January 4, 1941

Your Majesty:

I have designated the Honorable Harry L. Hopkins as my personal representative on a special mission to Great Britain. Mr. Hopkins is a very good friend of mine in whom I repose the utmost confidence.

I am asking him to convey to you and to Her Majesty the Queen my cordial greetings and my sincere hope that his mission may advance the common ideals of our two nations.

Cordially your friend,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

His Majesty
George VI of Great Britain
London.
January 4, 1941

My dear Mr. Hopkins:

Reposing special faith and confidence in you, I am asking you to proceed at your early convenience to Great Britain, there to act as my personal representative. I am also asking you to convey a communication in this sense to His Majesty King George VI.

You will, of course, communicate to this Government any matters which may come to your attention in the performance of your mission which you may feel will serve the best interests of the United States.

With all best wishes for the success of your mission, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Enclosure:
Letter to His Majesty
King George VI.

The Honorable
Harry L. Hopkins,
Washington, D. C.
LONDON, January 3, 1941.

No. 6539

SUBJECT: Bomb Damage in English Cities.

SERIOUSLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 6516 of January 3, 1941, and to enclose a copy of a report received from the Consul at Birmingham regarding conditions in that city after recent bombing attacks. In my opinion this report merits particular attention.

Respectfully yours,

Herschel V. Johnson
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

Enclosure:
1. Copy letter dated December 27, 1940 from American Consul at Birmingham.

Kv/Jc
Walter H. McKinney, Esquire,
American Consul,
American Consulate General,

Dear Mr. McKinney:

During the last two months I have been traveling,
more or less daily between Birmingham and a point some
five miles south of Lemmington, a distance totaling
approximately thirty-five miles. About 50% of the time
the travel is accomplished entirely by car. Between
Lemmington and Birmingham my car is usually fully
occupied by workpeople who hail me along the way. These
people fall roughly into three categories:

(1) Those whose houses have been demolished by
bombs;

(2) Those whose houses have been rendered unfit
for human habitation by bombs;

(3) Those whose houses have not been substantially
damaged by bomb but who, through fear, have
abandoned sleeping in their houses.

Naturally, these people have uppermost in their
minds the hardships they are undergoing and also
naturally they wish to talk about them. What I have
been told by these people, and I suppose that I have
spoken with as many as 150 of them, is just about what
other drivers whom I know have been told by similar people.

The purpose of this letter is to put down something
which will perhaps convey in a general way the effect
that air raids are producing among working people in the
Birmingham area, and I hence hasten to add that all of the
people I have picked up have been working people.

In not one instance have I noted any spirit of
disloyalty or defeatism among these people but to say that
their mental health is not being undermined by bombing is
to talk nonsense. It must be realized that the people
in question have for years upon and lived on incomes which
allowed precious little margin for savings. But such
margin as there was has been employed by them to surround
themselves with these things without which life would in
this country be an exceedingly poor thing. I have in mind
such articles as bedsteads, mattresses, sheets, tables,
and such like. These things have been bought piecemeal
or paid for on the instalment plan and have been
accumulated over a course of years. I also have in
mind interest in their houses which have been acquired
by weekly or monthly or yearly payments of an extremely
small order.

Take/
Take the case of one family which I picked up. There was the father of some thirty years of age, his wife, and their three weeks' old babe. They had been bombed out completely, had only a few pennies and were going from pillar to post seeking food and shelter. The father was a working man and, though having each day to worry about what would happen to his wife and child, had regularly to report for duty in order to hold his position. Not being a skilled person, his rate of pay was extremely low, in fact less than £3.10s. per week. On this wage, however, he could during normal times feed, shelter and clothe his family and simultaneously put by a few pence each day. Now, his whole existence is a precarious one and it is extremely doubtful whether, unless the State steps in, either his wife or child will survive. This is an extreme case but there are many extreme cases.

Every morning, on whatever road Birmingham is approached, there are to be seen groups of shivering and distracted working-class people who have waited for hours in the cold weather for some kind of transport. Most of the women and children among these, on account of their financial state, must largely depend upon the kindness of motorists, not being able regularly to pay ordinary transport charges.

Women with children seen along the roads very frequently follow the practice of daily returning to Coventry or Birmingham, mainly for two reasons. In the first place, they are not welcome at their temporary refuges during the day. In the second place, they wish to go into the towns where their husbands are employed in order to do what they can for their husbands' comfort and to have their husbands accompany them when they depart for the country towards dark.

One housewife told me that although her home had been rendered uninhabitable as a residence, she daily went there to cook the only regular meal which her husband could enjoy.

A policy, as necessary as it may be, which imposes a dreadfully hardship upon working class housewives and their children is one which has been adopted by road transport services. It is a policy of giving first preference to actual workers. As transport facilities are not ample to take care of the class of refugees in question, it means that actual workers are accepted as passengers and their women folk and children left to shiver on the roadside.

It ought to be stressed that the transient refugees under discussion constitute, after all, only a section of the working class populations of the urban areas in this part of the United Kingdom. The rest remain in their homes or such shelters as may be available during raids, but the women folk among the rest are having their mental health gradually undermined by sheer fright.
At numerous industrial plants, in this part of England, where hundreds of workmen are employed, only a negligible percent of such workpeople is not in one way or another adversely affected in consequence of air raids. Loss of sleep is a factor even in cases where the workmen remain at home and do not repair to shelters. But, generally speaking, a more potent factor is worry induced by the disintegration of family life. It requires little imagination to comprehend what must be the state of mind of a workman who begins his task in the morning knowing that his wife and children are standing at some wind-swept bivouac both hungry and cold, or what must be the state of mind of a workman who knows that his wife and family must remain in a house which has been rendered unfit for human habitation and which it is beyond his means to repair.

