

An Unlikely Partnership and Service: Dwight Eisenhower, Mark Clark, and the Philippines

by Daniel D. Holt

DURING WORLD WAR II there were several "comic book" style publications related to the war effort and military leaders. These appeared on the stand right along with Batman and Superman. One was on Dwight Eisenhower and another on Mark Clark, who Winston Churchill had dubbed "The American Eagle." These two were more than comic book facades, and the relationship of Clark and Ike was almost as unlikely as their likenesses being found alongside the fictional heroes of comic books.

Clark was from a military family; his father was a West Point graduate who believed in the basic tenets of professional officership and young Clark thought of nothing else as he grew up. Eisenhower came from the conservative upbringing of pacifistic River Brethren parents, and except for an intense interest in history, had no interests similar to Clark's. Clark was often blunt. Some said he was "ruthlessly ambitious." Eisenhower was the opposite. The two differing backgrounds and personalities were brought together at West Point. Ike was six years senior in age, two years ahead at West Point, and would not serve, as Clark did, overseas in World War I. While Clark already knew that at "West Point we were going to do it West Point's way," Eisenhower was to learn that lesson. "Tradition, esprit, unity, community—these rate high in the military value system." Both Clark and Eisenhower used those caveats to develop a relationship that lasted until Eisenhower's death.¹

Military men do not live in a vacuum. They marry, have children, have bills to pay, and are not ambivalent to society. Those schooled at West Point, if well learned, are outstanding in the selection of staff and friends who assist them in their futures. Military relationships often are close and personal—but always professional. Few professions exhibit such long-lasting relationships, and upon occasion, such partnerships may be one not only of friendship, trust, and professional competence, but one of antithesis.

One brilliant example of that antithesis is that of Eisenhower and Clark, demonstrating all the important values of Eisenhower and the development of his leadership ability, his judgment of men, and his utilization of one who, although a dear friend, was nurtured for a specific professional reason. Eisenhower needed Clark, and Clark loved the duty assigned him and accepted it without deference. It would be Clark, with the assistance of others, who brought Eisenhower out of the Philippines and introduced him to the right people. It was Clark who promoted Ike's career from 1938 onward, acted in his behalf, and in 1942 handled for Eisenhower the behind-the-scenes, rough-and-tumble military structure and personal positioning in England. Their relationship began at West Point, but more important to Eisenhower was the development and understanding of his need for someone like Clark during his service in the Philippines.²

Eisenhower once wrote, "West Point did more for me than any other institution," and he would say that

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1. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: Soldier, General of the Army, President-Elect, 1890-1952*, vol. 1 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 47; Dwight D. Eisenhower, *At Ease: Stories I Tell To Friends* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1967), 6, 17-18; Martin Blumenson, *Mark*

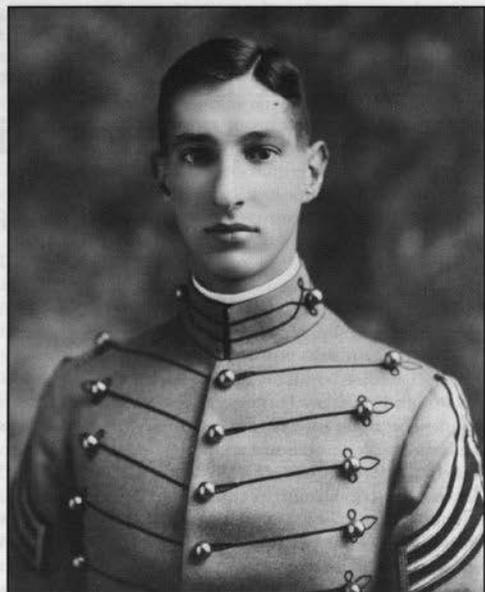
Clark: Last of the Great World War II Commanders (New York: Congdon and Weed, 1984), 17; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 62-64; *General Dwight D. Eisenhower American War Leader Series* (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Co., 1944).

2. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 11, 13-17; Mark W. Clark, *Calculated Risk* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 68. For additional discussions on the theory of military-civilian relations, see Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War* (New York: Macmillan, 1973).

Clark was "more responsible than anybody in this country for giving me my opportunity." Clark would say the same of Ike.³ This relationship lasted through Clark's visits to Eisenhower during the last days of Ike's life. Clark said of those visits that they spoke often of one subject—a subject that one of Eisenhower's chief protagonists, Douglas MacArthur, would have loved. In MacArthur's own famous words, the two old soldiers spoke mostly of "The Corps, The Corps, The Corps."⁴

The Eisenhower bibliography is massive, but before publication of Robert Ferrell's *Eisenhower Diaries*, those entries dated January-July 1942 had not been published. Ferrell's publication is minimal from early 1936 through 1940 as portions of the "Philippine Diaries" at the Eisenhower Library were, and still remain, closed by John S. D. Eisenhower. Special gratitude is expressed here to John Eisenhower for allowing the use of specific approved quotes from the closed sections of the "Philippine Diaries" for the first time.⁵

An important set of missing sources could be extremely valuable for both interpreting Eisenhower's stay in the Philippines and his relationship to Clark. Jorge B. Vargas wrote to Eisenhower early in 1940 that he was able to save documents deemed vital to the history of the Philippines. As pointed out in Carol Morris Petillo's *Douglas MacArthur, The Philippine Years*, an intensive



Mark Wayne Clark as a West Point senior; Lt. Col. Dwight D. Eisenhower during World War I. Ike, two years ahead of Clark at the Point, regretted that he did not see World War I service in France as did his friend Clark.

3. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 21; Piers Brendon, *Eisenhower, His Life and Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 38. Brendon, being an Englishman, presents a somewhat different viewpoint.

4. Merle Miller, *Eisenhower The Soldier, As They Knew Him* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1987), 14. Miller's book is based on oral histories done with many of Eisenhower's friends and colleagues. While it leaves something to be desired in organization and presentation of facts, it is worthwhile for the oral histories. Clark also referred to this situation on at least one occasion in conversations with the author between May 1965 and December 1966.

5. For the first time, with the express and specific permission of John S. D. Eisenhower (quotations approval dated January 29, 1990), certain entries from the closed Philippine Diaries in the Kevin McCann Papers, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas, are quoted here. While much of the diaries from the Philippine period are open to research, most of the critical dates are not. John Eisenhower approved those used here and further use must be cleared with him as literary agent for the Eisenhower Papers. The author is deeply indebted to General Eisenhower for his permission to use the quotes requested. Hereafter these quotes will be cited as DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use. Those entries not under closure will not contain the "Restricted Use" clause. No attempt is made here to indicate in the footnotes the extensive Eisenhower bibliography. While most of the major works have been consulted, as well as the open papers at the Eisenhower Library, only those specifically used are cited. As Martin Blumenson felt it was not necessary to use footnotes in his use of the Clark diaries at The Citadel Archives, it is often difficult to locate the exact dates of the quotations used; therefore, many of those references are noted to Blumenson's *Mark Clark*. The author read all the diaries prior to their being opened, and often discussed them and the very valuable correspondence files with General Clark. References will be made to those discussions in the same sense as Blumenson's, that is, not all the dates of conversations may be accurate. Robert H. Ferrell, ed., *The Eisenhower Diaries* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1981), xv-xvii.



search for MacArthur's Philippine papers indicated that they had been left in Manila and destroyed. A 1971 letter from Marcos Soliman to Eisenhower states that he had attempted to locate the material Vargas said he saved, but it was not found. Obviously, both men's papers met the same fate.⁶

This loss contributes to misunderstandings about some of the Eisenhower-MacArthur "situation"; some Clark correspondence from this period is missing as well. While Eisenhower was a prolific writer, Clark wrote only two autobiographies, and little study of Clark was done until the publication of Martin Blumenson's *Mark Clark*. Blumenson used large portions of Clark's wartime diaries and dealt in detail with Clark's life, setting straight many misconceptions about Clark's career and recognizing to an extent the Eisenhower-Clark relationship.⁷ From other Clark and Eisenhower sources, particularly Clark's pre-war papers, it is apparent that the depth and meaning of their partnership has been somewhat ignored. Even the many Eisenhower biographies almost completely overlook the subject.

Eisenhower was born in 1890; Clark in 1896. Ike's boyhood is well known; Clark was born in Watertown, New York, but spent much of his early life near Evanston, Illinois, while his father was stationed at Fort Sheridan—Clark's West Point graduation address was Tientsin, China, as his father, Charles C. Clark, was on "China Station." Eisenhower graduated from West Point in 1915; Clark in 1917. While at West Point, Clark and Eisenhower served in the same company and lived in the same barracks. Although upperclassmen officially were not to fraternize with lowerclassmen, Ike and Clark quickly became good friends. In 1966, Clark stated that he considered Eisenhower his "buddy" on an unofficial assistance buddy system.⁸

During World War I, Eisenhower spent most of his time in the War Plans Division. Clark, meanwhile, arrived in France in May 1918 and became commanding officer of the Third Battalion, Eleventh Infantry. He was wounded and was decorated for bravery. In 1918, Eisenhower was a temporary lieutenant colonel, but was reverted to permanent rank of major in 1920. Clark was only a captain in 1920 and did not become a major until 1933; however, he became a lieutenant colonel in 1940, only four years behind Eisenhower's lieutenant colonelcy in 1936. Many twists of fate existed in their careers; not the least of which was that by August 1941, Brigadier General Clark outranked Lieutenant Colonel

Eisenhower. This situation demonstrates the strength of their relationship.

