NOTES

INTRODUCTION


11. The fascinating linguistic approaches suggested by Hayden White in *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD, 1973) and by Quentin Skinner in *Visions of Politics Volume One—Regarding Method* (Cambridge, 2002) are beyond the scope of this present study.


## 1 Patrician Internationalist, 1882–1910


3. FDR participated in six known debates at Groton covering the Nicaraguan Canal Bill, the annexation of Hawaii, Naval expansion, the integrity of China, the Philippine question and the Transvaal. See FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt February 28, 1897; March 11, 1897; January 19, 1898; February 28, 1899; and January 23, 1900, in *PL I*, 74, 77, 240, and 328–329.


5. Isabel Leighton and Gabrielle Forbrush, *My Boy Franklin as Told by Mrs James Roosevelt* (New York, 1933), 33.


8. FDR to Sara Roosevelt March 4, 1897; March 11, 1897; and March 24, 1897, in *PL I*, 75, 77, and 82.
13. FDR and ER to Sara Roosevelt September 7, 1905, in *PL II*, 78 and 82.
14. For a direct quotation of Carlyle, see FDR “Campaign speech for State Senate, Oct 1910,” in *PL II*, 139.
15. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt May 16, 1899, in *PL I*, 271.
20. For FDR’s meetings with TR, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt June 4, 1897; June 11, 1897; and Apr. 30, 1901, in *PL I*, 108, 111–112 and 394–395. For his mildly critical attitude to TR, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt October 26, 1898, in *PL I*, 202 and FDR to Sara Roosevelt October 26, 1902, in *PL I*, 414.
25. On FDR’s difficulties with acceptance at Groton, see Ward, *Trumpet*, 91 and Davis, *Beckoning of Destiny*, 103. For his desire for school spirit, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt May 14, 1897, in *PL I*, 97.
30. This was Sara Roosevelt’s sister Deborah Forbes and FDR’s “Aunt Doe.” See note in *PL II*, 30 and extended discussion of FDR and Eleanor’s honeymoon in Paris 29–33 and 65–76.
31. FDR to Sara Roosevelt June 26, 1905, and FDR to Sara Roosevelt August 1, 1905, in *PL II*, 32 and 59, See also ER to Sara Roosevelt July 25, 1905, in *PL II*, 52.
32. For English aristocratic contacts, see John Lamberton Harper, *American Visions of Europe: Franklin D. Roosevelt, George F. Kennan, and Dean G Acheson* (Cambridge, 1994), 19. On the Illustrated London News, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt September 21, 1896, in *PL I*, 50. For Punch, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt May 21, 1897, and for the Spectator, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt February 9, 1899, and May 24, 1899, in *PL I*, 100, 230, and 275.

33. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt May 26, 1899; February 9, 1899; and May 24, 1899, in *PL I*, 277, 230, and 275.

34. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt September 21, 1896, and December 5, 1897, in *PL I*, 50 and 138.


43. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt November 10, 1899, in *PL I*, 311.


47. FDR “Resolved, that Hawaii be promptly annexed,” January 19, 1898, in *PL I*, 150–153.

48. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt January 23, 1900, in *PL I*, 328–329.

49. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt February 1, 1900, in *PL I*, 331.


51. FDR “The Roosevelt Family in New Amsterdam” Dec 1901 in Papers Pertaining to Family, Business and Personal File (hereafter PFBP) Box 18, FDRL.

52. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt June 4, 1897, in *PL I*, 108. For the visit of Jacob Riis to Groton, see FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt January 23, 1900, in *PL I*, 328–329.
55. *PL I*, 46.
63. ER to Sara Roosevelt January 3, 1919, in *PL II*, 355.
66. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. *The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal, 1933–1935* (New York, 1958), 14; Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (London, 2003), 275–276, notes that it is unclear whether Holmes was referring to FDR or TR, but is overly defensive of his subject. FDR had met Holmes many times from as early as 1913 and visited the latter’s house for his famous Sunday afternoon gatherings during World War I.
68. FDR “Resolved, that Hawaii be promptly annexed,” January 19, 1898, in *PL I*, 151.
70. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt February 17, 1898, in *PL I*, 163.
71. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt April 8, 1898, in *PL I*, 175.
73. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt April 20, 1898, in *PL I*, 182.
74. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt April 22, 1898, and April 24, 1898, in *PL I*, 183–184. For the perhaps apocryphal enlistment tale, see note on 186.
2 The Challenges of Public Office, 1910–1917


8. FDR to Sara and James Roosevelt October 31, 1900, in PL I, 372. On the Delano side of FDR’s family Warren Delano II (his grandfather) was an implacable Republican as was FDR’s mother and his wife Eleanor initially; Ward, Trumpet, 63 and 338.

