

● PSF: Germany: Dodd 1933-35

CONTINUED

England and all the colonies which continued unbroken^{1.}
for twenty-eight years.

To this depressed area and atmosphere Sir William endeavored to apply the London reforms: he decreed that there were to be no more elections of members of the House of Burgesses, except to fill vacancies; he persuaded the churches to abandon membership elections of their vestries and make them self-perpetuating social religious organizations; any ship captain who brought a Quaker to Virginia was to be fined 5,000 pounds of tobacco, a Baptist equally unwelcome; and he continued the policy of having members of the Council preside over county courts, fill vacancies and recommend appointments of sheriffs. He persuaded the Burgesses in 1663 to lay heavy taxes for the building of thirty-two new brick houses in little Jamestown, and all leading Virginians were required to build or own a house in or near the capital for social^{and relief} purposes. The rates of wages and the cost of materials were fixed on artificial levels.

1. Beer's Old Colonial System, II, Ch. VIII, gives an inadequate account of this depression, ~~but~~ the author was unaware of the real causes.

Every land owner was given an allowance or a reduction of taxes if he planted mulberry trees for the development of a silk industry which was to block French imports of silk into the British empire, In the autumn of 1663 the Virginians and the Marylanders agreed to plant only limited crops of tobacco, in the hope of raising prices, but the agreement was violated. There was, however, so much dissatisfaction with the Governor and his new régime that he asked and received a guard of twenty uniformed soldiers to accompany him wherever he went.

In spite of all these efforts, there was no recovery in the tobacco colonies, and in 1666 the populations everywhere were suffering intensely. Four years later the Governor thought to secure his power by pressing through the House of Burgesses a law limiting the ballot, even for vacancy elections, to freeholders, a measure already adopted in Maryland. Sir William and his Manorial Council of Carters, Chicheleys, Lees, Ludwells and Wormeleys maintained their autocratic position with great difficulty. In 1672 there was imminent danger of Virginia's deserting the Stuarts and taking the side of the Dutch in their war for free

trade. And there was even greater resentment in 1674 when the people learned that Lord Culpeper was to become a Virginia Lord Baltimore. Would the tobacco settlements definitely become a stratified and sub-
1.
missive social order?

During the same years, the great lords proprietors were trying to apply their Landgraf system in Carolina; but every report from pioneers on the Albemarle Sound and the Cape Fear River warned that no success was possible except upon the principle of homesteads for all, the rights of self-government and religious freedom. John Locke insisted that such concessions must be granted, and Clarendon, who denied all religious freedom in England, agreed that Quakers, Baptists and New England Puritans might have all they asked if they would buy lands and pay quit rents in their ^{new} domain. The first Governor of the Charles Town settlement was a stern Puritan; and later a loyal Quaker occupied the same high station. For thirty years after the beginnings in the Albemarle region and on the peninsula between the Ashley and the Cooper rivers, the religious and political groups living on the lands

1. Henning: Statutes, II, 518 and 534

of Clarendon, Carteret and the Berkeleys refused to recognize the claims of Landgrafs and manor chiefs. It was the same kind of struggle that continued in Virginia between 1630 and 1660. But in 1692 the right to vote in the Carolinas was limited to freeholders as it had been limited in the tobacco country about 1670. Indigo and rice were coming to be staples which sold at high prices in England, and the more fertile stretches of land were acquiring^{high} fixed values. The lords of manors seemed to have a chance of success, and there was everywhere the promise of a profitable^{1.} social subordination.

However, the drastic rule in England caused the migration, after 1670, of men like Giles Bland and the younger Nathaniel Bacon to the James River country where they found increasing resistance to the Berkeley authority. In a year or two the opposition was ominous, and in the spring of 1676 a violent revolution broke. Four-fifths of the people lent support to Bacon and Bland when they forced the election of a new House of Burgesses and repealed all the control

1. McCrady, Edward: The History of South Carolina: Proprietary Government gives all the facts necessary for the understanding of the social evolution there.

laws of the preceding thirteen years. In Maryland and upper Carolina there was ardent support of the Virginia return to democracy. But by the merest accident the retreating Sir William made a prisoner of Bland, and some weeks later Bacon was suddenly taken ill and died. There were no ^{other} competent democratic leaders available, and before the end of November the authoritarian Governor was again on his throne with an increased number of guards around him. He had ordered the immediate execution of Bland, Drummond and a score of his other opponents. Before the winter passed, his executions, imprisonments and confiscations of property surpassed in number, if not in brutality, the similar performances of Charles II in 1660-68. There would be no vestige of democracy left if the Governor remained in office. Anxious people were leaving their homes and trekking to upper Carolina or the Virginia wilderness.

In Maryland, the work of Charles Calvert, although less arbitrary, from 1661 to 1675 gave evidence of greater success. Although religious liberty was not denied, the granting of vast strategic tracts of land to kinsmen and political favorites had given the declining

lords of manors increased authority, and the limitation of suffrage was changing the character of the assembly. The Stuart method was more acceptable there than elsewhere. However, Virginia moved^{now} quickly in the same direction. When Sir William Berkeley died in London in the summer of 1677, Lady Berkeley inherited all his estates and became the wealthiest person in all the old Southern colonies. She was mistress of the Greenspring estate; she owned great tracts of land in northern Virginia and the Albemarle settlements, and she was one of the eight proprietors of the Carolinas. Her brother, John Culpeper, resided in England but drew a large income from the sales of lands in America, and her cousin, Lord Thomas Culpeper, was soon to assume the overlordship of Virginia.

Meanwhile, Herbert Jeffries, with mandates from Charles II, was trying to restore harmony among the terrorized Virginians. He was ignored and denounced by Lady Berkeley; and the majority of the Council, led by Philip Ludwell, treated the new Governor so badly that he took up his residence with Thomas Swann, a southside opponent of the emerging

north-central Virginia aristocracy. Lady Berkeley assumed a leadership of the Virginia gentry which was hardly less effective than the governorship itself. For a period of three years she exercised an influence with the Council and the Burgesses which surpassed that of Margaret Brent, Governor of Maryland in 1646. Although she married Philip Ludwell, a third wealthy husband and President of the Council, in 1680, she remained "Lady Berkeley." Her Ladyship was well known at Whitehall, and in 1690 she and her third husband became ^{1.}governors of the emerging aristocracy in South Carolina.