Clark was somewhat dismayed that he had passed his friend in rank and wrote Eisenhower that a "great deal of the pleasure in receiving my promotion was offset by your not being on" the promotion list. Clark further informed Eisenhower that he had immediately called Chief of Staff George C. Marshall and questioned the lack of promotion. He then assured Eisenhower that "steps were being taken to take care of that matter." Ike received his star the next month. Clark's service in World War I and being in the States in various troop commands was an advantage, as service in the Philippines was a disadvantage for Eisenhower until he returned home and fell under Clark's influence with George C. Marshall and others.⁹

Stephen Ambrose has called Eisenhower a "great and good man." Clark was described by Gen. Alphonse Juin in 1944 as a "great leader . . . always perceiving clearly through the smoke of battle." At the same time, Gen. Jacob Devers regarded Clark as a "cold, distinguished, conceited, selfish, clever, intellectual, resourceful officer who secures excellent results quickly. Very ambitious." The ethics of the military system "emphasizes the permanence, irrationality, weakness and evil in human nature. It stresses the supremacy of society over the individual and the importance of order." Eisenhower, a student of military history, possibly never adhered to these maxims. Clark may have to a point. How the two men established the connection they did is amazing.¹⁰

Eisenhower, totally of his background and environment, was not enamored in his youth with a military profession. Clark grew up knowing George S. Patton, Jr., a friend of his father, and Douglas MacArthur, who dated Clark's sister Janet. As Eisenhower often related, his mother was the primary influence in his life, as was Clark's. Ike's father was the ruler in the background, and Clark's father was gone so much on duty that his mother became the leader in his life.¹¹

While Eisenhower controlled his emotional comments about colleagues, Clark never shied from being outspoken. Clark, a complex man, was called "ruthlessly ambitious" by some. He could be "less tactful" than Eisenhower, but at times that was purposeful. Patton, upset with the rapid rise in rank of both, did not like either and privately vilified them. Ike held back on personal opinions about others and "stayed away from analyses. . . . and the public record

6. Carol Morris Petillo, *Douglas MacArthur: The Philippine Years* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), ix; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 248; Soliman letter, February 24, 1971, Marcos G. Soliman Papers, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library [hereafter cited as EL].

7. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 125; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, Preface, 291.

8. Mark Clark, conversation with author, 1966.

9. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, Chronology; "Mark W. Clark," (Charleston, S.C.: The Citadel, no date), Chronology; Mark W. Clark Oral History, Columbia University, 1970, copy on file at The Citadel; Clark to Eisenhower, August 6, 1941, Pre-Presidential Papers, EL.

10. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, frontespiece, 9; Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 79.

11. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 9, 12-13, 282; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 21, 30; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 37, 52; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 24.

of his military career . . . does not reflect many open, frank statements." Ike remained proper in public to his fellow officers. He once told Clark, "Wayne, we must never disagree publicly." To which Clark replied, "I promise you we never will. We never had." One of the "fundamental values of the American military is . . . loyalty" and that Clark and Eisenhower had to each other and their profession. Clark could do the things Ike's personal feelings would not allow him to do, and Eisenhower respected him for his abilities. In 1943, Eisenhower's efficiency report for Clark stated that he was "the best trainer, organizer and planner I have ever met. Energetic, forceful, loyal."¹²

While Eisenhower could forgive Clark his brash propensity for publicity and self-image, he did not tolerate it in many others. Perhaps in the years after his service with MacArthur, Eisenhower felt he could handle anything with ease, including Clark's ego. Ike wrote in his diary on December 12, 1942, that "the flashy, publicity seeking type of adventurer can grab the headlines and be a hero in the eyes of the public, but he simply can't deliver the goods in high command. On the other hand, the slow, methodical, ritualistic person is absolutely valueless. . . . There must be a fine balance." A commander, he would later say in 1946, "has as his most difficult task the clarifying of his own convictions and conclusions. . . . He runs into strange personalities, weird ideas, glory-seeking, . . . but he has a clear-cut path to follow and he can carry on with a free mind." The secret to any command, he and Clark would agree, was to work together. "Clark understood what Eisenhower was thinking and saying, and Eisenhower sensed the same about Clark. They made an ideal team."¹³

Eisenhower learned a great deal about these philosophies when he served in the Philippines. D. Clayton James has written that one of MacArthur's abilities was to get the most from his subordinates. Eisenhower, on the other hand, saw the general's propensity to berate subordinates and to disallow disagreement from opposing views. Eisenhower, in his Philippine Diary entry of October 8, 1937, must have been concerned about the place of command, friendship, and personal relationships when he wrote: "I wonder whether egotism, exclusive devotion to

one's own interests . . . can finally eliminate a person's perception of honesty—straight forwardness—and responsibility to the people for whom he is working."¹⁴

Relationships are important in any career or personal life. For Dwight Eisenhower those would be Generals Fox Conner, John J. Pershing, Douglas MacArthur, and George C. Marshall. Intertwined in these personalities was Clark who would introduce Eisenhower to his most important contact, George Marshall. As for Clark, Marshall was the "significant contact," Leslie J. McNair "his essential mentor," and "Eisenhower his indispensable friend."¹⁵ The peacetime influences and companionship of these men would have a tremendous effect on Eisenhower, Clark, and World War II.

Not able to enter the "war to end all wars," Eisenhower felt left out of the system. He was not meeting the right people and not serving with troops. The National Defense Act of 1920 stipulated that the army's primary duty was the training of civilian soldiers in reserve and guard units. Eisenhower was not certain that was the army's role, and his first important mentor, Fox Conner agreed. Conner, who served under Pershing in France, was considered "one of the most brilliant" officers. George Patton introduced Conner to Ike because of mutual interests in tank warfare. Eisenhower after World War II would say that Conner was "the ablest man he ever knew."¹⁶

Eisenhower completed Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth in 1926, served with Pershing on the American Battlefields Commission, and attended the War College from 1927 to 1928. On November 8, 1929, Major Eisenhower was assigned to the secretary of war's office in Washington. When MacArthur became chief of staff in 1930, Ike became an unofficial assistant. This was the beginning of ten years of close

12. For Patton's personal insights, see Martin Blumenson, *The Patton Papers I, 1885-1940* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972) and Blumenson, *The Patton Papers, 1940-1945*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974); Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 2, 3, 121, 282-84; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 81; Arthur Nevins Oral History, Columbia University, August 15, 1972, EL; Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 303-10; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 347; Clark Oral History, The Citadel. Privately, Eisenhower certainly made personal comments in his diaries, once writing that to win the war they should get "someone to shoot [Admiral Ernest J.] King." See Ferrell, *The Eisenhower Diaries*, xi.

13. Eisenhower Diaries [hereafter cited as DDE Diaries, those that are restricted will be cited as noted above], December 18, 1942, November 12, 1946; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 71.

14. D. Clayton James, *The Years of MacArthur: Vol. 1. 1880-1941* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 571; DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, October 8, 1937, EL.

15. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 73; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 43; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 283.

16. It is impossible to relate here Eisenhower's entire career. His "between the wars" career held many fascinating aspects including the Transcontinental Caravan of 1919, his army career as a football coach at several posts (in fact, he was sought by some commanders for his coaching abilities), and other learning experiences; most of this information is readily found in the general references cited herein. Most, however, do not treat his relationship with Clark or others during this period with any substance, nor look at his stay in the Philippines except in his relations with MacArthur. George C. Marshall's papers relate little of the relationships, but Forrest C. Pogue's *George C. Marshall: Education of a General, 1880-1939* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), gives great insight into this reserved man. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 55-57, 61, 65, 67, 69, 73, 75; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 155-67, 182. Efficiency Report of Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1924, DDE Pre-Presidential Papers, EL; Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 283; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 50-51.



Prior to Eisenhower's end of duty in the Philippines, the government held several events in his honor. Shown at a December 12, 1939, luncheon are Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Mamie Eisenhower, President Quezon, and Ike.

proximity to MacArthur. In 1933, Eisenhower became chief military aide to MacArthur. The Eisenhower-MacArthur relationship has reached the level of fable. Regardless of the relationship's shortcomings, they respected each other. When Ike worked on the War Policies Commission under MacArthur, the latter wrote in Eisenhower's efficiency report, "this officer has no superior of his time in the Army." Their relationship was, at that point, very complimentary and tremendously important to Eisenhower. Just as important was Ike's later service with Marshall who came to know Eisenhower through Clark's influence. In the army at this time, two major cliques were developing—there was the early "Pershing Group" that ultimately became the "Marshall Group." Opposed was the "MacArthur Group." Ike would be aligned with the Marshall consortium regardless of his extensive service with MacArthur. As Ike wrote in *At Ease*, "Always try to associate yourself closely with and learn as much as you can from those who know more than you."¹⁷

17. James, *MacArthur 1880-1941*, 426-63, 462, 564; Dwight D. Eisenhower, "War Policies," *The Cavalry Journal* (November-December 1931): 25-29; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 92; MacArthur to DDE, November 4, 1931, and MacArthur to DDE, October 12, 1937, MacArthur File, EL; "Fitness Report," November 4, 1931, MacArthur File, EL; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 339; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 200-1, 208, 213-14; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 87; Peter Lyon, *Eisenhower, Portrait of the Hero* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1974), 69.

