

● PSF

Ireland

1940

CONTINUED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Irland
if*

June 5, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you prepare reply
in answer to his longhand memo-
randum on last page?

F. D. R.

Letter from David Gray to the
President dated May 16, 1940.

*file
personal*

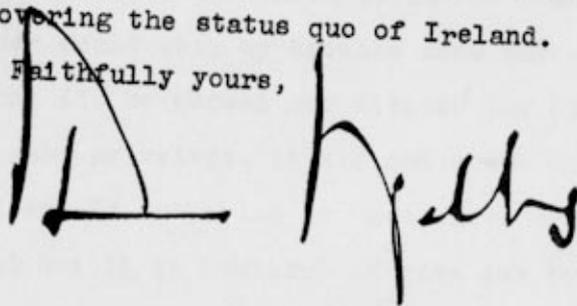
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I am returning herewith Mr. David Gray's letter dated May 16, 1940, together with a draft reply to the longhand memorandum on the last page of his letter. You will recollect that you were consulted on May 21, 1940 regarding what reply should be made to Mr. Gray's telegram of May 18, 1940 concerning a proclamation covering the status quo of Ireland.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

1. Minister Gray's letter of May 16, 1940 returned.
2. Draft.

The President,

The White House.

Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

Eu

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted **6/6**

ADDRESSED TO

The President

Thursday May 16, 1940.

Dear Boss : We heard you on the radio last night giving your message to Congress on emergency preparedness. I think it ^{manner} was generally understood here as the passage ^{to the Allies} urging the Congress to put no obstacle in the way of airplane delivery [^] was emphasized in the Irish newspapers.

At last this Government is waking up to its danger though doing nothing. I had an hours talk this noon with Mr. DeValera . I asked him first if he had any objection to my sending for one of our military attachés from London to inspect the Irish dispositions ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ for protection of air ports in case of a parachute raid in conjunction with the I.R.A. As a diversion it is not unreasonable as with a thousand men they could stir up trouble here for weeks. He said he was afraid that if he showed our attaché the dispositions the Germans might ask the same privelege. It did not occur to him that the Germans already knew them. He is trying to get five or six hundred machine guns in England but it is doubtful if they can be spared just now . The most that could be expected of the Irish army at present is to cope with parachute troops on a small scale and possibly to intercept arms land^d by submarine for the I.R.A. . I commented upon his condemnation last Saturday of the German invasion of Holland and Belgium and asked him if he did not think it got a good reception from Press and Public . He said on the whole yes. He then spoke of your message to Congress printed in the morning papers. He said he was gratified at the reception it got in Congress. He said that a year ago he thought you were going too fast but he now saw that you had been right.

I suggested that the time had come for him to take ⁶⁰ definite a position as you had, that his neutrality was not going to save him and that he had to consider his situation from the viewpoint of assisting in the defeat of Germany. He said that was true but how fast he could go he could not be sure. He was waiting further on events. I asked him if that was not what the low countries and Scandanavia had done to their cost. He said yes but that he had to be very cautious. I asked him if he had not had staff consultations and an agreed upon plan with the Allied Command. He said no that he was afraid to do that not because it would increase the danger of German invasion, but because it would tend to divide public sentiment at home.

I told him that of course he must be the best judge of that but that he must weigh that danger against being caught defenceless. He then told me he had something on his mind that he wanted to talk ~~about~~ confidentially about. He said could I inquire of you whether in view of the fact that Ireland and Irish bases commanded the North Atlantic Trade ~~and~~ routes both by sea and air you could proclaim that the United States was vitally interested in the maintenance of the status quo as regards Ireland. I said, "what you ~~wax~~ would like would be an American guarantee of your independence?" He admitted that it was, but saw that it was out of the question to ask that. He said that if I received a favorable reply to this inquiry he would consult his Dail and ministers and make a formal approach such a pronouncement. He said ~~it~~ would strengthen his leadership ~~xxxxxxxx~~ very greatly. He is frightened by this situation but not prepared to cope with it. His interest even now is in the foundation ~~of~~ of an institute for higher Celtic ~~studies~~ studies. I like him and admire him but he is not the man for a war. He went to America while Collins was making the decisions. The trouble is he has no

slogan, except a "united Ireland" and that is out for the present.

The I.R.A. has the affirmative position, and he is on the defensive as far as popular appeal is concerned. I am spending the week end with Sean T. O'Kelly and the Nuncio at Grandyards and I will find out if there is a chance of the church calling a "holy war". But that would mean abandonment of neutrality. I told him I had made arrangements to see Craigavon next wednesday and asked him if he had any line of compromise in mind, to secure a measure of cooperation at least. His suggestion was that Ulster join them in neutrality and in return he would reaffirm publicly their adherence and loyalty to "external association" with the British Commonwealth. He said he got that expression and conception from Mr. Wilson. I said that from a military viewpoint in the present crisis Britain could not give up control of both sides of the narrows of the Irish Channel, was he prepared to lease the necessary ports. This had not occurred to him. I asked him if he did not think that some concerted action with the north were possible, say a common examination of the situation by a committee of public safety. He said he thought not, that it would be easier to deal direct with Westminister. I asked him if he did not think that the crisis was the time to make progress toward union, that a compromise now might produce results that would otherwise be impossible for years to come assuming the allies won.

If they did not win, Irish freedom was a vanished dream. He agreed in principle but could devise no line of compromise. I fear the common view of him is true that he is incapable of compromise. He has got out on a limb and he is lonely there, but does not know how to get back. We are lunching with the German minister on the 28th

Had interesting talks on the situation with Sean T. O'Kelly, ^{and} With Cosgrave who was there Saturday night, but left when O'Kelly came Sunday noon. He will not speak to either him or DeValera. You can be sure that neither the Government nor Opposition will do anything like stabbing Britain in the back but neither will they go farther than a beneficent neutrality, unless the Germans attack. I am going to Ulster tomorrow to see the powers that be there. It is also arranged that I call on the Cardinal first. I talked to him on the telephone this morning and arranged it through the Nuncio who was with us at Castle Forbes. I have just sent a telegram asking ^{the Vice Consul} to have reasons spoke of as "obvious" for not sending an American ship to either Cobh or Galway explained. There are objections ^{here} to Bantry Bay, as I believe there are no satisfactory tenders and very limited accommodation. ^{But} Shall investigate at once.

J.K. Davis the consul who evacuated ^Nakin and ^{more} recently Warsaw is on the job here and doing it swell. I doubt if there are more than five or six hundred from Ireland proper who will want to go or who will be able to unless they are transported free. ^{we are making an accurate survey}

The McEntees (minister for Commerce) ~~was~~ lunching with us today. Last night we had Desmond Fitzgerald an opposition senator and a member of the Cosgrave Government. These little parties work out very well.

Take care of yourself.

Aff ^{DM}

At the Nuncios an hour ago I had an interesting talk with Father Sylvester rector of the Franciscans at Louvain. The story of his escape was about as bad as could be. They machine gunned and bombed refugees systematically to add to the confusion. We hear this morning that the library at Louvain is burned again. Furor Teutonicus " is at it again.

If you have not already done so, please
give me some sort of answer ^{by cable} to Atkin's
informed request for a proclamation from
you on Irish Status quo.
D.

Dear David:

I have received and read with interest your letter dated May 16, 1940.

The State Department had already taken up with me the question of the status quo of Ireland which was raised in your telegram of May 18, 1940, and I approved the reply which had been prepared there. We had to tell you that it was impossible to take the action which Mr. DeValera suggested, since such a declaration would imply that we were departing from our traditional policy in regard to European affairs and would undoubtedly lead to misunderstanding and confusion in the United States and abroad.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
David Gray,
American Minister,
Dublin.

June 6 1940.

*Personal
Confidential*

My dear Boss :

We got three pouches yesterday, the first home mail in a month. There were two letters from you. I can understand why people "go down the line" for you if you write them letters like that. Two days ago Mr. DeValera ~~xxxxxx~~ asked me to come to see him and as a result I sent the telegram which requested you to give your personal help to Brennan, the Irish Minister in Washington in his effort to get certain equipment. I suggested that if the exact things could not be obtained, might not General Marshall delegate some good man to study the problem and outline an alternative program of materiel based on what was available always remembering that the Irish defense forces must rely upon small arms, guerilla tactics and swift action against invading parties, not giving them time to coordinate.

The general situation as regards morale has improved very much in past week. There is at last a definite leadership apparent. They have rounded up a lot more I.R.A. lads ^(about 600) and last night Aiken about whom a good many of the Opposition had doubts came out strongly and without reservation for defense. The Minister of Agriculture, Ryan also made a strong speech fully reported this morning. I enclose it as typical of what the cabinet are doing. It is only necessary to read the paragraph marked with red pencil. Like all these speeches over here from people used to working "underground" the meat is always in a "tucked in" phrase. The public is used to looking for it.

Here he says " Some people will tell you the invader will come as to help. a friend. A friend does not break into your house at night. He waits till he is invited."

After Mr. DeValera finished talking arms he said insubstance, " What terrifies me is this;" He went to the map and pointed to a spot at the head of Donegal Bay where the Lough Erg extends north of the Border and another point also north of the border fifty miles to the East " I ³ was the "Germans", he said " I would land at these points and proclaim myself a liberator." If they should do that, what I could do, I do not know. " Then he added " Please don't mention that to anybody. It might get around. " I said to him, " I think the people up North ought to know that. Would you want me to go up and tell it to Craigavon also other things pertaining to the situation." He said he would be grateful if I would. I said I would have to think it over and see if I could get a legitimate reason for going, that is to explore the situation ~~wikzrefersmx~~ for my government. I would let him know. I immediately wrote ~~the~~ Abercorn's secretary saying that I was ready to come up to explore the situation in Ulster for my Government if Lord Craigavon would care to see ^{me,} ~~him~~. That I would leave the question of suggesting this to Craigavon, with Abercorn who had been very charming though he is not very bright. This morning comes word that Craigavon would like to see me.

A couple of hours ago Sir John Maffy came here, a half hour ahead of ~~his~~ lunch to talk. His son had been desperately wounded. They thought he was going to die but he is now out of danger and Maffy got back this morning. He told me that Downing Street had sent for Craigavon and had given him merry hell, all but ordering him to make up with DeValera

on my left with Joe Walshe the fenian on her left and we were all very jolly. Can you believe it ?

You would have admired a party that Maude threw Tuesday (This is Thursday) for the German minister, repaying the compliments of the season. Maude by the way gets more to-be-proud-of every week .

I had to get tight to go through with this thing, and toward the end of lunch I said to Mrs. Hempel " These are very tragic times (All northern France just lost) but whatever happens I hope you will always believe that it has been a privilege for me to know you.

" But what could happen ? " she said . Then I couldn't help it. I said, " but suppose my country entered the war. You remember the last war ? " But why should she? she said and her face fell below zero. Later I tried the same gag on Fred Boland assistant Secretary for External Affairs . " But that isn't possible, " he said. " You know as much about it as I do, " I said " but the last Gallup poll shows a change from 35 per cent for giving the allies arms on credit to 51 per cent. " He has been quite a friend of the Germans in the past. The German minister is a very decent fellow and we got off together after lunch.

I said ~~axzoxzkrxskz~~ ~~Mussolini~~ with subtle diplomatic approach " Do you trust Mussolini ? " I think Hitler and he have a complete understanding, " he said . " I hope so for your sake, " I said " but how about Stalin ? " He shrugged his shoulders sadly, and smiled . I said " he is the lad who is going to win the war. Europe will go Bolshivik. " " No, " he said our middle class is already deflated. National socialism is already doing for them all that Bolshivism could promise. Then I said to him, " you missed Bill Bullitt by a hair. You ought to have better marksmanship. " We both laughed in a silly way and he said " wouldn't it have been awful ? " Then we agree that we must be civi (-

ilized what every happens and remain personal friends which I thought was a good idea if the Germans came in here and I was in a coop like John Cudahy .

We got through the Roosevelt embarkation better than I had dared hope and I have been writing ^{personal} letters of appreciation to half the population of Ireland, besides inserting a card in the press. They cut red tape for us right and left or the ship would never have got away. If there is another ^{June} ~~let~~ Joe Kennedy's Klemmer and a number on steamship agent, ^{come over and join me} and we can work out a fool proof piece of staff work. But no more Galway unless reasons that are unknown to us and the Irish Government make it imperative that Cork harbor be not used. At Cobh they have all the facilities and enough water for lighering at any tide. It cost the U.S. Lines the feed and demurrage for ^{thirty six} ~~xxxxxxx~~ hours using Galway, also a little item of thirty pounds insurance for a water boat that they had to borrow. Before you get this, France may be done in and then what? You certainly have done everything ~~xxxxxxx~~ in your power and somewhat beyond your plain authority to avert this disaster . If you could slip in a bit of congratulation to "brave Ireland" for uniting to preserve her Neutrality in some speech or broadcast it would help more than you think.

Friday morning June 7
I got off about ten thirty¹ for Government House, Hillsboro, Ulster and arrived for lunch. There were just the Abercoors and myself and I had a chance to make it clear that I was not trying to butt in on other people's business but that the U.S. was interested in the settlement of the Irish problem and although Craigavon's ministers had told me that they were not interested in a settlement¹ if it was agreeable to him I wanted to hear it

from the premier himself . I also said that if he were to ask me I would give him my impression of things in the south.. The Duke said he understood perfectly my position and was grateful to me for taking a helpful interest, that Craigavon had been to London and was coming at 3.30^{p.m.} to report to him and afterwards would see me. So I went to my room and waited till they sent for me wondering how I was going to talk to a crushed statesman. I decided of course that I could never let on that I knew what had gone on in London. Craigavon is a redfaced, hard bitten fellow of 71, with fishy gray blue eyes set on an angle. He has a pleasant smile for a face cut out of a granite rock . However, I liked him from the start and we got along fine. We talked till tea, that is till five, about an hour, and I never would have known that he had been crushed by the Downing street steam roller . We went over the same ground that I had gone over with Andrews his finance minister. "The Ulster people were a different race, were part of Britain and were not interested in southern Ireland which had been disloyal, had pulled down and burned the Union Jack" . I then told him what the South was doing in absolute good faith. He seemed surprised to hear it and said he was pleased. I asked him what would happen if the Germans landed in Ulster and proclaimed themselves "Liberators" Oh we'll take care of them, he said. I then asked him if he did not think it well to cooperate with the South for the defense of the Island. He said he thought it would be fine but that of course that was a matter for the General Staff in London . He absolutely refused to take any step that would recognize the South in any way, especially from Britain. Finally we had tea with the Abercorns. He has diabetes (Craigavon) and is on a strict diet. He brought out a packet from his pocket that contained a filthy looking piece of diabetic bread and a

slice of plum cake made of diabetic flour. At dinner that night, the speaker of the northern parliament ~~xxxxxxx~~ was present. He is ~~xxxx~~ manager and part owner of a big linen mill. After dinner he talked very freely and ^{he} took a different line. He said that if the south had followed the line that Cosgrave set out on, by this time they would have been in. They could not have kept out. But now union was set back for a generation at least. They could not join with a country that might walk out of the dominion status. I said I thought that stuff was for home consumption, that they wanted very close ties with Britain as long as they had the power to choose and didn't have the relation imposed upon them. He ~~w~~ said that was probably true. Well I got up early next morning and was back at my desk by ten and was greeted with the news that the Washington would be in the end of the week. ^{June 8} I got everything started, talked with Joe's office in London. His good man Klemmer is coming over Tues_{day}. We got off late in the P.M. and went down to Castletownshend for Sunday Maude and I stopped with Admiral Hugh Somerville, brother of Boyle who was murdered. Katherine Crocker stayed at Drishane House with Edith and Cameron. I went to church the next morning. Maude of course ratted, said she had lumbago. Two or three pews in front ^{of me} there was an old man with two red headed sons, Paul and Kendall Chavasse. Paul about ten days ago was in a mine ~~xxxx~~ layer that struck a mine. He was caught in his stateroom and had ~~*~~

no hatting, but much pain & built up labor & power

to dive and swim under water till he got to a companionway. Pretty close thing. The other boy, Kendall had been one of the last to be evacuated from Dunkirk a few days before. They both talked freely about it all, had their tails up and were looking forward to going back. This is Monday June 10. Kendall has just gone over on the night boat to England to reform his batallion. His wife is stopping the night with us, a game girl if ever there was one. These people don't know when they are licked.

