

● PSF

Ireland

1942

(May - Dec.)

Ireland Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you be good enough to personally prepare a reply to the enclosed letter from David Gray for my signature?

F. D. R. .

Letter to the Pres. of May 8th
from David Gray re situation in Ireland.

Ireland Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. SUMNER WELLES:

TO READ AND PREPARE REPLY FOR
MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter from Hon. David Gray, Legation of the U.S.A.,
Ireland, 5/20/42, to the President. In re method
of taking Irish ports.

Ireland Folder

June 6, 1942

Dear David:

I have read with interest your letter of May 8.

I discussed your letter with the State Department and they are telegraphing you authorizing you to go to London. I agree with you that it might not be wise for you to come to the United States at this time even though you have been away more than two years.

Your reports have been interesting and helpful. I am glad that our troops in Northern Ireland are behaving so well.

With every good wish to you both, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

"F. D. R.

(Prepared by
State Dept.)"

The Honorable
David Gray,
American Minister,
Dublin.

Original of this letter sent to Mr. Miller
for delivery.

6/8/42
Hm

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1942

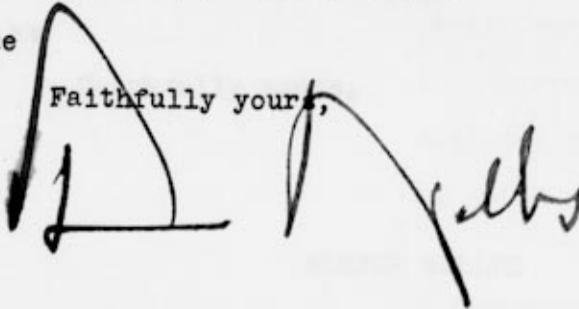
My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the request contained in your memorandum of May 20, I am attaching herewith a suggested letter for you to send to David Gray in reply to his letter to you of May 8.

The Department is authorizing Mr. Gray by telegram to avail himself of a leave of absence in order to go to London for the visit to Gil Winant which he told you in his letter he wished to make.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'D. M. ...', written over the typed phrase 'Faithfully yours,'.

Enc.

The President,
The White House.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY

June 2, 1942

file
Per.

The attached letter from David Gray should have been attached to a letter from Mr. Welles transmitting a draft reply for the President's signature. Mr. Welles' letter was dated June 1 and was sent over this morning.

Ireland Folder

Saturday May 8. 1942.

by
Dear Franklin : We were very sitrred and admiring of your latest speech, setting out the war situation and its relation to each individual American. How you do these things with all the time wasting routine that presses on you is a mystery .

The things that occur to me as being of interest ~~to you~~ are :

1. Defintely good reports of General Hartle and his American troops in the North . Last week the Nuncio gave me a message from the Bishop of Londonderry to the effect that the conduct of ^{our} ~~his~~ troops was an example to Irish youth. You did a very good thing in sending over American catholic chaplains. This ~~prooves~~ that Mr. DeValera either was lying when he predicted dire consequences from the presence of American troops in the north or that he did not know what he was talking about.
2. I am trying to get a decision from the Department on whether we shall go in for American propaganda here in a seruous way or not touch it. There is nothing in half way measures. As I see it, if you contemplate declaring this place essential to American defense in the not too distant future ~~zisixizfashizhtexpandxanyx~~ ~~manxyxenzpexzx~~ it might be a good idea to get a service started that we could throw into high at short notice. Splendid stuff ^{comes} ~~is~~ every day in the American broadcast to Europe but we have no machinery for disseminating it among the Irish . The Irish ~~news paper~~

reduced to four pages will print ~~none~~ of our offerings and we cant ~~xxxx~~ use American foreign service officers to peddle propaganda . I don't believe in kow-towing to anybody least of all the Irish.

Certain information has come to me which suggests or might suggest that the Germans mean to move in here next month. The German Minister has been in Cork where he entertained twice a former gunman and I.R.A. leader, Tom Barry and another well know, pro-German, Seumas FitzGerald, a port Commissioner who has just been fired by the Government.

In Dublin Thomsen, the ^{German} Secretary of Legation has been entertaining at the Gresham Hotel Dan Breen , a former I.R.A. gun man and present Deputy from Galway known to be pro-German and suspected of being on the German payroll. He also gave a ^a party in a private room for some members of the Italian Legation and several pro-Axis Irishmen . They had a lot to drink and late in the evening began to say "Let us drink tonight. Next month it will not be so happy." Thomsen got the head waiter to show him over the building and gave the waiter the impression that he was looking at it as possible head quarters.

There has been a flare up of I.R.A. activity under cover of a stalking horse, a so called constitutional Republican organization called Coras an Poblachta with appeals to the young men to join. After a week the Government took their posters down.

A new Emergency powers order has given any member of the cabinet power to intern ANYONE whom he considers dangerous without process of law.

These yarns may not mean anything but the Minister for Local Government with who I was talking this afternoon takes them.

~~them~~ seriously.

Sir John Maffey thinks that if an uprising and invasion are planned for next month we shall get positive confirmation through the British secret service well in advance. This ought to be the way it would work out but they had no dope on Norway.

~~We~~ ^{Maude & I} are due for home leave this summer having been over here over two years ~~not~~ without any leave but neither Maude nor I feel that we ought to leave with things as uncertain as they are. So unless you want to talk things over with me I shan't ask to go home for a visit this summer. But I do feel out of touch with Washington and if you think it all right would like to go over to London for a few days and talk with Winant who has just come back. If you would rather not have ^{me in} this I'll understand but if its all right I'd be grateful if you would have them telegraph me instruction to go over for conference of not over a week.

Congratulations on what the four boys are doing. I wish I weren't an old dud.

Maude sends a great deal of love.

Yours Aff

Ami

Ireland Folder

June 6, 1942

Dear David:

I have received and read with interest your letter of May 20 in which you express your views on the procedure which you feel should be followed if in certain eventualities it became necessary for us to follow a more positive course in Ireland.

I have noted your views and have made your letter available to the State Department.

With every good wish, I am,

~~Very sincerely yours,~~

"Above is from State Dept!
Love to you both
F.D.R."

The Honorable
David Gray,
American Minister,
Dublin.

Original of this letter sent to Mr. Weller
for delivery
6/6/42

May 20th , 1942.)

Dear Franklin : There is one thing that might be of importance on which I must reverse myself . In the past I have ~~rather~~ strenuously insisted that in the case we had to take the ports the demand be publicized and forced into the Irish Legislature for debate. This recommendation was ~~xxx~~ based on the position that James Dillon then held as deputy leader of the Cosgrave party. He assured me that if the question came up, he would be able to split the country presumably with the support of most of the Cosgrave Opposition supporters.

Since his recent resignation from the party (which was accepted on the issue of "neutrality- James taking the position that all aid should be given the U.S.S.)--- he has lost the advantage of an organized party following and Cosgrave has been jockeyed by De Valera into a position of impotent assent to DeVarea's foreign policy . You of course see what this means for practical political purposes. If the issue was put up to the Dail James might be pretty much alone .

I think therefore that the fait accompli procedure would now be best, accompanied by simultaneous publication of our demands and of their justification to the Irish people . Probably a great flight of planes dropping leaflets would be the best way of doing this at about the time that the demands were presented to DeValera. At the same time the ships, small ones, would move into the ports

and land troops or not according to conditions. If Mr. DeValera ~~was~~ refused to accept the situation and order^d his troops to fire I think a few well placed bombs on the Irish barracks at the Curragh and in the Dublin area would be the most merciful way of shutting off opposition.

I feel pretty sure that you would decide that DeValera ought to be kept in power and everything possible done to support his government. If he refused to go on and went to the hills as Aiken would probably advise him to do, then the Cosgrave people should be invited to form a government. If they refused I would ask General Costello, commanding the southern area to take over as a temporary measure to preserve public order with the civil services. If he also refused ~~me~~ I would put an American general into Dublin in charge till an Irish Government could be formed.

Of course you could improve vastly on this scheme if you felt it necessary to take action but I think the general out line is sound. If we get a big propaganda shop going here it might very likely prepare things. I gather ^{you} the Government looks favorably on the proposal.

The most important thing in case of a crisis is quick action with no time for the subversive forces to conduct their propaganda.

I am most grateful to you and to the Department for the way you have backed me up and given me evrything I have asked for. If you will show this to Sumner Welles I will not make a despatch out of it for the Department. I think the less it apper^as in the files the better.

I am going to see Dev. day after mo morrow and settle finally the question of censorship of westbound Irish mails. I anticipate no serious trouble though at the last minute they ^{seem to} have gone temperamental.

A. D. D.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

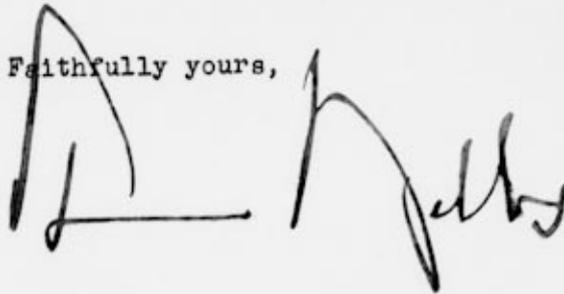
June 2, 1942

My dear Mr. President:

I enclose for your consideration a draft letter for your signature to Mr. Gray, our Minister in Dublin, in reply to his letter to you of May 20.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R. H. H. H.', written in a cursive style.

Encs.

The President,
The White House.

Ireland Folder

file
personal

June 6th, 1942.

Dear Boss : Thanks for the word to the Department about my going to London . They have granted me leave . I shall probably go over the end of next week as things have quieted down here. I can always get back in six hours if need be.

I have written Sumner Welles explaining that if I told the Irish Government that I was going to London on Leave they might very well entertain dark suspicions and perhaps would. I have already told them the various things that I was going over to talk with Winant about and especially that I wanted to discuss the anticipated secret liason between the Irish and American commands with General Chaney . They are very glad that I am going.

Joe Walshe told me that the Department's idea that the Irish Government resented close Anglo-American contacts must have arisen from an incident during Fred Sterling's incumbancy. It appears that he (or his wife) hired a flat in London and ^{away to Ireland} tried to get diplomatic status for it, that is I suppose for the rum bills and gasoline. The Irish government said that if the American Minister to Ireland had diplomatic status in England the American Ambassador to St. James might as ^{well} double for both jobs. He said no question would have been raised if Fred had taken twenty flats as an ordinary citizen .

This Red Cross stunt is going big and has set in motion very

friendly currents of opinion. George Allen who is stopping with us has been magnificent and his Rockefeller side Partner Dr. O'Brien couldn't be better. I am very grateful to Norman Davis also for appreciating the political usefulness of the Red Cross Mission. Dev. is giving us a wind-up farewell dinner next week.

The bad spot in the situation is Frank Aiken ^{who}'s censor chief. He keeps crowding Dev. to the left whenever he wavers. Two of the ministers and possibly three I believe would like to come in on our side and I believe would strongly oppose firing on us if we sailed into the ports with needed supplies. But the decision would be one man's that is Dev's.

Take care of yourself. Maude sends her love.

Aff

Ireland Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH
AND ROBERT SHERWOOD

TO READ AND RETURN FOR MY
FILES.

F.D.R.

A similar memorandum, together with a letter which the President received from Hon. David Gray, Minister to Ireland, dated August 8, 1942, suggesting possibility of having recent speeches of James Dillons in the Dail given American publicity by the Saturday Evening Post under the title "We have one friend in Ireland"; Mr. Gray feels that Mr. Sherwood could handle this. Sent. to Mr. MacLeish. Copy of memo to Mr. Sherwood.

*file
plus mail*

Ireland Folder

September 12, 1942:

Dear Boss : Enclosed is a letter from Nancy Adare . They are both most grateful to you for helping get the little boy back. And so are Maude and I.

from London.

Dan Tobin telephoned yesterday. I had asked him and Padway to stop with us for a couple of days. He sounded very friendly but said he couldn't make it. I got a car to meet him tomorrow night at Rineanna and to be at his disposal till he takes off , Tuesday I think. I may go down to have an hours talk with him if I can make it on Tuesday.

The Crown Princess of Norway has just run out on us. We went to meet her as " Mrs. Brown" at the airport and found she was not on the plane. I have just heard that they went straight through to Rinana and Foynes. We have now got to eat the festive lobster. Such is diplomatic life.

Aff

Dmit

TELEPHONE: ADARE 19.
TELEGRAMS: ADARE.

September 10.
KILGOBBIN,
ADARE,
Co. LIMERICK.

Dear Mr. President.

I hesitated to bother
you with a letter before
I left America but
ever since you arranged
for me to bring my
little boy back to Ireland
by Trans-Atlantic Express
I have been longing to

tell you how happy you
have made me. I + was
so very, very kind of
you + I am more grateful
than I can possibly
tell you.

Maud + David came
down to spend last night
with us we hope to
keep them longer. It
does David so much

good to get away from
his "Dublin worries"
even for a bit and
from Maude has been
in bed to-day with a
tummy attack accompanied
by a rather high temper-
ature. She is better again
this afternoon. I have
told them all about
my evening with you &
our good Iceland salmon!

I shall remember that
evening for a long time.
I was excited!

The Irish Red Cross are
very pleased about the
generous gift of medical
supplies from the
American Red Cross, as
well they should be!
With kindest regards to
you Mrs Roosevelt +
again so many thanks
for your great kindness.
Very sincerely yr.
Nancy Oldare.

Ireland Folder

September 16, 1942.

Dear David:-

I am off for a little "incog" inspection trip, to be gone about two weeks, as it seems a good time to be away from Washington.

Several people who have come back from, or passed through Ireland, have told me what a perfectly magnificent job you are doing. I did not have to be told that because I knew it, for the very simple fact that you have not given me the remote shadow of a headache all these years.

I am inclined to think that my policy of giving Dev the absent treatment is about as effective as anything else. The other day one of his friends over here -- a typical professional Irish American -- came in to tell me about the terrible starvation among the people of Ireland. I looked at him in a much interested way and remarked quietly "Where is Ireland?"

I do wish the people as a whole over there could realize that Dev is unnecessarily storing up trouble because most people over here feel that Dublin, by maintaining German spies and by making all the little things difficult for the United Nations, is stirring up a thoroughly unsympathetic attitude toward Ireland as a whole when we win the war. That is a truly sad state of affairs.

I do wish you and Maude could come back for a little rest but you are the best judge as to whether such a thing is possible. Both of you deserve it. Give Maude lots of love.

As ever yours,

Honorable David Gray,
American Legation,
Dublin,
Ireland.

June 29th 1942

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Worrest Franklin:-
Here you are & here you
stake, so long as David
can't get of why we to you
& the U.S.A. We are grate-
ful to have a job as we
might so easily be sitting
on the side lines. It will

However, by a mixture of pleasant
when in a hot sultry day you
can sit & watch the old Hudson
River flow by. I wish there
were more people like
George Allen. He keeps things
moving with the kind of
punch for all need. No.
Hes you when you can give
him a word of praise.
I wish to be - Maude

file
personal

Ireland Folder

September 16th , 1942.

