

● PSF: Canada, 1946

El Mirasol
Palm Beach

File
Personal
Canada
4

Jan, 2nd, 1940.

My Dear Mr. President:

I have just learned by telephone from Mr. Wells that you have asked him to forward my name to the Congress for confirmation as American Minister to Canada.

It is difficult to express my appreciation of the confidence in me which this appointment by you evidences, for I realize the great

responsibility it entails in these
perilous times.

To have the privilege of representing
our country to-day in Canada - the
new heart of the British Empire -
in its hour of travail, is an honor
I did not anticipate.

I shall spare no effort to
merit your confidence and, under
your guidance, to further promote
the friendly relations which exist
with our good neighbor Canada,

so far as it lies in my power.

Believe me, dear Mr. President,
gratefully and respectfully yours,

James Cronwell



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
Eu 811.458 Canada/18

Canada
4
January 6, 1940

My dear Miss LeHand:

I am returning to you herewith Mr. Mackenzie King's telegram of holiday greetings to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, together with a draft of a letter of appreciation to Mr. King for the President's signature.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

G. T. Summerlin
George T. Summerlin
Chief, Division of Protocol

Enclosures:

1. Telegram from Mr. King returned.
2. Draft to Mr. King.

Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,
Private Secretary to the President,
The White House.

Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

Eu

ENCLOSURE

TO

1/5

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

White House

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

My dear Mr. King:

I wish to thank you for your thoughtful telegram of holiday greetings to Mrs. Roosevelt and myself. We greatly appreciate your good wishes and in turn hope that the New Year will bring to you a full measure of happiness.

Very sincerely yours,

The Right Honorable
William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of the
Dominion of Canada,
Ottawa.

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Right Honorable, ✓
William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of the *Canada*
Dominion of Canada,
✓ Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

HOLIDAY GREETING *by* Western Union

702



GTG BA24 30 NL 4 EXTRA=OTTAWA ONT

PRESIDENT=

WHITE HOUSE WASHDC (PLS FORWARD IF NECESSY)=

I SEND TO MRS ROOSEVELT YOURSELF AND TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF
YOUR FAMILY MY WARMEST AND BEST OF WISHES FOR CHRISTMAS AND
THE NEW YEAR=

W L MACKENZIE KING.

rlv
(COPY)

Canada-1940

January 13, 1940

Your Eminence:

I greatly appreciate the photograph which you so graciously sent to me and I shall treasure it as a token of your personal friendship.

I take this occasion to express the earnest hope that the New Year may have in store for you great peace and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

His Eminence
J. M. Rodrigue Cardinal Villeneuve, O.M.I.,
Archbishop of Quebec,
Quebec, Canada.

Sent to Chief of Protocol, State Department for delivery.



U. S. STATE DEPT.
FEB - 1 1940
for TRANSLATION

6540

Québec, le 29 janvier 1940.

Monsieur le Président,

Très sensible aux
bons vœux que vous avez bien voulu m'exprimer
en votre lettre du 13 janvier dernier, je
vous prie, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer en
retour ceux que je formule pour vous, et par-
ticulièrement pour le succès de vos tentati-
ves et projets de paix.

+ J. H. Rodrigue C. Villeneuve
Sec. de Québec

Monsieur Franklin D. ROOSEVELT,
Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique,
The White House,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

file

[Translation]

THE

FEB 3

R

Quebec, January 29, 1940.

Mr. President:

Greatly appreciating the good wishes that you were kind enough to express to me in your letter of January 13th last, I beg you, Mr. President, to accept in return those which I formulate for you, and particularly for the success of your endeavors and plans for peace.

J. M. RODRIGUE CARDINAL VILLENEUVE

O.M.I.

ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

TR:JWP:IML

STANDARD FORM NO. 14A

APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM

The White House
Washington

*** 16-6481

February 9, 1940.

The Right Honorable Lord Tweedsmuir,
Governor General of Canada,
Government House,
Ottawa, Canada.

I am distressed to learn of your illness and send you
my affectionate greetings. Keep up your fine courage.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 9, 1940.

File

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The State Department has just telephoned that word has been received from our Legation at Ottawa that the Governor General of Canada is in a very serious condition and that he is having a brain operation today. He is on his way now to a hospital in Montreal.

I thought you would want to know this.

E.M.W.
E.M.W.

TELEGRAM

2POD14

The White House
Washington

*file
personal
Canada
4*

Ottawa Ont 1116am Feb 13 1940

The President

The White House

I am most grateful to you and Mrs. Roosevelt for your
very kind message.

Susan Tweedsmuir.

lpm/d

LET
Mr. Hisson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Canada

2/11/40

LADY TWEEDSMUIR-

I was shocked and deeply grieved to learn of Lord Tweedsmuir's death.

Mrs Roosevelt and I recall with pleasure and affection our meetings with Lord Tweedsmuir and you and send you our sincere sympathy in your great loss.

(This is a copy of message sent by the State Dept. and approved by the President)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal
cancel*

April 15-1940.

4-15-40

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Stanley Woodward of the State Department informs me that your message to Mackenzie King has been delivered, and that Mackenzie King will write from Virginia Beach directly to the President.

E. M. W.
E.M.W.

8/7/61

This letter is ~~corrected~~ from Cordell Hull,
Secy. of State to the President, o/a April
22, 1940.

R.L. Jadoby
Archivist

*file
Personal*

*PSF
Canada*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

*(April?)
[1940]*

My dear Mr. President:

The question of Greenland may come up during the visit of the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, to Warm Springs, and I am giving you in the following paragraphs a brief account of the most recent developments on the subject.

You will recall that about ten days ago I handed the British Ambassador an aide mémoire referring to statements of the American Government concerning Greenland in 1920 and stating that our attitude respecting Greenland had not changed. On April 13th I sent for Mr. Loring Christie, the Canadian Minister, and handed him a copy of the same aide mémoire for the information of his Government. On April 16th Mr. Christie, the Canadian Minister, brought to the

Department

The President,
The White House.

Department an aide mémoire based on an instruction from Ottawa which was written prior to the receipt of our aide mémoire. This Canadian aide mémoire stated that the Canadian Government was considering whether it might not be necessary to send to Greenland a small Canadian defense force to guard against the danger of the establishment in Greenland of a base for German operations; for the protection of the cryolite mines, and to look out for the needs of the residents of the Island. Mr. Christie stated that his Government, before taking any action whatever in this sense, desired to receive the views of our Government on the matter. He said that the question was an urgent one, and that his Government would appreciate receiving our views at an early date, but that no steps whatever would be taken by his Government pending the receipt of our views.

On April 19th Mr. Dunn of this Department, at my request, told the Canadian Minister that you had asked Mr. Norman Davis, Chairman of the American Red Cross, to acquaint himself with the necessities and requirements of the civilian population of Greenland, and that a study of those requirements was now being carried forward by Mr. Davis. Mr. Dunn went on to
say

say, for the Minister's confidential information, that in making a survey of the requirements of the inhabitants of Greenland we would, of course, be in a position to look into any and all aspects of the situation there. It was added that, for the present, it was perfectly possible that there would be no publicly announced plan of action by this Government with regard to Greenland other than the attention which would be given to the needs of the inhabitants by the American Red Cross. It was pointed out to Mr. Christie that we intend to move very carefully in going forward with any action with regard to Greenland as we do not wish to have any action taken with regard to that territory used as a basis for action which might be taken by other large countries with regard to colonial possessions which might be affected by the occupation of the European mother country as a result of the extension of the present war. Mr. Christie interjected at this point that of course reference was being made to the Netherlands East Indies, and Mr. Dunn replied that of course that was true. Mr. Dunn went on to say that we considered it essential that no action be taken with respect to Greenland by Canada or any other country

try

try which might affect a possible similar situation in the Pacific.

Mr. Dunn told Mr. Christie that the Canadian Government could rest assured that we would be prepared to give consideration to any aspect of the situation in Greenland which might arise, and concluded by stating that we would be very glad to learn from the Canadian Government that they felt that it was unnecessary for the Government of Canada to take any action whatever with regard to Greenland.

Mr. Christie said that he would communicate these views to his Government at once and get in touch with us when he had received a reply.

I had, prior to Mr. Dunn's talk with the Canadian Minister, communicated orally substantially the same views to Lord Lothian, the British Ambassador, and Mr. Dunn informed Mr. Christie of this.