Meanwhile, Clark's career moved quickly. After World War I he had a company command at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. He then went to the secretary of war's office in 1921, and then to a company command of the Thirtieth Infantry at The Presidio, San Francisco, in 1925. In 1928, while serving as executive officer at Fort Russell, Wyoming, he was rated superior in eight out of ten of the evaluation criteria. He already knew Col. (later general) John L. DeWitt, would shortly meet Col. Frank C. Bolles, who pushed Clark along, and would attend the Command and General Staff College in 1933 as a major. His fellow classmates were Walter Bedell Smith and Matthew Ridgway.¹⁸

While attending the War College in 1936, Clark worked on the committee to study realignment of the army. That report found its way, with Clark's name on it, to the U. S. War Department and a board of three generals: Fox Conner, Lesley J. McNair, and George C.

18. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 21, 52; Promotion papers, October 2, 1918, and Efficiency Report, June 30, 1928, Clark Collection, The Citadel Archives [hereafter cited as Citadel Archives]. The extensive manuscript collection of Clark at The Citadel contains letters and official memorandum from all of these personalities; unfortunately, the manuscript portion of the collection was not used definitively by Blumenson as he concentrated on the diaries. The diaries do not begin until 1942, containing only retrospective remarks concerning Clark's earlier career.

Marshall. All were impressed. Through Clark's input, all would become major supporters of Eisenhower. In July 1937, Clark was assigned to Fort Lewis, Washington, as assistant chief of staff. There, Clark developed a friendship with George C. Marshall, commander of the Third Division's Fifth Brigade at Vancouver, and began his meteoric climb up the career ladder.¹⁹

Because Clark was already friends with DeWitt (Marshall's best friend) and with the other mutual friends of then Chief of Staff Malin Craig, Gen. W. C. Sweeney (also friends of Eisenhower) and Lesley McNair, Clark and Marshall became close friends and colleagues. In 1938, Ike visited Fort Lewis while on a trip from the Philippines. Ike got to meet the Clark cabal. In 1939, Clark made news within the military during maneuvers on the West Coast when he shipped in troops by air, something not yet tried. His planning was flawless. Marshall, now slated to become chief of staff, observed the exercises, as did Malin Craig and Chief of the Air Corps Henry H. Arnold. That they were impressed could only help Clark and, ultimately, Eisenhower.²⁰

When Gen. Douglas MacArthur became the youngest chief of staff in the army's history, Eisenhower was flattered when MacArthur insisted Eisenhower remain in the War Department. MacArthur wrote of the "masterly and magnificent" job Ike was doing, and Eisenhower was so enamored of his efficiency report that he had it framed. In that report, MacArthur noted that if war was to come, "Eisenhower would go right to the top." As Ike was wont to do, he recorded an appraisal of his fellow officers in his diary, including MacArthur. He noted that while MacArthur was "a genius at giving concise and clear instructions," he also seemed to select only senior officers for promotion regardless of qualifications. Some of MacArthur's foibles "astounded" Eisenhower. He noted that while MacArthur said that he hated "favoritism and special privilege," he indulged in both.²¹

MacArthur's first tour of duty had been in the Philippines where his father before him had served. During this duty, Douglas met Manuel Quezon who later was to be so important. MacArthur performed brilliantly with the Rainbow Division in World War I, was superintendent of West Point from 1919 to 1922, and he then returned to the Philippines. He felt the islands were his home. By 1925, MacArthur was a major general

and returned to the United States to command IV Corps, then III Corps, in Baltimore. MacArthur again went to the Philippines but returned to the United States in 1930 to become chief of staff.²²

Eisenhower was assigned as MacArthur's aide to develop plans to deter further army reductions, to study mobile strategy for tanks and aircraft, and to develop an industrial plan for military supplies. Eisenhower was introduced to what he would later call the "military-industrial" complex. In 1931, Eisenhower wrote the War Department program and plans report for MacArthur. MacArthur called the paper "masterly." That same year, when Eisenhower attempted to transfer out of the office, MacArthur convinced him to remain at least until 1933. It was also in this office that Ike struck up the long-lasting friendship with Capt. Thomas Jefferson Davis and suffered through the 1932 Bonus March. It is important to note that Ike wrote the official report of that affair for MacArthur: he said that it was "as accurate as I could make it." At the time, MacArthur tried to blame the march on Communist attempts to incite a revolution; a view Ike did not hold. Interestingly, in 1933, Mark Clark's mother sent clippings to MacArthur of this matter and others; and, in 1935, it was MacArthur who detailed Clark to the general staff of the army.²³

In September 1935, MacArthur was appointed military advisor to the Philippines with the task of creating a Filipino army. Eisenhower had been hoping for a troop command, but MacArthur wanted Eisenhower with him in the Philippines.²⁴ Eisenhower reluctantly agreed to become the assistant military advisor. Ike did like the increased pay he would receive in the Philippines as that government provided an additional stipend of \$980 a month and living expenses. MacArthur would get an additional \$3,000, making him the highest paid officer in the world—a fact that later bothered Eisenhower and became a point of friction. Ike also worried about Mamie and son John and decided to leave them in the States for a year or so. Eisenhower did see that building an army from the beginning would be interesting, so

22. Petillo, *The Philippine Years*, xvi-xvii, Chapter 3; Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 22-25, 77, 83-85.

23. At the time MacArthur called the Bonus March the work of Communists, Eisenhower wrote in his diary, "I just can't understand how such a damn fool could have gotten to be a general." DDE Diaries, February 15, 1932, August 10, 1932, EL; "Red Diary," May 1931, Kevin McCann Papers, EL; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 212, 215-17; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 63, 65; James, *The Years of MacArthur 1880-1941*, 401, 462; DDE Diary, December 4, 1954, Ann Whitman File, EL; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 97-99; Petillo, *The Philippine Years*, 163; Letters, Mrs. C. C. Clark [Mark Clark's mother], August 29, 1933, and March 11, 1935, Citadel Archives; MacArthur Special Order 58, March 11, 1935, Citadel Archives. This assigned Clark to general staff.

24. MacArthur to DDE, September 30, 1935, Pre-Presidential Papers, EL.

19. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 30-40.

20. *Ibid.*, 39-44.

21. Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 252; DDE Diaries, December 31, 1931, February 15, 1932, June 18, 1932, June 2, 1933, and June 1932 [no day given, entry includes assessments of Douglas MacArthur and Fox Connor], EL; MacArthur to DDE, September 30, 1935, Pre-Presidential Papers, EL; "Red" Diary, DDE, December 1, 1931, Kevin McCann Papers, EL; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 61; James, *The Years of MacArthur, 1880-1941*, 4.

agreed to go. He selected his West Point friend James B. Ord to accompany him.²⁵

On the way to the Philippines, Eisenhower got his first taste of MacArthur's ability to blast anything that disagreed with him. When the general was demoted two stars, he released, according to Eisenhower, "an explosive denunciation of arrogance, unconstitutionality, insensitivity, and the way the world had gone to hell."²⁶ So began the most important duty Eisenhower had been assigned. It would be in the Philippines that he learned to build and train an army from nothing, to budget, obtain funds and equipment, and to be politically and diplomatically involved with a foreign leadership. Ike would become the diplomatic military manager that would serve him so well in 1942 when assigned to somewhat the same task in England. After his Philippine duty he understood how important it was to have someone to take the "heat" of such involvements; as Mark Clark would do for him in World War II. He did not have such a person in the Philippines and the direct confrontations experienced there often caused the Eisenhower temper to flare.

Here also was the genesis of the groups that by World War II would be termed the "Macs" and the "Ikes" or the "Marshall men" and the "MacArthur men." Those officers later associated as Eisenhower's had originally been in the Marshall group, which very early included Mark Clark. By the end of World War II, they would be known as "Club Eisenhower." Eisenhower, while serving with MacArthur was not branded with either, but would naturally, along with Clark, be one of the mainstays of the Marshall group by 1941. Part of the controversy centered upon professionalism and politics. True professionals, it was held, found "politics beyond their scope." MacArthur did not. Interestingly, in the long run, the politically motivated MacArthur did not succeed in that arena whereas Eisenhower, always careful to avoid the political, would do so. Adding to future controversies, MacArthur in 1942, as a general, would see a young lieutenant colonel rise rapidly in rank. MacArthur's jealousy and Ike's installation within the Marshall group by Clark added to alignment of groups. A telling point to this is MacArthur's *Reminiscences* which does not mention Eisenhower.²⁷

While son John S. D. Eisenhower may have considered his years in the Philippines "as among the happiest of my life," his father probably did not. Even though the MacArthur situation became difficult, Ike's major con-

cern was that he was out of the mainstream, missing advancement by being so far away. By 1936-1937, he also was worried that he would miss another war if such broke out in Europe. Overall, however, as demonstrated in his Philippine Diaries, Ike showed a remarkable ability in diplomacy with Philippine president Quezon and in administrative duties.²⁸

Eisenhower went to the Philippines at a time when he was contemplating his career, past and future. He was being separated from friends to be part of a project not fully supported by the Roosevelt Administration. It is understandable that he arrived in the Philippines, as Robert Ferrell says, a "tightlipped Eisenhower who faced up to his duty on December 27, 1935." Ike wrote in his diary of that day, the first entry in the Philippine Diaries, that he intended to "keep a brief narrative record of the principal recommendations of the mission." He would record much more than that.²⁹

The group that arrived in the Philippines included Ord and T. J. Davis who served as MacArthur's aide. They began almost immediately to establish the groundwork for a Filipino army. It would not be easy, and most felt impossible, at least with the funds available. It was a remarkable feat that Ike and the others would accomplish, even though an army was not fully established as planned. World War II would end the effort.

They constantly struggled with recruitment, training of the militia (many were illiterate), locating and buying weapons, establishing training schedules, attempting to reconcile budgets that changed daily as discussions between MacArthur and Quezon progressed, and battling MacArthur's opinion that miracles could be worked. When Eisenhower was told to cut fifty percent from the budget but to try and produce the same results, he commented that they would be lucky to establish a "respectable force" not earlier than the date established for independence of the Philippines, "that is, the year 1946."³⁰

In early 1936, MacArthur planned to call twenty thousand conscripts for training duty in 1937. Eisenhower and Ord objected. "We insisted further than the general thought we should, and he gave us one of his regular shouting tirades. He seemed particular bitter towards me. . . . I argue these points with more heat and persistency than does Jim [Ord]—consequently I come in for the

25. Ibid.; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 101-2; John S. D. Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1974), 6, 17; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 66.

26. Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 223.

27. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 1; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 242; Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 71-72, 367-68, 370; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 96.

28. DDE, *Philippine Diaries*, some entries are Restricted Use, from May 29, 1936, EL. Eisenhower demonstrated remarkable understanding of the literally thousands of details to be considered in budgeting, recruiting, staffing, training, supplying, and maintaining an army from scratch. Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, 18.

29. Ferrell, *Eisenhower Diaries*, 1-7; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 223.

30. DDE, *Philippine Diaries*, December 27, 1935, EL; Ferrell, *Eisenhower Diaries*, "Notes," 2; James, *The Years of MacArthur, 1880-1941*, 486, 530; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 105; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 218, 221-22; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 275.



Together Clark and Eisenhower participated in the important Louisiana Maneuvers. At the end of the maneuvers, Eisenhower gained his general's star.

more severe criticism." Ord and Ike knew that neither the money nor the men was available. Such experience, however, served Ike well later when he had to deal with the British, French, and Roosevelt for men and arms. Because of MacArthur's animosity, Eisenhower became closer to Quezon. In turn, the Filipino president took Ike into his confidence instead of consulting MacArthur. Eisenhower attempted to have MacArthur deal more with Quezon, but as Ike put it, the general evidently felt it below his station to go to Quezon.³¹

Even with Mamie and John's arrival in 1936, living in a non-air-conditioned room in the Manila Hotel, it was an unsettled time. It was nice to have the family with him, but Eisenhower recorded that often he and the staff did not know what was going on. The upshot of the year began in February when MacArthur and the staff contemplated accepting higher ranks from the Philippine government. Eisenhower, Davis, and belatedly Ord agreed it was improper. In July, MacArthur stated that Quezon had offered him a field marshal rank. Eisenhower, devoted to army loyalty, confronted MacArthur: "General, you have been a four-star general.

31. DDE, Philippine Diaries, May 29, 1936, July 1, 1936, EL.

This is a *proud* thing. . . . Why in the *hell* do you want a *banana* country giving you a field-marshalship?" MacArthur interrupted Eisenhower, and Ike later remembered, "Oh, Jesus . . . he just gave me hell." Years later, Eisenhower would be further incensed when he learned that the field marshal rank had not been Quezon's idea, but MacArthur's.³²

In 1936, Ike was caught in another disagreement with the general when MacArthur, in opposition to polls, stated that Alfred Landon would win the presidential election and advised Quezon to that effect. Eisenhower disagreed, and MacArthur called Ike small-minded. To Ike this was reprehensible, to mix politics and the military.³³

Also in 1936, MacArthur visited the States and returned convinced that he could develop the Philippine army. The budget, however, remained a problem. As Stephen Ambrose has so adequately stated, "Eisenhower was more or less miserable." This assumption does not necessarily relate to MacArthur. Europe, as well as China and Japan, were nearing war, and Ike was far away. Eisenhower felt a need to return to the States for the sake of his own career. By July 1937, Ike was ready to go home and said so in his diary. He was tired of the work, had received no leave, and the world was going past him.³⁴

By mid-1937 major problems were obvious in the first five-month Philippine training program. As Eisenhower and Ord remarked, even though twenty thousand reservists had completed the first program, they were unprepared. In October 1937, Eisenhower requested that MacArthur clarify the role of Davis, who was serving as an aide to the general and also an administrative officer of the mission. MacArthur approved Eisenhower using officers as he saw fit, regardless of MacArthur's assignments. This was a major victory for Ike and indicated, at least privately, that MacArthur understood the ability of his assistant.³⁵

In his diary entry of December 21, 1937, Eisenhower commented upon his job and somewhat prophetically his future. He wrote that while he was partially isolated from both the army and his local commander, the current work was tremendous professional experience. "Once on the job we've [Eisenhower and Ord] concerned ourselves with trying to develop for this government and

32. DDE, Philippine Diaries, February 15, 1936, March 1, 1936, May 29, 1936 [second entry], July 1, 1936; Lyon, *Portrait of the Hero*, 78; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 107.

33. DDE, Philippine Diaries, September 26, 1936 [Ike's final comment on the Landon situation was, "Oh, hell"], November 15, 1936; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 213.

34. DDE, Philippine Diaries, July 9, 1937, and from June 1937 through December 1937, EL; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 109, 110-11; James, *The Years of MacArthur, 1880-1941*, 317-18; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 276.

35. DDE to MacArthur, October 15, 1937, Kevin McCann Papers, EL; Petillo, *The Philippine Years*, 188-91.

country the best possible army with the men at hand. We have been beset on all sides by difficulties arising from personal ambition, personal glorification, personal selfishness, etc., etc. . . ." While this in part refers to MacArthur, it also reflects Ike's general experiences in the Philippines. He also commented on a fact that often plagues those in the military, that officers "will be evaluated, not in the light of conditions as they are, but in that of the conditions as the uninformed *think* they are."³⁶

On December 31, 1937, MacArthur solved the problem of being restricted in his command—he retired and assumed command of the Army of the Philippines as a field marshal of the Philippine government, retaining command of the American military mission as the ranking officer in the Philippines. He returned to the service of the United States only after the outbreak of war with Japan. Things improved, but only briefly. In January 1938, MacArthur decided to "improve the morale" of the population by staging a huge parade. This would be costly, but Ike was led to believe it had been ordered by Quezon. However, when the president learned the cost, which Ike and Ord had already protested, he told Eisenhower that he was "horrified." Confronting MacArthur, Ike was told that he only wanted them to investigate the possibility, not implement the plan. Eisenhower told the general that he was calling him a liar, and many years later would relate that he had told MacArthur to fire him. Ike never completely get over this embroglio. On the other hand, just after this incident, Ike wrote a policy statement which the general described "as excellent in every respect."³⁷

In February 1938, Eisenhower was offered an increased per diem from the Philippine government. MacArthur opposed it and Ike saw this as an indication that MacArthur wished to get rid of him. That was probably not true. MacArthur could ill-afford to lose Ike. Some of Ike's feelings stemmed from the 60,000 peso salary and penthouse MacArthur was receiving from the government, and the fact that the general rarely worked more than two or three hours a day. Eisenhower referred to this often.

That spring tragedy occurred when Ike's friend, James Ord, was killed in a plane accident. This devastated Eisenhower, and MacArthur showed more respect for Ike after Ord's death. The general may have been sympathetic to Ike's loss of a friend but MacArthur had to realize that, with Ord gone, Ike was the only person left to deal with complicated matters at hand. In a long

entry in his diary on June 18, 1938, Eisenhower wrote: "The General has been extraordinarily sympathetic, . . . with my views, opinions, and personal situation. At one time it seemed almost impossible to discuss with him any point in which there was the slightest difference of opinion—but for the past few weeks this has not been so. He is willing to talk over things—and his answer is more often than not 'as to that I'll accept your judgment.'" Ike continued by making some notes about his forthcoming trip to the United States to procure arms, and then finished the day's entry with, "the atmosphere has cleared to such an extent that this job, at long last, has become personally agreeable as well as professionally interesting."³⁸ MacArthur's personal politics and foibles would never please Ike, but on a professional basis if Eisenhower was allowed to do his job, that would be satisfactory.