The bombing of working-class residential districts in this area has come to be accepted as an ingenious and effective move on the part of Germany. Moreover, such bombing has come to be viewed as even a greater menace than the damage actually done to industrial plant. What happened at Coventry well illustrates the devilish effectiveness of the bombing of districts inhabited by working-class people. It seems to be pretty well established that as many as 70,000 houses in the comparatively small city of Coventry were affected by bombing and that of these 30,000 were made unfit for human habitation, and 7,000 demolished entirely.

The big raid on Coventry took place during the night of November 14-15, 1940. Since that time some weeks have elapsed and great strides have been made in the direction of make-shift repairs to damaged working-class residences. But there is not a sizeable industrial enterprise in the whole of Coventry whose production is not still being adversely affected by what raiding has wrought in the lives of Coventry working people. There hovers over that city an apprehensiveness which has lingered since the raid took place. This apprehensiveness is born of a realization that the Germans can at will again do to Coventry what they did to it during that one horrible night in November.

Intricate, costly, and heavy machine tools can be extricated from the cellars of demolished manufacturing plants. Many of them can be repaired and installed in new plant. But the workers who man these machines, so long as they live as they do today, can never attain the efficiency which, before the events in question took place, they maintained as a mere matter of course.
The Germans naturally have as one object the annihilation of the productive capacity of Britain's war enterprises. Their attacks upon the operatives in this industry and the latter's families has proven itself as being one effective method of achieving this object. Indeed, recognition of German successes in this field has for the last few weeks turned the minds of local industrialists to the thought not of reprisal but rather of a like attack for like purposes upon the working classes of Germany.

It is true enough that working-class people in this area make a brave showing before the camera or to the eye of the official visitor. However, when the camera shutter has closed and the official eye has turned away, the picturesque scene vanishes and the smiling faces of those who figured in it assume a grimness born almost of despair. It is not the casual observer who sees what air raiding is doing to Midland working-class people. But the man or woman who daily hears from the very lips of these people their simply told stories can discern not only how widespread and deep seated their tragedy is but can also estimate how that tragedy is impeding Great Britain's war effort.

The individual Birmingham area working man whose family has been driven from his home may not be able to see very far in any given direction. But he does see what has happened to his family, to his neighbor's family, what has happened at his plant and in his neighbors' plants. Perhaps it would not be significant what these individual workmen say if there were not such a uniformity about it. And what they, one and all, do say is that whether Britain will be defeated depends entirely upon the volume and timeliness of American aid. These individual workmen know what their job is. They know what it means for the machine which they operate to be destroyed. They see about them the effects of air raiding not only upon themselves but also upon the plants in which they are employed. Their very hope, therefore, that the situation will be saved by the United States is significant and their trust that it will be saved by that country is the foundation upon which that hope entirely rests.

Very truly yours,

James R. Wilkånsen
American Consul
Dearest Franklyn:

It is almost impossible for you - who live alas! - so far from England to realise what we feel for you. And not only the British people, but all right-thinking men & women. You can't imagine what German bombers have done to London, & to most of our great cities. Nor can you imagine the patience of the poor, & the marvelous morale which I see wherever I go. Churches, Hospitals, & houses, in every other street lie in ruins. This Hotel has been bombed several times - 4 killed, & 8 injured. Yet no one turns a hair.

You, & you alone can save the World. You are not likely to have your head turned - nevertheless, you should be a proud man today. The last time I sat with you, you were crippled & look what you have done!

I don't want to bore you by my advise. I am really writing to tell you a little about Lord Halifax (I sent you a cable about him, as I knew you would not mind). I have known Edward Halifax for years & years. I can truly say that with the exception of my husband, I have never met a finer character. I don't know how much your people appreciate "character", but since you won your last General Election, I think they must.
His only fault is that he does not value himself. It is not exactly a "fault", but it may be a draw-back. In any case, I trust that you will get to know him - not as an Ambassador, but as a friend.

Yours ever,

(Signed) MARGOT OXFORD

P.S. It would give me enormous pleasure if in the course of your conversations with Lord Halifax you would say, - "I hear that you are a friend of Elizabeth Bibesco, & her mother. They are great friends of mine".
16th Jan 1941

Savoy Hotel London

Dear Mr. Frankly,

It is almost impossible for me - this line alone! So far from
being able to realise what he had to bear for her. And how I genius,
be British, until she the Britin mind, but all
right, there was women.

I cannot imagine what German
would have done to London to
most of our great cities. Her
Can I imagine the writing of the hour? The marvellous picture of
here, where I am. Where is,
Hospitals, 1 horses, in every
street lie in ruins. This
Hotel has been burnt down.
Times — 4 killed, 8 injured.
Yet how we turn a hair.

Oh, I am alone can
save the world. I am the
loss likely to have been
head turned — nevertheless, I'm
so be a Mont Blanc 200.
The last time I saw you, we were cut off by the war. Have I done the right thing?

I don't want to bore you by my reasons. I am really writing to tell you a little about

Dear Halifax (I chalked it out in a cache about him, as I knew he'd have minded)

I have known Edward Halifax for three years, & I can truly say that with the
the exclusion of Mr. Lincoln, but I have never thought a finer character. I don't know how much our people appreciate character. But I say he won your last General Election, I think they know him. His only fault is that he does not value himself. It is not exactly a "fault," but it may be a drawback. In any case, I trust that you will let it known him — he as an Ambassador, and as a friend.

Sincerely, Wm. Ostor
C S.

I did give the

following pleasure

after the course of

our conversations with

Mrs. Halifax. You

will say, "I hear that

Mr. B is a friend of

Elizabeth Biddles of

her mother. They are

very friends," I think."
The White House
Washington

CRICCIETH PO January 24 1941

LC The President
The White House

My family and I deeply touched that in the middle of immense responsibilities you should find time to send a kind message of sympathy in our great sorrow

Lloyd George.

