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The Reevaluation of Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Law Montgomery

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THE REEVALUATION OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER AND
BERNARD LAW MONTGOMERY

A Thesis

by

DAVID ALLEN WARDEN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Texas-Pan American
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Major Subject: History

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BERNARD LAW MONTGOMERY

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December 2009

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ABSTRACT

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Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Montgomery were the two generals that coordinated and implemented the military strategy to invade North Africa to Europe. The two generals combined the militaries of Great Britain and the United States to defeat the Axis powers of Germany and Italy. By May 1945, the Allied forces had succeeded in finishing the war in Europe. Historians soon began to look at the two men and evaluated their ability to work together. This thesis provides a study of the reasons why the two generals were different. The study also evaluates how the two generals were able to work together. Eisenhower and Montgomery argued many times but they were able to come to an agreement and work out their differences. The military strategy was to defeat Hitler and free Europe.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my wife, Magda who supported me and never gave up on me. She stood by me and always encouraged me to continue. She was a true blessing. I also want to dedicate this to my parents, Don and Lenore Warden. They always told me that I could be successful in anything that I would try. They loved me and supported me as I chose to pursue a career in the education field. They were such strong lights in my life. I also want to dedicate this work to my wonderful children, Kimberly and Jonathan. They let me go back to college and pursue my master's in history. There were many nights when they needed me but they understood that I needed to finish. I would also like to dedicate this work to a person who gave me a strong desire to learn more about World War II, which was my uncle, Thomas Benjamin Warden. He would always tell me his stories about serving in the war and never grew tired of talking to me. He had so many interesting stories and I truly learned so much. I miss him but realize that he is in a better place.

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I would like to thank my thesis committee, Dr. Michael Faubion, Dr. Michael Weaver, and Dr. Charles Waite. I learned some valuable information and believe that I would not have been successful without their help. I would also like to thank the Biblioteca La America librarians for their support. They found some excellent articles that I was able to use in the thesis. I would also wish to thank my mother, Lenore Warden, for the many times that she was asked to proofread my chapters. She was always willing to go the extra mile and helped so much. The thesis was finished due to much of her help.

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CHAPTER I

THE REEVALUATION OF DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER AND BERNARD LAW MONTGOMERY

History had long been considered a social science that was steadfast and never altered. However, that idea began to change in the early 1900s with the advent of Charles Beard who, as an historian, began to question the validity of the history that Americans had always accepted as truth. This advent began a reevaluation of history in general and sparked a desire to look more closely at what really happened. History is broken down into many sub-fields and each sub-field produces a different interpretation based on the views or bias of the historian. Military history is no different from the other sub-fields, although it brings in the ideals of patriotism and nationalism. Many of the historians in this field of military history base their assumptions on these views. World War II has been over for sixty four years and historians are now looking at battles or generals in a different light. Military historians from the United States and Great Britain have begun to study and reevaluate the two generals, Dwight David Eisenhower and Bernard Law Montgomery.

On September 1, 1939, Adolf Hitler ordered the German Army to attack the sovereign nation of Poland. Great Britain and France had warned Hitler that the invasion of Poland would lead to a declaration of war between the three countries. Hitler began the invasion of Poland and within several weeks Poland fell to Germany. Except for the

Royal Air Force and British Navy, Great Britain and France stood idly by as Poland was attacked and destroyed. Finally, Germany partitioned Poland with Russia, and Europe settled into a time, which later became known as the Phony War or “Sitzkrieg”. The battleground after the fall of Poland took place at sea. The battle on land and in the air did not begin until May of 1940. Germany focused its fighting on Northeast Europe while the U.S.S.R. took the countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Great Britain and France sent military support to Finland for the fight against the Soviet Union. For six months Europe sat poised waiting for the beginning of another war. The supposed calm before the storm was not very peaceful but it seemed as if Hitler was ready to stop fighting. Great Britain and France were preparing for the war but the fighting was not to occur for six more months.

On May 1, 1940 Germany began the war by invading Belgium, Holland and also France. Within twenty-five days, Hitler had the French and the British armies pinned against the beaches of Dunkirk. The war was over for France with a short time and Great Britain had to devise a way to rescue the soldiers that were trapped on the beaches. The only hope for the British Army to continue the fight against Germany was the rescue of the soldiers from the beaches of Dunkirk. 340,000 soldiers were trapped on the beaches waiting for the final dissolution of a prisoner of war camp. “Streaming across it came the most remarkable armada in the history in the history of warfare.”¹ Great Britain was able to rescue 338,226 soldiers, which included 120,000 French soldiers from Dunkirk, but Great Britain had to leave the weapons and many supplies behind. Great Britain stood alone in Europe, ready to fight any country that chose to attack. From 1940 to 1941, Germany conducted air raids and carried on the Battle over Britain trying to force the

¹ Robert Leckie: *Delivered From Evil: The Saga of World War II* New York: Harper and Row 1987 pg. 153

country to surrender. The British continued the fight throughout the year and succeeded in taking back the skies over England.

The United States watched the war exploded in Europe and yet stood divided as to what actions should take place. Senator William Borah, from Idaho had coined the term ‘Phoney War’ and tried to persuade the citizens of the United States to remain neutral. Charles Lindbergh, the famous aviator also believed that the United States should remain neutral until the Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had begun the Lend-Lease program with the approval of Congress. The program was to provide military aid to Great Britain, China, France and the U.S.S.R. Japan began to invade Manchuria in 1933 and threatened other parts of Asia. The political philosophy of isolationism divided many citizens and politicians in the United States. Isolationism would soon change when the Japanese navy slipped out of Tokyo on November 25, 1941. Hawaii was sleeping and Pearl Harbor was ripe for destruction. Negotiations between the United States and Japan had been taking place to solve problems between the two countries. The two countries seemed not to be able to negotiate a settlement to the problems so Japan chose to attack Pearl Harbor and also the Philippine Islands. On December 7, 1941, with the cry of Tora, Tora, Tora, the Japanese Navy attacked the naval base at Pearl Harbor. The United States declared war on Japan the following day and Germany declared war on the United States on December 9, 1941. Franklin Delano Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill to map out a strategy for the war. The agreement was reached that the Allies would first concentrate on the defeat of Germany and Italy. Hitler was believed to be the greatest threat to the war effort.

Hitler's victim after the defeat of France was the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia. On August 22, 1939, Germany and Russia signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Nonaggression Pact between the two countries was to have lasted for five years. Hitler attacked Russia under the military plan of Operation BARBAROSSA. Germany organized a military force of 3 million men, 600,000 vehicles, and 2250 tanks on a 1000-mile front. The goals of Operation Barbarossa were to capture the major cities of the Soviet Union, destroy the Soviet Army, and capture the Caucasus oil fields. Within a short time the German army made substantial advances into Russia. By October 13, 1941, the 3rd Panzer Army was within 90 miles of the Soviet capital. By 1942, Stalin called on the United States and Great Britain for help. He requested a second front in Europe be started as soon as possible. It was two more years before Great Britain and the United States would start the second front in Europe.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met together at the Arcadia Conference in Washington D.C. to discuss the strategy of the war. Churchill believed that the war effort should be aimed at starting to invade North Africa. The United States did not want to invade North Africa but believed that it was important to start a second front in Europe. Once the war started, the United States military leaders believed that the Mediterranean was a black hole. United States and Great Britain expressed much conflict but were finally able to compromise on the invasion of North Africa. General George Marshall agreed to Operation TORCH, an offensive plan to invade North Africa. General Eisenhower was appointed to be the leader of the European Theater Operation United States Army. On August 6, 1942 Eisenhower was informed that he would be the deputy commander of the Allied Forces in

North Africa, Sicily, and Italy. The agreement between the two countries was to invade the Mediterranean and also begin the plan for a second front.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill commenced meeting together to organize the second front in Europe. A plan was being worked out and became known as Operation OVERLORD. As the military plan was being developed under the leadership of Lt. General Frederick Morgan, a search began for the Supreme Commander. The office of Supreme Commander required it to be a man who could control and lead the military forces of both countries. The responsibility would include the leadership of the combined navy, army and air force. This was a tough job and it called for a strong man capable of diversity and experience. Roosevelt and Churchill met again and began the process of looking at prospective leaders. One choice was General George Marshall, the Chief of Staff in the United States, but Roosevelt was not willing to lose his chief of staff. Other names were submitted but each one was turned down. The final choice for the Supreme Commander was laid on the shoulders of Dwight Eisenhower and the generalship for the ground troops was given to Bernard Montgomery. Eisenhower selected his staff to command the combined forces and Montgomery began to finalize the plan for Operation OVERLORD. The date was first set for the last week of May 1944. Each day the plan had to be postponed because of bad weather. Finally it seemed that there would be a break in the weather. D-Day took place on June 6, 1944 and the invasion of France began. From June 1944 to April 1945 the battles that took place in Europe led to great destruction in Europe. In April 1945 Adolf Hitler committed suicide and the war in Europe was finally over. Europe and the United States wanted to get back to normal but the war was still raging in Asia. With the defeat of Japan and the atomic

bomb, the war ended and the world tried to return to their routines. After the war ended historians began to evaluate the working relationship between Eisenhower and Montgomery.

Dwight Eisenhower came from a humble beginning and was raised in a home where religious beliefs were taught and respected. He belonged to a Mennonite family and grew up in Kansas. Every son in the family had been called Ike as a nickname even though Ida Eisenhower, his mother, did not know where the nickname came from. Dwight was known as Little Ike. He was chosen to attend West Point and was ready to serve his country. In 1916, he helped John J. Pershing chase Pancho Villa through Mexico. Instead of going with Pershing, he ended up training National Guard units that would serve for Pershing. It seemed that Eisenhower would not be able to fight in wartime. World War I started and in 1917, Eisenhower again was kept from fighting in a war. One million troops were sent to Europe. "To his regret, Eisenhower whose organizational talents were already recognized was not to be among them."² After World War I was over Eisenhower continued doing training duty for the army. He went to Fort Leavenworth to train officers and then was transferred to serve under General Douglas McArthur, a man he despised. Finally in 1940 he was transferred back to Washington to help General George Marshall develop the army. This helped lead Eisenhower to the final position of Supreme Commander. The organizational skills that he had developed but hated actually helped Eisenhower to land the post of Supreme Commander of Allied Expeditionary Forces.

Bernard Montgomery, like Eisenhower, grew up in a religious home. His father was a priest who was sent to Tasmania by the Anglican Church. His father was later

² Norman Gelb *Ike and Monty: Generals at War* New York: Harper Collin, 1994 pg. 33

transferred back to London and became a bishop. Montgomery attended Sandhurst, a military college where he was prepared for his future. He fought in World War I and was wounded in one lung. Montgomery almost died from his wounds but was able to recover. He decided to make the army his career and never looked back on his choice. As he moved up in rank, he kept telling his lower grade officers that an officer could not be totally committed to the army and be married to a wife. However, that opinion about army and marriage would change for him. In 1927, he met a widow by the name of Betty Carver and asked her to marry him. Some of his officers recalled his views and jokingly sent him a telegram. They asked, "Which is it to be, the soldier or the husband?"³ Soon Montgomery and his wife had a son and the family moved to Palestine. While he was stationed in Palestine, Betty became very sick from an insect bite and soon died. He was devastated from his loss and requested a change of location in bases. In 1939, Montgomery was called back to England to command the 3rd Division. During this time he became very sick after contracting typhoid. He recovered and returned to England. After arguing with the War Staff for the 3rd Division, he won this position and arrived in France to fight against Germany. He was at Dunkirk but was evacuated back to England. After returning to England, Montgomery began to retrain the British officers and showed them where their mistakes had been made in World War I. In 1942, he was sent to North Africa to continue fighting against the German Army, which was under the command of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel. Many other British generals had failed in their battles against Rommel. Montgomery was one of the few British generals that had success against Rommel. Montgomery was an instant hero in Great Britain for his successes and victories in his battles. These successes helped his superiors choose him as the

³ Norman Gelb *Ibid* pg. 53

commander of all the ground forces at D-Day. It seemed to be the only choice for the Allied Forces to make.

Military historians continue to analyze battles and wars for many different reasons. It was once said that the winner gets to write the history. If this is true then the winner also receives the opportunity to evaluate the personalities that took part or directed the battles or wars. Military history can be interpreted by a former soldier in a way that a civilian military historian may not be able to see. Each historian will bring in an alternate view.

The first military historical school is one of military experience. Historians, who fought in war and wrote about the battles, will see the situation from their perspective. These are historians such as Martin Blumenson, Carlo D'Este, Max Hastings, Richard Lamb, Eric Larrabee, and Forrest Pogue.⁴ These historians will look at the battles from a view of the military strategy that was used in the war. They will look at the success or lack of success of the generals in the battles rather than at the personalities. The structure of the battle and how a general fought the battle is very important. They were participants in the battle and understand what it is like to have bullets flying around them. It is not important to evaluate the personalities because these historians were actually in the thick of battle. Forrest Pogue in his book *Supreme Command* organizes and evaluates the generals based on their strengths and weaknesses in the face of battle. Pogue wrote an article "High Command in War: Two Problems from the Second World War"⁵ which also addresses this issue. "The Supreme Command of 1944-45 resulted from an Anglo-

⁴ *Galenet.galegroup.com*

⁵ Forrest Pogue "High Command in War: Two Problems from the Second World War" *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 23, Issue 4 (Dec. 1951)

American effort to establish a coalition staff which could effectively wage war in the field.”⁶ Pogue also writes later about his evaluation of the job of the Supreme Commander. “General Eisenhower’s role in the second World War has been referred to frequently as being more that of a chairman of a board than that of an operational commander.”⁷ The books written by the other authors also focused on the successes in the war and not so much on the personalities of the leaders. Richard Lamb in *Montgomery in Europe 1943-45*⁸ evaluated the two-year period analyzing the victories and mistakes of Montgomery, rather than the personal affairs of Montgomery.

Martin Blumenson is a retired instructor in history, who has taught at George Washington University, The Army War College and has held many different positions in other universities. He is considered one of the most noted historians on the life of George Patton. Blumenson begins to evaluate Eisenhower and Montgomery during World War II in his book *Patton: The Man behind the Legend 1885-1945*.⁹ He looks at each man from a different angle. By writing about Patton, he evaluates the two other generals and their leadership traits. Blumenson shows that Montgomery was a very likeable man while the two men were in Africa. The evaluation of Montgomery changes when Patton is denied a leadership role in Operation OVERLORD. In September 1944 Patton began to despise Montgomery when some needed supplies were sent to Montgomery instead of to his troops. Blumenson also develops his evaluation of Eisenhower. He writes that Eisenhower and Patton went from being great friends to becoming angry partners in war. “He and Eisenhower sat talking to 2:30 in the morning. When they were together, just the

⁶ Forrest Pogue *Ibid* pg. 330

⁷ Forrest Pogue *Ibid*. pg. 332

⁸ Richard Lamb *Montgomery in Europe 1943-45* Southampton: Ashton, Buchan and Enright 1990

⁹ Martin Blumenson *Patton: The Man Behind the Legend, 1885-1945* New York: William Morrow and Co. 1985

two of them, the bond of friendship was close and firm. Yet in the bottom of Patton's soul rankled resentments over Eisenhower's failure to give him praise."¹⁰ Blumenson tries to reveal the weaknesses of Montgomery and Eisenhower, but rather he reveals more of how Patton felt about them.

Carlo D'Este is a retired lieutenant colonel in the United States Army and was in the army for 27 years. This career experience has helped him look at Eisenhower and Montgomery from a different perspective. Carlo D'Este has written several books on the war also. His two books that look at the subject of D-Day and that also evaluate Montgomery and Eisenhower are *Decision in Normandy*¹¹ and *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*.¹² D'Este is able to look at Montgomery and Eisenhower in a completely unbiased way. He shows each man as human and vulnerable but also able to accomplish the task set before him. Montgomery is very well presented in both books. Eisenhower is also seen as a great general through both books. He is presented as a professional soldier and a strong commander of the multi-national forces. D'Este gives his critique of Eisenhower and tries to show that there was a simple misunderstanding between the two generals. He looks at the idea that there existed a good working relationship and it was successful for both. D'Este shows that a small problem of communication did exist. In *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life* the author attempts to dispel the many myths about Eisenhower. He tries to develop a fresh insight of the relationship between Montgomery and Eisenhower. He does an excellent job of presenting both men as human. "Montgomery liked Eisenhower personally, but regarded him professionally as probably quite good on the political

¹⁰ Martin Blumenson *Ibid* pg. 169

¹¹ Carlo D'Este *Decision in Normandy* Old Saybrook, Ct.: Konecky and Konecky 1994

¹² Carlo D'Este *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life* New York: Henry Holt and Co. 2002

side...”¹³ He also looks at both men as being complete opposites. The author paints a picture of Eisenhower as compromising and Montgomery as uncompromising.

Montgomery saw everything from the viewpoint of how it affected the British Army and Eisenhower looked at things that affected the Allies. “What Montgomery saw as black and white was to Eisenhower multihued.”¹⁴

Max Hastings works for the British Broadcasting Corporation. He is a researcher for historical documentaries and he also writes for newspapers in England. He wrote *Overlord: D-Day, June 6, 1944*¹⁵ in which he analyzed the battle and also looked at the personalities of Eisenhower and Montgomery. Hastings spends more time looking at the battles than at the actual personalities of the two generals. He does present some evaluations about Montgomery and Eisenhower. He implies that Montgomery was hard to work with but was still a very effective general. He also shows that Eisenhower had his faults such as not being able to make quick decisions. “Eisenhower lacked greatness as a soldier, and tolerated a remarkable number of knaves and mischief-makers at SHAEF. But his behaviour of Anglo-American tension, his extraordinary generosity of spirit to his difficult subordinates, proved his greatness as Supreme Commander.”¹⁶ Hastings is very generous to both men in his evaluations. He tried to simply evaluate the battle and not the personalities. However, he did get in some comments about Montgomery. He implied in the book that Montgomery was too cautious in attacking the enemy. “For all

¹³ Carlo D’Este *Eisenhower: A Soldier’s Life* New York: Henry Holt pg. 410

¹⁴ Carlo D’Este *Ibid* pg. 410

¹⁵ Max Hastings *Overlord: D-Day, June 6, 1944* New York: Simon and Schuster 1984

¹⁶ Max Hastings *Ibid* pg. 28-29

Montgomery's caution in battle, the passion for 'tidiness' that more than once denied him all-embracing victories, this essential cold, insensitive man was devoted to winning."¹⁷

Richard Lamb had a personal interest in the evaluation of Montgomery. Lamb had served with the Eighth Army, which was commanded by Montgomery during World War II. He later became a journalist, broadcaster, and writer in London. He asked an interesting question about Montgomery in the title of his book, *Montgomery In Europe 1943-45: Success or Failure*.¹⁸ Lamb criticizes Montgomery for being too abrasive and harsh. Lamb does not mix words and evaluates Montgomery fairly in his book. He also rates Eisenhower as being vindictive in some areas. He writes that Eisenhower refused to allow Montgomery enough troops to be able to go into Berlin even though Churchill urged Eisenhower to do so. There was a very vivid show of hostility between the two men as recorded in Lamb's book. He portrayed it very clearly in his presentation throughout the book. Each man was shown to have weaknesses and strengths in the book.

