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State Dept.: R. Walton Moore

1934-36

PSF  
R.W. Moore

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PERSONAL AND  
CONFIDENTIAL

Moscow, May 14, 1934.

Dear Judge Moore:

Your letter of April 24 has just reached me. I was delighted to have it as your letters are my only real source of contact with Washington and mean more to me than you will believe.

How correct we were in our assumption as to Rubinin's visit was proved not only by the fact that Litvinov finally told me that he had sent Troyanovsky long and explicit orders by Rubinin but also by the fact that Litvinov has requested me to continue the negotiations here with Rubinin and Krestinsky jointly. I have not yet seen Rubinin but Litvinov told me yesterday that he had been delighted by his visit to America and had returned more intensely pro-American than ever. I am grateful to you for taking such good care of him. Litvinov's compliant attitude yesterday,

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The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

I suspect, was due in part to Rubinin's report as to the views of the Department of State. It is difficult to predict whether negotiations with Krestinsky and Rubinin will lead to a result more easily and rapidly than negotiations with Litvinov. My own impression is that we may be on the way to a solution.

Harrie Lindeberg arrived about a week ago and we have been spending many hours over his plans for the Embassy buildings. The problem of building really well, in accordance with American Government specifications, is extraordinarily difficult. The buildings the Russians have constructed recently are so badly built that they will last only a few years, and the job of getting efficient workmen is further complicated by the ruble exchange difficulty. Lindeberg is working hard, and I feel that we shall in the end be able to get what we want by the usual formula of excessive patience and pertinacity.

I have given up all idea of being able to entertain this spring. Not one stick of furniture for my house has yet arrived except some servants' beds, and, as every available inch of space in the house is still occupied

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occupied by chancery offices, the reception of anyone aside from intimate friends, is out of the question. Don't imagine, however, that we are suffering in any way. The house is comfortable and I enjoy having in the house the large number of men who are now living with me because I honestly like them. However, as soon as my daughter arrives, I shall have to attempt to make the house a real Embassy and not simply a combined chancery and dormitory.

We have had delightful spring weather for the past two weeks, and lilacs are actually beginning to bloom in the dooryard of the Embassy. As a result, the entire staff seems to be feeling somewhat happier, but it is by no means easy for American boys to become accustomed to life in Moscow. I am inclined to believe that it will be impossible for American women to be happy in this town unless they are of an exceptional, intellectual type. There is absolutely nothing for a woman to do here. The Russians will not invite American women to their houses for the simple reason that the women bore them. There is an intense intellectual ferment here and one's intellectual contacts are as interesting as any place in the world and bitter hatred of the present régime and insti but

- 4 -

but ordinary social life does not exist. I have not written anything to anyone in Washington in regard to personnel matters as I do not want to write anything officially until I have had an opportunity to become more thoroughly acquainted with the men on the staff. Up to date I am much more than satisfied with the entire staff. It will be necessary to shift the duties of a few men merely because they are at the moment square pegs in round holes, but there are plenty of square holes in which they may be fitted and the pegs are good and solid hickory.

The wives, however, present a different problem. I believe that Mrs. Wiley, Mrs. Nimmer and Mrs. Kennan will all be able to adjust themselves without too much unhappiness. I am not so sure about Mrs. Ward. I was under the impression that she was a Finnish lady with no prejudices in regard to Russia and she was, I believe, born in what is now Finland. But her family were czarist Russians, who merely had their properties in Finland, and she was brought up as a czarist Russian in the fashionable girls' academy in Leningrad. As a result, she has poisonous and bitter hatred of the present régime and insists

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on living in absolute isolation. That is unhealthy from many points of view. The problem of American women in Moscow will, of course, become comparatively simple when we have constructed the new Embassy but until that time I anticipate considerable difficulties and I regard with the utmost apprehension the presence of American children here.

I am delighted that you are seeing the President so often. Take good care of him and yourself and write me soon and often.

Every good wish to you.

Yours affectionately,

William P. Bullitt

PSF: Moore

State File

Personal

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

June 14, 1934.

Dear Mr. President:

You will recall the other night, that in order to gratify our curiosity as to the attitude of Senator Byrd's Revolutionary ancestor, I promised to dig up the facts. The enclosure quotes a reference to William Byrd, 3rd, who was that man, by the late Professor Bassett, of Duke University, who was an authority on the Byrds, classifying him as not in sympathy with the Revolution. On page 3 is a similar reference to him by Colonel Landon Carter, who was a very prominent and patriotic Virginian. It seems that Colonel Byrd died in 1777, and that following his death his widow had a pretty hectic time because of being suspected of aiding the British. But she was defended by prominent people, and before the enclosure was compiled I had found that Mr. Jefferson wrote her a very kindly letter.

Yours very sincerely,

*Phyllis Moore*

Enclosure:  
Memo. on William  
Byrd, 3rd.

The President,  
The White House.

Memoranda on William Byrd, III.

About William Byrd III, who succeeded to most of his father's estate, there is but little to be said. He was still a child when his father died, and his life shows the lack of training he would have had from such a wise father. He married, April, 14, 1648, Elizabeth Carter, the heiress of "Shirley". At the time he was perhaps nineteen, and she was only sixteen and a half. The marriage seems to have been an unhappy one. In 1760, within six months after the death of this wife, he married Mary Willing of Philadelphia, with whom he lived happily. He died by his own hand, January 1, 1777. He held prominent office in the colony. For some years he was a member of the Council, and was one of the judges in the famous "Parsons' Case" of 1763, in which he voted on the side of the Parsons. He was given command of the Second Virginia Regiment, raised after Braddock's defeat in 1755 to protect the frontiers against the French and Indians. Washington had command of the First, and it is no bad compliment to Byrd that he acquitted himself creditably, since his conduct was open to comparison with that of his distinguished colleague. He was afterward commissioner to the Cherokee Indians. His sympathy, however, in the Revolution, was with England, and his oldest living son was a captain in the English army. (But another son served with the Americans through the war). Anburey says of him: "His great abilities and personal accomplishments were universally esteemed, but being infatuated with play, his affairs, at his death, were in a deranged state. The widow whom he left with eight children, has, by prudent management, preserved out of the wreck of his princely fortune, a beautiful home, at a place called Westover, upon James River, some personal property, a few plantations, and a number of slaves." This quotation tells all we need to know about the squandering of the splendid property which the son of the gold mine had built up, and which the elegant "Black Swan" had been able to preserve. With its departure went the influence of the family. The estate of Westover, the last of the property, was sold after the death of Mrs. Mary Willing Byrd in 1814 for division among her children.\* It has had the good fortune to be in the hands of people who have appreciated its historic importance, and to-day the massive colonial house, with its handsomely-carved doorway and the fine old gateway, breath a warm odor of the courtly life which once made it known on many another river than the James.

\*Westover was then purchased by William Carter, who lived there for four or five years; but becoming financially involved through indorsing for a friend, he sold it to a Mr. Douthat, who had gained \$100,000 in a lottery. After his death it was sold to J.E. Harrison of Brandon. He found it so far from Brandon that it was inconvenient to keep it, and he sold it to John Selden, who at length sold it to Major Drewry. In 1901 it was brought from the Drewry estate by Mrs. William McC? Ramsay, who proposes to restore it in colonial style and make it her home. It was twice burnt, but each time was rebuilt in the old style by the Byrds. The last fire was on the occasion of the christening of that William Byrd who died at Casen in 1771.

The facts in this note are from notes made by Miss Elizabeth Byrd Nicholas of Washington City, and preserved by the Virginia Historical Society.

Letter of Mrs. M. Byrd to \_\_\_\_\_

August 19, 1781.

"Sir,

Mr. Southall waits on you, to inform you of my situation, with respect to four Horses now in my possession, and to take your directions respecting them--

As I have intruded on your leisure, Sir, permit me to engage your attention a little longer. I am greatly injured; to you I beg leave to apply, for an opportunity of being redressed. this claim I surely have a right to make as a female, as the parent of eight children, as a virtuous citizen, as a friend to my Country, and as a person, who never violated the laws of her Country, either by mistake, or intentionally. No person with principles of honor, or any other virtue that can grace human nature, will contradict my assertion. I am told that I have some enemies left. if I have, I know them not, nor am I known by them. no person who knows me can be my enemy, for I am at least an inoffensive person. I wish not ill to the meanest creature on earth. if I were convinced that your ear had been abused with respect to me, I would immediately wait on you and convince you, that I am as innocent of the charges made against me, as you are yourself--I owe too much to my honor to betray my Country. No person breaths whose reputation is dearer to them than mine is to me. You have been so good Sir, to assure me, it would give you the greatest pleasure to grant me a flag--I hope it is now convenient; I have lost 49 of my people, 3 fine horses and two fine Ferry Boats, all of which Lord Cornwallis promised me should be returned to me. Other people have had flags granted them; the Baron assured me I should have one, whenever the enemy were inclined to deliver me my people.

I flatter myself you will excuse my being thus troublesome. I hear repeatedly of the death of my people, some who wished much to return; others are gone to New York--if I do not recover my people, my family are ruined, and this, worthy Sir, you have the power of preventing. Shall it be said, because I am a stranger in the Country, that I am not to have justice in any line. I have sent my Soldier, who had lost his life in the Service of my Country--I have paid my taxes and have not been Personally, or Virtually represented. My property is taken from me and I have no redress.

I have the honor to be Sir,  
Your most obedient humble Servant."

Memoranda on William Byrd III

-3-

"It is said Byrdis going to the congress to solicit an appointment to be Majr. Gen. here. I know some such panders to him as to wish him success; but I would never trust him and shall always remember his treatment of our young Effingham, his son, who left the navy to assist his own country even agt the threats of being disinherited by his father."

--William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. xvi,  
No. 3, January, 1906. "Diary of C&L. Landon Carter". Page 153.



Item on Mrs. Mary Willing Byrd. From the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 36, no. 1., Jan. 1930. page 84.

"When Westover was occupied by the British forces, Mrs. Byrd's nursery was actually converted into a stable for Lord Cornwallis' horses. Poor Mrs. Byrd was persecuted by friend and foe, for she was unjustly accused of treason to the Continentals, in the unpublished State archives, is preserved a clever letter by her in her own defence, one reason of her being suspected was, that Admiral Sterling and Sir Walter were her nephews, and it was well known ~~she~~ had connections in the British service..

"Benedict Arnold had married her first cousin. Mr. Hare, a friend and a brother of her sister's husband, was on board a hostile ship in James River, and Mrs. Byrd was suspected of having communicated with them, and of having supplied comforts for these relatives --it was even said a pass was found among her papers from Arnold, for a person to go to Richmond to carry information."

PSF: Moore

State

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1934.

Dear Mr. President:

You may perhaps find time to look at the two statements on pages 4 and 6 of the enclosure, having reference to the Hawaiian Islands and the inter-ocean canal, and possibly what is said on pages 2 and 3 about Senator Byrd's contention that Thomas Jefferson, if living, would be against the Administration.

I trust your trip is giving you all of the rest and pleasure you anticipate.

Yours very sincerely,

*Phyllis Moore*

The Honorable  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
S.S. Houston,  
Panama.

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Address of R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State before the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia the evening of July 4, 1934.

ZACHARY TAYLOR

Because Zachary Taylor was one of the Presidents of southern birth, the Southern Society of New York, a while ago, decided that this year, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth, should be properly observed, and because Taylor was a native of Virginia, Governor Pollard complied with the Society's request to appoint a commission to bring his career to the attention of the country. President Roosevelt, in accepting an invitation to serve as honorary chairman of the commission, said, "I understand that the function of the commission is educational, and the purpose of its creation is to do belated justice to the memory of one of our great Presidents." The twelfth President is characterized in that language by the remarkable man now occupying the White House, upon whose leadership so largely depends the future of this republic and perhaps of the world.

Taylor was President from Sunday, March 4, 1849, (although his inauguration was on Monday, March 5th), until his death on July 9, 1850. His last public appearance was on July 4th, exactly eighty-four years ago, when he attended a celebration at the foot of the then partially constructed Washington monument, and his last public utterance was in praise of Washington, whose memory he revered, and whose example seems to have influenced his career. No one is to be rated as the equal of Washington, but it will be seen that in many respects Taylor resembled him.

Only two regular army officers have been advanced to the Presidency, Taylor and Grant. We would willingly forget the tragic era during which the latter served, dishonored as it was by the most extreme sectionalism, the most relentless partisanship and the most oppressive disregard of the rights of the states and their people who had composed the southern confederacy. Though Taylor's military service had been more continuous than Grant's, and he entered the office without previous experience or political contacts, and without even having voted prior to his own election, his performance of the duties of the office was highly creditable.

When, while he was gathering laurels as a soldier, Taylor was urged as a candidate for the Presidency, he expressed very positive disinclination to being considered, based upon his doubt of the expediency of a military man being chosen, and upon a frankly stated distrust of his political experience being sufficient. In a letter written to a friend shortly after he left Mexico, he said: "I must say, I have no wish for the Presidency, and cannot consent to be exclusively the candidate of a party; and if I am one at all, or to be so at the coming election, it must be borne in mind that I have been, or will be so by others, without any agency of mine in the matter. Independent of my wishes, I greatly doubt my qualifications to discharge the duties properly of an office which was filled and adorned by a Washington, a Jefferson, as well as several others of the purest, wisest, and most accomplished statesmen and patriots of this or any other age or country. I almost tremble at the thought of

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the undertaking." As the days passed and it became evident that he would be drafted by an enthusiastic public, he let it be plainly understood that while his views were more distinctly Whig than Democratic, in case of being nominated and elected, he would not administer the office in a partisan manner, and his only ambition would be to promote the welfare of the entire country, without yielding to the selfish views of any section or any group.

He had been in the public eye a long time and was universally trusted, not only on account of his notable army record, but on account of his lofty standards of personal conduct and his unblemished character. To him so far as I can discover, no unworthy motive was ever attributed, and no act that could be prompted by such a motive. Of him it could be truthfully stated, as Jefferson said of Monroe, that "if his soul could be turned inside out, not a speck would be found upon it."

In spite of Taylor's reluctance to being drawn into the political field, the tide began running in his direction before he left Mexico, and it soon became resistless. Meetings were held throughout the land, attended by people of every political faith, and resolutions passed commending him to the favor of the country. In the national convention of the Whig party, competing for the nomination were Henry Clay and Winfield Scott, both, like himself, natives of Virginia, and Daniel Webster. From the start Taylor was the favorite and on the final ballot, he had 171 votes against 32 for Clay, 63 for Scott and 13 for Webster. Notwithstanding he was a citizen of one of the most southern states and himself a slave holder, he received a substantial vote from every part of the country. On that final ballot, the vote of Clay's home state of Kentucky was Taylor 11 and Clay 1, and the vote of Virginia was Taylor 16 and Scott 1. In the election Taylor received 163 electoral votes against 127 for Lewis Cass, who was a man of outstanding ability and distinction.

In another letter, following his nomination, he wrote: "I have said I was not a party candidate, nor am I, in that straitened and sectarian sense which would prevent my being President of the whole people, in case of my election. I did not regard myself as one, before the Convention met, and that body did not seek to make me different from what I was. They did not fetter me down to a series of pledges which were to be an iron rule of action in all, and in despite of all, the contingencies that might arise in the course of a Presidential term. I am not engaged to lay violent hands indiscriminately upon public officers, good or bad, who may differ in opinion with me; I am not expected to force Congress, by the coercion of the Veto, to pass laws to suit me, or pass none. This is what I mean by not being a party candidate."

During the campaign he was as a matter of course assailed by the opposition, since no presidential contest has ever proceeded serenely or ever will. For instance, his announcement relative to the exercise of the veto power brought an attack by those who thought that the responsibility of the President for legislation in no degree differs from that of Congress. His supporters at once cited a letter written by Jefferson exactly in line with Taylor's conception. This

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incident reminds us of the frequency with which there is appeal to the authority of Jefferson and often by those on both sides of a controversy. This is ascribable to the fact that Jefferson was an unflinching liberal who always thought freely and acted freely. He was fixed in adherence to the fundamental principle that government should rest upon the consent of the governed, but he was equally fixed in adherence to the principle that the administration of government at any given time should be controlled by conditions then existing, so as to promote the interests and opportunities of the people. He was like a planet that moves on a definite course, but an unresting planet that never ceased in its forward progress. If the political philosophy of Jefferson is thus rightly indicated, I do not believe in this year 1934, when the conditions are so entirely different from what they were when Jefferson was laid to rest at Monticello, that any man has any warrant whatever for any measurably positive opinion that Jefferson, if he were now here, would find fault with the present governmental program put into effect by the action of Congress and the Executive, and therefore I do not believe anyone is entitled to assert that the program operates to sacrifice what we are accustomed to speak of as Jeffersonian democracy. Among the rich treasures in the library of this University are the original minutes of the meetings of the Board of Visitors when the University was being founded and started. At a meeting held on March 4, 1825, attended by Jefferson and Madison, there was a resolution adopted listing the books and documents to be used in the civil polity branch of the school of law, for the purpose, as the resolution stated, of enabling the students to learn "the general principles of liberty and the rights of man in nature and society" and the "distinctive principles of the government of Virginia and of that of the United States." The books were Locke's "Essay Concerning the True and Original Extent and End of Civil Government"; Sidney's "Discourses on Government"; and The Federalist, and the documents were The Declaration of Independence, described as "the fundamental act of the union of the states"; Washington's Farewell Address; and the Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1799 on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, of which Madison was the author. I am satisfied that should some highly qualified student from a foreign land, coming to this country without much knowledge of our political system, make a very thorough fresh examination of the books and documents mentioned in order to determine what was Jefferson's philosophy, and whether or not, if now on the scene, he would condemn the administration's program as contrary to that philosophy, he would be obliged to give a negative answer to that question. It is not to be implied from what I am saying that any citizen for a single moment is to be denied the right of adverse criticism should he believe such criticism wise at this fateful juncture, but I do deny his right to assume that Jefferson, were he now living, would endorse the criticism. In my judgment it is easier to assume that the program would have his approval.

When President Taylor took office, the outlook was dangerous. The agitation of the slavery question, which long before had fallen on the ear of the founder of this University like a firebell ringing in the night, had increased until it was threatening the stability of the union even more than a decade before the first shot was fired in the war between the states. The slavery issue at once became foremost in

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the minds of people everywhere when California, without having been organized as a territory, adopted a constitution and applied for admission as a free state. The south contended that the line fixed by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, dividing the Louisiana purchase except Missouri, into free and slave areas, should be extended to the Pacific Ocean through the territory lately acquired of Mexico, and that the application of California, because of its being south of the compromise line of 36° 30', should be denied. There was a veritable storm, and deeply concerned, the President, in his inaugural address, which said little of specific policies, plead for "well directed attempts to assuage the bitterness which too often marks inevitable differences of opinion." In his message to Congress on the third of December, 1849, he announced his general position as follows: "Attachment to the union of states," he declared, "should be habitually fostered in every American heart. For more than half a century, during which kingdoms and empires have fallen, this union has stood unshaken. The patriots who formed it have long since descended to the grave, but still it remains the proudest monument to their memory and the object of the affection and admiration of everyone worthy to bear the American name. In my judgment its dissolution would be the greatest of calamities, and to avert that should be the study of every American. Upon its preservation must depend our happiness and that of countless generations to come. Whatever dangers may threaten it, I shall stand by it and maintain it in its integrity to the full extent of the obligations imposed and the power conferred upon me by the constitution." He was speaking his earnest purpose and conviction, unswayed by what might be expected of him by the section where all of his material interests were centered.

He looked far ahead by including in his message this statement: "The position of the Sandwich Islands in reference to the territory of the United States in the Pacific \*\*\* renders their destiny peculiarly interesting to us \*\*\* we could in no event be indifferent to their passing under the dominion of any other power." He promptly appointed Elisha H. Allen, of Maine, as consul and diplomatic agent to the islands.

