

● PSF

Ireland

1940

THE COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

PSF: Ireland  
4

*file  
personal*

February 2, 1940.

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed communication was a few minutes ago handed to Mr. Moffat, Chief of the European Division, and myself by the Irish Minister with the request that it be brought to your attention.

Yours very sincerely,

*Roosevelt*

The President  
Hyde Park,  
New York.

Eire

IRISH LEGATION  
Washington, D. C.

2 February 1940

Dear Judge Moore:

With reference to our discussion on the 31st ultimo and yesterday, I wish to set out the circumstances, and I would be glad if they were brought to the notice of the President.

On August 25th, 1939, a bomb exploded in a street in Coventry, England, killing five passersby and wounding many others. Investigations showed that the bomb had been conveyed to the place in a carrier-bicycle which had been left leaning against a wall in the street. It was discovered that this carrier-bicycle had been purchased quite openly a few days before by a man named Peter Barnes. This man was arrested as were also four other persons, namely, Joseph Hewitt and his wife Mary Hewitt, Brigid O'Hara, mother of Mrs. Hewitt and a man named James Richards. They were all five charged with the murder of Miss Elsie Ansell, one of the victims of the explosion. It was proved that the bomb had been manufactured in the house occupied by the Hewitts and Mrs. O'Hara, and that Richards had helped to make it. On behalf of Richards it was stated that it was never intended that the bomb should explode in the street, but that while it was being conveyed somewhere something had gone wrong and upset the plan.

Barnes

Barnes stated his only part in the business was the purchase and delivery of the bicycle on the orders of the I.R.A. Both Barnes and Richards were members of the I.R.A. The Hewitts and Mrs. O'Hara contended they did not know what was going on and they were found not guilty. Richards and Barnes were found guilty and sentenced to death on December 14th, 1939. Barnes when sentenced stated calmly that he was innocent and his innocence would one day be proved. Richards said he was not afraid to die for Ireland and that he was proud to give his life in a just cause. An Appeal from the death sentence was thrown out on January 23rd. I think the executions are fixed for Monday next, the 5th of February.

In an endeavour to curb the activities of the I.R.A., drastic laws have been passed by the Irish Government, and in this matter the Government has the support of the vast majority of the people. The immediate objective of the I.R.A. is, however, identical with that of the Government, namely the re-unification of Ireland. The I.R.A. believe that this aim can be effected by force and terrorism. The Government, on the other hand, believe that such methods only retard the cause and that the objective can be attained by methods of peace and negotiation. I believe that in this respect the sympathy of America would be with the Government.

Until recently the relations between Ireland and England so long embittered had shown a marked change for the better in a growth of understanding and friendly feeling



feeling and this feeling was reflected amongst the friends of both countries in America.

It is feared now that if these two men are executed, the difficulties of the Governments concerned already great will be vastly increased inasmuch as it will arouse sympathy both in Ireland and America for the men and their associates with a consequent weakening of the influence of those who believe in and adhere to peaceful methods.

It is possible that the President may think well of making some representations to the British Government in the matter.

Yours very sincerely,

*Robt. Brennan*

Hon. R. Walton Moore,  
Counselor of the Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

file  
personal

Ireland.  
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Dear Mr. President :

I wish to congratulate you upon your excellent  
appointment to Ireland

Aff The Appointee.

Will see you soon and thank you.

David Gray.

(over)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

[1940]

PSF: Ireland  
✓

Dear Boss Hesis  
your loaf of our first  
dividend out of Eire.

Bless you

D.J.

(David Gray)

For the President

---

122, East 78 street  
New York City

*file  
Davis King -  
2nd hand*

March 5, 1940.

My dear Franklin :

When in Florida a week ago Karl Bickel asked me what you meant to do when you went back to Hyde Park. I said I didn't know but presumed that you would take on some kind of job. He said that you ought to make seventy five thousand a year with one article a week. This was about what the U.P. syndicate service paid Lloyd George. I think Mussolini got slightly less. The enclosed from Bickel indicates that if and when you take anything of this kind on he would like to bid on it. This can do no harm, whatever you may have in mind.

I must tell you again how terribly kind you have been and how much we appreciate it. The State Dept. fellows were wonderfully kind and helpful. Its a great organization. The Secretary was very kind too. Everybody has been so charming that I am a little frightened that it go to my head. The Mayor has given me a special letter to DeValera and your friend, Archbishop Spellman a personal note to the Papal Nuncio in Dublin. I think they are lucky to have Spellman in this job. He's a roughneck but I believe a fine character and 100 per cent American.

We may run into rough sledding before we get back but don't be sorry for us. If I hadn't this job I should have been working to make the country realize where we will be if Germany wins. I was surprised to find some of the leading people in Parasote asking themselves this question. They are only beginning to sense that you have had this on your chest for two years and more.

God Bless you and don't let them kill you. If they force you into slavery don't work after dinner no matter if the heavens fall.

*I believe I have the right to write you Aff Davis,  
directly and so.*



file  
My dear David Gray: — I  
did not <sup>in my other letter</sup> mention the  
matter of the possible weekly  
newspaper syndication of  
the articles by the President-  
which was discussed. I  
believe the figure which I  
mentioned of \$75,000 per year  
can be handled. This  
audience would be the  
largest in history of newspaper

syndication + then an international  
connection the foreign  
distribution would be out-  
standing. Mr. handled Lloyd-  
George for the first six years  
as I told you as well as  
Pomere + the Dace and the  
details could be worked out. Of  
course you can't write  
me concerning this now I  
know due to possible  
third term implications

+ I am not going to discuss our  
talk with Geo Carlson but I am  
always at your service in  
connection with <sup>this matter</sup> ~~you~~ — I am  
any thing, ~~as~~ you want.  
Best of trips

Yours  
K. A. L. Smith

7/25/40



127 EAST SEVENTY-THIRD STREET

Dear Maud —

I trust you to wear  
this Hat (I trust you & Alice  
will not permit me to send  
the others) I must take a little  
of me with you — I think I  
will put you — This reform  
Phases wrote Franklin — that  
Meek the Census man comes  
around — How I got to tell  
how how much I like  
him. I hear no must tell

him all. You must be very  
proud of Eleanor - She is a  
grand woman - & see our excellent  
letters represent "the Female."

Yours  
Very

C  
O  
P  
Y

file  
family

Delivered  
↓

Paris, March 27, 1940.

I too, dear Franklin, am laid up with a beastly cold but we are so anxious about you & the Paris Herald says you may go to Warm Springs the end of this week.

We are praying that you do - I am writing Eleanor a long gossip letter but I will spare you.

Everyone here is cheerful & they say the hotel is quite full - Take precious care of yourself.

David sends love.

Devotedly,

(Signed) MAUDE



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

Paris - March 27<sup>th</sup> 1940

Too dear dear friends  
You laid up with a  
deadly cold, but you are  
so anxious about you  
& the Paris School. I hope  
you may go to Warm  
Springs the end of this  
week. We are praying  
that you do. I am writ-  
ing Eleanor & Lou  
Gracie, either Saturday  
or Sunday - every one here  
is cheerful & they say the  
Hotel is getting full. Take  
precious care of yourself -

t.



30 March, 1940.

~~Do this  
the first thing  
in the morning  
and put it through~~

Y  
2  
4

Dear Mr. President,

Before she sailed, Maudie Gray told me that she had spoken to you about my going to Ireland as her secretary. This I am most anxious to do, and as my job has come to a sudden, but amicable, end, I am free a month sooner than I expected to be.

Please forgive my troubling you in the matter, but as my faithful French maid, Cook, dressmaker, upholsterer and friend of many years, whom I should like to take with me, observes: "Il vaut mieux



I addresser au bon Dieu qu'a ses  
saints", - the latter represents by  
Mr. Davies as my only acquaintance  
in the State Department.

I enjoyed dining with you and  
Mrs. Roosevelt a few weeks ago more  
than I can possibly tell you, and  
with thanks for your kindness and  
interest, and renewed apologies for  
bothering you, I am

Most sincerely yours,

Katharine Crocker

C/o Mrs. Russell A. Libb,

135 East 36<sup>th</sup> Street,

New York.

Calcutta 5-6272.

