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Notes

The following shortened forms have been used throughout the notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>Topeka Daily Capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDEL</td>
<td>Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDRL</td>
<td>Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSTL</td>
<td>Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSHS</td>
<td>Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>National Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPF</td>
<td>President's Personal File</td>
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<td>PSF</td>
<td>President's Secretary File</td>
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<td>RG</td>
<td>Record Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Kansas City Star</td>
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<tr>
<td>WGP</td>
<td>Woodring's Governor Papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>WPP</td>
<td>Woodring's Personal Papers</td>
</tr>
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The dates and places of interviews are listed in a section of the Bibliography.

CHAPTER 1

3. Elk City Eagle, 3 June 1887; Kansas-State Census, 1895, vol. 245, p. 15, Elk City; interview with Overton Davis.
4. From the time that Woodring entered politics in 1930 he always gave his birth date as 31 May 1890. While there is a possibility that he may have been born on 31 May instead of 30 May, there is no question that he knew that he was born in 1887 (he gave his correct age when he entered the Army). Perhaps it was a desire to appeal to the younger members of the Democratic party in 1930 that led him to use the later birth date. See Keith D. McFarland, “Secretary of War Harry Woodring: Early Career in Kansas,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Summer 1973):206–19.


7. Materials on “Woodring Family Tree” contained in the Harry H. Woodring Papers. At the time that they were examined, the uncatalogued personal papers of Harry Woodring were in the possession of his son, Cooper C. Woodring, of Plandome, New York. Hereafter these papers will be cited as WPP.


9. After moving to Kansas, Hines Woodring always claimed that he had enlisted in the Union Army in 1864, but official records indicate that he was enrolled on 31 March 1865 and mustered into service on 7 April 1865. “Statement of the Military Service of Haynes Woodring,” issued by Maj. Gen. E. S. Adams, The Adjutant General, to Harry H. Woodring, 21 May 1938, WPP; *History of Montgomery County*, p. 532; *Neodesha Register* 20 December 1928.


12. *Elk City Enterprise*, 30 May 1890 and 8 April 1892.


16. Interviews with Overton Davis, Frank Dancer, and W. A. Stafford; *Star*,
NOTES TO PAGES 6–9


18. *Star*, 5 October 1930; *Elk City Eagle*, 1 July 1904; *Ahepa Magazine*, May 1932, p. 16; interview with Overton Davis.


21. Gladys Sewell Sauer to author, 8 July 1971; interview with Byron D. Drybread, who presently lives in the old Woodring home on Maple Street in Elk City.


23. Unfortunately, school officials in Elk City and Independence, Kans., were unable to find any of Woodring’s records; however, several contemporary accounts refer to him as an “outstanding student.” *Montgomery County History*, p. 533; Lila G. George to author, 5 November 1971.

24. Woodring to John C. O’Laughlin, 24 July 1940, John C. O’Laughlin Papers, LC. O’Laughlin, who served as First Assistant Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt and later as the editor and publisher of the *Army and Navy Journal*, was a close friend of Woodring’s from 1933 until O’Laughlin’s death in 1949.

25. *Star*, 5 October 1930; questionnaire filled out by Woodring for *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, copy given to author by Cooper C. Woodring; Gladys Sewell Sauer to author, 8 July 1971.


29. Ralph W. Stark to author, 23 February and 1 March 1971. Mr. Stark, of Lebanon, Ind., was of great help in locating information on “Lebanon University,” which Woodring frequently listed as part of his educational experience.


259
NOTES TO PAGES 9–13


36. Rev. Raymond W. Settle to Woodring, 26 February 1937, WPP; interview with Overton Davis.

37. Such delays in interment were not unusual, because the frozen ground made grave-digging impossible in the winter months; thus, caskets would be placed in a mausoleum until the ground thawed and a grave could be dug.

38. Woodring diary, 5 May 1918, WPP.

39. Ibid., 7–11 May 1918.


41. Woodring to Lida Woodring, 12 May 1918; Woodring to Shirley Shaffer, 18 May 1918, WPP.

42. Woodring diary, 31 May, 7, 15, and 24 June, and 4 July 1918, WPP.

43. Woodring to Shirley Shaffer, 18 May 1918, WPP.

44. Woodring diary, 12 June and 21 August 1918, WPP.

45. Woodring to Lida Woodring, 21 August 1918, WPP.


47. Woodring diary, 9, 10, and 16 September 1918, WPP.

48. Ibid., 4 and 24 September 1918; Woodring’s Discharge to Accept Commission, 4 October 1918; Woodring to Lida Woodring, 25 November 1918, WPP.

49. Woodring diary, 8 October 1918; Woodring to Lida Woodring, 18 November 1918; Extract—Special Order 269, Headquarters, Camp Dix, N.J., 15 December 1918, WPP; Certificate of Military Service presented to author by Cooper C. Woodring.

50. *Reserve Officer*, May 1933, p. 3; interviews with Helen Coolidge Woodring, 20 July and 28 December 1968; Woodring to Floyd L. Parks, 1 December 1931, WPP. Parks, who was Woodring’s company commander at Fort Dix, later advanced to lieutenant general, and during World War II was, among other things, Chief of Staff of the Army Ground Forces, Commander of the First Airborne Army, and Commander of the U.S. section of Berlin.

51. Woodring diary, numerous entries, May through September 1918, WPP.

52. Interview with Arthur B. Shaffer, Woodring’s brother-in-law.

53. Woodring diary, 7 January 1919, WPP; *Star*, 5 October 1930.

54. Interviews with Overton Davis and with Lawrence J. Catlin; Clugston, *Rascals in Democracy*, p. 166.


58. *Bank News*, 1 August 1928, p. 7; “Address of H. H. Woodring at 1927 Conference” of county farm agents held at Kansas State Agricultural College (n.d.), WPP.


64. *Star*, 5 October 1930.


66. For a good account of Woodring’s Legion activities, as well as the role and importance of that organization in Kansas, see Richard J. Loosbrock, *The History of the Kansas Department of the American Legion* (Topeka: Kansas Department of the American Legion, 1968).

67. Loosbrock, *History of the Kansas Department*, pp. 83–84; interview with Lawrence J. Catlin.


70. Loosbrock, *History of the Kansas Department*, p. 84.

71. Confidential communication.

72. *Neodesha Sun*, 15 December 1928; *Neodesha Register*, 28 March and 4 April 1929; *Star*, 5 October 1930. On a visit to Neodesha, I was unable to learn more of the controversy that erupted over the sale of the bank, but many old-timers recalled that much “bad blood” resulted between Woodring and his former associates.
Notes to Pages 18–22

CHAPTER 2

1. Neodesha Register, 28 March 1929; C. R. Bennett to Woodring, 30 July 1937, WPP; confidential communication.

2. Republican strength in Kansas can be seen in the results of the 1928 election, in which Herbert Hoover polled 513,672 votes to Al Smith’s 193,003, Clyde Reed defeated Democrat Chauncey B. Little for Governor by more than 200,000 votes, seven of eight Kansas congressional seats went to the Republicans, and the entire Republican state-wide ticket emerged victorious. William F. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 243.

3. Confidential communication.


5. Confidential communication.

6. Interviews with Lawrence J. Catlin and with C. A. McCullough.

7. Confidential communication.

8. The three Democratic Governors of Kansas prior to this time were George W. Glick, 1883–1885; George H. Hodges, 1913–1915; and Jonathan M. Davis, 1923–1925.

9. Capital, 10 January 1930; Pittsburg (Kans.) Headlight, 10 January 1930.


11. Star, 10 August and 5 October 1930.

12. Independence Reporter, 7 April 1930; Capital, 8 April 1930; Neodesha Register, 10 April 1930; confidential communication.


14. Capital, 17 and 27 July and 1 August 1930.

15. Democratic campaign literature for the 1930 gubernatorial campaign, WPP.

16. Of nearly two dozen Woodring acquaintances who were asked about his oratorical skill, all but one indicated that they considered him to be a very effective public speaker, and more than half felt that his speaking ability was an important, if not his most important, political asset; Star, 5 October 1930; Capital, 4 November 1932; confidential communication.


18. Capital, 4 and 13 July and 5 August 1930.


20. The statement of campaign expenses, which had to be filed with the Secretary of State, placed Bowman’s expenses at $6,280.90 and Woodring’s at $375.85. While these figures undoubtedly indicate different interpretations
of "campaign expenses," they are probably indicative of the relative expenditures. *Capital*, 7 September 1930.


22. Printed copy of "Fox Movietone speech made June 8, 1930"; printed program of radio station WREN (Lawrence) for the week of 27 July to 2 August 1930, WPP.