The California question being primarily a legislative question, the eyes of the public were fastened on the legislative forum. The fierce discussion that raged throughout the country was reflected in the proceedings of both houses of Congress. The Senate was the scene of an extraordinary debate because participated in by extraordinary men, and in the midst of it Taylor passed away. That debate is well worth noticing. Henry Clay had been "the Great Pacificator" in 1820. Six years before Taylor was inaugurated, he had retired from public life to spend his last days in the quiet of his Ashlawn home, but the slavery controversy breaking out again, he was called from his retirement, and returning to the Senate, introduced his compromise measure of 1850. When he rose to address the Senate on February 5th of that year, replying to his friends who insisted that he was too ill to speak, he said, "I consider our country in danger, and if I can be the means of in any measure averting that danger, my health and life are of little consequence", and for two days he plead with his old time eloquence for tolerance and concession. On March 4th, Senator Mason of Virginia, at John C. Calhoun's request, read the speech the latter had prepared

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and which he was too feeble to deliver. A historian, commenting on Calhoun's appearance, writes, "There he sat, motionless like a statue, with the hand of death upon him, listening to his own words from another's mouth." The concluding words of his argument were: "Having faithfully done my duty, to the best of my ability, both to the union and to my section, throughout this agitation, I shall have the consolation, let what will come, that I am free from all responsibility." Three days later, Daniel Webster made his celebrated seventh of March speech, which began with the well remembered words, "I wish to speak today not as a Massachusetts man, or as a northern man, but as an American." The death of Taylor did not put an end to the debate. Clay spoke again on July 28th, making a marvelous appeal for harmony, saying, "Will we go home and leave all of this disorder and confusion \*\*\* and stand condemned in our own consciences, by our own constituents and by our own country." In September California was admitted as a state. Until the moment of his death it is perfectly clear that Taylor was animated by precisely the same unselfish patriotic spirit that inspired the three illustrious Senators who led in that unforgettable discussion.

There was a lull in the controversy when the news of Taylor's death reached Congress. He had died on July 9th, and the very next day, without any interval for the careful preparation of perfunctory speeches, he was lamented in generous and sorrowful terms by those who had been his supporters and those who had been his opponents in the presidential election. Among his eulogists on July 10th was Mr. Webster, who spoke at considerable length, and who was unreserved in his praise of the man whose course he had watched from the date of his inauguration. "For my part", he said, "in all that I have seen of him, I have found much to respect and nothing to condemn \*\*\* I believe he has left on the minds of the country a strong impression, first, as to his absolute honesty and integrity of character; next, his sound and practical good sense; and lastly, the mildness, kindness and friendliness of his temper towards his country \*\*\*. May God grant that in the time there is before us there may not be wanting to us as wise men, as good men for our counsels as he was, whose funeral obsequies we now propose to celebrate." In the same strain, Lewis Cass spoke of him as "Strong in the confidence of his countrymen, he was called to the chief magistracy in a period of great difficulty, more portentous, indeed, than any we have ever experienced. His own last words, spoken with equal truth and sincerity, constituted his highest eulogy, 'I am not afraid to die', said the dying patriot, 'I have done my duty'. The integrity of his motives was never assailed; he had passed through a long and active life, neither meeting nor meriting reproach, and in his last hour the conviction of the honest discharge of his duty was present to console, even when the things of this life were fast fading away." There were many others in both houses of Congress who spoke in a similar way, and what they said was echoed by the press of the country. The praise was universal of a man who nevertheless while living suffered from the bitterness of partisan rancor. He said to his physician the day before his death, "I did not expect to encounter what was beset me since my elevation to the Presidency. God knows that I endeavored to fulfil what I conceived to be an honest duty. But I have been mistaken. My motives have been misconstrued and

my feelings most grossly outraged." Other Presidents have had the same experience. During his second term, Washington said that he found himself charged with every offense a man was capable of committing.

I must not omit to state that in Taylor's brief term the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was negotiated and ratified, which was the first step looking to the construction of a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

The President to whose official service allusion has just been made, was born in Orange County, adjoining the county where we are now gathered, on November 24, 1784. He was of a very prominent family, and numbered among his relatives and connections the Lees, Barbours, Pendletons and Conways. Like President Madison, he was a descendant of the first Taylor who located in Orange, and he was also a descendant of Elder William Brewster, a leader of the band of pilgrims that landed from the Mayflower on the shores of Massachusetts. His father, Colonel Richard Taylor, served with distinction under the eye of Washington, with whom his relations were intimate, at Trenton, and in other battles of the Revolution.

At the time of the birth of Zachary Taylor, conditions in Virginia, which was in the main an agricultural community, were bad; they were bad politically, for although success had crowned the Revolutionary struggle, there was no certainty as to whether chaos could be avoided by a more perfect union than then existed being formed; they were bad economically in consequence of the devastation wrought by war, and because the cultivation of tobacco, which was the principal crop, had so largely exhausted the fertility of the soil; and because the cost of government had become burdensome. Many even of those who were considered well-to-do began to feel the pinch of poverty, and there was a general turning of attention towards Kentucky, from which came reports of boundless opportunities for those willing to encounter the risks attached to pioneer life. What was called the Wilderness Trail furnished an outlet westward principally from North Carolina and Virginia, and there began to be such an exodus from Virginia that Richard Henry Lee expressed to Madison his alarm at the serious loss of population. In Lee's judgment the exodus was due to heavy taxation and a search for better land. Madison himself was urged to remove to Kentucky as a field where he could acquire power and eminence. His reply was that he could not seriously entertain the idea of transplanting himself into the wilderness. But the more adventurous Richard Taylor had the opposite idea and when his son was only about one year old he took his family to the west and built and occupied a log house near what is now the city of Louisville until he could replace it with the impressive brick dwelling which still stands and near which Zachary Taylor is buried. Somewhat earlier, before the birth of his son, he was one of a little party of Virginians who were the first white men to descend the Ohio River to the falls and thence make their way to New Orleans and return to Virginia by sea.

When the Taylors located in Kentucky, it was still "the bloody ground." The white population of that extensive region

region did not exceed 25,000. The Indians were numerous and generally hostile and massacres were of frequent occurrence in the neighborhood of the Taylor home. Educational facilities were meager, and Zachary Taylor had no more education in the strict sense of the term than Washington himself, who was not a student in any school after his sixteenth year. But he, like Washington, was a youth of strong and ambitious mind, and unusual common sense, and as time went on, like Washington, he educated himself by persistent reading, and acquired a large fund of information and a very clear style of writing, as illustrated by the orders and despatches that came from his pen while he was in the military service, and by his letters. Also like Washington, he acquired some familiarity with law and particularly military law, evidence of which is the fact that serving on at least seventeen important court martials he was always delegated to write the decisions and prepare the orders. Again like Washington he was physically very strong and had unlimited fondness for all manner of outdoor exercise and sports. The rude experiences of the frontier assisted in developing both his mental and his physical powers.

It was very natural that living where there was no such peaceful tranquillity as marked life in the older communities, and where courageous and resolute men were needed to encounter the dangers that always menaced, Taylor should early have thought of a military career. He was without any special training as a soldier, but he possessed, as did Washington, all of the qualities that fitted him for that occupation. From President Jefferson, who knew the fiber of the Taylor breed, he received a commission as Lieutenant in the Regular Army when he was twenty-four years old, and from his kinsman President Madison a Captain's commission when he was twenty-eight years old, the war with Great Britain then approaching. His early activity was in repelling the aggressions of the Indians, who in advance of that war were too often instigated and assisted by British agents. Taylor's advancement by Madison was in recognition of his steadily faithful and efficient service, and very soon the young Captain was awarded the first brevet commission - as major - conferred during the war with Great Britain.

The most notable soldier and public man then on the frontier was William Henry Harrison, a native of our little Charles City County, which was also the birthplace of John Tyler, who in after years was elected Vice President when Harrison was elected President. That was the "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" triumph. Harrison had established a defensive fort, nothing more than a weak stockade, called Fort Harrison, and Captain Taylor was assigned to hold that fort with a garrison of only fifty men. Poorly provided and almost daily engaged in warding off attacks, when the final attack by four hundred and fifty of the enemy was made on the fifth of September, 1812, the garrison was in an extremely weak condition, most of the men sick, and all of them, including Taylor, nearly worn out by days and nights of laborious effort. Nevertheless Taylor, who never in his entire military career shunned a battle or suffered a defeat, determined that the result should be either death or victory. That the victory won after hours of fighting would not have been possible except for Taylor's astonishing courage,

coolness

coolness and skill, and the inspiration of his leadership, will be admitted by anyone who takes the trouble to read contemporary accounts of the Fort Harrison affair. He was warmly commended by his superiors, and the general praise called forth by his heroic conduct is illustrated by a letter to General Shelby of Kentucky from Major General Hopkins of the western army referring to "The fine and almost unparalleled defense of Fort Harrison by Captain Zachary Taylor". Time does not permit any detail of Taylor's service under the direction of Major General Hopkins, which lasted until the end of the war with Great Britain. It is sufficient to say that it was so conspicuous as to receive commendation in all of the despatches having reference to the actions in which he participated.

After the termination of the war, his service in the west continued for years and it fell to him to command the troops in the war against Black Hawk, whom Taylor routed in the battle of Bad Axe. He had previously been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and for his defeat of Black Hawk he was breveted Brigadier General. He was quickly appointed Colonel of the first regiment of Infantry and served in the swiftly developing west until for him the scene shifted to the marshes of Florida where the Indians were terrorizing the country.

In Florida, commanding his own regiment and the fourth and sixth Infantry, and some Artillery and the Missouri Volunteers, he routed the Indian enemy. It was not easy to accomplish what he had set out to do. In that Everglade region troops could not be moved and supplies insured without such construction of causeways and roads as was possible, and there, as whenever Taylor commanded in battle, victory might have been doubtful but for his inspiring personal leadership. As to this a historian says "Taylor was everywhere to be found in the thickest of the fight \*\*\* and where the danger was greatest, encouraging and urging on his men \*\*\* his coolness and presence of mind reanimated those whose powers of endurance had begun to fail and gave new ardor to others \*\*\* Never was there a commander who possessed the power of infusing his own spirit into his troops in a more remarkable degree than Colonel Taylor." The books are full of this same story of Taylor, whether in the west or in Florida, or on the plains of Texas and Mexico.

I do not know when there was first affectionately applied to him by those whom he led in battle, the appellation of "Old Rough and Ready", which became a slogan in his presidential campaign. But it no more imported in his own case than it would have imported in the case of Stonewall Jackson, that he lacked consideration and sympathy in dealing with his followers and in dealing with a stricken foe. It could only mean in either case an unusual readiness to act swiftly and a genius for overcoming any hard obstacles. The Florida victory brought Taylor the thanks of the President.

The Florida campaign was in 1836, and several years were to pass before Taylor, who in the interval performed various duties as an officer, was to become a dominant figure in the war with Mexico, and emerge from that struggle with the rank of Major General, and more important, with the full

confidence

confidence of his countrymen and the admiration of the military leaders of Europe, including Wellington.

It would tire you to rehearse the incidents that brought on the war with Mexico; how, under the lead of Sam Houston, a native of Virginia, Texas, that had been a part of Mexico, declared its independence; how, in the last few days of President Tyler's administration, he secured the passage of a resolution by Congress for the admission of Texas as a state of our union; how there was a sharp division of political sentiment as to whether we would embark in a war with Mexico, should that country invite it by aggressive action; and how, in the estimation of our government, war became at last inescapable. The Resolution to admit Texas, which was contingent on the acceptance by the new Republic of its terms, was passed March 1, 1845, and the matter was soon consummated and another star added to our flag. By an order of the War Department, dated May 20, 1845, Polk being President, General Taylor, then stationed with a force of troops in Louisiana, where he had acquired a plantation and taken up his residence, was directed to proceed to Texas and protect it from foreign invasion. The attitude of Mexico was threatening, but there was not yet war, and the task assigned Taylor was one of watchful waiting. Obeying the order, he made his way to a point near the Texas boundary not far distant from the mouth of the Rio Grande River, and to the north of its left bank. The situation was relatively quiet until in April, 1846, the Mexicans crossed the river and brought on a skirmish with a detachment of Americans. Thereupon in May there was a formal declaration of war. Of the several battles in the stretch of months from May until the latter part of February of the next year, two, Pala Alto and Resaca de la Palma occurred on the soil of Texas, and the others, Monterey and Buena Vista, occurred on the soil of Mexico after Taylor had crossed the river and captured Matamoras. Years subsequent to these events some writers described Taylor as a splendid soldier but a poor general. This disparagement was contrary to the contemporary opinion. It is such disparagement as Washington and others have experienced, and, in testing its correctness, it is well to remember the significant legend on the Coat of Arms of the Washington family "Exitus Acta Probat"- the result proves the work. It is the result that shows the man.

The truth is that General Taylor was in every instance confronted by a greatly superior force composed of the best Mexican soldiers, and that nevertheless his record of success initiated at Fort Harrison remained unbroken. The final battle of Buena Vista, where he was outnumbered five to one, opened on February 22nd, and the watchword given by Taylor to his army was most appropriately "Honor Washington." He knew the peril he was meeting, but he met it with no weakening of a determination to win, although a large number of his most seasoned troops, nearly all of his regulars, had been detached and transferred to General Scott, who had been assigned to command in another part of Mexico. The fight on the first day was not conclusive. In the night Taylor found it necessary to make a personal visit to his base of supplies and when he returned to the field the next day the conflict had been resumed and the outlook was discouraging. He swiftly reorganized the confused troops, meanwhile causing the Mississippi

regiment

regiment of Colonel Jefferson Davis to hold the Mexicans in check, and by nightfall the enemy was disheartened. The American victory was complete. Many had died to achieve it, for the losses were heavy, but very largely the credit was due to the qualities displayed by Taylor at the turning point of the conflict. He had undeniably earned the title of "Hero of Buena Vista", by which he was acclaimed throughout his country. In that battle the influential part played by Davis caused him to be known as a skillful soldier. Davis was Taylor's son-in-law. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that as Taylor's daughter married much against her father's will, so the young woman who became William Henry Harrison's wife married against her father's will. These were happenings in the lives of the only Whig candidates who reached the Presidency.

There was now little for Taylor to do. He was out of favor with the Polk Administration, which owed him so much, but which heard with no pleasure the general talk of him as the probable candidate of the opposition party for President, and in a short time he returned to Louisiana.

Let me refer to the estimate of Taylor by General Grant, who was one of his subordinates in Mexico. Here is a quotation from Grant's Personal Memoirs: "General Taylor was not an officer to trouble the Administration much with his demands, but was inclined to do the best he could with the means given him. He felt his responsibility as going no further. If he thought that he had been sent to perform an impossible task with the means given him, he would probably have informed the authorities of his opinion and left them to determine what should be done. If the judgment was against him, he would have gone on and done the best he could with the means at hand, without parading his grievance before the public. No soldier could face either danger or responsibility more calmly than he. These are qualifications more rarely found than genius or physical courage. General Taylor never made any great show or parade either of uniform or retinue. In dress he was possibly too plain, rarely wearing anything in the field to indicate his rank, or even that he was an officer, but he was known to every soldier in his army and was respected by all. \*\*\* General Taylor's victory at Buena Vista, in February, 1847, with an army composed almost entirely of volunteers who had not been in battle before, and over a vastly superior force, made his nomination for the Presidency by the Whigs a foregone conclusion. He was nominated and elected in 1848. I believe that he sincerely regretted this turn in his fortunes, preferring the peace afforded by a quiet life free from abuse, to the honor of filling the highest office in the gift of any people." Grant might have noted the remark of a military critic who, commenting upon the battles of Marengo and Buena Vista, the circumstances of which were in a way similar, said that Marengo made Napoleon Emperor, and Buena Vista made Taylor President. After being with Taylor, Grant was with Scott, and he further writes "I had now been in battle with the two leading commanders conducting armies in a foreign land. The contrast between the two was very marked. General Taylor never wore a uniform but dressed himself entirely for comfort. He moved about the field in which he was operating to see through his own eyes the situation.

Often he would be without staff officers, and when he was accompanied by them, there was no prescribed order in which they followed. He was very much given to sit his horse sideways, with both feet on one side, particularly on the battlefield. General Scott was the reverse in all these particulars. In their means of expressing thought, those two Generals contrasted quite as strongly as in their other characteristics. Taylor was not a conversationalist, but on paper he could put his meaning so plainly that there could be no mistaking it. He knew how to express what he wanted to say in the fewest well chosen words, but would not sacrifice meaning to the construction of high-sounding sentences. Both were pleasant to serve under - Taylor was pleasant to serve with."

Perhaps the designation of "Old Rough and Ready" is responsible for an idea that Taylor may not have been a man of striking appearance. The fact however is that he seems to have impressed all who knew him as a man of most unusual appearance. Colonel Humphrey, Marshall of Kentucky, in a public address said: "He has a fine head, high forehead, light, keen, penetrating eye, indicating uniform good-humor, and firm, compressed lips. His hair is almost white, his face care-worn, but extremely intelligent, and almost uniformly lit up with a benevolent smile." One of the many young officers, besides Grant, who served under Taylor, and who later were to figure in the war between the states, was William T. Sherman, who in his Memoirs speaks of a visit that he made to the White House in January, 1850. Sherman who had not before seen Taylor says he "was most agreeably surprised at his fine personal appearance and his pleasant easy manner." And he says further "General Taylor had that blunt, honest and stern character that endeared him to the masses of the people and made him President." The testimony of Marshall and Sherman is verified by the portraits of Taylor, one of which is the painting by Healey that hangs in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington.

There is no time to speak of the happiness of his family life. He was not long in any one place, but wherever his home was it was the ideal home described by our great law professor John B. Minor to his students as "a school of the kind affections, fit nursery of the Commonwealth."

Fascinated by the confessedly too hurried and imperfect examination I have been able to make of the career of Zachary Taylor, I wish to congratulate the Honorable Hugh Gordon Miller and his associates of the Southern Society on sponsoring a celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth, and nominating him for a place in the Hall of Fame of the New York University. It is altogether fitting that there he should be commemorated in the company of others whose character and service have made our Republic what it is.

PSF  
Moore  
State

Tokyo, November 2, 1934.

Personal.

Dear Judge Moore:

Just a line to convey my very best wishes to you and to tell you how glad I shall be to see you in December. We expect to arrive in Seattle on December 11 by the Steamship PRESIDENT MCKINLEY which sails from Shanghai on November 27. This should mean arriving in Washington on December 15.

I have had a bully time in Japan and have seen vast numbers of Japanese including the Emperor and have managed to let some light into the darkness which has prevailed in my own mind with regard to the Far East. I have had the pleasure of meeting your friend, Judge Payne, and we had a delightful conversation about you.

When I arrived I was somewhat done up by the trip on the Trans-Siberian. I was tired before I got aboard and ten days in the train, the nights of which were largely spent in chasing lice, combined with a boil which assumed the proportions of Mt. Etna kept me quiet for the first few days that I was here. But I am now in fine shape again and have won a major victory over the cooties! Russia is not an easy country.

Every good wish to you and good luck.

Yours affectionately,

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

William E. Bullitt.

PSF  
Moore

DEPARTMENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin, November 19, 1934.

Dear Judge Moore:

I do not know whether the truth of history is ever worth urging or not; but I venture a note to you which you may read and repeat if you ever have any spare moments.

Mark Sullivan published in the Paris HERALD November 17 an article which was probably read all over the United States. His story of the recent election is probably correct; but it is wrong when he says that no other President ever had such an endorsement. Why does he not look into the sources of history before he ventures so much? It would not matter so much but for the fact that millions of people accept his interpretations.

Jefferson was elected on a large popular margin in 1800, though electoral verdict was close, due to manipulations. In 1802 he was supported in Congressional vote by a much greater vote (I cannot now take time to run down the figures) than that of 1800. In 1804 every State in the country but two gave him large majorities, except Massachusetts and Delaware, where the opposing majorities were very small; and he had more than two-thirds of both Houses. When the 1806 vote was registered and the new Congress assembled, there were only five Senators and fifteen or eighteen Representatives who were counted as opponents. Even John Quincey Adams surrendered - see Anderson's

Life

The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

Life of William B. Giles. I mention these as facts which Mr. Sullivan overlooked. J. F. Jameson has long been preparing most conclusive documentary proofs of all this and other important facts in our history.

Neither Washington, Jackson, Lincoln nor Wilson, our most outstanding Presidents, had such support. Jackson never had a working majority; and Lincoln would not have been re-elected in 1864 but for Jefferson Davis's removal of Joe Johnson from command of the Confederate Army before Atlanta.

Now as to the constructive policy of 1801-1809: Jefferson stood still till after the 1802 election. He then put through the Louisiana Purchase in marvellous fashion, actually saying "if Napoleon holds Louisiana, we become allies of Great Britain." Between 1803 and 1805, the commercialists of the East won nearly all the lawyers and judges to their side, and in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Maryland organized a movement which demanded that courts should be allowed the right to annul legislation, State and National, whenever they wished. John Marshall, never a Democrat except in personal behavior, became their national spokesman. In 1803 he declared that the Federal Constitution allowed him to veto Presidential action. The same year Judge Chase declared an act of the State of Maryland which granted manhood suffrage, one of Jefferson's creed items, unconstitutional. In all the states where privileged groups were becoming uneasy lest the country actually become democratic, there was great activity of lawyers and judges, Hamilton actually writing one of Marshall's opinions about the sacredness of contracts - the one in Georgia behind which bribery had been flagrant.

