and robust training establishment, let alone the nascent system that was under development in the American Army at the time.

As if all those difficulties were not enough, two organizational shortcomings were perhaps most severe. The first was a lack of trained officers and non-commissioned officers to act as instructors. At the outbreak of the war, the army did not have training centers for individual replacements, which meant that all soldiers received training solely from their unit leaders.[6] The massive expansion for the war spread the available regular army professionals far too thin to form effective cadres.[7] Even the best training plans would of course fail if the men who had to implement them did not know what to train for or how to train for it.

Even if a division overcame all of these difficulties and managed to execute an effective training plan, it ran into a second organizational hurdle. The operational situation on the Western Front in the spring of 1918 placed a pressing demand on the army to deliver soldiers—trained or not—to backstop the weakened British and French armies. The cry for manpower in France, combined with a shipping bottleneck forcing administrative transfers of individuals in mass numbers, regularly undercut any sort of progress divisions had made in collective training or in building unit cohesion.[8] The practice was severe enough that in Pershing's postwar memoir he lamented the "practice was carried to such an extent that divisions of 25,000 men, which should have been held intact, and each one perfected as an organized team, were constantly called upon to send large groups of their trained soldiers to other duties. As green men were substituted, the result was that training had to be practically started all over again with each such reduction."[9] Given time, divisions could have overcome the lack of trained instructors. Unfortunately, many divisions never received the time required to bring their officers and non-commissioned officers up to standard, and those who did receive the time then often saw their units ripped about by poor personnel management.

The net effect of these training impediments was significant. For an army that had spent the previous decade and a half before the war trying

to figure out the requirements for a modern training program without ever really reaching a solution, it was nearly catastrophic. Thus, it was largely impossible for divisions to implement the various US War Department training plans as they appeared on paper. Divisions struggled to translate these concepts into executable plans. As the war went on, units gained experience in training and proved themselves more capable at executing the published plans. Additionally, the planners at the War Department continually refined their ideas, using observations from the first iterations of their training programs to produce more useful publications. A direct result was that by the summer of 1918, divisions possessed sufficient training doctrine and were beginning to develop the requisite experience to plan and implement effective training programs. The experience of individual divisions illustrates the effects of this evolution.

The 35th Division was born during the initial War Department activation of national guard divisions in the summer of 1917. On 18 July, the War Department ordered Kansas and Missouri National Guard units to begin assembling near Fort Sill, Oklahoma in order to form the 35th Division.[10] A little more than a month later, on 23 August, the first units arrived at a small collection of tents on the outskirts of Fort Sill named Camp Doniphan. Two weeks later, on 6 September, the division headquarters published its first training guidance. From that date, the division had almost six months until it departed for embarkation ports on the east coast on 3 April 1918. In that time, the division executed training plans in accordance with the initial War Department guidance. The plans proved insufficient and lacked the flexibility to allow the division to adjust to difficulties it faced, forcing its officers to improvise some of their own methods and procedures. In executing both the War Department's plans and its own, the 35th Division demonstrated many of the army's faults in its early training attempts.

The division initiated its training efforts on 6 September 1917 with the publication of General Order 7. This directive outlined the creation of a divisional school system and stated that the War Department had forwarded a sixteen-week training schedule. Both of these features mirrored *Document No. 656,* the first War Department training publication of the war.[11] To implement the plan, the division would publish weekly schedules and the brigades and regiments would supervise their implementation. This process removed any initiative from subordinate commanders, but in theory provided uniformity across the division. Aside from parroting War Department guidance, the order outlined a very limited vision of the division commander's training priorities which included physical fitness, military courtesy, and saluting among the enlisted men, and lastly, the abil-

ity of noncommissioned officers to teach with force and efficiency.[12] The order was a bit of a false start to the unit's training program, because on 13 September the unit received orders to reorganize in accordance with the new tables of organization, a process that took until the end of the month to complete. The early training diversion was probably of benefit, providing at least some time for the junior leaders to figure out how they were supposed to train the tasks listed on the weekly schedules.

On 1 October 1917, the division began week one of the sixteen-week program outlined in *Document No. 656.* To execute the program, the division staff issued a weekly drill schedule to govern activities. These schedules were extremely minimalist documents, as each being no more than one page long. In a given week, the schedule of events was the same Monday thru Friday from seven-thirty in the morning until two-thirty in the afternoon. The schedule listed the task, the duration of time to practice it, and the appropriate doctrinal reference, be it the *Infantry Drill Regulations,* the *Small Arms Firing Manual,* or the *Field Service Regulations.* Training in the afternoon changed each day, often allotting an hour and a half for the task. Saturdays were reserved for inspections, while Sundays were set aside for rest, laundry, and recreation.[13]The drill schedules were nearly useless as training documents. Aside from being devoid of any sort of evaluation metric or method of instruction, they presented a logistical nightmare for the post as they required every unit to do the same thing at the same time, putting a strain on the limited resources of Camp Doniphan.[14] These vague and flawed schedules served as the only divisional training guidance from 1 October through mid-January, when the sixteen-week program ran its course.

Following the completion of the War Department-mandated schedule, it appears that the 35th Division largely squandered its remaining time in the United States. The rest of January and all of February were largely devoid of collective training, as the emphasis was on attending schools and continuing to build discipline among the enlisted men.[15] In March 1918, the division executed some collective training, working on the occupation and defense of trenches, and seemingly some open warfare training.[16] The culminating training event for the division came on 2 April in the form of a division-level field march of eight miles that included some practice in minor tactics by small units.[17] This disjointed series of training events marked the end of the division's training program in the United States, as on 5 April the War Department ordered the division to begin movement to ports on the east coast.

Despite seeming uncoordinated and rather lackadaisically-managed by the division staff, the defining characteristic of the training program

seems to have been how centralized the entire effort was. An inspector general report from December noted "the administration of training within the division is almost exclusively managed at the highest level" which causes subordinate leaders to take less interest in their training than if they had a more active role in developing the plan.[18] The report then described the most serious side effects of this style of management. Small unit leaders, who had little hand in planning training, often showed up at scheduled events having not properly prepared themselves for the task at hand. This leadership failure led to long hours of training which produced lackluster results as the men who were supposed to be the trainers tried to figure out what they should be doing. At least one regimental commander in the division felt the same way. On 6 February 1918, the commander of the 139th Infantry Regiment felt so strongly about lacking the freedom to plan and implement required training to properly prepare his regiment for combat that he wrote to the division commander directly (bypassing his brigade commander). In his letter, he petitioned his superior that two hours per day belonged to regimental commanders for use as they saw fit, and that his officers should stop attending the divisional schools so they could spend more time with their units. Surprisingly, the commander agreed to both points.[19]

Some of the training documents produced by the division staff, that were designed to better equip junior leaders to execute training, could have been the cause of the perceived over-management of training. During the later stages of the division's training program, the division staff published a series of checklists designed to help subordinate commanders more effectively lead and train their units. In January 1918, the division published a checklist for infantry company commanders to use in their daily activities. The list of twenty-four questions ranged from administrative and regulatory issues to matters regarding doctrinal instruction and the tactical employment of the company. The specificity of the document was a departure from other 35th Division products and was seemingly designed to aid officers who were new to command in discharging their duties.[20] For officers who had experience in the prewar army in which there existed a dispute regarding the role of higher commanders in training, such a document would no doubt seem overbearing. For newer officers, the same form could have been seen as helpful. In the same month the division produced a similar document for battalion commanders. The "Memory Aid for Battalion Commanders" was more focused on the tactical employment of the formation, but was structured in a similar fashion.[21] Together these documents showed that planners on the division staff realized officers lacked the competence to execute training orders, relying more on

broad ideas than directed tasks. Officers were beginning to understand that their ideas regarding training might have been sufficient for professional, experienced officers, but amateurs required more direction. Unfortunately for the division and its soldiers, this more mature grasp on the situation came too late in the training process.

The contradiction in these observations is obvious and no doubt proved frustrating to officers who tried to plan training in 1917 and 1918. On the one hand, their plans drew criticism from observers both in and out of the division for being too centralized and denying subordinate commanders a stake in training. On the other hand, without detailed guidance, the amateur officers that made up the majority of the division's leadership lacked the knowledge to perform their jobs. Striking the appropriate balance was a challenge, and it required a process of trial and error that the division did not have time for before deploying to France.

The result of the vague initial training plan, the disorganized plan that followed in January and February 1918, and the inability of the division staff to effectively empower subordinate commanders—or at the very least make them feel empowered—was that by the end of the training program, the division was poorly prepared for combat. At the end of March, the division commander published a memorandum entitled "Training Shortcomings." The memo lacked any nuance and was devoid of any praise, indicating it was not a list of things to work on, but rather a serious indictment on the division's tactical ability. The root cause of these failings was poor junior-level leadership. The memo concluded with a very stern warning: "Officers who do not have the proper knowledge and who are not able to handle their troops are guilty of criminal negligence if they do not fit themselves to do so. The time is short and the responsibility is great."[22] The division commander was not alone in his dire assessment. After the division arrived in France, the American Expeditionary Force conducted an initial review of its readiness and issued an appropriate training plan. The program that was sent by the American Expeditionary Force to the 35th Division was the standard "Program of Training" prepared by the American Expeditionary Force G-5 Section, along with special instructions governing the particulars of training with the British army. The cover letter that accompanied the documents alluded to it deficiencies, directing that "given the insufficient training of the division in open warfare, any opportunity to further practice such skills is desirable."23

Not all of the failings listed above were because of the division's poor training program. The 35th Division dealt with its fair share of difficulties that were all too common among divisions in the winter of 1917 through 1918. The weather was particularly cold at Fort Sill, where the

greatest obstacle proved to be the wind that created dust storms so severe as to impede training.[24] Equipment shortages were particularly bad. As late as 21 February 1918, the division possessed only thirty machine guns and was conversely short by five thousand rifles.[25] While personnel shortages did not seem to impact the unit as severely as they did other divisions later in the spring of 1918, there was some turbulence. The division strength on 31 October 1917 stood at twenty-six thousand troops; a shortage of only about two thousand soldiers put the division in a relatively strong position to train.[26] Between that date and the end of the year at least one thousand of those men had been sent home for being physically unfit for service. Perhaps the most serious obstacle the division confronted was that it was without its commander during the critical period of its early formation. From 17 September to 11 December 1917, the division commander and his chief of staff conducted an American Expeditionary Force-mandated tour of the Western Front, visiting the British, Canadian, and French sectors.[27] Taken together, these difficulties surely inhibited the training of the 35th Division, but its elementary understanding of training and the incomplete nature of the earliest War Department training documents were much more significant.