Eric Larrabee was an editor for *American Heritage*, and an executive editor for *Horizon Magazine*. He also was a professor for State University of New York at Buffalo. He completed three books before he died from cancer. His book *Commander In Chief: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, His Lieutenants, and Their War*¹⁹ showed the conflicts not just between the American and British Generals but also between the conflicts that occurred between the American Generals. He analyzed each United States General who led in World War II. Larrabee views Eisenhower as the hero of the entire war for the United States. He implies that Eisenhower progresses from an inexperienced leader to a

¹⁷ Max Hastings *Ibid* pg. 32-33

¹⁸ Richard Lamb *Montgomery in Europe: Success or Failure* London: Buchan and Enright 1987

¹⁹ Eric Larrabee *Commander In Chief: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, His Lieutenants, and Their War* New York: Harper and Row 1987

very competent general. Larrabee also implies throughout the book that Eisenhower proved to be wiser than President Roosevelt. He shows him as being a great leader and able to handle the other United States generals as well as the leaders of the other countries. Larrabee documents that Eisenhower was able to handle Charles De Gaulle throughout the war. The author seems to value Eisenhower more than the other generals who fought in the war. He ranks Eisenhower as a military genius. Larrabee presents a very apparent bias for Eisenhower and many times is unable to evaluate the other generals fairly.

The military historians who have not had military experience look closer at the personalities of the generals than the successes of the same generals in battles. These are historians such as David Irving, Alistair Horne, Norman Gelb, Nigel Hamilton, Stephen Ambrose, and Ladislav Farago. It seems easier for these historians to attempt to evaluate the psyches of the leaders than to analyze the battles. The battles were used as filler materials but were not the main important issues described in their records.

David Irving has written several books about World War II. He has written *The War Path*²⁰, *Hitler's War*²¹, and *The War Between the Generals*²². David Irving in his book *The War Between the Generals* was more interested in the love affairs of the generals than the actual fighting that the generals took part in. He wrote twenty-four pages that refer to the supposed affairs of the American generals. It was more important for Irving to show that Kay Summersby might have been having an affair with Eisenhower than to concentrate on the success of the battle plans of the Allies. He also delighted in showing what happened to the love flames after the war was over. In the

²⁰ David Irving: *The War Path* New York: Viking Press 1978

²¹ David Irving: *Hitler's War vol. 1 and 2* New York: Viking Press 1977

²² David Irving: *The War Between the Generals* New York: Congdon and Lattes 1981

book, he writes this about Jean Gordon, the supposed lover of George Patton. “On December 21, he died from injuries he had received in an auto accident...There is no place for Jean Gordon either. In New York, two weeks after his death, she committed suicide.”²³

The next historian is Stephen Ambrose. Eisenhower chose Stephen Ambrose to be his personal historian. Stephen went on to write many books about World War II. Some of his books about the war consist of *D-Day*²⁴, *Band of Brothers*²⁵, and *Citizen Soldiers*²⁶. He shows the superb personality of Eisenhower throughout the books that he wrote.

Ladislas Farago wrote two books on the career of General Patton. The first book was *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph*²⁷ and the second was *The Last Days of Patton*²⁸. Farago presents Patton as a tragic hero in the book *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph*. He discusses the two incidents where Patton slapped an enlisted man and how Eisenhower handles the two events. Farago also discusses the relationship between Patton and Montgomery.

The second division of military historians deals with the idea of nationalism or patriotism. It was important to show the success of a country more than the mistakes of that country. The British historians were no different than the American historians. It is easier to evaluate the generals from another country than to evaluate your own general in a negative light. British historians who wrote predominantly on World War II were John Keegan, Richard Lamb, Max Hastings, David Irving, Alistair Horne, and Nigel Hamilton. They tended to be easier on their evaluations of the British generals than on the American

²³ David Irving *Ibid* pg. 432

²⁴ Stephen Ambrose: *D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climatic Battle of World War II* New York: Simon and Schuster 1995

²⁵ Stephen Ambrose: *Band of Brothers* New York:: Simon and Schuster 2001

²⁶ Stephen Ambrose: *Citizen Soldiers* New York:: Simon and Schuster 1998

²⁷ Ladislas Farago: *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* New York: Astor-Honor 1964

²⁸ Ladislas Farago: *The Last Days of Patton* New York: McGraw-Hill 1980

generals. The American historians on this era were Martin Blumenson, Forrest Pogue, Eric Larrabee, Carlo D'Este, Stephen Ambrose and Ladislav Farago. Many of the American historians relaxed their evaluations of the American generals but attacked the British generals. Historians had their favorite personality that took part in the war. Blumenson wrote about Patton while Pogue wrote about George Marshall. D'Este wrote about Eisenhower and Patton, while Ambrose wrote predominantly about Eisenhower. Most of the British historians chose to write about Montgomery since he seemed to be the greatest British hero of the war. It was important to choose someone about whom they were comfortable writing about. The interesting part of the books is how the historians try to applaud their generals more than the other generals. They try to make them look human and not evil. The personality eccentricities of the generals are downplayed and the quirks of the other generals are usually emphasized. The two main generals who are evaluated by more historians are Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Law Montgomery. The patriotism of the historians really shows through.

Stephen Ambrose was a professor at University of New Orleans. Eisenhower approached Ambrose and asked him to be his official biographer. Ambrose has written several books on Eisenhower that discuss his career as president and general. Ambrose recently passed away and has concentrated on writing books about American History. He is also involved in providing technical support for several documentaries and movies. His book *D-Day, June 6, 1944: the Climatic Battle of World War II* was used for background material for the movie *Saving Private Ryan*. *D-Day, June 6, 1944: the Climatic Battle of World War II* and his other book *The Supreme Commander*²⁹ strongly shows he feels about Eisenhower and Montgomery. In Ambrose's eyes Eisenhower could do no wrong.

²⁹ Stephen Ambrose *Supreme Commander* New York: Doubleday 1999

Ambrose has held the position of being the director of the Eisenhower Center at the University of New Orleans and this leads to his bias. Ambrose in *D-Day* spends much time trying to build up the positive personality of Eisenhower and trying to get the reader to agree with his views of Eisenhower. Ambrose shows his bias in his books and his quotations reveal how strong his bias was. “He has the power of drawing the hearts of men towards him as a magnet attracts the bit of metal. He merely has to smile at you and you trust him at once.”³⁰ Ambrose does not give up trying to prove Eisenhower was a great general. Also in the book *Supreme Commander*, the bias again comes through. Ambrose writes how the American soldiers and generals were most often better than their British counterparts. Ambrose shows a strong bias in the book *Supreme Commander* how Eisenhower was supported strongly by the American army. “Even as Eisenhower was dictating, the American G.I.s were proving him correct. At the critical point, along the Calore River, American artillerymen stood to their guns and prevented a German breakthrough.”³¹ While Ambrose was writing glowing critiques of Eisenhower he would show some negative reports of Montgomery. He criticized Montgomery unfairly and does not give a thorough look at the leadership qualities of Montgomery. “What he had not studied, unfortunately, was how to get his ideas across without irritating his listener. He always seemed to be talking down to people and his condescension became more marked the more intensely he felt about a subject.”³² Ambrose on the same page would continue to talk about how open-minded Eisenhower and how great his ideas were. Ambrose very

³⁰ Stephen Ambrose: *D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climatic Battle of World War II* New York: Simon and Schuster 1995 pg. 66

³¹ Stephen Ambrose *Supreme Commander* pg. 276

³² Stephen Ambrose *Ibid* pg. 426

definitely valued the Eisenhower image and was not willing to look at the positive views of Montgomery. Again throughout both books it becomes very evident that Ambrose has a knack for criticizing Montgomery unfairly.

Ladislav Farago was a noted journalist in his home country of Hungary until he came to the United States. He worked for the *New York Times*, the *Sunday Chronicle*, and the Associated Press in Ethiopia. He passed away in 1980 but left behind 4 very highly rated books. In Ladislav Farago's book *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* the two men are also evaluated through the eyes of Patton. It is easier to write about a person who is colorful than one who seems to be multifaceted. Farago presents a different view of both men since he was originally from Hungary and came to the United States in 1937. He shows Montgomery as being self-serving and egotistical. In the invasion of Sicily, Montgomery and Patton had developed two different plans to capture Palermo. Each general felt that they should get the prize for the capture of Palermo. Montgomery however, was given the go ahead for the capture of the city. Montgomery met with the Eisenhower group and quoted "I must state here very clearly, and beyond any possibility of doubt, that I will never operate my Army 'dispersed' in this operation."³³ Farago tries to show both sides of each argument but still criticizes Montgomery. He also begins to show the criticism Patton had toward Eisenhower. Patton told his staff his feelings about Eisenhower: "This is what you get when your Command in Chief ceases to be an American and becomes and Ally."³⁴ Farago continues to criticize Eisenhower and Montgomery throughout the book. Montgomery is shown as being very sensitive and needing to be in control. "Actually, Montgomery was hurt. He had tried to persuade Eisenhower to leave him in

³³ Ladislav Farago *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* pg. 278

³⁴ Ladislav Farago *Ibid.* Pg. 279

over-all tactical command even after he had started the drive to the north...³⁵ He then continues and implies in the book that Eisenhower owed his career to Patton. He refers to the introduction of Eisenhower to General Fox Conner by Patton, which helped Eisenhower develop his command ability.

The next historian who attempts to evaluate Eisenhower and Montgomery is Norman Gelb. He is a reporter who has worked in New York and in London. Gelb has also worked in the United States and England. He has been employed by the *Voice of America* in London and has written ten nonfiction books on many different subjects. He evaluates the two men in his book *Ike and Monty: Generals at War*.³⁶ He writes that the main point behind the book is to look at the national pride of both countries. Gelb writes that Montgomery was the only hope for Great Britain to have a hero out of the war. Gelb takes Montgomery's life and puts every detail under the microscope to draw out the dirt. He looks at Montgomery's marriage and their raising of David Montgomery. Speaking of Montgomery's wife, Gelb says, "He often bullied her; that was his way. He was a difficult man."³⁷ Gelb leaves no stone unturned to look at the life of Montgomery but does not evaluate Eisenhower's life so closely. Gelb needed to look at Eisenhower more closely for any faults he had. It was easier to turn the other cheek than to evaluate Eisenhower so closely. Gelb does not even look closely at the relationship between Kay Summersby and Eisenhower. It seems to be glossed over in the book. Gelb mentions the relationship but chooses to deny it.

The next historian that seeks to evaluate the two generals is Nigel Hamilton. Hamilton has held numerous jobs other than writing. He has been a secondary

³⁵ Ladislav Farago *Ibid* pg. 600

³⁶ Norman Gelb *Ike and Monty: Generals at War* New York: Harper Collins 1994

³⁷ Norman Gelb *Ibid*. pg. 54

schoolteacher, owned a bookshop and taught at the University of Massachusetts. Hamilton has spent most of his career writing on Montgomery. He is considered by most to be the biographer of Montgomery. He was very good friends with Montgomery and was privy to Montgomery's secrets. He writes about the strengths and weaknesses of Montgomery in the four biographies. He is considered to be an apologist but also shows the negative side of Montgomery. He analyzes closely why Churchill decided to choose Montgomery to be the ground commander in Operation OVERLORD. "But was Churchill's acquiescence over the choice for 'Overlord' an admission of Monty's greater military merit..."³⁸ He spends most of the book evaluating Montgomery in a positive light but writes about Eisenhower as being indecisive. Hamilton is from England and shows the bias of trying to develop Montgomery into a great hero for England. He does a good job in the presentation of Montgomery and also Eisenhower. Most of the other historians would agree that Eisenhower was indecisive sometimes when it came to sending soldiers to die. Hamilton also shows that Montgomery was overprotective of his men for fear that England would lose more soldiers than they could afford. This provides an excellent view of Montgomery from a well-known British historian.

Alistair Horne desires to assess the character of Montgomery in his book *The Lonely Leader: Monty 1944-1945*.³⁹ Horne is a journalist who has written many books on European history. He was approached by David Montgomery, Montgomery's son, and agreed to write the biography. Horne was able to receive some documents that have never been used by other historians and begins to assess the generalship of Montgomery. The first area that Horne tries to look at is what Montgomery was doing at D-Day. He

³⁸ Nigel Hamilton *Master of the Battlefield: Monty's War Years, 1942-1944* New York: McGraw-Hill 1983 pg. 474

³⁹ Alistair Horne *The Lonely Leader: Monty 1944-1945* London: MacMillan 1994

tries to destroy the myths that so many historians have built up and does an excellent job in this endeavor. He proves that Montgomery did not have homosexual leanings toward the men in his staff. He tries to demonstrate that Montgomery knew what he was doing in July 1944. Horne also shows that Montgomery did have weaknesses. Horne even looks at the evaluation of Eisenhower and presents an honest picture. He does not make Montgomery look good by destroying the reputation of Eisenhower. Horne shows how Montgomery enjoyed ridiculing Americans in their tactical warfare. Horne illustrates this point very easily by using a comment by Montgomery. “Nice chap, no soldier, was how Monty apostrophized Eisenhower when he first appeared at his TAC HQ in Tunisia.”⁴⁰ Horne balances out the evaluation of both generals fairly and presents each one as fallible but effective in their job. General Bedell Smith, Eisenhower’s Chief of Staff said: “I don’t know if we could have done it without Monty. It was his sort of battle. Whatever they say about him, he got us there.”⁴¹

Russell Weigley is a history professor who has taught at University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, and Temple University. He is now retired and is a guest lecturer. He has written eleven books that deal with different facets of war. He wrote *Eisenhower’s Lieutenants: The Campaigns of France and Germany, 1944-1945*⁴² that evaluates the relationship Eisenhower had with all the generals in the European theatre. Weigley evaluates Eisenhower in a kinder face than others. He does not put blame on all the generals and not just on Eisenhower alone. Eisenhower is viewed as very cautious and respectful of the other generals. He is also shown to consider the problems with Britain’s

⁴⁰ Alistair Horne *Ibid.* pg. 63

⁴¹ Alistair Horne *Ibid.* pg. 353

⁴² Russell Weigley *Eisenhower’s Lieutenants: The Campaigns of France and Germany, 1944-1945* Indiana University Press 1981

waning manpower. The author looks at each of the generals and evaluates them in a different light. He does seem to bring more criticism of Montgomery than the other historians. Weigley spends almost 30 pages on showing how Montgomery caused problems for the other generals though it seems that he was not completely open to the positive qualities of Montgomery and only chose to point out the negative.

There is an old saying about letting the first perfect man cast the stone at others. Many historians understand this idea and will try to approach the subject carefully. These historians point out the positive and negative qualities of Eisenhower and Montgomery yet there was an implied bias of many of the authors toward one of the generals. The American historians were more critical of Montgomery than the British historians were of Eisenhower. American historians did not attempt to look at the culture or military style of the British or try to understand Montgomery more clearly. It was easier to criticize Montgomery than to investigate with an open mind. The British historians were fairer to Eisenhower in their evaluation. British historians were willing to look at the American culture and study how it influenced the career of Eisenhower. British historians were able to criticize Montgomery and show his weaknesses more openly. There was an honest approach with them. It has been clearly demonstrated that both Eisenhower and Montgomery were very much the right men for the jobs that they were given. There were not any other generals that could have been successful in carrying out their jobs. Montgomery was right in being cautious because of the lack of British manpower. Great Britain had almost been bled dry in the last Great War and had not regained their strength. Eisenhower and Montgomery were simply two bulls trying to protect their own turf. After an evaluation of the material available from the historians it is possible to take

another look. Despite the similarities and differences of the military careers of Eisenhower and Montgomery, they agreed on many military commands when it came to war. This thesis will compare and contrast the two warrior giants of World War II, General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Bernard Law Montgomery. Their career paths differed to some degree, they came from two different countries with differing world views, they were subject to differing political pressures, and were both strong personalities accustomed to command. Yet their views on the conduct of the war against Nazi Germany had far more in common than many historians have portrayed.

Chapter 2 will be on the early military career and the preparation of Dwight Eisenhower to lead the Allies. Chapter 3 will look at the military career of Bernard Law Montgomery and how he was prepared to be the leader of the ground troops. Chapter 4 will look at the period of World War II from the invasion of North Africa, through Sicily, and concentrating on the relationship between Eisenhower and Montgomery during the implementation of Operation OVERLORD. The final chapter will be the personal evaluation of the working relationship between the two generals.

CHAPTER II

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

“Whatever he undertook, whether it was personal or professional, he had to win.”⁴³

There are times in history when the right man is needed for an important job. History called out for two men in the European front of World War II. World War II brought many countries together to fight a common enemy. There was a very strong need for a leader who could wear many different hats but also be able to gain the respect of the political leaders as well as the military leaders. The man in charge of the military force of the countries had to maintain emotional control as well as be able to keep track of the military plans. The man in charge of the ground troops had to work closely with his superior in a respectful manner and also work likewise with his subordinates. The two men had a very difficult task to do but the choice was made by the United States and Great Britain. Dwight Eisenhower stepped forward to lead the British and American military into the war and Bernard Law Montgomery was chosen to lead the combined armies of the two countries into a coordinated battle. The hardest requirement of the job for Dwight Eisenhower was the problem of getting the generals from both countries working together. Dwight Eisenhower accomplished the job and the Allied Forces finally won World War II.

