

## **Panagra Bibliography:**

One of the primary sources for the study of the life of Harold Harris and in the formation of Pan American Grace Airways is the Harold Harris MSS located in the Paul Laurence Dunbar Library on the campus of Wright State University in Fairborn (Dayton), Ohio. The interested researcher should contact Mr. John Armstrong and Ms. Lynda Kachurek for access to the files which are open to the public.

The collection is divided into eight series in the following manner:

Series 1: Correspondence which is divided into two parts: business correspondence and private correspondence. The business correspondence consists of letters concerning Pan American Airways. The second part of this series is Harris' private correspondence consisting mainly of letters to old colleagues and friends.

Series II: Pan American Airlines contains Harris' travel diaries, reports, correspondence, newsletters, newspaper clippings, articles, and his unpublished book about Panagra. Mainly these materials span the years 1929-1952.

Series III: American Overseas Airlines: Contains articles, correspondence, and reports and one of the most aspects of this series is the correspondence concerning the last operational days of the carrier.

Series IV: Northwest Airlines: This series contains presidential reports, supplementary reports, operating statement and financial reports, Board of Directors meetings and miscellaneous papers and reports.

Series V: This series is basically the personal logs of Harris from 1931-1937 and from 1948-1954. It reveals whom he met, where he traveled and what he did. There is a diary for the year 1979 contained in this grouping.

Series VI: Contains miscellaneous speeches given by Harris and is focused mainly on Harris' personal experiences.

Series VII; This series contains photographs and awards and is arranged into several categories including portraits, World War I, World War II, Huff Daland Dusters, Airplanes, and award ceremonies. One of the more interesting aspects of this series is the film of the Barling Bomber and of Panagra in Argentina and a Citation from King George VI of England.

Series VIII: Miscellaneous: Contains various files concerning aviation records and meets, his emergency parachute jump, Huff Daland Dusters Company, World War II and various newspaper clippings, articles and miscellaneous aviation material.

The William Russell Grace (1832-1904) Papers are held in trust by Columbia University and the records cover the years 1828-1986 with the majority of the papers pertaining to the years 1861-1960.

The collection contains 90 linear feet, approximately 32,000 items in 167 boxes and 35 oversize containers.

The early correspondence concerns all aspects of the shipping business in New York and South America, mining interest in Peru and Chile, the railroad in Costa Rica and the inter-ocean canal planned for Nicaragua, and political interests throughout Central and South America. There are letter books, correspondence, and scrapbooks of clippings for all aspects of William Grace's career including being the first Catholic elected mayor of the city of New York, as well as sources relating to the subsidiary companies owned by W. R. Grace. Furthermore, the collection relating to the son of the founder of the company, Joseph Peter Grace (1872-1950), contains the business, family and philanthropy activities of the family. In addition, there are 20 motion picture films about the Grace Company's South American interest throughout the 1950s. The grandson, usually referred to as J. Peter Grace (1913-1995) even though his first name was Joseph, continued the family tradition as the chief executive of the firm and served on various commissions for both President John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan.

Information on the life of Collett Everman Wollman can be found in the University of Illinois Alumni Association, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois. Of particular interest are the General and Administrative Files, Box

M-4 and folders entitled "Delta Air Lines, Inc," and "Meet Your Leaders". The main collection relating to his career is available in the Woolman Files, Delta General Offices in Atlanta, Georgia.

At the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York the Official File of the Civil Aeronautics Board (File-2955), Pan American Airways, Inc (File-2875) and Post Office: Miscellaneous: Air Mail Contracts (File-19) are open to researchers. Additional information can be obtained from the President's Personal File (File-96), FDR MSS and from the R. Walton Moore MSS: Aviation-International Civil (Box 2). In the National Archives in Washington, D. C. the Records of the Civil Aeronautics Board contain "Panagra" files which can be found in Record Group 197.3.5.

