

● PSF

Ireland

1938-39

*file  
Ireland RSP  
(Cudahy)*

January 12, 1938.

Dear John:-

Thank you ever so much for that awfully nice letter of December sixteenth. Thank heaven the tooth is out and the gum is healed, and I am feeling really fit again.

As you probably know, Joe Kennedy's nomination has been sent to the Senate. I am sure he will do a good piece of work in London.

It seems a long time since you have been home. Do let me know the next time you are here.

This carries my very best wishes to you and Mrs. Cudahy for the New Year.

As ever yours,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

P.S.  
to prepare reply -

Dublin,  
December 16, 1937

Personal

Dear Mr. President,

I am sending a word of Christmas cheer to you and Mrs. Roosevelt and I surely hope that you have passed the worst with those teeth of yours.

I would have written you before, but there is not much to write about from here and I don't want to clutter your too-cumbersome mail with unnecessary letters.

Since the press stories of Joe Kennedy's appointment have not been denied, I am hopeful that it may come about. I was with Joe in London two years ago and know that he is much respected by British people in the most influential circles. At this time of the pending trade treaty his selection as Ambassador

is

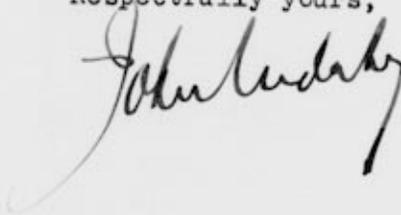
The Honorable

Franklin Delano Roosevelt,  
The President of the United States,  
The White House,  
Washington.

is nothing less than an inspiration. With his extraordinary business capacity and power of analyzing difficult business and trade situations, Joe has wonderfully shrewd common sense. And a most important consideration is that he is one of the few Americans not susceptible to the subtle brand of British flattery. I devoutly hope that if Judge Bingham resigns, Joe Kennedy will be chosen to succeed him.

With every sincere and faithful wish for the holidays,

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John Kennedy". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "John Kennedy".

PSF: Ireland - 1938

February 9, 1938.

Dear John:

x 20  
x 218  
x 48

I have given a good deal of thought to your letter of January 22nd and have talked it over with the Secretary of State, who has also had the background of your excellent despatches describing your talks with De Valera. I quite agree with you that a final solution of Anglo-Irish relations, and of the Irish internal problem, would be an immeasurable gain from every point of view, but I am not convinced that any intervention, - no matter how indirect, - on our part would be wise or for that matter accomplish the effect we had in mind. In the long run considerations of national defense may well lead England voluntarily to take the action you now urge us to advocate. She is not blind to such considerations, but I feel it would be a healthier solution, even if a slower one, if her decision were reached voluntarily, and on the basis of her own self-interest, than as a result of representations from a third power.

I hope you will continue to write me fully for the situation is one in which I am very much interested.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable

John Cudahy,

Dublin.

PSF  
1193  
5-48

*sent to State to send through  
pouch*

Originally filed in PSF:CF:State. Misfiled in PSF:Ireland. Returned to PSF:CF:State 7/18/79. RAO ✓



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

I return herewith the letter you sent me from John Cudahy suggesting that you intervene in the present Anglo-Irish negotiations, and in compliance with your request for suggestions as to a reply submit a draft letter for your consideration.

Faithfully yours,

*Cordell Hull*

Enclosure:

1. Letter from Mr. Cudahy,  
January 22, 1938.
2. Letter to Mr. Cudahy.

The President,  
The White House.

PSF: Ireland

~~Strictly Confidential.~~

LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

January 22, 1938.

Dear Mr. President -  
The London

meeting between British and Irish  
representatives has been suspended and  
I believe it will fail unless you can  
intervene. From a purely American  
viewpoint I think it is important that  
you do this, for if this opportunity of  
settling the Anglo-Irish hostility of  
seven centuries is lost, no other  
such opportunity will be presented  
during this generation.

An Ireland friendly to Great Britain  
means the approval by a great  
share of American public opinion  
of close American-British relations,  
and the significance of Ireland  
as an enemy was borne home  
emphatically to the British during  
the last war. No British defense

scheme can ignore the Irish  
Coast, and it was this consideration  
of defense which has induced  
Mr Chamberlain to discuss the  
whole subject of Anglo Irish relations  
with Devalera.

The discussions are deadlocked  
because of the Ulster question.  
Devalera says he can make no  
settlements until this matter of the  
northern counties is settled. He  
says that Irish sentiment would  
be overwhelping against any  
cooperation with England while Ireland  
is disunited by partition of the  
north counties. He talks reasonably  
enough and says he does not want  
to coerce anyone, that he is perfectly  
content that the north retain its  
own parliament at Belfast  
if it sends representatives  
to a general Irish parliament  
at Dublin. Devalera says his

prop - would never tolerate any maintenance of  
British military forces on Irish territory unless  
the British take the initiative on the Ulster question  
and he is certain such action would be approved  
by the great bulk of British public opinion. Only  
a small element in the Conservative Party  
would be opposed to liquidation of the Ulster issue.

I believe if you saw Sir Ronald Lindsay at  
the White House and told him you were interested  
in the settlement of Anglo-Irish differences, and  
hoped the present negotiations might succeed,  
the effect would be conclusive for success. You  
are the only one who can do this, and if you do  
not do so I think the opportunity for cooperation  
between these two neighboring islands, which  
means so much for the peace of the world,  
will be lost forever, or at least.

The British Ambassador will tell you  
he can do nothing, that the question of  
Ulster and Irish unity must be decided  
by Ulster itself. London can have nothing to do  
with it. But if Mr Chamberlain sends for  
Lord Craigavon, the leader of the Ulster Party,  
and appealing to him as a patriot, tells  
him that the defense of any land is at  
stake, the result will be surprising.  
First the Prime Minister can bring about  
the withdrawal of the military garrison in  
Ulster and the suspension of the financial  
subsidies which support that government.

I look at the whole matter of course, Mr  
President, from an objective American  
angle and here you see the far  
reaching significance of Irish unity both  
for peace and cooperation for the peace  
of the world. I shall take the first  
trip home to discuss the matter with  
you if you send me a note after reading  
this letter. But negotiations will be

received in London on Saturday 14th  
as the time is very limited.

Respectfully yours

John Lindsay

PSF: Ireland

February 26, 1938.

Dear John:-

Would you be good enough to give this in person to President De Valera? This relates to the subject of your recent letter to me and to President De Valera's letter to me in similar vein handed me by Mr. Frank Gallagher.

As you will understand, it is a matter which I cannot take up in any way officially or through diplomatic channels, but am doing it through this letter to President De Valera in a purely personal capacity. Joe Kennedy understands all about it.

My best wishes to you,

As ever yours,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

Hyde Park, N. Y.,  
February 22, 1938.

*PSF: Ireland*

~~Confidential~~

My dear President De Valera:

I was very happy to have your note by the hand of Mr. Frank Gallagher, and it recalled to my mind the days long ago when you and I knew each other over here, long before either one of us thought of the possibility of becoming a President.

As you will realize, I am greatly in sympathy with the thought of reconciliation, especially because any reconciliation would make itself felt in every part of the world. It would also strengthen the cause of Democracy everywhere.

You will realize, I know, that I cannot officially or through diplomatic channels, accomplish anything or even discuss the matter. But I have taken the course of asking my good friend, Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, who sails today for England to take up his post as Ambassador, to convey a personal message from me to the Prime Minister, and to tell the Prime Minister how happy I should be if reconciliation could be brought about.