Given time and the chance to learn and adapt, divisions proved that they could overcome many of those issues. The formation of the 31st Division mirrored that of the 35th Divisions. Unlike the 35th, the 31st never saw combat. Shortly after arriving in France the American Expeditionary Force dismantled the organization. Most of the enlisted men and junior officers went to replace casualties in other divisions while the rest of the unit became the cadre for the 2d Depot Division. The inauspicious end to the division's great war record resulted in it being little more than a footnote in history. The one thing that made the division unique is what makes it worthy of study here. The 31st Division spent more time in the United States, from its initial activation to its movement to ports of embarkation, than any other division.[28] In that time—almost a year in all—the 31st Division used most of the prominent training documents as it executed three distinct training programs, each of which, grew in sophistication and effectiveness. While it never made it to combat, the 31st Division was certainly the most trained, and perhaps the best trained, division that the United States sent to France.

The 31st Division's history began at Camp Wheeler, Georgia, a new cantonment area located southeast of Macon. It was there in August 1917 that national guard units from Alabama, Georgia, and Florida concentrated together forming the skeleton division that would subsequently accept draftees from the same states. The assembly of this initial ten thousand

soldiers—mostly guardsmen augmented by some raw recruits—took place throughout early September, and received a boost in the form of an additional thirteen thousand draftees throughout October and November.[29] Despite the fluidity of the initial marshalling period and the personnel shortage that left many units unfilled, the division implemented its first training program in late September with the publications of General Order 10.

The division's initial directive demonstrated the extent to which division commanders saw the War Department guidance as simply suggestive as opposed to directive early in the war. In sharp contrast to the War Department's training directive, *Document No. 656,* the division's General Order 10 placed the onus of training on the regimental commanders. According to the War Department, the responsibility for training belonged to the division commander. In the 31st Division, the division commander established a list of unit and individual training subjects and, from time to time, directed his staff to conduct inspections. Much of the authority to plan and execute training shifted down to the regimental commanders. Their job was to prepare detailed schedules, then personally oversee daily training and instruction which ensured proper functioning and uniformity across the regiment.[30] Additionally, General Order 10 merely discussed the possibility of establishing divisional schools if the need arose as opposed to actually creating the robust school system described in *Document No. 656.* Finally, the initial training order established a sixteen-week schedule of training, but this schedule differed from that offered in the War Department publication. Part of the reason for these differences lies in the intended purpose for each program, as the initial 31st Division plan was designed to train a cadre of men in preparation for receiving draftees, while *Document 656* was intended for a full division. While some deviations from War Department guidance were necessary, the significance of change to the most important features of that plan indicated the decentralized philosophy of the army at the outset of the war.[31]

The influx of draftees in October 1917 prompted the preparation of a more robust training plan. In early October, the division organized schools in accordance with *Document No. 656* and on 22 October began the sixteen-week program it stipulated, marking the beginning of its first real program.[32] Over the next few weeks training largely conformed to War Department guidance but outbreaks of the measles and pneumonia combined with lacking sufficient facilities impeded meaningful progress.[33] These difficulties aside, the inspection of the division by a colonel from the inspector general department found the primary "deficiency in training and discipline with the equipment at hand is, in my estimation, due to

the failure of the higher commanders to enforce strict obedience to orders and to require soldierly and energetic action in their officers in the performance of their duties."[34] The report went on to describe the basic efficacy of the training programs, but derided the philosophical approach of leaders. Leaders allowed subordinates a wide latitude in training but many of those subordinate officers lacked the experience necessary to properly exercise such freedom. In short, the training was too decentralized.

At the beginning of January 1918, the division began its second training program, which lasted until mid-May. The unit formulated and executed its new training program in accordance with guidance from *Training Circular No. 5* (December 1917 edition), starting the new eighteen-week program in its seventh week. The training from the seventh week and beyond in *Training Circular No. 5* emphasized field maneuver at the company, battalion, and regimental levels. In weeks ten through twelve, for example, extended order drill consisting of the attack and defense constituted sixty-four of the total one hundred eight hours of training time.[35] Perhaps as a result of the unfavorable inspection, or perhaps because of increased experience, the training program during this period showed marked improvement. The improvements also coincided with a lower incidence of disease and a decreased death rate in the camp.[36] The results of the changes were impressive and instantly observable. An observer from the British Military Mission remarked "[n]othing could be more marked than the co-operative progress in this Division during the last month." He attributed improvements to the reinvigorated performance and supervision of officers and noncommissioned officers.[37] The progress of the 31st Division in this short period indicates that leaders quickly gained experience with training and then were capable of rapidly improving performance, especially when provided with good doctrine in the form of *Training Circular No. 5* and further freed from the distractions of disease and personnel turbulence.

The second training program continued until April. Late in the second training program the division received and began using the draft of *Training Circular No. 8.*[38] The manual provided junior officers and non-commissioned officers a set of methods which they could use to conduct scheduled training events, as well as a set of standards by which to evaluate their soldiers. Leaders now had a source that taught them how to train. When combined with existing manuals such as the *Infantry Drill Regulations* and the *Small Arms Firing Regulations* which explained what to train, junior leaders finally had what they needed to begin performing their jobs properly. The immediate benefits of the plan were not apparent,

but a few months later it came in handy as the division accepted thousands of new draftees.

The culmination of the second phase was a five-day, division-level field maneuver in early April. The maneuver included the entire division marching over sixty miles and conducting a series of tactical exercises. By all accounts, the division handled itself well during this period, again affirming the potential of existing training programs.[39] During the maneuvers the 31st Division was understrength by approximately 30 percent, but at this point in its training it had completed the initial reception and equipping of over twenty thousand officers and men; conducted basic individual training in discipline, close order drill, and marksmanship; and had completed progressive unit training at every echelon from platoon to division, all in the span of a little over five months. The success of the division's approach was apparent to outside observers. In early May an inspector from the training and instruction branch reported the "conduct and results of the training in the division have impressed me as being exceptionally good." The inspector concurred with the division's senior officers and the attached foreign observers in asserting that the division could be ready for overseas service just as soon as it integrated and trained new draftees to replace the missing 40 percent of its strength, a process that should not take long.[40] Unfortunately for the 31st Division the progress it had achieved was soon destroyed by the all-too-common issue of personnel turbulence.

While the division had been understrength throughout its second training program—during the last inspection in May it had just over seventeen thousand of its authorized twenty-eight thousand soldiers—it had generally been free of losing trained personnel. Through late May and into June that was not the case. In May the division received word it was to transfer more than four thousand soldiers to Camp Merritt, New Jersey for the June replacement draft.[41] These soldiers represented "practically all its infantry privates, and about 30 percent of its artillery privates."[42] At the same time, the division received nine thousand untrained draftees on 25 May and another six thousand on 25 June. These transfer soldiers presented an obvious issue. While the division was now nearly at full strength, it was composed of trained officers and noncommissioned officers but untrained privates. Without trained individuals, units could no longer function, and the collective training to that point was now largely invalid.

In mid-June, the 31st Division began its third and final training period. In developing the plan for what would surely be their last opportunity to train before embarking for France, planners operated under two assumptions. First, the division possessed a large number of reasonably well-trained officers and a large number of untrained privates. Second,

given time available, the best that the division could hope for in terms of collective training would be to reestablish proficiency at the battalion level.[43] Working under these assumptions, the division published General Order 18 on 18 June. This directive covered the ensuing two months and divided that period into two phases, each with a distinctive objective.[44] The first period addressed the need to bring the new draftees to a basic proficiency while maintaining or increasing proficiency among staff officers and senior commanders.[45] Training of individuals conformed to War Department *Training Circular No. 14,* which the training and instruction branch had prepared for precisely just such a scenario. The objective for the second phase was to complete the tests outlined in *Training Circular No. 14* and to conduct exercises in the tactical maneuver of platoons, companies, and battalions. The phase would conclude in mid-August with battalion-level tests that would require battalions to conduct a forced march, then bivouac for a night, and then execute a live-fire attack against a simulated enemy position, consolidate on the objective, and prepare a hasty defense. Plans called for artillery batteries to conduct similar live-fire tests. Given the limited time and thousands of untrained soldiers, General Order 18 was an ambitious plan.