March 29, 1940

Dear Mrs. Gray:

I have just talked to Mrs. Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division in the State Department about Mrs. Crooker. She says the rule is that as few people as possible are permitted now to go into the so-called dangerous area. However, she suggests that you write to Mrs. Crooker, outlining the necessity for her being with you and ask Mrs. Crooker to send the letter with an application to Mrs. Shipley at the State Department. She hopes that it will be possible for her to get her passport.

I do hope all goes well with you both. My affectionate greetings.

As ever,

[M.A. Lehand]

Mrs. David Gray,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

mal/tmb



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/27/40

MEMO FOR      MISSY

To call Miss Shipley in the  
Passport Division of the State  
Department and ask her if it is  
possible for Katherine Crocker  
to get a passport to go over as  
secretary to Mrs. Gray in Ireland,  
in May.

If the answer is yes, get  
hold of Mrs. Crocker and tell her.

F. D. R.

TELEPHONE  
DUFFERFIELD 2030.

Saturday  
122, EAST 73<sup>RD</sup> STREET.

My dear :- I have  
just talked to  
Katherine Crocker.  
She is to be at  
Mrs McDemist  
"Friendship" from  
March 23<sup>rd</sup> to the  
25<sup>th</sup> so if you could  
see her & find out

3  
I advise her to  
come if would  
mean a lot. Her  
address is Mrs. E.

W. Crocker - George  
Hotel 35 E. 76.

I was glad to  
hear your voice &  
don't let anything  
push you into  
a better time.

70  
only  
2  
TELEPHONE  
BUTTERFIELD 2930.

122, EAST 73<sup>RD</sup> STREET.

So much love  
& so much gratitude  
Maele



REGENT 8181

April 4. 1940

RITZ HOTEL,

LONDON, W.1.

*Ireland*

Franklin D. Roosevelt:-

I am sending you with  
separate cover a song  
sung very often & thought  
it might amuse you. The  
British at times get you &

John H. mixed & short  
John H. Boardman Jones -  
happid is working like a  
dog & doing well & of  
course is well & interested.  
We go to Dublin tomorrow.  
We hope you agree  
again. Will write you on  
Eliam soon. Good lots. Wm.

*File family*

# F.D.R. JONES

(YES SIREE! YES SIREE!)

WORDS & MUSIC BY HAROLD J. ROME



Sung by  
**FLANAGAN**  
AND  
**ALLEN**



LONDON

PALLADIUM

.... THE MOON

## The Little Dog Laughed

TO SEE ....

George Black's Show Shop of 1939.

1040

CHAPPELL

PRINTED IN ENGLAND

Price 1/- Net



# F. D. R. JONES

from "THE LITTLE DOG LAUGHED—"

Words and Music by

HAROLD J. ROME

Allegretto

Tune Uke  
A D F# B

PIANO

*mf* *brightly*

I hear tell there's a stranger in the Jones house-hold, Yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee, that's what I'm told.

I hear tell there's a new ar-riv-al six-days old, Yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee, worth his weight in gold,

Come right in and meet the son, — Christ-nings done. — Time to have some

fun, Yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee, Yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee.

*mf*

*\*G6 C6 D7 G6 C6 D7 G Emi Bmi Emi Ami D7 D7*

*\*G6 C6 D7 G6 C6 D7 G Emi Bmi Emi Ami C#dim7*

*Bmi Bmi Emi with C# Bmi C#dim7 E7 Ami Cmi6 Bmi D7 C D7*

*G Emi Bmi Emi Ami D7 D7 G Emi G6 D7*

\*) Symbols for Ukulele, Banjo and Guitar

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Chappell S. A. Paris

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33930



## REFRAIN (gaily)

It's a big — hol-i-day — ev-ry-where, For the Jones — fam-i-ly — has a

brand-new hair; — He's the joy heav-en sent And they proud-ly pre-sent Mis-ter Frank - lin D.

Roo - se-velt Jones. When he grows up he nev - er will stray — With a name

like the one — that he's got — to-day. — As he walks down the street, Folks will say "Pleased to

meet," Mis-ter Frank - lin D. Roo - se-velt Jones. What a smile! — And how he

Guitar tacet D7 G G Gmaj7 G6 D7 G

G6 G+ G G G7 Emi G+ G7 Emi C Cmi Eb9 Guitar tacet

D7 C G6 G D7 G Gmaj7 G6 D7

G F# G6 G+ G G7 Emi G+ G7 Emi C

Cmi Eb9 D7 C G G B7 B7 Emi Emi G+ Emi Chappell

4

shows it!... He'll keep hap-py- all day long. What a name... I'll bet he

knows it... With that han-dle how can he go wrong! And the folks in the town-

all a-gree- He'll be fa-mous as fa-mous as he can be. How can

he be a dud Or a stick in the mud When he's Frank-lin D. Roo-se-velt Jones. Yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-

-ee, Yes-sir-ee, yes-sir-ee. It's a big-ee.

33930

Low & Brydson Printers, Ltd.  
London, N.W.10

1229

April 5, 1940

*File  
Personal  
Ireland  
4*

Dear David:

It is grand to get yours from Rome and your information is most interesting. Having heard nothing of late, I take it that you and Maude have safely crossed the "dangerous areas" and are installed in that very delightful city of Dublin.

I have been slowly but surely killing off an intestinal flu bug and am going to Hyde Park tomorrow for two or three days. I hope to get to Warm Springs on the twentieth for a week.

We are very happy because the Trade Agreement Extension Bill went through the Senate today without amendment.

Tell Maude we are taking care of Mrs. Crocker's matter.

Much love to you both.

As ever yours,

F. D. R.

Honorable David Gray,  
United States Minister to Ireland,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

Dictated but not signed.

fdr/tmb

Rome , March 21, 1940.

My dear Boss : I have just come back from an audience with the Holy Father and want to get you off a report while it is fresh in my mind.

I gave him your <sup>8</sup>message, to wit that in joke you called me your favorite nephew and in all seriousness hoped that if he had any guidance or suggestions as to Ireland he would give them to me. He inquired very earnestly about you, about your health and asked next, about your plans for a third term. I said you had told no one what you intended to do but that the people <sup>personally</sup> close to you hoped that you would be allowed to retire and rest for a time, but that there was grave danger that you might be drafted. The Pope said, he has more insight into European affairs than any American I met. He spoke very highly of Myron Taylor, said it was the greatest benefit to him to have him, so that he could get direct information any time and said that he hoped he might have him "always". I said that in the nature of things that was hardly possible, and he said that he looked with regret to the time when the association must end. He spoke repeatedly of Taylor, always in the most affectionate terms. Evidently it has been very successful. He spoke highly too of Sumner Wells, said he impressed him as very intelligent and quick and straight. He had entire confidence in him, as a man of "bon volonte' ". The conversation was mostly in my terrible french. I was told by Bishop Hays that the Pope would "lead the conversation" and not to force him into embarrassing situations so I waited an opening and then said that ~~he~~ if he had any solution for the Irish question that you would be grateful because:

1. The Irish question maintained an abnormal and almost continuous pressure on American <sup>foreign and</sup> foreign relations which the great majority of Americans resented, without being able to do anything about it.

2. Because until it was solved and the pressure ~~was~~ removed there was like to continue that prejudice in politics against Catholics in violation of the spirit and letter of <sup>the</sup> Constitution, a situation

May I come in she asked. Bill is up top I'll join him later



which made it practically impossible to elect a Catholic to the Presidency. He said, "you mean Alfred E. Smith?" I said yes, that I had voted for him and was humiliated that he should have been beaten on religious grounds, although I was a strong protestant. He gave the impression of not having much detailed knowledge of Ireland. I asked him if there were any special Bishops in Ireland that I could look to for guidance as to facts and conditions, not apparent to the eye. He said the Nuncio to whom Archbishop Spellman gave me a letter, was very astute and sound. I then went at the question for the answer to which, I principally wanted this interview, which is "how far could the Church approve a disestablishment in Ireland, if that were a prime factor in a compromise solution of the Ulster question." In the key of studied generalities in which he pitched the interview I could not ask this directly so I said. The Catholic Bishops I know in America tell me that they do not regret their entire separation from the state, that on the contrary they feel the church to be stronger and more spiritual as a consequence. He picked this up with "Absoloument." and went on to describe his conception of the church as being spiritual in nature and among men to offer men refuge and sources of inward strength. Hewas very emphatic about this so that I feel that if the question were ever to be referred to Rome there would be no objection there. I made it clear that you had authorized me only to explore the facts which had made settlement thus far impossible, to explore without making committments a possible formula of solution on the special ground of laying the question <sup>out as a principle</sup> in the U.S. and on the general ground of furthering the good neighbor policy of peace and unhampered trade. I have talked less frankly but in the same sense to McCauley, the Irish ~~parax~~ minister to the Vatican, and to Max White the Irish Minister to the Qu<sup>r</sup>inal. They ha<sup>v</sup>e both been very helpful and res<sup>p</sup>onsive. They urge me in London to get into touch not only with Dulanty, but

with

3.

with the Tory elements that advise Ulster. This I <sup>here</sup> can do without being official or alarming your ambassador <sup>to St James.</sup>

( I am out of paper and your embassy boys seem to ~~sleep~~ <sup>be</sup> till 4.p.m now that Sumner and his whirl <sup>has</sup> ~~has~~ passed out to sea. )

You were very wise to send me this way for these contacts are very helpful.