As an old friend, I send you my warm regards,

Faithfully yours,

His Excellency  
The Honorable Eamon De Valera,  
President of the Irish Free State,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

~~Confidential~~



SAORSTÁT ÉIREANN

ROINN AN UACHTARÁIN  
DEPARTMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
DUBLIN

January 25th, 1938

Dear Mr. President,

Another great opportunity for finally ending the quarrel of centuries between Ireland and Britain presents itself. The one remaining obstacle to be overcome is that of the Partition of Ireland. The British Government alone have the power to remove this obstacle. If they really have the will they can bring about a united Ireland in a very short time. I have pressed my views upon them, but it is obvious that they recognise only the difficulties and are not fully alive to the great results that would follow a complete reconciliation between the two peoples. Reconciliation would affect every country where the two races dwell together, knitting their national strength and presenting to the world a great block of democratic peoples interested in the preservation of Peace.

Knowing your own interest in this matter, I am writing to ask you to consider whether you could not use your influence to get the British Government to realize what would be gained by reconciliation and to get them to move whilst there is time. In a short while, if the present negotiations fail, relations will be worsened. I am sending this by the hands of a trusty friend, Mr. Frank Gallagher, who is in a position to give you any information you may desire concerning the facts of Partition and their bearing on the relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

I avail of this occasion, Mr. President, to express to you my sincere regard.

*Samon de Valera*

His Excellency,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States of America,  
Washington, D.C.

His Excellency,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States of America,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

file  
"personal"

Ireland

Dublin,  
March 1, 1938.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Mr. President:

I am genuinely indebted to you for your sympathetic letter and your surprisingly accurate appraisal of the Anglo-Irish situation. I have just come from a talk with de Valera, and the negotiations, he tells me, will be terminated at the end of this week without any "Significant comprehensive results". He said that the British refused to discuss partition and, in consequence, he was unyielding on the matter of defence. These were the two crucial items on the agenda. Whether anything could be worked out on trade and financial relations, he did not know and did not appear greatly interested.

I am relieved that you did not consider I had acted as an advocate of the Irish cause in making my suggestion to you. One of the great dangers of American representatives in foreign countries is that sometimes they fall  
in

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

in with the sentiment of the country to which they are accredited, instead of being zealously, exclusively mindful of American interests.

I thought it merely my duty to point out the far-reaching significance of the Anglo-Irish negotiations and what a contribution to world settlement it would be if an enduring friendly understanding could be reached between the two countries. I would not suggest any pressure, but believe very earnestly that you could by merely making an inquiry of the British Ambassador concerning the progress of the negotiations and expressing the hope that they would terminate satisfactorily, play a telling part to our interest.

The negotiations will be formally terminated as now foreseen on March 5, 1938. I hope there may be an opportunity to re-open, but there is nothing to indicate this.

Respectfully yours,

PSF: Ireland

PSF: Ireland

March 9, 1938.

Dear John:-

Your analysis of what happened in England is the best I have seen. As someone remarked to me -- "If a Chief of Police makes a deal with the leading gangsters and the deal results in no more hold-ups, that Chief of Police will be called a great man - but if the gangsters do not live up to their word the Chief of Police will go to jail. Some people are, I think, taking very long chances -- don't you?"

As ever yours,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

PSF: Ireland

Dublin,  
March 1, 1938.

~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President:

Back of all the press reports on the British Cabinet crisis and the Parliamentary debates is the fact that Mussolini, on his first encounter, took a violent dislike to Eden. This was common knowledge in diplomatic circles. Also, that Mussolini laid it down as practically a condition precedent that Eden should go.

I am certain our people in London have kept the State Department advised that since Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister he has assumed direction of Foreign Affairs. This Eden found difficult after the free rein given him by Baldwin. There was a story that Eden would get out following the visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin.

But

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

But the outstanding feature of the crisis is that it is further retreat; a meeting of Mussolini on his own terms. Winston Churchill came closest to making an honest analysis when he said this. All other discussions in Parliament and in the press is typical English face-saving. The situation is one of entering into a contract with one who has shown bad faith and repeatedly breached agreements. The Chamberlain Government would have people believe that Mussolini should be treated as one whose good faith can be taken at its face value, and Eden held out for some assurance of performance in view of repeated broken promises. This is the real issue and upon this Eden has at last stood firm, as he should have done at the time Baldwin did not stand back of him in the imposition of sanctions. It is my belief that public opinion, if it could become articulate, would be against the Government on this issue.

The justification of the Prime Minister's policy is that the time has not yet come in the realization of the rearmament program to risk war. But the trouble with this policy is that it marks  
further

further retreat, which may be fatal in encouraging the dangerous adventures of both Mussolini and Hitler. When Hitler invaded the Rhineland it was clear to all that the treaty system had been replaced by force and show of force in diplomacy, and each successful stroke of Rome and Berlin makes this belief more certain.

I am sure Joe Kennedy will be able to keep you thoroughly in touch. We have a good staff in London. I recently had a long discussion with Herschel Johnson and was much impressed by him.

I am grateful for your letter concerning the Anglo-Irish negotiations which is a clear and sympathetic statement of this situation from our viewpoint. The negotiations have failed, as I predicted at the outset, but I am seeing de Valera shortly and will report to you.

Respectfully  
John L. Rudolph

*Ali Personal PSF: Ireland*

Dublin,  
April 6, 1938.

Personal and  
~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President:

I am grateful for your last note. De Valera was highly pleased and promised me he would lock your letter in his private strong box at home. I was entirely satisfied. In my opinion, he is that rare individual whose word can be taken at its face value. I believe him to be entirely honest.

The basic thing about Austria is that now there is no balance on the continent. It is like a structure of which the keystone has been taken away. Nothing can now be predicted, for the post-war status quo is irretrievably lost and the Polish-Lithuanian coup is only an example of what may now be expected. There is no stability left in Europe. Only a fool could have an optimistic outlook.

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The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

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I think Chamberlain's is the most weak, vacillating, humiliating policy England has ever presented. It is a drifting, not a policy at all and the amazing thing is the unity of the press and the powers behind the Prime Minister. For three centuries the British have insisted that the base of their foreign relations was a balance of power in Europe. Now, with Austria gone, and the balance with it, they evade the issue of Czechoslovakia with a face-saving which is incredible. One of the consequences is Mussolini's arrogant speech, thumbing his nose at Chamberlain. If a British-Italian accord is accomplished it will be on Mussolini's terms. It is an ignominious defeat and yet the criticism of Chamberlain in his own country has no realistic, clean-cut leadership to insist that the issue be met.

That is the tragedy. There is no leadership to oppose the dictators. Two years ago when Hitler invaded the Rhineland the treaty system was scrapped and there remained only one language they could understand. If one man in England or in France had used that language, had spoken out then as you did when the Panay was sunk, we would have a different picture today. It is not too late even now, but the leadership is not forthcoming.

The Anglo-Irish negotiations still continue. Even if something is accomplished on trade and financial matters,  
the

the fundamental misunderstanding, which is partition, will not be resolved and so there is no present prospect of a permanent reconciliation.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John L. ...". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "John L. ...".

PSF: Ireland

Dublin,  
April 6, 1938.

Personal.

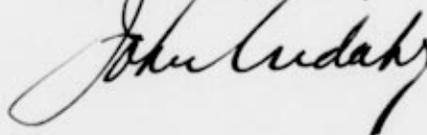
Dear Mr. President,

I remember Colonel House showing me the photograph you inscribed for him on the day of your inauguration, and how touched he was by your affectionate thought of him.

I received one of the last letters he wrote, I believe. It was hard for him to be on the side lines during the stirring days in Europe.

He was a sympathetic friend and had unique gifts as a negotiator. It will be a long time before we can look upon his like again.

Respectfully yours,



The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

April 16, 1938

Dear John:

Thanks for your letters. There is one thing about the world situation--and I think only one which is on the hopeful side of the ledger--that we in the United States are still better off than the people or the governments of any other great country.

Over here there is the same element that exists in London. Unfortunately, it is led by so many of your friends and mine. They would really like me to be a Neville Chamberlain--and if I would promise that, the market would go up and they would work positively and actively for the resumption of prosperity. But if that were done, we would only be breeding far more serious trouble four or eight years from now.

Dear old Colonel House was a grand soul and we shall all miss him.

As ever yours,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Irish Free State.

fdr/tmb

file  
preserved

Ireland 39.c

April 26. 1938

Dear Mr President,

I am  
hopeful that Bill Bullitt  
will stop off and see me  
on his way back to Paris,  
for I'm anxious to have  
a first hand report of things  
at home and especially how  
you are feeling.

The Reorganization Bill  
outcome seems a bitter pill  
for me, but I hope it has  
not got you down.

Little Phil LaFollette is acting up  
true to form. You had him accurately  
appraised from the outset, but he has  
great political possibilities and may go a  
long way in gathering in all shades of  
opposition.

The Irish British agreement is a complete  
triumph for DeValera, and I think his  
statement concerning the United States  
is very satisfactory from our angle. He  
is a genius as a negotiator, for he  
reposed, in telling me about the terms  
of the agreement, to become jubilant and  
no doubt he gave the impression in  
London of getting nothing. But he was  
right about his own people. Many of  
them are finding fault with the  
agreement.

I am enclosing Huntington Kosciuszko  
stamps sent me from Poland. The  
cancellation is on the date of issue.

Respectfully yours

John L. Rudolph

PSF: Ireland

May 13, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:-

Thank you for your good letter. I have been made very happy by the reaching of the agreement, as you know, even though the final reconciliation remains for the future. What you have succeeded in doing will help the cause of democracy the world over.

I am, as you know, glad to be of the smallest help in a good cause even though I must sometimes act personally and by word of mouth instead of going through the difficulties of diplomatic channels.

With my sincere regards,

Faithfully yours,

His Excellency  
The Honorable Eamon De Valera,  
President of the Irish Free State,  
Dublin, Ireland.

May 13, 1938.

Dear John:-

I was delighted to have Mr. De Valera's letter and I am enclosing a little note for you to give him in person. Tell him also from me that I have written you that I find my own two Irishmen, one in Dublin and the other in London, most helpful.

Ever so many thanks for those Polish stamps.

As ever yours,

Honorable John Gudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

Dublin,  
April 29, 1938.

Personal and ~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President:

De Valera is too experienced a negotiator to make much of the agreement with England, but it is a wonderful triumph and he is very grateful, as the enclosed letter indicates. At one time it seemed as if negotiations would utterly collapse and it was only a few days before the agreement was executed that it appeared possible of acceptance by Ireland.

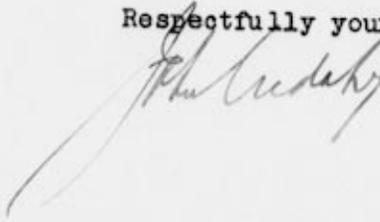
I think this agreement will have more far-reaching significance for world peace than is now recognized and certainly from an American viewpoint it is a very desirable accomplishment. I am certain the Irish-American element will acclaim it more  
enthusiastically

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

- 2 -

enthusiastically even than here in Ireland, especially  
the abandonment of the ports by the British.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John Keble". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed text "Respectfully yours,".



ÉIRE

ROINN AN TAOISIGH  
DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
DUBLIN

April 22nd, 1938.

~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President:

I received your very kind letter of February 22nd, and have been informed by Mr. Cudahy of the steps, following your instructions, taken by Mr. Kennedy on his arrival in London.

The knowledge of the fact that you were interested came most opportunely at a critical moment in the progress of the negotiations. Were it not for Mr. Chamberlain personally the negotiations would have broken down at that time, and I am sure that the knowledge of your interest in the success of the negotiations had its due weight in determining his attitude.

I am now happy to state that an agreement between the two Governments has been reached. The terms will have been already published before this reaches you.

So far as the matters covered are concerned, the agreement will, I believe, give satisfaction to both countries. Unfortunately, however, the matter which most affects national sentiment - the ending of the partition of our country - finds no place in the agreement. A complete reconciliation, to the importance of which I referred in my previous letter, remains still for the future. All we can hope is that the present agreement will be a step towards it.

I want to express to you my thanks for your kind interest, and for your assistance. I know of the many difficult problems of your own country which are engaging your attention, and I am deeply grateful that you could find time to give a thought to ours.

With renewed regards.

Sincerely yours,

*Samon de Valera*

His Excellency,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States of America,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

PSF: Ireland

*Ireland - folks  
8-2*

June 28, 1938.

Dear John:-

I am glad you slipped over to Prague and Budapest and I hope you will make other trips from time to time. Things are very definitely in a dangerous balance and all we can do is hope for the best.

My best wishes to you,

As ever yours,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

Dublin,  
June 13, 1938.

Personal and  
~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President:

The Secretary of State gave me permission to visit Prague and Budapest, and I have just written him a letter regarding my visit, which I believe you may find of interest.

Last night I was looking over a number of my letters to you while in Poland and from the predictions I made in these, I would be tempted to prophesy again, but I believe the situation in Europe today is unpredictable. One has the feeling that a new order will certainly emerge and that the processes of this new order are now in motion. Certainly the present status quo cannot long continue, but whether this change will be accomplished by actual force or by the new technique of the show of force, I don't believe anyone can say. The thing to emphasize is that an explosion is entirely possible this  
summer

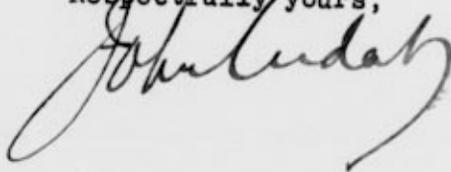
The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

summer and probable before the end of another summer. We must not be taken off our guard if a war does occur this summer.

I spent some time with Bill Bullitt in Paris and believe he is the best-informed man in Europe. His views on the dangerous potentialities of the situation are even more emphatic than my own.

I am in a good position here to slip over to the continent quietly from time to time, because the position of Ireland is not involved in continental politics and my comings and goings cause no comment. If you think well of it, I may make another trip before I go to the United States at the end of August.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John L. Lewis". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "John L. Lewis".

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

2/4/39.

Dear Miss LeHand:-

Am returning this letter  
for the President's personal files  
as requested in White House memo of  
this date.

A notation has been made  
of this letter for Mr. Summerlin who  
has read the letter from Eamon de  
Valera.

*Donn Purvis*

(Donn Purvis)  
Secretary to Mr. Summerlin

PSF Ireland



ÉIRE

ROINN AN TAOISIGH  
DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
DUBLIN

January 19th, 1939

Dear Mr. President,

I have received, through Mr. Cudahy, your very kind letter inviting my wife and myself to spend a day or two at the White House during my visit to the United States of America. I appreciate this invitation very much, and I have great pleasure in accepting it. My wife has asked me to express her thanks also, and her deep regret that as she cannot leave home at this time she will be unable to share the privilege of being received by you and Mrs. Roosevelt.

In accordance with the arrangement made between Mr. Brennan and your staff, I shall arrive in Washington on the 7th May.

With all good wishes for the New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

*Éamon de Valera*

The Honorable,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States  
of America,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

cc

*File  
Journal*

*P.S.A. Ireland*

Dublin,  
January 21, 1939.

Dear Mr. President:

Joe Kennedy's and Bill Bullitt's testimony before the Military Affairs Committee got an awful splash of publicity in the Irish newspapers. The English press held the story down as well as they could, but those things do a great deal of harm and I regretted very much the whole incident. Apparently there was a leak somewhere, however small.

I am strongly in sympathy with your armament program as I am sure anyone is who has any acquaintance with the trend of events on this side of the water, for certainly one would have to be an idiotic optimist not to realise that Europe faces an inescapable dilemma: either a march of the armies or a terrific economic crash. It is only a question  
of

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

of time and any prediction which attempts to fix a date with any precision is, of course, always difficult, if not impossible.

Judge Moore writes me very faithfully, so I keep in touch with things. It is certain that the neutrality legislation, which many of us favored so strongly, must now be ~~ignored~~<sup>revised</sup> in view of conditions, but I must tell you frankly I am not in sympathy with our attitude towards Germany. This is the first time I have not shouted for our foreign policy, but frankly I cannot see the propriety of our action in protesting against the inhuman treatment by Germans of German Jews. I am fearful that we may again assume our customary attitude of a moral world sovereignty somewhat reminiscent of the same righteous spirit with which Wilson refused to recognize Huerta.

Respectfully yours

John L. Rudolph

Orig. sent to State to be forwarded in Pouch.  
3/6/39  
H.W.

P.S. Ireland

March 4, 1939

Dear John:

You and not Mr. de Valera are right about the effect of our policy during the past month. It has had a definite effect on Germany and only a slightly less effect on Italy.

The truth about the newspaper story is, of course, a very simple and obvious one. I never of course mentioned frontiers on the Rhine or in France or anywhere else but I did point out that there are fifteen or sixteen independent nations in Europe whose continued independent political and economic existence is of actual moment to the ultimate defense of the United States. I pointed out that if, for example, the Baltic states went the way of Czechoslovakia and fell completely under German domination, the American position would be to that extent weakened. That if the Scandinavian countries were to lose their present political and economic independence, again the position of the United States would be weakened. That the same thing holds true with regard to Holland and Belgium and Portugal and even Greece, Egypt and Turkey -- not to mention Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. And I pointed out that Czechoslovakia, a year ago could very properly be called a link in American defense against German and Italian aggression in the future; that Czechoslovakia no longer constituted such a link.

All of which was, of course, not only true but proper. The howls and curses that have continued to

come from Berlin and Rome convinces me that the general result has been good even if a few silly Senators reported the conversation in a wholly untruthful way.

As ever yours,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Minister,  
Dublin,  
Irish Free State.

fdr/tmb

PS F Ireland

*Personal*  
~~*Confidential*~~

Dublin,  
February 9, 1939.

Dear Mr. President:

Regardless of the facts behind the French frontier newspaper story, I am convinced the net result is a good one, for the only hope of staying the aggressive tactics of Mussolini and Hitler is by confronting them with a reality that the United States will support Great Britain and France by material means.

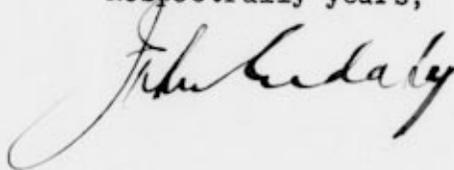
While your emphatic denial has caused some superficial uncertainty over here, the violent outpourings from Italy and the vitriolic abuse of the German press indicate how much Mussolini and Hitler have been disconcerted and how deeply has registered the spectacle of a French-British front with the support of the United States in the background.

I

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

I discussed the whole thing at length last night with Mr. de Valera who disagrees with me regarding the ultimate effect. He thinks that your disavowal has cleared the atmosphere concerning America as far as the Dictators are concerned, and that they have reason to believe now that American public opinion will not tolerate any other than an attitude of the most rigid neutrality.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John L. Lewis". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "John L. Lewis".

Gib. P.S. Ireland  
Personal

Personal

Dublin,  
March 28, 1939.

Dear Mr. President:

It is now possible to predict the outlook for the next six weeks. Mussolini's speech, stripped of general belligerency, coming down to the cases--Jibuti, the Suez and Tunis--does not demand anything which cannot be the subject of negotiation by France without losing too much face.

Hitler took 125 million dollars in gold from Prague, I am told, and this will be supplemented by a further confiscation of the Jews' property and a seizure of one-half the possessions of the Catholic Church in Germany.

If you can apply any measurement of logic to Hitler the consequent improvement in German economy, with the necessity of consolidating the Czech conquest, should keep him occupied until early summer at least.

But even the British now recognize that any status quo is transitory and the only question is where Hitler will go next. It is not plausible to think he will move  
into

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

into Slovenia and Croatia without the initiative of Mussolini. I am certain he is not yet ready to attack Poland. Rumania should, therefore, be next. A likely method would be for the German ally, Hungary, to insist upon the return of Transylvania. Rumania will resist if given any show of support by the British or French, and once again Chamberlain will be faced with the dilemma of calling a halt, or giving further ground, this time closer to British possessions.

I have just talked to the British Ambassador succeeding Lord Perth at Rome, who was last stationed in Turkey, and he tells me the Turks will fight if Germany invades their country, and that if the Germans dominate the Black Sea it will mean the end of the Empire. So perhaps the stand will come at the Turkish frontier. But there is yet no sign of any stand. An alliance with other countries will probably never get beyond the talk stage. Poland is the only power on the continent of any considerable military force to which the British could turn, and there is little likelihood that they will make a mutual commitment of any meaning with Poland or Russia.

The striking thing is the crushing failure of Chamberlain's policy at every turn and the naive refusal of his Government to admit that failure. Only British mentality could be so invincible in error. Yet there is no other leadership in sight than Chamberlain and if he should go  
there

there is no one to take his place.

My admiration is very great for the way you have handled our end of things. I am sure ninety percent of the American people are behind your foreign policy. But at the time you spoke it took courage and leadership. There is nothing else we can do now except amend the neutrality law; that and ~~pre~~pare our defences, as you have urged upon Congress.

My thanks for your letter which bore out my assumption of what took place with the Committee.

Respectfully yours  
John Cuddeback

PSF: Ireland

Dublin,  
April 3, 1939.

Dear Mr. President,

The declaration to Poland is not so violent a commitment as it may at first seem. Mr. Chamberlain was careful to point out that he was engaged in negotiations with other countries and this obligation to Poland was an "interim" one. Therefore, if nothing comes of the negotiations there will be no continuing obligation. The Times brought out that "independence" did not mean "integrity" so there would be no duty to defend Poland against every aggressive attack. Danzig by this reasoning might well be excluded from vital independent Polish interests.

Morally, though, it means that at last England has decided to make a stand. Why for Poland, the most vulnerable country in Europe, with frontiers  
utterly

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

utterly exposed on both sides to Russia and Germany, its traditional enemies, while Czechoslovakia is tossed overboard with 1,250,000 well-prepared, well-equipped fighting men, a powerful line of fortifications, artillery and the Skoda munition works?

Poland has no heavy artillery, no important munition establishment and no fortification. Yet Germany is not now ready to fight for the Corridor or Silesia. These are for later consideration. Meanwhile Poland serves as a flanking force against Russia.

The only way I can explain this latest tension is an attempt by the Germans to stop Beck from going to London. Beck is one of the shrewdest and most realistic brains in Europe. He is trading. He knows that if he cannot get financial help from Great Britain or France his country is lost. It is only the truth to say that Poland came into being and has been kept alive by the great loans the United States made after the war. The country is hopelessly poverty stricken.

I have not been shaken in the views written you on March 28. Despite the belief of world markets to the contrary, I am still of the opinion that this excitement will die down and there will be a lull until the early summer.

Respectfully yours  
John Cuddeback

PSF: Ireland

file  
personal

Dublin,  
April 6, 1939.

~~Confidential~~

Dear Mr. President,

I had a talk with de Valera and did my best to impress upon him the fact that he must not talk too much about Partition and unity with Northern Ireland during his American tour. I said the American people were very much wrought up by the situation in Europe, that our sympathies were with the democratic powers and overwhelmingly supported the Administration. I told him very emphatically that if he were to dwell in his speeches upon any movement which would be considered an attack upon England this would be resented by the people in our country and would react to the detriment of the Irish cause.

He

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

✓

He professed to be impressed by what I said and promised me that whatever he would say on the Partition issue would be said with tact and discrimination. But I wish you would hammer home to him the necessity of treading very lightly on any controversial issue directed against England. I need not tell you that this is written in greatest confidence and it would be fatal to me here if you were to disclose to Mr. de Valera that I have written you about this matter.

Respectfully yours  
John L. ...

# TELEGRAM

Cable

*DeValera*

The White House

Washington

DUBLIN April 27 1939

PS (= Ireland)

The President

Hyde Park (via the White House)

I regret very much indeed that owing to certain events which may have grave consequences here I am compelled at the last moment to postpone my visit to America. I am extremely grateful for the trouble taken in relation to my visit by you and the Secretary of State. I look forward with great pleasure to visiting you and fulfilling my engagements in America as soon as circumstances permit.

1145amd

Eamon DeValera.

TELEGRAM

PSF Ireland

*file  
journal*  
The White House

Washington

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington DC April 27, 1939

WDH

Read DeValera's telegram to the President by telephone. At President's request directed State Department to acknowledge telegram in his name expressing keen regret and saying the President counted upon seeing him this summer.

The President was much interested. Also please tell President I have authorized Mrs. Helm to cancel invitations to the dinner scheduled in DeValera's honor for Sunday evening May seventh. Therefore I give you for his information the following United Press report:

"Until yesterday evening it was my intention to leave this week-end for the United States," DeValera told the DAIL. "The importance of my visit to that country, where there are tens of millions of people of Irish origin and where the people as a whole have been of unfailing support in times of crisis when we have been resisting aggression justified such risks as might be involved in my leaving the country.

"Certain grave offenses which occurred yesterday have however, changed the situation and I have deemed it necessary to alter my plans and postpone my visit."

DeValera was pressed for an explanation of the "offenses" but he declined to reveal them. James Dillon asked him what they were but DeValera replied:

"I do not think it would be in the public interest that I should state them now"

DeValera thanked President Roosevelt and the American people for the invitation to visit the United States and said he thought it would be understood why he had to postpone his trip.

"I would like to add that I feel extremely grateful to President Roosevelt and the American people for their invitation to me as a representative of the Irish nation and for the preparations they made to receive me," he said.

"I am sure they will understand that nothing but a situation of real gravity would have prevented me from fulfilling my engagements as arranged.

"Official circles declined to reveal the nature of the "offenses," but it was known that they referred to the Irish nation and were understood in some quarters to have been connected with Great Britain's conscription announcement.

STE

757 Ireland  
July 28, 1939  
Ireland  
1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
AMBASSADOR HUGH WILSON

I had a long discussion yesterday with Mr. Edward Quarles who for the past thirty years has been the managing director of the Vacuum Oil Company in Germany with headquarters at Hamburg. I have known Mr. Quarles for many years upon such terms that I am confident that what he told me can be accepted without qualification or reserve.

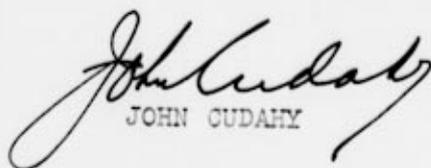
He said that he was convinced Germany would, before the end of another year, face economic collapse. Exports have fallen so precipitously due to effective foreign boycotts that imports of essential raw materials are curtailed to such a point that the economic structure cannot survive unless relief is forthcoming. There is acute shortage of meats, butter (ration now one half a pound per week), eggs (three per week but one never got the full ration). The normal wheat crop is sufficient only to sustain half the population, but it is possible that the country might, by consuming rye and oats, have sufficient grain for sustenance. There is also an acute shortage of raw materials such as wool, cotton, rubber and oil. The supply of structural metals (iron, steel, nickel and chromium) is so limited that construction is radically reduced. As illustrative of the severity of this shortage all iron fences in Hamburg had been torn up to be smelted.

Mr. Quarles did not feel the imminence of inflation despite the hardship caused by this lack of food stuffs and raw materials.

His reasons: the iron discipline of the regime, the tractability of the people and terror of the Gestapo.

Mr. Quarles is convinced that the situation is so critical that a settlement looking to a re-establishment of German trade and access to essential raw materials must be effected before another winter. For this reason he believes that Hitler will precipitate another crisis before the end of September. A round-table discussion will ensue and he will be granted access to raw material areas now in control of Great Britain and France. Quarles states that he has known Hitler since the beginning of the Nazi regime, has studied him very carefully and believes that while Hitler will come very close, he will not face the guns. Hitler does not want war and will not go to war knowing that it means national suicide. Mr. Quarles expressed the opinion that Hitler's ambitions were confined to the return of Danzig and the Corridor, restoration of the colonies, free access to essential raw materials.

Mr. Quarles did not think Danzig could be the cause of war. In a show-down, Great Britain and France would persuade Poland to effect a compromise, cede Danzig and give Germany transit across the Corridor in exchange for a long term guarantee of peace from Germany. I do not subscribe to these views for based on my knowledge of the Polish national character, I believe the Poles will fight for Danzig and the Corridor even though they know such a fight may be unsupported and against tremendous, even hopeless, odds.

  
JOHN CUDAHY

PSF Ireland  
Ireland  
1

file  
↓

Personal.

Dublin, August 17, 1939.

Dear Mr. President:

De Valera will reach New York September 28th and I hope you will not be away from Washington when he arrives there. You will be impressed by Dev (as we all call him). He has strength and a moral stature that one feels on first contact. Martin Conboy, who is staying here with his family has great admiration for him. Together, we agreed last night that our own President and Dev were the only statesmen of the democracies in this generation. I have often said that if de Valera were Prime Minister of Great Britain it would be a different world today. He has your quality of showing the way instead of being shown. I shall be interested in your judgment of him after your meeting. I told him your views, and he reaffirmed what I said to you about Ireland and the next war.

I saw Bill Bullitt for a few minutes in London but had no opportunity to get his views on the outlook.

Joe

President Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House.

Joe K is away in Cannes, and Herschel Johnson, in charge of the Embassy reports all quiet, with no present prospects of an explosion. For the moment the optimists are entitled to a hearing, but fundamentals remain the same and I do not like the threat of the Japanese against Hong Kong. That would never be made unless there was an understanding of synchronized action by Germany in the European scene.