Dear Boss : I travelled three hundred miles today to see Dan Tobin at Ennis . It was worth while. You've got a friend in that little man. He gave me ~~him~~ a helpful picture of things in England and at home. He tells me that these isolationist bastards are still trying to crucify you. Take a leaf out of Dev's book and start a good big concentration camp at Chi. with an annex in S. Boston .

I am more and more convinced that Mr. DeValera is stiffened in his policies by the reports that he gets from Boston. Why isn't it about time to open on the Irish racketeer and smoke him out of business? You have proved that, nobody can deliver the Irish vote so why let these blackmailers continue to do business. All American born Irish would back you. AS I said in my last letter I believe it could be done ^{simply} by printing " The Truth About Mr. DeValera's Ireland. Over here the I.R.A. racketeers go to jail. Why should they be allowed to hamper our war effort in America.

Don't pay any attention to what Dan may tell you about getting me home for a bit . I'm going strong and learning how to make other people work . I fear, however, from what I hear that John Winant IS overworking and in bad shape . Maude sends her love.

Take care of yourself.

Aff
DM

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

270 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK

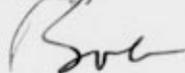
September 20, 1942

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

Enclosed is the letter from David Gray
which the President sent to Archie MacLeish and me
with the request that it be returned for his files.

Sincerely,



Robert E. Sherwood
Director of Overseas Operations

Ireland Folder

August 8, 1942.

Dear Boss : Things are about the same here . Mike MacWhite who used to be in Washington and is now Irish Minister to Italy is home on leave and very interesting and very friendly . He has shocked his people by telling them the low ~~down~~ about conditions in Italy, three and one half ounces of fats per month, three tenths of a litre of oil, one kilogram of meat is the ration, if you can get it. If not, the moths tickets are no good . He has gained ten pounds since getting back . The Germans run everything and take everything . He told me that Suner couldn't get on with Franco and is going to Italy as ambassador shortly. He has already hired the Villa Taverna which Bill Philips had .

From what I read about the situation in New York State I should suppose the Irish situation should be soft pedalled at least till after election but I would like to see James Dillon's recent speeches in the Dail given American publicity. I am sending them to the Department. The Saturday Evening Post might handle them under the Title " We have one friend in Ireland". I think nothing would worry and weaken Dev. as much as the fear of having a rival make headway among the American Irish . Robert Sherwood might handle it. I am suggesting to the Department that they let him see the Dail records. Of course these speeches are forbidden publication in Eire. The one on neutrality the Government asked him to withdraw from publication in the Dail record. He refused. It is all ignoble and

depressing . The Secretary's recent speech made it clear to Mr. De.V that Irish neutrality was not regarded as admirable and that it is not likely that we shall help to make it financially profitable for him but no one in Ireland has seen more than a few extracts from the speech . At first I was not very sold on the idea of installing a high power news bureau here. Now , however as we see how the Germans are increasing their publicity efforts I am anxious to get it started and for some reason or other can get no decision on it. I suppose the publicity is being reorganized but it is too bad to waste all this time and not to circulate ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ^{the} that that comes in. good stuff. We ought to have a mailing list of about twenty thousand names, perhaps more. If the Irish Government won't stop the German propoganda let us give them a bellyful. I was sorry that McLeish couldn't stop on his way through and talk things over. Bill Bullitt tells me he will stop over on his way back. I can give him an earful.

Take care of yourself. Maude joins me in aff. greetings.

Yours

Smith

Ireland Folder

1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE:

TO READ AND RETURN FOR MY

FILES.

F.D.R.

Letter from Hon. David Gray, Legation of the U.S.A., Dublin, Ireland, 9/8/42, enclosing report which Mr. Gray received from "T.A.H.", Dublin, 9/3/42, in re demonstrations at execution of Williams, and a Secret and Confidential memorandum on the State of Ireland from Mr. Gray, dated 9/8/42.

*file
personal*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1942

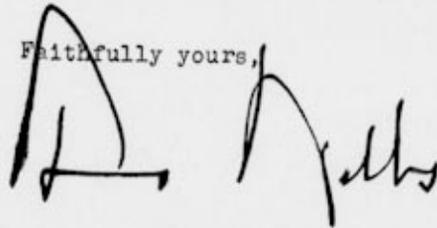
My dear Mr. President:

I have read with a great deal of interest the letter, with enclosure, addressed to you by David Gray under date of September 8 which you were good enough to send me for my information with your memorandum of September 30.

In accordance with your request, I am returning these papers herewith for your files.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,
The White House.

September 8th , 1942.

Dear Boss : Things are not very good over here. I am enclosing a memorandum on the situation as I see it, I may be unduly alarmed but I don't want to have you caught off base if anything serious should develop. These Germans are not going to miss any bets. This Bastard Hempel (The German Minister) was at the great hurling match on Sunday the center of a lot of obsequious Irish and he has recently hoisted the swastica flag on his motor car. After the bombing he took it off. I don't know how strong the DeValera Irish are in America now, but it is reported here that they are returning to the support of Eire policies against America. If you can put the heat on Boston it might do good. You're the Doctor to write the prescription when the time comes.

You have been making some wonderful speeches. How you have the strength to carry on makes Maude and me marvel. God keep you .

Aff

Jim's

Maude sends love + blessings .

Dublin, September 3, 1942.

Mr. Minister,

Yesterday morning at about half past eleven, I drove down the quais to see what form the protest against the execution of Williams might take. As I approached O'Connell Street, I saw crowds running through the side streets, so I left the car and followed. I found that the crowds had been forcing the shops to close and were, by the time I reached the main gathering, forming into a procession which proceeded toward the Nelson Pillar and the Post Office on O'Connell Street. There the crowd, which must have numbered several thousand, gathered in front of the portico, filling the street from sidewalk to sidewalk and bringing all traffic to a standstill.

Speeches were being made, but I was unable to get close enough to hear more than snatches when the speaker turned his head in my direction:- "republicans must accept challenge," "separatist Ireland," "Long Live the Republic," etc.

A period of silence was then announced and was observed by the crowd, which stood with bared heads.

At the end of that time, a speaker, again hoisted onto his fellows' shoulders, called for burning the British flag. This caused a thrill to go through the

crowd

crowd, men cheering and women and girls squealing, and pushing towards the outskirts. A flag was produced and after the few minutes which it took to set it afire, it was held high over the heads of the crowd, having been torn in two halves, which were both blazing.

The speaker then told the crowd to go back to work without disorder, said something about "another place, another time," and announced that there would be a protest meeting at eight o'clock last night.

A van load of police drove up to reinforce the few who were already there and they began to move through the crowd, which appeared reluctant to disperse. Another of the leaders stood on a car and called on the crowd to create no incidents and to give "neither the police nor anyone else" the opportunity to say that they couldn't protest in an orderly way. "You have had your protest, now we want you to go."

I wandered with the crowd down O'Connell Street and found a gathering in front of Eason's where one of the windows was broken. I asked a man what had happened there and he said, "Aw, they wouldn't close and they threw water out of the windows onto the crowd. Somebody stuck his foot through a window and it's lucky they didn't burn the place down. Them kind of people think
there's

there's no room on earth for any other kind but there's room in Heaven above for us all."

The crowd seemed a good-spirited one, motivated as much by curiosity as anything else. There were few indications of anger, although the "rabble-rousers" were enthusiastically cheered.

T.A.H.

TAH/HM



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dublin, September 8, 1942.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.

In view of American interests, the state of things in Ireland both North and South cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Within the past fortnight repeated acts of violence have been committed in Ulster by Irish Republican Army terrorists. On September 7th two new murders of Ulster policemen were reported. The effect on public opinion of the trials of the murderers, if apprehended, is likely to be serious.

Thus far these outrages have been directed against members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, but demonstrations have already been made against American soldiers in Belfast and we must be prepared to be confronted with some incident involving American lives. We should be prepared also for the situation which would arise if American soldiers took the law into their own hands and avenged the death of a companion.

The immediate motivation of these disorders is the recent execution of one Williams, a young Belfast man, one of six convicted by a Belfast jury of murdering a Belfast policeman while resisting arrest. The other five were reprieved. They were all members of

the

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date FEB 10 1972



AIR MAIL

-2-

the Irish Republican Army. The agitation for re-
prieve was actively conducted in Eire as well as in
the Six Counties and the Eire Censorship permitted
factual accounts of public reprieve meetings, the
printing of resolutions, and the printing of an Irish
Republican Army manifesto, in which America was warned
that if conflict ensued between Irish guerrillas and
American troops, the United States Government would
be responsible, inasmuch as they had landed troops on
Irish soil without permission of the Irish people.
The Belfast Government permitted the printing of this
manifesto in Ulster newspapers, so that it is diffi-
cult to blame the Eire Government for doing likewise,
but the result was the circularization of the entire
population with the manifesto of a banned organization
which otherwise never could have reached the general
public.

The day of Williams' execution a mass meeting was
held in O'Connell Street in front of the Dublin Post
Office, during which a small British flag was torn and
burned, the police making no effort to prevent the oc-
currence. Shortly afterwards the police did disperse
the crowd, but made no arrests. The account of this
incident as witnessed by Thomas Hickok, Esquire, Second
Secretary of this Legation, is hereto attached. Subse-
quent information indicates that a more formidable ef-
fort to form a parade and burn the British flag, taking
place in a side street, was stopped by the police and
arrests made.

In

In my view, this agitation stems from the following causes:

1. The widely publicized protest made by Mr. de Valera against the landing of American troops in Northern Ireland. This protest was probably inspired by internal political considerations or by Mr. de Valera's estimate of them. Claiming, as he does, sovereignty of all Ireland, he did not wish to accept the arrival of American troops without asserting that claim. The weakness of his position lies in the fact that when the Germans bombed Belfast, killing hundreds of Irish people, he made no protest. The effect of the protest against United States troops, however, was to advertise anew the claim of the Eire Government and to incite nationalist feeling against both us and the British and to encourage nationalist organizations both north and south to act on the old principle that Britain's extremity is Ireland's opportunity.

2. Germany agency. I have no proof of the use of German funds or of German activity in the present instance, but it would be naive not to presuppose them and the whole familiar German propaganda organization.

3. The release by the Irish Censorship of reports of the repressive agitation. They have resulted in fanning the fires of nationalism all over southern Ireland. I anticipated such consequences several weeks ago when the agitation began and in a conversation with Mr. de Valera pointed out that to forbid the publication of matter likely to create anti-German

feeling

381
JIAN RIA
AIR MAIL

-4-

feeling and at the same time to permit the publication of matter likely to inflame anti-British and anti-American feeling was not my idea of the benevolent neutrality which he had promised us on our entry into the war. I warned him of the serious consequences which might follow attacks on American soldiers. His reply was (a) "We would be fools to allow the printing of anything against the Germans." (b) "The Irish are neutral in fact, but not in feeling as long as the enemy, Britain, remains on our soil. I could not prevent the publication of the reports of the relieve agitation and if I could, I would not. When this question of partition arises, you must accept our attitude as part of our neutrality."

Neither the British nor Canadian Representatives are as concerned over the situation as I am. It may be that they are right and that I am taking an exaggerated view of the situation, but, as I study Irish history since 1913, it seems that a policy of indecision and letting things drift is responsible for that tragic course of events. I recognize certain conditions analogous to those in 1914, '15 and '16.

It is not impossible that a state of disorder similar to that which existed over the whole of Ireland, after the Easter Monday uprising of 1916, may break out in the Six Counties, instigated, financed and generally aided by German agency. Eire as a neutral base for preparation and an asylum for direct actionists on the run would play an important part.

Our

AIR MAIL

-5-

Our troops would very likely be involved. I think this situation should be considered from two viewpoints: (a) Suitable action in Eire; (b) Suitable action in America. This latter, of course, could only be suitable publicity to the end of enlightening America and especially Irish Americans of the facts. Suitable action in Eire might be a warning to Mr. de Valera of the probable consequences of current events and of his meed of responsibility for allowing them to operate in the interest of the Axis powers. Either he is to be allowed to capitalize the trend of events for the incitation of nationalist sentiment to be used to force Britain and ourselves to abandon Ulster now and unconditionally, regardless of military considerations, or he is to be warned that for the duration of the conflict he must avoid the pressing of this issue.

His recorded position as to the means for ending partition is reasonable and enlightened. He has said publicly that there were only two ways of securing the desired end - one by force of arms, the other by conciliation; that if he had the force, which he had not, he would not use it to acquire another Alsace-Lorraine problem. Consequently, conciliation was the only practical course.

Unfortunately, his emotions on the one hand and his innate political reluctance to oppose his Republican Left Wing conspire to nullify his program of conciliation. He told me recently that not to recognize
that

100
113
101

JIAM RIA

AIR MAIL

that the young men who murdered Patrick Murphy, the Catholic Belfast constabulary officer were inspired by a patriotic motive was to be blind to the facts. He condemns the murder, but is always able to sympathetically understand what motivated the murderers. Similarly, while he has several hundred of the I.R.A. in jail without process of law, he loses no opportunity to identify himself with the nationalistic aims of the organization. Their only offense is in not recognizing his government. Indecision on the part of the British and ourselves is not the only indecision that may endanger the situation. Mr. de Valera's inner conflict between his emotional urge to the Left and his reasoned long-range view of the situation, unquestionably was the factor that made him drift into the civil war that almost wrecked the newborn Free State. His mind tells him that his only hope of ending partition is with our help and with the help of British Liberal opinion, but his emotions apparently prevent his acting on this premise. Similarly, his mind tells him that only by the defeat of Germany can Eire be preserved as an independent state, but, again, his nationalistic emotions blind ^{him} and he will exert no leadership in this sense.

In the present situation involving disorders in Ulster, he doubtless sees the dangers resulting from the murder of American soldiers, but he will not modify his protest against their presence, although he must know that it operates to engender anti-American feeling which may express itself in murder. He fears the Germans, yet plays their game. He and his government unquestionably cooperate

AIR MAIL

-7-

cooperate with the British in many minor ways, and much friendly feeling exists, but it is a question in my mind whether the British are not paying for this cooperation too big a price, when they make no stiff protest against such official encouragement of anti-British sentiment as is evidenced by the censorship in the matter of the Belfast murderers reprieve agitation. After all, the coal and gasoline which Eire still gets in sufficient quantity to maintain public and state transportation all comes from England and they would seem to have the right to preferred treatment, but it is, of course, not our business to worry about the British except where American interests are involved.

Suitable action toward Eire would seem to imply a policy on our part designed to recall Mr. de Valera to the realities of his situation.

Suitable action in America might largely consist in acquainting the American people with the facts of the Irish situation. No correspondent can send these facts out of Eire. If he takes them out with him and sends them from England, he can never come back. In the case of articles that Helen Kirkpatrick wrote the Chicago Daily News, I am told that the Irish Consulate General in New York organized a protest and a Committee of Irish Americans threatened both the News and the Boston Globe.