9am§d
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 8, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. JOHN G. WINANT

Dear Gil:

If you have not seen this, I think it will interest you.

F. D. R./tmb

Enclosure
State Dept. dispatch #470, seventh from Johnson, London dated Feb. 7, 1941 re attitude of British press on appointment of Winant as Ambassador to Great Britain - warmly welcomed.
It is today clear that the number of weapons available for Great Britain in 1941, while sufficient to enable her to resist, will not enable her to conquer.

The number of weapons which Great Britain will have to carry on the war during 1941 is known and though their production can be accelerated, it cannot be greatly increased because it is the result of the capacity of production laid down in England and the United States during 1939 and 1940. The major part of the planes that the United States will produce during the first half of 1941 is the result of the productive capacity laid down in the spring of 1940.

For England to conquer Germany in 1942 it is essential that she maintain her control of the seas, that she maintain her mercantile fleet strength, that she establish her domination in the air, and that she obtain a striking force for air, sea and land at home, and striking power through the air abroad. Dominance of the air is England's only protection against the ultimate destruction of her essential industries by enemy bombing over a prolonged period of time.

Since British production is already geared to its maximum, she must obtain from the United States the balance of the supplies that will enable her to top the German strength in 1942. To achieve this, an immense effort is necessary here. To result in effective supplies in 1942, this effort must be decided, planned and made now, and made on a scale that will permit supremacy and victory in 1942. Indeed, neither human will nor genius can change during 1942 the process of production based on decisions taken now.
Such an effort will mean serious modifications of our conventional business habits and assumptions. It means appropriate transfer of labor, intensive working on a three shift system, utilization of machine tool capacity wherever it can be found, and diversion of material supplies from civil use. But such a program of action duly pursued will prevent the long period of agony which would be involved in a prolonged diversion of civil life to military production without such a supreme effort decided upon and undertaken now.

II

The present scale of the present plans of production in the United States do not meet these vital requirements. This is emphasized particularly by the airplane situation.

(1) Air power today is measured and obtained by productive capacity, not merely by the number of planes at a given moment. Productive capacity means ability to turn out new models quickly, and a relatively smaller number of new high performance, heavy striking power planes can ground for a time a force superior in numbers but inferior in essential qualities. Research and experimentation are the backbone of any air program, for we need not only greater capacity but greater capacity for building better planes.

(2) By whatever yardstick we measure our effort against Germany's, we are vastly inferior now and are likely to remain so through 1942. Our present actual production, for both U. S. and British needs is less than a third of Germany's exclusive of recently occupied countries. Even our future maximum production now planned for the middle of 1942 (about 2800 monthly) is less than "Greater Germany's" present full capacity (about 3000/3500). By the middle of 1942 Germany may well add the capacity of the conquered countries to
her own.

Measured by number of personnel or numbers of first line combat ships the comparison is even more unfavorable to us.

(3) In addition to the advantages of greater plant capacity, German operational conditions enable them to achieve greater results with a much smaller force than can be obtained by a British air offensive over Germany, having regard to the differences in distances. Germany bombs England from northern France and Belgium.

(4) To equalize the great disparity between German and British aircraft stocks to be caught up and to start towards building up a supremacy in numbers that will counteract the geographical operational obstacles, there is no doubt that the United States must be able to produce by June, 1942, between 4000 and 5000 tactical planes per month, of which a much larger number than now should be four-engined heavy bombers; the importance of the heavy bomber for an effective air offensive over Germany cannot be over-emphasized.

(5) Since the bringing of new capacity into full production takes eighteen months, it is essential that these new plans should be decided upon and put in hand forthwith. Only in this way can it be established that we are planning on a scale adequate for victory.

III

While no genius or super-human effort can change in 1942 the course of production that is now effectively planned, it takes neither genius nor super-human will to take the effective steps now to secure the fighting fruits necessary in 1942.

All that is needed is that now, in the days immediately ahead, the
The program above summarized be authoritatively decided upon in concrete terms as the objective to be accomplished by full exercise of all governmental powers.

The accomplishment of the above objective is, of course, dependent on the grant of powers asked from Congress in the Loan-Lease Bill but the whole defense administration must today proceed on the assumption that the powers will be granted. In other words, all steps of planning and organization must at once be begun and pursued so that the very day the bill is signed the powers granted by the bill will be capable of being translated into action.

Specific measures for translating the central policy here indicated into action will readily suggest themselves. But to give concreteness, the following items emerge as pressing needs:

a) Double the existing air program of the Army - from about 50 groups to about 100 groups. Even then the Air Corps, apparently, would still have only about half the first line combat plane strength now reported as attained by Germany.

b) Increase plant production capacity to around 4000 to 5000 monthly.

c) Take the necessary steps to bring this about. Without proper organization the job will hardly get done.

To postpone decisions on the indispensable 1942 program and to postpone preparation for the necessary steps to carry this program into effect, is to throw away the one irreplaceable element - time. Such postponement would contradict the whole aim of the program, namely, that it is to be accomplished in 1942.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE STATE DEPARTMENT

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Cable from George R.I., Windsor Castle, 3/2/41 to the President, in re arrival of U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. Winant.
My dear General,

I shall be much obliged if you will deliver the enclosed letter from The King to the President. I understand that His Majesty had intended sending it by Mr. Hopkins but the opportunity was for some reason lost.

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

Brigadier General

Edwin M. Watson,

United States Army,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.
14th February, 1941.

My dear President Roosevelt,

I was very glad to get your letter of January 4th, which was delivered to me by Mr. Hopkins, and had intended to send this back by him, but he left at very short notice and unfortunately I missed him. It was a great pleasure both to The Queen and myself to renew our acquaintance with Mr. Hopkins, and I heard on all sides of the favourable impression that he created and of the helpful attitude that he adopted during his visit. Some of his trips with my energetic Prime Minister were, I understand, rather rough, especially the one at sea, but I trust that you found him none the worse. I am sure that his mission was extremely beneficial from every point of view.