The aggressive plan produced positive results. The umpire's report from the battalion tests seems scathing in its critiques, but was not necessarily indicative of poor training but rather inexperience in executing tasks for the first time. Many of the critiques indicated that officers and men seemed to know the right thing to do, but had a difficult time in doing it properly.[46] Despite how well or poorly the units performed, just conducting battalion-level live-fire training put them ahead of almost any other unit in the American Expeditionary Force. The individual training also paid dividends. Almost every officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier qualified with his assigned personal weapon and threw at least one live grenade. Soldiers assigned to serve as one-pounder gun crews, Stokes mortarmen, automatic riflemen, and grenadiers all conducted live fire training. The machine gun units had also executed live fire training on scaled and full-size ranges.[47] Compared to other American divisions like the 35th, these were impressive accomplishments. Following its arrival in France in mid-October, inspectors from the American Expeditionary Force got their chance to assess the division and concluded that the 31st Division "appears uniformly trained to a higher level than has been observed in other divisions."[48] Its longer stay in the United States provided the 31st Division with the benefit of improved material support and better training literature, but it was equally clear that the 31st Division had made

good use of those advantages during its second and third attempts at executing training plans.

The stark differences in the training programs of the 31st and 35th Divisions suggests that the longer the war went on, the better the War Department and officers within divisions got at administering training. A brief survey of two divisions' training programs is insufficient to draw definitive conclusions, but it is substantial enough to be useful. Both the 31st and the 35th Divisions struggled to develop and implement effective training programs, but they differed in how they approached tackling the daunting task before them. The insufficient initial training guidance at all levels illustrated the poor understanding of the science of training present in the American Army at the outset of the war. As a corollary, officers devised and implemented solutions to address those shortcomings which demonstrated that experiences during the war produce a more nuanced understanding of training management.

It is essential to point out that while examining the combat records of the 31st and the 35th Divisions might speak to the effectiveness of their training program, it would do little to further an understanding of how those programs improved throughout the war. Such an analysis misses the point that developments in army training doctrine and practices had little impact on the army's performance during the war, as they often came too late to make a substantial impact. Those developments did have a meaningful and immediate impact on how the army conceptualized training after the war. Additionally, neither division went straight into combat after departing the United States. Upon arrival in France, the 35th Division entered into the American Expeditionary Force training program and received significant training support from British units before entering combat. The division's completion of two distinct periods of training under two different administrators makes it impossible to draw any correlation between battlefield activities and a particular aspect of training. For its part, the 31st Division never reached combat. Despite the division receiving strong endorsements of its readiness upon its arrival in France, the American Expeditionary Force ordered the division broken up on 17 October in order to provide replacements to divisions already in combat and to provide cadre to serve as a depot division.[49] That caveat aside, the question stands: What trends and developments stand out in these two programs?

The most striking similarity is the poor training record of the two divisions during their first periods of training. The attempts of the 31st and 35th Divisions to implement the War Department's standardized plan in *Document No. 656* both met with limited success as evidenced by inspector general reports submitted in November and December of 1917. The

poor results from using these documents was a product of its intentionally vague nature. The sixteen-week program contained a weekly list of tasks to train, but no description of how best to train them. It was unclear about how much input commanders had at each level in scheduling their training. Even though the manual mandated inspections and evaluations, it offered no metrics to use in conducting those tests. These shortcomings were indicative of the army's lack of a singular training philosophy and highlighted just how little officers in the general staff and the army understood the requirements for a successful training program. Emphasizing how divided the army was regarding training, both divisions followed the program laid out in *Document No. 656* but faced the opposite critiques; inspectors found the 31st Division's approach to be too decentralized and devoid of detailed instruction while the 35th Division's program was too centralized and removed subordinate initiative. The difference no doubt resulted from division commanders interpreting the document as the War Department intended: as a guide to assist their planning as opposed to a directive with which they had to comply.

The intentionally non-restrictive nature of the War Department's directions led to another issue. Following the completion of the initial sixteen-week training program, both divisions had time to conduct additional training at the discretion of their division commander. The commander of the 35th Division largely squandered the time, neglecting collective training above the company level and dithering the time away on a series of disjointed training efforts which culminated in a foot march and small-scale exercises. On the other hand, the 31st Division used guidance found in newly published draft copies of *Training Circulars No. 5* and *No. 8* to execute a coherent training strategy that culminated in a division exercise. While *Training Circular No. 5* had been available to the 35th Division and they had time available to use it, the commander had opted not to do so as it had almost completed the sixteen-week program of *Document No. 656.* The improved effectiveness of War Department documents seems evident based on the results which the 31st Division achieved when it used the new manuals.

The training and instruction branch became aware of these shortcomings through feedback from inspector general reports as well as its own inspections which began in early 1918. The members of the War Department's training organization seemingly made good use of that feedback, producing a series of helpful manuals throughout the spring of 1918 that addressed what they perceived to be the missing piece of their training literature: instructions regarding how to conduct instruction and how to evaluate performance. *Training Circular No. 8* appeared in draft form in

March, while *Training Circular No. 14* went to divisions in May. For the first time manuals spoke directly to the trainers, telling them how to train as opposed to what to train. With this knowledge in hand, even inexperienced commanders could begin to make use of the freedom their higher headquarters kept trying to grant them.

The longer the War Department observed and managed training, the better it got at providing effective supporting literature and communicating its own guidance. The manuals that made it through revisions and reached divisions in time to be used produced a noticeable improvement in training. Not everything the War Department learned made it to troops in time. Many of the best products appeared too late for use, but their existence demonstrated the continued learning and adaptation that went on right up until the end of the war. Similar to the War Department, the longer divisions trained, the more their officers and noncommissioned officers improved from experience. They were able to identify, and in some instances, correct issues with their initial training plans. When provided with refined training literature they accomplished impressive training tasks, such as the 31st Division planning and executing training for over fifteen thousand draftees in just two and a half months. Such an accomplishment, when compared to the initial training efforts of 1917, indicates that the army gained a better understanding of training as a result of the war. An army historian put it succinctly in a post-war manuscript, observing that because of early struggles "many improvements in methods of training had been developed, management and supervision of training had been standardized, [and] demonstration and test methods had been improved, so that the time necessary for the converting raw recruits into well-trained company organizations had been considerably reduced."[50] The varied experiences of the 31st and 35th Divisions proved that the army had learned plenty about training during the war. The question remained what would it do with those lessons?

Notes

1. Oliver Spaulding and Army War College. The Historical Section. *The Thirty Fifth Division 1917-1918:* An Analytical Study. Washington, DC: Army War College, 1922.

2. Edward Coffman, *The War to End All Wars, 66. See also Richard S. Faulkner, Pershing's Crusaders: The American Soldier in World War I* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 88-93; and James Rainey, "The Questionable Training of the AEF in World War I," 92.

3. David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 56.

4. Coffman, *The War to End All Wars,* 68; Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War,* 62.

5. Coffman, *The War to End All Wars,* 81-83; Faulkner, *Pershing's Crusaders,* 97.

6. While the army had instituted recruit depots prior to the war, as discussed in Chapter 1, these depots functioned more as reception centers than training stations. During the war the recruit depots lacked the capacity for the massive influx of personnel, meaning most recruits arrived in their division without ever having been in an army facility, let alone received any training in one.

7. For quick summaries of how the army dealt with the shortage of officers, see Faulkner, *Pershing's Crusaders,* 93-94 and Coffman, *The War to End All Wars,* 66. For the best in depth survey that explores the full impact of this failing, see Richard Faulkner, *The School of Hard Knocks.*

8. Coffman, *The War to End All Wars,* 64-68.

9. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War,* 1:380. Pershing's memoirs are littered with complains about the training status of soldiers arriving from the United States. Virtually every mention of units' training status upon arrival is accompanied by a complaint about their substandard level of training. See in particular in vol. 1, 266, 293, and 379-381, and vol. 2, 237 and 278.

10. Center of Military History, *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War: American Expeditionary Forces: Divisions, Volume 2* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1988), 213.

11. The war department had published *Document No. 656* on 27 August and disseminated it to division headquarters. It seems reasonable that GO 7 was loosely based on *Document No. 656.*

12. General Orders No. 7, Headquarters 35th Division, dated 6 September 1917, Box 2, Entry NM-91 1241: Records of the 35th Division, RG 120, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces, NARA II, College Park, MD.

13. The collection of weekly schedules in the divisional records are incomplete. The earliest schedule is for the week of 15 to 20 October. It does not annotate which week is reflected, but by comparing the list of subjects to *Document No. 656* it is obvious it is the third week. The remaining schedules run through November and December, but the schedules for January are missing. Subsequent

reports indicate the division completed its program in that month. See Drill Schedule, October 15-20, dated 10 October 1917, Box 9, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

14. These finite resources included training ground to execute drills from the *Infantry Drill Regulations,* ranges to practice firing, available weapons for hands-on training with rifles and special weapons, and bayonet courses.

15. Oliver Spaulding and Army War College, The Historical Section, *The Thirty Fifth Division 1917-1918: An Analytical Study* (Washington, DC: Army War College, 1922), 8.

16. Oliver Spaulding and Army War College, *The Thirty Fifth Division 1917-1918: An Analytical Study,* 8. The dual nature of this training is intriguing. The available documents do not indicate how the division balanced training both styles of war at once, nor how effective either effort was.

17. "History of Thirty Fifth Division from Its Organization to April 6th 1919," Box 2, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD, 14.

18. Memo from Colonel F.M. Caldwell to the Adjutant General of the Army, "Report of Inspection of the 35th Division," dated 14 December 1917, Box 9, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

19. Memo from Colonel Samuel P. Lyon to the Commanding General 35th Division, "Condition of training of 139th Infantry," dated 6 February 1918, Box 93, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD. Colonel Lyon promised that if the division commander approved his changes, the state of training in the regiment would improve within two to three weeks. While the division commander approved the changes, he warned the colonel that "improvements will be expected in the stated time."