⁴³ Merle Miller *Ike the Soldier: As They Knew Him* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons 1987 pg. 13

The Eisenhower family soon began to spread a legend that lasted until 1990. In March 1885 Dwight's father, David Eisenhower opened a store with Milton Good. The store lasted until 1887 or 1888 when the Good family absconded with the money and forced the store into bankruptcy. The partner fled the scene and David was forced to move to Texas in order to have a chance to recover financially. "The truth of what actually occurred was not revealed until 1990, when Thomas Branigar, a historian-archivist at the Eisenhower Presidential Library, in Abilene, published an illuminating investigative article about David Eisenhower and Milton Good."⁴⁴ It was during this time, in October 1890, in Denison, Texas that Dwight Eisenhower was born. Dwight, however, never really claimed to be a Texas. He always claimed Kansas as his home state. David Eisenhower was able to move back to Kansas and re-established his family in Abilene Kansas.

Dwight Eisenhower had within himself the resources to develop his strength and a dynamic philosophy early in life. He was the third child born to David and Ida Eisenhower. Arthur was the oldest son, but Edgar, the second oldest, developed a sense of sibling rivalry with Dwight. The rivalry between Dwight and Edgar continued through their life and helped motivate Ike to become what he was. The two boys fought constantly, yet they were always there for each other. David and Ida had four more sons, named Roy, Paul, Earl and Milton. Roy was the loner in the family and Paul died in infancy from diphtheria. Ida, as the mother, was a strong willed woman who most influenced the family in a strong positive way, but David exemplified the role of a quiet withdrawn father. Ida seemed to be the force that kept the family together and gave them purpose. David remained the disciplinarian and thus stood distantly apart from the

⁴⁴ Carlo D'Este *Eisenhower* pg. 18-19

children. Dwight developed a close relationship with Ida and looked many times to her for guidance and support. One strong example of the relationship between Ida and David was very evident when Dwight was ten years old. Edgar and Arthur had received permission to go 'trick or treating' during Halloween. Dwight was deemed to be too young and was not allowed to leave. In recalling early memories of his past, he forgot many of the details of what happened and could only recall that his father grabbed him and shook him forcefully. Dwight recalled that he had hit an apple tree and his fists had become bloodied. "My father legislated the matter with the traditional hickory switch and sent me off to bed."⁴⁵ Ida came into the room after an hour and began to console Dwight. She took out the Bible and read to him a passage about controlling his temper. Dwight learned this lesson and learned to control his temper more correctly. He believed that it was truly important to see life more objectively. It might be noted that all of the sons of David and Ida Eisenhower received the nickname of Ike. Ida was frustrated and kept wondering where the nickname had come from. This was one thing that Ida Eisenhower did not understand. Dwight's father, David Eisenhower opened a store with a partner and in a short time the store went bankrupt. The partner fled the scene and David was forced to move to Texas in order to have a chance to recover financially. It was during this time, in October 1890, in Denison, Texas that Dwight Eisenhower was born. Dwight, however, never really claimed to be a Texan. He always claimed Kansas as his home state. David Eisenhower was able to move back to Kansas and re-established his family in Abilene Kansas.

Dwight was raised in a Mennonite church and credited his grandfather for instilling a strong religious heritage in him. All through his life Dwight placed a great

⁴⁵ Dwight Eisenhower *At Ease: Stories I Tell My Friends* New York Doubleday and Co. 1967 pg. 50

importance on his religious upbringing. By the time Dwight had turned the age of 12, he had read the entire Bible. It was the one book that everyone was expected to read and study. Prayer was an important part of the Eisenhower home and it served well many times with the boys. Dwight's left knee became a physical problem throughout his life. Seven months into his freshman year in high school, Dwight was racing some of his friends. He fell on a wooden platform and injured his knee. The doctor was called to check his knee out. After the examination, the doctor's recommendation was that the leg needed to be amputated. Dwight kept slipping out of consciousness and hallucinated many times. Clinically it was finally apparent that the problem was blood poisoning. The family spent much time in prayer for the complete healing of Dwight's knee. Edgar rarely left Dwight's side and was constantly there for him. Edgar stated in his autobiography "Nobody's going to touch Dwight"⁴⁶. Dwight recovered from the injury but had missed his freshman year. Edgar and Dwight would continue their rivalry on the football field as well as in high school. Edgar graduated from high school and became a lawyer. Dwight's religious heritage carried on with him throughout his life even into his Presidency and helped establish the career of a young evangelist named Billy Graham. In 1969, as Dwight Eisenhower lay dying, he called for Billy Graham. The two men began to pray and read the Bible together. Finally on March 28, 1969 Ike was lifted from the bed and said his last words. "I want to go. God take me!"⁴⁷

Ike entered high school in Abilene, Kansas during a time when most people believed that any education beyond elementary was a waste of time. It was more important and necessary for a teenage boy to get a job than to go to school. Dwight

⁴⁶ Merle Miller *Ibid.* Pg. 203

⁴⁷ Geoffrey Perret *Eisenhower* Holbrook, Massachusetts Adams Media Corporation 1999 pg. 608

continued his education and enjoyed the subjects of history, math, and athletics. He joined the football team and this love for sports continued to go with him through his military career. On September 1910 Dwight heard that Senator Joseph Bristow of Kansas, would be administering the entrance exam for West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis. He wanted very much to attend the Naval Academy but was too old to be accepted. He passed the test and was placed on the waiting list to attend West Point. Dwight attended West Point and once stated that he owed his success to the town doctor, Everett Hazlette. Doctor Hazlette was called the 'Swede' by all of his patients. Dwight claimed that he had heard about "the Government Academies"⁴⁸ from the Swede Hazlette, but it was evident that he had already heard about the college before. As Dwight prepared to leave for West Point, David refused to say a word to him but Ida, his mother was devastated and had trouble letting go. Dwight had helped to support Edgar in attending the University of Michigan and now it was his turn to attend West Point.

On June 14, 1911, Dwight reported to West Point for training and orientation. He entered the class of 1915, which later would be called the class of stars. As he reported to West Point, he chose to sign in as Dwight D. Eisenhower. There had been many guesses by historians as to the reason for the changing of his name. His time at West Point made such an impact on his life that he chose to talk about West Point as he lay dying. By the time Dwight Eisenhower was to graduate from college, he had accumulated one of the highest amounts of demerits of any cadet in the history of West Point. Of the 164 men in his class, he stood 125 in the amount of demerits. The amount of demerits counted against him in his final year. The demerits seemed not to bother him at all. One of the common demerits was from smoking in college. As payments for his demerits, he walked

⁴⁸ Carlo D'Este *Eisenhower* New York: Henry Holt and Co. 2002 pg. 58

“punishment tours or served room confinement for a number of hours”.⁴⁹ When it came to the amount of demerits racked up in school, earned Dwight a place with some of the great generals such as Ulysses Grant and George Armstrong Custer. Dwight also excelled in calculus at West Point. One day in class, he began to argue with his professor about the solution to a Calculus problem. The captain accused him of not knowing the answer and simply writing down the answer. Major Bell came in and asked what the problem was. He told Dwight to solve the problem on the board and he watched as Dwight worked. Major Bell agreed with the solution and proceeded to say, “ Captain, Mr. Eisenhower’s solution is more logical and easier than the one we’ve been using.”⁵⁰ Major Bell then informed the captain that from then on Dwight’s solution to the problem would be included in the class.

Dwight survived his plebe year and began to move up as a cadet. He also learned a very valuable lesson during his second year. Typically, second year cadets had the precedent of harassing the new plebes. Dwight saw one of the plebes from his home state and began to jump on him. Dwight asked the plebe what he had done before coming to West Point. Dwight then stated that he looked like a barber and the plebe stated that he had indeed been a barber. Dwight walked away and never forgot the lesson. “ I managed to make a man ashamed of the work he did to earn a living.”⁵¹ Dwight chose from then on during the last three years to never harass a plebe again. Dwight carried this lesson into his military experience and was well respected by his subordinates.

In 1912, Dwight’s second year, he joined the team to play football for West Point. He became an excellent athlete and played both offense and defense. While playing Tufts

⁴⁹ Stephen Ambrose *Eisenhower: Soldier and President* New York: Simon and Schuster pg. 25

⁵⁰ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid* pg. 20

⁵¹ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid* pg. 18

University, he severely injured his knee again. He was sent to the hospital and finally recovered from the injury. After release from the hospital, he was allowed to return to the cavalry-riding hall. He was riding and re-injured his right knee. This injury would continue to plague him through out World War II and almost cost him a career in the army. In 1915, during his senior year, Dwight was called into the office of the medical officer, Colonel Shaw. Colonel Shaw informed Dwight that it would be impossible to give him a recommendation for the army. His knee had sustained so much damage that it would trouble him and would become a handicap in any military career. Colonel Shaw instead recommended that Dwight Eisenhower join the Coastal artillery. Colonel Shaw had been a part of the unit and believed that it was an excellent unit. Dwight refused to enter the Army branch of the Coastal artillery but chose to wait until he could enter in to the regular army. Finally graduation came and there were 164 students that walked the stage. This was truly the class of the stars. 59 of the graduates from the class attained the rank of brigadier general. “Three made it to rank of full general and two to the rank of General of the Army.”⁵²

In 1910, the Mexican Revolution started and soon affected the United States. Porfirio Diaz had been the President of Mexico since the 1860s and many of the citizens in Mexico felt it was ready for a change. Soon, the problems continued to escalate in Mexico. Diaz was forced out of the Presidency and Francisco Madero took over as the President of Mexico. President Madero was executed by Victoriano Huerta and the Revolution of 1910 began to trouble Woodrow Wilson. President Wilson refused to accept Huerta as President of Mexico and this gave Venustiano Carranza hope to remove Huerta from the Presidency of Mexico. Pancho Villa, a general of Mexico looked for help

⁵² Stephen Ambrose *Eisenhower: Soldier and President* ibid 25

from the United States. Villa soon believed that if he could attack the United States, the American army would have to get involved. Pancho Villa crossed into New Mexico and attacked at Columbus. He also crossed the Texas border and continued the attack on the southern United States for some time. Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States could not stand idly by and watch the country being attacked. In May of 1915, Dwight graduated from West Point and began to wait for his commission papers. Finally in August of 1915, Dwight received his commission papers from President Woodrow Wilson. He had requested to be assigned to the Philippines but instead ending up going to Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas. He was disappointed with his assignment at this time. Problems had heated up so much in Mexico that the army decided to send officers closer to Mexico in case they were needed to lead. Dwight Eisenhower was ordered to report to Fort Sam Houston in mid-September with a full set of uniforms. He arrived in San Antonio on time but in debt.

Soon Dwight received his next assignment and the orders were to report to Galveston to help with border duty. He arrived there only to find out that the regiment had been rained out. He was then ordered back to San Antonio and took up his duties. On October 3, 1915, Dwight had been assigned to be Officer of the Day. He was expected to walk the post and check on the men on duty. As he was walking around the post, he noticed a young lady with some other friends. He walked over and was introduced to Mamie Doud. He asked Lieutenant Gerow to introduce him and the two hit it off very well. Dwight asked Mamie to escort him as he finished his duty. The two stuck up a relationship and soon began dating. Dwight frequently visited Mamie's home in San Antonio. A closer relationship developed with her. His visits to the house became more

persistent. He continued to pursue her and finally she agreed to date only him. Mamie came from a wealthy family and was accustomed to comfortable living. Her father, John Doud, had retired from business and moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado. She was comfortable financially and yet was willing to live on the salary of a lieutenant. She began to fall in love with Dwight and agreed to marry him. Mamie began to play a very important role in his career. Dwight saw Mamie as his steady force and relied on her very strongly. "One of Eisenhower's presidential speechwriters once opined, 'Ike would have been Colonel Dwight Eisenhower, if it weren't for Mamie'."⁵³ Mamie was in charge of running the financial aspects of the home and Dwight had the responsibility of running the office. Their relationship was closely knit and seemed to work well.

Soon the military would call Dwight Eisenhower into action and would separate the young couple. The war clouds in Europe began to grow and engulf the US. Woodrow Wilson had been successful in postponing going into war and had even run for reelection on the campaign of staying neutral. In 1915, a German submarine sank the Lusitania but the US still stayed out of World War I. Finally, the Zimmerman telegram was intercepted by Great Britain and the United States declared war on Germany. Germany asked Mexico for military help against the US if Wilson joined the war. The United States united and went to war. Dwight spent time in the study of military tactics, European history, and was truly hoping to have a chance of leading troops in Europe. He was never offered the opportunity to do it and instead of military action Dwight was assigned to train officers for the US Army. He was very disappointed at having to stay behind while General John Pershing took the army over to Europe. This became a sore spot in Dwight's mind as he was overlooked for the military action. Like Omar Bradley,

⁵³ Carlo D'Este *Ibid.* Pg 112

a fellow classmate, Dwight felt like a failure. He kept hoping that there would be an opportunity to leave, but it never came. Other officers, such as George Patton were being sent to war and yet two of the future generals were left behind to train the military.

One of the first assignments for Dwight Eisenhower after the beginning of World War I was at the post of Camp Oglethorpe. His new assignment was the training of officers and preparing them for war. As Dwight Eisenhower proceeded to his temporary assignment, Mamie went home to be with her parents in Denver, Colorado. She was pregnant and would soon have their first-born child, Doud Dwight. Dwight was ecstatic of having a son but was also disappointed in not being there for the birth. Next Dwight was sent to Fort Leavenworth and then sent to Gettysburg to train men for the tank corps. The tank had become the newest mechanized weapon for the army and Dwight saw the great potential of this new invention. Dwight had a problem in training the men since there were no tanks available for the troops. He truly had to be creative in order to prepare the troops for battle. "He scrounged vehicles and created his own driving school, believing that a man who could drive a truck skillfully over rough terrain would soon learn how to drive a tank well."⁵⁴ This ingenuity and skill would help Dwight Eisenhower throughout his military career and also into his presidency. Finally, Dwight Eisenhower received his orders to go to France. He was assigned to leave on November 18, 1918 to participate in the final actions of the war. However, Dwight's orders were cancelled because of the signing of the armistice. Again Dwight was disappointed and began to call this the 'invisible war'. The cancellation of Dwight's orders actually became a blessing in disguise. Mamie received tragic news that her sister, Buster had died. Dwight and Mamie were devastated by the news. "The two girls had been close and I had deeply loved

⁵⁴ Geoffrey Perret *Ibid.* Pg. 68

Buster.”⁵⁵ Mamie took Icky, which was now the nickname for Doud back to Denver to attend the funeral.

In 1919, Dwight and Major Sereno Brett learned of a cross-country trip that was to be a convoy of Army vehicles. The War Department believed that it was important to have the convoy travel so that the public could see the great changes that had taken place in military equipment. This display of military weapons to the American public was also needed according to the War Department since President Wilson had stated, “World War I was the War to end all wars” and wanted to see an end to military actions. The military began to plan the trip but realized the need for the development of a transcontinental highway. The United States had finished the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and now in the twentieth century, more people were traveling by cars than by railroad. The automobile was becoming the latest craze. The transcontinental highway system would also provide the ability to transport military equipment from one coast to the other. It was a great advance in America’s infrastructure and was finally realized, 20 years later, in 1954 when Dwight Eisenhower as president signed the highway bill. Dwight and Sereno Brett were allowed to join the convoy and participated in the trip across the US. The convoy left Washington on July 7, 1919, and headed across the country. There were many mechanical problems as the convoy traveled across the US. Trucks broke down and tanks had trouble in making it across some of the bridges. Finally, the convoy reached their goal and finished the trip on September 9, 1919 two months after beginning. Travel speeds were only about 5 to 7 miles per hour. “The trip had been difficult, tiring, and fun.”⁵⁶ Dwight recommended that the United States begin to look at the development of

⁵⁵ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid*. Pg. 151

⁵⁶ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid* Pg. 166

the German autobahn and then consider building a similar highway system for our country.

Dwight Eisenhower returned to Camp Meade and was placed temporarily in charge of the 384th brigade, which had belonged to George S Patton. Patton returned to Camp Meade and soon, the two officers became close friends, even though the two wives, Mamie and Beatrice Patton did not get along at all. The two women seemed to develop an adversarial attitude toward each other. The Eisenhowers and Pattons were very different in their social standings. Dwight and Mamie lived a modest lifestyle while the Pattons lived a lavish lifestyle. George had inherited some wealth and his wife Beatrice had also inherited a fortune. The two officers had much in common and one desire was to build the tank corps into a strong fighting unit. George Patton had seen the effectiveness of the tank during wartime and realized that the military must become mechanized in order to continue to function. During the evening time Dwight and George Patton would get together and strip the tanks. They would examine the mechanics of the tanks very closely. The two men also had a spirit of awe while they were around the tanks. The two men had the eerie ability to not allow anyone to know of their fear of death. One morning the two men were out working on an attack problem when a cable on a tank broke and missed killing the two men by about six inches. Patton approached Dwight after the incident and asked about their fear. Dwight responded by saying “I was afraid to bring the subject up”⁵⁷. Another incident happened again that threatened their lives. The two men were testing a machine gun and it became very hot. Dwight and Patton went to check the target and placed the machine gun down. It continued to fire and

⁵⁷ Merle Miller *Ibid.* Pg. 185

almost killed the two. Dwight Eisenhower and George Patton remained their friendship with respect for each other.

