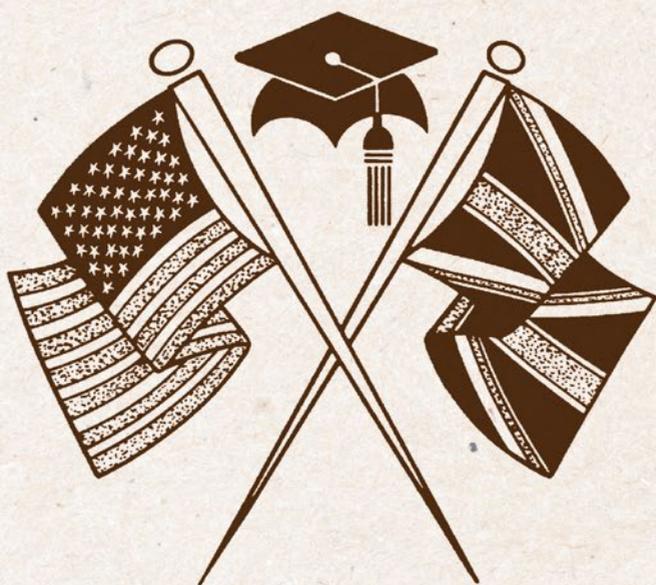
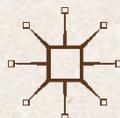


# **DIPLOMAS** *and* **DIPLOMACY**

*The History of the  
Marshall Scholarship*



**AROOP MUKHARJI**



# Diplomas and Diplomacy



Aroop Mukharji

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The History of the Marshall Scholarship

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## FOREWORD

It is my great pleasure to introduce Aroop Mukharji's history of the Marshall Scholarship program. Since it was established in 1953 by an Act of Parliament, the Marshall Scholarship program has made a significant contribution to the partnership between the UK and USA. By providing the opportunity for many of America's brightest students to study at the UK's world-leading academic institutions, the program embodies the very best attributes of what Sir Winston Churchill famously described as the "special relationship."

Marshall Scholars serve as a symbol of the values that underpin that enduring relationship, commemorating as they do the ideals of General Marshall's visionary postwar plan for the economic recovery of a war-shattered Europe. Sixty-one years after the first class of Marshall Scholars arrived, the program remains an important expression of the gratitude of the British people to their American counterparts for the support provided to our nation during and after World War II. But it also looks to the future, playing an important role in strengthening mutual understanding between our two countries as we face—together—a very different set of multifaceted twenty-first-century challenges.

The Marshall Scholarship program was conceived not just as a means of strengthening mutual knowledge and affection between the British and American peoples, but also their governments and their institutions. By this measure, the program has been an outstanding success. Marshall Scholars have enjoyed success at the highest levels of the US executive, legislature, and judiciary. Many more have gone on to become world leaders in fields such as science, business, law, and academia. In these

endeavours, they act as ambassadors for both the UK and USA, flying the flag for both nations.

Our relationship remains as important today as it was in 1954, when General Marshall himself wrote in a letter to the first class of Scholars that “a close accord between our two countries is essential to the good of mankind in this turbulent world of today, and that is not possible without an intimate understanding of each other.” As Foreign Secretary, I have seen for myself the indispensable nature of this alliance. The British and American governments continue to work seamlessly together on every significant global issue. President Obama described the enduring importance of this partnership eloquently when he spoke in 2012 of “one of the greatest alliances the world has ever known.”

Aroop Mukharji—himself a distinguished Marshall Scholar—has succeeded in conveying the essential nature of our alliance, whilst describing clearly and comprehensively the Marshall Scholarship programme’s importance to its postwar development. All of us who place great importance on maintaining and strengthening the “special” bonds that tie our two countries will find much to enjoy in this important and timely book.

The Rt. Hon. Philip Hammond MP  
UK Foreign Secretary (2014–Present)  
UK Defence Secretary (2011–2014)  
19 October 2015

## PREFACE

After a short introduction, this book begins by tracking the internal development of the Scholarship program by the UK Foreign Office in the early 1950s. Introducing the wide cast of characters, attitudes, and motives involved in the process, Part I accounts for the ultimate shape the Scholarship took in 1953, as well as its road to enactment and its variable relationship with the Rhodes Trust and administration.

Parts II, III, and IV focus on Marshall Scholars themselves, and how they have fit into the broader narrative of the Scholarship's unfolding, expansion, and transformation over the past 60 years. Part II analyzes individual categories of Scholars in academia, government, journalism, the arts, and development/humanitarian work, and the impact of each on transatlantic ties. These fields were chosen for their role in shaping national opinion, as the Scholarship was originally intended to support such future "opinion-formers." The five categories are not exhaustive in this regard, but they do capture a large proportion of Scholars whose ability to influence attitudes extends well beyond their immediate communities.

Part III considers the growth of the alumni society and the simultaneous development of a Marshall identity. It also explores the idea of a Marshall community as it relates to current Scholars, who have managed to retain a collective sense of identity despite the fact that they attend different universities within the UK.

Part IV examines two unforeseen results of the Scholarship: Scholars who make Britain their home, and Scholars who invest financially in the UK. This grouping of "British" Marshall Scholars also includes individuals who invest financially in the UK by starting businesses and encouraging business links, and through foreign direct investment and philanthropy.

The major career path categories among Marshall Scholars which are not explicitly addressed are law and medicine. About two-thirds of Marshall lawyers are either academics or have served in government, politics, or NGOs (and are therefore discussed). Seven out of ten Marshall medical doctors are similarly either academics or involved in public health or humanitarian work of some kind (or work in the government/military).<sup>1</sup> For those doctors and lawyers who fall outside of such work, the effect they produce on Anglo-American relations is difficult to measure. This disclaimer is not to suggest that such doctors and lawyers have not played a meaningful role in the Anglo-American relationship. On the contrary, Marshall doctors may approach the prospect of universal health care with a better understanding of it, having availed of such a system during their tenure. They may also read British journals and scholarship within their fields of practice. A number of lawyers practice in firms that specialize in international law, undertake extensive pro bono work for NGOs and community groups, and may otherwise inform the American legal tradition based on experiences abroad. Moreover, many doctors and lawyers have served as leaders in the alumni society and as dedicated selection committee members, have philanthropically donated to their UK alma mater, and have impacted the communities around them both socially and politically. In that sense, they are comparable to Marshall Scholars who elected primary caregiving as their profession. The fabric of one country's relationship with another is ultimately sustained by its people, and every individual plays a role in shaping the attitudes of his or her peers and in effecting social change. This argument is perhaps best exemplified by primary caregivers. In defending the candidacy of married men for the Marshall in 1952 to a Cabinet member, Secretary of State Anthony Eden recognized the same: "With each married man, you will be getting two Scholars instead of one," he wrote.<sup>2</sup>

According to annual reports, it is clear that these categories of individuals were as much influenced by their time on the Scholarship as their contemporaries. Their omissions are acknowledged and as such the analysis remains incomplete. This book is intended to provide a broad framework of reference examining the Marshall Scholarship from its genesis to its present iteration. There are many elements of gender, class, race, and social issues that have informed the institutional history of the Scholarship which will be deferred to future endeavours.

Lastly, this book conspicuously highlights the positive experiences, achievements, and contributions of Scholars but does not mention the negative experiences, the failures, or the disappointments. Not all scholars are world-renowned scientists, successful businesspeople, or respected

public intellectuals. Scholars must also count among their peers white-collar criminals, sex offenders, drug dealers, and other wayward souls. One, by this author's count, is homeless. Any listing of individuals numbering 2000 is bound to contain some nonconformists, and the Marshall is no exception. Yet, the number of such Scholars is comparatively miniscule, totaling just a fraction of a percent of the entire population. For most of them, their crimes have not defined their lives.

Nor have all Scholars enjoyed their time in the UK. Some were victims of theft, mugging, anti-Americanism during the Vietnam and Iraq Wars, and sexual assault (on at least one occasion, by a tutor). Others felt that the charms and time-honored traditions of their universities were far outweighed by archaic bureaucracies, entrenched class-based elitism, and negligent professors. A handful of Scholars from the 1960s and 1970s deeply resented the Marshall Commission for its disastrous experiment in "diversion," wherein many Scholars were prohibited from applying to their first-choice university (Oxford) in an attempt to engineer a broader dispersal of Scholars around the country.<sup>3</sup>

Resignation letters and annual reports indicate that Scholars who had resoundingly negative experiences form a very small minority of the Marshall population. On average, only a handful of them express significant disappointment with one or more aspects of their tenure each year. Of those, about one a year (on average) will actually refuse to continue and accordingly resign his or her award prematurely. The number of Scholars who resign for personal (family hardship, illness, etc.) or professional reasons is similarly small.

In the spirit of full disclosure, a final note is warranted on my stake in the project as a recent Marshall Scholar. "Marshall Scholar writes book celebrating Marshall Scholarship," a close friend cautioned the one-sentence summary could read. There is no question I stand to benefit (personally, by association) by promoting and publicizing the Scholarship. Furthermore, such self-interest, along with my positive experience on the Scholarship, could be considered a great bias in my interpretation of the historical record. These are truisms that are impossible to escape, despite my best efforts to produce a balanced, objective history.

At the same time, my association with the Scholarship has been beneficial to my research. Most significantly, it enabled me greater access to resources. The Marshall Secretariat allowed me open access to their private archives, which are otherwise unavailable to the public.<sup>4</sup> They furthermore granted me full latitude in my interpretation and during the entire

research and writing process. In fairness, it is worth noting that they might have assumed that my interpretation would not undercut my own image as a Marshall Scholar. Nonetheless, none of those documents would have seen the light of day were it not for my close, personal relationship with the Secretariat.<sup>5</sup>

My association with the Scholarship also made it easier to interview Marshall Scholars. Specifically, access to the Marshall alumni database allowed me a wealth of contact information. Marshall Scholars are also more likely to respond to an interview request from a fellow Scholar. As part of my efforts to remain balanced, since my interviewing subjects may have suffered from biases similar to my own, I also viewed annual reflections of Scholars.<sup>6</sup> These reflections are written by every current Scholar every year, and are addressed to the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission (MACC) as a means to provide thoughtful feedback. They are kept privately with the MACC and were written for no other intended audience. The letters thus provided me with accurate gauges of Scholar welfare, hardship, and experience. Except in one or two cases wherein I sought explicit permission from Scholars to quote their reflections, I kept all citations anonymous.

My affinity for the Scholarship, finally, was the driving impetus for writing the book in the first place. No one has yet charted the rich history of the program, and the fortuitous coincidence of the Scholarship's 60th anniversary with a space in my own fledgling career gave me a reason and opportunity to undertake the research project. The Scholarship's entry into its seventh decade signals that it is now old enough to yield a data set from which one can both tease out general trends and chart the full career arcs of some of its earliest recipients. I built such a database by researching every Scholar who has gone through the program (around 1800 in total).

As I continued with the project, other justifications for its pursuit presented themselves. First, the history of the Marshall Scholarship is of interest for the same reasons the history of any 60-year-old institution might be—as a reflection of social norms and as an instructive study on organizational identity. Debates in the British cabinet about whether and how to include women, for instance, evidence the former. As for the latter, especially given that Marshall Scholars lack any coherent collective purpose, the Scholarship's history is a fascinating comment on how and why such a group builds a sense of community.

More specifically, the history of the Scholarship adds a layer of understanding to the Anglo-American relationship directly following World War II, one of the most crucial moments of the bilateral history. The Marshall

Scholarship directly reflected the attitudes of the UK Foreign Office at a time when a declining and decolonizing UK was recalibrating its relationship with the USA and the world at large. Major players in this process like Prime Minister Clement Attlee, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Secretary of State Anthony Eden, Sir Roger Makins, and Sir Oliver Franks had hands in the Marshall program as well. In that way, the history of the Scholarship also serves as revealing case study of the intersection of education and diplomacy: what can a scholarship program do for a bilateral relationship over the course of 60 years?

Implicit (and sometimes explicit) in much of my analysis is a defense of the Scholarship's value to both the Americans and the British. At first blush, it may seem frivolous (or worse, narcissistic) to spend any time defending a prestigious program that has flourished. The Marshall program is certainly in healthy shape; it now awards three times the number of scholarships as it did at its inception. Yet, as a publically funded program, it is always under review. It has never faced the threat of complete elimination, but budgetary crises (notably in the 1980s and late 2000s) have compelled the UK government to question its size. The Scholarship has even had to change its funding structure to maintain its girth. Today it is no longer fully funded by the British taxpayer—universities, foundations, and even private companies have all pitched in, though it is still majority financed by public funds. With every successive decade, moreover, the British public (and politicians) move further away from the post-World War II moment, when the British gratitude for Marshall recovery aid (totaling about 5 % of US GDP) that inspired the Scholarship was at its peak.

Elucidating the long-term benefits of hosting foreign students is also useful. Politicians and the general public are remarkably poor at appreciating long-term benefits that require short-term costs. At a moment when anti-immigration sentiments (if not xenophobia) have captured political discourse in both the USA and UK, an examination of a 60-year-old study abroad scholarship becomes all the more relevant.

Together, these justifications represent the varied audiences I hope to attract. Marshall Scholars themselves may be naturally curious about their affiliation's past, but government officials and students of diplomacy, history, education, and British and American culture may also find the book of interest.

Aroop Mukharji  
Cambridge, MA

## NOTES

1. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
2. Anthony Eden to Lord Cherwell (Paymaster-General), *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 6 August 1952.
3. This practice began in 1962 and was abandoned in 1975 after it greatly increased the number of annual resignations.
4. In accordance with British law, I was prohibited from viewing government documents from the last 20 years.
5. It is pertinent to add that my relationship with the Secretariat (as well as any other Marshall Scholarship affiliated organization) was precisely that: personal, not financial.
6. As mentioned, I did not view any beyond the class of 1993, in observance of British government law.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Yale Law School for accepting my friend Conor Clarke ('09) in 2012. Conor came up with the idea of writing a history of the Marshall Scholarship, but relinquished the reins to me upon his acceptance to YLS.

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I am especially grateful to my mother and father for gifting me my middle-older brother, Auyon, who edited this volume. I would also like to take this rare and public opportunity to apologize to Auyon for missing precisely all of the deadlines he set for me.

I am indebted to Pizza Express, whose excellent American Hot pizzas (garnished with a Peroni) provided sustenance for my meetings with Ambassador John Hughes, Chair of the MACC. Ambassador Hughes' depth of knowledge of the Foreign Office and its history served as expert guidance for my research.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
AMS	Association of Marshall Scholars
CBE	Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
CVCP	Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals
ERP	European Recovery Program (“The Marshall Plan”)
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
MACC	Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission
MBE	Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
MP	Member of Parliament
NDPB	Nondepartmental Public Body
OBE	Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

The words “Scholar” and “Scholarship” hereafter will refer to Marshall Scholars and the Marshall Scholarship, respectively. Other scholarships and other scholarship-holders will be specifically indicated.

Marshall Scholars on the fellowship will be known as “Current Scholars.” “Marshalls,” “Marshall Scholars,” and “Scholars,” will refer to both groups of current students and returnees. “Marshall alumni” will exclusively refer to returnees. The class year following a recipient’s name indicates the year his/her award began.

## The Special Relationship

In a small city in the middle of the country, over 3000 people woke up early one Saturday morning for the event of the season. Some had lined up the night before to get a good seat. The town had cleared out an old train station, festooned it with flags and royal streamers, and packed its tables with sumptuous spreads of Britain's finest teas, biscuits, and cakes. The sartorial ensembles were striking. The women resplendent in white gloves, pearls, and extravagant hats of all colors, shapes, and sizes. The occasional tiara. *The Guardian*, one of Britain's major national newspapers, reported on the "frenzied and frenetic" local anticipation of the big day: 29 April 2011—"The Royal Wedding" of Prince William and Kate Middleton. The train station was hosting a "watch party," telecasting the celebration on a massive 25' × 30' screen in its central hall.<sup>1</sup>

The festivities in question were not held outside of London, nor were they even in the UK: they were in Kansas City, MO, otherwise known as the "The Heart of America." Revelers began assembling at 3 a.m. local time because they were six time zones away from Westminster Abbey. The same *Guardian* article noted, "It's like the war of independence never happened."<sup>2</sup>

The monarchy of today is vastly different from the monarchy of 1776, but America's fascination with British royalty remains both a reality and a political curiosity. At the time of the royal nuptials in 2011, the Queen's favorability among Americans polled higher than their approval of their own president.<sup>3</sup> Yet for much of their shared history, the USA and the UK

were not even allies. During the War of 1812, in the fourth decade of the new republic, British troops actually set fire to the White House. Though outright hostility was rare for the rest of the nineteenth century, relations between the two countries were characterized by reticence and mistrust.<sup>4</sup>

Two world wars in the twentieth century brought the countries closer, but wartime alliances did not cement a permanent friendship. British historian David Watt describes the relationship during World War I as intense but distant: “President Wilson, in order to avoid accusations of foreign entanglement, invariably insisted that the United States was not an ally of the Allies but an ‘associate’.”<sup>5</sup> The interwar years did see an improvement in Anglo-American relations relative to the previous century, but they also included a naval rivalry and the US Senate’s unwillingness to ratify the Western-led League of Nations. America was not yet ready to build robust peacetime alliances or to assume collective security obligations.

The US–UK alliance of World War II changed all that. It represented the closest bilateral wartime relationship the USA has ever had. On matters related to intelligence and atomic research, the connection was without modern precedent. “No two sovereign states have identical interests,” historian David Reynolds writes. “Accepting, then, that no alliance is perfect, we can acknowledge that this one was much less imperfect than most.”<sup>6</sup> The two countries shared intimate intelligence and a Combined Joint Chiefs of Staff for closer military coordination. At one point during the war, Churchill spent several weeks running his country from the White House.<sup>7</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of the war, the two countries continued to share intelligence, but transatlantic relations cooled. The Combined Joint Chiefs of Staff was dissolved, the White House abruptly halted its Lend–Lease policy,<sup>8</sup> and the 1945 US loan to the UK was made with unfavorable conditions. The USA even went so far as to pass an act of Congress that shut out the British from American nuclear research and technology, despite the close cooperation on such matters in the last 2 years of the war.<sup>9</sup>

Grand strategy rekindled the romance. Containment of communism and safeguarding American strategic and economic interests abroad dominated American foreign policy imperatives over the ensuing four decades, and the USA saw a partner in the UK toward that end in constructing a new international economic and security order. Furthermore, as the younger nation grew more involved abroad (in the Middle East and Asia in particular), it sought coordination with its more diplomatically experienced peer.<sup>10</sup> “[For] some years the notion of a torch being handed on cast a something of a sunset glow over the relationship, as seen from

Washington, and enhanced the arguments against undermining the British by too many hard choices or bullying tactics,” Watt writes.<sup>11</sup> Celebrated historian Ernest May and co-author Gregory Treverton note the advantage of “a sense of company in a confusing, unfriendly world.”<sup>12</sup> Even during the Eisenhower administration, when Anglo-American relations reached a nadir, American policymakers continued to intimately collaborate with the British on matters of international affairs.<sup>13</sup>

Writing personally to Churchill in December 1953, President Eisenhower stated:

I know that you realize that there are in this country many people who believe that the United States has treated the Arab countries shabbily and, because parts of the Arab holdings are vital to the Western world, this segment of our citizenry asserts that we should work to improve our relationships with the Arab countries. But this government has always refused to do this at the cost of anything we believe detrimental to Anglo-American best interests. In spite of outrageous and irresponsible criticism of each other on both sides of the Atlantic, American governmental policy and popular sentiment recognize the great value to the free world of keeping Anglo-American relationships coordinated with respect to the rest of the world and friendly as between themselves.<sup>14</sup>

Earlier in the same letter, Eisenhower referenced withholding aid from Egypt (and postponing it several times) at the explicit request of the British due to its adverse relations with the Middle Eastern country: “I repeat in our actual dealings with Egypt, we have gone to great lengths to meet your convictions and opinions. We certainly want to continue to do so.” Presumably alluding to the CIA and Mi6-supported coup of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh in August 1953, Eisenhower continued, “We think we proved that in Persia, and I hope we shall together make that effort seem worthwhile.”<sup>15</sup>

Additionally, economic aid to Europe was employed by the USA as a bulwark against the spread of communism. Senior officials in the Truman administration feared the unlikely event of a Soviet attack less than they did the impending reality of “famine, disease, anarchy, and revolution.”<sup>16</sup> It was believed that countries in dire financial straits would be vulnerable to political change. This fear led to an American assumption of Greek and Turkish debt in the late 1940s, efforts to revive Japan, and, more significantly, the European Recovery Program (also known as the Marshall Plan or ERP), a defining feature of US containment policy in Western and

Central Europe.<sup>17</sup> Under the Marshall Plan, the USA gifted \$13 billion to European economies for postwar reconstruction from 1948 to 1951.<sup>18</sup> The USA offered to help the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its allies as well, but they refused to accept the aid. Urging Congress to approve funding for the Marshall Plan in 1948, Secretary of State George Marshall said without American aid there would be “no escape from economic distress so intense, social discontents so violent, political confusion so widespread, and hopes for the future so shattered that the historic base of Western civilization, of which we are by belief and inheritance an integral part, will take on a new form in the image of the tyranny that we fought to destroy in Germany.”<sup>19</sup>

On the other side of the Atlantic, Britain had been in a state of relative decline since the late nineteenth century. The two world wars took a great toll on the nation’s economy, and by the end of the second, the government had to resort to, among other dire measures, bread rationing to stay afloat.<sup>20</sup> Partnering with its former ally and the world’s new hegemon would help Britain to both recover and to sustain its international influence. High-ranking British officials, such as Secretary of State Ernest Bevin, perceived their country’s economic health to hinge on the American relationship.<sup>21</sup>

In an attempt to forge closer ties, British leaders (especially Churchill) made public and roseate appeals to a common heritage, culture, and “unity of purpose” between the USA and UK. “Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States of America,” Churchill famously said in his “Iron Curtain” speech in Fulton, Missouri in 1946. “There is however an important question we must ask ourselves,” he continued. “Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our over-riding loyalties to the World Organization? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength.”

The strategic incentives for a closer relationship did not translate to uninterrupted harmony. The two countries had frictions. Jockeying for influence in the Middle East became one of the biggest sticking points in the 1950s, culminating with the Suez Crisis in 1956, when the USA and USSR pressured Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw from Egypt following a surprise invasion. However, a rewarming of relations following the war characterized the general political circumstances surrounding the

beginnings of the Marshall Scholarship in the early 1950s. Although the primary impetus behind the program was gratitude for the Marshall Plan, the British additionally recognized its value in bringing the two countries closer together, privately referencing “the common ideals of the English-speaking people and their increasing unity of purpose” in an early draft of the program.<sup>22</sup> The diplomatic relationship between the USA and UK was thus a major factor in determining the initial shape of the Scholarship.

## NOTES

1. “Union Station Garners Huge Attendance and National Attention for Royal Wedding Watch Party and Princess Diana Exhibition” [Press Release], *Union Station Kansas City*, 3 May 2011, Accessed November 2013, Available: [http://www.uskc.kctechworks.com/pdf/Royal\\_Wedding\\_Watch\\_Party\\_2011May6.pdf](http://www.uskc.kctechworks.com/pdf/Royal_Wedding_Watch_Party_2011May6.pdf); “Community Faces | Royal Wedding Watch Party & Diana Exhibit at Union Station” [Online Picture Gallery], *The Kansas City Star*, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.kansascity.com/news/local/article294282/Community-Faces-Royal-Wedding-Watch-Party-Diana-Exhibit-at-Union-Station.html>; Paul Harris, “Royal Wedding: Deep in America’s Heartland, the British Royals Hold an Enduring Fascination,” *The Guardian*, 16 April 2011, Accessed October 2013, Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/17/royal-wedding-missouri-diana-exhibition>.
2. Harris, “Royal Wedding.”
3. “New York Times/CBS News Poll,” *The New York Times* and *CBS News*, 15-20 April 2011, Accessed February 2014 – Available: <http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/world/apr11-royals-poll.pdf?ref=europe>; “Presidential Approval Ratings – Barack Obama,” *Gallup*, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/116479/barack-obama-presidential-job-approval.aspx>.
4. The US and UK were formal allies in the Second Samoan War (1898-1899) and the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901).
5. Watt was also a commissioner of the Marshall Scholarship from 1977 until his tragic death in 1987. David Watt, “Introduction,” in Wm. Roger Louis and Hedley Bull, eds., *The Special Relationship: Anglo-American Relations Since 1945*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 2.
6. David Reynolds, “The Wartime Anglo-American Alliance,” in Louis and Bull, *The Special Relationship*, pp. 38-9.
7. Churchill arrived (by sea) at the White House on 22 December 1941 and departed (by air) on 14 January 1942. “Franklin D. Roosevelt: Day by Day,” *The Pare Lorentz Center at the FDR Presidential Library*, Accessed July 2014, Available: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/daybyday/daylog/december-22nd-1941/>.

8. Lend–Lease began in 1941 and signaled the end to US neutrality by freely supplying American war materiel to the Allies. However, once the war ended, Britain relied on it for imports. *See*: Richard Gardner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy in Current Perspective*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press (1980 version), pp. 184–6.
9. The Act of Congress was known as the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 (also known as the McMahon Act). Watt, “Introduction,” p. 5; Margaret Gowing, “Nuclear Weapons and the Special Relationship,” in Louis and Bull, *The Special Relationship*, pp. 117–28. It also bears note that the sterling convertibility and trade liberalization conditions tied to American financial assistance following the war were consistent with the American position during the war. The Atlantic Charter, Lend-Lease, and Bretton Woods all signaled American efforts to lower Britain’s trade barriers and move beyond the system of imperial preference. *See*: Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, pp. 194–7.
10. Prime Minister Harold MacMillan famously analogized this relationship to the Greco-Roman partnership.
11. Watt, “Introduction,” p. 7.
12. Ernest R. May and Gregory F. Treverton, “Defence Relationships: American Perspectives,” in Louis and Bull, *The Special Relationship*, p. 181.
13. Alistair Horne, “The MacMillan Years and Afterwards,” in Louis and Bull, *The Special Relationship*, p. 89.
14. Dwight D. Eisenhower to Winston Churchill, *State Department*, Presidential Correspondence, Lot 66 D 204 (Eisenhower Correspondence with Churchill), No. 1258, 20 December 1953, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v09p2/d1258>.
15. Eisenhower to Churchill, 20 December 1953.
16. Melvyn Leffler, “The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-1948,” in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., Boston: Wadsworth, 2011, p. 84.
17. In his speech outlining ERP in 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall noted that without economic health in the world, “there can be no political stability and no assured peace.” George Catlett Marshall, “Commencement Address,” Harvard University, 4 June 1947, Reprinted online, *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development*, Accessed 15 July 2014, Available: <http://www.oecd.org/general/themarshallplanspeechatharvarduniversity5june1947.htm>. *See also*: G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, p 188, 199; John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*, New York: Penguin, 2005, pp. 31-2.
18. Foreign aid has continued after the Marshall Plan in various forms, the earliest and most significant of which was the Mutual Security Act, signed by President

Truman in October 1951. This lasted ten years and provided security, economic, and technical aid. In 1961, US foreign aid (civilian aid) planning and dispersion to developing areas of the world was centralized in the Foreign Assistance Act, which created the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

19. Marshall, "Hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, On United States Assistance to European Economic Recovery," Reprinted online, *The George C. Marshall Foundation*, Accessed 14 January 2015, Available: <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/digital-archive/european-recovery-program/>.
20. The British government also rationed certain commodities during the First World War.
21. Watt, "Introduction," p. 10.
22. This line was eventually struck from the draft, but it is informative of the attitudes in the Foreign Office at the time. Draft White Paper, *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 1953.

## Diploma Diplomacy

In 1835, the number of Americans studying at universities in Germany comprised 1 % of the overseas student population. Sixty years later, the proportion ballooned to 22 % as Americans flocked to Germany to undertake its distinctive (and novel) research degree, the PhD.<sup>1</sup> This development troubled the British, whose inchoate postgraduate programs offered nothing beyond master's-level certification. "The enormous educational machine in America, which is so much more important than anything of the same kind we have in Europe, is almost entirely run from Germany. A very large proportion of the staffs of the colleges and Universities has received all its educational training, or at any rate its postgraduate training, in Germany," said British writer and poet Alfred Noyes after a trip to America in 1916. "It is perfectly obvious, if the system is allowed to continue, what a tremendous factor that may be in the future of the United States... Something could surely be done to attract Americans to our universities."<sup>2</sup>

Noyes' interview, which was published in *The Observer* in the midst of World War I to discuss American opinion about the War, circulated around the Foreign Office within 2 days in a file entitled "German Educational Influence in America."<sup>3</sup> In response, the Foreign Office approached Lord Bryce, a former ambassador to the USA, for advice. "Needless to say that nothing could be better for the political and social relations of the two countries than that the number of Americans of the most educated class who are attached to England by those ties of affection which a man forms at the most susceptible period of his life, should be greatly enlarged, and

a wider basis for a mutual good understanding of one another's aims and sentiments created," he counseled.<sup>4</sup>

Universities in the UK had already experimented with two types of doctorates in the nineteenth century (the DLitt and DSc) but they were equated with master's degrees and lacked the same rigor as the German (and American) PhD.<sup>5</sup> Britain's slowing economy at the turn of the century and its following wartime travails intensified its awareness of the interconnectedness of education, development, and diplomacy. In a part effort to lure Americans away from Germany, the British began offering their own PhDs in 1917.<sup>6</sup>

The development of scholarships for Americans to study in Britain was not dissimilar to the development of the British PhD itself. Every major scholarship available to Americans for study in the UK (Rhodes, Fulbright, Marshall, and Gates) began as a reflection of some concurrent political direction or social agenda.<sup>7</sup> Cecil Rhodes established the Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford in the hopes of sustaining and promoting the British Empire.<sup>8</sup> Senator Fulbright, himself a Rhodes Scholar, proposed his eponymous scholars program as a means to recoup money from surplus American World War II materiel scattered overseas (which was too expensive to bring home) by selling it to foreign governments in exchange for "intangible benefits" through cross-cultural scholarships.<sup>9</sup> In 2000, Bill and Melinda Gates started the Gates Scholarship to the University of Cambridge for candidates who are committed to "working for the greater good" and go on to "improve the lives of others," which together hint at the UN Millennium Development Goals, established the same year.<sup>10</sup>

Outside of the Gates (the newest of the lot), the political and social ends that inspired these scholarships now seem more like curious political artifacts than relevant imperatives. With regard to the Marshall Scholarship, the British are no longer actively concerned with thanking the USA for the Marshall Plan, as most of its citizens were not yet alive when the program was launched. Similarly, the idea that English-speaking people have a "unity of purpose" lacks the urgency and coherence it may have had in the face of fascism and the Cold War. The Marshall, like the Rhodes and Fulbright, has remained significant through adaptation. Its evolution has been shaped as much by its political nascency as by the transatlantic societies in which it has grown.

## NOTES

1. Yale awarded its first PhD in 1861, but US doctoral programs were less developed than their German counterparts. Renate Simpson, *How the PhD Came to Britain: A Century of Struggle for Postgraduate Education*, Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, University of Surrey, 1983, p. 17.
2. “America and the War: Interview with Mr. Alfred Noyes,” *The Observer*, 18 June 1916, p. 5.
3. See: *The National Archives*, FO 395/11, 1916.
4. Memorandum by Lord Bryce, “As to American Students at British Universities,” *The National Archives*, FO 395/11, 31 October 1916. Bryce believed that Noyes exaggerated the effect of Americans studying in Germany, but acknowledged that if they had instead studied in Britain, they would have a “fuller and better understanding of Britain and appreciation of our position in the War.”
5. “The titles ‘Doctor’ and ‘Master’ do not signify different steps or degrees in the same Faculty of department of knowledge, but signify similar or corresponding steps or degrees in different departments of knowledge.” Minutes of the Senate, *University of London*, 21 October 1863, quoted in Simpson, pp. 48–9.
6. Oxford was the first UK institution to offer a PhD. See: Simpson, pp. 135–60. This story was also told, in a shorter version, to a gathering of Marshall Scholars in celebration of the program’s 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary by David Willetts MP and UK Minister of State for Universities and Science from 2010 to 2014. David Willetts MP, *Durbar Court, Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, 8 May 2014.
7. The British have long mixed education and diplomacy—far before their introduction of the PhD—but they are not alone in having done so. A sampling of US educational diplomacy: the US commuted Chinese indemnities following the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 in exchange for a guarantee that thousands of Chinese students be educated in the US; the Fulbright Scholarship not only sends Americans abroad but also imports foreign students to American institutions; in the 1950s, the Ford Foundation funded Indonesian economists to study in America, hoping to export the American capitalist framework; coordinating with the Rockefeller Foundation and the US State Department, the Ford Foundation did the same with Chilean economists (later known as “The Chicago Boys,” as many of them studied under Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago) who rose to influential positions in the Pinochet government and established the modern economic order of Chile. For information on the Boxer Rebellion exchange, see related papers in FO 371/5326, also summarized in Simpson, p. 115.

- For information on the Ford Foundation and Indonesian and Chilean economists, see: Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, pp. 124-148 and 180-220. See also: Hal Brands, *Latin America's Cold War*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
8. For a copy of Rhodes' will, which describes the program, see: Philip Ziegler, *Legacy: Cecil Rhodes, the Rhodes Trust and Rhodes Scholarships*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 339.
  9. Sam Lebovic, "From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism 1945-1950," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 37 No. 2, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013; See also: "History," *Fulbright U.S. Student Program*, United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Online, Accessed 14 October 2014, Available: <http://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/history>.
  10. "A defining characteristic of the Gates Cambridge Scholarships is the commitment of our Scholars to working for the greater good. Although broadly interpreted, this concept is nonetheless fundamental and sets this programme apart from others of its kind." "Ideal Candidate," *Gates Cambridge*, Accessed July 2014, Available: <http://www.gatescambridge.org/apply/ideal-candidate.asp>; See also: "About the Scholarship," *Gates Cambridge*, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.gatescambridge.org/about/scholarships.asp>.

PART I

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Conception to Enactment

## “Let Sleeping Charters Lie”

On 4 February 1949, Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, the British Ambassador to the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, the Paris-based group charged to administer the Marshall Plan, sent an urgent letter to a senior colleague in the Foreign Office in London. Hall-Patch had just learned that the French had delivered a gift of gratitude to the USA for the 700 train carriages of foodstuffs, otherwise known as “The Friendship Train,” which the USA sent to France and Italy in 1947 as recovery aid following World War II.

The French chose to respond in kind. As the Friendship Train, worth \$40 million,<sup>1</sup> had been largely donated by the American people (rather than the government), the French gift took the form of a 49-coach train filled with hundreds of thousands of presents from the homes of six million French people.<sup>2</sup> One boxcar was presented to each of the 48 states, and the territory of Hawaii and the District of Columbia shared the last compartment. The train arrived aboard the *S.S. Magellan*, a French freighter, accompanied by eight jets.<sup>3</sup> The words “Merci, America” decorated the hull of the steamship, which was received by a welcoming crowd of 200,000 in New York City.<sup>4</sup> The gift was dubbed “The Merci Train” and was also known as “The Gratitude Train” and “Le Train de la Reconnaissance Française.” Gifts ranged from everyday dishes, dolls, and berets to ancient family heirlooms, Sevres vases, statues by Houdon and Taveau, the flag that flew over Verdun in 1918, and a 700-year-old bell from the Chapel of St. Bernardin at Mouans-Sartoux, in the French Alps.

Someone in Ohio received a bust of Marquis Jean Lafayette, and one lucky Nebraskan, a box of Saint Claude loose tobacco and a wooden pipe.<sup>5</sup> A young French girl sent a painting of a single yellow heart with the inscription: “I know that Americans have hearts of gold.”<sup>6</sup>

The British were largely unimpressed. A senior Treasury official described it as a “silly ass” idea,<sup>7</sup> and another vehemently protested the potential arms race of gratitude it implied, since Britain had received enormous aid from the Americans by way of the Marshall Plan (Britain and France were its largest recipients).<sup>8</sup> “I should strongly resist the idea of tagging along after the French with another gift; I must confess that the whole idea is quite repugnant to me and I do not believe it would cut any ice with the Americans,” the official wrote. “I read a piece about the French gift in *Time* last night and I am bound to say that I did not think they were regarding it as something very effective; they seemed to me rather to regard it, as I do, as rather an indecent joke.”<sup>9</sup>

Hall-Patch, however, was adamant that the UK not be outclassed. “In view of some of the remarks being made here about the French being the only people to show any gratitude,” he wrote, “it might be as well to think whether we should not do something ourselves.” He referred to the French gesture as “propaganda,” but acknowledged that it would “produce effects quite out of all proportion to the effort or cost involved.” He suggested that the UK respond to the *Merci Train* with a gift that would “strike the American imagination” with something “permanent.”<sup>10</sup>

“I do not know how many copies we have of the Magna Carta,” he continued. “But one sent with great pomp and circumstance to figure permanently in the Library of Congress should outdo anything that France or anybody else could hope to achieve.”<sup>11</sup> Hall-Patch’s vision was to have an original copy triumphantly tour the USA “on a kind of ‘freedom train’” before resting at the Library of Congress.<sup>12</sup>

Hall-Patch was the first to propose the Magna Carta tour the USA in response to Marshall Aid, but the idea had surfaced twice before to commemorate other occasions. The British considered recognizing the USA for both the Lend-Lease Act of 1941 and its entry to World War II with the same document. The previous proposals made it as far as Winston Churchill’s Cabinet, but no further, due to the technical difficulties in wresting an original copy of the document from its owners.<sup>13</sup> Only an Act of Parliament would have overridden the legal obstacles of the issue, but, even in light of the audacious *Merci Train*, no one was willing to expend the political capital necessary to push through such legislation.

Yet the proposition did not die. On 16 December 1950, *The London Times* published a letter to the editor from Sir Evelyn Wrench, a journalist, diplomat, and one of the founders of the English-Speaking Union charity organization. On the subject of Marshall Aid, Wrench wrote: “Does not the occasion demand some gift of historic interest as an outward token of the deep gratitude in our hearts? There must be some object which we could spare. There are, I believe, four copies of the Magna Carta in this country.”<sup>14</sup> Wrench’s letter circulated among the Foreign Office and Treasury officials, who investigated its feasibility once more.<sup>15</sup>

The proposal found some traction in the upper echelons of bureaucratic decision making. In a letter to the Foreign Office in March 1951, a senior Treasury Official wrote:

“It is said that the impact on American minds and the good effect on Anglo-American relations would be very great, since the Charter stands—and every American who has got as far as the sixth grade knows that it stands—for the common political traditions of the two countries and for the British origin of much that is most significant in the American way of life.”<sup>16</sup>

Despite debate in the Foreign Office and among Treasury Officials, the legal difficulties remained insurmountable. Without an Act of Parliament to legally change the status and ownership of the documents, it was impossible to release them from unwilling hands. The final option was to gift a reissue of the Magna Carta from a later date, but that risked being perceived as a second-class gift, which could have undermined the objective of expressing gratitude altogether.<sup>17</sup> Ultimately, officials resigned themselves to the same conclusion made a decade prior. “As far as I know,” a senior Foreign Office official wrote in 1951, “Sir Evelyn Wrench’s letter has not found an echo in the United States and I think that we should let sleeping Charters lie.”<sup>18</sup>

The British also considered presenting chandeliers to President Truman for the White House refurbishment of 1948–1952.<sup>19</sup> Another idea was to gift the USA a manuscript of Edmund Burke’s 1775 speech to the House of Commons, in which Burke famously said: “Young man, there is America—which at this day serves little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world.”<sup>20</sup> The Magna Carta proposal, however, was the furthest reaching and the most favored course of action. Only when that idea collapsed 4 months after Sir Evelyn’s publication did the Foreign

Office resurrect another plan to take its place: the 1949 suggestion by Sir Roger Mellor Makins, the then British Deputy Undersecretary of State, to establish an academic scholarship scheme in the UK for American college graduates.<sup>21</sup> Makins recommended it be called “The Marshall Scholarship,” pending approval from the then US Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the Scholarship’s proposed namesake, former Secretary of State General George C. Marshall.<sup>22</sup>

## NOTES

1. “Ship Bearing ‘Merci Train’ Reaches U.S.,” *Washington Post*, 3 February 1949, p. 17.
2. Estimates ranged from 100,000 to one million gifts. *See*: Drew Pearson, “Merci Train Totes 100,000 Presents,” *Nevada Daily Mail*, 2 February 1949, p. 2, Accessed January 2014, Available: <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1908&dat=19490202&id=TukpAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=mdQEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=3222,3490448>; “Ship Bearing ‘Merci Train’ Reaches U.S.” *See also*: Pearson, “Merci Train is Voice of People” *Washington Post*, 14 February 1949, B15.
3. “10,000 Greet Part of French Merci Train: Officials of Both Nations Express Appreciation of Idea 10,000 Welcome Merci Train,” [*sic*] *Washington Post*, 7 February 1949.
4. “200,00 Cheer ‘Merci Train’ Up Broadway” *Washington Post* 4 February 1949, p. 12.
5. For more information, *see*: Earl R. Bennett Sr., “Merci Train,” 2007, Accessed 14 January 2014, Available: <http://www.mercitrain.org/>; “The Story of the 1949 Merci Train,” 2014, Accessed 14 January 2014, Available: <http://www.themetrains.com/merci-train-main.htm>; “The French Gratitude Train: Other Household Items,” Nebraska State Historical Society, 16 May 2008, Accessed 14 January 2014, Available: [http://www.nebraskahistory.org/exhibits/merci-train/household\\_items.htm](http://www.nebraskahistory.org/exhibits/merci-train/household_items.htm).
6. For gifts listed above, *see*: (heirlooms and the bell) “Merci Train Gifts Abound in Sentiment: Treasure-Trove of Friendship Found in Consignment to State Unpack Gifts From People of France” *Hartford Courant*, 11 February 1949; (Taveau, Verdun, and girl’s painting) Pearson, “Merci Train is Voice of People”; (Sevres vase, Houdon) “10,000 Greet Part of French Merci Train: Officials of Both Nations Express Appreciation of Idea 10,000 Welcome Merci Train,” *Washington Post*, 7 February 1949.
7. Edward Wilder Playfair (Treasury) to Richard W.B. Clarke (Treasury), *The National Archives*, T 220/1194, 16 February 1949.

8. The Merci Train was delivered in gratitude for the Friendship Train, the delivery of which coincided with the Marshall Plan. British officials thus felt pressure to thank the Americans for the aid Britain received in the Marshall Plan, as the UK did not receive a Friendship Train equivalent.
9. Clarke to Playfair, *The National Archives*, T 220/1194, 16 February 1949.
10. Sir Edmund Hall-Patch (Foreign Office) to Sir Eric Alfred Berthoud CMG (Foreign Office), *The National Archives*, T 220/1194, 4 February 1949.
11. Hall-Patch to Berthoud, 4 February 1949.
12. Samuel Clement Leslie (Treasury) to unknown, *The National Archives*, T 220/1194 21, February 1951.
13. Memo prepared by C. Child (Foreign Office) for Sir John Noel Ormiston Curle (Foreign Office), *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 4 January 1951; *See also*: Draft letter from Sir Roger Makins (Foreign Office) to Leslie, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, March 1951.
14. Sir Evelyn Wrench, “Gratitude to America: To the Editor of the Times,” *The Times*, (London), Iss. 51876, 16 December 1950, p. 7.
15. Curle (Foreign Office) to A.G. Hamilton and unknown, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 5 January 1951.
16. Leslie to Makins, FO 371/91013, 9 March 1951.
17. Memo prepared by Child, March 1951.
18. Curle, 5 January 1951.
19. Curle, “Question of Presenting a Copy of MAGNA CARTA to the United States in Gratitude for Marshall Aid,” *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 16 March 1951. The Bath City Council in fact did offer to loan the White House 18<sup>th</sup> century chandeliers, but it is not clear whether this gesture was coordinated with the Foreign Office. The White House refused the loan. “Turn Down Loan of Chandeliers to White House,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 April 1950, p. 7.
20. Playfair, *The National Archives*, T 220/1194, 16 February 1949.
21. Curle, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 16 March 1951.
22. Approval confirmed January 1952. Sir Bernard Alexander Brocas Burrows (Embassy) to Foreign Office, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 6 February 1952.

## Early Development (1950–1952)

Somewhat surprisingly, although representatives of the Ministry of Education attended early meetings about the scheme, that branch of government played almost no role in the development of the Marshall Scholarship. Writing to an Education official in 1953 just 2 months before the program launched, Henry Hainworth, a Foreign Office diplomat noted: “It is some time since you were involved in any discussions on the Marshall Scholarships, for you decided that the Ministry of Education had no direct interest. However, I promised to give you advance warning of any concrete steps, and I therefore enclose a copy of the final version of the White Paper.”<sup>1</sup> From its conception to the white paper that led to its enactment, the Marshall Scholarship was largely an effort of the Foreign Office (with some budgetary counsel from the Treasury Department).

Makins, the senior Foreign Office bureaucrat who proposed the idea, led the charge. Having wed Alice Brooks Davis, the daughter of American senator, sportsman, and former Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis, Makins had many ties to the USA. His personal letters, archived at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, reveal several close and enduring friendships with influential American officials, including Dean Acheson, Truman’s Secretary of State and Charles “Chip” Bohlen, a former ambassador to France, the Philippines, and the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> However, while Makins certainly had an affinity for the USA, he was no knee-jerk Yankophile. He often wrote to his colleagues about the political value of the transatlantic partnership to advance British interests, especially in the Middle East. “How far we

shall in fact continue to move towards such a partnership," he wrote to Secretary of State Anthony Eden about British policy in the Middle East, "will depend partly on the extent to which the State Department and U.S. representatives in the area accept it as a conscious goal, but partly also on our own ability to take advantage of the present favourable tide."<sup>3</sup>

Makins sought the counsel of several individuals before introducing the Scholarship timeline and proposal to the Prime Minister. He consulted the Treasury and Education Departments, the Rhodes and Fulbright Scholarship administrations, the UK's Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP), as well as, individually, the British Ambassador to the USA and the heads of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Glasgow.<sup>4</sup> Not only did these consultations provide Makins and other Foreign Office officials with a wide range of constructive criticism and advice but they also allowed them political leverage to claim viability and approval from key leaders in higher education.

Makins' original proposal accounted for six scholars at the University of Cambridge. The number six appears to have been arbitrary, and Cambridge was picked because of its historic rivalry with Oxford, which already hosted the Rhodes Scholarship. The prospect of limiting to a single institution, however, drew criticism from other circles in government. "We think it would be wrong to tie the scholarships to any particular universities," advised Sir Edward Hale, Secretary to the University Grants Committee, an advisory committee to the British government on grant distribution, to a Treasury official involved in the matter. "A private benefactor can do that sort of thing, not the Government... [To] make a short list of this kind is an invidious business which I am sure my Committee would decline to undertake."<sup>5</sup> One month later, Makins called a joint meeting between Treasury, Foreign Office, and Education officials. The group decided that it would be unwise to discriminate in favor of any one institution, so Cambridge was replaced by a free choice of university within the UK.<sup>6</sup>

Spreading Scholars around, however, presented another issue. The Foreign Office wanted the Scholarship to become a long-lasting, recognizable institution to Americans. A Cultural Relations officer wrote in 1951:

Six Marshall Scholarships granted yearly at Cambridge would be sufficient to form a continuing institution with a place in public and academic life analogous to that of the Rhodes Scholarships, though on a smaller scale, whereas the same number of scholarships spread over the British universities in general would make no impact on American opinion as a whole and

would soon be indistinguishable from the many other scholarships awarded by existing institutions of one kind or another.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, another senior official worried, six scholarships would simply be “dwarfed” by the 32 American Rhodes Scholarships awarded annually.<sup>8</sup> Since offering the same number risked offending the Rhodes Scholarship administration, the number of Marshall awards was doubled to just 12. Some advisors to the Foreign Office felt this was still too few. “The scale is insignificant,” wrote one. “When you throw in Rhodes plus other smaller enterprises, another 12 a year isn’t going to make all that difference.” In a handwritten note at the end of the letter, however, he added: “Of course, what really matters in all this is American opinion.”<sup>9</sup>

Though the primary impetus behind the Marshall Scholarship was gratitude for Marshall Aid, British officials (Makins included) also hoped it would produce a positive effect on Anglo-American relations in perpetuity. Early in the process, a Treasury official noted: “In the long run I think everybody would agree that the idea has great attractions. Certainly all those who have had to deal officially with Americans will pay tribute to the value of the leaven of Americans who have been educated in British universities.”<sup>10</sup> Another official was even more direct, citing the advantage of “indoctrinating a number of young Americans with the British way of life [like the Rhodes Scholarships].”<sup>11</sup> Most officials, though, merely believed the scheme would “have a favourable effect on American opinion”<sup>12</sup> and “pay [the UK] the best dividend in the form of increased understanding and goodwill.”<sup>13</sup> This hope made them all the more eager to emulate the Rhodes Scholarships, which they believed already effected these subtle and residual benefits.

At this point in its conceptual development, at 16 months of age in July of 1951, the Scholarship proposal was ready to be pitched to four key individuals for approval: General George Marshall for its namesake; Secretary of State Dean Acheson for formal American opinion; Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Gaitskell for budgetary assent; and Clement Attlee, the Prime Minister, for an official blessing. As expected, all four expressed strong endorsement of the scheme.<sup>14</sup> Makins and his colleagues in the Foreign Office could finally pursue the proposal and its implementation with a real view to enactment.

## NOTES

1. Henry C. Hainworth (Foreign Office) to R. Morrison (Education) *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 5 May 1953.
2. *See*: Papers of Lord Sherfield, *Bodleian Library Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts*, Oxford University, E.3 (Personal Correspondence) MS. Sherfield 451 (Letters from Royalty and Well-Known Politicians); Jill Edwards and Tam Dalyell, "Obituary: Lord Sherfield," *The Independent*, 11 November 1996, Accessed January 2014, Available: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-lord-sherfield-1351871.html>.
3. Makins (Embassy) to Anthony Eden (Foreign Office), *The National Archives*, FO 371/104258, 6 November 1953, quoted in Papers of Lord Sherfield, *Bodleian Library Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts*, Oxford University, E.11.4 (Unpublished Memoirs) MS. Sherfield 959 (Research Notes, Papers, and Rough Drafts of Sections of Memoirs, Covering the Period 1946–56 n.d. [1980s–1990s]); For reflections on his service coinciding with the Truman presidency, *see also*: Truman Oral History Project, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/makinsr.htm> (1964) and <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/makinsr2.htm> (1970).
4. The Principal of Glasgow, Hector Hetherington, was the Chair of the CVCP. By no coincidence, he was also invited to serve on the first Advisory Council to the UK Ambassador once the Scholarship got off the ground.
5. Sir Edward Hale (UGC) to Playfair, *The National Archives*, UGC 7/931, 11 June 1951.
6. Meeting minutes between Makins et al., *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 30 July 1951.
7. Curle to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 26 June 1951.
8. Sir John Maud (Education) to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 11 June 1951.
9. Hector Hetherington (CVCP) to Hale, *The National Archives*, UGC 7/931, 10 September 1951.
10. Playfair to Hale, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013.
11. Curle, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 16 March 1951.
12. Makins to Prime Minister Clement Attlee, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 8 August 1951.
13. Makins to Maud, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 31 May 1951.
14. Official communication between the British and General Marshall was not well-documented (if not minimal), but General Marshall did send a note to the first batch of Marshall Scholars in the fall of 1954.

## Rhodes Model

“If you’re a Marshall scholar, you walk into the room and you can lift the table with your mental force,” one Rhodes Scholar mused in 1992 in *The New York Observer*. The article continued: “The Rhodes Scholar, on the other hand, would lift the table with the strength of biceps honed by manly sports, then consider what would be the most socially useful place for the table, and put it down there.”<sup>1</sup>

Marshall Scholars versus Rhodes Scholars: intellectual titans in one corner and all-rounders and future charismatic politicians in the other. So unfold the historical stereotypes of the two scholarship holders.<sup>2</sup> Yet, this discrepancy was not initially mapped out by the British officials who designed the Marshall. They instead intended that Marshall and Rhodes Scholars be cut from the same cloth.

The Rhodes Scholarships were established in 1902 at the bequest of Cecil Rhodes, a British business magnate and fierce colonialist. By 1951, the Rhodes Scholarship had established itself as the pre-eminent British scholarship available to young men from the USA, Germany, and dominions of the British Empire.<sup>3</sup> Noting the success of the Rhodes scheme in producing leaders (or at least in selecting future ones), British officials gravitated toward its model for the Marshall Scholarship. The minutes from a joint meeting in 1951 between high-ranking Treasury and Foreign Office representatives read: “It was thought that people of the Rhodes Scholar type were the most fruitful field, in view of the positions of responsibility in

the U.S. to which they often rose; it was assumed that the field of selection of such people was by no means exhausted by the Rhodes Scholarships.”<sup>4</sup>

The Foreign Office thus initially proposed that the Marshall Scholarship be the Rhodes’ American, co-ed analog to Cambridge. “You will see that we do not envisage any distinction between the qualifications required of a Rhodes Scholar and those to be expected of a Marshall Scholar,” wrote Roderick E. Barclay, a British Assistant Undersecretary of State, in 1951.<sup>5</sup> To create such a parallel scheme, British officials needed to approach the Rhodes Scholarship administration itself for advice.

Communication and consultation with the Rhodes’ leadership were impressively close. British officials initially communicated and twice met with Sir Carleton K. Allen, the Warden of the ‘Rhodes House,’ the Oxford-based Rhodes nerve center. Allen was a wellspring of information and suggestions. He cautioned the Foreign Office that his superior, Lord Elton, the General Secretary to the Rhodes Trust, was not particularly receptive to collaboration, but that he was happy to advise them himself on constructing the program to the extent that he could.<sup>6</sup> While Allen’s help was greatly appreciated by the Foreign Office, it soon became clear that any significant partnership with the Rhodes organization in America would require consultation with the man who managed the Rhodes award in the USA: the American Secretary to the Rhodes Trust.<sup>7</sup>

Frank Aydelotte, a famed college president and the first American Secretary to the Rhodes Trust, became the Marshall architects’ closest Rhodes ally. He became such a crucial source of advice that in 1952, the British requested his presence for a confidential series of meetings to discuss the logistics and proposed financial relationship between the Rhodes and Marshall Scholarships.<sup>8</sup> To the great anxiety of Lord Elton, who sharply disagreed with Aydelotte’s (and Allen’s) openness toward the British government regarding the Marshall, Aydelotte accepted the invitation.<sup>9</sup>

Aydelotte and the Foreign Office spoke about general criteria for selection, yearly living stipend minutiae, citizenship and residence requirements, and the composition, function, and internal working of the entire Rhodes administration. They also discussed how the Marshall Scholarship might utilize the vast network of Rhodes Scholars to help in its selection process. Aydelotte’s enthusiasm for the arrangement was encapsulated in a letter he sent to the Warden of the Rhodes House on 8 April 1952: “I think something could be adapted from our Rhodes Scholarship system of selection for the selection of Marshall Scholars, and I believe the members of our district committees

would not consider this a burden but would welcome the opportunity... [They] would, I think, be glad to do it.”<sup>10</sup> For a few months in the spring of 1952, it looked as though the Rhodes selection committees would either select 44 Scholars annually (32 Rhodes and 12 Marshalls), or themselves staff new committees to select Marshall Scholars based on the same criteria.<sup>11</sup>

## NOTES

1. Rebecca Mead, “Rhodie Bore Crow: Hey, We’re Sexy!”, *New York Observer*, 28 December 1992 – 4 January 1993, p. 21.
2. The historical stereotype of Rhodes Scholars as athletes is, like many stereotypes, inaccurate. The Rhodes Scholarship has produced several Olympians, but it has also had its share of Nobel laureates and celebrated academics; intellectual distinction composes one of its four selection criteria (alongside physical vigor). In the first ten years of the Rhodes Scholarship, the majority of its recipients entered academia, much like the first decade of Marshall Scholars, though this trend largely disappeared by the 1950s. Philip Ziegler, *Legacy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008, pp. 84-5.
3. See: “History of the Rhodes Trust,” *The Rhodes Trust*, 2014, Accessed January 2014, Available <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/rhodes-trust/history>; For the official history, see: Ziegler, *Legacy*, 2008.
4. Meeting minutes between Makins et al., 30 July 1951.
5. Roderick E. Barclay (Foreign Office) to Carleton K. Allen (Rhodes House), *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 20 March 1951.
6. Record of Meeting at the Foreign Office between Barclay, Allen, de Montmorency, Cecil, and Maitland, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 27 March 1952.
7. Allen to Barclay, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 14 March 1952.
8. Aydelotte had initially already planned to travel to Britain for a Quaker conference in Oxford and he agreed to make a trip to London to meet with the Foreign Office beforehand. When his wife died suddenly in June 1952 just after the couple reached Oxford, Aydelotte cancelled those meetings. They were eventually rescheduled weeks later (23 June, 27 June, 7 July) and he left for the United States before the Quaker conference actually took place. The Foreign Office paid for his flight to the UK, out-of-pocket expenses and trains within the UK, and his sea transport back to the US. See: *The National Archives*, T 220/1195.
9. Elton to Allen, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 30 April 1952; See also: Elton to Frank Aydelotte, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 21 April 1952.
10. Aydelotte to Allen, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, April 8, 1952.

11. The records regarding what Aydelotte presented to the Foreign Office and what he presented to Lord Elton appear contradictory. Privately, he promised Elton he would not commit the Rhodes apparatus in any way, though months later and after their meetings, Makins references Aydelotte's help "particularly in the business of selection." It is probable that Aydelotte did not intend to deceive anyone; he may have merely changed his opinion over time. It is also possible that Aydelotte ultimately agreed to help recruit ex-Rhodes Scholars to staff Marshall committees without any formal affiliation to the Rhodes selection process, but this nuance is not caught in Foreign Office records. *See*: Makins to Sir Oliver Franks (Embassy), *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 10 July 1952; Franks to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 22 April 1952; Aydelotte to Allen, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 8 April 1952. Aydelotte to Elton, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 22 April 1952; Record prepared by Alastair George Maitland (Foreign Office) of meeting between Aydelotte, Makins, Barclay, Robert Cecil, and Maitland, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 23 June 1952.

## “Breaking Fresh Ground”

Co-opting the Rhodes Scholarship selection process offered two valuable incentives. The first was financial: if the Marshall Scholarship could use the Rhodes’ selection apparatus, the British government would save money. The Marshall could simply pay an honorarium to Rhodes selection committee members for their extra service, rather than expend time and money setting up a brand new selection process for Marshall Scholars across the USA.<sup>1</sup> “I never understand how, at any bearable cost of time and money, it is possible to select, over that vast and varied country, the best dozen people for anything, with any assurance that you really are getting [*sic*] the best,” wrote Hector Hetherington, Chair of the CVCP and an advisor to the government, to Makins in 1952. “There are obvious disadvantages in using the Rhodes Trust selection mechanism. But it is probably the cheapest: and that is a great thing.”<sup>2</sup>

The second incentive was practical. The British government wanted Marshall Scholars to be future leaders, and the Rhodes administration had proven proficient at selecting them. The Rhodes Scholarship was also already well known and respected in the halls of the UK Foreign Office. When discussions about the Marshall Scholarship reached Churchill’s Cabinet in the summer of 1952, most of the ministers knew the comparative details of the Rhodes Scholarship (age limit, length of tenure, and the type of person it aimed to produce) with few resources at hand.<sup>3</sup>

The Rhodes system also came with drawbacks. First, there were demographic issues. In the 1950s, Rhodes Scholarships were only available to

single men under the age of 25. If a Rhodes Scholar were to marry during his tenure, his scholarship would have been immediately terminated (although exceptions were made for brief periods after World Wars I and II).<sup>4</sup>

The primary architects of the Marshall Scholarship firmly believed the scheme should be open to both men and women under the age of 30. The higher age limit allowed a greater horizon from which to judge applicants, but it also risked a higher number of married candidates. Regarding the treatment of married applicants, there was little gender equality. Married men would be able to apply, but not married women. If a female Marshall Scholar were to marry during her tenure, her scholarship would be terminated, as married women were presumed to be less inclined to continue studies (however, in practice, this policy often proved more lenient).<sup>5</sup>

The second drawback was that Rhodes Scholars were limited in their choice of university. The UK government, proud of its growing number of top institutions and wary of officially sanctioning just one as the sole representative of gratitude for Marshall Aid, scrapped the idea to house Marshall Scholars at Cambridge.<sup>6</sup> The scheme was opened to any institution in the UK.

The final drawback of the Rhodes Scholarship was its limited stipend. When debating what Marshall Scholars would receive, the British government sought the counsel of the CVCP, a body composed of academic administrators across the UK. The committee confirmed that the Rhodes Scholars' stipend, set at £500 per annum, was inadequate for living expenses in the UK (at the time, Rhodes Scholars were expected to supplement their stipend by £50/year with savings of their own or other forms of income).<sup>7</sup> As part of a gift of gratitude to the USA, and with the underlying hope that the Scholarship would contribute to Anglo-American relations, the British government worried that an insufficient sum could put the diplomatic dividends of the program at risk.

The stipend issue became the most significant point of tension between Aydelotte and the British government. Allen and Aydelotte's initial advice that the Marshall supply a higher stipend was offered on the belief that the Rhodes would be able to match it, which it could not.<sup>8</sup> Since the budget of the Rhodes Scholarships was tied to the Rhodes Trust, it did not have the same flexibility that the British government had with public monies. The Rhodes leadership, Lord Elton in particular, worried that a higher Marshall stipend would make that scholarship more attractive and would thus undercut the applicant pool for the Rhodes.<sup>9</sup> During his first meeting with British officials in 1952, on strict instructions and under great

pressure from Lord Elton, Aydelotte went as far as to threaten to cut ties with the Marshall Scholarship if the British increased the stipend beyond £500 per annum, noting that they “would not be able to count on the enthusiastic cooperation of ex-Rhodes Scholars” in such an event.<sup>10</sup>

The Foreign Office, having relied so much on Aydelotte for advice, and still hoping to use the Rhodes selection apparatus, initially acquiesced to his demand. Writing to Sir Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador in Washington, Makins remarked: “Aydelotte has made it clear that an increase upon the Rhodes figure may land us in trouble with the Rhodes people, whose continued goodwill will be important to us, particularly in the business of selection.”<sup>11</sup> The debate never completely resolved, however, and the interchange contributed to a growing distance between the Rhodes leadership and the British.<sup>12</sup>

It is unclear whether the architects of the Marshall Scholarship had always viewed the new scheme as a potential competitor of the Rhodes (as opposed to a different program altogether, as with the Fulbright).<sup>13</sup> If they had, that sentiment was suppressed early on, as officials were wary of stepping on the toes of the Rhodes Scholarship administration. The scope of the initial Marshall Scholarship formulation, limited to just Cambridge and offered to no greater than six students per year, ensured that Marshall Scholars would never outnumber Rhodes Scholars nor usurp their status at Oxford. Toward that end, in 1951, once it was decided that applicants should have a free choice of university in the UK, a Treasury official suggested the new scheme actually exclude Oxford from the application on behalf of the Rhodes.<sup>14</sup>

In mid-1952, the Marshall Scholarship reached a critical turning point in its conceptual development. The language describing the Scholarship morphed from copying the Rhodes to competing with and reforming it. “Grafting the administration on to that of the Rhodes Scholarship,” noted a Treasury official, “was dropped as impracticable, largely because it is important that the Marshall Scholarship scheme should be kept quite distinct.”<sup>15</sup> In a memo to Churchill’s Cabinet dated 28 July 1952, Eden wrote: “One of the main points of the scheme put forward for the Marshall Scholars is that it should not be a copy of the Rhodes scheme. It would break fresh ground.”<sup>16</sup> A few months later, a Foreign Office official in the Cultural Relations Department blocked the possibility of Aydelotte serving on the Marshall Scholar Advisory Council (in Washington, DC). Rhodes Trust representation, he said, would be undesirable “as we shall in a sense be competing with potential Rhodes Scholars in selecting Marshall Scholars.”<sup>17</sup>

Distinctiveness became a priority in realizing the Marshall Scholarship's diplomatic potential. In a meeting with the head of the American Department at the Foreign Office, John Foster, the Secretary to the CVCP, noted that "the central problem" of the scheme was how to distinguish it from the Rhodes and Fulbright Scholarships. "Unless this could be done," he said, "the small number of Marshall Scholars would become absorbed in the large number of other American scholars in [the UK] and the value of our scheme, as a gesture of gratitude for Marshall Aid, would have been largely lost."<sup>18</sup>

Another significant factor in this divergence concerned the Rhodes leadership itself. Aydelotte and Warden Allen were amenable to cooperate with the Marshall administration, but Lord Elton, who sat at the helm of the Rhodes Trust, was more guarded. "We must make it clear that the Rhodes Scholar Selection Committees cannot take on any responsibility for other scholarships," he wrote in 1952. Allen and Aydelotte's overtures to the British caused Elton such consternation that he betrayed their trust and privately advised the entire Rhodes Trust against collaboration while the Marshall was still a confidential government project.<sup>19</sup> Though Aydelotte assured Elton he would not make any commitments on behalf of the Rhodes, the Foreign Office certainly read Aydelotte differently.<sup>20</sup> Elton's otherwise disapproval of Aydelotte's expansion of the administration of the Rhodes award in America added to his uneasiness about the affair.<sup>21</sup> "Frank has rushed excitedly at the thing, as he is apt to do nowadays, and is no doubt delighted at the idea of his beloved Rhodes Scholars being used to run another machine. But I have had too much anxiety over the growing burdens of the American Secretary—not all of them perhaps strictly necessary—not to view the whole project with lively apprehension," Elton confided to Allen.<sup>22</sup> Elton further lodged protests with the Foreign Office about the proposed stipend for Marshalls, and even suggested that they scrap the program altogether to support a reverse exchange for British students in America, to no avail.<sup>23</sup>

Were it not for Elton's swift and surreptitious intervention, collaboration between the two scholarship bodies may have played out differently. Theoretically, the Trustees reserved veto power over the activities of the American Secretary, but Elton feared (and Allen believed) that Aydelotte held sway over their opinion, as he had been the first and only American Secretary since the job was created in 1918. "I have no doubt," Allen wrote to Aydelotte, "that if this preliminary question went to Trustees they would wish, in the first instance, to consult you, and if you were to say that you thought the Rhodes organizations

could deal with the matter the Trustees would doubtless accept that opinion.”<sup>24</sup> Though his back-channel brokerage caused tension with Allen, Elton felt he preserved the integrity of the Trust. Adopting other scholarships like the Marshall were burdens that were best diverted away from the Trust’s attention.

Less than a month after Aydelotte’s visit to London, the intimate partnership between the Rhodes and Marshall administrations came to an abrupt end, and regular communication between the two bodies would not resume for another few years. Aydelotte kept in regular touch with Makins, but he did so as an ex-Rhodes Scholar, not as the American Secretary, as he stepped down from that position in late 1952.<sup>25</sup> Despite the cooling of official relations, the Marshall scheme retained many of Aydelotte’s suggestions. Several core features of the Marshall Scholarship, such as its selection process and criteria, still reflect that early collaboration with the Rhodes administration.<sup>26</sup>

## NOTES

1. See: Hetherington to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 23 May 1952.
2. Hetherington to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 23 May 1952.
3. Author’s inference. See: *The National Archives*, CAB 128/25/21, CAB 128/25/24, CAB 128/25/26, CAB 129/53/44, CAB 129/54/15, CAB 129/10/84, CAB 195/10/84, CAB 195/10/87, CAB 195/10/89. Also, see: Cherwell to Eden, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 1 August 1952.
4. Ziegler, *Legacy*, p. 94, 177. See also: Allen to Maud, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 3 September 1951.
5. Several internal drafts of the program originally read, “A woman scholar who marries any time after now shall automatically have her scholarship terminated, but may be reinstated by the Trustees on producing satisfactory evidence that she will continue her studies.” The final clause was replaced by “on such terms as they think fit.” See: [Untitled drafts], *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 1952. This regulation remained the official line until 1973 (when the rule was abolished after 45 Marshall Scholars petitioned against it), but in practice it proved more lenient. The governing body of the Marshall Scholarship retained the power to reinstate scholarships for married women “on such terms as they [thought] fit.” To this author’s knowledge, no woman who married during her Marshall Scholarship was ever permanently shut out of the program (though count-

- less certainly were prohibited from applying). Although technically their scholarships were terminated upon marriage, the awards were immediately reinstated afterward, though the women were never awarded an increase in stipend like their male counterparts were. In a somewhat complicated twist, the first such case occurred when Susan Long ('57) happened to marry another Marshall Scholar, Tony Quainton ('57) in 1958 (in which case neither received a supplementary marital stipend).
6. *Supra* (chapter 5).
  7. "The Rhodes Scholarships: United States of America, 1952," [Rules for Candidates], *The National Archives*, March 1952, Available in FO 371/97650. *See also*: Cabinet Memorandum by Secretary of State, Anthony Eden, *The National Archives*, CAB 129/53/44, 16 July 1952.
  8. Allen to Barclay, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 14 March 1952; Allen to Barclay letter also available in *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649; Allen to Aydelotte, *The National Archives*, FO 371/9749, 2 April 1952; Elton to Aydelotte, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 21 April 1952.
  9. Advising against cooperation, Elton wrote in 1952: "[The] fact that the new scholarship might be more valuable would be an additional deterrent." Elton to [unknown], *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 17 March 1952.
  10. This was in reference to the selection process. Record prepared by Maitland meeting between Aydelotte, Makins, Barclay, Cecil, and Maitland, FO 371/97650, 23 June 1952.
  11. Makins to Franks, FO 371/97650, 10 July 1952.
  12. *See*: Minutes of meetings with Frank Aydelotte, *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 23 June, 27 June, and 7 July 1952.
  13. In 1951, Makins wrote to Franks, "In making this proposal we are in no way seeking to cut across the Fulbright scheme, from which indeed it will differ considerably (length of scholarship etc.)." *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 29 September 1951.
  14. Minutes of conversation between Makins and Franks (prepared by Curle), *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 28 June 1951.
  15. Minute by A. Johnston (Treasury) *The National Archives*, T 220/1196, 12 May 1953.
  16. Cabinet Memorandum by Secretary of State, Anthony Eden, *The National Archives*, CAB 129/54/15, 28 July 1952.
  17. Comments on a draft white paper by Hainworth, *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 28 February 1953; Aydelotte had been previously considered as a representative on the Advisory Council. *See*: Drafts of White Paper, *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 1952-53.
  18. Notes taken by Cecil on meeting with John Foster (CVCP), *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 25 March 1952.
  19. Allen to Elton, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 12 May 1952.

20. *See: Supra* (Chapter 5).
21. “One of their headaches just now is both the cost and the growing complexity of the American administrator which has expanded so greatly, and in one or two ways, perhaps even excessively, during Frank’s reign.” Elton to Allen, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 4 April 1952; For Aydelotte’s assurance to Elton, *see: Aydelotte to Elton, Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 22 April 1952.
22. Elton to Allen, *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 30 April 1952.
23. Elton to Barclay, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 29 July 1952.
24. Allen to Aydelotte, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97649, 2 April 1952.
25. Aydelotte’s son, William, a historian, interestingly served on (and chaired) a Marshall Selection committee from 1956-1961. *See: Annual Reports of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission for the years ending 1956–1961, United States No. 1 (1957-1962) Cmnds. 167, 433, 753, 1042, 1372, 1659, London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957-1962.* For post-1952 communication between Aydelotte and Makins, *see: The National Archives*, FO 371/97651.
26. “I took pains to suggest that certain limitations we have experienced with the Rhodes Scholarship should be eradicated,” Aydelotte recalled in: “The American Scholarships: Post-War Changes,” in Lord Elton (ed.), *The first fifty years of the Rhodes Trust and the Rhodes Scholarships 1903-1953*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955, p. 211, Accessed May 2014, Available: <http://www.archive.org/stream/firstfiftyyearso013455mbp#page/n9/mode/2up>. The Foreign Office recorded Aydelotte’s suggestions to bypass state-level selection and admit scholars on a regional basis (he recommended the first four regional centers be New Orleans, San Francisco, New York, and Chicago), include a greater age range than the Rhodes (20-30 instead of under 25), eschew quotas for Cambridge (or other universities), and that membership of selection committees consist partly of former Scholars. *See: Minutes prepared by Maitland meeting between Aydelotte, Makins, Barlay, Cecil, and Maitland, FO 371/97650, 23 June 1952.*

## Command 8846

Although Prime Minister Attlee and Chancellor Gaitskell had given Makins' proposal their blessing in August of 1951, the incumbent Labour Party (of which Attlee and Gaitskell were a part) lost its slim majority merely 2 months later in the October election. For any public announcement about the Scholarship, the proposal would need new Cabinet approval under Churchill's Conservative government.

Makins understood the exigencies of the legislative and political process. He worried that if too much time were to transpire after Marshall Aid, British politicians would be less likely to pass a bill awarding scholarships in its honor. He wanted the scheme announced publicly before the summer recess, and he was insistent that it happen before a change of administration in the USA, which was holding an election on 4 November 1952.<sup>1</sup> Makins had a close friendship with Secretary Acheson, and the British government generally had deep ties with the Democratic Party, which had held the White House for the two previous decades. A new Republican leadership would have meant starting relationships from scratch. "Personalities might change," Makins warned in 1951.<sup>2</sup> In early 1953, Makins outlined other concerns in a letter to Eden in London, recounting Churchill's visit to President-Elect Dwight D. Eisenhower and soon-to-be Secretary of State John Foster Dulles:

[Churchill] then warned us emphatically that the new American Administration would not be prepared to take the same positive lead in international affairs or take the same risks in foreign policy which the Democrats had been

willing to do. We were entering a period of comparative quiescence in American initiative... He himself remarked that we would have been better off with a Stevenson victory and with the continuance [*sic*] in power of the men with whom we have been through so much together.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the Republican Party platform that in actuality seemed anything but isolationist, Makins and the Foreign Office worried that a change in US administration could also result in a less appreciative reception to the British gesture of gratitude.<sup>4</sup>

Makins and Eden sought to move as quickly as possible before any political upheavals shifted the landscape. Eden drafted a memorandum for a Cabinet meeting on 22 July 1952 to secure official approval. Once approved, Eden was to announce the Scholarship publicly through a planned dialogue with former Deputy Prime Minister and Labour MP (Member of Parliament) Herbert Morrison in a session of the House of Commons. Morrison was briefed by the Foreign Office to ask Eden what the UK would be doing to commemorate America's generosity with Marshall Aid.

Cabinet discussions surrounding the Marshall Scholarship were short but heated. Controversial topics, as within Foreign Office debates, included the familiar issues of age limit, stipend amount, and the marital status of candidates. After three separate Cabinet meetings, although all of the issues had not been completely resolved, the Cabinet approved of the scheme in principle, which gave Eden the green light to move forward ("in such a way that no details at all are revealed") in Parliament through his dialogue with Morrison.<sup>5</sup> Eden thus kept the announcement vague and deferred all questions to a later date:

Her Majesty's Government have decided to give effect to the proposal of the late Government to express the United Kingdom's gratitude for this generous and far-sighted programme for European recovery by founding at British universities 12 scholarships to be competed for annually by United States students. These scholarships will be open to men and women and will be tenable at any British university. General Marshall has agreed that these scholarships shall be known as "Marshall Scholarships." The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom has promised its full co-operation in giving effect to this scheme. Further particulars will be announced in due course and Parliament will be asked to make the necessary financial provision.<sup>6</sup>

As expected, the announcement garnered widespread media attention across the UK and USA. In response, the US State Department issued the following statement:

The generous offer made by the British Government is received with sincere appreciation and gratitude by the Government of the United States. It is not only a splendid expression of British friendship for the United States, but is also one more important step in furtherance of mutual understanding between our two countries.<sup>7</sup>

Upon the announcement of the scheme, Foreign Office and Treasury officials spent the next year scrambling to draft a white paper that would form the blueprint for the program. The yet-unresolved Cabinet debates needed to be reconciled, and budget specifics had to be established.

The Cabinet's first debates with the scheme concerned the age limit for application, which the Foreign Office had set to 30. Members worried that the impact of the scholarship might be dulled if the American participants were too old, as older students were less likely to take part in university "corporate life."<sup>8</sup> This sentiment was best represented in a lengthy personal letter Lord Cherwell, Paymaster-General and member of Churchill's Cabinet, sent to Anthony Eden. Mixing with undergraduates, Cherwell argued, was the best way for Americans to get to know the British way of life and mentality. Older students would not get to know a cross-section of the British populace, but instead an academic fraction.<sup>9</sup> Eden, however, was firm in his beliefs that the Marshall Scholarship should differ from Rhodes, and that age limit was a potential distinguishing factor. He conceded to lower the age limit to 28, which was still 3 years higher than the Rhodes limit.<sup>10</sup>

An older applicant pool, as noted, also implied a higher likelihood of married Scholars. In 1950, the median age of an American man at his first marriage was 24 (compared to about 28.5 in 2010).<sup>11</sup> The arguments opposing the prospect of married applicants were similar to those made in favor of lowering the age limit. Married men were thought to be less likely to take part in university life to the same extent as single men, thereby limiting the impact of the British experience. One disgruntled Cabinet member named Harry F. Comfort Crookshank, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, was downright hostile. "Wives are a real nuisance," he explained. "Express a preference for single men."<sup>12</sup>

Eden asserted an explicit ban on married candidates was outdated,<sup>13</sup> and also noted the strategic benefit that, “with each married man you will be getting two Scholars instead of one.”<sup>14</sup> Even the prime minister asked him to limit the number of married candidates,<sup>15</sup> however, so Eden compromised once more. There would be no outright exclusion of married applicants, but he would communicate a preference for single candidates to the Marshall Scholar selection committees. The decreased age limit, he added, would naturally restrict the number of married men.

The final sticking point, controversial since the Foreign Office’s earliest collaboration with the Rhodes Scholarship, was the stipend amount. The Cabinet felt that the Marshall stipend should not exceed that of the Rhodes.<sup>16</sup> However, Eden contended that the differences between the Marshall and Rhodes schemes justified such a pay discrepancy. The earning potential and spending needs of older students would naturally be higher, and the CVCP had already deemed the Rhodes yearly stipend of £500 inadequate. Sir Oliver Franks, Her Majesty’s Ambassador to the USA, contended, “It would make very bad sense to start off a thank you effort with an insufficient stipend: in fact, it would destroy much of the good effect.”<sup>17</sup> Some deference also had to be paid to the Rhodes Scholarship administration, though, which aggressively objected to a Marshall stipend of £600. Eden therefore decided to set the Marshall stipend at £550, with an extra £50 allocated for each scholar in case of emergency or special need. The Marshall would also pay for transatlantic voyages to and from the UK, something the Rhodes Scholarship at that time did not cover.<sup>18</sup>

Upon resolving the Cabinet debates, the Foreign Office focused its energies on the logistics and machinery of the Scholarship administration. Although officials knew the model would roughly imitate the Rhodes’ in selection and administration, few specific details had been hammered out. The process involved enormous coordination with the Treasury Department. It ultimately led to the publication of the White Paper, “Proposed Arrangements for the Administration of the Marshall Scholarship Scheme: Cmd 8846 (1953),” which Eden presented to Parliament in May 1953.

The initial proposal to fund the Marshall Scholarship was to start a £300,000 endowment, “a sum that would sound like something to an American ear.”<sup>19</sup> This arrangement, which mirrored the Rhodes Trust, would have theoretically ensured support ad infinitum from accrued interest. However, the idea gained little traction among government officials. One wondered “whether it [would be] wise to commit ourselves in a time

of rapidly changing prices to a fixed endowment which, once made, we [would] not want to increase.” The proposal was soon abandoned.<sup>20</sup>

The issue of funding then became a question of oversight. Treasury officials outlined two options: either the Foreign Office directly manage the program with public monies from Parliament or it establish a Trust to be overseen by an ad hoc non-departmental public body (NDPB).<sup>21</sup> The former ran the risk of ministerial liability. As the head of the department, the Secretary of State could technically be called by Parliament to answer questions about day-to-day operations of the program (potentially “embarrassing,” the Treasury advised), which the latter plan avoided.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, an NDPB, because it would be funded by so-called Grant-in-Aid, a type of grant delivered by annual request, would have greater independence over funds from Parliament (although it would still be accountable to the Comptroller and Auditor-General). The Foreign Office, on the advice of Treasury colleagues, opted to establish an NDPB. For further flexibility, officials included neither a time stamp nor a specific budget in the bill, to avoid another potentially “embarrassing” (and recurring) debate about how much America’s generosity was worth.<sup>23</sup> Enshrining the bill in an Act of Parliament, finally, ensured permanence, as it would take either an Act of Parliament or a very public refusal of funds to undo the program. Writing to the Leader of the House of Commons in 1952, Eden noted: “It has been decided in consultation with the Treasury that the best method of financing these scholarships is through a Grant-in-Aid on the Foreign Office Vote. Since it is essential to the continuation of the scheme that there should be no risk of failing to obtain the necessary money each year, I feel it is necessary that legislation should be enacted to give the continuing authority for payment.”<sup>24</sup>

The program’s NDPB was named the “Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission” (MACC), which, acting as a Board of Directors, would administer annual funds allocated by Grant-in-Aid for twelve 2-year scholarships, each extendable for a third year. The day-to-day operations of the scheme were to be managed by a separate apparatus in London called the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth (known today as the Association of Commonwealth Universities, or the ACU). Another British official, the Ambassador in Washington, would direct regional selection committees (organized by the consulates-general) headquartered in San Francisco, Chicago, New Orleans, and New York. Selection committees would review, interview, and recommend candidates to the Ambassador in the fall every year. The Ambassador, in turn, would finalize a list of candidates

with a central Advisory Council composed of Americans. The list would then be sent to London for formal approval by the MACC. Candidates would be notified in the spring of the following year.<sup>25</sup>

As for the selection of candidates, the white paper outlined general guidelines for the selection committees, invoking General Marshall himself:

In appointing Marshall scholars the selectors will look for distinction of intellect and character as evidenced both by their scholastic attainment and by their other activities and achievements. Preference will be given to candidates who combine high academic ability with the capacity to play an active part in the life of the United Kingdom university to which they go. A Marshall scholar, as the possessor of a keen intellect and a broad outlook, would be thought of as a person who would contribute to the aims which General Marshall had in mind when, speaking at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 5th of June, 1947, of economic assistance for Europe, he said "An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibilities which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties... can, and will, be overcome."<sup>26</sup>

The bill was approved by Parliament and became a formal Act of Parliament, "The Marshall Aid Commemoration Act of 1953," on 31 July 1953.

Once the bill passed, the final step was staffing. In composing a team, the Foreign Office sought a few key individuals who were already invested in and committed to the scheme. The first Chair of the MACC was Sir Oliver Franks, who had been closely consulted on Marshall matters since 1951 in his position as Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington. As an 'Executive Secretary' to the MACC to oversee day-to-day operations, the Foreign Office recruited Dr. John Foster, previously the Secretary to the CVCP and recently appointed Secretary-General of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth.<sup>27</sup> He too had been an informal advisor to the Foreign Office on the Scholarship since 1951. For a small fee, the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth agreed to allow Foster, as Secretary-General, and his assistant to help manage the Marshall scheme.<sup>28</sup> Sir Roger Makins was selected as the UK Ambassador to the USA in 1953, and was to serve as the central node for all US-related Marshall affairs.

Together, Franks, Foster, and Makins oversaw the Scholarship during its first few critical years. Following the Rhodes model, they filled the ranks of selection committees and the Advisory Council in Washington with high-profile and prominent Americans, such as Gordon Gray (former Secretary of the Army and Special Assistant to Truman), Walter Gifford (President of AT&T), Wallace Sterling (President of Stanford University), Detlev Bronk (President of Johns Hopkins University), Grayson Kirk (President of Columbia University), and Stanley Marcus (President of Nieman Marcus). These individuals reviewed and interviewed the first group of 12 Marshall Scholars, who were welcomed by a throng of BBC journalists upon their arrival to the UK's shores on the *Queen Elizabeth* on 4 October 1954.

## NOTES

1. Notes from meeting between Makins, Barclay, et al., *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 7 May 1952.
2. Record of meeting between Makins, Hetherington, and Hale, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 27 September 1951.
3. Makins to Eden, Papers of Lord Sherfield, *Bodleian Library Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts*, Oxford University, E.4.2a (Official Correspondence and Papers, 1952-6) MS. Sherfield 525 (Official Correspondence 1953-6), 9 January 1953.
4. "We shall not allow ourselves to be isolated." Reproduced by John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, "The American Presidency Project: Republican Party Platform of 1952," *University of California – Santa Barbara*, 7 July 1952 (original), Accessed May 2014, Available: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25837>.
5. Cecil, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 29 July 1952.
6. "European Recovery Program (Marshall Scholarships)," House of Commons, *Hansard*, 31 July 1952.
7. "U.S. Expresses Gratitude for Marshall Scholarships," United States Information Service Daily Wireless Bulletin No. 1939, found in FO 371/97651, 1 August 1952.
8. Cabinet Meeting Conclusions, *The National Archives*, CAB 128/25/21, 22 July 1952.
9. Cherwell to Eden, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 1 August 1952.
10. Cabinet Meeting Conclusions, *The National Archives*, CAB 128/25/26, 7 August 1952.

11. Diana B. Elliott et al, "Historical Marriage Trends from 1890-2010," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, San Francisco, CA, May 3-5, 2012, American Community Survey Data on Marriage and Divorce, U.S. Census Bureau, Department of Commerce, Accessed May 2014, Available: <https://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/marriage/data/acs/ElliottetalPAA2012figs.pdf>.
12. Notes from Cabinet Meeting, *The National Archives*, CAB 195/10/89, 7 August 1952.
13. Wrote Eden: "[The] conclusion was reached that the status of women and married men at Universities had changed since Mr. Rhodes' will was made and that it would now be difficult to justify their exclusion." Cabinet Memorandum, CAB 129/54/15, 28 July 1952.
14. Quotes Aydelotte. Eden to Cherwell, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 6 August 1952.
15. Notes from Cabinet Meeting, *The National Archives*, CAB 195/10/89, 7 August 1952.
16. "Give no more money," Lord Cherwell said in the first cabinet discussion. Notes from Cabinet Meeting, *The National Archives*, CAB 195/10/84, 22 July 1952.
17. Franks to Makins, *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 14 July 1952.
18. Neal Stanford, "Marshall Scholars," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 January 1960.
19. Makins to Sir (Edwin) Alan Hitchman (Treasury), *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 19 April 1951.
20. Playfair to Hale, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 4 June 1951.
21. See: Sir (Philip) Stuart Milner-Barry (Treasury) to O. Williams (Treasury) *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 14 July 1952.
22. Memo by R. Pimley (Treasury) "C. (52) 244," *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 21 July 1952.
23. Williams to Rigby (Treasury), *The National Archives*, T 220/1195, 27 April 1953.
24. Eden to Harry Frederick Comfort Crookshank (MP and House of Commons), *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 9 March 1953.
25. This process has since changed. Today, candidates are selected and notified annually in November by selection committees in 8 different regions (Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Washington, DC). Selections are later confirmed by the MACC. For more information, see: "Marshall Scholarships," *Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission*, Available: <http://www.marshallscholarship.org/>.

26. "Proposed Arrangements for the Administration of the Marshall Scholarship Scheme: United States No. 2 (1953) Cmd 8846," Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953, contained in *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 1953.
27. Today the position of Executive Secretary to the MACC is held by the Deputy Secretary-General of the ACU, John Kirkland.
28. Charles Morris, the Chair of the CVCP, and Philip Morris, the Vice-Chair of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, were appointed ex-officio members of the MACC.

PART II

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Opinion Formers

## Marshall “Scholars”

“Ball lightning” describes a curious natural phenomenon wherein a compact, glowing orb of light hangs in the air for up to several minutes. The globes typically hover just above the ground and move at a pace of only a few miles an hour. The phenomena have been observed to tumble right out of the sky and to pass through closed windows. A sighting was once even reported inside of an airplane.<sup>1</sup> So far, scientists have only managed faint reproductions of ball lightning in laboratories; natural occurrences remain poorly understood. While to most of us fantastical and otherworldly, ball lightning has also served as the everyday work of Marshall Scholar J. Pace VanDevender’s (’69) life as a plasma physicist.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after earning his PhD in 1974 from Imperial College London, VanDevender joined Sandia National Laboratories, a major US government nuclear research lab. Working on pulsed power sciences and fusion research (and ball lightning), he spent the majority of his career at Sandia, ultimately serving as its Chief Scientific Officer for the lab’s nuclear weapons program, as well as its Vice-President of Science, Technology, and Partnerships.<sup>3</sup>

The directory of Marshall Scholars is full of academics and research scientists like VanDevender. Over 60 % of Scholars from the first decade of the Scholarship spent the majority of their professional lives in higher education and research, and the proportion jumps to 70 % when part-career academics are factored in.<sup>4</sup> Those first 10 years of approximately 160 Scholars produced eventual Guggenheim Fellows, MacArthur Fellows,

university presidents, chancellors, and deans, and one intrepid individual who managed to collect three separate PhDs.<sup>5</sup>

“Marshall scholars are basically chosen by five U.S. regional committees, with the stress mainly on intellectual promise,” *Time* magazine reported in 1963.<sup>6</sup> Those who performed the best academically, the logic follows, were more likely to consider research or academia as a career. “Marshall Selection Committees have traditionally chosen future academics... because, inevitably, we have to select those candidates who are most accomplished at the point in their lives when we judge them,” selection committee notes read from the mid-1970s.<sup>7</sup> The sharp focus on academic qualification began with the drafting of the 1953 White Paper, the blueprint of the Scholarship, when “scholastic attainment” became the paramount consideration for selection criteria.

In mid-1952, in determining the structure of the Scholarship, Sir Roger Makins solicited the advice and support of Sir Maurice Bowra, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. “The vital thing,” Bowra wrote back, “is to see that the standard of the Scholars is from the start as high as possible. Otherwise, the Colleges may be unwilling to take them, as was the case of the first Fulbright Scholars, who were selected in a random and haphazard way.”<sup>8</sup> In another letter, Bowra reiterated the importance of scholarly performance: “If the scholarships are to be mainly for postgraduate work the stress should be primarily on academic and not on athletic achievement.”<sup>9</sup>

A few months later, the Foreign Office called for a meeting with the Vice-Chancellor of the University of London and the Registrars of Oxford and Cambridge, all of whom echoed Bowra’s sentiments. “They did not consider we laid quite enough emphasis on scholars in the classical sense of the word, that is first-class brains... The Sub-Committee thought our definition at present gave too much encouragement to genial all-rounders,” recorded Henry Hainworth, a Foreign Office official.<sup>10</sup>

Hainworth forwarded his note to Jack W. Nicholls, a Treasury official, who then wrote to Anthony Nutting MP, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, “I think there is some substance in the Sub Committee’s comment on intellectual standards... I think we might amend the regulation accordingly.”<sup>11</sup> By this time, Makins had left for Washington, DC, to be the next British ambassador, and the reins had fallen to Hainworth and Nicholls to see the program through Parliament.<sup>12</sup> As the white paper coalesced over the ensuing 6 months, “first-class brains” and similar locutions were added to the draft. When the paper went to press, academic accomplishment remained the only concrete criterion for selection.

Scholars additionally had to exhibit distinction of “character” as evidenced by “other activities” and display “the capacity to play an active part in the life of the United Kingdom universities” to which they went, but those requirements were more easily left open to interpretation.<sup>13</sup>

The Marshall scheme’s older age limit further contributed to the early trend of academia and research-bound Marshall alumni. In the 1950s, the British perceived American undergraduate degrees to be less rigorous than their own. British students entered college (and still do) with predetermined majors. It was therefore believed that British students finished their undergraduate studies in three years with more focused expertise than their American counterparts, who could float between subject areas for four. “The first two years at most American universities are little more than what we consider fifth and sixth class school work,” the Warden of the Rhodes House wrote in 1951, analogizing American college to British high school.<sup>14</sup>

Young American graduates who wished to study in the UK, especially scholarship winners, routinely applied for second bachelor’s degrees, which they had to complete in 2 years rather than three.<sup>15</sup> Of the first seven classes of Marshall graduates, a comparatively large proportion earned postgraduate degrees (over half), in contrast to 25–30 % of their contemporaries on the Rhodes Scholarship.<sup>16</sup> Not only were Marshalls who undertook postgraduate study in Britain more likely to become academics than those who undertook a second undergraduate degree, but also of those who did postgraduate work, academia was by far the favored career track.<sup>17</sup>

Students who applied for postgraduate study tended to be more entrenched in their fields. These included individuals like Tom Everhart (’55), who, upon his arrival in Britain, had already worked full-time as a science researcher, and had earned a master’s degree in applied physics from University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). After years in academia, Everhart became a university administrator, ultimately becoming President of Caltech from 1987 to 1997.

Educating members of the intellectual vanguard of the USA has undoubtedly held geopolitical value for the UK. A strong tradition in higher education has long been considered a benchmark of a country’s soft power, and educational exchange further serves that end. Britain would have a robust university system with or without Marshall Scholars participating in it, but the prestige of the Marshall Scholarship amplifies the visibility and weight of a British education in America. Its association

with some of America's most accomplished academics across all fields of study broadens this perception.

The Scholarship has built active transatlantic ties between institutions as well.<sup>18</sup> For the first 50 years of the program, some 14 % of Marshall Scholars primarily in academia have returned to the UK as visiting or full-time professors during their careers.<sup>19</sup> They have been faculty at the more well-known universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, as well as universities in Northumbria, Belfast, Cardiff, East Anglia, Brighton, Leeds, Glasgow, Newcastle, and Aberdeen. Scores more have delivered one-off lectures, participated in British conferences, collaborated with UK contemporaries, and contributed to British academic journals. And some, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) materials science professor, Linn Hobbs, have begun undergraduate exchange programs with peer institutions in Britain. At Hobbs' initiative, 20 % of the students in his department now study abroad in England at Oxford and Cambridge. Last year, he added Imperial College to the mix, and the exchange program has since grown to involve eight departments at MIT (and 20 students yearly in each direction).<sup>20</sup>

To further transatlantic links in the sciences, the MACC began administering one annual postdoctoral award to mark the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan in 1998. The new fellowship, the Marshall Sherfield Fellowship, is funded by a private endowment within the Marshall Sherfield Fellowship Foundation, set up by Makins' son, Christopher Makins. So far, the program has funded about 20 postdoctoral scientists and engineers, the vast majority of whom have followed an academic path.<sup>21</sup>

To a lesser degree, Marshall Scholars have also promoted the study of British culture and history in American classrooms.<sup>22</sup> Marshall academics include a leading biographer of Charles Darwin, a Tolkien scholar based in South Carolina, a Romanticist at the US Military Academy at West Point, and well over a dozen Shakespeare academics scattered across North America. One Scholar, Betsy Wallace, is the current President of the DH Lawrence Society of North America, and another, Wm. Roger Louis, is one of the world's foremost authorities on Anglo-American diplomatic history, having served both as editor-in-chief of the four-volume *Oxford History of the British Empire* and as President of the American Historical Association.<sup>23</sup> The Marshall Scholarship may not have initiated any of these academic interests, but it arguably gave them a greater opportunity to flourish. One Scholar noted in 1974 during her tenure, "Living in England close to the manuscript sources and with so many

physical reminders of the nineteenth century has added immeasurably to my understanding of and enthusiasm for the subject."<sup>24</sup> Another Scholar wrote, "As I now teach comparative politics to American and foreign graduate students, this knowledge of the details of the functioning of the UK system has been invaluable to me in teaching better about the debates on the character of participatory democracy and the role of parties in parliamentary systems."<sup>25</sup>

Active Marshall academics' subject areas range from astrology to zoology (the Marshall counts one Haitian Voodoo priestess-cum-academic among its alumni). One in nine Marshall academics has become a director, dean, chancellor, and/or university president.<sup>26</sup> Led by Harvard University, which currently employs a staggering 9 % of active, full-time Marshall academics,<sup>27</sup> almost every eminent public university, private university, and liberal arts college in the nation hosts a few Marshall Scholars on staff. The same goes for major government-sponsored laboratories and research institutions like the Jet Propulsion Laboratory at Caltech, NASA, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and the Sandia, Los Alamos, Lawrence Berkeley, Oak Ridge, and Argonne National Laboratories.

Not only has this corps of academics and research scientists educated generations of Americans, but also its reach and recognition often extend beyond classrooms and laboratories to the world at large. Harvard stem cell researcher Doug Melton ('75), for example, has twice been named one of *Time* Magazine's 100 Most Influential People in the World, and CDC director and virologist Nancy Cox ('70) was similarly recognized in 2006 for her work to control the spread of avian influenza.<sup>28</sup> Roger Tsien ('72) was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 2008, Graham Allison ('62) is a world-renowned political scientist (and Founding Dean of the Harvard Kennedy School), and hundreds of others have received international awards, society memberships, and fellowships for their distinguished work.

## NOTES

1. "Great Balls of Fire!: Ball Lightning," *The Economist*, 27 March 2008, Accessed May 2014, Available: <http://www.economist.com/node/10918140>. "Ask the Experts," *Scientific American*, 18 July 1997, Accessed May 2014, Available: <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/periodically-i-hear-stori/>.
2. [Lecture description and bio], *Sandia National Laboratories*, Accessed May 2014, Available: [http://www.sandia.gov/AAAS-SWARM/pdfs/Fiesta\\_830-10\\_Saturday.pdf](http://www.sandia.gov/AAAS-SWARM/pdfs/Fiesta_830-10_Saturday.pdf).

3. National Research Council, *Innovation Policies for the 21st Century: Report of a Symposium*, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2007, p. 190, Accessed July 2014, Available: [http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record\\_id=11852&page=190](http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=11852&page=190); Wal Thornhill, "The IEEE, Plasma Cosmology and Extreme Ball Lightning," *Holoscience*, 30 June 2006, Accessed July 2014, Available: <http://www.holoscience.com/wp/the-ieee-plasma-cosmology-and-extreme-ball-lightning/>.
4. See: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
5. University leadership at the following institutions: University of Illinois, Denison, Mt. Holyoke, American University, University of California Santa Barbara, Duke, Wellesley, Cooper Union, Cornell, Stanford, Yale, Harvard, Boston University, the Pratt Institute, Caltech, and Magdalen College, Oxford.
6. "Today's Marshall Plan," *Time*, 8 March 1963, p. 26.
7. [Interview notes], *1976 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission.
8. Sir Maurice Bowra (Oxford) to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 15 July 1952.
9. It is unclear whether this was intended as a knock on the Rhodes Scholarship, as it may suggest, since this was the first mention of athletics in their communication. Most Rhodes Scholars at the time undertook second undergraduate degrees. Bowra to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650., 25 July 1952.
10. Minutes prepared by Hainworth, *The National Archives*, FO 924/996, 15 January 1953. Dr. John Foster was also present at the meeting. Although Foster was just an advisor to the Foreign Office at the time, he would be tapped to lead the Marshall Scholarship the following year, a post he held for the first 18 years of the Scholarship. Foster's agreement with Bowra and his contemporaries may have thus additionally fueled the Marshall's academic focus in its first decades.
11. Jack W. Nicholls (Treasury) to Anthony Nutting (Parliament and Foreign Office), *The National Archives*, FO 924/996, 26 January 1953.
12. Hainworth drafted the first white paper of the Act establishing the Scholarship. See: *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028.
13. "Proposed Arrangements for the Administration of the Marshall Scholarship Scheme: United States No. 2 (1953) Cmd 8846," Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953, contained in *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 1953.
14. Allen to Maud, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 3 Sept 3 1951.
15. A small number of Rhodes Scholars still undertake second undergraduate degrees, but since 2005, the Marshall Scholarship has stopped the practice.
16. "Degrees Obtained by Marshall Scholars and American Rhodes Scholars 1956-62," *Rhodes House, Oxford*, RT 3096, 1963.

17. The MACC now administers a post-doctoral award once every two years, but the inaugural "Marshall Sherfield Fellowship" did not commence until 1998.
18. As one British professor writes, "The awards have also helped us build relationships with key institutions in the States." "Triennial Review Report: Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, July 2013," *Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, July 2013, p. 13, Accessed October 2013, Available: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/215692/MACC\\_review.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/215692/MACC_review.pdf).
19. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
20. Author interview with Linn Hobbs, 4 March 2014.
21. The Marshall-Sherfield Fellowship was initially supported by the UK government as well, but today is it fully funded by a private endowment. Nicholas T. Hartman ('03) and Adam Giangreco (Marshall Sherfield '04), "The Other Marshall," *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, March 2012, p. 8, Online, Accessed 30 August 2015, Available: [http://www.marshallscholarship.org/uploads/March\\_2012\\_Newsletter](http://www.marshallscholarship.org/uploads/March_2012_Newsletter).
22. Roughly 10% of academics do British-oriented work. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
23. Louis additionally co-edited a landmark work on Anglo-American relations, *The Special Relationship: Anglo-American Relations Since 1945*, with the famed historian Hedley Bull.
24. Anonymous annual reflection, *1974 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, Sept 1974.
25. Jay Kubler and Sabina Ebbols, "Report on the 2007 Marshall Scholarships Evaluation," *Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission*, June 2008.
26. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
27. 17% of all Marshall academics have taught at Harvard at some point in their careers. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
28. To dispel any conspiracy theories, these were awarded prior to Nancy Gibbs ('82) becoming Managing Editor of the magazine.

## Governance

The Burns Supper, held every January, is a cultural celebration of Scotland's national and historic bard Robert Burns. Traditionally accompanied by a small army of bagpipers, the Supper's chef publicly presents, addresses, and toasts the crown culinary jewel of the evening: a savory mélange of sheep heart, liver, and lungs cooked to perfection in the sheep's stomach for over 3 hours. This musical oration is known as "Piping in the Haggis." Following a dinner of haggis, "neeps," and "tatties"<sup>1</sup> is the entertainment portion of the evening, which includes poetry recitations and Scottish country dance.

For most nonnatives, such Suppers are a unique window into an unfamiliar set of cultural traditions. For Tony Quainton ('55), however, who possesses not a drop of Scottish blood in his veins, Burns Suppers instead represented an opportunity to showcase his dancing prowess. In the mid-1950s, Quainton and his wife Susan ('57) (together, the first Marshall Scholar couple) joined the Scottish Country Dance Society at Oxford. After graduating, they took their passion abroad. They danced at Burns Suppers and other British Embassy and community events while Quainton served in the State Department as an ambassador, as Coordinator for Counterterrorism, and ultimately, as the Director-General of the Foreign Service under President Clinton.

"We did Scottish country dance in Kuwait and Pakistan... We even joined a few groups while we were in DC," Quainton recalls. His love of Scottish country dance and his familiarity with British customs affected

his diplomacy. “I looked much more easily and confidently to British counterparts in the Foreign Service and especially as Coordinator for Counterterrorism under Carter when I had lots of interaction with the Mi5 and Mi6 station chiefs,” he says. “[The Marshall] changed the way I did business.” Growing up with an English father certainly helped, but Quainton attributes much of his understanding of the British system to his three years as a postgraduate at Oxford: “that would not have happened if it were not for the Marshall.”<sup>2</sup>

Quainton represents the second major trend of graduates in the first decade of the Scholarship, when over 24 % of Marshall Scholars served in government at some point in their careers.<sup>3</sup> Over time, this group has increasingly overlapped with the striking number of lawyers the Marshall Scholarship has produced,<sup>4</sup> but in the beginning, most were either career bureaucrats like Quainton or cycling academics, like Richard Cooper ('56), a contemporary of Quainton's. Cooper's career tracked the broader unfolding of the postwar global economic order led by the USA and its European allies. He witnessed and participated in the economic summits that shaped European economic integration and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, advising almost every successive presidential administration since John F. Kennedy's in the process.<sup>5</sup> Like Quainton, his repeated interactions with Europeans, especially with the British, were made with a familiarity bred by his academic training and exposure to British life as a Marshall Scholar.<sup>6</sup>

The State Department is perhaps the most salient case study for the Marshall Scholarship's high-level diplomacy at work. While Marshall Scholars in government do not operate in any group capacity as such, it is no small advantage to the UK that over 50 Marshall Scholars have served in the government's primary diplomatic branch, especially because so many of them assume leadership roles.<sup>7</sup> From 2011 to 2014, for instance, the State Department's Deputy Secretary was Bill Burns ('78), a career Foreign Service officer who also served as the American Ambassador to Russia and Jordan. At the tail end of Obama's first administration, Burns was joined by three other Marshall Scholars who held top appointments in the Department: Kurt Campbell ('80), Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Dan Benjamin ('83), Coordinator for Counterterrorism (a successor of Quainton's), and Harold Koh ('75), Legal Advisor.

The near-simultaneous appointments of Burns, Campbell, Benjamin, and Koh, Burns recalls, “was more circumstance than anything else.”<sup>8</sup>

Once they began serving, however, their Marshall affiliation added common ground to their professional relationships. For Burns and Campbell, it even implied a mutually familiar academic perspective on international relations. Both studied (and overlapped for a year) under the supervision of one of Britain's greatest International Relations academics, Hedley Bull.<sup>9,10</sup> Bull founded the so-called English School of International Relations theory, which stresses the importance of ideas and norms in international politics more than the prevailing school of Realism.<sup>11</sup>

Another effect of the Scholarship has been a lasting appreciation among Scholars toward the UK and its cultural mores. "You can't live in a place for the better part of 3 years and not get a better sense of it, as well as an affection and affinity for it, warts and all," Burns says.<sup>12</sup> Koh, in an address to a group of departing Scholars in 2011, remarked: "I saw a world I had never known, and then returned to the US to see the American world through new eyes. And so it is little surprise that over the years, some of my closest academic colleagues have been British colleagues. Today, some of my closest diplomatic friends are British diplomats."<sup>13</sup> Campbell notes that many of the British officials he communicated with as Assistant Secretary of State were fellow students he met as a Marshall.<sup>14</sup>

Fewer politicians stock the alumni list than career civil servants and appointees, but the trend of Marshalls in politics is slightly on the rise, as is the number of Marshalls seeking law degrees after their scholarship tenure.<sup>15</sup> The Marshall political roster features a range of federal, state, and district elected officials. Former Arizona governor and Democrat Bruce Babbitt ('60) entered the presidential race in 1988, and in the same election cycle, another Marshall, Paul Brontas ('54), chaired the national campaign for the ultimate Democratic nominee, Michael Dukakis.

Outside of electoral politics, one would be hard-pressed to find a US government department that has not hosted a Marshall Scholar, as the Scholarship has been represented in every White House administration since Kennedy's in 1961. Marshalls have held White House appointments as presidential and vice-presidential advisors, confidants, speechwriters, and as members of the National Security and Economic Councils. They have also held senior federal appointments within the Intelligence Community and the Treasury, Defense, Justice, Labor, Commerce, Homeland Security, and Transportation Departments. Two have served in Presidential cabinets, and a third, curiously, served as Bolivia's Energy Secretary. Today, high-ranking Marshalls in government include a Supreme Court justice, a senior curator at the National Gallery of Art, the

Deputy Director of Communications at the White House, and the Deputy Director of Astrophysics at NASA.<sup>16</sup>

Since the 1950s, Scholars have gone on to serve in all branches of the US military, though they numbered few until the Vietnam War. The Military Selective Service Act of 1967 and the following draft greatly impacted the program, as several Scholars each year were unable to take up their scholarships on account of their service obligation (many were able to defer their scholarships, but some were not). However, it was not until Doman “Dobie” McArthur’s award in 1982 that a graduate from a US service academy (in McArthur’s case, the Naval Academy) won a scholarship. Accepting financial support from a foreign government was initially an obstacle for the academies, but once the Scholarship’s reputation had been established and top military brass began championing such opportunities, the rules loosened.<sup>17</sup> Today, the military academies are among the most successful schools in the Marshall competition. Not all academy recipients stay within the military for their careers—some eventually elect paths in business, law, nonprofit work, and even civilian government service—but many have become career officers, Navy SEALs, Army Rangers, Green Berets, military physicians, and decorated colonels.

## NOTES

1. Turnips and potatoes.
2. Author interview with Anthony Quinton, 28 February 2014.
3. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
4. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
5. Upon completing his PhD, Cooper became a senior economic adviser to President Kennedy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State under Johnson, a National Security Council (NSC) staff member under Nixon, an Under Secretary of State under Carter, Chairman of the Boston Federal Reserve Bank under George H. W. Bush, and Chairman of Clinton’s National Intelligence Council. Sandwiched between were academic posts at Yale, where he was also Provost, and Harvard, where he continues to teach today.
6. Author interview with Richard Cooper, 25 February 2014.
7. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
8. Author interview with William J. Burns, 10 January 2014.
9. Bull is most famous for publishing *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

10. While Burns was studying under Bull, he also participated in academic conferences at the Ditchley Foundation, which aims to promote Anglo-American understanding. Ditchley's director at the time, Sir Philip Adams, was a sitting Commissioner of the Marshall Scholarship.
11. It bears note that Bull himself was originally from Australia.
12. Author interview with William J. Burns, 10 January 2014.
13. Harold Koh, "Remarks at 2011 Marshall Sendoff," British Embassy, Washington, DC, 19 September 2011.
14. Author interview with Kurt Campbell, 5 September 2013.
15. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
16. In order: Justice Stephen Breyer, Andrew Robison, Katie Beirne Fallon, and Joan Centrella.
17. Nicholas T. Hartman, "Service Academy Students Enter Marshall Competition Late But Rise to the Top," *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, June 2012, Accessed July 2014, Available: [http://www.marshallscholarship.org/uploads/Marshalls\\_Newsletter\\_June\\_2012](http://www.marshallscholarship.org/uploads/Marshalls_Newsletter_June_2012).

## Journalism and Public Perception

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the revival of investigative journalism and the advent of New Journalism, a literary movement stressing social activism, popularized journalism as a consumer product and as a prospective occupation. Counterculture and political flashpoints like the Vietnam War and the Watergate Scandal increased public interest in the news. The concurrent growth of television ownership and satellite broadcasting—alongside an already robust bank of national magazines and newspapers—expanded the audience.<sup>1</sup> “Journalism was previously viewed as a ‘below-stairs’ profession,” one Marshall from the 1970s recalls. “Watergate changed that.”<sup>2</sup> After 1972, the rate of Marshalls pursuing full-time journalism nearly tripled,<sup>3</sup> with an additional surge in popularity in the 1990s. Anne Applebaum (’86), a Pulitzer Prize-winning foreign affairs columnist for *The Washington Post*, attributes the latter expansion to the transition toward Internet-based consumption. “Newspapers were still profitable, and there was an explosion of possibility, especially for foreign policy journalism.”<sup>4</sup>

Today, journalists comprise just a small percentage of all Scholars, but they tend to be some of the most well known by dint of their high-profile craft, accounting for 55 % of the million or so followers of Marshall Scholars on Twitter.<sup>5</sup> Like Applebaum, many of them earned their wings while in the UK.

Applebaum began her journalism career freelancing for *The Economist* and *The Independent* while studying at London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), where she was taught by the late Fred Halliday, an

International Relations scholar, and Chris Coker, a British foreign policy expert. “I really had no political opinions at all until I went abroad,” she said in a 1994 interview.<sup>6</sup> “*The Economist* was still sort of ‘exotic,’” she later recalled.<sup>7</sup> Her time in the UK inspired a political self-awakening. Now based mostly in Poland, Applebaum spends almost half the calendar year living in the UK, as she also is a director at a London-based think tank.

Early in her career, Applebaum reported on British politics for British audiences, but many Marshall journalists report on British politics for American audiences. Nancy Jeffrey ('87), for example, covers the British Royals as a senior editor of *People* magazine, which has a weekly circulation of over three million.<sup>8</sup> Jef McAllister ('79), following stints as a State Department and White House correspondent, served as *Time*'s London Bureau Chief. The hundreds of articles he produced include discussions of the shared Anglo-American threat of terrorism and the personal relationship between President Bush and Prime Minister Blair, with whom he also traveled as a reporter.<sup>9</sup> In 2006, McAllister won the Foreign Press Association's award for Best Story by a Foreign Correspondent for his cover story on Queen Elizabeth's modernization of the monarchy.<sup>10</sup>

For journalists like Jeffrey and McAllister, who serve as conduits to Britain for US audiences, the value of spending a few years in Britain is self-evident. Living and studying with British students offers Marshalls a far more nuanced picture of local politics and tensions than they would otherwise have known. In her first year as a Marshall, for instance, one Scholar recalled the informal cultural education she received through her living arrangement, which featured two Glaswegians, one “Yorkshire lass,” two Edinburgh locals, and a West Belfast Catholic whose sister was shot and paralyzed during the Troubles.<sup>11</sup> McAllister reflects, “My Marshall has provided all the opportunities for cross-cultural education—travel, friends, bull sessions, the instinctive understanding that comes with long association—I could have wanted. My memories of Britain will be warm and vibrant.”<sup>12</sup>

Exposure to British life does not merely translate to an enriched understanding of local traditions, customs, and people. Existing as an American in Britain also means engaging with an alien national perspective and reconciling it with one's own identity. As one Marshall writer explained in his annual reflection in the 1970s:

One discovery of the first year was myself, myself as an American. By that I mean it was through this confrontation and opposition that I was discovering

the existence of assumptions I never knew I had and the boundaries of beliefs which I had never before considered. In my second year, however, all these assumptions and beliefs seemed to be the things challenged. The entire second year seems to be characterized by a series of reconsiderations—political, social, and intellectual—of qualities characteristic of my country and the particular vantage place from which it perceives and judges experience. I would not for a moment suggest that I am now any less ‘American’... but my view of myself as American is infinitely more complex than it ever was before.”<sup>13</sup>

Marshall journalists have written for most major publications, both domestically and internationally. About half have gone on to become an editor or bureau chief, the most notable of whom is Nancy Gibbs (’82), who is currently the managing editor of *Time*.<sup>14</sup> Four Scholars have won Pulitzer Prizes, including Tom Friedman (’75), who has won the award three times. Friedman co-chaired the Pulitzer Prize Board from 2012 to 2013 and was replaced by Paul Tash (’76), another Scholar.<sup>15</sup>

Journalists are joined by a wide array of other Scholars who shape the national discourse by way of blogging, writing, publishing, and through work in television, at think tanks, and at other nongovernmental organizations. Included in this list are individuals like Ambassador Isobel Coleman (’87), a former Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, who was named by *Newsweek* and *Daily Beast* as one of “150 Women Who Shake the World.”<sup>16</sup> According to two surveys, conducted in 2007 and 2012, 80 % of all Scholars have published written work.<sup>17</sup>

## NOTES

1. *See*: Mark Feldstein, “A Muckraking Model: Investigative Reporting Cycles in American History,” *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, Spring 2006, Accessed May 2014, Available: <http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/assets/pdf/Nieman%20Reports/summer2009/feldstein.pdf>; Leonard Downie, Jr, “Forty Years After Watergate, Investigative Journalism is at Risk,” *Washington Post*, 7 June 2012, Accessed May 2014, Available: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/forty-years-after-watergate-investigative-journalism-is-at-risk/2012/06/07/gJQArTzLLV\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/forty-years-after-watergate-investigative-journalism-is-at-risk/2012/06/07/gJQArTzLLV_story.html).
2. Author interview with Jef McAllister, 14 March 2014.
3. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
4. Author interview with Anne Applebaum, 21 March 2014.
5. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
6. William Powers, “American Success Tory: Writer Anne Applebaum Crossed

- the Atlantic and Found her Politics Had a British Accent,” *Washington Post*, 13 Dec 1994, B8.
7. Author interview with Anne Applebaum, 21 March 2014.
  8. “Consumer Magazines,” Alliance for Audited Media, 31 December 2013, Accessed July 2014, Available: <http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com/ecirc/magtitlesearch.asp>.
  9. Author interview with Jef McAllister, 14 March 2014.
  10. “Time Magazine Scoops Two Awards at the 2006 Foreign Press Association Media Awards,” *Time Europe*, 5 December 2006, Online, Accessed 23 August 2015, Available: <http://content.time.com/time/europe/media-kit/pr/article/0,18181,1565990,00.html>.
  11. Anonymous, “Annual Report,” [year kept private], *MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission.
  12. Jef McAllister, “Annual Report,” *1982 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, p. 5559.
  13. Anonymous, “Annual Report,” *1979 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission.
  14. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
  15. Another Scholar, Danielle Allen ‘93, is also on the Pulitzer Prize Board.
  16. In December 2014, Coleman was confirmed by the US Senate as US Representative to the United Nations for Management and Reform with the rank of Ambassador. Tina Brown, “Women in the World 2011: Welcome!” *The Daily Beast*, 3 March 2011, Online, Accessed 23 August 2015, Available: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/03/03/welcome-to-women-in-the-world-2011.html>; “Participants in the 2011 Women in the World Summit,” *The Daily Beast*, 1 March 2011, Online, Accessed 23 August 2015, Available: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/03/01/participants-in-the-2011-women-in-the-world-summit.html>.
  17. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics. Kubler and Ebbols, “Report”; Jay Kubler, “Report on the 2012 Marshall Scholarships Evaluation,” *Association of Commonwealth Universities*, 2013.

## The Arts

As a young postgraduate on her Marshall Scholarship, Odaline “Chachi” de la Martínez (?72), along with a contemporary music ensemble she co-founded at the Royal Academy of Music, performed regular showcases on BBC radio. Over the following five years, she collected a Danforth Fellowship, a Watson Fellowship, a Guggenheim Fellowship, and a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. She went on to conduct every BBC Orchestra in the country. In 1984, *The Financial Times* called Martínez and her group, Lontano, “indispensable features of London’s contemporary music scene,” and that same year, she made British history at the Royal Albert Hall by becoming the first woman to conduct a full Prom.<sup>1</sup> Martínez has since started her own record label and has toured extensively around the world as a conductor. For the past 10 years, she has organized the biennial London Festival of American Music, a series of concerts dedicated to spreading contemporary American music to the UK.

Today, Marshall awardees pursuing performance studies crop up every year, but nothing about Martínez’ application in the fall of 1971 was typical. Only two Latin Americans had preceded her as successful candidates, and no Marshall had ever previously undertaken performance studies.<sup>2</sup> Ten years would pass before there was another, and it was not until the early 2000s that artists (of any stripe) were consistently annually represented in Marshall classes.<sup>3</sup>

Artists were first considered by the Marshall architects in 1951, when British officials were debating the character of the program. “I feel it would be worth considering the possibility of the scholarships being given to a particular type of person rather than being tied to a particular university,” wrote Sir John Maud (later Baron Redcliffe-Maud), the Permanent Secretary for Education, to Sir Roger Makins in 1951. “The subjects which I have in mind are the arts. It seems to me that there will always be much to be said for bringing over young musicians, painters, etc.”<sup>4</sup>

Six weeks later at a joint meeting, Maud, Makins, and several Foreign Office and Treasury officials agreed to adopt Maud’s suggestion to expand the scheme throughout the UK, and to actively seek out graduates who embodied the aims and spirit of General George Marshall. In doing so, however, the committee forsook the arts, which were deemed, “rather out of keeping with the tastes and character of General Marshall himself.”<sup>5</sup>

Much of the absence of artists can be explained by this early selection bias, which favored the deeply traditional formulations of the scholar-ambassador and scholar-leader, but there were other related determinants. One long-serving selection committee Chair believes that artists made fewer applications because the Marshall was not a well-known opportunity in the arts community until 2000 or so.<sup>6</sup> Once the scholarship acquired its über-academic tag in the 1960s, the culture of the Marshall was perhaps self-perpetuating—artists did not apply for the Marshall because artists did not receive the Marshall. Two long-serving Chairs of selection committees observed that for a long time committees and their British representatives often felt they lacked the expertise to judge American artists as competently as they might aspiring academics or public servants.<sup>7</sup>

In recent years, artists have comprised nearly 10 % of each class. The growth in their representation began in the 1980s and 1990s, but the contributing factors were more diffuse than those that led to the absence of such Marshalls in earlier eras.

Similar to other organic demographic shifts within the Marshall population (like the uptick in journalism in the 1970s), this change was largely reflective of broader social currents and cultural norms. At the most general level, the number of visual and performing arts undergraduate majors in the USA has risen about twice as fast as the number of overall US college graduates, and more than four times as fast as the general US population, over the last four decades.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the growth of highly visible counterculture in the 1970s and various forms of performance,

theater, and dance in the latter half of the twentieth century (such as musical theatre, modern dance, and performance poetry), as well as the respective influence of each on university curricula, likely impacted the population of scholarship applicants. Linn Hobbs ('66), a scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) who served on a selection committee for 17 years, says that these changing norms also affected selection committees. "We began to broaden the idea of excellence," he explains.<sup>9</sup> Selection committees became more open to recommending, for instance, slam poets (in addition to dancers, actors, visual artists, and composers), as such performers became increasingly prominent in the USA.<sup>10</sup>

Selection committee evolution and demographics only tell part of the story, as committee recommendations in the early decades did not always convert to the final award. Until the late 1980s, the Marshall Scholarship had a three-tier selection system, under which selection committees recommended a list of ranked awardees and alternates to the Ambassador's Advisory Council in Washington, DC (made up of Regional Chairs, Her Majesty's Ambassador, and other prominent Americans). The Advisory Council then recommended a revised list to London, which the MACC considered before making the final awards.<sup>11</sup> There were thus two opportunities—once at the Advisory Council level and again at the MACC—to disturb and rerank recommendations from the regional committees. In 1986, the cultural attaché to the British Embassy in Washington characterized the process as "a wonderful piece of Byzantine bureaucracy designed to ensure that justice is seen to be done," and suggested it be amended for the sake of efficiency.

In 1987, the triple-tier system was abolished in favor of a two-step process, whereby a couple members of the MACC would attend the Advisory Council meeting and make final selections at that stage. Regional committees still found their recommendations altered with some frequency. Several regional committee members in the 1990s lamented vestiges of the traditional selection culture at the Advisory Council level, as well as the Council's inability to interview candidates. "I had to fight to include artists," one recalls.<sup>12</sup>

Artists witnessed the greatest growth spurt as successful candidates in the early 2000s, which coincided with the change to a single-tier selection process. Since 2001, selection committees have been able to offer scholarships on the spot, often informing successful candidates the very same day as their interviews. In 1954, by contrast, that notification took between 4 and 6 months.<sup>13</sup> Though the MACC still formally approves all

awards (and the Advisory Council still exists and meets to discuss selection policy), today selection committees are effectively autonomous.<sup>14</sup>

The MACC itself also went through significant leadership changes that would favor artists. Just before the move to a single-tier selection process, accepting more artists became an explicit policy recommendation of the MACC. “It was a conscious decision to accept and even encourage applicants with this background,” writes Frances Dow, who served on the Commission from 1997 to 2004 and later chaired it from 2007 to 2011. “We became aware of how important cultural links between the USA and UK were and we also increasingly realised that this area of study was as intellectually and academically rigorous as more traditional types of study.”<sup>15</sup>

The impact of hosting arts-related Marshalls within the UK may be traced along three different lines: their artistic involvement in the UK, their association with Britain upon returning to the USA, and their symbolic power vis-à-vis the Anglo-American relationship.

Like Martinez, Bill Buford (’77), a writer and former fiction editor of *The New Yorker*, is an example of an artist who had a significant impact on the arts in the UK while on scholarship. As a student at Cambridge, Buford sought to resuscitate a wilting student-run literary journal, *Granta*, which he continued working for over a decade after graduation. By 1989, he had transformed it into a serious quarterly with an annual turnover upward of £1.5 million, a quarterly circulation of 135,000, mostly to the USA, and a list of contributors including William Gass, Salman Rushdie, Susan Sontag, and Ian McEwan.<sup>16</sup> Hailing Buford’s work in 1989, *The Sunday Times* called *Granta* “one of Britain’s most important forums for new and established writers.”<sup>17</sup> Two years later, it was “the most influential literary magazine in the English-speaking world,”<sup>18</sup> and had launched its own book publishing arm, *Granta Books*.

Much like their academic peers, Marshalls in the arts continue a cross-cultural exchange of ideas upon their return to the USA. In fact, many artists double as academics, like Jeanne Fischer (’96), an opera singer based at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. “The way of teaching voice is different in the UK,” she says, “and I have a wealth of unique teaching tools that I wouldn’t have gotten in the US.”<sup>19</sup> Others outside of academia also bring British inspiration to their work. It was while Roger Ward (’76) was a curator at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City that it acquired several Henry Moore sculptures. Andrew Robison (’62), another curator, was profoundly influenced by the British aesthetic he encountered as a Marshall. The artist he has worked on most is Giovanni

Battista Piranesi, a favorite of eighteenth-century British travelers to Rome. “My awareness of him began at Oxford,” Robison says, citing Piranesi’s etchings and books and two giant candelabra gifted to the University by Sir Roger Newdigate in 1775.<sup>20</sup> Piranesi was not a well-known artist to the general public in the 1960s, but his work has since become one focal point of Robison’s career as Robison has published, exhibited, and build the collection at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, where he is the Senior Curator for Prints and Drawings.

Finally, Marshalls in the arts are also high-visibility agents and representatives of the US–UK relationship by the fact that they have spent time honing their craft in both countries. Their audience exposure is larger than that of the bulk of their Marshall peers, and they contribute to a cultural bond between the two countries. Martinez alone substantiates this point, but the same applies to many younger, more recent Scholars. One Marshall, Chris Morrongiello (’90), a world-renowned lutenist, once performed “God Save the Queen” on his lute at the Royal Albert Hall (where the Queen was in attendance) during his scholarship. Another Scholar, countertenor William Sauerland (’07) sang in an ensemble for Prince Charles at St. James Palace. Fischer sang for the Queen and Tony Blair during her scholarship as part of a choir for a memorial concert for Princess Diana at the Royal Festival Hall. Similarly, those who work and perform in the USA contribute to the notoriety of the Marshall, and by extension, the British experience, within the USA. Scott MacIntyre (’05) was a 2009 American Idol top 8 finalist, and was viewed by an average of 50 million viewers each week.<sup>21</sup> Josh Bennett (’10), a slam poet, has performed in the East Room of the White House, and Sarah Lewis (’01) served on President Obama’s first Art Policy Committee. Others include Oscar-nominated filmmakers and screenwriters, playwrights, actors, and illustrators.<sup>22</sup>

## NOTES

1. Max Loppert, “Lontano/Albert Hall,” *Financial Times*, 21 August 1984, p. 15.
2. When Martinez interviewed for the Scholarship, she had yet to receive her American citizenship from Cuba, from which she fled as a refugee. Author interview with Odaline de la Martinez, 28 May 2014.
3. See: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
4. Maud to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 11 June 1951.
5. Meeting minutes between Makins (Chair), Maud, et al., *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 30 July 1951.

6. Author interview with James Shapiro (Chicago Committee 1984-2009, Chair 1991-2008), 7 March 2014.
7. Author interview with Linn Hobbs (Boston Committee 1986-2002, Chair 1989-2002), 4 March 2014.
8. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
9. Author interview with Hobbs, 4 March 2014.
10. Author interview with Hobbs, 4 March 2014; Author interview with Shapiro, 7 March 2014; Author interview with Joanna Lau (Boston committee, 2000-Present, Chair 2010-Present), 4 April 2014; Author interview with Ernest L. Edwards, Jr. (Houston 1979-2009, Chair 1992-2009), 11 March 2014.
11. *See*: Chapter 7 “Command 8846” for more information on the prior process.
12. Author interview with Ted Leinbaugh, 10 March 2014.
13. Another contributing factor to the lag was that the MACC waited until a candidate’s place was secured at a university before delivering the news.
14. Interestingly, this set-up is precisely what Makins had himself envisioned when designing the program. He believed regional committees should have final choice on selection. Before the program launched, however, he had already left for Washington to be the next British Ambassador, so these details fell to others to finalize in the final draft of the white paper. *See*: Comments by Makins on White Paper, *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 1953.
15. Correspondence between Frances Dow and Author [email], 14 July 2014.
16. Circulation 135,000 mostly to U.S. Bryan Appleyard, “Buffalo Bill,” *The Sunday Times*, 10 September 1989, pp. 70-74; £1.5 million turnover. “Bill Buford,” *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 22 November 1987, p. 53.
17. “Bill Buford,” *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 22 November 1987, p. 53; Author interview with Bill Buford, 1 September 2015.
18. William Leith, “Publish and be Mobbed,” *The Independent Sunday*, 13 October 1991. Another Marshall Scholar, Mark Greif (’97), co-founded literary magazine *n+1* in 2004.
19. Author interview with Jeanne Fischer, 22 March 2014.
20. Author interview with Andrew Robison, 7 April 2014. *See*: “The Piranesi Candelabra Conservation Project,” *Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology*, University of Oxford, 2013, Accessed June 2014, Available: <http://www.ashmolean.org/news/?id=198>.
21. Bill Gorman, “American Idol, Dancing With the Stars Top Average Viewership for 2008-9 Season,” *Zap2it*, 27 May 2009, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com/2009/05/27/american-idol-dancing-with-the-stars-top-average-viewership-for-2008-9-season/19519/>.
22. Joshua Oppenheimer (’97), Bill Broyles (’66), George Nolfi (’88), Thomas Babe (’63), Dan Schlesinger (’77).

## “The World’s Fight”: Development, Public Health, and Humanitarian Work

Today, a common sentiment expressed by overwhelmed applicants is that one cannot win a Marshall Scholarship without having started a school for underprivileged children in a rural corner of the world. Andy Cunningham ('10) has done little to discredit this concern. Along with professors and classmates, Cunningham fund-raised \$2.4 million to co-found the Women’s Institute for Secondary Education and Research (WISER), an all-girls school in Muhuru Bay, Kenya, which has since enrolled the highest number of girls on full scholarship ever in the history of the region. Since WISER, Cunningham has also worked full-time for UNICEF Kenya, consulted for IGOs and NGOs, and directly helped to integrate mobile phone technology in Kenyan education management information systems. On the side, he is writing his PhD thesis on school leadership in international education, and he is one of the most visible leaders on his Oxford college campus, having previously served as its boat club president. He will soon be joining an international education foundation in Geneva to advance quality education for the most vulnerable children across a global portfolio of 30 countries. He is 29.

Marshall Scholars have been studying the world since the first cohort in 1954, but Cunningham represents a new wave of Scholars who are undertaking development, humanitarian work, and public health work around the globe. Included in this group are the escalating number of Scholars embedded in NGOs, nonprofits, charities, foundations, and

social impact and aid organizations (including government agencies). Cunningham is hardly the first Marshall with such a grassroots, global-facing service orientation. Keith Griffin ('60), a former fellow and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, caught the attention of the Magdalen faculty precisely because of his work in development economics in Chile and Algeria. Another, Phyllis Piotrow ('54), had a long and fruitful career advocating family planning. After helping to draft legislation for the first-ever funding of international family programs in the US Agency for International Development (USAID) budget, she helped set up the UN population fund and co-founded an academic center at Johns Hopkins toward the same end (which now has a budget of \$100 million).<sup>1</sup> Individuals like Griffin and Piotrow, however, were rarities in their time.<sup>2</sup> Most Scholars with such interests tended to remain within academia, rather than enter the field at home or abroad.

The dearth of such Scholars in the early years can be attributed to both the relative youth of the academic fields and the framing of the Scholarship itself. The Marshall Scholarship began at a time when international professions and traveling abroad were less common. The concept of international development assistance had largely come into existence in 1947 with the Marshall Plan.<sup>3</sup> Disciplines such as development studies had thus barely established themselves as distinct academic fields. It was not until the 1960s and early 1970s that the more progressive institutions in the UK such as Birmingham, University College London (UCL), Sussex, and East Anglia opened the country's first major schools, departments, and academic centers of development studies. Oxford's arrived in 1986, the LSE's in 1990, and the School of Oriental and African Studies' (SOAS) in 1996.<sup>4</sup> Major US foundations were mostly limited to the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie varieties, while other NGOs, nonprofits, and vehicles for advocacy had just a fraction of the publicity and prominence they enjoy today.

Unlike the Rhodes Scholarship, well known for its grandiose rhetoric, the language surrounding the Marshall was subdued and cerebral. Cecil Rhodes outlined a desire for his Rhodes Scholars to sustain empire and fight "the world's fight," which made up for his lack of clarity in passion and vision.<sup>5</sup> Successful Marshall candidates, on the other hand, had to display "distinction in intellect and character as evidenced by both their scholastic attainment and by their other activities and achievements."

Additionally, they had to have “a broad outlook” and the “capacity” to participate in university life.<sup>6</sup> Students and universities thus perceived the Marshall to be a maker of academics. “The impression,” wrote an Embassy official who undertook a national tour of universities in 1973, “was probably derived from the wording of the prospectus.”<sup>7</sup>

It was never the intention of Makins, Foster, or the Foreign Office to disproportionately fund future academics.<sup>8</sup> Although the founders had intended academic supremacy to be a distinguishing feature of the Marshall, it was not until the early 1970s that the MACC realized that the stress on academic excellence led candidates (and their university advisors) to believe “almost universally” that their chances of winning the award swelled if they indicated “the pursuit of a future career in the academic world.”<sup>9</sup>

The MACC’s first reaction to this realization was mixed. There was some talk of “remedying” the “misconception,” but officials were unwilling to amend the selection criteria. Internal minutes from a 1973 MACC meeting read: “The criteria for the Marshall awards had originally been designed to distinguish them from those offered by other foundations—for instance, Rhodes and Fulbright. The Commission held to the view that there were no grounds for altering the concept of the scheme, nor was it desirable to do so, and that the remedy lay in the selection process.”<sup>10</sup>

The MACC believed the misconception stemmed from both the ordering of the criteria on paper and the biases of selection committees. They attempted to resolve the former by reordering selection criteria in the Rules for Candidates, by simply shifting the sentence about “scholastic attainment” nearer to the end and moving a General Marshall (about the Marshall Plan) to the top of the paragraph.<sup>11</sup> Tackling the biases of selection committees was more complicated. While the MACC could (and did) amend the final list of successful candidates, they could only do so from the list of recommendations and alternates sent to them by the selection committees themselves. There was not time enough for the MACC to review the entire list of applicants, nor could they interview candidates in London. Instead, they tasked George R. Sanderson, the Education Attaché to the Embassy, to visit universities across the USA to emphasize the nonacademic criteria of the Marshall. In his 1974 report, Sanderson noted that the change in wording “[seemed] largely to have gone unperceived,” and suggested expanding the criteria to include other explicitly defined qualities, like leadership.<sup>12</sup>

By 1975, the Embassy and consulates-general had ramped up efforts to change the image of the Marshall by deploying more staff to meet with US

university advisors and administrators. They maintained that “high academic ability was necessary but not sufficient” for winning a Marshall Scholarship.<sup>13</sup> Further qualities and criteria, however, were not well articulated.

Sanderson’s report that year betrayed frustration with the progress in reshaping the Scholarship’s identity: “[It] is undeniable that the image of the Marshall Scholarship still remains if not entirely academic at least more academically inclined than otherwise... it will undoubtedly be some time before there is any appreciable change in the old image.”<sup>14</sup> Following Sanderson’s advice from a prior report, the MACC decided to add a new



**Photo 12.1** Sir Roger Makins as Ambassador to Washington 1953–1956. Photo courtesy of the Makins family



**Photo 12.2** Class of 1956 Marshall Scholars aboard the *Queen Elizabeth*. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission

pillar to the selection criteria: impact.

“[The] importance of future potential contribution by individuals to their society should be given due weight. The Council expressed its wish that this aspect of selection be given more prominence in the future,” read the minutes of the Advisory Council meeting in January of 1975.<sup>15</sup> A few weeks later, “potential to make a significant contribution to their own society” was added to the list by the MACC.<sup>16</sup>

In fairness, selection committees throughout the 1950s and 1960s vocalized this criterion informally, and Scholars from the first 20 years of the Scholarship made enormous contributions in academia, govern-



**Photo 12.3** Class of 1960 Scholars with Mary Coppinger, Assistant Secretary to the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission



**Photo 12.4** Class of 1974 Marshall Scholars in front of the Houses of Parliament. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission



**Photo 12.5** Class of 1987 Scholars with HM Ambassador Antony Acland. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission

ment, science, and business. The significance of the 1975 change in selection language instead lay in what it diminished in importance: academic achievement. “Scholastic attainment” remained the primary criterion for the award through the 1970s and 1980s, and today all Scholars still must surpass a high academic threshold. The change, however, signaled the first step in a slow shift away from academics dominating Marshall selection



**Photo 12.6** Class of 1992 Scholars with Princess Diana. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission

criteria and toward what has become an equal balance of three distinct elements. “[He] has straight A’s in college, but he does not look like a future source of original abstract thought. [He] may, however, be a Cabinet Minister. He is the sort of boy who would have bought Alaska in the early 1860’s,” read the interview notes on a candidate who was awarded the Marshall shortly after the change in criteria.<sup>17</sup> “Impact” morphed into the criterion of “leadership,” and “the capacity to play an active part in [university] life” became “ambassadorial potential.”

Cunningham, who did have a stellar collegiate academic record, may well have won the award in the 1950s. Today, though, we see more Scholars who, like him, harbor an interest in effecting social change around the world, but who might not have been successful applicants decades ago. “I would say there is... much more of a ‘citizen of the world’ outlook [today] than fifteen years ago,” writes Frances Dow, who served as a MACC Commissioner from 1997 to 2004 and chaired the MACC from 2007 to 2011.<sup>18</sup> Since 2000, the proportion of Marshalls studying development, public health, social policy, or related academic



**Photo 12.7** Ray Dolby ('57) receiving Marshall medal from Prince Charles in 2003. Photo courtesy of the Dolby family

fields has risen by a factor of five relative to previous decades.<sup>19</sup> Marshall alumni have worked and held senior roles in a variety of UN organizations, USAID, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization, and an assortment of IGOs, local and international NGOs, and other nonprofits.



**Marshall Scholarships in Britain 1968-1970**

As a gesture of thanks for Marshall Aid, the British Government established the 'Marshall Scholarships' in 1953 to enable Americans to study for degrees at British Universities.

Twenty-four awards are offered every year to American graduates, men or women, who are under the age of 26 (or in exceptional circumstances, 28).

The Scholarships are tenable for two years in a wide range of subjects including the sciences and humanities.

The value of a Marshall Scholarship is of the order of £900 per annum (including a living allowance, fares to and from Britain, tuition fees and book allowance). In certain circumstances a marriage allowance is also payable.

Applications for Scholarships with tenure commencing in October 1968 must be received at the appropriate regional centre not later than 21 October 1967. Any information including the addresses of the regional centres may be obtained from the Scholarship Adviser on campus, the nearest British Consulate or the British Embassy (Information Department) 3100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Designed by John Baker at the Royal College of Art, London

**Photo 12.8** 1968 Poster publicizing Marshall Scholarships. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission

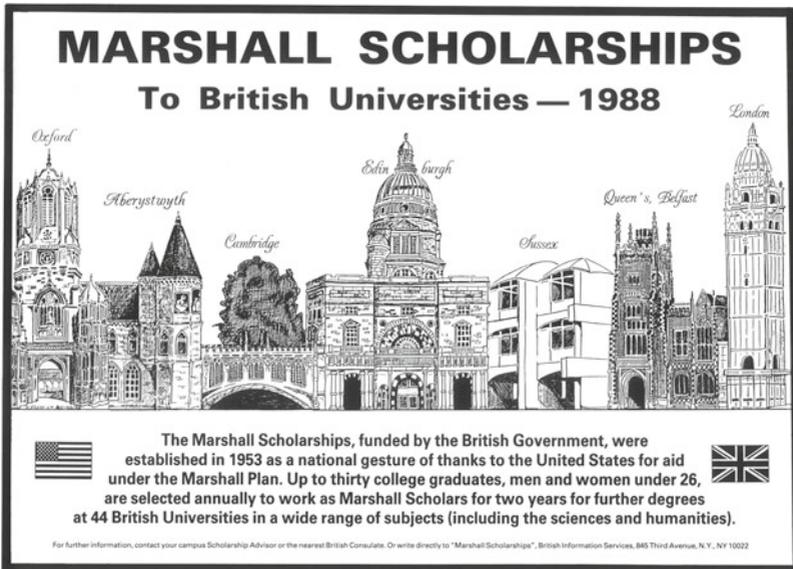


The Marshall Scholarships were established in Britain in 1953 for young American citizens as a national gesture of thanks to the United States for Marshall Aid. Twenty-four college graduates, men and women under 26, are selected annually to work as Marshall Scholars for two years for further degrees at British universities in a wide range of subjects (including the sciences and humanities). Emoluments comprise fares to and from Britain, a monthly living allowance, tuition fees and book and travel allowances totalling in any given case not less than £1250 per annum. Any Scholar-elect prevented by

his draft board from taking up the Scholarship may have it held in abeyance until his release. Applications for Scholarships commencing in October 1971 must be received at the appropriate regional centre not later than 22 October 1970. A leaflet giving fuller information, including the addresses of the regional centres, may be obtained from the Scholarship Adviser on campus or the nearest British Consulate, or direct from the British Embassy (Information Department), 3100 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington DC 20008.

Designed by Mo MacKenzie at the Royal College of Art

**Photo 12.9** 1971 Poster publicizing Marshall Scholarships. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission



**Photo 12.10** 1988 Poster publicizing Marshall Scholarships. Photo courtesy of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission

## NOTES

1. Author interview with Phyllis Piotrow, 19 June 2014.
2. Two other notable Scholars in the field include disabilities advocate Hugh Gallagher ('56), "often called the grandfather of the disability movement" for his drafting of the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968, and Geoff Tabin ('78) who graced the cover of *National Geographic* in 2010 for his work dedicated to reversing blindness in Nepal. *See*: Adam Bernstein, "Hugh Gallagher Dies; Crusaded for Disabled," *Washington Post*, 16 July 2004, Online, Accessed 12 August 2015, Available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A53688-2004Jul15.html>; Soma Basu, "An Eye for Heights," *The Hindu*, 17 October 2012, Online, Accessed 12 August 2015, Available: <http://www.thehindu.com/features/metroplus/society/an-eye-for-heights/article4006207.ece>.
3. The nature of development assistance has evolved significantly since 1947, as priorities have shifted from rebuilding nations after war and decolonization. Goals now include establishing sustainable economic frameworks

- and addressing widespread poverty and health issues, primarily via supporting K-12 education and greater access to food.
4. The University of Birmingham opened its International Development Department in 1964. *See*: “IDD Celebrating 50 years,” *University of Birmingham*, 2014, Online, Accessed 29 July 2014, Available: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/government-society/departments/international-development/50-anniversary/index.aspx>. The Architectural Association School of Architecture started a postgraduate course in development in 1954, but that course centered exclusively on architecture in the tropics. UCL incorporated this course in 1971 in its newly launched Development Planning Unit and expanded its academic scope. *See*: “The Bartlett Development Planning Unit: History,” *University College London*, 2015, Online, Accessed 12 August 2015, Available: <http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/about-us/history>. The University of Sussex launched its Institute of Development Studies in 1966. *See*: “Institute of Development Studies: About Us,” *University of Sussex*, 2015, Online, Accessed 12 August 2015, Available: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/about-us>. University of East Anglia’s School of Development Studies began in 1973 but had a presence in the School of Social Studies in 1967. *See*: “A brief history of the School of International Development,” *University of East Anglia*, 2015, Online, Accessed 12 August 2015, Available: <https://www.uea.ac.uk/international-development/about-us/history-of-dev>. Oxford University established its International Development Centre (technically an academic department within the Social Studies Faculty) in 1986. It became its own independent academic department (Oxford Department of International Development) in 2006. *See*: “Oxford Department of International Development: History,” *Oxford University*, 2015, Online, Accessed 12 August 2015, Available: <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/about/history>. LSE’s Department of International Development began in 1990, before which no analog degrees in development studies had been awarded. Correspondence between Department and author [phone call], 17 July 2014. SOAS launched its Department of Development Studies in 1996. Correspondence between Anna Secharan, Academic Support Officer, and Author, [email], 17 July 2014.
  5. Rhodes did not equate “the world’s fight” with development and humanitarian work, but he did hope Rhodes Scholars would transform the world. *See*: Ziegler, *Legacy*, p. 19.
  6. An appeal was also made to George Marshall’s famous announcement of the Marshall Plan in 1947. “Marshall Scholarships: Rules for Candidates,” *The National Archives*, FO 924/1028, 1954.
  7. J.G. Taylor (Embassy) to Makins (MACC), 1973 *MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 9 March 1973, p. 2808.
  8. Foster wrote in 1971: “I feel the time is ripe for [the Marshall] to take some special steps to show that it is also interested in candidates of

- potential distinction who are not necessarily of the highest scholastic rank.” “Representation of the Commission at the 1971 Selection Interviews: Report by Dr. J.F. Foster,” *1971 MACC Minutes*, 5 January 1971, p. 2245.
9. Though there have been several exceptions to the norm of academia-bound Marshall Scholars, many of the exceptions themselves had expected to become academics at the time of their Marshall application and only changed course afterward. George R. Sanderson (Embassy), “Report by Mr. G.R. Sanderson on his Representation of the Marshall Commission in the U.S.A.,” *1974 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 23 January 1974, p. 3080; “Minutes of the Meeting of the Marshall Scholarship Advisory Council,” *1974 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 10 January 1974, p. 3077.
  10. *1973 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 15 March 1973, p. 2812.
  11. Taylor to Makins, *1973 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 9 March 1973, p. 2809.
  12. Sanderson, “Report,” 23 January 1974, p. 3081.
  13. “Minutes of the Meeting of the Marshall Scholarship Advisory Council,” *1975 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 8 January 1975, p. 3412.
  14. Sanderson, “Report by Mr. G.R. Sanderson on his Representation of the Marshall Commission in the U.S.A.,” *1975 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 16 January 1975, p. 3417.
  15. “Minutes of the Advisory Council,” 8 January 1975, p. 3412.
  16. This action was a response to both the Advisory Council minutes (dated: 8 January) and Sanderson’s latest report (dated: 16 January), as the MACC held its meeting on 23 January and pasted both documents in its 1975 minute book.
  17. [Interview notes], *MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission.
  18. Correspondence between Frances Dow and author, 14 July 2014.
  19. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.

PART III

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Community

## The Beginnings

In 1955, Doris Everhart, wife of Marshall Scholar Tom Everhart ('55), set out to bake a sweet potato casserole for the first-ever Marshall Thanksgiving. The event was to take place at the English Speaking Union on Trinity Street in Cambridge, and the menu included all of the classics: turkey, stuffing, mashed potatoes and gravy, Waldorf salad, creamed onions, cranberry sauce, and pumpkin pie. As Everhart began peeling the sweet spuds for the casserole, however, she was horrified to find that the flesh of the British root vegetables was white rather than orange. Although a pale casserole might have tasted just the same, Everhart was determined to bring an authentic American experience to the Marshall community, and that required a brilliantly hued dish. Armed with some quick thinking and a bit of orange food coloring, Everhart delivered.<sup>1</sup>

Marshall Scholar Nathaniel Selden ('86) vividly remembers his first Thanksgiving at Jesus College, Cambridge in 1986, when the dining authorities panicked because they forgot to consult Selden about the composition of a “savory course” for a standard American Thanksgiving.<sup>2</sup> The “American savory course” was thus ultimately concocted according to the chef’s conception of typical American fare: a single cracker topped with a dollop of peanut butter and bacon bits, served on a small silver plate.<sup>3</sup>

In 1968, Stephen Black ('68) found that his university peers had always assumed that Thanksgiving was “some kind of Jewish holiday.”<sup>4</sup>

Marshall Thanksgiving dinners have evolved into a fine representation of the vision of the Scholarship to promote cross-cultural learning and

understanding. Equally importantly, Thanksgivings offer current Scholars the chance to cement inter-Marshall friendships made during orientation, and to further establish a sense of a Marshall community.<sup>5</sup> The first Marshall Thanksgiving in 1955 was attended by 12–15 people. Today, the guest list regularly tops 100, and preparations for the event begin 6 weeks in advance. Marshall Thanksgivings are now a highly anticipated feature of every current Scholar's fall schedule.<sup>6</sup>

To forge a common identity among a group of students dispersed across Great Britain is an ambitious endeavor. For most Marshalls in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and even 1980s with some exception, inter-Marshall mingling was limited, due to the expense, speed, and scope of communication and travel.<sup>7</sup> Outside of orientation, the boat trip over, and the departure luncheon, socializing often only occurred among current Scholars at the same institution or within the same city. "We were very much separated," Phyllis Piotrow ('54) remembers. "It was hard with the 12 of us being scattered all over."<sup>8</sup> Such interactions, though sparse in the early days, did manage to inspire enough nostalgia to spur the first few classes of Marshall Scholars to create a US-based "alumni" society in 1959 for all returnees, called the Association of Marshall Scholars and Alumni (hereafter, the AMS).<sup>9</sup>

Across the pond, the British were keen for the Scholarship program to do more than enable study abroad. They wanted "a continuing institution with a place in public and academic life analogous to that of the Rhodes Scholarships."<sup>10</sup> In addition to the rigorous selection process and the carefully crafted criteria, the Marshall Commission understood that fostering a sense of group identity would prove important. Establishing a community would help to increase the profile of the program, to tie it more securely to the success of its individual Scholar, and to create a network that would go on serving program and Scholar well beyond the years of any individual tenure. The stated objectives of the AMS were to publicize the Marshall Scholarship in the USA, to maintain contact among Scholars through a biannual newsletter, and to help in the selection process.<sup>11</sup> It is thus no surprise that the AMS first got off the ground with "practical support" (a grant) from the British Embassy in Washington.<sup>12</sup> To defray other costs, the Executive Committee of the AMS soon put into place a system of modest, annual dues (\$2/year) and also established the office of Class Secretary in 1959 for gathering updates. Class Secretaries continue to be elected to serve "on a permanent basis" as the sole class representative to the AMS and the British government.<sup>13</sup>

The early generations of the AMS also produced the first biennial Marshall directory in 1961.<sup>14</sup> The directory not only facilitated communication between Scholars, but also later allowed the UK government to statistically analyze professional trends and trajectories of Marshalls.<sup>15</sup> The minutes from a 1975 MACC meeting read: “In discussion it was unanimously agreed that an active Association was desirable; as a means of enabling the Commission to maintain contact with former Scholars and from the viewpoint of keeping personal and statistical records, the continuation of an up to date Directory was of great importance.”<sup>16</sup> The printing and postage of directories—in some years when dues fell short—were therefore financially supported by the British Embassy as well.<sup>17</sup>

The early alumni society reached a pinnacle of activity in 1979, when it celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Scholarship at a “Silver Jubilee” gala at the US Embassy in Washington, DC. As part of the festivities, Scholars attended a panel discussion about the US–UK relationship moderated by Carol Edler Baumann (’54), then a sitting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, and Robert Berdahl (’55), a professor at the University of Maryland.

## NOTES

1. Aroop Mukharji, “Americana Abroad,” *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, December 2011, p. 9.
2. Mistakenly assuming, of course, that Americans have any conception of a savory course, which is the bite-sized course served at the end of a formal British meal to whet the palate for forthcoming wine or port.
3. Mukharji, “Americana,” pp. 9–10.
4. Correspondence between Stephen Black and author [email], 16 September 2011.
5. Correspondence between Tom Everhart and author [email], 20 September 2011.
6. Mukharji, “Americana,” p. 9.
7. Based on author’s reading of annual reports, alumni newsletters, and interviews with Scholars from each decade.
8. Author interview with Phyllis Piotrow, 19 June 2014.
9. The term ‘alumni’ is somewhat misleading, as the Marshall is itself not a degree-granting institution. However, of all the terms available, “alumni society” seems to capture its spirit best, albeit imperfectly.
10. In context, this quote was used as an argument for housing Scholars at Cambridge University, not for supporting an alumni society. However, it is

- indicative of the general desire that the Scholarship enjoy institutional recognition in the United States. Curle to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 26 June 1951.
11. "Sixth Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1960) Cmnd. 1042*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, June 1961.
  12. "Sixth Annual Report," June 1961; "The Marshall Scholarship Alumni Association," *1960 MACC Minutes*, January 1960, p. 595.
  13. "Twelfth Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1966) Cmnd. 2899*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, March 1966.
  14. "Selection and Publicity in the United States," *1961 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, October 1961, p. 853-854.
  15. *See*: "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1969) Cmnd. 3907*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, February 1969.
  16. *1975 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 1975, p. 3472.
  17. "Twenty-First Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1975) Cmnd. 5913*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, February 1975.

## The Tracer Study and an Honorary Royal Patron

Though Scholars were successfully and consistently recruited to serve on selection committees, they struggled to reach critical mass in many major cities for group-wide gatherings. On one occasion in the late 1960s, a Scholar from the class of 1954 “as an experiment, to try for a reunion” for New York-based alumni, booked a table for 10 at an Italian restaurant in midtown Manhattan. Sadly, only one other Scholar showed.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, as the alumni population grew, and as the annual awards increased to 24 in 1960 and to 30 in 1973, record keeping became too burdensome for a single volunteer operation (aside from some financial assistance from the Embassy, the AMS had thus far been run by a succession of individuals).

At around the same time, in the face of significant cash cuts to the UK Foreign Office brought about by Thatcherism, the Marshall Commission felt a growing necessity to reassert its importance to Anglo-American affairs.<sup>2</sup> In 1982, in the midst of the Falklands Crisis between Argentina and the UK, Sir Colin Crowe, Chair of the Marshall Commission, wrote a series of letters to the Foreign Office affirming the significance of the program: “We are fully aware of course of the financial constraints under which everybody has to operate and that everyone thinks they are a special case, but we do suggest that the Marshall programme is on a different footing from ordinary programmes. It was, and is, a free will gift in thanks for an act of unparalleled generosity.” Crowe also recognized that with greater distance from World War II, the Marshall would have to justify its

existence on further grounds than as merely an expression of gratitude for the Marshall Plan. “For a small cost,” he argued, “it has been one of the most productive investments in our cultural relations.”<sup>3</sup>

Sir Nicolas Henderson, HM Ambassador to Washington, also lobbied the Foreign Office on the Scholarship’s behalf:

At a time when the associations created by the Second World War are fading, and the Transatlantic relationship is no less important though no less difficult to manage, it is surely most desirable that we continue to invest in the future by sustaining this deliberate programme of forging links between people who are likely to have significant careers ahead of them on both sides of the Atlantic. The widespread sympathy which we encountered over the Falkland Islands was at least in part a reflection of the understanding here of shared Anglo-American values. But this is not something we can take for granted: we have to nurture it.<sup>4</sup>

Thankfully for the MACC, Margaret Thatcher seemed herself to have been a supporter of the Marshall program, years later noting its “most valuable contribution” to Anglo-American understanding by funding “young Americans of outstanding character and ability to study in this country, living among us and learning our ways.”<sup>5</sup> During the Thatcher years, the Marshall Scholarship remained intact and its full request for funding was met by the Foreign Office, despite slashes to the overall departmental budget.

In light of the ailing state of the AMS and a resurgent British interest in the Marshall, a retiring Vice-Consul of the British Consulate-General in Boston named Barbara Eachus MBE took an interest in reviving the alumni society. Eachus, a seasoned British diplomat, had deep roots in the Anglo-American relationship. She met her husband Joe, an American Naval officer, when the two worked as code breakers at Bletchley Park during World War II.<sup>6</sup> Eachus then worked for almost 40 years in the USA on behalf of HM Government, spending significant time in the Boston Consulate-General working on Marshall programming and selection. Her retirement from the consulate provided the MACC with an ideal candidate for centralized, professional management of the AMS. The 33rd Annual Report reads:

With the number of former Scholars now nearing 800 however it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain contact and it was felt in consequence

that the potential goodwill of a body of talented and successful people in whom the British Government had made a large investment was in danger of being lost. During the year therefore the Commission decided, in consultation with the Embassy in Washington DC, that steps should be taken forthwith to trace all former Scholars with a view to reorganising the Association of Marshall Scholars and Alumnae/i.<sup>7</sup>

In March of 1986, the Foreign Office approved a £12,000 grant for a “Tracer Study” of Marshall Scholars, with Eachus at the helm as Associate Director of a newly minted alumni organization. An additional £9000 was granted toward the study in 1988 to finish the job, and to print and mail 1000 directories.<sup>8</sup> The MACC hoped the documentation would help to ensure that the organization and infrastructure were in a suitable place to pass off to a group of Marshall volunteers following Eachus’ tenure.<sup>9</sup>

Joining Eachus was a cabal of Boston-based Marshalls, including Paul Brountas (’54), an advisor to Governor Michael Dukakis (and later Chair of Dukakis’ presidential campaign), Kathleen Sullivan (’76), a Harvard law professor (and later Dean of Stanford Law School), Rein Uritam (’61), an MIT professor, and Tom Dougherty (’70), an attorney at Skadden, Arps, Meagher & Flom LLP. In a break from past AMS tradition, Eachus additionally sought the advice of a former Rhodes Scholar to help model the new AMS off of the Rhodes’ American Association, which went through a similar regeneration 20 years after its first founding.<sup>10</sup> Together the team spent hours poring over old lists, university rosters, correspondence, and public records.<sup>11</sup> They also found success in unconventional methods, like searching the latest volume of *Who’s Who in America*, which revealed 21 previously untraced Marshalls one autumn afternoon in 1986.<sup>12</sup> With further help from Marty Kaplan (’71), a vice-presidential speechwriter, Nancy Gibbs (’82) and David von Drehle (’83), both editors at *Time*, and Frank Trumbower (’59), a venture capitalist, the Boston company’s efforts produced an electronic database, the resurgence of the biennial directory, and the enlistment of HRH Prince Charles as the honorary Royal Patron of the AMS. In celebration of the relaunch of the AMS, the British Embassy in Washington, DC, hosted a gala in February 1989 with gloved butlers, speeches by Scholars, and Prince Charles himself in attendance. The event was the largest nationwide, cross-generational gathering of Marshall Scholars to date.

## NOTES

1. Charles Whaley, "Association of Marshall Scholars and Alumni Newsletter," Spring 1969, p. 1.
2. Comments of Mr. Norman J. Morris (FCO), *1979 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, p. 4991.
3. Sir Colin Crowe (MACC) to Lord Nicholas Gordon Lennox (Foreign Office), *1982 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 26 May 1982, p. 5546.
4. Sir Nicolas 'Nikko' Henderson (Foreign Office) to Lennox, *1982 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 8 July 1982, pp. 5546–56.
5. Margaret Thatcher (PM) to Sir Donald Tebbit (MACC), *1987 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 15 May 1987. Thatcher was also the guest of honor at the Marshall Plan's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1997 held at the State Rooms, Speaker's House, Westminster. "Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 2 (1998) Cm. 3979*, London: The Stationery Office Ltd.
6. Joe Eachus was the first of two Americans to join British codebreakers to help break the Nazi's ENIGMA code. "Cryptologic Almanac 50th Anniversary: Dr. Joseph J. Eachus," *National Security Agency*, 1 December 2011, Accessed August 2014, Available: [http://www.nsa.gov/public\\_info/\\_files/crypto\\_almanac\\_50th/Dr%20Joseph%20Eachus.pdf](http://www.nsa.gov/public_info/_files/crypto_almanac_50th/Dr%20Joseph%20Eachus.pdf).
7. "Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1987) Cm. 74*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, February 1987.
8. *1986 and 1987 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 1986–1987.
9. "Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1989) Cm. 632*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, March 1989.
10. The first American Rhodes alumni society existed as early as 1907, just a few years after the Rhodes Scholarship began. It went through its own institutional coming of age in 1928 when the Association of American Rhodes Scholars was founded. *See*: Ziegler, *Legacy*, p. 73, 83; Eachus to Barrett, *1986 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 3 December 1985.
11. Author interview with Kathleen Sullivan, 22 January 2013.
12. Barbara Eachus (AMS) to Tebbit, *1987 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, 29 November 1986.

## Modernization and the Starbucks Initiative

The arrival of Sir Christopher Meyer to Washington, DC, as HM Ambassador in 1997 signaled the last great revitalization of the alumni society.<sup>1</sup> Like many in his era of service, Meyer’s advocacy of a close Anglo-American accord originated in the shadowy uncertainty of the Cold War piste. As the Foreign Office spokesman from 1984 to 1988, he had “a ringside seat” to the “[US–UK] handling the Soviet Union and the emergence of Gorbachev.”<sup>2</sup> A fellowship at Harvard one year later—which included homestays in Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana—brought him even closer to the fore of American education. To Meyer, the Marshall, as a form of educational and cultural diplomacy, was “seed corn” for the transatlantic partnership.<sup>3</sup> He quickly became a close ally of the AMS and helped it to build on the institutional groundwork laid by previous eras, to elevate its programming, and to modernize for the twenty-first century as it had fallen, just as in the early 1980s, into a state of relative languor. He encouraged Bob Kyle (’77), a close American colleague serving in Clinton’s National Security Council, to lead the AMS and to develop its transition from print to electronic communication with the help of Kannon Shanmugam (’93), who revived the newsletter.<sup>4</sup> Meyer also believed that the cultural dividends of both the Marshall and the Rhodes, whose relationship was strained in the late 1990s, would multiply if each moved beyond the “internecine competition” with one another.<sup>5</sup> His efforts eventually led to joint orientation programming for newly minted Rhodes and Marshall Scholars in the early 2000s.

It was at the same time that the “star power” of Marshall Scholars was harnessed by the AMS, which began to consistently rally its most prominent members for events—many of the oldest Scholars had by this point reached the twilight of their careers. As Meyer was succeeded by Sir David Manning in the Embassy, Kyle passed the baton to Ted Leinbaugh ('75), a professor of English literature at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who was the lynchpin behind this recruiting effort.

In his capacity as Chair of the Atlanta selection committee, Leinbaugh served on the Ambassador’s Advisory Committee, which met at the end of every calendar year as part of the selection process. During a December 2006 meeting, Leinbaugh met Bob Gray ('71), the then Chair of the San Francisco selection committee, over coffee on M St. in Washington, DC, where the pair hatched what came to be known as “The Starbucks Initiative.”<sup>6</sup> A pact was made to join forces, to rewrite the AMS constitution, and to reinvigorate the Association with an expanded mandate of activity. Leinbaugh would direct and organize activities, and Gray would restructure the organization. The two received welcome support and assistance from British officials, including Manning, Dominic Martin, the head of the Political and Press Department at the Embassy, and Caroline Cracraft, the Vice-Consul in Chicago, all three of whom played major reinforcing roles in the British relationship with the Marshall.<sup>7</sup> Events were hosted at *The New York Times*’ headquarters, Goldman Sachs’ headquarters, the British Embassy, Cambridge University, and Yale Law School. They featured Scholars like Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer ('59), former Governor and Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt ('60), National Security Council (NSC) member Richard Falkenrath ('91), former Congressional Budget Office director (and later Office of Management and Budget director) Peter Orszag ('91), and Pulitzer Prize-winning writers Anne Applebaum ('86), Tom Friedman ('75), and Dan Yergin ('68).<sup>8</sup> With assistance from the British Embassy and British Council, Leinbaugh and Gray also beefed up the predeparture orientation program with trips to the State Department, Defense Department, Supreme Court, and Congress, which allowed departing scholars to meet and mingle with a swatch of their high-profile predecessors.

Within a month of their Starbucks meeting, Gray and Leinbaugh recruited the talents of Bill Coquillette ('71), a partner at Jones Day. Together, the trio spent the following 6 months creating new bylaws and reorganizing the Board of Directors to reflect generational as well as regional diversity. Their efforts resulted in a recomposition of the AMS Board, the configuration of which is still in effect today. Regional Board membership correlates with the eight regional selection committees,<sup>9</sup> and one seat is reserved for a member from each decade. There are eight additional at-large seats as well as an Executive Committee of officers who oversee communications, programming, finances, and other aspects of the Board's work.<sup>10</sup>

Leinbaugh held an organizational meeting with the newly reconstituted Board in December 2007 at the New York offices of Jones Day. The group elected Coquillette the next President and Harrell Smith ('60) Chairman of the Board. As Chairman, Smith assembled a high-profile 15-member Advisory Board to the AMS,<sup>11</sup> which he began chairing in 2009. Coquillette presided over the AMS until 2011 when Gray was elected President.

Like Leinbaugh before them, both Coquillette and Gray prioritized regional programming, fund-raising, and relationships with the Embassy, MACC, and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO).<sup>12</sup> They also launched a revamped website and a newsletter, which now hosts quarterly news updates and articles from Marshalls across generations. Lauren Baer ('04), currently a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff (where, incidentally, the Marshall Plan was hatched), serves as the Board's Director of Programs. Events, which are organized by regional teams, range from small group dinners to tours of Congress and discussion panels highlighting the Marshall's best and brightest.

The AMS has begun to play an important role in the lives of current Marshall Scholars as well.<sup>13</sup> As it has built up its fund-raising capacity, the AMS has increasingly paired with the Marshall Secretariat in producing events, which include now-annual excursions to Scotland, shows at the Shakespeare's Globe, the Thanksgiving dinner every fall, as well as various ad hoc meetings with former Marshalls traveling through the UK.

Efforts on the part of the AMS to become a more active stakeholder in the Marshall program have also resulted in the first private endowment initiative in the Scholarship's history to sustain a discrete number of awards.<sup>14</sup> The initial impetus that drove endowment fund-raising was apprehension around the implications of the global financial crisis of the late 2000s, its effects on the financial health of the Marshall. "The major challenge of these years was the funding situation," remembers Frances Dow CBE, Chair of the MACC from 2007 to 2011. "The Marshall in no way was singled out... but the challenge was to keep the numbers of Marshall Scholarships at a sufficiently high level for the program not to lose momentum."<sup>15</sup> This worry sharpened with the arrival of the British coalition government in 2010, which, the MACC feared, could tighten the budget further.

Though the program weathered the financial storm with only a modest reduction in annual awards,<sup>16</sup> the experience provided a sobering reminder that direct feelings of gratitude for the Marshall Plan were no more than a generational memory in the minds of politicians, the electorate, and, most significantly, the British Foreign Office and Treasury. As in the 1980s, the MACC justified the Scholarship based on its diplomatic dividends. "One of the arguments that we employed with the FCO was that for the program to benefit all stakeholders, there had to be a critical mass," Dow says.<sup>17</sup> In the aftermath of the crisis, there developed an expectation from the Foreign Office that Marshalls take some active, albeit ancillary, financial role in the scheme, which contributed to the motivation behind the endowment initiative.

The AMS endowment will not be the first private or outside contribution to the Marshall Scholarship. While 80 % of the program is still funded by HM Government, other funding sources have included corporate sponsors, university partnerships, the Annenberg Foundation, and two US government agencies, the Environmental Protection agency (EPA) and the National Institutes of Health (NIH).<sup>18</sup> The AMS endowment, however, does represent the first major alumni-driven initiative to give back, despite, some charge, the resulting irony of an American-backed British award. "There was a general reluctance to get involved in this activity as recently as 2009... but the facts of American financial involvement in the scheme dating back to 2004 were not widely known," Gray writes. "There are some purists who think the Scholarship is and should remain 'purely and quintessentially British,' but it hasn't been such for

the last 10 years and the economic and political reality of government funding is such that it will need some help.”<sup>19</sup> The endowment is not intended to supplant British government funding, but its realization does signal an historic point in the Scholarship’s development. The willingness of donors to contribute to the program indicates a clear sense of responsibility for the continuation of their ilk, something that the Marshall had previously only witnessed in the form of volunteer work and selection committee staffing.

## NOTES

1. Before Eachus’ work in the 1980s to recover contact information for ‘lost’ Scholars, the British government had little official contact with Marshalls after they left the UK. Not only did that oversight translate to an incomplete appreciation of the Marshall program’s impact, but it also prevented the British government from being able to revisit its investment by actively engaging the vast network of Marshall Scholars in the US. Eachus’ work laid the initial groundwork toward that end, and Meyer’s ambassadorship from 1997-2003 established the first major and centralized effort by the British Government to utilize it diplomatically. Today, Scholars experience an unbroken line of communication with the British government from their time on the Scholarship.
2. Correspondence between Meyer and author [email], 11 June 2014.
3. “What I would do if I were God,” Meyer said, “is I would put in more money. I would double the number of Marshall Scholars.” Author interview with Meyer, 21 March 2014.
4. Author interview with Bob Kyle, 31 January 2013.
5. Author interview with Meyer, 8 February 2013.
6. Author interview with Bob Gray, 28 January 2013.
7. *See*: Aroop Mukharji, “The Starbucks Initiative: A Look at the History of the AMS,” *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, March 2013, pp. 6–10, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.marshallscholars.org/assets/attachments/Marshall%20Newsletter%20March%202013.pdf.pdf>.
8. Author interview with Ted Leinbaugh, 27 January 2013.
9. Based in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago Houston, Los Angeles, New York City, San Francisco, and Washington, DC.
10. AMS Board membership varies between 15 and 25 members. *See*: Mukharji, “The Starbucks Initiative,” pp. 6-10.
11. The Advisory Board, which is a part of the AMS, is different from the Advisory Council, which advises the Ambassador and the MACC on selection. Author interview with W. N. Harrell Smith IV, 12 February 2013.

12. Author interview with Bill Coquillette, 22 January 2013; Author interview with Gray, 28 January 2013.
13. This initiative began with Leinbaugh's efforts to connect young Scholars to earlier generations through pre-departure programming. Pre-departure orientation programs have been organized since the Scholarship's first year in 1954, but the alumni society has only recently played a larger role in them.
14. This fundraising project is still underway.
15. Author interview with Frances Dow, 25 June 2014.
16. The total number of awards offered in 2010 was reduced to 35 (from 40 the previous year), though this number fluctuates year to year depending on contributions from partner universities. The number of annual awards peaked at 44 in 2004 and 2007.
17. Author interview with Frances Dow, 25 June 2014.
18. The Annenberg Foundation has endowed a single scholarship from the New York selection region since 2007. Other partners in the last decade have included British Schools and Universities Foundation, Cable and Wireless, National Grid Transco, Texas Department of Trade and Industry, the Scottish Government, Cambridge Overseas Trust, various colleges at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, King's College London, LSE, Royal Holloway, Courtauld Institute of Art, Guildhall School, Imperial College London, Queen's University Belfast, Queen Mary, UCL, Royal Northern College of Music, and the universities of Nottingham, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol, Durham, East Anglia, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Southampton, Surrey, Warwick, St. Andrew's, Reading, Glasgow, Sussex, Keele, Kent, and Dundee. *See: "Annual Reports of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2001-2013, Online, Available: <http://www.marshallscholarship.org/about/annualreports>.*
19. Correspondence between Gray and author [email], 10 June 2014.

## From Award to Association

In the early 2000s, Dan Yergin ('68), a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and one of the world's leading energy experts, attended a Marshall Scholar holiday party at an Embassy official's residence in Washington, DC. Over mulled wine and mince pies, he struck up a conversation with a young Harvard Law graduate with an interest in energy issues. Today, because of that serendipitous meeting, the two share a close personal and professional relationship. "You can't ask for a better mentor," says Jason Bordoff ('95), who now directs Columbia University's Center on Global Energy Policy, and who previously served in the White House as a Special Assistant to President Obama on the National Security Council. "Dan has been so generous with his time. He serves on my advisory board, and spoke at our center's launch in April of [2013]."<sup>1</sup>

Yergin and Bordoff's chance encounter was the result of the intersection of a robust alumni society with the active engagement of US-based Scholars by the British government. It is probable that Yergin and Bordoff would have met each other elsewhere given their overlapping career interests, but the invitation from the Embassy rooted their common ground in their Marshall connection.

The strength of the community today is the product of an expansion of Scholar programming, generations of alumni society development, and the persistent connection the British retain with Scholars through their network of consulate-generals in the USA (and the Embassy). What began as an award of achievement has evolved into an association of experience and

appreciation, enriching what it means to be a Marshall Scholar in the first place.<sup>2</sup> The dialogue, programming, and sense of community are the fruits of the labor of a few passionate initiators (on both sides of the Atlantic) and a dedicated corps of individuals, supported at critical moments by subtle but effective assistance from Embassy coffers. Though beset by its own historical difficulties with leadership, longevity, and achieving critical mass, the alumni society has helped to sustain the Scholarship through shifting political landscapes, and has now established itself as a partner with the program as it charts a new age in its development.

## NOTES

1. Interview with Jason Bordoff, 11 October 2013; Aroop Mukharji, "Power Rangers: Marshall Scholars in the Energy Industry," *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, December 2013, p. 11, Accessed July 2014, Available: <http://www.marshallscholars.org/assets/attachments/Marshall%20Newsletter%20December%202013.pdf>.
2. Mukharji, "The Starbucks Initiative," p. 10.

## Ministry of Marshall

*There ought to be a center of reference, either in the Foreign Office or elsewhere, to whom any matter of exceptional difficulty can be reported—the off misfit or case of serious illness or the like—and who could sanction any extraordinary expenditure which had to be incurred on that account—in a letter from Hector Hetherington to Sir Roger Makins, 23 May 1952.<sup>1</sup>*

Though the award itself is open to students with any career interest, the Marshall program, with its origins in the Foreign Office, has always had a diplomatic bent. Annual reports from the first few decades of the Scholarship were consistently peppered with accounts of government officialdom interacting with unsuspecting Marshall Scholars. From 1974:

In this time the Scholars were entertained at a reception given by Her Majesty's Government at Lancaster House, St. James's, where they were welcomed by the Right Hon. Baroness Tweedsmuir of Belhevie, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs; they were also conducted a tour of the Houses of Parliament by Mr. C. S. A. Dobson, Librarian British-American Parliamentary Group. The welcoming functions concluded with a lunch held by the Commission at the Haberdashers' Hall, Staining Lane, London, E.C.2 (by kind permission of the Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers).<sup>2</sup>

In other years, welcome receptions and farewell luncheons for Scholars have featured guests like the Queen Mother, Princess Alice, Princess Diana, the US Ambassador to the UK, the UK Ambassador to the USA, and various

ministers of government.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the high-profile events bookending every Scholar's tenure, week-to-week communication with the British government is maintained by way of the Marshall Secretariat, the center of all Marshall operations housed within the ACU.<sup>4</sup> Among myriad other responsibilities, the Secretariat serves as the primary support mechanism for Scholars during their time in the UK. In the early years, John Foster, as the ACU's Secretary-General, simultaneously served as the Executive Secretary to the MACC and directed the Marshall Secretariat. "Foster was a leading light in the Scholarship," Gary Hufbauer ('60), a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Treasury, recalls. "A great and warm presence, and a real country gentleman. He looked after us."<sup>5</sup>

As the Marshall program grew in size and as the remit of the ACU expanded, many of the day-to-day stewarding roles of the Secretary-General (ACU)/Executive Secretary (MACC) were handed off to the Assistant Secretary.<sup>6</sup> To many Scholars starting in the mid-to-late 1960s, the Assistant Secretary thus became the face of the Marshall Scholarship. Such was the case with Assistant Secretary Geraldine Cully, who met with every Marshall periodically, corresponded with academic advisors, and otherwise took a great interest in the young Americans' well-being and life in the UK. When Bill Janeway's ('65) offer at King's College Cambridge was rescinded because of his supervisor's departure from the University, it was Cully who scrambled to find him another spot at Pembroke College.<sup>7</sup> Lawrence Wilkinson ('72) recalls: "I never had any big logistical issues, but my understanding is that when anyone did, [Cully] would do her magic and the problems would go away... She *was* the Marshall Scholarship for most of us."<sup>8</sup> Another writes of Cully, "She personified the bonds that we have to the program and to each other."<sup>9</sup> Cully, incumbent for 26 years, was followed by Ruth Davis (1986–1995), Catherine Reive (1995–2001), and most recently, Mary Denyer, who has additionally headed the Scholarship administration of the Marshall since 2001.<sup>10</sup>

Since the early 2000s, owing both to the ease of communication and to increased funding by the AMS and the UK government, officially organized Scholar activity has grown to become a much more significant part of current Scholars' lives in the UK. Detailed orientation programs in Washington, DC, and in London, with tours of Parliament, discussions with MPs, receptions with Ministers of State, and tours of the capital, have long been a feature of arriving Scholars' acclimatization to the UK. Under Denyer's tenure, however, the annual schedule has expanded to include a visit to 10 Downing Street for a tour and conversation with the prime

minister's foreign policy advisors, annual trips, museum excursions, and a variety of other meet-and-greet events. This growth in activity inspired the creation of the permanent position of Programme Administrator within the Secretariat in 1999, most recently filled by Elizabeth Clark and Pete Vlahos.

The primary motivation behind the increase in extracurricular activity (called Marshall Plus programming) was to further acquaint current Scholars with British culture and perspective. Such exposure has historically been a priority of the program, and Denyer, along with her then-overseeing MACC Chairs, Jonathan Taylor (2000–2007) and Frances Dow (2007–2011), sought additional opportunities toward that end. “The Commission argued, ‘why should Marshall Scholars have a continuing affection and connection with the UK if we don’t do enough to tell them about it while they are here?’” Dow recalls, crediting Commissioner David Eastwood, now Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham, for coining the phrase Marshall Plus over a pint.<sup>11</sup>

In 2004, on the invitation of the Scottish government, Denyer and Taylor led a group of Marshalls to Edinburgh to meet with the First Minister and members of Scottish Parliament, to visit local universities and businesses, and to tour the country. Invitations from Cardiff and Belfast followed, and the trip has since developed into a rotating, annual excursion under Dow (and now, John Hughes), mixing high-level political meetings with cultural touring and the occasional Scottish ceilidh. “We really wanted to encourage [Scholars] to visit... so there was a lot of work done to get [them] to move outside of their obvious boundaries,” Denyer notes, alluding to the traditionally high concentration of Marshall Scholars in the so-called “golden triangle” of Oxford, London, and Cambridge.<sup>12</sup>

Although class bonding was not a delineated goal of the increased programming, such group activities have inevitably produced a greater sense of community among Scholars. “We do want Scholars to go to a variety of UK universities,” Dow says, “but the downside to spreading them throughout the UK is the difficulty of developing a ‘class identity.’ Having events and particularly having these visits [to Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland] is one way of allowing Marshall Scholars to develop a sense of a Marshall community.”<sup>13</sup> In annual reports and interviews, recent scholars wrote about their experience with a far greater sense of group cohesion, identity, and belonging than their mid- and late-century forebears. The evolution of the alumni society has also contributed in this regard, but the Secretariat has a more regular presence in the lives of current Scholars.

## NOTES

1. Hetherington to Makins, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97650, 23 May 1952.
2. "Twentieth Annual Report of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission," *United States No. 1 (1974) Cmnd. 5555*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, March 1974.
3. The Queen Mother's attendance, unlike the others, was never officially recorded in any Annual Report of the Scholarship, though Scholars have recalled her presence. Author interview with Gary Hufbauer ('60), 7 May 2014.
4. As explained in Chapter 7, everyday operations of the Marshall Scholarship—though overseen by the MACC, a non-departmental public body—are administered and managed by a permanent secretariat housed in the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU).
5. Author interview with Hufbauer, 7 May 2014.
6. Today, the Deputy Secretary-General of the ACU is the Executive Secretary to the MACC. As the Deputy Secretary-General bills only 15 days a year on Marshall-related work, almost all of the day-to-day administration is managed by the Assistant Secretary.
7. Author interview with Bill Janeway, 16 August 2013.
8. Author interview with Lawrence Wilkinson, 17 June 2014.
9. Anonymous submission, "Miss Geraldine Cully: In Memoriam," *Marshall Update: A Newsletter for Scholars Past and Present*, Fall 2005, p. 10, Accessed June 2014, Available: [http://www.marshallscholars.org/media/newsletter/223\\_Marshall%20Update%20Fall%202005.pdf](http://www.marshallscholars.org/media/newsletter/223_Marshall%20Update%20Fall%202005.pdf).
10. Ms. Mary Coppinger also held the position of Assistant Secretary from 1956-61, but the role expanded during Cully's years. Only two other individuals are mentioned in the records before Cully as assistants, A.L. Fleet and Mrs. B. Norman-Butler, though they seemed to have performed the role of 'Scholarships Assistant' rather than 'Assistant Secretary,' and otherwise acted as a personal secretary to Foster. The Assistant Secretary position became far more prominent in the Marshall program under Cully.
11. Author interview with Dow, 25 June 2014.
12. Author interview with Mary Denyer, 9 June 2014.
13. Author interview with Dow, 25 June 2014.

PART IV

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## The Unanticipated

## “British” Marshall Scholars

In 2008, Rachel Savage ('97) began working at the Bank of England as an analyst in the Notes Division. At that time, the number of £5 notes distributed nationally through ATMs was just a fraction of a percent, and the notes that were available were often tattered, torn, or “grubby.”<sup>1</sup> In response to this, the then Governor of the Bank, Sir Mervyn King, made it an explicit priority to bolster their popularity and quality. Some also postulated that increasing the number of £5 notes would help to prevent inflation. “The idea was that if more people had £5 notes, they would spend less money because they had smaller denominations,” Savage recounts.<sup>2</sup> The Bank tasked the Notes Division—Savage included—to convince and incentivize banks and independent ATM companies to order and carry more new £5 notes. The program flourished. Within a couple of years, *Reuters* reported a 750 % increase in ATM outflows of £5 notes.<sup>3</sup> The £5 note effort has been so successful, Savage says, that it has even begun to “crowd out the 10s” (though a causal link to curbing inflation remains to be established). Savage later helped to redesign and release the new £50 notes (and phase out the old £20). She currently works as the Bank’s trade union representative to senior management.<sup>4</sup>

Savage’s motivation to remain in the UK beyond her Marshall years is clear: she met and married a Brit while attending Edinburgh University on her Scholarship. While few Marshalls so cement the “special relationship” between the USA and UK, a handful of Marshall Scholars from each class return to the UK to work at some point during their careers,

and currently, about 8 % of all Marshall alumni are based in the UK.<sup>5</sup> Most find visiting professorships for a semester or two, some are temporarily posted to London on business, and others drop in periodically as musicians, conductors, and fine artists for performances, exhibitions, and shows. A smaller number return for the duration of their careers, and fewer still, like Savage, never make it home to the USA in the first place.<sup>6</sup>

The founders of the Marshall Scholarship in the British Foreign Office never indicated an expectation that the program might groom Americans for local careers. Fewer Americans traveled abroad at the time, due to the complications of expense and travel, and Americans also figured less prominently into British society. The idea that an American might, for instance, become the head of an Oxford college was practically unheard of. The first such appointment in 1951 at University College, Oxford, 700 years after the institution's founding in 1249, was a rare exception.<sup>7</sup> Since then, five Americans have held such a post, one of them a Marshall Scholar.<sup>8</sup>

In constructing the Scholarship, it was the implicit expectation of the founders that Scholars would return to the USA at some point. "In a way," jokes Keith Griffin ('60), a former President of Magdalen College, Oxford, "I am an example of what the Marshall Scholarship committees *didn't* want."<sup>9</sup> While the Foreign Office was not expecting every Marshall Scholar to work directly on Anglo-American relations from within the USA, it was looking to prime a cadre of British-educated leaders who would one day return home. In a note to Prime Minister Clement Attlee describing the idea of the program in 1951, Makins wrote, "...the injection into *American* life of a further 12 persons yearly who had benefitted by a British university education would be helpful to Anglo-American relations in the future" [emphasis added].<sup>10</sup>

For months in the early 1950s, the Foreign Office debated what to include as part of the Scholarship application, and their deliberations reveal a consistent desire that Marshall Scholars be "representative Americans." Even after the scheme had been publicly announced in Parliament, the Foreign Office wanted to restrict the Scholarship to US citizens by birth and not naturalized ones.<sup>11</sup> Noting that the Rhodes Scholarship required naturalized Americans to have lived at least 5 years in the USA, however, the team reconsidered its position. "We could specify U.S. citizens and *direct* the committees on detail—i.e. a naturalised citizen of only a few years' residence would not be a representative American," wrote Robert Cecil, Counselor and Head of the American Department at the Foreign Office in 1952.<sup>12</sup>

While strict residency requirements never survived the drafting stage, the desire for "representative Americans" persisted for decades. In inter-

view notes, selection committees often positively described candidates in terms of Americanness and representational capacity (e.g. “a clean-cut All-American young man”).<sup>13</sup> A confidential administrative 1972 memorandum (now publicly available in the National Archives) to HM Consul-Generals in the USA reads:

It is, of course, hoped that Scholars will not only contribute to our understanding of the U.S. during their stay in Britain, but, on their return to the U.S. play a leading part in promoting Anglo-American co-operation and understanding. For this reason it is desirable that the selected Scholars should be “representative” Americans. Tendencies to prefer those candidates who have already been subject to British influence, or who exhibit traits of character which are thought to be congenial to the “representative Englishman” should be discouraged. For the same reason, Consuls-General should seek to guide their Committees to select students who, if U.S. citizens, by naturalization and not by birth, are by education predominantly American.<sup>14</sup>

Whether the MACC had a clear idea of what “representative Americans” even looked like is suspect. The hope, though, was that such individuals, by virtue of their native standing, could more broadly and deeply affect American society by sharing their newly found appreciation for British culture and perspective.

One would thus expect the MACC (and the Foreign Office) in the 1950s to have been somewhat disappointed by the small number of Scholars who stayed in the UK after their awards. Yet, the Scholarship administration seemed to pay no mind. In the late 1960s, when the MACC began collecting statistical records on Marshall Scholars and their career paths, it casually and objectively noted the number of Scholars who remained in the UK without any footnotes or later discussion.

To some degree, the expectations of the 1950s continue today. The Marshall Scholarship is still primarily presented as a means to create links with “future leaders” of America, and the large majority of Scholars do return home for their careers.<sup>15</sup> But since at least 1979, when Griffin assumed the presidency of Magdalen College, Oxford, the MACC has not shied away from touting the achievements of its “British” Marshall Scholars.<sup>16</sup> Caroline Lawrence (’77), a children’s author, inspired a BBC miniseries, and another, Bret Kahr (’82) is considered one of Britain’s foremost mental health professionals. Several others have been invested as Officers of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) by Her Majesty the

Queen, like Cindy Sughrue ('85), the CEO of the Scottish Ballet for her services to dance, and Jeff Waage ('75), a professor who helped the UK government prevent new disease outbreaks. The list of long-term residents in the UK even includes a few notable athletes. Josh West ('98), now a Geology Professor at the University of Southern California, went so far as to win (as part of the men's 8) a silver medal in rowing for the UK in the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

## NOTES

1. *See*: "Why Your Fiver is Tatty," *BBC News*, 11 April 2002, Accessed June 2014, Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1921123.stm>; "More Cash Machines Stock Fivers," *BBC News*, 13 October 2011, Accessed June 2014, Available: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-15295195>.
2. Author interview with Rachel Savage, 31 May 2014.
3. A BBC article reported .2% of ATM outflows in 2010 were £5 notes. Reuters reported an increase to 1.5% in 2012. Kevin Peachey, "Five-Pound Notes Are Still a Rare Offering at Cash Machines," *BBC News*, 16 March 2011, Accessed June 2014, Available: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-12668840>; Michelle Martin, "The Rise and Rise of the Humble 5-Pound Note," *Reuters (Chicago Tribune)*, 26 April 2012, Accessed June 2014, Available: [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-04-26/features/sns-rt-us-britain-fiversbre83p0yl-20120426\\_1\\_cash-machines-notes-rise](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-04-26/features/sns-rt-us-britain-fiversbre83p0yl-20120426_1_cash-machines-notes-rise).
4. Aroop Mukharji, "Marshalls Right on the Money," *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, Spring/Summer 2015, p. 17, Accessed 29 August 2015, Available: <http://www.marshallscholars.org/assets/attachments/Marshall%20Newsletter%20Spring%202015.pdf>.
5. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
6. Aroop Mukharji, "'British' Marshall Scholars," *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, Spring 2014, p. 10, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.marshallscholars.org/assets/attachments/Marshall%20Newsletter%20Spring%202014.pdf>.
7. Technically, the US had only been around for 175 years at that point. Arthur Lehman Goodhart became Master of University College in 1951, the same year Marshall Scholarship planning began in earnest.
8. By this author's count: Baruch Blumberg (Balliol College 1989-1994), Rick Trainor (Exeter College 2014-Present), Keith Griffin (Magdalen College 1979-1988), Kingman Brewster, Jr. (University College 1986-1988), Michael von Clemm (Templeton College 1996-1997).
9. Author interview with Keith Griffin, 18 September 2013.
10. Makins to Clement Attlee (PM), *The National Archives*, FO 371/91013, 8 August 1951.

11. Record of discussion between Makins, Barclay, Maitland, and Haigh (Foreign Office), *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 12 August 1952.
12. Memo by Cecil, *The National Archives*, FO 371/97651, 2 September 1952.
13. [Interview notes], *1969 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission.
14. Administrative Memorandum to HM Consuls-General on the Work of Regional Committees, *The National Archives*, FCO 13/600, 1972.
15. “Mission Statement,” *Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission*, 2014, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.marshallscholarship.org/about/missionstatement>.
16. Like Martinez, McAllister, and Buford mentioned in Chapter 12.

## Reinvestment

On average, nine out of ten Marshall Scholars visit the UK at least once after their scholarship tenure. Thirty percent will visit every 1–4 years, and 14 % return to live in the UK for at least 1 year in their careers.<sup>1</sup>

When discussing the value of the Marshall Scholarship, the British government often celebrates its soft power benefits. “The principal objective of our scholarship programme is to win long term friends overseas for Britain,” wrote Derek Fatchett MP and junior minister in the FCO in 1998.<sup>2</sup> But the program has yielded quantitative returns too: friends tend to invest in friends, especially over the long term. Tourism is just the start.

The Marshall Scholarship is a revealing study for reinvestment in a host country. According to alumni surveys, 45 % of the Marshall Scholars have donated to or invested in the UK. This increases consistently and sharply with age (only 13 % from the last decade of cohorts, but 71 % from the 1950s cohorts).<sup>3</sup> Of those who donate, the majority give to their UK alma mater.<sup>4</sup>

Bill Janeway’s (’65) contribution to Cambridge University is perhaps the most striking example of such reinvestment.<sup>5</sup> The valedictorian of Princeton in 1965, Janeway was drawn to Cambridge for its intellectual tradition in Keynesian thought, and he fully anticipated returning to the USA after his Marshall to teach economics. Cambridge cultivated the conceptual counterweight to the mathematical formalism proselytized elsewhere, especially at the schools of the Massachusetts-based Cambridge. During his Marshall, Janeway wrote a doctoral thesis, *The Economic Policies of the Labour*

*Government of 1929–1931*, under the supervision of Keynes’ intellectual protégé and executor, Professor Richard (later, Lord) Kahn. Ironically, Janeway notes, his British education, which ran against the grain in the USA, “effectively disqualified” him from the academic career he had envisioned. “Instead I entered the frontier of entrepreneurial finance, where technological innovation is funded subject to just the sort of radical uncertainty native to Keynes’ economics,” he writes.<sup>6</sup> And it was precisely that academic perspective, he believes, that gave him an edge in the business: studying the “bubble burst” of 1929 and the following financial crisis instructed him on the “inherent volatility of financial markets and fragility of financial systems,”<sup>7</sup> while the failed political responses to the collapse in the UK were lessons in the co-dependent health of the public and private sectors. Janeway attributes his “[forty] years of successful practice as a venture capitalist” to the “extraordinary opportunity granted by the Marshall Program.”<sup>8</sup>

Grateful for the intellectual home he found at Cambridge, Janeway was eager to set up a research program in financial economics. In 2001, he and his wife Weslie invested \$10 million to establish the Cambridge Endowment for Research in Finance (CERF), based at the business school. They doubled the investment 5 years later. In 2006, Janeway retired as Vice-Chairman of Warburg Pincus, and he and his wife established residence in Cambridge during the academic year. As he became deeply engaged with the faculty of economics over the following decade, the Janeways’ support of economics and finance at Cambridge has grown to exceed \$50 million.<sup>9</sup> Though he maintained little personal or professional contact with the Marshall, Cambridge, or even the UK over the course of his career, Janeway’s contribution stands out as a remarkable example of what a single scholarship may yield down the line for an institution.

At the time of Janeway’s gift, British philanthropy toward higher education lagged far behind that in America. According to a UK government study in 2004 (nicknamed “The Thomas Report”) by its Department for Education and Skills, individual charitable giving—toward any cause—accounted for 1.7 % of the average household income in the USA, compared to just 0.7 % in the UK. Moreover, a larger percentage of Americans donated toward higher education (14 % in the USA and negligible in the UK).<sup>10</sup> The gap was even wider within corporate giving.<sup>11</sup> British university endowments suffered as a result. According to the same government study, only five UK universities in 2004 had endowments exceeding £100 million.<sup>12</sup> By comparison, at the time, the state of Massachusetts alone hosted five institutions with endowments over \$1 billion.<sup>13</sup>

Part of the discrepancy was ascribed to differing cultural momenta. “It is, apparently, ‘American’ to support such causes generously and it is ‘un-British,’” the study lamented.<sup>14</sup> Another contributing factor was the “culture of asking” in the USA and “its virtual absence in many UK higher education institutions.”<sup>15</sup> The LSE, for example, did not even have a formal fund-raising arm or development office until 1993,<sup>16</sup> decades after its peers and competitors in the USA. As public funding of British universities declined over the latter half of the twentieth century, private fund-raising became critically important. But institutions did not have a local model to emulate. “There is much we can learn from the successes in the USA,”<sup>17</sup> the study admitted. Additional features within the 72-page study included a section entitled, “Asking requires personal skills,” and a description of tactics inspired by American precedent such as coupling solicitations with sports and arts events.<sup>18</sup>

Intrigued by fund-raising prowess across the Atlantic and driven by its own need to counter the decline in state support, Cambridge University recruited Janeway in 2005 to co-chair its first-ever major capital campaign in celebration of its 800th anniversary. “Bill [Janeway] brought something that most of us in the UK hadn’t had: the American model of philanthropy,” said Janeway’s campaign co-Chair David Walker.<sup>19</sup>

Janeway found much lacking. “I found an almost feudal notion of fund-raising here—as if we were in a village in Midsomer and having a whip-round of the local baronet, squire and vicar to put a new roof on the village hall,” he said. “Instead, we needed to take seriously the long-term commitment to building a base from the bottom up, College by College and alumnus by alumnus.”<sup>20</sup> It worked. Over the next several years, Janeway and Walker led the 800th Anniversary Campaign that raised an unprecedented £1.2 billion for Cambridge, more than any university ever had in a single campaign outside of the USA.<sup>21</sup>

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Business and professional links are another form of reinvestment demonstrated by Marshall Scholars. Some 83 % maintain a level of professional or business association with the UK, and around half cite strong to very strong professional interests.<sup>22</sup> One of the most well-known Marshalls in television, John Jay Iselin (’56) entered several contracts with British shows and stations throughout the 1970s and 1980s when he was president of WNET (Channel 13), the USA’s largest public television station.<sup>23</sup> His 2008 obituary in *The New York Times* detailed one such venture with Granada Television of Manchester, England in 1981. “It was a time when Channel 13, like all of

public broadcasting, was facing financial woes,” it read, noting the proposed project’s \$500,000 price tag. Iselin took the risk to coproduce the series, based on Evelyn Waugh’s novel *Brideshead Revisited*, and he was rewarded with one of the station’s greatest successes, according to Robert Kotlowitz, the station’s director of programming at the time.<sup>24</sup>

Iselin’s assistant during this era, by a twist of fate, happened to be a Marshall Scholar as well. “We were very oriented to the UK... WNET was engaging British culture, through co-productions with British producers and American versions of British shows. Collaboration might have happened anyway because the British were on a roll,” admits Lawrence Wilkinson (’72). “But,” he adds, “Jay and I were both huge fans [of the UK]. Having been in England was not the key here, but it did encourage it.”<sup>25</sup>

After stewarding Channel 13 for 16 years and having launched shows such as *Live from Lincoln Center* and *The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, Iselin went on to become president of Cooper Union, one of the nation’s leading art, architecture, and engineering schools, after which he led the Marconi Foundation at Columbia University. Wilkinson moved around in public broadcasting, later running Colossal Pictures and co-founding *Business Times*, The Global Business Network, and *Wired*. He additionally helped to found the *Oxygen* channel and entered a venture to restart the UK’s Ealing Studios, the world’s oldest continuously operating movie studio. Wilkinson continues to strategy consult *pro bono* for the Bodleian Library in Oxford, a legacy of his time spent there as a Marshall Scholar.

Other Scholars have invested heavily in UK start-ups. Michael Elias (’81), for instance, is a growth equity investor who, in the 1980s and 1990s, helped pioneer venture capital investment in British and European technology companies. He, like Janeway, had originally imagined a career in academia, which he abandoned soon after his Marshall tenure in favor of business and finance. In 1997, he founded Kennet Capital, a private equity investment firm headquartered in London with a smaller branch in Silicon Valley, California. Over the last 17 years, his company has invested over \$100 million in UK businesses, primarily software companies.<sup>26</sup>

Scholars in business and finance date back to the 1950s, but they were not well represented in Marshall cohorts until Elias’ era in the 1980s, when finance itself was becoming a more popular career track among American college graduates. In 1992, the Marshall began funding MBA degrees, which continued until the mid-2000s when it stopped doing so (along with master’s degrees in financial economics) on account of the degrees’ high cost.<sup>27</sup> Scholars in these industries have held positions at major banks, hedge funds, and venture capital, and private equity firms,

and otherwise include angel and super angel investors. Many have played such roles in the UK, like Jeff Tomasi, a managing director and partner at Goldman Sachs, John Malik, an executive director at Morgan Stanley, and Beth Mandel, the former COO of Morgan Stanley Europe who now runs a sub-Saharan private equity firm.

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The first Scholar to win an Academy Award was a scientist. He went on to win a second Oscar, along with a Grammy and several Emmys. He revolutionized Hollywood and the music industry through his audio inventions, gaining early notoriety for the sound system used in *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) and *Star Wars* (1977) and since influencing more than 34,000 films across the world.<sup>28</sup> The story begins in Cambridge University, when a young Stanford graduate, Ray Dolby ('57), was working toward a second bachelor's degree in engineering on the Marshall Scholarship.

"[Dolby] came to me after two months at Cambridge and said he was bored out of his mind with his academic program," remembers Tom Everhart ('55).<sup>29</sup> Dolby had a background developing recording equipment at Ampex, having played a major role in engineering the audio component of the world's first video recorder as an undergraduate, so he soon swapped the second engineering degree for a PhD in physics. On the side, he kept experimenting with sound. "One of the famous stories around Dolby Labs is from his time at Cambridge," recalls his son, Dave Dolby. "One of the rooms he had was adjacent to the Wren Chapel, so he strung microphone cables over the roof and recorded performances in the chapel from his room. Lore has it that some of those cables might still be on the roof of the chapel."<sup>30</sup>

Commenting on Dolby's academic performance, his supervisor Vernon E. Cosslett wrote in 1959: "I am glad to be able to report that Dolby continues to make excellent progress in his research work here... I am sure that he will obtain his PhD, but the chief remaining difficulty will probably be getting him to settle down to write the thesis. He is always so full of ideas and such a good experimentalist that writing up results comes very hard to him."<sup>31</sup>

Dolby did, in fact, finish a PhD on X-ray microanalysis of light elements, and he was awarded with a fellowship at Pembroke College immediately afterward.<sup>32</sup> He consulted briefly for the UK Atomic Energy Authority, and then worked for two years in India as a technical counselor for UNESCO to advise the Indian government on setting up a new national laboratory in Chandigarh. While in Cambridge, and increasingly while in India, Dolby wrestled with an engineering puzzle that had tormented sound engineers

for decades: eliminating the hissing sound in recorded audio. “It had a very bad reputation because no one had succeeded in making an effective noise reduction system without introducing undesirable side effects, artifacts, into the signal,” he stated in a 2003 interview. While in India, Dolby had a revelation: “I realized that everybody else had been working at this problem from the wrong end.” Others had attempted to manipulate high-amplitude signals. Dolby decided that he needed to amplify the low-amplitude signals instead, while allowing the high-amplitude signals to pass through a separate channel. The inspiration was so immediate and overwhelming that on a road trip back to London from Delhi, he stopped in Kabul, Afghanistan for a few days to write up his ideas and send them off from Kandahar to apply for a patent.<sup>33</sup>

Upon arrival in London in 1965, Dolby started his company, Dolby Laboratories (“Dolby Labs”). “He initially tried to model the work environment at Dolby Labs after the Cavendish laboratory [at Cambridge],” remarks his son. “He wanted it to have the same collegial, no politics, engineering atmosphere—a place where everyone took their work very seriously, but were very interested in each other’s work. It was an environment where he thrived.”<sup>34</sup>

Locating his company in the UK, according to Dolby’s wife Dagmar, had much to do with his local network.<sup>35</sup> Additionally (and fortuitously), London’s music scene had grown to make the city a hub of the recording industry. High-profile rock-and-roll bands like The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and The Who were all London-based at the time, as well as EMI and Decca Records. Decca bought the first eight units of Dolby’s first major product, a noise-reduction system for audio recording and playback (known as A301s), the first of many Dolby-pioneered advances in the field.<sup>36</sup> Soon studios across London—including BBC, Pye, IBC, CBS Studios, Kingsway, RCA, and Granada—all carried A301s. The Beatles’ *Abbey Road* was recorded using A301s, and the band continued to use the technology at Apple Studios in the late 1960s. Other early adopters included The Rolling Stones (via Decca Records), The Doors, The Grateful Dead, and The Who. By 1972, over 40 London studios were employing Dolby equipment for their master tapes.<sup>37</sup> The irony given these high-profile rock clients, remembers Ioan Allen, one of Dolby’s first employees (and current Senior Vice-President) was that Dolby was mainly involved in classical recording at the time. His first album release was Mahler’s *Symphony No. 2* performed by the London Symphony Orchestra.<sup>38</sup> In the 1970s, Hollywood became Dolby’s next big client following the success

of major Dolby-engineered theatrical releases such as *Star Wars* (1977), *Superman* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979).<sup>39</sup> Though Dolby eventually moved the company headquarters to San Francisco in 1976, he kept open several labs and an exporting center in Stockwell, London.

In 1987, at the height of Thatcherism in the UK, an article in *The Observer* asked whether the Marshall program was worth the taxpayer money “in these hard times.” Quoting Gary Holt, the then managing director of Dolby Labs, and noting the 150 British employees of the London office, the article continued: “Ray Dolby has paid the UK back more than the whole bloody programme, with the work and employment he’s created.”<sup>40</sup> A year prior, the Queen had awarded Dolby an honorary Order of the British Empire (OBE) in recognition of his work.<sup>41</sup>

Writing at the end of his Scholarship in his annual report at age 25, Dolby, who spent his student vacations exploring the English countryside on an acquired 1951 Norman 98 cc motorbike (and later, a 1955 350 cc Matchless with a single-seater Watsonian Ascot sidecar), wrote: “I will say... that I am most grateful to the Commission and to Her Majesty’s Government for this scholarship and the opportunity of discovering for myself that the world is indeed bigger than San Francisco, California.”<sup>42</sup> Today, Dolby Labs in the UK employs 60 full-time staff and serves as the center of all European, Middle East, and African (EMEA) operations, a region which employs an additional 240 full-time staff and invests heavily in R&D across Europe, most recently in Spain, Poland, Germany, and Sweden.<sup>43</sup>

Many other Scholars started companies in the UK, though entrepreneurs and inventors like Dolby remained relatively rare in the first few decades of the program. The late 1970s and 1980s saw a sprinkling of company founders like Beth Marcus (’79), a serial entrepreneur, and Patrick Byrne (’88), the current CEO of Overstock.com, a major American online retailer. Others transferred their academic training to the business realm, like Sridhar Iyengar (’95), who developed cutting-edge medical devices and diabetes monitors. By the stock market boom of the 1990s, the Scholarship began producing entrepreneurs with some regularity, as it had with business and finance types a decade prior. Curiously, most of the Scholars who followed such entrepreneurial tracks had planned to enter academia upon their application for the Scholarship, but switched soon afterward. Such was the case for Iyengar as well as for Reid Hoffman (’90), the Scholarship’s most famous Internet entrepreneur and angel investor, who co-founded PayPal and LinkedIn.

Soon after Hoffman's time, some selection committees began seeking innovators in addition to awarding them unwittingly. "Entrepreneurs really took off in the late 1990s and 2000s," comments Linn Hobbs, a former long-serving Chair of the Boston selection committee. "It was a way people could become really prominent really quickly and this was attractive to selection committees." Hobbs, also a professor at MIT, adds that academics themselves are increasingly entrepreneurs. "Many [of my colleagues] are known better for their spinoff companies," he says.<sup>44</sup> Stephen Quake ('91), a biophysicist at Stanford, for example, boasts 82 patents to his name. Thus, even for Scholars who follow an academic path, the transition to business remains fluid.

## NOTES

1. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
2. Fatchett was referring to Chevening Scholars, Commonwealth Scholars, as well as Marshall Scholars. Derek Fatchett (MP and FCO), Written Answers, House of Commons Debates, 13 July 1998, Accessed February 2014, Available: [http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written\\_answers/1998/jul/13/latin-american-students](http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1998/jul/13/latin-american-students).
3. Kubler and Ebbols, "Report"; Kubler, "Report."
4. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
5. The contribution was made jointly under the names of William Janeway and his wife, Weslie Janeway.
6. Correspondence between Janeway and author [email], 22 May 2014.
7. Correspondence between Janeway and author [email], 22 May 2014.
8. Correspondence between Janeway and author [email], 22 May 2014.
9. Author interview with Janeway, 16 August 2013; Correspondence between Janeway and author [email], 21 August 2015.
10. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics. Eric Thomas et al., "Increasing Voluntary Giving to Higher Education: Task Force Report to Government," *Department for Education and Skills*, May 2004, p. 20, Online, Accessed 16 July 2014, Available: [https://www.case.org/Documents/PublicPolicy/CASE\\_Europe/increasingvoluntarygivingreport.pdf](https://www.case.org/Documents/PublicPolicy/CASE_Europe/increasingvoluntarygivingreport.pdf).
11. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
12. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
13. Harvard University, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Williams College, Wellesley College, and Boston College. "2005 NACUBO Endowment Study Information," *National Association of College and University Business Officers*, 2005, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.nacubo.org/documents/about/FY05NESInstitutionsbyTotalAssets.pdf>.

14. Thomas et al., “Increasing Voluntary Giving to Higher Education,” p. 22.
15. Thomas et al., p. 5.
16. Correspondence between LSE Advancement Office and author [email], 13 August 2014. It is also worth noting that LSE’s announcement of its new Advancement director, Chris Yates, touts his 25 years of fundraising experience at US institutions (University of Southern California, Stanford University, and Caltech). “A Message from Chris Yates,” *LSE Advancement*, 2014, Online, Accessed 11 September 2014, Available: <http://www.alumni.lse.ac.uk/s/1623/interior-hybrid.aspx?sid=1623&gid=1&pgid=871&cid=1897&ccid=1897&crd=0&calpgid=402&calcid=1389>.
17. Thomas et al., p. 5.
18. Thomas et al., p. 28.
19. Becky Allen, ““History of a Friendship: David Walker and Bill Janeway, the 800<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Campaign co-chairmen, discuss a friendship built on philanthropy,” *The Philanthropist: Celebrating World-Changing Philanthropy at Cambridge*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Development and Alumni Relations, 2012, p. 11, Accessed July 2014, Available: <http://issuu.com/cambridgealumnirelationsoffice/docs/thephilanthropist.pdf>.
20. Allen, p. 11.
21. “800<sup>th</sup> Campaign: About,” *University of Cambridge*, Accessed August 2014, Available: <http://www.campaign.cam.ac.uk/about/800th-campaign>.
22. See: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
23. Bruce Weber, “John Jay Iselin, Public TV Innovator, Dies at 74,” *The New York Times*, 7 May 2008, Accessed October 2013, Available: [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/07/arts/television/07iselin.html?\\_r=2&...](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/07/arts/television/07iselin.html?_r=2&...)
24. Weber, “John Jay Iselin.” The program’s reach was propelled by one of the most explosive periods in public broadcasting history (and television industry-wide), as its launch coincided with the development of satellite television, which unlocked the possibility of national feeds and national schedules for the first time. Author interview with Wilkinson, 17 June 2014.
25. Author interview with Wilkinson, 17 June 2014.
26. Correspondence between Michael Elias (Kennet Capital) and author [email], 20 August 2015.
27. Correspondence between Frances Dow (MACC Commissioner 1997-2004, Chair 2007-2011) and author [email], 14 July 2014.
28. Correspondence between Sean Durkin (Director, Corporate Communications, Dolby) and author [email], 17 November 2014.
29. Author interview with Tom Everhart, 5 March 2014.
30. David Dolby currently sits on the board of Dolby Laboratories. Author interview with David Dolby, 15 August 2014.
31. Vernon E. Cosslett, *1959 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, September 1959, p. 430.

32. Ray Dolby, "Annual Report," *1960 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, October 1960, p. 640.
33. Interview with Ray Dolby, *Dolby Laboratories Corporate Archives*, 2003. *Also*: Author interview with Dagmar Dolby, 11 August 2014.
34. Author interview with David Dolby, 15 August 2014.
35. Author interview with Dagmar Dolby, 11 August 2014.
36. Author interview with Dagmar Dolby, 11 August 2014.
37. Correspondence between Sean Durkin (Director, Corporate Communications, Dolby Labs) and author [email], 26 August 2014.
38. Correspondence between Roberto Landazuri (Corporate Archivist, Dolby Labs) and author [email], 27 August 2014. *Also*: Interview with Ioan Allen (Dolby Labs), *Dolby Laboratories Corporate Archives*, unknown date; Ioan Allen, "Ioan Allen describes the history of Dolby Labs at the University of San Francisco," Online Video, Posted 14 July 2013, Accessed 17 November 2014, Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqIFZSTjXmg>.
39. "A Chronology of Dolby Laboratories: May 1965-May 1998," *Dolby Laboratories*, Accessed 12 August 2014, Available: <http://www.film-tech.com/warehouse/manuals/DOLBYCHRONOLOGY.pdf>.
40. Michael Davie, "In Search of the Unknown Scholars," *The Observer*, 15 February 1987, p. 56.
41. Davie, p. 56.
42. Ray Dolby, "Annual Report," *1958 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, October 1958, pp. 408-9; Ray Dolby, "Annual Report," *1960 MACC Minutes*, Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, October 1960, p. 641.
43. Correspondence between Abigail Holdaway (Dolby Labs) and author [email], 12 August 2014.
44. Author interview with Linn Hobbs, 4 March 2014.

## Measuring Diploma Diplomacy

The Marshall program was, first and foremost, an act of diplomacy: it was born out of the politics of the US–UK alliance and was intended to sustain and nourish it. Gratitude for the Marshall Plan was the catalyst, but the Scholarship program won out over the other suggestions precisely because it held enduring political value. UK Government officials spoke of “dividends,” “lasting value,” “favourable effects,” and “advantages in the long run.”<sup>1</sup> In a set of notes Makins sent to Prime Minister Clement Attlee in 1951, Makins wrote:

It is felt that the announcement of such a scheme would have a very favourable effect on American opinion; that its continuing nature would ensure that the gesture was not forgotten; and that the injection into American life of a further 12 persons yearly who had benefited by a British university education would be helpful to Anglo-American relations in the future.<sup>2</sup>

The British were not looking to refashion the USA into their own image through a scholarship program, but the officials stewarding the program had just witnessed first-hand the scourge of war, the decline of imperialist Europe, and the awesome rise of the USA. Nurturing the transatlantic relationship mattered to them. Overt political calculations were muted in the final 1953 Act of Parliament largely due to Makins’ political adroitness and acumen. An early draft of the white paper noted that the UK government expected that Marshall Scholars, “by gaining insight into the British

way of life,” would “play a leading part in promoting Anglo-American understanding and co-operation.”<sup>3</sup> Makins responded critically, noting that it would be a mistake to air such wishes publicly. “Naturally we hope that they will do this,” he wrote, “but I feel it would be unwise to state in an official document that this is our expectation.”<sup>4</sup>

Given the program’s origins, how might one measure its success or degree of impact? What are the metrics of analysis? Did the founders hope that Marshall Scholars might run the State Department, or otherwise become senators and elected officials? Likely. The founders left little in the way of explicit goals, but their close communication with the Rhodes administration (and their traditional conception of the scholar-leader) offers some clues. Judged from this cramped angle, the Marshall Scholarship might be considered a failure: no senators, no secretaries of state, nor any presidents. Precious few Scholars have run for office relative to their Rhodes counterparts (although that trend does seem to be changing), and the intimacy of Anglo-American relations was variable throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, despite the existence of the Scholarship program. Consider Suez (1956), Vietnam (1950s–1970s), Grenada (1983), Lebanon (1983), Bosnia (1995), Kyoto (1997), the ICC and Rome Statute (1998), and, more recently, Syria (2014).

The Marshall Scholarship has neither sustained nor saved America’s mid-century Eurocentric foreign policy. On the contrary, in 2012 the Obama administration announced scaling down the USA’s military presence in Europe and “pivoting” instead toward Asia.<sup>5</sup> In fact, a central figure managing the policy change in the Pacific was Assistant Secretary of State Kurt Campbell (’80), a Marshall Scholar. Relations with India have warmed considerably, and the USA has ramped up its security and intelligence cooperation with Australia and New Zealand. The USA has more close partners outside of the UK and Europe than ever before.

Yet, the Marshall Scholarship remains relevant, valuable, and impactful. At a superficial level, it has developed into the “continuing institution with a place in public and academic life” that was craved in 1951, as evidenced by its consistently competitive admit rate and applicant pool.<sup>6</sup> But the Scholarship has been able to uphold its prestige and impact on more fundamental grounds: the Anglo-American partnership itself has remained relevant, and the Scholarship has adapted to support its evolving needs.

## 20.1 THE RELATIONSHIP TODAY

Over the last few years, the world has witnessed the largest number of concurrent international crises in over three decades: Russia's invasion of Ukraine; growing terrorist havens in Yemen, Somalia, and Nigeria; a brutal war in Syria; the quagmires in Iraq and Afghanistan; ISIS; the constant threat of nuclear proliferation; revolution and security deterioration across Northern Africa; a global financial crisis; and a threatened Euro. That the USA and UK have ever been able to prevent such crises or control international politics is a pipe dream. Nonetheless, these events threaten the longevity of the postwar international order that the two countries built together with France through institutions like the UN, NATO, the IMF, and the World Bank. Questions about the order's persistence in global governance have never been more pertinent, and clarifying each nation's capacity and role on the world stage has never been more critical.

The nature of the US–UK alliance has certainly developed since 1953, but it still represents one of the closest—if not *the* closest—bilateral relationship the USA has had in its 240-year history. The last several US presidents enjoyed close personal friendships with their British counterparts, and today the tradition seems as strong as ever. President Obama and Prime Minister Cameron have run the gamut of camaraderie, from being table tennis partners to snapping selfies with one another at funerals.<sup>7</sup> “One of my closest and most trusted partners in the world,” President Obama said of the Prime Minister in 2015.<sup>8</sup> In 2011, the pair upgraded the “special relationship” to the “essential relationship,”<sup>9</sup> and since then President Obama has called it “one of the greatest alliances the world has ever known.” In the same speech, he continued:

Through the grand sweep of history, through all its twists and turns, there is one constant: the rock-solid alliance behind the US and the UK. The reason is simple. We stand together and we work together and we bleed together and we fall together in good times and bad, because when we feel our nations are secure, our people are more prosperous, the world is a safer and better and more just place.<sup>10</sup>

Of course, a bilateral relationship is not defined solely by the relationship of its leading politicians. As the former UK ambassador to the USA, Sir Christopher Meyer, cautions: “We should treat all the public displays of bonhomie and photo-ops with a pinch of salt.”<sup>11</sup> While politicians

politick, bureaucratic relationships and institutional cooperation must also be considered. Even these associations between the two nations, however, are just as close, as illustrated by the tightness of the military and intelligence communities.<sup>12</sup> Though nuclear collaboration sputtered during and soon after World War II, the USA and UK have been close partners on nuclear issues since 1958.<sup>13</sup> In 2015, on the request of the White House, Congress enacted a 10-year extension to the 1954 bilateral nuclear treaty, which permits the transfer of classified information, nuclear technology, information, and materiel between the two countries.<sup>14</sup> As of March 2015, 9078 US military personnel were stationed in the UK, and the two militaries regularly engage in joint exercises, battlefield operations, and relief efforts, as seen in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Haiti.<sup>15</sup> As the Edward Snowden leak sharply revealed, British and American organizational counterparts—Mi6 and the CIA, and GCHQ and the NSA—are closely linked in intelligence operations, as they have been for well over half a century.<sup>16</sup>

The bond between the two countries is also demonstrated by the connection between the two peoples. More American students study abroad in the UK than in any other country in the world,<sup>17</sup> the UK is the third most popular travel destination for US citizens (behind Canada and Mexico),<sup>18</sup> and *The Economist*, a British weekly, is the third most widely read political weekly in the USA.<sup>19</sup> In March 2015, Gallup reported a poll that the UK and Canada are Americans' most favored nations in the world.<sup>20</sup>

Granted, the breadth and depth of the Anglo-American relationship cannot be fully appreciated with a series of cherry-picked snapshots, statistics, or polls. The bigger picture is at once richer, more nuanced, and even contradictory, but any sampling of the record will reveal extensive intermeshing between American and British worlds. It is sometimes insisted that the Brits care more about the alliance than do the Americans, and that any disagreement between the two countries signals an end to the friendship. Britain's recent hesitancy to commit 2 % of its GDP to defense spending (on an American request), for instance, led one high-profile commentator to speculate that "The US-Britain Love Affair is Over."<sup>21</sup> Though the UK ultimately agreed, such points are misguided and myopic. To continue with the analogy, the love affair between the USA and UK is much like any love affair: anything but straightforward. To imagine that there were ever uninterrupted halcyon days requires a striking sense of creativity and historical artistry. Relatedly, a relationship depends on more than the political winds and disagreements of the day—institutionalized cooperation, coordination, and trade are rarely if ever wiped away in a week.

## 20.2 ADAPTATION

As the decades have progressed, the Marshall Scholarship has itself developed. The era of largely white, male-dominated scholar classes has passed, and today's recipients represent a wide array of interests that challenge the boundaries of mainstream academic disciplines. That the Scholarship might one day produce a celebrated slam poet or an American Idol finalist (or the 1950s equivalent) was not remotely within the realm of prediction or possibility entertained by the Scholarship's founders, whose conception of a leader, mover, and shaker was categorically constrained.

This particular evolution of the Scholarship is more a result of reflection than foresight. Celebrating diversity has become an increasingly visible priority within American society, particularly among American universities; the Marshall Scholarship was not the trendsetter here. Applicant rosters have quite naturally mirrored these social currents. However, to maintain its relevance, the Scholarship has adapted to these changing circumstances, which it has done time and time again. Witness the administrative changes that led to a two-tier selection system in the 1980s, the strides toward gender parity a decade earlier, and the initiative to include more artists in the 2000s.<sup>22</sup> These and other structural developments have allowed the Marshall Scholarship to continue feeding the complex character of the transatlantic relationship itself.

## 20.3 IMPACT

It may well be that the Marshall Scholarship existentially contributes to the transatlantic partnership and has otherwise adapted to changing norms, but has it been worth it? Has the Scholarship actually paid dividends on the investment, and how do we know?

The primary unit of analysis for any evaluation must be the careers of Scholars themselves: what they have gone on to do, what they have produced, and how they have impacted their communities. Outside of alumni events and the odd social function with Rhodes, Gates, and Truman Scholars, rarely have Marshall Scholars *qua* Marshall Scholars acted as a group. With two notable exceptions, such occasions are anyway devoid of broader social or political agendas.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, fruitful analysis must narrow on the lives and careers of individual Marshall Scholars. Given that most individuals do not reach their professional peaks until well into their careers, a 60-year anniversary is the earliest

reasonable occasion for an initial assessment.<sup>24</sup> It is no curiosity that the large majority of Scholars profiled in this book graduated within the first 30 years of the Scholarship's founding.

Quantitatively, the £2 million the Scholarship costs every year has been paid back to the UK several times over by just two Scholars in the form of philanthropy, job creation, and economic investment.<sup>25</sup> These Scholars, Bill Janeway ('65) and Michael Elias ('81), would not have worked, donated, or located their corporate headquarters in the UK had they not attended British universities as Marshall Scholars. Once the myriad financial contributions of other Scholars are rolled into the analysis, from the British taxpayer's standpoint, the case is trivially made.

Yet, the economic payback from the Scholarship—while politically paramount to its preservation—is perhaps the least intriguing aspect of the program's value. The Scholarship is a force multiplier in its military, diplomatic, social, and cultural contributions as well. Few would argue that educating future top-level US State Department officials, for instance, has not been worth the cost. Beyond the State Department, we observe other Scholars with eminent careers in business, development, academia, medicine, and entertainment: each is an ambassador for the US–UK relationship, and their collective stature in society unquestionably enhances British soft power.

The impact and value of a scholarship program should not only be considered on the restricted lines of the bilateral relationship, however. Education, at its core, is about advancing knowledge, furthering human progress, and promoting humanity. On those higher callings, too, the Marshall Scholarship can be judged and justified. The work of Scholars like CDC director Nancy Cox ('70), Harvard stem cell scientist Doug Melton ('75), and Nobel Laureate Roger Tsien ('72) is staggering and self-evident. Their contributions alone to society are ample justification of the Marshall program.

The question of causation versus correlation remains elusive. Is the Marshall Scholarship responsible for the work of Marshall Scholars, or would Scholars have had the same careers without it?

Predicting the career path of any 20-year old is a futile exercise. Reid Hoffman ('90), founder of LinkedIn and PayPal, outlined plans to become a philosophy professor in his Marshall Scholarship application. Ironically, it was his time in the UK that convinced him to eschew the academic path, and to opt instead for entrepreneurship and business.<sup>26</sup> In 2007 and 2012 Marshall alumni surveys, nearly 60 % of all respondents reported that their career objectives developed or changed significantly during their tenure in the UK.<sup>27</sup>

While the career impact of the Scholarship may vary, the personal imprint does not. In those same surveys, 97 % of all Scholars surveyed reported that the Scholarship played an important role in personal development, 93 % believed their experience was largely positive (4 % were neutral), and 98 % said their awareness of the UK changed significantly during the Scholarship. A further two-thirds of the respondents confirmed that their social and political values changed or developed significantly as a result of the Scholarship.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, if any of those Scholars surveyed had elected different paths in their early twenties, they may have felt similarly about those alternative experiences. But that is precisely the point. The Marshall Scholarship captures high-achieving Americans during one of the most impressionable periods of their lives, and thus ensures that the UK plays a title role. It is not a diplomatic project in the traditional sense of the word—there is no negotiation nor deal making. The British government simply releases Scholars into the UK’s top institutions, and the rest takes care of itself. The program is a long-term investment, but as the first six decades have demonstrated, it has proven to be a sound one.

The Marshall Scholarship is a lasting institutional reminder that the Anglo-American relationship is not rooted in political ephemera. Today’s alliance dates back to a day when the two countries fought side by side to defeat the Axis Powers, and then together established a world system of trade and security that has endured to define global politics for three quarters of a century. The program contributes to a historic partnership, and in doing so, it enriches the significance of the alliance today.

## NOTES

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23. Both instances of collective action occurred during Scholars' tenure in the UK. In 1975, 45 Marshall Scholars, representing a great majority of Scholars, submitted a petition to the MACC to change its policy toward married women applicants (which it then did). *See: supra* note. In 2004, 203 Marshall, Rhodes, and other UK scholarship recipients signed a letter to President George W. Bush opposing the Iraq War. The letter was drafted by five Marshall and Rhodes Scholars. *See*: Rob McDonald, "U.S. policies incur sting, scholars say," *The Spokesman-Review*, 17 July 2004, Online, Accessed 6 August 2015, Available: <http://www.spokesman.com/stories/2004/jul/17/us-policies-incur-sting-scholars-say/>.
24. Many Scholars from the first decade of the program are still working.
25. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
26. Suzette Brooks Masters, "Scaling the Internet with Consummate Networker," *Marshall Alumni Newsletter*, September 2010, p. 5.
27. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.
28. *See*: Appendix B for notes on statistics.

# APPENDIX A

1 & 2 ELIZ. 2 *Marshall Aid Commemoration Act, 1953*

CH. 39



## CHAPTER 39

An Act to make provision for the granting of scholarships in commemoration of the assistance received by the United Kingdom under the European Recovery Programme and known as Marshall Aid; and for purposes connected with the matter aforesaid.

[31st July 1953.]

**B**E it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. For the purpose of providing, in each year, up to twelve Marshall scholarships (to be known as Marshall scholarships) tenable at universities or university colleges in the United Kingdom by citizens of the United States of America who are graduates of recognised institutions of higher learning in the United States of America, the Secretary of State may make, out of moneys provided by Parliament, grants to the commission established by this Act to defray the expenditure of the commission incurred for the said purpose, including administrative expenses incurred in connection therewith.

2.—(1) There shall be a commission, to be known as the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, to give effect to arrangements made by or with the approval of the Secretary of State—

(a) for administering the grants provided under the foregoing section,

1

(b) for the selection of the persons to receive Marshall scholarships, and

(c) for the placing of the holders of Marshall scholarships in universities or university colleges in the United Kingdom,

and to discharge such other functions in connection with Marshall scholarships as may be conferred on them by such arrangements.

(2) The Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission (hereinafter referred to as "the Commission") shall consist of not less than seven nor more than ten members appointed by the Secretary of State, of whom not less than two shall be chosen as persons of eminence in academic matters, and such one of the members as the Secretary of State may designate shall be chairman of the Commission.

(3) The quorum of the Commission shall be four.

(4) Subject to the provisions of the last foregoing subsection, the Commission shall have power to act notwithstanding any vacancy in their number.

(5) The terms of office of members of the Commission shall be such as may be determined by the Secretary of State, and a member of the Commission on vacating office shall be eligible for re-appointment.

(6) The Commission shall, as soon as possible after the thirtieth day of September in each year, make to the Secretary of State a report on the discharge by them of their functions during the period of twelve months ending with that day, and the Secretary of State shall lay a copy of every report of the Commission under this section before each House of Parliament.

(7) As respects each financial year the Commission shall prepare accounts of their expenditure in such form as the Secretary of State may with the approval of the Treasury direct, and shall submit the accounts to the Secretary of State at such time as he may direct; and—

(a) the Secretary of State shall, on or before the thirtieth day of November in any year, transmit to the Comptroller and Auditor General the accounts prepared by the Commission under this section for the financial year last ended;



THE ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITIES  
OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH,  
36, GORDON SQUARE,  
LONDON, W.C.1.



United States No. 2 (1953)

# Proposed Arrangements for the Administration of the Marshall Scholarship Scheme

*Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament  
by Command of Her Majesty  
May 1953*

LONDON  
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE  
SIXPENCE NET

Cmd. 8846

## PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARSHALL SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME

1. In answer to a question in the House of Commons on the 31st July, 1952, as to what action Her Majesty's Government would take to demonstrate their gratitude to the United States Government and people for the European Recovery Programme, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made the following announcement:—

“ Her Majesty's Government have decided to give effect to the proposal of the late Government to express the United Kingdom's gratitude for this generous and far-sighted Programme for European Recovery by founding at British universities twelve scholarships to be competed for annually by United States students. These scholarships will be open to men and women and will be tenable at any British university. General Marshall has agreed that these scholarships shall be known as “ Marshall Scholarships.” The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom has promised its full co-operation in giving effect to this scheme.”

2. To carry out this decision it is proposed to create a Commission in the United Kingdom, to administer the monies which Parliament will be asked to vote, to approve the selection of the scholars, and, through an Executive Secretary, to assist in their placing in British universities, and to supervise their general welfare. In the United States, Her Majesty's Ambassador, assisted by an Advisory Council, will make to the Commission nominations for the awards, on the basis of the recommendations of four Regional Committees, who will make selections of candidates for three scholarships each from broadly equal geographical areas. This framework is discussed in greater detail below, the administrative regulations being shown in the schedule hereto. In the selection of Marshall scholars, regard will be had both to academic qualifications and to qualities of character and leadership.

### Organisation—United Kingdom

#### *Grant-in-Aid*

3. The funds necessary to finance the Marshall Scholarship scheme will be provided by a Grant-in-Aid carried on a vote under the administration of the Foreign Office. Parliament will be asked to enact legislation approving the provision of the necessary monies annually.

#### *Commissioners*

4.—(i) The Commission to be set up to administer the Grant-in-Aid will be called the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission.

(ii) The members of the Commission will be British subjects and will be nominated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. They will comprise seven persons of whom at least two will be persons of standing in the academic world and of whom four will constitute a quorum.

(iii) No officials will be members of the Commission, but meetings of the Commissioners will be attended by representatives of such Departments as the Secretary of State shall decide, including the Foreign Office and the Treasury, sitting as observers.

(iv) The Chairman of the Commission will be designated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

5. Commissioners will be appointed for such period as the Secretary of State may determine or until such time as they express a desire to be relieved of their duties. They will be eligible for re-appointment.

#### *Executive Secretary*

6. The day-to-day administration of Marshall Scholarships will be looked after by an Executive Secretary, who will be appointed by the Commission, on the recommendation of the Foreign Secretary, and on such financial terms as may be agreed.

### **Organisation—United States of America**

#### *Advisory Council*

7. Her Majesty's Ambassador for the United Kingdom in Washington will be assisted in the selection of Marshall Scholars by an Advisory Council of distinguished persons, serving by invitation of Her Majesty's Ambassador on behalf of the Secretary of State, for Foreign Affairs. Her Majesty's Ambassador will preside, *ex officio*, over this Council.

As soon as is convenient after the creation of the Advisory Council its members will meet to assist the Ambassador in choosing the members of the Regional Committees. Thereafter they will meet once annually, in December, to consider the short lists of nominees submitted by the four Regional Committees and therefrom to make a selection of those to whom Marshall Scholarships should be awarded for the following year. At that annual meeting they will take note of the Annual Report for the preceding year.

#### *Regional Committees*

8. The United States will be divided into four regions comprising the following States:—

##### *Eastern Region*

Maine	New York
New Hampshire	Pennsylvania
Vermont	Delaware
Massachusetts	New Jersey
Rhode Island	Maryland
Connecticut	West Virginia

and The District of Columbia.

##### *Southern Region*

Virginia	Mississippi
North Carolina	Louisiana
South Carolina	Texas
Georgia	Oklahoma
Florida	Arkansas
Tennessee	Kentucky.
Alabama	

##### *Middle West Region*

Michigan	South Dakota
Wisconsin	Nebraska
Illinois	Iowa
Indiana	Missouri
Ohio	Kansas
North Dakota	Minnesota.

### *Pacific Region*

California	Washington
Nevada	Oregon
Utah	Idaho
Arizona	Montana
Colorado	Wyoming.
New Mexico	

9. The centres of the four regions will be:—

Eastern Region	... ..	New York
Southern Region	... ..	New Orleans
Middle West Region	... ..	Chicago
Pacific Region	... ..	San Francisco.

10. At each of these four centres five persons will be invited by Her Majesty's Ambassador to serve as a Committee for the purpose of selecting Marshall Scholars. Each Committee will include Her Majesty's Consul-General at the centre concerned, *ex officio*, and all the members, except Her Majesty's Consul-General, will be United States citizens.

### *Term of Service of Regional Committee Members*

11. Committee members will serve for four years, except that when the Committees are first constituted, two members will be appointed for six years. Committee members will be eligible for re-appointment after an interval of not less than four years.

12. Her Majesty's Consul-General at the centre concerned will, *ex officio*, be responsible for calling the meetings of the Regional Committee, for furnishing necessary documentation to its members, and for providing the channel of communication between the Committee and Her Majesty's Ambassador. The Chairman of the Committee will be chosen from among the four American members as they may decide.

### *Timetable*

13. On the 1st October in any given year applications will close for scholarships for the following academic year. During November Regional Committees will meet and select six candidates from each Region. The six names from each Region will be forwarded to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington. In December the Advisory Council will meet and make a final selection of three candidates from each Region. The three remaining names from each Region will be treated as reserves in case one or more of the selected candidates is unable to take up the appointment. The six names from each Region will be forwarded by Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Commission with any comments he may wish to make. In January the Commission will meet to give approval to the nominations received from the United States. Between January and March the Executive Secretary will place the chosen candidates in British universities and the Commission will meet in early April to approve these placings. Successful candidates will be notified before the public announcement of awards at the end of April, and the scholars selected will arrive in the United Kingdom at the end of September or beginning of October.

### *Number of Scholarships*

14. Twelve scholarships will be offered each year. Not more than three will be awarded annually in each region.

### *Value of Scholarships*

15. The value of a Marshall Scholarship will be £550 per annum, but the Commission will have authority to increase individual scholarships up to a maximum of £600 per annum, to take account of local variations in the cost of living. A married man's scholarship will be increased by £200 per annum. The scholarships will not be subject to United Kingdom income tax.

### *Tenure of Scholarships*

16. Marshall Scholarships will be tenable for two years in the first instance, but may be extended for a third year at the discretion of the Commission.

### *Age Limits*

17. No lower age limit is to be set for applicants for Marshall Scholarships, since the academic qualifications demanded will ensure that recipients will be of university standing. The upper age limit will be 28 years of age on the 1st October of the year in which the scholarship is awarded.

### *Finance*

18. It is intended to receive the first Marshall Scholars for the academic year 1954-55. Full financial provision will thus have to be made during the year from the 1st April, 1954, to the 31st of March, 1955. Expenditure will, however, be incurred prior to this, in the preparation of application forms, &c., and in the process of selection in the United States. The maximum annual expenditure will not be reached until the first Marshall Scholars are on their way back to the United States, and the cost of their return passages is incurred. Thus expenditure will be spread out at an increasing rate over five financial years from 1953-54 to 1957-58, after which it will remain approximately constant. In order to estimate the maximum likely annual rate of expenditure it must be assumed that the commitment will be for twelve Marshall Scholars, each remaining for three years, and each with a family, which may be taken to include one child. On this basis the maximum annual expenditure is estimated to be of the order of £37,000 in the United Kingdom and \$10,500 in the United States. A small additional sum will also have to be allowed to cover unforeseen or emergency expenditure.

*Foreign Office,*

*May 12, 1953.*

## SCHEDULE

### ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

#### *Duties of the Commissioners*

1. The duties of the Commissioners will be as follows:—
  - (i) The Commissioners shall meet not less than three times yearly; in January, to give approval to the nominations received from the United States; in April, to approve the placing of scholars in their respective universities; and in October, to approve the accounts, the annual report, and the estimates for the coming financial year.
  - (ii) The Commissioners shall, on the recommendation of the Foreign Secretary, appoint an Executive Secretary, who shall be responsible to them. The Foreign Secretary shall designate a person, on such terms as he shall deem fit, to act as Executive Secretary until such time as the Commission shall have reviewed and confirmed the formal appointment of the first Executive Secretary.

- (iii) The Commissioners shall approve the annual accounts and shall submit them to the Foreign Secretary, who shall transmit them to the Comptroller and Auditor-General who shall examine and certify them, and shall lay copies thereof, together with his report thereon, before Parliament.
- (iv) The Commissioners shall submit an Annual Report, drafted by the Executive Secretary, to the Foreign Secretary who shall lay copies thereof before Parliament.

#### *Duties of the Executive Secretary*

2. The duties of the Executive Secretary will be as follows:—

- (i) The preparation, printing, and despatch to Her Majesty's Embassy, Washington, of regulations, application forms, &c.
- (ii) On being notified by the Commission of the names of the scholars selected, the Executive Secretary shall approach the British universities for their placing.
- (iii) The Executive Secretary shall notify the Commission on successfully concluding the placing of scholars.
- (iv) The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for the payment of scholastic fees of, and stipends to, scholars.
- (v) The Executive Secretary shall prepare annually in such form and manner as the Treasury may direct a statement of account of the monies voted by Parliament.
- (vi) The Executive Secretary shall prepare annually a Report on all aspects of his work in connexion with Marshall Scholarships.
- (vii) The Executive Secretary may be provided with clerical assistance if necessary, the expenses being met by the the Commission from the funds allocated to them.
- (viii) The Executive Secretary shall attend meetings of the Commission, as its Secretary.
- (ix) The Executive Secretary shall be given authority to convene extraordinary meetings of the Commission, should the occasion arise.

#### *Duties of Advisory Council*

3. As soon as is convenient after the creation of the Advisory Council its members shall meet to assist the Ambassador in choosing the members of the Regional Committees. Thereafter they would meet once annually, in December, to consider the short lists of nominees submitted by the four Regional Committees and therefrom to make a selection of those to whom Marshall Scholarships should be awarded for the following year. At that annual meeting they shall take note of the Annual Report for the preceding year. Such secretarial assistance as the Advisory Council might need shall be provided by Her Majesty's Embassy in Washington.

#### *Duties of Regional Committees*

4. Regional Committees shall meet twice annually in November. In early November they should reduce the postal applications for their region to a short list of about twenty candidates. Later in November they should meet again to interview those on the short list and select therefrom three candidates and three reserves, whose names would be forwarded to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington for consideration with his Advisory Council. Her Majesty's Consuls-General at the four Regional centres may, if necessary, call additional meetings of the Regional Committees. Such secretarial assistance as the Regional Committees might need shall be provided by Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Regional centre concerned.

### *Selection of Candidates*

5. In appointing Marshall scholars the selectors will look for distinction of intellect and character as evidenced both by their scholastic attainment and by their other activities and achievements. Preference will be given to candidates who combine high academic ability with the capacity to play an active part in the life of the United Kingdom university to which they go. A Marshall scholar, as the possessor of a keen intellect and a broad outlook, would be thought of as a person who would contribute to the aims which General Marshall had in mind when, speaking at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 5th of June, 1947, of economic assistance for Europe, he said "An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibilities which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties . . . can, and will, be overcome."

### *Citizenship*

6. Marshall Scholarships shall be open to United States citizens of both sexes.

### *Number of Scholarships*

7. Twelve scholarships shall be offered each year. Not more than three shall be awarded annually in each Region. Where the Regional Committees are not satisfied by the qualifications of the candidates, they may recommend the award of less than three scholarships in their Region, but no scholarship shall be transferred from one Region to another.

### *Value of Scholarships*

8. The value of a Marshall Scholarship shall be £550 per annum but the Commission shall have authority to increase individual scholarships up to a maximum of £600, to take account of local variations in the cost of living. A married man's scholarship shall be increased by £200 per annum. Marshall Scholarships will not be subject to United Kingdom Income Tax.

### *Tenure of Scholarships*

9. Marshall Scholars shall, unless they obtain specific exemption from the Commission, enter into residence in the United Kingdom university in October of the year in which they are selected. Marshall Scholarships shall be tenable for two years, but may be extended for a third year at the discretion of the Commission. Dismissal from a university shall result in immediate termination of the Scholarship.

### *Age Limits and Qualifications*

10. No lower age limit is to be set for applicants for Marshall Scholarships, but applicants shall, by the time of taking up residence in a British university, have obtained from some degree-granting university or college in the United States of America accredited by the appropriate United States Regional Board a first degree requiring three years' study. The upper age limit shall be 28 years of age on the 1st October of the year in which the scholarship is awarded.

### *Marriage*

11. Married persons shall be eligible for Marshall Scholarships, but preference will tend to be shown to single persons. A man receiving or holding a Marshall Scholarship who is married shall have his scholarship increased by £200 per annum.

12. Applicants will be required to state their marital status at the time of application and to notify any change in this immediately to Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Regional centre to which they have applied. Marshall Scholars once in the United Kingdom will be required to notify any change in their marital status immediately to the Executive Secretary.

13. A woman scholar who marries after the award of a scholarship shall automatically have her scholarship terminated, but may be reinstated by the Commission at their discretion and on such terms as they think fit.

14. Should one Marshall Scholar marry another and both retain their scholarships, the man's scholarship will not be augmented by £200.

### *Passages*

15. Coach class train in the United States of America, and third class train in the United Kingdom, and tourist class sea passages for Marshall Scholars and, in the case of married scholars, their families from their places of residence in the United States to their universities in the United Kingdom will be paid and, subject to satisfactory study in the United Kingdom, similar return passages and train fares will be paid, provided travel is completed within the United Kingdom financial year in which the scholarship ceases. The scholars are not, of course, debarred from travelling by air or by car on the way to take up the scholarships, on the understanding that the amount of money paid from the Marshall Scholarship scheme funds will be the cost of the journey actually incurred up to a maximum equivalent to the cost of the passages described in the previous sentence.

16. If a Marshall Scholar is dismissed from his or her university the Commission shall make available a passage to the United States by the cheapest convenient means. The Commission shall have no further obligation towards the dismissed Scholar, and the value of the passage will not be available in any other form.

17. The Executive Secretary will, if requested, book passages to the United Kingdom. Alternatively, Marshall Scholars wishing to make their own trans-Atlantic travel arrangements may do so, and, provided they arrive in time for the beginning of their academic studies, will be paid in sterling, after arrival in the United Kingdom, the cost of their passages up to the maximum otherwise payable by the Executive Secretary.

### *Applications*

18. Candidates shall provide six copies of their form of application, which must reach Regional centres by the 30th of September of the year preceding the year in which the award is made.

19. Candidates may apply either for the Region in which they have their ordinary private domicile, home, or residence, or for any Region in which they may have received at least two years of college training. Any candidate making application in more than one Region will automatically be disqualified.

### *Other Scholarships*

20. Candidates shall at the time of application state whether they have applied, or whether they intend to apply, for any similar scholarship tenable in the United Kingdom. Marshall Scholarships will not normally be awarded to anyone holding any such scholarship, and they may be withdrawn or reduced at the discretion of the Commission if the holder subsequently accepts such a scholarship. No abatement will normally be made in respect of small college grants or prizes.

### *Reports*

21. Directors of Study at the United Kingdom universities will be asked to make reports annually to the Commission on the conduct and academic progress of Marshall Scholars.

### *Payment of Stipends*

22. The Executive Secretary will pay the academic fees, and, in the case of resident students who incur fixed board charges, the board, of Marshall Scholars, direct to the colleges. At the beginning of each academic term he shall pay direct to the Scholars one-quarter of the estimated annual remainder after fees and, when appropriate, board charges have been deducted from the total value of the Scholarship; at the beginning of the summer vacation he shall pay to the Scholars direct the balance remaining.

### *Amendment of Regulations*

23. The Commission may, with the approval of the Foreign Secretary, make such alterations in the Administrative Regulations as they deem necessary. They may make and publish annually rules governing the competition for Marshall Scholarships, provided that such rules do not conflict with these Administrative Regulations.

## APPENDIX B: NOTES ON STATISTICS

### METHODS

Statistical analysis on Marshall Scholars is original work except where otherwise noted. I personally researched every Marshall Scholar through the class of 2010 (1716 total; this does not include Marshall-Sherfield Fellows). Of those, I was able to determine the career paths of 1603 Scholars (93 %) through a mixture of online resources, alumni newsletters, and interviews. All percentages quoted below, therefore, are in reference to the total of 1603 who were traceable. Given this 6.5 % gap and the fact that many Scholars had incomplete online profiles, these numbers are intended to deliver approximations, not exactitudes.

The alumni surveys quoted were conducted electronically in 2007 and 2012 by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) on behalf of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission (MACC). The ACU emailed surveys to the entire Marshall Scholar population and received 717 responses in 2007 and 617 responses in 2012. A total of 285 respondents to the 2012 survey were new, so together the two surveys represent 55 % of the total Marshall Scholar population. Distribution of the responses was consistent with the gender and age demographics of the total population. Given the inherent selection bias in the surveying process (those who enjoyed their experiences are more likely to respond), their results should be treated with some caution—a sentiment the reports themselves espouse. Still, a 55 % response rate to a voluntary survey is high. Where possible, I

have corroborated their findings with my own personal research on 93 % of the total Marshall population. Summaries of the surveys are available on the Marshall Scholarship website: <http://www.marshallscholarship.org/about/alumni2007> and <http://www.marshallscholarship.org/about/alumni2012>.

## PREFACE

### *Footnote 1: Lawyers and Doctors*

A total of 245 Marshall Scholars (15.3 %) have studied or practiced law (an additional 11 are currently enrolled in law school). Of those, 163 (63.6 %) have either served 1 or more years in government or military (this does not include district or appellate clerkships), worked in academia at some point in their careers, or worked at an NGO.

A total of 109 Marshall Scholars (6.8 %) have had some professional involvement in medicine or as a physician (an additional 22 are currently enrolled in medical school). Of those, 75 (68.8 %) have either worked in academia at some point in their careers, served in government or military, or worked in the public health field.

## CHAPTER 8: MARSHALL “SCHOLARS”

### *Footnote 4: Academics in the First 10 Years*

Of the first 167 Scholars, 157 were traceable. Of those, 97 (61.7 %) spent the majority of their careers as academics or research scientists. An additional 14 (9 %) spent part of their careers as academics.

### *Footnote 19: Academics Who Return to the UK to Teach*

A total of 551 Marshall Scholars from class years 1954–2003 spent the majority of their careers as academics. Of those, 75 (13.6 %) have taught as visiting or full-time professors in the UK. The year 2003 is the cutoff year for this analysis because it would reasonably take 10 years (from the end of one’s Marshall Scholarship) for an academic to be eligible for a sabbatical term/year abroad, given the average length of a PhD and the university tenure process.

***Footnote 22: Academics Who Undertake British-Oriented Research***

A total of 695 Marshall Scholars (43.4 %) are part- or full-time academics. Of those, 81 (11.7 %) undertake research related to the UK.

***Footnote 26: Academics Who Become Directors, Deans, Chancellors, or University Presidents***

A total of 497 Marshall Scholars from class years 1954–1998 spent the majority of their careers as academics. Of those, 54 (10.8 %) have become academic directors, deans, chancellors, or university presidents. The analysis is limited to full-time academics (and not adjunct professors) because primarily full-time academics become academic administrators (though it is recognized this is not always the case). The analysis is further limited to class years 1954–1998 because it would reasonably take 15 years for an academic to be eligible to be appointed a dean, director, chancellor, or university president.

***Footnote 27: Academics at Harvard***

Of the 695 part- or full-time academics, 119 (17.1 %) have taught at Harvard at some point in their careers. Of the 558 full-time, active academics, 52 (9.3 %) taught at Harvard in the 2013–2014 academic year.

## CHAPTER 9: GOVERNANCE

***Footnote 3: Government Servants in the First 10 Years***

Of the first 167 Scholars, 157 were traceable. Of those, 38 (24.2 %) have served in government at some point in their careers. Government service is defined as service in any branch of the US government (district, state, or federal) or in an intergovernmental organization (like the UN) excluding military service and judicial clerkships (except for the Supreme Court). Service had to exceed 1 year.

***Footnote 4: Lawyers***

Of all Scholars, 190 have practiced law, 55 teach law, and 11 are currently law students (256, or 15.9 % of the total number of Scholars). These numbers do not capture all Marshall Scholars who have attended law school.

That total would be greater, as several Scholars attended law school but did not follow a legal path afterward.

***Footnote 7: State Department***

Twenty-two Marshall Scholars currently serve full time in the State Department, and an additional 29 previously served full time in the State Department. These figures do not include Scholars who interned at the State Department (service had to exceed 1 year).

***Footnote 15: Rising Numbers of Lawyers and Politicians***

The 1990s and 2000s have witnessed the greatest number of Marshalls practicing law (48 and 57, respectively) and entering politics (9 and 10, respectively). These are proportionately greater than previous decades.

## CHAPTER 10: JOURNALISM AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION

***Footnote 3: Journalists***

Prior to 1972, 4 of 381 total Scholars (1 %) pursued journalism full time. Years 1973–1979 witnessed 6 of 207 total Scholars (2.9 %).

***Footnote 5: Twitter Followers***

As of August 2015, Marshall Scholars collectively have over 1.1 million followers on Twitter. This number was reached by summing the number of followers of all Marshall Scholars with Twitter feeds (they are not necessarily unique followers). Marshall journalists claim over 605,000 of those followers (54.7 %).

***Footnote 14: Editors, Bureau Chiefs, and Owners***

Forty-seven Marshall Scholars have spent some part of their careers as journalists. Of those, 23 (48.9 %) have become editors, bureau chiefs, or owners of publications.

***Footnote 17: Published Work***

Eighty percent of respondents to the 2007 Marshall alumni survey and 79 % of respondents to the 2012 survey reported published work.

## CHAPTER 11: THE ARTS

***Footnote 3: Artistic Representation***

Sixty Marshall Scholars have undertaken artistic studies on their scholarships. These include creative writers, art historians, architects, curators, composers, costume designers, dramatists, musicians, and other performers. The proportion of such Marshalls in the period 2004–2010 (23 of 286 Scholars, or 8 %) was over three times the proportion of artists from 1953 to 2003 (37 of 1430 Scholars, or 2.6 %). Moreover, those from 1953 to 2003 disproportionately became academics (15, or 40 %), while only 5 (21 %) from the period 2004–2010 work in academia.

***Footnote 8: Population Growth***

Undergraduate degrees in the visual and performing arts grew 215 % from 30,400 (1970–1971) to 95,800 (2011–2012). The number of college graduates overall grew 113 % from 840,000 (1970–1971) to 1,790,000 (2011–2012) while the US population grew 52 % from 203,000,000 (1970) to 308,000,000 (2010). “Bachelor’s Degrees Conferred by Postsecondary Institutions, by Field of Study: Selected Years, 1970–1971 through 2011–2012,” *Digest of Education Statistics*, National Center for Education Statistics, Institute for Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, July 2013, Accessed August 2014, Available: [http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13\\_322.10.asp](http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13_322.10.asp). For US population growth, *see*: “History: 1970 Fast Facts,” U.S. Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 31 March 2014, Accessed August 2014, Available: [https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/fast\\_facts/1970\\_fast\\_facts.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1970_fast_facts.html); “History: 2010 Fast Facts,” U.S. Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 31 March 2014, Accessed August 2014, Available: [https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/fast\\_facts/2010\\_fast\\_facts.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/2010_fast_facts.html).

## CHAPTER 12: “THE WORLD’S FIGHT”: DEVELOPMENT, PUBLIC HEALTH, AND HUMANITARIAN WORK

### *Footnote 19: Development, Public Health, Social Policy, and Related Fields*

From 1953 to 1999, 37 of the 1272 total Marshall Scholars (2.9 %) undertook these studies on their scholarships. From 2000 to 2010, that figure jumped to 65 of 444 total Scholars (14.6 %).

## CHAPTER 18: “BRITISH” MARSHALL SCHOLARS

### *Footnote 5: UK-based Scholars*

Out of 1603 traceable Marshall Scholars, 121 (7.5 %) are currently based in the UK, and 205 (12.8 %) in total have returned to the UK at some point in their careers. The 2007 and 2012 Marshall alumni surveys revealed similar data about Scholars currently living in the UK (9 % and 7 %, respectively).

## CHAPTER 19: REINVESTMENT

### *Footnote 1: Visiting the UK*

Ninety percent of respondents to the 2007 Marshall alumni survey and 88 % of respondents to the 2012 survey reported visiting the UK after their tenure. For visits every 1–4 years, the percentages are 32 % (2007) and 30 % (2012); for 1-year stints, 14 % (2007) and 15 % (2012). Based on work histories of Scholars, I was able to corroborate the percentage for Scholars who spend at least 1 year living in the UK: out of a total 1603 traceable Scholars, 205 (12.8 %) have worked for 1 or more years in the UK.

### *Footnote 4: Donations*

Of the respondents to the alumni surveys, 42 % (2007) and 45 % (2012) reported donating back to the UK. Of those, 95 % categorized their donations. 60 % (2007) and 65 % (2012) of respondents (not donations) reported making financial contributions to their UK universities.

***Footnote 10: American and British Individual Philanthropy***

The Thomas Report notes: “UK listing for proportions of individual giving to different categories of charities are not robust,” but it nonetheless excludes universities as major recipients of philanthropic donations (instead: medical research, children, religion, international aid, animals, and health). Thomas et al., p. 20. See footnote for full citation.

***Footnote 11: American and British Corporate Giving Rates***

The Thomas Report explains, “In the UK, corporate giving has failed to increase over the past decade remaining at 0.24 % of pre-tax profits for cash donations and 0.42 % for community contributions (which includes non-cash gifts). In contrast, the level of community contributions by US companies is estimated at 1.8 % of pre-tax profits.” Thomas et al., p. 21.

***Footnote 12: UK Institutions with Endowments of £100 million+***

The Thomas Report notes three institutions of higher education with endowments exceeding £500 million and two between £100 and £499 million. Only half of higher education institutions in the UK reported endowments over £1 million. Thomas et al., p. 18.

***Footnote 22: Professional Associations with the UK***

Of the respondents to the Marshall alumni surveys, 52 % (2007) and 44 % (2012) reported having quite strong to very strong “professional and other business interests in the UK.”

## CHAPTER 20: MEASURING DIPLOMA DIPLOMACY

***Footnote 25: Quantitative Return***

Over 60 years, the UK government has spent approximately £95 million (indexed to 2014 value) on the Marshall program. Between just two Scholars, Bill Janeway ('65) and Michael Elias ('81), this amount has been reinvested in the UK. Janeway and his wife Weslie donated \$50 million to Cambridge University between 2001 and 2015; Elias has invested over \$100 million in British technology companies through Kennet Capital,

a private equity investment firm he founded. The number £95 million was reached by summing annual expenditures reported by the MACC and using the Bank of England inflation calculator (based on the Retail Prices Index) to approximate 2014 values. “Inflation Calculator,” *Bank of England*, 2015, Online, Accessed 29 August 2015, Available: <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/index1.aspx>.

***Footnote 27: Career Impact of Scholarship***

Of the Marshall alumni survey respondents, 59 % (2007) and 58.2 % (2012) reported that their career objectives changed. The perceived impact of the Marshall experience strengthened as the age of respondents increased.

***Footnote 28: Personal Imprint of Scholarship***

Of all the statistics cited from the alumni surveys, these are likely the most affected by the selection bias of respondents. Those who enjoyed their Marshall Scholarship were more likely to respond to the survey request, thereby inflating the representation of those who feel that their experience was largely positive. However, even if it is assumed that all nonrespondents had a negative experience, a majority of Scholars still had a positive one. More practically, individual annual reports written by Scholars (referenced in the Author’s Note) from 1953 to 1993 reveal that the survey statistics broadly hold water. They may not be precisely correct, but the vast majority of Scholars had largely positive experiences based on their written reflections during their tenures. Some years of the Scholarship witnessed great numbers of premature resignations due to dissatisfaction, but such has not been the norm.

## APPENDIX C: LEADERSHIP

### **Chairs of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission (MACC)**

Sir Oliver Franks (1954–1957)  
Lord Coleraine (1957–1965)  
Sir Roger Makins (Lord Sherfield) (1965–1973)  
Sir Colin Crowe (1973–1985)  
Sir Donald Tebbit (1985–1995)  
Robert Stevens (1995–2000)  
Jonathan Taylor (2000–2007)  
Frances Dow (2007–2011)  
John Hughes (2011–2016)  
Christopher Fisher (2016–Present)

### **Executive Secretaries of the MACC**

John F. Foster (1954–1971)  
Sir Hugh W. Springer (1971–1980)  
A. Christodoulo (1980–1996)  
Michael Gibbons (1996–2004)  
John S. Rowett (2004–2005)  
John Kirkland (2005–Present)

**Assistant Secretaries to the MACC**

Mary M. Coppinger (1956–1961)  
Geraldine Cully (1961–1986)  
Ruth Davis (1986–1995)  
Catherine Reive (1995–2001)  
Mary Denyer\* (2001–Present)

\*Mary Denyer's current title is Assistant Secretary and Head of  
Scholarship Administration.

**Program Administrators**

Lisa Rothenberg (1999–2003)  
Natasha Bevan (2003–2006)  
Elizabeth Clark (2006–Present)  
Peter Vlahos (2014–2015)

**Association of Marshall Scholars**

Carol Edler Baumann ('54)  
President (1959–1965)  
  
Alexei Maradudin ('54)  
General Secretary (1959–1965)  
  
Tom Everhart ('55)  
President (1965–1968)  
  
Charles Whaley ('54)  
General Secretary (1965–1971)\*\*  
  
Lloyd Berry ('58)  
Secretary-General (1971–1975)  
  
Patrick Henry ('60)  
Secretary-General (1975–1985)  
  
Barbara Eachus  
Associate Director (1986–1989)  
  
Kathleen Sullivan ('76)  
President (1989–1991)

Frank Trumbower ('59)  
President (1991–1992)

Rein Uritam ('61)  
President (1992–2001)

Robert Kyle ('77)  
President (2001–2005)

Ted Leinbaugh ('75)  
President (2005–2007)

W.N. Harrell Smith IV ('60)  
Chairman of the Board (2007–2009)

William Coquillette ('71)  
President (2007–2011)

Robert Gray ('71)  
President (2011–2015)

Andrew Klaber ('04)  
President (2015–Present)

Nell Breyer  
Executive Director (2016–Present)

\*\*In 1968, the positions of President, Vice-President, and Treasurer were rolled into the position of General Secretary. This post changed names to Secretary-General in 1971.



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