20. "Questionnaire: Infantry Company Commanders," dated 14 January 1918, Box 93, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

21. "Memory Aid for Battalion Commanders," no date, Box 93, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

22. Memorandum from Major General W.M. Wright, Commanding General, "Training Shortcomings," dated 29 March 1918, Box 93, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

23. Cover letter, from GHQ American Expeditionary Forces to Command General, 35th Division, "Subject: Training," dated 18 May 1918, Box 10, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

24. "History of the 35th Division," Box 2, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD, 2.

25. "History of the 35th Division," Box 2, 6. The machine guns on hand were enough to equip one company's worth of troops, while the remainder remained at the divisional machine gun school for common use and instruction.

26. Center of Military History, *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War,* 213.

27. "History of the 35th Division," Box 2, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD, 9-10. Interestingly enough, this party went for-

ward into the front line of trenches, remained there for many days, and even ventured out into no-man's land.

28. Also vying for the title of "most time spent stateside" would be the 38th Division. The War Department activated the 38th in the summer of 1917, just as it did the 31st, and the 38th began moving to the ports on 11 September 1918, four days before the 31st. The minor distinction most certainly did not make a substantial difference in the training of the two divisions. For these dates, see Center of Military History, *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War,* 173, 243.

29. Memo from Commanding General, 31st Division, to Commanding General, American Expeditionary Forces, "Brief report on Training, 31st Division," dated 11 October 1918, Box 26, Entry NM-91 1241: Records of the 31st Division, RG 120, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces, NARA II, College Park, MD.

30. General Order Number 10, dated 28 September 1917, Box 1, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

31. It is worth noting that the authors of General Order 10 almost certainly had access to *Document No. 656* before writing their directive. There are two passages in General Order 10—one regarding the importance of training for trench warfare and another discussing training draftees—that are exactly the same as passages from *Document No. 656.*

32. Record of Events 31st Division from Monthly Returns, Box 1, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

33. Record of Events 31st Division from Monthly Returns, College Park, MD. The pneumonia outbreak claimed ninety-seven deaths in November alone. The firing ranges, required for use from week five on, were not yet complete at the end of November.

34. Memo from Colonel J. G. McDonald to the Adjutant General of the Army, "Inspection of the 31st Division," dated 9 December 1917, Box 2, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

35. *Training Circular No. 5,* Box 93, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

36. Record of Events 31st Division from Monthly Returns, Box 1, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

37. Report from Capt. H. J. Cupper to the British Military Mission, "General Report for January," dated 27 January 1918, Box 1, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

38. Draft copy of *Training Circular No. 8,* Provisional Infantry Training Manual 1918, Box 1, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120; NARA II, College Park, MD.

39. Memo from Commanding General, 31st Division, to Commanding General, American Expeditionary Forces, "Brief report on Training, 31st Division," dated 11 October 1918, Box 26, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

40. Memo from MAJ Elvid Hunt to Colonel F.J. Morrow, dated 10 May 1918, Box 1, NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD. Declaring a

division ready for overseas service was a rare occurrence at this period. It seems Major Hunt might have been a bit optimistic in his assessment, as training 40 percent of the division's manpower would likely be a significant undertaking and would take longer than he estimated.

41. Record of Events 31st Division from Monthly Returns, Box 1, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD. The division received word of the transfer on 23 May. The transfer took place on 11 June.

42. Memo from Commanding General, 31st Division, to Commanding General, American Expeditionary Forces, "Brief report on Training, 31st Division," dated 11 October 1918, Box 26, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

43. Memo from the Chief of Staff, 31st Division, to the Commanding General, "Brief Report on Training," dated 23 July 1918, Box 26, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 12, NARA II, College Park, MD.

44. "General Orders No. 18," dated 18 June 1918, in World War I American Expeditionary Forces Division Training Documents, 31st Division. USAHEC, Carlisle, PA.

45. "Training Circular #1, Headquarters Thirty-First Division," dated 22 June 1918, in World War I American Expeditionary Forces Division Training Documents, 31st Division. USAHEC, Carlisle, PA. This circular outlined a course for senior and staff officers that lasted sixteen days and featured lectures, flag exercises, and live-fire demonstrations of various battalion operations.

46. Memo from the Chief Umpire to the Commander, 31st Division, "Report of Battalion Tests, 19-27 August," No date given, Box 2, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD. The critical nature of the umpire's report indicates either the battalions were uniformly poorly trained, or the umpire chose to focus on what needed to be improved, producing a document that would have greater utility in corrective training. Personal experience with such critiques, both having evaluated them as a historian and experienced them as an officer, indicates it is probably a little of both.

47. Memo from Commanding General, 31st Division, to Commanding General, American Expeditionary Forces, "Brief report on Training, 31st Division," dated 11 October 1918, Box 26, Entry NM-91 1241, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

48. Inspector General, American Expeditionary Forces to G-5, American Expeditionary Forces, "Preliminary Training Assessment of the 31st Division," dated 14 October 1918, Box 2, Entry NM-91, 1241, NARA II, College Park, MD.

49. Depot divisions were administrative divisions held behind the lines. Their job was to process replacement personnel, train them, and then provide them to the front. They did not have a combat role.

50. Draft Manuscript, "Military Training in the United States After Declaration of War," Box 1397, Entry NM-91 11: Correspondence Relating to American Expeditionary Forces Schools, 1917-1919, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD, 16-17.

Chapter 5
Institutionalize Experience: Introducing the Post-War Training Reforms

> To those who had believed a soldier to be a man in uniform with a gun in his hand, who believed the loose assertions made before the war that we could put an army of a million men in the field overnight, it must have been a revelation, an unforgettable object lesson.
>
> —Lieutenant Colonel R.H. Fletcher,
> "Universal Military Training"[1]

In the euphoria of victory following the armistice on 11 November 1918, there was no shortage of praise for the American Army and its performance during the war. Official reports were flush with rosy summaries of impressive accomplishments under difficult circumstances. Secretary of War Newton Baker opined what Pershing's men accomplished in France represented a, "wonderful story and exhibit[ed] at its best the confidence in their institutions which Americans may justly have."[2] Echoing Baker, General Peyton March reported "in the performance of the many responsible duties it [the army] has been called upon to perform both in this country and overseas, it has lived up to its traditions and has added laurels to its history."[3] Despite the outward praise, senior leaders knew that there had been serious issues with the army's mobilization and preparation for combat in Europe. Both in Congress and in the US Army, reformers set to work reviewing the military's performance and pushing their suggestions for change, resulting in "the most extended series of hearings on army organization in the history of both houses [of congress]."[4] This period of reform that resulted from the experiences in World War I had far reaching impacts on nearly every facet of the army, to include training. The final product of these reviews came in the form of the passage of the National Defense Act of 1920, a reorganization of the general staff, and the publication of *Training Regulations No. 10-5: Doctrines, Principles, and Methods,* dated 23 December 1921. Collectively, these measures impacted the army's training establishment from the highest echelons of the War Department down to the platoon-level and constituted a complete overhaul of how the army conceptualized and executed training. These reforms were designed not only to correct failures in the army's mobilization and training effort during World War I, but also to retain those practices that worked or expand those which showed promise, of which there were a great many.

The Army's priority immediately following the war was to retain as much of the experience it gained as was possible. In France, units continued training. Just five days after the armistice, the American Expeditionary Force published General Order 207 which mandated a twenty-five-hour training week, progressing from company through division exercises.[5] Within a month, divisions began executing these programs, to include maneuvers with the entire division.[6] While the training was mostly designed to maintain proficiency in the event the armistice did not result in a peace treaty, that eventuality seemed less and less realistic as the days went on. It seemed more likely that officers in the American Expeditionary Force seemed determine not to waste the opportunity that offered so many possible benefits. Continuing structured training would solidify the skills individual soldiers learned in combat, and it would allow officers an opportunity to practice their skills with the benefit of having real experience. Additionally, the training environment was one that was unlikely to be present after demobilization; the American Expeditionary Force in France possessed both men and resources with which to train in abundance. The window to use that environment would likely close quickly.

Stateside, General March and Secretary Baker acted quickly to extend the wartime army and make it a permanent fixture in the American military establishment. In January 1919, less than two months after the end of the war, the military and civilian heads of the army testified before the committee on military affairs in the House of Representatives to answer questions regarding the legislation the War Department had recently proposed. The War Department plan for reorganization contained two principle features. The first was an expansion of the army to a standing strength of five hundred thousand officers and men. Second, it sought to make permanent the wartime reorganizations of the general staff. In particular, it looked to abolish the inspector general department and replace its functions with a new finance department and an expanded training committee.[7] The proposal made no significant provisions for the national guard or for implementing universal military training, though Baker and March fielded questions on both during the hearing and largely dismissed them as minor parts of the proposed plan. In seeking to abolish a major bureau and more than triple the authorized strength of the army, the suggested legislation was no small measure.

The bill drew skepticism from congressmen who questioned its necessity and salient ideas. Knowing that any bill aimed to make such massive changes to the size and structure of the army would draw a prolonged national debate and likely fail, Baker tried to sneak the legislation into law by explaining the measure as necessary to retain the American Ex-

peditionary Force for its occupation of Germany.[8] Congressmen pressed Baker on that notion, demanding to know why such legislation should be a permanent reorganization and not a temporary one, to which Baker initially responded, "All legislation is temporary."[9] The members of the committee seemed unconvinced, and pressed for an answer. Baker eventually revealed the real reason, explaining if the legislation was temporary "it would fail to stabilize the existing organizations of the War Department … which, I think, would be a great misfortune."[10] Baker and March proved unable to make their case and the committee shelved the bill for further debate and investigation.