I propose to fix this up for the Department but will send it to you ~~when~~ complete to be sent over at your discretion. My feeling is that none of this should leak out, that as long as I stand <sup>strong</sup> on the thesis that your government in its good neighbor policy welcomes and stands ready to assist, if requested, every adjustment making for peace and harmony between nations friendly to us, I can't get into trouble .

Myron Taylor undoubtedly got this audience for me. It was said to be absolutely impossible for today and tomorrow and I must leave Saturday a.m. I was deeply moved ~~at~~ at the end when the Pope said after ~~charging~~ <sup>charging</sup> me to express the most cordial and friendly sentiments to you, " I give you a special blessing, a very special blessing." He's a good man Boss.

Take Care of Yourself.

Aff

Dani

245420 N. 17  
14XCHM

*file personal*  
U.S. Legation Dublin.

*24 June 4*  
April 8, 1940.

Dear Boss : I left you in Rome just after seeing the Pope . There were several little things that I observed in Italy that were interesting and which may have escaped your regular informants.

First, The wheat planting along the coastal plane between Naples and Rome apparently has made no provision for rotation. Practically ALL the land except garden plots and vineyards is in wheat. You know that this cannot go on. Some of the winter wheat looked pretty yellow though on the whole it seemed to promise a crop if they got rain. This held true all the way north to the border as far as one could tell from the railway train.

Second. In Milan we had three hours and I took Maude to see the Cathedral. We came upon a Fascist 21st Birthday celebration in the square. It was about two thirds full, say ten thousand people. A feller built like the Duce was orating with big gestures. Every time he stopped for applause a cheering section connected with the loud speaker began Duce! Duce! Duce! Duce! Duce! as if it was the college yell of old Siwash. Then they would clam and go "Ai ai ai" like our boys, but listen to this. NOT ONCE did a single individual hand clap or cheer in the crowd respond. Not a damn hand ~~clapped~~ did the feller get except the claque!

There was no resentment against him. He was there doing his bit but nobody <sup>was</sup> interested. It was like a terrible sermon in church when every one looks around at people's hats and back hair. Very extraordinary. And the main life of the principal streets going on as if there were no show. It looks as if over advertisement had induced sales resistance.

Third. I found out in Paris from the owner of the one Italian factory that makes ALL the machine guns for the <sup>Italian</sup> army that there were no extra orders and that the army



was very short in its quotas of that arm . The D. can have no serious intention of marching.

In Paris, Pat Murphy was chafing and put me in touch at once with Sean Murphy, Irish Minister to France. He's delightful fellow and like Macwhite in Rome urged me to explore the British Government position on partition. Maude had flu and I spent most of my time with Sean Murphy and our Embassy people who were very nice and on their toes. Bill Bullat has a good shop there . Pat Murphy very able.

Saw Dulanty immediately on arriving in London. He asked Maude and me to lunch and we talked very frankly, I taking the position that I had taken since landing to wit, "My Government is interested in the Irish question and its settlement both because it is interested in the peaceful settlement of all political questions and because it exerts an abnormal unAmerican pressure upon American politics and policy. I am exploring the facts of the situation in order to report them to my government. I am not conducting a negotiation or proposing a mediation."

Dulanty was very doubtful of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ any success with Ulster. His idea is that it will take years, that the most that can be hoped for in a reasonable future is a joint commission on roads, or <sup>joint</sup> art exhibition or even an all Irish football team. But he said, "for heavens sake explore away and if you turn up any chance tell us." He advised seeing all the English I could without embarrassing Joe.

We got to London on a Saturday Friday afternoon, lunched with Dulanty Saturday and on Sunday went to the country and dined and spent the night with Joe. I told him what I was trying to do and he said go ahead and as far as you like on your own. Well I got busy and saw Ewan Wallace, David Margusson chief Tory whip and supposed to be the most powerful man in England. He arranged my meeting Sir Horace Wilson, Chamberlains' secretary. I also talked Ireland with Oliver Stanley

Anthony Eden, Harold Nicholson and the Duke of Devonshire who is a great admirer of DevS. Also with W. Churchill. I lunched with him at the Admiralty April 3. Sir Kellogg Wood was present for a time. It was the day he was shuffled out of the air ministry. Churchill roared for a time, said he was sick of them (The Irish) that the English had given them a generous settlement and that immediately they began to break their engagements and were now stabbing England in the back.. I told him that might all be true but that apparently no Englishman had grasped what Ireland really wanted, that was a generous recognition of the Irish contention that Irish sovereignty derived from the Irish people and not from the British crown. Then I told him the story of David Robinson now a DeValera senator. Robinson was the son of a protestant Episcopal dean of a county not far from Dublin. He went to what corresponds in Ireland to Eaton, then Trinity College and when war broke out in 1914 volunteered, got a commission and fought all four years in the infantry. He lost an eye and I believe was otherwise wounded. Upon being demobilized he went out with the sign Feiners. I asked him why he did that, after fighting four years for England. "Because," he said, "England is trying to suppress my country's nationality. After the treaty he went out on Dev's side against it. I said, 'why did you do that?' 'Because,' he said, 'that treaty was imposed under duress.' I said do you hate England?" He said, "I love England. I would die for her tomorrow." Then I said I can't follow this. If you were God Almighty what would you do. ? He said "Today I would set up the Republic and tomorrow I would make a treaty with England having everything just as it is now." When they captured him he went on a hunger strike and was carried out after forty days on a mattress. He went to England to recuperate and stopped at Cliveden.

*Can you hear it?*  
After two hours talk with Churchill it came down to the following side Memoire which I am dispatching him tomorrow by the courtesy of

cc DeValera's suggestion.

DeValera ( to whom I showed it ) via the British High Commissioner .  
The British pouch was his suggestion. I told him I didn't want neither  
his censors or the English opening these bread and butter letters to  
British Ministers.

To go back to Churchill. After lunch he took me down to his secret  
Chart room and showed me the fleet and convoy positions. I said "I wish  
the President could see this," he said he wished he could, that you would  
understand it which I couldn't. He said he had the right to write to you  
direct and that was one of his best privileges. I had asked him what he  
thought Craigavon would do if DeValera were ready to throw out the Hitler  
Legation and throw in Bere Haven. That was something else he said but  
it was all up to Ulster. I asked him whether in the case that Mr. DeValera  
was willing that I should see Craigavon in order to get first hand the  
third side to this tragic triangle he would arrange it. He said yes  
and it should be in London because then no one would hear of it. This last  
of course was all off the record.

All the other ministers that I have spoken of expressed great hope that  
something could be arranged to improve relations, spoke with respect and  
liking of Mr. DeValera, wanted not to embarrass him in his present  
troubles but like Churchill, though not so emphatically, said that Ulster  
could not be coerced. It is clearly up to Mr. DeValera and Craigavon.  
This is the aide memoire to Churchill and the other notes are similar

" I want to thank you for giving me so much of your time and confidence"  
My understanding of your personal positions set forth in our talk on  
April 3rd is as follows:

1 Under no circumstances would you tolerate any coercion of Ulster  
direct or indirect by your government or any other.

2. You would not stand in the way of any settlement not inimical to the  
vital interests of your government, arrived at by the two parties by mutual

4. On my part it was expressly understood that I was exploring this sit-

[illegible]

5. Within the limits of this understanding I feel myself free to discuss your position with Mr. DeV alera from whom I hope to gather information as to his position.