People in America, including Irish-Americans, do not know that habeas corpus is in effect suspended, so also jury trial in political murder cases, so also the rules of evidence in such cases, so also the rights of
free

00000
11-11-41
11-11-41

JIAM RIA

AIR MAIL

-8-

free speech and a free press. Americans do not know the story of the censorship preventing publication of episcopal pastorals unfriendly to the Axis and even speeches made in their legislature, nor of the new system of Government by Emergency Powers Orders under which any Cabinet member may now have anyone arrested and put into jail without charges and kept there. A little truth might be profitable.

As I see it, the best method of handling this would be to send a man like Justice Frank Murphy over here and put his report on the A.P. and U.P. wires when he got back. There is no doubt that such publication in America would have a profound effect here.

D.G.

Dmitry

DG/HM

BSF 1942 Ireland

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICES

PAGE
____ OF ____ PAGES

INTRASERVICE MEMORANDUM AND ENDORSEMENT

SUBJECT OR TRANSACTION Mr. from David Gray, U.S. Minister to Eire, dated 10/7/42, addressed to Archbishop MacCory, Cardinal Primate of all Ireland. (Memo from NIA to NI, dated 3/12/60)

FROM TO DATE AND MESSAGE

IRD HL 3-18-68. We have located a copy of the letter from Mr. Gray to Cardinal MacCory dated October 7, 1942 among the records of the Department of State (Record Group 59). This letter is an enclosure to Despatch No. 497 dated October 8, 1942 (File No. 84LD.20/49). The despatch and the letter are both unclassified.

Patricia G. Dowling
Patricia G. Dowling

RECEIVED

JANUARY 1968

(Over)

I fear will

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Dublin, October 7, 1942.

Dear Eminence,

Your kindly friendliness to me has won my regard, as your courageous honesty and frankness have won my respect. I know where I stand with you and if we disagree, I know that you will be outspoken and not attack from behind. I know too how difficult and trying circumstances are for you in the North and I am concerned with what concerns you so deeply - the ending of partition. It is for all these reasons that I shall try to explain to you my anxiety over your reference at the Cavan dedication to United States troops in Northern Ireland as overrunning your country against the will of the Nation. Coming from you, who, as Cardinal Primate for all Ireland, speak with a unique authority, I fear this utterance may already have done grave harm to the traditional friendship between our two peoples and is likely to do more unless we can find a formula for better understanding.

News of the attitude of the Eire Government toward the landing of American troops in Northern Ireland came to the American people with a shocked and pained surprise. And now your utterance, which indicates

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

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED

3-15-64
Date Initial

PST- Ireland

that you regard us in effect as invaders, I fear will intensify the unhappy impression made by Mr. de Valera's protest.

Regardless of religious views, regardless of party lines, the American people for nearly a century have thought of themselves as the special friends of Ireland. Eminent Irishmen have stated publicly that without this powerful friendship, Irish Nationalism would not have succeeded as it has. We have asked nothing from Ireland. We have always given, but we have always believed that we could rely on Irish friendship and that in an hour of need we should have Irish help. Now in our life and death struggle you warn us off the strategic position so necessary to us and to our Allies. This position, however much you and I may wish it might be otherwise, has been, as you know, recognized by the nations of the world, including the then newly established Irish Free State, as under British sovereignty. There is therefore no reason in international law or morals why American troops should not be where they are at British invitation in the interest of our common security. When therefore you refer to American troops as if they were invaders, can you wonder that the American people are mystified and pained? The American people are interested in ending partition, but the great majority view the matter as does the Prime Minister of Eire. You will recall his statesman-like pronouncement in the Dail - that only by conciliation and agreement, could a profitable and permanent

UNCLASSIFIED

3-25-61 *see*

Date

Initial

~~SECRET~~

solution be reached. Some Americans understand that Mr. de Valera in protesting the arrival of American troops may have wished to emphasize his claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties, but they ask why he protested American troops coming as friends for the protection of Ireland, and did not protest German bombers coming to bomb Belfast and kill Irish nationals. They feel that his attitude has been more friendly to Germans, from whom he obtains nothing but bombs, than to Americans and their Allies from whom he receives what is needful to maintain Irish economy.

Today in America we are asking ourselves what is the reason for this indifference to our survival and success? Do you blame us for the hardships and deprivations incident to the War? This seems unlikely, for no country in Europe has preserved so large a measure not only of necessities but of comforts and luxuries. For the year 1939 with four months of war, the imports of Eire were normal. For the following year, the figures show that they increased half a million pounds. There is no evidence of blockade or deprivation in these sixteen months. During 1941, imports fell about one-third, but during this time, though Britain was on short commons, she continued to share proportionally many of the things which she greatly needed for herself. I mention Britain, for during much of this time we were endeavoring to supply her with many of the things she passed on to Eire. In the summer of 1940, I myself was instrumental in getting twenty thousand American rifles for the Irish Army.

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED

3-25-68
Date Initial

And it is certain that if American friendship for Ireland did not encourage Britain to supply Ireland generously, it did nothing to obstruct that supply.

The adoption of the Aid for Britain policy by the American Government brought America in effect into the war months before Pearl Harbor, but, though our need for shipping was even then acute, the American President allotted two considerable cargo ships for Irish charter, the two best ships now in the Irish merchant marine. Not only this, but, although the Irish Government had from the beginning of hostilities forbidden the sending of Irish funds to the United States, even after Pearl Harbor no order has been issued by the American Government preventing the free sending of American funds to Ireland. Today, although American citizens are severely rationed as to petrol, the American Government is still permitting petroleum products originating in America to go to Eire in sufficient quantity to operate the public bus services, to gather the harvest, to carry hundred of thousands of tons of turf to Dublin, to supply transportation for the clergy and doctors, to give the poor their scanty ration of paraffin.

Without American petrol the Irish Army would be without transport; Irish airplanes could not fly. We have witnessed recently the ironic spectacle of Irish Army cars using American petrol, supplied by Britain, to hunt down Allied airmen escaped from Irish internment for having landed on Eire soil while protecting the ships that brought the petrol from America. We daily witness the ironic spectacle of

UNCLASSIFIED

3.15.62
Date Initial

-2-

Final
Ed. 1071

Axis representatives engaged in conspiracy against us happily touring the Irish country-side with American petrol. It is the simple fact that everything imported into Ireland, which is everything that Irish people use, except what the soil produces, comes from America or her Allies, except what Eire may import from Portugal or Spain. But even these imports are brought by the coal which we or our Allies supply.

These are things that Americans are thinking about with perplexity, as they wonder why Ireland should be unfriendly and indifferent to their fate. And, believe me Eminence, they will think more and more about these things and, being human, there will be engendered resentments that will last for generations and be inscribed in history, unless we can find some means of arresting this tragic tide of misunderstanding.

In my view, there is serious danger that these resentments may be suddenly fanned into flame by the murder of American soldiers in Northern Ireland. We have recently seen the tragic results following the execution and glorification of Williams, the one of six misguided I.R.A. youths who was executed for murdering Catholic Patrick Murphy, the Belfast constabulary officer. All over Eire shops were forcibly closed during the hour of the execution by I.R.A. groups or their sympathizers and thousands of people prayed in the streets. Williams was invested with something of the sanctity of martyrdom.

For a long time the Eire police had been immune from murderous assault. The brave and energetic

UNCLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

3-25-68
Date

Initial

Minister of Justice had made it clear that murderers of his Gardai would be executed and murdering policemen went out of fashion. But, within a few weeks after the glorification of Williams as a patriot-hero, members of the same illegal organization have murdered Detective Sergeant Denis O'Brien and Detective Officer Michael Walsh.

What will be the effect on the minds of these misguided young men of representing American soldiers in Northern Ireland as overrunning their country against the will of the Nation? Will it not be taken as an approval by the Cardinal Primate of the recent I.R.A. manifesto declaring war on the United States? Will it not be taken as sanctioning patriotic efforts to drive the invader from the soil? I greatly fear that such will be the interpretation of your Eminence's utterance and if murder follows, the consequences to Irish-American friendship will not be pleasant.

Dear Eminence, let us therefore talk this thing out and see if we cannot arrive at least at a modus vivendi to carry us through the crisis of the war without catastrophe. I will wait on you at your convenience, either when you are in Dublin, or I will call on you at your Palace at Armagh.

Yours respectfully,

(Sgd) David Gray

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED
 3.15.68
 Date Initial

*file
personal.*

*Ireland folder
2-42*

Dublin, October 8, 1942.

My dear Franklin: -

Your so kind and generous letter written just before you left on your inspection tour made us both happy. But there is good reason to believe that pleasant reports of this Mission are inspired by its barrel of old Jameson. So do not put much reliance on them. We may do something awful at any moment. We liked your absent treatment. But while you remain aloof in the recesses of the W.H., it might be a good thing to have the American Press come out with the plain facts about Ireland.

Cardinal MacRory broke loose ten days ago while he was dedicating a Cathedral at Cavan. He referred to our troops (together with the British) as over-running "Our country against the will of the Nation." This plays directly into the hands of the I.R.A. and might reasonably be expected to incite the murder of American troops in Northern Ireland. I have therefore
written

The President,
The White House.

written him a letter, a copy of which I enclose.

From what the Nuncio has let drop to me, I think he and the friendly members of the Irish Government will be glad that I have protested. I doubt if I get to first base with the Cardinal, but it is on the record in case anything happens.

Since beginning this, I have been lunching with the Nuncio to meet the Bishop of Londonderry, The Most Reverend Neil Farren. Sean T. O'Kelly was the other guest. The Bishop has been made Chaplain Delegate by Archbishop Spellman for American Catholics in Ireland. I think he is OKE and could be very useful to General Hartle, our C.O. in Northern Ireland, to whom this idea apparently has not occurred. I am having the Bishop to lunch with me on Monday and am going to try to bring General Hartle and him together and go north myself for the purpose. At lunch I stated that I was engaged with the Cardinal in a quarrel over his utterance at Cavan and all that was said in his defense was that he was a sorely tried old man, to which I assented.

Farren showed me a letter from Bishop O'Hara, a copy of which I enclose. If you can get this scheme put through, that is, taking these young priests to

America

America in the empty transports, it will be a very good thing and help this Mission which is under constant pressure and unable to do anything, as, under the present ruling, only American nationals can travel in the transports. I think it would be good propaganda and without danger.

I am going to Foynes on Saturday to meet Myron Taylor and I will talk it over with him.

A very nice fellow, named Matthews, editor of a Tucson newspaper, was here a week ago. In his talk with the Prime Minister, the latter let the cat out of the bag. Matthews said, "Aren't you afraid that your policy which operates almost wholly in the interest of Germany will cause trouble for you after the war?" Dev answered, "No, because when the war ends, Britain and America will quarrel and then America will see that we were right." At that, Dev may get away with it.

I fear that your friend Frank Aiken, the Censor, means to make trouble for our press bulletin when it finally appears. We shall keep strictly within the line permitted to the Germans, but he will say that ours is printed and theirs is mimeographed, that they only distribute three thousand but we, twenty thousand.

I am tipping off Sean T. O'Kelly and Edmund Williams, Chairman of the National Beet Sugar Board, that I am going really to try to get material for them to maintain the sugar factories so that they can operate in 1943-44, but that if there is unfriendly interference by the Censorship with our propaganda, it will be difficult to obtain the necessary steel. If Aiken tries to stop our publication, we ought not to take it lying down. Perhaps he wont, but if I holler for help, you will understand.

I hate to bother you with all this religious stuff, but it is one of your specialities and not exactly material for the Department to pass around. So forgive me.

Maude has been ill again, this time with a light pleurisy, but she is getting better. I find it hard, however, to keep her in bed.

Al Orin,

I hope you are going to give those people a trade agreement like that with Portugal & Turkey while the emergency lasts. Don't ever try to get me.

D.

COPY

MILITARY ORDINARIATE

United States of America

33 East 51st Street
New York, N. Y.

Most Reverend
Francis J. Spellman, D.D.
Military Vicar

Reverend
Robert E. McCormick, J.C.D.
Chancellor

Most Reverend
John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., D.D.
Military Delegate

Reverend
Joseph J. Tennant, D. D.
Asst. Chancellor

September 5, 1942.

Your Excellency:

My long silence should not be interpreted as lack of appreciation of your great kindness in accepting responsibility for the spiritual welfare of our flock in Northern Ireland. Rather let it mean supreme confidence that all is going well. I have been hoping to send a list of our chaplains under your jurisdiction, but I imagine that Father O'Connor and other chaplains there can prepare a better list than I could furnish. We receive no copies of secret orders, and we never know until the priest tells us that he has landed in a certain country that he is there. Often we must wait months to learn the name of the country.

At present I am taking up with the State and Navy Departments a matter in which you may be able to render important assistance. There are in Eire quite a number of priests who have been ordained for American or Australian dioceses. For the past two years all efforts to secure civilian transportation for them have failed. We have now proposed to the Navy Department that these priests be allowed to travel as voyage chaplains on Navy transports returning to this country. The Navy Department has welcomed the proposal, and is exploring the possibility of making it effective. We have informed the State Department of our plan.

If agreement is reached in Washington, there will still remain the problem of the transfer of these priests from Eire to the ship. I am hopeful that through your good offices the two governments concerned over there will grant the requested permission. If you wish to begin the investigation of possibilities, you will need some names, so I enclose a

list

His Excellency
The Most Reverend Neil Farren, D.D.
Lord Bishop of Derry.

list of five priests who are under contract to the Diocese of Cheyenne, Wyoming. The necessary affidavits from Bishop McGovern of Cheyenne will be forthcoming in proper time if the proposal is approved.

Archbishop Spellman has just returned from an 18,000 miles visit to Army camps and Navy stations in the United States and Alaska. He brought joy to the hearts of some 300 Catholic chaplains in the course of his tour. He joins me in renewed expression of appreciation and warm personal greetings.

Devotedly yours in Dno.,

(Sgnd) * John F. O'Hara, C.S.C.

Dublin, October 7, 1942.

Dear Eminence,

Your kindly friendliness to me has won my regard, as your courageous honesty and frankness have won my respect. I know where I stand with you and if we disagree, I know that you will be outspoken and not attack from behind. I know too how difficult and trying circumstances are for you in the North and I am concerned with what concerns you so deeply - the ending of partition. It is for all these reasons that I shall try to explain to you my anxiety over your reference at the Cavan dedication to United States troops in Northern Ireland as overrunning your country against the will of the Nation. Coming from you, who, as Cardinal Primate for all Ireland, speak with a unique authority, I fear this utterance may already have done grave harm to the traditional

friendship

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

friendship between our two peoples and is likely to do more unless we can find a formula for better understanding.

News of the attitude of the Eire Government toward the landing of American troops in Northern Ireland came to the American people with a shocked and pained surprise. And now your utterance, which indicates that you regard us in effect as invaders, I fear will intensify the unhappy impression made by Mr. de Valera's protest.

