

● PSF

Great Britain: Arthur Murray 1936-39

P.S.F. Arthur Murray

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

July 5<sup>th</sup> '36

My dear Mr. President,

I saw your letter to Arthur  
and it made me feel very  
proud & touched, that in  
all this hectic time for you -  
that you should remember  
me & my eyes -  
I should have let you  
hear sooner about the  
S. Louis specialist - in fact

I am still uncertain as to .. <sup>2.</sup>  
whether I wrote to Dr. In: Intyre.  
or not. I meant to do so  
when we got to Niagara.

but instead I got poisoned -  
(my friends are so disappointed  
when I tell them it was  
fish and not gangsters)

I wrote several letters during  
that state of discomfiture  
+ with a high temperature.

but whether I did write to  
Dr. In: Intyre then or not,  
only Dr. In: Intyre knows -  
but I did mean to thank

him for all the trouble he  
took. We were very disappointed  
at not seeing Mr. Wiener - but  
his secretary wrote to us that  
he was ill & away from  
home. NOT seeing him,  
however, I feel is an added  
reason for hastening our  
returning to U.S.A!

It seems a long time since we  
were there, but our hearts &

munds are full of precious memories<sup>4</sup>  
+ moments when "our heads touched  
the stars" - the Potomac for instance  
lovely Virginia - the Hudson -  
the great warm hearted generosity  
of your race - & so much  
more -

I think your ears, Mr.  
President must have sometimes -  
I wish you could hear the  
lovely things people in this  
Country say about you and  
all you are doing - and  
truly "the name on the fence

sees most of the  
game" -

5.  
AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

looking out beyond our  
Garden - there is nothing  
between us and America -  
and sometimes we stand  
and let our thoughts wander  
across the great sea and  
we think of the White  
House - its great President,  
& charming Lady. The  
"Gracious Lady" and all  
& everything which goes to

my eyes are  
rather well  
at present -  
but they were  
a little  
troublesome  
in Canada.  
I had  
"Oranji" in  
them  
quite a  
lot - they -  
I got run  
down after  
the poisoning

make up your smiling

lovable country.

I do hope your mother is  
now quite recovered - & I

do wish Presidents could  
have long holidays -

Sometimes visit their neighbours -

& I do wish America hadn't  
grown itself so far from  
Scotland!

Yours sincerely  
Faith Murray.

file  
personal

Lili  
- (M 3)

The President

The White House

Washington D.C.

U. S. A

Fried Murray

PSF: Murray  
Jan - 2 - 36

TELEGRAM

The White House

P. F.  
2

lpomc 34 Cable via French

Washington

Monte Carlo 1110A Dec 26 1936

The President,

White House, Wqshington.

Cornwall asks me thank you and say he will arrive January twenty  
third and is much looking forward visit. I am writing. Glorious  
weather here. Our best wishes.

Murray

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

PSF  
Arthur Murray

March 17 - 1937

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

*John (w)*

My dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Will you be very  
kind and give enclosed to the  
President.

The Runcimans have talked  
much to us of your kindness  
to them.

With our kindest  
remembrances  
yours very sincerely

Arthur Murray

BF Arthur Murray  
full personal  
look up  
see 2

Decatur 4947  
Wilkesbarre

TEL. DALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

July 2nd, 1937.

Dear Franklin,

This is just a line to tell you how very much we have enjoyed having Daisy and Virginia with us.

They left us yesterday for the Isle of Skye after all too short a visit. We like them both so much and they were delightful guests. We shall hope that this is the first of many visits to us. We enjoyed also having the Hurds here - a very nice couple.

Yes, indeed - we do hope most sincerely that when the great burdens of your high Office are laid down, you will come to An Cala, and just revel in the surroundings to your heart's content, not for the fortnight you mention, but for longer. Daisy will tell you when you see her of the simple, primitive, open-air life that we lead. We shall look forward immensely to the day when you give us the pleasure of sampling it.

We are just off to Edinburgh for Holyrood functions. I have no doubt that it will be a relief to the King and Queen when the ceremonies connected with their Coronation are over! It will be a relief to some of their subjects too!

In a few weeks time Faith and I are off to Germany. If I am not imprisoned for saying "Heil Hitler", at the commencement of every phrase I utter, too irreverently, I will have some impressions to relate when I get back. I used to go and fish for trout in Germany before the War; and about this time in the year 1914 von Kuhlmann, Counsellor of the German Embassy in London, asked me if I would go and visit him at his place in South Germany in September to fish. I accepted his invitation! Neither of us could foresee the momentous battles that were to be fought between our two countries by the time that September came round. The last thing von Kuhlmann said to me before leaving London was:- "My people are mad. We were getting to have everything we could want in the world by industrial and financial penetration, and what will be the end of this God alone knows". As you will remember, he became, during the War, one of the foremost advocates in Germany of peace by conciliation. He died a few years ago.

Enclosed snap-shots which I took my interest you! On no account please trouble to acknowledge them. d. h.

With every good wish,  
Yours as ever,

Arthur Murray

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

P.S.

2.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

In the last public speech that Edward Grey made in May, 1933 - he died in Aug. of that year - he asked what the position in Europe would be if Germany was heavily armed. We might well ask now what the position in Europe would be if Great Britain had not started re-arming when she did. She started just in time to be in a position to say to the Dictators to-day, "so far, no further." No wonder a person of Mussolini's mentality foams at the mouth. And the Wilhelmstrasse is ready to drop him like a hot potato if it suits them.

Here is a nice little story, which you may or may not have heard!

Princess Margriet Rose (the younger) - at

one of the Coronation festivities, to her  
her elder sister, Princess Elizabeth :- "Where is  
Uncle David?"

Princess E. :- "shsh - Uncle David isn't here."

"M.R." :- "Why isn't he here?"

Princess E. :- "Because he's abdicated."

"M.R." :- "Why has he abdicated?"

Princess E. :- "Because he wanted to marry  
Mrs Baldwin!"

PSF  
Arthur Murray  
TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

Nov. 15<sup>th</sup> 1937  
file personal  
AN CALA, Gen  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt,  
Will you be  
very kind and give enclosed  
to the President?

What troublous times  
we are living in. And what  
immense of strenuous times for  
the President and yourself.  
And what a "giant" the  
President is through it  
all in outlook, courage

TELEGRAM & STATION, OMAHA.  
ST. SALVADOR ST.

ARGYLL.  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
AN CALA.

thought and indeed.

With Faith's and of  
every kind remembrance - you  
are both often in our  
thoughts.

Yours very sincerely

Arthur Murray

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

PSF: Murray  
Jan. 24 - 1938

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

My dear Mrs Roosevelt,

May I ask you  
to be very kind and to give  
enclosed letter to The  
President.

Faith and I send you  
our every good wish.

Yours very sincerely  
Arthur Murray

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TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

at Carrington House,  
Hertford Street,  
London, W.1.

January 24th, 1938.

Dear Franklin,

I was delighted to get your letter of December 31st.

I am also delighted to take notice of the steady headway you are making - against deeply entrenched vested rights and privileges - in fashioning a new, a happier, and a more solidly prosperous America. When the "froth and fury" has in days to come evaporated, the tremendous magnitude of your task and the greatness of your achievements will stand revealed to the world in their true light.

I wish it were possible to see a way through the tangle created by the "new-empire" seeking ambitions of the three great totalitarian States. Edward Grey said to me shortly before he died in 1933, "if this (referring to Hitlerism) is the new Germany, we shall have to revise our attitude towards her". The trouble has been that during the last five years we have never done so. We allowed the Nazi Regierung to grab and to play all the aces, and

all the time we professed to believe that Nazi-ism stood for high ideals, good-will and peace. The harm done by Lothian in plastering (through articles in "The Times" and speeches) this thoroughly mistaken idea upon the British public, is incalculable. Even to-day, it would seem, it is believed in some quarters that an Agreement could be arrived at with Berlin which would replace uncertainty and unsettlement by certainty and settlement in Eastern Europe. Nothing could be further from the truth. No Halifax missions - which left some of us completely speechless with amazement! - or appointments of "Foreign Affairs" dictators as advisers to the Prime Minister, can alter the bedrock fact that no Agreements will be entered into by Berlin that would serve as a check upon its expansionist aspirations. Without doubt civilisation finds itself faced with the possibilities in the next decade of a convulsion greater and more horrible than any that has yet compassed it. The spirit of freedom in the great liberty-loving Nations will, mayhap, be put to the severest test it has ever undergone. In its strength or weakness lies triumph or disaster for the free democracies. Fortunate it is that at the commencement of this critical era in world affairs the relations between Britain and India, with its 350 millions of a population, have been relaid

on a new foundation of self-government and good-will. The new Constitution in India, which came into force last year, has been accepted by the bulk of Indians as a far-reaching step in democratic government. Even the Congress party, the extreme nationalists, are beginning to see - and will undoubtedly increasingly see - the great and wide powers of self-government embraced in the Constitution. History will describe in its proper perspective this achievement of bringing together into democratic governmental relationships the many peoples of differing race, religion and customs that comprise India, but in the meantime the present importance of the achievement lies in cementing the ties between Britain and India and in causing India to be more than ever ready to defend herself - and to take part in defending the British Commonwealth - against autocratic ambitions on the part of tyrannically-inclined Powers. Were it not for the new Constitution in India, that vast country might have been, in this era of grave international anxieties, a danger spot of discontent, rebellion and strife, with much of harmful effects to the democracies, and of beneficial results to the Dictators.

So far as British foreign policy in the future is concerned it will be, it is hoped, a policy of facing facts as they are, and not of chasing unattainable ideals.

It must, of course, be remembered in relation to European policy that, with a General Election in view, say, at the end of 1939, the Government naturally does not wish to give, in the interval, any effective battle-cry to the Labour Party. The latter has practically no rallying-point in relation to domestic policy other than the well-worn slogan, "nothing good can happen under capitalism". Liberalism in this country, despite the die-hard Tories, has breached the walls of inequality and of privilege, and deprived labour of effective buttresses in the matter of social legislation. Under our Social Security Laws vast funds have been accumulated and are invested - all belonging to the wage-earning classes. The savings of the people under the National Savings Scheme have never been so high as they are to-day. These are facts that face the Labour Party across the open in the domestic field. But in relation to foreign affairs the catch-cries, "the Government are not pursuing a peace policy; the Government are letting down the League of Nations; the Government are not trying to be friends with Germany or Italy", are easily and freely spouted forth from Labour platforms, and, even if untrue, are not unlikely adversely to affect the Government majority, unless the Government has an effective answer. As a Liberal Member of Parliament for

sixteen years I realise the Government's difficulties in these respects. But, as one who went through the five years before the War in close association (as his Parliamentary Secretary) with Edward Grey, I sigh for an Edward Grey in command of our Foreign Policy to-day, aided and abetted as he was by that great diplomat, Willie Tyrrell. What a combination that was of character, honesty of purpose, and wisdomful vision. What a combination that would be to-day. How vastly simpler - if this is not High Treason on both sides of the Atlantic! - would be your task. But we cannot pluck out the sun from behind the clouds just when we want it. We have to be glad of it when it shines forth; even though it does so sometimes when we do, and sometimes when we do not, want it. And therefore we must be glad of things as they are - glad that, despite the tempestuous trials that lie ahead, your great country with you in command, Britain and her sister Nations of the Commonwealth, and - fundamentally sound - the French Republic, stand united in a common ideal of freedom. That, as it seems to me, is the clarion-call to which the democratic peoples in no short space will be compelled to listen, and upon which they will be forced to act. To-day goes forth the cry from them all, "why should we pull the other fellows' chestnuts out of the

fire?" Shortly they will realise - as Edward Grey realised five years ago - that they have been living internationally, in a past age, and that the chestnuts to be plucked from the burning represent everything they have cherished of the liberties won for them by their forefathers against the tyrants of old. May the realisation not come too late. History will record that you alone of the Leaders of democracies courageously, with eloquence and with force, dealt frankly with the situation in your great Chicago speech; exposed its dangers; and pointed the way to safety. That we had not an Asquith or Edward Grey to respond in effective and much-to-be desired fashion to the momentous lead that you gave can be accounted as a great misfortune. On the other hand - taking things as they are and not as one would wish them to be, and looking to the "good" as a whole - the effect of your lead (I might say your continuous lead) has unquestionably, over here, been a welcome reaction in the right direction. After all, I suppose, the common-sense view is that one cannot expect all the leaders, all the time, to be of equal high calibre.

And now to lesser things, viz: to Faith (I had better not repeat this to her!) and to myself. We came down to London just before Christmas, and will remain

here until early April, when we return to An Cala; to its flowering prunus', pyrus', rhododendrons, azaleas and rock plants, passing gradually to all the flowers of Summer time; to its hills to the North and East, and its seas and islands to the South and West - all of which we look forward to your enjoying with us when the burdens of your great office are laid down.

You very kindly invite us in your letter to come over and stay with you this year, and suggest that we should come to Hyde Park when you are there. That would indeed be a very great pleasure for both of us, whether at The White House or at Hyde Park, as suited you. We shall like very much to accept your kind invitation, and to come over this Autumn; and wonder whether any time in September or October would be likely to be convenient for you. If so, we would, thereafter, go on to Ottawa, and inflict ourselves on John Tweedsmuir or - should he happen to be away on one of his "farthest-North-beyond-the-rim-of-the-world" tours - Mackenzie King has kindly intimated that he would like us to stay with him!

In the meantime Faith thinks you may care to see the enclosed "View from An Cala", and sends it to you

with her greetings and many messages - as also to  
Mrs. Roosevelt. And with the same from myself,

Yours as ever,

*Arthur Murray*

The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.

U. S. A.

THE CARD

The President

The White House

Washington

Arthur Murray

D. C.

U. S. A.



• VIEW FROM AN CALA

# POST CARD

An Cala,  
Isle of Seil,  
Argyll.

ADDRESS



TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

Feb. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1898

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

My dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Will you be very  
kind, and give enclosed to  
the President?

I have been reading  
the very nice reviews of your  
book, and am looking forward  
very much to reading it.

With greetings and good  
wishes from Faith and myself.

Yours very sincerely  
Arthur Murray

ADMINISTRATIVE  
MAIL ROOM

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

at  
Carrington House,  
Hertford Street,  
London, W.1.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

10th February, 1938.

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.,  
U.S.A.

My dear Franklin,

I had lunching with me yesterday my friend,  
Lord Aberdare. As you may know, he has been a great  
amateur athlete: at rackets, twice Amateur and once Open,  
Champion, and Champion of U.S.A. Doubles, 1928 and 1930.  
At tennis, Amateur Champion U.S.A., 1930, British Isles,  
1932, etc., etc.

He is the British Member of the Executive of  
the International Olympic Committee, and, during lunch,  
I asked him how the Sino-Japanese conflict was going to  
affect the holding of the Olympic Games at Tokyo (as  
arranged) in 1940. In answer to my question he told me  
confidentially exactly how the whole situation stood, and  
I thought perhaps that, in view of the world-wide importance  
of the Games from a sporting and "peace-making-atmosphere"  
standpoint, it might interest you to know privately what  
Lord Aberdare has said to me.

The situation is that the International Olympic Committee at their Meeting last year gave the Games to Tokyo for 1940, and there is no machinery for taking them away, even assuming that the Committee wished to do so.

The normal procedure is that the Japanese Olympic Association would invite the various National Olympic Associations to take part in the Games, but this - although much preparation is required for the Games - they have not yet done. On the other hand, they have advertised to the world, through press channels, that they see no reason why they should not have the Games at Tokyo in 1940, even though at the same time their Government openly announces preparations for a long war.

Aberdare expressed himself privately to me as being very perturbed at the possible disastrous consequences to the Games which may arise out of the present situation. If Japan issues the invitations for Tokyo he thinks it most improbable that, owing to the strong anti-Japanese public opinion here, the British Association could or would wish to accept the invitation. In this I concur. It is reported to him that many of the Governing Bodies of British Sport are convinced that

they could not send teams to Tokyo in 1940, and, even if they desired to do so, that they would be unable to raise the necessary finance. Again, what about China? It must naturally be the wish of the Games' supporters that all the Nations should be able to compete fairly and equally. This is the first time that the Games have been given to the Far East, and how could the Chinese athletes compete at Tokyo?

As regards the United States, Aberdare says that the Athletic world, through the Sporting Associations, has not definitely committed itself one way or the other. He is fearful lest, if the Japs hold on to the Games; issue the invitations; the invitation is accepted by the American Olympic Association; and then, later on perhaps, owing to public opinion in the United States, the American teams could not go - and the British Olympic Association having in any event refused; the result might be the Olympic Games movement being wrecked beyond repair.

It might be said, very reasonably, that it is open to the British Olympic Committee to give some expression of its concern in the whole matter and make a move by approaching the United States Committee. The difficulty there is that any such move might be put down by various

Nations to an attempt on the part of the British to get the 1940 Games for themselves. At last year's Olympic International Meeting Britain and Finland were the "runners-up" to Tokyo. But Aberdare and his friends - amongst whom is my friend Lord Burghley, Champion "Olympic Games" Hurdler! a direct descendant of the great Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's famous Minister, who did his best to make Scotland a mere province of England! - have no "British" axe to grind in this matter. In due course the British Olympic Association would make the ordinary application for the Games to be held in London in 1944. What Aberdare stresses to me is that unless a contre-temps can be avoided, and the Games held in 1940 somewhere, the sequence will be broken, and quite possibly this most useful International Sports Meeting will cease to exist.

If the matter is left until Japan makes up her mind to issue, or not to issue, invitations, it might be too late to stage the 1940 Games elsewhere.

It is not outside the bounds of possibility that Japan (and the Japanese Olympic Committee and the Japanese Government cannot but be counted as identical in this matter), if she sees the certainty of some of the greater Nations not coming to Tokyo, and doubtful

attitudes on the parts of others, may purposely delay issuing the invitations in order to produce chaos, and make it impossible for the Games to be held elsewhere than Tokyo in 1940. In other words, the continuance of the Games - arising out of the Sino-Japanese conflict - is in the melting pot.

If it so happened to be the case, and were known, that the United States and British Olympic Associations were at one in their policy of not going to Tokyo, the situation could without doubt be saved. As indicated earlier in this letter, the invitation to the British Olympic Committee, if and when received, would - owing to public opinion over here - be refused. (As I said to Aberdare, I should myself be amongst the leaders of the mob demonstrating with banners in the streets against the proposal to send athletes to Tokyo!) Important issues would centre round the answer of the American Olympic Committee to the invitation, if and when received, but, for the reasons previously stated, it is extremely difficult for this side to make a move to ascertain whether the answer would, as in the case of Britain, be in the negative.

I have passed on to you - because, as I said, I thought it might interest you - the substance of

Aberdare's private conversation with me. It seems to be a very vital moment in the history of this great international sporting movement which has grown up under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee, and which is such a power, and growing power, for good-will amongst nations.

We have reports from the North of great gales, and I am going home to An Cala over the week-end to size up the damage! We both return there at the end of March.

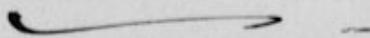
Recent happenings in Germany do not appear to have falsified my comments to you from time to time on the situation in that country. It is true to say that the extremer spirits in the Nazi Party do not seem to have obtained on this occasion all that they had hoped for, but the "purge" that has taken place, and the intensification of the Göring self-sufficiency "drive", cannot but compel us to regard the future with an even greater anxiety than heretofore.

Faith is very well; and we often talk of you and yours.

With our every good wish,

As ever yours,

*Arthur Murray*



P.S. Murray

v

February 10, 1938.

Dear Arthur:-

I begin to think that events in this world move with a velocity which increases with every passing year. Even since your letter, written on January twenty-fourth, so many new things have happened that you are completely out of date! Another crisis in Germany, but it does prove your rightness making unkind remarks about some people who see in Nazi-ism ideals of peace and good-will.

I am getting on better with some of your people -- for they are really showing signs of wanting to meet me part of the way -- perhaps not fifty per cent yet! I, too, am pursued by catch-cries in this country, and I am in the midst of a long process of education -- and the process seems to be working slowly but surely.

It is grand news that you and Faith can really come over this Autumn. Give her my thanks for that lovely view from An Cala -- which some day I must see.

My present plan -- if peace remains and if Congress goes home in June -- is to stay in these parts until after my boy John's wedding and the visit of the Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden, about July first, and then take a trip on a cruiser for a month, either in the further Pacific or South Atlantic. This means that from the middle of August I shall be up off and on at Hyde Park until November, so if you can get here then -- preferably between September

fifteenth and November first -- it would be perfect.  
As you know, the really hot weather will be over by  
the middle of September.

My warm regards to you both,

As ever yours,

The Honorable  
Colonel Arthur Murray,  
Carrington House,  
Hertford Street,  
London, W.1.,  
England.

*file personal*



Sunday, February 20th 1938

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

Dear Franklin,

I have been at An Cala, and am in Edinburgh on my way back to London until the end of March. A lovely, sunny day at An Cala - the view across sea and Islands at its best - and I did not want to come away to towns !

On Thursday last, in London, Faith and I lunched with the Runcimans. Walter R. said that he was writing to you, and asked if I could send on his letter so that it reached your hands direct. I said that I could do so. He has accordingly sent me the letter, and I enclose it with this.

The "velocity" (to which you refer in your letter of Feb. 10), with which world events move, is increasing almost hourly ! All the more reason that our statesmen here should take long views on the European /



European situation, or they will never catch up - much less keep pace with - the changes that confront them as the days pass. But after all there was no reason why they should have been surprised at the latest turn of events, unless indeed they did not believe - as some of us have always believed - that Hitler's eyes had a fixed stare in an easterly and south easterly direction, and that nothing would divert him from his objective.

Thank you so much for suggesting dates for us to come to Hyde Park. That will be delightful, and we shall look forward very much to it. Owing to my business engagements over here in October we will make it as soon after September 15th as suits you, and this you will perhaps be kind enough to tell us later on in the year.

With our warm regards,

As ever yours,

*Arthur Murray*

P.S. Feb. 21st. During the night Anthony Eden has gone! All credit and honour to him for the disinterested and patriotic /



patriotic-minded manner in which he has pursued his task as British Foreign Secretary in most difficult times. But whatever the past, we are dealing with the present, and, as it seems to me, in the point at issue, during the last few days, between the Prime Minister and Eden, the Prime Minister - who, as I suggested to you some months ago, is a "realist" in Foreign Policy - has taken the right view of the national interest. The operative cause of the split between them has been a difference as to the timeliness of conversations with Italy.

The outstanding difficulties with Italy are mainly three in number :-

- (1) The presence of Italian volunteers in Spain, and the failure to withdraw them in spite of Italy's ostensible participation in the work of the Non-Intervention Committee.
- (2) Italy's demand for the recognition of her conquest of Abyssinia, a point which falls to be decided by the League of Nations, but on which British influence must be far-reaching.
- (3) Italy's continuance of offensive propaganda.

The point on which the two Ministers parted company was whether, as Neville Chamberlain holds, these matters need /



need not be an impediment to negotiations in the course of which they might be adjusted, or whether, as Eden believes, assurances in regard to them should precede a general discussion.

The Prime Minister, in his anxiety for the relaxation of a tension which he regards as undesirable and even dangerous, is quite clearly disposed to let nothing stand in the way of a frank interchange of views; Eden's position apparently is that these are bound to be fruitless in the absence of some guarantee that British views in regard to them will be met.

The difference is one of procedure and not of principle, and that fact, no doubt, explains why those Cabinet Ministers who sympathise with Eden's view have not thought it incumbent upon them - at any rate up to the moment - to follow his example.

Eden's resignation will of course be a loss to the Government. He had a considerable following in the House of Commons, and in the country, and opponents of the Government will interpret his decision to resign /



resign as proof that his well-known devotion to the League of Nations is not shared by his colleagues. Political capital will undoubtedly be sought by the Labour Party from this point of view. But, however devoted some of us may be to the ideals of the League, our first consideration must be the dangers to peace and to democracy - exemplified once again in Hitler's speech yesterday - inherent in the scene that unfolds itself before our eyes as the tentacles of the totalitarian Octopi creep remorselessly outwards in the pursuit of succulent prey with which to assuage their tyrannical appetites. It will not, in my judgment, be found that Eden's departure portends in any sense a weakening of the democratic front. I believe Chamberlain to be essentially a broadminded democrat-as was also his brother Austen - as antipathetic to dictatorships as any one of us, but wishing not to leave the smallest pebble unturned in an endeavour to ascertain whether indeed there exists a path to a peaceful settlement of the world's tragedies. If all cannot approve his every step, and, if, in the event, he prove



prove unsuccessful in his quest, at least it will, I surmise, be found that in the process of his explorations he has not "let down" the policies and ideals of democracy.

A. M.

P.S.2 The last time I saw you and my old friend Ronald Ferguson was in this Club. As you know, he and "Springy" were very great friends. "Springy's" views on international affairs at this juncture would have been most interesting and valuable.

A. M.

Arthur Murray.

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

*file  
personal*

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

London, March 26th, 1938

The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.

Dear Franklin,

In accepting your very kind invitation for Faith and myself to come and stay with you this autumn, I asked if we might come as soon after Sept. 15 as was convenient to you. Various matters, however, business and otherwise, have tended to our being unable to leave Britain before October. But, as you gave us up to November 15, I am hoping that October will be as convenient for you as September.

We would propose to arrive New York on October 16, and it will be very nice if you will allow us to come to you about that time.

Faith and I are off this week to Rome to stay with Eric Perth for 10 days. We are looking forward to seeing your Ambassador there.

2.

the  
As it seems to me/Continental problems through which Edward Grey had to steer in pre-War days were simple as compared with those which fall to be solved by the British Government at these times. It may well be that the chickens which have been wandering through the tangled jungle of mis-taken policies are now coming home to roost. Failure to read aright from the beginning the ambitions and aspirations of the Nazi regierung -- of which failure, I trust, I am absolved by the tenor of my letters to you during the past year!-- have caused the situation with which we stand confronted to-day to be infinitely more complex than it might otherwise have been. But, however that may be, the policy now enunciated by the Prime Minister, setting forth the circumstances, and conceivable circumstances, in which Britain would draw the sword -- which is now being forged with redoubled energy -- is a policy of which the great bulk of the nation approves. The House of Commons approved it without a division. The Labour Party have since said that they only approved of the "rearmament" part of the policy. But they cannot "have it both ways". Their Leader, Atlee, might easily, in debate, have arisen and said that the Party

proposed to divide against the Prime Minister's policy, whilst reserving their approval of an intensive rearmament programme. But Atlee did not do so. The Party did not go into the Division Lobby. The facts speak for themselves, namely, that the European policy adumbrated by the Prime Minister has large majority support in Britain and throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In the course of our daily tasks in life there is often set before us -- with no other alternatives -- a choice of evils. So far as the problem of Italy is concerned, I conceive the greater evil to be that as Germany grew stronger Italy, if left completely within her orbit, would inevitably become an obedient tentacle of the German octopus, and that a German "bloc" from the Baltic to the Mediterranean (and possibly to the Bosphoros and the Black Sea) with all its probabilities of a world-hegemony-seeking conflict, would become an accomplished fact. If British policy can avert such a "bloc" it will be proceeding in the direction of safeguarding the independence of South Eastern European States, -- now, most unhappily, one less in number -- and in ensuring the continuance of European peace.

An old friend of mine (since school days)

Woodroffe by name, was dining with us a few nights ago. He is Chairman of British businesses operating in Central China (where he has been a great deal in recent years); is a Chinese and Japanese scholar; and a great friend of Chang-Kai-Shek's and other prominent members of the Chinese Government. Woodroffe says that the information from various quarters that is coming in to him now leads him to the belief that the beginning of the defeat of Japan, so far as her aims and objectives in China (particularly South of the Yellow River) are concerned, is definitely at hand, and, he thinks, may be much nearer at hand than many people suppose. We must devoutly hope that he is right in his prognostications.

Your Ambassador in London has kindly invited us to lunch with them on April 10th, after our return from Rome. Then, before Easter, we pack up for An Cala, and are much looking forward to the Spring growth in our garden, and to the "Seas and Hills of the West" with all the "freshness of life" that lingers on and around them.. How fortunate indeed are we that we have these exceeding pleasures awaiting us at no distant date.

With our every good wish,  
as ever yours,

*Arthur Murray*

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

*file  
personal*

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

21st June, 1938.

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.,  
U.S.A.

*Send card ~*

Dear Franklin,

So many thanks for your letter of May 13th. It is delightful that it suits you for us to come to you to Hyde Park after our arrival in New York on October 16th. We shall look forward to our visit very much indeed. The plans you envisage for us sound most entrancing. We will attend your behest and will bring old clothes! I am pretty good in the "old clothes" line! Faith, not quite so good! What member of the fair sex really is?! I am afraid I cannot bring my oldest thing in the way of clothes! It is a kilt jacket I had made for me in the year 1903 - 35 years ago! I could not bring it and wear it without bringing and wearing my kilt; so that rules it out, as a kilt at Hyde Park would be the cause for - I am not quite sure what!

Your "old clothes" story is quite the best in that line we have ever heard, and amused us mightily! I hope

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

I may see that suit! It ought never to be allowed to pass away into oblivion! A glass case should be its ultimate resting place!

We had a very interesting visit to the Perths in Rome. I was impressed by the joy of the Italian people at being able once again publicly to demonstrate their friendly feelings towards Britain. As an Italian said to me, "despite our newspapers, we Italian people never, even at the height of sanctions, became anti-British". Nor, it may be added, did they ever become pro-German. Between German and Italian no affinity exists. And the man in the street in Italy knew well what the Rome-Berlin axis meant to him, namely, ultimate subjection to the aims and policies of Nazi-ism. He hated, and still hates, the Spanish adventure, particularly seeing that, as did David unto Uriah the Hittite, Franco puts the Italians in the forefront of the battle. And the introduction of the goose-step into the Italian army by Mussolini brought down a measure of ridicule upon the latter's head. Dictators cannot afford to be ridiculed by their people!

It was very nice seeing Phillips in Rome, looking very well, and, as always, immensely liked on all hands.

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

-3-

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

It was very nice too for me to see, as an old friend of both, the close contact between him and Perth. It reminded me of those war-days in Washington when so much was accomplished, as you well remember, by intimate friendly contact between your people and ours. Which reminds me that Guy Gaunt has been writing his life story recently in a Sunday newspaper! He tells a good - but sometimes well-stretched-out - yarn, in breezy fashion! I have not seen him in years.

As you truly remark, when predictions on this side in relation to European affairs have been of the gloomiest, things have miraculously smoothed themselves out. Whether this will always be so seems to depend upon something beyond our calculations, namely, the workings of the abnormal mind of Hitler. From various of my friends in high British diplomatic circles, when I have asked them in recent weeks in London for their opinions regarding the future, I have obtained much the same answer, "It is impossible to forecast with any precision what will issue forth from Berchtesgaden." One thing, as it seems to me, can be said with some degree of certainty and that is that from over the edge of the Bavarian Alps there hangs a line

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

waiting to fish with unsavoury bait in any troubled waters. As Vansittart said to me - when Faith and I were lunching recently in London with him and his wife (whom you remember well as Mrs. Colville Barclay) - "walk back along any track that leads in the direction of possible difficulties or trouble, and you will almost invariably find yourself in Berlin".

The two outstanding psychological facts that have emerged since the Spring appear to be firstly that the Anschluss thoroughly awakened this country, and Europe generally, to the real meaning of Nazi-ism, and Nazi policy; and secondly that the stern attitude adopted several weeks ago towards Nazi designs on Czechoslovakia was a set-back - the first - to Hitler, and to his prestige. He came back in an angry mood from his visit to Rome; and the Czechoslovakian "set-back", plus the difficulties in Austria due to the side-tracking of the Austrian Nazis by the German Nazi hierarchy, have further disturbed him. What will be the effect of all these happenings on him and his policy? Who can answer that question? But upon the answer may hang the issues of peace or war. A terrible reflection that the possibilities of misery and death

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

-5-

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

for masses of humanity lie in that mountain Châlet at the mercy of a mind twisted to believe that it is in proximity of touch with the Divinity, and is cast in superior mould to that of ordinary mortals. If there be consoling thoughts, they are firstly, that the increasing armaments of Britain are an insurance against war, and secondly, that the Czechoslovakian episode served to re-clothe the Reichswehr Chiefs with some of their lost power. Strange indeed is the fashion in which fortune hands out her gifts! Here are we, four and twenty years after the Great War, praying for more power to come to the Military Party in Germany as a means of furthering the cause of peace!

I was highly delighted to notice your electoral triumphs, and congratulate you heartily upon them. May they aid you in the great task of beneficial reforms upon which you are engaged, and point the way to future victories.

Faith sends to both of you her greetings and best wishes, as do I.

As ever yours,

*Arthur Murray*

P.S. We shall be going to Ottawa to stay a few days with John Tweedsmuir after leaving you.

Gen - 2 - 38

May 13, 1938.

Dear Arthur:-

I have waited to write you until I could clear away my personal cobwebs by spending a week at sea on a cruiser. I am just back from a delightful, smooth, warm weather voyage all the way out to the easterly end of the Virgin Islands -- three afternoons of fairly good fishing -- much sunburn -- and the relatively simple diet of the Navy.

While I was away the Florida primary election seemed to prove that the voters' hearts (and heads!) seem still to be in the right place -- for the Administration's candidate won by a clear majority over the combined vote of four other candidates.

It is grand news that you and Faith will get here October sixteenth. According to my present plans, any time after that date will be perfect, as I expect to be between here and Hyde Park from then to early November. It will be a good time of the year though already fairly cold. We will have a picnic on the top of a very high hill in the eastern part of Dutchess County, and I will have the President's yacht on the river to take you for a day's sail on the upper Hudson. You must both of you bring your oldest clothes! In that connection I do not think you can equal the following:

In 1878 my Father had a tweed suit made in Edinburgh -- that was four years before I was born. He wore the suit constantly until his death

in 1900. I inherited it and wore it steadily until 1928, when I passed it on to my boy James. He still has it and wears it in the winter time when he is in the country. A good example of Scotch craftsmanship, aided and abetted by Dutch thrift!

Things international and things economic seem to have reverted completely to a time-serving status -- why in the name of common sense can't the poor old world come together and cast their thoughts at least twelve months ahead? In the old days we used to try at least to think a generation ahead. One of my cynical professor friends suggested that the world is becoming very Christian because it is following the precept "take no thought for the morrow". Isn't it amazing that in February there was no thought of the Eden episode and in early March no thought of the Austrian coup? As I think I have remarked to you before, I am most worried when all you people on the other side unite in saying "there is no possibility of war" -- perhaps for the good reason that every six months or so during the past five years when you have all united in gloomy predictions, things have miraculously smoothed themselves out.

Many thanks for sending me Runciman's letter. I hope he will come over here again on of these days to see some of the western and southern part of our country.

I hope Faith's eyes are really improving.

My best to you both,

As ever yours,

Colonel The Honorable Arthur Murray,  
An Cala,  
Isle of Seil,  
Argyll,  
Scotland.

*Genl Murray*

October 14, 1938.

Dear Arthur:-

They tell me your ship gets in Sunday morning and I am sending this by my Naval Aide, Commander Callaghan, so you will know the plans.

Doubtless you and Faith will want to go to the hotel for a few hours and then I hope that you will join me on the train at the Pennsylvania Station about 4.30 P.M. I will be on my way to Hyde Park from Washington and this will get us in in time for supper at Hyde Park.

As ever yours,

Colonel The Honorable Arthur Murray,  
New York City,  
New York

STANDARD FORM NO. 14 A  
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT  
MARCH 10, 1925

*Seal - 2*

# TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

DELAYED CABLE

ARTHUR MURRAY  
An Cala  
Isle of Seil  
Argyll  
Scotland

AS SMOKE SEEMS CLEARING COUNT ON VISIT WHAT DAY DO YOU  
AND FAITH ARRIVE

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

FROM

The White House  
Washington

*file personal*  
OCTOBER 1 1938

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 73702

July 30th, 1938

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Franklin,

Walter Runciman starts two days hence on his all-important Mission to Prague, and his activities will be well under way before this letter reaches you.

To-day I have received from him a personal letter to yourself which he asks me to send on to you. You will find his letter enclosed herewith.

The trust reposed in him by both sides -- and indeed by the bulk of European Governments and peoples -- is a tremendous tribute to him, and a well-placed tribute at that. Of British statesmen whom I have known in my time his character, outlook, judgment and prescience are more akin than those of any other to Edward Grey, whose close friend he was. I said to him that were Grey still with us he would warmly have approved of his (Runciman's) selection for this momentous Mission.

The eyes of civilisation will be focussed upon him. Vast may be the issues arising from his deliberations. All peace-loving peoples will wish him well. And, since British re-armament attained its present -- and displayed its potential -- proportions, there are more peace-loving peoples on the continent of Europe than there were when Britain was weak! Nevertheless, we must not be blind to the ageless fact that a leopard cannot change its spots.

The Parliamentary session ended yesterday. Its outstanding features have been the unquestioned dominance of the Prime Minister, and the weakness in authoritative personnel and in debate of the Opposition. The Prime Minister's critics have never challenged the sincerity of his desire for peace, and they seem to be becoming less and less certain that his methods are mistaken.

Faith and I send you our greetings and best wishes. We hope that you had a refreshing and healthful trip, and better fishing than unfavourable weather has given us of late! We are much looking forward to October.

as ever yours,

Arthur Murray



TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS  
"RIZCARLTON"

ASSOCIATED WITH THE  
RITZ AND CARLTON HOTELS  
LONDON AND PARIS  
RITZ-CARLTON, BOSTON

*file  
personal*

October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1938

RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL

MADISON AVENUE & FORTY SIXTH STREET

NEW YORK

Dear Franklin,

Faith will be writing you when she is through with her "hair" coiffure in a few days (!) but this is just a line to tell you how tremendously we enjoyed our stay with you at Hyde Park. We shall be continually looking back on it, and shall always remember it with very pleasurable thoughts. And, apart from everything else, it was of great interest to me to come in contact with some of the enthusiastic band of workers who are assisting in the

carrying out of your progressive and  
beneficial programme of reforms. I was  
deeply impressed by their personalities,  
knowledge and energy. Hoover says he  
dislikes (I think that was his expression)  
digging up the fossil bones of old  
mandates. At least when he is toiling  
with his spade and pickaxe at this  
barren task, he must feel quite at  
home, for he and his associates live  
and have their being in imagination

amidst the fossil bones of an order  
which you have caused to pass for ever  
from this land.

The cable to London backing  
"Golden Shore" and the others for the  
Lesniewitch tomorrow has been despatched.

It is terrible that on this occasion  
neither Faith nor I can wish you luck!

I will write you when I have  
seen John Buchan and Mackenzie King.

Again, with ever so many thanks  
for all you did to give us such an  
enjoyable visit. I was intensely  
interested in your "planting", "farming"

and "new house" activities.

Yours as ever

Arthur Murray



file  
personal

RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL

MADISON AVENUE & FORTY SIXTH STREET

NEW YORK

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS  
"RIZCARLTON"  
ASSOCIATED WITH THE  
RITZ AND CARLTON HOTELS  
LONDON AND PARIS  
RITZ-CARLTON, BOSTON

Oct 25<sup>th</sup>

Dear Mr. President,

I expect by  
now you are plunged deep down  
into the affairs & problems of  
your gigantic task - and the  
pleasant, happy & fragrant  
week in your home on  
the lovely Hudson - almost

a faint memory.

I can never thank you  
enough for the glorious  
week we spent at Hyde  
Park with you - the  
pinnis - rose lovely daisies  
& that marvellous air -  
something often to think  
about - always to  
remember. If we had  
been the King & Queen  
we could not have had a

happier or grander time.

Thank you Mr.

President so very much -

and when we get back

to our Devilish Island -

(Here I think they called  
it in one paper) we shall  
have so much to write about,  
and often & often from our

little garden on the sea - I shall  
send across to you God's blessing  
from our country to yours -

I hope we shall come out  
again before very many  
months - but in the meantime  
we shall fight for you and the  
Democracies like tigers -

Arthur is screaming at me  
to go out - Jimmy G. is very ill -  
W. G. is so brave - I do not think  
knows quite how ill he is - a low  
grade form of poisoning pleurisy, pneumonia.  
You would not - or barely recognize him -  
he has shrunk so - I feel very sad  
about him. Please keep very well  
yourself - Affectionately Cousin Faith.

Mrs. Murray.

WHO'S WHO FOR DINNER PARTY AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE  
ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29TH, 1938.

-----  
Mr. Charles Hebert. Member of the Tariff Commission. Descendant  
of one of the very earliest French Canadian settlers, who  
settled in the Island of Montreal about 1640.

Miss B. Smart.

Colonel and Mrs. J.D.Fraser. Honorary Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency.  
A lumberman.

Mr. David Johnson. Solicitor in the Department of Finance.

Mr. R. Fredenburgh. Third Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Mr. John Rowley. Young Barrister.

-----  
Who's WHO FOR DINNER PARTY AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE  
on SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30TH, 1938.  
-----

Mr. F.E.Bronson and Miss Bronson. Chairman of the Federal District  
Commission. His daughter, Miss Bronson, is at Lady Margaret's  
Hall, at Oxford.

Brigadier and Mrs. H.H.Matthews. Adjutant General of Canada. Has  
just left the command of the Royal Military College, Kingston,  
Ontario.

Colonel and Mrs. Maurice Pope. General Staff of the Department of  
National Defence. Mrs. Pope came from Belgium.

Mr. and Mrs. A.D.P.Heeney. First Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Dr. Robert H. Coats. Dominion Statistician.

P.S. Since closing your letter this has been handed to me by a  
gentleman clad in bright scarlet + gold - "much criticism of heels."  
I wonder what all the other people have got on their papers about us!

It looks dull anyway -

P.P.S. You never gave us round any of these on our picnics. Why  
not?

PSF: (St Britain) Arthur Murray folder  
Oct. 30, 1938

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
OTTAWA.

Dear Franklin,

As you will know,  
Mackenzie King is still away on  
his West Indian trip. He will  
not be back in Ottawa until  
after we have departed, so, un-  
fortunately, I shall not see him.

I have, however, explained  
fully to Tweedsmuir your  
proposal and "liaison"  
appointments by yourself and

the Canadian Government in connection with your respective Air Defence manufacturing programmes, and the two principal objects that you have in view to achieve thereby. Tweedsmuir is highly gratified at your proposal and its objects. He will talk to Mackenzie King in the matter as soon as the latter returns to Ottawa,

and thereafter will write you.

I gave him your messages which he was very glad to receive. He benefitted greatly from the "cure" he underwent in England, and is looking very fit and well.

We have had a nice visit here, and shall sail away in the Duchess of Richmond on Friday morning with the happiest memories of our stay with you at Hyde Park. I will

write you from London.

With every good wish

yours as ever

Arthur Murray



PSF: (H.B.) Arthur Murray  
H P

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1938.

MEMO FOR THE PRESIDENT

You said you wanted  
this returned so you could  
write to her.

G.

Oct 29

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
OTTAWA.

Dear Missy :

Please be kind  
with this .: Lovely weather  
here . but we do miss  
you all

David Murray

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
OTTAWA.

Saturday

Dear Mr. President

I will not bother you with another letter until I have got some interesting things to tell you - but this is to say how dreadfully homesick we are to be <sup>back</sup> at Hyde Park - I do not mean to be ungrateful but shall feel much better once I have told you this. We miss the place, the lovely happy atmosphere - all that goes to make up the whole thing - and the President above all. Last night to add to our agony - there was a large & solitary photograph of yourself reposing on the piano -

surrounded by at least 3 inches of silver  
+ a huge crown just above your  
head - and it didn't suit you at all!  
Well, I had to sit a whole evening  
gazing at this silver frame, while  
stuffed & starched young men in hot  
uniforms reaching up to just under their ears,  
& spurs, which kept catching in my dress - or  
somebody else's, or if not one dresses on bits  
of the trimmings of the chain - all so  
serious & self-conscious as they feel about the  
room - I longed to have a good laugh - but  
could only do so inside - This is terrible  
heresy on my part, but I know you will forgive  
it & understand what I mean when I tell  
you how we long to be back at Hyde Park.  
The Governor G. is much better after his cure

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.  
OTTAWA.

and has put on quite a little weight.

He did laugh heartily when I told him  
the story of Roosevelt & Hitler & Mussolini  
munching their bones discussing the pros & cons  
of world domination - but I don't think he  
quite approved of the one about Hitler's parents  
getting married so late in life - <sup>or perhaps</sup> such a  
thing as even a little hint at such a  
thing as anybody being born out of wedlock  
must not be breathed within the precincts of  
our Holy Government Houses! - or perhaps he  
didn't understand it . . .

The weather is lovely - but cooler than  
Dorchester County. We sail away on Nov. 16<sup>th</sup>

from Montreal -

Please, will you remember any  
photograph when you have a spare  
second - and please do not think I  
am disloyal by joking at all the  
things that happen & how they happen  
in this <sup>of France</sup> year - 1938; I just felt you  
would be amused also -

Please excuse the mistakes - but since I set  
down to write this two A.D.C.'s have come to me  
with large documents: -

- 1) When I sit at lunch today (even tho' there are only 6)
  - 2) am to drive with his 94. at 3.30
  - 3) Decorations - what not to be <sup>with</sup> a dinner -
- are very disturbing! may we send our love to you Faith -

PSF. (Ret. Britain) Arthur Murray  
Returned from the State dept.

Under  
Arthur Murray  
File  
Personal

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

I think this will interest you. It is by an English friend of mine and gives some interesting parallels. Please return when you are finished with it.



F.D.R.

PSF: G. Britain  
Arthur Murray folder

PRIVATE

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS, 1938.

Some sayings - before, during, and after.

M. Clemenceau, in "l'Homme Libre", February, 1914:- "Are we condemned in perpetuity to study the Kaiser's face every morning in order to know whether we shall be allowed to live in peace for yet another day, congratulating ourselves that the moment has not yet come when that gracious monarch will decide that his interest lies in wringing our neck?"

Herr Hitler, in "Mein Kampf":- "The traditional foreign policy of the German nation shall and must run as follows: Never allow the existence of two Continental Powers in Europe. Regard it as a duty to prevent ... a second military Power coming into existence, and ... should such a State already exist, to strike it down.

"The results of an alliance with England and Italy ... and ... a rapprochement with these two countries ... would give Germany the opportunity of making, at her absolute leisure, those preparations which would require to be taken in order to settle our score with France.... France, the deadly Enemy of our People, would become isolated....."

"It is only when .... the vitality of the German nation ... is concentrated on an active and final reckoning with France and engages in one last decisive fight with really ambitious aims, only then, I say, will it be possible to terminate the everlasting and intrinsically barren contest between us and France; provided always that Germany sees in the annihilation of France only a means to give our nation the opportunity to expand in another place....."

"We National Socialists must assure to the German people the land and territory which is their due on this earth ..... The right to land and territory can become a duty when, without territorial expansion, a great people appears doomed to decay. And particularly is this the case, when we are not dealing with any odd Nigger people but the German Universal mother, which has given the world of today its cultural form ..... No grace from any other people will give us the land, but only the force of a victorious sword ..... I must

turn in the sharpest manner conceivable against those national scribblers who see in such a violation of territory a violation of sacred human rights .....

"A State that in an age of racial poisoning devotes itself to the cultivation of its best racial elements must one day become Lord of the Earth".....

(The foregoing passages from "Mein Kampf" were either censored or omitted in the English edition.)

Chancellor Hitler, to an associate, at the time of Germany's departure from the League of Nations in 1933:- "It will be better for Germany to be outside the League for then we can delight the world with our surprises."

Herr Himmler, at the Memorial Service, in July 1933, in honour of the assassins of Dr. Rothenau:- "We acknowledge freely and frankly that we honour your deed as a great historical act, and that we will always regard it in that light. Like you, we men of the S.S. are ready every moment to be unstinting of the blood both of ourselves and of others, if it concerns the Fatherland".

Dr. Goebbels, at Nuremberg, April 7, 1938:- "Opportunities are rare ..... We believe that the rare moment has come when the world will be distributed anew.....  
"It is said abroad that Nazis are so disagreeable; that they are always springing surprises; and that the worst of it was that they always did this at week-ends when Cabinet Ministers were out of town. Well, when we occupied the Rhineland we waited until Britain and France had begun to quarrel about Abyssinia, and when the feathers were flying we said, 'now it is our turn'! The problem of Colonies too must be solved. We cannot say when it will be solved. Just as it was impossible to predict when Austria would be incorporated, the Rhineland reoccupied or conscription introduced, but all these problems were solved when the Reich was small."

Chancellor Hitler, at Munich, April 1938:- "I do not believe that there can be peace among the nations until they all have the same law and system of laws. That is why I hope that National Socialism will one day extend over the whole world. This is no fantastic dream but an achievable object."

Herr Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten German Party, at Prague, October 8, 1933:- "By identifying ourselves with the Czechoslovak State we assent also to the fundamental idea of democracy which guarantees the equal rights of peoples, and we are firmly resolved to put into effect and utilise all the resources of diplomacy, in order to reach a peaceful and profitable co-operation between the peoples of this State, and thus to contribute substantially to the pacification of the whole of Central Europe.

"We assess the Czech people, whose destiny is inextricably bound up with ours in these territories, as a cultural nation equal in quality to all peoples in Central Europe."

Herr Henlein, speaking in London, in 1934:- "I have never at any time had any relations with the present German Government. I have never seen Herr Hitler. I have never spoken to him; I have never corresponded with him or negotiated with him in any way."

Herr Henlein, in a lecture before the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1935:- "Both pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism lead inevitably to a catastrophe. Those, therefore, who are seriously concerned about peace in Europe, and regard the discussion of peace not as mere empty talk, which involves no commitments, must finally once and for all drop all those imperialistic ideas."

Herr Henlein, in an interview with a representative of "The Daily Telegraph" in December, 1935:- "Territorial revision of treaties is no solution. It is impossible to detach the German-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia from the Republic. Pan-Germanism, as a European policy, is at least as disastrous as pan-Slavism, and will lead to catastrophe."

Herr Henlein, at Prague, February, 1936:- "It is ridiculous in itself to allege that I and my fellow-workers, who to-day comprise the mouthpieces of the Sudeten German Home Front, have in thought and speech borrowed from German National Socialism, or that we have taken any lessons from it."

Chancellor Hitler, making for the first time a significant reference to the Sudeten Germans in a speech to the Reichstag, February, 1938:- "I will not tolerate the continued oppression of 3,500,000 Germans."

Field-Marshal Göring, after the Austrian Anschluss, to the Czech Minister in Berlin, March, 1938:- "Germany has no hostile intentions against Czechoslovakia. I give you my word of honour, and I can add that we wish only for better relations".

Field-Marshal Göring, at Vienna, after the Anschluss, March, 1938:- "If anyone gets in my way I will step on his feet."

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, March 24, 1938:- "Britain can give no guarantee to go automatically to the assistance of Czechoslovakia should she be attacked. Nor can she pledge herself to give full military aid to France under the Franco-Czechoslovak Treaty. If war broke out, however, other countries besides those which were parties to the original dispute might almost immediately be involved. This is especially true in the case of two countries like Britain and France, with long associations of friendship, with interests closely inter-woven, devoted to the same ideals of democratic liberty and determined to uphold them."

Captain Fritz Wiedemann, Hitler's Adjutant who visited London, in a message to Lord Halifax, July 20, 1938:- "The German Government is anxious for a peaceful solution of the Sudeten-German problem, and Herr Hitler is convinced that with goodwill on both sides a working arrangement can be reached".

Herr Henlein, in conversation with a special correspondent at Eger (Sudetenland), July 25, 1938:- "I absolutely rule out war as a possible solution of our Sudeten difficulties, no matter how the communications turn out ..... We do not ask for annexation to the German Reich".

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, September 28, 1938:- "On September 1 Herr Henlein went to Berchtesgaden to consult with Herr Hitler about the situation..... after his return it became clear that the Sudeten leaders insisted on the complete satisfaction of the eight Carlsbad points ..... Herr Hitler's speech at Nuremberg on September 12, and in particular his reference to German support for the cause of the Sudeten Germans, had an

immediate and unfortunate effect among those people. Serious rioting took place ..... martial law was proclaimed ..... on September 14 Herr Henlein issued a proclamation that the Carlsbad points were no longer enough, and .... thereupon fled to Germany".

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons on the eve of Lord Runciman's departure for Prague, July 26, 1938:- "We have impressed upon the Government of Czechoslovakia and also upon the German Government our own sense of the desirability of restraint. We have noted with satisfaction the efforts which the Czech Government have made, and we have also been very happy to receive assurances, only recently renewed, from the German Government of their own desire for a peaceful solution."

Field Marshal Göring, August, 1938:- "We got well ahead in re-  
armament!"

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, September 29, 1938:- "During August Lord Runciman's efforts had been directed, with a considerable measure of success, towards bringing the Sudeten and Czechoslovak negotiators together. In the meantime ..... early in August, we received reports of military preparations in Germany on an extensive scale ..... His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin was instructed in the middle of August to point out to the German Government that these abnormal measures could not fail to be interpreted abroad as a threatening gesture towards Czechoslovakia..... Herr von Ribbentrop replied in a letter in which he refused to discuss the military measures referred to, and expressed the opinion that the British efforts in Prague had only served to increase Czech intransigence. In the face of this attitude His Majesty's Government, through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who happened to be speaking at Lanark on August 27, drew attention again to some words I had used on March 24 in this House. He declared that there was nothing to add or to vary in the statement which I had made ..... Towards the end of August further events occurred which marked the increasing seriousness of the situation. The French Government .... took certain precautionary measures, including the calling up of reserves to man the Maginot Line ..... On August 31 Sir Neville Henderson gave a strong personal warning to the State Secretary at the Wilhelmstrasse regarding the probable attitude of His Majesty's Government in the event of German aggression against Czechoslovakia. On September 1 the Ambassador repeated as a personal and most urgent message the

warning he had already given to the State Secretary on the previous day . . . . . The Ambassador was at Nuremberg from September 9 to September 12, and he took every opportunity to impress on the leading German personalities, such as Field Marshal Göring, Herr von Ribbentrop, Dr. Goebbels, Baron von Neurath, and Baron von Weizsäcker the attitude of His Majesty's Government as set forth in my speech of March 24 and repeated by my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on August 27. Our Ambassador reported that there can be no ground for any doubt in the minds of the German Government as the result of those efforts. Lest such action might have a contrary effect to what was intended, it was decided not to make any personal representation to Herr Hitler himself. The French Government were informed of the warnings which had been conveyed by Sir Neville Henderson at Nuremberg. On September 9 the Cabinet decided to take certain precautionary naval measures, including the commissioning of mine-layers and mine-sweepers, and on September 11 I made a statement to the Press . . . . stressing in particular the probability, in certain eventualities, of Great Britain going to the assistance of France. His Majesty's Government felt that in the interests of Czechoslovakia it was vital for Dr. Benes to go unreservedly to the limit of concession. Dr. Benes responded to these expectations . . . . His Majesty's Minister in Prague was instructed on September 22 to inform Dr. Benes that His Majesty's Government were profoundly conscious of the immense sacrifices to which the Czechoslovak Government had agreed, and the great public spirit they had shown. The Czech proposals, the so-called Fourth Plan, had been put forward in the hope of averting a general disaster and saving Czechoslovakia from invasion. The Czechoslovak Government's readiness to go to such extreme limits of concession assured her of a measure of sympathy which nothing else could have aroused."

Lord Runciman, in his Report of September 21, 1938: - "In my opinion -- and I believe in the opinion of the more responsible of the Sudeten leaders -- the so-called Czech Fourth Plan embodied almost all the requirements of the Karlsbad eight points, and with a little clarification and extension could have been made to cover them in their entirety. Negotiations should at once have been resumed on this favourable and hopeful basis; but little doubt remains in my mind that the very fact that they were so favourable operated against their chances with the more extreme members of the Sudeten German party. . . . The Czech Government gave way at once to the demands of the Sudeten German party in the matter of the incident at Mährisch-Osttau on September 7, but I am convinced that this did not suit the policy of the Sudeten extremists, and that incidents were provoked and instigated on September 11, and with greater effect after Herr Hitler's speech at Nuremberg on September 12. . . . Directly and indirectly, the connexion between the chief Sudeten leaders and the Government of the Reich had become the dominant factor in the situation; the dispute was no longer an internal one. It was not part of my function to attempt mediation between Czechoslovakia and Germany. Responsibility for the final break must, in my opinion, rest upon Herr Henlein and Herr Frank and upon those of their supporters inside and outside the country who were urging them to extreme and unconstitutional action . . . . ."

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in House of Commons, September 28, 1938: - "He (Herr Hitler) made it plain (at Berchtesgaden on September 15) that he had made up his mind that the Sudeten Germans must have the right of returning if they wished to the Reich. If they could not achieve this by their own efforts, he would assist them to do so, and he declared categorically that rather than wait he would be prepared to risk a world war. At one point he complained of British threats against him, to which I replied that he must distinguish between a threat and a warning, and that he might have just cause for complaint if I allowed him to think that in no circumstances would Great Britain go to war with Germany when in fact there were conditions in which such a contingency might arise. "So strongly did I get the impression that the Chancellor was contemplating an immediate invasion of Czechoslovakia that I asked him why he had allowed me to travel all that way, since I was evidently wasting my time. . . ."

"I have no doubt now, looking back, that my visit alone prevented an invasion, for which everything was ready."

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, September 28, 1938: - (At midnight meeting with Herr Hitler at Godesberg on September 23, 1938) "I spoke very frankly . . . . and I bitterly reproached the Chancellor for his failure to respond in any way to the efforts which I had made to secure peace. . . . Herr Hitler repeated to me with great earnestness that this was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe . . . . It is true he said, 'There is one awkward question, the Colonies, but that is not a matter for war - there will be no mobilization about that' . . . .

" . . . . Yesterday morning Sir Horace Wilson resumed his conversations with Herr Hitler and . . . . by my instructions repeated to him in precise terms . . . the upshot of our conversations with the French on the 25th and 26th, namely, that if the Czechs reject the German Memorandum and Germany attacks Czechoslovakia, we had been informed by the French Government that they would fulfil their obligations to Czechoslovakia, and that should the forces of France in consequence become actively engaged in hostilities against Germany the British Government would feel obliged to support them . . . Herr Hitler informed Sir Horace Wilson that action would be taken at 2 p. m. today. . . ."

Chancellor Hitler, in letter to Prime Minister Chamberlain, September 23, 1938: - "The behaviour of the Czechoslovak Government can only be described during recent weeks and days as madness. The situation is unbearable and will now be terminated by me."

President Roosevelt to Herr Hitler, September 27, 1938: - "The question before the world today, Mr. Chancellor, is not a question of errors of judgment or injustices committed in the past. It is a question of the fate of the world today and tomorrow. . . . The present negotiations still stand open. They can be continued if you give the word."

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, October 3, 1938, outlined the difference between Herr Hitler's

"Godesberg" Memorandum and the "Four-Powers" Agreement at Munich as follows: -

GODESBERG

Memorandum was, in fact, an ultimatum with a time limit of six days.

Evacuation and occupation of territory by German forces to be completed in one operation by October 1.

German line on Godesberg map took in areas not predominantly German in character.

Areas on Czech side to be submitted to plebiscite laid down by Germany, whereas those on German side left undefined.

German occupation of plebiscite area up to time of plebiscite, and then troops to be withdrawn.

Memorandum did not indicate how vote would be taken, raising fears that large areas might be selected which would operate disadvantageously to Czechoslovakia.

Evacuation without damaging existing installations, and no food, cattle, or raw materials to be moved.

MUNICH

Agreement reverted to the original Anglo-French proposals.

Evacuation and occupation to be carried out in five clearly defined stages between October 1 and 10.

Line now to be fixed by an International Commission.

Plebiscite areas to be defined by International Commission, the criterion to be their predominantly German character.

Plebiscite areas to be occupied at once by an international force.

Plebiscite to be taken on the Saar basis by small administrative areas.

Agreement included several valuable provisions which found no place in the Godesberg Memorandum.

Lord Chatfield, ex-First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Lords, October 3, 1938: - "There is no reason for the British Empire to be afraid of anybody so long as we keep strong. It is said we have lost prestige. I do not believe it. We were led into an impracticable position, and had to abandon it. Those who led us there, not the nation as a whole, have lost prestige.

"No military action could have saved Czechoslovakia. What was the good of saying to a man in a lion's den, 'Never mind if he does eat you up, I am going to stop his rations for the future'. That was all the British Navy could have done."

Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bart., M. P., Leader of the Liberal Opposition, in the House of Commons, October 3, 1938:-

"Whatever view is taken of recent events there is no excuse for us failing now to take every precaution in our power in every sphere of national defence and national life. (Loud cheers.) To put it bluntly, democracies have to show themselves as resolute in policy and in spirit as nations under any other form of government."

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Simon, K. C., M. P., in the House of Commons, October 3, 1938:-

"For the first time, so far as I know, Herr Hitler has made some concession. It must be a very difficult thing for the head of a totalitarian State to retreat. It is like a motor car that has got no reverse gear. (Laughter.) . . . . If there was a war-enthusiasm in Germany in 1914, there is no war enthusiasm today. Is there not a world of difference between the Berlin that shouted 'Got strafe England', and the Berlin that blesses the name of the Prime Minister of England? . . . . The head of the British Government is no longer an abstraction to Nazi Germany. Not all the machinery of Herr Goebbels can prevent the visible presence of the British Prime Minister being known to the German people. He is a personality, he has descended from the skies and has made contact with the Führer. . . . . He has snatched peace from the jaws of war."

Minister for Defence, Sir Thomas Inskip, K. C., M. P., in the House of Commons, October 4, 1938:-

"Great Britain has always borne the burden of giving the maximum possible effect that could be secured to the Covenant of the League of Nations. We have respected all our pledges, in the spirit and in the letter."

Mr. McGovern, M. P., Independent Labour Party, in the House of Commons, October 6, 1938:-

"I cycled over 1000 miles through Prague and Vienna to Berlin. . . . I am entitled to say generously to the man at the head of affairs in a difficult situation, if he averted war and gave a breathing space to the world, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.' (Loud Ministerial cheering.) . . . . In his speech last night, Mr. Churchill spoke about the struggle for democracy. I

remember Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, standing at that dispatch box for weeks on end advocating a limited constitution for India and Mr. Churchill opposing it. His love of democracy seems a very unreal thing. . . . . Germans to whom I spoke in Germany were afraid to refer to Hitler by name. They called him 'Uncle'. One day a German friend greeted me with the words: 'I have good news for you, McGovern. Your Uncle is coming to see our Uncle.' (Loud laughter.) . . . . I believe in that which was done to preserve peace. I believe that the men and women in the street - and this is where I disagree with large numbers of the leaders of the working class movement - did not care what the terms were. They were thankful that peace was ensured. They did not reason it out. Many of those who did reason it out would have fought with the other man's body. I am not for fighting with the other man's body." (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

Chancellor Hitler, at Berlin, October 5, 1938:-

"During the last months and weeks I have had a great foreign helper. In my last speech I have already thanked that man who, as a loyal and great friend, stepped behind Germany - Benito Mussolini.

"I must also thank those two great statesmen who, in the last minute, recognized the greatness of the moment, and who declared themselves ready to work for the solution of one of the most urgent problems, and who thus enabled me to stretch out my hand for an understanding.

"But above all, my gratitude goes out to the German people. . . . . At a time when hundreds and hundreds of thousands of men were drafted for labour, and when other hundreds of thousands were called to the colours, not a single purchase was made from fear, and no woman had doubts. . . . .

"We did not have to close any savings banks. We did not have to close any banks. We had no difficulties in our business life. I must say it - I am proud of my German people. . . . .

"One of the greatest crises of Europe has been ended, and all of us, not only in Germany, but beyond it, can, for the first time, really look forward to Christmas. It shall be for us all a true festival of peace.

"No one in the world will help us, if we do not help ourselves. . . . . We are obliged to recognize how

immensely we are indebted to our unknown compatriots, the innumerable small people. In these last months hundreds of thousands of German workmen have been suddenly taken away from their professions. They were told one day to pack their small trunks and go to the West. A gigantic army of workmen has erected a wall of steel and concrete for the protection of all of us in Germany. They had to leave behind all comforts of the ordinary citizen; wife and children, and their place of work, and to adopt a new and often more difficult work. They had to put up with any inconveniences, bad quarters - even communal quarters. Of course we tried to make it bearable, but nevertheless we must be thankful to them. . . . We must all bear in mind what we owe to the German community, which is a community of sacrifice. This wonderful community has made it possible for me to solve the necessary Sudeten problem without fighting. What sacrifices fighting would have demanded. . . . We know that all human things require in the last resort the blessing of Providence, but we know also that Providence only gives its blessing to those who are worthy of it. I believe we have all had so much happiness in this year that we all must voluntarily bring our sacrifice to this happiness, in order to show our gratitude to Providence, which has protected our people from suffering, and has given the greatest happiness to millions of Germans."

Prime Minister Chamberlain in the House of Commons, October 3, 1938:- "Those messages of President Roosevelt, so ~~friend~~ *firmly* and yet so persuasively framed, showed how the voice of the most powerful nation in the world could make itself heard across 3000 miles of ocean and sway the minds of men in Europe."

John Masefield in "The Times", October 4, 1938:- "Let this country never forget President Roosevelt's magnificent, wise, timely and perhaps decisive intervention at an instant when peace seemed impossible."

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, October 3, 1938:- "I say in the name of this House and of the people of this country that Czechoslovakia has earned our admiration and respect for her restraint, for her dignity, for her magnificent discipline in face of such a trial as any nation has ever been called upon to meet. General Syrový, her Prime Minister, said the other night in his broadcast: 'The Government could have decided to stand up against overpowering forces, but it might have meant the death of millions.'

Prime Minister Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, October 6, 1938: - "Nobody who has been through what I had to go through, who day after day was face to face with the thought that in the last resort it would be I and I alone who would have to say that 'Yes' or 'No' which would decide the fate of millions of my countrymen, of their wives and their families -- a man who has been through that cannot readily forget it. (Sympathetic Ministerial cheers.) . . . . .

"Looking back now on those events I feel convinced that by my action -- I claim no credit for my action, for I think it was only what anyone in my position would have felt it his duty to do -- I say that by my action I did avert war. I am equally sure that I was right in doing so. (Ministerial cheers.)

"War today -- this has been said before, and I say it again -- war today is a different thing not only in degree but in kind from what it used to be. We no longer can think of war as it was in the days of Marlborough or the days of Napoleon or even in the days of 1914. When war starts today, in the very first hour, before any professional soldier or sailor or airman has been touched, it will strike the workman, the clerk, the man in the street or in the bus and his wife and children in their homes. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Speaker, when you think of these things you cannot ask people to accept a prospect of that kind, you cannot force them into a position where they would have to accept it, unless you feel yourself and make them feel that the cause for which they are going to fight is a vital cause, a cause that transcends all the ordinary human values, a cause to which you can point some day if you won the victory and say: 'That cause is safe.' (Ministerial cheers.)

"Since I first went to Berchtesgaden more than 20,000 letters and telegrams have come to No. 10, Downing Street. Of course I have only been able to look at a tiny fraction of them, but I have seen enough to know that the people who wrote did not feel that they had such a cause to fight for if they were asked to go to war in order that the Sudeten Germans might not join the Reich. . . . . That is how they are feeling. That is my answer to those who say that we should have told Germany weeks ago that

if her army crossed the border of Czechoslovakia we should be at war with them. We had no treaty obligations, we had no legal liabilities to Czechoslovakia. If we had said that, we should have felt that we should have received no support from the people of the country. (Hear, hear.)

"What we did do -- it was the only course, I think, that we could take -- was twofold. We advised the Czech Government repeatedly to come to terms with the Sudeten Germans, and when Germany mobilized we uttered no threats but we did utter a warning. We warned her again and again that if, in consequence of her obligations, France became involved in active hostilities with Germany, we would be bound to support her. When we were convinced, as we must have been convinced, that nothing could keep the Sudeten lands any longer within the Czechoslovakian State, we urged the Czech Government as strongly as we could to agree to the cession of the territory and to agree promptly.

"I pay my tribute to the wisdom and the courage of M. Benes in accepting our advice and the advice of the French Government. I agree that it was a hard decision for anyone who loves his country to take, but to accuse us of having by that advice betrayed Czechoslovakia is simply preposterous. (Ministerial cheers.) What we did was to save her from annihilation -- (hear, hear) -- and give her a chance of a new life as a new State which, even if it involves the loss of territory and fortifications, will perhaps enable her to enjoy in the future and to develop a national existence in neutrality and a security comparable to that which we see in Switzerland today. (Cheers.) Therefore I think that the Government deserves the approval of this House -- (cheers) -- for its conduct of affairs in this recent crisis, which saved Czechoslovakia from destruction and Europe from Armageddon. (Loud cheers.) That is all I want to say about the past and I come to the future.

"I do not believe that war is inevitable. (Hear, hear.) Someone put into my hand a remark made by the great Pitt about 1787, when he said:-

'To suppose that any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another is weak and childish, and has its foundation neither in the experience of nations nor in the history of men.'

"It seems to me that the strongest argument against the inevitability of war is to be found in something that has been recognized in every single part of the House, that is, the universal aversion to war of the people, their hatred of the notion of starting to kill one another again. (Cheers.)

"What is the alternative to this bleak and barren policy of the inevitability of war? In my view it is that we should seek, by every means in our power, to avoid war by analysing its possible causes -- (hear, hear) -- and by trying to remove them -- (hear, hear) -- by discussion in a spirit of collaboration and good will. (Cheers.) I cannot believe that such a programme would be rejected by the people of the country even if it does mean the establishment of personal contact with dictators and talk, man to man, on the basis that each is free to maintain his own ideas of the internal government of his country, willing to allow that other systems may suit better other people. (Ministerial cheers.) I do indeed believe that we may yet secure peace in our time, but I never meant to suggest that we would do that by disarming until we can induce others to disarm too. Our past experience has shown us only too clearly that weakness in armed strength means weakness in diplomacy. Our diplomacy is to secure lasting peace, and I realize that diplomacy cannot be effective unless there is a consciousness, not only here but elsewhere, that behind the diplomacy is the strength to give effect to it. (Ministerial cheers)

"One good thing at any rate has come out of this emergency through which we have passed. It has thrown a vivid light on our preparations for defence, on their strength and their weakness. I would not think we were doing our duty if we had not already ordered that a prompt and thorough inquiry should be made to cover the whole of our preparations, military and civil, in order to see, in the light of what happened during these hectic days, what further steps may be necessary to make good our deficiencies in the shortest possible time. (Ministerial cheers.)

"I think nobody could fail to have been impressed by the fact the emergency brought out that the whole people of this country, whatever their occupation, whatever their class, whatever their situation, are ready to do their duty, however disagreeable, however hard, however dangerous that duty might be. (Cheers.)

"Finally, I would like to repeat what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said yesterday in his great speech -- (Loud Ministerial cheers) -- that our policy of appeasement does not mean that we are going to seek new friends at the expense of old ones, or, indeed, at the expense of any other nations at all. I do not think that at any time there has been a more complete unity of views between the French Government and ourselves than there is at the present time. Their objective is the same as ours, to obtain the collaboration of all nations, not excluding the totalitarian States, in building up a lasting peace for Europe. (Hear, hear.)

"That seems to me to be a policy....which should command the support of all who believe in the power of human will to control human destiny; and....this House can, by a decisive majority, show its approval of the Government's determination to pursue it." (Loud and prolonged Ministerial cheers.)

Foreign Secretary Viscount Halifax, in the House of Lords, October 3, 1938:- "Before I close will your lordships allow me to say something of the part which it has fallen to the Prime Minister to play in these events? (Cheers.) His courage in taking every political risk, his perseverance and faith in refusing to admit failure, his resource in the invention of new means to snatch success when all seem to have failed -- these are things that the world has understood. They were indeed the qualities by which the nations were led back from the great darkness that seemed to be finally descending on them.

"But what I think the world can never measure was the almost unbearable weight that rested personally and alone upon his shoulders. (Cheers.) This, no colleagues could share, and for the manner in which he bore it no thanks of his fellow-men can be too great. (Cheers.) He was engaged all those days in a race against time,

the stakes the lives of millions, and I shall always be grateful for the privilege of having been allowed to work so closely with him.

"In one of the country Churches of England is set an inscription to its builder, who had had the faith to build it nearly 300 years ago during the civil war. It is, I think, in spirit not inapt to express some of our deeper thought on what it has been, under God, permitted to the Prime Minister to do. It runs thus:-

'In the year 1643 when all things sacred were either demolished or profaned this Church was built by one whose singular praise it is to have done the best things in the worst times and to have hoped them in the most calamitous.'" (Loud cheers.)

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Simon, M.P., speaking at Sheffield, October 13, 1936:- "His Majesty's Government has entered on a vigorous, complete, remorseless, and urgent survey of the lessons of the crisis. It is just as well we have had to try out our preparations under the conditions of an actual crisis. It is still more to the good that it was only a trial, for there is much to improve. We are now given an opportunity of correcting errors and filling omissions. At the same time do not let us undermine or underrate the forethought and thoroughness of the arrangements that were made. . . . . I am not entering on any controversy between volunteering and compulsion, though I would observe that compulsion is not the same thing as organization. But how much more valuable volunteer offers of help would be if in each case choice and allotment of the essential national work had been made beforehand. There is a widespread realization that the organization of manpower is a very complicated task. We must not wait for this organization until the crisis recurs. In whatever may be the most appropriate form we must do it now."

Chancellor Hitler, at Nuremberg, September 12, 1938:- "The Holy Roman Empire begins to breathe again. . . . . I had the insignia of the old Reich brought to Nuremberg in order to induce not only my own nation but also the whole world to consider that more than a thousand years before the discovery of a new world a mighty Germanic Reich existed. . . . ."

"The German Reich has slumbered for a long time; the German people have now awakened and taken their thousand-year-old crown to themselves."

(In "The Holy Roman Empire" of Charlemagne was incorporated the territory which now comprises France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, most of Germany, Northern Italy, Istria, Dalmatia, Bohemia, and a portion of Northern Spain).

Mr. Ward Price, describing Chancellor Hitler's "retreat" near Berchtesgaden, in "The Daily Mail", September 19, 1938: -  
"This unique and all but inaccessible retreat, has secretly emerged from the solid rock to the Fuhrer's order.

"He intends it as a place to which he can retire for conference and reflection in a solitude guarded by sheer precipices 3,000 feet deep on every side.

"Drifts of eternal snow fill the hollows of the surrounding crags, whose isolation it shares 6,000 feet above the sea.

"A specially built motor-approach winds for five miles up the steep side of the Hohen Goll towards it, and at last reaches a shelf built out of the perpendicular cliff-face.

"Heavy bronze double doors in the solid rock here open to reveal a corridor 130 yards long and 20 feet broad, walled with unpolished marble, and lit by bronze electric lamps, which leads straight into the stone heart of the mountain.

"At the end of this Alpine tunnel -- fantastic though it may seem -- is the entrance to a great copper-lined lift with leather seats.

"It might be in some luxurious hotel instead of the bowels of the Alps, and it carries a dozen people at a time on a three-minutes journey up a shaft 400 feet high to the palace on the Kehlstein."

The plain people of Europe, October, 1938:- "Are we condemned in perpetuity to study Hitler's face every morning in order to know whether we shall be allowed to live in peace for yet another day, congratulating ourselves that the moment has not yet come when that gracious personage will decide that his interest lies in wringing our neck?"

ARTHUR MURRAY

October 12, 1938.



Nov. 3 — 1938

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d-2

Dear Franklin,

Faith tells me that the  
subject of the Regalia of the "Holy  
Roman Empire" (the "Hapsburg Treasure")  
arose one day in conversation between  
you and her. It occurs to me  
in that connection that enclosed  
newspaper article will interest you,  
if you have not already seen it.

My great great-great grandfather

married a daughter of a Baron of  
the Holy Roman Empire! But, strange  
to relate, he was a good, and not  
a wicked, Baron!

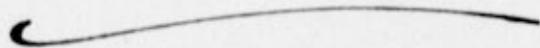
We depart, most regretfully,  
tomorrow from the North American  
Continent. We have many happy  
and interesting memories to take  
with us. I shall be writing you  
from the other side.

With Faith's and

my warmest wishes,

yours as ever

Arthur Murray



The Gazette

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MONTREAL, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1938.

Suppression is but the fear of belief; religion is the confidence.

"OTHER PEOPLES' WARS."

Former President Hoover, who continues to loom gloomily over the Republican horizon of the United States, is reported to have said that the United States "should keep out of other peoples' wars" and seek peace out of other peoples' wars.

On the same day upon which Mr. Hoover delivered himself of the pronouncement quoted above Mr. Roosevelt issued another warning to European dictators.

bearing upon European developments. Just how thick, we wonder, is the Hitler hide?

MILLIONS FOR THE AIR

An enlarged programme of construction and a proportionately large increase in expenditure are foreshadowed as features of the defence policy which will be submitted by the Government at the next session of Parliament.

SHIPS THAT PASS.

Former Torontonians living here and hereabout may have noticed in the advertising columns of The Gazette this week a little notice inserted by Toronto Transportation Commission.

GERMANY'S COLONIAL AMBITIONS.

Germany has wasted no time in making a bid for the return of the colonies which she lost following her defeat in the World War.

Germany took the offensive against South Africa from East Africa and the Cameroon. There would also be naval dangers in Africa and elsewhere.

Mr. Macdonald also brings in the question of food supplies for the United Kingdom, two-thirds of which are imported from all quarters.

THE GERMANS AT NUREMBERG.

The regalia symbolizing a thousand years of German emperorship came into the possession of the Third Reich when Austria was taken into the Nazi fold last March.

EUROPEAN BURG TOOK THE JEWELS.

European burg took the jewels from his castle at Kyburg in 1273.

CHRONOLOGICAL GRATIA

ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUG. "Conrad by the Grace of God Emperor of the Romans."

Crown of the Holy Roman Empire

(By J. L. Carlin, in The Hamilton Spectator.) "The Germans Reich has shimmered for a long time, the Germans people have now awakened and their first 1,500-year-old crown is themselves—Hitler, at Nuremberg, September 23, 1938.

The regalia symbolizing a thousand years of German emperorship came into the possession of the Third Reich when Austria was taken into the Nazi fold last March.

DEATH OF DONALD ALEXANDER HEMMELING.

Death of Don. Alex. Hemmeling, Chief Justice of Manitoba, 1937.

DEATH OF W. E. H. MASSEY.

Death of W. E. H. Massey, manufacturer and philanthropist.

DEATH OF J. COLIN FORBES.

Death of J. Colin Forbes, R.C.A., Toronto.

POWER OF DISSENT.

Power of dissent of provinces by Dominion referred to Supreme Court of Canada.

RETIROSCOPY.

Oh it is good to live when perfumed sweats Of Indian Summer smoke from United leaves

THE HOMEWORK BURDEN.

To the Editor of The Gazette: Sir,—With reference to homework in our schools,

THE FRENCH PRESS.

Waylay Crossing Memorial. La Presse (Montreal): "People travelling by car, going to church



THE MAILED FIST

RETROSCOPY.

Oh it is good to live when perfumed sweats Of Indian Summer smoke from United leaves

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The Holy Roman Empire Greater again. E.P.S.P. 1938! Murray J.



# TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM **The White House**  
Washington

**November 3 1938**

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 73702

*Personal file*

**Colonel the Honorable and Mrs. Arthur Murray  
on Board Steamship Dutchess of Richmond,  
Montreal, Canada.**

**Bon voyage to you both. Come back again  
very soon. I miss you much at Hyde Park.**

**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.**

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THE PRESIDENT TEMPORARY WHITE HOUSE=

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1938 NOV 4 AM 10 37

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR TELEGRAM WE DO SO HOPE WE SHALL BE ABLE  
COME AGAIN SOON HOW WE WISH WE WERE NOW EN ROUTE FOR HYDE

PARK OUR LOVE=

FAITH AND ARTHUR MURRAY

PSF: (21 Britain) Arthur Murray folder  
Address for next few months

X

Carrington House  
Herford Street W. 1.  
London.  
May. 0495.

Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>

1938

My dear "Missie,"

Enclosed - if you  
please!

Our every good wish to  
you. In great haste,

Yours very sincerely

Arthur Murray

Carrington House  
Hertford Street W. 1.

May. 0495.

December 15th, 1938

Dear Franklin,

For one good reason and another -- his preparations for, and absence in Paris, and my absence on business from London -- I have been unable until this week to get into contact with the Prime Minister. However, a date and hour having been finally fixed, I went down to the House yesterday evening and had a good talk with him. I may say that ten days ago I went to the Foreign Office and conversed for some time with Halifax. These two are working very closely together so far as Foreign Affairs are concerned. They are both wise and far-seeing men, with great experience of Local and National governmental problems behind them; and both essentially straight in their outlook on life. Nor are they subject to any illusions with regard to the people with whom they are faced on the Continent of Europe. Theirs is the policy of Edward Grey -- as I saw it closely during the years before the War -- to offer the hand of friendship to Germany, but not at the expense of existing friendships, whilst at the

same time watching assiduously every move of possible opponents, and making vigorous preparations to meet any emergency. This policy -- as in pre-war days -- certainly is in keeping with the desires and aims of the majority of the citizens of the country. And if, unhappily, war were to come, this policy would achieve, as did the policy of Grey, the entry into the war of a practically unanimous nation.

I gave to the Prime Minister in my talk with him the personal greetings and messages from yourself. These he appreciated very much. He asked me to tell you that he was immensely grateful to you for all that you had done and were doing, not only by your very powerful messages to Hitler at the time of the crisis, but generally by your exceedingly sympathetic and helpful attitude throughout these trying times. He wished me to tell you that the messages which I gave him from you, and your sympathetic attitude were most encouraging to him; and, I may add, on my own, that it was quite clear to me, watching him closely as he talked, that he felt deeply what he was saying, and did derive real encouragement therefrom. In parenthesis, I may say that despite the continuous strain

on him he is looking remarkably fit and well, self-confident and determined. The strain is heavier in that, as he said, "you never know from day to day what these fellows are going to do". Of one thing I am certain and that is -- and I am convinced you will agree -- that he bears the strain so well, and looks so fit, because he is a fisherman; and a very good one at that!

I conveyed to him the formulae -- he at once so named them -- which, as you will remember, you worked out one day when we were talking in the Library at Hyde Park.

There were two -- I wrote down the exact words at the time.

The first one -- which you wished him to feel privately -- was that in the event of hostilities with the dictatorships, he "would have the industrial resources of the American nation behind him". To receive this message from you, he said, was very encouraging indeed, and he asked me to thank you warmly for it.

The second formula was that, in the same circumstances, "Great Britain could rely upon obtaining raw material<sup>s</sup>

from the democracies of the world."

I explained to him as regards this second formula that you wished him to feel that he could use it publicly if, and at any time that he thought fit or necessary to do so. He was highly appreciative of this, and thanks you very much. "It might be most important", he said. "There is no question", he continued, "but that in certain circumstances a statement which really brought it home that the vast resources of the United States would <sup>be</sup> behind Great Britain might have a properly deterrent effect. Whether on Hitler himself, its impossible to say; I don't think anybody could say. Since I have seen and talked to Hitler I realise that he is a man who gets an idea into his head, and the idea swells and swells until it gets near bursting point, and then you can't say whether anything will stop it bursting. But, at any rate, a statement of this kind might certainly have a powerfully deterrent effect on the rest of them and on the army, and make them do their best to put a brake on Hitler if his idea looked like bursting out. I am very grateful to the President for these formulas; for his private one, and for the one he says I may use. They are both very encouraging".

I then talked to Chamberlain on the questions of the German Air Programme and Palestine.

I laid before him a statement which I had drawn up -- following on our talk at Hyde Park -- in which were set forth (a) your suggestions in the matter of British and French programmes to equalise the German and Italian efforts, and (b) what was in your mind as to methods, outwith the Neutrality Law, for assisting towards overwhelming superiority. He thanks you very much for these valuable and helpful proposals, and has asked me to see the Air Minister, Sir Kingsley Wood, and discuss the whole matter with him, so that the technical aspects may be thrashed out.

On the subject of Palestine: there is at the moment, as you know, an interregnum, so far as the formulation of future policy is concerned. Chamberlain is most appreciative of your views, and is sincerely hoping that, as a result of the Conference which is to assemble next month, a solution to the terribly anxious Palestinian problem may be forthcoming. I have arranged to see Malcolm Macdonald, Secretary for the Colonies, tomorrow, to to talk over the Palestine question.

Chamberlain was highly interested in the description which I passed on to him from you of your Cabinet Meeting at which you had asked for opinions on the subject of possible Japanese menaces to the Canadian Pacific coast and to Austrasia respectively.

I had set down in writing -- because I felt that Chamberlain would like to have it for future keeping -- the description that you gave to Faith and myself of the occasion on which you and your Cabinet listened to his Radio speech on September 27th. I gave the paper to him, and he read it. "May I keep this?" he asked. "I wrote it out like that", I replied, "because I felt you would like to have it to keep". "I am deeply touched", he said; "will you tell the President, and thank him very much indeed".

I felt, as I parted from him, that what I had brought from you to him in the half hour or so that I had been with him, gave him a warm feeling of encouragement and uplift. I was, as you know, close to Edward Grey during those dark and anxious days of 1914, but upon this man, I honestly feel, the burden is infinitely greater, the strain more tense because so prolonged, and because the problems to be met are so diverse,

so rapidly changing, so uncertain and widespread, and so fraught with consequences more terrible than any heretofore. But, as in the case of Edward Grey, so also in the heart and mind of Neville Chamberlain lies embedded the strong sense of community of ideals between this country and yours. And this, perhaps, is not strange if we remember how deeply imbued was his Father with the same spirit of British-American friendship and co-operation. It was his Father -- as I recollect from my Foreign Office reminiscences -- who, as Colonial Secretary, at the time of the Alaskan Boundary dispute in the nineties of last century, gave to the British Arbitrator, Sir Richard Webster, secret instructions to vote for the Americans, which he did. It was his Father, again, who, with the late Lord Cromer, swung Lord Salisbury on to the American side over the Cuban war, for which the Kaiser wrote in severe terms to Lord Salisbury! Lord Salisbury treated the Kaiser's despatch in the way most likely to annoy him, that is by completely ignoring it! These things -- I don't remember whether they have ever been made public -- were told to me at one time or another by Willie Tyrrell, and they come back to me now.

8.

Walter Runciman, I have only, as yet, seen "en passant", but Faith and I are dining with them tomorrow night.

Willie Tyrrell, I saw for a moment yesterday, and I shall be seeing him for a talk in a day or two.

But, in the meantime, I want to get this letter off to you by the "Aquitania" which sails tomorrow, and I will write you again shortly.

With every good wish from Faith and myself -- we often think and talk of that lovely week with you at Hyde Park.

as ever, yours,

Arthur Murray

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

PSF: (St. Britain) Arthur Murray folder

Carrington House  
Herford Street W. 1.  
May. 0495.

December 20th, 1938

Dear Franklin,

We dined with the Runcimans a few nights ago. Walter R. asked me to send you his most friendly greetings. He thought, too, that you might care to have a copy of his Report on Czechoslovakia (which was presented to Parliament) inscribed to you by himself. I send it to you herewith. It has become, without question, a Document of long-term historical interest and importance. The one thing it lacks, in my view, is an exposition of what Runciman really thought of that double-faced hack of Hitler's, Konrad Henlein!

Runciman's views on what may happen in Europe in the coming year are akin to those of Willie Tyrrell and other responsible persons with whom I have talked -- none can foretell with any degree of exactitude what particular idea, as the Prime Minister put it to me, is likely "to swell largest in Hitler's head." Tyrrell -- who asks me to send you his greetings and best wishes -- is not unapprehensive lest a drive against the Catholics, and possibly the Lutheran Church, might

produce -- along with economic and other causes -- internal reactions in Germany of such a nature as to make it necessary for Hitler to precipitate an external explosion of a character much more violent than any in which he has hitherto indulged. Hitler's "extremist" advisers, suggests Tyrrell, are pressing hard for the "religious" drive. The Reichswehr, for the "Drang nach Osten", if only in an endeavour to forestall the attack on the Catholic church. Which among us, at the moment, can say, whether either of these, or some other idea, will "swell" to the greatest size in Hitler's abnormally-constituted cranium.

In all this maelstrom of political uncertainty and criss-cross atmosphere of problematical eventualities the British public is pursuing its daily tasks with level-headed calmness, courage and energy, and with unswerving resolution to do wholeheartedly all that the Government asks of it for the full development of British defensive measures. And assuredly it can be said that the great bulk of the public stands behind the Prime Minister in the policy to which he has set his hand, and in the manner in which he is conducting it. Yesterday, in the House of Commons, the Socialists moved a Vote of Censure

on the Government expressing "no confidence" in the Government's foreign policy. They may well, as it seems to me, be thankful that it was not a motion concerning the Government's "conduct of the war." The country knows, if the Socialists and other critics of the Government have forgotten, that the best justification of Chamberlain's conduct of foreign affairs is that the nation is at peace to-day. In the Debate it was noticeable that the Opposition had no alternative policy to offer, and its leaders studiously refrained from indicating how they would have handled the crisis of last autumn. An interesting and striking element in the attack on the Government in the domain of foreign policy -- both inside and outside the House -- is its persistent refusal to face up to the plain alternatives of peace and war. The reluctance of the critics to face the prospect of war for any other than vital and direct British interests -- among which are the integrity of France against aggression and the freedom of the Mediterranean -- was clearly and decisively shown at the time of the crisis; but as danger of war receded, courage revived, and the gist of their argument would now appear to be that there will be

no war if only we shout loud enough; that if Hitler were really convinced that we were in earnest he would climb down immediately; and that there is some inherent weakness in the Prime Minister's character which encourages the Germans and Italians to expect us to pay Danegeld in vital British interests. How different, we are left to suppose, would things be if one of the Opposition leaders were in charge! He would only need to blow hard, and the dictators would fly for shelter! Actually, it is a travesty of reality. Chamberlain is, in fact, the most resolute man in British public life to-day, but he never bluffs, and if there is one thing more dangerous and morally worse than a deliberate war policy it is a war policy that pretends that there is no risk of war.

In the House of Commons Debate -- which resulted in a Vote of Confidence in the Government by 340 to 143 votes -- the Prime Minister made no attempt to minimise the gravity of the problems still outstanding. But mere destructive criticism is never likely to carry those problems along the road to solution. Whilst in Great Britain, said Chamberlain, there

was an earnest desire for co-operation with Germany, he still awaited a sign from those who spoke for the German people that they shared the desire for agreement and were prepared to make their contribution to the peace which would help them as much as it would help us. "Although reason", he added, "is the finest weapon in the world to combat reason, it has little chance to assert itself where force is supreme, and it would be a fatal blunder to mistake our love of peace, and our faculty for compromise, for weakness. (Cheers) The democratic system may have its failings but it has this virtue that in moments of crisis it evokes a strength and a unanimity which spring from conviction, and which express the wholehearted will of the people."

I told you in my last letter that the Prime Minister had asked me to have a talk with Malcolm Macdonald on the subject of Palestine, and I have done so. Whilst awaiting the assembling, and the outcome, of the Conference -- which he much hopes will meet early in the New Year -- he is none the less appreciative of the knowledge of your plan, and is grateful to you, in that this knowledge may be of assistance to

him during "Conference" days.

I also told you in my last letter that the Prime Minister had asked me to see the Air Minister, Sir Kingsley Wood, on the subject of your "Air Programme" suggestions. I saw Wood at the House of Commons this afternoon, and gave him the statement containing your views and proposals which I had previously -- as mentioned in my last -- shown to the Prime Minister. Wood told me that the Prime Minister had already talked to him on the matter, and we then went through your suggestions in detail. He asks me to say to you that he is very grateful indeed to you for the spirit of helpfulness and co-operation in which the suggestions were conceived, as well as for the suggestions themselves. He asks me further to say that he will have them very carefully examined from every appropriate angle, after which he will get into touch with me again. He -- as was the case with Chamberlain and the other three Members of the Cabinet whom I have seen -- derived a real feeling of encouragement from the messages and tokens of your sympathetic attitude, and from the sense of

friendly contact with yourself that these messages and tokens brought. It is, in all truth, an anxious time that the Members of the British Government are going through. They live -- as indeed we are all here living -- so near to the uncertainties and consequences of sudden "wild-cat" explosions; and their's is the deep responsibility for such skill in diplomacy and such efficiency in preparation as will safeguard Britain and her democratic neighbours from disaster. In their tasks they are not allowing any grass to grow under their feet. There is no exaggeration in the statement made by the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence last night that Great Britain had the best anti-aircraft defences in the world, and that no effort is being spared to provide "adequate protection against the biggest peril to which we are exposed at the present time". Sir John Anderson, the Minister in charge of the Government's "Voluntary National Service" scheme, and of the "Civil Defence" plans against air attack, is a Scot of vigorous mental and physical activity, and of keen organising ability. Kingsley Wood, the Air Minister, is a very vital personality who, previously, did exceptionally good work of a reformatory nature first as Minister of Health and then

as Post Master General. His Under Secretary for Air, Harold Balfour -- who, incidentally, married a niece of mine, and who has been in the House of Commons for some 15 years -- was one of the best and most courageous pilots in the Air Force in the war, and since those days, up to the time of entering the Government a year ago, was associated with an aircraft production firm, giving him "business" as well as "pilot" experience in "Air" matters. Generally speaking, it may without question be said that the Prime Minister is well served by those who comprise his Government at the present time. It does not follow that from time to time there will not be Cabinet changes or reshufflings. Nor does it follow that because there are good men outside the Government that they would necessarily be "good men" inside. People must not expect to be able to walk in and out of Governments at will, particularly if they have resigned and made things difficult for the Government at an anxious moment. "If Winston walks in at the door", said Neville Chamberlain to Baldwin a few years ago, when Baldwin suggested bringing Winston into the Government again, "I walk out of the window". On the other hand -- ruling out Winston as a certain Non-Starter! --

Chamberlain is not the man to allow a punctilio of any nature to stand in the way of increased strength and energy, provided always that real loyalty and team work were assured.

Before ending this letter -- which I want to get off to you by the mail departing to-day -- I would just say that I have not forgotten the matter of Guy Gaunt and his book. I have arranged to go and have a confidential talk on the subject with the Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty the day after tomorrow.

Very severe weather -- frost and snow -- during this last week. The abundance of holly berries forecasted it -- how intensely interesting and wonderfully absorbing are the workings of nature! But how one's heart weeps, in these days of ice and snow, for the miserable Jews and other innocent people in those terrible German Concentration Camps. And what is also terrible is that no power exists to blot suddenly out of existence Hitler and all his evil-minded gang.

With our very best wishes,

as ever yours,

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

*Arthur Murray*



*This, I think, may interest you!*

*Arthur Murray*

*20/Dec./38*

OBSERVER, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1938

## SHORTAGE OF CHRISTMAS TREES THIS YEAR

### FEW THE RIGHT SIZE

### RESULT OF THE DROUGHT

### MISTLETOE IMPORTED FROM NORMANDY

*By a Special Correspondent*

Many people are likely to be disappointed of their Christmas trees this year.

For several years the demand has exceeded the supply and an additional cause of shortage has been the unusual weather prevailing throughout the year.

The position was explained to an OBSERVER correspondent by the Christmas tree manager of one of the oldest and largest firms in Covent Garden yesterday.

While the demand for trees has increased, homes have become much smaller. In the old days only the large families had great trees to fill their drawing-rooms, and their large staffs of servants shared in the trees of their employers.

### NEW SIZE DEMANDED

Now every family wants equality of Christmas trees, and a new size is in demand. The gigantic tree of the past, worthy to be used as Satan's spear, has dwindled, and now the perfect size for the average man's house or flat is between four and five feet.

All the trees supplied are, of course, English, although they are Norway spruces. It takes six years to grow a perfect tree five-foot high, and the present cause of shortage began during the last two summers, which were very dry. The bad work was completed by the early frost this year.

Consequently, the trees are much larger this year. It is easier than usual, and cheaper, to buy a tree from six feet upwards, but the perfect stuntage growth is comparatively rare.

It is not only the height but the girth and shape of the tree that is important. In order to have the proper shape, and display properly the innumerable gifts to hang on the branches, the tree must be bunched and thick with boughs and twigs.

### COVENT GARDEN RUSH

Here, again, this year's trees are deficient. Nature's beneficence has caused them to shoot up to a high stature, but they taper and have not got enough thickness.

On an average one firm sells 100,000 trees a Christmas. All this week the workers in Covent Garden have been getting up at three o'clock to unpack the trees arriving at 5 o'clock in their thousands from Scotland, Norfolk, and Dorset, while this year's crop from Northern Ireland has been exceptionally good.

The explanation of the small scraggy trees sold in the markets is that these are not strictly Christmas trees at all. They are branches cut from great trees; and although decked with tinsel they may represent the spirit of Christmas in countless homes, they are not the real thing.

In general, the whole trees sold are cut off from their roots; but this year many have been seen with part of their roots still left, and the tiny trees have their roots intact.

### HOLLY FROM CORNWALL

What this year lacks in spruces it makes up in holly, although the supply of this, too, has been variable. Quantities are now arriving in London from Cornwall and Bucks, but in some places where there was plenty last year there is none this.

Fortunately, this year's holly is thick with berries.

Mistletoe is also plentiful this year. A surprising discovery is that it is nearly all imported from France, where it grows as a parasite on the apple orchards of Normandy.

There is a little English mistletoe available, some of it from Herefordshire.

Carrington House  
Hertford Street W. 1.  
May. 0495.

Dec. 22

1938

My dear "Missie",

Inclosed for the  
President, if you please.

Our very best wishes to  
you for 1939, and we shall be  
disappointed if you do not give  
us the great pleasure of welcoming  
you to our Scottish home.

Yours very sincerely  
Arthur Murray

To President Franklin Roosevelt



with every  
good wish

Miscellaneous No. 7 (1938)

from  
Runciman of Doxford.

Correspondence

respecting Czechoslovakia

1938.

September 1938

*Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs  
to Parliament by Command of His Majesty*

LONDON

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1938

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CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING CZECHOSLOVAKIA,  
SEPTEMBER 1938.

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No. 1.

*Lord Runciman to the Prime Minister.*<sup>(1)</sup>

*Westminster, S.W. 1,*

My dear Prime Minister,

*September 21, 1938.*

WHEN I undertook the task of mediation in the controversy between the Czechoslovak Government and the Sudeten German party, I was, of course, left perfectly free to obtain my own information and to draw my own conclusions. I was under no obligation to issue any kind of report. In present circumstances, however, it may be of assistance to you to have the final views, which I have formed as a result of my Mission, and certain suggestions which I believe should be taken into consideration, if anything like a permanent solution is to be found.

The problem of political, social and economic relations between the Teuton and Slav races in the area which is now called Czechoslovakia is one which has existed for many centuries with periods of acute struggle and periods of comparative peace. It is no new problem, and in its present stage there are at the same time new factors and also old factors which would have to be considered in any detailed review.

When I arrived in Prague at the beginning of August, the questions which immediately confronted me were (1) constitutional, (2) political and (3) economic. The constitutional question was that with which I was immediately and directly concerned. At that time it implied the provision of some degree of home rule for the Sudeten Germans within the Czechoslovak Republic; the question of self-determination had not yet arisen in an acute form. My task was to make myself acquainted with the history of the question, with the principal persons concerned, and with the suggestions for a solution proposed by the two sides, viz., by the Sudeten German party in the "Sketch" submitted to the Czechoslovak Government on the 7th June (which was by way of embodying the 8 points of Herr Henlein's speech at Karlsbad), and by the Czechoslovak Government in their draft Nationality Statute, Language Bill, and Administrative Reform Bill.

It became clear that neither of these sets of proposals was sufficiently acceptable to the other side to permit further negotiations on this basis, and the negotiations were suspended on the 17th August. After a series of private discussions between the

(1) NOTE.—A similar letter was addressed by Lord Runciman to President Benes on September 21, 1938.

Sudeten leaders and the Czech authorities, a new basis for negotiations was adopted by the Czechoslovak Government and was communicated to me on the 5th September, and to the Sudeten leaders on the 6th September. This was the so-called 4th Plan. In my opinion—and, I believe, in the opinion of the more responsible Sudeten leaders—this plan embodied almost all the requirements of the Karlsbad 8 points, and with a little clarification and extension could have been made to cover them in their entirety. Negotiations should have at once been resumed on this favourable and hopeful basis; but little doubt remains in my mind that the very fact that they were so favourable operated against their chances, with the more extreme members of the Sudeten German party. It is my belief that the incident arising out of the visit of certain Sudeten German Deputies to investigate into the case of persons arrested for arms smuggling at Mährisch-Ostrau was used in order to provide an excuse for the suspension, if not for the breaking off, of negotiations. The Czech Government, however, at once gave way to the demands of the Sudeten German party in this matter, and preliminary discussions of the 4th Plan were resumed on the 10th September. Again, I am convinced that this did not suit the policy of the Sudeten extremists, and that incidents were provoked and instigated on the 11th September and, with greater effect after Herr Hitler's speech, on the 12th September. As a result of the bloodshed and disturbance thus caused, the Sudeten delegation refused to meet the Czech authorities as had been arranged on the 13th September. Herr Henlein and Herr Frank presented a new series of demands—withdrawal of State police, limitation of troops to their military duties, &c., which the Czechoslovak Government were again prepared to accept on the sole condition that a representative of the party came to Prague to discuss how order should be maintained. On the night of the 13th September this condition was refused by Herr Henlein, and all negotiations were completely broken off.

It is quite clear that we cannot now go back to the point where we stood two weeks ago; and we have to consider the situation as it now faces us.

With the rejection of the Czechoslovak Government's offer on the 13th September and with the breaking off of the negotiations by Herr Henlein, my functions as a mediator were, in fact, at an end. Directly and indirectly, the connection between the chief Sudeten leaders and the Government of the Reich had become the dominant factor in the situation; the dispute was no longer an internal one. It was not part of my function to attempt mediation between Czechoslovakia and Germany.

Responsibility for the final break must, in my opinion, rest upon Herr Henlein and Herr Frank and upon those of their supporters inside and outside the country who were urging them to extreme and unconstitutional action.

I have much sympathy, however, with the Sudeten case. It is a hard thing to be ruled by an alien race; and I have been left

with the impression that Czechoslovak rule in the Sudeten areas for the last twenty years, though not actively oppressive and certainly not "terroristic," has been marked by tactlessness, lack of understanding, petty intolerance and discrimination, to a point where the resentment of the German population was inevitably moving in the direction of revolt. The Sudeten Germans felt, too, that in the past they had been given many promises by the Czechoslovak Government, but that little or no action had followed these promises. This experience had induced an attitude of unveiled mistrust of the leading Czech statesmen. I cannot say how far this mistrust is merited or unmerited; but it certainly exists, with the result that, however conciliatory their statements, they inspire no confidence in the minds of the Sudeten population. Moreover, in the last elections of 1935 the Sudeten German party polled more votes than any other single party; and they actually formed the second largest party in the State Parliament. They then commanded some 44 votes in a total Parliament of 300. With subsequent accessions, they are now the largest party. But they can always be outvoted; and consequently some of them feel that constitutional action is useless for them.

Local irritations were added to these major grievances. Czech officials and Czech police, speaking little or no German, were appointed in large numbers to purely German districts; Czech agricultural colonists were encouraged to settle on land transferred under the Land Reform in the middle of German populations; for the children of these Czech invaders Czech schools were built on a large scale; there is a very general belief that Czech firms were favoured as against German firms in the allocation of State contracts and that the State provided work and relief for Czechs more readily than for Germans. I believe these complaints to be in the main justified. Even as late as the time of my Mission, I could find no readiness on the part of the Czechoslovak Government to remedy them on anything like an adequate scale.

All these, and other, grievances were intensified by the reactions of the economic crisis on the Sudeten industries, which form so important a part of the life of the people. Not unnaturally, the Government were blamed for the resulting impoverishment.

For many reasons, therefore, including the above, the feeling among the Sudeten Germans until about three or four years ago was one of hopelessness. But the rise of Nazi Germany gave them new hope. I regard their turning for help towards their kinsmen and their eventual desire to join the Reich as a natural development in the circumstances.

At the time of my arrival, the more moderate Sudeten leaders still desired a settlement within the frontiers of the Czechoslovak State. They realised what war would mean in the Sudeten area, which would itself be the main battlefield. Both nationally and internationally such a settlement would have been an easier solution

than territorial transfer. I did my best to promote it, and up to a point with some success, but even so not without misgiving as to whether, when agreement was reached, it could ever be carried out without giving rise to a new crop of suspicions, controversies, accusations and counter-accusations. I felt that any such arrangement would have been temporary, not lasting.

This solution, in the form of what is known as the "Fourth Plan," broke down in the circumstances narrated above; the whole situation, internal and external, had changed; and I felt that with this change my mission had come to an end.

When I left Prague on the 16th September, the riots and disturbances in the Sudeten areas, which had never been more than sporadic, had died down. A considerable number of districts had been placed under a régime called Standrecht, amounting to martial law. The Sudeten leaders, at any rate the more extreme among them, had fled to Germany and were issuing proclamations defying the Czechoslovak Government. I have been credibly informed that, at the time of my leaving, the number of killed on both sides was not more than 70.

Unless, therefore, Herr Henlein's Freikorps are deliberately encouraged to cross the frontier, I have no reason to expect any notable renewal of incidents and disturbances. In these circumstances the necessity for the presence of State Police in these districts should no longer exist. As the State Police are extremely unpopular among the German inhabitants, and have constituted one of their chief grievances for the last three years, I consider that they should be withdrawn as soon as possible. I believe that their withdrawal would reduce the causes of wrangles and riots.

Further, it has become self-evident to me that those frontier districts between Czechoslovakia and Germany where the Sudeten population is in an important majority should be given full right of self-determination at once. If some cession is inevitable, as I believe it to be, it is as well that it should be done promptly and without procrastination. There is real danger, even a danger of civil war, in the continuance of a state of uncertainty. Consequently there are very real reasons for a policy of immediate and drastic action. Any kind of plebiscite or referendum would, I believe, be a sheer formality in respect of these predominantly German areas. A very large majority of their inhabitants desire amalgamation with Germany. The inevitable delay involved in taking a plebiscite vote would only serve to excite popular feelings, with perhaps most dangerous results. I consider, therefore, that these frontier districts should at once be transferred from Czechoslovakia to Germany, and, further, that measures for their peaceful transfer, including the provision of safeguards for the population during the transfer period, should be arranged forthwith by agreement between the two Governments.

The transfer of these frontier districts does not, however, dispose finally of the question how Germans and Czechs are to live together peacefully in future. Even if all the areas where the Germans have

a majority were transferred to Germany there would still remain in Czechoslovakia a large number of Germans, and in the areas transferred to Germany there would still be a certain number of Czechs. Economic connexions are so close that an absolute separation is not only undesirable but inconceivable; and I repeat my conviction that history has proved that in times of peace the two peoples can live together on friendly terms. I believe that it is in the interests of all Czechs and of all Germans alike that these friendly relations should be encouraged to re-establish themselves; and I am convinced that this is the real desire of the average Czech and German. They are alike in being honest, peaceable, hard-working and frugal folk. When political friction has been removed on both sides, I believe that they can settle down quietly.

For those portions of the territory, therefore, where the German majority is not so important, I recommend that an effort be made to find a basis for local autonomy within the frontiers of the Czechoslovak Republic on the lines of the "Fourth Plan," modified so as to meet the new circumstances created by the transfer of the preponderantly German areas. As I have already said, there is always a danger that agreement reached in principle may lead to further divergencies in practice. But I think that in a more peaceful future this risk can be minimised.

This brings me to the political side of the problem, which is concerned with the question of the integrity and security of the Czechoslovak Republic, especially in relation to her immediate neighbours. I believe that here the problem is one of removing a centre of intense political friction from the middle of Europe. For this purpose it is necessary permanently to provide that the Czechoslovak State should live at peace with all her neighbours and that her policy, internal and external, should be directed to that end. Just as it is essential for the international position of Switzerland that her policy should be entirely neutral, so an analogous policy is necessary for Czechoslovakia—not only for her own future existence but for the peace of Europe.

In order to achieve this, I recommend:—

- (1) That those parties and persons in Czechoslovakia who have been deliberately encouraging a policy antagonistic to Czechoslovakia's neighbours should be forbidden by the Czechoslovak Government to continue their agitations; and that, if necessary, legal measures should be taken to bring such agitations to an end.
- (2) That the Czechoslovak Government should so remodel her foreign relations as to give assurances to her neighbours that she will in no circumstances attack them or enter into any aggressive action against them arising from obligations to other States.
- (3) That the principal Powers, acting in the interests of the peace of Europe, should give to Czechoslovakia guarantees of assistance in case of unprovoked aggression against her.

- (4) That a commercial treaty on preferential terms should be negotiated between Germany and Czechoslovakia if this seems advantageous to the economic interests of the two countries.

This leads me on to the third question which lay within the scope of my enquiry, viz., the economic problem. This problem centres on the distress and unemployment in the Sudeten German areas, a distress which has persisted since 1930, and is due to various causes. It constitutes a suitable background for political discontent. It is a problem which exists; but to say that the Sudeten German question is entirely or even in the main an economic one is misleading. If a transfer of territory takes place, it is a problem which will for the most part fall to the German Government to solve.

If the policy which I have outlined above recommends itself to those immediately concerned in the present situation, I would further suggest: (a) That a representative of the Sudeten German people should have a permanent seat in the Czechoslovak Cabinet. (b) That a Commission under a neutral chairman should be appointed to deal with the question of the delimitation of the area to be transferred to Germany and also with controversial points immediately arising from the carrying out of any agreement which may be reached. (c) That an international force be organised to keep order in the districts which are to be transferred pending actual transfer, so that Czechoslovak State police, as I have said above, and also Czechoslovak troops, may be withdrawn from this area.

I wish to close this letter by recording my appreciation of the personal courtesy, hospitality and assistance which I and my staff received from the Government authorities, especially Dr. Benes and Dr. Hodza, from the representatives of the Sudeten German party with whom we came in contact, and from a very large number of other people in all ranks of life whom we met during our stay in Czechoslovakia.

Yours very sincerely,  
RUNCIMAN OF DOXFORD.

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No. 2.

*The Anglo-French Proposals presented to the Czechoslovak Government on September 19, 1938.*

THE representatives of the French and British Governments have been in consultation to-day on the general situation, and have considered the British Prime Minister's report of his conversation with Herr Hitler. British Ministers also placed before their French colleagues their conclusions derived from the account furnished to them of the work of his Mission by Lord Runciman. We are both convinced that, after recent events, the point has now been reached where the further maintenance within the boundaries of the

Czechoslovak State of the districts mainly inhabited by Sudeten Deutsch cannot, in fact, continue any longer without imperilling the interests of Czechoslovakia herself and of European peace. In the light of these considerations, both Governments have been compelled to the conclusion that the maintenance of peace and the safety of Czechoslovakia's vital interests cannot effectively be assured unless these areas are now transferred to the Reich.

2. This could be done either by direct transfer or as the result of a plebiscite. We realise the difficulties involved in a plebiscite, and we are aware of your objections already expressed to this course, particularly the possibility of far-reaching repercussions if the matter were treated on the basis of so wide a principle. For this reason we anticipate, in the absence of indication to the contrary, that you may prefer to deal with the Sudeten Deutsch problem by the method of direct transfer, and as a case by itself.

3. The area for transfer would probably have to include areas with over 50 per cent. of German inhabitants, but we should hope to arrange by negotiations provisions for adjustment of frontiers, where circumstances render it necessary, by some international body, including a Czech representative. We are satisfied that the transfer of smaller areas based on a higher percentage would not meet the case.

4. The international body referred to might also be charged with questions of possible exchange of population on the basis of right to opt within some specified time-limit.

5. We recognise that, if the Czechoslovak Government is prepared to concur in the measures proposed, involving material changes in the conditions of the State, they are entitled to ask for some assurance of their future security.

6. Accordingly, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would be prepared, as a contribution to the pacification of Europe, to join in an international guarantee of the new boundaries of the Czechoslovak State against unprovoked aggression. One of the principal conditions of such a guarantee would be the safeguarding of the independence of Czechoslovakia by the substitution of a general guarantee against unprovoked aggression in place of existing treaties which involve reciprocal obligations of a military character.

7. Both the French and British Governments recognise how great is the sacrifice thus required of the Czechoslovak Government in the cause of peace. But because that cause is common both to Europe in general and in particular to Czechoslovakia herself they have felt it their duty jointly to set forth frankly the conditions essential to secure it.

8. The Prime Minister must resume conversations with Herr Hitler not later than Wednesday, and earlier if possible. We therefore feel we must ask for your reply at the earliest possible moment.

## No. 3.

*The First Letter of September 23, 1938, from the Prime Minister to the Reichschancellor.*

My dear Reichskanzler, *Godesberg, September 23, 1938.*

I THINK it may clarify the situation and accelerate our conversation if I send you this note before we meet this morning.

I am ready to put to the Czech Government your proposal as to the areas, so that they may examine the suggested provisional boundary. So far as I can see, there is no need to hold a plebiscite for the bulk of the areas, *i.e.*, for those areas which (according to statistics upon which both sides seem to agree) are predominantly Sudeten German areas. I have no doubt, however, that the Czech Government would be willing to accept your proposal for a plebiscite to determine how far, if at all, the proposed new frontier need be adjusted.

The difficulty I see about the proposal you put to me yesterday afternoon arises from the suggestion that the areas should in the immediate future be occupied by German troops. I recognise the difficulty of conducting a lengthy investigation under existing conditions and doubtless the plan you propose would, if it were acceptable, provide an immediate easing of the tension. But I do not think you have realised the impossibility of my agreeing to put forward any plan unless I have reason to suppose that it will be considered by public opinion in my country, in France and, indeed, in the world generally, as carrying out the principles already agreed upon in an orderly fashion and free from the threat of force. I am sure that an attempt to occupy forthwith by German troops areas which will become part of the Reich at once in principle, and very shortly afterwards by formal delimitation, would be condemned as an unnecessary display of force.

Even if I felt it right to put this proposal to the Czech Government, I am convinced that they would not regard it as being in the spirit of the arrangement which we and the French Government urged them to accept and which they have accepted. In the event of German troops moving into the areas as you propose, there is no doubt that the Czech Government would have no option but to order their forces to resist, and this would mean the destruction of the basis upon which you and I a week ago agreed to work together, namely, an orderly settlement of this question rather than a settlement by the use of force.

It being agreed in principle that the Sudeten German areas are to join the Reich, the immediate question before us is how to maintain law and order pending the final settlement of the arrangements for the transfer. There must surely be alternatives to your proposal which would not be open to the objections I have pointed out. For instance, I could ask the Czech Government whether they think

there could be an arrangement under which the maintenance of law and order in certain agreed Sudeten German areas would be entrusted to the Sudeten Germans themselves—by the creation of a suitable force, or by the use of forces already in existence, possibly acting under the supervision of neutral observers.

As you know, I did last night, in accordance with my understanding with you, urge the Czech Government to do all in their power to maintain order in the meantime.

The Czech Government cannot, of course, withdraw their forces, nor can they be expected to withdraw the State Police so long as they are faced with the prospect of forcible invasion; but I should be ready at once to ascertain their views on the alternative suggestion I have made and, if the plan proved acceptable, I would urge them to withdraw their forces and the State Police from the areas where the Sudeten Germans are in a position to maintain order.

The further steps that need be taken to complete the transfer could be worked out quite rapidly.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN.

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No. 4.

*The Reichschancellor to the Prime Minister.*

(Translation.)

Your Excellency,

*Godesberg, September 23, 1938.*

A thorough examination of your letter, which reached me to-day, as well as the necessity of clearing up the situation definitely, lead me to make the following communication:—

For nearly two decades the Germans, as well as the various other nationalities in Czechoslovakia, have been maltreated in the most unworthy manner, tortured, economically destroyed, and, above all, prevented from realising for themselves also the right of the nations to self-determination. All attempts of the oppressed to change their lot failed in the face of the brutal will to destruction of the Czechs. The latter were in possession of the power of the State and did not hesitate to employ it ruthlessly and barbarically. England and France have never made an endeavour to alter this situation. In my speech before the Reichstag of the 22nd February, I declared that the German Reich would take the initiative in putting an end to any further oppression of these Germans. I have in a further declaration during the Reich Party Congress given clear and unmistakable expression to this decision. I recognise gratefully that at last, after twenty years, the British Government, represented by your Excellency, has now decided for its part also to undertake steps to

put an end to a situation which from day to day, and, indeed, from hour to hour, is becoming more unbearable. For if formerly the behaviour of the Czechoslovak Government was brutal, it can only be described during recent weeks and days as madness. The victims of this madness are innumerable Germans. In a few weeks the number of refugees who have been driven out has risen to over 120,000. This situation, as stated above, is unbearable, and will now be terminated by me.

Your Excellency assures me now that the principle of the transfer of the Sudeten territory to the Reich has, in principle, already been accepted. I regret to have to reply to your Excellency that as regards this point, the theoretical recognition of principles has also been formerly granted to us Germans. In the year 1918 the Armistice was concluded on the basis of the 14 points of President Wilson, which in principle were recognised by all. They were, however, in practice broken in the most shameful way. What interests me, your Excellency, is not the recognition of the principle that this territory is to go to Germany, but solely the realisation of this principle, and the realisation which both puts an end in the shortest time to the sufferings of the unhappy victims of Czech tyranny, and at the same time corresponds to the dignity of a Great Power. I can only emphasise to your Excellency that these Sudeten Germans are not coming back to the German Reich in virtue of the gracious or benevolent sympathy of other nations, but on the ground of their own will based on the right of self-determination of the nations, and of the irrevocable decision of the German Reich to give effect to this will. It is, however, for a nation an unworthy demand to have this recognition made dependent on conditions which are not provided for in treaties nor are practical in view of the shortness of the time.

I have, with the best intentions and in order to give the Czech nation no justifiable cause for complaint, proposed—in the event of a peaceful solution—as the future frontier, that nationalities frontier which I am convinced represents a fair adjustment between the two racial groups, taking also into account the continued existence of large language islands. I am, in addition, ready to allow plebiscites to be taken in the whole territory which will enable subsequent corrections to be made, in order—so far as it is possible—to meet the real will of the peoples concerned. I have undertaken to accept these corrections in advance. I have, moreover, declared myself ready to allow this plebiscite to take place under the control either of international commissions or of a mixed German-Czech commission. I am finally ready, during the days of the plebiscite, to withdraw our troops from the most disputed frontier areas, subject to the condition that the Czechs do the same. I am, however, not prepared to allow a territory which must be considered as belonging to Germany, on the ground of the will of the people and of the recognition granted even by the Czechs, to be left without the protection of the Reich. There is here no international power or agreement which would have the right to take precedence over German right.

The idea of being able to entrust to the Sudeten Germans alone the maintenance of order is practically impossible in consequence of the obstacles put in the way of their political organisation in the course of the last decade, and particularly in recent times. As much in the interest of the tortured, because defenceless, population as well as with regard to the duties and prestige of the Reich, it is impossible for us to refrain from giving immediate protection to this territory.

Your Excellency assures me that it is now impossible for you to propose such a plan to your own Government. May I assure you for my part that it is impossible for me to justify any other attitude to the German people. Since, for England, it is a question at most of political imponderables, whereas, for Germany, it is a question of primitive right of the security of more than 3 million human beings and the national honour of a great people.

I fail to understand the observation of your Excellency that it would not be possible for the Czech Government to withdraw their forces so long as they were obliged to reckon with possible invasion, since precisely by means of this solution the grounds for any forcible action are to be removed. Moreover, I cannot conceal from your Excellency that the great mistrust with which I am inspired leads me to believe that the acceptance of the principle of the transfer of Sudeten Germans to the Reich by the Czech Government is only given in the hope thereby to win time so as, by one means or another, to bring about a change in contradiction to this principle. For if the proposal that these territories are to belong to Germany is sincerely accepted, there is no ground to postpone the practical resolution of this principle. My knowledge of Czech practice in such matters over a period of long years compels me to assume the insincerity of Czech assurances so long as they are not implemented by practical proof. The German Reich is, however, determined by one means or another to terminate these attempts, which have lasted for decades, to deny by dilatory methods the legal claims of oppressed peoples.

Moreover, the same attitude applies to the other nationalities in this State. They also are the victims of long oppression and violence. In their case, also, every assurance given hitherto has been broken. In their case, also, attempts have been made by dilatory dealing with their complaints or wishes to win time in order to be able to oppress them still more subsequently. These nations, also, if they are to achieve their rights, will, sooner or later, have no alternative but to secure them for themselves. In any event, Germany, if—as it now appears to be the case—should find it impossible to have the clear rights of Germans in Czechoslovakia accepted by way of negotiation, is determined to exhaust the other possibilities which then alone remain open to her.

(Signed) ADOLF HITLER.

## No. 5.

*The Second Letter, September 23, 1938, from the Prime Minister to the Reichschancellor.*

My dear Reichskanzler, *Godesberg, September 23, 1938.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's communication in reply to my letter of this morning and have taken note of its contents.

In my capacity as intermediary, it is evidently now my duty—since your Excellency maintains entirely the position you took last night—to put your proposals before the Czechoslovak Government.

Accordingly, I request your Excellency to be good enough to let me have a memorandum which sets out these proposals, together with a map showing the area proposed to be transferred, subject to the result of the proposed plebiscite.

On receiving this memorandum, I will at once forward it to Prague and request the reply of the Czechoslovak Government at the earliest possible moment.

In the meantime, until I can receive their reply, I should be glad to have your Excellency's assurance that you will continue to abide by the understanding, which we reached at our meeting on the 14th September and again last night, that no action should be taken, particularly in the Sudeten territory, by the forces of the Reich to prejudice any further mediation which may be found possible.

Since the acceptance or refusal of your Excellency's proposal is now a matter for the Czechoslovak Government to decide, I do not see that I can perform any further service here, whilst, on the other hand, it has become necessary that I should at once report the present situation to my colleagues and to the French Government. I propose, therefore, to return to England.

Yours faithfully,

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN.

## No. 6.

*Memorandum handed by the Reichschancellor to the Prime Minister on September 23, 1938 (with a Map).*

(Translation.)

REPORTS which are increasing in number from hour to hour regarding incidents in the Sudetenland show that the situation has become completely intolerable for the Sudeten German people and, in consequence, a danger to the peace of Europe. It is therefore essential that the separation of the Sudetenland agreed to by Czechoslovakia should be effected without any further delay. On the

attached map<sup>(?)</sup> the Sudeten German area which is to be ceded is shaded red. The areas in which, over and above the areas which are to be occupied, a plebiscite is also to be held are drawn in and shaded green.

The final delimitation of the frontier must correspond to the wishes of those concerned. In order to determine these wishes, a certain period is necessary for the preparation of the voting, during which disturbances must in all circumstances be prevented. A situation of parity must be created. The area designated on the attached map as a German area will be occupied by German troops without taking account as to whether in the plebiscite there may prove to be in this or that part of the area a Czech majority. On the other hand, the Czech territory is occupied by Czech troops without regard to the question whether, within this area, there lie large German language islands, the majority of which will without doubt avow their German nationality in the plebiscite.

With a view to bringing about an immediate and final solution of the Sudeten German problem the following proposals are now made by the German Government :—

1. Withdrawal of the whole Czech armed forces, the police, the gendarmerie, the customs officials and the frontier guards from the area to be evacuated as designated on the attached map, this area to be handed over to Germany on the 1st October.

2. The evacuated territory is to be handed over in its present condition (see further details in appendix). The German Government agree that a plenipotentiary representative of the Czech Government or of the Czech Army should be attached to the headquarters of the German military forces to settle the details of the modalities of the evacuation.

3. The Czech Government discharges at once to their homes all Sudeten Germans serving in the military forces or the police anywhere in Czech State territory.

4. The Czech Government liberates all political prisoners of German race.

5. The German Government agrees to permit a plebiscite to take place in those areas, which will be more definitely defined, before at latest the 25th November. Alterations to the new frontier arising out of the plebiscite will be settled by a German-Czech or an international commission. The plebiscite itself will be carried out under the control of an international commission. All persons who were residing in the areas in question on the 28th October, 1918, or were born there prior to this date will be eligible to vote. A simple majority of all eligible male and female voters will determine the desire of the population to belong to either the German Reich or to the Czech State. During the plebiscite both parties will withdraw their military forces out of areas which will be defined more precisely.

(?) See at the end of this Paper a sketch map based upon the original.

The date and duration will be settled by the German and Czech Governments together.

6. The German Government proposes that an authoritative German-Czech commission should be set up to settle all further details.

*Godesberg, September 23, 1938.*

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APPENDIX.

The evacuated Sudeten German area is to be handed over without destroying or rendering unusable in any way military, commercial or traffic establishments (plants). These include the ground organisation of the air service and all wireless stations.

All commercial and traffic materials, especially the rolling-stock of the railway system, in the designated areas, are to be handed over undamaged. The same applies to all utility services (gas-works, power stations, &c.).

Finally, no food-stuffs, goods, cattle, raw materials, &c., are to be removed.

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No. 7.

*Letter handed by the Czechoslovak Minister to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on September 25, 1938.*

Sir,

*September 25, 1938.*

My Government has instructed me just now, in view of the fact that the French statesmen are not arriving in London to-day, to bring to His Majesty's Government's notice the following message without any delay:—

The Czechoslovak people have shown a unique discipline and self-restraint in the last few weeks regardless of the unbelievably coarse and vulgar campaign of the controlled German press and radio against Czechoslovakia and its leaders, especially M. Benes.

His Majesty's and the French Governments are very well aware that we agreed under the most severe pressure to the so-called Anglo-French plan for ceding parts of Czechoslovakia. We accepted this plan under extreme duress. We had not even time to make any representations about its many unworkable features. Nevertheless, we accepted it because we understood that it was the end of the demands to be made upon us, and because it followed from the Anglo-French pressure that these two Powers would accept responsibility

for our reduced frontiers and would guarantee us their support in the event of our being feloniously attacked.

The vulgar German campaign continued.

While Mr. Chamberlain was at Godesberg the following message was received by my Government from His Majesty's and the French representatives at Prague:—

“We have agreed with the French Government that the Czechoslovak Government be informed that the French and British Governments cannot continue to take the responsibility of advising them not to mobilise.”

My new Government, headed by General Syrový, declared that they accept full responsibility for their predecessor's decision to accept the stern terms of the so-called Anglo-French plan.

Yesterday, after the return of Mr. Chamberlain from Godesberg, a new proposition was handed by His Majesty's Minister in Prague to my Government with the additional information that His Majesty's Government is acting solely as an intermediary and is neither advising nor pressing my Government in any way. M. Krofta, in receiving the plan from the hands of His Majesty's Minister in Prague, assured him that the Czechoslovak Government will study it in the same spirit in which they have co-operated with Great Britain and France hitherto.

My Government has now studied the document and the map. It is a *de facto* ultimatum of the sort usually presented to a vanquished nation and not a proposition to a sovereign State which has shown the greatest possible readiness to make sacrifices for the appeasement of Europe. Not the smallest trace of such readiness for sacrifices has as yet been manifested by Herr Hitler's Government. My Government is amazed at the contents of the memorandum. The proposals go far beyond what we agreed to in the so-called Anglo-French plan. They deprive us of every safeguard for our national existence. We are to yield up large proportions of our carefully prepared defences, and admit the German armies deep into our country before we have been able to organise it on the new basis or make any preparations for its defence. Our national and economic independence would automatically disappear with the acceptance of Herr Hitler's plan. The whole process of moving the population is to be reduced to panic flight on the part of those who will not accept the German Nazi régime. They have to leave their homes without even the right to take their personal belongings or, even in the case of peasants, their cow.

My Government wish me to declare in all solemnity that Herr Hitler's demands in their present form are absolutely and unconditionally unacceptable to my Government. Against these new and cruel demands my Government feel bound to make their utmost resistance, and we shall do so, God helping. The nation of St. Wenceslas, John Hus and Thomas Masaryk will not be a nation of slaves.

We rely upon the two great Western democracies, whose wishes we have followed much against our own judgment, to stand by us in our hour of trial.

I have, &c.  
JAN MASARYK.

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No. 8.

*Letter from the Czechoslovak Minister in London to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

Sir, *London, September 26, 1938.*

I HAVE communicated to my Government the Prime Minister's question which he put to me yesterday afternoon and for which he wished an answer. This question of the Prime Minister's, as I understood it, I transmitted to Prague as follows:—

“Although Herr Hitler did say that the memorandum handed to the Czechoslovak Government by His Majesty's Government was his last word, and although Mr. Chamberlain doubts very much that he could induce Herr Hitler to change his mind at this late hour, the Prime Minister may, under circumstances, make a last effort to persuade Herr Hitler to consider another method of settling peacefully the Sudeten German question, namely, by means of an international conference attended by Germany, Czechoslovakia and other Powers which would consider the Anglo-French plan and the best method of bringing it into operation. He asked whether the Czechoslovak Government would be prepared to take part in this new effort of saving the peace.”

To this question I have now received the following answer of my Government:—

“The Czechoslovak Government would be ready to take part in an international conference where Germany and Czechoslovakia, among other nations, would be represented, to find a different method of settling the Sudeten German question from that expounded in Herr Hitler's proposals, keeping in mind the possible reverting to the so-called Anglo-French plan. In the note which Mr. Masaryk delivered to Mr. Chamberlain yesterday afternoon,<sup>(\*)</sup> mention was made of the fact that the Czechoslovak Government, having accepted the Anglo-French note under the most severe pressure and extreme duress, had no time to make any representations about its many unworkable features. The Czechoslovak Government presumes that, if a conference were to take place, this fact would not be overlooked by those taking part in it.”

(\*) No. 7.

My Government, after the experiences of the last few weeks, would consider it more than fully justifiable to ask for definite and binding guarantees to the effect that no unexpected action of an aggressive nature would take place during the negotiations, and that the Czechoslovak defence system would remain intact during that period.

I have, &c.

JAN MASARYK.

---

No. 9.

*Letter from the Prime Minister to the Reichschancellor.*

My dear Reichskanzler,

*London, September 26, 1938.*

In my capacity as intermediary I have transmitted to the Czechoslovakian Government the memorandum which your Excellency gave me on the occasion of our last conversation.

The Czechoslovakian Government now inform me that, while they adhere to their acceptance of the proposals for the transfer of the Sudeten-German areas on the lines discussed by my Government and the French Government and explained by me to you on Thursday last, they regard as wholly unacceptable the proposal in your memorandum for the immediate evacuation of the areas and their immediate occupation by German troops, these processes to take place before the terms of cession have been negotiated or even discussed.

Your Excellency will remember that in my letter to you of Friday last I said that an attempt to occupy forthwith by German troops areas which will become part of the Reich at once in principle and very shortly afterwards by formal delimitation, would be condemned as an unnecessary display of force, and that, in my opinion, if German troops moved into the areas that you had proposed, I felt sure that the Czechoslovakian Government would resist and that this would mean the destruction of the basis upon which you and I a week ago agreed to work together, namely, an orderly settlement of this question rather than a settlement by the use of force. I referred also to the effect likely to be produced upon public opinion in my country, in France and, indeed, in the world generally.

The development of opinion since my return confirms me in the views I expressed to you in my letter and in our subsequent conversation.

In communicating with me about your proposals, the Government of Czechoslovakia point out that they go far beyond what was agreed to in the so-called Anglo-French plan. Czechoslovakia would be deprived of every safeguard for her national existence. She would have to yield up large proportions of her carefully prepared defences and admit the German armies deep into her country before it had

been organised on the new basis or any preparations had been made for its defence. Her national and economic independence would automatically disappear with the acceptance of the German plan. The whole process of moving the population is to be reduced to panic flight.

I learn that the German Ambassador in Paris has issued a communiqué which begins by stating that as a result of our conversations at Godesberg your Excellency and I are in complete agreement as to the imperative necessity to maintain the peace of Europe. In this spirit I address my present communication to you.

In the first place, I would remind your Excellency that as the Czechoslovakian Government adhere to their acceptance of the proposals for the transfer of the Sudeten-German areas there can be no question of Germany "finding it impossible to have the clear rights of Germans in Czechoslovakia accepted by way of negotiation." I am quoting the words at the end of your Excellency's letter to me of Friday last. (\*)

On the contrary, a settlement by negotiation remains possible and, with a clear recollection of the conversations which you and I have had and with an equally clear appreciation of the consequences which must follow the abandonment of negotiation and the substitution of force, I ask your Excellency to agree that representatives of Germany shall meet representatives of the Czechoslovakian Government to discuss immediately the situation by which we are confronted with a view to settling by agreement the way in which the territory is to be handed over. I am convinced that these discussions can be completed in a very short time, and if you and the Czechoslovakian Government desire it, I am willing to arrange for the representation of the British Government at the discussions.

In our conversation, as in the official communiqué issued in Germany, you said that the only differences between us lay in the method of carrying out an agreed principle. If this is so, then surely the tragic consequences of a conflict ought not to be incurred over a difference in method.

A conference such as I suggest would give confidence that the cession of territory would be carried into effect, but that it would be done in an orderly manner with suitable safeguards.

Convinced that your passionate wish to see the Sudeten-German question promptly and satisfactorily settled can be fulfilled without incurring the human misery and suffering that would inevitably follow on a conflict I most earnestly urge you to accept my proposal.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN.

---

(\*) No. 4.

*Letter from the Reichschancellor to the Prime Minister.*

(Translation.)

Dear Mr. Chamberlain,

*Berlin, September 27, 1938.*

I HAVE in the course of the conversations once more informed Sir Horace Wilson, who brought me your letter of the 26th September, of my final attitude. I should like, however, to make the following written reply to certain details in your letter:—

The Government in Prague feels justified in maintaining that the proposals in my memorandum of the 23rd September went far beyond the concession which it made to the British and French Governments and that the acceptance of the memorandum would rob Czechoslovakia of every guarantee for its national existence. This statement is based on the argument that Czechoslovakia is to give up a great part of her prepared defensive system before she can take steps elsewhere for her military protection. Thereby the political and economic independence of the country is automatically abolished. Moreover, the exchange of population proposed by me would turn out in practice to be a panic-stricken flight.

I must openly declare that I cannot bring myself to understand these arguments or even admit that they can be regarded as seriously put forward. The Government in Prague simply passes over the fact that the actual arrangement for the final settlement of the Sudeten German problem, in accordance with my proposals, will be made dependent not on a unilateral German petition<sup>(\*)</sup> or on German measures of force, but rather, on the one hand, on a free vote under no outside influence, and, on the other hand, to a very wide degree on German-Czech agreement on matters of detail to be reached subsequently. Not only the exact definition of the territories in which the plebiscite is to take place, but the execution of the plebiscite and the delimitation of the frontier to be made on the basis of its result, are in accordance with my proposals to be met independently of any unilateral decision by Germany. Moreover, all other details are to be reserved for agreement on the part of a German-Czech commission.

In the light of this interpretation of my proposals and in the light of the cession of the Sudeten population areas, in fact agreed to by Czechoslovakia, the immediate occupation by German contingents demanded by me represents no more than a security measure which is intended to guarantee a quick and smooth achievement of the final settlement. This security measure is indispensable. If the German Government renounced it and left the whole further treatment of the problem simply to normal negotiations with Czechoslovakia, the present unbearable circumstances in the Sudeten German territories which I described in my speech yesterday would continue to exist for a period, the length of which cannot be foreseen. The Czechoslovak Government would be completely in a position to drag out the negotiations on any point they liked, and thus to delay the

(\*) ? decision.

final settlement. You will understand after everything that has passed that I cannot place such confidence in the assurances received from the Prague Government. The British Government also would surely not be in a position to dispose of this danger by any use of diplomatic pressure.

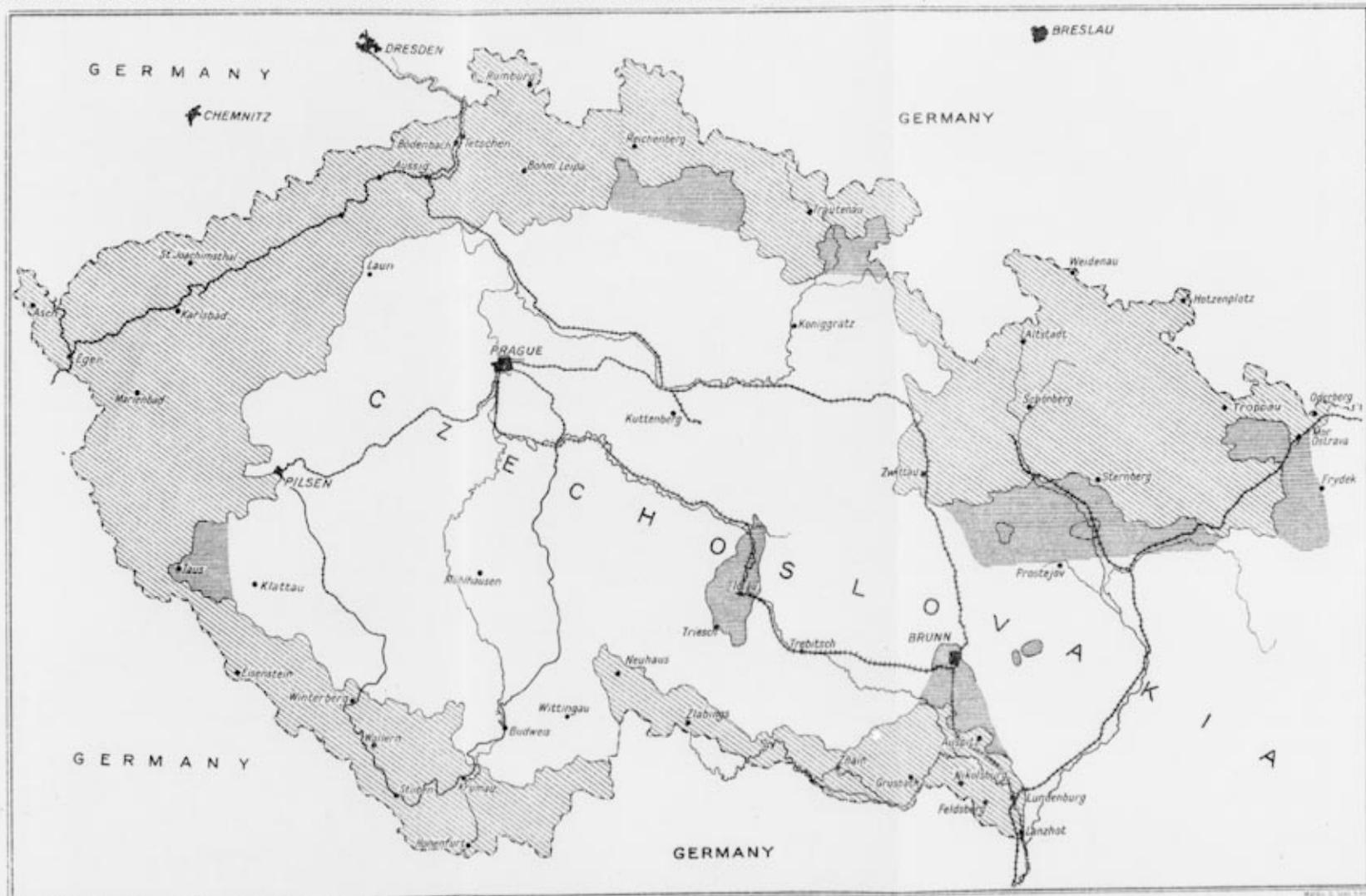
That Czechoslovakia should lose a part of her fortifications is naturally an unavoidable consequence of the cession of the Sudeten German territory agreed to by the Prague Government itself. If one were to wait for the entry into force of the final settlement in which Czechoslovakia had completed new fortifications in the territory which remained to her, it would doubtless last months and years. But this is the only object of all the Czech objections. Above all, it is completely incorrect to maintain that Czechoslovakia in this manner would be crippled in her national existence or in her political and economic independence. It is clear from my memorandum that the German occupation would only extend to the given line, and that the final delimitation of the frontier would take place in accordance with the procedure which I have already described. The Prague Government has no right to doubt that the German military measures would stop within these limits. If, nevertheless, it desires such a doubt to be taken into account the British and, if necessary, also the French Government can guarantee the quick fulfilment of my proposal. I can, moreover, only refer to my speech yesterday in which I clearly declared that I regret the idea of any attack on Czechoslovak territory, and that under the condition which I laid down I am even ready to give a formal guarantee for the remainder of Czechoslovakia. There can, therefore, be not the slightest question whatsoever of a check to the independence of Czechoslovakia. It is equally erroneous to talk of an economic rift. It is, on the contrary, a well-known fact that Czechoslovakia after the cession of the Sudeten German territory would constitute a healthier and more unified economic organism than before.

If the Government in Prague finally evinces anxiety also in regard to the state of the Czech population in the territories to be occupied, I can only regard this with surprise. It can be sure that, on the German side, nothing whatever will occur which will preserve for those Czechs a similar fate to that which has befallen the Sudeten Germans consequent on the Czech measures.

In these circumstances, I must assume that the Government in Prague is only using a proposal for the occupation by German troops in order, by distorting the meaning and object of my proposal, to mobilise those forces in other countries, in particular in England and France, from which they hope to receive unreserved support for their aim and thus to achieve the possibility of a general warlike conflagration. I must leave it to your judgment whether, in view of these facts, you consider that you should continue your effort, for which I should like to take this opportunity of once more sincerely thanking you, to spoil such manœuvres and bring the Government in Prague to reason at the very last hour.

(Signed) ADOLF HITLER.

Sketch Map based on the Map annexed to the Memorandum handed to the Prime Minister by the Reichschancellor on September 23, 1938.



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OBAN

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

A VERY MERRY CHRISTMAS AND HAPPY NEW YEAR TO YOU AND YOURS

FAITH & ARTHUR

*over*  
12/25/35  
AJ

PSF: (St Britain) Arthur Murray folder

Telegrams: Wittersham.  
Telephone: Wittersham. Rye 4.  
Station: Wittersham Road, Kent.

Carrington House  
Hertford Street

London, W. 1

~~Bates Farm,~~  
~~Wittersham,~~  
~~Kent~~

December 27th, 1938

Dear Franklin,

We have recently had an interesting Bye-Election. In West Perthshire, the Duchess of Atholl, announcing herself as opposed to the foreign policy of the Government, resigned her seat in the House of Commons in order to fight again on that -- the sole -- issue.

The Duchess had many things in her favour. There were the ties of family, personal associations, and of clan. West Perthshire was the homeland of the Duke and herself, and she had represented it in Parliament for 15 years. Her opponent, McNair Snadden, was very little known in the constituency outside his own district.

Everything was right for the Duchess -- except her platform. She denounced Chamberlain's foreign policy; Snadden wholeheartedly supported it. Her old friends and supporters deserted her in large numbers, and put Snadden in as M. P. in her stead. A cheery Xmas Card for Chamberlain!

I told you in my last letter that I had arranged to discuss the "Guy Gaunt" matter with someone at the Admiralty. I did so just before Xmas. I went to the Admiralty and had a talk with Sir Archibald Carter, the Permanent Secretary. I told him in strict confidence what had passed between you and me on the subject. He said he thoroughly appreciated the position. In the Admiralty, he said, they had

Telegrams: Wittersham.  
 Telephone: Wittersham Rye 4.  
 Station: Wittersham Road, Kent.

~~Bates Farm,~~  
~~Wittersham,~~  
~~Kent.~~

read Gaunt's newspaper articles about a year ago in the "Sunday Express", but they had heard nothing as regards the publication by him of a book. Carter said that he would be very glad to have quiet enquiries made with a view to discovering, if possible, whether such a book was in process of publication. If he did find this to be so, he would make discreet approaches to the Publishers in the sense that the Admiralty hoped that the book would contain nothing of an indiscreet or sensational nature. In this way he thought that possibly he might be able to get a look at the Manuscript. He would do all he could, he said, to endeavour to ascertain the facts of the position, and would get into touch with me again in due course.

He then went on to tell me that Gaunt had been creating trouble in Tangier -- where he has been residing for some little time past -- by making against the British Consul-General false accusations of pro-Fascist sympathies and actions. It so happened that, on the day that Carter told me this, there was a reply in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs to a question on the subject which had been put by a Member called

*Maxton.*

Telegrams: Wittersham.  
 Telephone: Wittersham. Rye 4.  
 Station: Wittersham Road, Kent.

~~Bates Farm,~~  
 Wittersham,  
 Kent.

The reply did not mention Gaunt by name, but only referred to him as a "certain British resident in Tangier". I enclose a cutting from "The Times" giving the Foreign Office reply to Maxton's question. The reply may perhaps interest you as showing Gaunt's latest activities! He appears to get one "bee in his bonnet" after another! And each one buzzes more furiously than its predecessor!

I also enclose another cutting from "The Times" which will probably interest you -- it relates to an important bequest of Eighteenth Century ship models, nautical books, plans and pictures made to the South Kensington Science Museum by the late F. C. Ihlee of Paston Hall, Peterborough. A curious name, Ihlee! I have never heard it before!

Faith and I have had an old-fashioned Xmas with friends in Kent. It has been snowing for five days!

With many good wishes from us both; who can say what the year 1939 will bring forth?

Yours as ever,

*Arthur Murray*

The President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Carrington House  
Herford Street W. I.  
May. 0495.

Dec. 28<sup>th</sup>, 1938

My dear "Missie,"

Enclosed, if you  
please, for the President.

Our best to you.

Yours very sincerely  
Arthur Murray

FAST



# RCA

DIRECT



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## TANGIER CONSULATE

CHARGES AGAINST MR.  
KEELING DENIED

In a written reply yesterday to Parliamentary questions by Sir J. Haslam and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Butler said that on November 10 Mr. Maxton submitted to the House certain statements made regarding his Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had now been able to make full inquiries into the matter at issue.

It was clear from a letter which the hon. member was good enough to show him that the communication on which he had based his statements emanated from a certain British resident in Tangier, who had for a considerable time past been conducting a campaign against his Majesty's representatives in Tangier. Mr. Keeling, his Majesty's Consul-General in Tangier, had informed the Foreign Office on a previous occasion and before this matter was raised in the House that, in his opinion, the hon. member's correspondent was not in any sense speaking for the majority of the British colony in Tangier. Inquiries which had been made since November 10 in official or semi-official quarters, together with communications spontaneously addressed by private individuals in Tangier to the Foreign Office during the last few weeks, fully corroborated that view.

Of the detailed allegations made against Mr. Keeling by the hon. member's correspondent, perhaps the most serious was that the Consul-General had deliberately absented himself from his post during the recent international crisis. The actual facts were as follows:—On September 19, two or three days after the Berchtesgaden conversations, Mr. Keeling left Tangier, with the approval of the Foreign Office, for San Sebastian, and was in constant telegraphic communication with Tangier during his absence. There was no evidence that Mr. Keeling visited a "Blackshirt Italian Division."

As soon as the Consul-General heard of the breakdown of the Godesberg conversations on September 24 he decided, on his own initiative, to return to Tangier as soon as possible. He did not "fly back to Franco's headquarters in Morocco in a Franco aeroplane." He travelled in one of the ordinary commercial aeroplanes on the thrice weekly service, Vittoria-Burgos-Seville-Tetuan. There was no question of Mr. Keeling's visiting any military headquarters at Tetuan. The rumour that "most of the British business houses in Tangier were wiring London urging the dangers of the situation" was very exaggerated. Only one such telegram was communicated to the Foreign Office.

## THE "FASCIST" PARTY

It was an equal exaggeration to say that, "as the late crisis came to a head, things in the zone looked black." Not only Mr. Keeling, but other responsible members of the British community were emphatic on this point. It was alleged that on Mr. Keeling's return to Tangier, he "gave a large party to various Fascist leaders, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese." The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was informed by Mr. Keeling that this party was intended primarily to celebrate the conclusion of the Munich Agreement, and that the guests included members of the local Diplomatic Corps, among them the American and French Ministers, local British officials, and prominent members of the British community. It was in no sense a Fascist celebration. This had been spontaneously confirmed from other sources.

There was no information to confirm the allegation that the "Italians were planning a coup in Tangier" in September, and this suggestion appeared irresponsible. It was further alleged that, on Mr. Keeling's appointment, he announced that he was a Fascist, that he made no secret of the fact that his political views were Fascist, and that he publicly gave the Fascist salute. Mr. Keeling categorically denied these accusations, and stated that they were untrue. This was fully confirmed by an entirely reliable and independent source in Tangier.

Mr. Keeling equally denied the insinuation that his guests at the Consulate-General had been predominantly Fascist in sympathy, and stated that his guests had habitually included persons of many nationalities, as well as local British personalities. This, too, had been confirmed from other sources.

There remained the more general allegation that the Consul-General had allowed his Italian connexions to influence him unduly in the conduct of his official duties. It was quite true that Mr. Keeling was married to a lady who, though not of

## ACCURATE SHIP MODELS

### BEQUEST TO SCIENCE MUSEUM

#### THE IHLEE COLLECTION

An important bequest of ship models, together with certain nautical books, plans, and pictures, has been made to the Science Museum by the late Mr. F. C. Ihlee, of Paston Hall, Peterborough. The bequest includes 30 models of ships of the period 1700 and 1850, and will be most valuable in filling gaps in the collection at South Kensington.

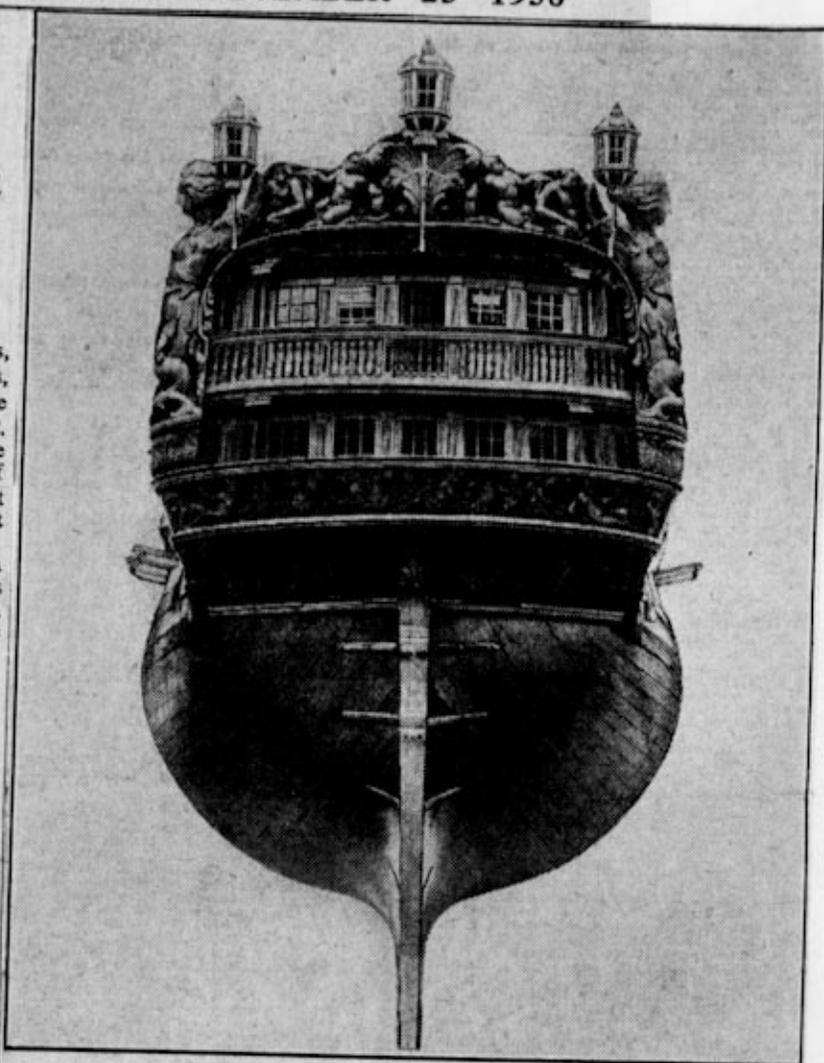
Mr. Ihlee formed his collection over a period of many years, and often his specimens are original dockyard models, which were as a rule made before the building of a ship and submitted to the Navy Board. He personally supervised the restoration of several of them, and the work thus done shows craftsmanship of a very high standard. Some eight years ago Mr. Ihlee decided to bequeath the whole of his collection to the Science Museum.

The museum staff is now engaged on identifying as exactly as possible the ships which certain of the models represent. A selection from the bequest has, however, already been placed on exhibition, and this includes a particularly fine contemporary model, on the scale of 1:72, of a 40-gun ship built during the early part of the reign of Queen Anne. It shows the profuse carving and gilding which was a feature of most British ships until 1703, when the Admiralty issued an order restricting carving and decoration. It has been suggested, because of the cupids at the stern and supporting the figurehead, that the ship represented may have been the "Love."

#### FIRST RATERS

Another model on view is that of a 60-gun ship of about 1719, at which time, although much of the more elaborate carving and gingerbread work had disappeared, the painted friezework on the sides and sterns of naval vessels was still somewhat ornate. A dockyard model of a first rate of the early part of the eighteenth century, which has been restored with great accuracy, is especially interesting in being made in two portions, the upper of which can be lifted off so that the interior constructional features can be seen.

A fourth model is of a first-rate line-of-battle ship of 1839, reputed to be H.M.S. Queen, of 110 guns. This was primarily intended to illustrate the rigging, and was rigged and restored by Mr. Ihlee personally. The small scale (1:120) of the model, which is only about 3ft. long in all, made very fine craftsmanship necessary if details were to be reproduced accurately. Every length of cordage was made on a specially designed rope machine, and all but the very smallest blocks are fitted with metal sheaves. Every splice has been properly tucked, and the order of progressive rigging has been most carefully observed.



A contemporary model of a 60-gun ship of about 1719. It is in the collection of ship-models bequeathed to the Science Museum by the late Mr. F. C. Ihlee.

Among the models in the collection which are not yet on view are two royal yachts, two sloops, two 64-gun ships, a 74-gun ship, and a frigate, all of the eighteenth century, and two frigates of the early nineteenth century.

#### FIVE YEARS OF RESTORATION

Mr. Ihlee bought many of his ship models in competition with American collectors, and he himself designed and built the complete plant of tools which made the accuracy of his restorations possible.

By a coincidence, a further example of his care in this respect has lately reached the museum in the shape of a model of a 90-gun ship of about 1719. This was acquired by the Museum authorities some years ago, and was then an almost complete wreck. Mr. Ihlee volunteered to restore it and for five years kept two workmen, whose work was finished only just before his death, employed on this model alone.

January 19, 1939.

Dear Faith and Arthur:-

It is many moons since I have written you but I need not tell you that both of you have been much in my thoughts. I hope you have managed to escape what the American papers have called "the terrible cold in England". I am always a little amused when English papers carry large headlines about "thousands die from terrific heat in United States" and when our papers retaliate by intimating that you are frozen corpses lying in the ditches.

I am glad you had that good talk with Chamberlain and that you think it helped him to realize my real friendship for him. By the way, I had a talk a few days ago with an American who has spent a good many years in the Near East (he is not a Jew). He tells me that in Egypt and Asia Minor the general feeling is that the old firm hand of British policy is gone -- that the High Commissioners, Ministers, etc., now fail to be definite about almost everything and refer most questions back to London, where they used to make their own decisions. He says the result is a distinct loss of respect by the Egyptians, Arabs, etc. I thought you ought to know this opinion.

I am delighted to have Runciman's report. I do hope you will thank him and I only wish I had his real inside thoughts about Henlein and the latter's Master.

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You will have seen my air program. It will get us up to about six thousand Army planes and three thousand Navy planes. I am glad you think your program is progressing well. Keep up the good work.

Thank you ever so much for checking up on Gaunt's book.

As ever yours,

Colonel The Honorable and Mrs. Arthur Murray,  
Carrington House,  
Hertford Street W.I.,  
London,  
England.

PSF: Arthur Murray 1939

Carrington House  
Herford Street W. 1.

May. 0495.

Feb 8,

Dear busy -

our love - greetings

to you - will you please

hand the enclosed to the

President in your usual

kindly way - don't forget

August . Murray

PSF: Arthur Murray 1939

Carrington House  
Hertford Street W. 1.

May. 0495.

Feb 15<sup>th</sup>

A very happy month to you dear Corrie Franklin.

I have just walked across the Parks - Hyde Park

(a name happy to me now not only in this country)

as I went in & as I went out. I saw great  
placards blazing out the words "Roosevelt's pledge for  
democracy". It is very pleasant these days to

hear the things that are being said about our Big

Friend across the Atlantic. They are at last

beginning to know a little bit about him & to

suspect that some of the things which he had

boiled (I believe that's the expression) or is it hot dogged?

Americans say who come over here full of money

& no sense - but I have a long list of converts

I am glad to say - they are increasing

rapidly - one <sup>American</sup> woman I heard not so very

long ago running down somebody in the most

scurrilous way to some nice little English folk -

& I said "who's that you're talking about?"

"Roosevelt" she replied - "Oh" said "I thought it could

only be Hitler" - "have you got anything left - 6"

10  
The end of the world  
10  
I say about him? - It never itty are very pretty  
+ just mosquitoes on the wall, which will never get  
into the whisky boots - I like that article Trudering  
wrote in the Sunday Dispatch yesterday. a  
particularly attractive peroration (oh dear  
that word does look bad, but it means "winding  
up" or end, or in French Finis!)

England has been rather depressed for a  
month or two - I do not mean in business.  
I mean the people themselves - I do not  
remember ever before noticing it or feeling it  
about me. Nobody seems to want to  
do anything - nobody is buying pretty  
clothes - nobody is giving parties - the  
luxury shops are empty - the theatres  
& restaurants just alive - nobody  
seems to have any initiative - They have  
the <sup>money</sup> ~~people~~ but they are not spending it.  
The man in the street is spending  
because he has got money - things are  
cheap - But I do notice a difference  
already since your speech <sup>on Jan. 4<sup>th</sup></sup> - Chamberlain

response to you - his link up - so to  
speak. He was Carrington House really, moved  
I believe when Hertford Street W.1.  
May. 0495. Arthur gave  
him the account of how his speech was  
felt over there with you - I do wish  
all the same that you were our P.M.

Couldn't you take out some rationalisation  
papers & come over here & clear up  
all our troubles in no time - You'd soon  
have old hume & Hitler to heel - Your  
Congress seem such a nuisance &  
nuisance, I should think you would find  
us a picnic - I sometimes think all these  
treason old men in Washington want a  
good shake up - they are always trying  
to make trouble - it reminds me of rather  
a good story - They old charlady who  
had been trying to get her gas helmet on -  
tried one way, & then another way, & always  
the wrong way - finally thinking it on one side  
& saying "Oh, I do wish that there w. itler would get

get married + settled down". Cannot you  
possibly get some these handsome people married  
+ settled down!

There is a divine play on "Geneva" - and  
Shaw at his best - "you'd" just love it" -

(I can see you throwing back your head

"& 'out you ~~love it~~" as you say - If  
it goes to New York please do NOT miss it.

I wish that you to a boy - so send me  
ticket then I shall know you've been!

I do hope you can read this writing  
because I can't! and I am trying hard.

Yes - I did get the big colored picture -  
Daisy S. sent it to me & it is framed  
already - but what I liked most of

all - for which I have never yet  
said "Thank You" was that I found  
in my cabin - the glorious big picture of  
the P. sitting in his Presidential Chair.

It is quite perfect - and I am so pleased  
with the inscription. It is my very own - and

Carrington House  
Herford Street W. 1.

May. 0495.

a perfect likeness - shaggy hair rather like  
it was on the pinnis -

I shall be sending you shortly some data  
about the Starboard Tweed - do you  
remember I brought you a piece? - I hope  
it is being made up because green will  
suit you - is LUCKY. I want you to  
be sure & not say <sup>Glamis</sup> ~~Glamis~~ Tweed - When  
the Q. sees you in it later on. It is much  
nicer than the Glamis Tweed which is coarse  
& thick - could you remember I told you that  
the Queen had taken a great interest &  
was one of the godmothers of the scheme  
which was started by her greatest friend Lady  
Doris Vigner for Disabled Soldiers -

Dinner time . . . . . Two days have

gone  
since I wrote the foregoing - I have got  
to end my letter just when I feel I am beginning  
it - Willie Tyrell - George Trevelyan  
are coming in for lunch - I have to  
powder my nose - though I will gladly  
sacrifice my nose to get in a few  
more words - but it is more serious  
than that - a big ship called  
Aquatencia leaves tomorrow - I will not  
wait - If you can read my  
writing I will send you another sheet  
soon if you'd like it - in the  
meantime remember how much -  
often you are in our thoughts -  
- God bless you - keep you.

~~David~~

How's the little house?

Carrington House  
Herford Street W. 1.  
May. 0495.

Feb. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1939

My dear "Missie",

Enclosed for the  
President, if you please!

Yesterday we had George  
Trevelyan lunching with us - the  
famous historian, and author  
of "Grey of Fallodon."

He told us that the  
latter book is being translated

We are keeping very well, and hope that all goes well with you.

We go  
to the Lake  
- the sea  
and the  
hills -  
early in  
April.

Yours very  
Sincerely,  
Arthur Murray

into many languages, and that  
it is to be published in  
many countries, even in Germany!  
He supposed, he said, that  
anything in it that might  
be construed by Germans as  
being favourable to British  
and unfavourable to German  
diplomacy would be held  
to be cunning "Trevelyan"  
propaganda!

Carrington House  
Hertford Street W. 1.

May. 0495.

February 10th, 1939

Dear Franklin,

In a note I had from the Prime Minister some days ago -- in response to one of mine -- he says: "while it looks as if immediate danger has been averted I am sure that the reports of the President's communication to the Senate Committee will have a very powerful effect in Europe".

In the matter of Guy Gaunt's literary efforts: I have word to-day from Sir Archibald Carter (of the Admiralty) of a, temporarily at any rate, satisfying character! He says:- "According to the information we have been able to obtain, there is no likelihood of the book in question being published at the present time. If the possibility does arise, we hope to hear of it in advance". So far, so good; and it is to be hoped that Gaunt will be fully employed making a nuisance of himself in Tangier for a very long time to come!

Yesterday Faith and I had lunching with us Willie Tyrrell and George Trevelyan, two most interesting

personalities -- the former one of the ablest and wisest diplomats of our time; the latter one of the greatest of British historians. Tyrrell is less anxious about the immediate situation than when last I saw him. Reports that reach him tend to indicate that Hitler is not quite "the law unto himself" that he was six months ago, and that this, coupled with jealousies and bickerings in the Nazi party and the increasingly difficult economic situation in the Reich, are factors against a crisis culminating in war-like action. Greatest factors of all, no doubt, are the growing -- and it is now of large growth -- British rearmament; Franco-British (I mean, of course, French-British!) solidarity; and, last but not least, fear of the United States. All this does not mean that there does not lie before the Western democracies a testing-time, and a strenuous diplomatic ordeal shorter or longer in coming to its issue. Nor can there ever be ruled out the possibility that Hitler -- the man in whose head, as Neville Chamberlain said to me, ideas "swell and swell to bursting point" -- might attempt to stake everything on a new adventure, and we must ardently hope that coming events

in Spain offer no such "crisis" opportunity of any vital moment.

Mention of Spain reminds me that I was lunching ten days ago in Edinburgh with my friend General Sir Walter Scott of Abbotsford, the descendant of the great Scottish novelist -- and also, on the distaff side, a descendant of the Murrays of Falahill! Walter Scott is an exceptionally nice fellow -- of great charm, frank, open and most likeable. He and General Franco have been friends for a number of years, and he has been to Spain several times during the civil war on visits (of a personal and friendly character) to Franco. He tells me that Franco is a man of character and integrity who keeps his word. Franco, he said, has told him time and again, that he does not -- in the event of victory -- intend to pursue a policy other than that of complete Spanish independence free from any foreign control. All this for what it is worth, my only comment being that I would find it difficult to conceive that Walter Scott would take to, and be friends with a man, if that man were not akin to himself in nature.

Last night the temperature was higher than it normally is in June! What times we live in!

as ever yours,

*Arthur Murray*

FAST



# RCA

DIRECT



## RADIOGRAM

R.C.A. COMMUNICATIONS, INC.  
A RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA SERVICE

TO ALL THE WORLD — BETWEEN IMPORTANT U. S. CITIES — TO SHIPS AT SEA

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1939 FEB 11 AM 10 59

NLT THE PRESIDENT

*file a-2*

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SO SORRY YOU HAVE FLUE ARTHUR ALSO HAS FLUE HOPE YOU BOTH QUITE

WELL SOON HAVE WRITTEN YOU THIS WEEK OUR LOVE

FAITH *Murray*

**Telephone: National 2600**

Form 111WN—TD 11

To secure prompt action on inquiries, this original RADIOGRAM should be presented at the office of R.C.A. COMMUNICATIONS, Inc. In telephone inquiries quote the number preceding the place of origin.

FAST



# RCA

DIRECT



## RADIOGRAM

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RECEIVED AT 1112 CONNECTICUT AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C., AT \_\_\_\_\_ STANDARD TIME

WN5CL BALVICAR 32 16 0959

1939 APR 16 AM 9 55

THE PRESIDENT THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRAYERS OF ALL IN BRITAIN GO UP TODAY IN SURPASSING THANKFULNESS FOR  
YOUR MOST MOMENTOUS AND COURAGEOUS PRONOUNCEMENTS OUR LOVE AND BEST WISHES

ARTHUR MURRAY

**Telephone: National 2600**

Form 112WN—TD 100

To secure prompt action on inquiries, this original RADIOGRAM should be presented at the office of R.C.A. COMMUNICATIONS, Inc. In telephone inquiries quote the number preceding the place of origin.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

Aug 20<sup>th</sup>

1939

My dear "Missie,"

Enclosed for the  
President, if you please.

We both send you our  
kindest remembrances and wishes,  
and want you to feel that a  
warm welcome is awaiting you at  
An Cala. So please do not  
disappoint us. yours very sincerely  
Arthur Murray

PS F: Arthur Murray

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR ST. ARGYLL.

May 20th, 1939

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Franklin,

You will remember that -- at the Prime Minister's request -- I saw the Air Minister, Sir Kingsley Wood, on the subject of your "Air Programme" suggestions, and that he said to me that he was very grateful indeed to you for the spirit of helpfulness and co-operation in which the suggestions were conceived, as well as for the suggestions themselves. He would have them very carefully examined, he said, and, thereafter, get into touch with me again.

I now have a confidential letter from him in which he says how very greatly he values your helpful suggestions, and then continues:-

"I would be grateful if you would let the President know that you have been in touch with me confidentially, and that while the Air Ministry naturally

do not wish to circumscribe in any way the materials and articles which they might wish to procure in war, it is probable that the chief needs would be for light alloys in the form of sheet, strip and extrusions, and for navigational and other instruments used in aircraft. It is probable that there would be adequate plant and manufacturing capacity in this country to deal with any basic materials which were supplied from the United States. It would naturally be of the greatest assistance in planning the provision of plant and manufacturing space in this country if some indication could be given of the materials and articles which it is thought could be supplied from the States."

I have written Kingsley Wood that I am sending on his foregoing message to you. I have arranged to see him when I am in London next week.

Whatever the future may bring forth so far as the High Priest of Nazi evil-mindedness is concerned a great change has come over the European Situation as compared with a few months ago. The main initiative has changed hands from the Dictatorships to the Democracies;

the process of change having been assisted in momentous measure by your historic and powerful messages. Never in history has there been anything approaching the like of your notable "Thirty Nation Aggression" questionnaire to Hitler with its instantaneous "braking" effect. What a sigh of profound thankfulness and gratitude to you went up from us all as we became apprised of the courageous message and watched its beneficent results. And now -- whatever the diplomatic tensions of the near future -- confidence behind the "peace front" grows. And if indeed the self-described "greatest German that ever lived" sees fit, in megalomaniacal mood, to let loose in the panoply of war the monster "with no breath of divinity" that he has created, then assuredly he hastens to his own doom.

I have once or twice before, in letters to you, referred to the political situation in Great Britain as evidenced by the results of by-elections. There were three by-elections last week, and their main feature is the apathy of the electorate. In the Abbey Division of Westminster the total poll was only 30 per cent, in North Southwark 40 per cent, and in the Aston Division

of Birmingham 45 per cent. The first and third are eminently safe Government seats, and the result in both cases was a foregone conclusion. In the second the Government had the very narrow majority of 79 votes at the last General Election, and it was not expected that the seat could be held, particularly as the same Socialist candidate was standing again and as his Government opponent was young and inexperienced. The Socialist candidate, in this case, won the seat by a majority of 1500, but the Socialist poll was over 2000 below what it was in 1935 at the General Election, so the the result is no evidence of a socialist revival even in that constituency. Indeed, had there been less electoral apathy, the Government might have held the seat, and the lesson will probably not be lost in two by-elections which are pending. Certainly the Government have no reason to be dissatisfied with the course of the by-elections. Of the 70 which have taken place since the General Election in 1935, the Government have lost only 14 -- 11 to the Socialists and 3 to Independents -- which is quite a remarkable record for a Government now in its fourth year of office. Indeed, in the thirty years in which I have been in Parliamentary, or

in close touch with political, life I can remember nothing like it. Generally speaking, it is probably not untrue to say that a substantial section of Socialists are not prepared at the moment to vote against the Government (in the country, I mean, not in Parliament) because they are not at heart antagonistic either to its foreign policy or to the introduction of compulsory military training.

When Faith and I were at Monte-Carlo at the end of March we lunched one day on board H.M.S. Devonshire with her Captain, Muirhead-Gould. He was the hero of the exploit at Minorca, and by his tact and skill prevented what might have developed into a "fireworks" situation as between France and Italy. The story, as he told it to us, was an intensely interesting one, and I shall hope, one day, to tell it to you. Muirhead-Gould was British Naval Attaché in Berlin, 1934-37, and knows Hitler and all the régime well. In a letter I have received from him to-day he says: "The international situation seems to be simmering at the moment, though I feel that tension will increase again very shortly. "Madolf" does not care much for such diplomatic rebuffs as our Agreement with Turkey, and I

think he will do something somewhere to endeavour to regain his lost "face". Even better, from his point of view, if he could push his partner, "Busso" (Madolf & Busso, the Maddo clowns!) into some fresh imbroglio. But his chances of doing that are becoming less and less."

We are having a nice Spring here, and the garden colours of the Azaleas and other Spring plants are this year particularly gorgeous. We shall be down in London for Ascot. Despite re-armament, and A.R.P. preparations, of an intensive nature, the nation's life continues in its usual strain. This is as it should be. The country has a Prime Minister and Government in whom it trusts, and to whom it has entrusted the task of putting Britain on a "ready-for-war" basis. And it proceeds about its business. And, in my humble judgment, <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ trust is well-founded. In particular the Defence Departments are represented by able and energetic men. The Air Ministry, as I think I have said to you before, is pre-eminently fortunate in being under the direction of Sir Kingsley Wood, a statesman who has shown outstanding ability and drive in each of the high ministerial offices which, at different

7.

times, he has held. He and I were a number of years together in the House of Commons. In those days we sat on opposite sides of the House. In these days our thoughts and opinions are united in a common cause.

With Faith's and my love, and every good wish,

yours as ever,

Arthur Murray



TEL. BALVICAR 37.  
TELEGRAMS & STATION, OBAN.

PSF: Arthur Murray

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
ARGYLL.

June 3rd, 1939

Dear Franklin,

My friend, General Sir Walter Scott of Abbotsford (descendant of the great historical novelist) knows Franco very well, and the situation in Spain. I asked him a short time ago what he thought of Serrano Suner, Franco's "so-called" brother-in-law. I have now received his reply to my query. It has occurred to me that it may interest you to see it, so I enclose a copy. It deals generally with the situation in Spain, with which you are, of course, very well acquainted, but it supplies another view-point.

We are having a wonderful late Spring and early summer here -- blue sky, blue sea, and the rugged outline of the Islands, Scarba, Jura, Islay and Mull, changing colour almost every minute of the day. We much wish you were with us here to enjoy it all.

With our love and every good wish,

yours as ever,

*Arthur Murray*

Confidential.

Serrano Suñer is a very hard working little man between 40 and 50, and his wife is the sister of Mme. Franco. Hence he is not strictly speaking "brother-in-law". He was in the Model Prison at Madrid and had a hell of a time from the Reds but was released on exchange in 1937 (I think) and was made Minister of the Interior last year. He is a hot Falange and always appears in a blue shirt. He and two other Ministers are most unpopular in Spain. At the same time I would not say that he ever controls Franco. But he is everywhere nicknamed the "Cunadisimo" (Cunado is brother-in-law in Spanish) as distinct from the "Generalissimo" (Franco). There were strong rumours last winter that German influences were working to make Suñer head of the State instead of Franco. My information (pretty sure) is that there is no hope of such a change and I am told on very good authority that Suñer, after his visit to Germany last August or September, returned disgusted with Nazi methods. One observant Spaniard has told me that Suñer & Co. have placed all sorts of unsuitable "Falange" persons in the posts of Military and Civil Governorships; but against that the new head-men at Barcelona and Madrid are Monarchists!

Spain will not stand "Wild-men" Falangists in important posts for long. There is the steadying influence of the Requetes (old Carlists) who are for God, King & Country. The "Falange" party is, like Fascism in Italy, the ordinary citizen's reaction to Communism and Anarchy, from both of which Franco has saved Spain. Franco is no self-seeker and he only thinks of his country. He and the Army will see that Spain is not run by a clique of self-seekers (some Falangista are!) for the next few years. Franco is very quiet, and says little; but the Falange will be allowed to hang themselves! What I put my shirt on is this:- If there is a European War to-morrow or this year, Franco will declare the neutrality of Spain. Spain is not going to be run by any foreign interests and it will be delighted when the last Italian and German soldier leaves!

I said all this two years ago.

Of course the remnants of the French Popular Front, and a clique of Quai d'Orsay officials in Paris, and the Komintern and Grand Orient of France and Spain, are doing their best to break the Bérard-Jordana Agreement, and are causing intense ill-feeling in Spain towards France. It is all so stupid and shortsighted. It looks as if they were doing their best to give France a third hostile frontier. It is the same people (plus the Marin group in the Chambre) who have been blocking a settlement between France and Italy over Jibutil, the Canal and Tunis.

Of course Italy and Germany will have preferential treatment commercially; but considering what they did to help Franco in the winter of 1936-37 (after Russia and the French Government had already started) and since, one cannot complain, especially as so many of our people have done their best to antagonise Franco & Co. All that scare about Gibraltar and Tangier the other day was all false propaganda, partly Red and partly German. I hear from Tangier that we were laughed at over it all!

May 25th, 1939.

June 20, 1958

AN CALA,

ISLE OF SEIL,

BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

My dear "Missie",

Enclosed for the  
President, please. And, thank  
you very much!

Our best wishes

yours very sincerely

Arthur Murray

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

June 21st, 1939

Dear Franklin,

One day during that most delightful visit of ours to you at Hyde Park in October last, the subject of English "Milk Marketing Schemes" arose in conversation between yourself and me. "The Milk Marketing Board" has recently held its Annual General Meeting, and the Chairman gave an account of the progress made to date by the Board. I thought, perhaps, it might interest you to have a copy of his speech so that you can glance at it, should the spirit move you to do so! Accordingly, I send you a copy herewith.

The situation in Tientsin arouses memories of the days of the Boxer campaign of 1900 when I was quartered there for a time after the relief of the Pekin Legations. The passage of 39 years has seen no change in the Japanese character -- truculence, impudence, trickery, swollen-headedness and brutality, still remain its principal elements. And what better description could be applied to the character of the régime that casts its hideous shadow across the path of European peace? That régime, with its "Axis" vassal,

is now waging a war of positional manoeuvring with all the resources at its disposal. As you know, from the advent of Hitler to power I never had any illusions on the subject of the kind of gangsters that he and his associates were. History will relate how successive Governments in this country refused to "face facts" in this connection. But, however that may be, this Government is now "facing facts", and the fact, as it seems to me, which stands out in bold relief is that the totalitarian partners have not abated by one jot their determination to attempt to occupy all strategically valuable positions that can still be taken without provoking a major war. The aims of Hitler-Mussolini policy remain the same -- an aggressive and brutal imperialism. And who can say what mad "bolt from the blue" may emanate from the disordered mind of a man living, as does Hitler, in a self-imagined world whose immensity stretches immeasurably further than the mental horizon of the normal individual? "The greatest German that ever lived" -- that self-styled epithet will rise up in the pages of history to haunt his memory! -- is, so those who know him well say, consumed by an overpowering hatred of his enemies, the "betrayers", Great Britain, France and Poland; and by this

3.

sentiment his political judgment is almost exclusively dominated. It is to be hoped that some day we shall know exactly what fell from his lips when he read the enthusiastic accounts of the King and Queen's historic visit to yourself! At least we may be sure that the accounts cannot have tended to make him calmer or saner in mind or spirit!

Faith and I are just back from London where we "did" the Ascot Meeting, and, like most people, backed more losers than winners -- a black Ascot! The one horse we ought to have backed, but didn't, was called "America" -- it won at the long odds of 20 to 1! Next time, in similar circumstances, we shall allow the heart to rule the head!

Glorious summer weather here, with gentle breezes off the sea.

With our love and every good wish,

Yours as ever,

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.  
U. S. A.

*Arthur Murray*

1

July 10, 1939.

Dear Arthur:-

It has been months and months since I have written you but that does not mean that you and Faith have been out of my thoughts -- and it has been grand to have several letters from you.

Meanwhile all manner of water has gone under the bridge -- the most important the April crisis and the visit of the King and Queen.

Once more we seem to be in somewhat critical days with the Dictators, but I have sufficient confidence that there will be no actual explosion for a month to let my Mother sail for France last week, to be gone until the end of August. The great majority of my reports still insist that a war is inevitable. One guess is as good as another. Many thanks for what you told me from the Air Minister. Things along that line are going much better both in England and in the United States.

Thank you, too, for the report of your Milk Marketing Board. I am showing it to Henry Wallace.

As to your plans -- I do hope there is a possibility that if things do not explode in Europe that you and Faith will run over again this Autumn. It would be grand to have

you again at Hyde Park or Washington. Tell Faith that if she cannot pry you loose from horse racing and railroad directing, she could well run over alone for a short visit -- but I do hope you both can come.

I cannot write you of the many delightful events in the visit of the King and Queen but I can tell you that it was a tremendous success. They came to a friendly but curious American public and four days later they left an impression of real understanding and affection behind them. The most appealing scene of all was at the Hyde Park station at eleven o'clock the night they left. All the neighborhood of village and country people - five thousand of them -- to say goodbye, and as the train pulled out the King and Queen had tears in their eyes and wholly unexpectedly the crowd sang "Auld Lang Syne" and "He's a Jolly Good Fellow." The whole trip did an immense amount of good, and, incidentally, I formed a really deep and affectionate regard for your Sovereign.

My plans are fairly definite -- I hope the Congress will adjourn by August first and then I will go to the West Coast on a three weeks' trip and will be half and half between Hyde Park and Washington from the end of August on.

My best to you both,

As ever yours,

The Honorable Colonel Arthur Murray,  
An Cala,  
Isle of Seil,  
Argyll,  
Scotland.

July 10, 1939.

Dear Faith:-

I do wish you could have been with us when the King and Queen were here -- and I remembered especially to tell the Queen about the Scotch suit made by her and your pet industries. As the temperature was about ninety-five degrees, I could not wear it! I especially like the green color and I have been wearing it ever since January -- up to about May first -- when our real heat began.

You simply must come over this Autumn -- lots to show you both in Washington and at Hyde Park. The little house is finished and is being furnished over a period of three years. It now has one bookcase, one desk, one chair, one wardrobe, one mirror and a complete set of fire irons and tools. The porch furniture arrives next week so by the time you get there it will at least be semi-habitable.

Do send me another line.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Arthur Murray,  
An Cala,  
Isle of Seil,  
Argyll,  
Scotland.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE P. S.

I HAVE SENT MRS. ROOSEVELT  
COPIES OF THESE CABLEGRAMS.

G.

STANDARD FORM No. 14A

APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

MARCH 10, 1926

# TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

CABLEGRAM

FROM

The White House  
Washington

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 73702

July 28, 1939.

COLONEL THE HONORABLE ARTHUR MURRAY  
AN CALA  
OBAN

OVERJOYED YOU ARE COMING WILL NOT BE BACK FROM PACIFIC  
COAST UNTIL OCTOBER FIFTEENTH IT WILL BE GRAND TO SEE  
YOU

ROOSEVELT

FAST



# RCA

DIRECT



## RADIOGRAM

R.C.A. COMMUNICATIONS, INC.  
A RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA SERVICE

TO ALL THE WORLD — BETWEEN IMPORTANT U. S. CITIES — TO SHIPS AT SEA

RECEIVED AT 1112 CONNECTICUT AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C., AT \_\_\_\_\_ STANDARD TIME

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1939 JUL 27 PM 1 08

NLT THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

YOUR LETTERS TENTH FAITH AND SELF THANK YOU SO MUCH AND REJOICE AT  
BEING ABLE ACCEPT YOUR PLEASUREABLE INVITATION WE WILL ARRIVE  
NEWYORK OCTOBER TWELFTH IF THAT CONVENIENT TO YOU GREETINGS

ARTHUR MURRAY & CALA OBAN.

**Telephone: National 2600**

Form 113WN—TD 23

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17

August 24, 1939.

Dear Arthur:-

I am dictating this on the train from Sandy Hook to Washington, having cut my cruise short for obvious reasons. What a pure unadulterated devil Hitler is.

And this latest Russian business makes things on their face infinitely more difficult for you and the French -- though, frankly, I do not believe Russia would have given much substantial aid even if they had not made this non-aggression treaty with Germany.

About all I can do under the circumstances is to appeal to Italy -- and you will get word of this in a day or two.

All we can do is to pray that the actual crash will not occur -- and if it does not, we await you and Faith with open arms about the fifteenth or sixteenth of October. If there is no war I expect to leave for a quick trip to San Francisco and Seattle on October first, getting back either to Hyde Park or Washington in two weeks. If I go straight to Hyde Park you and Faith will come there and a few days later we can all come down to Washington. If I go to Washington, we will reverse the procedure.

I want to hear all about Philiphaugh.

One thing you may be sure of -- public opinion and general preparations are far more

favorable over here to the cause of democracy than  
they were in August, 1914.

My best to you both,

As ever yours,

Colonel The Honorable Arthur Murray,  
An Cala,  
Isle of Seil,  
Argyll,  
Scotland.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR ST. ARGYLL.

August 2nd, 1939

Dear Franklin,

Just a few lines (to supplement my cables to you) to say how very much indeed we are looking forward to our visit to you.

We are so glad that mid-October is convenient to you as it works in (for me) with the possibility of being absent from Railroad and other business meetings.

We shall arrive New York, Ritz Hotel, in the "New Amsterdam", on October 12th, and await your word! In any event, I have several things to do in connection with our British Railways organisation in New York.

The "Mauritania" (same date) was booked up. But, having voyaged to you last year in a Scottish boat, it is in any case highly appropriate that this year a Dutch liner should convey us to your shores!

The devout hope must be expressed that the "Angel of Peace" will still, in October, be hovering o'er Europe. Who can say? As you so appositely remark in your last

letter: "one guess is as good as another". I was in London last week and had talks with Walter Runciman and Willie Tyrrell. Both send to you their warm greetings. Neither conceals the gravity of the situation as he sees it. Tyrrell inclines to the opinion that if Hitler is really convinced that Britain means business he will most likely avoid a line of action that would "bring Britain in". But is he so convinced? Every endeavour is being made to convince him. If the endeavours fail, and a European catastrophe be let loose, then, with Jenna Baillie, the British people will say:

"War is honourable

In those who do their native rights maintain;  
In those whose swords an iron barrier are  
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak."

I had a chat in London with my old friend Sir Walford Selby, British Ambassador to Portugal, who is home on leave from Lisbon. He referred in the warmest terms to the friendliness and moral support he had received whilst British Minister in Vienna before the Anschluss, and now -- during his present Ambassadorship in Lisbon -- from your diplomatic

representatives in those cities. He described as "intense in the extreme" the efforts being made in Portugal by Nazi agents to direct Portuguese governmental and public opinion into Nazi channels.

We are just off to spend a few days with friends of ours at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk. You will remember that our common ancestors, the Murrays of Falahill, acquired -- a nice modern word to cover robbery and brigandage of those far-away days! -- the property of Philiphaugh. In the early years of this century the property was purchased by the father of the present proprietor, Sir Samuel Steel.

With our every good wish,  
as ever yours,

*Arthur Murray*

The President  
The White House  
Washington.

P.S. Runciman told me that the King said to him: "I formed a warm regard for the President, and have the greatest admiration for him. We enjoyed our stay with him tremendously." *A.M.*

P.S.2 Faith was delighted to get your letter. She is writing to you. You will probably be on your Pacific Coast tour when you get this, and we hope it is not being over strenuous. *A.M.*

September 11, 1939.

Dear Faith and Arthur:-

Faith's letter was very welcome and got here two days before Arthur's telegram. It is, of course, a very great disappointment that the visit has to be deferred, but I need not tell you that no matter how long it takes to end Hitlerism you have a definite date at Hyde Park about two weeks later.

The inevitability has happened and we must all of us hope and pray for the day that similar "inevitable" will no longer threaten.

I had two brief days at Hyde Park to catch up on two weeks loss of sleep and now I am back putting into effect a fairly well organized machinery -- and the country seems to be accepting the plans well.

Take care of yourselves and I hope you will get the same kind of occasional holiday at An Cala as I hope to get at Hyde Park.

My regards and be sure to keep me in touch.

As ever yours,

Colonel The Honorable and Mrs. Arthur Murray,  
An Cala,  
Isle of Seil,  
Argyll,  
Scotland.

Sunday the Sabbath.

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

Aug. 25<sup>th</sup>.

Dear Mr. President (+ Cousin Franklin).

Good Arthur has  
gone to the Kirk - but I am  
staying here in my little garden  
which is full of goodness & peace.  
There are roses, doves (three are  
pecking at some weeds only a few  
feet away, my bulley is fast asleep  
& dreaming I am afraid of slaughter,  
the birds are singing their hearts off -  
and there is NOT another sound - and  
there is NOTHING across the sea before  
me, between me and America - so

I feel that we can almost shake hands -  
It is odd to be writing to one like  
yourself today - at this moment - when  
your messages are being broadcast from one  
Country to another - one man to another  
to try - save us from this ghastly  
Catastrophe. which is hanging like a low  
Thunder cloud ready to burst at any  
moment - in fact before this letter is  
finished or posted tomorrow - war may  
have begun - and even if there is  
no war. what then? <sup>is the world</sup> is Europe to go  
on in a state of everlasting suspense,  
because of this monster ruling over a  
Third class Power just feels like it?  
If so - then all our belief in Reason  
& Right which has always prevailed  
must be replaced by something else -  
but I do believe in - Reason & Right

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

2,  
and am confident they will win -  
but sufficient until the moment...

I am simply thrilled that we  
are coming across in October (H.P.)  
(at the moment it looks very shadowy)  
and I do hope we shall be coming  
to Washington as well as Hyde Park.  
I long to see that lovely city again -  
and at Hyde Park, you will choose  
with 'one of everything'. I have  
been thinking hard as to what I  
shall bring you one of - and I  
have decided - I think you'll like it.

It begins with a T. so you can try  
guessing it when you get into bed  
& worrying things of State & World  
Crops up to try & rob you of your  
blessed sleep.

I have not been to England since  
the King & Queen have been back -  
but I have heard a good deal from  
H. his greatest friend (Lady Doris Vyner)  
about their visit to you. They just  
adored it and you - as I knew  
they would. Isn't our little Queen  
one of the sweetest people you  
have ever met? Her charm has

just that spiritual quality which  
makes her rare among women.  
You - and America were so wonderful  
in your welcome to them - and we  
did appreciate it so much. One thing

I always feel the monster has done - or  
rather two

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

1) he has wakened us up, & brought us  
out of a lethargy to which we shall  
never return I hope - 2) ~~with~~ he

has produced an understanding  
between ourselves & your great  
Country - entirely by you - and  
a regard & affection for each  
other much stronger than it was -  
and your friends over here say -  
and those who are neutral and who  
know nothing about American politics,  
and are therefore the best critics -  
"Thank God we had a Roosevelt"  
at the White House in Sept. '35" and  
they are saying it again now - and

- writing it

They will go on saying it <sup>throughout</sup>  
History - it will be your epitaph  
here - for I feel in my bones -  
and indeed do those also who are  
far wiser than myself - that your  
attitude - your messages in this  
crisis will either - subdue  
the monster once again.

I do hope we have the lovely weather  
we had last year when we arrived  
in America - I just adore America.

At one moment I thought we  
should NOT be taking a trip this year -  
as owing to the crisis affecting  
Arthur's horses - they have all been  
rather slow this season !! Asen was

4  
AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

quite awful - NO King + Queen -  
bestly weather - all the former  
horses so disagreeable as they could  
be. However, we had a divine  
summer up here - with little jaunts  
away - have only just returned  
from a series of visits on the  
Border - and I am sending  
you a picture of Philiphaugh <sup>which I took!</sup> where  
we stayed with the present owner  
Sir Sam Strang. Steel where the  
outlaw Murray originated - whose  
descendants lived there until about 60

years ago. Your mother would  
be interested in the photo graph. It  
is a lovely estate. We enjoyed our  
visit there - had some good fishing -  
even I could not help landing some  
quite nice little brown trout from  
the Bowhill Loch - a the estate of  
the Buccleuchs which marches with  
Philiphaugh.

Well, you must be tired of  
me by now. Not an amusing letter  
but all our thoughts - perhaps seem to  
be absorbed in the one big question -  
is it to be War? Our hearts go out to  
those who may have to be sacrificed -  
to the mother for example - who lost her  
husband in the last war to love her son  
in this - and with it all we are  
comforted a great deal because we know that  
in the world there is a great Dynamic Force -  
Townsends - fighting for Good - Right - who vie

if War is avoided, have saved the world once more.  
Our love to you. Faith.



FAST



# RCA

DIRECT



## RADIOGRAM

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NLT THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITEHOUSE WASHINGTON

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER OF TWENTYFOURTH AUGUST OUR DISAPPOINTMENT  
AT BEING UNABLE TO VISIT YOU NEXT MONTH IS INTENSE BRITISH WILL TO VICTORY  
REMAINS AS OF YORE OUR LOVE AND BEST WISHES

ARTHUR MURRAY

**Telephone: National 2600**

Form 112 W2—TD 23

To secure prompt action on inquiries, this original RADIOGRAM should be presented at the office of R.C.A. COMMUNICATIONS, Inc. In telephone inquiries quote the number preceding the place of origin.

Hyde Park, N. Y.  
October 21, 1939.

Dear Arthur:-

I am awfully glad to have yours of October first, for I had been thinking much of you and Faith and wondering what you had been doing since those evil days at the beginning of September when the second attack on civilization as you and I know it began.

All I can say is God bless you both and take care of yourselves and remember that F. D. R. is thinking much of you and of all you are doing.

It is good to read what you say about India and the Near East -- and the other day came word of the excellent action of the Turkish Government.

I myself am going through a bit of a fight -- words not bombs -- with the irreconcilable isolationists in both Houses of the Congress, but I am going to win out and I think the result will help the general picture because it will carry the main objective even though it may be modified in certain secondary respects.

I gather the morale both in Britain and France is excellent -- keep it up.

You and I, in spite of our infirmities, can still carry on even though it may not be in uniform.

Give Faith my love and tell her the visit  
is only postponed.

I have just come home for the weekend and  
I wish much you could picnic with me at the Hill  
cottage. Two weeks from now I hope to get home  
for our annual election day and we hope to have  
a picnic party on the top of the hill where we  
all were so recently. We will drink your health  
and hope for another year.

As ever yours,

Colonel The Honorable Arthur Murray,  
Carrington House,  
Hertford Street,  
London, W. 1.,  
England.

Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939

AN CALA,

ISLE OF SEIL,

BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

My dear "Missie",

The enclosure for  
the President, if you please.

We are so disappointed  
that the Hitler War has  
deprived us of our visit  
to which we were immensely  
looking forward. When we  
have won the war, and if  
we have any money left  
to pay our passages (!) we

1871  
AN OVAL  
SIDE OF SEED  
REPAIRS BY - BRIDGE  
I shall hope much to be able  
to cross the Atlantic.

In the meantime our  
very best wishes to you.

Yours very sincerely

Arthur Murray

The President  
The White House

Carrington House,  
Hertford Street,  
London, W. 1

AN CALA,  
ISLE OF SEIL,  
BALVICAR 37. ARGYLL.

October 1st, 1939

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Franklin,

A month has elapsed since I cabled you that, as a result of the outbreak of The Hitler War, Faith and I were unhappily debarred from paying you in October our much-looked-to visit.

Five and twenty years ago I said good-bye to Edward Grey, and the Foreign Office, and the House of Commons, and not long afterwards was engaged with my Regiment in bloody battles in the neighbourhood of Ypres. In this war, alas! I must content myself with work on the Home Front, and of that there is more than enough for all of us "of a certain age" to do.

It would be intensely interesting to be able to read the verdict of posterity on the events leading up -- during the last 5 years -- to the catastrophe of to-day. Assuredly it will be asked how it came to pass that Britain was so blind to the intentions of Hitler and his associates in brutality as ever to allow them -- as Goering last year triumphantly proclaimed -- "to get ahead in re-armament". Heavy lies the responsibility on those in and out of Government from 1933 to 1937 who "threw dust in the eyes of the people" and permitted themselves to believe that the Nazi Regierung was composed of men of peace and good-will. Frequent and persistent were the warnings to the contrary from knowledgable persons, but these they heeded not. "See what Hitler is doing for Germany", they said, and looked on complacently while he left the League, withdrew from Locarno, marched into the Rhineland, introduced conscription, and built up the army with which to pursue the policy which he had openly proclaimed in "MEIN KAMPF", a book which few, if

any, of them had condescended to read. Too late came the cry, "stand up to the aggressor". At a most unpropitious moment came from Eden in the House of Commons the statement that (as Foreign Secretary) he stood for "peace at almost any price" -- how the Nazi hierarchy must have chuckled at this -- and had Eden's policy of declining to enter into conversations with Mussolini in the Spring of 1938 prevailed over that of Chamberlain it is highly likely that Italy would have been in the War against us to-day. How vast a pity it is that full advantage was not taken of the momentous lead given in your great "Quarantine the Aggressor" speech at Chicago. As long ago as 1933 Edward Grey, in the last public speech he made before his untimely decease, sounded the warning note when, in referring to Hitler's advent to power, he said, "we must ask ourselves what the position would be in Europe to-day if Germany were armed"; and in my last conversation with him before he died that year he said to me, "if this is the new Germany, we shall have to alter our attitude towards her." But we never did.

All this, however, is past history, and now only of academic interest. The errors and misjudgments of yesterday have given place to the firm resolve of to-day to call a halt to Hitlerite methods and ambitions. At least it can be said that the delays in so doing have revealed those methods and ambitions in their broadest sense, and have produced complete unity of thought and purpose in resisting them to the uttermost limit. The response to the "call" on the part of the British Commonwealth of Nations has been unanimous and determined. On the political situation both in India and Palestine the outbreak of war has had a remarkable effect. In each of those countries there has been agitation against British rule. And in each case the spectacle of war between Britain and Germany has given a new angle of thought to discontent. Not only Gandhi but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose attitude to the British Government has been far more unrelenting, realises that any grievance now felt by Indian Nationalists is trivial in comparison with what German rule would imply. Over the attitude of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine the Nazis have suffered one of the rudest of shocks for they banked on disaffection in

the Holy Land as a focus for anti-British agitation throughout the Middle East. In Egypt likewise Nazi aspirations met with a severe and unexpected rebuff, even the Wafdist Press, which in recent years has been strongly anti-British, resolutely supporting the democratic Powers.

And in Britain what must strike every observer, in all parts of the country, is the quiet and sober, but nevertheless iron determination of the British people to get rid of the Nazi menace. Britain is roused to a great war effort and is prepared to fight, to work and to pay until its purpose has been fully accomplished. It recognises Hitlerism for what it is -- false of heart and bloody of hand, a fox in stealth and a wolf in greed. Cost what it may, and come whatever foes, Britain and France are grimly resolved to re-establish the principle of the square deal among the nations. Stealing on an international scale must be crushed underfoot. A month ago Hitler had his choice between peace and war. He decided for war. Now it is the democracies who will decide when the time has come for peace. And they can look to the future with every confidence. Internal disruption in Germany cannot be forfended indefinitely, and the might of the British Empire and her Allies, and their determination to rid the world of the virus of Hitlerism -- whatever, and however prolonged, the effort and the heavy sacrifices -- must inevitably prevail in the end.

And when victory is won, what then? Who can say, for who can visualise the conditions and state of Germany and of Europe when that time comes? We can do no more to-day than give expression to the feeling which is uppermost in all our minds namely that every endeavour must be made to avoid the repetition of any errors of the past, and that some means must be found to overcome, so far as is humanly possible, once and for good the constant and continuous menace of Prussianism. If, at the outset, stern measures are necessary towards the consummation of this end, then they must be taken. To this thought the minds of both the British and French peoples are attuned. The sentiment widely and frequently expressed that the Allies in 1918 ought to have gone to Berlin has become a motto in this war for the British Expeditionary Force on whose

lorries and trucks in France may be seen chalked in bold letters, "BERLIN OR BUST". These are symptoms of the spirit in which the British nation is entering on the fierce and bitter struggle that now lies ahead. In no war in all its history has it been so united. In no war has there been such unity between two great and mightily powerful Allied Nations as exists in mind and purpose and action between Britain and France at this time. They do not in any sense underrate the prodigious difficulties that confront them whether in the task of bringing victory to the Allied arms, or in rescuing, it may be, Central Europe from the gathering forces of a communistic invasion of thought and ideals. But they march to battle inspired by the rightness and justice of their cause, and encouraged by the feeling that under your courageous leadership the sympathies of the American nation are with them, and America's industrial resources at their disposal. I may say that those Members of the Government whom I have recently seen have spoken to me in the warmest terms of the immense encouragement they have received from your utterances and actions.

Walter Runciman, as you know, is now no longer in the Government. You will be sorry to hear that he has not been too well -- he came back better from his 3 months sea voyage in the Spring of this year, but the truth is that he never really recovered from the strain of his Mission to Prague in July - August, 1938. He is now at his place in Northumberland. I had a letter from Lady Runciman last week saying that there was nothing seriously wrong but that he was taking a complete rest from all work.

At the outbreak of war, Faith and I left An Cala and our Headquarters are now with friends in Kent, not far from London. Thence I travel to London, York, Edinburgh and other centres on my Railway and other businesses essential to the successful prosecution of the war.

We both send you our love and best wishes.

Yours as ever,

P.S. Enclosure may perhaps interest you.

*Arthur Hurry*

# There Has Always Been a Sinister Streak in the Pacts Between Russia and Germany

By J. B. FIRTH

**N**OW we know, at any rate in part, what the Russo-German Pact—which was to have scared Great Britain and France into abandoning Poland—portended. A Russian march into Eastern Poland to be followed at a convenient moment by another Partition.

The explanation of one of the most astounding examples of a lightning volte face is just territorial greed and the prospect of loot. Presumably the greatest political crime of the Eighteenth Century is to be repeated in the Twentieth.

Instead of Frederick the Great we have Adolf Hitler; instead of the Empress Catherine, Joseph Stalin; while Hitler has to double the part of the successor of Maria Theresa. Well, he has all the lusty appetite of that lady but not the "conscience" which so amused her partners in the crime, especially the Semiramis or Messalina of the North.

## CUNNING OF BISMARCK

There is nothing new, therefore, in a Russo-German Agreement, as some people seemed to suppose, and nothing new in the baseness of its origin. The floor is strewn with the remnants of such agreements, which implies that they have not been lasting. What would indeed be new would be a Russo-German Pact inspired by a bon motif.

Treuton and Slav have been uneasy neighbours in spite of long and close acquaintance and in spite of the steady infiltration of German culture into Russia in Tsarist days.

Their temperaments are always fundamentally different and often opposed. But the superior commercial aptitude of the Germans gave them a powerful standing in Russia

the mountains," and had nothing more to fear.

Then came the period of the Dreikaiserbund, a loose association of the three monarchs of Russia, Germany and Austria—"the Northern Conspiracy," as Disraeli once called it. Germany was now well on top in Europe, and Bismarck made her hegemony even more secure by drawing Austria close to her. The Habsburgs had not abated their ambitions: they looked to the Balkans as the field for Austrian expansion. Russia did the same. Both hoped for the major share of the Sick Man's possessions. But Austria by herself could make no head against Russia, and if Germany encouraged her appetite, she gave no pledge of help, as she was mad enough to do in 1914. Russia was cautiously kept in play.

In 1892, after his dismissal, Bismarck looked back on the games he had played on the European chequer-board, and wrote:

"The Prince (i.e. himself) has never been of the opinion that the support of Russia's plans should be the business of German diplomats, but he has held the view that it was not for Germany to hamper Russia in carrying out her projects. Herein lies a great difference. The business of blocking the Russian advance naturally belongs to those Powers whose interests would directly suffer from Russia's advance."

He would have been well content to see Great Britain and France, especially the former, embroil themselves with Russia—as they had done in Crimean days—by espousing the cause of Turkey. Each would have weakened the other and Germany might have snatched something handsome in the way of compensation.

During the long crisis which preceded the Congress of Berlin Bismarck neither helped

the closing of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles if the Tsar should deem that Russia's interests required it. That was a handsome sop to throw to Russia and it cost nothing for Germany's interest in Constantinople at that time was small.

His secret "Reinsurance Treaty" was truly Hitlerian. By it he had pledged Germany to aid Russia in re-establishing a new régime in Bulgaria, and to give Russia moral and diplomatic support if she decided to close the entrance to the Black Sea.

This celebrated example of the art of double-crossing in high politics was kept a close secret from his Austrian ally for many years, and was twice renewed. But in 1890 its renewal was refused by Germany, much to Russia's astonishment.

Refused by Germany, but not by Bismarck. By that time the pilot had been dropped and Caprivi was Chancellor in his place, with the dark and sinister Holstein installed as chief expert adviser on policy in the German Foreign Office. This refusal marked an important turning-point in Germany's international policy. Her rulers had begun to look to the East. The Drang nach Osten had already been mapped out.

## NEW BID FOR POWER

Germany was taking a much keener interest in the prospective distribution of Turkish provinces which then seemed imminent, and she was prepared to assume a more active rôle in thwarting Russia's advance towards the supreme goal of her aspirations for centuries—Constantinople.

Twenty years later, when the Germans began to send military missions to Turkey, German influence had become paramount with the Sultan, and the Baghdad Railway scheme was on the road to completion. Such a striking change in the temper of Russo-German relations was one of the most important factors in the international situation. But the hands which in the troubled and tortuous interval had controlled Germany's policy were not the cool, steady hands of Bismarck. Caprivi, Hohenlohe, Buelow, Bethmann-Hollweg, not one of them—not even Buelow, for all his versatility and smartness—could hold a candle to Bismarck, and all, in turn, were hampered by the restless vanity of a Kaiser who wished to be Kaiser and Chancellor too.

Germany, already committed to the pursuit of world-power, and that not in one direction only, but in many, was astride the path of Russia in Turkey and the Far East. It stands on record how the Kaiser and his Chancellor encouraged Russia to overthrow the pretensions of Japan to dominion in the Far East and egged her on to fight a war which was not only ruinous to her military prestige, but inflamed every revolutionary activity in Russia with renewed hopes of overthrowing the Tsardom.

During the years that Russia painfully and slowly recovered Germany kept Europe on tenterhooks.

When Germany for the first time got her heel on Russia's neck she dictated the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, compared with which the "Dictat of Versailles" was almost mild, and she scamped her arms of occupation in the rich lands of the Ukraine and the Crimea, with full intention of drawing permanent tribute in corn, cattle and coal.

## HAS STALIN FORGOTTEN?

Has Stalin forgotten that incident? I do not think so. Is Stalin persuaded that Hitler has renounced his old and earliest dream of securing for Germany use the cornfields of the Ukraine? I do not think so. There is no love between them, only a common hatred of Poland and a common desire to despoil her. Will the Fuehrer welcome the exposure of his German soldiers to the contagion of Bolshevik propaganda, if and when they make contact? On the contrary, he will dread it like the plague.

Those who remember the joint Austro-Prussian attack on Denmark in the early sixties of last century will call to mind that soon after they had overcome the Danish resistance they turned their weapons against one another. Something of the same kind may happen again.



THE HANDCLASP. Von Ribbentrop and Stalin, Moscow, Aug. 23.

before the war; and German influence was very strong at the Russian Court, owing to the family alliances of the Romanoffs with the Hohenzollerns and other German Royal and Princely Houses.

For 20 years Bismarck made it the cornerstone of his policy to keep on good terms with Russia. It was one of his favourite maxims that the wire between Berlin and St. Petersburg must never on any consideration be cut. Not active help but Russia's passive acquiescence was what he needed, and he was ready to pay the price. In 1863 the price was a pledge to send Prussian troops as and when required to help Russia to put down an insurrection of the Poles in Russian Poland.

In those days there were Germans—even Prussians—who dared stand up for Freedom, and Bismarck's pro-Russian policy was widely execrated. He paid no heed and held on his way, for what he secured in return was a free hand to settle the question once and for all as to whether Prussia or Austria should be the leader of the German States.

That vital part of the problem of German unification was solved on the field of Sadowa. What remained received its irrevocable solution at Sedan, Russia being still quiescent and not at all loth to see the fall of the French Empire. So Bismarck found himself "over

nor hindered. He watched and waited. At the Congress itself he was at his peak. "Do not force me to choose between Russia and Austria-Hungary," he whispered to Gortchakof. He was a juggler, as his successor said, who could keep five balls in the air at once when no one else could keep more than two or three.

Absolutely realist and cynical; he encouraged Powers to quarrel if their falling out made easier the path of a future German advance. Germany was on the march.

Bismarck wanted no concert of Europe which was Mr. Gladstone's "ideal" in foreign policy, and when in 1880 Gladstone's fleeting success over the Dulcigno incident had been forgotten Bismarck neutralised the effect of it by persuading the Three Emperors to sign a Convention at Berlin providing for

## HITLER ON POLAND

*The changed relationship between Germany and Poland is an important factor in the maintenance of general peace and has laid the foundations of permanent friendship.*

—Nov. 14, 1934.

December 13, 1939.

Dear Faith:-

It does me good in these hectic days to have a letter from you and to know all that you and Arthur are doing. I am wondering if you, like some of my other cousins -- the Martineaus and Fellowes-Gordons -- are finding the waiting for things to happen the most difficult part of all. I think if I were not so terrifically busy with purely domestic problems I would really worry myself much more than I do in regard to the outcome of things. They simply must come out right in the end, though at the present time it looks as if we are in for a long pull.

Everything was so beautifully arranged for the October visit, including teas at the new cottage and a picnic - chicken bones and all -- on the grass on top of the hill.

Actually I had very little time at home after September first -- just a few weekends mostly spent in watching the new Library go up in the field north of the main house -- a huge structure which will contain a large part of the manuscript material of the past twenty-five years.

It is going to be a really lovely building and I will try to send you a snapshot of it after the roof is on, which ought to be in a very short time now.

However, it will never be quite as nice as the new hill cottage which has the big room and the porch practically furnished and is waiting to welcome you and Arthur as soon as the war is over.

You are right about the Senators -- except one or two like Josh Lee, who continues to talk about the day on the hill. Nevertheless, the Senate did come through in fine shape on the neutrality embargo repeal bill. Since then the exports to England and France are picking up in excellent shape, and, incidentally, I am very busy building up our own Army and Navy.

I am going up to Hyde Park for Sunday, after our first formal entertaining -- the Diplomatic Reception -- and will give Mama your love and also, I hope, Daisy if she is at home that weekend.

I think it was a grand idea about your birthday message. It came across space without any static and I shall send a return message on January thirtieth next.

I have the happy thought that perhaps your Government will, with its increased purchasing, over here, send you and Arthur over. Can you put the idea into somebody's mind? After all he has had that kind of experience and it would be a good way to anticipate an eventual peace. Incidentally, if you come, why not do so via the Mediterranean or Lisbon on an American ship?

Give Arthur my best and tell him that I think of you both very often.

Affectionately,

Mrs. Arthur Murray,  
Bates Farm,  
Wittersham,  
Kent,  
England.

Telegrams: Wittersham.  
Telephone: Wittersham. Rye 4.  
Station: Wittersham Road, Kent.

For the duration.....Bates Farm,  
Wittersham,  
Kent.

Nov. 22 nd.

Dear Mr President Cousin Franklin,

I know that you will forgive a letter on the typer, when I tell you that it will save my eyes an ache, and probably yours too trying to decipher my long hand!

We have thought of you heaps and heaps during these last frightful weeks. We know how you feel about it, and so do all the people here who count know how much your sympathy is with us, and what you would do.... but perhaps I am saying things I must not say... if so forgive me and I will say no more.

We have adored getting your letters, and the now familiar green envelope always gives my heart a little jump of joy - that we should not be quite forgotten even in these strenuous days. We <sup>was</sup> so disappointed at having to cancel our visit to Hyde Park, and goodness knows when we shall come now - our taxation is going to rule out all extras like that - but I would give up so much to come and see you again, and to drive with you again up those lovely mountains covered with the coloured trees, and to know chicken bones on the grass and sit with you looking out on to that divine view from the cottage in the trees - away from all those horrid Senators! Perhaps I am saying the wrong thing again, and perhaps you love them very much, and can hardly bear to be out of their sight..... Anyway I am not going to let go of the idea that I shall come and see you by hook or by crook, or aeroplane before I die. It must be. It shall be.

Lunch gong gone, must go, will return.

Later.

Very good lunch. Sausages and mash and apple tart and very hot coffee.

Arthur is away at the moment. He goes to York and Edinburgh for his rail meetings now. The London office is closed.... I think the Chairman thought it would be too much of a temptation for Hitler if he knew where that precious little collection of elderly gentlemen assembled to discuss the lighting restrictions, or restaurant arrangements and bad food provided by the Companies(hush)!! He would surely drop a bomb from Ribbentrop ~~from~~ as a form of retaliation ~~from~~ for the bouts of indigestion ~~he~~ used to complain of when he was in this country and which he once put down to a visit on one of our trains. I wish I had been on that train, and had had second sight..... a little pinch of arsenic on passing might have saved quite a lot of trouble.... but I must not talk like this to you Mr President, but for the moment I was thinking you were just an 'ordinary sort of a man' as the late King

George 5th once described himself. He could never understand what it was that made the country love him so much, and he made this remark to the Archbishop of Canterbury shortly before he died - and it was so typical of his character - *and you two are the same sort of "ordinary man"*

I have still got some verbena toilet water which your mother gave me when I was at Hyde Park. It is particularly fresh and delicious. I never put it on my hankie without the smell of <sup>Hyde Park</sup> yourself and your adorable mother and lots of other things come vividly back to me. It is curious how a scent will bring back a memory, like a <sup>time</sup> I've got some on now. *I hope you've understood that I do not mean that you all*

This is our address for the duration of the war. *Small!!*  
We are evacuees! We are staying with a friend who has a delightful house - old Jacobean Farm house converted with every modern comfort. There are two others besides ourselves, all friends. Our host was to have had the house filled with possibly Eastend Jews, but he preferred to fill it with his friends - so here we are. Arthur is away half the month on his various businesses, and I remain here doing whatever turns up in the way of war work, - nothing official - just dull things which need doing around the parish Pump! It is such a funny sort of war in that sort of way. None of the men's jobs seem to fall vacant. All the men are ready and waiting but the call never seems to come. No women seem to be wanted - at least nothing over the age of about 12 - and better still if you are just cutting your first teeth. It is very annoying, because one could do so much with a perfectly good set of second teeth.

On the 27th it is my birthday. I am going to give myself a birthday treat, but I am afraid I am too late to let you share it with me - but I am going to risk it. At 12 noon on that day I am going to shake your hand across space, and I am going to say to you "Many happy returns to Hyde Park, and God bless and preserve our dear friend" ..... I wish this letter could get there in time, because at 7 in the morning of the same day is noon with us I believe, and perhaps you would send me a message back *while you are having your breakfast.*

I do not know when we shall return to our little house on the hill in Argyll, because I could not go so far away while my England was at war. It is so remote, and the food question would be difficult too - and our flat in London is very West End - in Park Lane. If Hitler comes to London with his bombs, we should be lucky to escape, so Arthur will not let me go there. We have enough petrol to go to London once a week, so one is able to keep in touch more or less. I wish you would get out your magic carpet and float across to London on one Friday (my London day) and lunch with me at the Ritz - would't that make all the funny new hats sit up and stare? for even though war rages around us the funny hats still are there, and always to be seen at the Ritz. I think the funniest I ever saw were at the Ritz in New York last year. I could not believe some of them could be true, and thought it was just me seeing things. It is very difficult to know what to do with the shops shutting down in their hundreds because they are doing no business at all, and ruination staring at them, then Sir John Simon last

Wiltshire  
Bates Farm

Station Wiltshire  
Telephone Wiltshire  
Telegram Wiltshire  
night on

stand what it  
is remark to  
it was so ~~typical~~  
of "ordinary man"  
particularily  
the smell and  
come vividly  
memory, like a  
to "McGraw Hill" you see.

Telegrams: Wittersham.  
Telephone: Wittersham Rye 4.  
Station: Wittersham Road, Kent.

Bates Farm,  
Wittersham,  
Kent.

night on the wireless telling us not to spend a penny on anything, but to save, save, save, and buy only war bonds - it all seems to work in a vicious circle. If you don't buy - where is the tradesman going to get the money to buy a bond? That is what is puzzling me today. Perhaps Arthur will give me right answer - but I somehow doubt if there is one to that question.

Do you know this little story=  
A group of British workmen were standing at the corner of the street dicussing Hitler in no mid terms. And one of them after listening to the tirade for some time said quietly "I know a worse fella than this 'ere 'itler'". "ose 'e ? roared the first." That there bloke Fuhrer" replied the little man.

The morale here is wonderful. The country means to have and finish him. No politician could say or do a thing to stop them now. I think there would be a revolution here first. But it is not just hysterical thirst for revenge. It is a calm and determined resolution to finish this hideous Monster and all he stands for once and for all - so that we can have have a return to Right and Christian conduct in the world.

I am enclosing you a sheet of paper on which Arthur wrote down some of his <sup>thoughts</sup> while resting for half an hour yesterday. He does this from time to time and gives <sup>it</sup> to me - and it is surprising how often he gets the right answer.

With a strong Germany and Hitler gone, how could we pursue the war? what would we be fighting for?

We shall go on thinking of you during the months to come - you will have a strenuous and perhaps bitter fight - but you are so big that these puny people who oppose you are but mosquitos on the wall. Still mosquitos can be very trying, and can disturb your sleep, do not let them disturb yours.

Take great care of yourself,  
your affectionate friend and kins~~man~~ woman

*Faith*

P.S. How I hate Senators.

P.P.S. Please give my love to nice Daisy Suckley when you see her -  
and of course to your mother.

Carrington House  
Hertford Street W. 1.

Nov. 20th, 1939

Mag. 0495.

**G E R M A N Y**

=====

What is the situation?

What are some of the possibilities?

- (a) Goering is, in all probability the "key man".
- (b) Goering is actuated by motives of self-preservation;  
by determination not to see the  
German Air Force shattered;  
by fear of Russian Communist menace  
in Germany.
- (c) An important number of German Army Officers are deter-  
mined to do their best to avoid the "shattering" of  
the German Army.
- (d) Thus Goering, with a number of Army and Air Force Offi-  
cers, want a "way out of the war" which would leave  
them, and the German Army and Air Force practically  
unscathed.
- (e) The industrialists, junkers, Catholic, Evangelical  
Protestant and Monarchist elements are ranged with  
Goering & Co.
- (f) Hitler splutters and fumes and rages.
- (g) Goering & Co. know the "game is up", and that event-  
ually Germany will have to get out of Czecho-Slovakia,  
Poland (up to the Curzon line), and Austria.
- (h) Will there then be in due course a "coup d'etat" on the  
part of Goering & Co., and an intimation to the Allies  
that they are (a) evacuating seized territories;  
(b) restoring the Monarchy, and constitu-  
tional government?

A. C. M.

*File*  
**A**bove the voices  
of the world  
We hear the angel's  
song

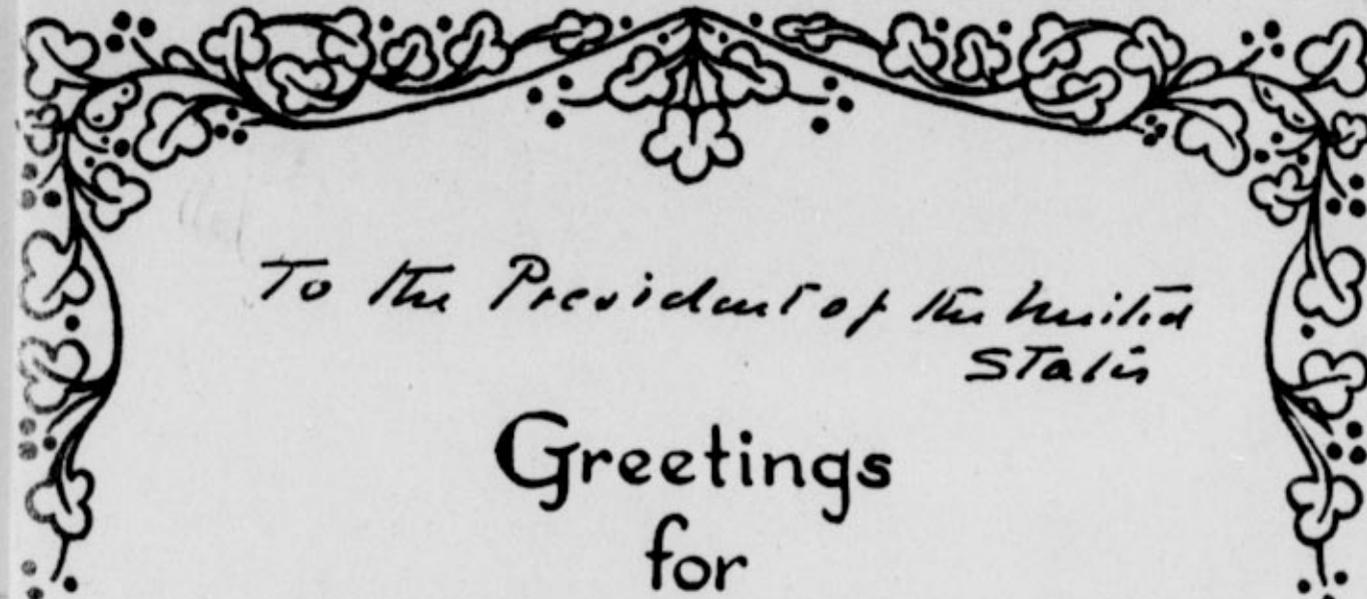
Amid the hate of greed and war  
We know that Love is strong

For long ago God dreamed  
a dream

Of Peace, Good Will to men  
He knows men will remember  
And dream His dream again



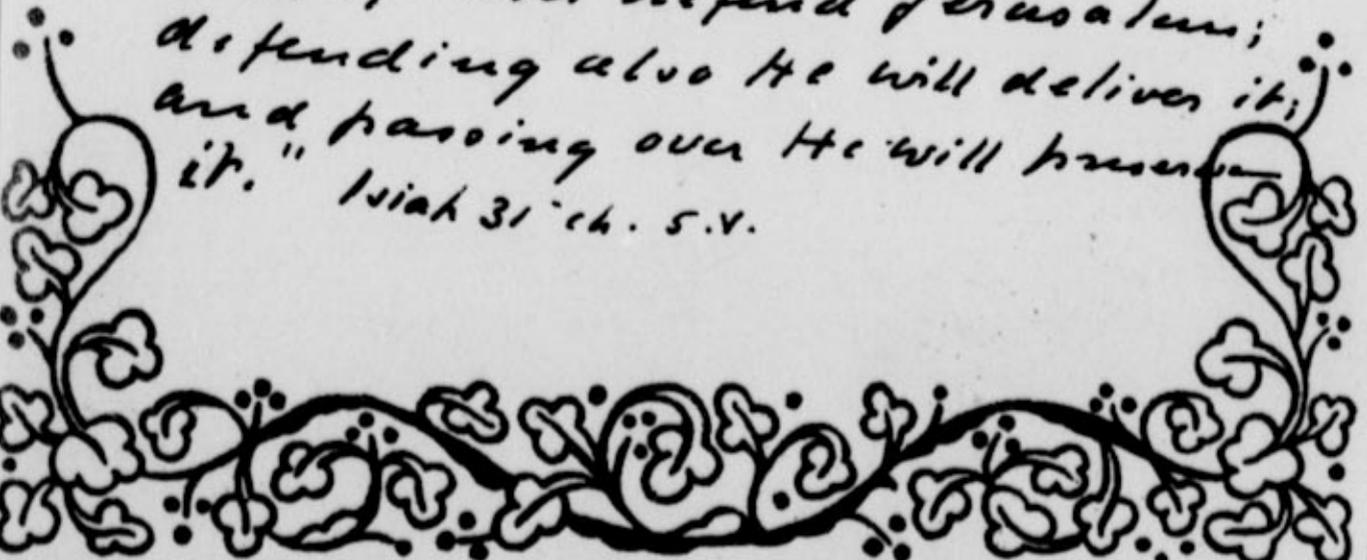
“Three Swans”  
By Peter Scott

A decorative border of stylized flowers and leaves framing the top and sides of the card.

*To the President of the United  
States*

Greetings  
for  
Christmas  
and

The New Year

A decorative border of stylized flowers and leaves framing the bottom and sides of the card.

*"As birds flying, so will the  
Lord of hosts defend Jerusalem;  
defending also He will deliver it;  
and passing over He will preserve  
it." Isaiah 31 ch. 5.v.*