### **Monographs:**

I have not attempted to list every work focusing on Pan American Airways and Juan Trippe as the main emphasis of the essay was on the creation of Panagra but the following would be informative and helpful to the interested reader. These include: Ricardo J. Alfaro, Commentary on Pan American Problems (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938); Oliver E. Allen, The Airline Builders (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1981); Roy Allen, The Pan Am Clipper: The History of Pan American's Flying Boats 1931 to 1946 (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2000); William Armistead, The Struggle For Airways in Latin America (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1943); Marilyn Bender and Selig Altschul, The Chosen Instrument: Pan Am, Juan Trippe: The Rise and Fall of an American Entrepreneur (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982); Although not directly connected to Panagra the study by Erik Benson, Aviator of Fortune: Lowell Yerex and the Anglo-American Commercial Rivalry, 1931-1946 (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Press, 2006) provides another example of the development of aviation in Central and South America; in this case the founding of Honduras based TACA (Transportes Aereos Centro Americanos); The reader is encouraged to read David Yerex, Yerex of TACA: A Kiwi Conquistador (Carterton, New Zealand: Ampersand Publishing Associates, 1985). The New Zealand born Lowell Yerex (1904-1968) eventually lost control of his creation due to the obstructionist policies of Juan Trippe and Pan American Airways as well as the American and British governments, but TACA is still a viable company today serving 39 cities in 22 countries in the Western Hemisphere with hubs in San Jose, Costa Rica, San Salvador, El Salvador and Lima, Peru according to company's latest public information statement.

In addition, the reader is encouraged to consult, Marvin D. Bernstein, ed., Foreign Investments in Latin America (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1966); Wayne Biddle, Barons of the Sky (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991); Roger E. Bilstein has presented the interested reader with three studies of note including, Flight Patterns: Trends of Aeronautical Development in the United States, 1918-1929 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983); Flight in America, 1900-1983 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1984 with the revised edition entitled Flight in America From the Wrights to the Astronauts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); "Air Travel and the Traveling Public: The American Experience, 1920-1970," in William Trimble, ed., From Airships to Airbus: The History of Civil and Commercial Aviation (Washington, D. C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), volume II entitled: "Pioneers and Operations," 91-111; Walter T. Bonney, The Heritage of Kitty Hawk (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962); Tim Brady, The American Aviation Experience: A History (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000); An interesting study is by the Ambassador to Peru during the creation of Panagra by Ellis Ormsbee Briggs (1899-1976), Proud Servant: The Memoirs of a Career Ambassador (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1998); Other interesting studies include: Harry Bruno, Wings Over America: The Inside Story of American Aviation (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1942); William A. M. Burden, The Struggle for Airways in Latin America (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1943 with a reprint edition (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1974 and the Arno Press, 1977); Sean Dennis Cashman, America in the Twenties and Thirties: The Olympian Age (New York: New York University Press, 1989). For Pan Am and Panagra see pages 522-523; Lawrence A. Clayton, Peru and the United States: The Condor and the Eagle (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999); Barnaby Conrad III, Pan Am: An Aviation Legend (Emeryville, California: Woodford Press, 1999); Joseph Corn, The Winged Gospel: America's Romance with Aviation, 1900-1950 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); David T. Courtwright, Sky As Frontier: Adventure, Aviation and Empire (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press), 2005; George Walker Cearley, Jr., Braniff: With A Dash of Color And A Touch Of Elegance: An Illustrated History (Dallas: Robert Yaquinto Printing Company, 1980); Tom D. Crouch, Wings: A History of Aviation From Kites To The Space Age (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2003); Robert Daley, An American Saga: Juan Trippe and His Pan Am Empire (New York: Random House, 1980).

Six worthwhile studies by the eminent aviation historian R. E. G. Davies include , A History of the World's Airlines (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Airlines of the United States Since 1914 (London: Putnam, 1972 and reprinted with revised updates in Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982); Besides

creating an extensive study of the Airlines of Latin America Since 1919 (London: Putnam, 1984 also printed in Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984) the author also provided a listing of all the aircraft used by Panagra from 1928-1967, pages 663-666.; Rebels and Reformers of the Airways (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987); An essay focusing on Ralph O'Neill is entitled "Flying Down to Rio," 15-29; Pan Am: An Airline and its Aircraft (New York: Orion Books, 1987); Falacies and Fantasies of Air Transport History (McLean, VA: Paladwr Press, 1994).

Alexander de Conde, Herbert Hoover's Latin-American Policy (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1951); Alan P. Dobson, Peaceful Air Warfare: The United States, Britain, and the Politics of International Aviation (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); R. Doganis, Off Course: The Economics of International Airlines (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985); Edward Evans and Richard Hoyt, Air Transport as an Aid to Business (Columbus, OH., 1929); Desmond Fairbairn, Pan Am: Gone But Not Forgotten (Polo, Illinois: Transportation Trails, 1996); Elsbeth E. Freudenthal, The Aviation Business (New York: Vanguard Press, 1940); Robert Gandt, Skygods: The Fall of Pan Am (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1995); B. Gidwitz, The Politics of International Air Transport (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980); John Goldstrom, A Narrative History of Aviation (New York: Macmillan, 1942).