Jefferson's reply to all this was the impeachment of Judge Chase, which neither Beveridge's John Marshall nor Henry Adams's History of the United States presents correctly. Jefferson was defeated

by the clever manipulations of his own party members of the Senate, as well as by the blunder of John Randolph. But this defeat only increased the President's popularity, as I have already indicated.

The next important move of Jefferson had to do with gradual abolition of slavery. When the Congress elected in 1806 assembled, the President managed to remove Nathaniel Macon, his close friend, from the Speakership and put a Massachusetts man into the important post.

Conferring with Story, who later deserted his great Virginia friend, Jefferson organized committees of the House so that gradual abolitionists had the lead. When the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, pressed first form of the law for stopping slave trade before Congress, Macon and Randolph joined the new-rich cotton planter group from the lower South and annulled every progressive and far-seeing clause of the proposed Act. Thus, with a Congress of more than three to one on his side, Jefferson failed in his most far-seeing plan. The President said many times that a catastrophic civil war would come if gradual abolition were not applied.

About the same time Jefferson was confronted with the problem of European domination by Napoleon, whose philosophy of might he hated, as also with the problem of British domination of world commerce, almost as repulsive to all democrats. The President decided to stand absolutely aloof, and pushed through Congress the famous Embargo Act with unprecedented majorities. The policy of Jefferson was to boycott Europe till hungry soldiers revolted against their autocratic masters and forced peace upon the war-torn world. But the commercialists of the North, supported by Virginia tobacco and Carolina cotton exporters, violated the law like the privateers and pirates of the West Indies violated the laws of all

countries

countries from 1660 to 1730. Jefferson even had to make war in 1808 to support peace; and he became as unpopular before he left office as Washington had been after his annulment of the treaty of 1778 with France. When the hated master of Monticello rode back home on his favorite horse in March, 1809, he was met by a small group of real friends. He dismounted and said: "Whose ox have I stolen?"

These facts are not put in their proper perspective in any of our histories or biographies. If they have any value in the present troubled era, you are free to use them.

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*

*"ple personal"*

*file PSF: (114)*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1934.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed are letters from two of your Ambassadors which need not be returned to me. Bullitt's is a rather amusing statement about how a young and enthusiastic man can stage a recovery from a very trying life in Moscow and his subsequent difficult experience. You will notice that he expects to arrive in Washington on December fifteenth. I may say in that connection that we have all sorts of confusing reports as to whether or not Troyanovsky will be in position to negotiate a debt agreement on his return here.

The letter of our very historically minded friend Dr. Dodd is pretty interesting. He, however, omits to stress the fact that in the first election after Mr. Jefferson took office the Federalists were overwhelmingly defeated. I am far from being a prophet, but as early as July, 1934, in a personal letter to Arthur Krock of THE NEW YORK TIMES I ventured to predict that the opposition to your Administration would meet with a fate similar to that visited on the opposition to Jefferson's Administration in 1801. I even thought that there was a probability your majority in the House would be increased, and I now think that you will have a minimum of trouble in dealing with the new Congress.

With

The President,  
The White House.

- 2 -

With an apology for taking any of your time  
which I know must be very much absorbed by im-  
portant business, I am

Yours very sincerely,

*Reverend Mr. Moody*

Enclosures:  
Letters from  
Ambassadors Bullitt  
and Dodd.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON PSF:

Moore

January 10, 1935.

State

Dear Mr. President:

A few weeks ago there was referred to me for consideration the alleged importance to our Government of Cocos Island and the Galapagos Islands and I have since given the matter consideration.

While it is not probable that in the near future Japan or any other power will seek to acquire any of these islands which we could doubtless claim to be an infringement of the Monroe Doctrine, nevertheless it would seem that if any proper means of doing so can be found it would be well for our Government to obtain ownership or control of all of the islands.

The suggestion that they might be internationalized or neutralized does not impress me as desirable from our point of view. It would probably mean that our Government would have to pay the entire purchase price and then be subject to the will of other governments.

Assuming it to be important that our Government should be placed in position to fortify the islands as well as to make use of certain of the Galapagos group for aircraft landing fields, sooner or later we should obtain exclusive ownership or control by outright purchase or by a long lease.

In

The President,  
The White House.

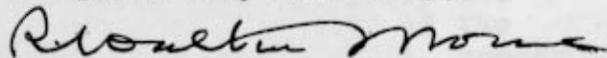
In answer to the argument that this would stir resentment in Latin America, I have thought if acquisition could be effected under binding agreements that the purchase price should be used in the construction of the proposed Pan American Highway, in which all of the nations south of us are intensely interested, there would be general and enthusiastic approval and Mr. Thomas H. MacDonald, Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads, with whom I have talked very confidentially, is most fully in accord with this view.

I enclose (1) correspondence that has been had with the Navy Department; (2) the data that has been prepared showing the location, condition, et cetera, of the Islands; and (3) as a matter of interest a copy of a treaty negotiated with Ecuador in 1854 but not ratified.

No question appears ever to have been raised as to the ownership of the Galapagos Islands by Ecuador, but it is stated that while Costa Rica has been generally recognized as owning the Cocos Island, Colombia has made some claim to ownership.

Secretary Hull has seen this letter.

Yours very sincerely,



Enclosures:

- (1) Correspondence with Navy Department;
- (2) Data showing location, etc;
- (3) Copy of treaty.

TSF: Moore  
State  
File  
Moore + file  
DUE (5) (1)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

PRIVATE AND  
CONFIDENTIAL

February 4, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
JUDGE MOORE

I hesitate to have the acquisition of Galapagos by the United States discussed even confidentially with the Ecuadorian Government. Such action would undoubtedly become known and, at this time, would create an unfavorable impression.

On the other hand, I wish you would discuss with the Secretary the following:

Approach the Ecuadorian Minister, informally, with the suggestion that because of the extraordinarily interesting flora and fauna of these Islands (unlike any in the world) the Pan American Union should consider the possibility of their being converted from Ecuador sovereignty into a Pan American International Park or wild life area. The Pan American nations could chip in some sum - let us say two or three million dollars -- to reimburse Ecuador for the money they have spent there. This amount would more than compensate her! The title would then vest jointly in all the members of the

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

-2-

Pan American Union. The Pan American Committee could then maintain the Islands as an International Park - prohibiting all fishing and shooting and all colonization. The Committee would also be responsible for the patrolling of the Islands. The only use to which the Islands could be put, under the agreement, is a commercial air line stopping point - no militarization being allowed. The United States would, of course, bear the major part of the purchase price and the patrol. The total cost would be very small.

Such action would forestall any possibility of sale of, or use by, a hostile power.

In regard to Cocos Island, nothing need be done at this time because it has no Naval or Aviation danger to us under existing development of armaments.

F. D. R.

1

*file personal*

*PSF  
State  
Moore*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

September 6, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

This refers to our Foreign Service, and incidentally to several points you have now and then mentioned to me.

In accordance with the law which requires action of that character every two years, you will receive in a few days a voluminous report from the Secretary, prepared under the direction of the Foreign Service Personnel Board, containing up-to-date ratings of the Foreign Service officers, which is submitted for your approval. I can tell you that the ratings are based strictly on work done by the officers, and the manner of its performance, uninfluenced by any other considerations whatever.

Not in the report, but in another communication, furnished you at the same time, will be a statement of what has been done by the Secretary, on the recommendation of the Board, to separate from the service men who are not regarded as entitled to be retained. While the Board has been careful to avoid any injustice, it has discharged its task regardless of any outside pressure, political or otherwise, which you can readily understand has in some instances been very strong. The result is that nearly fifty officers have been separated. In a majority of cases, this has been brought about by the Board's decision, after a full hearing,

The President,

The White House.

hearing, which the Secretary has approved, and in a few cases by resignations where the parties realized that unless they resigned, they would be separated.

The Board has scrutinized all the evidence offered of the truth of charges or rumors that individuals have engaged in vicious practices.

The Board has constantly had in mind your desire that the policy expressed in the law unifying the Foreign Service, which cannot be properly executed without familiarizing the officials with both diplomatic and consular work, be carried out, and thus there have been transfers from diplomatic to consular posts. Without mentioning many transfers, pro and con, involving officers in the lower grades, there have already been transfers of diplomatic officers of the higher grades. For example, Mr. Moffatt, who was anxious that it should be done, has been appointed Consul General at Melbourne, and Mr. Wiley, who has been serving as Counselor of the Embassy at Moscow, has been appointed Consul General at Antwerp; Mr. White, the Counselor of the Embassy at Berlin, will be soon transferred to a consular position, probably Calcutta; unless you should disapprove, Messrs. Murriner and Kirk, the Counselors at Paris and Rome, respectively, will be transferred in the near future; and Mr. Atherton, Counselor at London, will be considered for transfer, subject to your approval.

As I know that many people have erroneously believed that Mr. Carr, the Chairman of the Personnel Board, and Mr. Wilson, its Executive Secretary, have been averse to changes and new departures, having kept in closest touch with the proceedings of the Board, I will ask you to permit me to testify that they have been wholeheartedly and earnestly active and influential in all that has been done. Their

service

- 3 -

service has been of extreme value. Neither of  
the gentlemen mentioned has seen this letter.

Yours very sincerely,

*Richard M. Moore*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OFFICE OF THE HISTORICAL ADVISER

PSF: Moore  
State

November 26, 1935.

A-M

Mr. Moore:

The accompanying memorandum on Africa has been prepared in response to your request on October 28th. I have therefore prepared tables of area and population, grouping the data to meet your convenience, and on one of the five maps the same data are shown.

In view of your interest in the mandated territories, and in the Italian colonies, I have prepared sections on those two subjects.

I have prefaced the memorandum with a section on general geographical facts, to provide a setting of the permanent factors for your use in the interpretation of area, population, and other data.

As you expressed an interest in instances of peaceable changes in established boundaries, I have added an appendix in which a number of illustrations of such modifications of established boundaries are cited.

Department of State  
S. W. Boggs, Geographer  
November 26, 1935.

S. W. Boggs

HA: SWB: EKR  
SwB

GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL FACTS ABOUT AFRICA

1. GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL FACTS ABOUT AFRICA

	<u>Page</u>
1. General geographical facts about Africa - - - -	1
2. Area and population (tables)	
By countries, colonies, etc. - - - - -	8
Summary - - - - -	13
3. Mandated territories in Africa- - - - -	16
4. Italian colonies in Africa- - - - -	19

Appendix

Peaceful changes in established boundaries (in all parts of the world) - - - - -	23
---	----

Maps

No. 1. Rainfall (mean annual)- - - - -	7
No. 2. Area and population (data)- - - - -	12
No. 3. Population distribution (dot map) - - -	15
No. 4. Mandated territories, and territorial concessions made to Italy - - - - -	18
No. 5. Railways and air routes - - - - -	22

Department of State  
S.W. Boggs, Geographer  
November 26, 1935.

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## GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL FACTS ABOUT AFRICA

### 1. Shape and Relief

Of all the continents, Africa is the simplest in shape and in physical relief. It is somewhat like an inverted saucer, with a rim near the coast. Except in part of west and northwest Africa and part of Egypt and Libya, very little of the continent lies less than 1000 feet above the sea. Much of the continent is composed of rocks which are geologically very old, and much of the area on the east and south is comprised within a plateau and lies more than 3,000 feet above sea level.

### 2. Climatic Zones

Africa is the most tropical of all the continents, the equator crossing midway between its northern and southern extremes. Climatically there is a certain symmetry of zones, although the northern and southern counterparts are very unequal in extent.

Accompanying Map No. 1, showing annual rainfall, presents data on one of the principal factors in the delimitation of climatic zones.

The equator traverses a belt of equatorial rain forest west of the eastern highlands, comprising a large part of the Congo basin and a portion of the Guinea coast.

The

The temperature is 70° F. or more throughout the year, with very narrow seasonal range. And the annual rainfall is generally 60 inches or more, and all months are moist.

In a contiguous horseshoe-shaped zone, open along the Atlantic on the west, is a wet-and-dry tropical zone, with tall grasses, and with trees but no forest.

Annual temperatures are as much as 70° ; annual ranges generally less than 15°. Rainfall more than 35 inches, but with distinct winter dry season. The zone comprises a belt from Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, along the Guinea coast, across the Sudan to the east and well into Ethiopia; on the east the zone is narrow across Kenya and Tanganyika; on the south it embraces the southern third of the Belgian Congo, eastern Angola, and parts of Northern Rhodesia and Mozambique. Western Madagascar also lies in this zone.

Around the latter zone lies a semi-arid tropical zone, also with annual temperature above 70° F. The rainfall is from 10 to 35 inches, with at least five dry winter months. The belt includes a strip of the Sudan bordered on the north by the Sahara, dipping into western Eritrea; on the east, an irregular belt comprising part of northeastern and a large part of southeastern Ethiopia, eastern Kenya and a narrow strip of western Italian Somaliland, and central Tanganyika; on the south, Southern Rhodesia, Transvaal, Orange Free State, parts of Natal and Cape

Province,

Province, Bechuanaland Protectorate, about half of the South-West Africa mandate territory, and a belt of Angola.

Next come the hot desert areas, near the outer limits of the belts of easterly winds, which approach the equator as they progress, therefore becoming hotter and drier as they pass over large land masses after precipitating moisture drawn up from the sea. Here lies the Sahara and the Libyan desert. It is traversed by the Nile, carrying water from the wet tropical zones and producing a long ribbon oasis in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt, which supports nearly all of the population in Egypt. This desert zone embraces Spanish Rio de Oro on the west, the large southern portion of Algeria, half of Tunisia, all of Italian Libya except two very small coastal strips. On the east it includes most of Eritrea, and Italian and British Somaliland, all of French Somaliland, and bits of Ethiopia. Separated by intervening climatic zones 2,000 miles wide on the east, the hot desert zone reappears in the southwest along the Atlantic seaboard in Angola, South West Africa, and the western half of the Cape of Good Hope province.

On the Mediterranean coast, in northern Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and in two very small coastal fringes of Italian Libya, there is found an area of the typical Mediterranean-Southern California climate, a dry summer subtropical

highlands, however, already have a rather warm colored subtropical zone, along the belt of transition between prevailing easterly and prevailing westerly winds. Rainfall comes principally in the winter months. A small similar belt is found at the southern tip of Africa, extending east from Cape Town.

On the east coast south of the equator, comprising a coastal strip along Tanganyika, Mozambique, and part of Natal, there is found a trade wind littoral climatic zone, with mean annual temperatures 70° F. or above, annual ranges usually under 20°; rainfall exceeds 35 inches, and no month is rainless.

### 3. Colonizability by white peoples

Sir Harry Johnston, in "A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races", published in 1899, introduced a map to show the varying degrees of colonizability by European races. If such a map were being compiled today, appreciable modifications would be necessary.

The regions comprising "healthy colonizable Africa", where European races might in time become the prevailing type, embrace the Mediterranean climatic zones in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya; they include also much of British South Africa, and the more healthful portions of the higher lands in eastern central Africa. These central highlands,

highlands, however, already have a rather dense colored population, as in the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

The great hot deserts, of course, both north and south, can never support any considerable population, white or black.

The humid tropical area will probably never attract or accommodate a European society. And the surrounding wet and semi-arid tropical belts will not invite any extensive white colonization, if history furnishes a good criterion by which to judge.

#### 4. Importance of Africa to Europe and America

The geographical factors, chiefly climate and soil productivity, make it clear that Africa can not be expected to provide an outlet for any great surplus populations in Europe. The importance of Africa is largely two-fold: (1) as a source of raw materials; and (2) as a market for industrial and natural products of Europe and America.

As a source of raw materials, Africa offers agricultural products of the tropics, supplementing the products of the zones in which the white peoples are concentrated—rubber, palm oil, coffee, cocoa and other foods, etc. Alcohol from the tropics may conceivably replace petroleum as a motor fuel when the supply runs low.

Mineral

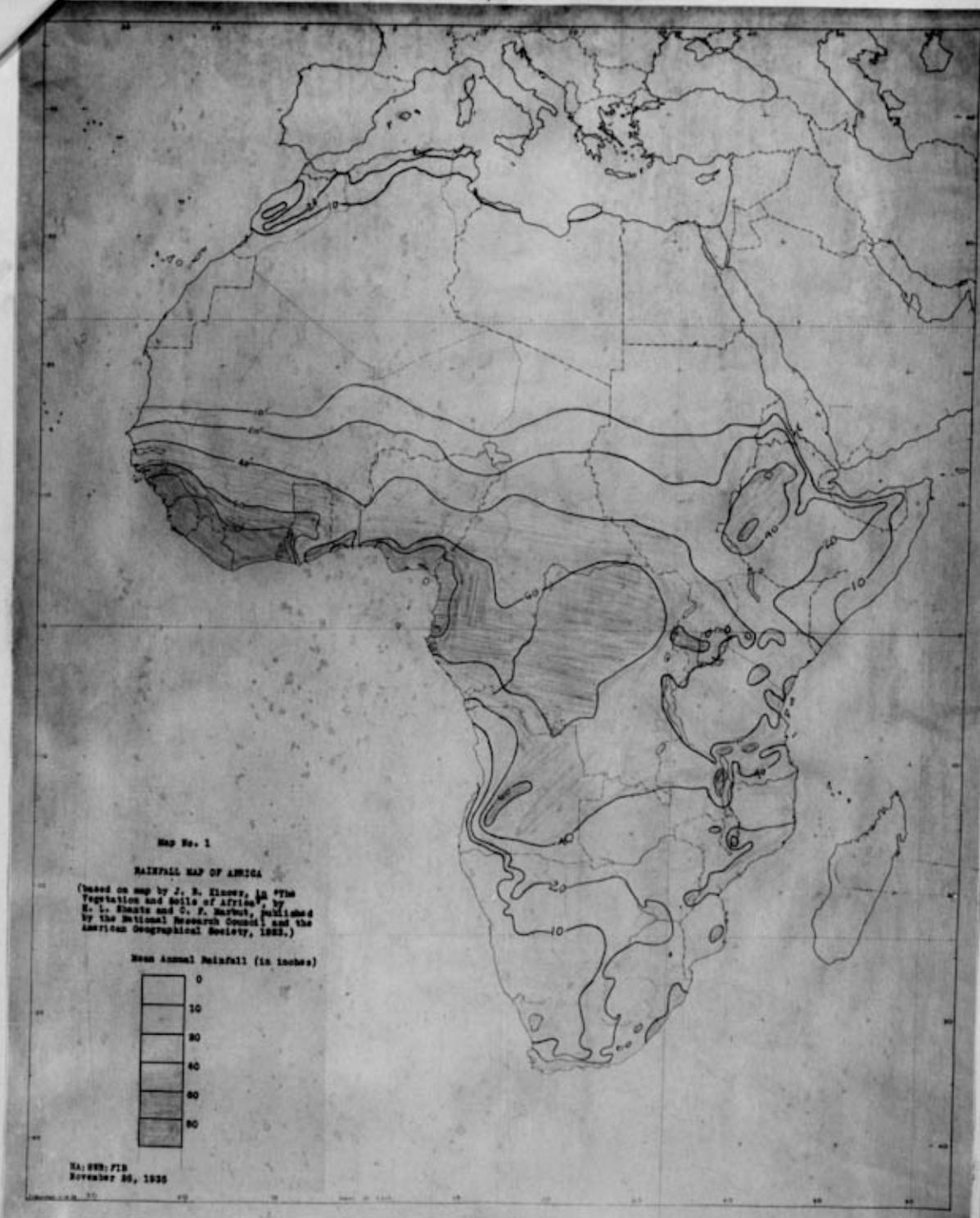
Mineral resources are largely independent of climatic factors, but the copper, gold, and other products will continue to be mined chiefly by native labor.

As a market for products of the industrialized areas of the world the peoples of Africa are more important than is generally realized. They may purchase very considerable quantities of many products of Europe and America--textiles, machinery and tools, etc.

The possibilities of industrial development in Africa should not be overlooked. Resources of coal and iron are not great, but the Congo provides the greatest potential water power anywhere in the world.

#### 5. Railways and Airways

As an index of present development of Africa there is attached Map No. 5, showing railways and airways.