34. Dudley Doolittle to Woodring, 13 August, 1930, WPP; *Capital*, 8 August 1930; confidential communication.


37. Clugston, *Rascals in Democracy*, pp. 167-69; Goerge Templar, "The Federal Judiciary of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Spring 1971): 12-13. Helvering did avoid "big politics" until the late twenties, when he ran for and was elected mayor of Salina, a position that he still held when he was appointed to the state chairmanship.


40. *Capital*, 7 September and 18 October 1930; confidential communication.


42. *Capital*, 27 August 1930.

Notes to Pages 27–30


45. Although negotiations were undertaken to get Reed to support Woodring, he never openly did so; however, in return for pledges to retain some of his appointees, Reed did “cross swords” with Haucke on several occasions during the general-election campaign. In this way Reed indicated that he did not wish his sheep to return to the fold; confidential communication. For examples of Reed-Haucke clashes, see the *Capital*, 21 and 28 October 1930. On page 16 of his anti-Landon book entitled *The Tale of a Fox* (Wichita, Kans.: B. Comer, 1936) author Burt Comer tells of a meeting between Woodring and Reed’s representative Alf Landon in which the former agreed to split the patronage 60-40 in return for Reed’s support. While Comer’s details and the names of the actual participants may not be accurate, I have strong reason to believe that such a meeting did in fact take place.


47. *Capital*, 7 September 1930. On 6 August, the day after the primary, the *Capital* ran a large picture of Haucke on the front page with the caption “Next Governor of Kansas.”


49. *Capital*, 5, 23, and 26 October and 2 November 1930.


52. Hope, “Kansas in the 1930’s,” p. 9.

53. A number of works on Brinkley and his political activities have appeared, but perhaps the best two accounts are to be found in Francis Schruben’s *Kansas in Turmoil*, pp. 28–46, 79–103, and in Don B. Slechta’s “Dr. John R. Brinkley: A Kansas Phenomenon” (Master’s thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1952); also see Gerald Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960).


55. After a 20–22 June 1930 hearing, the Federal Radio Commission refused to renew Brinkley’s broadcasting license; however, legal appeals delayed the suspension until after the election. Consequently, Brinkley was able to utilize his station throughout the campaign.


NOTES TO PAGES 31–34

60. Capital, 7, 12, 23, and 26 October 1930.
61. Capital, 23 October 1930.
62. Capital, 22, 26, 29, and 31 October 1930.
63. Schruben, Kansas in Turmoil, pp. 34–35.
64. Ibid., pp. 33–34; Star, 5 October 1930.
65. Capital, 1, 18, and 22 October 1930.
66. Schruben, Kansas in Turmoil, pp. 32–33.
67. Capital, 26 October 1930. Emphasis was placed on “J. R. Brinkley” because that was the name by which he was registered as a candidate, and, in light of a ruling by the Kansas Attorney General, it was felt that any other write-in variation would either be invalid or that each variation would be counted as a vote for a separate person. Schruben, Kansas in Turmoil, pp. 30–31.
68. Capital, 23 and 26 October 1930.
69. Clifford Stratton in the Capital, 26 October 1930.
70. Capital, 26, 30, and 31 October 1930; Hutchinson News, 29 October 1930.
71. Capital, 31 October 1930.
72. Capital, 31 October and 4 November 1930.
73. Capital, 26 October 1930; the Hutchinson News of 3 November reported: “There is general agreement on the theory that Mr. Woodring’s candidacy has blown up on account of the defection to Brinkley.”
74. Capital, 5–14 November 1930.
75. Schruben, Harry H. Woodring Speaks, p. 5.
77. Schruben, Kansas in Turmoil, pp. 38–43.
78. The reason that a recount was not requested is not clear, but perhaps Don Slechta, in his Master’s thesis, “Dr. John R. Brinkley: A Kansas Phenomenon,” gives us the best explanation (pp. 131–32): “The Republicans were afraid to ask for a recount that . . . would show that a gigantic fraud had kept the governorship from John R. Brinkley.” As to Brinkley: “His advisers talked him out of the idea, because it was felt that he might not get a square deal on the recount and because of the tremendous cost involved.” According to historian Donald R. McCoy, Brinkley could not request a recount because he was not on the ballot. Donald R. McCoy, Landon of Kansas (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 92. Contemporary accounts made no reference to such a prohibition as McCoy cites.
79. Capital, 19 November and 9, 11, 12, and 29 December 1930.
80. Although Woodring had initially predicted that the tax question, especially the income-tax amendment, would become a major issue, it never did, because neither he nor Haucke wanted to stir up the voters on the controversial issue; they both contented themselves by going on record in favor of
the tax amendment but rarely mentioning it in their campaigning. Brinkley, on the other hand, actively urged defeat of the "vicious proposal," which would just add to the tax burden of already overburdened taxpayers. The income-tax amendment was defeated by about 236,000 to 228,000.

82. Capital, 6 January 1931.
83. Capital, 11 December 1930.
84. Capital, 4 January 1931; Hutchinson News, 26 December 1930.

CHAPTER 3

2. Star, 5 October 1930; Capital, 12 January 1931.
7. Capital, 19 and 30 November and 9, 11, and 12 December 1930 and 4 and 6 January 1931.
10. Message of Governor Harry H. Woodring to the Kansas Legislature of 1931; Capital, 15 January 1931.
15. Capital, 8 February 1931.
17. Special Message to the Legislature from Governor H. Woodring, February 16, 1931 (Topeka: State Printer, 1931).
21. Woodring to R. Norris Miller, 7 January 1933, WGP, KSHS.
22. Capital, 14, 15, and 20 March 1931; Zornow, Kansas, p. 249.
24. Ruth Friedrich, "The Threadbare Thirties," in Kansas: The First Cen-
267
Notes to Pages 47–51

51. Capital, 3 September 1932; Topeka State Journal, 10 September 1932; Horton Headlight Commercial, 19 September 1932.


53. For a detailed account of the oil problem in this period, and especially of Landon's efforts to help solve the crisis, see Donald R. McCoy, "Alfred M. Landon and the Oil Troubles of 1930–1932," Kansas Historical Quarterly 31 (Summer 1965):113–37; essentially the same account appears in McCoy's Landon of Kansas, pp. 67–90.

54. McCoy, Landon of Kansas, p. 74.

55. Capital, 29, 30, and 31 January 1931.

56. McCoy, Landon of Kansas, p. 79; Capital, 29 January 1931.

57. McCoy, Landon of Kansas, p. 79; Capital, 29 January 1931.


62. Capital, 29 January and 20 September 1931; New York Times, 30 May 1931; Woodring to Congressman M. C. Garber, 21 February 1931, WGP.

63. McCoy, Landon of Kansas, pp. 80–82.

64. Hutchinson News, 16 March 1931. In the summer of 1931 the P.S.C. cut back state production in order to force an increase in oil prices. Woodring, who was pushing more and more for an oil tariff, criticized the proration, saying: "I am against the Mid-Continent states closing the windows against a shower while Washington opens the doors to a flood." Capital, 2 September 1931.

65. McCoy, Landon of Kansas, p. 81.


68. Ibid.; Capital, 17 February 1931.

69. Schruben, Harry Woodring Speaks, pp. 9–10; Woodring to William H. Gascher, 4 August 1931, WGP; Capital, 23 June and 1 July 1931.


72. Capital, 30 April and 2 May 1931.
73. *Capital*, 21 June 1931.
75. *Capital*, 3 July 1931.
77. *Capital*, 4 and 7 July 1931; *New York Times*, 7 and 8 July 1931. On 6 July, Doherty filed a $12-million libel suit against the *Kansas City Star*, claiming that it was involved in a conspiracy to destroy his business and maintaining that its articles and cartoons influenced Woodring and the P.S.C. to undertake the gas-rate investigation. At the same time, Doherty sent a telegram to Secretary of Commerce Robert P. Lamont, asking him to “proceed against” Woodring because of the Governor’s threats “to throw certain Cities Service subsidiaries into receivership” and because of his action banning the sale of Cities Service stock in Kansas. *Capital*, 7 and 11 July 1931; *Outlook and Independent*, 19 August 1931, pp. 483–84.
79. *New York Times*, 3, 7, 8, 14, 15, and 17 July 1931; *Capital*, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, and 16 July 1931; *Newton Journal*, 16 July 1931; *Hutchinson News*, 3, 4, and 7 July 1931.
80. *Capital*, 8, 16, and 18 August and 8 and 10 December 1931, 6 February and 22 March 1932; *Hutchinson News*, 16 October and 3 November 1931.
82. *Capital*, 1, 2, 17, and 18 September and 27 October 1932 and 6 January 1933. While the Doherty interests were fighting the reduction in the courts, Woodring, in September 1932, ordered his Attorney General to take action to “bring ouster and receivership proceedings” against ten subsidiary Doherty companies in Kansas, but federal court injunctions halted any such action. Woodring to Attorney General Roland Boynton, 16 September 1932, WPP.