An hour ago at nine oclock we heard Duff Cooper announce Mussolini's entrance into the war in a speech that is probably the bitterest speech ever made over the radio. Perhaps at midnight we shall hear something as scathing from you. I don't suppose there ever was quite such a son of a bitch. I shall wait up to hear you at twelve fifteen. Things may move pretty fast now. People at home at last seem to be waking up to the fact that it will be less expensive to do this job while France and Britain are afloat than to do it single handed afterwards. This is tougher than when the Germans were at the gates of Paris in '14 and again in March 18. Well we've all got to keep our tails up.

June 11. I kept awake for the midnight news and then heard you. I could feel the whole ^{June Day, Commemoration} atmosphere of the quadrangle at Charlottesville and hear the cheering. It was very different from what we have here. It was a swell speech. They are afraid here to play up the dagger phrase which was the dramatic note. The Irish Press carries it but in small type and without comment. The Irish Times does not print it and that is the Tory paper. I've got to grapple now with people ~~who want deen.~~

who want to go home in the Washington and have neither money nor a good excuse.

June 12. It looks at present writing as if we were going to embark about 950 people from Galway, Thursday and Friday. We are looking out for some of the things that we slipped up on last time but the fact remains that Galway, at most, has beds for about 700 visitors. This week there are four hundred members of a teachers' convention there and unless we can hold a lot of the Washington passengers back in Dublin and Cork till Thursday and Friday there will be no beds for them. The local steamship people keep insisting that they must get over to Galway because it takes so long to examine luggage and passports, all of which is true. I wanted to have a lot of baggage examined here when it arrives from England and then sent across in bond but I have no authority to insist upon it and nobody takes the suggestion very seriously. They don't care how long Americans mill around in a freight shed with no place to sit down. The local steamship agents are weak brothers. I have just heard from a travelling fireman from Joe's London Emporium that you are the villain in the piece as regards picking Galway. You may have some secret knowledge, otherwise you are all wet on this item. This morning the Belgian minister called upon me to thank me for your remarks upon Il Duce. He is a bit cut up about his king. He has an idea that he ^{the King} talked with Wegand on the 26th May and told him they couldn't hold out and that probably Wegand told him he would bloody well have to. They are people here who criticise Duff Coopers dispassionate comment upon Il Duce. But they are the people who are always defeatist. What Cooper had to do was to buck up his own people and the French. It was a large order for everybody

had his tail down over the French situation. You had to get fighting mad or give up. I think it was a fine speech and a useful one. Cooper and Churchill are keeping things going over here.

This morning I had a talk with Joe Walshe (External Affairs) I ~~had~~ told him in complete detail of my trip to Belfast and suggested ~~th~~ that he and some of the younger men get busy working out in their heads some sort of compromise Union solution of Partition in the case that events ^{suddenly} make cooperation for the duration of the war inevitable. Dev. is sure not to compromise and they have got to put pressure on him from within his own party if they are going to act quick. Then he opened what I had really gone to him to explore but hesitated to suggest. He said, "if by any chance you should come into the war how would ~~that~~ affect us?" "That is just it," I said. "If we did come in we would need ports in the South and West, Cobh and Berehaven at least, also landing fields for transatlantic flights. How about it?" "Well," he said "your coming in would undoubtedly change our position very basically and instantly." Of course he meant with U.S. in, the ^{back} government could take the chance they dare not now take. I am having my picture taken with Dev. on Friday morning for LIFE. They are getting up an Irish number.

The Legation secret service, Mr. James Murphy ^{also doubling as} Legation chauffeur and cow milker tells me that at Government House Ulster the ^{guards} and servants were amazed at the reports he gave of preparations here to resist the foe, "God", they said, "we thought you was going to join the Germans and march up and massacre us all." *This is no joke*

Last night, Maude and I dined with the Meades. He is the leading surgeon in Dublin and the party were all real Dublin Irish Irish ^{our former} save for a couple of square heads (Swede Consul) and wife."

There was the Minister of Commerce McEntee and his huge wife, a ~~sister~~ sister of the famous Father Paddy ~~Broxwn~~ of Meynouth, the afore-said Sweedes, The Provost of the National University, Patrick Rooney esq a leading barrister and a sweet Limerick cutie Mrs. Tommy McLoughlin ^{wife} the engineer of the Shannon works. I haven't laughed like that since we got over here and a lot of damned good talk with all the chaff. You would have loved it. Good food and too much to drink. Well at a dramatic pause, I was called to the telephone. I looked very important because Maude had planted a call so that she could rat ^{out} about nine forty five. I got to the phone expecting Mr. Flynn, our trusty ^{whisper} to ~~say~~ "Its me Flynn. Its quarter to ten" Instead he said. "Liverpool and London has ~~just~~ been calling you. The Washington is torpedoed and the passengers is all in the boats." Till I got home a few minutes later there was quite a state of mind on. Then I had to telephone Maude that there had been some overstatement. ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~Washington~~ ~~was~~ ~~afloat~~ ~~also~~ I went to be ^{about} ^{jolly} thanking God that I could ^{go} with these ^{Anglo} people instead of the horse faced county girls Love to everybody.

Aff *Drink*.

Am going over to Galway tomorrow. The ship is due late tonight.

June 11, 9.a.m. Just heard very serious news. Germans loading 40,000 men in transports in Norway. Unless they are crazy those people are coming here instead of to England.

S. S. WASHINGTON

Captain's Office.

Greeny - June 11 - 1940

Dear Boss: Capt. Manning has been
very interesting about the Grepper incident,
I would advise you to see him. He has
a lot of stuff that he ought to tell you
personally. He will go on if you have
him helped.

Yours,
Dred

THIS OVERSIZE ITEM HAS BEEN
MICROFILMED IN SECTIONS.

"WE CAN DRIVE OUT AN INVADER

Dr. Ryan Tells Why Recruits Are Needed

"WE have no wish to become the Gibraltar of the Atlantic. If a belligerent can gain a strategic advantage with a small force he will be tempted to try it, and that is why our present danger is so great."

said DR. JAMES RYAN, Minister for Agriculture, at an all-party public meeting in New Ross, Co. Wexford, last evening.

"On the other hand, when Powers, even big Powers, are engaged in war they cannot easily spare a large force for a diversion or for a new enterprise," added the Minister. "Our obvious duty, therefore, is to convince the belligerents that no small force will be permitted to gain a foothold in this country.

"We cannot convince those concerned by bluff. We must, and can, make that fact as clear as crystal if we all play our parts."

He (Dr. Ryan) might be wrong. A prospective invader might think a small force enough, or that the venture would justify a large force.

But we should forget the inferiority complex and remember the many generations that fought before us who were never deterred, the sound military advantages that we had now compared to those who fought in the past.

First, we were now united against all comers. Naturally divided on the ordinary economic and internal political questions that arise—but on this big question of national independence we had an extraordinary demonstration of solidarity.

The second great advantage was that we were in possession. For centuries we had been fighting an enemy that

"You Will Have Put Your Life At Your Country's Disposal—"

"THERE is room for a big expansion in the Army," said DR. J. RYAN, Minister for Agriculture, at New Ross, yesterday.

"If you are of military age and physically fit and, above all, if you want to save your country you can join the Regular Army on the usual conditions or join the Regular Army for the duration of this emergency, or join the Volunteers.

"It is a matter for yourself to decide between these three branches, but whichever you choose you will have given as much as any man can give. You will have put your life at the disposal of your country."

had an extraordinary demonstration of solidarity.

The second great advantage was that we were in possession. For centuries we had been fighting an enemy that was established here; we congregated from our civilian homes, ill-equipped and poorly disciplined, to face a regular army. This time we had a well-equipped regular army to face an invader who must fight his way in and bring his supplies with him.

"The next advantage is that we are fighting for our liberty and will, therefore, be prepared to give our lives to the last man rather than surrender," went on the Minister.

The invader, on the other hand, would be fighting for a strategic position and would, he added, measure the sacrifice he was prepared to make against the advantage he hoped to gain. If we made victory too dear for him he would be forced to withdraw.

"We boast that we are a fighting race and, though many a time defeated, we have never been conquered. I think that boast is largely true," said Dr. Ryan, "and, because I think that, I am confident that an invading force will be eventually driven out.

"If we throw our minds back and try to place ourselves in the position of one of the former leaders, such as Owen Roe O'Neill, or rather John Murphy, or Pádraig Pearse, I am sure you will agree that they would have considered themselves fortunate to have the military advantages that we have to-day.

"If we remember how these men faced the enemy with such confidence, and that confidence based on such slender foundations, we should have great heart in our own situation.

"Future generations will look back upon this time, and if an invasion comes—which God forbid—and if we win through—which God grant—they will not say that we were great men or brave men; they will say that we did our duty as Irishmen."

BEWARE OF THESE MEN—

"Now I want to warn you against certain lines of destructive propaganda," went on Dr. Ryan.

"Beware of the defeatist who argues that this small country can never stand up to a mighty invader.

"Many of you remember such types in 1920-21.

"Beware of the slander-monger who tells you that so and so encourages young men to offer their lives while he keeps safely away himself.

"This type is universal.

"Beware of the false patriot who tells you that such a foreign power will come as a friend and not as a foe.

"A friend does not break into your home at night. He waits until he is invited.

"Beware of the buffoon who tells funny stories about our armed forces—he is the sole surviving descendant of the stage Irishman. Beware of the cynic who says this country is not worth fighting for.

will have put your life at the disposal of your country."

"That would be true if we were all cynics.

Danger Real, Immediate

"I have come here to-night to talk to my constituents," Dr. Ryan said at the outset, "because I believe our country is faced with a very serious situation, possibly the most serious that we in our time have seen, and we thought we had faced many critical situations."

This, he went on, was a time for few words and for decisive action. The big Powers, engaged in a bitter struggle for supremacy, on both sides were only too conscious of the fact that the vanquished would be eliminated as a Power for all time. In such circumstances the rights of neutrals or of small nations were not likely to be respected.

"This country may be looked upon by one of the belligerents as a good point from which to attack the other," he said. "It may be looked upon by the other as a menace for that very reason. You will see, therefore, that the danger of invasion is real and immediate.

"If an invader were to come in for a limited time it might be tolerable, but that is not likely. A vital position during war would be equally important to the victors when peace comes.

"Whispering Campaign"

"There is a whispering campaign against this movement. It is said that if you join the Army or join the Local Security Service you will next find yourself in France. This rumour is absolutely malicious and without any foundation in fact. You heard rumours before from the same source," said Dr. Ryan.

"If you join the Army you will have to fight in case of invasion, but I say to you deliberately and without reservation **THAT OUR ARMY CAN ONLY BE USED WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THIS STATE,**" added the Minister.

"You were told in 1938, when we succeeded in getting possession of the ports from Great Britain, that we had committed this country to fight with Britain in case of war," Dr. Ryan stated.

"We denied that and stated our intention of remaining neutral. You were told that this country had not got an independent status and could not remain neutral in case of war.

"All these rumours and all these statements from the same malignant source have proved to be wrong, just as the present rumour will also be proved to be wrong.

"If you join the Local Security Service you cannot be asked to do more

(Continued on Page 8)

June 9th 1944 ^{file}
^{family}

Dear, dear Franklen:

I loved your P.S. & I was
thrilled over your letter.

He tells you everything
& leaves nothing to

me. I keep at them
for defense. Here, I
feel as though

Schwartz Toy Shop
was on display, but

the writing may
accomplish much &
that is what we are
all holding our breath
about. The Puncishas
been ill for 2 weeks, but
is better. Verde Valera makes
a speech in a different
county almost daily.
They realize how serious

^W
This situation is -
How I wish you had
this heavenly spot to
work in. No mice.
It is extraordinary -
Occasionally a little
fly - However the
White House grounds
are beautiful enough

for everyone -

Eternal blessings
& love -

J. M. Mude.

The
President

Monday, the 24th -
Dear, dear Franklin:
David has told you
something, but I
must add that I've
never laughed more
than with Father
Brown to whom
I have never chatted

in what one would
call ^{such} a rough way,
sublim^{so}my. You just
thook as these re-
marks fall from
this 6 ft 5-hand-
some headed Priest.
My love dear always
Maude

Wednesday June 19, 1940.

Irishland
4
E

Dear Boss : This is a lovely , hot afternoon and the Irish are complaining of the heat. We have had three weeks of this weather broken by only one day's rain. There is a "before the battle atmosphere" on. People are settling down to the reality of probable and immanent invasion. It can hardly be doubted that if the Germans attempt a landing on England they will not make an effort via this undefended country with its unmined coastal waters. The great park meadow that I am looking out on is studded with railway ties set in the ground four feet in the air to stop airplane landings and the rattle of machine gun practise comes across from a post a mile away. Sombdy let off an anti-aircraft gun a few minutes ago and I did what I have been putting off for two weeks, that is examine the wine cellar as an air raid shelter . We could retire there with a corkscrew and be very brave.

I have been telegraphing frantically to you for rifles for the volunteers the past few days, first because they are needed here and second because the time may come soon when the most useful thing I can do for you is strongly to urge compromise with Ulster on Mr. DeValera and I want to be thought of as helpful to them and well disposed. The Government needs the rifles even more to establish confidence in its power to obtain them than for actual defense. They had their big Unity Defense meeting Sunday noon on college Green Dublin . College Green is an irregular shaped

plaza between the Bank of Ireland, (the old House of Lords Building) and the iron paling of Trinity College quadrangle. ^{It is an enlargement of} Leinster ~~street~~ street ~~has an enlargement~~ like a stomach into which a colon empties and discharges with a couple of right angle tributaries. There was a big crowd, thirty⁺ forty thousand people and Mr. DeValera^G, Cosgrave and Norton (Labor) all spoke from the same platform. DeValera has definitely stemmed the ebb of his influence by espousing the Defense issue but there was no great enthusiasm for him. People tell me that two years ago the crowd would have cheered itself hoarse before he was allowed to speak. Moderate cheering only on Sunday. They all take the line of demanding preparedness against ~~from~~ ANY invader. No one specified. Privately and confidentially they admit they only fear Germany and are making preparations WITH Britain for Irish defense. In recent talks with DeValera and Sean T. O'Kelly, McEntee and Joe Walshe the permanent foreign secretary I have suggested that if Germany crushes Britain and permits her resurgence as a third class power she will of necessity keep Ireland as a Gibraltar to watch Britain and house a German garrison, also to develop the ports which control the traffic of the Western Atlantic, air and maritime; also as lebenstraum for four or five million German farmers who could very easily increase the productivity of the island about eight times. No one in the Government has differed from this view but of course the man in the street does not visualize it. Accepting this premise the Government can only choose between making such a result less likely by joining up with Britain at once, (or pursuing neutrality without hope that it will be respected) or by joining the and making German occupation more likely Germans. In no one of the ~~old~~ alternatives can she hope to escape being a battlefield.

As you see, it adds up as ~~a little better~~ in favor of throwing

in with Britain with the chance ^{3. that} if England holds off Germany ^{of Ireland}
will preserve ~~the~~ the liberty ^{she} ~~it~~ enjoys ^{has} and very possibly ~~of~~ bringing
partition to a ~~close~~ ^{an end}.

The one thing that would strengthen the government politically
and enable them to ^{overcome} carry the anti-British lag in public sentiment
would be a gesture of at least Military unity for the duration of
the war by Craigavon. He knows that if he made this it cuts the
ground from under his political position as being part of Britain.
DeValera knows it also, and that is why he would accept it as an
entering wedge. When I was up at Government house in Ulster on
June 7 and 8 and saw Craigavon, as I wrote you, I became satisfied
that he intended to do nothing or learn nothing. He was the perfect
Bourbon but very pleasant. A week later I wrote the enclosed letter
as a bread and butter letter to the Duke of Abercorn. I doubt if
Abercorn quite grasps what is going on in the world but he is a very
nice fellow and was very kind to me. The situation was drifting
so fast and in such a bad direction down here-- I mean ~~by~~ that
up till that time, no very definite stand in regard to ^{defense had been taken}
although the National Defense council had been ~~formed~~ formed from the
three parties) that I took the chance. I showed it to Sir John
Maffy and he advised me to send it and asked for a copy to send to
Downing street. After all, if it does no good it can do no harm
except to Gray and somebody has got to speak out in meeting.
Maffy who in some ways is better informed than I am, agrees 100
per cent with the view I have unfolded. I had a talk with him
this morning inquiring whether Downing Street had followed up the
^{handing out of} ~~talking to~~ Craigavon he had reported to me a week before. He said
no. He was convinced now that Caldicott in the Colonial Office and

^ would only go on talking and would do nothing; that he Maffy would have to go over their heads to Churchill but he wondered if some one could not give him a tentative unbinding draft of the present South's ideas as to Ulster ^{with} maximum and minimum. Well it happened that last night James Dillon was here to dinner and told me that he had shown DeValera exactly such a draft that very afternoon and had offered to be the goat and sponsor it if DeValera said the word. He is coming to dine again tonight and we will go over it. We fixed it up last week but it seemed to me that it was not the time to trot it out, better wait till the North made an advance. Of course if DeValera approves the idea I shall have nothing to do with it unless he asks me personally to transmit it to Maffy as a kite .

I lunched and played Golf with Maffy Sunday after attending the mass meeting . Saturday we had a very jolly lunch at the McEntees (minister of Commerce) at which Sean T. O'Kelly and Mrs. P.J. Rutledge were present also Mrs. McEntee's brother the famous Rev. Dr. Paddy Brown, Prof. of Math. at Meynouth. Father Brown so seduced your grat Aunt that he appeared Sunday morning at eleven to confess Marjorie Leslie ^(stopping with us) from the sin of communicating with her newly ^{killed} son Jack . Then he went to the mass meeting where I left him only to find him when I returned about six with Maffy. He is now a fixture and how you would like him! Playing golf at Portmarnock I said to Maffy (The news of the French debacle had just come) I feel ashamed having a country and a safe home just now with all you fellows as you are."

"That is very good of you to say that," he said . We've seen all these Russians homeless and working at menial jobs. I may be trundling a barrow myself . It isn't easy when you have been a proconsul and

are old and thinking of retirement and a pension. " He told me the story of the Prince of Wales (Windsor) when he came to Peshawar when Maffy was Governor or Resident . The Prince bawled him out because the situation being bad they were hurrying him about along the surface of things, which he didn't like. And then Maffy who knew his father well, handed him a few home truths which the Prince did not like at all. Maffy said for several years afterwards, whenever they met, Edward was sullen and resentful till one day he came up to him held out his hand and said I think you were right about that show at Peshawar and I was wrong. " The usual story that the Prince slipped out and went alone ~~or with one equerry~~ to the bazaar and that on returning Maffy threatened to put him ~~in~~ in arrest if he did not give his word not to do it again, Maffy said was not true. *(his name)* *newspaper Columnist on the Express.*

(Later in the P.M.) "Castlerosse" has just left with a pint of scotch under his ninety inch belt. He left one good one. A Scotchman was talking with an Australian and trying to impress him with the fact that he was a Scotchman. "Have you got many Scotchmen in Australia he asked. " Oh yes," said the Australian but our trouble is rabbits! " With the world tumbling down we need a few laughs. Castlerosse talking of air plane production said Lord Nuffield had been the ~~Recent~~ Nuffield claimed ~~latter~~ devil in the plot. He said [^] he could do all these things like Henry Ford says he can do ~~them~~ and then he didn't. He said his boss Beaverbrook had doubled production since he went in. Dillon dined here again last night and tells me that DeValera does not want him to make any trial proposition to Ulster so I shall have to get hold of Maffy and tell him it is all off. It is heartbreaking when so much depends on making this island impregnable ~~to~~ to have petty jealousies and hates making a united stand impossible.

June 22. The drought was broken last night by rain. Yesterday I got a letter from Abercorn thanking me for mine (the enclosed) and adding that as I had not marked my letter private he had sent it on to Craigavon. So far so good. In the past week there have been two resignations of parliamentary secretaries in the Ulster Govt. in protest against Craigavon's ineffective defense measures. Just what it means I don't know but it is probably ^{a part} a movement for an understanding with the South. A message came from Mr. DeValera at noon today asking me if I could come to his office at 3.30 p.m. He looked ^{white} very and drawn and was off later in the day to address meetings at Tralee and elsewhere. He asked me what I thought of the American situation and whether I had any late and special news. I said I thought our position was that of being morally at war with Germany now, that if Germany had the power she would treat us as an enemy and destroy us, that the new cabinet appointments were exactly as you stated them to be, an evidence of the country's increasing solidarity for defense but that it was evident that the fact that they were both announced interventionists was significant. I said that neither Stimson nor Knox could have taken this step except after consultation with other Republican leaders and that personally I could only regard it as step toward more active assistance to the allied cause in the interest of American defense.

I told him I thought he was doing everything he could do and doing it very well and asked him if any word had come from Craigavon. He said no. I said "If I were you I would sit tight and wait for it, but when it comes I think you would do well to make compromises and meet them more than half way

way. He ~~v~~ said, there is only one solution of this thing and that is for the North to join us in our neutrality until we are invaded. We could be more useful that way."

I aid that I still thought that was absolutely out of the question, that Britain must control the narrows on both sides and have access to the ports. (I should have asked him how a portion of a country at war undeclares itself and becomes neutral. ~~wixxwixt~~ whether this can be done without the consent of the enemy) He asked me ~~thxxx~~ whether if Ulster joined the South in neutrality the United States could not ^{combined} guarentee ~~thur~~ neutrality. I told ~~h~~ him that the Secretary of State's reply to his inquiry as to the possibility of guarenteeing Eire's ^{status quo} ~~neutrality~~ would in my opinion be the answer to a new inquiry ^{namely} that it was impossible . I told him him that in my thinking about the situation ^{as if I were an Irishman} I always had to come back to the proposition that if England went down Ireland would of a certainty be occupied as a citadel guarding her and controlling the Atlantic. He said years ago Ireland's neutrality should have been guarenteed for that very reason . When President Wilson was talking about the Freedom of the Seas, Ireland should have been the Switzerland of the proposition . I said "look at Switzerland now."

He said of course ~~is~~ if America came in it would alter our ^{situation} over night but as it is I can't throw in with B_ritain now. We have no arms. I cant ask ~~thxxx~~ unarmed me, to face an enemy in coats of mail even if I were sure the people would follow me . I said per-
now
haps if you would throw in ^{now} England would share her arms with you. Why doesn't she do it now ? he asked . When the Germans land he went on they are going to announce themselves as liberators and call on us to help them free Ulster. " I couldn't say that I did

not think this was ~~not~~ so. Instead I said I think you are doing everything that can be done at present. I haven't met a single person of any school of political opinion who does not applaud you and say that you are the only man for this terrible job. Of course I do not know it officially and I never mention it to any one but I know you have complete understanding with Britain about sending powerful assistance the moment you are attacked and what more can you do at the moment? They ought to let us have anti-tank guns for one thing he said. A few tanks if landed Wicklow way ~~xxxx~~ or on the West could roam about Ireland unmolested except by land mines and it would only be a chance that we could mine the right roads. I said England must shortly be putting a strong motorized force into Ulster with tanks enough to cope with anything but a major expeditionary force. He thought that was likely. I then asked him if he had received the message that came to me from Under Secretary Welles yesterday and ^{of} which I had transmitted a ~~transposition~~ ^{transmission} at once to the Permanent Secretary for External Affairs. He said no and seemed very relieved and pleased when I told him that he would get in part at least what he had asked for, thanks to your intervention. I am writing Sumner that anything that we can do just now to put him under obligations to us will help very much when this Ulster situation comes to a head as it is very likely to do soon. If he balks at a reasonable compromise which will save Ulster's face we'll have to tell him that American public opinion will not stand for it, that the left wing I.R.A. which ^{he} used to ^{rely on} put American political pressure on, in his behalf is now denouncing him as having sold out to Britain and besides that, is discredited with us, as allied with ~~xxxx~~ Nazi Fifth Columnists,

that while we have twenty million Catholics we have forty million straight fundamentalists, Methodists and Baptists who are well organized politically and who are inclined to sympathize with Ulster if coerced, especially ~~xxxxxxx~~ now, when American sympathy is turning in favor of England. I am working on the draft of a memorandum on this line which if the emergency arose I could pass on to him in the form of ^a friendly suggestion of what might be the American reaction. His mind works in queer ways but I like him the more I see him and we are getting used to each other. When I left him today, I told him he must get some diversion, something to take his mind off this problem. I asked him if he had anyone to read to him. "I'm all right," he said, "my work is a diversion." He told me one other thing. He said Dublin had no defense but could not be proclaimed an open town because the government offices could not well be moved nor the barracks which are all around it. He thinks England is due for a tremendous air attack not by hundreds of planes but by thousands. He is probably right. I told him of the ^{Irish} farmer who ^{accidentally} when asked what he thought of things said "I'd like to see England NEARLY bate." He laughed and said, "that's it. NEARLY. But that has never been my idea. As soon as I was confident that they were going to let us alone I have wanted a very strong England."

bright
It is bright here this week till nearly eleven. When I take late walks around the little park and look over into the sunken ^{the the} ditch outside I see things which are not for your ears and which cause me to slink into the bushes to hide my blushes ^{and regrets}. Nature seems to be much the same here as elsewhere.

Yesterday which was Sunday June 23 I put in a day with Father Browne. He came to lunch, then we played golf and came back for supper. He is the close friend of Sean T. O'Kelly, ^{and} brother of Mrs. McEntee whose husband is Secretary of Industry and Commerce ~~and~~. He is pretty well in the know and gave me the low down on the cabinet situation. I asked him if he didn't think a gesture of friendliness and help from the North was the most important thing at present to hold the south in line with the bad French news. He said yes. Maffy telephoned me just as I was about to telephone him. He stopped in on his way down town. I told him ten days had passed since I had written Abercorn and that it might now be two late, but had anything been done up there. ^{in Ulster?} He thereupon took me into his confidence and told me things that I had better not put down on paper but which you could probably get from Lothian if you asked for them. Generally the idea was that they had been working hard on DeValera but had not yet got him to recede from his position of neutrality; ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~rightxxxxxxxx~~ that they were afraid that if Ulster made gestures now it would be looked upon as a palpable trap to get them into the war here. That of course is all so but undercover stuff gets nowhere in bucking up the morale in the South. I finally made this suggestion. Let some one important in Ulster say, "We respect your neutrality. We hope you can stay out of it but if you are invaded ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in spite of our political differences we are all Irishmen and we will back you up to the last man and last gun." Let them see how that goes. What Maffy is chiefly concerned about is the possibility of intensified Submarineⁿ war making the need of a protected port essential in Southern Ireland. I warned him again

11.

against forcible action on the score of its effect upon American opinion and the opportunity it would give enemies of Britain to score. He asked me if I could think of some way ⁿ _A approaching this. Thus far I can't. I wish I had your head for these things.

Maude has the Nuncio and his secretary to lunch today, with Beatrice Granard, Lady Powerscourt, the Frank McDermots, ^a _A Grandard's brother and sister. I wish you were here.

This is Tuesday Morning June 25 and the pouch is to be closed shortly. We are expecting any outward bound mail may be the last for an indefinite period. To me it seems possible that the major German landing might be made here, though the difficulty of ~~petrol~~ petrol supplies would be a serious one. The whole of Ireland uses just about the stock used by the London Bus Company.

I enclose a postal item which you may not have.

We had supper last night with a doctor Collis interested in ~~xxxxx~~ Dublin slum clearance and housing. There was a charming Jesuit priest as the other guest. He told this one: An Englishman was watching the annual football game in Ulster between Linfield, the Orange institution and ~~the~~ The Celtics the great Catholic team. He applauded ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{good plays} impartially. A dour Orangeman observed him and asked? "Are Ye for Linfield?" "No" said the Englishman. Are Ye for Celtics? "No." "I'm just applauding the good plays." "Then Ye must be a bloody Atheist."

Love to you all in which Maude joins.

Aff

DM

2 photos, filed:

Ireland, Dublin

US Legation 1940

Px 61-370(1-2)

Dublin, June 14, 1940.

Dear Abercorn:

It is impossible to obey your injunction not to thank you for your hospitality and it is especially impossible not to thank you for the large measure of confidence you have accorded me.

As I told you, my position has been that of exploring first hand the attitude of Northern Ireland toward Partition and my warrant for it has been the substantial interest of my Government in some final settlement of what is called the Irish Question. Beyond this and without instructions from my Government my personal concern over the situation has led me to attempt to convey to you and Lord Craigavon my impression of the unquestionable good faith of the Government of Eire in preparing to meet the present emergency. It is of course obvious to you as to me that without the closest military cooperation and without mutual trust and good will the defense of this Island would be impossible.

My personal habit of belief and hope are in cooperation everywhere. I should like to see the whole

His Grace
The Duke of Abercorn,
Governor of Northern Ireland,
Government House,
Hillsborough, Northern Ireland.

whole thirty-two counties of Ireland united by free choice. I should like to see this united Ireland bound by free choice to Great Britain. I should like to see the two Islands in the same way united with the British Commonwealth of Nations, and I should like to see all the Democracies of the Western Hemisphere partners in this same enterprise. I am a unionist on a large scale because I see no other way in which christian democratic civilization may hope to survive.

On this fourteenth day of June the situation is already critical if not desperate. As I see it there are two possibilities: one that Britain fights on alone; the other that Britain and a remnant of France fight on with the assistance of the United States. If the United States should intervene and the outcome be the defeat of Germany I think it a fair assumption that the United States would hope for a permanent solution of the Irish Question which apparently is some solution of Partition. If the United States does not intervene it would of course have no say in the matter. In the case that Britain fights on alone, more than ever the need for military cooperation and united action seems to me to be imperative. You of course personally will understand that the difficulties of the Government of Eire increase with each successive disaster to the allied arms. There are evidences that the Nationalists on your side of the border are resentful of the Government's

attitude

attitude here and will exert increasing pressure on it.

Middle of the road opinion always drifts toward the victor and fears to back a losing horse. If this situation be allowed to drift, even for another week, in my opinion it will very likely be too late to do anything. In my opinion, unless at the least some immediate and striking gesture is made by Lord Craigavon in the direction of Geographical Unity for the purpose of Island defense the consequences will be grave. I believe his apprehension of such a step as involving him in the political surrender of his position to be justified, but I fear the choice that confronts him is between that and a break down of Irish defense with the consequence of opening Britain to attack from the rear, which might well prove fatal.

Forgive me for writing so frankly, but I am very apprehensive. Every day, every hour counts. You must weld this Island opinion into a mind devoted to repelling the invader or go down.

God grant that wisdom and mutual forbearance will prevail.

Faithfully yours,

June 19, 1940

Dear David:

I have read with great interest your personal and confidential letter of May 31 regarding the situation in Ireland and giving your estimate of possible future developments there.

x218
x218-A

When you suggested in your letter that if I "could hit on a message it would be a great help" I wonder if you did not have in mind something along the lines of my subsequent speech at Charlottesville, Virginia, on June 10.

I well realize that owing to lack of facilities you have had to work under great handicaps in the embarkation of our people from Ireland and I am grateful to you for an efficient job under difficult circumstances. As regards the fares charged for the passage there is no truth to the statement quoted in your letter that they were fixed by the State Department. The rates were established by the Steamship Company and while they may seem extremely high in comparison with peacetime fares it has to be remembered that the ship which was sent over carried neither passengers nor cargo on its outward voyage and no cargo on the return trip. There were also certain extraordinary expenses in the form of increased insurance, extra wages for the crew, etc. I am glad that we have been able to get these people home under any circumstances.

I understand that the State Department has been very favorably impressed by the manner in which you have been keeping them informed on all developments in Ireland.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

x6. State
x99
x463-6

The Honorable
David Gray, x3904
American Minister, x117454
Dublin.

Original sent to State for delivery
Lms

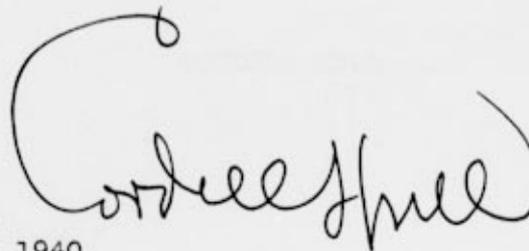
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 19, 1940.

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to your memorandum of June 12, 1940 transmitting a letter from Mr. David Gray, American Minister to Ireland, I transmit herewith the draft of a letter which you may wish to send to Mr. Gray in reply. Mr. Gray's letter to you is returned herewith.

Faithfully yours,

A large, handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Cordell Hull". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the "Enclosures" list.

Enclosures:

1. From Mr. Gray dated May 31, 1940.
2. Draft of reply.

The President,

The White House.

June 19, 1940.

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to your memorandum of June 12, 1940 transmitting a letter from Mr. David Gray, American Minister to Ireland, I transmit herewith the draft of a letter which you may wish to send to Mr. Gray in reply. Mr. Gray's letter to you is returned herewith.

Faithfully yours,

CORDELL HULL

Enclosures:

1. From Mr. Gray
dated May 31, 1940.
2. Draft of reply.

The President,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE *ly* _{x20}

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Gray

Letter from "David", U.S. Legation, Dublin,
Ireland, 5/31/40 to the President, in re
European War.

Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

Eu

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 6/14/40

ADDRESSED TO

The President.

U.S. Legation Dublin

May 31 1940.

My dear Boss :

Things are getting pretty tough . I have put most of the latest phase of things in two dispatches ^{to} to the Secretary.

The important thing however of which I dare not write except most ~~xxx~~ confidentially is the possibility of events shaping so that the British have to occupy Berehaven to combat the submarine menace when it starts up again. After the Roosevelt comes in tomorrow , and the assumption is fair that I have received instructions from the

Secretary of state I am going to ask to be informed what the Irish Government will do in the event, that due to submarine warfare

Britain is obliged to cancel Irish allotments of coal, grain, petrol and other staples which have been very generously made thus far.

What in the event of an appeal to the ^{same} good faith shown by the British in giving up the ports two years ago, and their understanding that in the event of ~~in the~~ danger, assistance would be rendered ~~they intend to do~~ . I wish you

would let this be working in your mind. If you could hit on a message it would be a great help. If the Irish American Church in America could send some message that appealed to Ireland to aid ~~in~~ Democracy it would be a ~~great~~ great help. I have been talking very intimately with James Dillon ,

Cosgrave's lieutenant who is on the new National Council of Safety.

He is for throwing in with Britain at once as the lesser of two dangers,

He believes Ireland will become the battle field if the Irish ~~cannot~~ cannot keep the Germans from making a landing. I don't think they can

stop them, unless they intend merely a strategic diversion with a small column. The situation needs drum beating and a slogan . Perhaps

DeValera will hit on it . It is not impossible that if he holds back

The Opposition will carry his representatives on the Council with

them and will take over for the duration of hostilities as they did in the Black and Tan times and later in the civil war. He lacks the quick decisions for emergency.

Later. I have just had a talk with James Dillon who came here for tea. He tells me in confidence that yesterday he withheld his proposal ^{from the full Council for National Defence} for immediate arrangements with Britain ^f fearing that it would shock the Government representatives though endorsed by his own two associates, but demanded and got an interview with the premier and read him the whole proposition. To his surprise Mr. DeValera said he agreed with it in toto but feared that it would be a mistake to publish it as a policy at the moment. The Irish people were not prepared for it. Pressed by Dillon as to whether staff talks with England had been held he said no, that if it got out the People would not stand for it. (He told me the same thing ten days ago) but he added to Dillon very secretly that if an invasion started there was an understanding with Britain for immediate aid. So there you are.

I can tell no one this but you .

We lunched with the Germans last Tuesday. They come to us this coming Tuesday. Hempel and his wife are quite nice people but he has a bastard of a secretary . Maude is doing grand. I don't know when I shall get another mail for you. We have had no pouch for over three weeks . This embarkation on the Roosevelt has been a bungle for which I must take my share of blame. Nothing foreseen, no staff work on the part of the steamship company and we with no power. Next time I am going to get it all worked out before hand to the last detail. One thing I am not responsible for and about which I have repeatedly warned the Department and that is the repercussions that will come from charging the same price for cots in the hold as for

3.

cots in the living rooms. The United Press representative in London tells me that the Company's agents there have been telling complaining passengers that the fares were established by the State Department and that they can do nothing about them. I have protested to the company very violently over the injustice of charging the same price for two standards of accomodation but got no satisfaction. They will get some advrse advertising. I am insisting on a personal check by our consuls of the Captains' report on life saving appartus. We are working in conjunction with the Irish Government's survey officer . I shall refuse to allow the issue of the emergency certificate unless there is full equipment of life rafts and life preservers to supplement the deficiency in life boat capacity . I don't want to get caught on that score if there should be an accident.

Ourlove to Eleanor and all the family. My best to Missy.

Aff *DM*

If we are caught in a war we have plenty of Irish Jameson but no soap.

Dont ever let them use the port of Galway again while Cobh is available . The congestion there is very bad, due to the fact that the tenders can only get over the bar ~~xx~~ one trip every twelve hours . It may be nearer America but the time lost in embarkation will make up for that and the discomfort of the passengers is much greater owing to the lack of facilities. The steamship people insist on people spending one or two nights there (and quite properly) in order to get the baggage examined properly and the paper work done.

D .

Friday June 28, 1940

*file
personal*

Dear Boss:

Yesterday was quite a day. Sir John Maffy arrived early on his way to his office and finally said he had been authorized by this government to take me into his confidence and tell me that a proposal for a complete ending of partition had been made to the Irish Government in return for the ending of neutrality. He said that it had been communicated to Joe and that Joe had passed it on to you. He was hoping that I could see my way clear to see DeValera who was supposed to be discussing the matter in full cabinet. I told him that I would have to wait for instructions from you or the Department but that I would ask for instructions,

I therefore sent a telegram secret and confidential saying in effect "I have been privately informed of a situation of which I believe you have been informed by London. Shall I inquire attitude of Irish Government? Believe it advisable to make inquiry before decision is taken". Then I called Joe and asked him if he had transmitted a certain proposal yesterday to you. He said he had and suggested that I do nothing till I heard from you.

~~Exdsnxzxxvryzmxzixifzixhx~~ No answer has thus far come (12.30) p.m Friday.

I told Maffy that I thought it a mistake to go at it in this way that in my opinion there should have been gestures preliminary of good will from Ulster and a preparation in the press of some sort of emergency program which would get the South committed

and then lead to the inevitable precaution^{of} getting ready together whether it violated neutrality or not. The move^{of} the British has taken in promising a complete and immediate ending of partition. I am afraid now will look like a trap. A month ago the Opposition^(Dillon) told me such a move would have been jumped at by DeValera but it was not then considered^{by Dunning etc.} And yet it is a wonderful thing for this government if they had the guts to accept it and I believe with the right kind of leadership they could put it over. They naturally feel very timid these days and wishfully think that by ~~not~~ not plumping with England they are going to make their lot easier in the event of a German crushing victory. I enclose that a memorandum which works out the argument^{that} keeps running in my head and which a good many of the more intelligent Irishmen assent to.

Granard came to lunch and was very chatty. He had just come back from a few days in England. He agreed with me that his ~~last~~ kind over here were dumbells and were only getting what was ~~the~~ coming to them.

At three o'clock I had another lunch with the Papal Nuncio to meet the Cardinal Primate McRory. There was also the Italian Minister Berardis, Sean T. O'Kelly and the Nuncio's secretary Monsignore Smethy. I got along fine with the Cardinal who is a spry little man. We agreed that Irish Whiskey was the noblest work of man and the a very desirable gift of God. There was an awful lot to eat which after my number 1, lunch I couldn't cope with, so I had all my time for drinking with the Cardinal Primate. Berardis who sat opposite me began explaining in his almost incomprehensible but fluent French what the Mediterranean system required and how the British never would understand it. Then I turned to the Card-

inal again ~~and~~ with my stock opening," We need a little more Christianity; don't you think so?" and then if that is so and you believe in conciliation why are harping on the wrongs of partition? [In his address at Weymouth the day before, he had got loose on that line ^{and} had to be soft pedalled by the Government.] The banquet became more and more like ^{an} Oppenheim stage diplomatic function with Berardis holding his hand before his face (so I could ^{at} hear,) in stage whispers telling Sean T. O'Kelly that he must ^{not} be beguiled by the British and Sean T. understanding very little of it but saying "oui", "oui" at intervals and looking sourer and sourer. And the dear old Nuncio at the head of the table like an old bird with a parrot's eye smiling benignly and missing nothing. Along about six the primate was ready to leave and I took him down town to his hotel. In the car I said, "You feel partition to be the great crime against Ireland. What ~~compromise~~ price should Eire pay to end it if they had a chance?" "No price at all," he shot back. "It is ours by right." "What are you going to do with eight hundred thousand black protestants?" I said, "if you try to coerce them." "I don't know," he said. "Don't you think that's got to be thought out?" I said. "I wasn't joking." I went on, "about what you said yesterday at Weymouth. I don't know any of the details but it is clear ~~that~~ that North and South are trying to reach an understanding and everybody that stirs up feeling is going to make it harder." He agreed that if that were so the less said the better. He promised to come to lunch with us the next time he came down to Dublin. *He's a light weight but nice.*

Friday, Maffy showed me the draft of the original proposition made by Malcolm McDonald for the Cabinet to DeValera. It guaranteed the whole works lock stock and barrel, proving ^{di} for the

~~immediate settlement~~

immediate setting up of a commission to draft a new all Ireland Constitution but insisting on a declaration of War by Eire. DeValera countered with his favorite proposal that Ulster ~~should~~ should withdraw from the war and become neutral, though how this could be done he did not say. Chamberlin who is directing the negotiation for the Cabinet came back, waiving the war declaration and proposing that Eire goes ahead and arms with British arms (which as a matter of fact they are already doing), invite English troops to come in and put ~~zingz~~ the ports at the disposal of the allies.

He further guaranteed the consent of the North to Union, though this morning ~~Strixavon~~ (Sunday June 30) the papers carry a proposal made yesterday by Craigavon in which he says he will never consent to political union though willing to combine for military ends. He doesn't realize what they are intending behind his back, yet my own hunch is that if DeValera pushes them too hard, Churchill will say to hell with you. That was why I felt it might be a good thing to let DeValera know you knew of the offer at once. However, the more I think of it the more I think it is better to wait a bit, and not give the impression that we helping Britain to get them into a trap. They have got to see and feel for themselves that nothing is going to save them if Britain goes down. McEntee (Industry and ~~Labour~~ Commerce) made a speech to that effect last night but he is not taken into the conference. DeValera had with him Aiken and Lemass only. Lemass is reputed to be clever but in debt to bookmakers with the possibility of scandal breaking on him (which I don't think Dev. knows) Aiken, as I wrote you has been suspect as a Fifth Columnist but on the best authority I can get this is untrue. But I wrote you last week that ~~Father~~

an important priest that I know, characterized him as a "dud" ~~xxxxx~~
 Apparently the premier never let them talk in meeting. Once or
 twice Lemass began to show interest and was hushed. Before this
 reaches you (It will go by the Washington about July 7) the
 situation may have crystalized. Of course if Eire is attacked be-
 fore the negotiation is broken off DeValera will take the British
 offer if it is still open, as probably it will be. If they should
 crush Britain without attacking Eire he will look on if he can.
 You cannot blame him for thinking that he will fare better if
 he doesn't dip in. In all this it must always be remembered that
 while the Government wants Britain to win there are enough people
~~whoxhxxvzxxkx~~ whose hatred of Britain has been kept alive by the
 present regime for political advantage to make it difficult for
 the Government to throw in with Britain before being attacked by
 Germany. Of course the Germans must have made the Government
 promises but what they are I haven't been able yet to find out. If
 I ever find out it will be by not asking questions.