After the War Department's aggressive move to address what it insisted were critical flaws in the prewar system that had proved so inadequate during the war, Congress acted to explore alternative solutions. In October 1919 the Senate military affairs committee heard testimony of Colonel John McAuley Palmer, a former brigade commander and general headquarters-staff officer in the American Expeditionary Force. Palmer critiqued the War Department's bill, as well as two other proposals. Palmer questioned the need for a large standing military, and instead advocated for a citizen-army, built around a small standing force and backed by a large body of citizens who had participated in a system of universal military training.[11] While Palmer disagreed with Baker and March on how to achieve readiness during peacetime, he agreed that retaining skills from the war were important. Had the country done so after the Civil War, Palmer argued it was likely the country "would have had a very economical military system, and we [the United States] would have had a military system that would have found us prepared for the last war. We would have had a functioning machine through which we could actually have developed our man power[sic]."[12] Palmer's testimony made an impact on the committee, so much so that they drafted him to advise the committee as it crafted what eventually became the National Defense Act of 1920.[13]

Coming after Palmer, and reinforcing his views, was the most compelling and impactful voice Congress heard during the hearings. Pershing spoke before a joint committee from both the House and Senate in late October 1919. Pershing made it clear that the prewar military establishment had been a complete failure. Pershing opened by stating American "success in the war was not due to our forethought in preparedness, but to exceptional circumstances which made it possible to prepare after we had declared war."[14] He went on to explain the War Department general staff tried and failed to perform duties during the war for which it was not organized or manned to execute, producing a number of justified criticisms of its performance.[15] He derided the combat performance of the officers com-

missioned in the three-month training camps, saying that they were not fully trained in their duties, merely "commissioned and put in charge of troops."[16] He seemingly shocked one member of the committee when he explained it had taken until August 1918—over a year after the April 1917 Declaration of War—before a substantial number of American troops entered the line, a delay he attributed to primarily to the difficulty of training soldiers. Finally, he noted solemnly that while many Americans eventually achieved combat efficiency through a result of their combat experience, it was "pretty costly to train men under those conditions."[17]

The combination of Baker and March's initial attempt at reforms, Palmer's testimony regarding the importance of trained citizens, and Pershing's somber indictment on the American war effort convinced Congress that serious changes were in order. All three testimonies shared two key ideas. First was the condemnation of America's preparedness and, by extension, the 1916 National Defense Act. Second was the notion that retaining the lessons of the war was essential, as they had learned those lessons by paying an inordinately high cost. The idea that wartime performance was flawed but could still produce a positive benefit was key to the postwar actions. None of these influential men testified that the war effort had been exemplary; merely that it had been good enough and had produced effective solutions to old problems. To both address the standing issues and retain wartime practices, Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920 on 4 June of that year. It had as its central features a standing force of two-hundred-eighty thousand officers and men, a heavy reliance on an expanded and improved national guard, and a reorganized general staff.

Implementing the National Defense Act of 1920 had significant repercussions regarding the organization and training the army. First, it solidified the existence and authority of the general staff and established it an enlarged strength of eighty-eight officers, not including general officers. The staff was loosely defined as:

- A chief of staff,
- The War Department general staff (four assistant chiefs of staff),
- The troops of the general staff (officers ranked captain or higher to handle the daily work).

This staff was created by the chief of staff, who initially assigned the four assistant chiefs to head four divisions: (1) operations, (2) war plans,

(3) military intelligence, and (4) purchase, storage, and traffic. March opined that the expansion allowed for:

> The development of a general staff adequate and properly organized to perform the requisite functions which experience has shown to be imperatively required of it if the military program is to be promptly and effectually carried out either in peace or in war.[18]

The assigned duties of the general staff, under the immediate direction of the chief of staff, were:

> Cause to be made … the necessary plans for recruiting, organizing, supplying, equipping, mobilizing, training, and demobilizing the Army of the United States and for the use of the military forces for national defense.[19]

To execute its training mission, the general staff contained within the war plans division a training and instruction branch with the mission:

> To study methods of warfare and to prepare plans and policies relative to military training as a preparation for war. To insure [sic] the dissemination of the correct tactical doctrine as established by the War Department. To maintain close relations with troops undergoing training and with chiefs of arms and services, for the purpose of coordinating training to the end that instruction may be efficient and progressive.[20]

The structure mirrored the final wartime organization of the general staff. The defining characteristic of that organization, finalized on 26 August 1918, was the primacy of a centralized authority.[21] The actions March had taken under the auspices of the Overman Act during the war were now permanent under the new legislation. This newfound power and influence of the chief of staff and the general staff granted the War Department the authority and capability to direct doctrine and training in a way it had lacked before the war. With that authority, the chief of staff could create capstone doctrine and manuals, and force the bureaus and branches to conform to those principles. In short, instead of trying to make doctrine conform to the ideas and systems of its subordinate parts, the army could now establish the key ideas around which the subordinates would have to build.

Beyond the national-level direction of training management, the 1920 National Defense Act also influenced the organization of subordinate com-

mands. The bill adopted a measure first proposed in the March-Baker Bill by abolishing territorial departments and replacing them with nine tactical commands of corps size. Each corps consisted of one regular division, two national guard divisions, and the nucleus of three reserve divisions, see Figure 5.1. The organization of divisions was interestingly left up to the army, which decided to retain the organization of the World War I division based on the recommendations of its own internal tactical reviews.[22] Each corps headquarters served as an administrative and training command in peacetime and would function as a deployable tactical command in the event of war. Subsequent guidance reiterated a key idea in the 1920 National Defense Act: that the focus of training was to be on preparing the regular divisions so they could effectively train national guard troops and units.[23] Thus, divisions had to train part-time soldiers while also being ready to deploy for small-scale contingencies that did not require national mobilization. This had nominally been the case before the war, but the territorial commanders of the regular army had largely neglected their duties to train the guard and reserves. After 1920, the general staff possessed the requisite influence and authority to ensure that the corps commanders paid more attention to the task, resulting in a tighter relationship between the regular army and the guard.[24] Additionally, the establishment of corps headquarters provided a more robust administration to execute that training scheme. Overall, the organization and activities of the regular army's training efforts were now more closely aligned with the legislative vision for how the nation would mobilize and train for a major war than they had been before the war.

Despite the increased emphasis on the guard-trainng mission and an organization better suited to support it, the army had difficulty executing that element of the 1920 National Defense Act. The legislation allowed for an established strength of two-hundred eighty officers and enlisted in the regular army, but it quickly became clear Congress never intended to have a standing force of that size. In December 1920, six months after the passage of the National Defense Act, Congress ordered Secretary Baker to reduce the strength of the army from the current two-hundred thousand to one-hundred seventy-five thousand in accordance with the annual appropriations bill.[25] The following year Congress authorized funds for one-hundred fifty thousand soldiers, and in 1922 the number dropped again to one-hundred forty thousand. For the rest of the decade, the army never exceeded one-hundred forty-two thousand.[26] These reductions hamstrung the army's ability to execute the scheme outlined in the 1920 National Defense Act severely. March pointed out the difficulty, noting the "reduction of the authorized strength of the regular army to 150,000 will

compel the War Department to put an end to many combat organizations, or reduce them to a strength which will make training impracticable, and will destroy their value as a nucleus around which to build fighting organizations in an emergency."[27] Throughout the 1920s, the lack of available manpower severely impacted the army's ability to train.[28] That impediment should not obscure the vast improvement in how the army managed training in the post-war period as compared to the pre-war system.

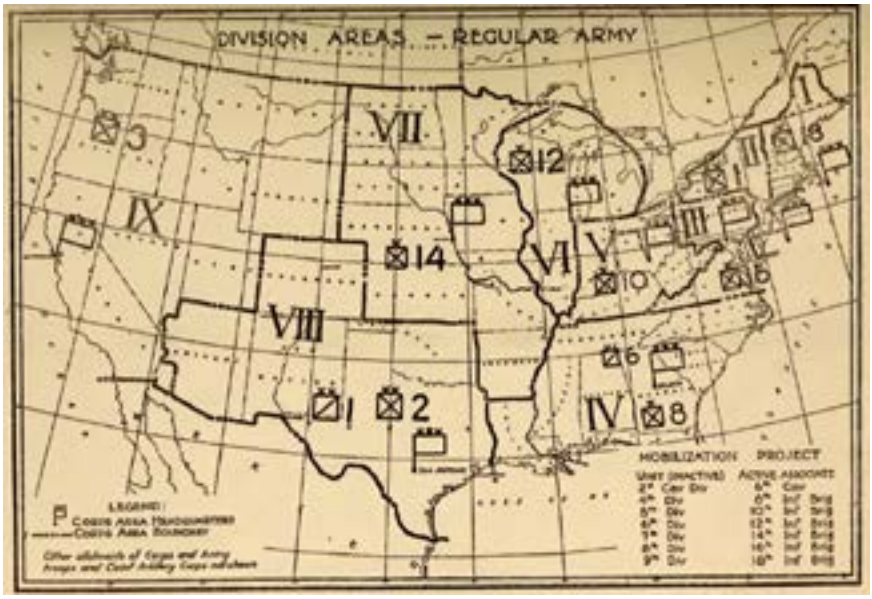

Figure 5.1. Map of the Nine Corps Areas and Their Associated Regular Divisions.

Source: US Army General Services School, *Military Organization of the United States* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: The General Service Schools Press, 1925, reprinted 1927), 11.