Notes to Pages 51–54

269
88. Legislative appropriations were $9.546 million for fiscal year 1932, and $9.033 million for 1933.

89. *Capital*, 1 October 1931 and 17, 18, and 20 March, 17 April, 11 May, 5 and 22 June, and 13, 15, and 31 July 1932.

90. *Capital*, 17 April 1932.

91. Woodring to George E. Rogers, 4 September 1931; Woodring's statement to the School Book Commission, 3 September 1931, WGP; *Capital*, 31 January, 9 July, and 12 August 1932.


93. Confidential communication.

94. This characteristic appears to be evident when one examines Woodring's career; it was further confirmed in interviews with more than a dozen people who were very close to him, including members of his immediate family.

95. Woodring to Helen Goddard, 1 April 1932, WGP. Woodring's views on drinking were put forth clearly in January 1932, when he fired a hard-drinking State Representative whom he had appointed as a weighmaster in the Grain Department. At that time he said: "I simply will not tolerate drunkenness, any wild parties, or lack of attention to duty . . . if one of my appointees, no matter how influential he may be, thinks he can . . . neglect his duties he has another thought coming." *Capital*, 3 January 1932.


97. *Capital*, 25 March and 23 May 1931; Ernest E. Bearg to Woodring, 25 February 1932, plus numerous newspaper clippings telling of Woodring's visits to horse shows, the Kentucky Derby, football games, etc., all in WPP.

CHAPTER 4


2. Interviews with James A. Farley and with Georgia Neese Clark Gray; confidential communication. That Woodring was not a Helvering puppet appears evident from his subsequent career, because after he went his separate way in the Roosevelt administration in 1933, the former Governor proved to be an effective administrator and politician. During his career in Washington no one ever questioned that Woodring was his own man.
3. After the 1930 reapportionment, Kansas had nine electoral votes, compared to Texas's twenty-three, California's twenty-two, and Oklahoma's eleven. At the 1932 Democratic National Convention, Kansas had twenty delegate votes, while Texas had forty-six, California forty-four, and Oklahoma twenty-two.


9. *Capital*, 4 May 1931. The deep impression that the Roosevelt charm could have on an individual in a one-to-one encounter is evident from the experience of Senator Clarence C. Dill of Washington, who recalled that during this period Roosevelt invited him to dinner in Albany, where "I talked with him three hours and came away a devoted and enthusiastic booster." Cited in Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, p. 130.


12. *Capital*, 1 and 2 June 1931; *New York Times*, 30 May and 1, 2, and 3 June 1932.


15. Capt. F. L. Parks to Woodring, 1 December 1931, WPP; *Capital*, 12 and 17 December 1931; *New York Times*, 14 December 1931; confidential communication.

16. Between April 1931 and June 1932 Woodring visited with Roosevelt six times—on four trips to New York and at two governors’ conferences; in addition, Guy Helvering and Carl Rice also made several visits to Hyde Park. Roosevelt to Woodring, 2 February 1932, WPP; *Capital*, 22 March and 9 and 26 June 1932; Callahan, *Jayhawk Editor*, pp. 227-28.


20. Roosevelt to Woodring, 3 May 1932, WPP.
NOTES TO PAGES 61–64

28. Woodring to John W. Young, 14 June 1932; Woodring to Charles G. Nevins, 23 June 1932; Robert Jackson to Woodring, 11 June 1932; I. B. Dunlop to Woodring, 18 June 1932, WPP; *Star*, 3 July 1932.
29. Woodring to Charles G. Nevins, 23 June 1932, WPP.
32. After the convention, Woodring wrote: “There was no personal feeling against Mr. Shouse . . . nor was there any intent to humiliate him. The vote on permanent chairman was the first real test of strength on the Roosevelt following and was so looked upon by both sides.” Woodring to Cora G. Lewis, 6 July 1932. Essentially the same thing was said in a letter to Richard Rohrer, 23 July 1932, WPP; *Capital*, 27 and 29 June 1932; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, pp. 126–27.
34. Roosevelt had come out against prohibition in 1930; however, because of the divisive nature of the issue, he decided to take a neutral position in 1932; Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, p. 126; *Capital*, 15 December 1931.
38. In referring to the speech, Woodring claimed: “I drafted it in about ten minutes while the convention was in session.” Woodring to B. F. Brittain, 19 July 1932, WPP.
40. The Roosevelt forces, knowing that they commanded a majority of delegates but not the two-thirds necessary for nomination, attempted to repeal the two-thirds rule. When it appeared as if the plan would succeed, the

42. *Capital*, 22 June 1956; interviews with Cooper C. Woodring, 10 June 1968, and with Helen Coolidge Woodring, 20 July 1968.
44. *Capital*, 27, 28, and 30 June and 3 July 1932.
45. Interview with James A. Farley.
47. *Capital*, 3 July 1932.
51. *Star*, 15 September 1932.
52. *Capital*, 15 September 1932; *Hutchinson News*, 14 September 1932; *Time*, 19 September 1932, p. 11.
54. *Capital*, 22 October and 1 and 8 November 1931.
Notes to Pages 69–74

63. McCoy, *Landon of Kansas*, p. 66. McCoy deals extensively with the 1932 gubernatorial campaign, centering his attention on Landon, pp. 91–117.

64. Ibid., p. 93.

65. Ibid., pp. 93–102; Palmer, *This Man Landon*, pp. 55–58; *Capital*, 3 and 21 January and 27 August 1932.


68. *Capital*, 31 August 1932.


70. Woodring campaign literature, 1932 gubernatorial contest; 1932 Woodring campaign photographs, WPP; McCoy, *Landon of Kansas*, p. 108; interview with Alfred M. Landon.


78. Interview with Alfred M. Landon; Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, p. 96.


81. In discussing political contributions, Woodring said: “I have no apologies to offer . . . for the 5% voluntary contributions which have been received from my employees. These people who have benefited from their jobs have signified their confidence in my administration by such contributions.” *Capital*, 12 July and 12 October 1932; the Independent Voters League of Kansas came to Woodring’s defense by claiming that the Woodring-Helvering method of collecting campaign funds had been “used by every administration in the last 29 years.” *Capital*, 7 October 1932.

NOTES TO PAGES 74–76

83. *Capital*, 6 and 21 February, 10 March, 26 July, and 8 October 1932.
85. *Capital*, 19 October 1932; *Hutchinson News*, 14 and 15 October 1932; Joseph H. McDowell to author, 14 June 1971. In March 1932, when the school interests began their fight against Woodring and the tax-limitation amendment, the Governor announced, “I will rise or fall on this tax amendment.”
87. Apparently the Republicans were still quite concerned about Brinkley even at the end of October, because on the thirtieth they ran a full-page ad in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, which read: “LANDON or BRINKLEY. The Next governor of Kansas will be either Alf M. Landon or Dr. John R. Brinkley. Past history . . . has shown that no Democrat ever has been re-elected governor of Kansas . . . Woodring will fail. The issue therefore is Landon or Brinkley.”
92. Interview with Alfred M. Landon; *Capital*, 2 November 1932.
93. *Capital*, 23 and 30 October and 4, 6, and 8 November 1932; *Hutchinson News*, 22 October and 2, 4, and 7 November 1932.
95. Years later, Woodring indicated his belief that “Brinkley was the determining factor that took the vote away from me by the thousand.” Schruben, *Harry H. Woodring Speaks*, p. 11.
96. Zornow, *Kansas*, p. 251. The effectiveness of the Helvering organization is evident when one compares the 1930 and 1932 campaign expenditures. The cost of the 1930 state Democratic campaign was $17,000, while the 1932 contest cost $81,000. In the latter campaign the Republicans spent $20,000 and Brinkley $56,000. Helvering to Woodring, 3 December 1930, WPP; *Capital*, 8 December 1932.
97. Writing to William Allen White on 10 August 1931, Woodring, in reference to the plight of the Kansas farmer, said: “I am at a loss after much study and attention to the subject, just what might be done to afford some immediate relief.” William Allen White Papers, LC; *Capital*, 22 September 1932; clipping from *Pittsburg Sun*, (?) December 1932, WPP.
NOTES TO PAGES 77–79

98. Alice Horan to James A. Farley, 23 November 1932; C. A. Bowman to Emory Thomason, 25 November 1932, WPP.

99. Woodring to Roosevelt, 27 December 1932; Roosevelt to Woodring, 29 December 1932, WPP; Capital, 6 and 8 December 1932. The Roosevelt-Woodring correspondence of December 1932 and January 1933 can also be found in the “Records of the Democratic National Committee, 1928–1933,” box 231, folder entitled “Kansas after Election,” FDRL.