6. If Mr. DeValera and the American Ambassador in London should raise no objection to my seeking an interview with Lord Craigavon for the purpose of obtaining direct from him his position in the present situation I shall write you again asking for suggestions as to the best way of meeting him.

Please accept my grateful appreciation of your courtesy and believe me

Yours Sincerely

We arrived Saturday morning in Dublin, April 6. DeValera asked that I be brought to his office at 12, 30 and we talked with him and the permanent under secretary and our Moveagh till half past one. I gave him your personal message as follows "The President hopes that you will be able to come and visit him this spring. He tells me to tell you that his foreign policy is substantially the same as yours." He was very cordial and talked frankly of the difficulties of the situation which I will summarize for you in an other paragraph. As we left he spoke with a good deal of feeling of the situation he was in with the hunger strikers one of whom is a son of Count Plunket.

Whether to let them die or release them and admit defeat. He was obviously much troubled. I have a feeling that unforeseen events may begin to move rapidly before long and that it is my job to get in close touch with these people as quickly as possible. During the night I began to think about the hunger strikers and in the morning I wrote him a note in this sense. "If in your view it might be helpful for me to see these men and tell them that the President of U.S. was endeavoring to promote the solution of all political differences by peaceful political means, and that the Pope recently had spoken to me in the same vein I would gladly do so, if the thing could be kept strictly private as at all costs I must avoid any action capable ~~xx~~ <sup>of</sup> being interpreted as meddling with ~~their~~ <sup>your</sup> internal politics."

The next morning his secretary telephoned, asking me to come to his office at five. He seemed grateful for my offer but said he thought it would be interpreted as weakness on his part. They would not believe that he had not instigated the visit. That if ~~they~~ <sup>he</sup> came to call on me, as they doubtless would, then I could take this line. He was much tougher about them ~~xx~~ this time, said he was not sure they were not bluffing. Boland his Justice Minister on Sunday had spoken publicly to the effect that the law could not be changed because violators of it appealed to public sympathy. I think he has decided to take a firm line. He asked me to stay on and we discussed the Anglo Irish situation. I told him that there was no use my pretending to be personally neutral. I was prepared to be absolutely correct as representing a <sup>t</sup> ~~neutral~~ power but that personally I was so opposed to Hitlerism, the persecution of Jews, the rape of ~~xx~~ of the small countries in violation of express and newly made pledges that I considered the success of the allies ~~an essential~~ desirable. I said that in my



opinion if Germany were at Gibraltar, Suez, Singapore, Hong Kong she would also be at Bermuda, Nassau, Jamaica and the Windward and Leeward 'islands'; that she would take our South American trade ~~from~~ from us over night, that Australia would probably be taken by the Japanese and South Africa by the Germans; that we would be condemned to ~~generations~~ armed self defense for generations; that much as we might resent certain practices of Britain she had policed the seas at her own expense and had given us on the whole a square deal, that I would rather go on with her than with Hitler, that if he thought this disqualified me as an American Representative I would ask to be relieved and go home.

He said he felt much the same way, but that his people could not see that they were in danger until it was upon them, that the I.R.A. had stirred up the anti-British feeling again. I asked him how important numerically he thought the movement was. He said probably not very large numerically, perhaps a couple of thousands of individuals but that they appealed to something "very deep in the Irish heart". We talked intimately about Ulster and he gave me a map showing the majority sentiment in each of the six counties. He claims at least two of these counties are overwhelmingly for union and are in effect being COERCED. That is his line. The British refuse to coerce Belfast but connive at the coercion of these two counties and elements in the others.

I ~~asked~~ asked him about seeing Craigavon. He said by all means if you can arrange it correctly that is with the consent of the British and Kennedy. "I would see him myself," he said "but he will not see me."

Then I led the conversation to the point I was approaching. I said, 'suppose I saw Craigavon and said to him is there any price you

would be willing to pay as a friend of Britain for something useful to Britain in the present crisis that Mr. DeValera might grant you ?  
DeValera said ~~xxxxxxenlightenxxxxbargainxxxxxxneutralxxxx~~  
~~Therexxxxxxwzixxxttxxexpressxxxxxxntxx~~ ~~Thixxxtxixdudaxenxhixxartxx~~  
~~andxx~~ ~~Thurwhitixwixingxiexfngexhxxxiixxx~~ what do you mean? I said  
let us think aloud and see what would be useful to England. How about Berehaven and possibly the recall of the German Legation? No, he said  
"We could never bargain with our neutrality." There you have it as the impasse stands at the moment. Mr. DeValera speaking as a great gentleman on one side and Mr. Churchill as a great gentleman on the other, saying we will do without ~~xxxxxx~~ what we need ( Berehaven and American money ) sooner than put pressure on our Ulster friends.

Of course I have been trying to find a formula in which some even slight measure of conciliation between South and North could be generously and conspicuously blessed by the British Government putting them on record with us in the U.S. as favoring some sort of solution to the end of easing pressure upon you from the professional anti-Lion boys in case events should make you want to act. And that is of course the real reason why I want to see Craigavon . It is evidently a hundred to one chance but it ought to be taken. It's too important all round not to be explored.

~~xxxx~~ I've been very lucky so far but don't think that I shall not probably end up in the ash can because this thing is like walking on the sulphur crust over a ~~xxxxxx~~erater full of melted lava.

When I think your day is walking over a hundred such floors I begin to understand a bit. John Moveigh <sup>our Sunday</sup> is ~~xxx~~ and a great help. I present my letters next Monday. My best to Missy. I think her Church friends have done us a good turn <sup>xxx</sup> along the line.

In Paris I had an interesting talk with Tony Biddle who was very friendly. I told him I had heard you praise his work in Poland and that pleased him. All these people have asked me about the third term and I have given all the same answer, that you have confided your decision to no one, that your close personal friends want you to rest for a bit believing that you do not want to run again, but that they are doubtful whether you could refuse a nomination spontaneously made with foreign affairs every day getting more menacing. The Wisconsin primary seems illuminating over here.

Best love to Eleanor and the family.

Aff

*DM*

Sorry to have been so long winded. Will cut it down next time.

So far only three citizens have written offering to sell me dogs and only one opportunity to buy a horse has appeared. I am not the success the papers here make out.

Don't be misled by any reports that you might get from London about Joe losing the confidence of the English. There probably is some criticism on the part of the nobs he has been feeding, now he has stopped going about <sup>much</sup> but every single one of the important people I talked to paid him very high marks. They trust him and know he is doing his job in the best way for you. Meeting the Muncio at family lunch with Meweagh tomorrow although I can't call on him till after I present my letters next Monday. They are not very strong <sup>here</sup> on protocol.

The news from Norway has just been phoned in. This will give them something to think about. Maude is doing fine. She had flu in Paris and came up through me. Sorry to hear that! I hear you love him. I heard from the same hydro device. And for a couple of weeks, D



Saw a lot of Kermit & Beale. He was really fine.  
They are very strong for you. They had me to meet

them Stanley at lunch. I told him I had heard you were in  
and that pleased him. All these people have asked me about the  
form and I have given all the same answer, that you have confided your  
decision to no one, that your close personal friends want you to  
rest for a bit believing that you do not want to run again, but that  
they are doubtful whether you could refuse a nomination spontaneously  
made with foreign affairs every day & doing more menial work. The  
Wisconsin primary seems illuminating ever here.  
Best love to Eleanor and the family.

222

Sorry to have been so long delayed. Will get it down next time.  
So far only three citizens have written offering to sell me dogs  
and only one occasionally to buy a horse has appeared. I am not the  
success the papers here make out.

I can't be misled by any reports that you might get into trouble about  
the losing the confidence of the public. There is no  
criticism on the part of the public as far as I know, and he has managed  
about about every single one of the important people. I think he  
paid him very high wages. The point is and know he is doing  
his job in the best way for you. I think the people at family  
lives with Norway tomorrow afternoon. I can't tell on his bill after  
I get out my letters next Monday. They are not very strong on protocol.

The case from Norway has just been closed in. This will give you  
something to think about. I am a very fine. I have for some time  
been very busy for you. I have for some time been in a very busy  
time. I have for some time been in a very busy time.

# IRELAND

SHOWING NORTH-EAST AREA OF ULSTER  
i.e., "NORTHERN IRELAND".