While the 1920 National Defense Act had come from outside of the army to facilitate change, internal reviews and commissions within the army itself signified the extent to which new ideas had taken hold. Within a month of the armistice, Fiske—Pershing's lead training officer—submitted to the American Expeditionary Force chief of staff a memorandum entitled "Proposed Military Policy." Fiske made a number of key assumptions in order to reach his conclusions that revealed some key lessons he

had learned during the war. In recommending that six months of training was sufficient should the country adopt universal military training, he asserted:

> *Efficient divisions can be made in this period provided the officers and non-commissioned officers are highly trained professionals ... and provided, finally, that all work is done pursuant to a well considered program which eliminates waste motion and lost time.*[29]

Fiske went on to explain that setting such conditions required a general staff section fully devoted to training, with the required authority to prepare uniform plans and inspect training in order to compel units' adherence to those plans. Pershing thought highly enough of the plan to forward it to the War Department on 23 December, endorsing all of its major conclusions as he did so.[30] The internal-planning document was the first of many to appear in the months after the war that leaned on wartime experience as its justifying principle.

In April 1919, Pershing convened an extensive survey of American wartime performance in order to capture the tactical lessons of the war. The findings of the superior board on organization and tactics, published in July, addressed a myriad of topics mostly relating to actions on the battlefield. Its primary lesson, as clearly stated in its introduction, read:

> No greater lesson can be drawn from the World War than that unity of command is absolutely vital to the success of military operations. All the activities of a separate military organization, large or small, must be controlled by the single mind of the commander.[31]

The report went on to clarify that key to establishing a system of command and staff was to "define clearly the channels of authority, to fix responsibility, and to stimulate in each of the many members of the military machine … mutual confidence."[32] While these references were about the tactical command of the field army, the underlying theme was that clearly defined roles and centralization of command would help alleviate the difficulties the American Expeditionary Force encountered in France. With regards to the War Department, the findings in the report argued for increased centralization among the combat arms by appointing a singular chief for each arm in the War Department. Pershing later echoed each of these ideas in his testimony before Congress in October 1919.

Also stemming directly from the American Expeditionary Force was the 1919 edition of the *Infantry Drill Regulations.* After the war it was apparent that the 1911 *Infantry Drill Regulations* was hopelessly out of date and would be of little use for training infantrymen, but producing a new version would require time. In the interim, the army adopted a readily-available solution. During the war, Fiske's G-5 Section had produced a new version of the *Infantry Drill Regulations* for use by American Expeditionary Force divisions. The American Expeditionary Force's version used the 1911 *Infantry Drill Regulations* as its base and then relied heavily on combat experience to make the necessary modifications. The chief of infantry intended to use the new edition of the regulations in a temporary capacity until the War Department produced something more final, but the 1919 *Infantry Drill Regulations* remained in service until 1932.[33] Thus, a wide expanse of key functions, ranging from the organization of command and administration to tactical doctrine, were heavily influenced by wartime experience, and by extension played a significant role in shaping the minds of officers in the post-war army.

Much of the desire to use wartime experience came from the feeling that the army had turned in a poor performance during the war. Writing in 1921, Perishing's former Chief of Staff Major General James Harbord lamented "every well-informed American knows that many lives were lost and many dollars wasted because officers and men were insufficiently trained."[34] Echoing the rather low opinion of the American Expeditionary Force's performance was Major George Marshall, who had served as a plans and operations officer in both the 1st Division and general headquarters American Expeditionary Force. Marshall attempted to put the army's success during its offensive in the Argonne in perspective by acknowledging the weakened state of the German Army. He cited many mistakes during the attack, noting "the same mistakes earlier in the war, would have brought an immediate and unfortunate reaction."[35] To counteract such failures, Marshall implored his readers to learn from experience and history in order to better prepare for future combat.

The voices of regret and their calls for reform received a serious boost on 1 July 1921 when Pershing became Chief of Staff of the Army. As already noted, Pershing shared many of the views that the army needed to do better in its preparations for war. Six days after his appointment, he called upon his old subordinate James Harbord to convene an investigatory board for the purpose of looking into reorganizing the existing general staff. One of Harbord's missions was to "insure[sic] supervision of all staff activities of the War Department and eliminate overlapping of jurisdiction and duplication of effort."[36] Pershing was attempting to build an organi-

zation that could better prepare the army for war. The Harbord Board met for a little over a month to debate a proper organization for the general staff. Its findings were widespread, but all possessed the common goal of centralizing authority in the chief of staff, who in a time of war would become the field commander and deploy with a portion of the general staff forming his general headquarters. In peacetime, the officers who would fill the general headquarters would serve in the war plans section of the newly reorganized general staff. The reorganized general staff was based on the G-system used in the American Expeditionary Force. The G-system designated five staff divisions: (1) G-1 personnel, (2) G-2 intelligence, (3) G-3 operations and training, (4) G-4 supply, and (5) G-5 the war plans division. The philosophy in the findings of the superior board had finally made its impact. In Pershing's words, the new organization was a "unified and thoroughly tested overhead mechanism" to counter the complex challenged of modern war.[37]

Prior to Pershing's reorganization, authority for training had resided in the training and instruction branch of the war plans division, just as it had during the war. From the end of the war through Pershing's reorganization, the training and instruction branch's ability to function as an independent agency was hampered by its secondary status as a small shop buried within the war plans division, the ongoing demobilization of the army and the unpredictability that ensued from it, and the increasing influence and independence of the branch chiefs following the implementation of the 1920 National Defense Act. Despite these limitations, the branch conducted serious work from 1919 to 1921 setting the direction for the next few years.

Among the most pressing issues facing the training and instruction branch was sifting through the mountain of wartime publications to identify the ones which the army should continue to use. The general staff and American Expeditionary Force produced hundreds of manuals during the war, many of which still existed in various headquarters around the army, causing confusion and jeopardizing uniformity. During an extensive review, officers of the branch retained only those manuals which promised "practical application of the lessons taught in the methods of warfare by the World War."[38] Among these approved holdovers were many of the final versions of publications developed through the painstaking trial and error training during the war: *Training Circular No. 8—Provisional Infantry Training Manual,* the final version of *Training Circular No. 5—Infantry Training, Training Circular No. 12—Combined Training of a Division,* an American Expeditionary Force document entitled "Combat Instructions" that had been issued to divisions in France, and the aforementioned 1919

Infantry Drill Regulations.[39] While few units conducted any substantial training during this period, the retention of the wartime manuals served as an important base from which the War Department built its interwar training library.

With a doctrinal foundation in place, the training and instruction branch next sought to provide guidance on how to train. Attempting to address the persistent conflict between centralized direction and decentralized execution, the branch clarified roles and responsibilities of the involved parties. The War Department (i.e., the war plans division) was to publish broad guidance. This guidance referred to the general character and scope of training as well as its desired objective, while all remaining details were left to subordinate commanders, who would then be held accountable for the results they had achieved rather than the methods they had used.[40] To aid commanders in achieving uniform results, in late 1920 the branch began work on definitive standards of proficiency that clearly explained what individuals and units should be able to accomplish at the completion of a training cycle.[41] Additionally, the branch received feedback from commanders about how the lack of an "authorized expression" of approved training doctrine had resulted in confusion regarding the proper methods to use in training.[42] To address the issue, the training and instruction branch began work on a new publication that synthesized the litany of training documents currently in circulation into a single, capstone training manual. The new manual promised to definitively state the principles upon which all training should be based.

All of these actions helped to create a common training language, but without a centralized authority to ensure its use, it was unlikely the army would ever speak it. Pershing's reorganization of the general staff in 1921 streamlined responsibilities and gave the staff the ability to execute proper supervision and coordination of its key responsibilities. In Pershing's general staff, the training and instruction branch became the training branch and moved from the war plans division to the G-3 division. The centralization and clear delineation of responsibility and authority provided by Pershing's actions trickled down to the training branch which permitted it to serve as the epicenter of all training doctrine and literature in the army.[43] Pershing's actions also partially subordinated all the chiefs of branches to the training branch itself. One of the primary functions of the chiefs of branches was to develop doctrinal manuals and drill regulations for their respective organizations. Historically such work had been done independent of other branches or the War Department, with only the *Field Service Regulations* as a means of ensuring some degree of harmony in doctrine. Following Pershing's reorganization, all branches had to submit their draft

manuals and regulations to the training branch for approval. Only after the officers of the training branch approved the document could it move to the adjutant general's office for publication.[44] The chiefs still retained significant freedom and influence, and it would not be until World War II when a War Department agency would gain command authority of the various branches. The degree to which Pershing's reorganization had centralized authority far exceeded anything the general staff had possessed prewar.

The training branch functioned in ways similar to what Pershing had envisioned during the war when he had suggested a strong training committee within the War Department that possessed the power to enforce uniformed standards across the army. Starting in 1921, the officers of the training branch made routine visits to training centers across the country, partially to see how well their doctrine translated into reality, but also to ensure that corps commanders were adhering to the general guidelines established in the War Department publications.[45] Another key element of Pershing's proposed committee was the continuous review and updating of training literature so as to best reflect current practices. Similarly, the training branch continued the work of its predecessors by reviewing and refining the War Department's entire collection of drill and training regulations.[46] Key among those manuals was publication of the "Principles of War and Doctrines of Training," a document that had been started in the previous year by the training and instruction branch.

Published in December 1921, *TR 10-5: Doctrines, Principles, and Methods* represented a watershed moment in the history of army training doctrine. It marked the first time in the history of the American Army that various combat branches, the United States War Department, field commanders, and representatives from service schools had all worked together to produce a single agreed upon vision of how the army would train for war. Moreover, it was the first time that any document explained how commanders should translate doctrinal principles from the *Field Service Regulations* and branch drill regulations into training programs.[47] It did not explain how to train for a specific action as World War I training literature had done, (to train replacements, to train an infantry division, to evaluate infantry soldiers, and so on), but rather discussed training in the broadest terms so as to provide uniformity to all training events. By establishing basic principles and prescribing how the army trained as opposed to how a branch trained, it demonstrated that the army had graduated from thinking of training as a loose collection of drills and methods to instead considering it a refined science that was an essential skill for the professional officer.