100. Capital, 10 January 1933.


104. R. L. Pollio, manager of the Mayflower Hotel, to Woodring, 20 January 1933, WPP.

105. Woodring to Patrick Ewing, 5 January 1933; Woodring to R. Norris Miller, 7 January 1933, WPP.


110. Interview with James A. Farley.

111. Capital, 8, 23, and 26 March 1933.

112. Interview with James A. Farley.


114. Interview with James A. Farley; Capital, 26 and 30 March 1933; Ralph T. O’Neil to Louis Howe, 26 March 1933, Official File 25-A, “Endorsements for Assistant Secretary of War,” FDRL; Army and Navy Journal, 1 and 8 April 1933.

115. Capital, 30 March and 5 and 7 April 1933; New York Times, 7 April 1933; Congressional Record, 73d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 77, pt. 1, p. 1095, and pt. 2, p. 1205; Henry Cabot Lodge to author, 28 June 1968. Less than a month after Woodring took office, President Roosevelt appointed Guy Helvering to be the Commissioner of Internal Revenue—a position that he held for

CHAPTER 5


response that left his office between 1933 and 1936 signed "Harry H. Woodring, Acting Secretary of War."


15. To assist the Chief of Staff there was a General Staff, which was charged with the preparation of plans and policies for recruiting, mobilizing, organizing, supplying, equipping, paying, and training the Army. The General Staff was divided into five divisions: Personnel (G-1), Intelligence (G-2), Operations and Training (G-3), Supply (G-4), and War Plans Division (WPD). For a further explanation of Army organization at this time see Watson, *Prewar Plans and Preparations*, pp. 64-75. Senate Military Affairs Committee, "Army of the United States," *Senate Document No. 91*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 11-16; *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 41, pt. 1, 1919-1921, p. 765; *Official Duties, Department of War* (1934), pp. 3-4.


17. Ibid.


24. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1934*, pp. 28-29; *Army and Navy Journal*, 30 December 1933; *New York Times*, 28 August 1936; *Topeka State Journal*, 27 May 1933. Woodring's involvement in supplying shoes, boots, and clothing and other necessities to the CCC stemmed from his responsibility for "supervising and acting upon matters pertaining to . . . the sale of surplus supplies." Before the Army could turn over any supplies to the CCC, the goods had to be declared "surplus," and only Woodring had the authority to make such declarations.


26. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins, p. 76.
27. New York Times, 10 June and 26 July 1933; Baltimore Sun, 10 June 1933; Army and Navy Journal, 29 July 1933.
29. Ibid.; Baltimore Sun, 10 June 1933; Army and Navy Journal, 29 July 1933; Independence (Kans.) Reporter, 18 July 1933; telegram from Dwight D. Eisenhower to Woodring, 27 July 1953, PPF, 841, DDEL. Woodring's best man was his good friend James Roosevelt, FDR's oldest son. Also in attendance was another friend, Maj. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was currently on duty at the War Department.
31. Harry H. Woodring, "The American Army Stands Ready," Liberty, 6 January 1934, pp. 7-11. Little did Woodring expect the article to cause such a furor: writing to his sister Lida on 13 November 1933 (WPP), he said: "Here comes real good news—I have written an article on the army etc. and sold it to the Liberty. . . . I got a very large price for it—I am going to try another on finance and ask $2,500 for it." It is not surprising that he never wrote the other article. During the years that followed, he was offered "substantial sums" for articles on national defense, but he refused them. Woodring to Ralph Wallace, 14 April 1939, WPP.
33. For numerous examples of such correspondence see box 39, PPF 25, "War Department, 1933-1945," FDRL.
34. Ibid.; Charles A. Beard to Roosevelt, 20 January 1934.
37. New York Times, 6, 7, and 8 February 1934; Army and Navy Journal, 10 February 1934; Capital, 7 and 8 February 1934.
38. New York Times, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 22 February 1934; Capital, 7, 8, 9, and 10 February 1934.
39. Army and Navy Journal, 10 and 17 February 1934; Capital, 8 and 13 February 1934.
40. Army and Navy Journal, 10 and 17 February 1934; Capital, 8 and 13 Feb-
NOTES TO PAGES 90-95

ruary 1934; New York Times, 13 March 1934; James, Years of MacArthur, 1:439–40.
42. New York Times, 13 and 14 March 1934; Capital, 8 February 1934.
43. Woodring to William Allen White, 21 February 1934, William Allen
White Papers, LC.
44. Portions of the transcript of testimony in the grand-jury investigation of
United States v Silverman and others, in WPP; Capital, 8 and 9 February
1934.
46. Kansas City Times, 9 and 14 March 1934; Star, 17 March 1934; Army and
Navy Journal, 10 February 1934.
47. Woodring to the Honorable Charles Curtis, 22 May 1933; Woodring to the
Brimley Corporation, 29 May 1933; memorandum for the Secretary of War,
23 August 1933, memorandum from Woodring to the Secretary of War, 2
July 1934, memorandum from Woodring for the Executive Assistant to the
Secretary of War, 24 July 1934, box 177, “Silverman,” and box 181, “Sur-
plus Property,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,”
48. Capital, 8 February 1934; Star, 21 June 1940; Drew Pearson and Robert
1937; Grafton, “The New Deal Woos the Army,” p. 442.
49. New York Times, 13 and 14 March 1934; Kansas City Times, 13 March
1934; Star, 13 March 1934.
51. Army and Navy Journal, 10 and 17 February 1934; New York Times, 10
February 1934; Capital, 9 February 1934.
52. Army and Navy Journal, 17 February 1934; Benjamin D. Foulois, with
C. V. Glines, From the Wright Brothers to the Astronauts: The Memoirs
of Major General Benjamin D. Foulois (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968),
pp. 263–64.
53. New York Times, 7 and 10 February 1934; Army and Navy Journal, 10
February 1934; Woodring to Congressman William N. Rogers, 10 April
1934, and Woodring to Congressman W. Frank James, 31 May 1934, box
2, “Airplanes,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,”
NA, RG 107.
54. Army and Navy Journal, 10 February 1934; New York Times, 10 Feb-
uary 1934; Capital, 10 February 1934; Irving B. Holley, Jr., Buying Air-
55. New York Times, 10 February 1934; Capital, 10 February 1934.
56. Washington Star, 14 February 1934; Capital, 15 February 1934; New York
NOTES TO PAGES 95-97

*Times*, 28 February and 7 March 1934; *Army and Navy Journal*, 24 February and 3 March 1934.


58. Years later Foulois wrote: “The only way Woodring could achieve his purpose [competitive bidding], however, was to force us to lower our specifications for the planes we wanted by reducing speed, range, and altitude requirements. This I refused to do. It would have meant buying new but obsolete planes.” Foulois, *Memoirs*, p. 264.


60. *New York Times*, 18 March 1934; *Army and Navy Journal*, 10 March 1934; *Star*, 10 (editorial) and 17 March 1934. For an excellent account of Woodring’s handling of Congress over the procurement question see Holley, *Buying Aircraft*, pp. 128-31.

61. *New York Times*, 4 April 1934; *Army and Navy Journal*, 12 May 1934. On 15 June the Rogers Subcommittee issued a formal report of its investigation (*House Report 2060*, 73d Cong., 2d sess., also printed in *Army and Navy Journal*, 23 June 1934). The report was extremely critical of Foulois and called for his removal as Chief of the Air Corps. In one of his most courageous acts as Secretary of War, George Dern, who felt that the General was being made into a scapegoat, refused to heed the committee’s request, and Foulois remained at his post until he retired in the fall of 1935.


64. *New York Times*, 8 June 1933; *Army and Navy Journal*, 10 June 1933.