Respectfully yours

John Lunday

I hope you are taking it as heavy as a president can, and enjoying a much needed rest.

A letter to  
the Lord Mayor  
is "in the works"

M

PSF Ireland

Ireland

file  
personal

Dublin,  
11th September, 1939.

Dear Mr. President,

I am grateful, you may be sure, for your ready response to our situation here, and your sympathetic understanding, which never fails. It was great to talk to you the other night, and I am thoroughly indebted for your efforts in getting us emergency funds.

Of course all Americans in Europe are clamoring to get home, and most of them fail to understand why they cannot be repatriated at once. The main thing is to calm them down and let them know that they have not been abandoned by their Government, but will be taken home just as soon as ships are available. There are, as far as we know, in France, England and Ireland, about fifteen thousand Americans

anxious

The President,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington.

anxious to get out. I believe we shall have almost all of them on their way home by the first week in October. As far as Ireland is concerned, there is no need of apprehension, for this country is determined to maintain neutrality, and I believe ~~we~~ will do so, for months at least. From the present outlook we will have all Americans started home within another three or four weeks, and then I will be among the unemployed.

I would appreciate it deeply if you could write a short note to the Lord Mayor of Galway, telling him of our gratitude for the efficient and ~~valuable~~ ~~and~~ sympathetic handling of the four hundred and thirty survivors of the Athenia.

After I made my report about the Athenia, I met in Galway, Captain Kirk, our Naval Attaché, and found that his evidence coincided with mine, except on the question of the second projectile. He concluded that there was only one explosion, that from the submarine, but I reported a second explosion from a shell, projected through the air. I see Churchill, in giving an account to the House of

Commons

*the conclusion is*  
Commons on September 7th, sustained my report and stated that soon after the torpedo struck the ship, the submarine came to the surface and fired a shell which exploded on one of the ship's decks.

You might remember asking me during our last conversation how long I thought the Polish army could hold out unsupported against Germany. I gave them two months, you will remember.

I know how sick at heart you must be about this terrible War which will probably last for years and set the clock back a generation. Please give me orders at any time if I can be of any messenger ~~service~~ service in Europe, or if you think I could be of use over there.

Respectfully yours

*John L. ...*

Mr. F. I. ...  
1

*File  
Rusmond*

Dublin,  
September 15th, 1939.

Dear Mr. President,

M. Jules Blondel, the French Minister, came to see me and advanced two theses contingent upon the collapse of Poland.

One, that Mussolini <sup>would</sup> intervene on the side of Germany, to share in the distribution of the British and French Empires. This goes upon the assumption that Germany will have demonstrated a crushing military superiority to the French and English.

The other, that the Italian armies will march with Great Britain and France, when Mussolini is convinced that Hitler is bound to fail ultimately. The quid pro quo would be the removal of the German menace

The President,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington.

menace from the Brenner, the absorption of Austria by Italy and the settlement of Italian Colonial ambitions.

Blondel would impress you as an unusually intelligent observer, and a man of level headed judgement. He was Chargé in Rome for two years, until Francois-Poncet was sent there as Ambassador four months ago. He told me Mussolini was the greatest gambler in the world today, and the greatest realist. The suggestion that Mussolini will take a hand in the war after Poland has collapsed was made also by the Italian Minister, who told me the other day that Italy would "arrange a realistic peace after Poland was finished."

I do not want to clutter your desk with unnecessary letters these days, but know your mind is focused on the European scene, and thought this might interest you.

I talked to Bill Bullitt just after the storm broke, and keep constantly in touch with Kennedy.

We are watching the neutrality legislation closely *and I am sure public sentiment is with you.*

*I'll have nothing to do here in three or four weeks.*

*Respectfully yours*  
*John Kudat*

September 18, 1939

My dear Lord Mayor:

Minister Cudaky has told me of the efficient and sympathetic manner in which the authorities and citizens of Galway made arrangement for the reception and care on September fifth of the Athenia survivors, among whom were one hundred and twelve Americans.

Your generous, sympathetic and capable provision for these distressed Americans has moved our country profoundly, and I hope you will express to the Reverend Dr. Browne, Bishop of Galway and to the members of the relief committee our most genuine and lasting gratitude.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Honorable James Costello,  
Lord Mayor of Galway,  
Ireland.

The President when signing this letter wrote a P.S. in longhand at the bottom. According to G.G.T. the following is an approximation of what he said:

The State Dept feels that you ought to stay in Dublin--their judgement you should be there.

PSF Ireland-2

Dublin  
1

October 17, 1939.

Dear John:-

I am delighted that the congestion of passengers to the United States is nearly over and I think you have handled everything beautifully. The neutrality legislation here seems to be going all right.

In regard to Tony, I think it most important for him to stay close to the Polish Government in France. We have recognized that Government and to bring him home now would be a virtual slap in the face. Besides which Tony has lots of discretion, he and his wife will get some rest in France after all they have been through, and he will be able to help Bill Bullitt in many ways.

Thank the Lord the "Iroquois" is safely in. What a fantastic performance on the part of the German Government!

My best wishes to you,

Always sincerely,

Honorable John Cudahy,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

TBF Ireland

Dublin,  
September 25, 1939.

Personal

Dear Mr. President,

In another week or two we will be through with our job of getting home-sick Americans away from this Island, and then I will be among the unemployed.

I think I could make myself most useful by going to London, Paris and Berlin, viewing things on the ground floor, and then going to Washington with a verbal report for you.

If you think well of this you might please have Miss Lehend send me a message.

I have read and re-read your Neutrality Address to Congress and think it was one of the finest you have ever made. You put the case simply, succinctly  
and

The President,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington.

and very persuasively, and what I like is the absence of anything approaching rhetorical flourish. Those of us who believed in the arms embargo realise in experience that we were wrong, and I am sure you will convince the country that your recommendations are the soundest course to keep us out of war, by avoiding the proximate causes which drew us into the last war.

I must tell you how wonderfully Joe Kennedy is co-operating with me and helping me at every turn. He executed in a few hours yesterday some business for Americans going to England from Ireland for repatriation that would, in the ordinary course, have taken a week or more.

I had a long talk with Tony Biddle last night; he has done a grand bit of work and should be called home now for a rest. He merits it. Bill Bullitt told me he was having the time of his life and never so happy.

Respectfully yours

John L. Rudolph

The President  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House.

Personal and Confidential

Dublin, October 2, 1939.

Dear Mr. President,

I hope you will call Tony Biddle home without delay. The Polish State became a fiction on October 1st and the Government taken over by Rackiewicz can do nothing except agitate for a hopeless cause.

An American Ambassador to Poland in Paris would mean that he would be constantly approached as an intermediary to raise troops and funds in our country in contravention of our Neutrality Laws. The effort of Sikorski is a sample of what will be forthcoming.

It will be impossible to divorce the personal from the official acts of an American Ambassador to Poland. Tony has been through a long trying siege. He should be called home now for a rest. I am sure you will agree, if you have not already made a decision.

No one can feel more deeply about Poland than I do, but we must face the disagreeable fact that Poland is now a memory and our business is primarily to stay out of this war.

The President  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House.

The

The sinking of the Athenia has been handled with the hand of experienced wisdom.

Now it has ceased to be news and if any diplomatic action is necessary a Note can be sent to all belligerents, on like terms, for there never was any evidence that the Athenia was sunk by a German submarine. If we protested to Germany alone and ignored the other warring nations we would be protesting upon presumption, not on proof. In this way we made a record in the last war from which we could not recede, as you know so well.

The progress of the Neutrality Legislation looks very promising from this distance and I am sure Congress will do as you have asked.

I am hopeful for favorable word from you concerning my proposed trip to France and Germany. I am sure I could bring back interesting information if you would approve my going.

Respectfully yours  
John Cuddeback

Personal.

Dublin, October 27, 1939.

*file* ↗

Dear Mr. President,

After two months of war it is possible to appraise the Irish neutral position. One becomes very cautious about making predictions in Europe, but assuming the war develops as now indicated Ireland will remain neutral. It is a real neutrality even though benevolently disposed toward England-- a neutralité dirigée. The British have at length sent a Minister here designated a "representative".

I had a long talk with de Valera last night. He is convinced his course must be neutral because he is assailed by other sides, the die-harders and the Anglo element. The one accuse him of being in the vest-pocket of England, and the Anglos are contemptuous of Irish neutrality believing that this Island is still a part of the United Kingdom.

// You as a naval man will readily appreciate this: there is a real danger in the importance of Berehaven  
and

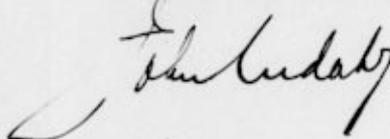
The President  
The White House.

Bantry Bay ~~in~~ the plans of the Admiralty. At present British destroyers must operate from Pembroke and Plymouth 200 and 300 miles further than these Irish ports. And as you know so well the most frequented approach to England is by this south-west coast of Ireland.

Churchill was bitterly opposed to the transfer of the Irish ports in the settlement between de Valera and Chamberlain and as the war reaches a more desperate stage may insist that British Naval Operations be conducted from Bantry Bay and Berehaven.

This would be a great mistake for if any attempt was made by the British to occupy any part of the Irish Coast you would see that same hostility towards England that you personally witnessed here during the last war.

Respectfully yours,



*file  
personal*

Dublin, October 28, 1939

Dear Mr. President,

It took a great effort to resist an impulse to send you a cable of congratulation last night. Never in the history of American politics has there been such masterful leadership as your conduct of the neutrality battle. Your last radio talk was wonderfully well timed and was the last push I am sure to put the thing over in smashing style.

I wrote Pa Watson offering to settle a bet made with him last summer that you would never accept the nomination, but sad as it is from your personal viewpoint there is now no other patriotic course open to you. For I am sure the overwhelming mass of Americans have my conviction that you are the only man in point of training, experience and demonstrated judgement capable of handling the Presidency during this war.

Everything is in order for me to visit France and Germany except permission.

I wish you would let me go. I am dying of slow rust and rot here.

*Respectfully yours  
John Lusk*

The President  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House.

PSF Ireland

Personal and ~~Confidential~~.

Dublin, November 3, 1939.

*file* →

Dear Mr. President,

General Ironside told me that as far as the French and British are concerned there would be no offensive this year. He said that an attempt to smash through either the Maginot or Seigfried Lines would be madness and the casualties would be appalling.

But he does not think the present stalemate will be continued. Neither Hitler nor the morale of the German people can withstand the spectacle of Germany encircled, or the prospect of a war of attrition. Von Brauditsch will be replaced by Reidienau according to Ironside. Ironside has not a high opinion of Reidienau's military capacity and says that he will be Commander-in-Chief because he is more amenable to Hitler's ideas.

At this time Ironside thinks that there are two possibilities: First, that the Germans will make a supreme effort by air and submarine to knock out the British fleet and isolate England.

More

The President

The White House.

More probable, an attempt to turn the allied flank on the Western Front through Holland. I asked him if the Dutch could not, as they did against Louis XIV, open the flood gates and inundate their country, but he said the German attack would come with lightning like rapidity and it was questionable whether this could be done fast enough. Further the great territory north of the Rhine and east of the Ijssel and the Zuyder Zee could not be inundated.

General Ironside did not anticipate an offensive against Belgium because of the Belgian fortifications. Neither did he look for an advance through Switzerland, for the Swiss Army of 400,000, he said, was an efficient military force capable of determined resistance. Moreover columns advancing through the narrow mountain defiles would be subjected to enfilade fire and bombed to smithereens from the air.

The Dutch, the General said, had not fought a war since the 17th Century; the army of only 200,000 was an unknown quantity, and the Dutch-German border was not fortified except from the Belgian frontier to the Zuyder Zee. Holland should be an easy victim to relieve the tension in Germany and give Hitler another victory.

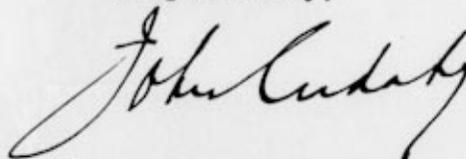
General

General Ironside gave me permission to write you the above information and to express his opinion as herein indicated.

I served under the General in the Archangel campaign, have visited him, and kept constantly in touch with him ever since those war days. He is a warm friend, and I have a very high regard for him as a military leader.

With this background you will be interested to learn that General Ironside has great faith and admiration for General Gamelin.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John Cuddeback". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "John Cuddeback".

PSF Ireland  
Ireland

Dublin, November 17, 1939.

file → Pruned

Dear Missy,

It is a melancholy reflection that you will not get this note until the shape of things that are may be entirely mis-shapen, for the last ship has gone from our shores and it will be a month at least before this reaches you via England.

Last Wednesday the Lord Mayor of Cork and the Harbor Commissioners of Cork and Cobh called on me, petitioning that something be done about American ships calling at Irish ports.

I tried to show them that they should address Washington through the medium of their Government and the Irish Minister, but they felt aggrieved and afflicted on this marooned Island and found relief in discussing their woes, even though they knew they could

get

Miss Margaret Lehand,  
The White House,  
Washington.

get nothing but sympathy.

We have cleared our Island of home-stricken Americans, except a few odds and ends who did not have common garden~~er~~ sense enough to get on the ships the American Government so generously provided solely for repatriation purposes. The Legation advised everyone through the Press and over the radio, time and time again, so we do not worry about those who are stranded now through stupidity, and there is little to do and absolutely no pressure. I am slowly passing out through disintergration and disillusion.

I was cheered considerably by a letter from the President which bucked me up and made me feel stimulatingly important. The President has such a wonderful gift of saying pleasant things, which I always believe he himself believes.

No wonder we are all so devoted to him. He is an inspiring Chief, with a knowledge of the human equation beyond belief. Did you see that letter I wrote him after my visit to General Ironside? I wonder if the General's prophecy will be born out. We should know before this reaches you. It is a strange war; baffling and inexplicable. It is a mad world we live in, and what will happen during the economic chaos which will follow this war is a staggering

staggering contemplation.

I want to go on the Continent. I know I could do this usefully but nobody falls in with my suggestion. My comings and goings are unheralded and I never get centre-stage in opposition to the prima donna, so I know I could be useful, but nothing happens. Therefore, if you hear of me falling into the Liffey by mistake, you will understand everything.

Look after our President and take good care of him from me. Also, loosen up and write me of the lowest gossip, for I am sure you have not a thing to do now that Congress has adjourned and all the fervid orators taken their leave of Washington.

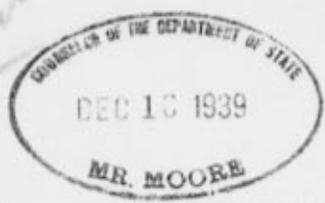
*If you see Jane tell her I am  
still reading her letters.*

*yours*

*John.*

The President may  
find it better to read  
the book which  
contains - *Roosevelt*

file  
journal.