Dwight continued to see the importance of having a mechanized army and George Patton agreed with his ideas. While the two men were at Camp Meade, they continue to have arguments about the future of the army. Dwight and George Patton wrote an article for the *Infantry Journal* in 1921, explaining the importance of the tanks in a mechanized army. Dwight stated that the tank would completely destroy the use of trench warfare and the army must look to the use of tanks. Dwight concluded the article with the following statement: “Certainly if we are convinced of the truth of the arguments above, we cannot afford to allow the possible difficulty of crossing occasional poorly bridged streams to deter us from the use of these machines”⁵⁸. Dwight was called before the Chief of Infantry and told in no uncertain terms that the ideas that he espoused in the article were completely wrong and should never be repeated. He was also told that he would be “hailed before a court martial”⁵⁹ if he continued the fallacies of his articles. His arguments presented in the articles were found to be completely accurate but it would be a while longer before they would be accepted.

In 1920, George Patton introduced Dwight Eisenhower to a man who would play a very important role in Eisenhower’s military career. George Patton invited the Eisenhowers to an afternoon dinner. Patton introduced Dwight to General Fox Conner and the two men developed a relationship that helped Eisenhower during the rest of his career. Fox Conner had been the operation officer for General John J. Pershing during World War I. The Conners immediately took a liking to Dwight and Mamie. The Conner

⁵⁸ D.D. Eisenhower. Captain “A Tank Discussion” Pg. 458 *Infantry Journal* 1920

⁵⁹ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid.* Pg. 173

daughters treated Mamie as a sibling and Mrs. Conner became like a mother figure to Mamie. Before long Dwight would have the opportunity to serve under Fox Conner while he was stationed in Panama.

In 1921, a personal tragedy would strike the Eisenhower family. Dwight and Mamie had hired a maid to help with the housework. Unknowing to Dwight or Mamie, the girl had suffered an attack of scarlet fever. She had healed very quickly but brought the disease on the base and exposed little Icky to the disease. Icky contracted the disease and died within a week. The loss of Icky devastated Dwight and Mamie and seemed to drive a wedge between the couple. Dwight threw himself into his work and Mamie seemed to be lost in her grief. "I do not know how others have felt when facing the same situation, but I have never known such a blow."⁶⁰ Dwight and Mamie went through a grief process of living life after this in a haze and not even the birth of their second son John Sheldon would bring them out of the tragedy.

During the summer of 1921, Dwight Eisenhower faced the possibility of a court martial. Mamie and Icky were living apart from Dwight and this was before Icky died. Dwight had been receiving an allowance from the army in the amount of \$250.67. The army claimed that Icky had lived in Iowa and Dwight was not entitled to the allowance. The army made the final decision. Dwight was expected to pay back all the money or face the court martial. This was the second time that Dwight Eisenhower had faced a court martial by the army. Dwight's career was saved by his honesty but the emotional strain was destroying him. "Hard times had indeed befallen the Eisenhowers. Nevertheless Ike shouldered this burden with equanimity, just as he would so many

⁶⁰ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid* Pg. 181

others in the years ahead.”⁶¹ Dwight agreed to pay back the money but he struggled to truly trust the military and to recover emotionally. The most positive issue that helped Dwight recover was the chance to move to Panama and serve under Fox Conner.

In January 1922 Dwight Eisenhower was assigned to serve in Panama as the executive officer of General Fox Conner. His time in Panama proved to be a tough experience but it enabled him to grow militarily and also to mend emotionally. Fox Conner chose to take Dwight under his wings and began to cultivate his strengths. Fox Conner and Dwight would take morning rides on horseback daily to look at the base and the Canal Zone. It gave the two men a chance to learn from each other. Fox Conner had been the executive officer for John J Pershing and this gave him the ability to recognize an officer who showed potential talent. Mamie became very attached to Virginia Conner and looked upon her as a surrogate mother. Virginia was always there to help Mamie whenever it was needed and it was needed much of the time because of the living conditions in Panama. The young couple had to get used to the bats, insects, and rodents that would infiltrate their living area constantly. This was truly a hardship for anyone especially a pregnant lady. Mamie left Panama and returned to Denver to deliver her second son. Mamie chose the name John Sheldon Doud for her son. Dwight truly loved the child but Dwight seemed to continue to keep a wall between the two. It was hard for Dwight to let his heart love anyone after the loss of Icky. Dwight was in Panama for two more years and received his orders to return to Camp Meade. Conner had made his mark on Dwight. “Conner was Eisenhower’s graduate school, his first true military education.”⁶² Before Dwight left Panama, Conner advised him to become acquainted

⁶¹ Carlo D’Este *Ibid* Pg. 162

⁶² Eric Larrabee *Commander In Chief: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, His Lieutenants, and Their War* pg. 414

with an officer by the name of George C. Marshall. George C Marshall was classified as a rising star and would later become the chief of staff during World War II. George C. Marshall was also an excellent assessor of talent. “Marshall was a deft talent spotter. Officers who impressed him had their names entered in an informal black notebook, along with notations listing their attributes.”⁶³ George C. Marshall looked at Dwight and would never forget how much talent he had actually developed.

Soon Dwight returned to the US from Panama and was chosen to attend the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth. Dwight felt very inadequate and contacted Fox Conner. Fox Conner wrote back and told Dwight that the truth was completely the opposite. Conner believed that Dwight was the most qualified student that he had seen. Dwight then contacted George Patton and asked for help. Patton sent him a 100-page notebook that he had used when he attended the college. Dwight used the notes and excelled in the school. At graduation Dwight was ranked number one in his class. He wrote back to George Patton and thanked him for the help. George Patton responded and congratulated him on the success. However, Patton informed Dwight that he could have done it on his own. “You are very kind to think that my notes helped you though I feel sure that you would have done as well without them.”⁶⁴ After graduation, Dwight traveled to Washington DC to meet with Milton, his brother. Milton had moved to Washington and married a wealthy young lady. Milton was able to introduce Dwight around Washington DC. He soon became known as Milton’s brother. Milton would do everything possible to promote Dwight’s career. At one party, Milton stopped a reporter and forced him to meet Dwight. “Don’t go until you’ve met my brother; he’s a major in

⁶³ Carlo D’Este *Ibid* Pg. 201

⁶⁴ Martin Blumenson *The Patton Papers vol. 1* pg. 801

the Army and I know he's going places."⁶⁵ Even Milton saw the ability that Dwight had and tried to help as much as possible. Finally Dwight was introduced to the old man of the Army, John J. Pershing. General Pershing asked Dwight to prepare a report on World War I and he was quite impressed by the article. Because of the report, General Pershing sent Dwight to Europe to tour the battlefields of World War I. This was a great honor for Dwight and he began to explore sites that would later become very important during World War II. After the trip in Europe, Dwight returned in November 1929 and became the chief of staff for Douglas MacArthur. The two men developed a working relationship that helped Dwight to even learn more. "Douglas MacArthur was a forceful-some thought an overpowering-individual, blessed with a fast and facile mind, interested in both the military and political side of our government."⁶⁶

In October 1929, the Stock Market crash occurred and the Great Depression began. Dwight remained in Washington DC as MacArthur's chief of staff. The economy of the US had been destroyed and people were out of work. By 1932, the veterans of World War I began to march on Washington DC demanding that they be given their bonus. The group became known as the Bonus Army and was ready to fight for the money. MacArthur was sent by Herbert Hoover to investigate the situation and set up a field command. Dwight Eisenhower and George Patton were part of the officers that were helping MacArthur. Dwight even recommended that General MacArthur leave the situation because it was not a place for the Chief of Staff to be seen. MacArthur however chose to stay and supervise the area. George Patton had a few tanks and was ordered to bring them forward but the tanks were never put into action. The Army was ordered by

⁶⁵ Stephen Ambrose *Ibid* pg. 43

⁶⁶ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid*. Pg. 213

President Hoover not to cross the Anacostia Bridge and engage the Bonus Army in a fight. MacArthur refused to follow the order and decided to cross the bridge. Dwight Eisenhower was very troubled by what he saw after the carnage. The troops crossed and soon tents were set on fire. Eisenhower stated very strongly that the regular troops did not set the fire but he was assigning the blame on the Bonus Army. Dwight believed that the whole ordeal had been one great tragedy that could have been avoided. "The whole scene was pitiful."⁶⁷ After the incident, MacArthur got into his car to go back to the War Department. Dwight informed him that there would be reporters and that it would not be wise to go back immediately. MacArthur refused to hold a press conference and received bad publicity from the whole situation.

Dwight served under Douglas MacArthur from 1933 to 1939. He discovered that not all decisions made by generals were military ones. It became apparent that many times a general in the army had to be able to make political decisions also. Dwight had seen this fact enacted out during the Bonus Army fiasco and he had to learn the lesson during the time he served with Douglas MacArthur in the Philippines.

In 1935, Douglas MacArthur refused to continue to be the Chief of Staff for the military, but decided to go to the Philippines. Dwight was asked to accompany him there. Dwight was finally offered the opportunity to be assigned to the military base that he had applied for back in 1915. This seemed to be the great hope of his life. Mamie, however, had wanted to return to Texas, and try to restore some semblance of sanity. The positive memories that she had were related to Texas. She had wanted to raise John Sheldon in familiar territory and not to move to a foreign country. However, Dwight won the argument and the family moved to the Philippines. Dwight came into contact and

⁶⁷ Dwight Eisenhower *Ibid.* Pg. 217.

developed a positive relationship with Manuel Quezon, the President of the Philippines. President Manuel Quezon had requested that Douglas MacArthur be the military advisor. MacArthur's father had been the first military governor in the Philippines in 1903 and had instigated a liberal policy for the islands. Douglas MacArthur had some of the same qualities as his father. MacArthur decided to choose Dwight to be his military advisor. The United States Congress had passed a bill granting independence to the Philippines by 1946. The United States wanted to make sure that the Philippines would be as stable politically and militarily as possible by that time. Douglas MacArthur agreed and returned to the Philippines to help prepare the country for the step toward final independence. As the two men began to work closely together, the clashes of their will became very obvious. Dwight did admire and respect MacArthur but hated his ego. "Life with MacArthur had as its price long hours and chronic stress."⁶⁸ Dwight began to question some of the decisions that MacArthur was making. President Quezon had offered MacArthur the position of Field Marshall in the Philippine army. Dwight was also offered a position in the Philippine military, but refused it. He asked MacArthur why he would be willing to be a Field Marshall in the army of a "banana country"⁶⁹ when he already was a general in the army of the United States. It was impossible for Dwight to understand that MacArthur saw this as a trophy and not as a serious award. It also meant more money for MacArthur while he was in the Philippines. However, it soon became obvious that President Quezon trusted Dwight more than he did MacArthur. Dwight became a close friend of the Filipino President. The two men would "fish or play bridge

⁶⁸ Carlo D'Este *Ibid* Pg. 229.

⁶⁹ Merle Miller *Ibid.* pg. 278

together”⁷⁰. Dwight was many times invited to spend time on the presidential yacht by Quezon. It was a very high honor paid Dwight by the President. In 1936, Mamie and John Sheldon came to the Philippines and saw Dwight with a baldhead. Mamie had been shocked by the haircut but seemed to accept it. In 1937, Mamie was traveling through the Philippines and suffered a ruptured blood vessel. She was rushed to the hospital and Dwight stayed by her side until she had fully recovered. Mamie almost died several times but ultimately did recover. The near death experience of Mamie brought a strong and lasting restoration to their marriage. They had been long separated emotionally by the death of little Icky but now the emotional hurt and pain was finally over. Mamie wrote home to her parents and stated that she should have come to the Philippines with Dwight in 1935. “Ever since refusing to accompany Ike to Manila in 1935, she had been beset with guilt.”⁷¹

During World War I, new weapons had been developed but the one weapon that seemed to attract the most attention was the airplane. The United States had placed the airplanes under the control of the army and navy. Many of the army officers chose to take flying lessons because of the novelty of the new weapon. Dwight was no different from many of the other officers. Dwight and Jimmy Ord, a fellow officer began to take flying lessons from William Lee and Hugh Parker, two United States army pilots. The two pilots were training Filipino army officers to fly so it was easy to get Dwight and Jimmy into lessons. Jimmy came in to tell Dwight that he had to fly to Baguio. Dwight was in the hospital suffering from bursitis. Dwight suggested that Jimmy should ask either Lee or Parker to fly him. Jimmy instead asked a Filipino pilot to fly him. Two days later,

⁷⁰ Carlo D’Este *Ibid.* pg. 243

⁷¹ Carlo D’Este *Ibid* 245

Mamie informed Dwight that Jimmy had died in a plane crash. Jimmy Ord had died from internal bleeding but the Filipino pilot had just suffered from cuts and bruises. Dwight was completely devastated from the loss of his dear friend. “As a companion and comrade, no one could fill the void left by Jimmy’s death...”⁷² Dwight went home to the United States for four months in order to recover psychologically. He came back to the Philippines only to find out that MacArthur had made changes in his staff. Lt. Colonel Richard Sutherland came to the Philippines and became the chief of staff for MacArthur. Dwight was demoted into the office of war plans.

Soon, Dwight decided that it was time to leave the Philippines. The problems in Europe were beginning to heat up again. Adolf Hitler had been given the Sudetenland from Great Britain and shortly before that had taken Austria. Dwight took a long hard look at Europe and swore that he was not going to lose another opportunity to lead a unit into combat. Dwight received his orders to return to the United States. He decided to take the long way home and toured Japan. Dwight returned to the United States in time to find out that Germany had invaded Poland. After World War I Dwight traveled to France and Germany. He wanted to be able to use his knowledge to lead troops into war. He finally arrived in San Francisco and was immediately driven to the Presidio to receive new orders. He was to begin to develop war strategy plans for the United States. Dwight was still a lieutenant colonel and did not hope to make it to general. Dwight’s only hope was to be able to retire as a colonel at the age of 60. Dwight believed by this time that it would be impossible to go higher because he had never commanded a regiment. He was assigned to Fort Lewis and soon John Sheldon was sent to West Point. Dwight never pushed John toward West Point but it was very obvious that John felt some pressure by

⁷² Dwight Eisenhower Pg. 228

his father to enter West Point. Later, Dwight received a letter from George Patton. Patton asked Dwight how he would like to return to his first passion that of leading a tank regiment. Dwight responded, "I think I could do a good job commanding a regiment".⁷³ Dwight was willing to do anything possible not to miss another war. He had trained too hard and been in the military too long to miss a Second World War. Dwight had studied the battle sites of World War I under the leadership of General Pershing and he was ready to go. He was ready to lead. Finally, on March 12, 1941 Dwight was promoted to the rank of colonel. He found out that a former classmate, Mark Clark had just earned his first star. Shortly after hearing that Mark Clark had earned his first star, Dwight began to plan more for the war. Three months later, in June 1941, Dwight was informed that he was also promoted to the rank of brigadier general. This was the great opportunity that Dwight had prepared his life for. "A star meant a move. There was a leap in magnitude between a colonel's house on the artillery post and a residence fit for a general over on the infantry post at Fort Sam Houston."⁷⁴

By 1941, the United States had come to the realization that it was inevitable for the country to enter the war. The only problem was to make a decision of which country was the greater enemy. War clouds had developed in Europe and also in Asia. Japan was getting ready to invade French Indochina. President Roosevelt had to begin the war preparations. The US political and military establishments had decided that the most front was in Europe. President Roosevelt had begun the Lend-Lease program with Great Britain and tied the US to the war in Europe. Finally, the date for the involvement of the United States occurred. Dwight Eisenhower was in Washington DC and was ready to go

⁷³ Geoffrey Perret *Ibid.* Pg. 139

⁷⁴ Geoffrey Perret *Ibid.* 143

to war. On December 7, 1941 Dwight was exhausted and decided to take a nap. He had barely fallen asleep when he was told the news that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. "Ike got up from the cot wide awake, almost serene, 'Well, boys, it's come.'"⁷⁵ Dwight was then ordered to report to Washington DC and become a part of the War Plans Division. Colonel Harvey Bundy, one of the officers, in the Department had died in a plane crash and Dwight seemed to be the perfect substitute for the department. Dwight flew to Washington DC and came in contact with George C. Marshall, the new Chief of Staff for the military. George Marshall would also play just as an important role in Dwight's career as did Fox Conner, and Douglas MacArthur. World War II had started for the United States and Dwight's true military career had begun. This time Dwight would not stay in the US training troops at home but would have the opportunity to actually lead the army into war. By 1942, Dwight was in North Africa and leading the combined military forces of the United States and Great Britain.

⁷⁵ Geoffrey Perret *Ibid.* Pg 144

CHAPTER III

BERNARD LAW MONTGOMERY

“If you are going to write about me, you must find out what makes me tick...”⁷⁶

It is important to look deeper into the worth of a man before evaluating him. Some historians have already made up their minds about a historical figure before doing research. It might be a result of their devotion to another person or simply because of a strong bias toward the person. Bernard Law Montgomery is one such historical figure who has been attacked by many historians, such as Stephen Ambrose. “It is difficult to think of any Allied Military Commander whose reputation, in the United States, has undergone such a reversal of fortunes as Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein.”⁷⁷ The working relationship between Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Law Montgomery has come under scrutiny and needs to be re-examined.

Bernard Law Montgomery was born in London on November 17, 1887 to Henry and Maud Montgomery. Henry was a clergyman in the Anglican Church and came from a long line of clergy. When Henry was 32, he fell in love with a young lady by the name of Maud Farrar. Maud was the daughter of the well-respected Anglican clergy Dean Frederick William Farrar. Dean Farrar became the Dean of Canterbury and produced

⁷⁶ Alun Chalfont *Montgomery of Alamein* (New York: Atheneum 1976) pg. 3

⁷⁷ Robert Cowley ET. al, *No End Save Victory: Perspectives on World War II* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Son's 2001) pg. 476

many works on the explanation of the Bible. Maud grew up in the Anglican Church and learned the importance of their beliefs and the responsibility of respect to the religious leaders. She was 14 when the couple began to court. Henry finally proposed to Maud and the couple married. Maud was 16 and Henry was 34 when the couple married. In the relationship between the two, Henry was in charge of running the church and Maud was in charge of running the home. They had nine children, of which Bernard was the fourth. Soon, good news came to Henry in the announcement that he was to be promoted. Henry was to become an Anglican Bishop and the family was assigned to the isle of Tasmania. Bernard developed his strong personality while living in Tasmania. Shortly after arriving in Tasmania, Queenie, the oldest child, became critically ill. After all attempts by Maud and doctors, she passed away. Maud turned inward and began to run a tightly organized home. She would only give Henry £10 a month and he had to survive on the amount. Maud also continued to control the family. Bernard and his mother Maud developed conflicting opinions. The two had the same strong will and neither was willing to give in at all. Bernard had a very close relationship with his father but found it hard to get along with his mother at all. Bernard even discussed his lack of a happy childhood but did accept much blame. "Certainly I can say that my own childhood was unhappy. This was due to a clash of wills between my mother and myself."⁷⁸ Bernard also knew that Maud was in charge of discipline. Just as Maud controlled the purse strings of the family, she also controlled the children's routines and their education. Finally, Henry Montgomery was called back to London and Bernard had the opportunity to attend St. Paul. He was now to be enrolled in a real school with real teachers. It was hard to accept the change.