9. Ward, Trumpet, 256; See FDR to Sara Roosevelt November 6, 1903, in PL I, 440.


14. For Daniels’ account see his diary entry for March 6, 1913, E. David Cronin (ed.), The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels 1913–1921 (Lincoln, 1963), 4.
16. Fenster, FDR’s Shadow, 185.
18. Fenster, FDR’s Shadow, 184.
22. FDR Speech “The Future of Our Navy,” January 30, 1915, MSF, Box 1, Fl 42, FDRL.
25. FDR had visited the canal construction in April 1912, see FDR to SR April 22, 1912, in PL II, 162. On the exposition, see FDR to ER July 19, 1914, in PL II, 192–193.
26. Lindley, Progressive Democracy, 120.
27. Flushing Times December 22, 1915, quoted in Freidel, Apprenticeship, 260.
28. FDR “Proposed article on the United States Navy/Possible speech before Order of Washington” February 22, 1917, PF Box 40, Fl 135, FDRL.
30. TR to FDR May 10, 1913, in Elting E. Morrison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley (eds.), Letters of Theodore Roosevelt Vol VII (Cambridge, MA, 1954), 729. See also the FDR correspondence with Mahan in ASNP Box 53 and with TR in ASNP Box 58, FDRL.
31. See FDR’s account in FDR to Mahan June 16, 1914, ASNP Box 53, FDRL.
32. Los Angeles Examiner May 26, 1913, quoted in Freidel, Apprenticeship, 226.
34. FDR to SR July 29, 1913, in PL II, 176.
39. FDR to ER July 14, 1914, in PL II, 188; FDR to SR July 18, 1914 in PL II, 191; and FDR to ER July 19, 1914 in PL II, 192.
40. FDR Speech “The Future of Our Navy,” January 30, 1915, MSF, Box 1, Fl 42, FDRL for the first public appearance of the tale. See also note in PL II, 189–190; and Ward, Temperament, 244.
41. FDR to Daniels August 7, 1915, in Kilpatrick, Roosevelt and Daniels, 23.
43. FDR to ER August 28, 1915, in PL II, 236. See also FDR to SR August 29, 1915, in PL II, 236–237.
44. FDR “Trip to Haiti and Santo Domingo 1917” (undated) and Livingston Davis “Log of the Trip to Haiti and Santo Domingo,” February 15, 1917, ASNP Box 41, FDRL.
47. FDR “Trip to Haiti and Santo Domingo 1917” (undated) ASNP Box 41, FDRL.
48. FDR “Proposed Article on Haiti” (circa 1916) PF Box 40, FDRL.
49. FDR “Trip to Haiti and Santo Domingo 1917” (undated) ASNP Box 41, FDRL.
50. PWW 36, 7–122.
51. FDR “Proposed Speech on Navy in Foreign Policy” May 19, 1916, MSF Box 40, FDRL.
53. Link, Wilson, 177 on Gardner’s involvement; and Ward, Temperament, 301–302 for FDR’s part.
54. FDR to Daniels August 3, 1915, in Kilpatrick Roosevelt and Daniels, 21–22.
55. TR to FDR May 26, 1916, and FDR to TR June 7, 1916, ASNP Box 58, FDRL.
56. FDR to ER August 1, 1914, in PL II, 195; FDR to ER August 2, 1914, in PL II, 198; FDR to ER August 5, 1914, in PL II, 202; and FDR to ER November 9, 1916, in PL II, 274.
57. FDR to ER May 20, 1915, in PL II, 221.
58. FDR to A. P. Gardner November 25, 1914, ASNP Box 14, FDRL; and FDR to SR December 17, 1914, PL II, 215.
59. FDR “Dutchess County Society Dinner,” January 17, 1914, MSF Box 1, Fl 26, FDRL.
61. FDR Speech “The Privilege of National Service,” December 3, 1916, MSF Box 1, FDRL.
62. Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise April 8, 1913, PF Box 39, FDRL.
63. FDR “Relation of Navy to Farmer,” September 7, 1916, PF Box 40, FDRL. On universal training, see FDR Speech “The Privilege of National Service,” December 3, 1916, MSF Box 1, FDRL.
64. FDR “Safeguarding the Sailors Ashore,” Association Men 41 (Jan, 1916), 7.
67. FDR to ER August 2, 1914, in PL II, 200.
68. FDR to ER August 7, 1914, in PL II, 204.
69. FDR, “The Cost of the United States Navy,” Economic World 10 (September 2, 1915), 299–303. Also his discussion of the “Kretschmer Formula” for naval comparison in his testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives December 16, 1914. Congressional Record, FDRL.
70. FDR to ER August 7, 1914, in PL II, 204. See also FDR to ER August 10, 1914, in PL II, 207
71. Ward, Temperament, 299.
72. TR, Outlook 107 (August 22, 1914) quoted in Cooper, Warrior and the Priest, 277.
73. Roosevelt, America and the Great War, 15–43.
74. FDR, “Our Navy Blind,” Boston Daily Advertiser September 29, 1915, ASNP, Box 86 Scrapbook, FDRL.
75. FDR to ER August 2, 1914, in PL II, 199.
76. FDR Speech “The Future of Our Navy,” January 30, 1915, MSF, Box 1, Fl 42, FDRL. See also FDR Speech at Vassar Institute January 4, 1916 (clipping Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise January 5, 1916), MSF Box 1, Fl 150, FDRL; and FDR “Address in Washington” November 15, 1915, MSF Box 1, Fl 45, FDRL.
77. San Francisco Chronicle, April 16, 1914, quoted in Freidel, Apprenticeship, 220.
78. FDR undated letter to O. J. Merkel quoted in Freidel, Apprenticeship, 236.
79. FDR undated letter to O. J. Merkel quoted in Freidel, Apprenticeship, 236.
81. FDR to ER early 1915 (undated) in PL II, 220.
82. FDR to ER August 2, 1914, in PL II, 199–200.
83. FDR Memo June 22, 1915, quoted in Freidel, Apprenticeship, 252.
84. FDR to ER June 10, 1915, in PL II, 222.
85. FDR to ER August 21, 1915, in PL II, 231.
3 War and Peace, 1917–1919

1. FDR to ER August 10, 1914, in *PL II*, 207.
2. FDR “Address to Harvard Union,” April 1918, MSF, Box 1, FDRL.
4. For FDR’s dire warnings, see FDR “Speech on the Submarine Menace,” Jamestown, New York, July 7, 1917, MSF, Box 1, FDRL.
6. FDR “Speech at Chautauqua,” August 30, 1919, MSF, Box 1, FDRL.
10. Freidel, *Apprenticeship*, 351. For FDR’s positive view of unity of Allied command, see London *Times* June 17 and July 4, 1919, both in ASNP, Box 40, FL61, FDRL.
14. “Memoir of Livingston Davis,” 10, ASNP, Box 41, FDRL. Neither FDR’s account of the trip, nor that of his chief of staff for the trip, Capt Edward McCauley, Jr., mentions the attack. FDR’s “Personal Diary” of the Trip is in ASNP, Box 33 and McCauley’s in ASNP, Box 41, FDRL.
15. Freidel, *Apprenticeship*, 369; McCauley, “Diary,” 25, ASNP, Box 41, FDRL.
16. FDR “Attitude of the Navy toward a United Air Service,” June 14, 1919, ASNP, Box 40, Fl 160, FDRL.
17. FDR “Speech 31 January 1920” in *Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce Bulletin*, (February, 1920), ASNP, Navy Scrapbooks, Box 88, FDRL.