MAP BASED ON POPULATION  
STATISTICS OF RURAL AND  
URBAN DISTRICTS (CENSUS, 1926).



AREA SHOWN IN BLACK 29,121  
SQ. MILES.  
AREAS SHOWN HATCHED 2,716  
SQ. MILES.

MILES  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

It will be noted that the "Northern Ireland" area is considerably smaller than the Province of Ulster. Three of the Ulster counties (Donegal—the most northerly county in Ireland—Cavan and Monaghan) are included in the Twenty-six Counties under the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament.

Areas with a majority against Partition, black, thus  
Areas in which 25%—50% of the people are against Partition, heavily hatched, thus  
Areas in which less than 25% of the people are against Partition, lightly hatched, thus  
Six County Boundary, broad white line, thus  
Boundaries of Provinces, broken white line, thus



April 15th, 1940.

*File*

*Irish*

*Personal  
Confidential*

My dear Boss : I got presented this morning, big show with the army out and all that. Mr. D. kept me after the act and plunged in after a moment or two. He said he was terribly worried about the Norwegian situation . I said what did you think of the President's announcement condemning the rape of these countries? ." That was very good , " he said but do you know anything definite as to the military situation in Norway. I am afraid they are going to take Sweden too. " I said I only knew what I read in the papers." He said , " We don't want to know any of the English secrets and make a point of not knowing them. Can you find out for me about this Norwegian situation. They will know more in Washington than here. I said ~~ixzwilixtryx~~ it is announced that communication has been cut between Norway and Washington but I will try London. " I am calling Joe up in an hour or two. I will tell you about it later."

Personally of course I think your condemnation of this latest outrage was the top. It has gone well here. The Irish Press which while not official tries to follow or frame the Government policy printed it this Monday morning as enclosed although it was last weeks news. The Dublin Independent and Times both Opposition papers with British orientation gave it today only inside paragraphs. It was an evening paper story when it came out. I have talked rather frankly todate with five or six government people and ALL give me the impression

if being definitely anti-German and pro-ally. I have the feeling that if they dared they would go a long way toward <sup>up</sup>supporting Britain as they have no illusions as to where they would be in case Britain goes down. When I say "dare" I have reference to internal politics. Rightly or wrongly they believe the country would not be with them at present with the I.R.A. extremists stirring up trouble. In a day or two one or more of the hunger strikers will give up or die and the government will have a showdown. My guess is that a death will not stir up any serious trouble but of course I have only just got here. Your consul in Cork made a graphic report of the Saturday night raid on the Cork radio station and <sup>of</sup> the following public demonstrations in favor of the hunger strikers. He says that his impression was that the crowd was apathetic and merely curious; not stirred. The claims of the soi-disant government are too fantastic. I feel that you have been handling this world situation for the past two years with uncanny skill, first getting the Americas lined up and then proceeding with a realistic view of the probable course of events to prepare politically to meet them. The day before we left ~~the~~ Florida I was closeted with the President of the Bank of Sarasota, a typical, thin lipped isolationist middle western Republican immigrant with a cold bankers eye. He said "What do you think about this war?" I said what do you mean? He said, "Well isn't it about time to find out whether it is our war or not? If they take the British fleet they will be not only at Gibraltar, Suez, Hongkong and Singapore but at Bermuda, Nassau, Jamaica, the Leeward and Windward Isles. They will control the buying ~~of~~ and selling of Europe and they will take away our South American trade in two weeks. When a guy is willing to do your fighting for you are <sup>are</sup> you silly not to give him a gun and money?"

The room has grown dark. We are having a bright young snow storm. <sup>over here</sup> I suspect these people are beginning to think on lines similar to my banker friend but it is going to be slow going before they will come to the point of offering Bere<sup>H</sup>aven for the duration of the war. They gave us a big and very well done dinner last night in the Castle, ~~last night~~. Most of the Cabinet were there and we talked till eleven thirty when Maude rose and went home. Mr. DeValera keeps coming back to the Ulster question insisting that the British are making a terrible mistake in not settling it. Last night I told him that he might be making a bad mistake not to take advantage of the international situation to do something bold and original such as he loves to do with his own people; that this was obviously the time to convince Ulster of the South's friendliness and that he could obviously do it by taking some steps to aid Ulster in the war. <sup>in return</sup> They he could get his concessions. He knows this is true but it is a hard pill to swallow in his present state of mind. I am making a study of his speech on Partition delivered a few months ago, a copy of which he recently gave me, together with the debates on Partition in <sup>1921</sup> ~~twenty-one~~. I shall either write him a letter or make a report to the Department in which I shall try to portray the situation as I know you would see it, but of course without making any suggestions. As a group of us sat around last night, DeValera, Sean T. O'Kelly, Aiken, McEntee and one or two others they began to tell about their being in jail together, the night before Dev was to be tried. Everybody so far who had been tried had been shot. They told Dev that he was a goner and cut buttons off his coat as souvenirs. O'Kelly got his fountain pen. Well then to brighten the evening they held a mock trial of him charging him with being a pretender to the

4. ~~Islands~~ ~~Islands~~

Islands of Something or Other. ( some rocks down the bay) and finally condemned him to be shot . You can't beat people like that. This companionship explains why there have been no cabinet changes. It also explains why the hunger strikers hurt so deeply. Young Plunket is the son of one of the <sup>with them</sup> men in jail <sup>^</sup> at that time. It is as if Livy Davis's boy was hunger striking against you and you had to let ~~at~~ him die.

Your Pan American announcement came out this morning and was the big headline. You have I believe the support of at least eighty percent of the people here just as you must have about that percentage of approval at home . Maude sends her love. She is doing grand .

Aff

Dan Gray

## U.S. Minister At The Races



Mr. David Gray, the new American Minister, with Lieut.-Col. S. S. Hill-Dillon at Navan Races on Saturday.

## "AMERICA'S VIEWPOINT REITERATED"

—President Roosevelt

WASHINGTON, Sunday.

"IF civilisation is to survive, the rights of smaller nations to their independence and territorial integrity must not be impeded, and the opportunity for self-government must be respected by their more powerful neighbours," declared President Roosevelt, yesterday.

"Force and military aggression are once more marching against the small nations, in this instance through the invasion of Denmark and Norway," he said.

"These nations have won and maintained through many generations the respect and regard, not only of Americans, but all peoples, due to their observance of the highest standards of international conduct.

"The United States, on the occasion of recent invasions, strongly expressed its disapprobation of such an unlawful exercise of force. It here reiterates, with undiminished emphasis, its point of view as expressed on those occasions."—United Press.



*file  
personal*

Tuesday , May 7. 1940.

*Ireland*

My dear Boss : Our Vice Consul from Cork was up here the other day with an earload of "inside stuff" from a Deputy Commissioner of the National Police and another high officer . It was to the effect that the German ~~Em~~ Legation was getting messages from Germany every night by radio and acknowledging them by jamming the two twenty volt current in some way, also that a landing of troops by Submarine and insurrection in junction with the I.R.A. was planned . It was also reported that the Irish government was acutely alarmed over the possibility of the seizure of the ports by Britain. This last did not come from the Police. Thursday when DeValera lunched with us I had a chance to speak with him and asked him if there was any truth in the report that his government was anxious. He said "no"; nothing ~~immed~~ specific or immediate . I said if you have any reason to be anxious let me know at once for transmission to my government. He said he would. I wrote Joe at once the whole story.

I have run across the trail of the failure of the Irish Government to buy arms in America. According to the story some one in the Department told General Brennan chief of staff that it would facilitate his mission if the British Embassy O.K.ed it. Can you beat that? I asked Mr. De. V. about getting arms from uw. he said the price had gone up so that he feared it was prohibitive. I'll have more on this next week.



Belle Roosevelt and her sister flew over yesterday to spend a week with us. K. had gone to Norway. We don't know yet whether he came back or is at Narvik. Poor Belle has been having a hard time. She sends you and Eleanor her love.

Maude is stove up with too much tea parties and is in bed. Haven't been fishing yet. I accomplish nothing and am busy all day .

Take care of yourself.

Saturday am having Sean T. O'Kelly and wife, The Maffys and the Nuncio to lunch . When I have got through the cabinet I hope to have some dope for you.

Bless you.

Aff

DM

Letters from Mr. and Mrs.  
Gray sent to Mrs. Roosevelt  
to read and return for our  
files.