Such influences, added to those of the deceased Sir William Berkeley, hastened the social evolution so much desired in London. And in Virginia, Maryland and lower Carolina, large land grants, limited suffrage and county oligarchies at last produced the effects so long desired. There were Carrolls, Talbots and Tanays in Maryland; Washingtons, Carters, Byrds and Blands in Virginia; Barnwells, Middletons and Rhett in Carolina. These families survived, like British

1. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography gives numerous sketches and articles on these subjects, but there is no account in print of the curious socialization represented by Lady Berkeley, Lords Culpeper and Howard of Effingham.

families, more than a hundred and fifty years. However, these manor lords and plantation chiefs were not protocol aristocrats. Although many of them were distant relatives of British noblemen, there were hundreds of less known gentlefolk whose success limited the pretensions of the first families. There were many eminent members of legislatures and leaders of county courts whose fathers (or even themselves) had been indentured servants. The old manor ideal was greatly modified, and men like the Wormeleys, the Masons and the Rhettts worked with their hands and associated freely, if not on terms of equality, with small farmers and struggling frontiersmen. No man gives a better example of this than George Washington himself. There was then in all the old Southern communities a social order which had taken definite form before Negro slavery became important.

V.

Once again outside influences operated to modify American institutions. The British Government forbade - about 1665 - the selling of English unemployed as indentured servants. The poor were needed

for war purposes. The Scotch, Irish and certain criminals might be sold; but there were not enough of these, especially for the development of New York and the Carolinas; and the colonial assemblies protested against the admission of criminals. About the same time, the masters of the African Slave Company, directors of the Board of Trade and Plantations and moulders of the King's policy, made Jamaica the greatest slave mart in the world, and they constantly urged New Englanders, Virginians and carolinians to buy Negroes at fifteen to twenty pounds each, instead of white servants at eight or ten pounds each for shorter terms of service. It was not a bad appeal, and the fact that high officials of the government were financially interested did not lessen the pressure, although the Albemarles, Berkeleys and Carterets were none too popular in the colonies. The early colonial instinct for democracy weakened the slavery appeal and delayed the movement. The migration of indentured servants was on the decline, yet there were in 1680 about 10,000 in the tobacco settlements, perhaps 4,000 blacks, many of whom had been freed at the end of long terms of service.¹

1. Donnan, Elizabeth: The Slave Trade in the Border Colonies gives best documentary account of the origin of slavery in the Old South that is likely to appear.

Except in the indigo and rice area of Carolina, towards the close of the century Negro slave labor was not considered profitable. However, the price of tobacco seemed fixed at a half a penny the pound, except for the very best grades, and the greater planters were experimenting with slaves. Lady Berkeley, Ralph Wormeley and a few others had already tried Negro workers on fairly large scale operations and found them profitable. A Negro, after a year's training, did as much as a white servant, and his food and clothes cost hardly half as much as those of an indentured man or woman. The Negro could not run away to the frontier, because the Indians would kill him; he did not expect a heifer, a new suit of clothes and two pigs if he were set free; and in case a black man were freed, he hardly knew what to do - he certainly could not claim a hundred acres of land. Hence a freed Negro was not a free man. Everywhere vestries and county courts had been pondering these questions and rendering decisions: if a Negro became a Christian, he must still remain a slave; if a Negro woman bore children, they were in some cases the property of her master,

in other cases they were considered free at twenty-one; if a free Negro wished to vote , the privilege was sometimes granted. Thus definite laws were due just about the time manhood suffrage in Maryland and Virginia was changed to freehold suffrage.^{1.}

Between 1664 and 1682 the tobacco planters, so sorely troubled about prices and unpayable debts in England that they actually pulled up their crops over wide areas, enacted the first slave codes of Southern history, the South Carolinians having adopted the practices of Barbados. The Negro servant now became a slave for life; Negro children were the property of the owners of their mothers; a slave was forbidden to own or bear arms of any kind; there could be no assemblies or public speaking of Negroes at any time; no black person might leave his master's plantation without a visa; if a slave struck a white person he was to receive forty lashes, no matter who was to blame; and if a master killed a slave it was not a crime, it not being assumed that masters would

1. Catterall, Mrs. Helen J.: Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro gives all available court records on these subjects.

kill their slaves except in self-defense. If a master freed a slave after 1682, he must supply the means of transporting him to Africa, where no Negro wished to go. Slavery was, therefore, a fixture before the revolution of 1688 came, and it eased a little the economic depression in all the tobacco region.

During the four decades of almost continuous European war, 1672-1713, the tobacco and rice planters turned more and more to the slave system. The increasing number of privateers and pirates who slipped into mainland harbors, sold slaves and took tobacco or rice at high prices, increased speculation everywhere. Nor was England able to guard mainland and West Indian coasts against unlawful Dutch, French and New England traders. Nearly all the troubled Europeans who could escape poured into Pennsylvania as poor freemen or indentured servants, Negroes being taken to the plantation areas. From little Baltimore to the emerging Beaufort of lower Carolina the process went on, and at last prosperity seemed to be restored, prosperity based on freer trade and increasing numbers of slaves.

Nor was there neglect of culture ideals. William and Mary helped the Virginians establish the first college in the Old South. A similar school was founded in Charles Town. Some young men went to Oxford and Cambridge and afterwards studied law under famous English masters. Young women lingered in London in the hope of being seen at Court and learning how to dress and behave like true gentlefolk. All the Southern assemblies permitted lawyers to function in local and general courts and make money in devious ways - a practice which had been forbidden and frowned upon in the earlier days.

During these years the planters fixed themselves, built handsome brick houses on river promontories, surrounded them with dozens of one-room cabins for Negroes and beautiful gardens and lawns for their family recreations. White servants who did not move to the free frontier lands became sharetenants or slowly degenerated into "poor whites" whose descendants became more helpless and more numerous as the emerging aristocracy expanded westward and southward. The "great house" of a Lee in Virginia or a Middleton in Carolina was during the

eighteenth century not unlike the castle of a Seymour or Craven in southern or western England. There were porters, carriage drivers, gardeners, valets, cooks and maids who occupied privileged positions as compared with their fellow slaves; there were scores of men and women who worked from sun to sun in the fields and the forests under Negro foremen and white overseers; and there were white folk who came on occasion to the "great house" with hat in hand to get contracts covering their operations, or to take directions about the management of their
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poor sandy farms.