21. FDR “Personal Diary” in *PL II*, 319. FDR also toured British night bombing stations, see *PL II*, 321.


25. FDR wrote a syndicated article on “Scouts and Aircraft” in September 1915 and two calls for increased aviation spending and research to catch up with the Europeans in the September 1915 issue of *Flying* and March 1916 issue of *Aerial Age Weekly* and was a member of the National Advisory Committee of Aeronautics. See ASNP, Box 40, FDRL.


27. Freidel, *Ordeal*, 26; FDR “England’s Airforce and Ours,” *New York Times* June 29, 1919, in ASNP, Navy Scrapbooks, Box 87, FDRL; FDR “Attitude of the Navy toward a United Air Service, June 14, 1919, PF Box 40 Fl 60, FDRL.

28. FDR “America Should Lead in Aviation” Uncredited newspaper clipping March 19, 1919, ASNP, Navy Scrapbooks, Box 87, FDRL. FDR made a similar appeal that summer; See FDR “Must Develop Aero,” Poughkeepsie *Evening Star and Enterprise*, June 26, 1919, in ASNP, Box 40, Fl 160, FDRL.


34. FDR to Daniels July 29, 1918, in Carroll Kilpatrick (ed.), *Roosevelt and Daniels—A Friendship in Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1952), 46–47. For FDR’s visit to Rhineland, see Freidel, *Ordeal*, 13.
39. FDR “What the Navy Can Do For Your Boy,” June 1917, ASN Papers, Box 40, Fl 136, FDRL.
41. “Personal Diary” in *PL II*, 308 and 311; ER to SR February 8, 1919, in *PL II*, 371.
42. Freidel, *Ordeal*, 4; and ER to SR January 3, 1919 (Diary Letter) in *PL II*, 355.
43. FDR “Speech at Syracuse, New York” July 4, 1919, MSF, Box 1 FDR; Freidel, *Apprenticeship*, 337.
44. FDR “Personal Diary,” in *PL II*, 342; FDR to Daniels August 2, 1918, in Kilpatrick, *Roosevelt and Daniels*, 47.
45. “F. D. Roosevelt Says Nation May Not Need ‘Bigger Navy,’” Unattributed Newspaper clipping March 2, 1919, ASNP Box 87, Navy Scrapbook, FDRL.
47. Diary of Dr. Grayson February 22, 1919, in *PWW* 55, 224.
48. For FDR reading of the Covenant, see Freidel, *Ordeal*, 14; and Ward, *Temperament*, 430.
55. FDR “The National Emergency of Peace Times,” June 25, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 98, FDRL.
56. FDR “What the Navy Can Do for Your Boy,” June 1917, ASNP Box 40, Fl 136, FDRL.
57. FDR “Speech at Poughkeepsie, New York,” July 18, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 95, FDRL.
59. Stuart I. Rochester, American Liberal Disillusionment in the Wake of World War I (University Park, PA, 1977), 64; and Thomas, J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (Princeton, NJ, 1992), 161.
60. Ruhl J. Bartlett, The League to Enforce Peace, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944), 221.
61. “F. D. Roosevelt Says Nation May Not Need ‘Bigger Navy,’” Unattributed newspaper clipping March 2, 1919, ASNP Box 87, Navy Scrapbook, FDRL.
62. Baltimore American March 7, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 186, FDRL.
65. Cooper, Breaking the Heart, 64–65 and 55; Ambrosius, Diplomatic Tradition, 96.
66. Cooper, Breaking the Heart, 69; Ambrosius, Diplomatic Tradition, 97.
67. Ambrosius, Diplomatic Tradition, 96; Cooper, Breaking the Heart, 69.
69. Baltimore American March 7, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 186, FDRL.
73. Cooper, Breaking the Heart, 94.
74. The others on June 6, 9, and 21 were barely reported. FDR also gave short talks in August on the steps of the subtreasury in Washington. See “Will Talk for League,” New York Times August 3, 1919, 4.
75. FDR “Speech at Poughkeepsie New York,” The Evening Star and Enterprise July 19, 1919, in MSF Box 2, Fl 98, FDRL.
76. Cooper, Breaking the Heart, 85–86.
77. Cooper, Breaking the Heart, 96.
79. FDR “Speech to Democratic National Committee,” Chicago May 29, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 92. FDRL. For TR’s speech, see John Milton Cooper, The Warrior and the Priest, 259.
80. FDR “The National Emergency of Peace Times,” June 25, 1919, in MSF, Box 2, Fl 95. FDRL.
82. FDR “Speech to Democratic National Committee,” Chicago May 29, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 92. FDRL. For later expressions, see FDR “The National Emergency of Peace Times,” June 25, 1919, in MSF, Box 2, Fl 95. FDRL.
84. FDR to ER July 23, 1919, in *PL II*, 381–382.
85. FDR “Speech at Poughkeepsie, New York.” July 18, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 95, FDRL.
86. FDR “Speech at Syracuse,” New York in MSF, Box 2, Fl 96, FDRL.
87. FDR “Speech at Poughkeepsie” New York, July 18, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 95, FDRL; FDR “Speech at Homecoming Celebration,” Utica, New York September 15, 1919, in MSF, Box 2, Fl 102. FDRL.
89. FDR “Speech at Poughkeepsie, New York,” July 18, 1919, MSF, Box 2, Fl 95, FDRL.
92. FDR “Speech at the Chautauqua Institute,” Chautauqua, New York, August 30, 1919, MSF Box 2, Fl 101, FDRL.
93. FDR “The National Emergency of Peace Times,” June 25, 1919, in MSF, Box 2, Fl 95, FDRL; and FDR “Speech at Hyde Park,” July 7, 1919, in MSF, Box 2, Fl 97, FDRL.
94. FDR “Speech to the Harvard Union,” February 26, 1920, MSF, Box 2, Fl 114, FDRL. For FDR’s arguments for a strong executive, see “Article for Empire State Democrat,” January 1920; FDR “The National Emergency of Peace Times,” June 25, 1919, in MSF, Box 2, Fl 95. FDRL.

4 The Presidential Election of 1920


3. McCoy, Presidential Elections, 2350; Bagby, Road, 22; and Burner, Provincialism, 43.

4. Frank Freidel, Franklin D. Roosevelt—The Ordeal (Boston, MA, 1954), 55.


7. James M. Cox, Journey Through My Years (Macon, GA, 2004), 244; Bagby, Road, 73–76; McCoy, Presidential Elections, 2354.


12. Frederick Boyd Stevenson unaccredited article “Prepare for War,” July 14, 1920, PVPC, Box 20 Scrapbook, FDRL.


17. PL II, 398. See also FDR Speech Milwaukee, Wisconsin August 12, 1920, MSF Box 2, Fl 134, FDRL.

18. Bagby, Road, 121; See also Freidel, Ordeal, 53.

19. The other known meetings are July 18, Washington; July 20, Dayton Ohio; August 31, Columbus, Ohio; October 3, meeting on board Cox’s campaign train from Terre Haute to Indianapolis.