G

Ireland  
4

May 8, 1940.

Dear David:-

It is grand to have yours of April nineteenth and I think your story of your talk with Count Plunkett and his wife is a joy -- and, at the same time, rather pathetic.

I am sorry about President Hyde. He must be a fine and scholarly old gentleman. If you get a chance tell him how deeply I regret his indisposition and express the hope that some day he and I will have a chance to meet each other.

Thank the Lord the hunger strike seems to be over. One thing can, I think, be emphasized by you with your usual tact: that in many places in the world the old gag about the Irishman being "agin' the government" is so well known that in thinking of Ireland itself there is a definite tendency -- even on the part of second and third generation Irishmen in other nations -- to feel that Ireland will always be rowing within itself. The continuation of hunger strikes and outrages of all kinds, I.R.A. or otherwise, only hurts the cause of complete Irish independence in other nations.

All things considered, the Irish Free State since it was set up has done an amazingly good job, and it is only in the past year that people are beginning to talk about disunity and internal rows once more. After all, ultimate unity and peaceful government will be helped by a favorable world opinion.

I hope Katherine Crocker will be with you soon.

I wish I could go fishing with you on the Blackwater -- and I wish too that I could see you and Maude to get a lot more stories first-hand.

As ever,

Dearest Maude:-

The above is for you just as much as for David. From outside sources I hear you are vamping the whole Irish Government, the opposition, and even the British. Stay clear of the latter (in Ireland).

Affectionately,

Honorable David Gray,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
personal.*

May 8, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
MRS. ROOSEVELT

Will you read and return  
for my files?

F. D. R.

*Miss LeStrand -  
Mrs. R. has read -  
met*

Friday April 19, 1940.

My dear Boss : I am in it up to the neck. For an hour this afternoon Count Plunkett and his wife and daughter-in-law besieged me in behalf of their son who is on the 55th day of his hunger strike. My line was, "why doesn't your son live for his country? Why doesn't he take legal and constitutional means to win a majority to his viewpoint?" They kept insisting that the Irish Republic was the only legal government - the I.R.A. was legal <sup>and</sup> and that consequently <sup>hence</sup> they must be treated as prisoners of war or political prisoners. I said to them, "what if we four were the government and another body proclaiming to be the true government <sup>hunger</sup> struck against us? Should we give in to it? If we did, what would become of the authority of our government?" They said this DeValera Government is not a true government. It does not represent a majority of the people." Who does it represent? I said, "The English," they answered. I said I had just been in England and there was nothing the English wanted except that the Irish settle their differences and get on with their government and make Ireland peaceful and prosperous. "They have deceived you," they said. I said, "would you rather have the Germans over-running you as they have Denmark, Norway Poland and Bohemia or would you rather go on as you are? The old man said I would take a chance on the Germans." I said "Do you mean that?" Well he wasn't so sure. I said "If I were Irish I'd fight for England till the World was safe again, and then if I wanted to fight England I'd get on

with that." All this time I was holding Countess Plunkett's hand with one hand and with the other the old man's ear trumpet and bawling into it. Every now and again we would all have a good laugh and then speculate on how long the " byes could last." Finally I said if you will get your son to call off this strike I'll throw up my job if necessary and stand on the same platform with him while AS AN IRISH CITIZEN not as an I.R.A ) he speaks for his cause in a consitutional manner ." His mother said " That would give the whole cause away. " Well I said that is the most I can do. Then with profuse gratitude for what I can't imagine, as I roared consitutional platitudes at them, they parted as Flynn the man servant thinking I had had enough, announced that Maude wanted me. John Cudahy had him trained.

In confidence we have been told that the President Douglas Hyde has had a stroke. He will ~~xxxx~~ probably make a partial recovery but it is feared he is through. For reasons of their own the Government has announced it only as a "slight indisposition." I at once wrote him a note and sent flowers and in a few days will write him that you have heard of his slight indisposition with regret and wish to convey your best wishes for for his quick and complete recovery. We had tea yesterday with his sister and his ~~sister and his~~ secretary, who insists that he is secretary to the Presidency and not to Douglas Hyde. A little friction between the Government and the Vice Regal Lodge. This latter is a lovely old house with the handsomest doors and Georgian mantels I have ever seen . Maude made a mash both upon Mrs. Kane , the sister <sup>and</sup> ~~but~~ also on the Secretary McDumphy. She is doing simply grand , Boss.

7 P.m.

3.

A Word has just come that the hunger strike has been called off on what terms it is not disclosed.

April 20, Saturday. <sup>another</sup> One of the hunger strikers died last night after having gone off strike. The morning papers give no explanation of the settlement of the strike. If the government stood firm it is a great victory as I think there will be no more of it. I watched the procession two days ago, demonstrating for the first <sup>in Ireland</sup> lad to die. It was led by a detachment of ladies looking like twenty Daisy Harrimans in Sam Brown Belts. (You remember her in the last war). Then came a ~~squad~~ of boy scouts in green shorts, very cold looking in the raw morning, then about a thousand down and outs presumably the <sup>union &</sup> unemployed dockworkers ~~union~~ who turn out for these things as a matter of course. No one seemed to be paying any attention to them. Our ~~consul~~ in Cork has reported privately on several recent I.R.A. out<sup>r</sup>rages down there to the effect that there are a few determined lads in it but that they are not getting public support as far as he can observe.

Your letter of April 5 has just come. I hope you shake off that intestinal bug. A little dilute hydrochloric acid, ten to fifteen drops with meals in a glass of water I found very helpful in toning up the digestion.

The Italian minister returned my call this morning. C'est un type très civilisé. He can think rings about me but I plunged in and he went over the events since 1919 from the Italian angle.

Finally I said If I were the Duce <sup>in the present circumstances</sup> and did not want to fight my newspapers would be doing just what his are. He smiled and said "Naturallement, mais les Anglais ne comprennent pas". We shall see but as I wrote you last week the signs are against the Duce going German with active military support. However this morning (Sunday April 21) it looks like a squeeze play on Mussolini.



"Eddie" Devonshire offered me some salmon fishing in London and I am going down to the Blackwater for a couple of days on Monday. I want a bit of time to myself. I just can't keep this damn basket of letters down and nine tenths of it is unimportant. As I wrote you I begin to understand what you have to cope with. However, when all the calls are paid and repaid it will quiet down. I shall probably write you a bit every week but please don't have it on your mind to answer even with a line.

Maude and I are both grateful for fixing up Katherine Crocker. She cables she is flying over.

Aff

Shirley

P.S. We went in to the Movie last night and were stopped by a long I.R.A. procession escorting the body of the man who died after the hunger strike was broken. This was far more impressive and sinister than the one in the morning of the day before. There were at least three companies of fifty or sixty men each, of I.R.A. <sup>also</sup> who marched as soldiers very smartly though not in uniform and unarmed, and were determined looking lads, not the bums of the other procession. There was a long halt and they all stood impassively in the rain. It was very grim, a dedication not to love of country, but to hate of the establish<sup>ment</sup> order, whatever that might be. I believe there is something like a college secret society psychology in this problem. The young join it largely because it is banned.

8.

5

P.S. 2 April 23. We went down to the Blackwater Sunday, a lovely country but found the river definitely "out of order" because of the rain and came back the next day without wetting a line. Hope to go again when the water drops and clears. I called yesterday ~~xx~~ very informally again on the Nuncio and talked with him for an hour. He is being very kind and is giving me his advice. As long as I follow it I don't think I shall get into any serious trouble. He tells me in confidence that the censorship ~~axx~~ <sup>is</sup> drying up the sinews of war for the I.R.A. (It pinches the cash and checks <sup>from U.S.A</sup>) In his view without funds they will rapidly lose effectiveness. Can you beat this one: He has found out that a number of the toughest I.R.A. lads have recently joined the British army. He thinks the whole movement is very largely a matter of unemployment. If they could get jobs that suited them the movement would fade out. The Government did not weaken on the hunger strike. It was called off by the C.O. of the I.R.A. I think the Nuncio himself probably had a good deal to do ~~with~~ with it. We are asking him and the DeValeras and Granard to lunch next Thursday. The Nuncio says Granard is the most popular man in his county with all three parties that is including the I.R.A. Can you beat that one?