A massive study includes: Bill Gunston, ed., Aviation: Year By Year (London: Darling Kindersley Limited, 2001). Information on Panagra appears on pages 260, 278 and 534; Sherwood Harris, The First to Fly- Aviation's Pioneer Days (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970); T. A. Heppenheimer, Turbulent Skies: The History of Commercial Aviation (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1995); Frank Howard, The Conquest of the Air (New York: Random House, 1972).

Still having merit is Matthew Josephson, Empire of the Air: Juan Trippe and the Struggle For World Airways (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1944). An excellent review of this study can be found in Allan Spalding, "Baron of the Airways," New Republic CX (June. 5, 1944), 768-769; Sanford B. Kauffman, Pan Am Pioneer: A Manager's Memoir, from Seaplane Clippers to Jumbo Jets, edited by George Hopkins, (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 1995); Charles J. Kelly, Jr., The Sky's The Limit: The History of the Airlines (New York: Coward-McCann, 1963); Nick Komons, From Bonfires to Beacons: Federal Civil Aviation Policy Under the Air Commerce Act, 1926-1938 (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Transportation, 1978).

William Krusen, Flying the Andes: The Story of Pan American Grace Airways and Commercial Aviation in South America, 1926-1967 (Tampa, Florida: University of Tampa Press, 1997). The story is based on the journal of Harold R. Harris and the author had the cooperation of his daughter, Mrs. Alta Mae Stevens, who provided materials for the book. A copy of the monograph was then sent to the Air Force Museum in Dayton, Ohio. See also, Howard M. Lehn, Seventy Years of Commercial Aviation in the United States (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1998); For the history of Delta Airlines see the excellent study by W. David Lewis and Wesley Phillips Newton, Delta: A History of an Airline (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979); Grover Loening, Takeoff into Greatness: How American Aviation Grew So Big So Fast (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1968); William Mitchell, Skyways (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1930); Wesley Phillips Newton, The Perilous Sky: United States Diplomacy and Latin America, 1919-1931 (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1978); Ralph O'Neill, with Joseph F. Hood, A Dream of Eagles (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973); Charles S. Rhyne, Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 Annotated (Washington, D. C. National Law Book Company, 1939); The eminent Latin American historian James Fred Rippey who taught at both the University of Chicago and Duke University wrote an interesting monograph, The Capitalists and Colombia (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931); Basil L. Rowe, Under My Wings (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956). Rosalie Schwartz has written an interesting view of aviation although I got my idea of the movie featuring Dolores del Rio, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers before reading her, Flying Down To Rio: Hollywood-Tourists and Yankee Clippers (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M Press, 2004); Phillip Scott, The Pioneers of Flight: A Documentary History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Andrew Bernard Shea, Panagra: Linking the Americas During 25 Years (New York: Newcomen Society, 1954).

The somewhat dated work by Henry Ladd Smith, Airways: The History of Commercial Aviation in the United States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942 and Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1991) had limited value for this study. It is curious that in a listing of "Air Lines of the United States," (Appendix V, pages 383-392) neither Pan American Airways nor Panagra are mentioned and in "Chronology," (Appendix VI, pages 393-404) neither Pan Am nor Panagra appear in a section that relates the importance of aviation history. Pan American Airways System does appear, however, in the index; See also Smith's, Airways Abroad: The Story of American World Air Routes (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950).

A major and important study of commercial aviation can be found in Myron J. Smith, Jr., The Airline Encyclopedia, 1909-2000 (3 vols: Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2002); Although somewhat dated now Wesley Smith, Air Transport Operation (New York: MacGraw-Hill, Inc.1931) is worth the interested reader's time on early aviation history as is Carl Solberg, Conquest of the Skies: A History of Commercial Aviation in America (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979); M. H. Straszheim, International Airline Industry (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1969); Frank S. Stuart, Modern Air Transport (London: John Long, Ltd., 1946); Three books by Nawal K. Taneja are informative including, The Commercial Airline Industry: Managerial Practices and Regulatory Policies (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1976); United States International Aviation Policy (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980) and Introduction to Civil Aviation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1987); Poynts Tyler, ed., Airways of America (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1958); F. Robert van der Linder, Airlines and Air Mail: The Post Office and the Birth of the Commercial Aviation Industry (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002).

Additional studies include Sydne E. Veale, Airlines and Airways Today (London: Pilot Press, 1947); Edward Pearson Warner, Early History of Air Transportation (York: Maple Press, 1937 and also published as a lecture by the Norwich Press, 1937). Mr. Warner was then vice-chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, formerly on the faculty staff at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and editor of the publication Aviation; George I. Wilson, Air Transportation (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949).