PSF Ireland  
Ireland

Dublin, November 29, 1939.

Personal.

Dear Judge,

It seems an age and a generation since your last letter but I can well believe you have every minute packed with more important business than writing an old friend marooned on this far away Island. I am not yet convinced by the thesis of a short war. We know the British and their determination. I have it from a reliable source that the British - and that is Gamelin's view also - do not expect the war to reach a determinate phase until the end of 1940.

My understanding is that the Germans expect to bring the pressure of their war machine to bear on England at the beginning of next Spring. About the first of May they will attempt to do what Napoleon failed to do; to bring about the starvation of the British Islands. Their whole war effort is geared for its maximum push next Spring.

I am told by a naval expert that at the beginning of the war the Germans had only sixty submarines, but their plants and factories were so organized as to expand upon the commencement of hostilities so that in a year's time they could turn out ten times the submarines in operation at the beginning of the war. Making allowance for considerable exaggeration, I think it reasonable to

The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Counselor of the Department of State,  
Washington.

to assume that the German military laboratory learned by the lesson of the last war ~~and~~ realized how close they were to bringing about the economic collapse of England by submarine warfare in 1917. The record is clear that if von Tirpitz had been given his way and allowed to concentrate on his ruthless U Boat campaign, Germany might well have prevailed. Now the showing made by the submarines in the sinking of the Courageous, the Royal Oak, the Belfast (and confidentially, I understand, the Iron Duke) is very impressive in my opinion and a depressing augury of what may be coming to the British Navy during the winter months.

I talked a few weeks ago with a man who is probably the best informed alien concerning internal economic conditions in Germany and he told me that, while Germany might experience some shortage in such essential primary materials as petrol, boxite, tin and copper, there was every indication that the German General Staff had made provision in all raw materials for a long war. This man said that there was preserved meat and grain stored in great quantities and he did not anticipate any shortage in animal or mineral fats for at least a year. He expressed the opinion that the Germans were equipped to hold out for a year at least before they would feel the pinch of the blockade, and he said this was a conservative estimate - probably two years would be closer to the truth. He based his opinion not only upon knowledge of actual supplies in Germany, but also upon the accumulation of raw materials resulting from the rationing system of the past two years. Germany, during four years - we all know - has staked upon war and the whole economy of the country has been a war economy. It does not seem reasonable, then, to believe that items of raw materials and food stuffs, essential for a prolonged struggle, have not been ~~included~~ in the estimates of the German General Staff.

Barring the unforeseen, I look for a struggle of attrition and it is a grim prospect, for one need have

no

no imagination to visualise the prostrate and desolate condition of all Europe after two years of the frightful waste <sup>millions</sup> resulting from this war. There are twenty-two men under arms in Europe today, and if hostilities were to cease tomorrow, the contemplation of the chaos resulting from their unemployment and the terrific bill which must be paid for all this war effort is a staggering contemplation.

It is strange that no one, or very few, seem to feel the necessity of definition in the statement of war objectives. The declarations of Chamberlain and the others are strikingly reminiscent of the last war, in their rhetorical vagueness. Perhaps the British people and French are satisfied to hear from their leaders, that the best part of the male population in this country is asked to face death for the preservation of international order and in the cause of democracy and freedom. But I would think it would be far better to face the issue honestly and with realism. To say very frankly to the people that the stake for which they are fighting is the maintenance of the British Empire and the French possessions; that if these go and the German system dominates Europe, it will mean that the British workman and the French man in the street must give up part of what he has and accept the standard of <sup>which</sup> which will be lower than that which he has enjoyed in order that the average German may have a better living. There is not enough to go around for all and so it is a question of those who possess more to give up a part to those who are less fortunately situated.

That is the issue as everybody knows, and one for which I am certain men would fight very courageously and tenaciously. But the old shiboleths of freedom, the preservation of democracy etc. seem to serve their part very well and appear adequate enough.

I wonder if our newspapers over there are commenting upon the wisdom of the American Neutrality policy as brought into relief by the troubles of all other neutrals

through

through the indiscriminate mine operations of the Germans. It is a singular thing that our country is not involved while the Scandanavian countries, Holland - even Japan and Italy have suffered losses through German mine explosions.

I am satisfied that we can, by making the sacrifice our Neutrality Law imposes, keep out of this war and if there is any living American who can keep us out, it is the President.

The Irish are disappointed with the suspension of all American shipping, but they will have a hard time making out a case for the resumption of this shipping. No one knows better than the President the hazards of the South West Irish coast as an approach to English ports. Galway is in another area and something may be said for this North-Western port but we must go slowly, bearing in mind our paramount purpose - to avoid even possible involvement.

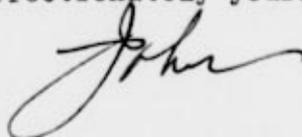
Ireland is determined in its policy of neutrality and is entirely practical about this policy. The country will not serve as any pipe line for war supplies to England. The Ministry of Supplies has the situation well in hand and does not permit shipments above the normal pre-war orders of England. There are no munitions going from Ireland to England and this Government is not deceived by the prospect of war riches. They are willing to make sacrifices for the cause of peace and, while I was sceptical about their policy to remain neutral at the beginning of the war, I am now compelled to believe that they will stay out like ourselves.

I suppose you will see Kennedy and he will tell you all about the London scene. I asked him to revive the legend of the Forgotten Man in the direction of one marooned on this Island.

This is a long effusion but perhaps you can take it out in the country with you and read it at your less pressing moments.

I have heard a few times from Tony and Margaret. They are at Angers, looking after many lean Poles. Let me hear from you when you have a moment - if only a brief word.

Affectionately yours,



P.S.F. Ireland  
Ireland  
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Dublin, December 7, 1939.

PERSONAL.

file ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Mr. President:

de Valera thinks it will be a long war. His reasoning is that the real forces are not yet arrayed; the war has not yet reached a definitive state.

I urged him very earnestly to go to Geneva as President to preside over the Twentieth Assembly of the League. I pointed out that if this war continued, even at its present desultory tempo, no country could withstand the terrific armament expenditure, and the result in another two years would be chaos. I told him what a wonderful opportunity he had for leadership at this time if he voiced the moral issue involved in the invasion of Finland.

But he spoke very bitterly and cynically  
of

The President

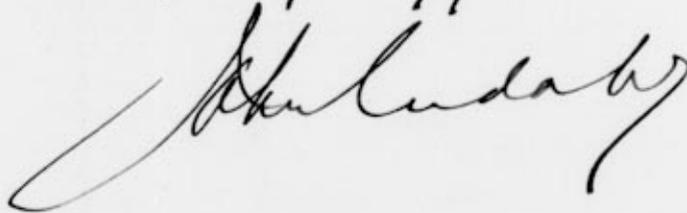
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House.

of the League, describing it as "debris". He said the only country which could possibly speak with any effectiveness now was the United States, and it would do no good for us if we did not follow words with action. The only language which had persuasion these days, he said, were "Tanks, Bombs, and Machine Guns".

He is sending only a Civil Service servant to Geneva, and is sure the meeting of the League will be a fizzle. I talked to him at great length in an attempt to point out the opportunity he had for a genuine peace effort at this time, but he could not see it that way.

I am reporting my conversation in detail in a despatch to the State Department.

Respectfully yours

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Arthur L. Sulzberger". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed text.