Regardless of religious views, regardless of party lines, the American people for nearly a century have thought of themselves as the special friends of Ireland. Eminent Irishmen have stated publicly that without this powerful friendship, Irish Nationalism would not have succeeded as it has. We have asked nothing from Ireland. We have always given, but we have always believed that we could rely on Irish friendship and that in an hour of need we should have Irish help. Now in our life and death struggle you warn us off the strategic position so necessary to us and to our Allies. This position, however much you and I may wish it might be otherwise, has been, as you know,
recognized

recognized by the nations of the world, including the then newly established Irish Free State, as under British sovereignty. There is therefore no reason in international law or morals why American troops should not be where they are at British invitation in the interest of our common security. When therefore you refer to American troops as if they were invaders, can you wonder that the American people are mystified and pained? The American people are interested in ending partition, but the great majority view the matter as does the Prime Minister of Eire. You will recall his statesman-like pronouncement in the Dail - that only by conciliation and agreement could a profitable and permanent solution be reached. Some Americans understand that Mr. de Valera in protesting the arrival of American troops may have wished to emphasize his claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties, but they ask why he protested American troops coming as friends for the protection of Ireland, and did not protest German bombers coming to bomb Belfast and kill Irish nationals. They feel that his attitude has been more friendly to Germans, from whom he obtains nothing but bombs, than to Americans and their Allies from whom he receives what is needful to maintain Irish economy.

Today

Today in America we are asking ourselves what is the reason for this indifference to our survival and success? Do you blame us for the hardships and deprivations incident to the war? This seems unlikely, for no country in Europe has preserved so large a measure not only of necessities but of comforts and luxuries. For the year 1939 with four months of war, the imports of Eire were normal. For the following year, the figures show that they increased half a million pounds. There is no evidence of blockade or deprivation in these sixteen months. During 1941, imports fell about one-third, but during this time, though Britain was on short commons, she continued to share proportionally many of the things which she greatly needed for herself. I mention Britain, for during much of this time we were endeavoring to supply her with many of the things she passed on to Eire. In the summer of 1940, I myself was instrumental in getting twenty thousand American rifles for the Irish Army. And it is certain that if American friendship for Ireland did not encourage Britain to supply Ireland generously, it did nothing to obstruct that supply.

The adoption of the Aid for Britain policy by the
American

American Government brought America in effect into the war months before Pearl Harbor, but, though our need for shipping was even then acute, the American President allotted two considerable cargo ships for Irish charter, the two best ships now in the Irish merchant marine. Not only this, but, although the Irish Government had from the beginning of hostilities forbidden the sending of Irish funds to the United States, even after Pearl Harbor no order has been issued by the American Government preventing the free sending of American funds to Ireland. Today, although American citizens are severely rationed as to petrol, the American Government is still permitting petroleum products originating in America to go to Eire in sufficient quantity to operate the public bus services, to gather the harvest, to carry hundreds of thousands of tons of turf to Dublin, to supply transportation for the clergy and doctors, to give the poor their scanty ration of parafin.

Without American petrol the Irish Army would be without transport; Irish airplanes could not fly. We have witnessed recently the ironic spectacle of Irish Army cars using American petrol, supplied by Britain, to hunt down Allied airmen escaped from Irish internment

internment for having landed on Eire soil while protecting the ships that brought the petrol from America. We daily witness the ironic spectacle of Axis representatives engaged in conspiracy against us happily touring the Irish country-side with American petrol. It is the simple fact that everything imported into Ireland, which is everything that Irish people use, except what the soil produces, comes from America or her Allies, except what Eire may import from Portugal or Spain. But even these imports are brought by the coal which we or our Allies supply.

These are things that Americans are thinking about with perplexity, as they wonder why Ireland should be unfriendly and indifferent to their fate. And, believe me, Eminence, they will think more and more about these things and, being human, there will be engendered resentments that will last for generations and be inscribed in history, unless we can find some means of arresting this tragic tide of misunderstanding.

In my view, there is serious danger that these resentments may be suddenly fanned into flame by the murder of American soldiers in Northern Ireland. We have recently seen the tragic results following the execution and glorification of Williams, the one of

six misguided I.R.A. youths who was executed for murdering Catholic Patrick Murphy, the Belfast constabulary officer. All over Eire shops were forcibly closed during the hour of the execution by I.R.A. groups or their sympathizers and thousands of people prayed in the streets. Williams was invested with something of the sanctity of martyrdom.

For a long time the Eire police had been immune from murderous assault. The brave and energetic Minister of Justice had made it clear that murderers of his Gardai would be executed and murdering policemen went out of fashion. But, within a few weeks after the glorification of Williams as a patriot-hero, members of the same illegal organization have murdered Detective Sergeant Denis O'Brien and Detective Officer Michael Walsh.

What will be the effect on the minds of these misguided young men of representing American soldiers in Northern Ireland as overrunning their country against the will of the Nation? Will it not be taken as an approval by the Cardinal Primate of the recent I.R.A. manifesto declaring war on the United States? Will it not be taken as sanctioning patriotic efforts to drive the invader from the soil? I greatly fear
that

that such will be the interpretation of your Eminence's utterance and if murder follows, the consequences to Irish-American friendship will not be pleasant.

Dear Eminence, let us therefore talk this thing out and see if we cannot arrive at least at a modus vivendi to carry us through the crisis of the war without catastrophe. I will wait on you at your convenience, either when you are in Dublin, or I will call on you at your Palace at Armagh.

Yours respectfully,

David Gray

October 30th , 1942.

Dear Franklin:

"Absent Wachtman"

I have telegraphed the Department that the Irish Government suggested entertaining Eleanor if and when she came back to Ireland and that I replied that there was nothing doing. ^(Enclosed) This is the letter that I sent to External Affairs . I hope this is the line would would have me take . I thought of a way of getting my letter to Cardinal McCrory before the Irish Government by protesting against the Irish Censorship which permitted publication of the Cardinal's ^{anti-American} remarks but suppressed an anti- German pastoral issued by Bishop Morrislowe of Auchonry . It goes out ~~to the Department in a despatch~~ ^{by} ~~with a special courier tomorrow~~ , Col. Gunther who also takes this letter.

Dublin

James Dillon tells me that several ^A laymen have been told by the Archbishop of Dublin that the Vatican is opposed to a negotiated peace and will make no peace with Hitler. This is interpreted as indicating that the Vatican now believes that the Axis is certain to be defeated . Dev has been told. We shall see what will happen. Myron Taylor tipped me off when he was here and this is confirmation of the efficacy of his mission. Dillon says that Archbishop McQuade would never have told these not important laymen if he had not wished to broadcast it.

Many many thanks for the ham which has just arrived. God Bless you.

Handwritten initials
Aff

Handwritten initials

Dublin, October 26, 1942.

Dear Joe,

Mr. Packer has transmitted to me your kind suggestion that in the event of Mrs. Roosevelt's returning to America via Dublin, the Irish Government would be pleased to recognize her presence here in some appropriate and gracious manner.

I appreciate very much your kind and courteous suggestion, but I fear it would be unwise to make any preparation for such a contingency, first, because, as far as I know, it is uncertain how and exactly when she will return and, second, I doubt very much that the arrangements of the Department of State will contemplate her being received by any Government other than that to which she was semi-officially accredited. As you see, she has no official status as wife of the President, yet, like any private citizen, may be designated for a mission, upon completion of which her status returns to that of private citizen and as such she may not be received officially.

As soon as I receive any instructions regarding her return, I will advise you. In the meantime, please accept my appreciative thanks again for your courtesy.

Yours, as always,

Joseph P. Walshe, Esq.,
Permanent Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
Dublin.

Smithson
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Personal and Confidential

For the President

The White House

*Washington
D.C.*

This is the first number, just one - will not be up later.
D.

Letter from America

No. 1 OCTOBER 30, 1942



For free distribution;
not to be sold

THREE NEW SHIPS DAILY ASSURE NEEDED SUPPLIES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

WASHINGTON

The bridge of ships that will bring victory to the United Nations is beginning to take shape. For those ships are being built faster than they are being sunk. Three a day are going down the ways of American shipyards, and by January the United States will be launching every day four 10,500 ton merchant ships of the Liberty type.

The expanding American shipyards are not only turning out an increasing number of merchant ships every month, but they are turning them out in a shorter time.

During September, which saw all construction records broken, 67 Liberty ships were delivered in an average time of 70.1 days from start to finish. During the same month 26 other ships were finished for a total of 93 ships delivered during one month. The pace-setters for this intensified production have been Henry J. Kaiser's yards on the West Coast, where during September 11 ships were delivered in an average time of 42 days a ship.

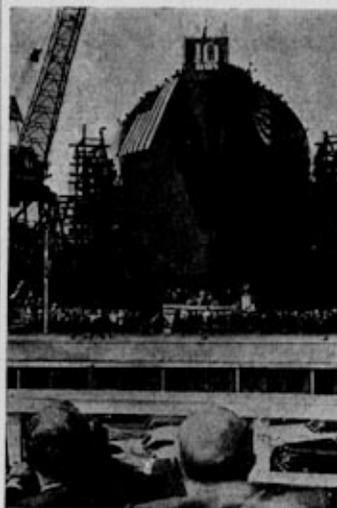
But Mr. Kaiser's outstanding achievement during September was the launching of a 10,500 ton freighter just 10 days after its keel was laid. Four days later, it was delivered to the United States Maritime Commission, a performance breaking every ship-building record in the world.

This ten-day ship was launched 87 per cent. complete, boilers installed, steam up. The previous record was 24 days from keel laying to launching 79 per cent. complete, with five days more needed for equipping and delivery.

Mr. Kaiser is a big, bluff engineer who has to his credit such monumental construction jobs as Boulder Dam and Grand Coulee Dam in the Western United States. He built his first ship a year ago. Now, in addition to turning out cargo vessels in almost unbelievable time, he is engaged in building giant cargo planes. Associated with him in this venture is Howard Hughes, the millionaire round-the-world flier.

As he watched with President Roosevelt the launching of his ten-day ship, Mr. Kaiser said:

"It's a grand job, but we can and will



President Roosevelt (left) and Henry J. Kaiser (right) watch as a 10,500-ton "Liberty" freighter goes down the ways 10 days after its keel was laid.

build 'em even faster. These records bear witness to the great production era which will rebuild the world after the war."

Recognition of American workers' part in winning the war was made by John G. Winant, the American Ambassador, who broadcast to them a message from London. Mr. Winant said: "The builders of the Liberty ships are doing a great job. The records you have created have staggered the world.

"You work hard hours and with the strain of working against time, but you know the more you build the shorter will be the war. You are as important as the fighting men in any part of the world—the larger the fleet you build and man to carry and supply the armed forces of the United Nations the quicker will come victory.

"Never before in the history of the world have the ocean life-lines around the globe been of such urgent importance to the survival of humanity. We are proud and grateful for the splendid work you are doing."

Since the launching of the Patrick Henry, the first Liberty ship, a year ago, 488 ships of 5,300,000 deadweight tons have been put in service. This year's goal is 8,000,000 tons, and its achievement is well in sight.

ROOSEVELT: "NAZI PROPAGANDA ON DEFENSIVE"

WASHINGTON

A partial text of President Roosevelt's most recent radio talk to the people of the United States follows:

"One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called 'the war of nerves'. They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started fifth columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbours; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations—even our own—whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity. The greatest defence against all such propaganda is the common use of common people—and that defence is prevailing. The 'war of nerves' against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive.

"They begin to apologise to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

"They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible, but, at the same time, are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the eastern Mediterranean.

"Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities. The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated, and evidence is being relentlessly piled up for future purposes of justice.

"We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ringleaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. . . .

(Continued on page 4.)

AL SMITH'S MESSAGE

NEW YORK

Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of New York, in a message to New York's Irish Regiment, "The Fighting Sixty-Ninth," said:

"American boys of every faith are fighting today for the same principles that freedom-loving and devout Irishmen themselves have fought for through the years. These American boys are the vanguard of the Armies that will destroy Hitler; they with their comrades of the United Nations are the guarantee that a world will be built wherein all nations can be free to choose their way of life and to preserve their faith."

1942-1943

NEW YORK

A store window displays a copy of Hitler's own newspaper, the Voelkischer Beobachter and attracts crowds. The headlines on the paper read, "War in Russia victoriously finished! Russian army completely destroyed."

The date on the paper is October 9, 1941.

AMERICA FACES REALISTICALLY PROBLEMS OF WAR MATERIALS

WASHINGTON

America has two great problems today: the production of war material to the maximum of available capacity, and the transportation of that material to the fighting fronts within the necessary time.

Too many Americans have felt for too long that we are fighting this war out of a surplus—a surplus of resources, of productive capacity, a surplus of time. That is not true. America has plenty of some resources: in others, America is definitely a have-not nation.

Perhaps the most critical shortage in America today is that of rubber. Not long ago a commission appointed by President Roosevelt examined the problem thoroughly and concluded: "We find the existing situation to be so dangerous that unless corrective measures are taken immediately this country will face both military and civilian collapse. . . . The naked facts present a warning that dare not be ignored. If it is, the U.S. will have no rubber in the fourth quarter of 1943 to equip a modern mechanized army."

While synthetic rubber production is getting under way, nation-wide petrol rationing has been ordered to conserve rubber and the committee recommended other drastic curbs on the use of cars.

In his recent report on Lend-Lease progress, President Roosevelt warned Congress that American war production had little more than passed the half-way mark towards maximum output, and that maximum output could be achieved only by stripping civilian economy to the bone. The steel situation presents one of the most pressing problems. America's steel output this year is expected to reach 86,000,000 tons, a capacity far beyond that of all of Europe's steel mills, yet it is not enough for the Army, Navy and Maritime commission. Only the most essential civilian needs, for farm machinery, steel rails, and fire-fighting equipment, will be met.

A year or so ago, the United States had so much more scrap steel and iron than were thought needed that hundreds of thousands of tons went to any country which wanted it—in some cases, to countries busy building war machines with it to attack us. Today, every nook and corner of America is being scoured for that same sort of scrap.

New York City has decided to tear down several thousand unoccupied factories and other buildings for their steel girders and other metal furnishings.

In civilian industries, most of those using critical metals have already shut down or have curtailed drastically their operations. But many of the 28,000 plants thus affected were able to convert to war work and continue in business. Mergers are in sight for many more civilian industries such as petrol service stations, retail stores, commission houses and similar businesses.

The most recent report by Mr. Donald Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, shows that this year United States production will exceed by a considerable margin that of German-dominated Europe, including France, Italy and the Balkan States. But Mr. Nelson pointed out that August production lagged about 14 per cent. behind the total forecast at the beginning of the month.