Just had a charming letter from Bill Bullitt who says that what you chiefly need is two weeks with the hot sun on your back and no work. Try to get it. You'll be no use dead.

D.

Zulph

May 12, 1940.

My Dear Boss : The reaction <sup>here</sup> to your statements and policy in regard to the invasion of Belgium and Holland in Ireland seems to be very favorable . I think it has had a good deal to do with Mr. DeValera's first condemnation of Germany made yesterday in a speech to a Galway Party meeting . The Government has been afraid to take this stand up till now. Of course the Pope's attitude must <sup>also</sup> have been a factor. You probably know, but I only got it from the Nuncio the other day that the Vatican had forbidden its Nuncios for the past two years to accept the hospitality of German Diplomats . I have to go to lunch with the German Minister in the near future and the job of getting Maude there is one I despair of. She will probably be taken with lockjaw on the fateful day .

Yesterday we had the O'Kelleys ( Sean T., the vice president and an admiral of yours ) to lunch, the Nuncio and the Sir John Maffys as well as Belle Roosevelt and her sister. It went off very well. I am pretty sure that the British Government appreciates the folly of attempting any kind of a coup against the Irish ports , whether executed by the French Navy or their own . I get nothing from Vatican sources which makes me suspect that the Duce is going to war . The Italian minister and wife here are very anti - German but they get no news from Italy . The Nuncio has the only news, whatever that may be.

Belle went off yesterday afternoon with her sister Elizabeth. She is a darling and all K's sins have been blotted out . She got a letter from him yesterday from Norway but of course it said nothing.

nothing. Last night I was a guest at a big dinner given by the P.E.N. Club, Poets, Editors, Novelists to Mr. Smiley editor of the Irish Times. They were bitter against the Irish censorship but no one dared openly to condemn Germany, although they featured the Czechoslovak envoy and his wife who are ~~was~~ still here. Smiley had the last decoration conferred by Dr. Benes. I am going to call on the various editors as an old newspaper man. I think it may give me a better slant than most others. They gave me a big hand before I made my speech and dead silence afterwards. Draw your own conclusions. I didn't say anything except that the Irish were nice people and had good newspapers. They probably resented it. One speaker quoted Doctor Johnson's remark, "The Irish ~~are~~ are a just people. They never speak good of one another." I have written a personal letter to Archbishop Spellman thanking him for introducing me to the Nuncio and ~~telling~~ <sup>telling</sup> him the situation here. I am not sending it through the pouch.

I hope to get off on my two days fishing trip this afternoon down on the Blackwater after which I go on to Cork to the Consul's wedding. I am always on the telephone with the office. My love to everybody.

Griff

Don't

Poor John Audley is having a hard time.

file  
personal. Sunday

LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

My dear - Doniphan  
Julius Deont Lemkau  
the German Legation - I  
may be on a water diet,  
but I am too near the  
front line not to have  
some sense for no both of

False smiling society  
from 8 to 10

I saw today in the Sunday  
Times a picture of a man  
Warms Springs. I looked  
thin & fit & I was happy  
about it. My love & care  
& a few prayers for everyone.  
Maudie

**Department of State**

BUREAU  
DIVISION

Eu

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 5/17

ADDRESSED TO

The President



*file  
personal*

*Deland  
2/*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I attach a draft letter to Mr. David Gray, American Minister at Dublin, which you may wish to send in response to his letter dated April 30, 1940 in regard to the Legation residence at Dublin. An official instruction is going forward to Mr. Gray at an early date. The instruction will be in greater detail than the proposed letter to Mr. Gray.

Faithfully yours,

*W. L. Phillips*  
Under Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Draft letter to Minister Gray.
2. Copy of despatch returned.

The President,

The White House.

Dear David:

It was good to have your letter of April 30 and to learn that both of you are comfortable and keenly interested in the job and all that it carries with it.

I learn that your exceedingly interesting despatch regarding the Lexington residence has already been examined by the State Department which, in view of the considerations which you have set forth, is informing you that it has abandoned for the present its plans to give up the residence.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable  
David Gray,  
American Minister,  
Dublin.

April 30, Tuesday. 1940.

My Dear Boss : The enclosed editorial from the Irish Press of yesterday voices I think the growing anxiety of the government in regard to the situation in Norway. The German news is displayed very prominently in this Government owned paper but I suspect the motive is rather to bring home to the man in the street a sense of his danger rather than to celebrate German successes. I think the Government is trying to find a way to lead public sentiment ~~af~~ to preparedness and the ~~xxxx~~ possibility of military cooperation with the Allies without giving the I.R.A. a ~~xxxx~~ weapon. There have been no visible repercussions ~~xxxx~~ from the explosion in the Castle last week, nor thus far any arrests.

The enclosed dispatch to the Department explains itself. It would be very bad just at present to cancel the lease of this house in the interest of bureau reorganization. I have understated rather than over stated the facts. I checked it over yesterday afternoon with the Nuncio and he said the Government looked upon us as <sup>an</sup> insurance policy and an abandonment of this Government owned building would be looked upon <sup>as</sup> meaning something in the nature of ~~#~~ cancellation by the mass of people. He said the Irish are like that. What I have not yet told the Department and what I am only telling you is that I have been exploring the possibility of buying this place. There is an Irish law forbidding the alienation of government property

but there is a likelihood that they will repeal that for us . If you approved this and it could be brought about I would suggest that whoever is the Democratic candidate this summer might get the benefit of the transaction in New York and Massachusetts. A good deal could be made out of it I think with dedication ceremonies and that kind of thing. The Nuncio suggested that if the place is surrendered against the wishes of the Irish Government it might have repercussions among the Irish with us but I should doubt that. Those that tour over here and are entertained are impressed and gratified that we are in the former seat of British tyranny but not the masses.

Don't get the idea that this is a sybaritic abode . Very little has been done to it ~~in~~ since 1765 except some additions. The floors are common stained pine floors, the baths are primitive, it is shabby, and "lived in" but it is a gentleman's house and marvellously adapted either for intimate home life or for throwing open for entertainment. I ~~thi~~ think it could serve for a long time without any expensive repairs.

What endears it to ~~maxixixix~~ Maude and me is its home-like atmosphere like that at Hyde Park; the view of the mountains across the Park meadow and the memories and ghosts that are here. Arthur Balfour was here eight years nearly, James Bryce, Augustine Birrell, George Wyndham, the long succession of English liberals who ruled Ireland on its way to Home Rule. There is a plate in the "Ballroom" (it looks like a nursery playroom) saying that Lord Frederick Cavendish died on this spot. His great nephew Lord Charlie told me this the other day at the races. He's a sweet pathetic drunkard.

Your various recent proclations and announcements have had a big reception here . The DeValeras (both), the Nuncio and Granard are lunching with us Thursday. I wish you were going to be here .Mrs. DeValera is making a great exception to come. Take care of yourself Aff Sm .  
*Sm to all*

### THE DEFENCE OF LIBERTY

IN the Dáil last week, Mr. Oscar Traynor, Minister for Defence, recalled a recent statement by Mr. Cosgrave. Deputy Cosgrave, he said, had stated:

"If the Minister wants to know what my view on the Army situation is, if we are invaded, it is this: the invasion should be resisted and there should be along with the Army the support of every citizen to resist that invasion. We should not follow the example of Denmark." Deputy Cosgrave's view is my view," went on Mr. Traynor, "and it is the view of every member of the Government and of every person who loves liberty and who wants to retain that liberty."

That that has always been the national attitude was not in doubt, but it is valuable that it be stated now in positive terms and that the Opposition leader and the Minister for Defence should make plain to all the mind of the Irish people.

We believe that at last our people are realising what perilous times we live in. Since the war began eight months ago, free nations have fallen literally like nine-pins. Not including Austria or Czechoslovakia, the States which have either wholly or par-

tially lost their independence are Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Estonia, Denmark, Norway.

None felt so secure when the war broke out as Finland. The Finns took no precautions. Yet within a few months this gallant people was fighting desperately for its life against one of the greatest Powers in the world which shamelessly set upon it. Because the people of Finland were united they were able to save most of their territory from conquest. Denmark and Norway preserved their independence during the last war and have known peace for nearly a hundred years. In a single night Denmark had lost everything, her independence overthrown partially from inside. Norway, also betrayed from within, was half overrun before a blow could be struck.