I was also very glad to have the chance of a talk with Mr. Willkie just before his return. People over here were much attracted by his friendly personality, and
I hope that his evidence before the Foreign Affairs Committee will have helped forward the passage of the "Lease-and-Lend" Bill. We are expecting Colonel Donovan too in the near future, and he should have a great deal of interest to say about the Balkans, where his talks would seem to have had an excellent effect.

It was indeed kind of you to have met my new Ambassador, Lord Halifax, when he landed from H.M.S. KING GEORGE V at Annapolis - a gesture which I and my countrymen have deeply appreciated. I feel sure that the better you get to know him, the more you will like him.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

George R.I.
The President of the United States of America.
March 11th, 1941

Dear General,

Would you be so kind as to have the enclosed letter from Lord Halifax delivered to the President?

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Brigadier General Edwin M. Watson, U.S.A.,
Secretary to the President,
White House,
Washington, D.C.
March 11th, 1941

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. President,

I lost no time in passing on to London the message which you gave me on Friday night saying that the United States Government would be able to accept His Majesty's Ships "Illustrious", "Furious" and "Liverpool" for repair in this country.

I have now had a telegram from London asking me to convey to you the most cordial thanks of His Majesty's Government for the very helpful attitude taken by the United States Government in this matter. At the same time the Foreign Office point out that for obvious reasons which I know you will appreciate, it is very important that nothing should be said about these arrangements until the different ships actually reach this country. /

The Honourable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.
country. The Foreign Office go on to suggest that if and when it is thought necessary to make some public announcement, it would no doubt be well that any statement to be issued should be concerted between the United States and British authorities.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]
The British Ambassador called at my request.

I referred again to the very delicate relations between Great Britain and France and the danger of the situation getting out of hand. I said that this Government, as he knows, has devoted much time and effort to keep the French and British situation from drifting into a dangerous stage, and especially to induce the French never to turn over their Navy to Hitler for his military use; that the Darlan threat, whether it was in earnest or a bluff, seemed to be more a move to secure favor with Hitler than to get relief for the people of France. The one supreme purpose of the Laval-Darlan group seemed
to be to whipaw French sentiment around by utilizing the food relief question in a most dastardly way so that this group might get the upper hand at Vichy, and with the support of changed French sentiment turn the Navy over to Hitler, and in many other disastrous ways deliver the best interests of France to Germany, as was contemplated by Leval before he was discovered and thrown out by Marshal Petain. I added that the Ambassador could readily observe the great concern of this Government and hence its repeated discussions with the British Government about the matter of food relief to unoccupied France under the most rigid supervision; that we had purposely not undertaken to stand for an important quid pro quo formula for the reason that Darlan might turn away and charge that the British were more interested in the pro than in the quid and seek to make large capital of it on the charge of lack of sympathy with and interest in the distressed people of France. This Government seeks to carry both propositions along on parallel lines based on a spirit of cooperation for mutually desirable settlement of various matters pending between the two Governments.

The Ambassador said that it would be agreeable for
me to say to the French that real progress is being made with respect to the proposed two shipments of wheat to unoccupied France. He suggested that I should say that, of course, the British would like to see a similar spirit shown by the French Government by joining in a plan for rigid supervision to prevent the Germans from infiltrating into French Africa, and by bringing away from the French continental base their naval vessels and stationing them in French African ports. I said that I would, of course, be only too glad to bring these matters up under our plan of dealing with both French and British questions that are being raised by their respective Ambassadors.

I sought to repeat the attitude of this Government based on the policy that from the standpoint of aiding Great Britain in the war, this Government should keep in close relationship with France, and to this end my Government would collaborate fully with the British, offering its opinion freely relative to any question, such as the French food relief matter, but never carrying the matter to the point of friction or public disagreement. In case of disagreement, this Government might, if it thought the matter sufficiently important, continue
continue to keep the British reminded of its views as it has done in the French relief situation. I recalled to the Ambassador that it was only twelve hours after my talk with him to this effect last week that Darlan made his threat, and that it was really unfortunate that we had not been able to announce virtual completion of the consideration of the request for food relief. The Ambassador said that his country had come around to this view very slowly, and I expressed my thorough understanding of the psychology in his country in view of their situation.

S.R.
May 10

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Here is the book of which we spoke, resuscitated in an edition, de luxe. I hope you will like it. In any case I venture to send it as a token of a visit in which you were so kind to us both.

And we both send our best
Remembrances and respects
To you and to the President.
Yours sincerely

Robert R. Mansfield
PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM

London
Dated June 17, 1941
Rec'd 11 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

FOR AMBASSADOR WINANT [MOST SECRET] AND PERSONAL

Officials here have cooperated to the extent that on Saturday Kermit sailed on a special ship and should arrive on next Monday or Tuesday at Halifax. An old personal British Army friend of Kermit's, Major H. Nugent Head, is accompanying him.

JOHNSON
June 18, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

In the absence of Lord Halifax, Mr. Butler called to see me this morning with the following message from the British Government:

Mr. Churchill apparently feels optimistic with regard to the probability that Dr. Salazar will be willing in the event of imminent German aggression to request Great Britain and the United States to assist in the defense of the Azores. Mr. Churchill feels, however, that plans should now be formulated as to the action to be taken in the event that such a request were not forthcoming at the crucial moment. He therefore suggests that joint staff conversations be undertaken immediately between the United States and British staff representatives in order to determine the details of the action to be taken respectively by the two Governments in such a contingency.

I told Mr. Butler that I would lay this request before you immediately.

The President,

The White House.