65. “With the Secretary of War in His Flying Office,” *Star*, 23 January 1938; interviews with Brig. Gen. William L. Ritchie, Woodring’s former military aide and pilot, and with Dow W. Harter, a former member of the House Military Affairs Committee and a member of the Rogers Subcommittee.
NOTES TO PAGES 97–100


68. Woodring to Generals George C. Marshall and Henry H. Arnold, 8 January 1941, WPP.


72. The so-called Air Mail Fiasco began in February 1934, when President Roosevelt, alarmed over alleged irregularities and monopolistic practices in the granting of air-mail contracts, canceled all existing agreements and ordered the Army to fly the mail until new contracts could be negotiated. Bad weather, poor equipment, and lack of training turned the affair into a near disaster, with nine Air Corps pilots killed and twelve planes lost in the first month of operations. The fiasco, which ended in May when the Army stopped carrying the mail, did serve to awaken the President, Congress, and the public to the critical needs of the long-ignored Army Air Corps. For an inside view of these events see Foulois, *Memoirs*, pp. 235–61.


NOTES TO PAGES 100–105


84. New York Times, 27, 28, and 29 February, 23 and 24 March, 12 and 14 April, and 3, 5, and 6 May 1936. On 2 May, Hagood assumed command of the VI Corps Area, and two days later, having felt vindicated, he resigned from the service.
85. Interviews with Dow W. Harter and with Charles I. Faddis; Lister Hill to author, 14 August 1968; John H. Sparkman to author, 29 April 1968; Gerald P. Nye to author, 25 July 1968; Edwin C. Johnson to author, 27 April 1968.
87. Army and Navy Journal, 3 October 1936; transcript of Boake Carter’s radio broadcast of 27 April 1937, WPP.

CHAPTER 6

Notes to Pages 105–8

17. Memorandum by Woodring, 6 May 1936, OF 300, “Democratic Committee, 1933–1945, Kansas,” FDRL.
20. Letters praising Woodring’s campaign activities, OF 25, “Misc. War Department, 1936–1940,” FDRL.
27. *Army and Navy Register*, 5 September 1936; *Reserve Officer*, October 1936, p. 3; *Army Ordnance*, November/December 1936, p. 166.
32. Congressman Lister Hill to Roosevelt, 28 December 1936, OF 25-A, “War Department Endorsements for Secretary Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL.
NOTES TO PAGES 108–12

38. Farley, Jim Farley's Story, pp. 80–81.
40. Transcript of Boake Carter's radio broadcast of 27 April 1937, WPP.
44. Army and Navy Journal, 12 March 1938.
49. Woodring to Mrs. John Robertson, 23 September 1938, box 122, ‘‘National Defense,’’ ‘‘Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,’’ NA, RG 107.
52. Army and Navy Journal, 10 July 1937.
53. Woodring to Congressman Lister Hill, 22 May 1939, box 176, ‘‘National Defense,’’ ‘‘Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,’’ NA, RG 107.

285
55. *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, 24 November 1939, p. 4; *Army and Navy Journal*, 30 December 1939.


64. *Army and Navy Journal*, 7 November 1936.

65. “‘Army in Being,’” p. 12.


67. Woodring to John C. O’Laughlin, 30 July 1945, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.


**CHAPTER 7**


8. Ibid., p. 443.


12. Ibid., p. 475.
33. As Secretary of War, Woodring continued to push Congress and the President for authorization and funds to place “educational orders” with certain manufacturers. Congress responded favorably in the summer of 1938, and a limited program was instituted. “Arms before Men,” p. 25.
34. For the causes and consequences of the friction between Woodring and Johnson see chap. 8.
35. Memo for Chief of Staff from the Secretary of War, 8 December 1936, “Chief of Staff,” 13984-262, NA, RG 165.

287
NOTES TO PAGES 125–31

36. Memo from the Secretary of the Chief of Staff for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, 16 December 1936, “Chief of Staff,” 13984-263, NA, RG 165.
38. Ibid., p. 480.
42. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1936, pp. 1, 2, and 6.
43. As quoted in the Army and Navy Journal, 5 January 1937.
44. Washington Evening Star (editorial), 23 December 1936.
46. Army and Navy Journal (editorial), 6 November 1937.
47. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1937, pp. 1, 2, 7, and 8.
48. Ibid., p. 2.
57. Senate Reports, 75th Cong., 2d and 3d sess., vol. 1, report 1414, p. 3.
58. Army and Navy Register, 12 February 1938.
64. Ibid.
66. The development of the air rearmament program will be dealt with in chap. 9.
69. Woodring to Roosevelt, January 1939, box 38, PSF, “Woodring,” FDRL.
72. Ibid., p. 6.
73. Memorandum from the Chief of Staff to Assistant Chiefs of Staff, and the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 7 February 1939, AG320.2 (2-7-39), NA, RG 407.
74. Ibid.
75. Army and Navy Journal, 10 June 1939.
77. Army and Navy Journal, 15 April 1939.
82. The Joint Board, whose army components were the Chief of Staff, the Chief of G-4, and the Chief of the WPD and whose Navy personnel included the Chief of Naval Operations, the Assistant Chief, and the head of their WPD, was responsible for “matters of policy and planning.” Watson, Prewar Plans and Preparations, pp. 79 and 87.
86. Weigley, History of the United States Army, p. 415.
87. Craig to Woodring, 30 June 1939, and Woodring to Craig, 13 September 1939, WPP; Army and Navy Journal, 29 April 1939; interview with Brig. Gen. William Ritchie. Craig’s retirement in 1939 was not to mark the end of his military career, for the coming of World War II brought him back
to the War Department as the head of Secretary of War Henry Stimson’s Personnel Bureau. He stepped down from that position in 1945, just one year before his death.

89. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1936*, p. 21, 1940, app. B., table C.

CHAPTER 8

5. Evidence of their continued friendship is reflected in the correspondence that the two continued to carry on until March 1945. See PPF 663, “Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL.
7. Fenno, *The President’s Cabinet*, pp. 46–47.
10. Senator John Sparkman to author, 29 April 1968.
11. Ibid.
15. Gen. Malin Craig to John C. O’Laughlin, 7 September 1939, box 35, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
16. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. Malin Craig, 1 and 6 September 1939, box 35, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
NOTES TO PAGES 141–46


22. Andrew J. May to Roosevelt, 10 November 1938, box 25, OF 25, FDRL; Dow Harter to author, June 1968; John Sparkman to author, 29 April 1968.


31. Lawrence Houghterling to Roosevelt, 7 June 1937, forwarded to Woodring with request for opinion, box 38, PSF, “Woodring,” FDRL.

32. Woodring to Roosevelt, 11 June 1937, box 38, PSF, “Woodring,” FDRL.

33. Interview with James Farley.

34. White House memorandum for President Roosevelt from Senator M. M. Neely, 27 April 1938, OF 25-A, “War Department,” “Endorsements for Assistant Secretary,” FDRL.


37. Interview with James A. Farley.


291
NOTES TO PAGES 146-49

47. “Scandalous Spats” Time, 9 October 1939, p. 16.
53. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 12 February 1938, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
54. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 19 November 1938, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
57. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 19 November 1938, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
58. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. Malin Craig, 1 September 1939, box 35, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
59. Farley, Jim Farley’s Story, p. 114.
60. “Scandalous Spats,” p. 16.
64. Daily Air Corps Record, 1938-1939, 14 January 1938, box 56, Official File, 1932-1946, Henry H. Arnold Papers, LC.
NOTES TO PAGES 149-54

74. Ibid., pp. 314-15.
77. Ibid., p. 319.
80. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 1 April 1939, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
81. Army and Navy Journal, 29 April 1939.
83. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 8 April 1939, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
84. Woodring to John C. O’Laughlin, 30 July 1945, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
86. Marshall to Woodring, 28 April 1939, WPP.
NOTES TO PAGES 154–57

90. Not all that Ickes said about Woodring was bad. He told of one time that he came to a cabinet meeting after an illness: "The members of the cabinet were very cordial to me and came around to shake hands . . . all except Woodring. He made no pretense of any friendly feeling and I respect him for it. At least he isn't a hypocrite." Ickes, The Secret Diary of Harold Ickes, 2:173.

91. Army and Navy Journal, 4 September 1937; Farley, Jim Farley's Story, p. 135.


93. Woodring to Ben S. Paulen, 5 April 1938; Woodring to Charles Deatherage, 18 March 1938, WPP; Star, 9 March 1938; Kansas City Times, 31 March 1938.

94. John C. O'Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 19 November 1938, box 58, O'Laughlin Papers, LC.

95. Interview with James A. Farley.


98. Childs, I Write from Washington, p. 161; Harlan Miller, "Over the Coffee," Washington Post, 30 August 1939; Topeka State Journal, 14 December 1939. A good idea of the Woodrings' social pace can be gained from examining the numerous invitations sent and received by them during their years in Washington—WPP.


100. Roosevelt had apparently changed his mind about Johnson, because one year before he had stated that he would not appoint him Secretary of War "under any circumstances." Farley, Jim Farley's Story, p. 114.


104. Ickes, "My Twelve Years with F.D.R.,” 5 June 1948 installment, p. 90; Senator Marcus Coolidge to Woodring, 12 July 1939; Woodring diary, 12 July 1939, WPP.

105. Woodring to M. M. Levant, 20 June 1939, WPP.
NOTES TO PAGES 157–62

106. Woodring diary, 19 July 1939, WPP.
112. Farley, Jim Farley’s Story, p. 156.

CHAPTER 9

1. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1938, p. 71.
4. Army and Navy Register, 22 August 1936; for Woodring’s contributions to the Air Corps as Assistant Secretary of War see chap. 5.
Notes to Pages 162-65


17. Greer, Development of Air Doctrine, p. 98.


19. Memorandum, Assistant Secretary of War for the Chief of the Air Corps, 9 June 1938, “Chief of Staff,” 17840-121, “Subject: Procurement of 2-engine Bombardment Planes,” NA, RG 165; General Craig to Woodring, 13 July 1938, WPP.

20. Quoted in Watson, Prewar Plans and Preparations, p. 36.

21. Daily record, Chief of the Air Corps, 3 September 1938, box 56, Henry H. Arnold Papers, LC.

22. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 1 October 1938, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.


24. Index, Speeches of Secretary of War Beginning February 19, 1937, WPP; Secretary of War Appointment Calendars—Woodring, U.S. Army Military History Research Collection, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.; Congressman Andrew J. May to Roosevelt, 10 November 1938, box 25, OF 25, “Misc., 1936-1940,” FDRL; May to Woodring, 10 November 1938, WPP; telegram, Woodring to Roosevelt, 8 November 1938, box 6, OF 25, “War Department, 1938-1939,” FDRL.


27. Wilson to Roosevelt, 3 July 1938, copy in WPP.


29. Johnson to Roosevelt, 28 October 1938, and memorandum, Assistant Secretary of War, Assistant Secretary of Navy, and Deputy Administrator of
NOTES TO PAGES 165–69

WPA to President Roosevelt, 28 October 1938, “Increase of the Air Corps by Aircraft,” NA, RG 407.


31. Memorandum, Chief of the Air Corps to Assistant Secretary of War, 10 November 1938, AG 580 (10-19-38), “Increase of the Air Corps by Aircraft,” NA, RG 407.

32. Memorandum for the Chief of Staff from General Arnold, 15 November 1938, box 71, OF 25-T, “Army Chief of Staff,” FDRL.

33. Arnold, Global Mission, p. 177.

34. Memorandum for the Chief of Staff from General Arnold, 15 November 1938, box 71, OF 25-T, “Army Chief of Staff,” FDRL.

35. Arnold, Global Mission, p. 177.

36. Telegram, Woodring to Roosevelt, 8 November 1938, box 6, OF 25, “War Department,” FDRL.


41. Chief of Staff Craig’s statement on priorities to the director of the Bureau of the Budget, 25 October 1938, “Increase of the Air Corps by Aircraft,” NA, RG 407.


46. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 19 November 1938, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.

47. Foreign Policy Bulletin, 16 December 1938, p. 4.

NOTES TO PAGES 169-72

53. Foreign Policy Bulletin, 16 December 1938, p. 4; Time, 19 December 1938, p. 11; Collier’s (editorial), 28 January 1939, p. 66.
57. Cleveland Plain Dealer, 28 December 1938; Portland Oregonian, 10 December 1938; Army and Navy Journal, 3 December 1938; John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 17 December 1938, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
62. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1939, p. 72.
64. Woodring to Andrew J. May, 3 February 1939, box 2A, “Air Planes,” Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.
72. Anderson, History of the Office of Under-Secretary of War, chap. 6, p. 25.

298
NOTES TO PAGES 172-78

77. According to Woodring, it was Miss Perkins rather than himself who brought the matter up. See Pearson and Allen, “The Merry-Go-Round,” Akron Beacon Journal, 6 October 1939.

CHAPTER 10

2. Memorandum for the Secretary of War from the Assistant Secretary of War, 24 August 1933, box 78, “Foreign Governments—Sale of Material,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.
4. Memorandum to the Secretary of War from the Assistant Secretary of War, 24 August 1933, box 78, “Foreign Governments—Sale of Material,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.
5. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 59.
13. Woodring to Secretary of State Hull, 6 April 1939, box 102, “International
Traffic in Arms,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.

14. Ibid.


27. Statement made for the Secretary of War at the meeting of the National Munitions Control Board, 30 April 1937, AG 470 (4-16-37), NA, RG 165.


31. In early April, a few weeks before the crash of the Hindenburg, the House and Senate Military Affairs committees had started hearings regarding legislation on the foreign sale of helium. At that time Secretary Woodring informed both committees that the War Department had no objections to foreign sales. Ibid., pp. 12–13.

32. Ibid., pp. 123–24.


36. Ibid., pp. 49–50.
37. Ickes, "My Twelve Years with F.D.R.," 5 June 1948 installment, pp. 82, 84.
39. For an excellent account of this conference as well as Roosevelt's subsequent attempts to aid France see Haight, *American Aid to France*.
41. Ibid., p. 520.
42. Ibid., p. 521.
44. Daily Air Corps record, 1938–1939, 10 March 1938, box 56, Henry H. Arnold Papers, LC.
51. Ibid.
52. Memorandum of conversation between John C. O'Laughlin and Secretary Woodring, 19 February 1939, box 71, O'Laughlin Papers, LC.
54. Ibid.; memorandum of conversation between John C. O'Laughlin and Woodring, 19 February 1939, box 71, O'Laughlin Papers, LC.
56. Ibid., 2:69.
59. Memorandum for the Assistant Secretary of War from the Chief of the Air Corps, 9 January 1939, box 86, "France," "Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942," NA, RG 107.
60. Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 2:70.
66. Memorandum of conversation, Secretary of State Hull and French Ambassador de Saint-Quentin, box 58, "France, 1933–1940," Cordell Hull Papers, LC.
67. Senate Hearings, Committee on Military Affairs, 76th Cong., 1st sess., "To Provide for an Adequate Defense," p. 64.
68. Ibid., p. 65.
71. Ibid., pp. 112–15.
73. Ibid.
74. Transcript of conference with the Senate Military Affairs Committee, 31 January 1939, box 262, PPF 1-P, FDRL.
75. Ibid.
76. Watson, Prewar Plans and Preparations, p. 133.
82. Assistant Secretary of War to the Secretary of the Navy, 9 December 1935, box 78, "Foreign Governments—Sale of Material," "Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942," NA, RG 107.
83. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John J. Pershing, 18 February 1939, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
84. Army and Navy Register, 7 May 1938; Army and Navy Journal, 7 May 1938; New York Times, 6 May 1938.
87. New York Times, 7, 8, 15, and 19 May 1938; New York Herald Tribune,
NOTES TO PAGES 191–93


88. Privately, F.D.R. did not lose his sense of humor over the turn of events, as is evidenced in a reply to Ambassador William Phillips in Rome. Phillips indicated that in retaliation for Woodring's speech, the Mussolini regime had refused to invite him and his wife to several official gatherings. To this the President replied: "You and Caroline must have been deeply insulted by not being invited to any of the indoor or outdoor functions. I shall have to get Harry Woodring to make another speech!" Roosevelt, *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, 1928–1945*, 2:785–86.

89. Mrs. Woodring and Harold Ickes believe that Woodring made the speech without consulting the White House, while Senator Gerald Nye and columnists Drew Pearson and Robert Allen maintain that the speech was approved by Roosevelt before it was given.


92. Woodring to Secretary of State Hull, 22 April 1939; Johnson to Secretary Hull, 1 April 1939, box 102, "International Traffic in Arms," "Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942," NA, RG 107.


94. For an excellent account of the fight for repeal of the arms embargo see Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality*, chap. 9.

95. Woodring to Congressman Sol Bloom, Acting Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee, 17 July 1939, box 102, "International Traffic in Arms," "Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942," NA, RG 107. It was similar thinking that caused Woodring to become an opponent of one of the most famous proposals ever designed to keep the United States out of war—the Ludlow Resolution. In 1937, Congressman Louis Ludlow, an Indiana isolationist, laid before the House a resolution to submit a constitutional amendment requiring a popular referendum upon a declaration of war except in case of direct aggression. Woodring spoke out against the proposed amendment, claiming that it was more likely to lead to war than to avoid it, because such a referendum could cause a fatal delay in meeting the threats of a possible aggressor, might be interpreted as a sign of weakness by aggressor nations, and would seriously tie the hands of the President in his conduct of foreign affairs. In January 1938 the measure was barely
rejected by the House, defeat coming only because President Roosevelt personally intervened to prevent its passage. In 1939 and 1940 the resolution was slightly altered and again introduced, but while it had considerable support, it did not pass. On each occasion Secretary Woodring made clear to Congress that he opposed the measure because its passage would “afford encouragement to possible enemies . . . lessen the defensive power of the nation . . . and thus result in a national disaster.” Army and Navy Journal, 8 January 1938; Woodring to Congressman Andrew J. May, 20 April 1940, box 123, “National Defense,” Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107; Woodring to Senator Carl A. Hatch, 9 June 1939, box 90, “Hearings before Congressional Committees,” Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.