Mr. Berle had a conversation with the Danish Minister on April 20th, in which he informed Mr. Kauffmann that while we were considering the matter, our inclination is to accept the action of Greenland officials as the action of the Danish Government so far as Greenland is concerned on the theory that the administration

istration in Greenland is the surviving remnant of the Danish Government. The Danish Minister expressed the hope that we might find it possible to send a ship to Greenland, more or less for the purpose of reassuring the population there. He indicated that the Greenland officials apparently were preparing to give him direct authority to act for them in commercial matters, and that they might go so far as to authorize him to take over and administer under his own name, pursuant to their instructions, any funds which might be derived from the trade of the Danish monopoly.

Mr. Berle got in touch with Secretary Morgenthau concerning the possibility of sending a Coast Guard vessel to Greenland, and Mr. Morgenthau is looking into the possibility.

I am sorry that this letter is lengthy, but I believe that you should have all of this information prior to your talk with Mr. Mackenzie King, who I believe reaches Warm Springs tomorrow.

Faithfully yours,

Cordeel Hume

But only
line with our
conversation over
Tel - to
C/H

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personal*

*Canada
4*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Warm Springs, Ga.
April 23, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Morgenthau just telephoned to give information which he thought you might like to use in your conversations with Mr. King.

Since the first of April the Canadians have stopped selling nickel to the Japanese. During January, February and March they sold on a quota basis but since the first of April have stopped selling altogether despite great pressure from Japan. Moreover the Canadians have sold no nickel to Russia since the first of January.

W. D. H.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1940

File

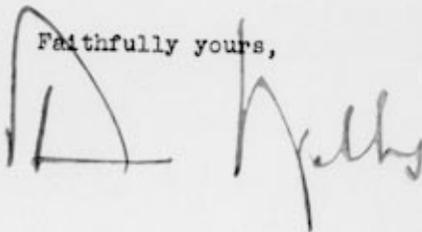
Canada

My dear Mr. President:

I feel that I should bring to your attention
the attached despatch from our Consul General in
Toronto dated April 24, 1940.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enclosure:
Despatch No. 1304,
April 24, 1940, from
American Consulate General,
Toronto, Canada.

The President,
The White House.

COPY

No. 1304

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
Toronto, 2, Canada, April 24, 1940

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: Relations between the United States and Canada.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose for the Department's information an article in the Toronto GLOBE & MAIL of April 24, 1940, by Judith Robinson in which she charges that the short terms of recent American Ministers to Canada "almost looks like a sign of the contempt, conscious or unconscious, in which a lesser neighbor is held".

Judith Robinson is a columnist who writes daily for the GLOBE & MAIL, her articles being given a prominent place, first column of front page of the second section of this morning paper, and her articles usually more or less critical of something are widely read and discussed, the general opinion seeming to be that she usually sounds a note which has general sympathy of the Canadian public.

In this connection the Consul General has heard in the past few days considerable comment among the prominent men of Toronto along the same line as this article although in more moderate terms.

None of this seems to be against the present Minister personally but against the limited tenure of the two recent Ministers, and there seems to be a feeling that

the long period during which the position was vacant, together with the two recent short term appointments, is due to a belief by the United States that Canada is unimportant.

Respectfully yours,
HERBERT C. HENGSTLER,
American Consul General.

Enclosure:

Clipping from the Toronto
GLOBE & MAIL of April 24,
1940.

Enclosure to confidential despatch No. 1304 dated April 24, 1940, from Herbert C. Hengstler, American Consul General at Toronto, Canada, on the subject: "Relations between the United States and Canada".

SOURCE:

The Toronto GLOBE & M
April 24, 1940

Regretting Overnight Envoys

(By JUDITH ROBINSON.)

It's to be hoped that it isn't getting to be a habit.

When President Roosevelt decided last spring that he could get along without Secretary of Commerce Roper in his Cabinet, Mr. Roper was appointed to the vacant United States Ministry at Ottawa. Mr. Roper came to Ottawa just before the King and Queen came to Canada. He resigned, by an odd coincidence, just after they went away.

None in Canada suggested at the time that Mr. Roosevelt might be playing Washington politics with Canada's Sovereigns. None suspected that Mr. Roper's Ottawa appointment was timed to the Royal coming to save the sting of dismissal.

None was so ill-bred as to whisper that Mr. Roper's decision to quit Ottawa and the diplomatic service for private life came too pat on the end of the Royal visit. Not at all. Coincidences of the sort often happen.

But not often twice in one year. Twice a year is perhaps too much. It suggests that the practice of using the capital of this Dominion as Democratic Party storage space is growing on a good neighbor in Washington. It raises the question whether such a practice promotes the best of neighborly relations.

The following quotations from a news report in the New York Times does not provide the answer most flattering to Canadian pride:

"Mr. Cromwell was appointed American Minister to Canada Jan. 12. At the time his senatorial ambitions were well known and it was understood that he would use the post as a stepping-stone for his political campaign in New Jersey, in which he is supported by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City."

It was understood that he would use the post as a stepping stone for his political campaign in New Jersey in which he is supported by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. O, Otta-wa-a!

This is presidential election year in the United States of America. Good neighbors with only a war to worry about will naturally make all the allowances they can. But it is a little hard to make allowances large enough for neighbors who reduce Canadian American relations to a size to fit Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City's political arrangements. It is more than a little hard to accept as inoffensive the Washington assumption that Ottawa is a fit potting shed for Boss Hague's political seedlings. The type of fertilizer Boss Hague uses is too well known for that, even this far from Jersey City, N.J.

Nothing personal intended against retiring United States Minister to Canada, James H. R. Cromwell. On this short and passing acquaintance, Mr. Cromwell seems to be a likeable young man, as well as a rich and an impulsive one. Nothing personal intended against Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, either. New Jersey is Boss Hague's business; he is New Jersey's, and, according to the celebrated Dr. Gallup, New Jersey is at the moment a border-line case leaning slightly toward Republicanism. As Dr. Gallup counts it, New Jersey public opinion is, at the moment, 54-46 anti-Hague. Desperate cases can't be fussy, and neutrals shouldn't criticize too much. If Mr. Cromwell and his fortune can be enlisted to keep the Hague machine running in this hour, Boss Hague is entitled to enlist them. If Mr. Cromwell needs a build-up to be really useful, Boss Hague is entitled to get him the build-up if and where he can. Boss Hague is a practical politician.

President Roosevelt, on the other hand, is a Good Neighbor. Is a good neighbor at Washington justified in digging the material for practical political build-ups in New Jersey out of his relations with Ottawa?

The question again. From here the answer looks like No. From here a certain cynicism is evident in Good Neighbor Roosevelt's decision to make the answer Yes. From here it almost looks like a sign of the contempt, conscious or unconscious, in which a lesser neighbor is held, a regrettable lapse from tact in the tactful Mr. Roosevelt.

Granted that Ottawa is no great shucks as a diplomatic post, for United States envoys. Granted that transient politicians will do as well there as any. That being so, Mr. Roosevelt would do better to close up the Ministry at Ottawa and ask Mr. King to keep calling around twice a year for orders as at present.

Doing that he would do a lot better by his neighbors than he has done degrading the United States Ministry at Ottawa to the level of an annex of New Jersey politics.

Christie
4

May 21, 1940.

Dear Christie:-

I am terribly sorry to hear that at this most unfortunate moment they are going to operate on you at Johns Hopkins. It is a relief to know, however, that it is only a little matter of gallstones and I hope your recovery will be speedy and that I shall see you back on the job soon. Take care of yourself and don't worry.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Loring C. Christie,
Marburg Pavilion,
Johns Hopkins,
Baltimore,
Maryland.



CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

*File
personnel
+
confidential*

July 18th, 1940.

Dear Mr. President:

I had an acknowledgment sent through to you from Johns Hopkins at the time, but now that I am back in harness I want to tell you myself how warmly I appreciated your thoughtful letter of May 21st sent to me there just before my operation. It was very kind of you to take this time out in the midst of all the pressures upon you, and I shall always deeply value your doing it.

The operation and aftermath went off all right and, while I am under orders to go easy for a while in order to pick up some more weight and energy, I feel very well indeed.

For some time I have had a photograph which I have wanted to give you. It was taken at the Citadel in Quebec in July, 1936, and shows yourself and your son James, together with the late Lord Tweedsmuir and Mr. Mackenzie King. I was able to get the signatures of Lord Tweedsmuir and Mr. King on this copy. I think it would interest you, and if you could find some convenient time to let me see you, it would give/

The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

-2-

give me great pleasure to hand the photograph
to you.