⁷⁸ Bernard Law Montgomery *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* (New York: New American Library, 1958) pg. 15

Bernard had become used to the lifestyle of living in Tasmania and yet it had come to an end.

It was a real shock for the children when they enrolled in St. Paul. Bernard was fourteen years old when he entered St. Paul. He also surprised the family when he came home at the age of fourteen and informed everyone that he was going to join the military instead of the church. “The choice of Army class at St. Paul’s was apparently Bernard’s, made on his first day at school in January 1902, and revealed to his parents that evening.”⁷⁹ Henry and Maud had expected Bernard to enroll in the ministry and did express some disappointment. At St. Paul’s he began to take part in the athletic program. He soon became the captain of many of the sports at the school. He was very content to be the leader whether it was in school or on the athletic field. This desire to lead enabled Bernard to develop the future skills of command that he would need in the British military. “He was extremely happy at the school. It widened his scope for command...At school he was a success. He was in control.”⁸⁰ Also, while Bernard was enrolled at St. Paul’s, he chose to join the army-training program. There were three levels of army training and Bernard pursued each level as he desired to become as successful as he could. He started the program at the lowest level and finally by graduation he had reached the highest level of the training program. During his senior year, he applied and was accepted to attend Sandhurst College.

The British army came under attack at the end of the nineteenth century. The British Empire had grown to encompass much of the world from India to Africa. The empire included Hong Kong, most of Africa, India, Australia, and Canada. The Empire

⁷⁹ Nigel Hamilton *Monty: The Making of a General 1887-1942* New York: McGraw Hill. 1981 pg. 42

⁸⁰ Alan Moorehead *Montgomery* London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd 1947 pg. 33

had caused the British military to be overstretched. By 1900, the British Army had fought the First and Second Boer Wars. The wars required a revolution of the military. The military changes were primarily in the upper echelon. “The British Army at the turn of the century, at least in its higher echelons, was a fair target for criticism. Though it was competent up to a point ...the Boer War had shown it to be barely capable of dealing with capable insurgents.”⁸¹ Bernard also came to criticize the upper echelon later during World War I.

Bernard entered Sandhurst in 1907 and was expected to pay £ 150 in tuition because he was the son of a civilian worker. He also was expected to live on £ 24 because that was all that his parents could give him. The lack of money in college touched Bernard very much. “It is doubtful if many cadets were as poor as myself; but I managed. Those were the days when the wristwatch was beginning to appear... most cadets acquired one. I used to look with envy at those watches, but they were not for me.”⁸² While enrolled at Sandhurst, Bernard developed the assumption that the professors did not accept him as a future officer and he soon became obstinate toward them. “He fell foul of his instructors. In particular the officer who was immediately in control of his destiny looked on him with sharp disfavour.”⁸³ As he went through Sandhurst, many of the officers rated him as useless and believed that he would never amount to anything in the British Army. Bernard also received demerits in his time at Sandhurst. One of the demerits came from the time he was caught smoking. Smoking was forbidden for the cadets but many of them continued to smoke. Maud had to come to Sandhurst and defend him so he would not be expelled. On discipline. Bernard gave orders to some of the other

⁸¹ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg 42

⁸² Bernard Law Montgomery *Ibid.* pg. 20

⁸³ Alan Moorehead *Ibid* pg. 37

students to grab the cadet in question and set his coattails on fire. The cadet's coattail caught on fire and he was severely burned. The injured cadet was taken to the hospital and stayed for several days. He was questioned about who the attackers were but he refused to release the names of the attacker. Bernard felt very guilty and never got over his role in the attack. Finally, Bernard graduated from Sandhurst 36th out of a class of 150. His rank was not as high as he needed it to be. Many times the British Army would only take the top 30 students to become officers. He was taken into the Royal Warwickshires after graduation.

Bernard joined the Royal Warwickshires and was assigned to report to India. While in India he became very interested in the culture of India. He began to learn Urdu and Pashtu, the two dialects of the Indian language. While in India, he soon became involved in the sports of cricket and hockey. His old interests in sports had come back. He was also able to supplement his salary by getting involved in the two sports. He only received £ 9 a month. His family would supplement his income but he still seemed to lack the finances of a regular officer. "His family could afford to let him have only £100 a year; so in an army where the initial qualification for a cavalry regiment was a private income of £400 a year, Montgomery's opportunities for enjoying the expensive conviviality of his fellow-officers were limited."⁸⁴ Montgomery instead turned inward and spent much time alone. It was easier to take care of himself than start a family. In 1911, a German ship carrying Crown Prince Wilhelm arrived in Bombay, India. The British Army challenged the Germans to a game of football. Brigadier Tomes put Bernard in charge of the British team but informed Bernard to field a second rate team, as to not embarrass the Germans. The German team was known for fielding a mediocre

⁸⁴ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 57

team and the British officer did not want to embarrass them. Bernard, however, chose to field his best players and win the game. Bernard believed that the British military was the true system and he would never let another country embarrass them. By the end of the game the score was 40 to 0. Bernard was not going to take any prisoners. “He confessed that against orders he had fielded all his best players, and he added ‘I was not taking any risks with Germans.’”⁸⁵ Bernard continued his philosophy of not trusting the Germans through World War I and World War II. His attitude served him very well.

In 1913, the Royal Warwickshire Battalion was called back to England. The war clouds in Europe had begun to thicken and the countries of Europe were beginning to look toward war. It had been almost 100 years since a major war had taken place in Europe. The last major conflict that encompassed all of Europe was the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. There had been little skirmishes and arguments but nothing had exploded into a major war. By 1906, the countries in Europe had chosen sides by signing treaties. France and Russia had signed the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1894 and Great Britain signed the Entente Cordial with France in 1904. Germany was viewed as the great enemy by all three countries. Germany and Austria-Hungary became allies in 1879 and Italy joined the Central Powers in 1882. Political events such as the Dreyfus Affair, the Morocco Crisis and the lack of a strong political leadership in Europe began to heat up the waters for a war. From 1900 to 1913, the causes for war continued to escalate and would not cease. Each side had been embarrassed by the other side and neither one was willing to back down. Militarism and nationalism had also become a new cause to start the war. By 1905, the battleship had begun to be seen as a major weapon upon the seas. The countries had seen the power of battleships and there would be a demand by the nations to continue

⁸⁵ Alan Moorehead *Ibid.* pg. 48

the development of the ships. The German navy had also seen the success of a submarine and started to build as many as possible. On land the European countries were beginning to develop the automatic machine gun, airplane and gas warfare. Each weapon continued to be upscaled until they could be used in World War I. The weapons were being prepared for a military use but the political situation was not finished.

On July 29, 1914 Austria invaded Serbia, to seek revenge for the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, and on August 3, 1914 Germany invaded Belgium. France and Great Britain had agreed to protect the neutrality of Belgium and Russia agreed to send military aid to Serbia. The Great War had started and the armies of the Central Powers and the Allied Powers sent their troops to the battlegrounds. In 1914, the battle of Mons took place and Bernard entered into his first battle. The German forces gathered and began to attack the British forces. The British soldiers proved to be successful but there was a lack of trained officers. "Officers and non-commissioned officers, many of whom had seen no action since the Boer War, were brought out of retirement to blink owlishly at such modern concepts as trench warfare and the artillery barrage."⁸⁶ Montgomery was exposed to this tragedy of poor leadership and it affected him. Montgomery however proved to be an excellent and brave officer. He led his platoon bravely into the battle. As he was running across the battlefield, he encountered a German soldier with a rifle. Montgomery only had a sword and decided to kick the German in the stomach. He had captured his first prisoner. At 3:00 pm on the same day Bernard was given the orders to take his platoon and clear out a French village. The platoon under his leadership had been successful but missed finding a German sniper. The sniper shot Montgomery in the chest and continued firing at the British soldiers. One of the British soldiers ran over to provide

⁸⁶ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 61

medical help to Montgomery. As the soldier arrived, the sniper shot again and killed the British soldier. The soldier's body lay there protecting Montgomery from more life threatening wounds. The sniper also shot again and hit Montgomery in the knee. "It was a very gallant affair but so far as he was concerned it was disastrous. He stood up in the pouring rain to reorganize and was shot in the chest and knee by Germans still in the houses."⁸⁷ The German sniper was finally killed and Montgomery was rushed back to the aid station. The doctors examined him and believed that he was beyond hope. His lung was severely damaged and yet the doctors medically did all they could do. Shortly after the diagnosis, a grave was dug to bury him. Somehow Montgomery recovered in January 1915. He was order to stay in England and began to train the new citizen army. By 1915, the British army needed to recruit more soldiers. All of the European countries had believed that the war would be over very quickly. In 1916, Montgomery was able to return to the front line as a member of the general staff. He was promoted to the rank of brigade major and continued to develop his views of leadership. By this time, Montgomery had begun to look at the lack of the presence of the generals anywhere near the front lines. "There was little contact between the generals and the soldiers. I went through the whole war on the Western Front, except during the period I was in England after being wounded; I never once saw the British Commander-in-Chief, neither French nor Haig, and only twice did I see an Army Commander."⁸⁸ This was one area that Montgomery believed that he had to change and during World War II, he was always present for his soldiers to see him. On November 11, 1918 World War I came to an end and temporary peace was brought to Europe. Montgomery had risen to the rank of

⁸⁷ Nigel Hamilton *Ibid* pg. 87

⁸⁸ Bernard Law Montgomery *Ibid* pg. 31

Lieutenant Colonel and began to look at the combined army of the British Empire and how the different countries had fought during World War I. Montgomery went to go visit his brother, Donald, on November 8, 1917. Donald had moved to Canada and became an attorney before the war. Two brothers sat down and ate together. Montgomery began to look at the casualty list and saw that the Canadians had sustained 12,403 casualties. Montgomery spoke to his brother and mentioned that they had only taken part in the battle of Ypres for 10 days and had such a high rate of casualties. Montgomery pointed that the objective was to take territory with as little loss as possible. Montgomery was disappointed with the Canadian Army and how they had fought in the war. "However Bernard was not impressed by the Canadians' futile gallantry-as he recorded to his mother on 8 November following a visit to his brother Donald's unit..."⁸⁹ This opinion about the Canadian Army would be carried by Montgomery into World War II. He never fully trusted the Canadians at all and doubted their fighting skills.

After World War I ended, Montgomery chose to continue a career in the army. One of the most important decisions a career officer can make is to pursue further military education. The United States had the Army War College and Great Britain had the Staff College. The chance to pursue this training would help a career officer to pursue further promotions. Montgomery wanted the opportunity to attend the Staff College. He looked at the first list that had come out in 1920 and his name was not on it. He then approached Sir William Robertson, his Commander-In-Chief for the opportunity to attend Staff College. Montgomery chose to do some lobbying for the opportunity to go. The two men went to play tennis and Montgomery began to present his argument for the opportunity to attend. The two men began to develop a friendship. The second list

⁸⁹ Nigel Hamilton *Ibid* pg. 129.

came out for Staff College and Montgomery's name was on the list. "If the two events were, as Montgomery believes, directly connected, it is possible to speculate that the Battle of El Alamein may have been won on the tennis courts of Cologne."⁹⁰ He arrived at Camberley in January 1920 to attend Staff College. While enrolled in Staff College, he continued to evaluate the officers that attended with him. He was very disappointed with the group of men who attended and also was disappointed because the officers that had been selected were purported to be the top elite. "My fellow students at Camberley were all supposed to be the pick of the Army, men who were destined for the highest commands; very few of them ever reached there."⁹¹ After attending Staff College, Montgomery felt positive about his success but his records were not available to prove his beliefs. The college records available supported the evidence that he was an average student.

After World War I was over, Great Britain began to examine its' empire. One of the major problems for the Empire was the country of Ireland. Ireland had continued to be a hotbed of rebellion for Great Britain. Many of the Irish freedom fighters had gained military experience by taking part in the military. The British Army returned home from the battlefields and some of the soldiers were being sent to Ireland to help out with the revolt. In 1921, after completing Staff College, Montgomery was transferred to Dublin, Ireland. This became an opportunity to visit the country that was part of his heritage. Montgomery wrote home to his father and discussed how joyful he was that he could be sent to Ireland. Montgomery had not been in Ireland long when he received some tragic news. Hugh Montgomery, his cousin, was also stationed in Ireland. Hugh was a Lt.

⁹⁰ Alun Chalfont *Ibid* pg. 72

⁹¹ Bernard Law Montgomery *Ibid* pg 33

Colonel and was assassinated by the Irish Republican Army. Montgomery was again faced with the tragedy of a loss of life. He was also able to gain some military experience from his time in Ireland. He was given the duty of planning some maneuvers to try to stop the I.R.A. but was unsuccessful. As he was in Ireland, he did take time to work with other officers. One of the first responsibilities Montgomery took upon himself was the duty of training his officers. During one of the sessions he met a young officer by the name of Freddy De Guingand. The two men would develop a strong working relationship during World War II. Freddy was a second lieutenant and Montgomery was the Brigade Major for the battalion. Freddy was very impressed with Montgomery's military skills. Freddy had not fought in World War I and he was ready to learn from Montgomery. "I doubt whether he remembers me, but I still remember him well in that capacity. He always possessed that ability to get himself across. We certainly all thought he was a most efficient experienced staff officer."⁹² Freddy de Guingand would later become Bernard's chief of staff during World War II.

As Montgomery continued to lead the brigade, he took the time to teach his Spartan values to the officers and soldiers. He did not spend much money or go out often at night. When he could find partners, he would choose to play bridge. He had developed his values early in life due to his lack of money from before World War I. As an officer before the Great War, he had had to supplement his income and chose instead to cut back on his spending. But he did truly enjoy an excellent game of bridge. "De Guingand recalls that Montgomery seldom went out in the evenings, preferring to play bridge when he was not improving his own military expertise or that of someone else."⁹³ Montgomery

⁹² Freddy De Guingand *Operation Victory* (New York: Charles Scribner 1947) pgs. 165-166

⁹³ Alun Chalfont *Ibid* pg. 77

told his men that it was impossible to be married to the army and to a wife. Montgomery carried this personal philosophy even when he returned to England. He truly believed that the primary duty of a soldier was to the army. It was important for a soldier to remember that idea in Montgomery's eyes. "To his disciples at York he had invariably preached that the Army, like the Catholic Church demanded celibacy if one were serious in one's profession."⁹⁴ Montgomery never lost an opportunity to teach his beliefs to his officers.

In 1925, Montgomery had the great opportunity to teach at Staff College in Camberley. He was promoted to company commander and moved to begin his new task. He stayed there at the Staff College for three years and an event occurred that would change his life. The big event was the introduction of Betty Carver into his life. Betty Carver was a young widow who had two sons. Betty's first husband had been killed at Gallipoli during World War I and she was left to raise her two sons alone. She took her two sons, Richard and John to Lenk for a holiday and some skating. Montgomery skated by and had met her two sons in 1926. Montgomery was now 39 years and had finally come to the conclusion that it was time to get married and settle down. Richard's and John's time spent with Montgomery allowed the soldier to teach the two boys how to skate and ski. Through these lessons, Montgomery was able to cultivate a friendship with Betty. In January 1927, Montgomery decided to take his vacation again in Lenk, where he knew that Betty would be vacationing with her two sons. Finally on April, 17, 1927 Easter Sunday, the couple agreed to marry. The wedding took place on July 27, 1927. Betty became the quiet wife and Bernard the leader of the family. News quickly spread that Montgomery had married and many of his officers decided to give him a hard time. Freddy de Guingand was one officer that was surprised to hear that Montgomery had

⁹⁴ Nigel Hamilton *Ibid* pg. 176

married. “We then and there sent him a cable saying: ‘Which is to be, the soldier or the husband?’ We received no answer, but time showed that he excelled at both.”⁹⁵ Betty became a very important part of Montgomery’s life. A year later Betty was pregnant and had a son named David. She was 40 years old and had to be very careful. “My wife was forty when David was born and she was never strong afterwards; but she was always energetic and happy, and was never ill.”⁹⁶ Montgomery had now achieved the rank of Colonel and Betty was an excellent “Colonel’s wife”⁹⁷ in his eyes. She also was an excellent mother to David and her two sons. Montgomery left the Staff College in 1928 and was then assigned to rewrite the Army Infantry Manual. He strove to make sure that the manual was precise and believed that he should add his ideas boldly in the manual.

One of the results of World War I was the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. In 1917, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, promising a homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people. After the war ended, the British government governed much of the Middle East. This would continue to stretch out the military of the British government. This however, also would provide Montgomery some military training in the desert.

In 1930, the Arab Nationalism revolts escalated and Montgomery was sent to Palestine to help put down the revolts. He was sent as the head of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment. He arrived in Palestine and began to explore the Holy Land. This was a great opportunity for him since he had grown up in a religious home. He could visit the holy places that he had read about in the Bible. “The Palestine interlude did not last long. Montgomery’s base was at Jerusalem and he took the

⁹⁵ Freddy De Guingand *Ibid.* pg. 167

⁹⁶ Bernard Law Montgomery *Ibid.* pg 37

⁹⁷ Bernard Law Montgomery *Ibid.* pg 37

opportunity to explore the sacred places of the Holy Land and to strengthen his commitment to the Lord Mighty in Battle...”⁹⁸ Montgomery stayed in Jerusalem for a year and was then assigned to Egypt to take over the garrison at Alexandria. He remained there for three years and also began to explore the territory of Egypt, which would later help him in World War II. The entire three years that he was there helped to prepare him for the battles such as the Battle of El Alamein.

In 1934, Montgomery and the Royal Warwickshire battalion were reassigned to India. Montgomery was returning to India and continued his study of the Indian people. As Montgomery and Betty toured India, they began to fall in love with the country. They also began to develop the belief that India should be granted self-government as soon as possible. Mahatma Gandhi had come back to India and began his passive act of resistance. Gandhi had completed his Salt March in 1930 and was continuing to try to persuade the British to leave India. Montgomery and Betty arrived during the protests of Gandhi and began to agree with him. Great Britain continued to overtax their colonies just as they had done to the original thirteen colonies. Gandhi had tried to negotiate the removal of the salt tax. Montgomery had studied the Indian dialects during his first assignment to India and had a heart for the country of India. Betty also continued to echo the feelings of Montgomery. She truly wanted India to become an independent country. As the couple traveled throughout India, Betty would take time to write many letters expressing her views about India. Betty wrote a letter expressing her strong opinion about India. “It was one of the last letters she would write. She and Montgomery both felt that, in pursuance of the Simon report, India should be granted self-government and ultimately

⁹⁸ Alun Chalfont *Ibid* pg. 91

independence.”⁹⁹ He went to Poona, India to lead the troops. Shortly after arriving to Poona, he was transferred to Quetta to be an instructor at the Military Staff College. Montgomery enjoyed the position of instructor and expressed his opinions. He immediately began teaching his rules of leadership to the officers. Montgomery’s rules of leadership were “Morale, Simplify the problem, learn how to pick a good team of subordinates, and make yourself know what you want.”¹⁰⁰ Montgomery practiced his rules constantly and only chose the very best of subordinate officers. While in India, he had the opportunity to renew his working relationship with Freddy de Guingand. The two officers began to spend more time together as teacher and student. Freddy would seek Montgomery out for any bit of knowledge he could get. Freddy wanted to make sure that he would be successful as an officer in the British Army. The renewal of their working together enabled Montgomery to choose Freddy as his chief of staff during World War II and also enabled Freddy to know him closely so he could defend Montgomery’s character during World War II. Montgomery was able to establish a staff that was very loyal to his ideology.

In 1937 Montgomery was ordered back to England. He was assigned to be the brigadier of the 9th Infantry Brigade. Montgomery, Betty, and David began to look forward to their return to England. The three arrived in England and Betty had a joyous reunion with her two sons, Richard and John. She had not seen them since she had departed for Egypt. As Montgomery was now a brigadier, he was able to afford a nice house for the family. His pay had increased and he was going to make sure that they had the nicest house possible. Shortly after arriving back in England, Montgomery sent Betty

⁹⁹ Nigel Hamilton *Ibid.* pg 271

¹⁰⁰ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg 84

and David to Burnham on the Sea for vacation. Betty arrived and received a bite from an insect. The infection began to spread and she grew weaker. The doctor told that the only option was the amputation of Betty's leg. Montgomery felt that there was hope but still did not allow David to visit his mother at the hospital. "Monty never allowed him to visit his mother while she was ill-he could not, he says, bring himself to let him see her suffering."¹⁰¹ Betty many times was unable to talk to anyone who came into her room. Finally the doctor performed the operation to save Betty's life. The amputation was completed but still Betty continued to get worse each day. Betty was in excruciating pain and was unable to speak many times from all the pain. Finally on October 19, 1937 Betty passed away in Montgomery's arms. The cause of death was written down as septicemia. The funeral for Betty was held but Montgomery still refused to allow David to attend. Montgomery went to a severe depression for quite some time. After the funeral Montgomery's family came to visit to comfort him but they were unsuccessful. "His sister Una and members of his family tried to argue with him, tried to distract him from his solitude. It was useless. Almost angrily he turned them aside. He wanted to be alone."¹⁰² Montgomery continued to grieve for Betty and seemed not to accept any comfort from others. He never believed that he could ever love another woman as he loved Betty. "My friends were delighted that I began a normal life and some even said that I would marry again. They little knew what they were saying. I do not believe a man can love twice, not really, in the way I had loved."¹⁰³ Finally Montgomery was able to finish the grieving process and returned to the military way of life. However, he never married again. It was too difficult for him to even think of remarriage.

¹⁰¹ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 102

¹⁰² Alan Moorehead *Ibid.* pg. 90

¹⁰³ Bernard Law Montgomery *Ibid* pg. 39

In October 1938, Montgomery had been promoted to the rank of major general and assigned once again to Palestine. The Arab problems had again surfaced. Palestine was divided into military sections that allowed better control of the area. While Montgomery was in Palestine, he came into contact with General Wavell. The two became close friends and respected each other. During 1938 a state of national emergency existed in Palestine. Again Arab nationalism was on the rise and Great Britain needed to stop the uprising. There was a strong fear in England of Nazism and it was feared that Palestine would rise up to help the Nazis. By dividing Palestine into sections, it would allow better military control. "Montgomery was given the 8th Division in the north; the division in the south went to Richard O'Connor. Between them they brought some semblance of order to the scene."¹⁰⁴ By 1939, the uprising had come to an end and the war clouds had continued to thunder in Europe. The problem in Europe seemed to get worse each day.

In May 1939, Montgomery developed an illness that affected his lungs. He began to develop symptoms that resembled pneumonia but the diagnosis was not complete. A doctor examined him and came up with the diagnosis of tuberculosis. This diagnosis was a death threat for someone in the military. Another doctor also did a diagnosis and came up with his opinion that the illness was psychosomatic. Montgomery was taken back to England. "In the summer of 1939 he was carried on board a P & O liner at Port Said under the care of two nursing sisters and two nursing orderlies."¹⁰⁵ By the time he arrived in England he was able to walk off the ship under his own power. Montgomery arrived in England and the final diagnosis was that his lungs had become infected from the wound

¹⁰⁴ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 105

¹⁰⁵ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 106

in the lungs that he had received during World War I. Montgomery was able to continue his military career and was soon to become a leader in Europe again. This time he would be able to implement his ideas that he had developed after World War I was over.

Finally in August 1939 Adolf Hitler declared his final plan and World War II began full scale. He gave the orders to the German military and they invaded Poland. Great Britain and France had warned Hitler not to invade Poland but he chose to do so. On September 1, 1939 the German military moved into Poland. It was a fairly quick battle for the Germans.

CHAPTER IV

OPERATION OVERLORD

“Although many ‘D-Days’ occurred in World War II, history recognizes only one.”¹⁰⁶

From 1914 to 1918, the world was wrapped in a modern war that seemed not to end. This was the war that was called the Great War and was pegged as the ‘War to end all wars’. The leaders of the United States, Great Britain and France hoped that this would be the last war. The hope did not come true but proved to be a postponement of warfare for twenty years. Europe would again go through the 1930s and survive such crises as the Munich Pact and Anschluss. Germany seemed to be allowed by Great Britain and France to rebuild the military and take back lost territory. The next war loomed just around the corner. Great Britain, France and the United States would have to unite again to fight Germany. The next war was a tinder box waiting for a match to start the fire, and it ultimately came in the form of Hitler. Soon France would be out of the war, and that would leave Great Britain, Russia and the United States to carry on. Great Britain and the United States planned to reestablish a foothold in Europe and waited for the day. The day finally came on June 6, 1944 and was called D-Day. The only tactical problem was to develop a plan for winning the battle.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph Balkoski *Omaha Beach* PA: Stackpole Books 2004 pg 4

In August 1939, Joachim Von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow to meet with Joseph Stalin to discuss the division of Poland and the signing of the Non-Aggression pact. He met with Vyacheslav Molotov, the Russian envoy, and together they began to work out the details of the treaty. On August 21, 1939, Russia and Germany signed the treaty and agreed to divide Poland into two parts. Adolf Hitler received the wire notifying him of the signing of the treaty with Russia. The agreement in the treaty was a neutrality pact between Germany and the USSR. The treaty was written to last for seven years but truly only lasted less than two years. Adolf Hitler received the note that Russia had signed the treaty and exclaimed with joy that Russia had fallen. "He stared into space, flushed deeply in delight and began pounding the table so hard he rattled the glasses."¹⁰⁷ He had deceived the Russians and they would pay very soon.

On August 31, 1939, Adolf Hitler reported to the German people that a Polish uprising had taken place that threatened the German nation. He went on to inform the people that it was vital to the interest of the German nation that they retaliate or face the possibility of extinction. Germany had signed a treaty with Poland earlier because the Polish army was larger. It was now time for Hitler to violate the treaty and attack Poland. Without declaring war on Poland, Hitler decided to develop a military plan to invade Poland. Hitler's diabolical plan worked and the nation of Germany declared war upon the nation of Poland. "Since it was Hitler's pretense that Germany had been attacked by Poland, he issued no declaration of war."¹⁰⁸ On September 1, 1939 the German Army began their attack on Poland and Russia began to move into Poland at the same time. Finally on September 3, 1939, two days later France and Great Britain declared on

¹⁰⁷ Robert Leckie *Ibid* pg. 92

¹⁰⁸ John Keegan *The Second World War* New York: Penguin Books pg. 44

Germany. The Royal Air Force came and attempted to help the Polish military against Germany. Great Britain and France did nothing more to aid Poland and watched as the country was swallowed by Germany. These six months were known as “the phony war”. Germany was able to defeat Poland and it became their first territory captured by the war. In April 1940 after a period of inaction between France, Great Britain and Germany, the German army invaded Western Europe and quickly took over many countries. By June 1940, Great Britain stood alone in the fight with Germany. The British army had been successfully evacuated from Dunkirk and France had surrendered to Germany. In July 1940 Germany began the Battle of Britain. Herman Goering convinced Adolf Hitler that Germany could destroy Great Britain by air. The Battle of Britain lasted from July 1940 to May 1941 but Germany was unsuccessful in their attempt to defeat Great Britain. Great Britain succeeded in protecting their homeland but now desperately needed a way to get a foothold on the main continent of Europe.

The Non-Aggression Pact between Russia and Germany did not last very long. In June 1941, Adolf Hitler decided to invade Russia. Operation Barbarossa was put into effect and the German army commenced the assault upon the Russian military. The German military had great success from June 1941 until December of the same year. In Adolf Hitler’s mind, victory in Russia would be accomplished in six months but this did not happen. By October 1941, the Germany army was within 40 miles of Moscow and the secret weapon of Russia appeared. “General Winter” came early on October 20, 1941. “Although the sky was clear and blue, the sun seemed to have no warmth. Instead of rising during the day, the temperature was falling. By sundown it had dropped down to –

12 degrees Celsius.”¹⁰⁹ Slowly but surely the Russian military halted the German advance and began to push them back. Even with the valiant effort of the Russian army, Joseph Stalin was calling for a second front in Western Europe to alleviate the problems he was having. “The Russians were apprehensive and suspicious of their allies and anxious for the OVERLORD command questions to be settled quickly...”¹¹⁰

The Japanese navy had been plotting the attack on the United States for some time. Then on December 7, 1941 the Japanese carried out their attack. The Japanese military attacked at Pearl Harbor and the Philippines. On December 8, 1941, the United States under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt declared war on the nation of Japan. The following day, Germany declared war on the United States. President Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill and together they began to plan the military attack upon Japan and Germany. The two leaders met together in Washington D.C. from December 22, 1941 to January 14, 1942 and came to the agreement through the Arcadia conference held in Washington that Germany was to be the first priority over Japan. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were of the same opinion that Germany must be defeated first. This conference began the partnership between the countries of Great Britain and the United States in the goal to win the war. One of the next conferences, called the Trident Conference was held again in Washington. In May 1943, the two leaders as well as the military Joint Chiefs of Staff, George C. Marshall from the United States and Sir Alan Brooke from Great Britain met in Washington. The two leaders along with their chiefs of staff developed five objectives for the continuation of the war. The first objective of the war was to defeat and remove Italy from the war as soon as possible.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Leckie *Ibid* pg 295

¹¹⁰ Carlo D’Este *Decision in Normandy* Ct.: Konecky and Konecky pg 43

This move was the necessary first step to finish the war in Europe. The second objective was to try as soon as possible to take the pressure from Russia. Joseph Stalin had been asking the United States and Great Britain for military and economic help since the start of the German invasion of Russia. He had begun to acknowledge the help and victories of the two countries to the citizens of Russia. The third objective determined by the meeting was to subject the enemy to as much damage as possible. Franklin D. Roosevelt discussed how organized the two military systems were and that it was possible to completely destroy Germany. The fourth objective during the Trident conference helped to bring about the vision of an invasion plan for Northwest Europe. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill sought to develop a plan that would enable the Allied forces to attack Europe as soon as possible. Most of the fighting had taken place in North Africa and it was now important to invade Europe. The fifth objective was to send aid to China as soon as possible. China had been fighting Japan since 1931 and needed more military aid in their fight against Japan.

In 1942, Great Britain prospectively developed a plan to invade Northwest Europe. Lord Mountbatten was given the responsibility of developing the invasion plan and choosing the site for the invasion. Bernard Montgomery had the assignment for designing a plan for the ground troops. "...I was made responsible for Army side of the planning since I was then commanding the South-Eastern Army, from which the troops for the raid were to come. It was decided that the 2nd Canadian Division would carry out the raid and intensive training was begun."¹¹¹ The site for the invasion was set for Dieppe and the target date was June 1942. This plan was to be the largest raid in modern warfare up to that point. It was planned to be a miniature invasion and the plan did not

¹¹¹ Bernard Montgomery *The Memoirs of Field Marshall Montgomery* New York: Signet pg. 65

call for a permanent holding of the beachhead. The goal was to use 6000 troops. These came from the 2nd Canadian Division and were trained to carry out the raid. Bernard Montgomery was assigned the task of developing the army plans since he was commanding an army unit at that time. The plan would test the naval organization because it would require 253 ships and landing craft. The plan would provide for a test of the new LCTs. In July 1942 the British Chiefs of Staff approved the plan but then decided to cancel it. The weather was too rough for a successful invasion of the beachhead. Lord Mountbatten decided however to implement the plan on his own authority. The troops from the 2nd Canadian division were put on the ships from July 2nd and 3rd. The troops were briefed on board and then were not allowed to leave. The Canadian troops were kept aboard ship until July 8, 1942 and then released to go back to their barracks. The weather was too rough and it was impossible to continue. Finally Lord Mountbatten, after planning the military strategy for the invasion of Dieppe, took it upon himself and rescheduled the Dieppe invasion for August. The soldiers were sent in and the invasion began. "He was unlikely to give firm direction under these circumstances. Mountbatten also knew that the chiefs were hesitant to approve the plan. For their trepidation Mountbatten was, curiously, himself responsible."¹¹² Lord Mountbatten decided to lead the invasion of Dieppe even though the plan was doomed to fail because of the lack of proper planning and support from the other branches of the British military. The invasion of Dieppe proved to be a complete disaster. By the end of the day only about 2,500 soldiers made it back alive to Great Britain. The rest of the men were either captured or killed by the German forces. After the furor about the military fiasco calmed down, it was in December 1942, and the debate about the first invasion began. Sixteen

¹¹² Brian Loring Villa *Journal of Military History*, vol. 54 no.2 Apr. 1990 pg 215

years later, Bernard Montgomery offered his opinion why the Dieppe raid was a failure. He placed much of the blame on the leaders of the plan. “My own feeling about the Dieppe raid is that there were far too many authorities with a hand in it; there was no one single operational commander who was solely responsible for the operation from start to finish. A Task Force Commander in fact.”¹¹³ The invasion attempt did, however, produce some positive results. One fact that came out of the failed invasion was the knowledge of what equipment would be needed for the next invasion. The second help was that now the military understood that they would need more divisions than previously discussed. The most obvious result learned of the Dieppe raid was that the next invasion would require better planning and accurate timing. The failure of the Dieppe invasion led to implementation in the planning of Operation Overlord. “What Dieppe did was to bury for ever the myth that SLEDGEHAMMER would have been feasible in 1942, and to cast grave doubts on ROUNDUP.”¹¹⁴ SLEDGEHAMMER was the attempt of another invasion of France but it was postponed until a chance of success could be seen. ROUNDUP had been planned earlier for the invasion of Europe but was also postponed. The leaders of the British and US military forces realized that there must be a better coordination of material and fighting forces in order to avoid another fiasco like Dieppe. The leaders swore that Dieppe would never happen again but the next plan and implementation of an invasion of the continent of Europe would be successful. The tragedy of Dieppe brought much trouble for the Allied Forces for the next several years. Shortly after this fiasco, the two countries, Great Britain and the USA, began to plan for a more successful invasion plan.

¹¹³ Bernard Montgomery *Ibid.* pg 67

¹¹⁴ Carlo D’Este *Ibid* pg. 30

On March 1943, Lieutenant General Frederick Morgan received orders from the British Joint Chiefs of Staff to begin strategizing a plan for the invasion of Northwest France. General Morgan was one of the youngest generals in the British army at this time. He was called and offered the task of developing the plan. Sir Alan Brooke and Winston Churchill chose General Morgan for the Chief of Staff for the Supreme Allied Commander. “The U.S. Chiefs of Staff agreed to General Morgan’s appointment but not to the reduced planning arrangements.”¹¹⁵ The Joint Chiefs of Staff from Great Britain and the United States wanted to develop and implement a battle plan that would be obscure and successful. President Franklin Roosevelt and General George Marshall agreed to accept his title but still wanted to receive input on all parts of the planning arena. General Morgan received the title of Chief of Staff to the Supreme Allied Command. General Morgan was given the task of answering two questions: “Would an Allied invasion of France in the spring of 1944 have a reasonable chance of success? If so could sufficient troops and supplies be built up in the bridgehead to launch a subsequent grand offensive...”¹¹⁶ General Morgan started to work on the plan and named it Operation Overlord. In April 1943, General Morgan began to feel the gravity of the situation and became concerned. “THE COSSAC staff dedicated itself to the challenging task of answering these questions, prodded by Morgan’s blunt statement at an April 1943 meeting: ‘I am to plan nothing less than the reconquest of Europe.’”¹¹⁷ The planning staff worked under the leadership of General Morgan to decide where the invasion of France most effectively must take place. The other part of the decision was to determine how many divisions would be needed for the plan. The two best places for the division to land

¹¹⁵ Gordon Harrison *Cross Channel Attack* Washington D.C.: Center of Military History pg. 48

¹¹⁶ Joseph Balkoski, *Ibid* pg. 10

¹¹⁷ Joseph Balkoski *Ibid*. pg. 8

were Pas de Calais and the other one was at Normandy. Pas de Calais was by far the better choice because it was closer to the British coast and also had better ports available for the supplies to arrive. General Morgan believed that two ports were necessary for a proper implementation of the invasion. “The most fundamental assumption of OVERLORD was that, once ashore, the invading armies would require a minimum of two major supply ports to keep themselves in the field.”¹¹⁸ The ports could be natural or they could be manmade. The solution for the choice of Normandy was to make ports available. This part of the OVERLORD plan was called MULBERRY. This was the plan for creating and bringing in the manmade ports to enable the buildup of supplies for the Allied forces. The beaches of Normandy would provide a greater problem for the Allied forces. The beaches were harder to enter because of the obstacles that Germany had placed in the way. These obstacles included tank traps, land mines, barbed wire, and pillboxes. The beaches of Normandy were also near the hedgerow section of France. The beaches also provided great obstacles because of the cliffs. This was one obstacle that would be presented to the Army group called Rudder’s Rangers for evaluation. They would be assigned the duty of scaling the cliffs to destroy the artillery pieces on top of the cliff. The good news about the beaches of Normandy was that it was further away from the major forces of Germany. Many of the tanks were located close to the Pas de Calais area and could only be released under the direct orders of Adolf Hitler. After the evaluation of both areas ended, the staff agreed to invade at Normandy. The next part of the plan was for General Morgan to decide on how many army divisions would be needed to invade the beaches of Normandy. General Morgan believed that 3 divisions were needed and this would be enough to carry out the prospective plan for the invasion.

¹¹⁸ Ralph Ingersoll *Top Secret* New York: Somerset Books pg. 25

The United States was to provide 1 army division and the British would provide 2 army divisions. The American division was to be located on the right of the two British divisions. The original plan called for a narrow front so that the 3 divisions would be closely protected by each other. The plan was presented to the British Joint Chiefs of Staff, who quickly approved by the British and then it was presented to the American Chief of Staff, George C. Marshall as well as to President Roosevelt. “Roosevelt, Churchill, and their combined military chiefs accepted the judgments of Morgan’s Overlord report.”¹¹⁹ The plan had its finishing details according to the leaders of both countries but there remained the need for the plan still to be submitted to the Supreme Commander and the Commander of the Ground troops for acceptance. There was a possibility that the plan could be way laid anywhere along the process.

The next hurdle that was presented to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill was the choice of Supreme Commander. Sir Alan Brooke and General Marshall both believed that they would be chosen for the position and either one seemed ready to take the leadership role. Frederick Morgan had finished the plan for Overlord and had always believed that the Supreme Commander would be a British officer. General Morgan did not specify whom he wanted, but did imply that the choice should be a British officer. “Morgan’s reason for recommending initially a British chain of command was his feeling that it would be easier for British chain of command was his feeling that it would be easier for British commanders to organize and coordinate an assault from a British base.”¹²⁰ General Morgan also felt that a British Supreme Commander would understand the maps easier and the flags in the maps. The conflict between the British

¹¹⁹ Joseph Balkoski *Ibid* pg 11

¹²⁰ Gordon Harrison *Ibid* pg. 107

and American military systems became very evident. One problem was the different symbols used in the planning of maps. The United States used certain colors and the British chose other colors. This was one problem that had to be changed so that there could be a unity of planning. Another problem was the guidance of the field commander over his troops. The field commander for the U.S. was given maximum freedom in the exercise of his command. "The Americans believed that it was sufficient for the Combined Chiefs to assign the supreme commander a mission and leave to his discretion all the details of how that mission was to be carried out."¹²¹ The British Chiefs of Staff had a difficult job of trusting their subordinates. After much debate the British Chiefs of Staff and the U.S. Chiefs of Staff came together having reached an agreement. The final agreement was that the Supreme Commander would be an American officer. General Morgan soon realized that it would be an American officer and began to push President Roosevelt for the name of the choice. George Marshall's name was recommended as the choice, but President Roosevelt did not want to release him from his post. President Roosevelt was either unwilling to part with Marshall or afraid to let him go. General Marshall had become the President's right hand man. Finally President Roosevelt admitted the reason why he did not submit the name of General Marshall for the position of Supreme Commander. "When his eldest son, James Roosevelt, asked the president why he had chosen Eisenhower over Marshall, he was told: 'Eisenhower is the best politician among the military men. He is a natural leader who can convince other men to follow him, and this is what we need in his position more than any quality'."¹²² The decision of who the Supreme Commander had to be made before any more planning

¹²¹ Gordon Harrison, *Ibid* pg. 109

¹²² Carlo D'Este *Eisenhower* pg 467

could be carried out for Operation OVERLORD. The choice of Dwight Eisenhower seemed to perplex General Marshall and also Lord Alan Brooke.

President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Premier Joseph Stalin met together at Casablanca to discuss matters pertaining to the war in Europe. Joseph Stalin still pushed for a second front in Europe. He believed that the second front would ease the problems in Russia and should be started as soon as possible. The three leaders discussed the importance of the second front and finally the decision was determined for the Supreme Commander. Joseph Stalin was told that the leader who would be the Supreme Commander was to be Dwight Eisenhower. "Six weeks later, in December, at Teheran, it was not Marshall but Eisenhower who was made Supreme Allied Commander (American)-and all forces in the United Kingdom necessary for the assault..."¹²³ This choice seemed to satisfy the three political leaders of the countries. There was one man who had trouble with the choice of Eisenhower. Sir Alan Brooke the British Chief of Staff did not feel that Dwight Eisenhower was the correct choice. He believed that Eisenhower was an incompetent leader and should not be allowed to lead the troops into battle. "He certainly made no great impression on me at our first meeting, and if I had been told then of the future that lay in front of him I should have refused to believe it."¹²⁴ Even after the choice of Eisenhower was confirmed a sense of distrust between Sir Alan Brooke and General George Marshall continued to persist. General Marshall had spent time with Dwight Eisenhower and trusted him implicitly. Dwight Eisenhower was his choice and believed that Eisenhower could carry out the task set before him. It bothered General Marshall that Lord Alan Brooke questioned the choice of

¹²³ Ralph Ingersoll *Ibid.* pg 49

¹²⁴ Field Marshall Alan Brooke *War Diaries 1939-1945* California: University of California Press pg 276

Eisenhower. Finally, the chain of command was set up for the invasion force in Southern France. Dwight Eisenhower was chosen to be the Supreme Commander. Eisenhower had been the Allied Supreme Commander in the campaigns in Sicily and Italy. “In a perfect world, Eisenhower would have had Cunningham as his naval commander, Tedder in command of the air forces and Alexander commanding the ground forces.”¹²⁵ It was not a perfect world so Dwight Eisenhower received only part of his choices for his staff. Air Chief Sir Arthur Tedder was chosen to be the Deputy Supreme Commander. Sir Arthur Tedder had developed the method of carpet-bombing. He viewed this method as a way to help bomb a path for the ground troops to advance. Admiral Bertram Ramsay was chosen to be the Allied Naval Commander in Chief. Admiral Ramsay had helped organize the evacuation of Dunkirk. He was assigned the duty of insuring that the invasion forces would get to the beaches and also guarantee reinforcements when needed. He was killed in an aircraft accident while he was leaving Versailles in 1945. General Bernard Montgomery was chosen to be the commander of the ground forces. General Montgomery was the hero of El Alamein and had been successful in the military pursuit of Erwin Rommel across North Africa. Air Chief Sir Trafford Leigh Mallory was the final choice to be the commander of the Allied air force. Air Chief Leigh Mallory had been assigned the job of protecting the midlands of England during the Battle of Britain. He had been very successful in his use of large wings of fighters to defeat the German air force. He was killed in an aircraft crash in 1944 while he was en route to his new command in Southeast Asia. Dwight Eisenhower worked very well with all the men but he had wanted General Harold Alexander to be the leader of the ground forces but Winston Churchill chose to leave him in Italy. General Alexander had proven his ability

¹²⁵ Geoffrey Perret *Eisenhower* New York: Random House pg 263

to lead. He had commanded British and Allied Forces in Burma, North Africa, Sicily and Italy. He was also the last man of the British Expeditionary Force to leave Dunkirk.

Omar Bradley was the final choice to be the commander of the American ground forces.

General Bradley was credited as the one who gave the final knockout to the Afrika Korps and was able to move through Sicily in record time. Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard

Law Montgomery were notified of their reassignment and ordered back to London to complete the final preparations. Bernard Montgomery and Dwight Eisenhower met together before departing to London. General Montgomery asked for Eisenhower's permission to continue the planning before Dwight Eisenhower arrived in London.

Dwight Eisenhower was ordered back to Washington D.C. to meet with the President and General Marshall. Eisenhower gave his permission to Bernard Montgomery and then flew back to Washington DC to meet with George C Marshall and President Roosevelt.

Dwight Eisenhower arrived in Washington DC and was able to spend some time with Mamie and John. John was now a senior at West Point and would graduate on the same day that Operation Overlord was taking place.

The war was not going very well for the Germans in the Eastern Front and Adolf Hitler soon began to switch his views back home to the Western Front. It seemed that if Germany were able to stave off an invasion of France, the Russians would make a move to surrender. He believed that Russia would lose the will or desire to continue fighting a lone war. The idea of Festung Europa was a very important issue for Hitler. He wanted to make sure that the Russian forces were totally defeated while the British and American forces were ready to be defeated. On November 3, 1943 Adolf Hitler issued his Fuhrer Directive #51 which guided the German military to begin a defensive plan for the

Western Front. He ordered the German generals to build up the German defenses on the French coast. "All signs point to an offensive against the Western Front of Europe no later than spring, and perhaps earlier. For that reason, I can no longer justify the weakening of the West in favor of other theaters of war."¹²⁶ Adolf Hitler believed that it might be possible to defeat the Allied forces in France and this defeat would force the British and American military forces to join forces with Germany. Hitler believed that the greater enemy was the Communist country of Russia. Field Marshall Erwin Rommel was placed in charge of the build up of the defensive strategy under the leadership of Field Marshall Rundstedt. The debate between Rommel and Rundstedt soon began to escalate. Rommel believed that it was more important to keep the Allied forces from gaining a foothold on the beach. "If in spite of the enemy's air superiority, we succeed in getting a large part of our mobile force into action in the threatened coast defense sectors in the first few hours, I am convinced that the enemy attack on the coast will collapse completely on its first day."¹²⁷ Hitler and Rundstedt voiced the opinion that it was better to allow them to gain a foothold and then throw the Allied forces off the beach. This plan of Hitler would be used after D-Day and was proven to be unsuccessful. The Allied forces were able to gain a foothold before Adolf Hitler would release the tanks. By then it was too late to defeat the Allied military in France. The argument continued between the three men and ultimately resulted in the problem of not being able to stop the forces when they came in. Festung Europa, the glorious vision of Adolf Hitler soon fell apart. The land mines, tank traps, and pillboxes were not enough to stop the advancing march of the Allied forces.

¹²⁶ Joseph Balkoski *Ibid* pg. 35

¹²⁷ Joseph Balkoski *Ibid*. pg. 38

Bernard Montgomery arrived in Marrakesh and met with Winston Churchill. Winston Churchill was recovering from pneumonia and was evaluating the plan for Operation Overlord. The Prime Minister asked Bernard Montgomery to study the plan and give his opinion on the success or failure. "He gave it to me to read and said he wanted my opinion on the proposed operation."¹²⁸ Great Britain did not want to suffer through a recurrence of the Dieppe Raid and Winston Churchill knew this. Bernard Montgomery informed Churchill that he was not his advisor but would look at the plan. Soon Bernard Montgomery realized that there were many weaknesses with the plan. One of the first weaknesses was the use of only three divisions. Montgomery truly believed that the success of the plan depended on adding more divisions. He stated that the needed number of divisions should be five instead of three. Montgomery wanted to be able to use three British divisions and 2 American divisions. The selection of the landing was a good choice in the view of Montgomery but the landing was to be a larger area. "The broader the front the less would be the density of air support, and the more difficult the protection of our shipping from air attack."¹²⁹ There would be a danger in attacking a broader area but the risk was worth the problems. Bernard Montgomery believed that there had to be a broader thrust for the military to be successful and he explained his reasoning with the generals. Montgomery then discussed the need of airborne forces during the implementation of OVERLORD with General Omar Bradley and both men came to an agreement about the need. "The area immediately to the east of the Orne, was, however, very suitable for airborne operations, and so the staffs were ordered to include this project

¹²⁸ Bernard Montgomery *Memoirs* pg. 191

¹²⁹ Freddy De Guingand *Operation Victory* New York: Charles Scribner pg 345

in their studies.”¹³⁰ The airborne forces were added to the plan and became an important part of the final plan for OVERLORD. Soon the plans were corrected and met the approval of Montgomery. Dwight Eisenhower arrived back in London and was briefed by Bernard Montgomery on the plan for D-Day. Eisenhower approved the revision of the plan and truly believed that Bernard Montgomery was right. The invasion must be based on a broad front instead of a narrow front. Soon the beachheads set aside for the invasion had a code name. The beaches for the United States were known as Utah and Omaha. The three for the British and Canadian forces were known as Gold, Sword, and Juno. The basic plan was set and ready for implementation. “On January 21st Eisenhower endorsed these proposals and overruled Leigh-Mallory’s objections to the airborne operation on the Cotentin.”¹³¹

At the Quebec Conference, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill came together and discussed the need to invade France to take pressure off of Russia. The two leaders debated and discussed the idea of where the invasion should take place. The agreement between the two leaders developed into the two operations called Overlord and Anvil. The agreement was that the Allied Forces would invade the North and South of France in the spring of 1944. On December 6, 1943 Dwight Eisenhower was notified of his selection and that the plans for Overlord and Anvil was taking place. Eisenhower was informed that these two plans were the top priority for 1944. Every military need was to be allocated to the success of these two plans. All other plans would be trimmed back to guarantee the success of the invasion of France. A debate soon started between Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Montgomery. The two leaders did not agree about the possible

¹³⁰ Freddy De Guingand *Ibid.* pg 345

¹³¹ Chester Wilmot *The Struggle for Europe* Kent: Wordsworth Military Library pg 176

implementation of both operations at the same time. Admiral Bertram Ramsay and Montgomery believed that there would not be enough landing crafts for the two plans. The two British officers believed that it was necessary to delay Operation Anvil until after Overlord had been started. “He wired Eisenhower on 10 January, the day of the conference, that the ‘ANVIL’ landings proposed for the South of France at the same time should be reduced to a threat...”¹³² Dwight Eisenhower did not want to postpone Anvil but have the two plans begin at the same time. He truly believed that the implementation of both plans would allow a stronger confusion for the German forces. The final decision about Anvil was to delay it until August 1944. This seemed to give enough time to build up a larger supply of landing crafts in the minds of Bertram Ramsay and Montgomery. The debate was ended and Eisenhower agreed to listen to the two officers. Anvil was renamed Dragoon and was implemented in August.

One problem in carrying out the development of Overlord was the need for complete security. Any officer or soldier, no matter what rank would be disciplined even if they accidentally leaked a secret of the plan. No officer was protected from punishment even if he was a classmate of General Eisenhower. Dwight Eisenhower received a report that an American general had been in a pub and was discussing the plan. The officer who had violated the security of OVERLORD was Major General Henry Miller. General Miller had been drinking and began to complain about the problems of supplies. Eisenhower called him and severely disciplined him and then sent him home. General Miller apologized to Dwight Eisenhower but that was not enough. “Ultimately unmoved by his friend’s plea of innocence, he demoted him to colonel and sent him

¹³² Richard Lamb *Montgomery in Europe 1943-45* London: Buchan and Enright pg 66

home in disgrace. A speedy retirement followed.”¹³³ General Miller never recovered from the demotion and disgrace. A second incident occurred but this was with a naval captain. Dwight Eisenhower was so angry with the officer that he was ready to shoot the naval captain. The incident occurred shortly after the situation with General Miller. Security was very tight and had to be that way. The Allied forces even developed a plan to keep the Germans in thinking that the true invasion would take place at Pas de Calais. The obvious choice was to use George Patton in this scheme. George Patton had arrived in England and was traveling around the country. The military intelligence decided to set up a false army division in Northern England and send out false radio transmissions. The plan even required the building of inflated tanks, planes, and false military equipment. This just might be able to fool the German military. “Assigned the innocuous code name Fortitude South, it was designed to persuade Hitler and the German commanders in the West that the Normandy landings were merely a feint, and that the main Allied invasion was to be launched against the Pas de Calais by six divisions...”¹³⁴ Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Montgomery also knew that there were spies in England and every precaution must take place. One of the scariest events occurred in May right before the invasion took place. Eisenhower and Montgomery opened *The Daily Telegraph* and looked at the crossword puzzle in the paper. The puzzle had somehow placed many clues, which gave the names of the different operations of the military plans. Dragoon, Overlord, Mulberry, and other terms were found in the puzzle. The puzzle was simply an accident and did not lead to anything. Security held and the plan for Overlord could be executed.