Yet this war is only beginning. It is now clear that it will be a war without scruple, without mercy. Other nations understand that so well that to-day all Holland is standing to arms. The cost of her defence is in the neighbourhood of £40,000,000. In Belgium 650,000 troops are mobilised at enormous cost. In Switzerland there are half-a-million men permanently under arms and the women are preparing to aid them in defence of independence. In Sweden the whole male population between the ages of 16 and 70 have been put under a compulsory labour decree for national defence.

Yet here in the liberated part of Ireland there are public men who, in the Dáil and in the country, cavil at the comparatively tiny yearly sum spent on our defence, a sum which in the nations we have named would hardly last a month. As well, these public men do not hesitate in this time of universal danger to attempt to injure the prestige of the Army and make it the shuttlecock of mean partisan politics. They make A.R.P. a cause for jibing and, in every way they can, try to spread distrust among our people. We trust that the spirit in which Mr. Cosgrave spoke and the tragedies unfolding themselves so near us, when one after another the lights of freedom are being quenched, will soon end this sorry game.

All parties in the State are determined that this shall not be another Denmark. But the corollary of that is that all should work to put the national defence above and outside political controversy and concentrate on teaching our people that these are hours of danger and that to protect the liberty which this community has so dearly purchased, all dissension must be put sternly aside.



LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dublin, April 29, 1940.

*C. J. M.*  
No. 4.

Subject: Legation Residence.

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to state that during my period of instructions in Washington in February 1940, Mr. N. P. Davis, Chief, Division of Foreign Service Administration, informed me that it was intended to combine the chancery of this Legation with the Consulate General offices in  
Merrion

Merrion Square, Dublin, in the interest of efficiency and economy. He stated that instructions would probably be sent to the Legation to give notice to our landlord, the Irish Government, of intention to terminate the lease on the next rent day, which we supposed was May 1, 1940, but which in reality proved to be April 1. Six months after such notice the lease may be surrendered. He also suggested that if I could find a suitable house for a Legation the Department would consider taking it on a ten year lease and furnish it. These suggestions seemed to me wise and ones with which I was personally in sympathy. I told Mr. Davis that though I had not been in Dublin for five years I thought that a suitable Legation residence could be found either in Merrion Square or in St. Stephen's Green or some similar location.

During the first week of the following April I was in London pursuant to the Department's orders and was interviewed by the correspondents of several newspapers. One of these asked me if I knew the Legation in Dublin and stated that my country was fortunate to have so suitable a house. I replied that I knew it slightly but that it was probable that we would combine the offices with the Consulate General in town and give up the residence, in the interest of efficiency and economy. I was under the impression that we were talking off the record but it was undoubtedly my error, as all these news reporters have been extremely scrupulous in their reports.

Upon



Upon my arrival in Dublin on the morning of April 6, I found that the report had been published in Dublin and, as I wrote Mr. N. P. Davis shortly afterwards, something of a teapot tempest had apparently been stirred up. Mr. John MacVeagh, the Chargé, informed me as I got off the ship, that in the absence of specific instructions from the Department, when called upon by local newspapers for comment upon the interview with me in London, he had stated that I must have been misquoted, that it was true that it was the intention of the Department ultimately to consolidate the chancery offices with those of the Consulate General but that he knew nothing of any plan to surrender the lease of the Legation. Later in the day Mr. de Valera received me and both he and the Permanent Secretary for External Affairs, Mr. Walshe, asked me if I had instructions to surrender the lease. To both I replied that I had received no instructions but that Mr. MacVeagh had correctly stated the policy of the Department as to consolidation. I then wrote Mr. N. P. Davis substantially the above statement and informed him that as soon as I could find out the views of the Irish Government I would report. The following seems to be the situation:

It appears that the British High Commissioner, Sir John Maffey, had been trying to find a satisfactory house since his appointment and without success. Upon reading the announcement credited to me in London he at once addressed himself to the Irish Government asking  
permission

permission to take the lease over. Now it appears that the last thing the present Government of Ireland or any future Government conceivable for the next decade wants is to have the British High Commissioner installed in the house formerly the seat of the Chief Secretary for Ireland under the old regime. They feel it would give color to the charge already made by the I. R. A. that Ireland is governed from Westminster. Furthermore, they would greatly prefer not to have to tell this to Sir John Maffey. Consequently they feel that our vacating the premises at this critical time would embarrass them.

I find also that the suggestion of surrendering the lease on the grounds of economy excited surprise and something akin to resentment, - surprise because when the renewal of the lease was effected by my predecessor two years ago he was (so I am informed) told to fix the amount of the rent himself, and resentment because the Irish Government had very recently reconsidered its decision to close its pavilion at the World's Fair at the express request of Mayor la Guardia and Alfred E. Smith and at a cost of fifty thousand pounds which they can ill afford to appropriate. It was on grounds of economy that they had previously decided not to re-open the building.

What I failed to understand when in conference with Mr. N. P. Davis in Washington and what must be difficult for administrative officials in the Department to

to appreciate, is the very unusual position accorded to the American Legation by the Irish Government and the Irish people. Both Government and people profess to believe that their independence would not have been achieved except for our influence exerted in their behalf during the World War. The life of the present head of the Government was undoubtedly saved by American intervention. I find that my predecessor, the Honorable John Cudahy, on these premises established a peculiar relation with the Government and was received almost as an official adviser, that he was invited to express his views with great frankness and was undoubtedly helpful to the Government in an entirely proper manner. Naturally the fact that some twenty millions of American citizens are of Irish blood, that Boston and New York have larger Irish populations than Dublin, that politically these Americans are an important factor in the national life, has much to do with investing the American representative with a special importance which the representatives of other nations are the first to recognize. With these circumstances in mind it is not difficult to understand why the Irish Government should wish to house us in one of their national monuments situated in their great park in juxtaposition to the Vice Regal Lodge in which their President is installed and to the house also nationally owned which is leased to the Papal Nuncio, the permanent dean of the

Diplomatic

Diplomatic Corps. It is the Government's idea of doing us great honor, not merely letting housing to a United States Minister.

What these considerations may be worth as opposed to the advantages of combining the chancery offices with those of the Consulate General if such combination must result in the surrender of the Legation lease, is for the Secretary to decide, but I should be derelict in my duty if I failed strongly to recommend reconsideration of the Department's decision and restudy of this local problem. During the present crisis at least, it would be, in my view and in the view of the Legation and Consulate officers, most unfortunate. Under the terms of the lease, surrender of the premises could not be made before January 1, 1941, by which time my resignation will be in the hands of the next President. I have, therefore, no selfish personal interest in keeping this house on. But as a citizen and tax payer I should feel a serious error of policy had been committed in giving the house up. I should also feel that my successor would be at great disadvantage particularly as war conditions make shipment of household goods so difficult and uncertain and are producing an acute housing shortage in Dublin and vicinity owing to Anglo-Irish people long resident in England returning to neutral Ireland. He would probably be obliged to stay at a hotel, as the Canadian High Commissioner has had to do. The British High Commissioner has only just succeeded  
in

in finding a house for temporary occupation, but he has had to go seven miles out of town.

Until I have made a personal canvass of this situation I am not prepared to say that no house suitable for a Legation could not be found within five or six miles of the City, but I am told that it is unlikely. My first idea of finding a suitable Georgian house in one of the squares, I find impossible. They have practically all been turned into professional offices or "walk up" apartments. The squares have lost their residential character. The residential quarters have moved out practically as far as this house is from town.

While the combination of the offices and the surrender of the Legation house would effect a small economy, I am very positive that it would effect no increase in efficiency. There is practically no diplomatic business conducted through this office. Not one person a month comes to it on such business. There is considerable mail, most of which concerns matters in the province of the Consulate General and is referred thither.

As my predecessor has pointed out to the Department in his report, the business of this Legation is representation of the United States, the cultivation of confidence and friendly relations with the Government of Ireland, and the careful watching of Anglo-Irish relations and their relation to Anglo-American relations

relations. This requires the full time of any Minister in establishing personal relations with the various key men in the Government. I have hopes of being able to inaugurate some new lines of trade, but it is too soon to discuss this.

Please understand this recommendation as applying temporarily to emergency conditions brought about by the war. Later on I hope to report certain facts and views relative to a permanent policy for the housing of this Legation.

Respectfully yours,

David Gray,  
American Minister.

In triplicate.

File No. 124.1

DG/meb