The news of Wilkie's nomination was a great surprise to us. If
 foreign policy can be barred I should think he would be very
 vulnerable as a candidate. The history of the Commonwealth and Sou-
 thern set-up even though Wilkie was not then associated with it, is
 pretty bad and puts him on the defensive from the start. Looking at
 it from here I don't see how you can help from running but we
 hate to have you stand this grief for another four years.

Yesterday, the little brown brother popped up with ~~xx~~ hon. request
 to call on Hon Excellency. It proved to be Hon. "Setsuya Beppu,
 consul of Japan, Liverpool" according to calling card. He is
 moving over here and echo inquires why Eire at this time.

I told him how happy I had been in his beautiful country in 1902 and again in 1927. I asked him if he were interested in religion which is I find a good subject, and we discussed Shinto and then Bushido . I told him I had made a speech at a dinner of the Harvard Club in Tokio in 1902 and had said that I couldn't understand why Japan wanted to adopt western industrialism when they had a civilization which provided what we were hoping to attain to, through socialism, no one rich , no one poor, fine manners and general happiness. I said Baron Kaneko presided but no one made any comment on my oration. He then said ^(now count) Baron Kaneko was still ^{recent} alive aged 87, and made a speech at Mr. Beppu's wedding. The subject was a visit to Sagamore Hill and seeing "Aunt Edith" knitting and surrounded by the children. He admired it. It was his idea of womanhood, woman in the home. ^{Mr Beppu} ~~He~~ doctored his ^{first cup of} tea with sugar ^{the second cup} and lemon and then found it was pretty good China tea and took it straight the way I do. We'll keep an eye on Hon, Beppu . There used to be an Englishman who acted as Japanese consular agent here but I think they have never had any Japanese representation . I don't think there is any business here with Japan.

Early last week Erskine Childers (jr) the youngest member of the Dail and a member of Fianna Fail came to see me to discuss Irish-American trade . I told him that I had already urged on McEntee the development of exports of ground peat (the Germans used to have the market) and hand made tweeds and the popularization of Irish Whisky in U.S.A. also the luxury market for Irish bacon. I said there was a lot of talk about all these things but they were never pushed. He said unfortunately that was so , that he couldn't get Irish exporters to combine and spend money in exporting and

marketing in U.S. He was very discouraged about Irish economics, said ~~that~~ the new industries were not succeeding with a few exceptions ^{He said} (and this was significant) Irish wealth is indicated ^{in the cattle census} in the ^{live stock} cattle census. It has not changed but a few percent since 1913. This means the national income has not materially changed. Yet since his party went in the national debt has been raised from 30,000,000 pounds to 70,000,000. and the national budget from about ^{ten} ~~ten~~ to over thirty. This works out per capita for federal debt as opposed to local debt of about ^{£ 23+7-0 per capita, say \$ 94.} ~~ten dollars less for~~

~~Ireland~~. The Sweep ~~business~~ with the income from English securities plus pensions and remittances of American and ^{British} origin compensated for the adverse trade balance but now the sweep income is out. He thought they ought to make an American loan for purchase in America of essential commodities. I told him that was fine and that no doubt the ^{First} National of New York would arrange it but if they made it now the pound would go down and they would have a bad time repaying a dollar loan and they probably would not be able to make a pound loan, ~~and if they did not make it now~~ ^{if they got into war} they could make no loan at all unless there was new ^{U.S.} legislation. With all you have on you this prattle ~~must~~ must seem childish but you've asked for it. Later --- Sean T. O'Kelley and his wife came to lunch without a party and it was very jolly. She is a chemist and has a government job, does the water analysing. Maude asked her ~~if she would~~ "Will you analyse my water?" meaning the Legation well in case the city water supply was stopped. Then Sean T. told this one: A Dublin white woman produced a black baby. "Well," she says to ^{her} husband "This is what comes of you drinking all that dirty black Guinness stout."

You can't realize what a help Maude is in getting the confidence of these government wives most of whom have a certain social inferiority complex and it is hopeless to expect to be trusted if the women are doubtful of you. After lunch I had a private talk with O'Kelly and he told me what the British proposals were substantially as I had read them in Chamberlain's memorandum. He felt that the British Government without meaning to deceive would find that they could not implement their promises just as in '14 and again in '16. The Irish Government must reject the proposals and accept only an accomplished fact of union before abandoning neutrality. Craigavon in the morning paper is quoted as saying that while he will accept island ^{military} unity for the duration of the war will not be a party to any infringement of the constitution. O'Kelly believed Chamberlain could not get him coerced. I said, "what if we are invaded?" We'll fight, he said and get English help." And then I said "and get partition ended if you can?" yes, he said.

This morning July 2 James Dillon deputy leader of the Opposition came to see me. He and Cosgrave had been informed of the situation so I could talk with him. He backs DeValera's position, says that if DeValera tried to carry the country for ~~xxx~~ abandoning neutrality on the strength of the present British promises he would be beaten. If the thing were accomplished ^{and} and DeValera offered to fight for abandonment of ~~xxx~~ neutrality in the union parliament with the support of the Cosgrave party they would ~~carry~~ ^{carry} the country 85 to 15 per cent BUT DeValera at present will not even promise to advocate the abandonment of neutrality in an accomplished Union parliament but he will accept British arms and fight if invaded, inviting British help immediately. O'Kelly told me what I had surmised but had been unable to confirm;

namely that the German Minister had made definite pledges to Eire that she would not be molested, if she remained neutral. They don't believe him but they would like to. Dillon says the feeling is growing that ~~iraiana~~ England is beaten unless we should come in and they don't believe we shall. I wired asking instructions to inquire attitude of Irish government four days ago, but got no answer and believe now I was wrong. I think it better to wait as I have said. Am off to call on the Nuncio and see what I can pick up. He'll give me more whisky and I'll be dopey all the rest of the afternoon.

Later. He did give me more whiskey, but he also gave me some interesting documents: A memorandum prepared for him by the Catholic Bishop of Dromore on the "Grievances and Disabilities of Catholics in the Six Counties" It appears to be made up of facts and figures and specific quotations from official utterances of Ulster ministers.

2. A letter from Mary MacSwiney (The Professional I.R.A. lady) to the Irish Red Cross; 3. a letter from Mary MacSwiney to the world at large, apparently on "The Crisis" Both these latter items are extremely vehement and ^{interesting} ~~important~~ as showing the extreme I.R.A. viewpoint. If I can get permission to copy them I'll send them over as exhibits.

Wednesday, July 3. Last night we dined with the famous Dublin blind Doctor Moorehead and another prominent surgeon at the Kildare St. Club. Mrs. Moorehead is a daughter of Stephen Gwinne, the Irish historian. Moorehead, before he lost his eyes had worked with the Mayos and Crile. On the way in we were stopped by a procession. There was a van guard of several hundred Dublin slum children, barelegged, dirty, tragic but not undernourished apparently. Then the band and then seven hundred of the old I.R.A. (Like our legion

posts) marching to the barracks to enlist as emergency volunteers.

We enquired of a bystander: "Its the old I.R.A. going to fight for DeValera". I spent all day to day working on a little speech to broadcast on the Fourth. I took it up to Joe Walshe (External Affairs) and he passed it, so the Department won't have to worry. He told me they were cutting the cables which land here and splicing British land ends. They think there will be less liklihood of their being cut by the Germans. They are going to hang MacCurtain, the I.R.A. who killed a policeman. Great pressure was brought to bear to ~~repxix~~ commute his sentence but they have stood firm. It's necessary to hold the police loyal. We dined last night with "Dinty" Moore, the U.P. correspondent here. He had the Gallihers among others. Gallihier is the

Government Information Bureau head and close to DeValera. He was with him in America. He's very amusing and might be helpful to us.

We'll have him and his wife to dinner soon. Later we went to the Gaiety and saw Charlie's Aunt. ~~ix~~ I see it every ten or fifteen years and it gets better all the time.

Thursday July 4. News of the British action regarding the French fleet came this morning. Joe ^K has been very kind and helpful and I appreciate it. He has done this of course on your account.

The Washington is due today. I'll probably see David Bruce and hear what news he has to bring us. This may be our last reliable mail. I see an item in the State Department's Press Conference to the effect that I am rumored to be sitting in with DeValera and Craigavon. Of course there is no basis for it. Apparently the personal bread and butter letter I wrote the Duke of Abercorn precipitated action in Downing street but that is all. I have written you every detail. I am going to ~~xxxx~~ ^{urge} Maffy again today to keep on warning his government NOT to take any action here till invited.

11. *Premature action*

It can't be worth the difficulties ~~it~~ will cause. By Parking everything they can spare in Ulster they can reach any part of Ireland with lorries in a day. By the time this gets to you you will have had some tough decisions to make. Bless You.

Aff *Shirley*.

One of the enclosures is a remarkable letter from an airman which I think Eleanor would like to see. It may already have got to you as it is being printed by the London Times.

AN AIRMAN TO HIS MOTHER

THE FIGHT WITH EVIL

"MY EARTHLY MISSION IS FULFILLED"

Among the personal belongings of a young R.A.F pilot in a Bomber Squadron who was recently reported "Missing, believed killed," was a letter to his mother - to be sent to her if he were killed.

"This letter was perhaps the most amazing one I have ever read; simple and direct in its wording but splendid and uplifting in its outlook," says the young officer's station commander. "It was inevitable that I should read it - in fact he must have intended this, for it was left open in order that I might be certain that no prohibited information was disclosed.

"I sent the letter to the bereaved mother, and asked her whether I might publish it anonymously, as I feel its contents may bring comfort to other mothers, and that every one in our country may feel proud to read of the sentiments which support 'an average airman' in the execution of his present arduous duties. I have received the mother's permission, and I hope this letter may be read by the greatest possible number of our countrymen at home and abroad".

TEXT OF THE LETTER

Dearest Mother, - Though I feel no premonition at all, events are moving rapidly, and I have instructed that this letter be forwarded to you should I fail to return from one of the raids which we shall shortly be called upon to undertake. You must hope on for a month, but at the end of that time you must accept the fact that I have handed my task over to the extremely capable hands of my comrades of the Royal Air Force, as so many splendid fellows have already done.

First, it will comfort you to know that my role in this war has been of the greatest importance. Our patrols far out over the North Sea have helped to keep the trade routes clear for our convoys and supply ships, and on one occasion our information was instrumental in saving the lives of the men in a crippled lighthouse ship. Though it will be difficult for you, you will disappoint me if you do not at least try to accept the facts dispassionately, for I shall have done my duty to the utmost of my ability. No man can do more, and no one calling himself a man could do less.

I have always admired your amazing courage in the face of continual setbacks; in the way you have given me as good an education and background as anyone in the country; and always kept up appearances without ever losing faith in the future. My death would not mean that your struggle has been in vain. Far from it. It means that your sacrifice is as great as mine. Those who serve England must expect nothing from her; we debase ourselves if we regard our country as merely a place in which to eat and sleep.

History resounds with illustrious names who have given all, yet their sacrifice has resulted in the British Empire, where there is a measure of peace, justice, and freedom for all, and where a higher standard of civilization has evolved, and is still evolving, than anywhere else. But this is not only concerning our own land. Today we are faced with the greatest organized challenge to Christianity and civilization that the world has ever seen, and I count myself lucky and honoured to be the right age and fully trained to throw my full weight into the scale. For all this I have to thank you. Yet there is more work for you to do. The home front will still have to

(cont.)

stand united for years after the war is won. For all that can be said against it, I still maintain that this war is a very good thing; every individual is having the chance to give and dare all for his principle like the martyrs of old. However long the time may be, one thing can never be altered & I shall have lived and died an Englishman. Nothing else matters one jot nor can anything ever change it.

You must not grieve for me, for if you really believe in religion and all that it entails that would be hypocrisy. I have no fear of death; only a queer elation I would have it no other way. The universe is so vast and ageless that the life of one man can only be justified by the measure of his sacrifice. We are sent to this world to acquire a personality and a character to take with us that can never be taken from us. Those who just eat and sleep, prosper and procreate, are no better than animals if all their lives they are at peace.

I firmly and absolutely believe that evil things are sent into the world to try us; they are sent deliberately by our Creator to test our metal because He knows what is good for us. The Bible is full of cases where the easy way out has been discarded for moral principles.

I count myself fortunate in that I have seen the whole country and know men of every calling. But with the final test of war I consider my character fully developed. Thus at my early age my earthly mission is fulfilled and I am prepared to die with just one regret, and only one - that I could not devote myself to making your declining years more happy by being with you; but you will live in peace and freedom and I shall have directly contributed to that, so here again my life will not have been in vain.

Your loving Son,

Presented by *John Gray*
Dublin July 4 - 1914 [1940]

To the Irish people who have given so much to the making of the
~~new~~ American Nation and to my fellow Americans resident in Ireland
I bring the greetings of the United States of North America on this
July 4th, 1940.

One hundred and sixty-four years ago today, representatives of
thirteen colonies established on the North American continent made
a proclamation which has not been without influence upon men and
events. The essence of this pronouncement was that the right to
life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is God given, and
inalienable, that, as in the sight of the Creator, no man enjoys
special privilege, so in the eye of the Law all men should stand
as equals. This document known as the Declaration of Independence
was destined to become a memorable link in that series of charters
of human liberty which have marked the progress of man from barbism^a
to civilization.

There were doubtless those among the notable men who signed
this declaration and laid the foundation for a new nation who
believed that by their act they were establishing liberty and equality
for all time, that they were producing a treasure which they might
bequeath to their descendants, a treasure which would make those
descendants safe in this new freedom in all perpetuity. For it is
the nature

the nature of us all to put our trust in the concrete thing rather than in the universal spirit which has conceived and created it. The fallacy of this theory of life was soon exposed, for hardly had the new nation embarked upon its conquest of the continental wilderness than it was realized that having declared men free and equal did not make them so. The institution of African slavery which in 1776 was so unimportant in the thirteen colonies as to be negligible, in the next fifty years began to poison the life of the nation. It became clear that the liberty bequeathed by the fathers needed not only to be redeclared but to be won again by the sacrifice of the lives of men who believed it were better to die than not to be free.