In its August report to the nation on the progress of the war, the United States Office of War Information said: "We have made in the past two years a tremendous plant expansion. Now we have more factories than, at the moment, we can use—not too many, perhaps, compared to the ultimate need, but too many for the amount of



President Roosevelt visits an army camp on his recent tour of the country. Major General O. W. Griswold shows the President a map of the camp.

raw material at present available. Faulty control of inventories and of flow of materials has necessitated some temporary shutdowns. . . . We have great productive capacity; but conversion to wartime uses was a job that had to be learned, and could not be learned without making mistakes. We cannot devote that plant primarily to war purposes without greater sacrifices in conveniences and comfort than we are making now; and it must compete with the productive capacity of most of Europe, managed by men who have organized it only for war purposes. As for time, it will never be on our side until we use it better than the enemy does."

THIRTY UNITED!

WASHINGTON

With the recent adherence of Ethiopia, signatories to the joint declaration of the United Nations now number 30. The list follows:

Australia	Mexico
Belgium	The Netherlands
Brazil	New Zealand
Canada	Nicaragua
China	Norway
Costa Rica	Panama
Cuba	The Philippines
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Dominican Republic	El Salvador
Ethiopia	South Africa
Greece	The Soviet Union
Guatemala	The United Kingdom
Haiti	dom
Honduras	The United States of America
India	Yugoslavia.
Luxembourg	

Each signatory pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war, and not to make a separate peace or armistice with the enemies.

These are the nations that will defeat the Axis.

AN ARMY OF SEVEN AND A HALF MILLION

WASHINGTON

The allocation of manpower is one of the most vital matters facing the United States today—the division of that manpower among the armed forces, war production and essential civilian services. Paul McNutt has just told Congress that complete governmental control of American manpower is mandatory.

The official goal of the army by the end of 1943 is 7,500,000 men, which includes 2,200,000 men in the Air Corps.

Congress is now approving a revision that will draft 18- and 19 year-olds into the Services. Both industry and agriculture have been severely disrupted by the present practice of drafting older men.

Building an armed force of the size contemplated has put a severe drain on the nation's manpower, and legislation is now being framed to give the Administration wide control over the civilian life of men and women. Under this proposed legislation, the individual will be given the job to do which fits in best with the war effort.

The eventual goal of a fighting force of 12,000,000 men represents a major change in America's philosophy of the war.

Two basic conceptions of an earlier stage in the conflict have now been abandoned. One conception was that America was to have the role of major producer in the war—in the earlier phrase, "the arsenal of democracy." We were to furnish the tools and the equipment, others were to fight with them. The other conception was that Germany could be bombed into defeat without the necessity of a frontal attack by land forces; the U.S.A. was to build the bombers and the R.A.F. would fly them.

Both of these ideas are now recognized as having been fallacious from the start. America's planners now believe that only a large-scale offensive across Europe by the biggest army the world has ever seen can achieve complete and final victory. This operation, cost what it may, must one day be undertaken.

Selective Service is now taking men at the rate of about 500,000 a month. Before the war is over, every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 45 will be in some branch of the armed service, or in a civilian job essential to the war effort. Selective Service has warned that all able-bodied men must be replaced in industry by women, older men and those whose military usefulness is slight.

MURDERED MISSIONARIES

WASHINGTON

The Very Reverend Nicholas Weber, Head of the Marist Order in the United States, made the following statement regarding the Japanese murder of Marist missionaries at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands:

"This brutal murder of the defenceless, Catholic missionaries, Fathers Duhamel and Enberink, together with two missionary sisters, came as an intense shock to people in the United States.

"To the Marist Society, of which these missionaries were members, there was added a sense of personal sorrow and loss.

"It seems to become clearer day by day that there is no room in the present Japanese system for toleration, either of religion or race.

"We can only pray and work for a speedy victory of our aims to end that totalitarianism, which brings murder, degradation and loss of every human liberty, so that it may be banished from the earth."

GENERAL SMUTS APPLAUDED

NEW YORK

American newspapers devoted much space to the speech of General Smuts before Parliament. Most widely applauded were the General's remarks on the meaning of the war. "After what has happened since 1939," he said, "in the occupied countries and elsewhere there is no more doubt about the meaning of it all. . . . Behind all the issues of this war lies the deeper question now posed to the world: Which do you choose—the free spirit of man and the moral idealism which has shaped the values and ideals of our civilization; or this horrid substitute, this foul obsession now resuscitated from the underworld of the past?"

"An American statesman," General Smuts continued, "has called this the century of the common people. I feel that in this vast suffering through which our race is passing we are being carried to a deeper sense of social realities."

"We are passing beyond the ordinary politics and political shibboleths. It is no longer a case of Socialism or Communism or any of the other isms of the market place, but of achieving common justice and fair play for all. . . . There is much in the common life of the people which can be remedied, much unnecessary inequality and privileges to be levelled away, much commonsense opportunity to be created as the common birthright and public atmosphere for all to enjoy as of right."

"Health, housing, education, decent social amenities, provision against avoidable insecurities—all these simple goods and much more can be provided for all, and thus a common higher level of life be achieved for all. . . . With honesty and sincerity on our part it is possible to make basic reforms both for national and international life which will give mankind a new chance of survival and of progress."

IRISH TAUGHT IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

NEW YORK

American Colleges and Universities are offering courses in the Irish language and in Irish literature in increasing numbers.

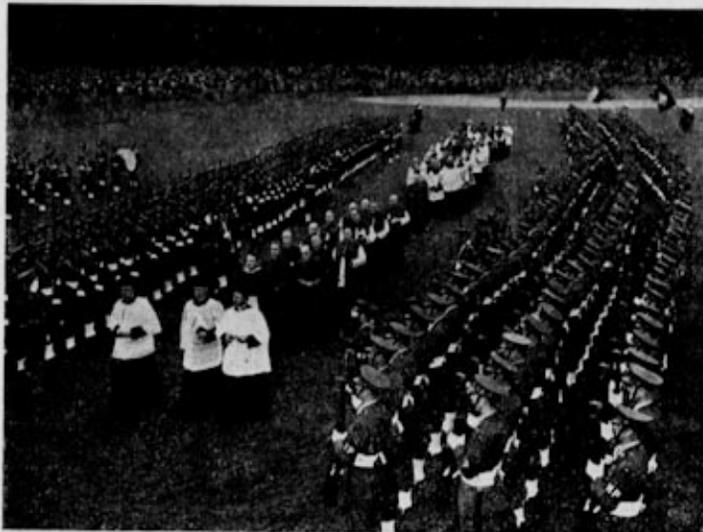
Columbia, Harvard and Wisconsin Universities maintain Irish Departments. Many others include one or more courses in their Curricula.

Wisconsin University's Department of Gaelic, Irish History and Literature is under the direction of Myles Dillon, Doctor of Philosophy, formerly Professor in Irish at University College, Dublin. It lists these courses: Elementary Modern Irish; Advanced Modern Irish (which covers Classical and Modern Irish Prose); Bardic Poetry and the Fenian Cycle; Elementary Old Irish; Middle Irish Texts in Prose and Verse; Studies in Irish Civilization; an Irish Seminar offering advanced work in Old and Middle Irish; an introduction to Medieval Welsh; and an introduction to the comparative grammars of Celtic languages.

Harvard University's Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures offers the History of Celtic Literatures; History of Celtic Religions; Modern Irish; Old Irish; Middle Irish; Modern Welsh; Medieval Welsh; and Celtic Philology.

Columbia University's Celtic Department offers courses in Old and Middle Irish; Early Welsh for students desiring a reading knowledge of the Mabinogion and other literature; comparative Celtic Grammar; Early Breton; History of

STADIUM CATHEDRAL FOR WAR SERVICE



Archbishop Spellman leads the procession of bishops and priests as 25,000 gather in New York's Yankee Stadium to honor the armed forces of the United States.

NEW YORK

New York's great Yankee Stadium, scene of major sporting events, was turned into an outdoor Cathedral when 25,000 Catholics, led by Archbishop Francis J. Spellman, met to pledge "total devotion to the cause of America, a free nation in a free world."

The mass meeting, sponsored by the Archdiocesan Union of the Holy Name Society, was dedicated to "a just peace through victory." Despite rain, the program lasted four hours. It included raising a service flag for 52,647 members of the Holy Name Society in the American armed forces, and a Gold Star flag for 125 members killed or lost in action.

Archbishop Spellman, with twelve Bishops assisting, celebrated Benediction at an altar 51 feet high erected in the field. The mother of Lieutenant John J. Powers, American Navy flier who lost his life in the Coral Sea battle, when he flew so close to a Japanese aircraft carrier that the explosion of his own bombs destroyed his plane, received the blessing of Archbishop Spellman in the name of all mothers of war dead in the New York Diocese.

In an address to the mass meeting, the Archbishop called for a "Second Front of prayer, a Second Front which will parallel and consolidate the support of a multitude of fronts on which our boys and we ourselves are facing our enemies to-day."

Early Celtic Literature covering various Celtic countries from earliest times to the Middle Ages.

Columbia's Extension Division has courses in the Culture of Ireland and the Modern Irish Drama, covering Yeats, Synge, Dunsany, Gregory, Hyde, Sean O'Casey, Paul Vincent Carroll and others. Surveys of the origin and development of the Irish National Theatre evaluate its contribution to the modern stage. Columbia's Professor of Celtic is Doctor John Lawrence Gerig, formerly Honorary Director of the Department of Spanish Studies at the University of Puerto Rico, and an Honorary Member of the American-Irish Historical Society since 1933.

Chicago University offers a course in Old Irish under Doctor T. P. Cross.



Mrs. John J. Powers, whose son gave his life for liberty in the battle of the Coral Sea, is being presented a plaque by the Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph A. McCaffrey.

"U.S. VICTORY— ITALY'S FREEDOM!"

WASHINGTON

Attorney General Biddle has announced that six hundred thousand unaturalized Italians living in the United States are no longer to be classed as enemy aliens. This change of status is well earned, Biddle said. "Revolt against Italian Fascism has already started in the United States," said Biddle. Assistant Secretary of State Berie added that Hitler had demanded millions of Italian soldiers be sent to the Russian front, as part of the Nazi plan to spare the youth of Germany at the expense of his Axis partners.

Various Italian organizations have endorsed the motto, "American victory is Italian freedom."

THE IMAGE OF VICTORY...

the Airman's View of the Future

By
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH
(Librarian of Congress)

If anything about this war is certain, it is this: that those who win this war will win the future of the world.

They will win it in the most precise meaning of the term. They will win the future of the world to such an extent that they will be able to change not its government only, but its geography, its actual shape and meaning in men's minds. And they will win it for all the future men can now foresee.

This war is fought on the one side to dominate, on the other side to liberate, an age—a new age. The sense of the new age, the new world, has troubled men for generations. They have had the sense of the future in them a long time. Change after change in the machinery of their lives has thrown their minds forward. And now the sense of the future has come true.

Most of us thought of the airplane in the years between the wars as a new gadget—an automobile which flew. We know now that the plane is capable of altering the geography of our world—and therefore its history. We know that the world which the airplane dominates will be a different world from the world which went before.

Landlocked men thought of the earth as a huge island surrounded by an unknown sea. Seafaring men attempted to think of the earth as a globe, but succeeded only in imagining it as a belt of traversable water and inhabitable land fenced off between the two impenetrable polar caps of ice and cold—a globe in theory, but in fact a globe-encircling river with temperate or tropical shores.

The mastery of the air will fix a different image in men's minds. To men of my generation, born in a seafaring world, the port of Murmansk lies east of the United States, thousands of miles away. But Murmansk, to the flyers, is a bare eleven hundred miles north across the polar ice caps from Greenland. To us Greenland is farther east than New York City and therefore farther than New York from Tokyo. To the airmen, New York to Tokyo is seven thousand miles; Greenland to Tokyo around the pole five thousand.

We can guess even now what the image of the airman's earth will be if free men make it. If those who have the mastery of the air are free men their world will be the full completed globe.

Never in all their history have men been able truly to conceive the world as one: a single sphere, a round earth in which all the directions eventually meet, in which there is no center because every point, or none, is center—an equal earth which all men occupy as equals. The airman's earth, if free men make it, will be truly round. Already, under the compulsions of war, a generation of young men has come to think in terms of globes. It is with strings on globes, not rulers on navigating charts, that the officers of the



ferrying command plot out their distances, and it is always with the curving of the earth in mind that the young pilots of the bombing commands imagine to themselves their flights.

The limited voyages of even the greatest ships were voyages across a seeming-level sea. The great flights of the bomber planes and the ferry planes of this war are flights "around" the earth, not across it. The famous Clipper which was caught by the war in Australian waters and made its way "West" to New York; the two U.S. ships which flew into Moscow with the Hopkins mission and returned one east and one west, to meet at an American airfield—the men who flew these ships were men who had the sense of the roundness of the earth as no men could have had it before the air was mastered.

If the free peoples united with us win this war, the image of the age which now is opening will be this image of a global earth, a completed sphere. If the Nazis win, the image will be very different. The air-earth as the Nazis see it is the earth thrown backward to the ancient landlocked island of the centuries before the seas were opened. To the Nazi geopoliticians, the true picture of the world is not the picture of a globe, but of a "world island" with a "heart land" at its center. The "heart land" is Germany. The "world island" is the vast land-locked mass of Europe, Africa and Asia. Around this island are the seven seas. And anchored off the island shores in tributary dependence to the Iron Main are all the other continents and islands of the earth—the Americas, Australia, Greenland, all the rest.

From the Nazi "heart land" air power will dominate the "world island." From the shores of the "world island," air power will dominate the seas. Across the seas the threat of air power will hold the tributary continents and islands in subjection. It is not, I assure you, a dream. It is a geography which the Nazis mean shall work for the whole earth.

Whatever else the Nazi New Order may be—and there are millions of living and half-living and no longer living Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Poles, Norwegians who would tell us what it is—whatever else the Nazi New Order may be, it is not the new order of the airmen's age. It is the denial and suppression and destruction of that order, so complete and so brutal that a man might wonder whether the Nazis had not fought this war precisely to use the mastery of the air as an instrument to abort the promise of that mastery.

We who win this war will win the right and power to impose upon the opening age the free man's image of the earth we live in. We who win this war will win the future. We know that those who think their world a free place of free movement, of free commerce, both in men and words, are already free men, whatever limitations are put upon their freedom by brutality or force.

We have mastered the air. And the question now—the question, whether we so intend or not, on which this terrible war is fought is whether the air will be a new symbol and a new practice of an even greater freedom; whether the air will be to the sea what the seas were to the locked land; whether the air will be an instrument of freedom such as men had never thought to feel—an instrument of slavery by which a single nation can enslave the earth.

To win this war for freedom is not to win a doubtful victory. To win this war for freedom is to win the greatest triumph any nation, any people, ever won.

ROOSEVELT

(Continued from page 1.)

"As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of the items—on which we have all agreed—relates to the necessity of diverting the enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time. . . .

"The objective of to-day is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy, and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence. We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death."

AMERICA CARRIES WAR TO THE SUBMARINES

BY
REAR ADMIRAL EMORY S. LAND
(Chairman U.S. Maritime Commission)

WASHINGTON

The Axis powers are fighting a losing battle at sea.