Again with many thanks,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Loring C. Christie



CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

January

My dear General Watson,

Will you kindly express
Spring L. Christie
Mr. Christie's great appreciation
to the President for his wish
to live?

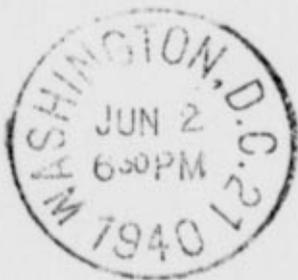
Mr. Christie was very touched
at the President's thought of him,
especially during these incredibly

busy days. It will thank
the President being as soon
as he is a letter stronger.

Sincerely,

Yours truly
Secretary

June 1st.



10.

Brig. General S. M. Wilson

Mrs White's House.

W.C.

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

3wuh 93NT.

Ottawa, Ont., June 13, 1940

THE PRESIDENT:

I can not thank you too warmly for your kind telegram on the death of my friend and colleague, the Honorable Norman McLeod Rogers. I have shared its words of sympathy with my colleagues, with Mrs. Rogers and her family and with the people of our Dominion. International friendship and good will especially between different parts of the English speaking world had no truer friend or earnest advocate than Mr. Rogers. His untimely death is a great loss to us all. With my thanks, may I send as always my kindest personal regards to you.

MACKENZIE KING.

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canada*

*File
Personal Canada
4*



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I attach as of possible assistance to you in replying to the attached letter from Mackenzie King a brief memorandum in which the principal points raised by him and my comments thereon are set forth.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum.
2. Letter from Mackenzie King to the President.

The President,
The White House.

Point 1:

That the Neutrality Act has become an instrument to assist and encourage aggressors in the invasion of neutral countries in that Norway, which prior to aggression could count upon receiving credits, munitions, etc. from the United States, is no longer able to do so.

Comment:

The Act undoubtedly has its imperfections, but it was thought by its sponsors to be the best piece of legislation that could be devised in the light of the existing situation and our past experiences. It is true that it prohibits Norway, as well as other belligerents, from floating loans or obtaining credits in the United States, but it permits her, just as it does Canada, freely to buy munitions in this country. It prohibits American vessels from carrying goods to Norway but it does not prevent Norwegian or other vessels from doing so.

Point 2:

That the Neutrality Act might be amended so as to make it inapplicable to the countries which have become the victims of ruthless aggression or which are seeking to preserve their existence in the face of aggression.

Comment:

This is a question of high policy. Few could disagree with the underlying purposes. It would, however, mark a departure from the traditional rules of neutrality which prevent the neutral from granting to a belligerent favors which it denies to another.

Point 3:

That there be withheld as far as it may be possible whatever may be "or becomes in the nature of aid to aggressors (moral embargo)".

Comment:

Moral embargoes, thus far, have been largely effective but their application has been comparatively limited in scope, based for the most part upon humanitarian considerations, as, for example, the discouragement of sales of aircraft, etc. to countries engaged in bombardment of civilian populations. They were directed in each

instance

instance at aggressors. Section 6 of the Sheppard bill, if passed in its present form, would give the President rather broad authority with respect to the prohibition or curtailment of the exportation of military equipment, machinery, tools or material or supplies necessary for the manufacture, servicing or operation thereof.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Canada
f*

May 8, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you read the enclosed
from Mackenzie King and speak to
me about it?

F. D. R.

Veronesi

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.,
U.S.A.

Maclean

PRIME MINISTER

Vermond



Ottawa, Ont.,
May 1, 1940

Dear Mr President:

My first letter on my return to Canada carries to you my warmest thanks for kindnesses too numerous to mention. My visit as your guest at the little White House will have, through time, a place all its own, not less in my heart than in my memory. From now on, I shall be able to enjoy many moments of rest and recreation simply by running over in my thoughts the happy hours of the two days which I was privileged to share so completely with yourself.

Gorham's of New York will be sending on to you before the close of the week an enlarged copy of the little photograph of my dog, Pat, and myself which gained much publicity in our recent political campaign. Being of an odd size, I had, while in New York, to leave the picture to be sent on after being framed in proper proportions. I should be happy indeed should it serve to recall to your mind a fraction of the happiness which will always be mine as I think of my different visits with you, and the one at Warm Springs in particular.

I was so glad to have the pleasure of seeing you again at the moment of leaving Washington. From what I have gathered from different sources, it would, I imagine, be difficult to discover a moment of greater significance to the world than that particular one.

Please remember that if you can manage it at all, a return via Canada, and a visit to Ottawa

on the completion of your proposed Western tour, would occasion real delight throughout all parts of our Dominion. I should find great personal pride and delight in showing you Canada's Capital. If Government House did not claim too much of your time, I should feel particularly honoured to have you as one whose name might have its association also with Laurier House.

*With kindest personal regards
and as always with my best
of wishes. Believe me*

Yours very sincerely,

McGowan King.

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.,
U.S.A.

To be delivered to the President personally.

W. L. ...

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.,
U. S. A.

W. L. ...
PRIME MINISTER

A purely personal postscript

I feel I did not begin to say to you how very much I appreciated the many confidences you accorded me, nor how grateful I feel for all you are doing to assist the allied powers - as we, in Canada, are striving our utmost to do - in this terrific struggle against oppression, backed by every conceivable agency of violence.

What you told me, in our last conversation, has quite evidently had an immediate effect. I meant to say to you at the time how splendid a stroke I felt it to be, and how grateful the world will be to you for it, when the time comes that the story can be told.

2/.

Having the United States as a
neutral nation,

(1) become the champion of the
rights of neutrals

(2) preserve its own neutrality -
by every means in its power,
most & believe the policy underlying
the neutrality act, ^{however} the act
has worked, in practice, this purpose
threatens to be defeated by cir-
-cumstances and conditions unforeseen
at the time the act was passed.

Instead of assisting ^{this} neutral nations,
and the United States to preserve
not only neutrality; but (in case of
small neutral nations) their independence;

It has become an instrument
to avoid ^{by means of} aggression the the
invasion of neutral countries.

e.g. Norway able to avoid aggression
could count upon receiving
credits; munitions etc. from the U.S.
- as long as possible after a state of war declared.

3/.

Every one must recognize the difficulty,
if not impossibility, of the Secretary's all
being repealed in the brief time that
remains before the Presidential
campaign is concluded. - But might
it not be amended in a manner
which would serve & preserve
its original purposes, and to
remove the injustices which it
is, or may be inflicting upon
neutral nations, by some simple
amendment such as the following:

"The provisions of this Act shall
also apply to neutral countries, which
may become the victims of such
aggression on the part of other
countries, or which are seeking
to preserve their existence in
the face of such aggression."

(protection or invitation)
The party, which opposed
such an amendment would

immediately become an ally of
the aggressor nations, and would
be recognized as ~~such~~ ^{such}.

If, with this, the "moral embargo"
policy were given complete and effective
applications against aggressor nations,
The policy of the United States would
then be: - in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the
world: -

(1) to give all possible help to victims
of aggression, and to those countries that
are fighting aggression - (American ~~to~~ ^{aid})

(2) to withhold in so far as may be
possible whatever may be or become in
the nature of aid to aggressors - (moral embargo);
Such a policy could be defended on
a basis of isolation, neutrality - etc.;
at the same time, it would be a
real help to neutral countries seeking
to preserve their neutrality; and to
countries that are resisting or
fighting aggression - It would
serve to postpone, if not wholly
to forestall the day when the

United States itself might become involved in war - something that would appear to be inevitable if a/crosser nations are to feel free to further the sweep of their invasion over the surface of the globe.

This policy might justify the United States, as a neutral nation ~~and~~ seeking to preserve its position of isolation, or well as ^{its} neutrality; ~~from~~ ⁱⁿ limiting the length of ~~being~~ ^{being} or ~~any~~ ^{any} known practical means of giving effect to (1) and (2) by (3) - protecting, with its own ~~best~~, in any part of the world, this act it was seeking to find or to withhold.

This may prove in the end the one effective means of avoiding expeditionary forces to the

scene of conflict - a scene which
 all to speedily may become any
 quarter of the globe.

These are just thoughts
 and reflections based on
 observations made in
 the course of my recent
 visit to the United States,
 and in the light of the
 difficulties with which
 any administration would
 be faced in the year of
 a presidential campaign.
 I should think all political
 parties might be willing to
 agree on 111 and 127 and finally
 (3) - and so remove from political
 controversy altogether these
 aspects of America's "intervention
 or non-intervention" which they might
 be called.

[May 1, 1940]

A purely personal postscript

I feel I did not begin to say to you how very much I appreciated the many confidences you accorded me, nor how grateful I feel for all you are doing to assist the Allied powers -- as we, in Canada, are striving out utmost to do -- in the terrific struggle against aggression, backed by every conceivable agency of violence.

What you told me, in our last conversation, has quite evidently had an immediate effect. I meant to say to you at the time how splendid a stroke I felt it to be, and how grateful the world will be to you for it, when the time comes that the story can be told.

Having the United States as a neutral nation,

(1) become the champion of the rights of neutrals

(2) preserve its own neutrality by every means in its power, was I believe the policy underlying the Neutrality Act. As, however, the Act has worked in practice, this purpose threatens to be defeated by circumstances and conditions unforeseen at the time the Act was passed.

Instead of assisting other neutral nations and the United States to preserve not only neutrality, but (in case of small neutral nations) their existence, it has become an instrument to assist by encouraging aggressors in the invasion of neutral countries.

e.g.

e.g. Norway which prior to aggression could count upon receiving credits, munitions, etc. from the U.S. - no longer possible after a state of war declared.

Every one must recognize this difficulty, if not impossibility, of the Neutrality Act being repealed in the brief time that remains before the Presidential campaign is concluded. But might it not be amended in a manner which would serve to preserve its original purposes, and to remove the injustices which it is, or may be inflicting upon neutral nations, by some simple amendment such as the following:

"The provisions of this Act shall not apply to neutral countries, which have become the victims of ruthless aggression on the part of other countries, or which are seeking to preserve their existence in the face of such aggression."

The party (political or individual) that opposed such an amendment would immediately become an ally of the aggressor nations, and would be recognized as such.

If, with this, the "moral embargo" policy were given complete and effective application against aggressor nations, the policy of the United States would then be: - in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world -

(1) to give all possible help to victims of aggression, and to those countries that are fighting aggression

(amendment

(amendment to Neutrality Act).

(2) to withhold in so far as may be possible whatever may be or becomes in the nature of aid to aggressors (moral embargo). Such a policy could be depended on a basis of isolation, neutrality, etc.; at the same time, it would be a real help to neutral countries seeking to preserve their neutrality, and to countries that are resisting or fighting aggression - it would serve to postpone, if not really (?) to forestall the day when the United States well might become involved in war - something that would appear to be inevitable if aggressor nations are to feel free to further the sweep of their invasion over the surface of the globe.

This policy might justify the United States, as a neutral nation seeking to preserve its position of isolation, as well as of neutrality; in going the length of taking any or every known practical means of giving effect to (1) and (2) by (3) protecting, with its own fleet in any part of the world, the aid it was seeking to give or to withhold.

This may prove in the end the one effective means of avoiding expeditionary forces to the scene of conflict - a scene which all too speedily may become any quarter of the globe.

These

These are just thoughts and reflections based on observations made in the course of my recent visit to the United States, and in the light of the difficulties with which any administration would be faced in the year of a Presidential campaign. I should think all political parties might be willing to agree on (1) and (2) and possibly (3) - and so remove from political controversy altogether those aspects of America's "intervention or non-intervention" whichever they might be called.



CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

July 20th, 1940.

Strictly Personal.

file
Dear Mr. President:

It gives me great pleasure to be the means of transmitting the following strictly personal message to yourself from Mr. Mackenzie King, who has just asked me to see that it is handed to you:

"Strictly Personal.

"My dear friend:

"I have read with profound sympathy and understanding your message to the Democratic Convention, agreeing to accept the party's re-nomination as its candidate for President. It seems to me that you have followed the only course which, all the circumstances considered, you could possibly have taken. Your decision to respond to the call of continued service was as inevitable as the call itself. I know so well what it will mean to you to carry on without a moment's break. I am glad, therefore, that you made it clear that you will not attempt more than should be expected of you in the campaign and will confine your activities to the seat of Government.

The/

The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

The wisdom of this course will I am sure be realized and appreciated by all.

"I hope that in the nation-wide confidence of your followers so unanimously expressed you may find added measure of encouragement to sustain and strengthen you in days that lie ahead.

"My every good wish as always to you.

"Mackenzie."

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Lois C. Christie

file personal.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

25th July, 1940.

My dear Mr. President,

I thank you and Mrs. Roosevelt most sincerely for the very kind invitation to Princess Alice and myself to pay you an informal visit at Hyde Park at the end of September, which we both accept with much pleasure.

You rightly lay stress on the importance of maintaining the personal associations which existed between yourself and the Tweedsmuir and I am also anxious that there should be no break in an interchange of visits which can not fail to be helpful in preserving the happy relations between our two countries.

We look forward to renewing acquaintances with your Mother whom we met in New York and in London.

Yours sincerely,
Atton.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Esq.,

President of the United States of America,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.,

U. S. A.

PRIVATE

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Esq.,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.,
U. S. A.

Canada
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July 19, 1940.

(My dear Lord Athlone) - written in longhand

I quite understand your thought that you should not receive the degree at the University of Pennsylvania before the degree from McGill University.

However, I hope that you and the Countess of Athlone will come down to Hyde Park some Sunday in late September or early October in a wholly informal way.

Not only would it give my wife and my mother and myself the greatest pleasure to have you there, but I think also that you and I should carry on the very delightful personal associations which I had with the Tweedsmuir's. Since 1933 the greater part of the formalities between the Dominion and the United States have been done away with, and I think that both countries appreciate this. On both sides of the line the interchange of visits has become what is by now almost a normal tradition.

As you know, you can leave Ottawa in the late afternoon and arrive at Hyde Park the next morning. We can write to each other a little later on to arrange a time that will be in every way convenient to you and your wife.

With my sincere regards,

Faithfully yours,

The Right Honorable
The Earl of Athlone,
Governor General of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

11th July, 1940.

My dear Mr. President,

Mr. Pierrepont Moffat has conveyed to me your most kind invitation to pay you a visit at Hyde Park in September after taking part in the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Pennsylvania, on which occasion you will receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and I have also been privileged by a similar invitation.

I can assure you that nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to have found myself in a position to accept this friendly expression of hospitality to one who has so recently arrived on the North American Continent, and who has had such a happy account from The King and Queen of the private visit they paid you last year. As I wrote in my reply to the President of the University, the first year of office of a Governor General is so crowded with engagements that he finds it impossible to get away, and in these times of war the difficulties of leaving the country are all the greater.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Esq.,
President of the United States of America,
White House,
Washington, D.C.,
U. S. A.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

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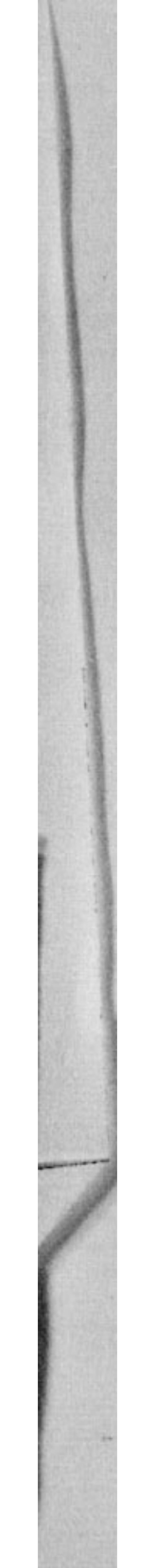
To be quite frank with you, there is another reason which I did not mention in my letter to him. McGill University, of which the Governor General is the "Visitor", only commences term after October 1st and I have agreed to receive a degree early in that month. I fear, therefore, it might cause a slight feeling of jealousy were I to receive an honorary degree from a University outside Canada first.

You will, I feel sure, appreciate my difficulty under the circumstances and accept my real regret for my inability to accept your kind invitation.

It would, of course, give my wife and myself the greatest pleasure to have you and Mrs. Roosevelt as our guests here if you can ever spare the time.

Yours very sincerely,

Aikhen.



Conceder

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

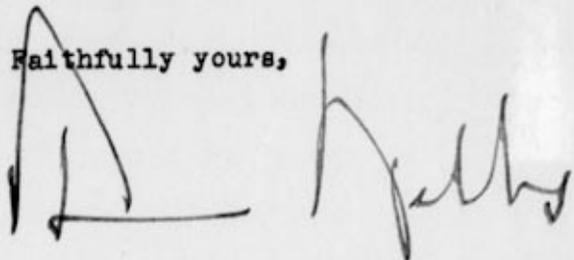
August 16, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to our conversation of two days ago, I am enclosing, in the belief that it will be of interest to you, a personal letter I have received today from Pierrepont Moffat.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,
The White House.

Published in

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1940 Vol. III British Commonwealth,
The Soviet Union, Near East, Africa

pages 144-145

ALS 4/29/59

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, Canada, August 14, 1940

Dear Sumner:

Ever since I have been here, but more particularly in the last two or three weeks, there has been growing a public demand throughout Canada for the conclusion of some form of joint defence understanding with the United States. Even elements which in the past have been least well disposed toward us, such as the Toronto public and the English-speaking sections of Montreal, are now outspoken in its favor. The principal newspapers, such as the Montreal Gazette, the Winnipeg Free Press, the Vancouver Sun and such periodicals as Macleans and Saturday Night are committed to the idea. Questions have been asked in Parliament and some of the political leaders are putting pressure on the Government behind the scenes. As a matter of practical politics the Prime Minister may ultimately be forced to recognize the existence of this popular demand; if Great Britain should suffer serious reverses the demand would immediately become very acute.

To Canadians such a joint defence understanding, - whether it took the form of a treaty or merely or publicly

The Honorable
Sumner Welles,
Acting Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

announced staff talks, - seems a reasonable reinsurance policy. The old fear that cooperation with the United States would tend to weaken Canada's ties with Great Britain has almost entirely disappeared. Instead, Canada believes that such cooperation would tend to bring Britain and the United States closer together, rather than to force Britain and Canada apart.

The press is increasingly pointing out that Canada has two lines of defence: the first in Great Britain, the second in a coordinated plan for the protection of North America. A few Canadians, but still relatively few, would add a coordinated plan for the protection of the Western Hemisphere.

That an understanding between Canada and the United States must necessarily be limited to the defence of North America is everywhere accepted here. Any suggestion that it would obligate the United States, even morally, to become involved overseas is recognized as outside the realm of practical possibilities. But conversely, the average Canadian fails to see why the United States, which unanimously supported the President's Kingston pledge, should hesitate to work out ways and means of implementing the pledge. The argument that this would be difficult while Canada is a belligerent

and the United States a neutral is generally brushed aside as a technical one, which ignores the basic fact that an understanding would only become operative in the event of a physical attack on Canada or the United States.

The recent advocacy by the Chicago Tribune and the New York Herald Tribune (which in political philosophies are as the poles apart) of a defensive alliance between Canada and the United States has made a deep impression on the average Canadian. He has jumped to the conclusion that the United States is ready for an understanding, and that it is the Canadian Government that is holding back.

Mr. Mackenzie King, who knows us well, appreciates that any initiative on Canada's part toward a more formal understanding would cause embarrassment or at best controversy in the United States, which he wants at all costs to avoid. He believes that if an emergency should arise, the United States would act and act quickly, and that the recent secret talks between American and Canadian military and naval officers, although without commitment, have at least had the result that American aid would be effective.

On the other hand, dependent on future events, Mr. Mackenzie King may well be subjected to very heavy

political pressure to make some approach to us either (a) to formalize the Kingston pledge or (b) to make a public admission that "staff talks" have in fact taken place. In a war situation where the picture changes overnight, I could not hope to prophesy when the pressure on Mr. Mackenzie King might be expected to reach its maximum intensity.

The purpose of this letter, Sumner, is merely to give you a feeling of the way Canadian opinion is growing, so that you in turn may be able to consider it in relation to the development of political opinion (pro or con) at home.

With every good wish

As ever yours

PIERREPONT MOFFAT

Copy

PSF: Canada *Canada*
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Hyde Park, N. Y.,
August 19, 1940.

Dear Mackenzie:-

I think this will interest you. It was over two weeks on its way from Berlin and coming from an American, long a resident in Germany, it has especial value. The writer was, I think, inclined to be pro-Nazi up to the time of the Munich Conference.

As ever yours,

The Right Honorable,
William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa,
Ontario,
Canada.

(Enclosure) Copy of Alexander Kirk's letter of July 29, 1940

See: Germany folder for original of the above letter and Alexander Kirk's letter to the President and his reply.

C O P Y

~~MOST CONFIDENTIAL.~~

M E M O R A N D U M

The announcement regarding the appointment of a Permanent Joint Board on Defence indicated that the Board would be "set up at once" and would "commence immediately studies relating to sea, land, and air problems".

The Canadian Government suggest that the first meeting of the Board be held in Ottawa on Thursday, August 22nd.

It is assumed that questions of organization will be the first business to be taken up and decided.

It is hoped, however, that the consideration of these questions can be followed immediately at the same meetings by the consideration of certain of the major aspects of the problems which the Board is being appointed to deal with.

United States suggestions for the agenda will, of course, be most welcome.

The Canadian Government, for their part, would propose that attention be given at once to the following matters:

1. The defence of Newfoundland, including
 - (a) sea defences,
 - (b) air defences, and
 - (c) coastal defences.
2. The defence of the West Coast under the same headings.
3. The question of reciprocal manoeuvres.
4. The procurement of armament and ammunition.

CANADIAN LEGATION,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 20th, 1940.

L. C. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF WAR
THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

FOR YOUR INFORMATION. THE
ENCLOSURE WAS GIVEN TO ME BY
PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING
ON AUGUST 18, 1940.

F. D. R.

Canada
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(Mr. Howe's letter to
Mr. Purvis July 19/40)

*for the President
from W.K.M.H.
Aug. 17-18.*

August 17, 1940.

LIST OF URGENT REQUIREMENTS WHICH IT IS UNDERSTOOD
MAY BE AVAILABLE

- (1) 150 - 3" ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS,
complete with fire control and all
ammunition obtainable up to 2,000 rounds
per gun for same. (Newfoundland and East Coast)

- (2) 15,000,000 ROUNDS .30-06 AMMUNITION
(less 4,000,000 rounds already received).

This ammunition (.30-06) is U.S. standard
calibre. The regular standard Canadian
ammunition is .303.

X This U.S. .30-06 is needed to fit the 80,000
Mark I Lee Enfield rifles which were recently
purchased in the United States. We only got
4,000,000 rounds of .30-06 ammunition with
these rifles, which was only 50 rounds per
rifle.

We are also expecting to get 600 Lewis guns
of this same calibre (.30-06).

We, therefore, need urgently the remainder of
11,000,000 rounds to fit these rifles and these
prospective Lewis guns.

- (3) 250 - LIGHT TANKS, Model 6T.

While these tanks have been superseded by later
models for operational purposes, they, never-
theless, would be exceedingly useful for training
the armoured formation which has been authorized.

It is understood that there are over 500 of
these readily available.

- (4) 50 - .155 MM. GUNS, and
100 rounds of ammunition per gun or more,
if possible;-

To be used for Coast Defence, Newfoundland and
Canada.

- (5) 150 - 75 MM. GUNS, high speeded, and
30,000 rounds of ammunition for same.

X *These particular items were not
considered by Mr. Purvis and Mr. Morganthau*

(6)

- (6) 24 - .155 MM. HOWITZERS, (if these are British 6" - 26 cwt.) and 500 rounds of ammunition per Howitzer.
- (7) 10 - 8" RAILWAY MOUNTING GUNS, with 3,000 rounds of ammunition per gun.
- (8) SPARE BARRELS, SPARE MAGAZINES, AND TRIPODS for the 600 Lewis guns, referred to in paragraph (2).

X
While it is understood that the Lewis guns themselves are being made available, word has just been received that so far there has been no release of the necessary spare barrels, spare magazines, and tripods. These are obviously requisite for the proper and effective use of the weapon.

There has been a hint given that the reason these spare parts are not made available is that Canada had already obtained some of these and had supplied them to the United Kingdom. Enquiry here by the Deputy Minister of Munitions and Supply from every officer connected with the Supply or Ordnance Branches brings the definite information that this impression is absolutely unfounded. Any material of this kind previously obtained was for the purpose of equipping the 1st and 2nd Canadian Divisions.

- (9) 1,650 - THOMSON SUB-MACHINE GUNS and 10,000,000 rounds of ammunition for same.

Probably could be obtained through British Purchasing Commission from private industry if U.S. Government concurs.

*Warrant for Naval Service
15 P.B. 7. Flying Boats
to be based Halifax
operated from Newfoundland*

Am. Vespian, Consolidated Air Craft Corporation

F. D. K.
from
L. L. K. - 14.

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

Two Significant Anniversaries

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1940



OTTAWA
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

LABOUR AND THE WAR

Two Significant Anniversaries

BROADCAST BY

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Sunday, September 1, 1940

Some days ago, I received, from one of the working men holding a responsible office in the Trade Union Movement, a letter in which he suggested that, on the Sunday before Labour Day, as a former Minister of Labour, I might be willing to give a national message to the workers of Canada.

A day or two later, I received a letter also from the Director of Public Information, inviting me to be the speaker for to-night in the radio series known as "Let's Face the Facts." The writer of the second letter suggested that as this date corresponded with the first anniversary of the war, a talk by myself on its events and lessons might be welcomed by the people of Canada.

My purpose this evening is to endeavour to meet both those requests. I shall try to summarize the facts which stand out after one year of the war, and to relate them to the world situation as we know it to-day, and to the alternatives which the future may hold in store.

A Word to and from Labour

I need scarcely say that I felt much honoured that from one who holds the position of Secretary of the Labour Council in one of the leading cities of the Dominion, I should have received the particular invitation I have mentioned. From my early years, I have been deeply interested in the problems of Labour. One reason, I believe, is that Labour's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty. Labour, too, represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind, that it is almost synonymous with Humanity itself.

The plain picture of the ordinary man, working with the strength of his arm, and the skill of his hand, to feed, to clothe and to shelter his fellows, has always seemed to me to represent Humanity in one of the noblest of its moods. To improve conditions of Labour is to better the human lot on this earth. That, I suppose, is the motive which most of us have closest to our heart when the enthusiasm of young manhood, and the realization of the duties of citizenship, begin to mould our conscience and our conduct. It is one of the tragedies of life that, amid the complexities of the struggle for existence, the enthusiasm and the realization are so often lost. To my mind, the measure of human greatness is the degree to which we continue to hold to the end of our days, an enthusiasm for human betterment.

Let me then talk to you to-night of this war not only in relation to the broad aspects to which I have referred, but in its relation particularly to Labour. Let us consider together what the winning of this war may mean to Labour. Let us ponder what the loss of this war will certainly mean to Labour. Let us think together for a few minutes of what Labour has done, and can do for the winning of the war. In this throughout, let us face the facts.

A Year of War in Review

On this day one year ago, a world that had watched with anxious but hopeful eyes, while men of good-will laboured with all their strength for peace, saw war, with indescribable savagery, begin the devastation of Europe. During the months that have since passed, freedom fleeing from many desolate lands, has followed peace into exile.

At the end of a year, silence and darkness have fallen upon Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland. We mourn, too, the tragedy of a broken France. With her withdrawal from the conflict, we lost a gallant ally. With the entry of Italy on the side of Germany, we faced another treacherous and rapacious foe. The few nations of the continent of Europe that have not already been subjugated, either tremble or bow before the might and violence of the aggressor.

Fire and slaughter have spread to Africa and the Near East. There is an ominous glow on the horizons of the Middle East. In many parts of the world, the thunder of the storm is heard, even though the lightning has not yet struck. Ships have battled on all the seven seas. From the skies, over the continent of Europe and the British Isles, aerial warfare continues to rain death and destruction. Millions of innocent, peace-loving, plain, ordinary, simple men and women, who have asked nothing more than to live their lives in the quiet of their own homes, and the shelter of their native valleys, have been dispossessed, robbed and enslaved.

Many nations had fondly hoped to find security in scrupulous neutrality. They found, instead, that neutrality was only an invitation to invasion, pillage, and enslavement. The souls and minds of the men of many lands to which the world is indebted for art, science, literature, invention, religious thought and most of the other precious gifts of human life, are imprisoned in the bondage of a barbarous and inhuman conqueror.

This year that has just ended was one of the blackest years in human history. These things are not the visions of a prophet of evil, they are not the imaginings of a horrid dream, they are the facts before our very eyes. Let us face them squarely.

The Significance of the War for Canada

Exactly one year ago, it was my duty to speak to you of the great decision which the people of Canada would be called upon to make, of a call to duty which Canadians in their hearts had already answered. Speaking on that occasion, I used these words:

“There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortune and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us.”

The world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal. No one to-day can deny the truth of the words that there is no home in Canada, no family and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. How true these words are will be even more apparent when we consider the next outstanding fact to which I would draw your attention.

To-day, the nations of the British Commonwealth alone champion in their full strength, the rights of free men. Britain stands majestic and undaunted. To her have rallied those who once caught her great accents of liberty, and learnt from her the lesson of obedience to the law. In this hour of supreme peril, there have come also to her side men of Norway, of Holland, of Belgium, of Czechoslovakia, of Poland and of France. These men are not the ghosts of brave lands that are dead. They are the souls of brave lands that still live, and will, once again, rise in the full dignity of their freedom, and the renewed vigour of indomitable youth. Nevertheless, we and they fight alone.

The Significance of Labour Day

Let me now speak of another anniversary. Tomorrow, Labour in Canada will celebrate in complete freedom a day, which, by Act of Parliament, has been set apart to honour the place which Labour has gained and holds in our national life. It is deeply significant that such a celebration is possible at the end of a year of total war in Europe.

The position of Labour in Canada, its dignity and its freedom, can be fully appreciated, only in the light of both history and geography.

Canada, and likewise the United States, have been peopled largely by men and women of British stock. They brought with them to this continent not only British law and British respect for law, but other fruits of the struggles in Britain for religious and civil freedom. Above all, they bore in their hearts and minds the determination to maintain and extend their freedom in the new land which beckoned them to its shores.

The ancestors of our French-Canadian fellow citizens also were of those who sailed the seas, and left their native land for a continent whose broad horizons offered larger opportunities of human happiness. They brought with them skill in the arts and trades, a great capacity for work, a love of home and the simple joys, and a sustaining faith. Upon these ancestral foundations, the men and women of British and French stock built their new freedom.

The Historical and Geographical Bases of Freedom in Canada

As the years passed, the adventurous and the oppressed, from every country in Europe, came amongst us, seeking a new homeland where life and human personality were held as sacred things, where tyranny and slavery could be nothing but a far-off memory, where the state existed for man and not man for the state.

The frontiers of freedom, like the frontiers of settlement, have steadily widened. They, too, have had their forts which consolidated the victories of the past, and protected the onward march of the future.

We have cause for gratitude, for the freedom recorded in our romantic history. We can be equally thankful for the security which geography has given us. We have grown to nationhood in a land separated by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, from the threat of a sudden invasion of its shores. The British navy, and for the last one hundred years, the navy of the United States patrolling the waters of its oceans, have given to our own rising national power a further sense of safety.

Time and space have worked for Canada. To the inheritance of free political institutions, thus assured and safeguarded by historical association and geographical position, democracy on this North American continent owes its existence to-day.

Labour Day: A Lighthouse of Democracy

Now what is this democracy to which we so often refer? To me, democracy means that state of organized society which recognizes the right of its members to equality of opportunity. It means the power of the many, in increasing measure, to develop in complete freedom their latent strength and talent. It means the freedom of the many to enjoy, under the protection of those laws which they themselves have made, an adequate and just measure of the fruits of their own labours.

Every Labour Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve, we see beneath them the freedom and the well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes to-night, we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. We can see the Canada we have longed for and worked for, a land in which men and women, regardless of race, creed or class, can live their lives without fear. For we have cherished the realities of freedom which are also its ideals; the right to think, the right to speak, the right to organize, the right to work, the right to worship.

We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labour. We believe in the sanctity of humanity, and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of Divinity. However much we have failed in what we have done, nevertheless, in our innermost hearts, I believe, we have given a "value immeasurable and eternal to the humblest of human lives."

Dictatorship at War with Democracy

France until recently was of this household of democracy. So also were Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Within the space of a single year, we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world to-day. That is the next great fact which we have now to face.

We have not needed Hitler and Mussolini to tell us that dictatorship is at war with democracy. In a world of narrowing distances, there is no longer room for these two systems to survive side by side. Sooner or later, the one will extinguish the other. Light will fade into darkness or the darkness will vanish before the light. As has so frequently been said, it is just as true of the world to-day as it was of the American Union in Lincoln's day, that society no longer can continue to exist half-slave and half-free.

Europe's Midnight Hour

Recently I re-read the little poem entitled "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight." It seems to me to reflect the tragedy and the hope of this zero hour. It pictures that great figure restless upon

his native hillside, contemplating the sickness of the world, the bitterness, the folly, the pain and the black terror that have come upon the homesteads of men. Listen to these words:

"He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come:—the shining hope of Europe free;
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea."

Europe has reached that midnight hour. Whether Labour Day in Canada a year hence will witness the spirit-dawn of a Europe free, or the night of Naziism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent, will depend upon the strength, the will, and the untiring work, not of one democracy, but of all the democracies that have survived. In their combined effort, no force can be greater than the truth in Labour's heart and the strength of Labour's arm.

If we lack the vision to see the peril, and the strength to meet it, we, on this North American continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster in one of two ways. This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, the substitution of fear for freedom, and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the new world.

The Added Strength of the Nazi Menace

In considering the fate of the democracies, there is another grim fact which we must face. It was unthought of a year ago. It bears immediately both on the possibilities of invasion, and upon the perils of competing industrial standards. This fact is that Nazi Germany has added to her own resources those of the countries she has subjugated. She has acquired a vast supply of the materials and equipment of war which, at the outbreak of war, it was expected would never be used at all, or, if they were, would be used against her. All France, as we know, is in the control of the enemy; the whole western seaboard of Europe from Norway to Spain is in German hands. All the ports and airfields of this continental coast line, once in possession of friendly or allied powers, to-day provide the bases from which the enemy pursues his course across the skies and seas. In addition to the resources of their own land and of France, the Nazis have seized and now possess the resources, the equipment, and the manufacturing plants of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Let me give a fact or two in detail.

Including the conquered areas, the Nazis now have capacity for producing 42 million tons of steel annually, as compared with the capacity in British countries of 17 million tons, and the capacity of the United States to produce 51 million tons.

In addition to steel, Germany has added enormously to her capacity to produce ships, aircraft, motorized equipment, armour plate and munitions.

It is a fact that the great tanks built in the arsenals of Czechoslovakia were used for the destruction of France, Belgium and Holland.

It is equally a fact that, in Nazi hands, the iron and steel, machines and munitions of France and Belgium to-day bring death and destruction to the British Isles.

Great Britain, Canada, and the other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120 million Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources and factories of their own lands.

As a result of conquering most of the industrial nations of Europe, and smashing their state organizations, social institutions and trade unions, Hitler has masses of impoverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wages. However unwilling may be their obedience, however reluctant their contributions to the Nazi masters, they do represent a powerful addition to the effective strength of the enemy.

Common Interests of British Empire and United States

It was the recognition of these facts which led the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to declare recently, in the Parliament at Westminster, that the two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together, in some of their affairs, for mutual and general advantage. "Some months ago," said Mr. Churchill, "we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its resources.

"We have therefore decided, spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the Government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future."

The Canada-United States Joint Board on Defence

The principle of association of their interests for the common advantage of Great Britain and the United States was thus stated by Mr. Churchill on August 20th. This principle had already been recognized in the relations between Canada and the United States, in an equally practical, and an even more immediate manner, in the joint declaration made at Ogdensburg, by President Roosevelt and myself a fortnight ago to-day. The declaration set forth the agreement reached on August 17th for the establishment of a Permanent Joint Board concerned with the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States. As you are aware, the Permanent Board on Defence has since been duly constituted, and is at present engaged upon its studies of sea, land and air problems immediately related to the north half of the western hemisphere.

The establishment of the Permanent Joint Board is the logical, I might even say, the inevitable outcome of two significant declarations made on Canadian soil in August of 1938. The first of these was made on August 18th, at Queen's University in Kingston, by President Roosevelt in these words:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

On behalf of the people of Canada, two days later, in a speech at Woodbridge, Ontario, I acknowledged Mr. Roosevelt's declaration in these words:

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea, or air to the United States, across Canadian territory."

These declarations marked the first explicit recognition by both countries of their reciprocity in defence.

The Surest of the Safeguards of Democracy

The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They have also allayed the fears of those who felt that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

The declaration of Ogdensburg and the policy from which it sprang represent an increase, and not a decrease, in Canada's respon-

sibilities. Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security; neither has shifted the burden to the other. We have recognized that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both.

Canada has indeed become, as I have pointed out before, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain.

May we not see in the means now being taken to secure the common interests of the British Commonwealth and the United States, not only the surest of the safeguards of Democracy, but a promise of peace and understanding, and an enduring contribution to the cause of freedom in the world.

Freedom of Europe Essential to North American Freedom

So much for North American security from invasion. That, however, is not enough. Unless Naziism in Europe is destroyed, the threat of world domination by a ruthless foe will hang continuously over our heads just as, in recent years, the threat of invasion and domination has hung over the heads of the free peoples of Europe. To meet that threat, our own standards of behaviour and living would increasingly become those of the totalitarian states. Our democratic institutions, one by one, would disappear, and with them what we have won of freedom.

Unless the enemy is defeated and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no prospect of improving or even of maintaining the standards of Canadian life which Canadian energy and Canadian skill have won, no hope of enlarging the opportunities for the happiness of our own or succeeding generations. Free labour will have to compete with slave labour. Men who have hitherto had the right to choose where they would work, and at what they would work, will find themselves in hopeless competition with conscript labour, automatic, soulless, driven by the merciless lash of a ruthless state.

Economic and Political Consequences of Failure to Free Europe

Moreover, failure to free the peoples of Europe from their present thralldom, will mean confining within narrowing limits the areas in which the democracies, should they survive, can hope to develop intercourse in trade or friendship. Many of the markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods will certainly disappear. Overseas we will be forced to compete with men who know no standards, and with states that will sacrifice every standard. We, in North America, will be subjected to competition from totalitarian economies. In a vain effort to maintain our standards, we will be driven to trade almost exclusively with ourselves. As a last impelling

alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we too will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

To Labour, these facts have spoken and will speak with emphasis and conviction. Labour knows the stake in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy. Labour knows what it will lose in the defeat of democracy. It understands the difference between rule by force by those who seek a monopoly of power, and government by consent for the common good. It knows the difference between men who despise equality, and seek privilege, possessions and power, and those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

Labour the Ally of the Fighting Forces

In war, no work, no effort, can compare with the sacrifice of the soldier, the sailor and the airman. Their sacrifice is uppermost in the thoughts of this nation; it will live in its memories. But Canadians will remember too the debt they owe to labour. In Canada, Labour has extended its hours, surrendered its holidays, and in its determination to increase and advance production, has taught the young and the inexperienced the intricacies of complicated trades. It will be the duty of the people of Canada, realizing these things now, to remember them in the hour of victory.

In the deeds of the men who on land, on sea and in the air, offer their lives to save us, Labour is the partner and the ally. Hundreds of skilful hands, unerring eyes and strong arms helped to create the Canadian planes in which, on Friday last, our own Canadian fighter squadron made the skies of the British Isles vivid with the swift adventure of their skill and courage. How proud Labour must feel to have worked for such men! Thus it is that with labour rests the power to shorten the duration of war and, thereby, to save multitudes of human lives.

Every workman knows that every bolt, every piece of steel, every bullet, every machine part fashioned in Canada is a work for victory. Every workman knows that lacking the machines of war, the bravest men in the world will avail nothing.

The Two Great Brotherhoods

My fellow citizens: A distinguished British journalist who recently visited us, said that he found Canada at war with Hitler and at peace with herself. We are at war, and we shall remain united in will and purpose. But we can only remain at peace with ourselves if shirking no effort, withholding no wealth, and sparing no sacrifice, we prove ourselves worthy of our two great brotherhoods—the brotherhood of the brave who fight for us, and the brotherhood of Labour that works for their victory.

PSF: Canada

Personal



Ottawa,
September 7, 1940

Dear Mr. President :

Now that the Canada-United States Defence Board has been duly established and has already held a couple of sessions, and the Agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States respecting facilities for air and naval bases on certain of the Atlantic islands has been so satisfactorily completed with destroyers already finding their way via Halifax from Boston to Portsmouth, may I express to you anew my grateful appreciation of your kind invitation to visit you aboard your car at Ogdensburg on the 17th ultimo, and of the many kindnesses and courtesies extended by you at the time.

I need not tell you how great a pleasure it was to me to see you again and to see you looking so well. As for our conference, I doubt if any conference between representatives of neighbouring countries could possibly have been more complete in its accord from beginning to close, or more significant in its relation to world affairs.

I shall not attempt to estimate what the conference may mean to the English-speaking world. The press of the United Kingdom as well as of the United States and Canada has spoken of that so clearly and with such unanimity at that, that there is little, if anything, one could add. I am, however, very proud of the fact that the declaration made on the morning of Sunday the 18th* was not without its immediate association with the friendship between our respective countries which you and I, over many

* The Ogdensburg agreement, as distinguished from this declaration should, it seems to me, carry its date of August 17. It was reached on the 17th, that took place on the 18th was merely the statement of its terms. I am sure you will agree with me, I have conversations with the 17th, by billings come that day.

years, have done our utmost to promote, but has also an immediate relationship with the intimate personal friendship we have been privileged to share over many years.

You will doubtless have heard from your own members of the Board of the very successful sessions the Board had in Ottawa, and how timely they were. As a souvenir of the occasion, I am forwarding to you, under separate cover, a photograph of the members of the Board taken along with Mr. Moffat, Mr. Ralston and myself at the time the Board commenced its proceedings in Ottawa.

With the photograph, I am enclosing a short Labour Day address which I delivered on Sunday evening last, and which sets forth a point of view respecting the future of the democracies which I know we share.

May I also thank you for your kindness in sending on to me, from Hyde Park, a copy of the letter which you enclosed with a note from yourself on the day or two after your return from Ogdensburg to Hyde Park. Its contents were, as you believed they would be, of real interest and value to me.

You will understand, I am sure, why I have delayed so long in acknowledging your latest hospitality. Were it not that I know how little time you have even for the reading of a letter, I should certainly have much more to say about it.

Before concluding, may I tell you how very much my colleagues and I enjoyed the pleasure of seeing something of Mr. and Mrs. Morgenthau, and also the members of their family circle during their recent stay at the Seigneury Club at Lucerne, Quebec. I felt it a great privilege to come to know them all so well.

As ever, as always, my warmest and best wishes

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

W. Woodbury King

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT WANTED THIS COPIED SO
HE COULD DICTATE A REPLY.

HE COULD D...
THE BEEB...
D

Handwritten initials

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10-4-40

REMINDER FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Thank MacKenzie King for
sending me the photograph and the
copy of his broadcast on Labor.

RB

(Picture and material filed personal)

*(FHK has original of this memo
as a reminder)*

The President of the United
States of America
from
The Prime Minister of Canada.

Sept 8. 1940

Ottawa,
September 7, 1940

PERSONAL

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Now that the Canada-United States Defence Board has been duly established and has already held a couple of sessions, and the Agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States respecting facilities for air and naval bases on certain of the Atlantic islands has been so satisfactorily completed with destroyers already finding their way via Halifax from Boston to Portsmouth, may I express to you anew my grateful appreciation of your kind invitation to visit you aboard your car at Ogdensburg on the 17th ultimo, and of the many kindnesses and courtesies extended by you at the time.

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association with the friendship between our respective countries which you and I, over many years, have done our utmost to promote, but has also an immediate relationship with the intimate personal friendship we have been privileged to share over many years.

You will doubtless have heard from your own members of the Board of the very successful sessions the Board had in Ottawa, and how timely they were. As a souvenir of the occasion, I am forwarding to you, under separate cover, a photograph of the members of the Board taken along with Mr. Moffat, Mr. Ralston and myself at the time the Board commenced its proceedings in Ottawa.

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With, as always, my warmest and best of wishes, Believe me,

Yours very sincerely - Mackenzie King.

TELEGRAM

Athlone *file personal*

Carroll 4.

The White House

Washington

15WU. RA. 11- 11:30 a.m.

Quebec, Que., September 23, 1940

THE PRESIDENT.

Most grateful if I may have early reply
to my letter.

Athlone.

~~Gianini~~

~~Bill of Straughal~~

~~no reply.~~

~~H.R. 87638 Stop it.~~

~~Byrnes Bill.~~

file personal

FROM

The White House
Washington

*Canada
4*

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

22

COPY

16-6481

October 1, 1940.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL OF ATHLONE
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA
OTTAWA, CANADA

I HAVE BEEN VERY REMISS IN NOT TELEGRAPHING YOU BEFORE THIS
BUT I HAVE BEEN FORCED TO REVISE PLANS EVERY FEW DAYS
ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF FAR EASTERN DEVELOPMENTS STOP I
HOPE MUCH THAT YOU BOTH CAN VISIT US AT HYDE PARK FOR THE
WEEKEND OF OCTOBER NINETEENTH TO TWENTY FIRST STOP BY
THAT TIME I HOPE THE CONGRESS WILL HAVE RECESSED AND
IT WILL BE VERY DELIGHTFUL TO SEE YOU

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE CITADEL
QUEBEC

September 13th 1940

My dear Mr. President,

Having just arrived here, at the end of a three weeks tour, from Halifax, I must tell you that I had the good fortune of meeting Admiral Reichmuth and the Officers of the U.S.Navy who brought the first consignment of the fifty Destroyers which are to be handed over to our Navy. I was happy to hear from the Admiral three days later, when my wife and I had the pleasure of entertaining him and his Flag-Captain with other guests to dinner, that the work of handing over the Destroyers had been carried out most expeditiously and with the usual efficiency of our two Navies. This welcome addition to our Navy will indeed serve a useful purpose, and I do congratulate you on having been able to bring about the transfer of *these* Destroyers. The Officers and men of your Navy behaved splendidly and were most helpful which our Officers and men greatly appreciated, realising what their feelings would have been under similar circumstances.

Now, concerning the date of our intended visit, to which we are much looking forward, the week-end of September 28th to 30th, or that of October 12th to 14th

THE CITADEL
QUEBEC

- 2 -

will suit us very well, and will you kindly let me know what date you prefer.

Yours very sincerely,
Atchane.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Esq.,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

COPY OF TELEGRAM
FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE KING
TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

*File Ottawa
Personal
Confidential
Canada
4*

CYPHER "R.H."

LONDON. October 17th 1940

Following from the King to the Governor
General of Canada: Begins -

We hope that you will have a pleasant and
successful visit to Hyde Park, of which we have such happy
memories. Please give our best wishes to the President
and to all his family.

Ends.

(sgd) Private Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

*File
Personal Canada*

MEMORANDUM

November 1, 1940

Dear Pa:

I am enclosing for the President a letter (presumably a bread and butter letter) from the Earl of Athlone, which I have received from Pierrepoint Moffat, our Minister at Ottawa.

Sincerely,

G.T.S.

George T. Summerlin

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

October 22nd 1940.

Dear Mr. President,

I have just got
back here after our very
enjoyable visit and ask
you to accept the grateful
thanks of my wife, our
daughter, our staff and my-
self for the homely welcome
and hospitality we received
at Hyde Park. I can only

apologise for having disgraced
myself by having caught a
cold.

We much enjoyed our
talks and the cheerfulness
of the party.

Mr. Sumner very kindly
at a moment's notice arranged
for my two carriages to be
placed on the Montreal train
instead of to Niagara as
I gave up my shot on L.
Eric which I know was wise

[Photo of Athlone + wife in photo file]

I am home the horse and
shall be well in a day or
two.

It was very nice of Mrs
Roosevelt to come for a few
hours to Hyde Park.

I am writing as well to
thank your mother for her
kindness & hospitality.

MacKenzie King met me
here and I gave him some
message.

Yours very sincerely,

Albion

STANDARD FORM NO. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL OF ATHLONE
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA
OTTAWA
CANADA

MRS ROOSEVELT JOINS ME IN SENDING TO YOU AND PRINCESS
ALICE OUR CHRISTMAS GREETINGS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO
SEEING YOU IN THE SPRING.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

FROM

The White House
Washington

DECEMBER 24 1940

10-0481

*Canada
4-48*

V
PSF: Canada

LEIGHTON MCCARTHY K.C.
CANADA LIFE BUILDING
330 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
TORONTO, CANADA

November 15th, 1940.

*File
Personal
m.c. - 2m - 3*

Dear Mr. President:

I had already written O'Connor that I did not think I should go to Warm Springs this Thanksgiving. However, when I received your telegram I appealed to our friend, Mackenzie King, and asked him for advice or instructions. He telegraphed urging me strongly to meet your wishes; so I will be on my way on Monday, arriving, D. V., at Warm Springs on Wednesday, the 20th instant, and have so telegraphed O'Connor.

It will be very sad without you and your entourage. We will, however, do our utmost to cheer those poor souls, who will be so very disappointed by your absence.

It must be for me a very short visit. However, I hope I shall be able to spend at least a week there and keep O'Connor for a few days, so that we may dig into the affairs of the Foundation.

Very sincerely and respectfully yours,

Leighton McCarthy

The Honourable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington,
D. C.