Training Regulation 10-5 opened by clearly stating the "following instructions will govern military training in the Army, supervision of which is vested in the United States War Department."[48] It went on to describe, briefly, the army's doctrinal outlook on war, stated certain underlying principles that governed combat, and then listed methods of those principles which commanders could use. These sections placed training within the army's theoretical approach to war, linking training with ideas found in the current edition of the *Field Service Regulation.*[49] From there the manual shifted to training, containing sections which describe the doctrines, principles, methods, and general systems of training. Each section was essential in helping commanders conceptualize, plan, and execute training that nested within both the army's tactical doctrine and the nation's system of national defense.

The first of these was Section V, Doctrines of Training, which listed specific collective tasks that were essential for each branch to perform its duties in accordance with the *Field Service Regulations.* Section VI, Principles of Training, described common characteristics that all training programs should strive to develop in individuals and units. These included the importance of training independent thinkers who could take the initiative while also being obedient to orders, building physical fitness and an alert mind, sustaining morale, cultivating a sense of strong morals, and developing in individuals the ability to evaluate new knowledge as opposed to just memorizing facts. Additionally, the section stated that the art of training itself must be taught, asserting to an "Important feature of every phase of training is instruction on the art of how to train others."[50] Methods of training, was perhaps more useful than the preceding principles, as it provided commanders with concrete elements required in training: the importance of a progressive plan, the necessity of a clear objective, the use of the applicatory method, and the importance of decentralization.[51] The next section, general system of military training, delineated responsibilities for training in both peace and wartime. In peace, the chief of staff retained absolute control over directing all training, while the territorial corps commanders were the primary agent for defining objectives, conducting supervision and formal inspections, planning combined training, and training the guard and reserve units in their area. During war, the war plans division would activate the general headquarters, which would then insert itself into the system by sending updated training practices and doctrinal adjustments directly to the general staff for incorporation into existing training plans.

Each of these sections either codified a successful practice from the war or immediate postwar period, or sought to address a key shortcom-

ing from the same periods. Methods of training and principles of training traced their roots to *Training Circular No. 5* (the final 1918 version), *Training Circular No. 8,* and the American Expeditionary Force's program of training of divisions. The importance of centralized direction but decentralized execution—under the supervision of higher commanders—addressed the dilemma the army had wrestled with since before the war. Less settled was the definition of uniformity that had driven a philosophical wedge between the American Expeditionary Force and the War Department during the war. *Training Regulation 10-5* alluded to the importance of uniformity in requiring adherence to its prescribed methods and approved standardized evaluation criteria, but in assigning territorial commanders as the chief executors of training it allowed for differences to appear below the War Department-level. The manual's very direct explanation of general headquarters' role in training went beyond the explanation of its role as a wartime headquarters found in the 1920 *National Defense Act* and the findings of the Harbord Board, and it was almost certainly Pershing's attempt to ensure that no future field commander had to suffer through the disputes he had endured regarding the methods that were used to train the army he would employ.

Despite all of its allusions to past experience, Training Regulations 10-5 was still ground breaking. In its final section, system of troop training, it espoused new ideas. The section was intended to tie together the entire manual, explaining how commanders and staffs used the methods of training to execute responsibilities found in the general system of military training in order to develop the characteristics listed in the principles of training and prepare units to conduct tasks from doctrines of training. To communicate that process, the manual explained that individual preparation and self-study were the duties of both officers and non-commissioned offficers.[52] This was a new idea. Such practices had always been culturally accepted as part of an officer's responsibilities, but now they were part of doctrine and solidified by regulation. Combined with the earlier principle, that training was an ability that had to be taught, these new skills of the military professional gained recognition as both an art and a science. Clearly, the army's conception of training had undergone significant changes from the turn of the century.

The publication of *Training Regulation 10-5* marked the last noteworthy adjustment to the army's training management and doctrine for the foreseeable future. Over the next few years defense budgets shrank and national concern towards the army decreased as the dust settled from demobilization and the implementation of the 1920 National Defense Act.[53] Given the lack of change for the rest of the decade, the importance of the

army's actual wartime experience during the period of reform was substantial. Each of the steps the army took during the period from 1918 to 1922 that addressed training had long-term impacts. The Pershing reorganization was the last major change to the organization of the general staff and the War Department until General George Marshall conducted his own shakeup in 1942. The 1919 *Infantry Drill Regulations* did not receive its planned update and revision, and instead remained the manual of record into the 1930s. *Training Regulation 10-5* became a prominent document in the army and remained in effect until 1928, when a new version appeared that differed only slightly from the 1921 version. The National Defense Act was the legislation in place when World War II broke out and guided the country's initial mobilization in 1940, to include activating the general headquarters. In every meaningful way, how the army planned, administered, conceptualized, managed, and implemented training throughout the 1920s and 1930s was a direct result of wartime experience.

Notes

1. R. H., Fletcher, "Universal Military Training." *Infantry Journal* 16, no. 1 (July 1919): 1-10.

2. "Report of the Secretary of War," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1919,* 9.

3. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1919,* 479.

4. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department. *Annual Report of the War Department 1920,* 162.

5. General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces, "General Order No. 207," dated 16 November 1918, Box 7, Entry NM-10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD.

6. Headquarters, 32d Division, American Expeditionary Forces, "Training Memorandum No. 38," dated 19 December 1918, Box 18, Entry NM-91 1241: Records of the 32d Division, RG 120, NARA II, College Park, MD.

7. "Statements of Secretary Baker and General March before the House of Representatives Committee on Military Affairs, 16 January 1919," *The National Defense: Historical Documents Relating to the Reorganization Plans of the War Department and the Present National Defense Act, Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives,* 69th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Offices, 1927), 253-254. In Baker's view, the IG had conducted two major tasks during the war: inspecting finances and inspecting training. Both of those tasks could be delegated to other departments.

8. "Statements of Secretary Baker and General March, 256-257. Baker explained that the law required all draftees discharged and the army brought back to its authorized peacetime strength as soon as a peace treaty was signed. That would make any conditions of the peace treaty that required an American occupation force impossible.

9. "Statements of Secretary Baker and General March, 257.

10. "Statements of Secretary Baker and General March before the House of Representatives Committee on Military Affairs, 16 January 1919," *Reorganization Hearing,* 260. Baker explained that the existing organization had been worked out during the war to address issues with the prewar relationship between the general staff and the bureaus, and it embodied the hard-learned lessons of the war.

11. Universal military training was designed to provide basic military training to every military-aged male in the country. Variations of the plan called for training of varying percentages of the population for varying durations of time, they all had as their central idea a system whereby each year a large number of civilians would receive military training for a period of many months. They would then be discharged, and in the event of a war could quickly be mobilized into service to either fill out existing units or stand up guard and reserve divisions.

12. "Statement of Col. John McAuley Palmer, General Staff, before the Senate Subcommittee on Military Affairs, 9 October 1919," House of Representatives, *Reorganization Hearing,* 318.

13. Weigley, *History of the United States Army,* 397-399.

14. "Statement of Gen. John J. Pershing, before the Committees on Military Affairs, 31 October 1919," House of Representatives, *Reorganization Hearing,* 363.

15. "Statement of Gen. John J. Pershing, *Reorganization Hearing,*367.

16. "Statement of Gen. John J. Pershing, *Reorganization Hearing,* 372.

17. "Statement of Gen. John J. Pershing, before the Committees on Military Affairs, 31 October 1919," House of Representatives, *Reorganization Hearing,* 377-378.

18. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1920,* 19.

19. *The National Defense Act: Approved 4 June 1920* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 11.

20. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1920,* 44.

21. General Orders No. 80, 26 August 1918, United States War Department. The supremacy of a central authority was clear throughout the document. First, it stated the chief of staff "takes rank and precedence over all officers of the army, and by virtue of that position … he issues such orders as will ensure the policies of the war department are harmoniously executed." Chiefs of the various general staff divisions could "issue instruction in the name of the secretary of war and of the chief of staff." It went on to explain that the chiefs of the various branches and bureaus were to assist the chief of staff and the general staff in their supervisory duties of the entire army by recommending and advising those bodies on matters regarding their respective arms.

22. General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces, Report of Superior Board on Organization and Tactics (1 July 1919), USAHEC, Carlisle, PA. The report is explained in further detail below.

23. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1920,* 10; "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, Annual Report of the War Department 1922, 118-119. The idea that the regular army's primary mission was to train the National Guard repeatedly appears in annual reports of the secretary of war and the chief of staff.

24. The Annual Reports of the Operations and Training Division, G-3, War Department general staff from 1920-1926 all discuss training of the National Guard and Reserve Officers' Training Corps as major operations the army conducted throughout the year. See Box 1, Entry NM-84 213: Annual Reports of the G-3 Division, RG 165: Records of the War Department general and special staffs, NARA II, College Park, MD.

27. Robert K. Griffith Jr., *Men Wanted for the U.S. Army: America's Experience with an All-Volunteer Army between the World Wars* (London: Greenwood Press, 1982), 58.

28. Weigley, *History of the United States Army,* 568.

29. "Report of the Chief of Staff," United States War Department, Annual Report of the War Department 1921, 29.

30. Kenneth Finlayson, an *Uncertain Trumpet: The Evolution of U.S. Army Infantry Doctrine, 1919-1941* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 81-84.

29. Memo for the Chief of Staff, American Expeditionary Forces, from Brigadier General Harold Fiske, "proposed military policy," dated 6 December 1918, USAHEC, Carlisle, PA, 10. The excerpt quoted was typed in all capital letters, emphasizing that Fiske's assertion was highly contingent upon a robust peacetime training apparatus.