Increases in production of ships are more than balancing the books and the ever-growing protection by our Naval Forces and the adoption of new protective techniques have decreased the toll taken by enemy U-boats, particularly in our North Atlantic and Caribbean waters. I am divulging no military secret when I say that the number of Axis submarines in Davy Jones' locker has been growing increasingly month by month. On April 9th, 1941, I stated that the best way to lick the submarine menace is to get it at the source; that is, bomb enemy ship-building plants. The next best way is to bomb repair and rest stations where submarines go when not at sea.

That advice is just as true today as it was then. It is still a good idea to put out a fire rather than concentrating most of our efforts on feeding it with fuel—in the shape of new merchantships.

The bombing of submarine plants has been done and with telling effect. But a submarine on the prowl is an elusive, slinking enemy. To get it before it goes on the prowl will do much to solve one of the greatest of all wartime problems of our Merchant Marine.

Enemy submarines and bombers may have sunk our ships; their torpedoes may have shattered hulls of steel, but they have not cracked or even scratched the morale of our men of the sea. Long casualty lists served only to make those men madder, and an American Merchant sailor really mad is an adversary to be reckoned with. The valor, bravery, and cold determination of our seamen to go to sea and stay at sea has been one of the outstanding chapters in the history of this war.

The Voice of America

Listen to "America Calling Europe," rebroadcast from London 9:20 a.m. daily, on 1500 metres, 200 kilocycles long wave. 373 metres, 804 kilocycles medium wave, 48-54 short wave.

file
personal

November 6th , 1942.

Dear Boss : All things considered I think you are to be congratulated on the results of the elections. If you can do as well without doing a lick of work you are sitting pretty. My only personal grief is Ham Fish . I would like to see Ham behind the wire.

I am sending you a memorandum of a conversation that Sir John Maffey had recently with Cosgrave. It brings out two things: One that Cosgrave is appalled at the idea of any change in the policy of neutrality and two that rumors of the attitude of the American Irish are beginning to get to him in spite of the censorship. ^{I think} It would be unfortunate to have DeValera beaten though I think Maffey is playing with the idea that it would be or might be helpful. He would be very dangerous in Opposition if a government more friendly to us came into power . But I don't think there is a chance that he will be beaten for I think he will play the old Neutrality string with undertones of anti-British, anti-American feeling . As you know he wants us to win, is very friendly in fact to the British and in theory to us yet he cannot see, or will not see his way to striking a new note and preparing for a new line of country . I can only see ^{him} walking backwards to disaster whatever we do or do not do.

MacEntee , the senior cabinet member after O'Kelly dined

here a few nights ago and I told him frankly that I thought the Aiken group running the censorship and playing up anti-American sentiment were getting the country into danger if it were dangerous to lose American friendship. I gave him a copy of my letter to Cardinal McCrory and a copy of Bishop Hurley's (of Florida) comment on the Cardinal's utterances. To my surprise he asked me why I did not circularize the Government with the letter. I told him I had got it before DeValera in a note of complaint about the censorship for anti-American discrimination but did not care to go farther though I would give him copies to distribute. He then named the cabinet members for whom he wanted copies. He left out Aiken and Little (Posts and Telegraphs) This confirmed my suspicion that a majority of the cabinet are against Aiken but are unable to move Dev. away from him and are glad when we do anything to indicate to Dev. that he is on a dangerous course. The key to Dev's attitude was disclosed when he told me that he could not stop the publication of reports of agitation for the reprieve of the I.R.A. boys who killed an Ulster policeman, reports which were helping to build up anti American feeling and that "HE WOULD NOT IF HE COULD."

Of the first thirty letters that have come in on our new called "Letter from America" propaganda bulletin twenty five are favorable and five unfavorable. This might be an accurate return of percentages. One of the knockers says he is proGerman and a National socialist and signs himself J.B. MacNamara, which is his real name. Three of the anti-Americans who want their names taken off the list are priests.

We expect to see Eleanor when she goes to Belfast. She has been

a wro. Aff. Dmid.

thought

Monday Nov. 9-1942

Yesterday Sunday morning at seven o'clock in pitch darkness on the way to a wild goose shoot with five Irishmen, including one priest, I heard the news of the landing in North Africa. Nothing has stirred me as much for a long time but I had the feeling that the first reaction to the news on my Irish friends was like a bucket of Ice water. DeValera got into action in the afternoon with another neutrality speech saying that we bear illwill to no one but are ~~going~~ going to fight to the death against ALL Comers. He said that he was getting better armed but did not say that he was getting the arms ~~from~~ from the British. It is that kind of rancid ingratitude which excites my contempt.

Your proclamation to the French was very fine and ~~xxx~~ I am going to have it printed in a box as the leading item in this weeks " Letter from America ". The assurances to France will excite interest here even as our intervention in North Africa must show them that we are going to win the war and forestall Hitler whenever and wherever necessary. Talking with my Irish Friends Saturday night at Wexford before the goose shoot two things came out. { One of the men was Conor Maguire former Attorney General under Dev. and now Presiding Justice of the High Court } First that they ^{had} all believed Germany would win the war or at the least not be beaten. Two, that Conor Maguire and some of the others would rather have a twenty Six County Republic than let the people of Northern Ireland in. He agreed with what I have often said that if Partition were ended the Belfast crowd would run the country. This puts Dev out where I have long suspected that he belonged looking for a grievance of political value rather than a solution. ~~Now that fellow got where he is~~

At lunch on Saturday we entertained the Dean of St. Pauls and had the Sean T. O'Kelly's as the star performers. During lunch Sean T. said that he had been shocked that Mrs. Roosevelt had passed through Ireland and that the Irish Government had accorded her no honor. I started to say that as her husband was Commander in Chief of the United States forces whose presence in Northern Ireland the Irish Government had protested --- At this point your aunt shushed me violently but I think the point got over. Of course Sean T. knew what he was about, and was trying put us on the defensive. Later his wife told Maude "Of course you know we would do the same thing for Hitler or Mussolini". Maude wanted to say that was the reason why Eleanor did not come here ^{to Dublin}. It is interesting that O'Kelly also said "there haven't been any prominent Americans here for a long while." Your absent treatment is working. What is so confusing is that the head of the Irish Army and his only two major generals all came to say good bye to our military attache the other day. ^{Gen Jack Reynolds} He has creeping paralysis and had to go home. I wrote the minister for Defense through External Affairs thanking him for this gracious and exceptional courtesy.

It seems absurd to send you all this chit chat of a small town country, when so great things are going on but after all it is the only job I can do for you just now. We are leaving this afternoon to meet Eleanor tomorrow about noon in Belfast.

Aff

Smil.

had
ran
sed
on r

young
Captain Cosgrave

(October 19-42)

The moment [^] seemed to me opportune to explore with Mr. Cosgrave the shape of things to come, and in the course of a private talk at his house yesterday (Sunday) afternoon I said to him that I fully realised that he could not get support in this Election except on the Neutrality ticket. But after the Election the war would still be raging and would probably present problems of grave moment to Ireland. It was clear that the war at sea was the crux today. The development and success of a Second Front depended on the outcome of the war at sea and of our measures in countering the submarine menace. The action taken by America in Liberia just announced was significant. In our island we faced the long coastline of Europe, seized and dominated by Germany. If America looked for elbow-room to develop her cooperation with us on land and sea, clearly Eire came right into the strategic picture. How did he regard this prospect? He said at once and with emphasis that it would be quite hopeless for any government to attempt to change the policy of neutrality. The hold which neutrality had established in the nation's mind seemed to him constantly to strengthen rather than to diminish. I said that the question might arise in a form in which mere negation would not be taken as the end of the matter. It would be too much to expect America to go down because her Irish friends withheld assistance which in the last resort could be taken if not granted. He said: "That is why today Eire is
afraid

This is the only time I have seen him so far as I know

afraid of America." I said that there was obviously good reason for a measure of apprehension. There were 20 million Irish-Americans in the United States, and I could not see how Eire could stand out against an approach if it took the form of an appeal to Irishmen from Irish America. Mr. Cosgrave said: "That would be the only possible line of approach." This shows at any rate that he does not close his mind to such a development, but at the same time the conversation revealed the present firm and unyielding adherence of all parties to the policy of neutrality.

As regards the Labour attitude to this question, it has always been noticeable in the Dail how readily they play up the anti-British note, whether relevant or not; but that is a politician's trick in this country and Mr. de Valera is himself a past master in its use. If it came to a show-down with America and Great Britain on the neutrality issue, Labour would, I surmise, be disposed to incline its ear to practical considerations more readily than Mr. de Valera, as Labour can think of markets while Mr. de Valera thinks of martyrs.

I think my conversation with Mr. Cosgrave brings the whole question down to bedrock. If a move for Irish facilities for the prosecution of the war is to be made it must be an American approach and no basis would be complete unless it included some formula dealing - though possibly at long range - with the Partition question, as without that no Eire Government could rally the support it would need in putting through a tough proposition.

19th October, 1942.

Note of course you know better than I that British policy towards Eire follows our lead and intends to be the dominant. D.J.

*file
preserved.*

*Ireland folder
1-42*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

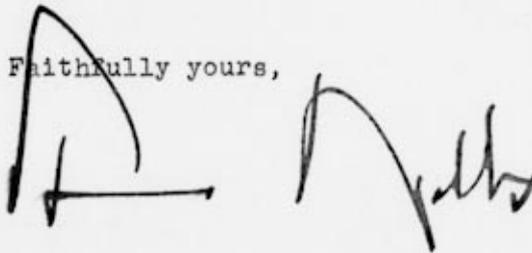
November 12, 1942

My dear Mr. President:

Thank you for sending me with your memorandum of October 31 the letter which David Gray wrote you from Dublin under date of October 19. I have read this letter with much interest and, in accordance with your request, I am returning it herewith for your files.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,
The White House.

Dublin, October 19, 1942.

My dear Boss :

If you had time to read my letter to Cardinal MacRory you will be interested to know that I saw him on Friday, October 16th, in Dublin. He was most grateful for the friendly tone of my protest for apparently he is used to having bricks and dead cats thrown at him. He is really a dear old man with an understandable obsession about the wrong of Partition. The war means little to him as long as "The Nation which God made is divided by man." (sic). I told him he must not be naughty and rock the boat while the war was on. He said my letter was a fine letter and presented the arguments on my side very strongly, but that it had not changed his mind one bit. We then had a big laugh and held hands while I refused a drink, it being too early in the day. I said that, speaking for myself as a liberal Protestant, I was in favor of

a

The President,
The White House.

a strong Catholic Church in America, but an American Church. He said, "The Catholic Church is a Roman Church." I said, "You haven't got the face as head of the Irish Church to say that to me." At this we had another big laugh. (When Rome agrees with the Irish Hierarchy, Rome is all right; otherwise Rome is censored.) I didn't ask him for any promises but he made me feel that he was really friendly and perhaps a bit apprehensive and would not make trouble in future.

I asked him whether it would embarrass either him or the Bishop of Derry if I should see a good deal of the latter and whom I was going to take General Hartle to call on soon. He said he was delighted that I liked the Bishop who was "a good young man" and that he himself had appointed him as General Chaplain for all American Catholics in Northern Ireland.

All this was fine, but when I got home I found the most horrible issue of the "Ulster Protestant" awaiting me. The leading article was headed, "Why Aren't Convents Inspected - The Priests' Brothel -- Amazing Convent Revelations -- The Murder of Infants."

It was unbelievable that, although nothing but a back alley sheet, it has been on sale on the Belfast
newsstands

newsstands. I wrote at once to Winant and to the Duke of Abercorn, with whom I had just been spending the night, explaining that if this got to America it would cause trouble with our twenty million loyal Catholics.

I have sent a copy of my letter to the Cardinal to Sean T. O'Kelly, who will doubtless show it to Mr. de Valera, as I hope. This all came about quite naturally.

James Dillon lunched with me today and he pronounced the letter O.K., both from the Church and political viewpoint. I am going to write to Archbishop Spellman and ask you to read the letter before forwarding. Of course kill it, if you think it a mistake. But I think he ought to get our version of the Chaplain situation from me. I saw Hartle, lunched with him last Thursday (October 15) and he saw at once that he had missed a trick in not getting next to the Catholic Bishop of Derry as, of course, the Archbishop of New York intended. Hartle has done a great job here. He is A-1 and improves on acquaintance. You picked a good one for this difficult situation.

While in the North, General Kirby, the chief of the air forces in Northern Ireland, told me that we should

should be prepared to meet the internment situation. They had already rescued two American pilots who had come down near the Border with a plain-clothes squad, which the Irish authorities wink at. Also sixteen of our bombers had been lost over Eire for some time, but had all landed north of the border. However, as he said, this luck cannot last. It is hard to know what to do, but I don't think we ought to submit to internment of men engaged in protecting Eire and Eire's supplies. It doesn't make sense to me.

You have done more adjusting of old law to new social conditions and ideals on the principle of invoking natural justice than any man of your time or of any time for that matter, and I think this question of protected and supplied neutral nations being allowed to hamper the protecting nations' war effort is your next job. What I have in mind would be something like the following written into International Law: "Protected and Supplied Neutrals may be prevented from hampering the war effort of the Protecting Belligerents without violation of International Law and without sacrifice of the Protected Nations' neutrality. Internment of the protecting belligerents personnel and materiel and denial of essential facilities for effective protection may be protested as unfriendly acts

acts by the protecting belligerent. In the event of failure to obtain satisfaction, such measures as may be necessary may be taken. In the present case, if no satisfaction was given, I would simply arrange that no more coal, petrol, steel, wheat, or chemical products went to Eire. Stopping coal would stop their merchant marine. I know inside me that this is simple justice, but I haven't the ability to frame the formula that you can, which will cover the case.

Glenn Abbey, Consul General from London, arrived just before lunch and told us that Eleanor is arriving tomorrow morning early. We are driving him down tonight to Adare and will meet her tomorrow, Wednesday, morning. This means a lot to Maude and me too. The more I understand the "absent treatment" the better I like it. If Eleanor comes back for a night with us on her way home in-cog, we will rub it in. No one will know she is here. It might be a strong hint.

app. Dmd,

Dublin, October 19, 1942.

Dear Duke,

I have recently felt it my duty to express my regret to the Cardinal Primate upon the occasion of his recent reference to American (and British) troops "overrunning our country against the will of the nation." On Friday, October 16th, he received me in Dublin for a discussion of this matter and convinced me that, although tenacious of his views as to Partition, he entertained the most friendly feelings toward us and would regret anything that would disrupt Irish-American friendship.

Imagine my dismay, therefore, when on Saturday I was presented with the October issue of the "Ulster Protestant." You remember how understanding and helpful you were when I called your attention over a year ago to an issue carrying a leading article with the headline "Papists are Traitors." This of course

To His Grace The Duke of Abercorn, K.G., K.P.

course is horribly worse. I know, as you know, that this is a back alley sheet, the existence of which most decent people are ignorant, but none-the-less I have to report to my Government that it has been for sale on the newsstands of Northern Ireland and circulated here. The issue containing the "Papists are Traitors" article was photostated and somewhat widely circulated. I fear the same publicity will be given to this issue. As you know, we have over twenty millions of Catholics who have rallied loyally to the call for war service. There are some eighteen thousand Catholic chaplains appointed by Archbishop Spellman of New York, one of our ablest and most patriotic American leaders, and, of course, thousands of able and patriotic Catholics in every department of our national war services and national life. But it is unnecessary to enlarge upon these points to you who have been so notable in furthering happy relations between our two countries. I can only look to you again for counsel and assistance. It occurs to me that such a publication at this time could only be inspired by German agents. If this could be established, it would be of great assistance.

Faithfully yours,

David Gray

Ireland folder
1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

TO READ AND RETURN FOR
MY FILES.

F. D. R.

Letter to the President from David Gray, dated October 19, 1942, re his conversation with Cardinal MacRory and enclosing copy of a letter the Minister sent to His Grace The Duke of Abercorn.

file
personal

Ireland folder
1-42

November 19, 1942.

Dear Maude and David:-

It is grand to hear all about the two of you. Eleanor's trip back was uneventful and undelayed.

The handkerchiefs are grand and I am proud to know that the Irish still can turn out linen like that. A practical virtue under an impracticable or perhaps unpractical leadership.

Do please consider coming back here for a month or six weeks any time you think the occasion propitious. Both of you richly deserve a holiday though I cannot say that the climate of Washington, D.C., for the next four or five months will be any better than the climate of Ireland. If you have never had sinus and would like the experience come to Washington.

Much love,

As ever yours,

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

Ireland folder
1-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR

E. R.

For your information.

Please return.

F. D. R.

Enclosure

State Department Dispatch #240, fifth
from Gray, Dublin, Ireland 12/5/42

Ireland folder
1-42

file
personal

December 18, 1942.

Dear David:-

That description of the luncheon at the Churchill's on November sixteenth gives me far and away the best picture of de Gaulle that I have ever had. He is to come to Washington about January tenth -- not by invitation as announced, but because Tixier asked me if I would receive him in the event he came, and I said that I would but not until after the New Year. You say that my difficulty will be the kind that I might have had with Joan of Arc. What do you know about that young lady? It is wholly possible that she and I might have hit it off extremely well. I doubt if I shall do that with de Gaulle. I pray for myself.

I like your thought that Ireland must have self-government imposed upon it -- with all the responsibilities that that implies. With all the responsibilities they will realize that they cannot exist alone in the world -- for they are a part of the world -- and, at the same time, they must be told that because of their geographical situation they will never be permitted to allow any other nation to use them in a military way or otherwise against the United States or Britain.

It seems to me that during all these years it has been a pity that Ireland has lived in a dream under the rule of a dreamer. They do not know the facts of life and it will take a rude awakening to teach them.

1917 Dec 1
1917 Dec 1
1917 Dec 1

If and when we clean up Germany, I think that Churchill and I can do much for Ireland and its future -- and I think that he and I can agree on the method with due consideration of firmness and justice.

My love and best wishes to you and Maude for a nice Christmas.

As ever yours,

Honorable David Gray,
American Legation,
Dublin,
Ireland.

Dublin, November 29, 1942.

My dear Mr. President: —

The Prime Minister invited us to lunch at No. 10 on Monday, November 16. This of course we owe to you. Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Randolph Churchill, Mr. Richard Law, Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, and General de Gaulle were present. We lunched in a small, low ceiled, intimate room in the basement with white painted steel posts like a ship's cabin. The large upper rooms of the Prime Minister's apartments had been damaged by bombs. Mrs. Churchill received us. She was friendly and delightful and we felt that atmosphere that invests people who are not oppressed by their official state. The Prime Minister was nearly a quarter of an hour late and when he appeared it was with General de Gaulle, with whom he had been closeted. He was dressed in some sort of battle dress, naval I suppose, like rompers. It looked comfortable and sensible. But imagine the shades of the top hatted, morning coated, illustrious predecessors who
may

The President,
The White House.

may have been peering at us through the grayness of our grosser condition.

This was the day on which we had read in the morning papers of General Eisenhower and Darlan in Algiers and that collaboration of some kind was going on. I imagine that the Prime Minister had been having a difficult time with de Gaulle, who arrived indignant at Eisenhower's treating with Darlan. However, he appeared unruffled and in good spirits. He joked me about being "Ambassador to Mr. de Valera" and I told him that I had been told that I was a bad influence for him, likely to incite him to outrage. I found that we were looking each other over and I was enormously drawn to him. He is like the first-rate people I have known. He makes history with a light touch.

It was only later that Maude and I realized that de Gaulle was in an excited frame of mind. At the beginning the Prime Minister between passages with Maude tossed out scraps about Ireland. One of them was a bit which I had been trying to get from some authoritative source for two years. It was substantially this: "At great disadvantage we have conducted the war at sea without the Irish bases which would have been so valuable to us and I believe now that we can win the war without the help

help of Mr. de Valera's Eire." Your last letter, just arrived, which invites us to take a vacation when it suits us, suggests the same thing. As you know, I have always had to contemplate the possibility of a necessary intervention. Now we can study a policy with that factor left out.

Another item which I injected into the general talk was that after winning the war, which was our first consideration, I had a strong personal hope, which I felt you did not discountenance, that the war might be the means of putting the professional hyphenate Irish-American politician out of business, thereby removing an unprofitable force in American domestic politics and a serious difficulty in the way of putting Anglo-American relations on a firm foundation. I said that in my view I thought both the British and American Governments should accept the Irish claim to separatist independence, but should then say, in effect, "Supply and protect yourself," as any independent state is supposed to do. I said that this was the only antidote that I could see to the decade of de Valera's preaching to Irish youth that Eire was essentially self-sufficient and self-reliant. I think I also called attention to Mr. de Valera's claim made to Lloyd George at the time
of

of the truce in '21, to the effect that the destiny of Ireland, like that of the small nations of Continental Europe, was based on moral right. The futility of this basis, without recognition of the moral responsibility of cooperation for upholding this right has been amply demonstrated, except in the case of Eire, which is still sitting pretty - free, protected and supplied by British sea power. I told the Prime Minister that an American friend of ours (Matthews of the Tuscon newspaper) had asked de Valera if he were not afraid of the consequences of his neutrality policy after the war. He replied, No, because after the war Britain and the United States would quarrel and then the Americans would see that he had been right. The Prime Minister, with his historical sense, appreciated the gravity of this suggestion, but said that he thought that several things might defeat Mr. de Valera's amiable prognostications - one of them being that it seemed to him probable that the Japanese would resist for two years after the collapse of Germany, a circumstance that would keep the Allies bound together during the first acute stages of European reconstruction. This, of course, came up bit by bit and was secondary to the drama of General de Gaulle's exasperation. The
General

General presently ceased addressing himself to the Prime Minister, on whose left he sat, in undertones and made the table his audience demanding how if this war were one of moral principle we could treat with Darlan.

The Prime Minister handled the situation with a patience and gentleness which I had not heard ascribed to him. He told de Gaulle that it was obvious that the military command in North Africa dealing with an acute situation had an obligation upon it to avail itself of every means that would save American life and gain priceless time. All this left de Gaulle unimpressed and unmollified. He kept saying, "This war is supposed to be based on moral principle; in treating with Darlan, moral principle is vitiated; the French people are left entirely confused; are you dealing with the France of Petain or the France of the Fighting French, or the France of Darlan?" As this now had become a public conversation, and since the Prime Minister would not have had us to meet de Gaulle if he had been unwilling that the American viewpoint should be expressed, I said in my most atrocious French, "Mon General, from the American point of view, there is only one France; that is not your France or the France of Vichy, nor the France
of

of Darlan, nor yet occupied France, but it is the France for which we fought in the last war and which will be restored at the end of this war. But, believe me, it will be the French people themselves who will decide on how that restoration is to take place." This wasn't a bad shot for an amateur, as it was almost word for word what you said publicly a few days later. But de Gaulle kept repeating his question "Which France are the Allies now dealing with?" Finally he turned on Mrs. Churchill, who sat next him, and said, "You have made a pretty mess of this." He looked at her balefully and I am glad to say that she went into action. She speaks beautiful French fluently and she gave that young man the most salutary talking to he has probably ever received. The Prime Minister, who must have enjoyed it, tried to calm things and kept explaining to the General that Mrs. Churchill spoke such good French that she could not resist airing it, but Maude and I were glad that she only stopped when she had finished. De Gaulle behaved very well during this little scene and apparently took it as a gent should, but he had revealed himself.

I forget whether he has ever waited on you in Washington. If he has not you will be struck with his

resemblance

resemblance to Richard Pearson Hobson, who, when you were a boy of 18, you may have seen after his heroic exploit at Santiago. Like de Gaulle, he had character, courage, and a considerable ability, but, like him also, he was devoid of humor. Both men could make virtue odious. Hobson was fortunately kissed into obscurity by American womanhood and I believe has since become a minor prohibitionist leader. But you will have to deal with de Gaulle. Your difficulty will be the kind that you might have with Joan of Arc. De Gaulle has a mission and the temperament of a prima donna. He has no fear and so no prudence. In his own honest eyes, he is France. And we owe him much. God be with you.

It is certainly not my business to advise or criticize the British Government on its Irish policy unless that policy jeopardizes American interests, but for two years and a half, with your approval, I have won infamy in Ireland by telling Mr. de Valera that for the duration of the emergency American and British interests were analogous and that he could not be anti-British without also being anti-American. I think this has earned us a certain right to hold our own opinions. Perhaps my deepest conviction about the Irish problem is that Mr. Churchill understands it better and is better fitted

to

to deal with it than any one else. We must not forget that he is the only man in the Government who took part in making the treaty; that at first hand he knew and studied Michael Collins and Griffiths; that he saw de Valera's technique of devious negotiation develop and bring on the civil war. He had the imagination to see that the only hope of a friendly Ireland lay in that self education which only self-government could effect. He saw his treaty disingenuously and unilaterally tampered with, but now he sees de Valera shooting his own I.R.A. criminal friends, imposing ever heavier taxation, and having no British Government to blame. If he lives, he will see the fruits of his treaty. Whatever it may turn into is immaterial, so long as it imposes self-government and provides for British security. This second objective is the job that must be tackled in the next few years, and I think his just, open and forceful approach is the way to deal with de Valera. It may appear reckless, but it is not. You must crowd Dev mercilessly when you have a grievance and prevent him choosing his own line and issue.

Strange as it may seem, I believe Mr. Churchill is more respected and admired in Ireland than any other Englishman. The Irish like courage and justice.

Take Care of your self
Att. Dail

November 28th 1942

Dearest Franklin.

Your letter came today telling us we had better ~~better~~ take a months holiday. Wouldn't it be fun! I have an idea that David would not be keen about flying in winter, even to go home. I am so hoping that things will be over soon enough so that you will be the Boss when the day of reckoning comes. It is going to need someone who cannot be fooled or bullied and who knows the Pets living here and across the channel. I think every move will have to be suspected and you are the only person ^{who} understands well enough to know how much you can afford to give them to get what you want. I wish I could be more christian about them, David is much nicer than I am. Eleanor did a grand job here and people are still amazed that she could stand the pace. I don't know how Tommy lived through. People seemed to have liked Eleanors speech so all is well but I hope Russia is not in the immediate future. I didn't like hearing that your sinus was acting up a good deal. It means of course that you ought ^{to} get away. Hyde Park used to help. David is getting some shooting which cheers him a lot. Even falling into bogs up to his arm pits does not bother him. I went to a cinema today and they showed the parade in London of the sections of troops, Home guards really from the different bombed areas and would you believe it there was quite a bit of clapping. Perhaps the light is beginning to break. However our success is a surprise and they are not yet willing to admit that we have got them on the run.

I heard the wife of a member of the Irish government telling the wife of the Spanish Minister who had made some triffling remark to me that she thought she was a little premature. This being neutral does something to one. It is like getting swollen with wealth, and the aftermath will be just about as bad. I don't like de Gaulles. He is tight lipped and determined and his eyes focus on de Gaulles. He will never be a big enough man to lead and guide the French. I must go and get a cocktail I will finish later. We have just finished dinner and are trying to make a list of groceries from the north. Pork and butter are badly rationed here, tea we have gotten used to and sugar but now they are running short of salt. The news with I hope a commentary by Raymond G'am Swing will be on in a few minutes so dear I will say Good night and thank you again for your dear letter and here's hoping that we will be looking at you next Xmas.

So much fond love and save a spot for David when he comes home he is good for years.

Maudie

In the
remark to
General
th, and
lies. He

MEMORANDUM

Discussion of Anglo-Irish Problems
at Ambassador Winant's Dinner.

On the evening of Tuesday, November 17, 1942, Ambassador Winant invited me to dine at Claridge's Hotel, London, to meet Mr. Attlee, Minister of State for the Dominions, Mr. Morrison, Home Secretary, Lord Cranborne, then Minister for the Colonies, now Lord Privy Seal, and Sir John Maffey, British Representative to Eire. The purpose of this dinner was to discuss the Irish question with special reference to American interests. No agenda was prepared or effort made to lead the conversation on special lines. The result was general talk during the course of which the views of the respective guests were expressed with frankness and in a spirit of mutual confidence and friendliness.

It was generally understood that the interest of the United States in Anglo-Irish problems, beyond those immediate questions raised by the war and our common participation in it, lay in the hope of such a situation being shaped as would remove the so-called Irish Question from American politics - a question which has continuously embarrassed our relations with Great Britain. I stated that I thought the attitude of the de Valera Government in protesting the advent of our troops to Northern Ireland and the anti-American agitation stemming from this

attitude

attitude were, if suitably exploited in America, likely to make it easier for the American Government to maintain a friendly and cooperative policy toward Britain. The problem was what to do or not to do that might further this desirable consummation.

Perhaps the strongest impression which I carried away from the meeting was that none of the three Ministers of State had evidently been considering with a primary interest any concrete policy or course of action in regard to Eire which might be designed to regulate post-war Anglo-Irish relations and conduce to the end of abating the unfortunate influences of the Irish question in America. Beyond the circumstance that they were all overworked men, I gained the impression of a definite weariness if not disgust with the subject of Ireland. There appears to be generally entertained, even by Britons of liberal mind and good-will, a feeling on the one hand that the callous indifference of the Irish Government to the survival of Britain and to the spiritual issues of the war and, on the other, the lack of appreciation for the measure of security and supply provided by Britain, on which Eire was dependent, had left a sense of injury not soon to be forgotten. Lord Cranborne, whose point of view is invariably humane and enlightened, said he felt that, in view of long-range conditions, it was desirable that Ireland should not now feel that she was being coerced or crushed economically. He gave me the impression that, as far as he was concerned, the failure of the de Valera Government to make its contribution to the cause for which the Commonwealth was

fighting

fighting tended to expiate any blunders or oppressive action for which Britain may have been responsible during the past twenty-five years. He was ready to wipe the slate clean and start fresh, but it was not made clear to me exactly what starting fresh might mean. However, I gathered that in any post-war set-up, if the Government of Eire should elect to stay out of the Commonwealth, economic preferences in force between the Commonwealth members would not be accorded to Eire. I expressed the personal view that for Britain only one thing was essential from Eire and that was assurance of security; that any concession as to the name or nature of the relation would be a cheap price to pay for this, but that it must be an assurance not subject to reconsideration by succeeding Irish Governments, but a basic though limited association from which there could be no secession. As the advantages which common citizenship with Britain offered Eire were so important, the recognition of them by Eire could be safely left to time.