In June 1938, Eisenhower and family departed for the States. Ike's job to procure arms and ammunition took him to a variety of locations. He visited Chief of Staff Malin Craig, pointing out that any assistance from the War Department at this critical time could at least provide enough arms to the Philippines to provide a delaying action in case of war. On the way home, the Eisenhowers visited Mark Clark at Fort Lewis. Ike was impressed with the innovative tactical experiments Clark was conducting, including photomap overlays, aerial transport of troops, and large-scale troop maneuvers. He and Clark talked about the possibility of Ike getting a command with troops in the States. According to Clark's memory of the visit, Eisenhower voiced no displeasure toward MacArthur. After that visit, Clark and Eisenhower began a long series of correspondence and arrangements devoted to getting Eisenhower out of the Philippines. Clark knew he could do it; he had the contacts.³⁹

Eisenhower made some advances in Washington for arms and ammunition. Particularly in August 1938, he wrote MacArthur that the War Department was considering a declaration that all military equipment on the island of Luzon would become the property of the U. S. Army Reserve. Eisenhower also attempted to quell MacArthur's misgivings over a supposed plot to keep him from receiving the equipment. Even so, upon his return to the Philippines in November 1938, Ike found the staff command reorganized and himself removed as MacArthur's chief of staff. This probably convinced Ike that he had to leave.⁴⁰

36. DDE, Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, December 31, 1937, EL.

37. Letter, handwritten, no date, MacArthur to DDE, Pre-Presidential Papers, MacArthur File, EL; DDE, Philippine Diaries, May 14, 1937, EL; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 112; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 225-26; Lyon, *Portrait of the Hero*, 78-79; James, *The Years of MacArthur, 1880-1941*, 525-26; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 69.

38. DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, June 18, 1938, EL.

39. Clark, conversation with author, December 1965, The Citadel; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 43; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 108; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 228.

40. DDE, Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, November-December, 1938; DDE to MacArthur, August 23, 1938, September 16, 1938, Pre-Presidential Papers, MacArthur File, EL; DDE, Philippine Diaries, October 10, 1938; Ferrell, *Eisenhower Diaries*, 27.

The decision to make a definite move was only that—to make the commitment. Eisenhower often had remarked about leaving, and not just because of difficulties with MacArthur. The work was frustrating, and Ike knew that with the available budget, the many problems with local troops and lack of equipment, the building of an army was almost impossible. Working toward an achievable goal was fine with Eisenhower, and he was capable of surmounting most any problem; however, when he knew the goal could not be accomplished, professionalism told him it was time to call it quits. In the military, however, it is difficult to make snap career moves. He would need help back home, and he turned to Mark Clark.

In 1938 there were only three infantry divisions in the United States, and Clark was the planning and training officer of one of them—the Third Division at Fort Lewis. George Marshall commanded the Fifth Brigade nearby and his relationship with Clark had become one of trust and respect. That was not easy to gain from the reserved, VMI graduate Marshall. Often Clark flew to Marshall's headquarters to discuss matters. Whenever Clark drew up new plans, or Marshall wanted to try something new, the two discussed the matter. It was also well known that Marshall was in line for chief of staff. The other important ally, Maj. Gen. W. C. Sweeney, a friend of both Clark and Ike, was commanding the Third Division and he was so impressed with Clark that he relieved the young major to work on war preparation. In a series of letters dating from August 1938 to April 1939, Marshall and Clark discussed mobilization plans, troop movements, and personal matters. While Marshall did not want to upset Sweeney, he wrote to Clark in confidence that Clark should maneuver "out of sight of the Post water tower" to do things on a "more warlike basis." In November, Ike wrote Clark and asked if "I could get him assigned to the Third Division from the Philippines, which I could and did. He wanted a battalion of infantry because he had been away from troops for some time."⁴¹

On January 3, 1939, Clark wrote Ike that he had passed along Eisenhower's regards to General Sweeney. The letter's tone indicates that Eisenhower had discussed the move with Clark when he visited in 1938, and had followed with correspondence. Clark indicated that the divisional maneuvers would be held at Fort Lewis in the spring and there would be plenty of work. Military correspondence is often straightforward and personal, without many revealing details. Often it is to be read like the passion officers have for sending birthday and Christmas cards—uninvolved. This letter was of that type, but they would change.⁴²

41. Clark to George Marshall, August 24, 1936, October 16, 1938, Marshall to Clark, November 16, 1938, April 20, 1939, and Clark Oral History, Citadel Archives; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 40-43.

42. Clark to Eisenhower, January 3, 1939, Citadel Archives.

The year 1939 was nearly a stalemate in the Philippines. The threat of war early in the year kept the staff in a position of trying to work with what they had to defend the islands if necessary. From January to March 1939, Eisenhower grew more nervous about his career. On January 21, 1939, he detailed in his diary:

I've been discussing lately with Mamie, exactly what to do in the way of asking for a definite terminating date to my tour. When we were put on the foreign service roster (Jan. 1, 1938) our tours of duty were automatically extended to Oct. 20, 1938. After Jimmy's [Ord] death the President [Quezon] asked me to extend beyond that time. . . . The year I agreed to is up in Oct. 1939. . . . The General [MacArthur] suggests strongly that I ask the W.D. [War Department] for nothing except a 3 months extension so as to return home in July '40'.⁴³

Eisenhower agreed to remain longer because Quezon saw to it that the Eisenhowers finally received an air-conditioned apartment and an increase in the per diem. Both made MacArthur mad. By March 1939, Ike had decided that a move was necessary, regardless of family financial considerations or concern for an uninterrupted schooling for John: "I'm ready, more than ready, from a professional viewpoint, to go home. . . I hate confining work that shows no results. . . so, as soon as I can decently go—I'll simply Hooray!"⁴⁴

The important statement was the "professional viewpoint." Ike knew that things were happening and he was missing them. At this point, even with perfect relations with the general and a position that demonstrated results, he would have left the Philippines. He wanted the experience of a troop command, and Clark had promised help. In 1966, Mark Clark stated that he and James Ulio had been at work on Eisenhower's transfer since his visit to Fort Lewis.⁴⁵

James Ulio, a friend of both men, was well placed as the adjutant general's executive officer. Someone in that position could be of great assistance in seeing that red tape was cut. Ulio knew the times of service, the available slots, the table of organization, and often his office could initiate transfers. On May 19, 1939, T. J. Davis wrote to Ulio. He too wanted out of the Philippines. Referring to Ike's plans, Davis made it clear that he was not interested in extending his duty. "I am convinced that four years plus in the tropics on this detail is quite enough for me."⁴⁶

Davis had contacted Ulio because he was in a position to help, and his references to Ike indicate that Ulio

43. DDE, *Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use*, January 21, 1939, EL.

44. *Ibid.*; DDE, *Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use*, March 9, 1939, EL.

45. *Ibid.*; Clark, conversation with author, spring 1966.

46. Clark to Brigadier General James Ulio, April 27, 1940, Citadel Archives; T. J. Davis to Colonel James Ulio, May 19, 1939, Davis 201 file, Pre-Presidential Papers, EL. Aldred D. Chandler, Jr., ed., *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, The War Years*, vol. 4 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), 2586.

was aware of his application for transfer. It was not easy in an understrength army, with few command positions, for lieutenant colonels such as Eisenhower to request and receive specific assignments, much less transfers. Fortunately, in the "foreign service" there were time limits although they could be ignored or extended. MacArthur ultimately would have to release Ike. Although Eisenhower had an excellent reputation in certain circles for his abilities, to receive a troop command would be difficult.

