

• PSF

Ireland

1941

PSF: Ireland

Ireland

# TELEGRAM

18WUD18 cable

The White House  
Washington

Dublin 358pm Jan 10 1941

LC The President

The White House

Heartiest congratulations on your messages Maude and I  
grateful for your confidence.

David Gray.

1235pmd

*Return to  
President*

*Mrs Roosevelt  
Please read  
and return  
file  
personal*

✓

PSF: *Wend*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Please read this in confidence  
and speak to me about it.

F. D. R./tmb

Enclosures

Let to the President from David Gray  
Nov. 30, 1940 enclosing copy of an  
aide memoire prepared by James Dillon  
the real leader of the Opposition of a  
recent interview which he had with  
Mr. DeValera.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*FP  
Conf'*

January 21, 1941  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
RECEIVED

JAN 21 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Please read this in confidence  
and speak to me about it.

F. D. R.

Enclosures



November 30, 1940.

Inland Fiddle

Dear Franklin : I am enclosing herewith the copy of an aide memoire prepared by James Dillon the real leader of the Opposition ~~and~~ a recent interview which he had with Mr. DeValera . As you can see it would be bad for James if this ever got out . But it will give you the viewpoint of the most intelligent opposition leader as to ~~xxxx~~ Irish neutrality and the ports. As it looks now the best chance the British have of getting anywhere <sup>with the ports</sup> unless we come in is to play to this Opposition and try to split the country. It might not succeed but it is the best bet . I am sending a copy of the memorandum to Sumner Welles <sup>recently</sup> I got hold of the fact that some weeks ago the Admiralty were discussing a plan for seizing the ports and especially Foynes Airfield by ~~surprise~~ surprise . Yesterday an Admiralty intelligence officer en route to Belfast called and asked me give him my views on the Irish situation . I told him any surprise attack I thought would be a major calamity, that if they ~~felt~~ they had to take this step it should be proceeded by an appeal from the Dominions and colonies with a brief for the British case got up principally for American consumption also giving due notice of the date they were coming in. This would put the matter into the Dail where the Opposition could have a say. A surprise attack would be dealt with by DeValera and all debate would be quashed . The political advantage of an appeal and due notice I think would outweigh the military advantages of surprise. I sent a telegram to the Department <sup>Yuletide</sup> about this which may go to you.

2.

I wish I knew what Joe Kennedy has told you. I had several talks with him by telephone and several letters before he sailed and ~~when~~ I thought he was on the right track in the main. I never got the impression that he has evidently given at home. I can't see how "aide for Britain short of war" makes any sense if that aide is not sufficient to beat Hitler. If he beats Britain, controls Europe and has time to build a great fleet then we are in for it good and plenty. They are taking an awful battering in England. How long they can take it I don't know but we either <sup>ought</sup> ~~ought~~ to cut our losses and declare out now or put up what is needed to push Hitler over. I am sure you feel this way about it. You were one of the first to see it. The political difficulties are obvious but thank God you are on the job and if any one can cope with them it is you. Here is a queer one. I have had congratulations on your reelection from all the Diplomats and <sup>(these are the first)</sup> private consuls and of course from many individuals but not one word from any member of the government. The nuncio at a lunch party at which I was not present a few days before election predicted your defeat. There has been some dirty work at the cross roads I suspect. I shall find out. I may be wrong about it. A news broadcast last night on the American political situation suggests that the opposition is out to put you through the hoops. You seem to survive these amiable co-operations and accomplish very useful and important things for our country at the same time. This is December 1 and there is no frost yet in the ground and probably will not be but there is very little daylight. Maude sends you her love. Aff

DM,

MEMORANDUM - NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

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It may well be that the question of the Ports and Air Base accommodation in this country for Great Britain is no longer acute but we must reckon with the possibility of this question recurring in a more and more urgent form if the war should be protracted.

Our foreign policy cannot be dictated by isolated events. Nevertheless it is vital to prepare the ground in the light of probable consequences arising from foreseeable possibilities.

Our geographical situation, the vast number of our people resident in Great Britain, our complete economic dependence on Great Britain, both for supply and for markets, must largely determine our attitude towards Great Britain, quite apart from the fact that as the champion of democracy in this world war our political sympathies must naturally coincide with her cause as against that of the Berlin-Moscow authoritarian combination. These considerations are materially reinforced by the fact that the United States of America are for all intents and purposes allies of Great Britain against the Berlin-Moscow combination for the purposes of this war.

Any conflict with Great Britain seems to be something to be avoided, at almost any cost, but while circumstances might be conceived in which we would be justified in facing such a conflict provided that we had the support of our traditional ally, America, it is unthinkable and no circumstances whatever could justify our permitting a situation to develop in which Ireland would be involved in war

with Great Britain and the U.S.A. at the same time. Quite apart from the disaster that this would mean during the hostilities between us, it would further mean that in the years to come our unique position of independence in the shadow of a great and powerful neighbour like Great Britain would be completely destroyed by the alienation of American sympathy as the result of the conflict in which we had been engaged against them. The material considerations prohibiting a conflict between ourselves on the one hand and Great Britain and the U. S. A. on the other are further reinforced by the consideration that were such a conflict joined we could not prevent Germany intervening on our side by making attacks on such forces as Great Britain might employ in this country, and this would place us in the moral position of being the ally of Moscow and Berlin against London and Washington, thus (1) virtually accepting totalitarian ideology against democracy, (2) rendering outcasts and unfriendly aliens our people throughout the United States of America, Great Britain and the Dominions, (3) destroying our entire economic structure by the complete closing of the British market both for supply and disposal, (4) crippling the traditional Irish American alliance which has undoubtedly secured the survival of the Irish nation during the last 250 years.

If these considerations then are valid, it is not enough to sit passive and allow events to control our actions. We should be up and doing now to prevent any situation arising in which the possibility of a conflict between Ireland on the one hand and Great Britain and the United States on the other could possibly arise.

The only foreseeable contingency which could precipitate such an event would be a demand by Great Britain for

Naval and air base accommodation.

Personally I have always felt that the policy of neutrality was a grave mistake and that we would have more effectively vindicated our moral position in the world and protected our material interests by declaring war in September 1939, thus ensuring that by the time actual war reached our shores we would have been in an adequate state of defence and that the exigencies of censorship would not have conduced to confusing the public mind in this country, thus leaving it fertile soil for Nazi propaganda. However, vain regrets about past events avail nothing now and our object should be to avoid the catastrophe outlined above.

There are grave objections to any course of conduct at the present time but that should not induce a paralysis of action to be used as an excuse for inaction by timorous men. I therefore suggest that at the appropriate moment (which must be determined after further discussion) a responsible envoy of the Irish Government should seek direct contact with President Roosevelt and deliver the following message:

The policy of neutrality has made it impossible for any Irish Government, even though it wanted to, to consent to the transfer of the Ports and Aerial bases to Great Britain without precipitating civil war in Eire, because (1) censorship has left the public mind totally unprepared for such development, (2) the threat of aerial bombardment by Germany in such an event terrifies our people who know only too well how completely defenceless we are against aerial attack, having neither anti-aircraft guns nor aeroplanes; (3) like every other people the Irish cling to the wishful thought that neutrality may be made to endure.

Therefore the only means of transferring the Ports and Aerial Bases to Great Britain would be for Great Britain to seize them by force. This would involve the abandonment by Great Britain on her own behalf and incidentally on behalf of the United States of their entire moral position in this war and such action would retrospectively condone Germany's action in over-running Denmark, Belgium and Holland and Norway and Russia's action in attacking Finland. World opinion would say that the essential difference between them was that Germany did it efficiently and expeditiously whereas the democracies did the same thing, but inefficiently and as usual, too late.

Quite apart from the question of Ireland, in which we are naturally primarily interested, it would be a disaster of the first magnitude for the cause of democracy that such an abandonment of democracy's moral position should become inevitable.

If then the acquisition of these ports and bases became so vital to the avoidance of defeat by Great Britain, it may reasonably be inferred that the crisis giving rise to such a circumstance would be of a gravity sufficient to compel the United States of America either actively to come to Great Britain's aid or definitely to abandon all hope of her ultimate success. If then Great Britain is prepared to postpone the demand for this Naval and Aerial accommodation until such a crisis is at hand the United States of America could then invoke the aid which she has consistently given to Ireland for the last 250 years and in the name of this, ask from Ireland similar aid now when the safety of the United States itself is at stake. The United States stipulation might take the form of asking

Eire to give to the U. S. A. such naval bases and air bases as she required, to be used at the absolute discretion of the U.S.A. for American defence, in which event I believe that, fortified with the knowledge of American and British aid, the Irish people would cheerfully face the consequences, however, grave, of such a concession.

If America accepted this view and recommended it to the British, we would find ourselves in a completely new situation, with an absolute guarantee from America that unless and until America herself went to war she would sanction no demand made upon us by Great Britain for the surrender of our ports.

It is idle to imagine that if America and Great Britain were allied against Germany (even though we continued to profess neutrality) that Germany would forbear from attacking our ports if it suited her general strategy. Therefore we lost nothing by launching ourselves openly on the side of our traditional ally. If on the other hand in the vain hope of averting German attack we, by our intransigence, create a situation in which America and Great Britain felt justified in using force against us, we would find ourselves without a friend in the world, because if the strategy of Germany required the destruction of our Ports in order to cut off supplies and shipping accommodation from the Anglo-American alliance, we would find ourselves attacked on the one hand by the Axis and on the other hand by the London-Washington alliance, and so end up as an outcast amongst the nations with no friend to protect our liberties or to assist in the appalling problem of post-war reconstruction; and at the same time we would have converted our people, scattered as they are throughout the English-speaking world, into an outcast race with the hand of every man

against them.

The difficulties of this situation are not underestimated but it cannot be too strongly emphasized that passive inaction in the present situation would be criminal and is the surest way of precipitating the very disaster which everybody in the country is most concerned to avoid.