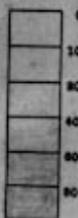


Map No. 1

RAINFALL MAP OF AFRICA

(Based on map by J. E. Elmer, in "The Vegetation and Soils of Africa", by H. L. Shantz and G. F. Harton, published by the National Research Council and the American Geographical Society, 1923.)

Mean Annual Rainfall (in inches)



NA. 898. 713  
November 26, 1935

AFRICA: AREA AND POPULATION<sup>1/</sup>

	Area <sup>2/</sup> (sq. mi., <u>000's omitted</u> )	<u>Population<sup>3/</sup></u>
AFRICA (incl. Madagascar & other islands)	<u>11,563.7</u>	<u>144,900,000</u>
Egypt - - - - -	386.1	15,281,000
Ethiopia- - - - -	347.5	5,500,000
Liberia - - - - -	46.3	2,500,000
Union of South Africa - - - - -	471.8	8,488,000
<u>Territory under international administration</u>		
Tangier - - - - -	0.2	80,000
<u>Dependencies, protectorates, colonies, etc.</u>		
Belgian:-		
Belgian Congo - - - - -	920.8	10,000,000
British:-		
British West Africa		
Gold Coast - - - - -	78.8	3,045,000
Gambia- - - - -	3.9	208,000
Nigeria- - - - -	338.6	19,350,000
Sierra Leone - - - - -	27.4	1,800,000
Basutoland- - - - -	11.6	650,000
Bechuanaland Protectorate - - - - -	274.9	160,000
British Somaliland- - - - -	67.9	350,000 <sup>a</sup>
Kenya - - - - -	225.1	3,085,000
French Sudan - - - - -	2,001.7	11,507,000
Niger - - - - -	481.4	1,721,000

	Area <sup>2/</sup> (sq. mi., 000's omitted)	Population <sup>3/</sup>
Mauritius & dependencies** - - - -	0.8	401,000
Nyasaland - - - - -	47.9	1,611,000
Northern Rhodesia- - - - -	288.0	1,382,000
Southern Rhodesia- - - - -	150.2	1,220,000
St. Helena and dependencies** - - -	0.1	4,000
Seychelles** - - - - -	0.2	29,000
Swaziland- - - - -	6.5	126,000
Uganda- - - - -	94.2	3,620,000
Zanzibar - - - - -	1.0	237,000
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan - - - - -	973.4	5,729,000*
French:	[3,970.8]	[36,520,000*]
French Equatorial Africa - - - - -	(871.0)	(3,200,000*)
Gabon - - - - -	107.0	387,000
Middle Congo- - - - -	160.2	662,000
Ubangi-Shari- - - - -	215.4	1,090,000
Chad- - - - -	388.4	1,053,000
French West Africa - - - - -	(1,790.4)	(14,403,000*)
Dakar and dependencies- - - - -	0.1	73,000
Sénégal - - - - -	77.6	1,620,000
Mauritania- - - - -	322.4	352,000
French Guinea - - - - -	96.9	2,119,000
Ivory Coast - - - - -	184.2	3,859,000
Dahomey - - - - -	47.1	1,132,000
French Sudan- - - - -	580.7	3,527,000
Niger - - - - -	481.4	1,721,000

	Area <sup>2/</sup> (sq. mi., 000's omitted)	Population <sup>3/</sup>
Algeria - - - - -	847.9	6,910,000
French Somali Coast - - - - -	8.1	70,000
Madagascar and dependencies - - -	237.8	3,800,000
Morocco (French zone)** - - - - -	166.4	5,500,000*
Réunion** - - - - -	0.9	200,000
Tunisia - - - - -	48.3	2,500,000
Italian:- - - - -	[950.5]	[2,320,000*]
Eritrea - - - - -	46.3	600,000
Libya - - - - -	711.2	720,000
Italian Somaliland- - - - -	193.0	1,000,000
Portuguese: - - - - -	[798.4]	[7,350,000]
Angola- - - - -	485.0	2,700,000
Cape Verde Islands- - - - -	1.5	160,000*
Portuguese Guinea - - - - -	13.9	380,000
Mozambique- - - - -	297.7	4,050,000*
São Thomé and Príncipe- - - - -	0.4	60,000*
Spanish: - - - - -	[128.7]	[1,000,000*]
Spanish Morocco (incl. Ceuta, etc.)	8.2	865,000*
Spanish Guinea (Rio Muni, etc.) -	10.4	120,000*
Rio de Oro (incl. Ifni)	110.1	20,000*
<u>Territories under mandate</u> - - - - -	[951.2]	[13,000,000]
Belgian:		
Ruanda-Urundi- - - - -	21.2	3,500,000*

\* Figures provisional or estimated.  
 \*\* Not within limits of Map No. 1.  
 EA:SP:MR  
 November 23, 1935.

	<u>Area<sup>2/</sup></u> (sq. mi., 000's omitted)	<u>Population<sup>3/</sup></u>
<b>British:</b>		
Cameroons (British mandate) - -	34.3	781,000
Tanganyika Territory - - - - -	374.1	5,039,000
Togo (British mandate)- - - - -	13.1	318,000
<b>French:</b>		
Cameroun (French mandate) - - -	166.0	2,299,000
Togo (French mandate)- - - - -	20.1	754,000
<b>South African</b>		
South-West Africa - - - - -	322.4	273,000

<sup>1/</sup> This table is based upon the table at pages 18-19, in the "Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1934/35".

The footnotes to that table are omitted here, except that indicated by the asterisk (\*).

<sup>2/</sup> Areas are given in sq. km. (in thousands) in the League of Nations publication. They are here given in sq. mi. (in thousands, to the nearest decimal), converted by using the relation 1 sq. km. = 0.386100614 sq. mi. The total area for Africa and adjacent islands is not exactly equal to the sum of the areas shown in the table, some of them being estimates only, due to undemarcated and, in some instances, disputed boundaries.

<sup>3/</sup> Populations are given with the final 000 omitted, in the League of Nations yearbook. The population data shown here are those given as the estimated population as of December 31, 1933, except where a later official census or estimate is shown in the yearbook. The total population for Africa and islands is not exactly equal to the sum of the populations shown in the table.

\* Figures provisional or estimated.

\*\* Not within limits of Map No. 1.

HA:SWB:BKR

November 22, 1935.



SUMMARY

AFRICA: AREA AND POPULATION

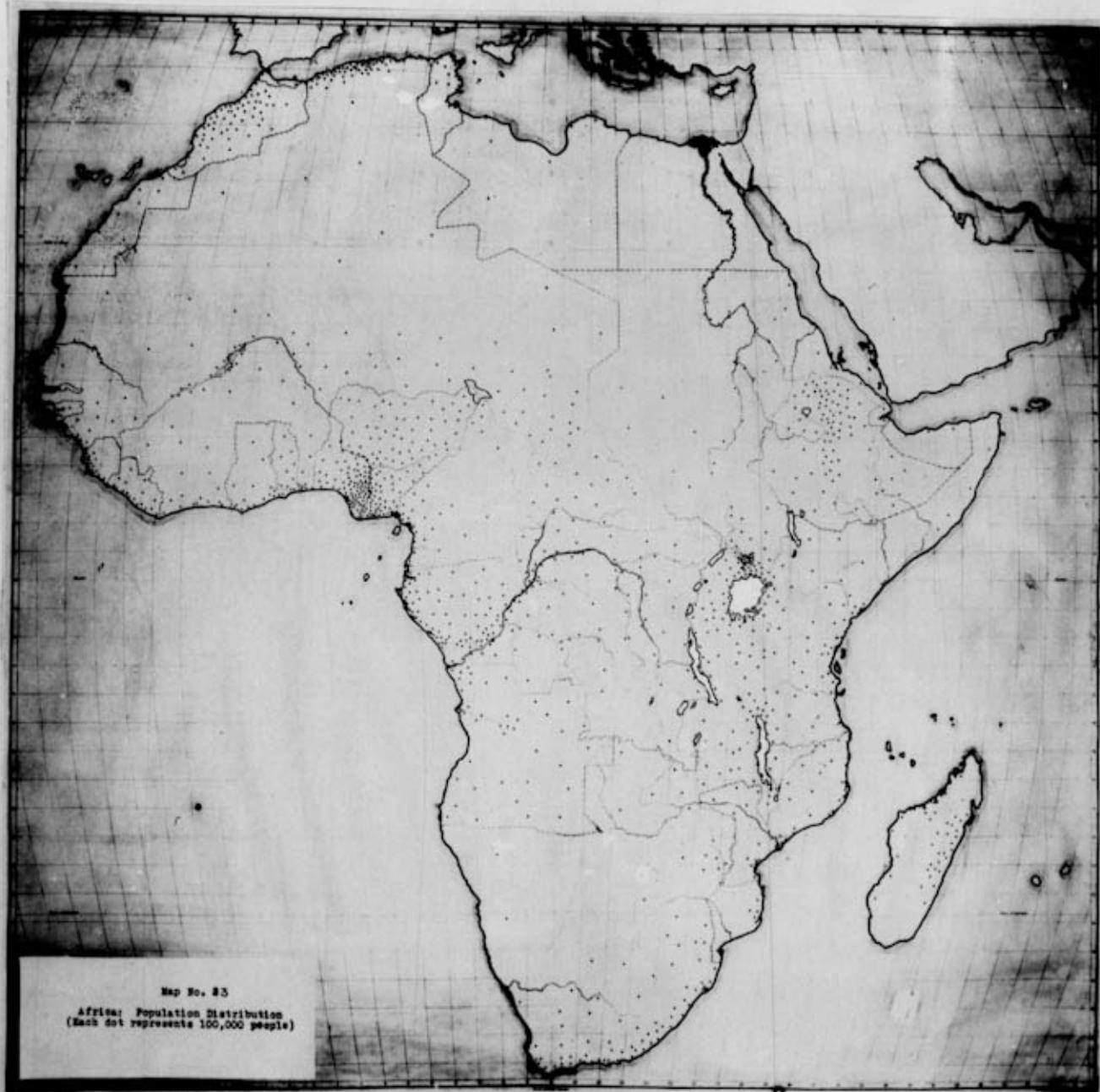
	Area		Population		Population per sq. mi.
	sq. mi. (000's omitted)	Per cent	1933 estimate	Per cent	
<b>AFRICA (incl. Madagascar &amp; other islands)</b>	<u>11,563.7</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>144,900,000</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>12.5</u>
<b>Countries</b>					
Egypt - - - - -	386.1	3.34	15,281,000	10.55	39.6
Ethiopia- - - - -	347.5	3.00	5,500,000	3.80	15.8
Liberia - - - - -	46.3	0.40	2,500,000	1.72	53.9
<b>Territory under international admin.</b>					
Tangier - - - - -	0.2	0.002	80,000	0.06	—
<b>Belgian (colony &amp; mandate) - - - - -</b>	<u>942.0</u>	<u>8.14</u>	<u>13,500,000</u>	<u>9.32</u>	<u>14.3</u>
Belgian Congo - - -	920.8	7.96	10,000,000	6.90	10.9
Ruanda-Urundi (mandate) - - -	21.2	0.18	3,500,000	2.42	165.1
<b>"British Commonwealth of Nations" (incl. mand.)</b>	<u>3,806.2</u>	<u>32.91</u>	<u>57,908,000</u>	<u>39.96</u>	<u>15.2</u>
Colonies, protec- torates, etc.	1,617.1	13.98	37,280,000	25.73	23.0
Union of South Africa	471.8	4.08	8,488,000	5.86	18.0
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	973.4	8.42	5,729,000	3.95	5.9
British mandates	421.5	3.64	6,138,000	4.23	14.5
Union of So. Africa mandate	322.4	2.79	273,000	0.19	0.8

	<u>Area</u>		<u>Population</u>		<u>Population per square mi.</u>
	<u>sq. mi. (000's omitted)</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>1933 estimate</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	
<u>French</u> (incl. mandates)	<u>4,156.9</u>	<u>35.95</u>	<u>39,573,000</u>	<u>27.31</u>	<u>9.5</u>
Colonies, protec- torates, etc.	3,970.8	34.34	36,520,000	25.20	9.2
Mandates - - - -	186.1	1.61	3,053,000	2.11	16.4
<u>Italian</u> colonies, etc.	950.5	8.22	2,320,000	1.60	2.4
<u>Portuguese</u> colonies, etc.	798.4	6.90	7,350,000	5.07	9.2
<u>Spanish</u> colonies, etc.	128.7	1.11	1,000,000	0.69	7.8

HA:SWB:BER  
November 22, 1935.

MANDATE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA

The four large inland colonies in Africa were assigned as Class 'C' and 'D' mandates to the principal



Map No. 23  
Africa: Population Distribution  
(Each dot represents 100,000 people)

MANDATED TERRITORIES IN AFRICA

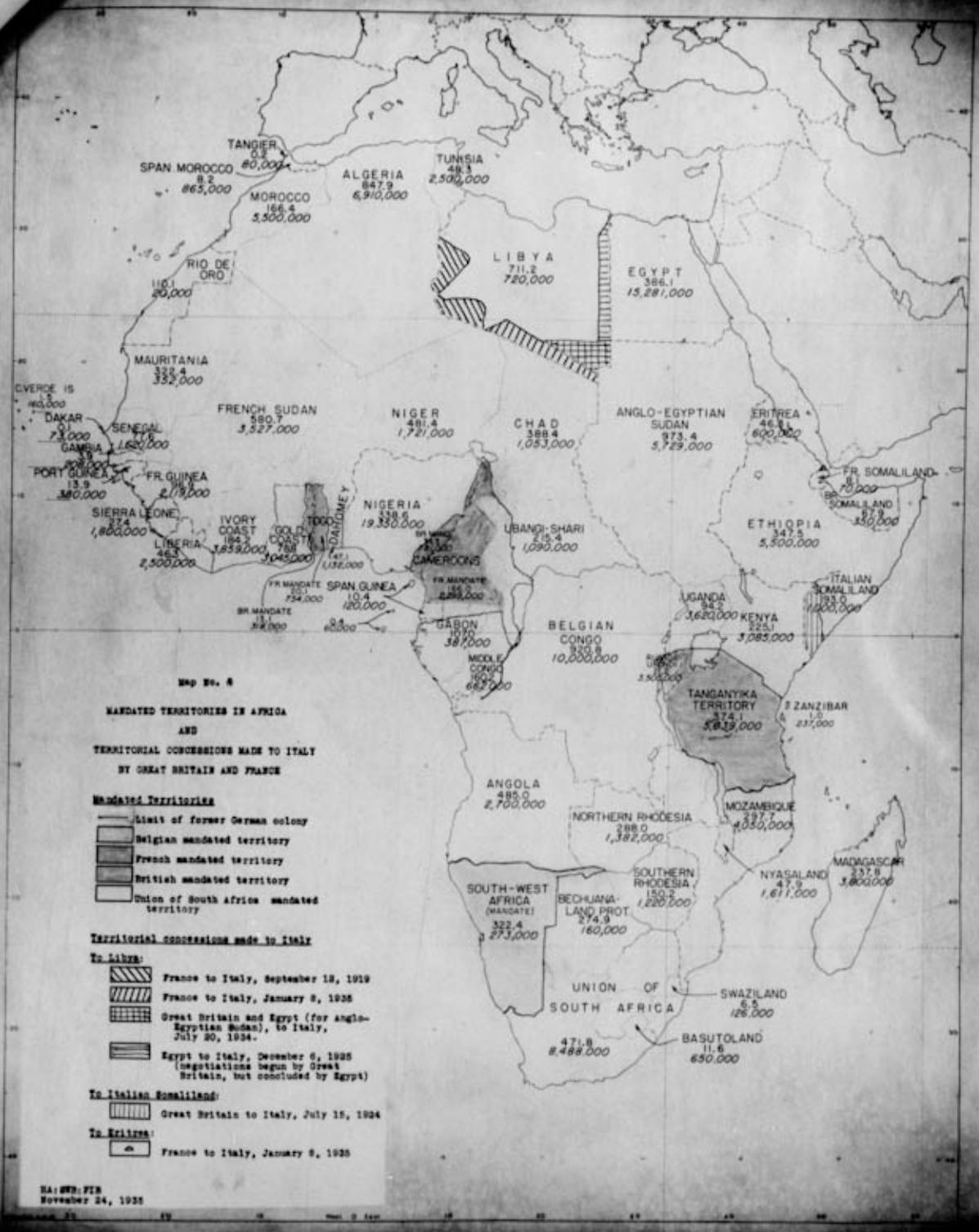
The four former German colonies in Africa were assigned as Class "B" and "C" mandates to the mandatory powers indicated below:

	Area: sq. mi. (000 omitted)	Per cent of area	Population (1933 est.)	Per cent of pop.
<u>Former German colonies</u>	951.2	100.0	12,964,000	100.0
Togo	<u>33.2</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>1,072,000</u>	<u>8.3</u>
Brit. mandate	13.1	1.4	318,000	2.5
Fr. mandate	20.1	2.1	754,000	5.8
Kamerun	<u>200.3</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>3,080,000</u>	<u>23.7</u>
Br. Camerouns	34.3	3.6	781,000	6.0
Fr. Cameroun	166.0	17.5	2,299,000	17.7
German Southwest Africa	<u>322.4</u>	<u>33.9</u>	<u>273,000</u>	<u>2.1</u>
Un. of S. Af. mandate	322.4	33.9	273,000	2.1
German East Africa	<u>395.3</u>	<u>41.5</u>	<u>8,539,000</u>	<u>65.9</u>
Br. mandate (Tanganyika Territory)	374.1	39.3	5,039,000	38.9
Belgian mandate (Ruanda Urundi)	21.2	2.2	3,500,000	27.0

The four former German colonies, and their assignment as mandated territories, are shown on Map No. 4.

It will be observed that there are portions of the former German Kamerun which are not comprised within mandated territories. These areas were ceded by France to Germany in 1911, and were returned to France in full sovereignty (Treaty of peace with Germany, Versailles, June 28, 1919, Article 125).

Togo, Kamerun, and German East Africa were assigned as "Class B" mandates, and German South West Africa as a "Class C" mandate, under terms in accordance with Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919.



NA: 679: P18  
 November 24, 1925

ITALIAN COLONIES IN AFRICA

The Italian colonies in Africa are three in number: Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland.

As will be seen from the table of area and population, and the summary table, Italian possessions comprise about 8.2 per cent of the area of Africa (including Madagascar), with only 1.6 per cent of the population, and an average population density of perhaps 2.4 persons per square mile. The latter is much lower than the population density of the possessions of any other European power, that of the British colonies, protectorates, etc., being approximately 23.0 per sq. mi.; French colonies 9.2; Spanish 7.8; Portuguese 9.2; and Belgian 10.9.

A glance at the rainfall map of Africa shows that practically all of Libya and Italian Somaliland receive less than 10 inches of rainfall annually, and the same is true of at least half of Eritrea. Desert conditions necessarily prevail throughout most of that area, except in occasional oases. A narrow coastal belt of Libya enjoys between 10 and 20 inches of rain per annum. The highest rainfall in Italian territory is in the western Eritrean plateau, with apparently less than 30 inches a year.

The following is quoted from "Africa: a social, economic, and political geography of its major regions",

by

by Walter Fitzgerald, of the University of Manchester, formerly lecturer in geography in the University of South Africa (published 1933):

Probably the most spacious area of unmitigated sandy waste is provided by the Libyan Desert, stretching southwards for 800 miles from the neighborhood of the Siwa group of oases. (p. 60)

Referring to Somaliland [Italian, British, and French], the same author says:

In the driest districts of Somaliland there is much sand and stony ground. A distinguishing feature of the scanty vegetation is the very occasional occurrence of acacia and other thorn bush. Grass is absent almost everywhere and in its rare occurrence is of little value for pasture by reason of its harshness. In the south of Italian Somaliland streams fed by Abyssinian snows and rains meander across the coastal desert and their courses are marked by much richer vegetation than that which is characteristic of the normal desert landscape. The utilization of these intermittent streams for extensive irrigation is an ambition of the Italian Government which hopes to emulate, on a small scale, the magnificent irrigation achievements of the Nile Valley. (pp. 60-61)

The achievements of Italy in developing such agricultural possibilities as its territories possess, notably along the coast of Cyrenaica in Libya, deserve praise. The area susceptible of high productivity is, however, exceedingly small.