[Handwritten notes on the right margin: See bullpen folder for corrs. re Azores; let to Mr. Salazar from FDR]
Will you let me know what reply you wish me to make to the British Government?
Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Sumner Welles
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your request, I addressed to
Gil Winant your invitation to the Duke of Kent to
visit you either at Hyde Park or in Washington dur-
ing the time that he is on this side of the Atlantic.

I have today received a telegram from the Embas-
sy in London which is in the nature of a reply to your
message, a copy of which I am attaching herewith.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Enc.
Telegram 3288, London

The President,
The White House.
AF
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Secretary of State,
Washington,

3288, July 30, noon
PERSONAL FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY
Your 2798, July 26, noon

Mr. Eden informs me that the President's message was delivered to the Duke of Kent just before he left. The Duke said he was deeply grateful for the President's kind invitation and that he would get in touch with him as soon as possible after his arrival in Canada.

WINANT

HPD
July 31, 1941.

My dear Mr. President:

You will remember that some days ago you asked me to send Gil Winant a message with respect to Lady Astor's prospective trip to the United States.

I have now received a reply from the Embassy in London in response to the message I sent, and I am enclosing a copy thereof for your information.

Believe me, 

Faithfully yours,

Enclosure

The President,

The White House.
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Secretary of State,
Washington.

3309, July 30, midnight.

PERSONAL FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY.

In answer to your message 2802, July 26, 5 p.m. for Harry Hopkins. Harry asked me if I would take care of this matter as he had not time to do so because of his trip to Moscow. I attended a dinner at which Lady Astor was present three nights before your message was sent. From her conversation with me I do not feel that she had any plan to go to the United States. I explained the situation to Mr. Eden. I shall mention it to the Prime Minister when I see him tomorrow.

WINANT.

RR
BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 8th, 1941.

Dear Mr. President,

I lost no time in telegraphing
to the Duke of Windsor to convey to him
your very kind invitation for him and the
Duchess to lunch at the White House on
September 25th or 26th.

I have now had a telegram in
reply from the Duke asking me to thank
you very much for this invitation, and to
say that he and the Duchess will be very
glad to accept for Thursday, September 25th.

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

Halifax

The Honourable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D.C.
16th August, 1941.

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you very much for the kind message that you sent from U.S.S. Potomac on behalf of yourself and those travelling with you about Purvis' unhappy death. It was very good of you.

It is a very great loss to our common effort, for few people that I can think of had quite the combination of qualities that made him so valuable.

I am forwarding your message to Mrs. Purvis.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Halifax

The Honourable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
White House,
Washington, D.C.
DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE
Monday evening, August 25, 1941
at eight o'clock.

The President and Mrs. Roosevelt

H.R.H. The Duke of Kent
Lord and Lady Mountbatten
Sir Ronald Campbell — Charge d'Affaires
Wing Comdr. Sir Louis Greig
Mr. J. A. Lowther

Rear Adm. and Mrs. John H. Towers
Mrs. Cameron Clark
Dr. and Mrs. Henry Field
Hon. Harry L. Hopkins
Hon. and Mrs. Nelson A. Rockefeller
Mrs. Elliott Roosevelt
Capt. and Mrs. James Roosevelt
ASSIGNMENT OF ROOMS - HYDE PARK

The Duke of Kent - Chintz Room
The Aide - Wing Commander Sir Louis Grieg - 2 East Rooms
The Secretary - Mr. J. A. Lowther

Mr. Harry Hooker - Room at head of the stairs
Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt - Mrs. James Roosevelt's room

Valet and Scotland Yard Man - 2 small rooms in stair landing

DINNER, SATURDAY NIGHT

Miss
Mr. and Mrs. Lytell Hull
Mr. and Mrs. Lyman Delano

LUNCH, SUNDAY

Mrs. J. R. Roosevelt

DINNER, SUNDAY

Miss Laura Delano
Mrs. Tracy Dows
Mr. Olin Dows
TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, AUGUST 27, 1941

THE PRESIDENT.

On leaving your country I would like to thank you, Mr. President and Mrs. Roosevelt, once again for your wonderful kindness and hospitality to me during my stay. I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity which was given to me to see something of what your country is doing to help Britain and I am greatly impressed with what is being done and what can be done.

GEORGE.
(The Duke of Kent)
Dear General Watson,

I enclose two letters which I have written to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt to thank for the charming weekend at Hyde Park. Would you be very kind and give them to the President at a suitable moment?

yours very sincerely

John Fordham
BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 28, 1941.

Sir,

May I be permitted to write to say how very much I enjoyed staying at Hyde Park with you and Mrs. Roosevelt. It was a most delightful weekend and one that I shall never forget.

You and President have made for yourself a unique place in the hearts of all thinking British men and British women. We realize that you appreciate our troubles and difficulties. We feel that in you we have a wise and far seeing friend. Not one who will help us blindly, but one who will do all in
his power to prevent the fine side of our way of living from being destroyed.
To meet you personally was therefore an experience which will always remain a vivid memory, a memory made the more pleasant by the kindness and hospitality of a charming host, docteur.
I remain yours respectfully,

John Lord Théas
The President of The United States of America

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
Sept. 5, 1941.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am so sorry not to have written before to thank you for all your kindness and hospitality during my visit to U.S.A.

I have only just arrived here. I have had a very rushed but quite busy hearing Washington. I was so glad to have an opportunity of meeting you. I spent a very pleasant day at Hyde Park. It was very kind of you to let Grace...
Stephens came over for lunch and also my Goddaughter for tea. It was my only chance of seeing them so I am most grateful to you. I enjoyed my visit to Washington so much I only wish it could have been longer but I had many places to visit in Canada and I have to get back home next week. Full of wonderful impressions of what is being done over here to help our cause.