That redeclaration was written in blood, in our war between the States. I myself had kinsmen on both sides, and I know that it is not true that all that were on one side were wrong and all on the other side were right. I know that on both sides there were good men as well as brave men but I also know that today, after seventy-five years of peace there is no American, whatever his descent who is not glad that the Union of the States was maintained and that those who had been slaves had been made free.

But in this seventy-five years, since the war between the States disquieting evidence has begun to accumulate as it began to accumulate

in

in the similar period following the war of Independence, that liberty will not endure if it be not continually renewed and restated. Its price is eternal vigilance. It cannot be stored in strong boxes or wrapped safely in charters and constitutions. It must be cherished as a living flame in the souls of the citizens of a country, nor can they delegate to hired guardians the feeding of that flame, for that on which it lives is the spirit of the individual citizen. Thus in America we are beginning to understand that liberty is not merely a privilege to be enjoyed but a responsibility to be fulfilled. What is known in the United States as the New Deal is the effort of American Liberals to keep the lamp of freedom burning, to restate the responsibilities which the liberties guaranteed by the American Constitution place on those who profit by them. It is the effort to free our civilization from the bondage which an imperfect social and economic system imposes on the under privileged and those less fitted to cope with life. But it will not succeed unless it impresses on the under privileged as well as on the more fortunate strata of society the understanding of self-discipline. The price of liberty is not only eternal vigilance but unremitting self-discipline. If the individual refuses to discipline himself then the Moral order

imposes

imposes the discipline of others. The Freeman chooses the strenuous life of duty and service. He that refuses to follow this path condemns himself to some form of serfdom. It is one or the other. There is no third course.

If Government by consent of the governed is to endure, we in America are beginning to perceive that liberty must be regarded as the reward of continuous struggle. In the home, in the field, in the factory self-discipline must replace self indulgence. If the volunteer spirit fails then we must, by the choice of free men, impose upon ourselves compulsory service. It is not enough to arm with material armament, we must arm spiritually. We must gain inspiration from the men of 1776 and from the men of 1861 who died for liberty.

Abraham Lincoln in dedicating the battlefield of Gettysburg to the memory of those who died upon it said, "But, in a larger sense we cannot dedicate - we cannot consecrate - we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can

can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us - that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that the Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth".

And that, my fellow Americans and my Irish friends, is the spirit in which the people of the United States should celebrate this Independence Day.

No. 20.

Dublin, July 4, 1940.

SUBJECT: Memorandum on the Irish International
Situation.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that I find the following views as to the position of Eire in the present crisis held by the more intelligent Irishmen with whom I talk when discussing the matter objectively:

1. Ireland by reason of its geographical position and ports controls the water and air routes to North America over the North Atlantic.
2. Ireland if held and garrisoned by a strong hostile power would be a Gibraltar controlling Britain.
3. This being so is there any reason to believe that in the case of the utter defeat of Britain

the

the victorious power would refrain from occupying and fortifying the whole of Ireland in its own interest, regardless of Eire's neutrality? The cases of Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium are in point.

4. If the whole of Ireland were thus occupied is there any reason to believe that the enemy would not import a skilled farming population to apply continental methods of intensive cultivation to the favored and somewhat agriculturally undeveloped terrain of Eire?
5. Is there any reason to believe that in the case of such occupation the position of the Catholic religion would be more favored than it is in Germany or that the right to train Irish youth in the Christian religion would be vouchsafed to Ireland when it is denied to Germany, especially in view of the Prime Minister's condemnation of the invasion of Christian Catholic Belgium?
6. Unless these questions can be answered with reasonable assurance in the affirmative the Government of Eire has the choice between subsisting under a German garrison or in association as at present with Britain and its Commonwealth of Nations.
7. It has the choice between making German occupation more difficult and less probable by joining with Britain and Ulster; or less difficult and more probable by remaining neutral or joining with Germany.

Whether

Whether Eire discards her neutrality or maintains it, if she is invaded, her terrain is bound to be a battle field, for if the Germans get a foothold here the English must attempt to drive them out. It would therefore seem that the best chance of minimizing the horrors incidental to being a field of battle would be to secure, even at the sacrifice of neutrality, such aid on land on the sea and in the air as will make the Island as a whole defensible.

Respectfully yours,

David Gray

File 710/er 800
DG/-sjs

A True Copy
of the signed
Original. *JS*

*file
confidential*

August 7, 1940.

*Island
4-40*

My dear Boss :

We are getting along here very pleasantly. If you have time and are interested you might glance at the memorandum of a talk I had yesterday with Joe Walshe, Permanent under secretary for External affairs. I think it expresses the Government viewpoint as of this date. I like Joe very much but he has the reputation of being a suspicion monger and to some extent a trouble maker, as he gets excited. I felt it was a good idea to get on a sound basis with him so we could talk turkey to one another. I think they are all beginning to believe that we only want to be helpful in the long view of things, that we are now pro-British because we fear the results of a German victory, that we believe a German victory would be as bad for them as for us, and that appeals to anti-British feeling discredit them with us and are stupid because they do no good and only make the settlement of partition more difficult. They know we want to help end partition if it should be humanly possible. Walshe admitted to me that my guess about the Government construing the British proposals for ending partition as a trap to be followed by strong arm stuff was substantially correct. That was what made me uneasy. ~~Everything~~ Everything is all honey pie for the moment. I wired John Cudahy when I heard he was in London to come over and visit us but have had no reply. Your guess as to what is going to happen in regard to the invasion of England

is as good as anybody's here and probably better as you have more data. I think your political strategy just now is ne plus which must disquiet you for I am always wrong about such things.

You and Mr. Hull have done a great job on South America. Even if you can't hold them all in line you'll probably be able to keep a working majority and you didn't get this done one minute too soon.

I have forgiven Maude for pushing me down the ice pit.

Aff

DMJ.

Many thanks for your birthday telegram which came this morning.

My love to my friends.

Dublin, August 6, 1940.

No. 40.

Subject: Irish Situation as of August
6, 1940.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that I have had a long and frank talk today with Mr. Joseph P. Walshe, the Permanent Secretary of External Affairs, who lunched with me. As far as I was able I directed the conversation to the end of discovering how far Mr. Walshe was pro-German and how far pro-British.

He

He said that looking at the situation objectively he did not see how it was possible for Germany to be beaten by England and that consequently Ireland had to envisage the possibilities of a German victory. On the other hand, he thought it possible that England might create a stalemate with the aid of the Dominions and the United States.

In the event of a German victory, he did not anticipate German occupation, as he believed it would be to the advantage of Germany to build up a strong Ireland which automatically could resist British aggression. I asked him if he did not think it were wishful thinking to suppose that once the British Fleet was captured or destroyed that Germany would forego the benevolent and protective occupation of Ireland in order to control England, ensure the intensive cultivation of Ireland for the benefit of Germany, and to develop the Ports of Queenstown (Cobh), Bere Haven, and Galway, not to speak of controlling the Western terminus of the trans-Atlantic air routes. He said he did not think it was wishful thinking.

I asked him what he thought was going to happen to Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland, not to speak of France. He said he thought they would all be restored in some manner, and that Germany would take from France only Alsace-Lorraine and perhaps a little part of the Channel Coast. What Italy would take he did not suggest.

I said I had heard from an authoritative source that Germany had promised the I.R.A. the whole thirty-two
counties

counties and two counties of Britain. What these counties were my informant did not know. He said, "I don't think I believe that," "but", he added laughing, "on the basis of Irish majority we ought to have Liverpool."

I said that what caused a certain amount of anti-Irish comment in America was the feeling that it was really true that Ireland would as leave fight Britain as Germany and that an English invasion was as much to be feared as a German one. I said that American sentiment was pre-eminently anti-German as we fear the consequences of a German victory, and this attitude on the part of Eire was construed as a stab in the back for Britain. I said, "your Government speakers daily speak of the imminence of invasion from either of the belligerents, although they only have Germany in mind. When they only believe that Germany threatens why do they go on imputing the intention to invade to Britain." He said, "there was a very real danger of Britain invading us just recently." I said, "you mean after the proposals to end Partition were made and rejected." He said, "yes." I said, "I think you are mistaken on that point. I think that Britain has never had any intention of invading this country." The repercussion on American opinion would be most unfavorable and might very reasonably be expected to turn American opinion away from England; I had every reason to believe that the British Representative (Sir John Maffy) was telling the truth when he told me that his Government had not the slightest intention of coming in
until

until they were asked. I said that I thought there had been an hysteria based upon the fear that the proposals were a trap and that when the trap was avoided the strong arm would be extended. He said he hoped that was the case, but with a person like Mr. Churchill you could not be sure.

He then told me that relations were very happy at present with Britain; that the British Government had suppressed unfavorable statements about Ireland's neutrality and that they were supplying Eire with substantial quantities of arms and munitions. I said that I was glad to hear that; that I had received assurances from the Department that the British Ambassador was cooperating with the Irish Minister in the effort to procure arms for Eire. He then said that he had the same advice from Mr. Brennan, who reported that the British Ambassador was most cooperative and helpful. I said that if the Irish Government could only enlighten the Irish people as to the manner in which England was allowing them larger quotas of gasoline, coal and other imported goods than were allotted to their own people, the feeling toward Britain would be improved; that in my personal opinion the only practical way of securing an end of Partition was by encouraging good feeling toward England in the South. He then said that he thought it very short-sighted of those Ulsterites loyal to England not to see that the surest way of keeping Eire in the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations was to join with the

Twenty-six Counties. I said that I agreed with him and believed that a block of Ulster representatives in the Hall would not only bind the whole Island to the Commonwealth, but control the politics of Eire. He said he agreed with this; that such a block of seats working now with one party and now with the other would hold the balance of power.

I said, "there is one thing, for my own personal satisfaction, I would like to be assured of, and that is that the moment a German invasion of Eire becomes a fact you will ask for British assistance, for I have guaranteed your good faith on this point both to my own Government and to my friends in England and in Ulster." He said, "you need have no doubt on this point. As soon as there is any landing of German troops here in numbers formidable to our capacity for defence we shall call upon England." I thanked him for this explicit statement, and we parted in a very friendly fashion.

I believe these views can be taken as those held at this date by Mr. de Valera and the group controlling the policy of the present Government.

Respectfully yours,

David Gray,

In quintuplicate.

1 copy to American Embassy, London.

File No. 800/711.1/824.4.

IG/mab

A True Copy
of the signed
Original *me/b*

August 14th , 1940.

*File
personal +
confidential*

My dear Boss :

Nothing much to report this week . The Government has got over its panic about being invaded by the British . I have been mostly engaged with Joe Walsh, Permanent under secretary for external affairs trying to get him straightened out about American correspondents and giving him a little straight talk about American sentiment and what is profitable for the U.S.A. He has become DeValera's eyes and is personally a defeatist on the War and not a good influence , though personally a very nice fellow. We are lunching with him today. He is trying to frame a middle of the road policy for which I can't blame him, but it is helpful to point out to him that the Irish Government having condemned the invasion of Belgium, having jailed German agents and confiscated their money , having jailed the I.R.A. who have representatives in Berlin can only hope as individuals to be liquidated in a painless manner by the Gestapo when Hitler comes.

Hope all is well with you. Maude sends much love. Aff

DM

August 15, 1940.

Dear David:

All the same -- there is a limit to what members of the family can do and I want you "as a special favor to me" to divide the enclosed by five and make it \$100.

I do not need to tell you how much I really appreciate it and yet I cannot see any reason why you should be a party to my own crucifixion by a contribution of any such amount. Therefore, Q.E.D. make it \$100.

We think much of you and Maude and I do hope the ankle is all right again. Thank the Lord you were not killed in the ancient underground passages and will be able to entertain His Eminence, the Cardinal.

Those dear people you are with must realize that in the end they will have to fish or cut bait -- while, of course, they know that Irish independence is very close to the American heart, nevertheless, there can be no question as between invasion by Ireland and protection by England.

As ever yours,

Honorable David Gray,
Minister of the United States,
Dublin, Ireland.

Enclosure. Returning check in the amount of \$500 to Mr. David Gray.

Copies seem to have given
out of the dispatch I have
epitomized - The Dept. has
to DJ

This is from the heart and looking at how
100 terms is by, so is dead Sept. 5
at which time it will be found if
H. Morganthaus' shop is still solvent.
D.

July 23, 1940.

My Dear Franklin :

We felt very proud when the Democratic Convention unanimously drafted you for four more years . In the circumstances you could not have done anything but accept this terrible responsibility as you did . We liked very much your speech of acceptance. But we both understand what a crucifixion this is to you. God Bless you and give you strength and guidance for the things that ought to be done these next few months.

We want you to understand that now you are nominated it is very important that you should be elected and if this legation appointment is useful to you as it probably will be, understand that my resignation is always in your hands to take effect when and if you desire it . Don't think we are trying to run out because this may be a tough spot. We are both very happy here and interested and trying to learn the job and if it doesn't suit your book to shift us, would like to stay on but you may have a tough fight and need every thing you've got. If ^{you}~~we~~ called us back tomorrow we should always be grateful for what we have ~~had~~ had.

I enclose copies of two dispatches which are the most important of those going to the Department. The substance of the one on the present phase of the situation is this: The Irish Government turned down the British proposals for ending partition as the price of Eire abandoning neutrality (it was to be called non-belligerency) first because

there was no absolute guarantee as I had gathered from Sir. John Maffey. It was the Cabinet's promise to use its utmost influence to bring Ulster into a conference to devise a new all Ireland constitution. In 1914 and 1916 similar promises made in good faith had not been implemented. DeValera and Cosgrave agree that united they could not carry the country into war on such promises. The answer given to Britain laid the refusal on the grounds of the political impossibility of abandoning neutrality. I got this straight from the vice premier the other day and checked it with the deputy leader of the Opposition, Dillon. Few outside of the government know this. The negotiation has never been publicly admitted. Following the refusal, things took a funny turn which made me anxious till I found the reason. It became evident that the defense measures and propaganda were being pointed against England rather than Germany. It seems that the anti-British members of the cabinet who had said that the proposals were a trap, predicted that their rejection would be followed by a Churchill coup against the ports similar to the destruction of the French warships and everyone got the wind up. Things are quieting down now. The dangerous ~~thing~~ situation that De.V. has got himself into is that in his appeal for national unity for national defense which has rallied most of the old I.R.A. he has let it be passed about that he dreads England quite as much as he dreads Germany. Now if and when Germany attacks, it is not going to be easy to cooperate with British assistance. He continues to deny in public what he readily admits in private, that the ~~in~~ freedom of Eire depends on the British fleet.

You may not know it but in the last war the Foch-Mangin school had Petain's number. Petain ordered Mangin to call off the July 18 offensive until it was clear how Gouraud was going to come out in stopping the German push at Chalons.

It had all been prepared as a secret attack and Mangin went over his head to Foch who ordered it launched. I asked Mangin how he estimated Petain. He said, "he is all right, he is workmanlike" *mais il est un peu froid* ". I found out that this meant his head ~~didn't work fast~~ ^{worked} like cold moleses .

I celebrated Bastille day, by obeying my wife and exploring an old underground ice house in search of an air raid shelter for the legation. Walking along with an electric torch I walked right into a pit used for storing ice in old days and landed on a pile of left over foundation stone just fourteen feet below where I stepped off. I thought I was all shattered into compund fractions but such is the protective power of a bad life there was nothing broken at all nor was my back hurt nor my head. I think they will take out the stitches from my left elbow today so that I can be a two handed drinker again. I'll be on crutches for another fortnight but am coming out all right. I wish you were lunching here tomorrow. I am having a party for the Cardinal Primate whô is coming down from Armagh for it. This is what your sending Myron Taylor to Rome has done for us here.

DeValera, the vice-premier, Sean T. O'Kelly, McEntee minister of Commerce, The Papal Nuncio, James M. Dillon Deputy leader of the Opposition, and Tubby Granard ex-senator, and ex master of Kings Horse have all promised to come. We might have some good talk as the Government/people like Dillon .

The best line with these people thus far seems to be to make them understand that we extend the good neighbor policy to them as far as is practicable, that we feel that the success of Britain in the present crisis is to our advantage and to theirs , to try to earn a position of helpfulness, so that if you have to ask a favor or to warn them it will have the background of understanding and friendliness.

Best to you all. Aff Oni.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dublin, July 23, 1940.

No. 32.

Subject: Irish Situation as of July 22.

~~_____~~
The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that what may be called the latest phase of the Irish situation opened with the proposals made by Britain to the Irish Government about June 27, 1940.

As I have reported by telegraph, the essence of these proposals was the offer on the part of the British Government to end Partition in return for a

declaration

declaration of war against Germany on the part of Eire. The demand for a declaration of war was subsequently reduced to a demand for a declaration of a non-belligerency interpreted in such a way as to permit the status quo in Ulster to continue and to secure the Irish ports for the British Navy together with facilities for such British troops as might be considered necessary for the defense of Southern Ireland. These proposals were made in the name of a British Cabinet officer and were presented by a British Minister, who discussed them with Mr. de Valera and two members of his Cabinet, Mr. Lemass, Minister of Supplies, and Mr. Aiken, formerly Minister of War and now Minister for the Coordination of Defense. These conversations were subsequently reported to the full Cabinet, to the members of which the text was shown. The Opposition leaders were not originally advised of the proposals, but gained enough information to warrant the belief that a British proposal was under discussion and demanded to be informed, and although not shown the document were advised substantially, and I believe, accurately, as to its contents.

As I have informed the Department, it was decided to reject the proposals. I received information to this effect from a Cabinet officer on the 2nd of July and confirmed it immediately from the British Representative. On that date I sent the Department my telegram No. 47, July 2, secret and confidential. As stated in that telegram, the underlying reasons for rejecting the proposals were that the Government could not trust the undertakings of any British government to end Partition in return for abandonment of neutrality in view of the existing

existing internal political situation and the background of engagements made in 1914 and again in 1916 which could not be implemented. I believe the reason actually given was that the overwhelming sentiment of the country was against abandoning neutrality. The following day or the day after, one of the Opposition leaders informed me that the Opposition upheld the Government's position and that he was of the opinion that the Government and constitutional Opposition combined could not have carried the proposition with the country. A month earlier before the French debacle he thought the proposals would have been jumped at.

At the time I had received the impression from the British Representative that the proposals amounted to a warranty without reservation or qualification by the British Government that Partition would be ended.

On Friday, the 19th of July, the Vice Premier called on me, and among other matters informed me that the terms of the proposals were not an absolute warranty of the nature that I had assumed them to be but pledged the British Government to use its utmost efforts to induce Ulster to participate in a conference the purpose of which was to draw up a new constitution for the whole of Ireland. This was a very different thing, and I believe that Eire, from the point of view of her own interest in view of existing circumstances, could have done nothing else than refuse the bargain. In a long view it is better for Anglo-Irish relations that the proposals should have been rejected than that they should have been accepted and Britain had failed to force Ulster into a united Ireland.

Rumors of these proposals reached the press, and while the censorship allowed very little to appear, there was a good deal of undercurrent speculation as to what was afoot. Directly after the S. S. WASHINGTON sailed on July 7, and I had time again to give my attention to the political situation, I began to sense an atmosphere which I could not explain and which created suspicion of the good faith of the Irish Government in regard to its plans for preserving its neutrality as had been confided to me by the Premier. I had been told that upon the first landing of German troops, or the first technical violation of neutrality, that British help would have been invited. Information which I began to receive led me to doubt that this would be done. There were three possibilities which presented themselves: First, that if the Germans appeared in force representing themselves as liberators and called upon the Government of Eire to join them in freeing Ulster, the Government of Eire might cooperate with them; second, that without calling upon English aid they might attempt single-handed to cope with the invasion and after putting up an ineffective resistance lay down their arms; and third, that they might, as planned, carry out their moral engagement with Britain and ask for aid at once. It was not until a week later that I discovered what was the apparent cause of the secrecy and aloofness of the Government Ministers after the declaration of the proposals. The facts appear to be something as follows:

There had been unanimous agreement in the Cabinet
that

that the proposals could not be accepted since they were in fact merely promises of a kind which in recent times had been broken, but there was division of opinion as to the motives of the British Government in making these proposals. The Left Wingers in the Cabinet, - Aiken, Traynor, Derrig, and possibly some others - contended that it was a British trap and a prelude to some forcible action against the ports comparable to the sinking of the French battle ships. This view, although not being held by the Premier and the more broadminded of his associates, aroused their suspicions and made them apprehensive. The word was passed to the defense forces secretly that an attack by Britain on the ports might occur and that it would have to be met with force. I have found, both from the British Representative and from the deputy leader of the Opposition, that probably owing to the situation just described, the Premier was somewhat vague and uncertain as to calling in British help at the first violation of Irish neutrality by the Germans. I was assured, however, by the Vice Premier, in a long and intimate talk on July 19, that Mr. de Valera's policy was fundamentally unchanged and that he realized that with Britain dominated by Germany the Irish position would be an unhappy one.

On this Tuesday, July 23rd, as the mail closes, there is less tension, though this is probably psychological and due to a reaction from the high tension of the preceding period. There has been no change in any of the essential factors of the situation. Defense measures continue but without adequate material and armament. There is nothing in Eire that could reasonably be
expected

expected to stop a German mechanized tank division from going where it wished. The Premier has utilized the defense issue to regain his leadership and has succeeded in bringing in practically all the old I.R.A. posts, some of which have given him trouble, and a material element of the new I.R.A., the young extremists. But to do this he has probably let it be understood that he feared the invasion by England even more than the invasion by Germany. It is perhaps only an adroit postponement of the issue which he will have to meet if Germany invades and England does not. In my view, he and most of his associates, and without question the Opposition leaders, are in good faith in their avowals to resist German invasion, but this is a country of surprises, and I would suggest to the Secretary that he keep an open mind as to what course Mr. de Valera might believe that he had to steer in the case of German invasion. Yet from any point of view abstention from preventative action by England is unquestionably the profitable course for her and for Ireland. With Ulster armed she risks little by forbearing and waiting. It is probable that a combined resistance to a German landing after being invited by Eire to help would have far reaching effects on the relations between the two countries.

Respectfully yours,

David Gray,
American Minister.

In quintuplicate.

File No. 711.1/320.02/624.5/801/800.

DG/mcb

A True Copy
of the signed
Original. *meB*

August 25, 1940.

G

Belmont
4

Dear Boss :

John de Salis (Count de Salis) has been stopping with us. He visited Tissie in Scotland when we were there and came over here as the guest of the ^(Sr Leo's kitchen) Papal Nuncio. He was the British military liason officer in France who did most of the ^m interpreting for the British High Command. Talking very confidentially he says that he reported in writing as long ago as last October that the Maginot line would be broken between Valenciennes and Maubeuge ^{in two hours} as it lacked gun power and was otherwise vulnerable. Not much later he found out that Petain was a defeatist from the beginning and arranging ^{for} an armistice commission in the early winter. Then he went to Spain and fixed up his fascist understanding with Franco, his old friend. John says he told Sherman Miles, whom he admires greatly, most of this. I suppose Bullit has also told you. Apparently the political dissension turned largely on the rows between Catholic Rightists and the " Grand Orient"

As I get below the surface of things here it becomes more perplexing and depressing. It is very evident, as might have been guessed, as you doubtless would have guessed that social conditions have far more importance in the political Anglo-German issue than would appear. The other day when over Limerick way to inspect some archaeological excavations on John DeSalis's family place I came across a propaganda among the farm laborers promising them that Hitler will redistribute the present farm holdings into two and three acre plots. The Government tried this and failed dismally. The laborers couldn't do subsistence.

farming or wouldn't and instead sold their plots to larger farmers. Now the government encourages larger farmers who will employ labor. But no farmer up to fifty acres will employ labor if he can help it or will only employ labor for harvest and emergency work. The farm labor unemployment is heavy and ^{there is} no suggestion as to improving the position. The Cardinal Primate told me when he lunched here that he believed the Germans were going to win and that he was willing to take a chance on them. I have just found out what his ideas are. He believes that Hitler will abolish capitalism and that it is capitalism that keeps Ireland "enslaved" to England. [As a matter of fact I believe the Irish hold nearly three hundred million pounds of British securities.] Three of the Bishops oppose the Primate but the rest follow him and ~~inevitably~~ ^{surely} anti-British propaganda ~~in this sense~~ goes on with the sanction of the hierarchy. I suspect this annoys DeValera & He accepted to our party for the Cardinal but gave out an hour before hand. However, that may have been an honest emergency. It probably was, but he made no fuss over his regrets to McCrory.

On the 16th two more policemen were murdered by two I.R.A. members "defending" one of their posts. They were tried by the specially authorized Military Court and condemned to be shot within four days of the crime. Apparently ^{majority} public sentiment endorsed the sentences. But habeas corpus proceedings ~~xxx~~ obtained a review and postponement and radical pressure groups have begun to agitate for commutation. The Nuncio ^{at once} ducked out of town when the postponement occurred and is still in the country with Sean T. O'Kelly. (We lunched with him Saturday) As a consequence the full force of the patriots descended on this legation. They predict very serious reprisals (shooting a few cabinet ministers) if not open civil war, if the sentences are carried out. It is generally believed the Government must abdicate if

it does not go through with the executions as these murders came on the heels of the commutation of Mc Curtain who ^{also} shot a policeman.

I get along pretty well, as I can tell them truthfully that these men not being American citizens it would be an impertinence ^{to me} to make representations to the government and I might be sent home. I also tell them that to protect myself I tell the government of their visits which in fact I do. I don't want to get into Irish politics. I wish you could sit in on these sessions with the patriots. The one last Friday comprised Mrs. Moloney, formerly Miss "Cattie" Barry, on the staff of the Irish ^{during the Trade.} Republican Army. Believe me she is a grand girl. Father Flanagan, a brilliant radical priest who has been set down and is now librarian in the National University, and a medico-legal barrister ^{Mr.} Mullane. Father Flanagan thinks one piece of ice produces enough water for half a tumbler of 15 year old Jameson. At one point in the discussion I said it's nonsense to pretend that Mr. DeValera likes to execute people. He is a very humane man. "Yes" said the barrister, "he forgives and forgets. He forgives his enemies and forgets his friends." These people were all with DeValera till lately. They are bitter now because he condemns them for doing just what he did for many years, that is insisting on the right of a minority not to bow to majority rule. I find that by being honest with them and telling them that their philosophy is impossible for an American to sympathize with, one gets on fine. They want to talk and when they get going you find out a good deal.

Yesterday, I had another I.R.A. leader with me for three hours. He came to discuss some scheme for developing Irish-American trade on which he was very sound and then we went on to politics. He says that DeValera lost the Irish-American political support by high-hatting it, and neglecting to keep in touch with it after he got into power.

That's why Garrity left him . This fellow claimed to have broken Sean Russels hold on the I.R.A. in America . He worked eight or nine years down town in New York and is a clever fellow. I have had an idea for an Irish export and import agency backed by Irish Government credit, the managemnt to be paid ona commission basis . The curse of Irish bureaucracy is ^asalried inefficiency. Under this plan no results no pay. This guy thinks well of it and is working out a detailed scheme which we will take to DeValera. They want to do a lot of *business* with us after the war and of course have got to sell to us tweeds, whiskey, bacon, ham ~~and~~, baled peat, and stout *if they are going to buy.*

Word has just come by telephone that a German bomber has dropped bombs in Wexford. I'll have to stop and see what has happened.

~~zxaxzxxz~~ But to finish up with Davis, my radical trade fellow. He says the conditions in the Dublin slums are unspeakable, far worse than ours, that some ~~six~~ ^{four} thousand jews from Germany have got in here and established sweat shops cutting the minimum ^{legal} wage of eight shillings and six pence a week in many cases to five shillings . They have seduced some Cathloic girls which is bad business here and according to him there is a big undercurrent of pro-Hitler sentiment ~~in~~ the slums on the anti-semite issue but not anti-British. This is another element that complicates the situation.

August 26. The papers are full of the German bombing of four Wexford villages yesterday afternoon, killing three girls in a cooperative creamery. The boob must have thought he was in Ulster instead of the south of Eire. The Government doesn't want to tangle with Hitler and is soft pedalling indignation. ~~Zkaxzax~~ I have just sent the Department a telegram suggesting that the effect on public sentiment depends a good deal on the German reply to the Irish note which demanded full reparation .

5.

I am only sure of one thing that the British are doing a wise thing not to attempt to force this situation or to make a pass at the ports. If it has to come eventually it should be very carefully prepared. In various ways I have been letting Joe Walshe (External Affairs) get doses of American viewpoint. He gave me an opening by his complaints ^{about} American Correspondents suggesting that Eire was betraying her own interests in not throwing in with Britain . I told him that he probably hadn't heard the half of it, that what was to come would be worse than anything he had got thus far. He is dining with us Saturday with the director of Broadcasting and his wife who sings Irish ballads . Maude is a great help with these proud sensitive people who respond so delightfully to a little understanding. Love to you all and bless you.

Aff

Onis.

September 4. 1940

My dear Boss :

The deal for the West India bases seems to me the most important thing that has happened to our nation in my lifetime. Of course it is far more than what it appears to be on its face. If you can lay the foundations for an Anglo-American control of the World on the principles of Democracy and Justice you will have achieved the most than any man has done since Octavianus. God Bless You

Aff

D.M.

Maude sends her love and implores you not to campaign and get worn out.

September 8th , 1940.

(7) PSF: Ireland

here
Dear Boss : The most important news is of course the reaction to
the destroyer -naval base deal. Friday night we dined with Senator
Frank McDermot. While he no longer is a factor in politics he is a very
wise observer. He writes the unsigned ~~weekly~~ ^{Irish} letter to the London
Sunday Times . He said, " we haven't digested the import of it yet. First
off" we are a little startled "I think that is probably sound. They have
had a habit of thinking of the U.S. ~~as a refuge~~ ^(Symbiotes) as an anti-British
refuge and rock of Gibraltar for them. In spite of the evident dispos-
ition of the U.S. to offer Britain all assistance short of participat-
ing in the war they had not anticipated this first step toward an under-
standing of the Democracies in a cooperative defense against the
~~Dictators~~ Dictators. Yesterday Joe Walshe (External Affairs) lunched
with us. The news has evidently had a great effect on him . In a little
private talk he asked me what I thought it meant. I said " I have no
special knowledge but I have been warning you ever since I got here
that both American political parties were awakening to the menace of
a German victory which also means a Japanese victory. This was
bound to translate itself in some cooperative ^Z defense measures with the
British Commonwealth . We would be silly to wait till Hitler got the
control of the British Empire before we began to defend ourselves.
Britain is our first line of defense just as she is yours. But you have
never believed me. Now you see what has happened . You can speculate
as well as I can as to what is likely to be the next step. " He said

" There is some Opposition to the President". I said naturally. Part of it is Fifth Column stuff, and part die-hard Toryism hatred of the man who has tried to loosen the hold of special privilege on the nation. All the Tory Opposition want to give help to England, perhaps even to the extent of going to War but they don't want Roosevelt to get the credit of it. ~~xxxxxx~~ Joe is a great radical and he assented. Then I said, " has it ever occurred to you that if you don't watch your step Eire, ~~xxx~~ might get left out of a front seat in the re-shuffle, if that should take place. " Oh he said, I have been thinking about that. If there should be a great league of English speaking nations we should want to be in it. " I said, " why don't you propose it, You would be in a very favorable position to do something like that. For political reasons it would be very difficult for an American Government to propose it, chiefly because twenty Millions of Irish-Americans might very likely oppose it." Well, he said, " we want to stick close to the United States. What we really want is to have an embassy at Washington and build an embassy building but we don't want to be turned down and so don't like to make inquiries there. " I said I'll put a feeler out for you but I don't think there could be any answer till we know how this war is turning out. You may be a German province and not have any diplomatic representation at all. " Oh No! he said not that. " Joe has been very defeatist, if not pro-Germanna and I think has been figuring out an Irish regime based on a German control of Europe He has certainly been considering it as a possibility if not a probability. I have always ~~xxxxxxx~~ kidded him and said, " then you'll eventually be in a civil war against Boston and New York," because we're headed the other way. We haven't any choice. We've got to protect our gold mountain in Tennessee. " DeValera has a clearer view of

the world situation but I haven't seen him for a week. I've let him alone as he has had the execution of the two I.R.A. murderers^s on his~~man~~ hands and heart. One of them[^] ~~was~~ ^{MaoGrath} was an old war comrade and personal friend.

They shot them Friday morning. Their lawyer Sean ~~Mc~~ ^{Mc}Bride and my I.R.A. friend Mrs. Moloney (Kattie Barry) got me on the telephone Thursday night. She said a "truce" had just been resolved on by the I.R.A. command and that it was imperative for the ~~peace~~ peace of Ireland that it should be considered by the Government before the executions took place as afterwards it would be too late. Reprisals and civil war would be launched. I told her why it was impossible for me to intervene and she admitted that was all correct as she had when I talked with them two weeks ago but she said this isn't intervention but mediation. I said but a mediator has to be accepted by both parties and I know that Mr. DeValera would only say, "I can't mediate with an illegal and banned organization." She said, "none of the ministers will answer their telephones and we've got to get this to Mr. DeValera." I said, "the Nuncio sent you to me, why don't you try him?"

I had called on the Nuncio two days before and knew his views) She said will you ring him and tell him we are coming. I said I'd try. Of course his telephone was not answered and I called Mrs. Moloney again at the Mansion House (the city hall) where she was going this[^] ~~time~~ ^{relec} business and told her so. She thanked me and all was well. Nothing has happened yet in the way of reprisals ~~and~~ ^{from} the I.R.A. War news covering the executions is not yet distributed so I don't know what they threaten. They may try to get Boland (Justice) or DeValera but it is more likely that they will quit. A third murderer[^] ~~who~~ ^{in the same job} has just been caught and if they rush him through it will show the Government is in earnest which one school of thought says is the only thing to do.

But beyond the question of more assassinations is one really important fact. DeValera after trying for ^{seven} ~~ten~~ years to avoid an irreconcilable break with the I.R.A. has now crossed the Rubicon. He can never go back and Aiken, the old I.R.A. Chief of Staff who has been in the cabinet as War minister and liason man with the I.R.A., who has continuously put I.R.A. pressure on the government from inside, he too is over the dam unless he resigns which is not contemplated as a possibility. This will inevitably tend to strengthen the pro-English elements in the cabinet. James Dillon dined here the other night (Deputy Leader of the Opposition and member of the National Defense Council) He told me that the police had after a months search caught a German who landed on the West coast with his clothes and a wireless sending set in a rubber bag. The bag was found on the beach but the guy got away. He was caught sending messages. They ^{it was} think weather reports but the cops bust the antenna before the experts got there and they can't find out the wave length he was using. They are "interning" him with many comforts, hoping he will talk. They think he will. None of this is allowed to be published. We've just had Adele Astaire and her mother to lunch. I was talking about Selznick for whom I have just got a reconsideration of the censors cuts in Gone With the Wind. I said I thought the film was honestly written. "He's honest", she said. "He told me the trouble with Hollywood is that there are so many beautiful women here that it is refreshing to look at you."

September 9, Monday. The news of the heavy raids on London has overshadowed everything else here and has bucked up the Pro-Germans who were cast down by the Anglo-American defense agreement. This morning The Irish Press (DeValera's newspaper) plays up the damage done in London, plays down the loss of 99 German air craft and has Wilkie's announcement that he will never ^{lead} the U.S.A. into a European War in a

box on the front page

From what I gather from English people here who have recently come from London Joe Kennedy's stock has gone up again, and that very high.

He has been very game and helpful and they realize that what they didn't like was the truth that he told them when they were still in the clouds. I am afraid he is having a tough time. If Hitler tries an invasion I think Ireland will get it too, simply on the ground that the Germans have immense stocks of men and material and that if they make the attack it would be crazy not to make at least a feint here in order to hold the forces in Ulster occupied. If it went well, if there were response to the appeal to join them and take Ulster (which must be reckoned upon as a possibility) they could re-inforce it from Norway . If it went badly there would be no great loss. If Ireland were in the war England would get few more troops out of the country. She would get the use of the ports but she has got on without them thus far . Germany would not stand to lose much.

Tom to you all in which must be fine

W. D. Smith

2.

I gather that you are helping the British put a little pressure on my friends in the matter of rifles, that is, that they must apply to John Bull for their quota of released U.S. rifles. I shall go on protesting and telegraphing ^{you} for Mr. DeValera but you are quite right to take the line you are taking. Very confidentially Maffy is now trying to trade 20,000 rifles for the installation of a boom across the mouth of Lough Swilly, thus far without success. Its ^acr^azy not to fix a place up where a British squadron could come and be safe in case of the invasion of Ireland. Maffey has offered to have the admiralty ship come as a merchant ship, lay the boom and nets, turn them over to the Irish Government and go away. But DeValera says "It would get ~~on~~ out and people would say he had sold out to the British" He has done such amazing things by never giving an inch but letting the other fellow do all the giving, that I don't feel competent to criticise or advise him but IT SEEMS that he ~~is~~ would be wise to begin to do a li bit for Democracy, if only to let anti-Hitler news get the best of it in the newspapers. Joe Kennedy telephoned me the other day and invited me over for a "little vacation." I said I was too busy to be spared. He's put a grand spirit in all his crowd. I'm loading the ^opuch today ~~it~~ with illicit Irish bacon for him. Otherwise its an export license and God knows what else.

Maude sends special love. Some days ago she had a little cist in her cheek cut out. All went well till last night when her face began to swell. The Doctor is with her now. I don't think it is serious as she has no temperature. Best to you all.

Aff

Wm.

Dublin, September 23, 1940

Your Eminence,

I have just sent you off a short telegram of congratulation on the celebration of your Silver Episcopal Jubilee, but I would wish unofficially, as a friend of Ireland, to express my admiration for the great services you have performed for your country during this quarter century of your Episcopal ministry. During this period you have seen the age-long hope for the freedom of Ireland fulfilled as to the twenty-six Counties.

Inasmuch as this freedom has been won from the world's greatest empire at the height of its power, it is reasonable to believe that spiritual forces have been largely responsible for the victory. Though a Protestant myself, I would feel that I denied the essential tenets of my faith if I did not gratefully recognize such forces, whether they operate through my church or through that of which you are the consecrated head in Ireland. No one who has either experience of religion or knowledge of life can doubt that Almighty God promotes justice and upholds the right. Nor can it be doubted

To His Eminence
The Cardinal Primate of Ireland,
Armagh, Northern Ireland.

that the spiritual principles advocated by the Christian Religion will in the end prevail against superior physical force. I feel confident therefore that it will be the peaceful counsels of your Church and mine and the spirit of forgiveness and good-will which Christianity commands us all to cherish which will bring about the unity of Ireland on terms mutually profitable to all concerned.

And I pray, your Eminence, that you may live to see this end achieved and justly feel that the holy influences which you exert have played a great part in bringing it about.

Yours respectfully,

David Gray

October 2, 1940.

PSF: Ireland
File
Renewal

Dear Boss: The Irish situation seems microscopic in the light of what is piling up on you but such as it is, we are on the job. Between ourselves I keep turning over in my mind how to approach DeValera in the event we drifted into this war or what I think is now more probable that Japan attacked ^{So the} us without warning in the Philippines ~~and~~ we should have no choice. If we were in, we should probably want an Irish port or two. I am pretty well convinced that no one can "bargain" with DeValera. You trust him or you don't. James Dillon who hates him says that this is the only way. Joe Walshe admitted to me the other night that it was the key to him. I am warning Maffey that he has made a mistake in trying to use the rifles to get something in return at Lough Swilly. If we should come ~~and~~ the best bet is to make an appeal to him on idealistic grounds I think. He might react to that. He would feel safe if we were in. I speak of this so that you might get a bright idea in the night. God help you.

Aff Drid.

Maude had a pneumatic face last week but is now flat again. She sends you her best. Look what they have done to our Mr. Wilkie in the Irish newspapers. Nothing quite so Zany was ever hung on you.

D.

With love from
an Irish friend.

~~Mr. and Mrs. David Gray~~

Maudie.

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Hyde Park, New York 12538

October 23, 1940.

*File
Personal*

4

My dear Franklin : Before this reaches you, you will be in for another four years of " Hard" or else given parole for that length of time. I had hoped, as I know you had, that you would be able to get a vacation but I fear now that it would be calamitous for you to step out . The only chance for Representative Government and personal liberty on American lines is in the direction you have begun to orient our policy. It looks now as if you would win, but if you don't you will not be diminished . You will have to come back.

One of the great dangers of the present situation is not being tough enough with the Limies and no American understands that as well as you . If we are going to work with them we've got to understand that they will take your pants, if you go to sleep with them on . If they can get away with it, they don't respect you and so co-operation is impossible. I could be shot for some of the things I have been telling English people about what Americans think of the way they treated us after the last war and they eat it . Their attitude says, " are'nt you bright to have found out we thought you were boobs."

Things are going along not too badly in Ireland. The Government is beginning to worry, I think, as to where it is coming out if England wins and there is a cooperative association of Democracies. This idea of and independence Mr. DeValera's of existing self sufficiently on potatoes in an Irish speaking vacuum is not gaining ground. It is a dream that he hates to give up . Bless you all. *W. B. Smith*

See
over

Nov. 7th / 1940 ^{Telaviv}

Dear dear Franklin
Of course we
are proud of you
& the people. That
money could not
buy them is a
great tribute, but

I hope & pray that
your wisdom &
long experience
will find a way
to conserve your
strength that is
so precious. To
have had an in-

experienced man, take
your job at this critical
time. would have been
a ~~catastrophe~~ ^{catastrophe} - Having
just read the article
on Louis Hoover, in the
Sat. Evening Post, I feel
he was working hard
yesterday to steer the
hearts of many - Blessing
& keep on smacking things
whenever you think it
right. Devotedly

Maudie
Adele Astaire Curran
wants to meet you & Miss J... ..

December 31, 1940.

*Ireland
Folder*

*4
Personal
Confidential*

My Dear Franklin : Your Fireside talk on Defense, broadcast last Sunday night seems to me perhaps the most difficult , important and successful speech that you have addressed to our country. As introductory to your message to Congress it seems to me beyond criticism, and well nigh above praise. The reference to Ireland was left out of the text of the resumé wired to Irish and English newspapers but was taken down from the British Broadcast of the recording and today is featured in all three morning Dublin papers. It was a relief to me as I feared the censorship had excised it, and I was getting hot under the collar. It is more important to have that published here than I can make you believe, unless you can visualize us with a newspaper press debarred from all discussion of the issues vital to the country, and the censorship under the control of Frank Aiken, minister for the Co-ordination of Defense whom a leading member of the Opposition recently described to me as having a mind, halfway between that of a child and an ape. This man believes that the series of alarms and hysterical troop movements which have occurred in recent months is really due to the imaginations and vanities of a ^{physical} huge ~~big~~ man with the mentality of a boy gang leader playing at war with real soldiers. It might be so. It is difficult to account for it on any other hypothesis. There is a good deal of it that DeValera doesn't know about . There is a petrol shut-down just now and the External Affairs office doesn't know when or whether there will be new supplies of gas.

No other single deprivation would afford such an object lesson of the essential dependence of Ireland for its defense upon Britain, a circumstance which the extremist school of thought vehemently denies. However if petrol be withheld as a coercive measure the fact of dependence will be lost sight of. It will be recognized only as another wrong. Intelligent ^{Irish} people react this way as much as boneheads and perhaps the clergy are the worst of all. James Dillon lunched with us today and put the matter very well. "There is," he said a logical position for a small nation to take on the side of the angels and if crushed in such a cause ~~to rise~~ again by virtue of the spiritual forces behind it but for a small nation to act on material motives as a great continental power might act, and expect to get away with it, is lunacy. And that is what we are doing now or trying to do." Dillon has the ablest mind and finest character of any man I have met in Ireland. Unfortunately he lacks the ^{sympathetic} understanding of base methods and men which would make me a success in Irish politics.

Maude joins me in much love to you all and in all best wishes for the New Year that is coming in tonight. We are dining and seeing the new year in with a sweet pet of an American Girl whom Maude loves like she was a pole cat but who makes me feel young and brave.

Aff

Amid,