There was a school house near the "great house" where a poor Oxford or Cambridge graduate or the local preacher taught the planter's children, as well as those of his poor neighbors, the three R's; there was a great dining-room where kinspeople or friends often came three-score miles to birthday or marriage feasts and dances; as the eighteenth century advanced there were stables for riding and driving horses; and there was in many, if not most,

1. Harrison, Fairfax published in 1923 the Memoirs of a Huguenot Refugee in Virginia, 1686, which gives many interesting touches upon the social and class distinctions of the plantation system.

cases a river harbor or landing place where hundreds of hogsheads of tobacco were exported annually and where people took ship for long sojourns in England. The master of the modified manor was generally a vestryman of the established church, although he was apt to be a deist; he was also a justice of the county court, and he had a little office in the corner of his great yard or grove where he had law books and often tried cases of minor significance; and he was apt to be a member of the legislature of his colony, sometimes a member of the sancro-sanct Colonial Council with a commission signed by His Royal Majesty himself. He was not the Landgraf or the Baron that so many of the entrepreneurs of 1630 and 1663 had expected to become: he was the self-made planter without a title, rather crude in manner and dress, but enterprising and speculative in character. The service he rendered as vestryman or justice of the county court was never compensated - it would have been a dishonor widely criticized for him to take or ask payment from the county treasury; he regarded himself as a public servant. But he rarely paid the quit rents due to the British Government; he frequently

procured great tracts of land on the border of his province through the listing of names that did not exist and even the addition of ciphers to the figures in his grant. And he often gave freed white servants small tracts of land in order to make them freeholders and to command their allegiance in electoral contests, a custom which prevailed more than a hundred years. But it was not easy to rear successful heirs, although the English custom of giving the major part of one's estate to the eldest son still prevailed. Since one's land was exhausted in eight or ten years and his slaves doubled in number every twenty years, poverty would be the lot of one's eldest son and slaves would be a liability.^{1.}

But the structure was fairly complete everywhere before William and Mary mounted the throne of the Stuarts; and the vast expanse of free lands and the numberless Negroes one might import from Africa gave promise of increasing wealth and social eminence. However, the relaxing trade

1. Craven, Avery O.: Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland gives excellent account of this problem in early tobacco region.

policy of the new monarchs and the twenty-five years of terrible wars in Europe hastened the growth of the new American feudalism and gave it a definite and fixed character ten years before 1720.

William of Orange had represented the principle of free trade so long before his famous Putsch of 1688, that he could hardly be expected to enforce his dethroned father-in-law's stern decrees against his own Dutch subjects who always paid a Virginia or a Carolina planter twice as much for tobacco or sugar as a British monopolist would pay. There was, then, a less rigid commercial control in London, although Stuart laws were not repealed, which gave the planters their second era of prosperity. Planter estates with scores of slaves and half-scores of children adorned the banks of rivers and navigable inlets all the way from the upper Chesapeake Bay to the Savannah River. The Virginia landlords looked hopefully over the Blue Ridge mountains in 1716, and the slaveholding Huguenots of Carolina found their ways far up the enriching Cooper and Santee valleys about the same time. There was hardly a question anywhere now

of the right of a white man to own a black man; and the profits of the system were such that new and more severe slave codes were enacted in all the colonies between 1705 and 1719. Negroes were so tightly clamped in their servile status that occasional revolts frightened the master class and naturally tightened the curious relations of poor whites to their wealthier neighbors. But there was no thought of emancipation, although up-country freemen and small farmers warned against the increasing importation of slaves.

Nor was the unceasing war against Louis XIV without great influence. It gave freer rein to the privateers and pirates who infested the central and western Atlantic as never before. These ruthless robbers and traders, with retreats on the north shore of Cuba, carried trinkets and liquors to the west coast of Africa and brought slaves to Charleston and the Chesapeake Bay in sharp competition with the regular British commercialists. Nor were the energetic New Englanders unwilling to participate in this marvellous upbuilding of the Old South.

The Louis XIV wars had another decisive influence

upon American institutions. Thousands of distressed Germans began to migrate as poor freemen or indentured servants to William Penn's Quaker democracy. And the increasing number of slaves in the plantation area diverted Scotch and Irish poor folk in the same direction. For fifty years the process continued, and the result was the more definite fixing of the slave system upon the South, the complete social control of the wealthier class and the gradual emergence of a unique leadership in American history. This planter element of the Old South which hardly amounted to more than twenty-five thousand souls in 1720, gave rise to more distinguished and long-lived families than any other five million people known to American history. And any student of public life is amazed at the number of real statesmen which this privileged class gave the world in 1776 - leaders who, like Washington, Mason and Jefferson, were always ready to free their scores of slaves and become relatively poor farmers for the good of their fellows.

The first American social order was thus a curious product of the arbitrary policy of the Earl of Clarendon, the democratic instincts of poor freemen and indentured servants and the long and bitter struggle of five million Englishmen against twenty million Frenchmen trying to dominate the continent of Europe.

5 FEBRUARY 21, 1935

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BRITAIN BACK TO 1929 MARK

COTTON EXPORT FORGING AHEAD

"Daily Express" Industrial
Correspondent.

THESE facts stand out in the latest survey of world trade compiled by the League of Nations:—

Britain's industrial activity is back to the 1929 level, and is still rising.

Other countries in this category are Denmark, Italy, Japan, Norway, Rumania, Sweden and Russia. Germany is making strides back to the 1930 level.

In building activity Britain leads easily, with Italy a far-behind second.

Cost of living is practically stationary in Great Britain, but there are marked increases in some of the other leading exporting countries, notably the United States, Germany, Japan, and Denmark. This will make it difficult for these countries to maintain their exports; the United States and Germany are already faced with the prospect of a marked shrinkage.

United States cost of living index has risen from 71 to 82 in a year, and is expected to increase another 3 points this quarter.

COMPETITION EASIER

The lift-men's strike in New York was the first symptom of America's dilemma. During the next three months production costs in many United States industries will make competition much easier for Britain.

Our main exporting advantage will lie in South American countries, the Far East, and Australia. Already Britain's most important exporting industry, cotton, shows a big leap forward.