97. Stettinius, Lend-Lease, pp. 20–21.

98. Ibid.

CHAPTER 11


5. Secretary of the General Staff for Assistant Chiefs of Staff, 18 August 1939, “Chief of Staff,” 21060-8, NA, RG 165.

6. Memorandum for the President from Secretary Woodring, August 1939, box 39, PSF, “War Department, 1933–1945,” FDRL.


13. Army and Navy Register, 18 March 1939.

14. Memorandum for The Adjutant General from Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, 28 August 1939, and copies of radiograms sent to Panama Canal Department, “WPD,” 4191, NA, RG 165.

NOTES TO PAGES 197–202


19. Army and Navy Register, 9 September 1939.


22. Memorandum for the President from Secretary Woodring, August 1939, box 39, PSF, “War Department, 1933–1945,” FDRL.


24. Watson, Prewar Plans and Preparations, p. 157; memorandum from the Chief of Staff to the Deputy Chief of Staff, 8 September 1939, “AG 320.2 (9-8-39),” NA, RG 407.


27. Ibid.


30. Army and Navy Register, 18 November 1939.

31. Although Woodring did not actually state his new strategy, his actions of November and December reveal his intention to give the new program the widest possible publicity.


34. Army and Navy Journal, 28 October 1939.

35. Interview with Gerald P. Nye.


41. Army and Navy Journal, 11 November 1939; Army and Navy Register, 9 December 1939 and 6 January 1940.
47. *Army and Navy Register*, 6 January 1940.
59. *New York Times*, 23 May and 13 and 15 June 1940. In addition to the appropriation, the measure authorized contracts for an additional $257 million worth of military equipment.
61. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940*, p. 253. In addition to the regular appropriation, $254 million in contract authorizations were approved.
NOTES TO PAGES 207-12

66. Army and Navy Register, 26 April and 20 May 1939.
68. Army and Navy Journal, 13 January and 15 June 1940.
70. Watson, Prewar Plans and Preparations, p. 249.
71. Army and Navy Journal, 15 and 29 June 1940.
72. Although Marshall's statement referred to conditions in the fall of 1939, he proceeded to say that conditions were not much better by June 1940. The War Reports of General of the Army George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, General of the Army H. H. Arnold, Commanding General, Army Air Forces, [and] Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander-in-Chief, United States Fleet, and Chief of Naval Operations, with a foreword by Walter Millis (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947), p. 16.
73. Washington Post, 26 May 1940.

CHAPTER 12

1. Transcript of conference with the Senate Military Affairs Committee, 31 January 1939, box 262, PPF 1-P, FDRL.
5. Memorandum, President Roosevelt to Secretary of War Woodring, 6 December 1939, box 122, "International Traffic in Arms," "Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932-1942," NA, RG 107.
7. The committee was officially called the Interdepartmental Committee for Coordination of Foreign and Domestic Purchases, but was always known or referred to as the President's liaison committee.
9. Ibid., pp. 115-17.
12. Memorandum for the Secretary of War from the Chief of the Air Corps, 12 January 1940, box 223, "Aircraft Production, 1939-1941," Henry H. Arnold Papers, LC.
18. Edison, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy since 1937, had been named Acting Secretary in July 1939, when Claude Swanson died, and he was ultimately made permanent Secretary in December 1939.
24. Report of a meeting held in the Chief of Staff’s office, 10:30 A.M., 19 March 1940, “Chief of Staff Binder, March 1940,” NA, RG 165.
30. Army and Navy Register, 23 March 1940.
34. New York Times, 28 March 1940; Army and Navy Register, 30 March 1940.
NOTES TO PAGES 217–21

37. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940, p. 108.
41. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 23 March 1940, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
42. Record of a conference held in the Chief of Staff’s office, 22 March 1940, “Chief of Staff Binder, March 1940,” NA, RG 165; Blum, From the Morgenthau Diaries, 2:119.
44. Memorandum for the Chief of Staff from the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4, 9 March 1940, “Chief of Staff,” 15270-896, NA, RG 165.
47. Memorandum for the Chief of Staff from the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4, 9 March 1940, “Chief of Staff,” 15270-896, NA, RG 165.
48. Note appended by Secretary Woodring to memorandum cited in note 47.
49. Memorandum approved by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of State, 12 March 1940, box 102, “International Traffic in Arms,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.
51. Blum, From the Morgenthau Diaries, 2:150.
52. Memorandum from the Chief of Staff for the Secretary of the Treasury, 18 May 1940, “Release of P-36 Type Airplanes . . . to the British Government,” “Chief of Staff, Emergency File, 11 May to 16 August 1940,” NA, RG 165.
53. Churchill, Their Finest Hour, p. 25.
54. Roosevelt’s determination to avoid Woodring’s obstructionist tactics by working around him became increasingly evident in mid May, when he informed Morgenthau that he wanted him to “expedite the entire military program, particularly the production of aircraft engines.” The President then made that position clear to Secretary Woodring in a memorandum of 24 May, which said: “It is of utmost importance that no contracts be entered into from now on either for planes or engines or for the development of new types of planes or engines without coordinating this with the general
program as a rule. For the time being, until the final machinery is set up, this coordination will be cleared through the Secretary of the Treasury to me as Commander in Chief. Please see that this is carried out in toto.” Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, 2:144; memorandum for Secretary of War Woodring from President Roosevelt, 24 May 1940, box 2-B, “Airplanes,” “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107; Kimball, *The Most Unsordid Act*, p. 54.


56. Memorandum for the record by the Chief of Staff, 25 May 1940, “Regarding Release of Ordnance Material to the Allied Purchasing Agent,” “Chief of Staff, Emergency File for 11 May to 16 August 1940,” NA, RG 165.


58. Memorandum for the record by the Chief of Staff, 25 May 1940, “Regarding Release of Ordnance Material . . .,” “Chief of Staff, Emergency File, Binder 2, for 11 May to 16 August 1940,” NA, RG 165.

59. Memorandum for the Chief of Staff from the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4, 27 May 1940, “Chief of Staff, Emergency File, Binder 2, for 11 May to 16 August 1940,” NA, RG 165.

60. Report from Green Heckworth, Department of State legal adviser, 28 May 1940, box 7, OF 25, “War Department, 1940,” FDRL.


62. Memorandum from the Secretary of War to the President, 31 May 1940, box 2-B, “Secretary of War General Correspondence, 1932–1942,” NA, RG 107.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.


NOTES TO PAGES 224–28

69. Memorandum for the President from the Secretary of War, 17 June 1940 (not used), “Chief of Staff, Foreign Sales, Binder 4,” NA, RG 165.

70. Morgenthau, Hopkins, Watson, and Early were especially upset with Woodring’s attitude toward the Allies.

71. Memo for the Undersecretary of State from the Chief of Staff, 16 May 1940, and memo for the Secretary of the Treasury from the Chief of Staff, 18 May 1940, “Chief of Staff, Emergency File, Binder 2, for 11 May to 16 August 1940,” NA, RG 165; Star, 21 June 1940.


73. Actually, Marshall had officially been expressing such views since mid May. Memo for the Undersecretary of State from the Chief of Staff, 16 May 1940, and memo for the Secretary of the Treasury from the Chief of Staff, 18 May 1940, “Chief of Staff, Emergency File, Binder 2, for 11 May to 16 August 1940,” NA, RG 165.

74. Watson, Prewar Plans and Preparations, p. 111.

75. Ibid., pp. 166–67; Brownlow, A Passion for Anonymity, 2:435.

76. Knox to Roosevelt, 15 December 1939, and Roosevelt to Knox, 29 December 1939, box 1, Frank Knox Papers, LC; McCoy, Landon of Kansas, p. 431.

77. Interview with Alfred M. Landon; McCoy, Landon of Kansas, pp. 432–36.

78. Knox to Mrs. Knox, 11 June 1941, box 1, Knox Papers, LC; McCoy, Landon of Kansas, p. 437. There is evidence that Knox either had dropped, or was on the verge of dropping, his earlier proviso that another Republican be named. See Brownlow, A Passion for Anonymity, 2:446.