30. Memorandum from the Commanding General, American Expeditionary Forces, to the United States War Department, "Memorandum on the Military Policy of the United States," (23 December 1918), Box 6, Entry NM-10 11, RG 200, NARA II, College Park, MD. The memorandum arrived too late to influence the United States War Department's January 1919 legislation that March pitched to Congress.

31. General Headquarters American Expeditionary Forces, Report of the Superior Board on Tactics and Organization (1 July, 1919), 5, USAHEC, Carlisle, PA. This comment was most likely a result of scar tissue from Pershing's various arguments with the United States War Department and his perceived lack of support from it.

32. General Headquarters American Expeditionary Forces, Report of the Superior Board, 8.

33. W. H. Waldron, "The New Infantry Drill Regulations," *The Infantry Journal* 16, no. 5 (November 1919): 374-376.

34. J. G. Harbord, "Universal Military Training," *The Infantry Journal* 18, no. 1 (January 1921): 5.

35. George C. Marshall, "Profiting by War Experiences," *The Infantry Journal* 18, no. 1 (January 1921): 37.

36. "War Department Special Order No 155-O," House of Representatives, *Reorganization Hearings,* 568.

37. "Report of the Secretary of War," United States War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department 1922,* 113.

38. Annual Report of the Director of the War Plans Division, General Staff, 1919-1920, 16, Box 1, Entry NM-84 213, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

39. US War Department, *List of War Department Documents, Issued by the Adjutant General of the Army with their Distribution* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920). This publication stipulated not only what documents were authorized for current use, but also their distribution throughout the army with authorized quantities down to the officer-level in some cases. It also declared all documents not listed were obsolete and were no longer to be used.

40. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1921 of the Director of the War Plans Division General Staff, 20-21, Box 1, Entry NM-84 213, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

41. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1921, 21-22. The training and instruction branch did not develop these standards, but oversaw their development. The training and instruction branch sent directives to the chiefs of branches to develop their own standards and forward them to the general staff for approval. After their tentative approval, they would be published for a one-year trial, after which they would receive necessary modifications and be published for use across the service.

42. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1921 of the Director of the War Plans Division General Staff, 21. The term "authorized expression" refers to the existence of many official and semi-official publications regarding training. The previous year's culling of wartime manuals and publications had resolved some of this issue when it eliminated a large percentage of these documents, but none of the surviving manuals was the definitive authority on training principles and doctrine.

43. Annual Report of the Chief, Training Branch, Operations and Training Division, G-3, for the year ending 30 June 1922, 1, Box 1, Entry NM-84 213, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

44. Annual Report of the Chief, G-3, 15.

45. Annual Report of the Chief, G-3, 3-4.

46. Annual Report of the Chief, G-3,14-15.

47. Annual Report of the Chief, G-3,6.

48. United States War Department, *Training Regulations No. 10-5: Doctrine, Principles, and Methods* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 1.

49. At the time of publication, the 1914 *Field Service Regulation* was still the most current edition of the capstone manual, but the process for revising it was well underway. That process, headed by the G-3 division and heavily influenced by the training branch, was completed in 1923. William O. Odom, *After the Trenches: The Transformation of the US Army, 1918-1939* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 32-35.

50. United States War Department, *Training Regulation No. 10-5,* 7.

51. The applicatory system required that all training must be accompanied by a practical exercise following completion of the initial instruction and the first practice. The practical exercises were to be both realistic and comprehensive, demanding the trainee—be it an individual or unit—use previously learned skills in conjunction with the new one.

52. United States War Department, *Training Regulation No. 10-5,* 12.

53. Conclusion drawn from reviewing the Annual Reports of the G-3 Division and the Training Branch from 1923 to 1929. All found in Box 1, Entry NM-84 213, RG 165, NARA II, College Park, MD.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

On 26 July 1940, as part of the nation's reaction to the Fall of France and the growing possibility of becoming involved in the conflict that was slowly engulfing the world, the War Department activated the general headquarters as a stateside organization. As envisioned by the authors of the 1920 National Defense Act, general headquarters was supposed to be deployed in the event that America needed to send an expeditionary force abroad. In the meantime, its mission became to "decentralize the activities of the War Department and to assist the chief of staff in his capacity as commanding general of the field forces." Specifically, it was to "be concerned with the direction and supervision of the training" of all troops in the various stateside armies, harbor defense troops, general headquarters aviation elements, and the newly created armored force.[1] The 1920 National Defense Act legislation was designed to capture the best practices of World War I in order to correct some of the biggest failures and to sanction creation of the general headquarters. Functioning as a headquarters, governing training was an expansion of the basic idea behind the established training committee. In that capacity, general headquarters oversaw the initial stages of American mobilization, including the planning and execution of the 1941 maneuvers in the Carolinas and Louisiana and the publication of the first wartime training directives.[2] In March 1942, general headquarters became the army ground forces. The two organizations shared the same mission, but differed in that the army ground forces was imbued with not only the responsibility to govern training but also the command authority to enforce its mandates. At long last, the army finally had a centralized training organization with a strong director at its head, one which Pershing had argued for and the War Department had tried to establish in 1917 and 1918.

On 16 July 1941, the War Department published *FM 21-5, Basic Field Manual: Military Training*. The manual discussed training management, outlined methods of training individuals and units, explained the importance of using the applicatory method in training, and provided general principles of consideration when developing a training schedule.[3] The document stayed in print throughout World War II and became the first in a series of manuals that governed training during the 1950s and 1960s. *Field Manual 21-5* had its roots in *Training Regulation 10-5,* which had received updated editions in 1928 and 1935. *Training Regulation 10-5,* in

turn, traced its lineage to ideas that originated in a collection of World War I training publications.

Prior to World War I, the US Army possessed neither a training organization nor a training doctrine, and neither was on the horizon. Its training establishment was essentially nonexistent. Its centralized director, nominally the chief of staff and general staff, lacked the institutional authority and the cultural acceptance to make any substantial moves regarding training. There existed no training literature beyond *Field Service Regulations* and drill manuals. The army was fractured with respect to a training philosophy, which created a situation whereby existing ideas of training did not support national schemes for mobilization. Most importantly, officers possessed no understanding of the finer points of the science and art of training, to include standardized evaluation criteria, the applicatory method of instruction, the importance of progressive training, the best principles to govern the design of training plans, or methods for instructors to use beyond overseeing hours of task repetition. Throughout the period, drill and training were synonymous. By 1918 everything had changed. The chief of staff and general staff had a firm grip on the administration of the army and had strengthened their grip on the 1920 National Defense Act. This was an attempt to emulate the success which those organizations had enjoyed as the war went on and as their power had increased with the Overman Act. New training manuals existed, helping commanders execute a variety of different training tasks. While a unified vision of training regarding how the army should prepare for war had not yet emerged, the two competing visions acknowledged the importance of training. When the 1920 National Defense Act settled the debate, the army did its best to align with the nation's mobilization policies. Army officers acknowledged that drill was merely one component of training, and that proper training consisted of many constituent parts, each of which required significant forethought and supervision in order to produce the desired result. The entire system had undergone monumental changes in less than two years of war and three postwar years.

Those changes are important for two reasons. First, the development of the training establishment of the American Army was an important step in the evolution of the institutional army. The institutional army includes elements which do not deploy as an expeditionary force but instead remain to generate and sustain the army. Included in this group are mostly command organizations responsible for developing and codifying formal operational procedures for training, leading, and supplying an army while developing the doctrine with which it fights. The root reforms of the early

twentieth century represented the single largest change in the institutional army since its inception, but they left work undone, particularly with respect to training. The army's actions during World War I constituted a major step forward in addressing this unfinished business. The evolution of the institutional army is essential to understanding how it was able to transform the massive potential combat power of the United States into realized combat power during World War II and beyond.[4] Second, a more complete understanding of the benefits of the World War I training experience furthers an understanding of how the various components of a national-level training program interact. The complex interplay between a directive authority, its training doctrine, and a supportive training agency is best understood by seeing it in action. In the case of the US Army, the first instance where that took place was in 1917-1918. That experience, flawed as it was in producing proficient combat units, succeeded in bringing the three elements of a training program together. Given where the army's training establishment started in 1917, and considering the difficulty of expanding a force of two-hundred thousand soldiers to one of over four million soldiers, the accomplishment of creating a relatively well-developed training establishment in less than two years is impressive. That the army chose to retain many of the salient features of this system, and that those features became prominent elements to the army's mobilization for World War II, speaks to the success of the World War I training experience and perhaps mandates historians to reconsider the extent of its failure.

Notes

1. “Memo Establishing General Headquarters,” (July 26, 1940), Box 42, Entry NM5 57, Decimal Correspondence of General Headquarters US Army, 1940-1942, RG 337, NARA II, College Park, MD.

2. On the field maneuvers, see Christopher R. Gabel, *The U.S. Army GHQ Maneuvers of 1941* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1992). On the first training directive, see Memo from Chief of Staff, GHQ, “Training of Newly Activated Infantry Divisions, 16 February 1942,” Box 70, Entry NM5 57, RG 337, NARA II, College Park, MD.

3. United States War Department, *Field Manual 21-5: Basic Field Manual, Military Training* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1941), III.

4. The idea transforming potential strengths into realized strengths comes from Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 325. There, Overy credits the allies’ victory in World War II to their ability to turn their economic and demographic strengths into effective fighting power, a process that was by no means preordained. The institutional army, as the primary driver of building combat power, was a huge factor in the process of converting untrained masses of civilians into trained soldiers, who in turn combined to form trained units.

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