With again very many thanks,

Yours very sincerely,

Griggs

[Signature]

Duke of Kent
Sept 5, 1941

My dear Mr. President,

I waited until my arrival here before writing to you to thank you once more for all your kindness and hospitality during my visit to U.S.A. I cannot thank you enough for having me to stop with you and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you and hearing your views on so many subjects. The gratitude of the British people for what you have done for us is immeasurable. I trust admiration...
It is unbounded - but I feel I must add my own word of admiration for all you are doing - well realizing all the strain & the difficulties. I was so glad to see something of your forces & also of the naval & air force plants. The Glenn Martin factory is most impressive - I am only sorry my stay was so short that I was unable to see more. I have had a very rushed trip since I left Washington & only arrived here yesterday to stay with the Airplanes. I leave for England sometime next week & shall talk back to the Knip not only many messages from you but also many
heartening words of all I have seen in your country. I hope it may not be very long before I shall have the great pleasure of seeing you again. With again very many thanks to Mr. President. Believe me.

yours very sincerely

[Signature]
Personal

His Excellency

The President of the United States of America

The White House

Washington

DC
The President of the United States of America,
THE FORGE.
FAWLEY GREEN, HENLEY-ON-ThAMES.

My dear Franklin. It has made me very sad to read of your dear Mother's passing, for she stood for one of the very last links with all my own dear ones - father, mother, brother - moreover was such a very beloved, kind friend to me. My visit to Hyde Park, little more than two years ago was so delightful, I shall always look back upon it as a very happy time if you and she were both so very sweet to me. All my sympathy goes out to you in what must be a deep sorrow although you must feel that for her it is best that she should rest now after her long & lovely life. You did everything to make it so happy, I were the light of her eyes.

How much has happened is going to happen
I often think of our talks on the subject, you have proved right on every point up to now. Life is a real struggle but we are facing the future calmly, every man woman & child, prepared for any duty that may devolve on us. My Red & work is for the poor refugees & exiles, we help them to get in touch with their nearest & dearest & hear how they are. It's just a few words but I have often seen them cry for joy to receive them after months & months of silence.

Goodbye, my dear friend! God help you in your grief, & also in the grand & mighty struggle you have undertaken.

Yours affectionately gay,
(Sylvia Fleidler)
Oct. 15, 1941.

Dear Winston:-

Mountbatten has been really useful to our Navy people and he will tell you of his visit to the Fleet in Hawaii. The Jap situation is definitely worse and I think they are headed North -- however in spite of this you and I have two months of respite in the Far East.

Dicky will tell you of a possibility for your people to study -- to be used only if Petain goes and Weygand plays with us.

I wish I could see you again!

As ever yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill

(Kindness of Lord Mountbatten)
October 16, 1941.

Dear Dickey:

It was grand to have you at the White House, and I learned a lot. Best of luck. Happy landing. I hope we shall meet again very soon.

Here are the letters and also one from the Crown Princess to the King of Norway. Would you be good enough to have it sent to the latter?

Always sincerely,

Captain Lord Louis Mountbatten,
c/o Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt,
640 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

(Enclosures)
My dear King George:

Dicky Mountbatten has been with us for a couple of days and I have learned a lot from him. Get him to tell you of his visit to our fleet in Hawaii. I am a bit worried over the Japanese situation at this moment. The Emperor is for peace I think, but the Jingoies are trying to force his hand.

Here our production is doing rather well -- ahead of schedule in most articles -- and public opinion is distinctly better than six months ago. In fact it is more strongly with us than is the Congress.

You and the Queen are doing a really "grand job". Give her my very warm regards.

Always sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

H. M. The King

(Kindness of Lord Mountbatten)
640 Fifth Avenue

17th October 1941

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you so very much for your kind letter. I will see that H. K., Mr. B. M. & Nancy H. get their letters on 21st, when I expect to arrive.

May I also thank you very much indeed for kindness & hospitality to Etienne & myself and particularly for sparing so much of your valuable time talking to me. I need hardly tell you that these talks were the most
Thrilling and valuable I have ever had in my life.

In the past I have accompanied my parents, or later visited alone, our numerous relations on the continent, and have stayed at the palaces in Russia, Germany, Spain, Sweden, France, etc.

None of them succeeded in combining the dignity of the Head of the State's residence with the charming simplicity of family life in the way in which the White House does during the present régime.
It is so kind of you to say that Patricia and Pamela may come to see you at the White House - they are very excited at the prospect of this honor.

May I again express our warm gratitude and perhaps add an small tribute of admiration for your handling of world affairs.

I remain

yours dutifully,

Dickie Mountbatten
The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.
MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL WATSON:

I am enclosing a copy of a telegram dated November 27, 1941 which Ambassador Winant has sent to the Department for the President.

George T. Summerlin.

Enclosure:
Copy of telegram.
Department of State

ENVELOPE

TO

Letter drafted __________________________

ADDRESS TO

General Watson.

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PR

BUREAU

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EN CLOSURE

Drafted

Gener a l

Watson.
London

Dated November 27, 1941

Rec'd 8:53 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

5707, November 27.

FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE AMBASSADOR.

Thank you for your letter introducing
Congressman Snyder. He had a hard-working useful
stay here, seeing the things he wanted to see and
meeting the people he wanted to meet, including
the Prime Minister.

WINANT

ALC
December 5, 1941

At 7:20 p.m. an announcement in the following sense was broadcast from London:

In as much as the British Government has not received satisfactory replies to its notes to Helsinki, Budapest and Bucharest demanding that hostilities against Russia cease by December 5th, messages are being sent to the Governments of Finland, Hungary and Rumania declaring that a state of war exists.

The Official British announcement added that a state of war does not yet exist and will not until delivery of the messages to the three capitals through the same channel that the original notes were sent (that is, through the United States Department of State and the American Ministers in the three capitals).