Cotton is promised a year of marked expansion. In November the export was £15,000 higher than in November 1933. By December this increase had risen to £167,000.

In January the increase was more than £342,000 compared with January 1934.

In the same month Japan's cost of living index had risen to its highest point since 1930. It has been rising steadily for the past two years.

BIG ORDERS

There is a busy time ahead for Britain. The Russian Government is negotiating with three British ship-building firms for twenty timber-carrying steamers.

Mexico will place orders in this country within the next three days for ten fast motor-driven gunboats for anti-smuggling service.

Portugal yesterday placed an order for £50,000 worth of Blackburn "Shark" aircraft for coastal defence, and Norway is buying Armstrong Whitworth "Scimitar" single-seater fighters.

These orders were secured in competition with European and American interests.

Two other points emerge from the League statistics. Britain is among the four best-placed countries in the production of pig-iron, steel, and coal—and in the list of decreased company liquidations.

PSF:Jodd

William E. Dodd
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~~Confidential~~

Berlin, February 24, 1935.

Dear Judge Moore:

When you see the President, I wish you would say to him that at the request of the Appropriations Committee of the House and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate I went over important questions affecting us. He asked me to report to him, especially what the Foreign Affairs Committee's reactions were. You know I saw the Committee two days after the last interview with the President. Borah seemed to make a point of being absent, but other members of the Committee, including Johnson, were present and remained some time after lunch on February 8. Members of the Committee told me that two Senators who had voted against the World Court were surprised at the outcome, and that they said that they would have changed their votes had they realized what was going to happen and especially what it meant. Senator Johnson started the discussion about historical precedents, and I gave him facts about certain minority attitudes in the past and indicated how unfortunate they had been. That led to discussions of Washington's violation of the Constitution (much against his desire) and also of Lincoln's notable violation and his propaganda work in England. This seemed to surprise Johnson, and when every member of the Committee present heard me say that the vote on the World Court was very unfortunate, that it would seriously affect commercial relations and make it impossible for us to raise the question against violation of our treaties before a court which might not give us compensations but which would give us great moral advantages, Johnson kept silent during the rest of the discussion. Other members, even those who apparently had voted contrarily, seemed a little surprised at my statement that our Government's prestige in Europe would have been

raised

The Honorable

A. Walton Moore,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

raised by about 50 percent. I said this was not due to the importance of our cooperating. It was due to the fact that the situation, especially in Berlin, was such that everybody would attribute the drift towards negotiations and peaceful solutions to the Roosevelt attitude. When the debt question was raised, I cited McGrane's book, especially to Johnson, indicating that our country had repudiated between 1830 and 1850 something like 200 millions of valid obligations and had failed to pay interest on nearly all obligations for a period of ten years. This sort of discussion seemed a little perturbing, and once more Johnson insisted on silence. However, there was no disposition on his part to reassert his former attitude. I had the feeling after the adjournment of the Committee that if the matter had been cleared up before all members of the Committee prior to their vote we should have had a different result.

The Committee on Appropriations asked specifically what I thought about the Bluecher Palais business. I said to them that we had \$1,700,000 invested; that I didn't believe we could sell it for more than \$500,000; that it would probably be wise to make an appropriation during the next few months for finishing the structure. This I think would enable all the representatives of the Government to have offices under one roof. There are certain disadvantages, I said, but that I didn't see any other way out, and that if the work were undertaken in the next year I thought registered marks might be used in such way as to save a considerable amount of the costs. Merrill has estimated the cost at about \$700,000. I added that if I had been called on originally to pass on the matter, I never would have put so much money in the venture. However, I would not like to lose a million dollars and consequently saw no other way out than for the Committee to make the appropriation.

The Chairman and every member present agreed that it seemed to them the best solution, though they suggested that there should be no great display and waste, which of course I agreed to. I left a brief memorandum with Chairman Buchanan, and I wish you would indicate to the President this fact so that he will know about what our attitude is. I understood that the State Department was of the same opinion.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

PSF: DODD

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

*File
Wodd
(5) (2)*

March 13, 1935.

[2-22-35]

Dear Mr. President:

Here is another letter from Dr. Dodd written previous to the one I handed you this morning and which you need not return. I can send him a copy of the clipping for his file.

After seeing you I 'phoned Sandlin that you will find an opportunity to talk with him.

Yours very sincerely,

Rhett H. Moore

Enclosure:

Letter from Dr.
Dodd with news-
paper clipping.

The President,

The White House.

UNITED STATES LINES



If you can
return clipping
for our files.

On Board S. S. Feb 22, 1935

Dear Judge Moore:

I am enclosing a clipping which gives a fair estimate of commercial drift in Europe. You see the effects of Nationalism carried to extremes: the United States and Germany in similar economic drifts, especially if we fall further for minority controls of imports and labor returns [30 hr. week]. I doubt whether Senators can even again realize the meaning for the masses of this hypernationalism. If the President could reduce tariffs 5% ^{per year} on necessary articles, leaving it high on luxury imports, over a period of five years, recovery for the masses of your people

Would come faster than from any other
move - of course based on similar in-
ductions of barrierson in Europe.

We have had another stormy trip, every
day but two from New York to Havre.
This sort of thing keeps me half ill all the
time; but the "Washington" is as convenient
for storms as any ^{other vessel}, though a little slow.
My only criticism of management is
the instinctive habit of trying to over-
speed even on a rough sea - and the over-
service of our ships. We do not need
two waiters for every table of eight
people - 400 workmen, officers and others,
are not necessary to carry 400 passen-
gers. Nor can I understand huge subven-
tions for maintaining ships on
the ocean [U.S. Sigs. France, Germany and
Italy], when all countries block com-
merce and forbid migration! Think
of the "Green Mary" and similar French
ship now building!

But you and I are all-time Americans who can not understand policies based on contradictions - maybe Borah knows how to prove that civilization advances by abandoning all modern communications.

You will have seen that Hitler is negotiating with England and France on possibility of European air-craft co-operation and that Russia puts down her foot for Eastern Locarno agreement. This will compel Germany to show her hand or hasten her entente with Japan [with Far East trade concessions]. I shall try to get at facts and cable Department even before this letter reaches you: one man in Berlin is apt to give a bit of light. But if Germany accepts air co-operation, she is almost certain to join towards League; if she enters League, with all other great powers around the table, we are sure to pay penalties in two ways: continued European barriers and more aggressive ^{not omitting Far East} moves in Latin America.