January 22, 1941.

file  
personal

DeLand  
Folder

My dear Boss : We got a very good reception of the inaugural on the radio and got a big kick out of it . We feel a hundred per cent with you over here. No reservations or criticism. The right thing done and what apparently was impossible becoming fact. It has been something of a blow for the Irish Patriot to feel that the United States had begun to feel that there were more important things than sustaining him against Britain. I have no proof but there are indications that the Government has been taken by surprise although I have been predicting something of the sort for five months . They evidently have been getting reports indicating that the Irish American extremists and Isolationist and Germanophiles together would defeat any active aid for Britain and any interventionist policy. I sent a long detailed memorandum of my last talk with Mr. DeValera ( too long for you to read) a week ago. I had told Sean T. O'Kelly that I was afraid to talk frankly to him and O'Kelly had said "go to it." He likes it. So I let out, The gist of it was <sup>that it was</sup> not so much Irish neutrality that was causing the sympathies of our two countries to diverge as the impression American newspaper men got that the Irish wanted Britain to be beaten even if they went down too, that since he had capitalized hatred of Britain for political advantage he could not escape his share of responsibility for ~~the~~ Irish public opinion even though he himself wanted Britain to win . Now the question was what to do about it.<sup>2</sup> You may have seen the telegram in which I condensed the conversation. ~~I sent him~~

I sent him a copy of the aide-memoire ten days ago and he has not complained of it. O'Kelly said it had done good. O'Kelly would consider a deal with ~~an~~ recognition of the two islands as a unit for defense as the price for ending Partition but Mr. D.V. lays his ears back and tells me that though he can see the force of treating the two islands as a unit for defense, he has a right to have partition ended without paying any price. So there you are. Yesterday I ~~Sent~~ <sup>American</sup> him a lot of State Department Bulletin extracts of editorial opinion including the last Gallup poll on should Ireland let England have the ports, 62 per cent for, 16 against, and 21 undecided. In South Boston, Providence etc. among first and second generation Irish 40 per cent for, 52 against, 8 undecided. I fear this has jolted him for he has ~~it~~ just telephoned asking me to come in and see him. I would be having a better time if I had any ~~xxxxxxxx~~ quick clear cut solution of the situation myself. I can't find anyone who has one. At the moment I think the most ~~that~~ that the British can do is to try for guarantees that if the Germans invade, DeValera will not wait and see but call them in at once. If he would do this definitely in writing he might get a pledge as to ending Partition. Perhaps before this reaches you events will have solved the deadlock. I hope you are sending some one to London who will execute your policy. For the last twenty two days we have had a New England Winter with the lawn snow covered and the plumbing bursting. And I have had an attack of bronchitis. I let my inoculations run out. I always think I can squeeze out an extra month of immunity and save money. Maude joins me in much love. We are both very grateful and appreciative of being kept on.

Aff Dmd,

*file*  
*1-41*  
February 10th 1941.

My dear Eleanor : Enclosed is my check for \$321.27 being the amount of the Tivoli Tax which Maude cabled you about . It was dear of you to remember us at Christmas. I have invested my share of it in a salmon rod although with the gasoline situation as it is at present, there will be very little fishing . In a motor car, one can get back from almost any part of Ireland in a couple of hours so that if anything turns up, one can be back on the job. But train travel is another matter, Irish trains taking sometimes a whole <sup>day</sup> to do a hundred miles, if changes have to be made. We have had a hard, cold, dark three months but there is now an appearance of spring and the long nights ~~now~~ have shortened. I am glad to tell you that Maude is really better than I have known her to be in a long long time. You know how stubborn she is . Well ever since she has been having the pain in the back of her neck, diagnosed by our Dr. Kennedy in Sarasota as a gouty neuritis I have been urging her to try the water cure and cut out so much sugar . At last she has tried it and it has made a most amazing change for the better . She is grand here , gets on with everybody and likes the Government Irish which is most important of all. It is necessary just now to make a special fuss about all purely Irish people and movements, because it is obvious that the Irish Government is not going to get from the United States the things they would like , as long as the prevailing sentiment of the country is against our aid to Britain policy . Before you get this and as soon as the

Lease and Lend bill passes, being anti-British here, is going to be tantamount to being anti-American for the purposes of the war.

For months I have tried to prepare Mr. DeValera for this but they have not believed me. His foreign office is very weak and they have evidently relied on what they have heard from the Irish-American pressure groups which were out to beat the President in the recent election. The Department and the President have backed me up in the most wonderful manner in this job and now we are reaching a point where Mr. DeValera has got to fish or cut bait. But it is all the more important on that very account for us to be as Irish as possible on all possible issues and on all possible occasions. One enterprise which I embarked on with purely calculated motives turned out to be very rewarding.

A debating society of members of the Technical Schools, asked me to attend a meeting and I was so interested that I accepted an invitation to preside at a debate later on. They are all under privileged and can never go to college but they are the liveliest, most intelligent and tolerant group of Irish people I have met. I can see that if you were here, they would be living in your pocket. Most of them are earning their own living while taking courses. Maude went with me the last time and was much impressed.

We got a delightful letter from you yesterday in which you described the family reunion for the Third inauguration. Also giving us news of Tissie's accident and Susie's condition. If Tissie will go driving to the Arts Circle in midwinter something is bound to happen. We got a cable yesterday asking for news of us. Poor darling she makes herself very lonely. Maude might go that way if we didn't have a knock-down battle every little while against isolationism. But she is learning to take all kinds of people much easier than she used to take them. By the time we are dead we shall both be accomplished in the art of living.

Our experience here is doing a great deal for both of us, and becomes continuously more interesting. If one <sup>tries</sup> ~~xxxx~~ really to do the job, I am beginning to see that it means getting inside, at least the <sup>more</sup> important phases of the national life, so that ~~xxxx~~ one doesn't have to rely on what foreign office officials tell ~~one~~, but can judge of the forces that are shaping the national policy for one's self. Things are very complicated here because there is a double set of political forces constantly at work, the <sup>usual</sup> ~~xxxxxxx~~ calculable forces of reasonable self interest and <sup>the other</sup> emotional forces that ~~may~~ motivate action in unpredictable ways. The great thing the DeValera government has done and is doing, is to govern in the interest of the underprivileged as far as possible. They have a real new deal here, which is altogether admirable except <sup>the</sup> party bitterness makes it impossible to draft notable persons with special <sup>administrative</sup> qualifications if they support the Opposition. It is as if Franklin could not invite Mr. Knudsen to take ~~his~~ the job he has given him because it would create a revolt among the Democrats. In regard to <sup>a</sup> relations with the outside world, especially England, even the Prime minister lives in a dream-wish-world. He and those who follow him cannot see that a small nation without coal, iron or means of defense can live across a sort of ~~East~~ River from Britain and be free and independent in the sense that a continent~~al~~ wide state or federation of states can be independent and free. They feel that if they are willing to die for this end, it is their right <sup>to attain it</sup> as if I should say that if I were willing to die for it I could be eight feet tall. Mr. DeValera defends this illusion with the genius of a Jesuit attorney always shifting his ground in argument to a position in which he is unassailable on moral grounds. When any kind of pressure is put on him whether of events, over which no one has control, or



as the consequence of errors of policy or administration he has the unfailing escape of charging it to England's imperialistic ~~policy~~ arrogance. This attitude and method ~~doesn't~~ appear in personal talk but they invariably do appear in public utterances. It is probable that there <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ been serious blunders in the administration of national supply but he will stand by his ministers and whether by a whispering campaign or by inuendo in public speeches will make the people believe it is all due to British pressure. In a recent speech he used substantially this expression: We are thoroughly blockaded by both belligerents whether by design or not by design. "To his Irish public, that last phrase tells the story. His alibi for the future is planted. There are many good reasons why he should keep his country neutral. It has no adequate defense for one thing but if he ~~felt~~ felt that he should contribute to the side which is upholding the rights which he relies upon he would at <sup>the</sup> least greatly weaken the political support that keeps him in power. The ~~xxx~~ politician <sup>in Ireland</sup> who has the custody of the Lion's tail is the one who retains power. If Mr. De. V. ever let that object get out of his hands he would be lost for his administration is expensive and not very efficient. But with the tail, his very high personal honesty as to money, his genuine sympathy for the under dog he will be very difficult to defeat. I like him very much though I despair of coping with him. He has it over me like a tent. For months he <sup>out</sup> ~~manoeuvred~~ Lloyd George and ended up by provoking him to make the fatal mistake of threatening "instant and terrible war", a threat which vitiated the Anglo-Irish settlement of 1922. Give our love to dear Tommy and all the family. Franklin's vision and uncanny leadership in the past months will probably have changed the course of history. It will rank with the battles of Tours and Vienna. It is very inspiring to be serving under him. Aff

Doni

*Ireland folder  
Dames 1-41*

March 6, 1941.

Dear David:-

I must be cryptic but I think you will understand.

I think you are unfair to the Board of Supervisors of Dutchess County or of Monroe County. Almost all of them were highly practical people.

Over here we also have people who live in a world of unreality, but they take it out in talk and represent very definitely a minority.

You need not "be careful".

As ever yours,

Honorable David Gray,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

Tuesday Feb. 4. 1941.

My dear Franklin : I had it in mind to invite Mr. Wilkie to come to Ireland and telegraphed the Secretary to inquire if he approved. He ~~then~~ thought it inadvisable. ~~Then~~ it was announced that Mr. W. was coming on his own and I telegraphed again saying that I thought it important that he should not come at all or else come under our auspices. The reply was that the Secretary thought it unlikely that Mr. Wilkie would come to Ireland. About seven o'clock last evening Joe Walshe ( External Affairs) called me up and said he had just heard that Mr. W. was coming arriving about nine thirty the following morning . He said that Mr. W. finding him self only an hour away from Dublin in Manchester had decided to run over and had got in touch with Dulanty , the Irish High Commissioner in London to arrange it . Walshe asked me and Chapin , our secretary to lunch on Mr. DeValera's behalf and asked us to assist in meeting Mr. Wilkie. Well, we got up in the dark at 8 a.m. ( Daylight Saving) and were at the aerodrome at 9.30 where I walked the runway ~~and~~ with Frank Aiken for just two hours. They had a puncture in Manchester just at starting. Hence the delay. I had meant to bring them to the Legation for a wash and a cup of coffee but there was no time and we all went to the Government building to Mr. DeValera's office where the requisite was done . They do these things better than we do. We give away no twenty year old "Irish." Mr. W. ~~walked~~ Went into a huddle with Mr. DeVa. in his office and I talked to Lan Thorne and Cowles the publisher who I had never met. I was in the car with Wilkie from the

Airfield .



air field but so was Frank Aiken so I had no chance to speak to him in private. We had a quick, very pleasant lunch and Wilkie and party flew off to have tea with George Rex. This was not advertised in Dublin before he left. I had a half minute's talk with him in the toilet after lunch. I said "did it go all right?" He whispered. I handed him a couple of jolts." That's all the inside I got. I was on the left of Mr. DeV. at lunch and asked him how he got on. He looked sour and said "Of course one has no time in an hour to explain our position" I said well, I think you did a very courageous thing in asking him over, as the Germans and Italians will not like it. He shrugged his shoulders and said "Oh. Well." Duplaty dined with me ~~then~~ <sup>later</sup>. He is charming but gets tight. Before he got blotto I gathered from him that The Dominions Office had fixed up the trip for Mr. W. Either Mr. DeV. is meditating a shift in his orientation or else the D.O. put over a fast one on him for the inescapable effect of the visit <sup>the</sup> on Irish public mind is that Mr. W. was here selling "Aid to Britain." Before this reaches you you will have heard the inside. But I think Dev. was caught off balance for once.

"Confidential sources" [for your ear James Dillon deputy leader of the Opposition and Opposition member of the defense Council] inform me that the afternoon of the Fifth <sup>Mr. B. Vane</sup> he informed the Council <sup>as to</sup> of the State of the Nations and its many difficulties and said that in the matter of getting arms the American minister whom he presumed was suggesting the views of the <sup>very</sup> President was not helpful. This referred to my conversation with him on the 22 January when I said that while I had no instructions from my government on the point, I would not recommend that he should be given an allotment of arms and supplies from America unless ~~after he were invaded~~ he were ready to engage himself for the

that AFTER he was invaded and his neutrality destroyed he would co-operate with the Allies for the duration, my reason being the disturbing impressions I had been receiving of the trend of Irish public ~~the~~ opinion. He refused to make any engagements. The Defense Council Opposition members listened in stony silence and later told him through Dillon that they feared his policy was leading them to a situation in which they might be simulataneously at war with Britain, the Germans, the United States and themselves. I am sending Mr. DeV. a copy of the memorandum of our conversation on Jan. 22 with ~~the~~ a covering letter, a copy of which I enclose. It has seemed impossible to make any of these people realize what was going on in the U.S.A. or that the American people had very little understanding or sympathy with Mr. DeValera's academic contentions. I have no one to consult with about the line I ought to take and if I am getting out on a limb send me a <sup>telegram</sup> ~~line~~ saying "careful" but I feel that I only can be helpful to you and to Ireland by trying to interpret your policy AND ITS IMPLICATIONS to this government. It is better that they get their feet on the ground even if they blame me for <sup>the shock</sup> ~~it~~ than that they should go on in the world of unreality in which they are existing. A bad economic situation is imminent. <sup>2</sup> ~~P~~rol and coal shortage has demoralized the country's industries and there is already distress <sup>resulting</sup> from ~~the~~ new unemployment. If the government has no more imagination and foresight in coping with this than they have shown in regard to the shortage of supplies they are in for a bad time which the Opposition will let them enjoy to the full. Their weakness is that they are afraid to call in outstanding private citizens as emergency men. They would be charged with selling out to the British. With one or two exceptions the whole government is of the timber of the Dutchess Co. Board of

Supervisors . The Dail makes me think of the Supervisors meetings that I used to report in Monroe county when I worked on the Rochester Union and Advertiser. Have you heard this one ? Some people going by a grave yard saw a man kneeling down by a grave and crying out Oh why did you die? Oh Why did you die ?." They said to him, "you must be in great grief. I am", he said. "Would it be your mother ? they asked. It is not my mother," he said. "Would it be your father? It is not my father." Would it be your wife? No, he said. ~~Then who may it be~~ "My wife's first husband," ~~he said~~.

I hear nothing ~~fr~~ but praise from the American newspaper people who know Winant . To me it seems a ten strike appointment, an entirely new idea in Ambassadors to Britain . ~~A~~ Unless there is some objection to it I wish you would suggest that I be ordered over for a weeks consultation with him later on . <sup>(He and I)</sup> We ought to work together on the present job assuming the passage of the Lease and Lend Bill. Maude and I are admiring the way you are handling this piece of legislation. It is expected to pass the House today.

God Bless you. Love to everybody.

Aff

Smil,

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

4wuh 10 CABLE.

DUBLIN, Mar. 13, 1941

LC. THE PRESIDENT:

Admiring congratulations. Love.

MAUDE DAVID GRAY.

PSF; Ireland folder  
1-41

File  
personal

✓

Ireland & Falcher  
1-41

file  
personal

March 18, 1841.

My dear Franklin : We are very full of your speech made the other night at the White House Correspondents dinner . By the time you get this it will have passed into history and we shall be entering upon the next phase . Having had a year's experience in watching public sentiment in a miniature country and trying in a feeble and indirect way to assert some influence upon it, I can appreciate as never before the technique of your statesmanship . I think a number of people may have had your prophetic vision, but I think no <sup>other</sup> living American could have translated it into <sup>political</sup> action and that is ninety per cent of the matter. I suppose God gave you a strenuous wife and a set of broncho children to practise you in this matter of patient waiting for the moment . I get some exercise of that kind myself.

I haven't written you lately because I know how over worked and over worried you must be . But I have written very fully to Sumner Welles, a letter which Bill Donovan carried back, and I telegraphed everything that appears to have significance . I have just been reading Mr. DeValera's broadcast to America which goes on tonight. It will do him no good over there. He cannot get out of this self-centered dream world and realize that the Irish will be goose-stepping if Britian goes down . If he should give me an opening I would have this kind of a talk with him.

I would say. "Suppose we give you wheat; how are you going to get it to Ireland? You have no ships . Will you ask British seamen to

risk their lives, will you ask the protection of British convoys and recognize no indebtedness for the service, but on the other hand instruct public opinion for political ends to make no distinction between the belligerents?"

I would say, "What do you mean by self sufficiency? How can a ~~xxxx~~ country of three million people without coal or iron or other minerals; without rubber, oil, cotton, better grade wools, hemp, tea coffee, wine, citrus fruits, vegetable oils, silk, timber, chemicals, talk about not having altogether attained self sufficiency."

I would say, "how could you defend yourself over night against any third rate power, unless it was British policy to protect you?"

I am very bright writing to you but if I were talking to him in his office I couldn't pin him down. He would make a monkey of me.

9 This running a government on hatred ~~for~~ another country is a very dangerous thing and is bound to land him on the scrap heap eventually. It is becoming clear to me that the epitome of ~~the~~ <sup>pol. life</sup> Irish history for the past nineteen years is this: Cosgrave tried honestly to implement co-operation ~~and~~ within the British Commonwealth of Nations and conciliation toward Ulster. He had Ulster almost ready to come in. To do ~~it~~ this he had to let go the Lion's tail. DeValera got hold of it, came into power on the twistings that he gave it, and still has it. Poor Cosgrave tried to run after him and get a <sup>new</sup> hold on the tail but he had no chance. The ~~xxx~~ I.R.A. reach after the tail and worry the Prime minister. He shakes them off by giving it an extra twist. It will be hard to make him loosen his grasp but he has alienated Ulster so that no ~~settlement~~ <sup>settlement</sup> can come about while he is in power. The one thing that can save him from himself and the ~~impoderables~~ <sup>impoderables</sup> that he has ignored, is a German invasion which will force him to

come out against Hitlerism . He wants England to win but his parochial estimate of the importance of considerations of *Irish* *pride* blind him to enlightened self interest , *Christian* principle and all sense of reality. He will not realize that it was the Manchester Guardian that won the Black and Tan war *for Ireland* and not Michael Collins's guerillas who were finished at the time of the truce . All this is falsified for Irish children whose school histories suggest that the Republican Army beat Britain at the height of her power . We have had a good deal of that ourselves but although there probably would have been no Yorktown without French aid the two situations are not comparable. The most tragic thing that I have met with in Ireland is this inculcated ~~mixed~~ hatred of *Britain* in the young. With a great many, it does not take, but it takes with enough enormously to complicate the inevitable co-operation which must be worked out if Ireland is to survive as a state.

Maude sends you a great deal of love . We are not so hot here as we were but she keeps her hand in with the Fenian women . Forty three cows in our back yard, three belonging to us, have just been slaughtered because of foot and mouth disease. Only one animal was infected and the meat of the uninfected beasts was wasted.

Aff

*Brn*



COPY

*From the Countess of Meath,  
a dear & lady.*

Killruddery,  
Bray,  
Co. Wicklow.

March 10, 1941.

Dear Mr. Gray,

Somehow I feel I must tell you what we are feeling, my husband and I, of absolute glorious gratefulness to your great country and your magnificent President. What an Orator. We just thank God. All those nightmare months since May when we scarcely dared face up to the next day - forsaken - utterly "Let down". Life was almost too hard to bear and now the great hope. Your President's magnificent Loving Vibrant words must "move" the whole of man and woman kind. How one wants to show one's great thankfulness. Whatever is ahead of us now we are not alone - Thank God.

My poor husband has been really ill with a horrid Flu and alas I have collapsed with it also and we are feeling quite awful. To what depths of misery Flu can drag one.

This wants no answer please but do remember us both to your wife and yourself. One feels so cut off minus petrol but hope we may meet again one day.

Yours,

Aileen Meath.



COPY

Hillbrook,  
Castleknock,  
Co. Dublin.

Monday 17th.

*Mr French has attached in  
French letter has request to serve  
with de Gaulle*

Sir,

May I express to Your Excellency the feeling of deep gratitude and sincere admiration that the marvellous speech of President Roosevelt has brought to my heart of Frenchman. This means for my country recovery of freedom.

We are very glad that you and Mrs. Gray were so kind as to accept our invitation to lunch next Saturday at one fifteen.

May I ask you to believe me

Very sincerely yours,

L. Bedin.

file  
personal  
April 4th , 1941.

My dear Boss : Last night James Dillon made a devastating attack on the censorship in which he quoted with great effect from your recent speech in which you enumerated the rights that were worth dying to preserve. It would have been a great speech in any legislature and was so documented that there was no reply to it. Mr. DeV. did as well as could be done by saying that a censorship was needful to preserve Irish neutrality and a united country and that he thought the censor did a hard and thankless job as well as it could be done. James caught them censoring the Pope and one of the leading Irish bishops, things hard to laugh off. James charged that the German minister comes around and complains and as there is a school of thought which has believed that Germany is going to win the war they jump through hoops for him. Dillon told DeValera that his St. Patrick Day broadcast to America had been at the least 'tactless' in that he implied that Britain was blockading <sup>Ireland</sup> equally with Germany and suggested that America was embarking in aid of an 'imperialistic adventure'. He didn't think this was a good approach to getting things Ireland needed from the U.S.A. DeV. tried to wriggle out by saying that he had said that in blockading each other they both blockaded Ireland and that he would stand by that. Then Dillon read the figures of imports for the first year of the war which showed scarcely any diminution from Britain. He also pointed out that everything they were getting today which was still a great deal

came from Britain directly or indirectly . As Britain had not sunk Irish ~~British~~ ships <sup>and</sup> murdered Irish seamen and as Germany had done and was still doing these things, it was obvious to him that Britain was not on the same footing as Germany . All DeV. could say to this was that the people wanted to keep out of the war and he intended to carry out their wishes. ~~His moral~~ The moral weakness of his position is that ~~that~~ of the man who is beating a ride and wants to criticize the conductor.

You must be having the helluva time with the Communists fomenting strikes . You'll get them rounded up in the end but it is very bad medicine for the moment.

One of the secretaries of the French legation lunched here today. He says that if Darlan doesn't play straight the best thing would be for Washington and South America to withdraw recognition of Vichy, that most of the career diplomats would resign in sympathy . He said we didn't understand how important recognition was to Vichy in keeping up the pretense that France was independent . He said LeDrun before the armistice was about to go to Africa but was dissuaded by Petain, on the pleas that if he did, Vichy could get no recognition. Some of them here still think Darlan is playing a double game on Hitler, other that he is a S.O.B. net and out only for Darlan like Laval.

James Dillon dined here the other night and discussed the question of economic pressures on DeV and how the best approach to the ports could be made if we become actively engaged or if we get to the point of convoying . He thinks that the promise of what DeV needs <sup>desired</sup> in American ships if those ships and the convoying war ships are allowed to use Irish ports would be very very difficult for him to refuse.

There might be something in this.

He thinks it is probable that Aiken has been empowered to make some such deal. He thinks too that it is quite possible that Dev. has figured it out this way ? At the right moment ~~xxxxxxx~~ which will co-incide with the sinking of some Irish ship he will rise in the Dail and say , " God knows I have leaned backwards in the effort to be neutral but no man with red blood can stand anymore of this." Of course German invasion would be the best and easiest solution. He said ~~xxxx~~ last night that if it came, those on his side would not be less resolute in opposing it than those who appeared to care less for neutrality.

I haven't seen him since the last American broadcast. I had to cool out. I told the Vice Premier that it was apparent his chief had no idea what was going on in America and that the speech was as well calculated to <sup>2</sup>prevnt Ireland getting what she wanted as was possible. My line now is to be very cheerful and say, well boys this is your show, only if you find that our things are available only for those doing their bit for Democracy don't be surprised. You can't have it both ways."

Maude sends her best to you'uns.

Aff

(David Gray)

Mussolini gave the order to advance against the foe,  
So forth to Abyssinia all the organ grinders go.  
But now they are incapable of any sort of grind  
For they're back from Abyssinia with their organs left behind.  
The hordes of Abyssinia have returned to hearth and home,  
With brick-bats for the mantel-shelf imported straight from Rome.  
While the Pope is inundated with requests to join the Choir  
From men whose normal voices are at least an octave higher.  
Mussolini mounts the rostrum as the regiments return  
With the unknown Cuneo's ashes in a truly Roman urn -  
Says he - This State occasion for ~~the~~ recognition truly calls  
What shall we give the heroes - and the heroes answer - Balls.

P.S.

If the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James has not sent you the enclosed he is not on the job . Replace him with a good man. The poem is said to be the work of A.P. Herbert.

D.

PSF: Ireland Golden  
1-41

## TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

43WU. RA. 12- 11:40 a.m.

Dublin, April 10, 1941

L.C. Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt/

Loving thanks, Happy Easter to all.

Gray.

file  
personal

✓

*file  
personal.*

*Inland Folder  
1-41*

April 22, 1941.

My dear Boss : Tom Campbell is leaving in a few minutes and I have a chance to send you a line which ought to reach you within ten days. He came over yesterday at a good deal of inconvenience to himself and I took him to the Prime Minister in the afternoon and last night we had a little dinner with the six best cabinet ministers and the first free discussion I have heard since I came here. I told them that transportation was the essence of the situation and by being unable or unwilling to contribute to the safety of the sea lanes they were making it very difficult for us to help them. Their offer to defend their own territory if we would arm them was all right but that was not a contribution to the essence of the problem. It all went pleasantly enough but we got no encouragement. In the afternoon DeValera told us that he considered that we had abandoned our position of neutrality and so could not give us port facilities as a fellow neutral if we should ask for them. It is very difficult to know what is wise and right in the circumstances. At present I am inclined to believe that economic pressure is the only thing that may bring them to realize their situation but it is possible they will make it another martyrdom. They are gluttons for punishment. What a lovely fellow Campbell is ! He has been really very helpful. They all took to him and trusted him from the start. He will tell you the situation as of this date. Take care of yourself. Aff  
Maude sends love to you all.

*Maude*



I don't write you, because  
David is always  
telling you everything,  
but we love you with deep  
pride - Love to your Bros.  
Maude.

The bearer of this is a real  
darling. Make him when  
you can Secretary of  
Agriculture -

*Ireland Folder*

*file personal*  
May 7, 1941.

Dear Boss : Many thanks for your cryptic lines about the Monroe Co. Supervisors. It is a great help to know that you understand what we are up against here . There is a dispatch going to the Department in this pouch which gives in some detail the interview with Mr. DeVale in which we told him about Aiken and about his own anti-British ventures in the U.S.A. . An A.P. man had told me that in a recent talk with the Prime Minister he had said sourly " that he was tired of being pushed about by that fellow" meaning you, so that I took an unchristian satisfaction in asking him what he meant by saying that Britain was blockading Ireland equally with Germany , in his broadcast to America in words that took me a good deal of time to choose. Half way through he got red as a beet, and shouted out, " This is an impertinence to question the statements of the head of a state." I said that I was not prepared to argue that with him but that he must remember that he delivered his message to America at a time when feeling was very tense, that his anti-British friends had tried to beat you, which they had a right to do, that they had tried to beat the lend and lease act and were now engaged in trying to sabotage the American aid to Britain policy that in encouraging anti-British sentiment in America he could only be regarded ( unless there were another explanation for his language) as inciting opposition to the American Government . He calmed down then and we went on with the piece .

I haven't been able to find out yet whether he has told any of his cabinet of the incident. There are no outward signs of it. We <sup>think he</sup> pigeon-holes everything of this nature but I shall get it out of Sean T. ~~O'Ke~~ O'Kelly or Shane McEntee~~x~~ who is lunching with us on Saturday. You probably will have to go on the air to the Irish people some day before very long. The reports of speeches like Stimson's this morning ( May 7 about the need for using the Navy at once) are printed very fully but <sup>public</sup> no discussion is allowed and no one really knows ~~who~~ what the people feel. Take care of your health no matter what you have to neglect. God Bless you.

Aff


Sm,

*file  
personal*THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1941

## MEMORANDUM

The President has offered the Irish Government sale or charter of two ships to take food supplies for the civilian population of Ireland. In addition to that he has requested Norman Davis to see the Irish Minister and to say that the President was willing to authorize the expenditure of five hundred thousand dollars from the President's relief fund for the purchase of food for the civilian populations in Ireland. Mr. Norman Davis so advised the Irish Minister yesterday.



Ireland Folder  
Number 1-41

file  
personal

May 28, 1941.

My dear Boss : I heard the canned version of your Fireside Talk on the seven o'clock news this morning. They made a very good record of it in London. It is just another bulls eye. That is all I can say about it. To report on my own little shop, - if you have not been too busy with more important matters you may have seen my rather steamed-up telegrams on the conscription situation. I'd like to see ~~them~~ all *these telegrams* drafted and put in the front line but it would have been madness just now for there is much bigger game in prospect. Mr. D.V. has, I think, never experienced such a fast one as you put over with the two ships and the "Red Cross" wheat. It's the only laugh I've had since I fell down the ice house last summer. I had just received a copy of his peevish declination of the ships and his announcement that he was sticking by Aiken when the papers carried the news of your "Generous Gift to the Irish People". There has been no ~~official~~ official statement about it but it went over big with the public which of course was what was wanted. You have invented the right technique for this situation. What I tell him doesn't get to his own cabinet unless I leak it out to some of them. A week ago yesterday he told Gen. Mulcahy, Opposition member of the Defense Council that I was misrepresenting Ireland to Washington and that if I were not a friend of yours and if the situation were not so tense he would ask for my recall. Today I am his fair haired boy. I had a hunch to send him the purport of the first three telegrams I sent

the Department ~~on~~ the conscription crisis . Immediately he telephoned me thanking me profusely and saying I had made ~~xxxxix~~ an objective statement of the situation beyond criticism. This was at five P.M. I came in from dinner late and found a call up request. He immediately began in a very sour voice to tell me the <sup>the</sup> escape ~~clau~~ clause for Irish ~~xxxx~~ Catholic Nationalists could not be accepted. I thought this was his well known tactic. He gets you hooked in principle and then whittles away. It made me very angry and I told him I was through, that we could not consider taking any part in a negotiation which involved the principle of partition , that in the interest of saving a tragic situation if he was not willing to accept a compromise without prejudice to his position he was taking a dangerous course and ~~safing~~ <sup>making</sup> on this ice . On this we rang up and I expected my passport in the morning . Instead while Cosgrave was here, asking if we could help, D.V. rang up, said that the talk had been unsatisfactory on the telephone so he was sending me his position in a letter. This was a very temperate, reasonable document and I at once told him so and hoped that when he addressed the Dail on Monday he would say nothing that <sup>and</sup> <sup>more</sup> make it difficult for Washington in the case they felt their interests were involved. When the news came that Churchill had decided not to enforce the order he called me up himself and thanked me. I am more than ever sure that you were right in letting me rap his knuckles for " pressure grouping " as in his American broadcast . "e hated it but the whole tone of things has been better ever since. They have stopped this line of mean inuendo in their speeches. He cannot realize that the Irish do not run America but it is beginning to dawn on him . Dillon tells me he is used to having two ministers, ours and his own and is very sore

3.

because I ~~am~~ am not taken in by his technique . As soon as the ~~xxx~~ effect of this latest speech of yours begins to be evident I'll wire you .

We had Dan Breen, the gunman who started the Black and Tan war by murdering two policemen, lunching with us yesterday. He is now an m.p. He has over a dozen bullet holes in him, and has probably killed twenty cops. Maude thought he was fine.

Aff

Dan

Ireland Folder

file  
personal

June 9th, 1941.

My dear Franklin : Bob Hinkley is here today and starting home tomorrow so I have a chance to get a line off to you that will reach you within the week. Three or four days ago I called on Walshe (Permanent Secretary for External Affairs ) on the occasion of his installation in new offices. He at once opened on the question of arms. I told him that I had receded from my personal position of arms for Ireland when in January I began to appreciate the widely spread anti-British feeling, that DeValera had refused to make any undertaking even on the supposition that Ireland were invaded by Germany and that I would not do anything more . He asked what undertaking I required. I said his word that if invaded he will be in the war and all Irish facilities available for use by Britain and ourselves . With this I would undertake to reopen the question of arms for Ireland but could promise nothing and that of course if my Government considered the proposal favorably they would require something in writing . There the matter rests.

The aftermath of the recent bombing discloses the fact that there is no resentment against Germany . DeValera made a formal statement of the event in the Dail but only, so Dillon tells me, after the Opposition threatened to bring it up for debate if he made no statement. I think this means a very lively fear of the Germans, also a definite unwillingness to make any sacrifice to help England . This last is very



general though a majority of both Government and people would rather have England win than Germany.

The result in Crete I think will make <sup>Irish</sup> resistance to a major German air attack perfunctory. I think DeValera will say " we are helpless,; neither Britain nor the U.S. would arm us. It is their fault. I am not going to have my people slaughtered. I think you have got to count on this. I am also beginning to think that if any port seizing has to be done it could be done without serious trouble by us if there were a landing in force with a display of air force over Dublin dropping leaflets.

I don't think DeValera is going to change his line unless forced to do so. He has deliberately passed up the chance to excite anti-German feeling over the recent bombing. He has in fact clamped down on expression of anti-German feeling. He either has an understanding with the Germans on which he relies or what is more likely he is blindly taking the thousand to one chance that he can escape involvement, get a free ride and no fare collected after the war by a forgiving Britain. In the present phase ( your judgement is far better than mine) I would be tempted to smoke him out by giving him anti-aircraft guns to resist German barbarism with a press release that would make it difficult to refuse. But he would refuse a public offer I think. As often as possible do some favor for the Irish people but always PUBLICLY so that he cannot pigeonhole it. If we have a vaccine for the foot and mouth disease as Tom Campbell says we have send some of that over quick. Keep the people behind us and the Opposition. Then if you have to do anything, you can split the country. The government and most of the people are still living in a dream world.

*ap in ltr, Dm.*

PSF: Ireland Folder

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

July 17, 1941

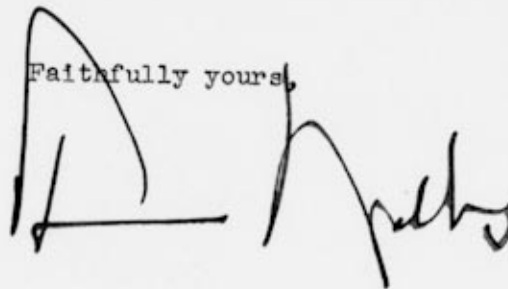
*File  
Personal*

My dear Mr. President:

Many thanks for letting me see this letter from David Gray. I found it particularly interesting, and I feel there is a good deal in his first suggestion.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,  
The White House.

✓

PSF: Ireland Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

This is interesting. Please  
read and return.

F. D. R.

Letter to the President from  
David Gray dated June 26, 1941.

June 26, 1941.

My dear Boss : I have passed on several suggestions as to possible courses of procedure in case American security demanded the occupation of certain Irish facilities <sup>either</sup> to forestall their use by the Germans or to win the battle of the Atlantic . Here is another one that has been given to me : Ireland is probably headed, if not for a famine as in 1847 certainly for great hardship with economic dislocation. Hunger is a possibility dependent <sup>on</sup> crop failure or success. To date the wheat prospects are not good in many localities and lack of rain now and wet harvest weather would spell catastrophe. Though England might have relieved the situation in 1847 it is beyond her power to do so now. With shipping losses mounting, and shipping needed for the middle east she must conserve all ~~max~~ imports for her own fighting people. As we sent food stuffs to Ireland in the famine of the middle of the last century so ought we now on a much greater scale, but to safeguard the Irish people against hardship and hunger we must be able to protect our <sup>armed</sup> carriers both as they approach the Irish coasts and when they lie in Irish ports to discharge . This protection involves the use of neighboring airfields by defense fighter planes and such other protective measures as might be needed. It is certain that DeValera would refuse these protective facilities to us. Are we therefore to let the Irish people suffer from the obstinate stupidity of their present government or should we take a strong hand and arrive with supplies

and armed forces, <sup>best</sup> either with or without notice? The kind thing with the <sup>best</sup> interests of the Irish people in mind would be to move in, both in the interest of American and of Irish defense. It is thought unlikely that DeValera would or could do more than protest vigorously if such a course were adopted, and the Opposition would probably accept a fait accompli with gratification. It is thought that a large majority of the people would share this view, though they would not favor "giving up" the ports. The basic idea of this proposal was to meet American political conditions and to a large extent Irish opinion.

This, for what it is worth. I shall have something interesting to tell you about it when we meet. Just now there is a feeling here that the Russian situation has postponed the possibilities of ~~invasion~~ invasion indefinitely. This may be so. On the other hand if the Germans have stuff enough it may come very soon. Delay is the one thing that will be fatal to Hitler.

Aff  $\Delta$ .

P.S. There is a possibility that I have heard discussed that Germany under cover of general air raids on Britain might land air born troops here, seize the government, set up a puppet government, already believed to be appointed and attempt to organize the country against England. This country is in effect defenseless against bombing and the landing of air carried troops under cover of bombers. How far Fifth Columnists could split the country <sup>So as</sup> to take part actively on the side of Germany I don't pretend to guess. Clever handling with the cry of "marching on Belfast" might be formidable. But in any such case this country would be a battle field which American occupation in time might prevent.

This is Friday morning June 27. and I have just come back from the air field where I went to meet Frank Aiken. He shook my hand but looked pretty sour. DeValera and several cabinet ministers were there and very cordial. I thought it would be a good thing to show up at the landing. I have been trying to find out <sup>is the status of</sup> just ~~what~~ the two ships and the half million gift of wheat for Eire. There has never been a published announcement of acceptance here, only the Washington dispatch that they had been given and DeValera's note accepting them. Nothing public from the Government. I am writing London to get this over to you by a courier travelling by air. Maude sends her best.

Saturday June 28, 1941. Last night the British wireless had your announcement about rifles for Eire (though without ammunition) and the statement that thus far you had received no undertaking that they would be used only to repel a German invasion. It was a bullseye <sup>morning</sup> ~~but~~ it was apparently censored from the <sup>newspapers</sup>. I am inquiring if it was in fact censored so that I may not report it as censored <sup>if it was not</sup>. However the news was pretty generally spread by the B.B.C.

I have just heard from an absolutely responsible source that DeValera told him before Bill Donovan made his visit, that you had sent Donovan to every Catholic Bishop in America to ask him to use his influence on the Irish Government to turn over the ports to Britain. ~~They xxxsaxlittlax~~ This gives you an idea of the kind of thing that DeValera can and does believe. The difference between your ideas and mine are that yours are always capable of translation into political realities. I wonder if you think I am crazy in believing that when we win ~~this~~ this war we must utilize the Hitler conquest of Europe to ensure an economically united Europe ~~but~~ politically organized to control Germany, that is a U.S. of Europe. Percy Lorraine dined here last night. He was British Ambassador to Italy at the outbreak of the war. Some one in Italy had passed this one on to him. "President Roosevelt speaks of making America the arsenal of Democracy. We are that now" (referring to the material lost in Abyssinia and Libya.)

*Ireland Folder*

August 2, 1941

Dear David:

Yours of July twenty-eighth has just come as I am leaving for a short cruise. Praise the Lord you have got the number of certain persons in the Emerald Isle!

Those postal curiosities are tremendously interesting and a real addition to my collection.

Much love to you and Maude.

Affectionately,

Honorable David Gray,  
The American Minister,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.



July 28, 1941.

Dear Boss : On the 19th, DeValera sent for me and wanted to know what your statement to the Press, to the effect that you had not received any undertaking that American arms, if supplied to Ireland, would be used to repel a German invasion might mean, in the case that you had actually made it. I said that if you had made it as reported it probably meant exactly what it said, that I had <sup>special</sup> no knowledge about it.

I reported this by telegram to the Department with a resume of the rest of the conversation.

The most interesting thing he said was that in the event that we should at some future time take over the base at Derry he would feel that it was a concern of his government as, while he recognized the de facto ~~government~~ occupation of the Six Counties by Britain " <sup>waive</sup> they could not their claim of sovereignty to the territory. I told him of course that this was a matter he would have to take up with my government through his own Minister in Washington. It is a measure of the fatuousness of the man and his unwillingness to see his position objectively. I have been developing the theme of Irish Nationalist opposition <sup>in the U.S.</sup> to our approved policy of Aid for Britain on all occasions with the Prime Minister and in letters and conversations with members of the government and members of the Dail who ask me why we do not give them arms. It is a great shock to them that we have a grievance and that we do not take kindly to their playing *their politics in our yard.*



I make it clear that the high class, responsible Irish Americans are not involved in this, but that the groups that conduct the campaign claim to represent Ireland and that no one disputes their claim. If I don't take the offensive now, when the economic pressures begin to hurt, as they will soon, we shall be blamed. I am making it clear or trying to make it clear that no matter how generously <sup>S</sup>disposed our Government may be to Ireland, majority opinion in America would not sanction our making sacrifices for people who will do nothing for us. ~~Senator MacDermot is giving notice that~~ I am told <sup>by</sup> members of his party that Aiken has assured his friends that he lined up the Irish Groups in the United States. The other night a senator of his party told me that he had said that he had advised sabotage. Of course I make no reference to Aiken except that when in America he addressed one or more of these Nationalist groups, and so identified the Irish Government with them. The fact that I have had no denial as to the attitude of the Irish-American Nationalists and no repudiation of them leads me to believe that the Irish Government is deeper in, than they would want known. I pushed this at the Prime Minister in our last talk pretty strongly and hotly and he Squirmed but had no come-back. However, I believe he has no idea of changing his course and cannot see that he missed the boat in not inviting us in, as the Icelanders did. Senator MacDermot went to see him recently and urged him to do just this, showing how it would solve all their problems. He said it was "too late." MacDermot is introducing a resolution in the Senate to this effect, "Resolved that the Irish Government invite the United States to protect Ireland from aggression." A very good wording.

I told the prime minister that while I had no special knowledge ~~as to the base at~~ <sup>Army</sup>

as to the base at Derry, nor as to the plans of the British and U.S. Governments, it looked to me as it must to him, that we had given up all thought of any help from him, were going to make a fortress out of the Six Counties, fill ~~it~~ with troops and tanks <sup>and air planes</sup> so that the German invasion, if it came, would not begin there, that we were not really interested from a military viewpoint in the help of his infantry ~~but~~ as the British had man power enough, as soon as it could be properly armed, <sup>we were interested</sup> but in the help that bases would give us in fighting the battle of the Atlantic. The implication was that if he chose to be a battle ground, that was his responsibility. Dillon sees this and other leaders of the Opposition as well as individual supporters of "neutrality and they are very anxious. I am very glad that we have never asked for anything, though there is a considerable school of thought here, which believes that if we did <sup>"insistently"</sup> ask we should get what we wanted.

There is no use of you trying to do business <sup>with this man</sup> through me or other regular channels. When you want to make a move, do it like the offer of the two ships and the half million dollars worth of wheat, or like the remark about the arms that I have spoken of. That gets over. Diplomatic stuff is pigeon-holed. I don't think he tells any one of his ministers. He feels that he knows best. The British don't understand this at all and DeValera makes a monkey of them by always using it. I have tried to make Maffy understand but he doesn't really. He thinks it isn't quite cricket I suspect, but he is a grand fellow.

<sup>Some one here</sup> has an idea in which there is merit if the British could understand it: This is to give the Irish a very large quantity of ~~rather~~ mediocre elderly rifles, a balloon barrage and as much other <sup>Conspicuous</sup> out of date equipment as could be spared from the Home Guard as they

~~get equipped with modern~~

Cut the name out

get equipped with modern stuff. This <sup>is</sup> would be publicized perhaps by questions in the house, objecting to it and an answer by the government which would suggest that an agreement had been reached with DeValera. All this on the radio a couple of times. The army would welcome the stuff and between the army and the German Minister and his Irish friends something might bolt the hole. You have to fight fire with fire and glory be to God you understand this situation. Hopkins postscript to the news last night went very big but it reads better than it sounded on the wireless.

I am sending you some postal curiosities which may interest you. Throw them out if they don't.

Maude sends her love. Bless you. Take care of yourself.

Aff

Ona

They picked up a new parachutist the other day. He came down in Meath where he left his parachute and wireless set. He got over the border and the British caught him. He proved to be an Irishman who had been in Jersey when the Germans went in. How they happened to catch him I haven't heard yet. He won't talk and has been sent to London. Of course it is impossible with things as they are, for you to take any strong action here, even if it were necessary. ~~which~~. You know better than I if it ~~is~~ is necessary. But if conditions made it possible, it would be the kind thing to do for Ireland. The alternative is cold and deprivation and a retribution waiting for this government at the end of the war, which ever side wins. Major Wofford ~~the~~ military attaché has brought in some suggestions of this kind made ~~from Irish~~ in confidence to him by Irish officers. He is a very good appointment and doing very well.

D.

Ireland Folda

Printe

August 21, 1941.

Dear David:-

Thank you for yours of July eleventh. I got back a few days ago from the Churchill conference and I think it has done good. Also it may make a few more people in Ireland see the light.

Good old Pa Watson got off a line yesterday which has more truth than poetry in it. We were talking about Senator Bob Reynolds, now Chairman of Military Affairs Committee. We agreed that Hitler must be very hungry to have bought a North Carolina cracker. Then we spoke of Dave Walsh, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee in the Senate, and Pa said "The chief trouble with him is that he hates England more than he loves the United States".

It is a rather dreadful thing to say but I must admit that if factories close in Ireland and there is a great deal more suffering there, there will be less general sympathy in the United States than if it had happened six months ago. People are, frankly, getting pretty fed up with my old friend Dev.

As ever yours,

Honorable David Gray,  
American Legation,  
Dublin,  
Ireland.

July 11, 1941.

*Enclosure*  
*Gr. Mr. G's*  
*memo*

Dear Boss : The enclosure was sent down to me by hand from Belfast. The writer is the head of an ancient Irish clan in Kerry. He is also a member of the Irish senate, and, as he says, in his "private capacity" an officer in the British army and assistant chief of staff in Ulster. I had him to lunch and asked him his views on the importance of the ports and air bases from a military point of view. There has been no authoritative military study and analysis made of this problem as yet.

Iceland and the announcement about Americans working on the naval base at Derry have been prominently featured in the Eire newspapers.

As far as I can read the government attitude, it is worrying them intensely and making people feel that the Ulster move will leave them out ~~exactly~~ in the cold which is just what is best for the situation just now. However, I don't think there is a chance that DeValera will back track. He is very blind and stubborn. But we have constant reports of people who say, "why doesn't DeValera do what the President of Iceland has done." Senator MacDermot came out the other day ~~wink~~ and showed me a resolution which he had it in mind to offer in the Senate. It read "Resolved that the Irish Government invite the United States to secure Eire against aggression." I advised him to try to sell it to DeValera first in private. It would surely be opposed unless Dev. thought of it himself. Today he telephoned that he had not seen "ev. and that in yesterday's London Times the same suggestion was made in a letter, <sup>to the editor</sup> so that now he could not sponsor

it , it being of British origin. Your handling of this Irish thing is very very sound. That cryptic release of yours about having had no undertaking, that arms given to Eire would be used to repel a German invasion gave them a jolt. It is the only way to get things to the mass of the people and even to the cabinet . I have warned several of them lately not to rely upon the Irish American pressure groups but they don't believe me. I am told Aiken says <sup>that</sup> he got them all lined up behind Ireland and Irish neutrality so that they have nothing to worry about. No one here seems to get what you are doing in the way of handling the Irish American problem, but Dev. is ~~always~~ suspicious of you. Admiral King who commands the naval end in Belfast came to see me yesterday and told me about the Yanks at ~~Perry~~ . It was all news to me, though it was on the wire from New York this a.m. I hope they will impeach Wheeler before they get through . Bob Taft's five hundred thousand men in the Six Counties is the funniest yet. As you know, they have three divisions and a few oddments besides, sixty thousand men at the outside, and not at all well equipped. The writer of the enclosed memo. says very rightly that economic pressure will not influence the farming population with their low grade standards of living but I think it likely that closing down of more factories may educate ~~the~~ people in the cities to the facts. A leading produce importer wrote, asking me for help as he said the situation was " desperate" . I wrote him at some length explaining the lack of shipping and also the fact that the actions of the Irish Pressure groups in America have made American majority opinion look upon Eire as hostile to Britain. As ~~xxx~~ a consequence American opinion was not disposed to make sacrifices of shipping and material needed to beat Hitler. Ireland had a right to be neutral but she must, as such, solve her own problems of armament and supply. *M. Dind*



*Secret*  
*Confidential*

10th July 1941.

You replied that, whether not, the supply situation efficiently acute to bring to the people and that, a situation in America was

May I be allowed to record my appreciation of the compliment which you paid me last week, in inviting my views on the problem which confronts us, in connection with the Eire ports.

In the meantime, I have had time to consider our discussion and, in view of the importance of the subject, it may be useful to review it.

You asked me, at the outset, whether the possession of the ports and airfields in Eire were, in fact, essential to the successful conduct of the war by G. Britain and the U.S.A.

I replied that, in the case of the R.N. and eventually the American Navy, the time now occupied in refuelling in home or safe waters would be eliminated and that touch with the enemy would be more constant. The reduction in the "turn round" would, in addition, automatically increase the number of escort vessels at our disposal. Access to the territorial waters of Eire would, ipso facto, deny them to the enemy.

Finally, our naval units would be better placed to meet attacks emanating from the western coast of France; this last is of the utmost importance in the event of a large scale attempt at invasion.

The R.A.F. require airfields for much the same reasons and, in particular, to develop the range of fighter support against enemy units in the "Battle of the Atlantic".

The denial of these advantage to the enemy and the consolidation of a position in Eire, in anticipation of an attempt to invade Great Britain, appears to me to be of paramount importance at the present time.

The occupation of the ports and the development of airfields would turn a lamentable weakness into a source of strength, from which an offensive could be developed.

You then referred to the various methods of achieving the end in view with the minimum of friction.

The possibility of the Eire Government responding to any appeal based on the considerations for which G. Britain and the U.S.A. have entered the war was eliminated forthwith.

You suggested a large convoy, arriving with food and raw materials and an occupation covered by the necessary propaganda and defence weapons and, finally, you mentioned the possibility of calculated broadcasts being effective.

I gave it as my view that a "fait accompli" was the one and only way of dealing with the Eire people and the Eire Government and added that this must be staged by the hereditary friend and not the hereditary foe.

You replied that, whether this was the right course or not, the supply situation in Eire was not as yet sufficiently acute to bring realisation of their position to the people and that, at the same time, the political situation in America was not ripe for direct action.

In regard to these considerations, may I say that a peasant population, with a low standard of living, will not feel restrictions acutely for a long time to come; consequently, as a lever to induce compliance, any idea of pressure of this kind should be discarded.

I am fully aware of the difficulties which confront the President but I offer the suggestion that the Press in America should begin to draw attention to the unfortunate attitude of Eire and the possible effect on American interests if, as a result of enemy success, the Eire coastline were to be controlled by Germany and the country were to become a German colony.

The historical facts of the help which America has always given to Eire in the past in her struggle for independence should be a definite and constant feature of press notices and broadcasts.

I mentioned to you that I thought that an occupation of the ports could be effected with a minimum of difficulty during the time that the enemy is engaged elsewhere.

As to the details, this is a problem which requires to be worked out by the combined staffs of the services of the two countries.

At this juncture, it is only necessary to remark that bases are available in N. Ireland from which both sea and air-borne operations could be initiated without difficulty, though the want of ready made airfields would be felt at the outset.

What the political repercussions in Eire would be, and what stages they would fall into, can be no more than conjecture but, with some diffidence, I give it as my opinion that reactions would be less violent than we are led to believe might be the case.

In any eventuality, the want of equipment and ammunition in Eire would make it a matter of little difficulty for an American force to hold such areas as they required for the prosecution of the war, if they were once occupied with a minimum of opposition.

It is a matter of the greatest importance to realise that, should the enemy anticipate action on the part of the U.S.A., the recovery of the bases would require a much greater effort and would complicate the difficulties which we are confronted with at the present time.

You will appreciate that these notes are communicated to you by a private individual, without reference to any official source, and must be regarded as an expression of a personal opinion.



Sunday, Aug 31<sup>st</sup> / 74

Dearest Franklin:  
Yesterday, the  
photograph of the  
four generations &  
your old words &  
signature - I love it,  
& will take it to be  
framed & mounted.  
Dear new Secretary &  
I hope come yesterday.

They had come from  
Breiden via Lisbon in  
the three-division  
train of all recalled  
American Legation  
members. I have  
talked with several.  
They say the British  
have done very little  
sounding in German  
cities. They <sup>in Germany</sup> secreted  
and very well & all.

ed to go without any difficulty  
any where they wanted. They  
were allowed 50 gal. of water  
a month while here it is  
30, the food was not bad.  
As yet there was no sign of  
the people breaking down  
but the wounded had not  
begun to come from the  
Russian front. They do not  
think the Germans could  
take a bad winter. In  
spite of diplomatic protests  
the English treat them with  
hostility - this is making  
out to English. In spite of their  
marvelous courage & endurance  
they are a trying race. 'Dons'  
Belichev has been staying with  
Cattle & sheep at Villars. He  
is on his way back to England.

W I'm having to search  
him, but he was  
singing up. Poole  
from London just  
Went to looking. He  
told: David gives you  
all the interesting news  
of my stories. He  
has a new girl: An  
American on a Chicago  
paper. She was here on  
a vacation & I have to  
admit she's a fine  
person, with a clear,



I nobility, good digest  
much looking. Heard  
to hear. Some Elliott  
did not get here. Bless  
dear, fond love & so  
many thanks -

Maudie  
Much love to Father  
I hope Grimes is all  
right again. The  
Newspapers report  
the 1<sup>st</sup> Lady & outside  
concerns over Mr. Jackson  
love it.

Don't buy



To the President

The President

Mr. White House

Washington DC

U.S.A.

SEP 15 47  
RECEIVED  
U.S. WHITE HOUSE

**BEST AVAILABLE COPY**

☆ IMMORTAL ☆

**AMERICAN WORDS**

Robert Livingston, a member of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, wrote in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, on Jan. 10, 1783, six years before the Constitution was adopted:

The great cause between Connecticut and Pennsylvania has been decided in favor of the latter. It is a singular event: there are few instances of independent states submitting their cause to a court of justice. The day will come, though, when all disputes in the great republic of Europe will be tried in the same way, and America be quoted to exemplify the wisdom of the measure.

(Suggested by Robert C. Hayes, New York.)

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PSF: Ireland, 1941

Maudie Gray to FDR, 8-31-41

Ireland

September 11, 1941.

My dear Franklin :

Our sympathy goes out to you but one can hardly grudge release to one full of years and accomplishment, especially when it comes like sleep. Maude and I have had few friends so generous and kind and loyal as she was to us for so many years. I believe we shall continue to know her generous influences.

Faithfully and Aff

Oris



September 12th, 1941.

file  
personal

Ireland Folder

My dear Franklin : We have just been listening to two recorded passages from your last nights speech . It seems to me to be the perfect expression of the American Governments position with regard to ALL conditions political and military. It is a great paper.

Bless You.

Last week I went up to Perry about a matter which I have explained to Sumner Welles and to see what our "technicians" have been doing " for the British Government". From all I could see and find out the job has been perfectly planned and is being executed a hundred per cent. Commander Bragg is first class, quite , simple, effective, the type of American that makes one proud . Not the least of his achievements is the absence of friction with the limies. His oppositte number, Capt. Ruck-Keen is an exceptionally decent and intelligent fellow and Admiral King at Belfast in cōmmand of the whole Irish naval show is a straight shooting fellow and no fool.

Another American that Maude and I felt very proud of is " Spike" Evans who dined with us a couple of nights recently .

Many thanks for your letter of August 21. It was good of you to write when you have thousands of important matters on your mind. Dev. is still grim and obstinate and blind . I keep pounding away on the idea that we do not like to be pressure-grouped by ANY hyphenated minority. It is a good deal of a blow to them for they have come

2.

to take playing politics in our back yard as a right. I have asked Sumner Welles please to find out for me from the F.B.I. if they have anything on Aiken . I don't want to know details but it would strengthen my hand if I knew they had connected him with subversive activities. As I wrote you it is reported to me by enemies of his in his own party that he has boasted that" he had everything lined up". If he could be mentioned in some sabotage trial it would be a very good thing and have a good effect here.

Take care of yourself.

Aff.

End

Mande sent much love.

file  
personal  
no ans.

Ireland Folder

October 21, 1941.

My dear Franklin : I was glad of the opportunity to get over to see Myron Taylor . I loaded him up with the Irish situation : *and* I was glad to meet Winant whom I liked. I also saw Admiral Ghormley and Paul Hammond and told the latter there was little or no chance of having the ports offered us and that consequently any development of air bases at Foynes beyond what was obviously for immediate commercial use would be suspect and lead to trouble . I also told Paul that speaking unofficially and without special knowledge or instruction, in my view the only alternative to forcible seizure of bases was to adapt Lough Erne and ~~Berry~~ as a makeshift and by use of longer range fighters <sup>to</sup> do as well as possible . I also explained to him that from <sup>the</sup> ~~explicit~~ point of view of Irish -American relations it was better that the Irish Government should realize that we were preparing to get along without their help, valuable though it would be , that we would probably respect their position as isolationists but that neither we nor the British would probably make sacrifices for them in the future.

The only change in the pattern here is some evidence of a growing anxiety upon the part of Mr. DeValera as to his position alone and unarmed in a jungle world. In a ~~speech~~ keynote speech on Sunday last at Wexford he said, " In speaking of <sup>the</sup> ~~our~~ likelihood of our involvement in this war we are not dealing with some distant vague possibility. We are dealing with what must, by all reasonable people, be classed as

as a high probability unless God Keeps us particularly in his mercy. "

Last week he made another appeal to Maffy for arms on the old ground that it was stupid for the British Empire to lose the opportunity of arming Irish man power. He also said that the morale of his army was deteriorating. Maffy said that he appreciated that point of view but that his government could hardly be blamed for not relying without reservations upon a government that made no distinction between Nazi-ism and Democracy and that besides that, all available arms were required by combatants. <sup>Dev.</sup> ~~He~~ has given me up as a bad ~~man~~ *prospect for getting him arms.*

I think the correct interpretation to be placed on his Sunday's speech is that economic pressures are closing in on him, his army is becoming bored and that the only available <sup>police</sup> drum to beat is that of defense. I do not think that the speech portended any change of his isolationist policy. I have been slow to realize that a conviction of German victory is very general in government circles <sup>and</sup> among the professional classes. Conor Maguire President of the High Court and former Attorney General under Dev. let it out the other night at a little dinner I had for Bill Clark( to whom we took a great fancy). I have just got a long letter from our Cardinal to the same effect. I asked him how a negotiated peace with Hitler was to be guaranteed. ( He had urged such a peace in a public address) He answered that either Hitler would dictate a peace to us or in the end we would have to make a negotiated <sup>a</sup> peace with him, so why not now? It was a very friendly correspondence. I had written him that if he would or could guarantee a dictated peace I would take my coat off and work under him to bring it about NOW. Besides believing that Hitler cannot be beaten they are only just beginning to believe that we mean business. They had absolute

Am "Boston"

3.

"assurances" that we would never do any shooting.

Before you get this Japan may touch things off. You have handled that situation miraculously as every other as far as I can see. It is a very funny position your <sup>old</sup> uncle Gray finds himself in, to have no grouse about policy.

The offer of the Red Cross to pass on <sup>your</sup> ~~the~~ \$500,000.00 <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~wheat in the form of medical supplies is welcomed here and has a good press. They are very short of medical supplies. If Irish ships sail from U.S.A under American protection I wish you could arrange to have that brought out with a good deal of publicity. This Government definitely covers up the fact that their ships sail in British convoys. The crew of a ship recently that brought four hundred tons of wheat from Lisbon were all cautioned not to tell about the convoy. ~~Not inspiring!~~

There is one possible aspect of the ports question which I have never discussed with you, that is what would happen if you made a direct request for them, with offer of protection. There is a great deal of loose talk here, even in high civil service quarters, that he could not refuse. I ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ <sup>think he both</sup> could ~~xxx~~ and would ~~xxx~~ refuse unless it suited his book to accept. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ He is clearly counting on the off chance of Hitler not invading Britain (although he ~~expressly~~ believes that the best we can draw is a negotiated peace.) Unless this chance comes off he has only one choice, that is between being prepared and armed against invasion and not being prepared and armed. If he feels his long chance is not coming off and that invasion is imminent, he will then be prepared to pay the price for arms and assistance. <sup>even then</sup> But he will dicker for terms and give as little as possible. In the event that he gets ready to dicker (feeling invasion imminent)

then any plan that you might have up your sleeve will be timely. In the meantime I think the only course is that <sup>which</sup> we are following; that is polite acquiescence in his isolationism and all its implications.