S:WBSale
The Prime Minister would be very glad of any comments which the President may have on the attached draft of a declaration to the Japanese Government.

The Dominion Governments have yet to give their views on this text. They are being consulted urgently.

The Netherlands Government have been given a copy of the draft.

December 7th 1941.
Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have been instructed to make the following communication to the Imperial Japanese Government on behalf of His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa.

His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Canada, Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa have followed closely in consultation with the United States Government the negotiations in which the latter have been engaged with the Japanese Government with a view to relieving the present tension in the Far East. His Majesty's Governments viewed with the same concern as the United States Government the rapidly growing concentration of Japanese forces in Indo-China which prompted the enquiry by the United States Government to the Japanese Government on December 2nd. They have found Japanese reply to that enquiry extremely disquieting. However valid the explanations in regard to North Indo-China as to which they expressly reserve their views the reply entirely fails to explain the fact that the bulk of Japanese forces are stationed in South Indo-China and are being constantly and heavily augmented.

There is no threat from any quarter against Indo-China and this concentration in South Indo-China is only explicable on the assumption that the Japanese Government are preparing for some further aggressive
move directed against the Netherlands East Indies, Malaya or Thailand.

Relations between the Governments of the British Commonwealth and the Netherlands Government are too well known for the Japanese Government to be under any illusion as to their reaction to any attack on territories of the Netherlands. In the interest of peace His Majesty's Governments feel it incumbent upon them however to remove any uncertainty which may exist as regards their attitude in the event of attack on Thailand.

His Majesty's Governments have no designs against Thailand. On the contrary preservation of full independence and sovereignty of Thailand is an important British interest. Any attempt by Japan to impair that independence or sovereignty would affect the security of Burma and Malay and His Majesty's Governments could not be indifferent to it. They feel bound therefore to warn the Japanese Government in the most solemn manner that if Japan attempts to establish her influence in Thailand by force or threat of force she will do so at her own peril and His Majesty's Governments will at once take all appropriate measures. Should hostilities unfortunately result the responsibility will rest with Japan.
December 8, 1941.

The State Department called me on the telephone this morning at 7:15 to report that the attached message had been sent to the White House at 1 A.M. but had not been given to the President, as he had retired. I telephoned the White House and asked the Usher to please deliver the message to the President. I then spoke to the President on the telephone and he dictated the attached reply to the Prime Minister. I telephoned the State Department and read the President's reply which was sent but did not arrive in time for the Prime Minister to know the President's views before he appeared in Parliament to declare war against Japan.

GRACE G. TULLY
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1941
7.30 A.M.

WINANT
LONDON

I think it best on account of psychology here that Britain's declaration of war be withheld until after my speech at 12.30 Washington time. I am asking for declaration. Any time after that would be wholly satisfactory.

Delighted to know of message to de Valera.

ROOSEVELT
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

London
Dated December 7, 1941
Rec'd 10:27 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY
MOST URGENT

5929, December 7, 4 p.m. (SECTION ONE)
PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET TO THE SECRETARY FOR
THE PRESIDENT.

It was great to talk to you. The Prime Minister is calling Parliament to meet at three o'clock this afternoon. Would it be best for him to ask for a declaration of war at that time or simply describe what had taken place and say that we would ask for a declaration of war within an hour after we had declared war which he has pledged to do?

I am thinking of the difference in time and that you might want to address the joint session prior to a British declaration of war.

WINANT

NK

REGRADED
UNCLASSIFIED
GS
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

London
Dated December 8, 1941
Rec'd 10:40 p.m., 7th

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY AND MOST URGENT
5929, December 8, 4 p.m. (SECTION TWO)
The Prime Minister wanted you to know that he sent the following private and secret message to de Valera:

"Now is your chance. Now or never 'a nation once again'. I am very ready to meet you at any time". If you also would like to send de Valera a message you might want me to deliver it. We are old friends and I understand he gives me some credit for persuading the government here to abandon conscription in Northern Ireland.

I hope people at home will relate the tactic pursued and the action taken by Japan to German instigation and collaboration under the tripartite pact.

I am back at the Embassy.

(END MESSAGE)

WINANT

KLP
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill
The Rt. Hon. Lord Beaverbrook
Sir Dudley Pound
Sir John Dill
Sir Charles Portal
Comdr. C. R. Thompson
Mr. John Martin
Sir Charles Wilson

9.9.T.
MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

The State Department sent over these three names in case the President might wish to consider them in connection with inviting Lord Beaverbrook:

Admiral of the Fleet
Sir Dudley Pound, G.C.B. C.C.V.O.

Field marshal Sir John Dill, K.C.B. C.M.G. D.S.O.

Air chief marshal Sir Charles Portal, K.C.B. D.S.O. M.C.

Edith Helm
Dear Mr. President

I am quite delighted

and very honored that you should

have sent me such a delightful

Christmas present.

This charming signed photograph

of yourself and Mrs. Roosevelt will

be one of my most cherished

possessions and I send you my

very warm thanks for it.

With my best wishes for your

health and happiness Mr. President
I remain
your very sincere
J. C. Dill
BRITISH EMBASSY, 
WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 25th 1941.

Dear Mr. President,

I have had a telegram from the Foreign Office asking me to convey to you the following message from His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent:

"My very best wishes for Christmas and the New Year - George".

Believe me,

Dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

The Honourable
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D.C.
Letter drafted

ADDRESS TO

Miss Tully
MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

With reference to your memorandum of December 27, enclosing the attached message from the Duke of Kent, I am of the opinion, in view of the manner in which the telegram to the President was received, that it would be sufficient, if agreeable, to merely ask our Ambassador at London to make an appropriate acknowledgment. Will you kindly let me know if this is agreeable.

George T. Summerlin.