England getting first advantages and
Germany second. You ^{might} note items in
enclosed clippings.

Here again we are reasoning upon
the premises of Woodrow Wilson - hated
everywhere in Europe and misunderstood
in our country. So I must close. I
shall write Mr. Wilson about personnel
matters soon as I can make another
survey. But I think it would be un-
wise for us in Berlin if other trans-
fers and relocations of personnel were
put into effect before everybody knows
that similar changes had been offered
in London and Paris.

One thing more: in existing state of
things in Europe the idea of holding a
conference of American representatives
would be unwise. When I drove to Constantz,
a story ran over Berlin that I was
there to confer with Bismarck, former and
exiled German chancellor!

William E. Dodd

PSF:Wadd

April 16, 1935.

My dear Dodd:-

That is an extraordinarily interesting letter of yours of March twentieth. The gentleman who gave you the story I have always regarded as an extremely fair-minded, thorough-going newspaperman. He has found, after many years, like almost every other employee, that the particular employer for whom he has worked is, in many ways, a thoroughly dangerous member of society. I wish much that your informant could be persuaded to write out the whole truth as he has seen it, covering the past twenty years. Even if he does not publish it immediately as a part of his autobiography, it would be a fine thing for him to do for posterity.

We are naturally much concerned here over the results at Stresa and the events of the next few months. As I told you, I feel very helpless to render any particular service to immediate or permanent peace at this time.

My best wishes to you,

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,
American Embassy,
Berlin,
Germany.

~~Confidential~~

Berlin, March 20, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

In accordance with my promise of February 6, I am giving an exact narrative of the conversation I had on March 15 with Karl von Wiegand, for more than 25 years principal correspondent of the International News Service in Central Europe. Karl von Wiegand, as you may possibly have heard, was a very strongly pro-German representative through the Great War. I have evidence that in March 1918, when the Allies thought they were about to be defeated, Colonel House commissioned von Wiegand to go to Sweden, remain a while and if conditions got worse, contact with high German officials in the hope of making some sort of terms for our Government. This shows how critical things were at one moment and how much confidence was placed in a German-American who was intimately acquainted with von Hindenburg and others of the German General Staff.

Since the present régime began, von Wiegand has been very much embarrassed, and Hearst has been even more embarrassing to him. A little more than a year ago he and George Vincent were guests at my house, and he told us then how Hearst had subsidized Mussolini. That is why I gave you the statement of February 6. When von Wiegand came the other day, I asked him if he was willing to give me the whole story. He said yes, provided the President and myself alone were to have this information:

In 1924, Hearst sent Bertilli, one of his best correspondents, to Italy for a series of articles designed to appraise accurately the Mussolini movement. After a month or so of work, the first article was sent to Hearst. It was plain enough that the verdict of Bertilli was not flattering.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

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It had also been understood that Hearst had no sympathy with dictatorial governments. Strangely enough, Bertilli was recalled and all his work scrapped. Another strange thing, Gianini, President of the Italian Bank System of California, an ardent supporter of Mussolini, agreed to lend Hearst some millions of dollars, Hearst being thought at that time to be in embarrassing financial circumstances. Our friend, and son-in-law of President Wilson, William G. McAdoo, negotiated the deal and the loan was duly made.

Hearst then sent me (von Wiegand) to Rome for an interview with Mussolini, and asked me to engage him to write articles whenever he chose for the Hearst press at \$1 a word. Mussolini was greatly pleased and he wrote articles over a number of years, and I delivered to him large checks from time to time. From that time on Hearst was considered by his correspondents as an ally of Mussolini.

In 1932, Hearst came to Nauheim for a cure. The desire of German high officials for an interview was so great that they made several approaches. At last von Hindenburg himself asked Hearst to come to Berlin to talk to him. Hearst declined, for reasons a little obscure, but he said to me that it would be unwise, and I agreed with him. In 1934 he came with a big party, including his mistress, and spent the summer at Nauheim. Once more representatives of the German Government visited him, and finally Rosenberg (editor of the VOELKISCHER BEOBACHTER and representative of German foreign propaganda work) made an engagement for him to see the Chancellor, and he flew to Berlin one night in September. The next day he had an interview of nearly an hour with the Chancellor, and he reported to me that he was greatly impressed with the genius and friendliness of Hitler. This surprised me, as it also was embarrassing. A little later he asked me to negotiate a deal with Goebbels for supplying the German Propaganda Ministry with all the Hearst news service. I declined. Hearst then appointed Hillman, of London, to work out the deal, and I went to London to continue my work for the International News Service. Hillman

arranged

arranged for the Propaganda Ministry to have all continental Hearst information in Europe delivered to its office at the same time it went to the Hearst press over the world. For this service Hearst was to receive \$200,000 a year, and he at once began to bring pressure to bear on his correspondents to give only friendly accounts of what happened in Germany. When he pressed that upon me, I offered to resign. He insisted that I continue anyway, but I learned a little later that all my reports from Germany went directly to Hearst and were re-edited so as to fit the new program. About the time the deal was completed, the German Propaganda Ministry demanded of Hearst my dismissal. However, some representatives of the Reichswehr intervened on my behalf, and although I did not know it, Hearst had not consented to my removal. He did, however, issue an order to H. R. Knickerbocker, one of his special correspondents, never again to enter Germany; and he at the same time sent Dosch-Fleurot here from Paris to administer the service in such a way that it would always be friendly to the Hitler régime. However, Dosch-Fleurot's attitude in the winter of 1934-35 began to change, and now he is called home for discipline. I might add that other representatives of the service in Germany have been dismissed, and still others dislike to write one-sided reports.

You will see from von Wiegand's statements that what I told you about Hearst being an ally of Mussolini and Hitler is correct. Von Wiegand prefers not to sign the document, but he asked me to give it verbatim, which I have done as nearly as possible. Von Wiegand is now definitely settled in Paris, with permission to return only on special occasion to Berlin. I have the idea that he could tell more about what has transpired in Berlin, both during the Great War and during the Hitler revolution, than any other man who was not a part of the picture. He tells me he is writing his autobiography, but I said to him that I doubted whether he or anyone could tell the whole truth.

Under

Under these circumstances, it would seem to me that Hearst's influence in the United States ought not to be so great. Personally, I cannot see how anyone who has watched his career closely the last two decades can accept any of his interpretations of international affairs. Yet, as you know, great masses of the people were herded into propaganda attitudes the last week in January, and he thus gave the appearance of representing the majority ~~of~~ opinion in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

During your absence from Washington the enclosure herewith came to me in a letter from Dr. Dodd, with the request that I hand it to you as soon as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

R. Walton Moore

Enclosure:
Sealed letter
from Ambassador
Dodd, at Berlin.

The President,
The White House.

PSF BOW6

P. 4

Berlin, May 9, 1935.

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

The remark with which you closed your letter of April 16 only emphasizes the attitudes of us all here: What can anyone do now to change the fixed drift everywhere towards war? I sometimes wonder if all democratic peoples ought not to withdraw their representatives to countries which flout all democratic principles and talk constantly of the great honor of bearing arms, shooting fellow-men and the necessity of annexing other peoples' territory.

You know how Wilson struggled in Paris to show Europe how foolish such policies are. The United States saved Italy from conquest in 1918, yet Italian statesmen (?) behaved as if they had won the war, and they made annexations which started the movement which now has that country in a hopeless position. That is, Italy is armed and drilled to the last degree. If Mussolini ceases building great warships, stops making bombing planes or sends his million soldiers to their homes (he is adding 500,000 more), he will have an unemployment which would overthrow him - the imaginary Caesar. If he goes on arming and drilling as heretofore, the debt of his government will soon equal what a hundred billion dollars would be to us! The only other procedure is war, and that would ruin him and his country, unless England and France came to his aid. This began when the Italians demanded in Paris what they had no right to ask - yet Senator Lodge lined up Italians and Irishmen in Massachusetts in behalf of Italian demands!

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

The

The French Ambassador said to me here in the presence of others: "If it had not been for Wilson, we would have annexed all the German territory west of the Rhine; and that would have guaranteed European peace." But I said: "If it had not been for American assistance, the Germans would have annexed all eastern France and Belgium." The conversation was given another turn. And as to England, I have not the slightest doubt that, but for the United States, Wilhelm II. would have dictated a worse peace than Versailles in London, and taken possession of all the British fleet. He would have called himself the second William the Conqueror. The one thing for which the United States entered the war was to stop this mediaeval method of settling difficulties among peoples. Wilson said to me on August 15, 1915: "We may have to enter the war to save all Europe from Berlin domination."

But when the peace of 1918 was about to be drawn, our politicians, like Lodge, united resentful German-Americans, Irish enemies of England and Italian imperialists to take from Wilson the power the real Americans voted to give him, and as a result, the Treaty of Versailles took such a form that only a cooperative League of all nations could give any promise of world peace; and the American Senate, for party reasons, rejected the League idea, quoting Washington and Jefferson, whose very existence once depended upon international assistance and whose administrations also depended upon international attitudes.

But the German masses in 1918-20 were ready for cooperation, receiving millions of dollars from Americans to enable them to recover somewhat. But 40 billions of indemnity demanded by France plus the refusal of France to disarm, slowly brought the population back to their faith in militarism, and the Hitler-Görring-Goebbels triumvirate is the result. Practically every young German, including some women, wears a

butcher

butcher knife at his side. "Blut und Ehre" is printed on the sharp blade. University students and young "gentlemen" in general fight duels as under the old régime. Children at ages of eight to twelve are taught two or three times a week to throw bombs; from twelve to eighteen they practice with rifles; and after that age all are to serve fixed periods in the standing Army - more proud of the opportunity than Italians under Mussolini. No man can doubt the meaning of this; and anybody who resists or so much as talks pacifism or democracy is imprisoned, sometimes sadly beaten up. So Hitler is another Mussolini, also another Stalin.

And Germany, now encircled, as was to have been expected, has an increasing standing Army and more than a million young men excellently trained in all except the handling of up-to-date guns. She has an amazing barracks and drill ground equipment, air fields of the most up-to-date character and underground storage arrangements in all strategic areas. How many thousands of competent pilots one cannot say; but reports say twice as many always as could be used at any one time. The manufacture of arms and tanks and poison gases goes on day and night. There is a national debt, half of it short-term floating, of about 40 billion marks, about half as heavy, according to resources, as that of Italy. Two years from now Germany will have a population of 67,000,000 increasing faster than the populations of both France and England, and the completest military machine in the world. Last night, talking to ~~the~~ Admiral of the Navy, as I said: "In rather short time you will have by far the greatest Army in Europe, abundant supplies of weapons, a debt about as burdensome as that of Italy (about which he had been speaking) and increasing unemployment. What will you do?" He said: "Go to war." That is what Dr. Schacht said six months ago to me. The Chancellor always says to such inquiries: "Peace, peace, always." At the same time we know that he is placing police all over the de-militarized Rhine zone, police who have been well drilled. There is an assembly

of

of Ausland-Germans called to meet at Königsberg in June. In the call it was stated that all the country along the Baltic coast "ought to be ours, and we urge attendance of Germans all the way to the Black Sea"; report of this in our last pouch. I can see no other objective than conquest. Why should we and other representatives of foreign countries be urged to attend movies here which make Napoleon I. a great hero and repeat the idea: "Er ist der Fuehrer des ganzen Europas", with hearty applause from audiences? One needs not to give further proof, though I know there is a wing of the Reichswehr whose leaders are very fearful lest some blunder precipitate the issue too soon.

Everything I have noticed here tends to show that Germany and Japan have some entente. The new Ambassador has several times betrayed evidence in that direction to me. The Japanese Naval Attaché was here about two weeks for conferences late April and early May. He is almost an understudy of Goering; and the fastest submarines ever made are now building at Wilhelmshaven. Once a break occurs in the Baltic or Austrian areas, I shall look for a break in the Far East. It is not insignificant that three weeks ago Tokyo and Berlin Foreign Offices opened long-distance conversations. While I do not think the Chancellor will wish to make a war before May 1937 or '38, I believe I am right in saying that it is a fixed purpose. Such is the view of every leading diplomat here.

You say: "What can one do?" I can only rehearse some of the false moves we have made. All Europe was prostrate 1918-20. The Americans had fought simply to end war, and Americans were then due 11 billions public and several other billions private debts. Wilson had made definite constitutional commitments. All the leading Republicans over the preceding decades had supported the World Court at the Hague - all Europe, except Germany, favorable. Leading Republicans had agitated for

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a world league to enforce peace. Under Wilson, most Democrats had come to the same view, and the Europeans, in spite of their animosities, accepted the League of Nations constitution. Wilson also urged lower tariffs in order to avoid economic depression and to enable Europe to pay her debts. No one who knows our history or European behavior over the last three decades can doubt that Wilson's policy was the one promise of a better era.

The Senate minority defeated the League idea; Congress (under minority business pressure) raised tariffs to heights never before contemplated; and our people lost their loans to the outside world and then made other loans to help get exports over tariff walls - and lost those too. And hence we have the existing status, the worst known to all history - and everybody returning to the mediaeval folly of 1914, including ourselves. If anybody wishes to get the true picture of Senate conduct in 1918-20, D. F. Fleming in the United States and the League of Nations gives it. Nobody has replied to this able book or tried to refute any part of it.

Since our country is so deeply involved and has made such terrible blunders, I would endeavor in some way to retrace our steps. If we had entered the League in 1919, Mussolini and Hitler would not be in existence today; if we had realized the meaning of freer commerce, our billions would not have been lost; and the wider commerce and partial payment of debts would have saved us half of the depression - the other half being due to Europe and false industrial policy long followed.

This is my appraisal of things. Whether it is too late for so great a people to exert decisive influence I cannot say; but I believe if English-speaking peoples cooperated, without imperialistic practices anywhere, we could save modern civilization another world war.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Will you send a line to
the Ambassador that my old friend -
SAMUEL R. FULLER, JR. - is going
to Berlin and to show him every
courtesy, especially in regard
to assistance in meeting the
German officials?

F. D. R.

*File
Hald Titt
for then notice*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1935.

My dear Ambassador Dodd:-

A very old friend of mine, who was closely associated with me in the Navy Department days -- SAMUEL R. FULLER, JR. -- is going to Berlin, and I hope much that he will have an opportunity to have a talk with Herr Schacht and, if possible, with the Chancellor himself. I should, of course, not be brought into it in any way, but he has seen both of them once and I shall be glad to have his new reactions if he can see them once more.

Always sincerely,

Honorable William E. Dodd,
American Embassy,
Berlin,
Germany.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Honorable William E. Dodd,
American Embassy,
Berlin,
Germany.

Dodd June

Dodd —

[June 1935]

When Fuller gets to
Berlin I hope he can
see Hitler, Schacht etc.

PSF: Dodd

P.Y.
June 27, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to introduce my friend Mr. Karl von Wiegand whose work you know and whose personal relations with many European leaders will enable him to give you valuable information. Mr. von Wiegand has been in Berlin a great part of his time during the last twenty five years.

With congratulations on what you have done these last months.

Yours Sincerely
William E. Dodd

August 14, 1935.

My dear Dodd:-

Many thanks for that interesting letter of yours. I am very glad to have your slant on the much mixed situation. A year ago I was fairly optimistic -- today I am the opposite.

On domestic matters I am much more cheerful. There is much smoke but we are winning through.

Always sincerely,

Honorable William E. Dodd,
American Embassy,
Berlin,
Germany.

July 29, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

This may reach you too late to be of any value - though I shall telegraph you before letter's arrival in case of necessity.

Some phases of German situation assume a different aspect from what was supposed to be fixed upon at Stresa and Geneva last April. It was fairly certain May 1 that the encirclement policy of France would be applied. But Hitler's speech of May 21 as well as growing British uneasiness

led to the unexpected Naval Agreement.
This is the first time, I believe, in modern history that England has sided with a threatening imperialist European power, rather than guide a combination of weaker powers against the threatening one: Louis XIV and Napoleon I are best illustrations. I think England's unprecedented attitude is due to the hope that she can moderate Hitler's conduct and still keep on fair terms with France. Of course the English people are more pacifist than ever before.

This is the first and vital phase of the new situation. The second is the Mussolini policy. France agreed in this case to support Italy simply to increase her prestige in the Balkan zone and balance Germany's

increasing power. France did not think Italy would actually go to war; but she seems to have misjudged and now the situation is very tense as all the world knows. One may guess events a little better if one knows that Hitler constantly studies Napoleon I and causes Napoleon films to be shown in Germany. The old royalist crowd used to pay similar tribute to Napoleon. At the same time Mussolini writes The Hundred Days, a play which shows the French emperor to have been the savior of Europe. So one need not be sure these dictators can be long restrained. But I must add that Hitler and even his moderate supporters, von Neurath and Schacht, hope and pray that Mussolini will go to war.

If this happens England and France can hardly prevent Hitler from dominating [even annexing parts] the Balkan region. His one objective is to expand in this direction. I shall see the Italian Ambassador here as soon as he returns from a "cure" [Rome?] and ascertain the

So many powerful folk have been fighting for. It only adds to the difficulties
bill would pass as you wish! Yours sincerely

latest moves - if he talks at all.

The Japanese attitude embarrasses Germany a little because the Germans fear it may halt Mussolini whom they wish to eclipse in some way. I am calling Corvut's attention to this. We have much evidence that Germany and Japan are secretly allied and that any war might bring active co-operation. Never has Germany been more warlike, although "peace" is frequently preached. Our military attaches reports show how far armaments have gone and that 2,000,000 young Germans are waiting volunteers now - no conscription necessary in some times. They expect to have 8,000,000 trained in a few years. It is said now that confiscation of Jewish property is to be resorted to in order to meet urgent expense.

My hope is that England, France and perhaps the U.S. can crowd Italy out of Africa through League pressure, that Russia and the Balkan states will lend support and thus isolate Japan and Germany again. If not world war - terrible horrors - is fairly certain.

Congratulations on your successes at home, when

At Warm Springs, Ga.,
December 2, 1935.

My dear Dodd:-

I am glad to know from yours of October thirty-first that I was right in assuming that there had been no real change in German policy for the last few months. It seems clear that from the point of view of the group which now controls the destinies of the German people, their policy is succeeding admirably. Germany got an acceptance, passive though it may have been, of her rearmament by land and sea. Germany has kept out of the Italian situation by resigning from Geneva. Germany seems to be staving off actual bankruptcy through the tricky Schacht policies which win him the admiration of the international bankers.

I wish I could talk with you at length in regard to the Neutrality situation. If you had been here I do not think that you would have felt the Senate Bill last August was an unmitigated evil. The crux of the matter lies in the deep question of allowing some discretion to the Chief Executive. Quite aside from any connection with the League, the President should have some discretion. For example, if some European power were to seek, by force of arms, a raw material source in South America, we should have to take sides and might, without going to war ourselves, assist the South American nation with supplies of one kind or another. Complete stoppage of all arms material

in the broadest sense in the case of a European conflict can be attained, and last summer's law tends in that direction. Meanwhile, the country is being fairly well educated, and I hope that next January I can get an even stronger law, leaving, however, some authority to the President.

I do not know that the United States can save civilization but at least by our example we can make people think and give them the opportunity of saving themselves. The trouble is that the people of Germany, Italy and Japan are not given the privilege of thinking.

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,
American Embassy,
Berlin,
Germany.

Berlin, October 31, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

There is no real change of policy here since I wrote you some months ago. While Hitler has not said a word publicly since last May on German foreign policy, Goebbels and Göring have frequently made statements as belligerent as ever. Göring's boast at Breslau October 26 about rapid re-armament and re-employment in arms factories was so challenging that parts of his speech were not published here. A vast army and annexations on the northern and eastern fronts are commonly accepted as quite as definite a program as Mussolini's Julius Caesar idea. I am informed today reliably, I believe, that 26 aircraft officers leave for Japan this week-end. There were already 70 Japanese officers at German military barracks. The Russian Ambassador says he is fairly certain of German-Japanese alliance. This tends to show there has been no change.

Your proclamation of October 5 and the Secretary's speech of October 10 produced a lot of sympathetic feeling here, the newspapers even printing the most significant passages. But during the last two weeks there has been a reversion of attitude, especially since the American influence seems to give the League actual power to stop Italy. Dr. Schacht a few days ago almost denounced the English-League demand that Italy be barred from taking colonial area. There have been as much exports to Italy as possible since September 1. The financial positions of both countries are such that exchange of goods, barter, is the chief method: economic nationalism, urged in the United States. One thing is certain here: the early defeat or forced withdrawal of Italy from Ethiopia would be considered

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The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.


a serious set-back for German autocratic-military procedure. If Italy succeeds, it is the common feeling that the two dictatorships would unite upon a policy of aggression.

This brings to my mind again the conviction that the Senate minority attitude last February was favorable to war. That is, we did as much to encourage German and Italian aggressions on weaker neighbors as either Germany or Italy had done up to October 1. I offered my resignation as a protest against minority dictation in our country. Judge Moore and the Secretary thought such a protest would be unwise, so the matter never came to your attention. I am not blaming the Department. Its leaders know domestic politics better than I; but I still think I made a mistake in not simply handing you my protest resignation. However, our country may still bring the "civilized" world to pursue peace policies, if it can stop all shipments of arms material as you and Secretary Hull intimated October 31. While the domestic situation must be your fundamental problem, world peace is not less important. If Italy, Germany and Japan at some critical moment move at the same time in their spheres, I cannot see any way to stop dictatorships. One of the Ministers here said to me today: "In that case I would commit suicide; your country alone can save civilization."

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

PSF: Dodd

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Berlin, December 15, 1935.

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

Let me return the hearty thanks of us all here for your kind letter of November 27. I wish to add our best wishes to you and yours for a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year, the more since problems both at home and abroad are such that a happy new year would be almost miraculous.

I have thought from month to month, since we came here: "Now we shall have a quiet time;" and the silence and avowed neutrality the last two months looked a little that way. But now we are in an atmosphere of strain and anxiety quite as great as last March. The English have put themselves in the worst plight they have been in since the war with all the minor states: the Balkan zone, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. I have seen Ministers of these countries the last twenty-four hours, and they talk of withdrawing from the League if England and France do not put the clamps on Italy. There is an intense fear of war and the likelihood of these little states losing their independence. One of these men, who is generally well-informed, insisted last night that Hitler replied to the British proposal on the 13th for arms limitation: We must go to war on the Soviets, and talked excitedly for minutes upon the necessity, therefore, of the immense armament here. Much as one may be annoyed at the foolish Soviet propaganda, it seems to me increasingly necessary for democratic peoples to avoid breaks with Russia. With Japan attacking Vladivostok, and Germany breaking into Leningrad, we should have such horrors that one can hardly imagine the consequences.

What a world we live in! Industrial civilization having reached a state where it can

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

hardly

- 2 -

hardly go on without regulation, insists upon the right to arm to the limit - when majorities of peoples are concentrated in vast cities, inviting air attacks. One of our aircraft firms recently made a deal here for selling, through a German firm, 100 up-to-date war planes to Italy, the man coming to me and talking as if no such thing were thought of. Last evening an eminent German connected with the old regime said: "Now that old men are twice as numerous as before the war and young men being limited more and more in all the greater countries, we are about to start another war. Think of killing off all the young men."

This started again the urge of unofficial Germany against Mussolini. I believe two-thirds of the German people (in spite of army popularity) are now entirely in sympathy with the reported United States oil boycott of Italy - and hopeful that this would limit Hitler's crazy war activity. Perhaps this is enough; but we cannot overlook the fact that our country has immense moral influence all over the world. But can anybody convince Congressmen, who always think of their district's advantage, of the real significance of things? We think permanent prosperity is coming when the machine age needs fewer workers every year. We believe a hundred billion dollars of "watered securities" can be made valid when population is relatively declining, and apt to cease increasing altogether about 1960, when few people are willing to earn their livings in the normal way. Thus war, armaments, trade barriers and declining populations mean nothing to many governments and less to vast industrial corporations.

I hope you may be able to arouse our people to the dangers that lie ahead - next year perhaps a decisive year in many parts of the world.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

des Montag melden

x As warlike as Göring



Dr. Goebbels reist nach Griechenland

Reichspropagandaminister Dr. Goebbels startete am Sonntagvormittag in Tempelhof zu einer zehntägigen Studienreise nach Griechenland. Dr. Goebbels und seine Gattin verabschiedeten sich vom griechischen Gesandten Nizos-Kangabé