It looks now as if the I.R.A. "communique" purporting to be the confession or portions of the confession of Stephen Hayes the kidnaped Chief of Staff of the I.R.A. which charged cabinet ministers with instigating terrorist crimes and them tipping off the British Government, although undoubtedly in the main untrue, had destroyed the probability of early elections. The Government party doesn't want partisan oratory in which these charges will be repeated at least by inuendo. In a case last week involving ~~the~~ punishment for distributing the document, all the ministers and the one senator implicated took the stand and denied the charges in toto. They must fear a situation in which cabinet ministers dare not ignore fantastic charges. In a few days now I expect information from British sources that will definitely prove true or false the most serious of the charges. Personally I think they have no basis in fact beyond the circumstance that Hayes has been a stool pigeon in government pay.

American

We heard this morning that two more <sup>American</sup> merchant ships had been torpedoed. We are getting acclimatized and have not yet put on the furnace heat.

American

The <sup>American</sup> Red Cross donations are excellent accompaniment for a stiff American policy about arms and raw materials. I believe you will agree that if it is necessary we must send food (It is not now necessary) but make no sacrifices to keep their factories going.

Maude sends love. Bless You

Aff

DM



Since writing the forgoing the Canadian High Commissioner has been to see me to discuss the situation and how best to meet it, Canada Britain and the U.S. each following its own line but taking care not to allow Mr. DeValera to play one of us ~~off~~ against the ~~at~~ other. The Commissioner is a Montreal lawyer named Kearney and a very fine, energetic chap with a clear head. He is going to be very helpful. He had just had a long conversation with Joe Walshe, the Permanent Secretary for External Affairs in which this interesting item appeared. He said Walshe had told him that you had 'retracted' the statement attributed to you in your Press conference to the effect that you had received no undertaking that American arms if supplied to Ireland would be used against Hitler, that they didn't ~~x~~ want to publish ~~ix~~ the correspondence but that I had made the trouble. They ~~are~~ (the insiders) are very bitter against me for refusing as an individual to take the responsibility of recommending that they be armed without received <sup>ing</sup> some undertaking as to Eire's position in case of invasion. It is very likely that if Dev. has to come down and talk turkey he will not do it through me. That is all right with me. I'm all in favor of saving his face. <sup>therefore</sup> Kearney ~~x~~ may come into the picture very profitably with a formula but I have <sup>him</sup> warned against getting out on a limb without some definite assurances. Of course you understand, if the position I have taken here ever embarrasses you in the least, tip me off and I'll get out: It may be that I have fulfilled my usefulness, that is insisting on American rights and policy instead of serving Irish policy as Dev. expects an American minister to do. There is no question that Dev. is gunning for me and will probably try to work through political friends of his in America. On the surface of course he is very sweet and I try to do everything I can for him except the one things he wants and won't pay for. ~~is~~

Copy

ARA COELI

ARMAGH

October 20, 1941.

Your Excellency

I am most grateful for your kind letter, as kind as it is frank, which is all that I could expect from one in your position. And I am tickled by the delightful sketch you would suggest of your tall and graceful figure, with coat off, working at my wide -"but for one circumstance."

My position is that whatever Hitler may be, you ought to try to make peace with him now, because you may have to do so later on. If he wins you shall be forced, I suppose, to accept his terms; and if the war be fought to stalemate, it will be necessary to make peace with him. The only case in which you can escape making peace with him is if you win out yourselves. But is this likely? When can you hope to be able to invade Germany and defeat the German army on its own soil? And suppose that did ever happen, is there the ghost of a chance that there would be a just peace then?

I don't forget Hitler's breach of Treaties, though I fancy he would have something to say about the circumstances in which they were entered into. I regard his



action as unjust. But was there no injustice against him and Germany? What about the deliberate and persistent exclusion of Germany from free access to raw materials - an exclusion which at every turn was hurting the Reich and threatening its very existence? And remember that this systematic injustice against Germany had long been practiced before ever Hitler began to misbehave.

I'm sorry I have no time to say more.

My warmest thanks to Mrs. Gray and my kindest regards.

Yours very sincere

† J. Cardinal MacRory

I have Conference in Drogheda tomorrow, in Dundalk on Tuesday, in Armagh on Wednesday and in Dongammon on Thursday, and so am particularly busy today. I intend to post this in Eire on my way to Drogheda. For, though I am an Irish Cardinal in his own country, I have good reason to fear a foreign censor!

*Original of this letter and accompanying papers  
returned to Mr. Welles, as per President's notation.*

*"S. W.  
very good  
F.D.R."*

November 14, 1941

*11/15/41*

*Irish Files  
1-41*

My dear Mr. President:

I am transmitting herewith an aide-mémoire and a note dated October 15 and November 6, respectively, from the Irish Legation referring to the activities of American technicians in Northern Ireland and asking "to be informed officially of the purpose of these activities and of the intentions of the American Government". I also enclose for your consideration a draft reply to this note.

Please let me know whether this draft meets with your approval or, if not, the nature of the reply which you wish us to send.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Sumner Welles

Enclosures:

1. From Irish Legation,  
October 15, 1941.
2. From Irish Legation,  
November 6, 1941.
3. To Irish Legation.

The President,

The White House.

Sir:

I have taken up with the President your aide-mémoire of October 15, 1941 and your note of November 6, 1941 in which you refer to reported activities of American technicians in Northern Ireland and ask "to be informed officially of the purpose of these activities and of the intentions of the American Government". I am authorized to make the following reply.

You may recall that at the President's press conference some weeks ago reference was made to reports that the United States was constructing a naval air base in Northern Ireland. The President commented that whatever has been done in this respect has been done either under the Lend-Lease Act or by reason of straight purchase

by

The Honorable

Robert Brennan,

Minister of the Irish Free State.

by the British Government. He stated that American steel, for example, has perhaps gone into British bases in the United Kingdom, in Canada and elsewhere. He added that American workmen were no doubt working on such bases and that they were being paid for this work by the British Government.

In as much as the inquiry contained in your communication under acknowledgment relates to territory recognized by the Government of the United States as part of the United Kingdom, and in as much as it will be clear from the statements I have above made that the matter of this inquiry is a question which concerns the United Kingdom and its defense measures, I am obliged to suggest that the inquiry in question should be addressed by the Irish Government to the Government of the United Kingdom.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

U:13:13

C  
O  
P  
Y

*File  
Copy*

IRISH LEGATION  
Washington, D.C.

15th October 1941

AIDE - MEMOIRE

The London "Daily Mail" of 13th October reporting that thousands of American technicians and workmen are building bases in Northern Ireland says that representation had been made to Washington to send a body of United States Marines as protecting force because a large area was now virtually under American control.

This report following frequent rumours about activities on a large scale in this area and an additional report on this matter in the Washington "Times-Herald" October 15th impels the Irish Government to request the United States Government to be good enough to inform them of their intentions in this matter.

The United States Government are aware of the existence of the vital interest of the whole Irish people in the territory of the Six Counties which they regard as forming part of the national territory.

Altogether apart from the very friendly relations existing between the United States and Ireland, the Irish Government feel that the United States Government will show consideration and respect for the very special position, generally acknowledged, which the Irish Government occupy in regard to the territory in question.

IRISH LEGATION  
Washington, D. C.

November 6, 1941

*File  
Copy*

Sir:

I have recently spoken to the State Department concerning the activities of American technicians in parts of the six northeastern Counties of Ireland and of published rumours concerning a projected landing there of American armed forces. I have asked to be informed officially of the purpose of these activities and of the intentions of the American Government. As I have not up to the present received the information sought, I wish on behalf of my Government to make the request more formal through this note.

I cannot too strongly emphasize the concern which my Government feel at the absence of authoritative information regarding a matter which could have the most serious consequences for the whole people of Ireland, about which there is considerable public uneasiness in Ireland and in which the American Government must be aware that the Irish Government have a vital interest.

My Government believe that there is no need to remind the American Government that the Partition of Ireland was effected and is being maintained against the expressed will of the great majority of the people of Ireland and that the restoration of the integrity of the national territory of Ireland is the primary political aim of that majority and the purpose nearest to the heart of the majority of the Irish

people everywhere.

My Government will be most grateful for an early reply.

Please accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBT. BRENNAN

The Honorable Cordell Hull  
Secretary of State of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

*file personal* December 17th , 1941.

*Ireland Folder*  
1-42

Our

My dear Franklin : ~~xxx~~ first reaction to the news that Japan had attacked us<sup>y</sup> was " Thank God! the country is now behind the President. I think any number of wars are easier to fight than what you have been through for two years .

I am sending a long letter to Sumner Welles with a memorandum on the present Irish situation . He will pass on to you what he may think to be important. I may be wrong but I am apprehensive of writing dispatches on secret policy matters to be passed around the Department. Yet I don't want to burden you with detail .

Your idea of putting a special bill through Congress to enable the Irish Government to purchase the two ships by special arrangement was a bull's eye here and has done a lot of good . That is the kind of propaganda and publicity that counts . I have suggested to Sumner Welles the same device for certain token arms purchases . The reaction to our entry into the war has been very favorable except among certain Government circles dominated by Aiken. I think in the light of DeValera's friendly statement that it would be safe to arm Eire that it would put them under obligations that they would recognize . Now that the Irish bloc has stopped sniping at aid for Britain our best play is to work along your line of " token generousities", " goodwill gestures." Sumner Welles will give you the details. If the Germans protest it will push the Irish our way. If you ever have reason to speak publicly on the subject you may say that there are 150,000 Irish volunteers ~~fighting~~ from Eire fighting the Axis .

I find the British government is afraid to make any open gesture of friendliness to DeValera for fear of unleashing the storm of resentment against him . Here is our chance to reverse our field and carry the ball for a bit. Events now are going to corner him and I think he knows it. No one will need to go hungry but the economic life of the country is going to be squeezed and the protected industrialists who have been such strong neutrals are going to get theirs . Isn't it our cue to get the Irish people behind us with a few kind deeds?

Please remember one thing . No matter how critical is the situation, it is going to be a lot worse if you are dead or sick. So for the Country's sake nip off for odd days no matter what is going on. Remember that when any body begins to feel that he CAN'T get away that is the time when he had better go.

Maude joins me in much love.

Aff

*Doni*