On May 27, 1939, Mark Clark received a letter from "Ike Eisenhower." He had "just received his W.D. [War Department] orders assigning me to the 15th Infantry at Lewis. I'm delighted with the detail, although there are still some points to iron out administratively before the orders become effective. Apparently my present tour would, if handled according to accepted routine, be terminated next March. The order read about as follows: 'Colonel Eisenhower's foreign service tour is shortened to August provided all authorities in the Philippines concur. Otherwise shortened to November.'" Filipino officials would ask Ike to delay but, he said, "I have already told them that I consider myself lucky to get Ft. Lewis and the 15th, and don't want to take any chances. All in all I don't know what to count on as yet." The letter continued asking Clark about schooling for John and questioning the availability of housing and uniforms. Eisenhower had only tropical uniforms and he could foresee a fortune for new clothes. He asked Clark to give his regards to General Sweeney, that he looked forward to serving under him, and that he wanted a return airmail letter from Clark. He promised to "buy you a drink next fall, in payment for the clipper stamp."⁴⁷

Clark was doing his job, and already knew of Ike's orders as he wrote: "We certainly got a thrill last night when we saw your orders to Ft. Lewis. . . . I told General Sweeney of it this morning and he too is mighty glad you are coming. . . . When you arrive . . . Mrs. Clark and I want to take care of you and the family until you get settled." Since it is unlikely that Clark had yet seen a general posting, he may have found out from Ulio. On June 7, Clark received a telegram from Ike asking about adequate boarding schools in the Tacoma area for John.⁴⁸ Clark answered on June 9 outlining school prospects, promising a good tailor for uniforms, and assuring quarters would be available. He again invited the Eisenhowers to stay with his family until they were settled. Clark also continued his correspondence with Marshall, congratulating him on his chief of staff appointment and express-

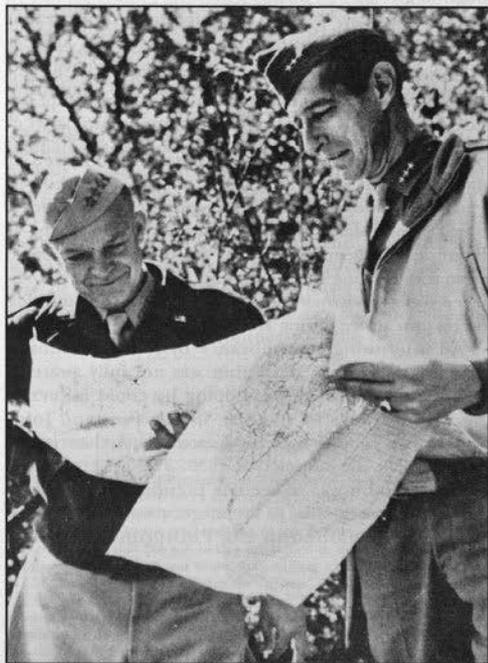
ing the interest that "some day, somehow . . . I may be permitted to serve with you again."⁴⁹

On June 22, Ike wrote Clark that the orders had indicated an August departure, but Philippine authorities wanted him to remain longer. Ike compromised by suggesting departure before the end of the year. He wrote that he and Mamie considered sending John ahead to school but would not do so. Ike asked Clark about servants, getting his furniture out of storage in Washington, D.C., and the quarters. Clark would respond to all these requests. Eisenhower closed with the remark that he was pleased to learn Clark would be at Fort Lewis another year as he would "like to be at a place where I have a fine friend."⁵⁰

Ike wrote Clark on June 28 about automobiles, asking if they would need two. More importantly, in the same letter Ike wrote, "the other day I received a note from Jimmy Ulio . . . telling me that, according to the

49. Clark to Eisenhower, June 9, 1939, and Clark to Marshall, June 14, 1939, Citadel Archives.

50. Eisenhower to Clark, June 22, 1939, and Clark to Eisenhower, June 30, 1939, Citadel Archives.



Eisenhower and Clark confer on invasion plans—World War II.

47. Eisenhower to Clark, May 27, 1939, Citadel Archives.

48. Clark to Eisenhower, May 27, 1939, and telegram, Eisenhower to Clark, June 7, 1939, Citadel Archives; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 299.

Chief of Infantry, I was set up on next year's slate as second ranking officer in the 15th [Infantry]. This is of no special importance except that I thought it might have some bearing on the possibility of my obtaining a house rather than an apartment." Obviously, Ulio had secured Ike a well-placed command with troops, as Clark had promised.⁵¹

Two entries in Eisenhower's Philippine Diary on July 16, 1939, further substantiate that Clark had enlisted Ulio's help:

A few weeks ago I received W.D. [War Department] orders to go to Ft. Lewis upon expiration of my tour. The question of the official terminating date was taken directly to the CoS [Chief of Staff George Marshall] by the AG [Adjutant General], according to personal advise from Jim Ulio, and it was decided to shorten my tour to November at the latest. I was further authorized, if I could arrange with local officials, to come home in August. All this came about as a result of letters I wrote to Jim Ulio, because for many reasons Mamie and I were looking with longing eyes to our return date. It turned out to be impracticable to get away in August, but we are going in November.⁵²

Ike ended the above entry with the remark, "We are delighted with the Ft. Lewis prospect. . . . Be a little tough to give up 500 dollars a month . . . but that had to end soon anyway."⁵³ The Ulio references confirm that Ike wrote to Ulio, but probably on Clark's advice. Anyone with Clark's noted "ambition" would have used contacts in the one office with the power to administratively pull the necessary strings.

On July 16, Ike's Philippine Diary contains a bit of philosophy. This entry was not derogatorily directed at MacArthur, but was rather a true assessment of how to remain in command at the top. Eisenhower wrote, "I tried to make him [MacArthur] see that the price of staying at the top of the heap was eternal watchfulness and, above all, so coordinating himself and his job as to inspire confidence and a *dependence* upon him." Ike would certainly follow his own advice during World War II.⁵⁴

An interesting remembrance by John Eisenhower indicates that either MacArthur was not fully aware of Ike's plans, or that he was hoping he could influence the Eisenhowers to stay. In *Strictly Personal*, John Eisenhower relates that he visited MacArthur in his apartment in the summer of 1939. The general noted that young John was to become president of his senior class and editor-in-chief of the magazine and yearbook if his family remained in the Philippines. As John

Eisenhower points out, there were only five in the entire senior class, only two were boys. Those jobs were reserved for seniors.⁵⁵ John Eisenhower records how the family sat around the radio on the evening of September 3, 1939, and listened to Neville Chamberlain announce that Great Britain had declared war on Germany. Other officers in the Philippines took the news rather casually but not Dwight Eisenhower. He knew the prospects for war—he had discussed them often. That day Ike recorded in his diary:

This crises [in Europe] made me more than ever anxious to get home. I want to be back with my own army to watch and be a part of our own development and preparations; also to keep in closer touch with the daily record of the war as it is made. We're too far away in Manila; our papers are not particularly informative and short-wave radio is not yet an adequate system of broadcasting information.⁵⁶

John recalled that for the first time his father called a family council and said, the "only reason left for me to stay in this place is the extra money. . . . Other than that, there's not much to keep me here."⁵⁷

Ike, still lamenting that he had sat out World War I in an office, felt that he had to get back where he had a chance. He had believed for some time that war was on the way. He began a lengthy series of letters with Leonard Gerow, a War College classmate, concerning the war in Europe and what needed to be done; later Gerow would bring Eisenhower into the War Plans Division of the War Department. By September, Eisenhower had a firm date to return to the United States—December 13, 1939.⁵⁸

The situation in the Philippines had reached the point predicted by Eisenhower, Ord, and Davis. After the invasion of Poland in September, Ike was most concerned about the consequences of war to the Philippines, and in November stated: "The Philippines could not be defended even if every last Filipino were armed with modern weapons."⁵⁹

Eisenhower wrote to Clark on September 23 that his sailing date was set, shipment of household goods had been arranged, and that he was engrossed with the war news. He continued, "As the time draws near for us to leave the Philippines I cannot tell you how anxiously we are looking forward to our return. . . . I feel like a boy who has been promised an electric train for Christmas." A postscript to the letter asked Clark to measure the windows in the new quarters so Mamie could make

51. Eisenhower to Clark, June 28, 1939, and Clark to Eisenhower, July 11, 1939, Citadel Archives.

52. DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, July 6, 1939, EL.

53. *Ibid.*

54. DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, July 16, 1939, EL.

55. Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, 20-21.

56. DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, September 3, 1939, EL.

57. Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, 26-27.

58. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 116; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 231.

59. Petillo, *The Philippine Years*, 193.

curtains.⁶⁰ The train quote has been interpreted to indicate Ike's joy of leaving MacArthur; however, small boys often dream of receiving trains but don't get them. Eisenhower was afraid something would go wrong and the gift would not be there.