Enclosure:
Original note from the British Embassy, December 25, 1941, transmitting message.
Dear Mr. President,

I write to offer my sincerest thanks for the photograph of yourself and Mrs. Roosevelt which you were kind enough to send me; and for your good wishes, which I hope you will permit me to reciprocate.

I remain, Sir,

yours sincerely,

[Signature]
Dear Mr. President,

Please accept my most grateful thanks for the delightful photograph of Mr. Roosevelt and yourself. I cannot say how much I appreciated being asked to join your party on Xmas evening - it will always be a most memorable Xmas to look back on.

With my humble duty and the best of good wishes for Mr. Roosevelt and yourself in 1945.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

P.S. File Russell
C.H.

C.K. - Does no harm for the record.

F.D.R.

Reference is made to the memorandum of December 29, 1941, received from the British Embassy in regard to certain phases of the situation in Borneo, and in particular to the concluding paragraph thereof in which is expressed the hope that the British authorities are correct in assuming that the undertaking given to the British and Dutch Governments by the Government of the United States in connection with the destruction of the North Borneo oil fields applies also to all parts of the British Empire.

By way of clarification it may be stated that the undertaking of the Government of the United States as set forth in the second communication which was handed to the British Ambassador by Mr. Hamilton on December 14 applies to all parts of the British Empire which, as a result of the destruction of the oil fields in Borneo under the circumstances under reference, suffer oil shortages.

Department of State,
Washington,
On December 14th Mr. Hamilton of the State Department handed to the British Ambassador two communications regarding the situation in Borneo. The first of these communications stated that the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Asiatic Fleet had suggested to the British authorities at Singapore and the Dutch authorities at Batavia that steps should be taken forthwith to effect the demolition of the oil fields in Borneo with the exception of those at Balikpapan and that preparations should be made to effect the demolition of the latter oil fields in the near future. The communication went on to say that in the view of the State Department the British, United States and Dutch Governments all had a common interest in seeing that the oil fields in Borneo did not pass into the possession of their common enemy and that if there was any risk of this happening the most effective means possible should be taken of rendering the oil fields unusable. The question when such demolition should be taken was one which depended upon military considerations and could best be decided by the naval and military authorities on the spot. The communication ended by saying that the United States Government was convinced that the British and Dutch Governments shared their view that it was to the common interest that every reasonable and practicable precaution should be taken to ensure that proper precautionary measures were carried out in time.

The second communication ran as follows:
"In case there should be, as a result of the
destruction of the oil fields, oil shortages in the
British Empire and in the Netherlands, the Government of
the United States will of course be prepared to assist
by every legal means in its power the British and the
Dutch Governments in obtaining the delivery of oil and
oil products in or available to the United States for
use in the present struggle against the common enemy;
also for use in carrying on the work of reconstruction
in the Straits Settlements and in the Netherlands East
Indies after the cessation of hostilities on a basis at
least as favorable as that on which similar products
will be made available to other countries which have
consistently made sacrifices in their efforts to over-
come the forces of aggression. The Government of the
United States will adopt a similar attitude with regard
to the obtaining of any needed oil extracting and
refining machinery in the United States to replace
that which the British and the Dutch Governments have
destroyed."

The British Ambassador was informed some days
ago that the British Government agree with the views of
the United States Government as set out in the first
communication referred to above. So far as British
territories were concerned the demolition scheme had
been completely put into effect. The British authorities
in Singapore had too been instructed to take the necessary
steps to ensure early action by the Dutch authorities.

The British Ambassador has furthermore been
instructed to express the warm appreciation of His
Majesty's Government for the second communication
quoted above. He has also been instructed to express
the/
the hope that the British authorities are right in assuming that the undertaking which this statement gives to "the British and Dutch Governments" in connexion with the destruction of the North Borneo oil fields also applies to all parts of the British Empire which may be affected by the destruction of these oil fields.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
December 29th, 1941.
December 31, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I enclose a copy of a triple priority telegram from Ambassador Winant requesting a message from you in connection with the National Day of Prayer, which is also being observed in Great Britain tomorrow.

I also enclose a draft telegram based upon your Proclamation of December 22 which, if you approve, I shall be glad to have sent to the Ambassador.

Faithfully yours,

Sumner Welles

Enclosures:

1. Telegram from London, December 30, 1941.
2. Draft telegram to London.

The President,

The White House.
London
Dated December 30, 1941
Rec'd 10:32 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY.
6272, Thirtyeth.

There is to be a New Year religious festival at Albert Hall on January 1, the national day of prayer. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Hinsley will give short addresses. All religious groups will be represented. The heads of the Empire and allied governments here with members of the Cabinet are also going. The King is being requested to send a message and I have been asked for a message from the President. The object of the meeting is to emphasize the fact to those here and elsewhere that the Allies are fighting for the restoration and preservation of Christendom.

WINANT

DD
December 31, 1941

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
LONDON.

TRIPLE PRIORITY.
Your 6272, thirtieth.
You may deliver the following message from the President:

QUOTE The year 1941 has brought upon our nation, as the past two years have brought upon other nations, a war of aggression by powers dominated by arrogant rulers whose selfish purpose is to destroy free institutions. They would thereby take from the freedom-loving peoples of the earth the hard-won liberties gained over many centuries.

QUOTE The new year of 1942 calls for the courage and the resolution of old and young to help to win a world struggle in order that we may preserve all we hold dear.

QUOTE We are confident in our devotion to country, in our love of freedom, in our inheritance of courage. But our strength, as the strength of all men everywhere, is of greater avail as God upholds us.

QUOTE In making this first day of the year 1942 a day of prayer, we ask forgiveness for our shortcomings of the
past, consecration to the tasks of the present, and God's help in days to come.

QUOTE We need His guidance that this people may be humble in spirit but strong in the conviction of the right; steadfast to endure sacrifices and brave to achieve a victory of liberty and peace. UNQUOTE.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT