Notes

PREFACE


CHAPTER 1
THE ROAD TO KETTLE HILL

1. Graduation speech, June 1892, Box 9, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as McCoy Papers.
2. “My Friend McCoy,” anonymous memoir, Box 100, McCoy Papers; William S. Biddle, Major General Frank Ross McCoy: Soldier-Statesman-American (Lewistown, Pa.: n.p., 1956); McCoy file, Association of Graduates, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y. 
6. Memorandum for the chief of staff, November 6, 1913, Box 13, McCoy Papers; Official Register of the Officers and Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy (West Point, N.Y., 1894–1897); U.S. Military Academy, Class of 1897, The Howitzer (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 22, 66–67, 79–80, 107; idem, Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of Graduation (West Point, N.Y., 1922), p. 256; Archives of the United States Military Academy, series 102 (Registers of Cadet Delinquencies), vol. 31, Class of 1897; scrapbook, Box 92, McCoy Papers.
7. Newspaper clippings, Box 92, McCoy Papers.
8. McCoy to family, August 27 and 30, 1893, Box 3, McCoy Papers.
9. “Physical Record of Cadet Frank R. McCoy,” June 8, 1897, 58071, RG 94, NA.
10. McCoy to family, undated and May 9, 1898, Box 3, McCoy Papers. McCoy did not question the racist assumptions of his day. Unfortunately, his correspondence only hints at his feelings toward the black enlisted men with whom he served. Those feelings were probably ambivalent, combining a certainty of his men’s racial inferiority with a respect owed them as brave and loyal soldiers. A white officer might feel affection for his black subordinates, but he also believed that their status as inferiors was unalterable. After the Spanish-American War had ended, McCoy accompanied the Buffalo Soldiers to a new station at Fort Clarke, Texas. Along the way, the regiment’s train stopped in a small Texas town to permit the troops to eat. After the stop, McCoy reported, some of the town’s “patriotic white citizens fired into our car as we were pulling out but our black troopers hugged the floor and never answered a word or a shot.” He was obviously proud of their self-restraint. Even the regiment’s officers “felt like turning them loose,” he added, but did not. The behavior of the white Texans was outrageous; such were the indignities that black soldiers were expected to endure. McCoy to family, undated, Box 5, McCoy Papers.
15. Bigelow, Reminiscences, pp. 93–102; McCoy to family, undated and June 30, 1898, Box 3, McCoy Papers.
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19. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, April 25, 1948, Box 101, McCoy Papers; McCoy to family, July 6, 1898, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

CHAPTER 2
IN CUBA WITH WOOD

1. Hagedorn to McCoy, October 23, 1928, Box 21, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as McCoy Papers. The references are to Leonard Wood, military governor of Cuba, 1899–1902; McCoy; Matthew Elting Hanna, who redesigned Cuba’s school system under Wood’s direction; and Frank Steinhart, Wood’s chief clerk and later consul general in Havana.


3. McCoy to family, May 30 and June 8, 1899, Box 3, McCoy Papers.


8. McCoy’s father had died in July 1899. McCoy went briefly to Lewistown to handle family affairs and returned to Cuba by August. McCoy to family, January 31, 1900, Box 3, McCoy Papers.


11. McCoy to family, April 1901, Box 3, McCoy Papers. Wood assigned McCoy the responsibility of keeping Alice Roosevelt out of mischief during her visit to Cuba (see Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours* [New York, 1933], p. 52).


15. Carlton Beals, *The Crime of Cuba* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 172; Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895–1902*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972), 2: 458–459, 461, 466–483. To Foner and others, of course, the ultimate beneficiary that Wood had in mind for these improvements was not Cuba itself but the American businessman. Wood’s purpose in fostering a stable, efficient order in Cuba, according to this view, was to service the needs of American capital so that the end of the military occupation would leave the island a well-run American dependency. For those
such as James Hitchman who view Wood more sympathetically, the true aim of the occupation was simply "to prepare Cuba for nationhood." Seen in this light, the reforms of the Wood era were "the necessary educational, judicial, governmental and economic means to perpetuate a republic." James H. Hitchman, *Leonard Wood and Cuban Independence, 1899-1902* (The Hague, 1971), p. 212.


17. Hagedorn interview with McCoy, October 10, 1929, Box 16, Hagedorn Papers.


19. Hagedorn interview with McCoy, May 19, 1929, Box 16, Hagedorn Papers; McCoy to John Kendrick Bangs, February 18, 1902, Box 9, McCoy Papers. Bangs was a journalist sympathetic to Wood whom McCoy assisted in preparing a favorable account of the occupation. His book, *Uncle Sam Trustee* (New York, 1902), is dedicated to Wood and McCoy.

20. McCoy to family, May 1902, Box 3, McCoy Papers.


CHAPTER 3

PACIFYING THE MOROS


2. McCoy to family, August 18 and 29, 1902, Box 3, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as McCoy Papers.


4. McCoy to family, October 19, 1902, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

5. McCoy to family, September 7, 1902, Box 3, McCoy Papers.


7. McCoy to family, September 21, 1902, Box 3, McCoy Papers.


10. McCoy to family, April 1903, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

11. McCoy to family, April 6 and May 8, 1903, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

12. McCoy to family, May 28 and June 1, 1903, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

13. McCoy to family, undated [June 1903], Box 3, McCoy Papers.

14. McCoy to family, June 24, 1903, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

15. McCoy to family, June 28, 1903, Box 3, McCoy Papers.

16. McCoy to family, July 13, 1903, Box 4, McCoy Papers.


21. For a colorful description of the Moro, see Allan R. Millett, The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the United States Army, 1881–1925 (Westport, Conn., 1975), p. 167; McCoy to Capt. E. L. Munson, October 17, 1903, Box 10, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Charles E. Magoon, October 17, 1903, Box 10, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Edward Carpenter, December 2, 1903, Box 10, McCoy Papers.


23. McCoy to Margaret McKinley, September 8, 1952, Box 56, McCoy Papers. An example of McCoy’s racial antipathy is a letter in which he describes his negative feelings toward the Chinese of Mindanao and the Syrian-born provincial superintendent of education by comparing them to Jews (McCoy to family, May 28, 1905, Box 4, McCoy Papers).


25. Undated entry headed “Generalizations,” in Notebook 3 (June 17, 1904–March 13, 1905), Box 1, McCoy Papers; Wood to Roosevelt, August 3, 1903, cited in Hagedorn, Wood, 2: 5.

26. “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province (1903–1904)” pp. 577, 582; McCoy to family, October 15, 1903, Box 3, McCoy Papers.


28. Scott, Memories, p. 325; McCoy to Carpenter, December 2, 1903, Box 10, McCoy Papers.

29. Millett, The General, p. 178; Scott, Memories p. 327; McCoy to Carpenter, December 2, 1903, Box 10, McCoy Papers. Emphasis added.

34. McCoy to family, September 2, 1904, Box 3, McCoy Papers; “Report of the Governor of the Moro Province” (1906), pp. 340, 345.
37. Gowing, Mandate, p. 151.
38. McCoy to family, April 12, 1904, Box 4, McCoy Papers; Notebook 2 (December 11, 1903–June 17, 1904), Box 1, McCoy Papers.
39. McCoy to family, May 6, 1905, Box 1, McCoy Papers.
40. McCoy to family, January 5, 1905, Box 4, McCoy Papers; Wood Diary, April 4 and 7, 1904, Box 3, Wood Papers.
41. James H. Reeves to George T. Langhorne, March 1, 1906, Box 37, Wood Papers.
42. Ibid. The exchange between Wood and Langhorne is quoted by Thompson, “Governors,” p. 83.
43. McCoy to family, March 10, 1906, Box 4, McCoy Papers; McCoy interview with Hagedorn, June 7, 1929, Box 22, Hagedorn Papers; see also Hagedorn interview with Stuart Heintzelman, April 2, 1930, Box 22, Hagedorn Papers. Heintzelman, another aide present at Dajo, recalled that “when [Wood] was mentally upset he would be subject to the attacks.”
44. McCoy to family, March 10, 1906, Box 4, McCoy Papers; Wood to Andrews, March 9, 1906, Box 11, McCoy Papers.
46. Wood to War Department, March 13, 1906, Box 37, Wood Papers.
47. Wood to Roosevelt, May 14, 1906, Box 37, Wood Papers.
48. Scott’s defense of Wood, solicited by Secretary of War Taft, with endorsements by Taft and Roosevelt is reprinted in U.S., Congress, Senate, Attack by United States Troops on Mount Dajo, S. Doc. 289, 59th Cong., 1st sess. For a highly colored account, see McCoy to Andrew Peters, September 4, 1914, Box 3, McCoy Papers. Suggestive of the fleeting interest in the incident is that the Literary Digest surveyed editorial opinion on the subject only once; the Reader’s Guide to Periodical Literature contains only four citations on the Bud Dajo—and two are defenses of Wood.
49. McCoy to family, December 3, 1903, Box 3, and March 4, 1904, Box 4, McCoy Papers; John R. White, Bullets and Bolos (New York, 1928), pp. 215–217. Saranaya is described in “Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province” (1904), pp. 577–578.
50. McCoy to family, May 20 and July 11, 1904, Box 4, and July 17, 1904, Box 3, McCoy Papers.
51. Translation of letter, Ali to Wood, July 14, 1904, Box 4, McCoy Papers. A Filipino official translated the letter from Arabic to Spanish; McCoy further translated it into English (Dispatch Book 5 [June–July 1904], Box 1, McCoy Papers).
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52. McCoy to family, December 12, 1904, Box 3, McCoy Papers. Langhorne's comments to Wood are cited by Gowing, Mandate, p. 153. Langhorne functioned as acting governor while Wood was in the United States on medical leave. For the importance that the Americans attributed to Ali's elimination, see "Report of the Governor of the Moro Province," Report of the Philippine Commission (1906), pp. 343, 352. In it, Wood asserts that in the Cotabato Valley "some 20,000 recognized Datto Ali's authority" and that "his resistance kept the whole valley stirred up."

53. McCoy to military secretary, Department of Mindanao, October 31, 1905, and Buchanan to Wood, May 9, 1906, Box 11, McCoy Papers.

54. McCoy to military secretary, October 31, 1905, Box 11, McCoy Papers.

55. Ibid.


CHAPTER 4
AN AVAILABLE AGENT

1. For one testimonial on McCoy's reputation, see Horace Fletcher to McCoy, April 11, 1907, Box 12, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as McCoy Papers.

2. McCoy to family, November 21 and 28, 1905, Box 4, McCoy Papers.


5. Roosevelt is quoted by Beale, Roosevelts, p. 245.

6. McCoy to family, April 17, 1906, Box 4, McCoy Papers; McCoy to military secretary, War Department, Box 11, McCoy Papers; Wood to McCoy, August 22, 1906, Box 37, Leonard Wood Diary and Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as Wood Papers.


12. McCoy to Wood, October 18, 1906, Box 37, Wood Papers. Historians have endorsed McCoy’s view of the stakes in the 1906 revolt. Describing the disputing factions, for example, Dana Munro comments that “in general there was little difference in their programs or policies” (Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900–1921* [Princeton, N.J., 1964], pp. 125–126).


15. See, for example, the list of participants from the first occupation, dated September 27, 1906, in Box 12, McCoy Papers. It describes the positions occupied by each and identifies those considered especially able. Allan Millett notes that the “striking common denominator” of officers in the provisional government was that “they had been effective administrators in Leonard Wood’s Cuban government” (Millett, *Politics*, p. 152). See also the cable from Matthew E. Hanna to McCoy, October 26, 1906, Box 12, McCoy Papers.

16. McCoy to Mrs. Wood, October 7, 1906, Box 37, Wood Papers; Magoon to Taft, October 19, 1906, Box 12, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Wood, October 28, 1906, Box 37, McCoy Papers.


18. J. Franklin Bell to McCoy, November 22, 1906, Box 12, McCoy Papers.

19. McCoy to Magoon, November 28, 1906, Box 12, McCoy Papers.


24. While visiting the Roosevelt home at Oyster Bay, for example, McCoy reported a long ride in the morning, followed by chess with Theodore, Jr. Then, in midafternoon, “the President routed me out” for five sets of tennis in a “drizzly rain” (McCoy to family, undated, Box 7, McCoy Papers).

26. For a complete Family roster, see ibid., pp. 110-112.

27. Straight to Fletcher, March 10, 1916, Box 4, Fletcher Papers.


29. Straight to Fletcher, April 6, April 18, and June 3, 1914, Box 3, Fletcher Papers. Family membership also earned free publicity. When Woodrow Wilson selected Fletcher as ambassador to Mexico, Family journalist George Marvin published an adulatory profile of the appointee, touting him as “a diplomatist of the new order” and claiming that “a better selection could not have been made” [“Henry P. Fletcher,” The World’s Work 31 (January 1916): 443, 450].

30. Untitled memorandum, July 2, 1919, Box 25, McCoy Papers; McCoy to James G. Harbord, January 11, 1923, Box 25, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Roosevelt, undated, Box 57, McCoy Papers; Wood to McCoy, December 13, 1907, Box 39, Wood Papers.

31. Charles E. Magoon, Report of Provisional Administration, 1908 (Havana, 1909), pp. 135-137; Magoon to Taft, April 8, 1908, Box 12, McCoy Papers.

32. McCoy to family, May 8, 1908, Box 4, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Taft, May 9, 1908, Box 12, McCoy Papers.

33. McCoy to Taft, May 9, 1908, Box 12, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Brig. Gen. Clarence Edwards, Bureau of Insular Affairs, undated [May 1908], Box 10, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Wood, May 8, 1908, Box 43, Wood Papers.


35. McCoy to family, January 1, 1909, January 13, [1909], April 2, 1910, April 10, 1910, Box 5, McCoy Papers; acting adjutant, 3d Cavalry, November 20, 1908, Box 12, McCoy Papers.


37. Stimson Diary, “Trip to Arizona and New Mexico in September and October 1911,” “Work of the War Department in the Autumn of 1911,” “My Chicago Speech,” “Army Appropriation Veto,” Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University (hereafter cited as Stimson Papers); Stimson to McCoy, December 24, 1912, 1993336, RG 94, NA; McCoy to Stimson, December 25, 1912, Box 37, Stimson Papers; Stimson, My Vacations (privately printed, 1949), pp. 134-143.


40. Robert Stelark to McCoy, May 25, 1911, Box 13, McCoy Papers. Numerous letters in Box 13 indicate McCoy’s role in covert intelligence activities.

41. Wood to Lindley M. Garrison, October 11, 1913, Box 74, McCoy Papers. This memorandum summarizes for the secretary of war the origins of the Atrato question and

42. Wood Diary, December 20, 1911, Box 6, Wood Papers.

43. Cheney, “Diary,” Box 74, McCoy Papers, provides a narrative of the expedition.

44. Ibid.; Cheney to Wood, February 12, 1912, Box 74, McCoy Papers; Cheney to McCoy, “Supplementary Memorandum,” February 12, 1912, Box 74, McCoy Papers.

45. Ibid.

CHAPTER 5
MEXICO AND THE APPROACH OF WAR


4. McCoy to Borglum, October 2, 1913, Box 13, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter cited as McCoy Papers]; McCoy to Scott, March 14, 1914, Box 13, McCoy Papers.


6. McCoy to Stimson, April 1, 1915, Box 48, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University [hereafter cited as Stimson Papers]; McCoy to family, March 15 and August 20, 1915, Box 5, McCoy Papers.

7. McCoy to family, April 1, 1915, Box 5, McCoy Papers.


11. Straight to McCoy, June 30, 1915, Box 14, McCoy Papers.


13. Ibid., p. 389; McCoy to family, September 5, 1915, Box 5, McCoy Papers.

15. Croly to McCoy, September 8 and 24, 1915, Box 14, McCoy Papers; "On the Mexican Border," The New Republic 4 (October 9, 1915): 256-257. McCoy advocated recognition of Carranza's government as "for the moment the nearest thing to responsibility in Mexico" (McCoy to family, October 10, [1915], Box 5, McCoy Papers).

16. New York Times, October 22, 1915; McCoy to family, October 25, 1915, Box 5, McCoy Papers.


22. McCoy to family, July 11 and August 21, 1916, Box 5, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Wood, July 19, 1916, Box 89, Wood Papers; McCoy to Wood, November 3, 1916, Box 14, McCoy Papers.


24. McCoy to family, November 26, 1916, Box 5, McCoy Papers; Parker, The Old Army, p. 426.

25. On Hanna's role in Cuba, see James H. Hitchman, Leonard Wood and Cuban Independence, 1899-1902 (The Hague, 1971), pp. 51-59. For evidence of Hanna's continued close relations with the Family, see Fletcher to McCoy, November 8, 1921, Box 16, McCoy Papers; Phillips to McCoy, October 25, 1915, Box 14, McCoy Papers; McCoy to family, June 9, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers. The Family's intimacy with some of Woodrow Wilson's most vocal opponents did not go unnoticed. As Phillips recorded privately on February 9, 1917: "There was considerable Hurry to-day over Fletcher's staff and its Republican flavor. Frank McCoy, being General Wood's right hand man, is assumed by some to be anti-administration; Fletcher is also tainted some people think" (diary entry, William Phillips Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University).

26. McCoy to family, February 22 and March 16, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

27. McCoy to Maj. Ralph H. Van Deman, March 14, 1917, 9700-87, U.S., War Department, "Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs," Record Group 165, National Archives; hereafter cited as RG 165, NA. Van Deman was the officer to whom McCoy reported at the War Department.


29. File 862.2012, U.S., Department of State, "General Records of the State Department," Record Group 59, National Archives [hereafter cited as RG 59, NA]. This file contains numerous reports of alleged Mexican aid to Germany. See especially Frank L.
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Polk to Fletcher, April 24, 1917, 862.2012/332a, and Pershing to War Department, March 29, 1917, 862.2012/165, RG 59, NA; Lansing to Wilson, April 18, 1917, 711.12/43A, RG 59, NA (microfilm series M314, reel 2).


31. McCoy to Van Deman, undated (received by War Department, April 19, 1917), 9700-93, RG 165, NA; McCoy to Van Deman, April 4, 1917, 9700-91, RG 165, NA.


33. McCoy to family, May 10, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Fletcher to Polk, May 22, 1917, Box 4, McCoy Papers; McCoy to family, June 9, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

CHAPTER 6
WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH


4. McCoy to family, June 21 and December 20, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Straight to Dorothy Straight, January 2, 1918, reel 6, Willard Straight Papers, Cornell University; Robert Bacon to wife, October 24, 1917, quoted in James Brown Scott, Robert Bacon: Life and Letters (Garden City, 1923), p. 308; McCoy to Mrs. Bacon, undated, ibid., pp. 311–312; Stimson Diary, February 15 and April 14, 1918, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University [hereafter cited as Stimson Papers]; James G. Harbord, Leaves from a War Diary (New York, 1925), pp. 99, 129–133, 155–160; McCoy to family, September 3, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

5. McCoy to family, July 1 and October 10, 1917, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

6. Stimson Diary, January 4, 1918, Stimson Papers; McCoy to family, March 25, April 10, and April 12, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

7. Hugh J. Reilly, Americans All: The Rainbow at War (Columbus, Ohio, 1936), p. 208; McCoy to family, May 6, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

8. McCoy to Mrs. Wood, May 26, 1918, Box 193A, Leonard Wood Diary and Papers, Library of Congress; Reilly, Americans All, pp. 209, 213; McCoy to family, May 21 and June 4, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Francis P. Duffy, Father Duffy’s Story (New York, 1919), pp. 92–93.

9. Duffy, Father Duffy’s Story, pp. 96, 122; Reilly, Americans All, p. 212.
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18. Reilly, *Americans All*, pp. 382–383. Among the regiment’s dead at the Ourcq was the poet Joyce Kilmer.

19. McCoy to family, August 6 and 20, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Edward Bowditch to W. Cameron Forbes, August 11, 1918, W. Cameron Forbes Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University [hereafter cited as Forbes Papers].

20. McCoy to family, September 1, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers.


24. Harbord to McCoy, September 25, 1918, James G. Harbord Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter cited as Harbord Papers, LC]; McCoy to family, November 24, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

25. McCoy to family, November 24, 1918, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Harbord to McAndrew, January 31, 1919, Harbord Papers, LC.


27. McCoy to family, January 14 and 21, 1919, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Duffy to McCoy, Thanksgiving Day 1918, Box 14, McCoy Papers.

28. McCoy to family, January 3, January 14, February 19, March 1, and March 2, 1919, Box 6, McCoy Papers.


30. McCoy to Wood, March 19, 1919, Box 15, McCoy Papers.

38. McCoy to family, August 2, 1919, Box 6, McCoy Papers. Morgenthau, head of the American Committee for the Relief of the Far East, was largely responsible for Harbord’s selection, having decided earlier that the general would make a suitable governor of the American mandate that Morgenthau earnestly sought for Armenia (Morgenthau to Harbord, June 25, 1919, 184.021/28, RG 256, NA). An American contingent remained with the Allied occupation forces in the Rhineland, but it was not part of the Allied Expeditionary Force (AEF).
39. “Who’s Who: Members of the Mission,” August 16, 1919, 184.021/101, RG 256, NA; McCoy to Leland Harrison, August 16, 1919, 184.021/173, RG 256, NA; McCoy to family, August 26, 1919, Box 6, McCoy Papers.
40. “Armenian Narrative Notes,” entries for August 3 and 5, 1919, 184.021/106, RG 256, NA.
41. W. H. Buckler to Harbord, August 7, 1919, 184.021/126, RG 256, NA.
44. Harbord, “Investigating Turkey and Trans-Caucasia,” p. 36; McCoy to family, September 11, 1919, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Harbord to Bristol, September 21, 1919, 184.021/276, RG 256, NA. Harbord reiterated these views at the end of the mission’s travels (see Harbord to Polk, October 6, 1919, 184.021/307, RG 256, NA).
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184.02102/18, RG 256, NA. Harbord's account of the conversation with Kemal is in "Mustapha Kemal Pasha and His Party," pp. 184-188.


47. Harbord to Polk, October 6, 1919, 184.021/307, RG 256, NA; Polk to Lansing, October 25, 1919, 184.02102/18, RG 256, NA.

48. James G. Harbord, "Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia," Box 239, RG 165, NA, pp. 4, 8, 15 [hereafter cited as Harbord Report]; other copies of the report can be found at 184.02102/5, RG 256, NA, and in Box 69, McCoy Papers.


56. Lansing to AMMISSION, Paris, October 9, 1919, 184.02102/3, RG 256, NA.


58. In addition to the series in _The World's Work_, Harbord published a feature article in the _New York Times_ on February 22, 1920, calling for assistance for the "500,000 destitute people . . . left on our national doorstep." Harbord to McCoy, June 15 and August 18, 1920, Box 16, McCoy Papers.

59. McCoy to Barton, April 25, 1920, Box 16, McCoy Papers.

CHAPTER 7
RETURN TO THE PHILIPPINES


3. McCoy to family, February 5 and March 27, 1920, Box 6, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Stimson, April 20, 1920, Box 72, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University [hereafter cited as Stimson Papers].
4. “Memorandum on the Mexican Problem” [June 1920], Box 16, McCoy Papers. McCoy believed that intervention in Mexico was “as sure to come as fate” (see McCoy to General William Crozier, June 17, 1920, Box 16, McCoy Papers). Stimson to McCoy, April 12, 1920, Box 72, Stimson Papers.


7. McCoy to family, July 14, 1920, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Gibson to McCoy, September 14, 1920, and McCoy to Gibson, October 28, 1920, Box 16, McCoy Papers.

8. Lane, Armed Progressive, p. 251.


16. “The Political and Military Relations of the Philippine Islands to the United States,” April 27, 1921, Box 82, McCoy Papers. This article consists of a series of memos provided Wood by the military staff in Manila. Rhodes, “The Problem of the Pacific,” and Straus, untitled memorandum, April 28, 1921, Box 82, McCoy Papers.

17. McCoy to family, May 27, 1921, Box 6, McCoy Papers. For a descriptive narrative of the mission’s investigation, see Hagedorn, Wood, 2: 383-393.

19. The phrase “infection of politics” appears on page 23 of the Wood-Forbes Report. The ideas and phraseology of McCoy’s memorandum on “General Administration” that appear in the final report suggest that he played a large role in drafting it.


23. The Manila Times, October 15, 1921, Box 283, Wood Papers. McCoy’s suspicion of Japan was of long standing. In 1905, he favored Russia in its war against Japan, remarking: “I believe . . . in the yellow peril. As long as we hold the Philippines, and engage in the commercial war in China, there’ll be the ever present danger of conflict with the Jap cock of the walk. They won’t help hold the open door, but’ll soon develop a doctrine of . . . protection for themselves and China” (see McCoy to family, May 28, 1905, Box 4, McCoy Papers).


26. McCoy to family, September 7 and October 1, 14, and 20, 1921, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

27. Lane, Armed Progressive, pp. 255–256.

28. Wood to Mrs. Wood, July 29, 1921, Box 192, Wood Papers; Forbes to Secretary of War John L. Weeks, August 6, 1921, 22639-A-87-A, and Wood to Weeks, September 2, 1921, 22639-A-14, RG 350, NA; Weeks to Wood, September 19, 1921, Box 83, McCoy Papers; Forbes to Weeks, November 2, 1921, Box 16, McCoy Papers. As late as December 1922, Forbes was still importuning President Harding to name McCoy as Wood’s successor and was lining up the votes needed for Senate approval (Forbes to McCoy, December 22, 1922, Box 16, McCoy Papers).

29. Onorato, “Leonard Wood and His Khaki Cabinet in the Philippines, 1921–1927,” A Brief Review, p. 126; William Hart Anderson, The Philippine Problem (New York, 1939), p. 143; McCoy to family, November 12, 1921, and January 8, April 10, and April 30, 1922, Box 6, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Johnston, January 8, 1922, Box 16, McCoy Papers; Bowditch to Forbes, December 9, 1921, and February 2, 1922, Forbes Papers; Wood to Weeks, January 26, 1923, Box 82, McCoy Papers; Wood to McCoy, September 9, 1925, Box 197, Wood Papers; Marguerite Wolfson, “In the Spirit of Manila,” Asia 24 (February 1924): 146 (this article reprints letters that Wolfson wrote early in 1922).

30. McCoy to Forbes, April 5, 1922, Forbes Papers.

31. The best studies of American rule in the Philippines are Stanley, A Nation in the Making, which covers the years 1899 to 1921, and Theodore Friend, Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929–1946 (New Haven, Conn., 1965), which
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32. Wood’s inaugural address is reprinted in Report of the Governor General, 1921, pp. 45–46.


34. McCoy to family, November 12, 1921, Box 6, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Forbes, April 8, 1926, Forbes Papers.


37. Mayo interview with McCoy, March 26, 1924, Box 100, McCoy Papers.


45. Harbord to Mosely, October 30, 1923, vol. 10, Mosely Papers; McCoy to family, February 22, 1923, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Wood Diary, April 6, 1923, Box 18, Wood Papers.

46. McCoy to family, August 31 and September 5, 1923, Box 6, McCoy Papers; Noel F. Busch, Two Minutes to Noon (New York, 1962), p. 38.

47. McCoy, “Final Report of the American Relief Mission to Japan,” November 9, 1923, Box 75, McCoy Papers; McCoy to James R. Garfield, September 29, 1923, Box 17, McCoy Papers; Busch, Two Minutes, pp. 75, 147, 149; Tokyo Municipal Office, The Reconstruction of Tokyo (Tokyo, 1933), p. 9.

48. McCoy to family, September 12, 1923, Box 6, McCoy Papers. On the need to avoid offending the Japanese, see an interview with McCoy published as “American Praise for Japan,” Far Eastern Review 19 (October 1923): 646.

49. McCoy to family, October 3 and 24, 1923, Box 6, McCoy Papers; “Final Report of the American Relief Mission,” Box 75, McCoy Papers.
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51. McCoy to family, November 23, 1923, Box 6, McCoy Papers.

52. Oulahan interview with McCoy, Box 19, McCoy Papers. For Philippine criticism of the “khaki cabinet,” see Report of the Governor General, 1923, p. 44.

53. Friend, Between Two Empires, pp. 4, 32, 39–42.

54. Mayo interview with McCoy, March 24 and 25, 1924, Box 100, McCoy Papers.

55. Ibid. Bowditch to McCoy, February 15, 1924, Box 18, McCoy Papers.

56. Wood to secretary of war, March 14, 1924, Box 19, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Arthur W. Page, December 18, 1923, Box 17, McCoy Papers. Wood, too, reported that Philippine leaders told him privately that the islands were not ready for independence (Wood to secretary of war, December 4, 1923, Box 17, McCoy Papers, and Wood interview with Katherine Mayo, March 28, 1924, Box 348, Wood Papers).

57. McCoy to Maj. Gen. Frank McIntyre, March 9, 1924, Box 19, McCoy Papers; Mayo interview with McCoy, March 24, 1924, Box 100, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Forbes, March 17, 1924, Forbes Papers.


60. McCoy to Carpenter, March 3, 1925, Box 20, McCoy Papers; Hagedorn interview with Johnston, February 1, 1929, Box 22, Hagedorn Papers.

61. McCoy to family, May 10 and June 1, 1924, and undated [April 1925], Box 7, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Forbes, May 21, 1924, Box 18, McCoy Papers.


CHAPTER 8
MISSION TO NICARAGUA


2. McCoy to family, July 1, 1922, Box 6, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as McCoy Papers.


4. McCoy to family, February 1, 1924, Box 7, McCoy Papers.


6. McCoy to Harbord, May 21, 1925, James G. Harbord Papers, New York Historical Society; McCoy to family, May 26 and June 16, 1925, Box 7, McCoy Papers; McCoy to
Stimson, July 25, Box 88, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University [hereafter cited as Stimson Papers]; McCoy to Wood, June 18 and July 18, 1925, Box 177, Wood Papers.
7. NYT, September 6, 1925.
8. McCoy to Mrs. Wood, November 14, 1925, Box 177, Wood Papers.
9. McCoy to Wood, September 30, 1925, Box 177, Wood Papers.
10. McCoy to Mrs. Wood, November 14, 1925, Box 177, Wood Papers; McCoy to Forbes, November 30, 1925, Folder 176, Forbes Papers.
12. McCoy to family, May 17, June 15, and July 4, 1926, Box 7, McCoy Papers; “Value of Diversion,” July 30, 1926, Box 63, McCoy Papers.
14. NYT, August 9, 1927; New York American, October 17, 1927, and Mindanao Herald, September 10, 1927, Box 101, McCoy Papers; McCoy to family, October 20 and December 1, 1927, Box 8, McCoy Papers.
20. Charles C. Eberhardt to Frank B. Kellogg, July 20, 1927, Box 211, Stimson Papers.
22. For press reaction, see Literary Digest 94 (July 30, 1927): 5; for a survey of congressional opinion, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 2, 1927, scrapbook, Box 93, McCoy Papers.
25. Kellogg to McCoy, June 26, 1927, Box 20, McCoy Papers.
26. McCoy to family, September 27, 1927, Box 8, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Kellogg, September 12, 1927, 817.00/5028, RG 59, NA.
27. McCoy to Sherwood Cheney, April 4, 1928, Box 21, McCoy Papers.
28. Kellogg to Munro, January 17, 1928, 817.00/5276, RG 59, NA; NYT, January 17, 1928.
29. Munro to Kellogg, October 4, 1927, 817.00/5054, RG 59, NA.
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30. McCoy to Munro, undated, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
31. McCoy to Kellogg, April 3, 1928, Box 50, McCoy Papers; McCoy to family, January 29, 1928, Box 8, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Kellogg, February 2, 1928, 817.00/5361, RG 59, NA.
33. NYT, March 13, 1928.
34. Munro to Francis White, February 18, 1928, Box 14, Francis White Papers, National Archives [hereafter cited as White Papers]; memo entitled “Nicaragua,” March 2, 1928, 817.00/544 1/2, RG 59, NA.
35. NYT, March 14, 1928; “Deputies—14 March 1928,” Box 1990, U.S., Department of State, “Records of International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions,” Record Group 43, National Archives (prepared by a Guardia Nacional stenographer, this memorandum describes events in the Chamber of Deputies; hereafter cited as RG 43, NA); “Legality versus Necessity,” undated memo, Box 80, McCoy Papers; McCoy and Eberhardt to Kellogg, March 14, 1928, Box 80, McCoy Papers.
36. On March 26, 1928, McCoy wrote William Howard Taft: “It looked for a time here as though the government might follow President Palma’s lead and throw full responsibility at me, and at one time I dug out of the Foreign Relations for 1906 the copy of your proclamation which inaugurated the provisional government” (Box 22, McCoy Papers).
38. U.S., Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (1927), vol. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1942), pp. 482–485, reprints the decree; hereafter cited as FRUS.
39. Washington Herald, April 1, 1928, scrapbook, Box 93, McCoy Papers.
40. U.S., Congress, Congressional Record, 70th Cong., 1st Sess., April 16, 1928, p. 6523; see also the series of articles by Carlton Beals in The Nation from February through April 1928. According to Beals, “if Sandino had arms he could raise an army of ten thousand men by snapping his fingers; . . . if he marched into Managua, the capital, tomorrow, he would receive the greatest ovation in Nicaraguan history” (“This is War, Gentlemen!” The Nation 126 [April 11, 1928]: 406).
41. “Memo on Sandino,” undated, Box 1953, RG 43, NA; undated memorandum, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
42. Kellogg to McCoy, March 3, 1928, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
43. McCoy to Kellogg, March 5, 1928, 817.00/5450, RG 59, NA. Rear Adm. David F. Sellers reported to the Navy Department that there was a “deep feeling of resentment” among the marines that any army officer had been appointed to the type of mission “that had always been done in the past by the Navy or Marine Corps” (Sellers to Admiral Charles F. Hughes, April 6, 1928, Box 3, David Foote Sellers Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as Sellers Papers).
44. McCoy to Kellogg, March 5, 1928, 817.00/5450, RG 59, NA.
45. Sellers to Hughes, April 6, 1928, Box 3, Sellers Papers. Later Sellers commented: “Just why it was thought necessary to confer rank upon General McCoy which made him temporarily senior to the Squadron Commander while in Nicaragua and thus lower the prestige of the Navy, has never been clear or understood,” but since “controversies about rank and precedence . . . generally brand those who engage in them as being capacious or of small mental caliber,” the admiral had been reluctant to complain too loudly (Sellers to Munro, January 4, 1929, Box 3, Sellers Papers).
46. McCoy to Stimson, April 16, 1928, Box 99, Stimson Papers; Feland to Sellers, April 19, 1928, Box 6, Sellers Papers.
47. NYT, March 1 and June 15, 1928; McCoy to Kellogg, August 2, 1928, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
48. Eberhardt to Kellogg, July 20, 1928, 817.00/5845, RG 59, NA; Munro to White, June 28, 1928, Box 14, White Papers; Summerlin to Kellogg, July 21, 1928, 817.00/5848, RG 59, NA.
49. Robert E. Olds to McCoy, April 13, 1928, Box 14, White Papers.
51. Macaulay, Sandino Affair, p. 128; NYT, October 31, 1928.
52. McCoy reported that after dinner one evening, he became “the principal target . . . in a symposium on Nicaragua, being quizzed with interest by Senators Hiram Johnson and Walsh of Montana. Frances [his wife] thought I was too mild and lacking in belligerency. With intent, however, and you will be glad to know that I didn’t raise my voice” (McCoy to family, June 7, 1928, Box 8, McCoy Papers).
53. McCoy to Blanton Winship, February 28, 1937, Box 60, McCoy Papers; Stimson to White, September 23, 1927, 817.00/5043 1/2, RG 59, NA; McCoy to Stimson, August 14, 1927, Box 95, Stimson Papers.
54. See Boxes 21 and 22, McCoy Papers, especially Felix Frankfurter to McCoy, October 11, 1928, and Newton D. Baker to McCoy, November 7, 1928, Box 21; also, McCoy to Stimson, October 24, 1928, Box 101, Stimson Papers.
55. “Summary of Events and Policy from Stimson Agreements to Date,” undated, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
56. Kellogg to McCoy and Eberhardt, April 19, 1928, FRUS (1928), vol. 3, p. 534; McCoy to family, July 5, 1928, Box 8, McCoy Papers; Munro, United States and Caribbean Republics, p. 249.
57. Munro to McCoy, May 17, 1928, Box 21, McCoy Papers.
58. McCoy to Capt. Alfred W. Johnson, USN, June 13, 1930, Box 25, McCoy Papers; see also draft cable, Parker to McCoy, May 22, 1928, Box 8, Parker Papers.
59. Draft cable, Parker to McCoy, May 22, 1928, Box 8, Parker Papers.
60. Eberhardt to Kellogg, June 27, 1928, 817.00/5782, RG 59, NA; NYT, July 8, 1928; “Notes on Session of 23d July,” Box 1977, RG 43, NA (these are handwritten minutes of the election board proceedings made by its secretary, Maj. Cary I. Crockett).
61. Eberhardt to Kellogg, July 27, 1928, 817.00/5913, RG 59, NA; NYT, September 8, 1928.
62. McCoy to family, September 15, 1928, Box 8, McCoy Papers.
63. NYT, October 13, 1928.
64. NYT, November 5, 1928.
65. NYT, November 10, 1928; Munro, United States and Caribbean Republics, p. 254.
66. The Nation 127 (November 7, 1928): 467; NYT, November 18, 1928; New York Herald Tribune, November 16, 1928, scrapbook, Box 93, McCoy Papers.
67. McCoy interview with Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., undated, Box 89, McCoy Papers.
68. Undated memorandum, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
69. Sellers to Hughes, November 1928, Box 3, Sellers Papers.
70. Draft cable, McCoy to Kellogg, November 14, 1928, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
71. NYT, December 18, 1928, and February 7, 1929.
CHAPTER 9
TROUBLESHOOTING FOR STIMSON


2. Garner, Chaco Dispute, pp. 57-58. For Kellogg’s efforts to persuade Bolivia and Paraguay to consent to a commission of inquiry and conciliation and to recruit members, see U.S., Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (1929), vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1942), pp. 818-835; hereafter cited as FRUS.


6. Proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation, Bolivia and Paraguay (Washington, D.C., 1929). This volume, which exceeds 1,200 pages, contains the minutes of all plenary sessions along with a variety of Bolivian and Paraguayan memorials, statements, maps, and appendices. McCoy to Munro, May 11, 1929, 724.3415/525, RG 59, NA; H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld to White, May 13, 1929, 724.3415/527, RG 59, NA; McCoy to family, May 22, 1929, Box 8, McCoy Papers. The commission’s resolution on the exchange of prisoners is reprinted in FRUS (1929), vol. 1, pp. 852–853.

7. McCoy to family, June 24, 1929, Box 8, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Robert L. Bullard, August 12, 1933, Box 29, McCoy Papers; “Confidential Report,” pp. 16-17, 30, 33, 49.

8. McCoy to family, undated, Box 8, McCoy Papers; “Confidential Report,” pp. 48, 51, 57, 86.

9. Emerson B. Christie, “The Chaco Boreal,” undated, 724.3415/652 1/2, RG 59, NA (this was a State Department study prepared at McCoy’s request); McCoy to Malcolm Davis, May 7, 1934, Box 31, McCoy Papers; “Confidential Report,” pp. 47, 52-55, 80-81, 82-84.


11. Stimson to George L. Kreek (U.S. minister to Paraguay), September 7, 1929, 724.3415/686B, RG 59, NA; Stimson to Hibbard, September 7, 1929, 724.3415/686A, RG 59, NA; Bolivian delegation to McCoy, and Paraguayan delegation to McCoy, September 9, 1929, 724.3415/714 1/2, RG 59, NA.


15. Stimson to Hibbard, September 16, 1929, 724.3415/704A, RG 59, NA; conversation between White and Diez de Medina, September 17, 1929, 724.3415/704 1/2, RG 59, NA; Hibbard to Stimson, October 9, 1929, 724.3415/774, RG 59, NA; Hibbard to Stimson, October 26, 1929, 724.3415/805, RG 59, NA. For assessments of McCoy’s performance that suggest forbearance and impartiality on his part, see conversation between Stimson and General Guillermo Ruprecht (the Uruguayan delegate), undated, 724.3415/714, RG 59, NA, and “Supplementary Memorandum by the Secretary General and the Counsellor of the Commission,” undated, Box 70, McCoy Papers.
16. McCoy to Kellogg, December 30, 1929, Box 13, Francis White Papers, National Archives; McCoy to Malcolm W. Davis, May 7, 1934, Box 31, McCoy Papers.
17. “Confidential Report,” p. 102. Although not indicative of any unique prescience, McCoy’s prediction on page 33 of his “Confidential Report”—that failure to resolve the territorial issue would lead to war—proved correct. For an account of the Bolivian-Paraguayan armed conflict of 1932–1935, see Zook, Conduct of the Chaco War.
18. Stimson Diary, February 14, 1931, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University; hereafter cited as Stimson Papers. Stimson apparently overcame temptation; McCoy did not fill in for Cotton during the latter’s illness.
19. On McCoy’s continuing involvement with Nicaragua, see Stimson Diary, January 13, 29, and 30 and February 2, 5, and 20, 1931, Stimson Papers.
20. New York Times [hereafter cited as NYT], July 22, 30, and 31; August 5, 22, and 30; and September 1, 1930.
21. McCoy to Stimson, August 11, 1930, Box 107, Stimson Papers; NYT, September 25, 1930.
23. For a comprehensive statement of the Hoover administration’s position, see U.S., Congress, Senate, Independence of the Philippine Islands, S. Doc. 150, 71st Cong., 2d sess. Later, during the Manchurian crisis, Stimson remarked that “the whole trouble with Japan and her intransigence is based upon her belief that we are going to give up the Philippines and that we do not wish to remain a Far Eastern power”; were the United States to correct that misapprehension, “we should have no trouble with Japan” (Stimson Diary, February 3, 1932, Stimson Papers).
24. Stimson to McCoy, June 11, 1930, Box 106, Stimson Papers; Stimson Diary, October 1, 1930, Stimson Papers. According to William R. Castle, around the time of his inauguration, President Hoover “had practically decided” to appoint McCoy governor general but chose Dwight Davis at the last minute (William R. Castle Diaries, February 28 and May 18, 1929, Houghton Library, Harvard University).
25. Stimson Diary, October 3 and 4, 1930, Stimson Papers. McCoy’s association with the unpopular regime of Leonard Wood did his candidacy little good in Philippine eyes.
26. Ibid., May 19, 1931.
27. Ibid., June 3, 10, and 14, 1931.
28. Memorandum prepared by McCoy and Quezon, June 18, 1931, Box 27, McCoy Papers. Emphasis added.
29. McCoy to Hurley, “Concerning relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands, summarizing considered views of all executive departments, with certain conclusions and recommendations,” June 18, 1931, Box 83, McCoy Papers.
30. Stimson Diary, June 14, 1931, Stimson Papers; Theodore Friend, Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines (New Haven, Conn., 1965), pp. 61–67; Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, On Active Service in Peace and War (New York, 1948), pp. 147, 149. Reason exists to question the sincerity of Quezon’s support for the plan from the
outset. Hoover and Stimson clearly had McCoy in mind as the last governor general to oversee the transition to dominion status. But in October 1931, before the demise of the dominion plan, Quezon and his colleagues succeeded in blocking another attempt to appoint McCoy as governor general (Stimson Diary, October 29, 1931, Stimson Papers).

31. For an adulatory account of Butler's career, see Lowell Thomas, Old Gimlet Eye: The Adventures of Smedley D. Butler (New York, 1933); more recent is Hans Schmidt, Maverick Marine: General Smedley D. Butler and the Contradictions of American Military History (Lexington, Ky., 1987).

32. Schmidt, Maverick Marine, p. 204.

33. Ibid., pp. 205-208.

34. NYT, January 27 and 30, 1931; Stimson Diary, January 27, 1931, Stimson Papers. For an account of the affair from Butler's point of view, see Robert B. Asprey, “The Court-Martial of Smedley Butler,” Marine Corps Gazette 43 (December 1959): 28-34.


36. Stimson Diary, January 30 and February 4, 1931, Stimson Papers.

37. Ibid., February 4 and 6, 1931.

38. McCoy, “Memorandum to go with newspaper articles—Smedley Butler,” October 30, 1931, Box 26, McCoy Papers; NYT, February 9 and 10, 1931.

39. Stimson Diary, January 30 and February 6, 1931, Stimson Papers.

CHAPTER 10
THE LYTON COMMISSION


4. Thorne, Limits, pp. 50-52, 56; Rappaport, Stimson, p. 36.

5. Robert H. Ferrell, American Diplomacy in the Great Depression (New Haven, Conn., 1957), passim; Rappaport, Stimson, pp. 34-37; Stimson, Far Eastern Crisis, p. 56.

6. Stimson, Far Eastern Crisis, pp. xi, 34; Stimson Diary, September 22, October 9, and October 16, 1931, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University [hereafter cited as Stimson Papers].

7. Stimson Diary, September 23 and 24, 1931, Stimson Papers.

8. Rappaport, Stimson, p. 30; Stimson Diary, October 16 and 19, 1931, Stimson Papers.

9. Stimson Diary, November 14, 1931, and April 27, 1932, Stimson Papers.

10. Ibid., November 20 and 21, 1931, February 21, 1932, and April 28, 1932; Stimson to Reed, August 11, 1932, 793.94 comm/334A, U.S., Department of State, “General
240 NOTES TO PAGES 154-159

Records of the State Department,” Record Group 59, National Archives [hereafter cited as RG 59, NA]; Stimson, Far Eastern Crisis, p. 188; Ostrower, Collective Insecurity, pp. 102, 125.

11. Stimson Diary, December 21 and 22, 1931, Stimson Papers; Maj. Gen. Frank Parker to McCoy, January 6, 1932, Box 28, Frank Ross McCoy Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter cited as McCoy Papers]. McCoy was actually the third candidate considered. The League itself suggested Walter D. Hines, a New York City lawyer, and Stimson proposed Henry P. Fletcher, McCoy's compatriot from 1718 H Street and a retired foreign service officer. When both Hines and Fletcher declined the appointment, Stimson recorded that he was “very much relieved . . . because I think McCoy is a better man than either of those two” (Stimson Diary, December 22, 1931, Stimson Papers).

12. Prentiss Gilbert to Stimson, December 23, 1931, 793.94 comm/13, RG 59, NA; Stimson Diary, December 26, 1931, Stimson Papers.

13. Stimson Diary, December 26, 1931, Stimson Papers.

14. Ibid., January 20, 1932, and February 1, 2, and 4, 1932. Because he was in Washington preparing for his mission at this time, McCoy also assisted Stimson and the State Department inner circle in drafting the secretary's well-known letter to Senator Borah (James C. Thompson, Jr., “The Role of the State Department,” Pearl Harbor as History, ed. by Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto [New York, 1973], p. 93).

15. Biographical data on the commissioners is contained in Box 77, McCoy Papers.


17. Biddle, “Military Narrative of the Travels and Work of the Far Eastern Commission of Inquiry,” Box 76, McCoy Papers, p. 9; McCoy to family, March 4, 1932, Box 8, and McCoy to Sherman V. Hasbrouk, April 15, 1932, Box 28, McCoy Papers; Japan Advertiser, March 6 and 7, 1932, scrapbook, Box 95, McCoy Papers.

18. “Record of Interview with Lieut. General Araki—War Minister of Japan,” March 5, 1932, Box 72, McCoy Papers.

19. “Record of Interviews with Mr. Yoshizawa, Foreign Minister of Japan,” March 7, 1932, Box 76, McCoy Papers.


22. Lytton Report, p. 84; Wilbur J. Carr (acting secretary of state) to American consul, Shanghai, March 18, 1932, 793.94 comm/146, RG 59, NA; McCoy to family, April 9, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers.

23. Lytton Report, p. 84; McCoy to family, April 9, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers.

24. McCoy to family, April 9, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers; Taylor to McCoy, March 18, 1932, Box 29, McCoy Papers.

25. McCoy to family, April 9, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers. For further evidence of McCoy's favorable opinion of the Kuomintang, see “Military Narrative,” pp. 28, 34.

26. Lytton Report, p. 11. McCoy apparently found the layover in Peking discouraging. To a friend he wrote: “It is pretty hard to keep up the guise of hopeful peacemakers when we are wandering around in such dense oriental jungle” (McCoy to Col. T. A. Roberts, April 5, 1932, Box 29, McCoy Papers).

27. Blakeslee, “The Lytton Commission,” speech delivered to the U.S. Army War College, December 7, 1932, Box 78, McCoy Papers; Joseph Grew, “Memorandum of Conversation between the Ambassador and General F. R. McCoy,” July 14, 1932, 793.94 comm/310, RG 59, NA; Johnson to Stimson, June 16, 1932, 793.94 comm/316, RG 59, NA.
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28. McCoy to family, May 19, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers; M. S. Myers (U.S. consul
genral in Mukden), undated memorandum, 793.94 comm/281, RG 59, NA; Blakeslee,
“Lytton Commission”; “Military Narrative,” p. 71. For a firsthand account of Japanese
security measures, see Amleto Vespa, Secret Agent of Japan (Garden City, N.Y.,
1938), pp. 147–159.

29. “Record of Interview with Lt. General Honjo, Commander in Chief, Kwantung
Army,” undated, and “Record of Interviews with Colonel Komatsuara, Chief of Special
Service, Kwantung Army, Harbin,” May 13, 1932, Box 76, McCoy Papers.

30. “Memorandum of Conversation between the Ambassador and General F. R.
McCoy,” July 14, 1932; Blakeslee, “Lytton Commission”; C. Walter Young, “An
Interview with General Ma Cha Shan,” October 4, 1933, Box 30, McCoy Papers. McCoy
developed a high opinion of the Japanese forces in Manchuria. He told Henry Luce, the
publishing magnate, in Peking that the Kwantung Army was “a magnificent war
machine”; Japan had “soldiers that any officer would be proud to command,” and they
“were prepared to . . . settle the issue by combat” (“Conversation,” June 10, 1932,
793.94 comm/297, RG 59, NA).


32. “Memorandum of Conversation between the Ambassador and General F. R.
McCoy,” July 15, 1932, 793.94 comm/310, RG 59, NA; “Record of Interview of Count
Uchida, Foreign Minister of Japan,” July 14, 1932, Box 76, McCoy Papers.

33. “Memorandum of Conversation between the Ambassador and General F. R.
McCoy,” July 15, 1932. Emphasis in the original.

34. “Record of Interview of Count Uchida, Foreign Minister of Japan,” July 14, 1932;
“Memorandum of Conversation between the Ambassador and General F. R. McCoy,” July
14 and 15, 1932; McCoy to Gordon Johnston, June 18, 1932, Box 28, McCoy Papers;
McCoy to Mrs. Ogden Reid, June 17, 1932, Box 29, McCoy Papers.

35. “Record of Interview of Count Uchida, Foreign Minister of Japan,” July 12 and 14,
1932.

36. Ibid.


38. McCoy to Stimson, July 22, 1932, Box 111, Stimson Papers.

39. McCoy to family, March 4, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers.

40. Blakeslee to Hornbeck, September 14, 1932, reprinted as an appendix to Rappaport,
Stimson, pp. 207–231; McCoy to family, August 8, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers.

41. Blakeslee to Hornbeck, September 14, 1932, in Rappaport, Stimson, pp. 207–231;
Congress [hereafter cited as Johnson Papers].

42. Blakeslee to Hornbeck, September 14, 1932, in Rappaport, Stimson, pp. 207–231.


44. McCoy to family, September 6, 1932, Box 8, McCoy Papers; Lytton Report, pp. 23,
29, 38, 71, 97, 126, 128.


McCoy told Johnson that the United States “did not appreciate the methods of the
Japanese,” especially that country’s penchant for initiating hostilities by means of
unannounced, preemptive attacks. McCoy and Johnson both agreed that the Japanese
“would be quite capable . . . of attacking us.”

47. Blakeslee to Hornbeck, September 14, 1932, in Rappaport, Stimson, pp. 207–231;
Stimson Diary, September 26, 1932, Stimson Papers; see also Stimson to McCoy, October
5, 1932, Box 28, McCoy Papers.
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50. Ibid., pp. 185–188; Hugh Wilson to Stimson, November 25 and December 4, 1932, 793.94 comm/560 and 603, RG 59, NA.
51. Wilson to Stimson, December 4, 1932, 793.94 comm/604, RG 59, NA.
52. Stimson Diary, December 31, 1932, and January 4, 1933, Stimson Papers. Even before Stimson could meet with McCoy, Secretary of War Patrick Hurley drafted him to assist in writing Hoover’s veto of a just-passed Philippine independence bill (see folder labeled “Philippine Islands 1932 [sic] Veto Message,” Box 83, McCoy Papers).
54. Cranford to Military Intelligence Division, War Department, July 13, 1932, 793.94 comm/318, RG 59, NA.

CHAPTER 11
NEW DIRECTIONS

2. Stimson Diary, February 10 and March 2, 1933, Henry Lewis Stimson Diary and Papers, Yale University; hereafter cited as Stimson Papers.
3. Ibid., May 25, 1933; Stimson to McCoy, May 21, 1933, Box 30, McCoy Papers; McCoy to family, June 1, 1933, Box 8, McCoy Papers; McCoy to Blanton Winship, June 13, 1933, Box 31, McCoy Papers; McCoy to George Corcoran, September 6, 1933, Box 29, McCoy Papers.
4. McCoy to Corcoran, September 6, 1933, Box 29, McCoy Papers.
5. MacArthur to McCoy, April 11, 1934, Box 32, McCoy Papers.
6. McCoy to family, May 1, 1934, Box 8, McCoy Papers; McCoy to MacArthur, May 1, 1934, Box 32, McCoy Papers; “Notes on the question of the continuance of compulsory military training at the University of Minnesota,” April 30, 1934, Box 32, McCoy Papers; Charles Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914–1941 (Knoxville, Tenn., 1971), pp. 152–158.
7. The Kansas Industrialist, February 21, 1934, Box 89, McCoy Papers; “The Army,” April 4, 1934, Box 89, McCoy Papers; Stimson Diary, October 5, 1934, Stimson Papers; McCoy to H. Otley Beyer, November 8, 1934, Box 31, McCoy Papers.
10. McCoy to family, March 11 and June 16, 1936, Box 8, McCoy Papers.
11. McCoy to family, July 1, 1936, Box 8, McCoy Papers; Stimson Diary, November 22, 1935, and January 14, 1936, Stimson Papers; McCoy to Walter H. Mallory (executive director of the Council on Foreign Relations), May 18 and October 29, 1936, Box 72, McCoy Papers; “A Conference for University Men on a Reassessment of the Traditional Bases of American Foreign Policy,” Box 72, McCoy Papers; “Conference for University Men on ‘Ways of Staying Out of War,’ ” Box 72, McCoy Papers; Edgar P. Dean to McCoy,

12. *New York Times* [hereafter cited as *NYT*], July 29, 1938, and October 9, 1939; for McCoy’s honorary degrees, see Box 100, McCoy Papers.


15. McCoy to Stimson, December 6, 1934, Box 118, Stimson Papers.

16. Laurence A. Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy* (New York, 1977), pp. 70-72. Although the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association were on friendly terms, their relationship was not that of equals. As McCoy commented in 1942, “we have a very pleasant relationship with the personnel at the Council and we continue to talk over more or less parallel activities from time to time and we help each other out on occasion. The cooperation has been, however, mostly on our side, but we will continue to be Christian-like” (McCoy to Harvey N. Pike, December 22, 1942, Box 68, Foreign Policy Association Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; hereafter cited as FPA Papers, Madison).


20. *NYT*, July 10, 1939; “Democracy and Foreign Policy,” October 29, 1939, Box 90, McCoy Papers. For a record of McCoy’s speaking engagements, see the report of the FPA Speaker’s Bureau, December 18, 1940, “FPA Office Reports,” Foreign Policy Association Files, maintained at FPA headquarters, 345 E. 46th Street, New York; hereafter cited as FPA Files, New York. McCoy also contributed occasionally to FPA publications. For example, see his “Our Relations with the Far East,” in *Foreign Policy Reports* 19 (October 15, 1943): 190-193 (copy in Box 91, FPA Papers, Madison). McCoy apparently harbored earlier doubts about the association. After accepting his new appointment, he wrote to a friend that “I’ve changed my mind since learning more about the work of the F.P.A. which interests me now very much” (McCoy to Harbord, June 29, 1939, James G. Harbord Papers, New York Historical Society).

21. “Draft for Notice in Bulletin,” undated, Box 67, FPA Papers, Madison. At the end of World War II when Mrs. Dwight Morrow solicited McCoy’s signature on a petition asking the president to distribute surplus food to war-ravaged areas, McCoy responded that the FPA policy of “not taking action on public issues” did not permit him to sign. He added: “I have made it a practice not to join committees having to do with such matters of a public nature” (McCoy to Mrs. Morrow, September 10, 1945, Box 68, FPA Papers, Madison).

22. On FPA activities and expansion, see “Informal Report of the President for the Year 1940” and similar documents for 1941-1945 in “FPA Office Reports,” FPA Files,
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25. Shoup and Minter, Imperial Brain Trust, pp. 118–122; Schulzinger, Wise Men, p. 94.

26. NYT, March 6, 1941; "Report of Civil Air Mission of the Inter-American Escadrille to the American Republics," scrapbook, Box 97, McCoy Papers (this scrapbook contains a large number of press clippings from a variety of Latin American newspapers, indicative of the prominent foreign press coverage that the mission received); McCoy to W. Cameron Forbes, February 26, 1941, Folder 182, Forbes Papers; on U.S. concerns over Axis penetration into Latin America, see Stetson Conn and Byron Fairchild, The Framework of Hemisphere Defense (Washington, D.C., 1960), pp. 6–14.


31. Stimson Diary, January 25 and 26, 1942, Stimson Papers. The Times and Sun quotations, both from editions of January 26, 1942, are in Box 84, McCoy Papers, which contains other clippings pertaining to the Roberts Report.

32. The best scholarly analysis of the reasons for American unpreparedness on December 7 is Roberta Wohlstetter, Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision (Stanford, Calif., 1962). Melosi, Shadow of Pearl Harbor, traces the course of the controversy stemming from the attack.

33. NYT, June 28 and July 3, 1942.

34. Undated press release [July 1942], Box 79, McCoy Papers; Stimson Diary, July 9, 1942, Stimson Papers.

35. Stimson Diary, July 1 and 6, 1942, Stimson Papers; press release, July 8, 1942, Box 79, McCoy Papers.

36. Stimson Diary, July 9, 1942, Stimson Papers; "Secret Saboteur Trial," unidentified newspaper clipping, Box 79, McCoy Papers.

37. Stimson to McCoy, August 11, 1942, Box 79, McCoy Papers; McCoy to McCormick, August 13, 1942, Box 79, McCoy Papers.
CHAPTER 12
THE FAR EASTERN COMMISSION


3. McCoy's resignation as president of the Foreign Policy Association was effective April 1, 1946. Honoring McCoy's contributions to the FPA, Mrs. Thomas Lamont, a member of the association's board of directors, contributed $100,000 to the FPA to establish the Frank R. McCoy Fund (Florence Lamont to William W. Lancaster, July 20, 1946, "FPA Office Reports," Foreign Policy Association Files, FPA headquarters, 345 E. 46th Street, New York).


5. Ibid.


7. "Confidential Minutes for F.E.A.C. Meetings," November 7 and 16, 1945, Box 3, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

8. Blakeslee, Far Eastern Commission, p. 12–13. On U.S. reluctance to revise the FEAC terms of reference and its determination to avoid any loss of authority in doing so, see SWNCC 65/12, October 18, 1945, SWNCC Records, RG 353, NA.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid. All of the safeguards of U.S. authority with the exception of the veto were lifted directly from McCoy's October 26 memorandum to the secretary of state, cited above. These safeguards subsequently became the devices by which the United States disabled the FEC.


13. The commission continued to call itself the FEAC throughout its trip to Japan. Once back in Washington, however, it assumed its new title and added a representative of the Soviet Union. The commission's secretariat, internal organization, and operating procedures remained unchanged; McCoy continued to serve as permanent chairman of the FEC.

15. Nelson T. Johnson, "Memorandum of Interview with General of the Army Douglas MacArthur," January 30, 1946, Box 43, Nelson T. Johnson Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter cited as Johnson Papers]. MacArthur told the FEC that the Japanese emperor was the "most perfect example of a stooge or Charlie McCarthy that one could imagine," but he favored his retention. For McCoy's impressions of the trip to Japan, see "Memorandum by the Chairman of the Far Eastern Commission to the Secretary of State," March 4, 1946, U.S., Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (1946), vol. 8 (Washington, D.C., 1942), pp. 159–160; hereafter cited as FRUS.

16. Transcript of first meeting, February 26, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.


20. Transcript of third meeting, March 14, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

21. Transcript of fourth meeting, March 20, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; for the policy decision and consultation, see FRUS (1946), vol. 8, pp. 182–184.


23. Transcript of sixth meeting, March 30, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

24. Transcript of fifth meeting, March 27, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; on the FEC's surprise at SCAP's announcement of a draft constitution, see transcript of sixteenth meeting, June 20, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.


27. Vincent to Byrnes, April 19, 1946, Box 237, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; McCoy to MacArthur, April 22, 1946, FRUS (1946), vol. 8, pp. 213–214 (original in Box 221, FEC Records, RG 43, NA).


29. Transcript of eleventh meeting, May 13, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA. Because McCoy placed great value on the appearance of consensus, he was reluctant to use the veto. When opposing a motion, McCoy simply recommended that it be referred back to a committee for further discussion. The other members, knowing that McCoy could veto a proposition if pushed into doing so, fell into the habit early on of acquiescing in his requests for deferral. Eventually, however, the practice greatly annoyed the allies, who resented McCoy's enjoying the benefits of a veto while priding himself in not having
employed it (see transcript of forty-second meeting, January 23, 1947, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA).


31. Transcripts of thirteenth and fourteenth meetings, May 29 and June 5, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

32. Ibid. “Tactics to be employed in FEC Proceedings,” March 2, 1946, Box 223, FEC Records, RG 43, NA (this memorandum went on to recommend that McCoy be informed “that the State Department desires him to pursue a policy of great generosity in meeting the desires of other nations . . . to participate responsibly and very actively in the FEC activities”); SWNCC 294/1, May 7, 1946, SWNCC Records, RG 353, NA.


34. Galbraith to John H. Hilldring (assistant secretary of state for occupied areas), July 15, 1946, Box 223, FEC Records, RG 43, NA. There was, of course, another view. Those who made the pilgrimage to Tokyo generally took the position, expressed by one observer, that the FEC was “out of touch with realities” and insufficiently appreciative of the job that SCAP was doing (see Kenneth Colegrove to McCoy, April 26 and June 15, 1946, Box 237, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; and C. Stanton Babcock to Nelson T. Johnson, July 11 and 26, 1946, Box 43, Johnson Papers).


36. For correspondence pertaining to amending the constitution, see FRUS (1946), vol. 8, pp. 276–280, 289–291; summary of U.S. delegation meeting, August 19, 1946, Box 224, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

37. Blakeslee to Dwight Lee, July 6, 1946, Box 9, Dwight E. Lee Papers, Clark University; hereafter cited as Lee Papers. In a policy statement drafted at McCoy’s direction and approved by SWNCC, Blakeslee went so far as to argue that the FEC to approve the constitution would violate the Potsdam declaration’s promise to create a government “in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people” [SWCC 228/8, July 16, 1946, FRUS (1946), vol. 8, pp. 269–271].

38. Transcripts of twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-eighth meetings, September 12, 19, and 25, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

39. Daniel Fahey to McCoy, September 6, 1946, Box 221, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; transcripts of twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh meetings, September 19 and 21, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.


41. Transcripts of thirty-second, thirty-third, and thirty-fifth meetings, October 31, November 1, and November 21, 1946, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; summary of meetings of U.S. delegation, November 12, 1946, Box 224, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

42. McCoy to acting secretary of state, September 24, 1946, FRUS (1946), vol. 8, pp. 317–318; summary of meeting of U.S. delegation, November 18, 1946, Box 224, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; McCoy to Hilldring, December 27, 1946, Box 238, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

43. Transcript of thirtieth meeting, January 2, 1947, Box 7, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.
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44. Ibid.


46. Blakeslee, Far Eastern Commission, p. 194; transcript of fifty-ninth meeting, May 29, 1947, Box 8, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; Robert W. Barnett to Charles E. Saltzman, September 23, 1948, Box 223, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

47. McCoy to Hilldring, August 11, 1947, FRUS (1947), vol. 6, pp. 271–273.

48. SANACC 380/2, October 24, 1947, Box 238, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; SANACC 389, December 5, 1947, "State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee Records," RG 353, NA (this committee, known by the acronym SANACC, was the successor to SWNCC).

49. Summary of meeting of U.S. delegation, September 8, 1947, Box 224, FEC Records, RG 43, NA; Blakeslee to Lee, June 16, 1946, Box 9, Lee Papers; "A Survey of the Attitudes of the States Composing the Far Eastern Commission," undated, Box 6, Blakeslee Papers; Samuel S. Stratton to McCoy, March 9, 1948, Box 223, FEC Records, RG 43, NA.

50. "The United States and the Far Eastern Commission," May 18, 1948, Box 224, FEC Records, RG 43, NA. This was the talking paper that McCoy used for his interview with Marshall.


54. Saltzman to Acheson, undated [January 1949], Box 223, FEC Records, RG 43, NA. Another State Department memorandum circulated at this time proposed that McCoy be instructed "to discontinue efforts to carry on the work of the Far Eastern Commission in a spirit of international harmony and accord" and to pay more attention to verbal sparring with the Soviets (Jack B. Tate to W. W. Butterworth, January 11, 1949, Box 223, FEC Records, RG 43 NA).

CHAPTER 13
THE END OF THE DAY


2. For papers pertaining to McCoy's postretirement activities, see Boxes 83–85 and 88, McCoy Papers; Ridgway to McCoy, September 19, 1951, Box 56, McCoy Papers; see also Ridgway's memoir, Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway (New York, 1956), p. 37.

National Cemetery, where Wood and McCoy are buried, is a VIP plot. Since 1954, only John Foster Dulles and Chief Justice Earl Warren have joined the two soldiers.


5. After fifty years of public service, McCoy’s estate was not even large enough to pay off the mortgage on his house. In a conversation with the author, Forrest Pogue recalled that after McCoy’s death General Marshall raised sufficient funds from among McCoy’s old friends to enable Mrs. McCoy to stay in her home.


7. Richard D. Challener has already pointed out the importance of this personalized civil-military consultation (see Admirals, Generals, and American Foreign Policy, 1898–1914 [Princeton, N.J., 1973], pp. 402–412).