On October 10, Clark sent the detailed measurements for the windows; Clark already had reserved the quarters. The family would have a living room, dining room, butler's pantry, kitchen, servant's room, sun room, master bedroom and two others, sleeping porch, a master and back bathroom. This must have seemed luxury to the Eisenhowers. Clark mentioned that he had kept Sweeney posted on Ike's progress, and Eisenhower had written already to Sweeney to begin his diplomatic chores of getting back into the swing of things, even though Sweeney had just assumed command of The Presidio and would not be at Fort Lewis. On October 11, Ike exclaimed to Clark, "We are getting to the point we can hardly wait for December 13."⁶¹

In addition to Ike, T. J. Davis also received orders to leave on February 12, 1940. On December 6, Eisenhower wrote Davis that "Your past record and my personal knowledge of your abilities justify my confident prediction of a brilliant future . . . I genuinely regret that our official association is now to end." The relationship did not end. In 1942, Davis became Ike's adjutant general and administrator of his headquarters in England.⁶²

Clark received his last letter from Ike in the Philippines on October 25, 1939. Ike commented on his "rattlettrap" car being shipped by the Philippine government and that the quarters were looked forward to. He said that he and the family would be glad to get back "with our own people." What he meant is not certain; whether he was just glad to get out of a foreign country, away from the headaches, or back with the Marshall group in the military. He added a postscript: "One month and eighteen days more in the P.I.!!!"⁶³

Eisenhower noted in his diary on November 15, 1939, that the date was definite and hoped to reach Seattle by January 7, 1940. However, "My efforts to free myself of official tasks, in order that I can take care of

personal affairs, have been futile. The General seems to find more and more things he wants me to do personally." MacArthur, though, was pleasant and lavished praise. That same day, Ike noted that the Philippine government had offered him a bonus "that is most pleasing, not only to the pocketbook, but as evidence that the gov't. really regrets my departure. In that connection the Gen. [MacArthur], . . . has expressed the same views."⁶⁴

The Philippine government feted Mamie and Ike at several lavish parties and awarded the Philippine Distinguished Service Star to Eisenhower. Quezon's farewell speech was honest. He said that whenever he asked Ike for an answer he got one and "it may not have been what I wanted to hear, it may have displeased me, but it was always a straightforward and honest answer." The Eisenhowers departed on December 13 and arrived in Hawaii for Christmas.⁶⁵

MacArthur sent a farewell note on December 9. In it, he expressed regret at losing Ike: "this great undertaking will be indeed a disadvantageous one not only for me personally . . . but to your comrades-at-arms. . . . The problems presented during the past four years have at times been difficult, and complex in nature, but your sound judgement and unflagging enthusiasm have contributed greatly to the monumental progress. . . . We shall all follow with keen interest the brilliant career which unquestionably lies ahead for you."⁶⁶

Too much has been made of the MacArthur-Eisenhower differences. In later years they corresponded and did not publicly berate each other despite the apocryphal story of MacArthur calling Eisenhower "a clerk, nothing more" (a quote that has not been substantiated), or Eisenhower's undocumented retort that he had "studied dramatics under MacArthur for seven years." Arthur Nevins, brother of historian Allan Nevins and a member of the Philippine Mission, has stated that a primary difference between the two was that MacArthur did not pay much attention to junior officers, or their comments, while Ike loved to talk to them. Eisenhower was from and of the people, and with the experiences of the Philippines and the benefit of his

60. Eisenhower to Clark, September 23, 1939, Citadel Archives. During several conversations with the author in the winter of 1965 and spring of 1966, Clark related that he had worked long and hard and that Ike had expressed to him more than once, in letters that are no longer extant, that Ike was afraid something would prevent him at the last minute from leaving, and that at this time Eisenhower expressed himself in much stronger terms about the general situation in the Philippines and MacArthur. See also Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 44.

61. Eisenhower to Sweeney, September 27, 1939, Clark to Eisenhower, October 10, 1939, Eisenhower to Clark, October 11, 1939, Citadel Archives.

62. Letter dated October 18, 1939, T. J. Davis 201 file, Pre-Presidential Papers, EL; Eisenhower to Davis, December 6, 1939, Davis Correspondence, EL; Lyon, *Portrait of the Hero*, 132.

63. Eisenhower to Clark, October 25, 1939, Citadel Archives.

64. DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, November 15, 1939, EL; Clark often remarked to the author during 1966 of the final days of Ike's stay in the Philippines; he commented that MacArthur may have used various resources to keep Eisenhower in the Philippines because of Ike's abilities, but that Eisenhower was convinced that a war was coming in Europe and wanted to get home to a command. He also concluded that Ike was in fact interested in meeting the right people to do so and Clark was more than willing to assist even at the cost of Clark's not being able to have the "group" to himself.

65. Vargas to Eisenhower, December 9, 1939, and MacArthur to Eisenhower, December 9, 1939, Pre-Presidential files, EL; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 117; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 231.

66. MacArthur to Eisenhower, December 9, 1939, Pre-Presidential Files, EL; T. J. Davis to Eisenhower, December 9, 1939, Davis Correspondence, EL.

mentors he was ready for the major task that would shortly confront him.⁶⁷

By the end of January 1940, Eisenhower was regional executive at Fort Lewis. On January 25, he noted in his diary: "I'm busy buying uniforms in my odd moments. It grinds my soul to put out the money I have to spend—but there is no way out unless I retire. Guess I'm hardly ready to do that!"⁶⁸ In retrospect, a masterful understatement.

The times were good at Fort Lewis. The Clarks and Eisenhowers visited often, playing cards or having dinner. As for duties, Ike had arrived in time for maneuvers in which Clark appointed Eisenhower chief umpire. The final results were glowing praise by Marshall for Clark's planning. This could not have but helped Ike as well. Clark was appointed to the staff of General Headquarters in Washington, D.C., on August 17, 1940. In June 1941 he became assistant chief of staff.⁶⁹ Ike, meanwhile, in November 1940, became chief of staff for the Third Division; in March 1941 served as chief of staff to the commander of the Ninth Army Corps; followed by his important duty as chief of staff to Gen. Walter Krueger's Third Army at Fort Sam Houston from June to December 1941. Ike was promoted to colonel on March 11, 1941.

Before all that, in September and October 1940, he wrote Clark of the events at Fort Lewis, and then on November 28 he expressed concern that he was being tapped to go to Washington in the War Plans Division under Gerow. Washington was not what Ike wanted. It would take him from troops and the possibility of a combat command if America entered the war. He hoped Clark could help again.⁷⁰ Ike asked Clark to "see the Chief of Infantry [Gerow] and tell him to let me alone." Clark was successful, and Ike temporarily missed Washington and the War Plans Division. Ike wrote thanking Gerow for removal from the list. To this he added that already serving on the staff was "one of the finest officers in our Army, Lt. Col. [Mark] Wayne Clark. When you get a chance, get hold of him." Ike was trying to return some favor to Clark.⁷¹

67. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 118; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 70; Arthur Nevins Oral History, April 1970, EL.

68. DDE Philippine Diaries, Restricted Use, January 25, 1940, EL.

69. Clark to Marshall, March 26, 1940, Citadel Archives; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, "Chronology," 45-46; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 309.

70. Clark often spoke to the author in 1966 of phone calls from Eisenhower during this period that related directly to achieving a troop command; Ike wanted Clark to assure that he would not be transferred to Washington. Eisenhower to Clark, September 17, 1940, October 31, 1940, November 28, 1940, Pre-Presidential Files, Mark Clark Correspondence, EL.

71. Promotional File, July 10, 1940, Citadel Archives; Eisenhower to Clark, October 30, 1940, and Patton to Eisenhower, November 1, 1940, Pre-Presidential File, Patton and Clark Correspondence, EL; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 125-26; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 237, 239; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 49-50; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 313.

John Eisenhower recalls a November 1940 letter from MacArthur to Ike that flatly stated that if war broke out, he, MacArthur, would command in Europe. He said Roosevelt already had decided. John's comment was that at least the two still communicated. Ike wrote T. J. Davis on the 14th that he had heard things were falling apart in the Philippines because of "battling and bickering" around headquarters. He again expressed concern that some thought he, Eisenhower, had too much rank to be appointed to a combat command. On December 11, Ike wrote a Christmas letter to MacArthur and revealed to the general the rank and appointment problem. They still were corresponding.⁷²

Eisenhower went to Fort Sam Houston in June 1941, just in time to participate in the now famous Louisiana Maneuvers with his ally, now general, Mark Clark who now outranked his older friend. Ike's outstanding performance and Clark's influence brought Ike his general's star in September at the end of the maneuvers. The story has become famous of Clark reading the promotion list to an assembly of officers and, seeing Ike's name, purposefully avoided it until the end. The drama was perfect.⁷³

On December 7, 1941, Mamie woke Ike from an afternoon nap with the news of Pearl Harbor. World War II changed the way people regarded war, and the military, for the first time, made not only military but political and economic decisions. Eisenhower would become very adept as a policy-strategist.⁷⁴ He had learned well from MacArthur the political arena and from Clark he had learned to "work" the military structure.

Eisenhower could not stay away from the War Department now. Clark was there already. When Marshall asked Clark to give him ten names for assignment to head War Plans, Clark replied, "I'll give you one and nine dittos, Dwight D. Eisenhower." On December 12, 1941, Ike received a call relaying a message from Marshall for him to get there in a hurry. As Robert Ferrell has written: "The War Department was in near-total confusion, and Marshall desperately needed Eisenhower."⁷⁵

Amazingly, Ike's first assignment was the Pacific. He struggled hard to devise plans to assist MacArthur but in return received complaints, leading Ike to observe that MacArthur was "as big a baby as ever" and was "losing his nerve." MacArthur, however, now placed Ike in the group with Marshall and Roosevelt and vehemently proclaimed

72. Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, 29-30; Eisenhower to Davis, November 14, 1940, Pre-Presidential Files, Davis Correspondence, EL; Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 318.

73. Clark to Eisenhower, August 6, 1941, Pre-Presidential Files, Clark Correspondence, EL; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 53-55; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 73-74.

74. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 315, 323.

75. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 54; Ferrell, *Eisenhower Diaries*, 39.