### **Periodicals:**

Three early essays relating to aviation in the Western Hemisphere appeared in the Bulletin of the Pan American Union including: "Flying and Latin America," XXXVII (Dec. 1913), 856-858, "Aviation in South America," IIL (Apr. 1919), 440-442 and "Aviation in Chile and the Crossing of the Andes," IL (Sept. 1919), 298-301; A interesting essay is by Bert R. Coad, "Killing Boll Weevils with Poison Dust," United States Department of Agriculture Year Book (1920), 241-252; C. R. Neillie and J. S. Houser, "Fighting Insects with Airplanes," National Geographic Magazine, XII (Mar. 1922), 333-338; R. Coad, E. Johnson and G. L. McNeil, "Dusting Cotton from Airplanes," United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin, no. 1204 (Jan. 1924), 1-40; Peter Paul von Bauer, "Commercial Aviation in Colombia," Bulletin of the Pan American Union, LVIII (Nov. 1924), 1130-1137; Roger William Riis, "Commercial Crop Dusting," Aviation, XVIII (May. 25, 1925), 573; "Colombia to Key West Air Route," Aviation, IXX (Oct. 12, 1925), 504; Charles Lindbergh, "To Bogota and Back by Air," National Geographic Magazine, LIII (May. 1928), 529-601; John H. van Deventer, Jr., "The Story of Keystone," Air Transportation, VI (Jan. 19, 1929), 54-55; William Young Boyd, "Airways over Latin America," Literary Age, CCXXXVI (Mar. 1929), 47-50, passim; George N. Woolcott, "The Status of Economic Entomology in Peru," Bulletin of Entomological Research, XX (Aug. 1929), 225-231.

In the next decade consult, John K. Montgomery, "Chile's Aviation Progress," Aero Digest, XVI (Mar. 1930), 72-73, passim, and by the same author "The Wings of South America," Aero Digest, XVI (Feb. 1930), 55-58, passim; Frederick Simpich, "Skypaths through Latin America," National Geographic Magazine, LXXIX (Jan. 1931), 1-19; John S. Allard, "American Airplanes in the Latin American Republics," Aero Digest, XVIII (Apr. 1931), 230-232; "Colossus of the Caribbean," Fortune, III (Apr. 1931), 47-48, passim; V. E. Chenea, "Skyways that Link the Americas," Scientific American, CXXXVII (Dec. 1932), 342-344; "Pan American Airways," Fortune, VIII (Apr. 1936), 78-93, passim; Carl Hanns Pollog, "Commercial Aviation in the American Mediterranean," Geographic Review, XXVII (Apr. 1937), 255-268; W. B. Courtney, "The Seven Skies," Colliers, C (Aug. 14, 1937), 16-17, passim; Cy Caldwell, "The Dynamic Decade," Aero Digest, XXXII (Jan. 1938), 42-43, passim; Anyda Marchant, "Aviation in Colombia," Air Law Review, IX (Jan. 1938), 45-64; For the next decade see, "Sedta Cuts The Rates," Time, (Jan. 27, 1941); Matthew Josephson, "Columbus of the Airways," Saturday Evening Post, CCXVI (Aug. 14, 1943), 9-12, passim and in the same journal and volume number another essay with the same title published on Aug. 21, 1943, 28-29, passim; "Reconciliation," Time, XXXXVIII (Aug. 12, 1946), 82

For the 1950s the reader should consult,"Pan Am and Grace Split Over Panagra," Business Week, (Mar. 30, 1951), 20; "Panagra Stands By NAL Interchange," Aviation Week, LIV (Mar. 1951), 41; W. Kroger, "New Battle Flares Over Panagra," Aviation Week, LIV (May, 14, 1951), 59-60; "Panagra Dispute to Appellate Court," Aviation Week, LVI (Apr. 7, 1952), 68; "Long Cold War of Panagra," Fortune, VI (June. 1952), 117-118; Collie Small, "Juan Trippe: King of the Skyways," Coronet, XXXIII (Dec. 1952), 194-209; "Antitrust Suite Names PAA, Panagra, Grace," Aviation Week, LX (Jan. 25, 1954), 92; F.J. Shea, "Braniff Weighs \$5 Million Panagra Offer," Aviation Week, LX (June. 21, 1954), 87; "Balboa Impasse," Aviation Week, LXI (July. 5, 1954), 90.