Fitzgerald properly attributes Italy's misfortune in its African possessions to its late arrival on the scene:

Italian

... Italian projects of colonization in Africa have been, by necessity, restricted to the northern half of the continent and particularly to regions where the proportion of arid and generally useless land is very high. The penalty for late arrival was exclusion by more fortunate and powerful competitors from all the attractive districts with assured agricultural resources; so that Italy to-day possesses a desert empire which is of little account alike in its contribution to the national wealth and in its assistance to a solution of the pressing problem of over-population at home. ...

On the North African shore Italian ambitions were necessarily limited to the territory intermediate to the British and French spheres of influence, in Egypt and Tunisia respectively. It has long been a sore point with Italy that she was forestalled by France in Tunisia and yet has provided the Protectorate with more colonists than her western rival has contributed. The littoral of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica together with the desert hinterland—all now incorporated in the Italian colony of Libya—was a Turkish province until 1911, in which year Italy deprived the Porte of its last African holding. Altogether the area of Italian possessions in Africa reaches a very imposing figure, but deficiency of rainfall is characteristic throughout, and much the greater part is unrelieved desert whose poverty of economic resources and vulnerability to attack from turbulent desert nomads involve a liability which might have been relinquished with advantage to Italy, but for the demands of national prestige. During the Great War the insurrection of the desert men went near to forcing the evacuation by Italy of the Libyan coast, and in this counter-move to Italian penetration the Arab fraternity known as the Senussi, operating from their base in the Kufara oases, played an important rôle. Since the close of the Great War the re-conquest of Libya has been the outstanding colonial commitment of Italy. ... (ibid., 102-104)



Photo-copy of map int. [French Equatorial Africa] Le chemin de fer Congo-Océan. (Brassoville, 1934)  
(In Lit. No. 3430,2645, 1934, No. 2, with dep. 0394) of Aug. 11, 1938  
From Amer. Cons. Gen'l., Paris, ICR 8517,71/11.)

Map No. 5  
Railways and Air Routes

APPENDIX

PEACEFUL CHANGES IN ESTABLISHED BOUNDARIES

Disputes relating to unsettled boundaries are, of course, frequently settled by direct negotiation, arbitration, or other peaceful means. Boundaries which have been definitely fixed, even demarcated on the ground, with reference to the location of which there is no question by either country concerned, are not, in many instances, changed by peaceful agreement. There are, however, cases in which the two countries find it mutually advantageous or agreeable to modify boundaries which are already definitely established. Several such instances are related briefly below:

1. Soviet Russia ceded to Turkey, in 1921, an area of 7,700 square miles, south of the Caucasus Mountains, restoring to Turkey much of the territory which had been taken by Russia a half century ago.

2. Belgium and Portugal made an exchange of territory in Africa in 1927, an area of 1,350 square miles in Angola being ceded by Portugal in exchange for an area of one square mile in the Belgian Congo on the Congo River. In spite of the inequality of the areas, they were regarded as approximately of equal value, and both countries profited by the exchange of territory.

3. The boundary between Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is, by the convention of 1899, the parallel

of

of 22° north latitude. Finding the boundary difficult to administer principally because it cut across tribal areas, a transfer of territory for administrative purposes was arranged, the eastern portion of the boundary now being an irregular line drawn between the lands occupied by different tribes.

4. The boundary between the Syria and Iraq mandated territories was duly defined shortly after the assignment of the mandates to France and Great Britain respectively. Owing to difficulties of administration in the northern portion of the two territories, the countries concerned undertook to change the boundary and finally referred the question to a commission of the League of Nations. A modification of the boundary was arranged, and small areas have been exchanged between Syria and Iraq.

5. The United States and Mexico have experienced considerable difficulty owing to numerous shifts in the course of the Rio Grande, and they have empowered the International Boundary Commission to make changes in the boundary by the elimination of cut-off meanders or bancos. They also have a project for making extensive exchanges of small areas adjacent to the Rio Grande, in connection with the straightening of its channel and the fixation of its banks.

These

These illustrations are of sufficient variety and character to show that boundary difficulties which constitute a source of irritation or inconvenience may be removed by shifting an established boundary, to the satisfaction of both parties, without recourse to war. Other instances might be adduced.

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(57) (2)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1935.

My dear Mr. President:

Some time before mentioning to you the other day the opportunity that certain of the Western European nations now have to afford an outlet to such pent-in nations as Germany and Italy, I requested the Geographer of this Department to make an investigation of the situation in Africa relative to the present ownership, population and development of that Continent, and as a result he has furnished me a quite elaborate memorandum which I am enclosing herewith. When Sir Ronald Lindsay was in my office an hour or so last Monday, and various subjects were touched on, I casually suggested to him that Sir Samuel Hoare might add to his recent statement that the demands of such nations as Italy and Germany should be met by affording them access to food and raw materials, a consideration of the possibility of satisfying their land hunger by concessions in Africa. While of course not expressing any opinion, Sir Ronald did not put aside the suggestion as impractical, when Article XIX of the Covenant was mentioned.

The Ambassador came in again Wednesday to explain that his Government is in no way responsible for the League's delay in extending its sanction policy. In attributing the delay altogether to the failure of the French Prime Minister to go to Geneva, I thought he talked rather gloomily about what the League may do, and what its future will be.

Ambassador

The President,

The White House.

Ambassador Rosso called this morning to talk of the owner of the steamer San Diego being prevented from complying with a contract which he says had the approval of the Shipping Board, for its sale to an Italian firm. What was intended was that the vessel should take a cargo of scrap iron to Italy and itself be scrapped on reaching there. He discussed the general situation, and was not strong in combatting the suggestion that his Government, instead of warring on Ethiopia, might have resorted for relief to Article XIX of the League Covenant, which reads as follows, and was one of the provisions insisted on by President Wilson as of major importance:

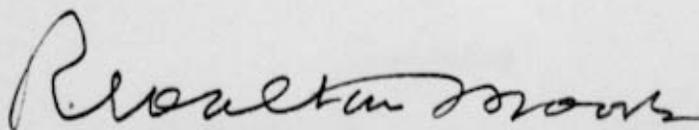
"The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world".

You may find of interest the enclosed letter from Ambassador Dodd.

I have a note from Mr. Peek, asking that his resignation as President of the Export-Import Banks be brought to the attention of the Banks' Boards. As Chairman of the Boards I feel a good deal of responsibility for the activities of the Banks, and on your return would like to talk with you about the appointment of his successor. In this connection, enclosed is copy of a memorandum relative to the business of the Banks, which you will perhaps have a better opportunity of reading while you are away than after your return.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:  
As stated.



PSF: Moore  
Stats J

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

January 30, 1936.

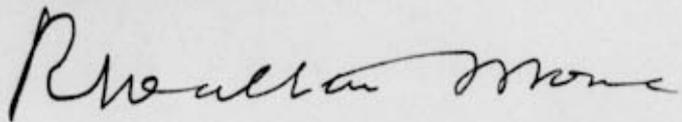
Dear Mr. President:

Herewith is a letter from Dr. Dodd.

I quote from a letter from Mr. Bowers,  
written at Madrid on January 8:

"The President's message had a fighting ring to it that is inspiring. It was a great human document and has attracted most favorable attention from the Spanish press."

Yours very sincerely,



Enclosure:  
Letter from Ambassador Dodd.

The President,  
The White House.

*"file personal"*

*PSF: Moore  
State*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I think you will wish to have the enclosures before leaving Washington.

I also think you will be pleased to know that there has been avoided the probability of a pending case being decided this year that involves the constitutionality of the Act under which trade agreements are being negotiated. The case is in the Customs Court at New York, and assigned to a division of that Court composed of three Judges, two of whom are very strongly Republican. It was fixed for hearing on the 18th of March, but fortunately our people have been able to have it put over until June, when I am pretty certain it will be dealt with in such a leisurely fashion as to postpone a final decision until after the election. Stanley Reed has been most helpful in bringing about what was desired, and also Assistant Attorney General Jackson, who is in charge of such cases, with his office in New York, and who came to Washington to confer about the course that should be taken. Our thought was that an adverse finding even by the Court of original jurisdiction might give the opposition a talking point during the campaign.

I shall not fail to see Mr. Reed about the Soviet matter.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:  
Two confidential  
letters.

*R. Walter Moore*

The President,  
The White House.

PSF: Moore

State

April 25, 1936.

Dear Judge Moore:-

Many thanks for letting me see Bill Bullitt's letter. I would like to talk with you about it the next time I see you.

Always sincerely,

Honorable R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
State Department,  
Washington, D. C.

(Enclosure)

PSF: Moore

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Although this is an unusually personal letter from Bullitt, I think you should see it. My letter to him of the 18th of March, to which he refers, of course did not quote you, directly or indirectly, on the point mentioned, but simply inquired what he might think about going to Rome, should that opportunity be offered him, and was mainly altogether with reference to other matters.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosure:

Letter from Ambassador Bullitt dated April 8, 1936.

*R. Walter Moore*

The President,  
The White House.

file

PSF: Moore  
Stats

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

After seeing you today, when I was talking with the Secretary about various matters, he showed me a letter he had received from Claude Bowers, under date of May 4th, from which I quote as follows:

"My wife is getting stronger constantly, but it is a slow process after such a critical illness, and she cannot come to America, since that would mean noise and excitement and living in hotels where the proper dieting cannot be observed, and while I could not well afford it, I have taken a villa near San Sebastian for July, August and September... I cannot see that I can be of any service before September 1st, since the campaigns do not open along lines where I can assist before then. I cannot leave here at the earliest before August 1st. I must have July for rest, relaxation and some preparation. I had absolutely not one day or rest, and every day one of the most cruel anxiety and nervous tension all of last summer, and in October I had to call in a doctor for the first time in twenty years. I am now getting back to my normal health."

Yours very sincerely,

*R. W. Taft*

The President,

The White House.

PSF: Moore  
State

Hyde Park, N. Y.,  
August 5, 1938.

Dear Walton:-

Many thanks for your letter. I am glad you had that good cruise to the Maritime Provinces.

I heard of the Patrick Henry celebration. What a pity that poor old Carter made the kind of a speech he did!

I am returning Lane's letter.

Always sincerely,

Honorable R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

(Enclosure)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

July 31, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a letter to you from Dr. Dodd, which before sailing for Germany he requested me to hand you. I also enclose one of his letters to me which need not be returned.

I am back at work again after a return ocean trip of two weeks to Halifax, St. Pierre, and Newfoundland. The fishing industry in those places is greatly depressed and the relief roll very heavy. In Newfoundland it is stated that at least fifty per cent of the population is receiving a dole.

Before leaving here Bill Bullitt and I attended the Patrick Henry anniversary celebration in Hanover County, Virginia, where Bullitt's very good address was admirably delivered. The next evening Carter Glass made a fool speech that furnishes ammunition to the enemy. He and I have been very close friends for many years, and as much as I like him, I now look on him as having become a thoroughly egotistical and garrulous old man, who does not deserve to be taken very seriously.

It seems to me, so far as its candidates are concerned, the opposition has gotten off to a

pretty

The President,  
Hyde Park,  
New York.

- 2 -

pretty poor start, Landon's acceptance speech being extremely vague, and that of Knox last night being like the wild talk of an old fashioned horse auctioneer.

With warm best wishes for you always, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:  
As stated.

*R. W. Allen Moore*

P.S. The third enclosure I am only sending because of the evident desire of Minister Lane that you see it.

*R. W. M.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*PSF: Moore  
Drawer 1-36  
State*

August 10, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

R. W. M.

When you see Carter why not show him the two sentences which I have marked from your letter to Mr. Sands?

Carter's speech at Hanover Court House was, of course, extemporaneous but that is no excuse.

If Carter wants to do the decent thing he will make a radio address, as in the 1932 campaign, but I would not want it done unless I could approve it first. One foolish sentence might destroy the good effect of all the rest of it.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

-2-

In regard to the permanent  
Commission of Enquiry, I leave the  
names entirely to you and Cordell. Go  
ahead and do what you both think best.

F. D. R.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Some time ago you considered the matter of appointments to vacancies on certain international commissions, each of which is styled in the pertinent treaty a Permanent Commission of Enquiry. In June I took the matter up with Mr. Forbes Morgan, and am now handing you a letter received from him. The other day I had a telephone talk with him, and he adheres to the recommendations made in that letter. Mr. Hull is away at this moment, but when he returns I will show him the list, and let you know in the event he has reason to ask you to disapprove any of the people mentioned.

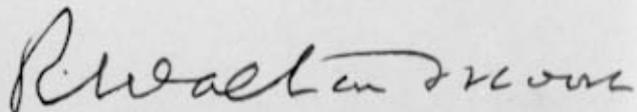
Enclosed is a letter from Mr. Alexander H. Sands, a very prominent citizen and leading lawyer of Richmond, Virginia, and a copy of my reply, both referring to the political situation in that state. I also enclose what to me is a rather interesting discussion of your policies. It is written by a very excellent man, Edward Lee Jones, of Richmond, who in publishing it uses a non-deplume.

I am glad to think, from all I hear, that you are in splendid condition after your outing, and trust that all will go well with you as the campaign progresses.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:  
As stated.

The President,  
Hyde Park,  
New York.



*ASF*  
*more*  
*state*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

A few minutes after I sent you this morning the letter in which Dr. Dodd indicates that there may be European propaganda against you, there came into my office Constantine Brown, who is just back from Europe, where he has been writing letters to the American newspapers for the McClure Syndicate, and he told me an amazing story which he had from Richard Waldorf, President of that Syndicate, the story being in substance as follows:

London financiers, during your Administration, have invested about \$3,000,000,000 here, mainly in the stock of the power companies, the insurance companies and the chain store companies. The investors have become apprehensive and are now exerting all the influence they can command to accomplish your defeat. Lord Beaverbrook and Hearst are identified with this effort. They are an important factor of an American group composed of about seventy-five men, who largely control national advertising, and pressure is being brought to bear on newspapers that cannot exist without such advertising. Beaverbrook has recently sold, or is under contract to sell to Hearst, an enormous quantity of Canadian print paper, and has taken in payment stock in the Hearst companies. The propagandists not only manage to bring to bear pressure on newspapers, but on the insurance companies and chain stores and the power companies. The propaganda plan goes to the extent of making its

agents

The President,

The White House.

agents the clerks in chain stores.

Brown, who is a very alert and fair-minded man, has not invented this story, but gives it to me as he has it from Waldorf, and I believe I should pass it on to you, particularly in view of the fact that you are to see important insurance men today. I have not intimated to Brown that you might like to see him, but possibly you may wish to do so. He is not only full of fear about the supposed propagandist scheme that is said to have its origin in London, but he would be able to tell you of very interesting conversations with Blum and other European statesmen, with reference not only to conditions on the other side, but their view of conditions here.

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Waldorf Brown*

PSF: Moore  
Stato

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Carter Glass has not yet replied to my letter of September 2nd, except to furnish me information pertaining to the policy of the State Department in previous administrations respecting financial transactions with foreign governments or interests. Yesterday I called his Secretary, who is a strong supporter of yours, and said that I thought of writing Glass again and he asked that I hold off until Cary Grayson can get in touch with the Senator, and this I agreed to do. To indicate the view taken of Glass, I furnished his Secretary the following quotation from a speech made to a thousand people the other night in Norfolk, Virginia, by Browder, the Communist candidate for the Presidency:

"He, (Glass) does not give a hoot for Roosevelt and is supporting him in Virginia only to save his own organization. Roosevelt's defeat would matter little to Carter Glass, it would rather justify his attitude towards New Deal policies. A Landon victory in Virginia would mean justification for Carter Glass and Glass would stab Roosevelt in the back and even in the open, if he dared to."

In view of Mr. Farley having telephoned me early this month about Glass, I will thank you when you see him to let him know how the matter stands.

You

The President

The White House.

You know how your speeches stir the admiration of your friends, and I find from my contacts here that they are equally admired by the foreign representatives in Washington, one of whom told me the other day that he was thrilled by the Quebec and Power Conference speeches and looked forward to hearing you again at Harvard. I can't quit talking about public addresses without alluding to that of Senator Norris last night. It should make a great appeal particularly to the western farm and labor vote. I very much wish that the Democratic candidate for the Senate in Nebraska could be gotten out of the way so as not only to help the situation there, but as an evidence to Senator Norris of how his fine courageous service to a great cause is appreciated.

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Wallace Stone*

PSF  
Stats:  
Moore

October 6, 1936

Dear Walton:

On the advice of Cary Grayson, who has seen the Senator and says that Mrs. Glass is really ill, I suggest that you and Jesse Jones and others should "lay off" the Senator for a week or two to come. Apparently he is in the frame of mind where for a while he does not want to be interfered with one way or the other. Perhaps this is the best idea.

As ever yours,

Honorable R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

~~MAL/RSB~~  
MAL/RB/mwd

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Glass has been here the past two days. Cary Grayson has been with him continuously. He telephoned me this morning that the Senator now is worried about family affairs, particularly the illness of Mrs. Glass. The Senator left today to return to Lynchburg to be with Mrs. Glass. Cary says she is seriously ill. I wish very much that you would drop the Senator a nice note.

Cary says he has exhausted, for the present, all arguments and the Senator still refuses his pleadings to make a campaign speech or statement. Very confidentially, Cary says, Walton Moore, Jesse Jones and others should be told to "lay off" the Senator. They are pressing him and Cary says the only effect they have is to harrass him. Cary says, on this point, there are only four men whom the Senator likes and will listen to. They are yourself, Jim Farley, Cary and me. Others only muddy the waters. Too much of this is being done.

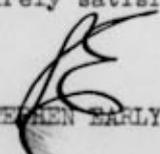
Confidentially, it seems that one of Walton Moore's <sup>Sister</sup> made the statement that the Senator was in his dotage. This statement has reached the Senator and there is decided bad feeling on that score.

Senator Glass has declined an invitation of the Federal Bar Association of the District of Columbia to speak under their auspices. He also has declined an invitation to speak in Baltimore.

Cary has given me a long and complete recital of the Senator's feelings and causes for them. We are of the opinion that the best thing, for the time being, is to let him alone -- except for the note of regret which we hope you will write. Cary and I are of the opinion that, when the time is right, Glass should be asked to go on a nationwide hook-up, speaking from his Lynchburg home. We think there is a much better chance of getting him to do something like this than to go before an audience somewhere. The radio would eliminate the necessity for travel and permit the Senator to stay near Mrs. Glass.

Cary is leaving the end of next week for Lynchburg and will be with the Senator for several days. He will give us a report on the situation at that time.

Cary asks that I tell you Baruch is "over the dashboard", meaning that he is happy and pleased. Cary says the Syracuse speech had a tremendous effect on B.M. Cary visited him yesterday in New York and found him feeling extremely optimistic and entirely satisfied with conditions generally.

  
STEPHEN EARLY

B.S.F. State:  
Moore

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I have just read your note about Carter Glass.

I fear that Cary Grayson is very credulous. The fact is that since he received my letter of September 2nd, Senator Glass has been in his office here a good deal, and as I know from his secretary, has read and considered the request it contained, and has talked about it in a grouching manner. I have been intimate with him throughout his public career, and very habitually he has made the condition of his health an excuse for doing or not doing something, or if it has not been his health, it has been the health of some member of his family. Not only has he been in Washington, but the other day he actually and pictorially performed in crowning the Queen at the annual Piedmont Dairy Festival at Manassas, Virginia. Of course he may say or write something, but it will probably be too late to be of any value. I have no faith in his intellectual integrity, even if he is still mentally normal, and entertain no doubt that he wishes to be in position, after your reelection, to tell the Senate that he could not endorse your program, and therefore refrained from doing much more than simply casting a ballot for you.

I have been impressing on Governor Peery the

fact

The President,

The White House.

fact that for the first time in half a century, the Virginia Governor and two Senators have not been in the thick of the fight in a Presidential campaign, and Peery says that he is soon to get busy and that Byrd will make a speech. I have become rather indifferent about this because other men, notably Price, Woodrum and Trinkle, are exerting themselves to the utmost, and Goolrick, who is one of the very best in the state, is now back from Europe and about to start in. Virginia is safe, and it will perhaps be just as well to win without the help of those who are at heart entirely unsympathetic with the Administration. We will not only win in Virginia, but in the country. You remember Bulwer's rather florid lines:

"The stars have said it,  
And my own oracular and prophetic soul  
confirms the shining sybil."

Yours very sincerely,

*Reverend Mother*

November 18, 1936.

The Honorable  
Robert W. Bonyngé,  
Agent of the United States,  
Mixed Claims Commission,  
United States and Germany,  
50 Broadway,  
New York, New York.

Sir:

This has reference to our conversation on September 16 regarding the contention by the holders of awards, not yet completely satisfied, that the agreement reached by you at Munich, July 1-10 last, would, in the event it is carried into effect, be in derogation of their interest in the German Special Deposit Account, and also the opposite contention of the sabotage claimants.