¹³³ Carlo D’Este *Eisenhower* pg 486

¹³⁴ Carlo D’Este *Ibid.* pg 504

On May 15, 1944, the final meeting to brief the Allied generals of the final plan was held by Bernard Montgomery and Dwight Eisenhower “The final top-level conference was held on 15 May at St Paul’s with the same senior officer and their staff present; King George VI also attended.”¹³⁵ The last decision left for Dwight Eisenhower was deciding the time when to execute Overlord. The original plan had been set for May but the weather was causing delays. It was getting harder and harder to keep the invasion plan secret. The weather for D-day did not seem to want to cooperate. Sir Alan Brooke, Dwight Eisenhower, and Winston Churchill were very nervous about the execution of OVERLORD. The plan had to be implemented successfully because it was the last opportunity. The weather forecast continued to predict problems for the invasion and there was no hope for the final invasion to take off. Finally good news in the weather appeared. Captain Stagg, the weather forecaster, reported that there was a period of good weather starting the evening of June 5th and continuing to June 6th. Dwight Eisenhower asked the generals for their opinion on departing on June 6th. Bernard Montgomery agreed to depart on June 6th. Dwight Eisenhower gave the order that departure for the invasion would take place on June 6th. “...On the 4th Eisenhower equally firmly brushed aside Leigh-Mallory and ignored Tedder’s uncertainty to confirm the decision to go for the 6th: ‘I’m quite positive we must give the order,’ he said, ‘I don’t like it, but there it is...I don’t see how we can possibly do anything else’.”¹³⁶ On June 5th Winston Churchill approached Dwight Eisenhower and asked for permission to go to Normandy. Dwight said that Churchill was too important to take a risk with his life. Winston Churchill then informed Dwight that he would join the British Navy and go in that way.

¹³⁵ Richard Lamb *Ibid.* pg. 82

¹³⁶ Max Hastings *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy* New York: Simon and Schuster pg. 70

Dwight Eisenhower then approached George VI to help stop Winston from leaving. King George VI then informed Winston Churchill that he was going along with Churchill to D-Day. “He called Churchill to say, ‘Well as long as you feel that it is desirable to go along, I think it is my duty to go along with you. Churchill gave up.’”¹³⁷ Winston Churchill agreed to back off and remain in England. Shortly after the incident with Churchill, Eisenhower went to visit the 101st airborne unit. Dwight Eisenhower and Bernard Montgomery made it a point to visit the troops. Eisenhower wanted to visit the soldiers one last time before the invasion took place. “At about 1900, General Eisenhower paid a visit to the 101st Airborne Division at Greenham Common. He circulated among the men, ostensibly to boost their morale, but as Lt. Wallace Strobel of the 502nd PIR noted, ‘I honestly think it was his morale that was improved by being with us.’”¹³⁸ Finally the invasion plan that had been planned for a long time started. On June 6, 1944 Operation OVERLORD started and Dwight Eisenhower stood by as the ships and planes departed to begin Operation OVERLORD. Eisenhower walked around his office and struggled with the doubt about the success of the mission. Eisenhower had not slept very much on June 5th and was worried. In his hands was a letter that he had written the evening before. He had decided to take full responsibility for the failure of D-Day. Harry Butcher, Dwight Eisenhower’s diarist recorded the message for Eisenhower. “The troops, the air, and the Navy did all that bravery and devotion to duty could do. If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt it is mine alone. June 5.”¹³⁹ Eisenhower stood by and hoped that the plan would be successful.

¹³⁷ Stephen Ambrose *D-Day June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II* New York: Simon and Schuster pg 180

¹³⁸ Stephen Ambrose *Ibid.* pg 193

¹³⁹ Carlo D’Este *Decision in Normandy* pg 110

CHAPTER V

THE WORKING RELATIONSHIP OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER AND BERNARD
LAW MONTGOMERY

“God, Everett Hughes told his diary, ‘I wish we could forget our egos for a while’.”¹⁴⁰

On June 6, 1944 Operation OVERLORD began the invasion of France by the combined Allied forces and with a year the goals of the defeat of the Third Reich were accomplished. Eisenhower and Montgomery led the combined Allied forces from the invasion to the successful conquest. The Allied forces of Great Britain, the United States, Poland, France, and Canada forged ahead through Europe battle after battle. The combined military forces continued to be led by Eisenhower. By September 1944 the Allied military forces were able to take control of most of France. As the war continued in Europe, Eisenhower and Montgomery began to voice their different views of how to win the war. One difference of opinion was the use of a broad thrust method versus a single thrust method. Montgomery believed that the military forces needed to stay together and execute the single thrust method. Eisenhower supported this idea for a time but then began to look at the broad thrust method. The differences in the two methods did cause some friction between the two generals. This divergence of opinions between the two generals would continue until the final defeat of Germany in May 1945. Shortly after

¹⁴⁰ Rick Atkinson *An Army at Dawn* New York: Henry Holt 2002 pg. 523

the establishment of the Allied forces control in France, Eisenhower assumed of the ground troops as well as the command of the total Allied forces. Montgomery was assigned the task of leading the British Army through Europe until the end of the war. Battles such as the attack of the Netherlands and the Battle of the Bulge finally forced Germany to look at the possibility of a surrender of their military forces. In April 1945, Adolf Hitler committed suicide and the combined military forces of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic were standing united in Germany ready to decide what to do with Germany.

By 1946, the book about Operation OVERLORD, *Top Secret*, written by Ralph Ingersoll was published and began the process of the evaluation of the Allied generals based on the leadership styles. The evaluation of the generals would continue on. Soon military historians began to choose sides and divided up into camps. There was the camp that supported Eisenhower, led by Stephen Ambrose. The second camp was the one that supported Montgomery. This camp was led by Nigel Hamilton. The historians who chose to evaluate the generals objectively looked more at the leadership skills of Eisenhower and Montgomery. Historical studies did not look at the reasons for the differences of the development skills. The historical study of individuals became more of a psychological study when it was performed correctly. Historians, as they scrutinize events need to look closer at the causes for the differences in leadership styles than the actual differences. Eisenhower and Montgomery had many common leadership styles and did agree many times together.

Eisenhower and Montgomery had a very similar childhood even though they came from separate countries. Eisenhower and Montgomery came from a very strong

religious family where the Bible was read quite often in the home. Eisenhower was a devout Mennonite and was taught the need to study the Bible. Montgomery grew up in a home where his father was an Anglican priest and later became a Bishop in the Anglican Church. The two also spent much of their youths growing up loving the outdoors. Eisenhower spent much of his time roughhousing with his brothers in Kansas. Montgomery's father was sent to Tasmania when Montgomery was young, which allowed Montgomery to spend much time in the Tasmanian wilderness. Montgomery's family moved back to Great Britain when he was twelve years old, but by then the Tasmanian country had influenced him deeply. He wrote about the troubles that he had trying to get accustomed to his new life in England. Eisenhower and Montgomery also understood very clearly what it was like to suffer tragedy as a child. Shortly after Montgomery arrived in Tasmania, tragedy struck. His sister, Queenie became ill and died. The loss of Queenie affected Montgomery and the family. Eisenhower also understood how to deal with tragedy at an early age. His younger brother Paul died as an infant from diphtheria. Eisenhower suffered the possible personal loss when the family doctor wanted to amputate his leg. Eisenhower and Montgomery also shared in having a stronger affection toward one parent than the other. Eisenhower loved his mother very dearly and tolerated his father. Eisenhower's father was the strict disciplinarian while his mother was the loving type that would bandage any hurt. Montgomery loved his father very much and tolerated his mother. Montgomery looked with great respect on his father but knew that his mother was the real head of the house. Montgomery's mother controlled the purse strings and would dole out a little money to his father. Eisenhower and Montgomery showed many other similarities during their adult lives. Eisenhower and

Mamie had been married for a short time when Mamie became pregnant. Their first born son was named Ikky. Ikky was diagnosed with scarlet fever and died at the age of three. This was a great tragedy that hurt Eisenhower very much. Montgomery suffered a great loss when his beloved wife, Elizabeth died from an insect bite. Both Eisenhower and Montgomery seemed to react the same way when they lost someone they loved. Both men began to withdraw and did not express their emotions openly to others. Eisenhower refused to communicate with Mamie and Montgomery's friends were concerned that he was becoming too depressed.

The differences between Eisenhower and Montgomery begin to become apparent when the two entered the military training program and later became active in the military. One of the first differences in the leadership styles occurred when Eisenhower and Montgomery entered the military academy. Montgomery entered the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, England. Eisenhower entered the United States Military Academy located at West Point, New York. Eisenhower and Montgomery were both well know for getting into trouble while enrolled in the academies. Eisenhower received many demerits and Montgomery got in trouble when he set the shirt of a cadet on fire while the student was wearing the shirt. The officers at both academies reprimanded both men often for smoking on campus. The rest of the time at the two academies was much the same for each, except for the treatment rendered by the officers and the learning environment of the academy. Eisenhower was allowed to enter West Point and did not have to pay tuition. Montgomery was expected to pay £150 because he was the son of a civilian worker. The tuition for a son of a retired or active officer was much lower. Montgomery had to pay the full amount when he entered the academy. The United States Military

Academy did not charge any student and treated each student, whether rich or poor, as equal. Many students who could not afford college would try to pass the entrance exam in order to attend West Point. After acceptance to attend West Point, each cadet was treated as an equal but the cadets at Sandhurst were treated in the manner of the social class from which they came. The military system in Great Britain was based on the class system and did not change very quickly. This became apparent in Montgomery's memoirs.

Montgomery wrote a few pages in his memoirs about his time at Sandhurst. Montgomery even discussed how sometimes he felt out of place because many of the other cadets at Sandhurst had money. He was in an area that was not very accepting of outsiders. This idea of ostracism was very evident in the mind of Montgomery. It was apparent when he discussed not being able to have a wristwatch. Montgomery believed that the other officers were able to afford one because of their social status. This was the opposite of Eisenhower's memoirs. Eisenhower spent an entire chapter on his years at West Point and enjoyed his years in college. He even spent much of his declining years talking about his years at West Point. As Eisenhower lay in the hospital in 1969, he chose to speak about his time at West Point. In the biographies of Eisenhower such as *Eisenhower* by Geoffrey Perret, and *Eisenhower* by Carlo D'Este there were many episodes of Eisenhower interacting with other generals who were fellow classmates. The authors wrote about the graduating class of 1915 and how many generals graduated from this class. They also went on to discuss how the class was very united in the esprit de corps. Eisenhower graduated with Mark Clark and tried to protect him when Clark made mistakes. Eisenhower did however discipline officers when it was needed. One episode

showed that Eisenhower had to discipline a classmate after he leaked out some secrets about the planning of D-Day.

The next difference in the development in the leadership of Eisenhower and Montgomery is found in the two military systems of the United States and Great Britain. One of the beginning parts of the differences is shown in the acceptance of new officers in the two military systems. The American military system was a very political system and many of the promotions were based upon whom a person knew. The American military system accepted and cultivated the promising young officers. Eisenhower spent much time in his memoirs talking how much he owed his career to three generals, Douglas MacArthur, Fox Conner, and George C. Marshall. Eisenhower even wrote about how much he owed to George Patton. The United States military system is a system that supported and treated each officer equally. The British military system was based on an elite class system. It evaluated the officer by looking at the family of the officer rather than the ability of the officer. Montgomery did not come from a military family so he struggled for the needed acceptance by the British generals. Montgomery on the other hand did not once mention any general to which he felt indebted. During the entire time of Montgomery's military career he only mentioned the aid of a general and that was during World War II. Montgomery enjoyed the support of the British Chief of Staff, Lord Alan Brooke but even this relationship did not seem to last. Montgomery took it upon himself to teach his military values to his officers. He had a very strong influence on General Freddy De Guingand.

The second difference in the military systems was the ever-evolving strategy book used by the military system. The American military strategy book was always changing

and adapting to new weapons and methods. The British strategy book was set trying to analyze how to fight the new war with the techniques that were developed from the last war. “The British Army at the turn of the century, at least in its higher echelons, was a fair target for criticism. Though it was competent, up to a point... the Boer War had shown it to be barely capable of dealing with capable insurgents.”¹⁴¹ The British military kept trying to fight the next war by using the strategies from the last war. There was very little adaptation and desire to change. Great Britain even still based much of their military strategy on the navy. The British Navy was still seen as the most important branch of the military. This was a complicating factor for the younger officer in adapting change for the strategy book. Montgomery came into contact with this problem and struggled with this situation as a legitimate reason for change. “For the first thirty years of Montgomery’s army career many of the generals spent their time preparing for the last war rather than the next; and this failing forced itself increasingly on Montgomery’s attention as the years went by.”¹⁴² Montgomery was fighting a war within the very system that he had chosen to join. He believed that the British military system must change before it became impossible to change. The old military habits were outdated and had to be reevaluated. This did not occur and Montgomery continued to struggle against the military system. The British system needed to change because of the lack of contact of the military officers with the soldiers of the British Army. Montgomery wrote in his memoirs that he did not see any of the generals except while he was in England recovering from his wounds. “I went through the whole war on the Western Front, except during the period I was in England after being wounded; I never once saw the British

¹⁴¹ Alun Chalfont *Montgomery of Alamein* pg. 42

¹⁴² Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 42

Commander in Chief, neither French nor Haig...”¹⁴³ Even during World War II, Montgomery seemed to be able to irritate the British generals and politicians. “Montgomery’s general style, his abrasive cockiness and his avid love of publicity did not endear him with the conventional leadership of the Army, which was still characterized by residual traces of snobbish intolerance, together with a healthy respect for officers who were also gentlemen.”¹⁴⁴ Montgomery wrote in his memoirs that it was important to rewrite the policy book for the British Army. He believed that it was important to change the old military policies and try to reestablish some more democratic ideas. Montgomery also tried to push for the need to develop a professional army. This would enable the strengthening of a unity as well as a stronger and better-prepared army.

The most prevalent difference between Eisenhower and Montgomery was their early career in the military. Eisenhower graduated from West Point and remained from 1915 to 1920 assigned to bases in the United States. Eisenhower was sent to San Antonio, Galveston, and finally to Camp Meade. He never had a chance to go to Europe during World War I. Montgomery, on the other hand, was in the middle of the war. He was first sent to India and was exposed to a different culture than what he was accustomed to. Montgomery then returned to Great Britain in time to take part in World War I. Montgomery was wounded as he led the troops across the battlefield in France. Montgomery lay on the battlefield as a British soldier came to rescue him. The soldier was shot and died shortly after the attempt to rescue Montgomery. This tragic moment of observing a soldier die so close to him affected Montgomery very strongly throughout his military career. Montgomery was finally rescued and taken back to the hospital. The

¹⁴³ Bernard Montgomery *Memoirs* pg. 31

¹⁴⁴ Alun Chalfont *Ibid* pg. 217

doctors believed that he would die from his wounds. He almost did die but was able to recover. This experience with death helped Montgomery to appreciate the value of life. “The basic simplicity of his attitudes was hardening. The sheer waste of human life in the trenches pierced deep into his consciousness and was later to condition much of his approach to command on the battlefield.”¹⁴⁵ This was an experience that Montgomery did not want to happen to any other soldier. He wanted to make sure that there was a positive military plan, and that it would be successful in preventing as many deaths as possible. It was very hard for Montgomery to ever see the loss of life again. He used this experience to draw even closer to his soldiers. “On June 5, 1944, Montgomery approached a British soldier and asked him to identify the most important piece of equipment. The British soldier answered that it was his rifle. Montgomery answered that it was his life.”¹⁴⁶ Montgomery understood how important life was and tried to save his soldiers. This might have seemed to be a fear that Montgomery had but it was simply an expression of his desire to never lose any lives needlessly. England had lost too many of its youth and the leader wanted to protect the lives of the living soldiers. Caution did become a tactic in moving his troops into the battle more slowly. This was primarily a reaction stemming from his near death experience.

The next difference was the lack of actual battle experience for Eisenhower. Eisenhower never once led a military force into battle where he was actually shot at by the enemy. He came into contact with the enemy only from a distance. While Montgomery was fighting hand-to-hand combat, Eisenhower was training future officer. Eisenhower did not truly understand what it was like to be shot at or even face death from

¹⁴⁵ Alun Chalfont *Ibid.* pg. 64

¹⁴⁶ Alistair Horne *Monty: The Lonely Leader* pg. 81

a bullet. Eisenhower was an excellent general but never understood what it meant to face death at the hands of the enemy. The only times that Eisenhower had come close to death was at his own hands. Eisenhower and George Patton did almost die twice but this was from their personal carelessness. He was a political general and that is why President Roosevelt chose him to be the Supreme Allied Commander. Eisenhower did have the ability to work well with all the generals whether they were American or British.

Eisenhower and Montgomery were able to work together during World War II fairly well. It was common for the many generals of both countries to have problems with each other. Eisenhower did not have to deal only with Montgomery, but with others. Paton was disciplined for the slapping of a soldier twice. Many of the generals were seen to be prima donnas. Montgomery and Eisenhower did work together and agreed on many decisions from the invasion of North Africa to the final defeat of Germany. The two generals were able to collaborate on the plan for the invasion of Sicily. Montgomery wanted to have a concentration of the British and American army when the Allied forces invaded Sicily. Eisenhower and Montgomery continued to disagree on many of the battle plans but would work out their disagreements. The two generals did succeed in the final defeat of Germany.

Eisenhower and Montgomery have gone down in history as great generals. They did have many problems but were able to accomplish the task set before them. Operation OVERLORD was the greatest invasion of any war and was truly a success because of the combined forces of the British and American military. The British military did make changes and also the American military did change. The most significant event that took place was the invention of the Atomic bomb and also the power, strength, and growth of

the air force. Never again would a war be fought on the magnitude of World War II. The war changed many lives and the political system of many countries. Fascism was destroyed but the new threat of Communism began to emerge from the hot ashes of a godless ideology. The countries of Great Britain would continue to ally together to fight the Korean Conflict and later the war on terrorism. The alliance between the two countries is still continuing today.

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David Allen Warden graduated with a Masters of Arts in History from University of Texas-Pan American (UTPA) in 2009. David received a Masters in Education in 1985 from Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in History from Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas in 1981.

David has been a teacher for 28 years. He has taught in the following school districts: Weslaco I.S.D., Mercedes I.S.D., Donna I.S.D., and is now employed with the South Texas I.S.D. He is a teacher at South Texas High School for Health Professions. He is teaching dual enrollment classes for Med High through South Texas College.

David is married to Magda Warden and has two children, Kimberly and Jonathan.