As regards partition, it was definitely the consensus of all the British present that no coercion should or could be applied to Ulster, though it seemed to be agreed that it was desirable that partition should be ended, if by doing so the whole Island were brought into such a relation with the United Kingdom as would ensure the Kingdom's security on its westward flank.

Considering more immediate problems, Sir John Maffey suggested that, if any protest or other action were to be taken with reference to improving our war position, it should be directed toward the removal of
German,

German, Italian and Japanese representations in Dublin which were inevitably centers of hostile propaganda and espionage. The ways and means of making such representations effective were not discussed.

The possibility of reviving the application of conscription to Northern Ireland was briefly touched on, but apparently, by unanimous consent, was disapproved as unprofitable, the possible advantages accruing from such a policy being disproportionate to the dangers and disadvantages. In this view, from the American angle, I concurred, although conditions in America were different today from what they were when conscription was last proposed by Mr. Churchill. At that time I strongly deplored its application in reports to my Government.

I gained the impression that Mr. Morrison, who is a Northern Ireland man, had a sound grasp of the situation and was possibly formulating ideas which later on might bear fruit.

With reference to post-war relations between Britain and America in which Eire might be concerned, I pointed out that Mr. de Valera had informed an American newspaper man that he was counting on post-war differences between Britain and America, which he felt certain would arise, to wash the slate clean as regards anti-Irish sentiment in America, and that this was a very possible consequence of acute differences. The question of the probable difficulties which might arise between our two peoples and their governments was frankly discussed. It was significant that all present considered it soberly and the view was expressed and generally concurred in that

that on the whole it was better that differences should be brought into the open as they occurred and thrashed out even acrimoniously than to have them suppressed and generate smouldering animosities. If we could regard them as family quarrels against the background of a tie, analogous to the family tie, it would mark progress in world cooperation.

On Thursday, November 26, in a long talk with Sir John Maffey, I discussed the views expressed at the Ambassador's dinner and compared my interpretation of them with his. We appeared to be in substantial agreement as to our reaction to the evening's discussion. I then asked Sir John Maffey whether he had been considering a more concrete policy for recommendation to his Government, in the event that the war ended happily and victoriously as now appears likely. He said that he had been considering such a policy, but had made no recommendations. I gathered, however, that if he were to recommend a post-war policy to his Government, it would be based on the logic of the existing situation, to-wit, that the present relation between Britain and Ireland is undefined and unsatisfactory from the British viewpoint, that at an appropriate time it would be reasonable and necessary for the British Government to ask the Irish Government to define their position as regards the Commonwealth - were they in it or out? Depending on the reply of the Irish Government the course of the British Government would be shaped. It would be unreasonable to expect that if the Irish Government would assume no responsibility for the common defence of the British Commonwealth,

Commonwealth, the economic preferences which existed among the Commonwealth members could be extended to Eire. We discussed the predicament of individuals who wished to retain British citizenship while residing in Ireland and it appeared that this would raise no insuperable difficulty in the event that Eire declared out of the Commonwealth, since British legislation might readily enable individuals who declared their desire to retain British citizenship, in fact to retain it, yet at the same time to enjoy freedom from British taxation while resident in Eire.

We discussed the Statute of Westminster and agreed that, while generous and idealistic in intent, it was faulty in defining the obligations of member States. I pointed out that the American war between the States in Mr. Lincoln's view had been fought primarily for the purpose of denying the right of secession.

I told Sir John Maffey that the Chicago Daily News, a few days before, had carried an item from London to the effect that Mr. Joseph P. Walshe, Irish Permanent Secretary for External Affairs, at that time in London, under Sir John's auspices, had made approaches to the Foreign Secretary, requesting representation on such post-war reconstruction commission as might be set up, on the ground that Eire would be vitally interested in its decisions. Sir John observed that a great change had been worked in the viewpoint of the Irish Government since the recent Allied victories.

On Friday, November 27, Mr. James Dillon lunched with me and after lunch we discussed at some length

the

the political situation in Eire and Ireland's position in a post-war set-up. I asked him what in his opinion would be Mr. de Valera's reply if the British Government should inquire whether or not he was in or out of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Dillon replied that de Valera would immediately declare himself out, on the ground that he could not come in while partition lasted, but that, if partition were settled, he would be ready to make a treaty with the British Government. It was his view that if partition were settled as a result of such a negotiation that Mr. de Valera would immediately declare a thirty-two county republic and then proceed to negotiate for an arrangement based on external association with the British Commonwealth. He said that if economic pressure were put on Ireland, the clamor of the British Liberals and the Irish in America would force any British Government to recede from such a position; that de Valera would send Sean T. O'Kelly to the Peace Conference to parade the corridors wearing a placard reading "Unfair to Small Nations. We Stand on the Atlantic Charter." From other information which I have gathered in Government circles, I believe Mr. de Valera intends to rely on the Atlantic Charter, apparently without considering that the benefits of the Atlantic Charter are to be available to nations which subscribe to its principles and undertake jointly to contribute to its maintenance. Presumably isolationist powers, who refuse to underwrite the common good, must be ignored or considered as outlaw nations. It would seem that if the course of events were to unfold
as

as Mr. Dillon predicted, a situation would arise in which Northern Ireland would be a member State of any set-up based on the Atlantic Charter and that Mr. de Valera would be out of court until he had subscribed to the Articles of Agreement. It was not a reasonable view that the Atlantic Charter had been framed to give small, kept nations the opportunity of enjoying the fruits of world federation and immunity from responsibility.

Dublin, November 28, 1942.

D.G.

DG/HM

MEMORANDUM

Discussions on Internment of
Allied Airplanes in Eire.

Pursuant to telegraphic instructions contained in the Department's telegram No. 135 of November 7, 6 p.m., I left Dublin on the morning of November 12 by boat to Holyhead, thence by train to London, arriving at 9 p.m.

On the following morning, November 13, I was received by the Ambassador, who stated that among other things which he wished to discuss was the telegram of proposed instructions to me in reply to my request to the Department for instructions in the event that American planes were to make forced landings on Eire soil. He said that some question had been raised by American military authorities as to the desirability of stirring up the Irish situation and quoted an American military officer as saying "Why not let sleeping dogs lie?" I told him that I had no desire to stir up the Irish situation, but that if American planes were grounded on Eire soil, the crews would be interned as of course and the material seized, following a precedent which the British had established, unless we took a different attitude, I said that I thought it was an unwise thing for the American
Government

Government to assent to the British precedent without making the record clear as to its considered views. Furthermore, that such representations as it might be advisable for us to make could only make things easier for the British rather than harder; that the British Representative in Eire was of this opinion, and that on general principles it was unwise to assent to so important a precedent without serious consideration of the whole question; unless we were prepared on the occasion of the first incident to advance a line of reasoned protest, we should later on be embarrassed by what would amount to a waiver if not explicit assent. The Ambassador then showed me the proposed instructions and suggested that I discuss the matter with General Hartle. The instructions appeared to me to be well considered and adequately to cover the preliminary exploration of the subject with the Irish Government.

General Hartle was out of town on Saturday, but received me Monday morning, November 16. We studied the instructions together and I explained my reasons for having asked for them before the event. He said from the military viewpoint he could see no objection to exploring the question with the Irish authorities, and that it would seem to him that a somewhat stronger line taken by us would tend to induce more favorable action toward the British.

The existing situation is as follows: The first British airman to make a forced landing on Eire soil came down, I think, in the early summer of 1940. It

was

was at that time the view of the British Government that to accept unconditional internment would operate in favor of Britain, since it was expected that more German personnel and material would be impounded than British. It was also feared that unless a stringent rule of internment were adopted by the Irish Government and accepted by the British Government, German combatant planes, following the rule of international law applicable to combatant ships needing repairs, would alight on Irish soil under the pretense of needing repairs, there obtain fuel and continue on their combatant patrols, having had the benefit of Southern Ireland as a fuelling station. As a consequence, the first British airman to ground in Eire was taken in charge by the Irish authorities and interned on The Curragh in quarters connected with the military barracks without protest from the British. At that time his instructions were not to accept parole, but, as his confinement was lonely and as he wished to take some courses at Trinity College in order that the period of internment might not be wasted intellectually, Sir John Maffey arranged with the British Government and with the Irish Government that a parole system should be introduced. At present there are about thirty-five Allied airmen interned in The Curragh and about an equal number of Germans. As British air power has increased in strength to the point that it dominates the coastal areas, the importance of interning German aircraft has considerably lessened and the British have

informally

informally taken the position that, while they will assent to the internment of a number of their airmen equal to those of the Germans, they think that the Irish Government should consider favorably the contention that airmen who come down while not engaged in combat are not combatants in the sense that subjects them to internment. They are to be regarded as trainees.

Where secrecy can be enforced, the Irish Government in numerous cases as assented to this view and has consented to the refuelling of British planes when such were not damaged or to the escape north over the border of airmen who had crashed, but if a plane comes down in a populated district with a degree of publicity, the crew are interned. In my view, as I explained to General Hartle, this was not a satisfactory position for the American Government to accept without representations of dissent and without obtaining at the least a clear-cut ruling on the question of training flights.

Later in the day (Monday, November 16) I was again in conference with Ambassador Winant and reported to him the substance of my talk with General Hartle. He said that he thought I ought to see a certain British air officer and would make an appointment for me the following day. On Tuesday morning, however, when I again saw the Ambassador, he said that he thought it would be unnecessary to see the British officer. My impression was that the Ambassador was prepared to
approve

approve the proposed instructions if General Hartle raised no objection.

I left London on Wednesday, November 18, and arrived in Dublin at noon on Thursday, November 19.

On November 26, I received the Department's telegram No. 149 of November 25, 11 p.m., in which you send me a copy of the telegram you sent at the same time to Ambassador Winant requesting him to forward to me the Department's telegram No. 5675 containing the proposed instructions above discussed, in the event that he approved of them.

This morning, Sunday, November 29, I have received a telegram from Ambassador Winant approving and forwarding the instructions. I shall make arrangements to confer with the Irish Government tomorrow morning.

D.G.

Dublin, November 29, 1942.

Ireland folder
1-42

Mr. & Mrs. Hoover
The White House
Washington

DEC 25 2 48 PM 1942

WB28 CABLE

DUBLIN 11 NFD

LC THE PRESIDENT

WASHDC

LOVING GREETINGS TO ALL

MAUDE DAVID GRAY.

*file
personal*

*Ireland folder
1-42
file*

December 28, 1942.

My dear Franklin : First, let me thank you for the bond. It got ~~me~~ here just before Christmas. I shall have it framed with the Xmas card. A Christmas gift to you consisting of old Irish bottled documents has been waiting for some time ~~xxx~~ for a safe means of transport . Eventually it will reach you D.V. I had such a bad experience with our naval transports, bringing me American white wine(they drank nearly six cases) that I am waiting for a personally conducted opportunity .

I was deeply troubled over being quoted and misquoted by one Gould, ^{socially} assistant editor of the Ladies Home Journal whom I met ^{at} Winants when he and his wife (Gould's wife) were calling on Eleanor . I was very much afraid that it might cause trouble in America for you. Here the Irish were as anxious as I was to publicize the denial. At Waterford where I went to meet the first ^{U.S.} Red Cross supplies that arrived for the Irish Red Cross I got the freedom of the city (practically) and an ovation at the civic lunch after reference to the newspaper incident by an exgunman from whom I would have expected no bouquets. He was parliamentary secretary for the Ministry of Defense. ~~Theodore~~ ^{R.} Theodore once told me that in cases of this kind if one were in private life it was best to ignore the ~~in~~ incident but if one were in public life one should take the offense ~~and~~ and hit hard. I did that here and I think it was best. I am grateful to the Department for their confidence and help.

without his help but that if he believes in ^{the} moral law as I do, failure to meet his moral obligations, he must recognize as a dangerous course, for the moral law never forgets or forgives. In this case (be disseminated and will) the Truth ultimately will ^{lose} him the support of American opinion if he has not already lost it .

His Christmas Broadcast was a feeble effort repeating his threadbare announcement that Eire would fight if attacked and closing with advice to the victorious nations to make a just peace without vengeance . I shall probably ^{ask} ~~ask~~ him, how it is, if he feels that Eire is ~~xxxxxx~~ interested in the peace, he takes no responsibility for winning the war. He ventured to express sympathy with the families of those countries at war who had kinsfolk in Eire .

Your "absent Treatment" policy ~~is~~ getting home I think . The one thing these delightful people cannot stand is to be ignored. I was asked recently to invite some Hollywood entertainers to come over to perform for the Irish Army. I said I had many good friends in the Irish Army and was glad to contribute to their comfort fund but that when I had taken up the question of American entertainers coming to Eire, as I had, when last in London I was told: one, that they were over worked, two that they had come to entertain combat ~~h~~ troops.

Dev is facing elections, and neutrality, his only issue, is not getting better as an election trump . Until I saw him the other day I was prepared not to be surprised if he broke with the ~~A~~ Axis and came out as a ^(friendly) non-belligerent like Turkey . The Cosgrave Party have announced that they are ready for a national government, the strategy being that if ^{Dev} ~~he~~ refuses, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ they will charge him with responsibility for keeping alive the civil war

feud, a responsibility which he has tried to duck and to escape which he adopted neutrality. He has lost ground but I still think he will win a plurality that will warrant him in forming a party government. I think it would be best for us this way. He should liquidate his mistakes and himself.

If you read my letter to Cardinal McCrory you might like to hear that I got a Christmas note from him signed "Your Devoted Friend". Can you beat it? I have circulated about twenty five copies of the letter to people interested, besides getting it to Dev. in a note, and I hear it is passed around like a secret document. I am told it is having much more effect than if it had been published. I must say the longer I am here the more I like these people and feel sorry for the rotten leadership they are ~~getting~~ getting. Don't ever trust Dev's generosity or decency on a ~~political~~ political matter. All you'll ever get is what he gives ^{up} when you have him by the throat. But he towers over every one else in Irish politics. The wife of one of his ministers said the other night at dinner when I asked her what was going to happen, "He'll do nothing till the elections come on. Then he'll make half a dozen speeches with that specious frankness of his, and walk in." She is probably right.

I hope and pray that you will take a little rest this spring no matter at what cost to public business. Maude sends what she calls "devoted love" Bless you

Aff

DM