I stated to you, and now wish to make it perfectly clear, that the Department "entertains and in no manner whatever either directly or indirectly expresses or will express any view or opinion respecting the merit or validity of either contention." That is a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction and judgment of the Mixed Claims Commission, but, of course, should the Commission believe there are any facts, not already in its possession, that the Department can possibly make available, the Department will endeavor to supply them.

As

As stated in our conversation, the Department has received and is receiving communications from awardholders who think that they should have an opportunity to be heard by the Commission when the sabotage claims are brought to its attention. In order to avoid any charge being hereafter made that there was a lack of fairness or denial of justice, it is the desire of the Department that you should not oppose, but on the other hand should acquiesce in, the application to be heard by any awardholder or by any of the sabotage claimants. I am certain that you will agree with me that in the existing situation you stand as the representative of all claimants and share the Department's earnest hope that there shall be no embarrassing aftermath to the very valuable service rendered by you as this Government's Agent.

Very truly yours,

R. Walton Moore

Acting Secretary.

PSF: Moore  
State  
D.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 21, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

This is a tabloid report on our Department's relation to the state of the union. I am glad to tell you that because of the friendly and whole-hearted cooperation of the people here, the machine seems to be working very smoothly. I do not suffer any sense of fatigue, although my working day begins before nine o'clock in the morning, and runs until after dark, with an intermission of only five or ten minutes for a sandwich and cup of tea brought to my desk. In fact I am glad that you have given me the first opportunity to exert myself to the limit since the hard years when I was trying to persuade courts and commissions that railroad corporations were entitled to the same sort of justice that is accorded natural persons. When the situation is again normal, I fear that I shall feel almost at a loss to know what to do with myself.

Some steps recently taken I think will tend to make  
better

The President,  
The White House.

better conditions. I have reference to your Executive Order about the marriage business; a plan to require periodical physical examinations of the Foreign Service people, many of whom serve in bad climates; the protection here and abroad of the secrecy of our codes, and a better supervision of what goes on in the various divisions and offices of the Department, a matter which strange to say has heretofore received almost no attention. Under your permission, Mr. Carr and I have had a very satisfactory talk with Mr. Bell, and I hope that his conclusion as to appropriations for the Department will be favorable. What is asked is not more than needed under present conditions, and hardly takes into account unexpected happenings abroad, such as the Spanish War, which necessitate unusual expense, and of course, although we hope for the contrary, there may be much more of that sort of thing.

Referring to your suggestion that thought should be given to the appointment of a successor to Governor Murphy, the only man I have heard much mentioned is Governor Winant, but the other day someone suggested that Frank Sayre might be considered, and I am telling you this without ever a word on the subject having passed between Sayre and myself. He is certainly very able, conscientious and zealous. By the way, I had him out to my house in Virginia last Sunday, along with several other people, among them Mr. John L. Lewis and his wife. Lewis is my neighbor, because of now living in Alexandria, and I find him very attractive.

You

You requested me some time to mention to you Jenkins, who is our Consul General in Berlin. I know him and have no doubt whatever that he and Cochran would serve well in Ministerial posts. Yesterday, after we had received assurances from Moscow, Joe Davies' appointment was announced by the White House, and Monday morning he is to come here to be sworn in, accompanied by some of the ladies of his family, and thus I may have the opportunity of meeting the new Mrs. Davies. We have brought about improvements in the residence that he will occupy at Moscow, he standing the cost.

The only worry that I have at this moment is about our representatives in Madrid and Barcelona, and yesterday I sent a cable to Mr. Bowers, urging that he let us have his definite recommendations as to whether or not it is wise for them to remain at their posts any longer. I think the answer should be in the negative, since anyone at Madrid is now in danger of a violent death, and pretty soon will be in danger of death by starvation.

I hope you will not regard this as an egotistical letter. I despise the egotist, who is a man without sense enough to recognize that he is only one of several hundred million people now living, and only one of countless trillions that have lived. I never think of that character without thinking of the Chanticleer. You will remember that Rostand in that play described the young rooster that had got into the early habit

of

of going to the barnyard at daybreak and crowing until the sun rose. He thought he was the sunrise king until one morning he overslept and got to the barnyard after sunrise, when of course his feathers fell.

I trust that in spite of the ordeal at Rio and Buenos Aires you will return to Washington thoroughly rested and that then some plan can be devised of relieving you of seeing so many people and considering so many matters not of major importance. I rather think the plan of a few Executive Assistants would be a good beginning.

Many of the foreign Ambassadors drop in, and I am surprised to find that they know so much less than we about what is going on abroad. Suvich got his first information of the recognition by Italy and Germany of the Spanish insurgents from the statements in our newspapers. I can tell you that all of them who talk to me speak of you with the greatest astonishment and admiration.

With the warmest best wishes for you always, I am

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Walton Moore*

C O P Y

November 24, 1936.

157  
State:  
Moore

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

This is written following your very frank statement yesterday of a report that had come to you to the effect that Senator Robinson and I had discussed with President Roosevelt the sabotage claims and other matters of interest to the Governments of Germany and the United States.

So far as the report concerns me, I can only repeat, as I did yesterday, that it is entirely untrue.

1. So far as I can recall, I do not know and have never seen or communicated with any one of the three persons to whom the report is attributed, namely, Messrs. Stallforth, Peaslee and Biffle.

2. I have never discussed with the President the matters mentioned; have never undertaken to advise him with respect to any of them, and have never received from him any expression of opinion about any of them, nor do I remember ever having told him of Dr. Markau's being here.

3. In the report it is stated that my conversation with

His Excellency  
Herr Hans Luther,  
Ambassador of Germany.

with the President was on November 16th. The fact is that I did not see the President that day except at a Cabinet Meeting, when there was no allusion to matters in which Germany is interested.

I first met Dr. Markau when he came to my office on November 7th and told Mr. Hackworth and me, both of us being together, that he wished to hand us a letter, and thereupon he did hand us a sealed envelope which after he left was translated from the German. The letter was signed by Mr. Hauptmann von Pfeffer, and expressed a desire that an opportunity might be afforded for a friendly discussion of all questions at issue between the German Government and the Government of the United States. Following that, Dr. Markau on November 9th, again talked with Mr. Hackworth, Mr. Dunn and myself, when we informed him that any proposals the German Government might wish to submit should be brought to the attention of this Department through regular diplomatic channels, and he said that this would be done. He was reminded that he had not been accredited to us by the German Government. He spoke of the sabotage claims, and said that he and Mr. Bonyng, the American Agent in the work of the Commission, were putting in final form for submission to the Commission, the agreement made at Munich, but we have no evidence of this having been

done

done, except Dr. Markau's statement.

Dr. Markau's final call at my office was with you and your Counselor, when I repeated what I had said to Dr. Markau about making use of the regular diplomatic channels.

I was surprised yesterday when you told me that the understanding of the Germans who participated in the conference at Munich was that any settlement of the sabotage claims would be linked in with the disposition of other matters. The American Agent and his counsel, Mr. Martin, had the most definite instructions from this Department not to complicate in any manner whatever the sabotage claims with any other matter or matters.

I believe you will find that as concerns Senator Robinson the report is just as false as it is with respect to me. I have no reason whatever to believe that Senator Robinson has been in Washington, or had any discussion with the President relative to the subjects enumerated in the report. Certain it is that I have never directly or indirectly heard anything of that kind from the Senator.

You are at liberty to make such use of this letter as you may think proper.

Yours very sincerely,

R. Walton Moore.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1936.

*State*  
*M. M. ...*  
*W. ...*  
*File*  
*Pers*

Dear Mr. President:

I shall not bother you about problems of importance that are coming along here, but am writing simply to mention a few items that might have been mentioned in my letter of November 21st.

We have asked London to keep us advised of the appointment by any other country of representatives at the Coronation, with the thought that you may wish to appoint representatives as soon as one or two other nations have acted. I notice that a Wisconsin Congressman has gone into the newspapers to give his reasons why we should not be represented at the Coronation, and it is stated he will offer a resolution on the subject when Congress convenes. Fairly early action by you will tend to end that sort of foolishness. It seems to be against precedent to include our Ambassador, and thus it will be entirely proper to designate the three other gentlemen you have in mind, and name your son as their Secretary.

Some time ago you spoke of transferring Mr. Atherton from  
The President,  
The White House.

from London, and if this is to be done before the Coronation, I suppose there should not be very much delay. I have thought of Herschel Johnson, the present First Secretary there, and when you return I would like to find an opportunity to introduce him to you, as he is now on leave here. He is a Georgia man who was educated at Harvard, was Chief of the Mexican Division when I entered the Department, and has always been a Democrat. I have a very good opinion of him. Bullitt, since suggesting John Wiley, who is now at Antwerp, has written me that Wiley prefers to remain as Consul General at that place, and I think he should be kept there for a while, just as I think Pierrepont Moffatt should be kept in Australia to the end of a two year period.

The Department's Foreign Service School has been revived, and is now engaged in instructing the young men who have been admitted to the career service, but have not yet received assignments. From what some of the young men tell me, I think the school is conducted in a pretty satisfactory way, but that it could perhaps be made of more value if supervised by such a man as Howland Shaw.

There come to me some very interesting letters from our people abroad, among them Phillips, Dodd, Messersmith and Nicholson, all rejoicing over the result of the election and most of them containing pretty doleful predictions of a large  
scale

scale war -- predictions with which I do not find myself in agreement.

Before this reaches you, I hope that our officials at Madrid and Barcelona will have gotten away from those dangerous places. We are handling that matter in a very definite manner, so as to avoid their continual exposure to real danger of being killed, and the howl of criticism to which we would be subjected should that occur. I do not understand how any good ground of objection can be found to the action taken, particularly in view of the fact that Wendelin, at Valencia, will be in close contact with the officials of the Spanish Government, which is now at that place. So far as American property is concerned, most of it, against our protest, was some time ago taken over, by the Spanish Government, both at Madrid and Barcelona.

As I said to you before you left Washington, and now venture to repeat, I hope it may be possible for you to do something for former Senator Brookhart. I understand there is a vacancy on the Board of Tax Appeals, and two vacancies on the Interstate Commerce Commission, but I am not mentioning these at Brookhart's instance, for I have not seen or heard from him since you left Washington. I came to know him quite well while he was Senator, soon after I entered the House, and had an opportunity to form an estimate of him. He has always been  
disliked

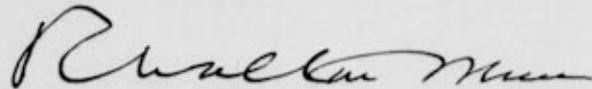
disliked by very conservative people, and there are others who dislike him because he is of the very distinct rough and ready Western type. There can be no doubt that he possesses more than ordinary ability, and is very earnest and fearless in trying to serve the real public interest. As he dropped into my office frequently during the campaign, before and after his trip to the West, I came to understand how strongly, and I think effectively, he was striving in Iowa, Minnesota, and elsewhere, to promote your reelection.

It is regrettable that now that everyone is so anxious for the success of the Buenos Aires Conference that the Mexican Legislature has enacted, and it is said President Cardenas is about to sign, an expropriation law which should really be called a confiscation law. When it becomes effective, the American owners of every kind of property in Mexico will be in peril of having their property taken over on the basis of its assessed value, and with no certainty as to whether they will be paid even that. In advance of the Act being signed, I have requested Mr. Daniels to discuss the matter confidentially with the President, with a view to ascertaining what can be done at least to have a fairer measure enacted. The thing as now written is unthinkable bad, and a menace to the proper sort of relations between our Government and the Government of Mexico. But in saying this I forget about my promise at the  
outset

outset not to trouble you with matters of importance.

With earnest best wishes for you in every way, I am

Yours very sincerely,



P. S. Since the above was dictated, the Spanish Ambassador has come in, and in the course of his talk about the general situation he said that yesterday he had been in telephone communication with Madrid, and was aware of the dangerous situation there, and thought we had taken a sensible course in getting our people out. Incidentally he said that more than a thousand women and children, to say nothing of men, had suffered death from bombing. Wendelin hopes that tomorrow morning he will be started for Valencia with about fifty Americans besides his staff. He will locate at Valencia, where he will be in immediate touch with the Spanish Government, and there will be one of our warships there to take charge of such of the Americans as desire to leave Spain. I have informed Secretary Hull very fully about what has been done, and the compelling reasons for it.

Having heard that Prime Minister King's engagements will probably prevent him from seeing our representatives, should that be desired, until early next month, the visit of Messrs. Hickerson, Walsh, Olds and Manly has been postponed to December 5th.

R. W. M.

PSF: Moore  
File State  
Personnel

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Perhaps you may care to glance through the enclosed letters from Messersmith. The one dated November 9th I find particularly interesting. Some of the statements in it tend to confirm my impression, which you may rightly say is of little value, that there is not going to be a European war on an extensive scale in the near future. For many reasons, Mussolini does not wish to bring on a war, and is now in a better position than ever to exert a restraining influence on Hitler. Every month of delay by leaders who have the warlike inclination is favorable, because that affords Great Britain the opportunity to build up her Air Force and strengthen her Navy. Russia is becoming so very strong, in preparation for the possibility of war, that I doubt whether either Germany or Japan, both together, will venture to strike at her. Much it seems to me rather encouraging might be said along this line, and in addition there is the fact, which is full of encouragement,

The President,  
The White House.

[PSF, R. Walter Moore]

ment, that the peoples everywhere are now expressing their hate of war, and debating what can be done to prevent it. And besides this, in the next few days your voice for peace is to sound out through the world as no other voice ever has. Perhaps the fine weather and the pleasing appearance of everything in Washington this morning make me too hopeful, but even when the weather is gloomy, I am an incurable optimist about the war business.

The communications I have sent you evidence what is a cold fact, namely, that we have taken the wise course in Spain, which seems to have nearly everybody's approval. I am extremely fond of Claude Bowers, and am sorry that in this instance, at rather long distance from Madrid, he has viewed the situation in an unduly theoretical and political manner, and without sufficient concern as to the serious trouble to us that would result from a lot of Americans in Madrid being killed. Wendelin, who is young and adventurous, now seems to agree very definitely that we have done the correct thing. I assumed a heavy responsibility in making the decision, and the case had so many ramifications that it was simply impossible for me, at this distance, to present it in detail to the Secretary and expect him to be able to reach a speedy conclusion. All that I can say is that after the most careful and deliberate consideration of which I was capable, action was taken, of which there now appears  
to

to be little complaint.

I trust that this morning you feel as well as I feel, and that all of your great hopes and expectations will be fully realized.

With earnest best wishes for your health, happiness and success, I am

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Walter Stone*

Enclosures:

Letters from Minister  
Messersmith, dated Nov.  
9, 1936 and Nov. 16,  
1936.

The Polish Ambassador came in a few minutes ago to disclaim for his Government any connection whatever with the German-Japanese agreement.

I am sorry to see the press reports that President Cardenas has signed the new Mexican extradition (it might perhaps be called confiscation) Law. In Mexico that action is coupled with the threat of our extension strikes -

*R. Stone*

LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, November 16, 1936.

*Handwritten:*  
~~Confidential~~  
File  
Perrance

MY dear Judge Moore:

I wrote you on November 9th, sending you a copy of my letter of November 6th addressed to the Secretary in which I reviewed some of the major developments in the Austrian and general situation over here. I have been very busy since I wrote you keeping in touch with developments here in view of the Vienna Conference, which was held on November 11th and 12th.

There is certain information with regard to the major European position which has come to my knowledge in the last few days which I feel I must send to you by a pouch which I am sending today, and this makes it impossible for me to comment in this letter intimately on the Vienna Conference and the Austrian internal situation at any length. I have covered the Vienna Conference fully in my confidential despatch No. 957 of November 14th, which I am sure you will find interesting if you should have the time to read it. The Conference, as I forecasted in my letter to you of November 9th, has brought nothing new and has disappointed all the great hopes which have been held in this part of the world that it would lead to some constructive action in the Danubian Basin.

In my confidential despatch No. 956 of November 14th, I have covered fully the commercial negotiations which are to take place between Austria and Germany for a new trade agreement and toward which the road is now opened after the Vienna Conference. I have pointed out in this despatch that the Austrians look forward to these negotiations with a great deal of

The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Acting Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

misgiving, for they know that German pressure is going to be greater than ever and that they are less favorably situated to resist this pressure. The negotiations are going to be important, but I doubt whether they could lead to very much, as the Austrians are going to continue their efforts to prevent any agreement being made at their expense.

In my confidential despatch No. 960 of November 16th, on developments in the Austrian internal and external situation, there is some interesting information for the Department. There is a feeling in Austria and in Central and Southeastern Europe that the Italian position is somewhat weaker, and this has resulted in a slight slipping of the Austrian position towards Berlin. Certainly the German infiltration here has made some progress and the position of the Austrian Government is more difficult than ever, but I have tried in that despatch to give proper perspective to these factors, which, though they must be considered, yet must not be given too great importance. The new Italian Minister here is a much weaker man than his predecessor - and his predecessor already left a good deal to be desired. The Italian position in Southeastern and Central Europe is somewhat weaker and the Austrian Government has to take note of this, but I am reliably informed that Ciano, during his recent visit here, has given strong reassurances to the Austrian Government of continued Italian support.

I have continuously pointed out in my despatches and letters that if the Austrian position goes, it means that the position in the whole of Central and Southeastern Europe is gone. This has always been appreciated by Mussolini and explains his strong and unalterable stand with respect to Austria. It is a position, however, which has not been thoroughly understood in England and in France. Certain Right elements in France still entertain the illusion that arrangements are possible with the present government in Germany which would safeguard France now and in the future. The present French Government, however, appreciates the position fully. In England, men like Lothian, Londonderry, and Astor have utterly failed to appreciate what the Central and Southeastern European situation means for England, but there is increasing evidence that even they are losing their illusions. This fact that Austria remains the key of the position

is very important, and that is why in my confidential despatch No. 960 I have covered at such length certain developments in the Austrian internal situation that showed this slight slipping towards Berlin, which, as I have emphasized however, must not yet be taken as too significant or as indicating a permanent direction. It has already, I think, been counteracted by what Ciano said during his recent stay in Vienna.

The uncertainty, which I point out in my letter of November 6th to the Secretary concerning the Ciano visits to Berlin and Berchtesgaden, has not been dispelled by any information that Ciano gave here. The lack of clarity in the relations between Berlin and Rome rested as a heavy cloud on the Vienna Conference, and will continue to rest until more definite developments in the general situation may dispell it. In my despatch on the Vienna Conference above mentioned, I point out that Ciano, in a conversation with the French Minister here, assured him that there were no binding agreements with Germany, and expressed the hope that the internal situation in France would soon be such that it would be possible for Italy to assume her former most friendly and close relations with France. There is reason to believe, from very good information which I have, that Mussolini was very much displeased with the lengths to which Ciano went in his conversation with Hitler. Ciano was, as I told you, so impressed by what he saw in Germany that he apparently exceeded his instructions in his conversation with Hitler. I am told that after Ciano's conversation with Hitler at Berchtesgaden, he telephoned to Mussolini and that there was a very heated conversation, after which both of them looked very unhappy. The first conversation that Ciano had with Mussolini after his return to Rome was also, from what seem to be reliable accounts, a very heated one. In any event, it seems certain that Ciano, under the spell of his Berlin visit and what he saw, went further than Mussolini intended. And that is one of the reasons for the trend of Mussolini's Milan speech that followed soon thereafter and which has caused so much further uncertainty. I am informed by a very reliable source that after the Ciano visit to Berchtesgaden, Mussolini cut out of his Milan speech a whole paragraph of friendly references to France. The Austrian Minister to Rome, Baron Berger-Waldenegg, who is a good friend of mine and who came to Vienna for the Conference, told me last week that Mussolini himself, after his Milan

speech, showed some concern as to the effect that it might have. Mussolini, under the influence of his audience, went much further than he intended, he said, and after the speech asked three or four of his associates to give him a written memorandum of their comment. All official comment in Italy on the Milan speech was withheld until after Mussolini had examined these memoranda, and it was this, Berger-Waldenegg tells me, which influenced the very restrained accounts of the Milan speech given in the Italian press, and which impelled Mussolini to make overtures to London in a more direct form and a bit sooner than had been originally intended. He realized that he had gone too far.