President Eisenhower visited Clark at The Citadel in April 1955. Ike would pay Clark the compliment of saying that the school was just like West Point.

they were against him. In March 1942, MacArthur was out of the Philippines and commander of the Southwest Pacific. Ike commented in his diary, "the public has built itself a hero out of its own imagination."⁷⁶

The relationships now came together. DeWitt, McNair, Gerow, Bedell Smith, Marshall, Ike, and Clark set out to plan the war. When the War Department was reorganized in March 1942, Eisenhower asked for Clark to be his chief of staff. When Ike commanded the mission to England to build Allied cooperation, it was Clark he took along. When Ike received command of the European Theatre, Clark was given command of II Corps in England. By August 1942, Clark was one of the youngest lieutenant generals in the army's history. Eisenhower appointed Clark his deputy commander. Ike

needed someone to "crack some heads" and Clark could do it and resolve problems. From August until November 1942, Clark ran the conferences with commanders and logistical groups so that Ike could concentrate on diplomacy and overall strategy.⁷⁷

Ike trusted Clark to direct the clandestine submarine trip to Algeria and make the deals with the French, all in his name, for the planning of Operation Torch. Ike, however, could rebuke his friend and did so occasionally. When Clark insisted upon an army command, Ike thought this a mistake and said so in his diary notes and to Clark. But he approved Clark's promotion and appointed Clark commanding general of the U. S. Fifth Army on January 4, 1943. The appointment placed

76. DDE Diaries, January 13, 19, 1942, February 4, 5, 8, 9, 23, 1942, March 19, 1942, EL; Chandler, *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, 13, 83-100, quotes many of the letters of Eisenhower and MacArthur, particularly between January 29, 1942, and late September 1942; MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 108-9; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 134, 138; Petillo, *The Philippine Years*, 211.

77. DDE Diaries, May 6, 30, 1942, June 4, 8, 11, 22, 23, 1942, EL; Conferences and Decisions File, daily from August through November 1, 1942, Citadel Archives, demonstrates that Clark was handling all the meetings in the command structure with Allied officers, discussing detailed planning for the North African invasion; Clark Oral History, Citadel Archives; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 56-60, 67-69, 92; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 151-53.

Ike in a delicate situation, especially with older officers like Patton who abhorred Clark getting the command. But Eisenhower owed Clark, trusted him, and he paid his debts.⁷⁸

Some of the last wartime correspondence of a personal nature exchanged by Clark and Eisenhower was in January and February 1943. After that, with Ike in command of the Normandy invasion forces and Clark with his hands full in Italy, there was little time except for official communications and brief greetings. On January 5, 1943, as Clark prepared to take over Fifth Army, he wrote Ike expressing his deep appreciation for "all you have done for me." Clark also wrote that "Although I had known you intimately for the past quarter of a century and had always admired you and your ability, it was only during the stress of the past seven months, that I really, fully comprehended the depth and strength of your character."⁷⁹

On January 6, 1943, Ike wrote Clark, without receiving the letter of the 5th. He stated that it was "impossible . . . to express my real appreciation of your splendid work. . . . there have been certain instances in which your tact, breadth of vision and clear understanding of basic issues have astonished me."⁸⁰ In a following letter, Eisenhower, referring to debate over the Fifth Army appointment, assured Clark that "never for one second" had he lost confidence nor was there any lessening of their long friendship. Ike confided: "You will never know how close I came within the past few days, when the pressure was on me very, very drastically indeed, to calling upon you . . . when I found it impossible to be doing my job in three different places at once. There is no one upon whom I depend more."⁸¹

Ike gave a personal upbraiding to Clark later when the Fifth Army found itself smothered on the beaches of Salerno. Although he believed that Clark would succeed and had no thoughts of relieving him, Ike told Clark "to emulate the Russians at Stalingrad and stand tight and fight."⁸² Clark struggled up the boot of Italy while Eisenhower prepared for the invasion. Clark's was not an easy task. Ike gave whatever support he could, but Normandy took priority and much of the equipment and troops that would have been valuable in Italy went for the invasion. Rome was captured one day before D-Day, June 5, 1944. On April 2, 1945, the German army representing all forces in southeastern Europe surren-

dered to Clark in Italy. Eisenhower accepted the overall surrender. Their alliance had been played through to the end. The catalyst in the partnership, Douglas MacArthur, recaptured his beloved Philippines and accepted the overall Japanese surrender.

Mark Clark was appointed commander of the U.S. Forces in Austria on July 6, 1945; John S. D. Eisenhower served under Clark and noted that he was "an actor somewhat in the same category as Douglas MacArthur [and] was truly an education to watch." Ike briefly was military governor of the U.S. Zone in Frankfurt, Germany; then on November 19, 1945, he was appointed chief of staff of the U.S. Army. Clark, partly because of his loyal head-knocking for Ike and his "ruthless ambition," was never considered for chief of staff.⁸³

Eisenhower retired, was president of Columbia University, returned to service in 1952, retired again, and was elected to two terms as President of the United States. Clark commanded The Presidio in 1947, the appointment coming from Ike; became chief of army field forces in 1949; and then his old friend President Eisenhower placed complete trust in him to take over the struggling, politically dangerous position of Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, Far East, in 1952. Ike wanted Clark to end the Korean stalemate. Ike knew that Clark disagreed with a "limited war" but would follow orders.⁸⁴

In 1953, Mark Wayne Clark signed the armistice in Korea. He retired from the army on October 31 of that year and on March 1, 1954, he became president of The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina. His old friend Eisenhower was one of the first speakers in a lecture series inaugurated by Clark. Ike gave the school the ultimate compliment when he told Clark it was just like West Point. Clark died in Charleston on April 17, 1984; Eisenhower on March 28, 1969.⁸⁵

In retrospect, it might be asked why Ike felt the need for a buffer such as Clark. Martin Blumenson has noted: "All those who rose to eminence were not only superb leaders but also ruthless in the pursuit of their goal." Eisenhower could not bring himself to truly operate in that manner, but he found the person who could assist him without Ike appearing "ruthless." Clark is more difficult to analyze. A master at training and planning, he was an outstanding politician who correctly

78. DDE Diaries, December 10, 1942, June 11, 1943, May 22, 1944, EL; Clark Oral History, Citadel Archives; Clark, *Calculated Risk*, 153-54; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 111-12, 118; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 237; Brendon, *His Life and Times*, 100.

79. Eisenhower to Clark, January 6, 1943, Citadel Archives; Clark to Eisenhower, January 5, 1943, Pre-Presidential Files, EL.

80. Eisenhower to Clark, January 6, 1943, Pre-Presidential Files, EL.

81. Eisenhower to Clark, February 13, 1943, Pre-Presidential Files, EL.

82. DDE Diaries, September 14, 1943, EL; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 226, 263, 271.

83. John S. D. Eisenhower to author, September 23, 1989; MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 315; Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, 117-18; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, "Chronology."

84. DDE Diaries, April 17, May 13, October 4, 1951, EL; Eisenhower to Clark, May 15, 1941, Pre-Presidential Files, EL; Clark Oral History, Citadel Archives; MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 569; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, I: 511-12; Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, "Chronology," 263; Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 77; Eisenhower Chronology, EL; Eisenhower to Clark, December 22, 1966, Personal Files, EL.

85. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 270, 275; Chronology, Clark Collection, The Citadel.

assessed that Ike would climb the ladder with help. Clark was willing to give that help and ultimately be in the background. Because of his quick advance in rank, Clark made enemies, but so did Eisenhower. Interestingly, the "enemies" never reacted to Ike in the same way that they did to Clark.⁸⁶ Eisenhower could draw people to him. Clark once said, "There was something about him [Eisenhower] that made you want to help him. I don't know *anybody* who didn't, certainly including me." Some have suggested that Clark and Eisenhower "had been too close too long" and Ike was "too grateful and at much too high a price." Eisenhower returned the many favors done by Clark, often in the face of controversy, but no more than Clark had done.⁸⁷

It is not unusual to find comradeship between military men but rarely is it as successful as that of

Eisenhower and Clark. It is too simple to say they used each other's friendship. It is too easy to say that Eisenhower would not have made it to the top without Clark. It can be assumed that without the assistance of Clark and others, Ike would not have made it out of the Philippine entrapment, at least in time to enter the services that he had. It is acceptable to determine that Clark would not have advanced as he did without Eisenhower. What is remarkable is that the two never let the professional depreciate personal relations; each accepted the other for what he was.

There has been in the United States an oft-cited generation gap. The one true pronounced age gap is a World War II gap—those who remember and those who do not. For those born after the war, it is difficult to understand the military structure and the way of life of those who made it their profession in a pre-war world. When one realizes that the professional military man lived in a different framework of education, struggle, class, and peer review, it is more understandable that when two basically opposite personalities such as Eisenhower and Clark visited during their final days, they talked of "The Corps, The Corps, The Corps." [K]

86. Blumenson, *Mark Clark*, 283-85, 288-89.

87. Clark told the author in 1966 that he had often conversed with Eisenhower by phone and had visited him often in the hospital. Miller, *As They Knew Him*, 43, 439-40.