24. Frederick Boyd Stevenson unaccredited article “Prepare for War,” July 14, 1920, PVCP, Box 20 Scrapbook, FDRL.
27. Steve Early to Louis Howe August 16 and 18, 1920, PVPC, Box 5, FDRL.
32. Bagby, Road, 130; McCoy, Presidential Elections, 2373.
33. Bagby, Road, 155–156; Steve Early to Louis Howe August 18, 1920, PVPC, Box 5, FDRL; FDR speech Chicago, Illinois, August 11, 1920, MSF Box 2, Fl 132, FDRL; and “Roosevelt Opens Western Campaign,” New York Times August 12, 1920, 3.
37. Craig, After Wilson, 22.
42. FDR Acceptance Speech, August 9, 1920, in PL II, 395–401.
43. FDR Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia September 29, 1920, in MSF Box 3, Fl 182, FDRL. See also speeches at Des Moines, Iowa and Cincinnati, Ohio, October 8 and 16, 1920, in MSF Box 3, Fl 203 and 212, FDRL.
44. FDR only mentioned Article X directly in his speeches four times during whole campaign. This was on October 1, 16, 20, and 22, 1920.
45. FDR Speech Cincinnati, Ohio, October 16, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 212, FDRL; See also Brooklyn Daily Eagle October 27, 1920, MSF, Box 4, Fl 238, FDRL.
46. FDR Speech Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 12, 1920, in MSF Box 2, Fl 134, FDRL. For TR, see Roosevelt, America and the World War, 104. For FDR, see Speech Sioux Falls, South Dakota, August 14, 1920, in MSF Box 2, Fl 138, FDRL; FDR Speech Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 12, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 134, FDRL; FDR Speech San Francisco, August 23, 1920, in MSF Box 2, Fl 149, FDRL.
47. FDR Speeches at Seattle, Washington, August 21, and Cincinnati, Ohio, October 16, 1920, in PVPC Box 21 and MSF Box 3, Fl 212, FDRL.
48. FDR “Press Statement on Maine and the Women Vote,” September 4, 1920, Box 41, Fl 17, FDRL; and “Press Release,” October 4, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 195, FDRL. On mothers and the League, see FDR Acceptance Speech August 9, 1920, in PL II, 395–401; Speech at Bangor, Maine, September 11, 1920, in Box 41, Fl 21, FDRL; and Hudson, New York, November 1, 1920, in MSF Box 4, Fl 234, FDRL.
49. FDR Speech at Bridgeport, Connecticut, September 18, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 172, FDRL.
50. See for instance FDR Speeches August 9, 1920, in PL II, 395–401, San Francisco August 23, 1920, in MSF Box 2, Fl 149, FDRL; Bangor, Maine, September 11, 1920, in Box 41, Fl 21, FDRL; Bridgeport, CN, September 18, 1920, in MSF Box 3 Fl 172, FDRL.
51. FDR Speech at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 12, 1920, in MSF Box 2, Fl 34, FDRL; FDR “Press Statement on Maine and the Women Vote,” September 4, 1920, in Box 41, Fl 17, FDRL; and Speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 16, 1920, in MSF Box 3, Fl 212, FDRL.
52. FDR Speech at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 12, 1920, MSF Box 2, Fl 34, FDRL.
55. Freidel notes that he had already made the “Butte” comments in a speech at Newburgh, New Jersey in January 1920, which would suggest he had not at that point had an anti-imperialist “epiphany.” See Ordeal, 81.
56. Freidel, Ordeal, 81.
57. FDR “Press Release from Helena, Montana,” August 18, 1920, MSF Box 2, Fl 142, FDRL.
58. FDR Speech at San Francisco August 23, 1920, MSF Box 2 Fl 149, FDRL.
59. McCoy, Presidential Elections, 2376; E. David Cronin (ed.), The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921 (Lincoln, NE, 1963), 552; Freidel,


62. Freidel, Ordeal, 83.

63. “Merest Dribble,” New York Times September 18, 1920, 11; Daniels, Diary September 17, 1920, in David E. Cronin, ed. The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921 (Lincoln, NE, 1963), 558. The report was released in October and confirmed the wanton killings. See Freidel , Ordeal, 83.

64. McCoy, Presidential Elections, 2376; and Freidel, Ordeal, 83.


66. FDR “Speech at Bangor,” Maine, September 11, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 162, FDRL; FDR “Speech at Cincinnati,” Ohio, October 16, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 212, FDRL; “Interview with FDR,” October 17, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 216, FDRL.

67. FDR “Memorandum in Regard to Hayti,” April 8, 1922, ASNP Box 40, FDRL.

68. Freidel, Ordeal, 82.

69. Bagby, Road, 159.

70. FDR to Steve Early, December 21, 1920, in PL II, 406.


5 Finding a Voice, 1921–1928


2. Freidel, Ordeal, 138.

3. Freidel, Ordeal, 93; and Geoffrey C. Ward, A First Class Temperament—The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt (New York, 1989), 561–562. On the sale of navy
radio stations, see Carroll Kilpatrick (ed.), *Roosevelt and Daniels—A Friendship in Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1952), 101.
5. There is a plausible medical case for incorrect diagnosis that posits the hereditary autoimmune illness Guillain-Barré syndrome. See Armond S. Goldman et al. “What was the cause of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Paralytic Illness?” *Journal of Medical Biography* 11 (2003), 232–240.
6. See note in *PL II*, 419.
7. ER to James Roosevelt Roosevelt August 18, 1921, in *PL II*, 413–414.
26. See Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the UN* (New Haven, CT, 1997), ix and 11.
31. FDR to Wilson June 29, 1921, in _PWW_ 67, 333.
32. FDR to Wilson 29 June 1921 in _PWW_ 67, 333.
35. R. C. Stuart to Wilson April 28, 1921, in _PWW_ 67, 273–274. See also Kuehl and Dunn, _Keeping the Covenant_, 35.
36. Kuehl and Dunn, _Keeping the Covenant_, 35. The annoyance of Stuart with FDR and the demise of the Wilson clubs can be traced through his letters exchange with John Randolph Bolling _PWW_ 67.
37. Wilson to FDR April 30, 1922, in _PWW_ 68, 39; See also Wilson to N. S. Toy February 13, 1922, in _PWW_ 67, 543–544.
40. See note in _PWW_ 68, 365.
41. “News Report” in _PWW_ 68, 509. For the Foundation prize history, see Kuehl and Dunn _Keeping the Covenant_, 34–35; Freidel, _Ordeal_, 122–125.
42. Kuehl and Dunn, _Keeping the Covenant_, 35. In 1963, the Foundation placed its activities indefinitely on hold to provide financial backing for the completion of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson. This greatly strained the Foundation and the organization was liquidated. See http://diglib.princeton.edu/ead/getEad?id=ark:/88435/bb86b3595, accessed on July 2, 2010.
45. Leffler, _Elusive Quest_, 79. FDR continued to blame German aggression for the war—see his column for the _Macon Telegraph_ May 2, 1925, in Donald Scott Carmichael (ed.), _F.D.R. Columnist—The Uncollected Columns of Franklin D. Roosevelt_ (Chicago, 1947), 64.
46. FDR to James M. Cox December 8, 1922, quoted in Freidel, _Ordeal_, 122.
47. George Marvin to FDR September 3 and 21, 1922, and FDR to George Marvin September 12, and October 10, 1922, quoted in Freidel, _Ordeal_, 131.
48. FDR to George Auld October 13, 1923, quoted Freidel, _Ordeal_, 130–131.
49. The Republicans, preferring order, had no such qualms. See Costigliola, _Awkward Dominion_, 54.
50. Freidel, _Ordeal_, 224.
51. See FDR to Walsh February 22, 1926, quoted in Freidel, _Ordeal_, 224. Louis Howe’s report was sent to Senators Walsh, Pat Harrison, and Representative Cordell Hull in March 1926.
54. FDR, “Shall We Trust Japan?” 478.
58. FDR, “Shall We Trust Japan?” 477 and 475.
59. FDR, “Shall We Trust Japan?” 475 and 477; See FDR “Letter to the Editor,” *Baltimore Sun* August 13, 1923, PF Box 39, FDRL.
60. FDR, “Shall We Trust Japan?” 528 and 478.
61. FDR, “Shall We Trust Japan?” 476 and 478; See also FDR to George Foster Peabody September 26, 1923, PF Box 39, FDRL.
62. FDR to Glenn Frank August 12, 1924, in Freidel, *Ordeal*, 182.
64. FDR Speech at Portland, Maine, September 2, 1920, MSF Box 3, Fl 155, FDRL; See also FDR Speech at Cumberland, West Virginia, October 27, 1920, MSF Box 4, Fl 229, FDRL.
65. J. E. Murphy to FDR August 5, 1921. Family Papers 1920–1928 (hereafter FP), Box 35, FDRL; FDR to J. E. Murphy September 27, 1921, FP Box 35, FDRL; Also R Cunningham to FDR March 24, 1922, FP Box 35; and FDR to Ruth Cunningham March 29, 1922, FP Box 35, FDRL.
67. FDR was listed as a member the Jefferson Centennial Committee of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation Executive Committee from at least June 1925. See Elmore Leffingwell to FDR June 17, 1925, FP Box 35, FDRL.
68. FDR to Charles Murphy December 5, 1924, 1924 Election Papers (hereafter 1924 EP) Box 5, FDRL.
69. M. W. Underwood to FDR December 16, 1924, in General Political Correspondence 1921–1928 (hereafter GPC), Michigan File, FDRL; See also Graham J. White, *FDR and the Press* (Chicago, 1979), 146.
71. FDR to Thomas J. Walsh February 28, 1925, GPC 1921–1928, Box 7 Walsh Folder, FDRL.
Oppose Early Meeting,” April 5, 1925, 5; and “Democrats Escape Clash of Leaders,” April 9, 1925, 1.


74. FDR “Jefferson and Hamilton,” November 19, 1925, PF Box 41, Fl 64, FDRL; See Hollins N. Randolph to FDR May 4, 1925, GPC 1921–1928, Box 6, FDRL; See also White, *FDR and the Press*, 147.


76. FDR “Jefferson and Hamilton,” November 19, 1925, PF Box 41, Fl 64, FDRL; See also White, *FDR and the Press*, 147.

77. FDR “Jefferson and Hamilton,” November 19, 1925, PF Box 41, Fl 64 FDRL. The review was published in the New York *World* December 3, 1925.


80. FDR, “Reign of Law Sustained By Public Opinion,” 1925, PF Box 41, Fl 61, FDRL. This appears never to have been published.


83. H. F. Armstrong to FDR April 25, 1924, PF Box 39, FDRL. Armstrong advised FDR to give more attention to the important maritime law section. FDR, “Our Foreign Policy,” 581–582.

84. FDR, *Whither Bound?*, 27; N. H. Davis to FDR April 24, 1928, PF Box 39. FDRL.

85. FDR to Thaddeus A. Adams November 4, 1925, quoted in Freidel, *Ordeal*, 204.

86. FDR to Claude Bowers December 17, 1925, quoted in Freidel, *Ordeal*, 208; FDR to Dr. D. C. Martin December 9, 1925, quoted in Fusfeld, *Economic Thought*, 86.

87. FDR to Norman H. Davis March 30, 1928, PF Box 39. FDRL.

88. FDR to H. F. Armstrong March 22, 1928, PF Box 39, FDRL.

89. FDR, “Our Foreign Policy,” 573. The first two paragraphs were almost entirely Armstrong’s words, see H. F. Armstrong to FDR April 25, 1928, PF Box 39. FDRL.

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