Also see two articles by G. McAllister, "Airborne Radar Speeds Panagra Flights," Aviation Week, LXIII (Aug. 8, 1955), 101 and "United States Latin America Interchange Approved," Aviation Week, LXIII ((Aug. 15,

1955), 121-122; "Pan Am Accused of Restraining Panagra," Aviation Week, LXVI (Mar. 4, 1957), 45; "Family Row," Newsweek, IL (Mar. 4, 1957), 79; "Panagra In Middle," Business Week, (Mar. 16, 1957), 52; F. Eastman, "Pan Am Proposes To Sell Panagra," Aviation Week, LXVI (Mar. 18, 1957), 37; "Bumpy," Newsweek, IL (Mar. 25, 1957), 86; "Pan Am and Grace Battle For A South American Airline Empire," Business Week, (Mar. 30, 1958), 46-48; "Panagra Makes Subsidy Request," Aviation Week, LXIX (Oct. 12, 1958), 39; G. Garrison, Panagra Antitrust Trial Reaches End," Aviation Week, LXX (June. 1, 1959), 48-49 ;"CAB Examiner Raps Duplicate Cost Reports," Aviation Week, LXXI (Dec. 21, 1959), 33.

In the 1960s the following were of interest: Robert Hotz, "South American Swing," Aviation Week and Space Technology, (Feb. 29, 1960), 21; "January in June: Panagra Jet Flight to Lima," Saturday Review, XXXIII (July. 16, 1960), 30-32; "End to Family Feud," Time, LXXVII (Mar. 17, 1961), 88+; G. Garrison, "Pan Am Divestiture Portends Wide Efforts," Aviation Week and Space Technology, LXXIV (Mar. 20, 1961), 41+; "CAB Must Rule On Panagra Ownership," Aviation Week and Space Technology, LXXVIII (Jan. 21, 1963), 42; "Pan Am-Panagra Move Opposed," Aviation Week and Space Technology, LXXVIII (Apr. 29, 1963), 37; "Total Pan Am-Panagra Merger is Proposed," Aviation Week and Space Technology, LXXIX (Dec. 30, 1963), 30; Eldon Downs, and George F. Lemmer, "Origins of Aerial Crop Dusting," Agricultural History, XXXIV (July. 1965), 123-135; Wesley Phillips Newton, "International Aviation Rivalry in Latin America, 1919-1927," Journal of Inter-American Studies, VII (July. 1965), 345-356 and another essay by Newton entitled "The Role of Aviation in Mexican-United States Relations, 1912-1929," that appeared in Eugene R. Huck and Edward H. Mosly, eds., Militarists, Merchants, and Missionaries, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1970), 107-130.

Other articles include: "Panagra Disputes CAB Bureau on South American Route Awards," Aviation Week and Space Technology, LXXXIII (Nov. 8, 1965), 39; Gary G. Kuhn, "Aviation Pioneers in Peru and Chile," American Aviation Historical Society Journal, XI (Summer. 1966), 102-104; "Panagra Acquisition Approved," Aviation Week and Space Technology, LXXXV (Oct. 24, 1966), 40; Roger E. Bilstein, "Technology and Commerce: Aviation in the Conduct of American Business, 1918-1929," Technology and Culture, X (July. 1969), 392-411; Stephen James Randall, "Colombia, the United States, and Interamerican Aviation Rivalry, 1927-1940," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, XIV (Aug. 1972), 297-324; An essay not focusing on an academic audience can be found in Lynwood Mark Rhodes, "Those Magnificent Clipper Flying Boats," American Legion Magazine, (Aug. 1975), 22-24, *passim*; Richard K. Smith, "The Intercontinental Airliner and the Essence of Airplane Performance, 1929-1939," Technology and Culture, XXIV (July. 1983), 428-449; David Haglund, "De-Lousing SCADTA: The Role of Pan American Airways in U.S. Aviation Diplomacy in Colombia, 1939-1940," Aerospace Historian, XXX (Fall.1983), 177-188; the reader is invited to view three essays by Erik Benson including "Suspicious Allies: Wartime Aviation Developments and the Anglo-American International Airline Rivalry, 1939-1945," History and Technology, XVII (2000), 24-26 and two articles in Essays in Economic and Business History, entitled: "The Man Without A Country: Lowell Yerex, His Airline and U.S. Policy Concerning International Commercial Aviation, 1939-1944," XVIII (2000),17-32 and "The Chosen Instrument? Reconsidering the Early Relationship between Pan American Airways and the U.S. Government," XXII (2004), 97-110.

#### The New York Times:

Harold B. Grow, "Opening an Air Route through Wildest Peru," January 6, 1929, IX, 5; "Colombian Airline Dismisses Germans," June 12, 1940, 10.

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