79. Tully, F.D.R.: My Boss, p. 242; Ickes, The Secret Diary of Harold Ickes, 2:132–33 and 136. In the New York Times for 19 February 1948, Bullitt claimed that on 9 June the President offered him the position of Secretary of the Navy and that he accepted the offer, but when Knox decided to take the position, the President dropped the matter of Bullitt’s appointment.


82. New York Times, 14 June 1940.


84. London Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, 5 June 1940.


86. See box 25, OF 25 Misc., “War Department, 1940,” FDRL.


88. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Roosevelt and Frankfurter: Their Correspond-
NOTES TO PAGES 228–32


90. Blum, From the Morgenthau Diaries, 2:162.

91. Telephone conversation between Watson and Morgenthau, 18 June 1940, "Morgenthau Diaries (book 272, pp. 280–81)," FDRL.

92. John C. O’Laughlin to Gen. John Pershing, 22 June 1940, box 58, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.

93. James Farley, who was close to Woodring and Roosevelt, believed the latter to be the case. Farley wrote, “I am satisfied that Edison and Woodring would have been eased out on one pretext or another to bring men into the cabinet who were convinced that the United States should enter the war.” Jim Farley’s Story, p. 243.

94. Roosevelt to Woodring, 19 June 1940, WPP; also in box 38, PSF, “Harry H. Woodring, 1937–1940,” FDRL.


96. Memorandum from Woodring to Roosevelt, 20 June 1940, box 38, PSF, “Harry H. Woodring, 1937–1940,” FDRL.


102. Capital, 21 June 1940.


104. Roosevelt to Woodring, 25 June 1940, WPP.

105. Kansas City Times, 22 June 1940.

106. Capital, 9 July 1940.


109. Ibid., pp. 278–79.

110. Watson to Woodring, 22 June 1940, WPP.

111. Blum, From the Morgenthau Diaries, 2:163.
NOTES TO PAGES 233–40

112. Roosevelt biographer James MacGregor Burns feels that the timing of the removal of Woodring and the appointments of Stimson and Knox was primarily associated with the President’s desire to play havoc with the Republican convention; Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, p. 424.


CHAPTER 13

1. Interview with Helen Coolidge Woodring, 20 July 1968; *Capital*, 27 June and 2, 3, 9, and 10 July 1940; *Pictorial Times* (Topeka), 22 October 1969.
2. *Kansas City Times*, 19 March 1940; *Star*, 12 May 1940; Woodring to Albert A. Searle, 26 March 1940, WPP.
3. *Kansas City Times*, 19 March 1940; *Star*, 12 May 1940; interview with Gerald P. Nye.
5. *Capital*, 2 and 3 July 1940.
14. Woodring to Farley, 25 July 1940, WPP.
15. Woodring to O’Laughlin, 24 July 1940, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
16. Woodring’s personal diary for 1939—16 February, 3 March, 11, 13, and 15 April, 5 May, 24 June, and numerous other dates, WPP.
18. John C. O’Laughlin to Woodring, 11 July 1940; Woodring to O’Laughlin, 24 July 1940, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.

313
20. Roosevelt to Woodring, 21 January 1941, WPP.
22. M. S. Eccles to President Roosevelt, 10 February 1941; Woodring to Roosevelt, 15 January 1941, PPF 663, “Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL.
23. Telegram from Woodring to Roosevelt, 8 December 1941, PPF 663, “Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL.
24. Woodring to Roosevelt, 18 January 1942; Roosevelt to Woodring, 29 January 1941, PPF 663, “Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL.
25. Woodring to Generals Marshall and Arnold, 8 January 1941, WPP; Woodring to General Marshall, 19 April 1941, WPP; Marshall to Woodring, 12 January 1942, WPP.
28. Lyndon (Kans.) Herald (editorial), 8 August 1940.
31. Kansas City Times, 16 December 1942; Farley to Woodring, 16 December 1942, WPP.
32. Woodring to Roosevelt, 5 January 1943, PPF 663, “Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL.
33. Chicago Tribune, 6 July 1943.
34. Senator Harry F. Byrd to Woodring, 2 November 1943, WPP.
35. Capital, 4 and 5 February 1944; New York Times, 5 February 1944.
39. Woodring to John C. O’Laughlin, 15 February 1944, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
41. New York Times, 3 April 1944; Capital, 3 April 1944.
42. P. E. Laughlin to President Roosevelt, 10 April 1944, PPF 8773, FDRL.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.; New York Times, 3 April 1944; Capital, 3 April 1944.
45. Capital, 3 April 1944.
46. New York Times, 3 April, 13 May, 1 June, 16 September, and 7 November 1944.

314
47. Harry S Truman to Woodring, 27 July 1944 and 16 March 1945, WPP.
48. Woodring to Roosevelt, 27 December 1944, WPP.
49. Ibid.
50. Woodring to John C. O’Laughlin, 30 July 1945, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC; financial records in WPP.
51. Woodring to Farley, 18 January 1945, WPP.
52. Woodring to Roosevelt, 19 March 1945, PPF 663, “Harry H. Woodring,” FDRL; Roosevelt to Woodring, 24 March 1945, WPP.
54. Woodring to General Marshall, 23 July 1945, copy in box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
55. Woodring to O’Laughlin, 23 July 1945, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
56. Woodring to O’Laughlin, 30 July 1945, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC.
57. O’Laughlin to Woodring, 9 August 1945, box 71, O’Laughlin Papers, LC; General Marshall to Woodring, 16 August 1945, WPP.
62. Woodring to Milton Eisenhower, 14 August 1946, WPP.
64. Capital, 7 August 1946; Hutchinson News-Herald, 7 August 1946.
67. Richmond, “Kansas in the Late 1940s,” 2:463–64; Capital, 3, 4, and 5 November 1946.
68. Hutchinson News-Herald, 6 November 1946; Zornow, Kansas, p. 329.
69. Richmond, “Kansas in the Late 1940s,” 2:467, 475–76, and 480.
71. Woodring to Truman, 5 December 1947; Woodring to Matthew J. Con-
Notes to Pages 250–54

nally; telegram from Connally to Woodring, 10 December 1947; memorandum from Connally to Col. Neal Mora, 10 December 1947—all in OF 249, “Travel by Army and Navy Planes,” “Truman Papers,” HSTL; President’s Appointment Book, 14 January and 12 March 1948, HSTL; New York Times, 3 February 1948; Purchaser, June 1949, p. 4.


73. Telegram from Woodring to Connally, 15 July 1948, and telegram from Woodring to Truman, 14 October 1948, PPF 1768, “Truman Papers,” HSTL; President’s Appointment Book, 17 July 1948, HSTL.

74. Telegram from Woodring to Truman, 14 October 1948, PPF 1768, “Truman Papers,” HSTL.

75. Truman to Woodring, 16 January 1950, and news clipping, n.p., n.d., WPP.

76. Interviews with Helen Coolidge Woodring, Cooper C. Woodring, and Melissa Woodring Jager, 20 July 1968; Capital, 9 September 1951 and 22 January 1956; Zornow, Kansas, p. 337.


78. Interview with Helen Coolidge Woodring, 14 June 1969.


83. Hutchinson News-Herald, 6, 20, and 21 June 1956; Capital, 21 June 1956; interviews with Cooper C. Woodring, 12 July 1971, and with Alfred M. Landon; confidential communication.


86. Congressman James Roosevelt to Woodring, 19 July 1956, WPP; United Kansas Democrat, 30 July 1956.


89. Miscellaneous correspondence between Woodring and the Internal Revenue Service, WPP.

90. Memorandum regarding Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, 22 September 1955, OF 101-FF1, “Eisenhower Papers,” DDEL; Program of the Annual Meeting, Board of Trustees, the Eisenhower Foundation, 1961, WPP; Hoover to Woodring, 19 December 1949 and 24 August 1956,
and Woodring to Hoover, 26 October 1950, 5 October 1955, and 7 February 1957, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, "Post-Presidential Papers, 1st Hoover Commission and Post-Presidential Individual—Woodring," Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa; Capital, 22 January 1956; Frank Pace, Jr., to Woodring, 13 June 1951, and Cyrus R. Vance to Woodring, 1 June 1963, and Woodring to General Eisenhower, 20 June 1949, WPP.


92. Pictorial Times (Topeka), 22 October 1969.

93. Interview with Alfred M. Landon; Dr. Karl Menninger to author, 7 January 1971 and 17 August 1972.