A friend of mine who has just passed through Vienna, after being in London and Paris, where he had extended conversations with Van Sittart and Blum, has given me very interesting information, which I think I should pass on to you. This friend of mine has had intimate contact with Van Sittart for some years. He says that Van Sittart considers the general European situation growing more serious and that it would be difficult to exaggerate the seriousness of it. England, he said, was interested in the maintenance of the Franco-Soviet Pact as necessary for the maintaining of the strength of the Western Powers. The relations with France were much better, and better than they had been for a long time. This, he said, was very fortunate and necessary. While he (Van Sittart) had been in Berlin he gathered the impression that the Army was concerned because Goering was getting too much power. They had Goering fairly well in hand, but considered this concentration of power in him dangerous. The danger in Berlin was that too many of the Nazi leaders thought that they were so sure of England that they would not have to worry about her. They considered Londonderry and Lothian as representative of real British opinion and considered that the Foreign Office was hostile to Germany but did not have the country behind them. Germany was on the way towards making the same mistake that she had made in 1914. Goering was emphasizing that Germany must make every effort to keep Italy, but "would not have to worry about England, which would, at the worst, be neutral." Ribbentrop was trying to make Berlin understand the real situation, but without success. Even a man like Dieckhoff believed that England would remain neutral in case of German action on the Continent. Every week which England gained for her re-

armament program, she could be thankful for. My friend gathered the distinct impression that in London responsible quarters were worried, believing that Germany might strike at any time against Czechoslovakia or Russia, or both. They believed that Berlin was worried on the ground that time was now working against Germany and that Germany must strike while there was a chance of success for her. The other information which I get from London seems to substantiate the foregoing, and the recent speeches in Parliament show that Britain understands the situation better than ever.

While adequate information concerning Beck's visit to London is still lacking, the accounts which have appeared in the British and the Polish press would indicate that London has indicated that it does not consider any arrangement in Western Europe possible without simultaneous settlement of the Eastern problems. This is a great step in advance and will strengthen the Polish position with England and France. While Poland wants money from both England and France, British interest in the Eastern European problem is more precious to her than money. If it is true that the Poles feel that England will make no arrangements in the West without equally satisfactory arrangements in the East, it will strengthen the French-Polish arrangement and the general position very much. And this makes German action against Russia almost impossible, except with certainty of complete disaster. I am sure the recent speeches of Churchill and others in Parliament have been brought to your attention. And they are more eloquent in expressing the British understanding of the real position than anything I have yet seen.

My friend tells me that in Paris he had a long talk with Blum, who is relatively well satisfied with the way things are going.

Blum believes that his government will hold, but that eventual reconstruction of the government towards the Center may be necessary. This, it is believed, would open the way for closer coöperation with Rome, and judging from what Ciano told the French Minister in Vienna, it is a situation which will be welcomed by Italy. Blum said that France would hold to the Franco-Soviet arrangement, even though the reconstruction of the government may eliminate the Communists from the

Cabinet. Blum was much distressed that the Belgians had taken the action they did without giving him any advance information, but was more optimistic concerning the developments in Belgium.

Ward Price of the Rothermere papers, who, as you know, is the favored foreign mouth-piece of both Hitler and Mussolini, has just been in Vienna. He had just been in Rome and in Berlin, where, he said, he had seen both Mussolini and Hitler. Ward Price said to one of my intimate friends, who is the chief of mission here of one of the most interested powers, that Mussolini was very much concerned, for he feared that Hitler might take some arbitrary action which would involve all Europe. Mussolini said that Hitler was practically inaccessible and was in one of those moods of silence when, experience had taught, he was considering one of these actions so disturbing to Europe. Mussolini indicated that the situation was such that Hitler felt himself strong and that, in view of the developing internal situation in Germany and of the general external situation, he might decide on something. Mussolini was worried because it might involve Italy, and Italy did not want a war in Europe. Ward Price did not state specifically while in Vienna what the nature of his conversation with Hitler was, but he did say that he was returning immediately to London and intended to tell Lord Rothermere that Hitler was going to strike not later than February against Czechoslovakia and Russia. While I do not place too great dependence on Ward Price, we do know that, of all the journalists in Europe, he is the only one who has this easy access to both Mussolini and Hitler, and both of them have from time to time used him as their mouth-piece. In this case, neither of them gave him an interview for publication, but it is interesting that he should be returning to London to give as his net impression to Lord Rothermere the foregoing.

I have in previous letters informed the Secretary that Hitler is seriously considering this action against Czechoslovakia, believing that no one will come to her aid. I have also reported that he is planning this action against Russia. But it is well known that the German Army is definitely against it. It would appear that, in view of the strengthened position of Poland, any adventure in the direction of Russia is most dangerous, but it cannot be left out of consideration that Hitler is in one of these exalted

frames of mind and that the internal situation in Germany is getting worse steadily. There is every reason to believe that all the advice which Hitler is getting from financial, industrial, and army circles in Germany is against adventure in any direction. But we also know that all of his major action has been taken against similar advice from the same sources.

Sauerwein was here during the Vienna Conference and he was quite gloomy about the general situation. He was under the impression that Germany was planning some action which could not be long delayed if there was to be hope of success. He was of the opinion that London, Paris, and Rome were very much concerned, all fearing that Germany's action, in view of the developing internal situation, might not be long delayed.

While it is probably true that a good many of the press reports concerning better relations between Rome and London are exaggerated and somewhat premature, it does seem that there is adequate basis for believing that since his Milan speech Mussolini has been pressing in the direction for arrangements with London. His principal reason for this, observers here believe, is that he fears irresponsible and sudden action from Berlin that might involve Italy, and he wants to strengthen the Rome, Paris, and London line. Perhaps Mussolini realizes that the blackmailing game has gone too far and that his flirtation with Berlin may have involved him more seriously than he intended. Certainly, there is every reason still to believe that Mussolini prefers coöperation with London and Paris to any arrangement with Berlin, and I would again revert to the statement which Ciano made to the French Minister here; that Mr. Mussolini would welcome better relations with Paris and had no binding agreements with Berlin.

The one basic factor which seems to be emerging from this complicated European situation that is encouraging, is that England and France realize that no arrangements in the West are possible without the Eastern and Southeastern European questions being settled, and that Mussolini apparently has no binding agreements with Berlin.

I have some interesting information concerning

developments in the internal situation in Germany, which, unfortunately, I do not have the time to send by this pouch. It is all, however, along the lines which I gave to the Secretary in my recent letters. One of my Berlin colleagues tells me that the food situation is so bad that the Berlin diplomats are making their own arrangements to get butter, eggs, and meat from the outside. As I have pointed out before, it is not the food situation, however, which is going to cause discontent, but the deductions which are being made from the pay-envelops for every possible reason. The scarcity of raw materials and the utter inadequacy and foolishness of the so-called Four Year Plan are far more serious factors than a scarcity of certain foodstuffs. Germany, in so far as foodstuffs are concerned, has gone so far on her program that, while not self-supporting, they can get along on the foodstuffs which they are producing, without actual hunger. It is already so bad in Germany that the only people who are living normally, so far as food is concerned, are the diplomats, the higher and secondary Party officials, some of the farmers, and those who in some way or other are able to make special arrangements. That in the meantime the Party goes definitely along its radical program can be shown by such a minor and yet significant thing as the recent removal from a public place in Leipzig of the monument which had been erected in honor of Felix Mendelsohn-Bartholdy in 1892. The offence of this great dead German is that he was not an Aryan.

The Danzig situation, to which I have called attention from time to time, remains just as serious as ever, with the Nazis now in control and the Poles not knowing just what to do with their new League authority. As a result of the Beck visit to London, the Polish attitude has stiffened, with already a corresponding increase of tension in that city. The German attention is for the present more on Czechoslovakia than it is on Danzig, but the fact that Danzig may be less in the news cannot lead to any illusions as to the dangerousness of that situation.

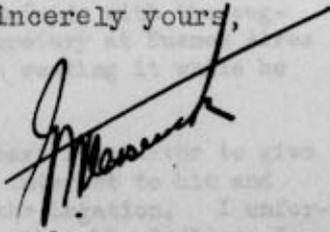
The resistance which the Madrid Government is making is bringing the Spanish situation to the fore again, and there are increasing fears that Hitler may yet take some action with regard to Spain which will precipitate a crisis. In my opinion, it is much more

likely that whatever action he takes will be independent of the Spanish situation. But that the successes of the Madrid Government are again complicating the situation, is a certainty.

I know that you shall have a busy time while the Secretary is away, but I shall continue to send you from time to time such intimate background concerning the Austrian and general situation which I may be able to get here and which I think will be interesting to you.

Believe me, with all good wishes,

Cordially and sincerely yours,



In these letters to the Secretary I have given you the intimate content which may be of interest to him and which supplements the despatches of the Secretary. I unfortunately had to dictate this letter rather hurriedly as I have been very much pressed. It is no easy task to follow the situation which still centers here in Vienna, and on account of the approaching Vienna Conference I have had to see an unusually large number of people to be able to give a good picture.

I need not tell you how glad we all are over the re-election of the President for whose courage, vision, and wisdom I have so much respect and whose confidence is well so much appreciated. I am particularly glad that my own state has voted so well this time. I was delighted that Delaware is returning to its Democratic traditions and in sending Jim Hughes to the Senate we shall again be represented by someone more worthy of the old traditions of the state.

The Honorable  
J. M. Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

*State Dept*

*Personal & Confidential*

Vienna, November 9, 1936.

My dear Judge Moore:

1/

I am sending you herewith a copy of my confidential letter to the Secretary of November 6, in which I bring my intimate comment on the situation to date. I am sending the original of the letter to Harry McBride with the suggestion that he send it on to the Secretary at Buenos Aires as the Secretary may be interested in reading it while he is down there or on the return trip.

In these letters to the Secretary I endeavor to give him intimate comment which may be of interest to him and which supplements the despatches of the Legation. I unfortunately had to dictate this letter rather hurriedly as I have been very much pressed. It is no easy task to follow the situation which still centers here in Vienna, and on account of the approaching Vienna Conference I have had to see an unusually large number of people to be able to give a good picture.

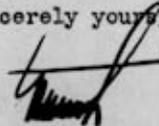
I need not tell you how elated we all are over the re-election of the President for whose courage, vision, and wisdom I have so much respect and whose confidence in me I so much appreciate. I am particularly glad too that my own state has voted so well this time. I was delighted that Delaware is returning to its Democratic traditions and in sending Jim Hughes to the Senate we shall again be represented by someone more worthy of the old tradition of the state.

The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

I am one of those who will shed no tears over the retirement of Senator Hastings from the picture for I know him well and I am sure that many in Delaware will feel relieved that there will be a man like Hughes who will replace him. Hughes entered politics first under the auspices of my wife's Great-Uncle, Governor Tunnell, who made him his Secretary of State in Delaware, and we are old friends having worked together for many years in trying to bring the schools in Delaware to a higher level. He is a fine citizen and you will find that we have again from Delaware a really splendid man to assist the Administration.

With best personal wishes, believe me,

Cordially and sincerely yours,



George S. Messersmith.

Enclosure:

1. Copy of letter of November 6,  
to the Secretary.

*Confidential*

Vienna, November 6, 1936.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I last wrote you on November 2nd. As I do not know whether this letter will reach you before you leave for Buenos Aires, I am sending several copies to Dunn. I need not tell you, I am sure, how deeply pleased I am with the reelection of the President. I was confident that he would be reelected by a large majority. My satisfaction over the result is personal, for I am an admirer of the courage, vision, and wisdom of the President, and I appreciate deeply the confidence which he has shown in me. My satisfaction as an American is even greater, for I am one of those who believe that the President's course is a wise one and is the only way to avoid for our people the social and political disorders which are disrupting this old Continent. I hope that you will continue to lend him that support which has made possible so important a part of the program of the last few years. I realize the heavy burden which this involves for you, but I think that you can have that satisfaction which few people in this world enjoy today, and that is, the feeling that you have the confidence of an extraordinary majority of our people of all political convictions; and this to a degree which I do not believe any previous Secretary of State which we have had has ever enjoyed. The Trade Agreements Program which you have so courageously and so wisely fostered and carried through is, in my opinion, one of the most constructive, if not the most constructive, policy which has been undertaken anywhere in the world in recent years. And in continuing to carry it through, you are rendering a service of inestimable value, not only to our country, but to the reconstruction of this torn world.

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

I know that you will have a successful trip to South America. It cannot be anything else. I wish you every success on this important mission, which, while not an easy one and ~~surrounded~~ surrounded by many difficulties, will be made the lighter because of that extraordinary confidence which the whole of our Latin friends so properly give you.

Since I last wrote you the Austrian situation continues quiet internally, and the two most important developments in the country have been the elections in the farmers and peasants group and the reorganization of the Cabinet. The elections in the farmers and peasants group, which comprises 43 per cent of the Austrian population, were foreshadowed in my letters and despatches, and are the first elections in Austria since the present authoritarian form of the state. Eighty-one per cent of those entitled to vote went to the polls, although there was no compulsion and those who did not vote were sure that there would be no reprisals for their failure to do so. The elections turned out very satisfactorily to the Government and have encouraged the Government to proceed with the elections in the labor group, which is the next largest into which the Austrian population is divided under the present Constitution. While the Government plans to hold these elections in the labor group before the end of the year, I doubt whether they will be held before early in 1937. These elections are interesting because they show that it is the intention of the Government to carry through the Constitution and to get away as far as the present circumstances permit from the authoritarian form of the Government. The Chancellor, I may say, is no real friend of authoritarian government and is only too eager to replace the present appointed officials by those elected through the machinery provided in the Constitution. I have covered these elections fully in my despatch No. 943 of November 3rd.

On the evening of November 3rd the Cabinet changes which I have foreshadowed in my letters and despatches were carried through, and have been fully reported in my confidential despatch No. 944 of November 4th. The Chancellor has carried through his long cherished idea of removing the influence of the para-military organizations from the Cabinet, and has used the opportunity to eliminate several of the Cabinet members who, although capable, have benefited

personally by their public office. He has reconstructed the Cabinet on a basis which gives it larger popular support, and it may be said that every single member now has particular qualifications for the post which he holds and is a man of good reputation and enjoys either general public confidence or that of a considerable section of the population. It is the strongest cabinet from many points of view which Austria has had since I am at this post, and its composition, I believe, was entirely uninfluenced by external pressure or factors. The Chancellor emerges stronger than ever, and, some of the correspondents here have said, more of a dictator than ever, but this, I believe, is an incorrect interpretation. The Chancellor is anything but a dictator in principle or in spirit, and what he has done is to surround himself with people in whom he has confidence, in whom the public has confidence, and on whose capacities he can depend to carry on their ministries along the broad lines of internal and external policy which the Austrian Government has been following and intends to continue to follow.

In my strictly confidential despatch No. 945 of November 5th on developments in the internal and external situation, I résume certain important developments in Austria and in this part of the world as they affect Austria. If you should be in Washington when this letter reaches you, I believe you would find it worth your while to read this despatch. I have endeavored to give in it the reasons why the Vienna conference to be held on November 11th, 12th, and 13th may now not have that positive importance which I indicated in my recent letters and which it was generally believed in informed quarters it would have. I also point out in the despatch why it may have a negative importance of an entirely unexpected character. This is due to the developments in the European situation growing out of the recent Ciano visit to Berlin and of Mussolini's vindictive and thoroughly unfortunate speech at Milan last Sunday.

The Little Entente and the states of the Balkan Union looked forward to the Vienna conference with mingled hopes and fears at the outset. With hope, because they had the feeling that the Italian interest in Southeastern and Central Europe might serve as a counter-weight to the ever increasing German political and economic pressure in that area. They realized

Italy's essential weakness economically and financially, but hoped that the Italian interest would serve to lessen for the time at least the German pressure until a more normal situation would prevail. They looked upon the conference with fear, because they know how uncertain the dictators are, and they had the feeling that Mussolini would use them only as pawns in his game with Berlin and with Western Europe. Nevertheless, they hoped that something would come out of the Vienna conference of a constructive character, through which cooperation between the Rome Protocol states, the Little Entente, and the Balkan Union might begin.

Here in Vienna the Government was prepared to act as the bridge between the Rome Protocol states and the Little Entente, and eventually with the Balkan Union. There were few illusions in Vienna, however, for the Government here knows both the German and the Italian objectives and how definitely these are opposed. The Government here is familiar, too, with the revisionist aspirations of Hungary, and realizes how impossible these are of achievement in the form Hungary still sees them. The Government here is familiar also with the complicated situation which exists in and between each one of these Central and Southeastern European states, and knows that they cannot be solved merely through the dictates of the strongest dictator, whether he sits in Berlin or in Rome. The Government here sees, however, the South-eastern and Central European problem as one which must be attacked from the economic aspect first, and was therefore prepared to act as the bridge between Rome and these states.

The hopes which were held in Austria, in the Little Entente, and in the Balkan Union for fruitful results from the Vienna conference have been destroyed through the Ciano conversations in Berlin and Mussolini's Milan speech. Their worst fears have been substantiated, and in addition there is now deep distrust. Positive results can no longer be expected from the Vienna conference. No one in Vienna seems to know what actually happened in Berlin during the Ciano visit. Of course they know that for German recognition of Abyssinia, Germany gets economic concessions in Abyssinia and Italian support of Germany's efforts against Bolshevism, or rather to isolate Russia. Whatever else happened during the Ciano visit, no one here knows. Informed observers

are inclined to believe, as I said in my last letter, that nothing more did happen, but they have the haunting fear that more has happened than has come out. The Austrian Government has reports from its Ministers in Berlin and Rome, but I have reason to believe that it distrusts the information which has been given in both capitals to its representatives. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs here said to me the other day that he "hoped" to get information of what actually happened in Berlin when Ciano comes here on November 9th for the Vienna conference. The information which I have from the Little Entente and Balkan Union countries indicates that they are as much at sea as the Government here. I have reliable information from Berlin that the English and French have no definite knowledge of what actually happened. I have from an unusually well informed source the information that von Neurath himself does not know what happened when Ciano went to Berchtesgaden to see Hitler. The Berlin conversations were carried on between Ciano and Neurath, but after that Ciano went to Berchtesgaden and had a two hours talk with Hitler with no one else present. I am told by this good source that Neurath is just as much at sea as to what took place between Ciano and Hitler as everyone else seems to be, except Mussolini, Hitler, and Ciano. I am also informed by this same source that Army circles in Berlin are equally disturbed, for they have reason to believe that Hitler is suffering from one of his known spells of temperament, during which he makes these decisions which are so fateful and which may bring eventual ruin to Germany, as well as to others.

This lack of information concerning what passed during the Ciano visit to Germany has added to the existing hopes and fears the new element of the deepest distrust. There are informed observers who believe that Ciano, for Mussolini, arrived with Hitler at Berchtesgaden at agreement on a far-reaching program of definite cooperation, with the full knowledge that it may mean war. These observers believe that Mussolini and Hitler have agreed on a general policy in Western Europe and in the Mediterranean, which is based on a practical division of interests in Southeastern Europe. They believe that Hitler is to carry through his program involving the taking of Czechoslovakia and of Austria, and Mussolini's sphere of influence is to be over the rest of Southeastern

Europe. I personally doubt whether such a far-reaching agreement has been arrived at, for it would undoubtedly mean war, and both Hitler and Mussolini know that. But these observers who hold the above mentioned view are of the opinion that Hitler and Mussolini are both convinced that unless they carry through this program by February of next year they will be unable to do so and must risk war. When one realizes the real nature of the dictatorships, one must also appreciate that such decisions are possible. The arrangement, therefore, is not out of question, and all Europe is in suspense and is prepared to read out of events as they may occur what the real decision, if any, was.

The Milan speech of Mussolini, in which he emphasized his support of the revisionist aspirations of Hungary and made the extraordinary friendly gesture to Yugoslavia, has destroyed all hope of anything coming out of the Vienna conference. As I have already told you in previous letters, responsible Hungarian statesmen have, in private, expressed to neutral observers that they realized that the Hungarian revisionist aspirations in their present form are utterly impossible of accomplishment. In order to hold their place in public life they cannot let go publicly of their support of the Hungarian claims, and now Mussolini has declared himself the ardent advocate of full Hungarian claims. This in itself destroyed any possibility of further cooperation of the Rome Protocol States in an effective way for the present with the Little Entente, as the determined statements of the Czech Foreign Minister already show. The olive branch which Mussolini has extended to Yugoslavia comes on the point of a bayonet, and the dictators have the misfortune that, even if they may be sincere, they are not trusted. The Yugoslavs, while they may have been somewhat pleased with Mussolini's gesture at first, have already shown by their later reaction that they cannot see how this Italian friendship for Yugoslavia can be reconciled with such complete Italian support of Hungarian revisionist aspirations. The intemperate, ill advised, and vindictive speech of Mussolini at Milan has sabotaged, before it meets, most completely the Vienna conference, from which Italy had said so much was to be expected and in which all these states in Southeastern Europe were inclined to put so much hope.

No one seems to know what Mussolini had in mind

by this speech, for he seemed to be destroying work which he had painfully tried to build up. Everyone who thinks and who knows what the position in Europe is, realizes that in any partnership between Italy and Germany, Italy is so much the weaker partner. The support which Southeastern and Central Europe was prepared to give Italy, out of their greater fear of Germany, was the principal pawn which Italy had in the game which it is playing with Germany, as well as with England and France. Without this sympathetic attitude of these states toward Italy, her position is tremendously weakened, and this Mussolini seems to have voluntarily and deliberately destroyed. No one can find any adequate explanation. Mussolini's Milan speech, if viewed in the light of the opinion of those observers already mentioned in this letter who believe that Mussolini and Hitler have arrived at far-reaching agreement, finds some explanation.

I am told by well informed persons that Ciano returned from Berlin to Rome completely overawed with German military power and the professions of German friendship for Italy. While he was in Berlin and in Germany he was shown about very thoroughly, and the material progress of German armament was put before him in detail. I have, in a previous letter, told you how much external evidence there is, even to the casual observer, of this material rearmament, and one can appreciate how, being led behind the scenes, Ciano would be impressed. He is, after all, a very young and, from all accounts, not a very wise and well balanced man. He considers himself already the heir apparent of his father-in-law. The dictators have this quality of making their disciples drunk with power and with externals and making them blind to the lasting and deep realities. It would perhaps be too much to expect anything else of Ciano. These observers to whom I have referred believe that Ciano's account of what he saw and heard in Berlin and in Berchtesgaden brought Mussolini into one of those exalted states of mind, which he, too, is capable of, if in a lesser and less hysterical degree than Hitler, and that it was under this influence that he made his Milan speech. It at least gives food for thought, and certainly in London and Paris the distrust is as great as it is in Austria and in Southeastern and Central Europe.

I had a long talk with the Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs here the other day. He is an old friend, of whom I have seen a good deal since I came to Austria. He talked to me with unusual frankness, for he realizes the objectiveness of our position. He told me that the Austrian position, while better internally, was growing constantly more difficult on account of the greater pressure from both Berlin and Rome in Vienna, as both of them wished to use Austria as their bridge to Central and Southeastern Europe. He said that Austria, under the Rome Protocols, had maintained a certain liberty of action, just as she had preserved this vis-a-vis Berlin under the accord of July 11, 1936. The Austrian position, however, was growing steadily more difficult as the difficulties of Germany and of Italy made them both increase their pressure on Vienna. He said very frankly that much could not now be expected from the Vienna conference, and he implied that the Milan speech of Mussolini had effectively torpedoed it. The lack of clarity in the relations between Berlin and Rome, which, for the Austrians, has existed for a long time, but which Mussolini from time to time explained away to them, it was quite obvious from what the Secretary said to me, was now again greater as a result of Ciano's visit to Germany, concerning which he indicated they had no real information. The revisionist claims of Hungary which Mussolini was now so actively supporting destroyed all hope of the Vienna conference finding any bridge to the Little Entente, which bridge Austria had been prepared to build.

What is even more serious, is that the Vienna conference may have even negative results instead of the positive ones which had been so eagerly anticipated. Neither Vienna nor Budapest has as yet been informed by Mussolini of the agenda for the Vienna meeting. Ciano is to bring this in his pocket when he arrives here on November 9th. I am now informed on good authority, and my conversations with the Foreign Secretary a few days ago confirms this, that Mussolini intends to bring up as one of the principal points on the Vienna agenda the Hungarian revisionist claims. Vienna is determined to make every effort to keep this subject off the agenda, and is equally determined that if Mussolini insists, it will not support the Hungarian claims. The relations between Vienna and Budapest are close and cordial, but the Vienna Government believes that the Hungarian claims cannot be realized without war, nor even through a way. It considers, therefore, that bringing up this subject at Vienna can

only further disturb the situation in Europe. As it is a primary principle of Austrian policy to do everything it can to maintain the peace, it will not support Hungarian revisionist claims. What effect this will have on Vienna-Rome relations, it is difficult to say. I think it has even entered the minds of the Government here that Mussolini may be seeking through support of the Hungarian revisionist claims to break up not only the Little Entente, but to find the excuse for not continuing his support of Austria, as a part of the arrangement for the division of Southeastern Europe alleged to have been arrived at in Germany by Ciano with Mussolini. The Austrian Government, I am informed, in any event believes that it is just as dangerous for it to follow slavishly the dictates of Rome as it is to depend on the uncertain maintenance by Germany of its recognition of Austrian independence made in the accord of July 11th. The Austrians feel definitely that they are between the devil and the deep blue sea, and this is undoubtedly what the Foreign Secretary meant when he said to me a few days ago that the Austrian position was becoming increasingly difficult. Should the Vienna conference have this unfortunate result through the bringing up of revision, it will be a serious matter indeed and will bring Europe nearer to war.

Ciano is expected in Vienna on November 9th, and, I understand, has let it be known that he wants to be amused before the conference opens on the 11th. This amusement, I understand, means night clubs and the lighter side of Vienna life. I am far from being a puritan myself and believe that people should take a certain amount of enjoyment in this world when they can, but it is not very encouraging when the representative of a state comes to Vienna for an important conference that he should want to seek out the night clubs instead of taking the opportunity to inform himself thoroughly of the situation with which the conference will be faced. We live in a strange world over here in Europe, and those of our people at home who complain about things in our country do not know how fortunate we are and how well governed relatively we are.

I understand that the visit of King Carol to Prague had real significance. Extraordinary precautions were taken for his safety by the Czech authorities, and these were undoubtedly necessary.

Carol did not trust to the Czechs entirely and brought, I am reliably informed, no less than 250 people in plain clothes to look after him. The visit must have had some importance, or neither the Czechs nor the Rumanians would have incurred such an expensive pleasure jaunt. I think the principal subject of the conversations in Prague was the passage of Russian troops in certain contingencies through Rumania. This subject has been pending for a long time, and, as it seems clear that Rumania for the present will not make a direct treaty with Russia, the Czechs, in their threatened position, had to get some assurances. The present Soviet-Czech treaty is ineffective on land as long as there are no arrangements for Russian troops to pass through Rumania. From the air, it is a different matter, and there have been direct arrangements between the Czechs and the Russians. I am told that what the Czechs were trying to get from the Rumanians was not a Rumanian-Soviet treaty, but agreement by the Rumanians that in certain contingencies they would not resist the passage of Russian troops to Czechoslovakia. Whether arrangements were actually made to this end, I am unable to say, but that this was the principal objective of Carol's visit, I think is quite certain. It was, of course, also from a more superficial point of view for the purpose of showing publicly the solidarity in the Little Entente.

During my conversation with the Foreign Secretary the other day the question of the possibility of Austria making a trade agreement with us under our Trade Agreements Program was raised by him. I was glad to hear him do this, and, while I still believe that the difficulties in the way are very real and doubt whether it would be wise for us to take the initiative, I do believe that if the Austrians take the initiative, we should be receptive. I have covered the whole situation in its most essential aspects in my confidential despatch No. 949 of November 6th, which I think you will be sufficiently interested to read at your leisure. I still think that we should not take the initiative for the reasons set forth in that despatch. Much as I would like to see such an agreement between Austria and ourselves, I fear the time is not yet ripe for it and that we would only be attracting attention to our very large favorable balance with Austria if the negotiations are not successful.

The situation between Berlin and Rome is, as I

have already pointed out in this letter, less clear than ever. While the bases for real cooperation are just as much lacking as ever, there is some ground for the belief of those observers that basic understanding has been reached between Hitler and Mussolini. If this has been done, Italy's position is weaker than it was before, for she has made herself dependent on Germany. Any bargain which they may have reached already or will reach can only work out to Italy's eventual disadvantage. The fears and distrust which have followed the Ciano visit to Berlin are just as real here in Austria as they are in the rest of Europe, and there is the feeling that both Italy and Germany have embarked on a path which may bring them to a crisis they both wish to avoid.

Internally, the situation in Germany is certainly not getting any better, and the fundamental thing, I think, to bear in mind there is that National Socialism cannot change. It is a system which, as I have always said, admits of no compromise and no gradual evolution into something more conservative and lasting. In spite of all that is said by so many unthinking people today concerning Russia and Bolshevism, it is obvious that Stalin, on account of his health, is no longer really governing there and that the power has passed into the hands of those who are gradually turning the communist system in Russia into something far more reasonable and less dangerous to Europe and the world. It will take time for this knowledge to work to the surface and to be appreciated by the masses. On the contrary, in Germany National Socialism today remains what it was when Hitler first wrote "Mein Kampf" years ago. It remains what it was when the Party came to power three years ago. This is one of the things which even some informed observers cannot understand, but the National Socialists themselves understand it. They have been able to maintain the system because they have made Germany into a huge fortress to which every gate is carefully guarded. Within that fortress they can do as they will as long as they can keep every gate closed. Once any gate is opened, the whole system must go.

This is why Germany cannot have normal relations with any of her neighbors and why she cannot make trade agreements with other countries. Eden said the other day that he hoped Germany would be able to stabilize her currency. Such a thing as currency stabilization in the international sense for Germany is an impossibility,

for it would be opening the principal gate to the outside world and would make impossible the maintenance of the whole National Socialist system. There is good reason to believe that Schacht is tremendously depressed. He is again trying to get out of his job, but has been told to stay where he is. He is now for devaluation, as he says that there is no more magic that he can work. Hitler and the rest are against devaluation, because they know it means the break-down of the whole system. I am told by some close to Schacht that he is for devaluation, realizing that it will bring the break-down of the National Socialist system, which he thinks must come soon if Germany and Europe are to be saved from catastrophe.

Goering has been put in charge of the Four Year Plan, which no one in industrial or financial circles in Germany believes can be carried through. It merely represents the efforts of the Party to make itself self-sufficient within the fortress it has made of Germany. It is a ridiculous and impossible program, for if, let us say, she wants to make herself independent in the way of gasoline, as Hitler and Goering say then can do through the use of coal, Germany would have to put at least 800,000 additional men on the mining of coal and the refining of the gasoline, and this would mean an additional 400,000 men at least for other technical and industrial efforts connected with the program. Even Germany would not have this man power available. The textile program is impossible, for it would mean that within eight to ten years Germany would be denuded of every tree. And besides that, Germany does not have in adequate quantities the kind of trees necessary for such a replaced textile program even for that period. From the financial point of view, as long as Germany has this wall around her and is completely shut off from the rest of the world, permitting only that contact which the thorough exchange control permits, this program of self-sufficiency can be carried through, but from a practical industrial, technical, and internal material resources point of view it is fantastic.

The long and short of it is that they have built up this system, which they cannot change. They have tied Germany into a knot, which there is no untying. The only way out is to cut the knot, and that means breaking up the whole system. That the system is not capable of change is obvious from the evidence which we get every day. The anti-Jewish movement continues unabated, and Streicher is now demanding the death

penalty for any sexual contact between Jew and Aryan. Fantastic as this may sound, it is real. The most radical man in the Party, Goebbels, is just as necessary to it as ever, and Hitler went to his birthday celebration. Goebbels intended to turn it into a great national event, as Goering had done with his marriage, but Hitler put his foot down on this. The radical elements in the Party are completely in control still, as may be seen from the fact that when Ribbentrop actually went to London he made it a condition that the talk on colonies should for the time be stopped. It did stop officially for a few days, but then Goebbels and Goering both broke out in their vindictive speeches which led to the English protest in Berlin. It is very interesting that when Ribbentrop protested later over some remark made in Parliament, to Eden, Eden in no uncertain terms told Ribbentrop that he knew the protest was only intended as retaliation for the English step in Berlin. The English are beginning to use more plain language and this will have as much effect in Berlin as the English armament program.

Eden's speech day before yesterday, which is a sort of reply to Mussolini's Milan speech and to the recent speeches of Goebbels and Goering, is a masterpiece of restraint and power. He has said in so many words that those who speak the loudest are not necessarily those who speak the last, and anyone who knows the German character and particularly the character of those at present in control in Germany realizes that they follow carefully everything that is said abroad. If there had been more energetic action in Berlin by some foreign powers and if the point of view of other countries had been made more clear, things would never have gone as far in Germany as they have.

The Army is very much disturbed in Germany, as I have pointed out in my recent letters. They fear that Hitler is beside himself again and out of control. It is almost impossible to get him to leave Berchtesgaden to go to Berlin. It is more difficult again for more conservative elements to have contact with him, such as that which there was in June, July, and August. The Army feels that the foreign policy of the Government is driving the country into a crisis. Goering is being pushed forward, and it is beginning to be more probable that he will become Vice Chancellor. He is the only man who is in a position to take leadership. He is

more and more emerging as the heir apparent to Hitler, just as there are many observers who think that Mussolini is grooming his son-in-law, Ciano, as the heir apparent there. Those who know Ciano and Goering can take little comfort out of that.

We are going to be beset on every side by those who want money. Dieckhoff is going to try to get money and trade concessions for Germany. Suvich is going to try to get them for Italy, and the French are perhaps going to make an even more determined effort. Certainly the Italians and the Germans can find little sympathy, and, even if we did not have the Johnson Act, I doubt if there are any bankers in New York who would be sanguine enough to make a loan to Italy or Germany, nine-tenths of which they would be sure to have to keep in their strong boxes. The French position is a bit better, but after their own behavior they seem to have effectively closed our money boxes to them, no matter how much more sympathetically their position may be viewed by us. Our own position is not going to be easy, for there are ways we may wish to help, and yet the road towards that help has been made difficult by the very ones whom we might wish to assist in the interest of peace and stability.

One of the things about the German situation which our own election has brought out and which is too much forgotten, is the enormous German activity outside of Germany. It seems pretty clear that there was direct effort by the German organization in the United States to mix in the election. I have only such information which we get through the press here, but from it I gather that the German organizations had a mandate from Berlin to mix in the election against the President. This serves probably a good purpose in bringing out the activities of these organizations in different countries. I have information from so many countries over here and from South America and Northern Africa showing the existence of these German organizations abroad, and in almost every case the men running them are the very worst types of adventurers, criminals, or irresponsible fanatics. It is easy enough to say that they may not have accomplished much yet, but their existence must be recognized. And the way in which they work and the unwarranted interference in the affairs of other countries are merely one of the symptoms of what we know National Socialist policy to be.

The National Socialist offensive against communism, in which it now has the definite support of Italy, is understandable, for the attacks on communism have been the principal theme of every speech which Hitler has made before and since he came into power. The offensive launched at the Nuremberg Party meeting this year has, of course, as its principal objective the isolation of Russia and the corresponding weakening of the French and English position. I have covered this so thoroughly in previous letters that I merely wish to point out here that in emphasizing so-called communistic activity in other countries, National Socialism is merely trying to cover up, among other things, its own demoralizing, disorganizing, and disruptive activities in so many countries. They complain of communistic activity in Spain and elsewhere, but their own social and political activity in other countries is far greater than that which emanates from Moscow. It is well known that the money for the organization of the big communistic activities which were to be staged in Strasbourg several weeks ago came from Berlin. It is known that the principal financial support within the last eight months for Degrelle in Belgium came from Berlin, and that Dutch National Socialism gets subventions from the same source. The increasing Nazi activity in Rumania and Denmark is financed from Berlin. And yet, Lord Allen of Hurtwood continues to have such a thoroughly inadequate conception of what is happening in Germany that in the November issue of the "Contemporary Review" he speaks of the necessity of getting rid of communistic external activities, without any reference to the more disruptive and, in my opinion, more dangerous activities in other countries emanating from Berlin.

I have in recent letters been calling attention to the reports I have from the best sources concerning the corruption within the National Socialist Party. It is well known that Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Darre, Ley, and practically all of the primary and secondary leaders of the Party have become very rich, and, in spite of the lack of exchange for raw materials and foodstuffs, there is good reason to believe that a good part of their ill-gotten gains have been transferred outside of the country. I think you will be interested to know that Kube, who has played so important a part in the National Socialist movement, either shot himself or was murdered during the Olympic Games. This man Kube was a communist, and it is known that it was he who in 1918 at the end of the War was the man that tore the military insignia from the collars of several of the highest officers of the German

Army. He later joined the National Socialist movement, and in my letters and despatches from Berlin during the first two years of the Party Government I had occasion to point out his radical and dangerous activities. He became one of the great men of Germany, and, like the others, started to enrich himself. He got caught by being less discreet than his associates, and so it was necessary to permit suits to be brought against him for corruption. As these were coming to trial during the Olympic Games and as disclosures were inevitable, he was sent a pistol to shoot himself. I do not know whether he committed suicide or was got rid of, but in any event he "died", and there was practically no mention in the German press of the disappearance of this outstanding Party member. Forster, who is the leader of the Danzig Nazis, has become rich and is now a principal property owner in Danzig. He has done it very much under cover through his mother-in-law, who has gone into the contracting business in Danzig and is getting, of course, the principal public contracts. A friend of mine in Germany who is an important business man was recently approached in connection with a business matter by a man who very frankly told him that he was in a position "to arrange everything with the Party", and stated without any reserve that during the last three years he had accumulated over 500,000 marks by acting as an intermediary. As he is a comparatively small individual, one can appreciate what the big fellows have been making.

One of the things which has to be realized about this Party in Germany is that there is not only this corruption and this interference by it outside Germany through corrupt agents, but that it is made up almost altogether of men without a sense of responsibility. This applies even to those with some background who have come to have high place in the Party. Kauffman, who is the Stadthalter in Hamburg, comes of a very good family there, but he has been wearing the Iron Cross, in spite of the fact that it was never officially awarded to him. The dictatorships breed ignorance and fear and are characterized by this utter lack of responsibility. Most of the men who are at the head of the two great dictatorships in Europe are without savoir faire or savoir vivre.

It is interesting, too, that all sorts of people continue to return from Germany with these glowing

accounts of the situation there, as to the revolution being over, and a great constructive movement taking place. I can assure you that the revolution is in full progress still, and I get information constantly from the most reliable sources of people who are disappearing silently from the scene, in many cases without even their intimate friends knowing what has happened to them.

I have in recent letters referred to the position of the Army, and I am glad to say that the most recent information I have from responsible sources is that the higher officers are still quite sound. I think it is worth while to tell you the following incident: Recently Swen Hedin was in Berlin and General von Seeckt gave a party for him, at which were present some of the leading generals in the German Army. After dinner Swen Hedin spoke in glowing terms about what was happening in Germany, how much he was interested in and impressed by what was happening, and in general all that the Government was accomplishing for the country. As he talked, no one made any comment whatever, but, as he is an intelligent man, he realized the stiffened attitude of his listeners and began to change his tone, saying that, of course, it was an evolutionary process and that the less good would gradually disappear and the really good remain, etc.

Although the Austrians have, as I have explained in this letter, little hope left of much good coming out of the Vienna conference, all sorts of arrangements are being made for an imposing reception and entertainment of Ciano while he is here. There will be on Monday evening, November 9th, a special theatrical representation in the theater of the Schönbrunn Palace, to which the Diplomatic Corps is invited. On the night of November 11th there is also to be a big dinner in the Schönbrunn Palace, to which the chiefs of mission are invited.

This is rather a disjointed letter, due to the fact that I have had to dictate it under the pressure of a good deal of other work. I have been unusually occupied trying to keep in touch with the situation here, particularly with reference to the Vienna conference, and I hope you will forgive the rather

- 18 -

disjointed way in which I have had to write you.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL

PSF: Moore  
State

December 17, 1936.

Dear Judge Moore:

There has been no prescribed rule to be followed by ambassadors and ministers in submitting their resignations at the end of an Administration. Ambassadors and ministers not of the career have generally submitted their resignations at the end of an Administration. With the development of the career principle in appointing chiefs of mission most ambassadors and ministers of the career possessing retirement rights under the law have not been in the habit of submitting resignations. It is understood, however, that the President always has the resignations of all non-career chiefs of mission at his disposal whether submitted or not and is at liberty to accept them whenever he may wish to do so and to retire career chiefs of mission at his discretion subject to their retirement rights under the law. Every chief of mission understands that he holds his office at the complete discretion of the President to be terminated whenever the President sees fit to terminate it regardless of whether he has submitted his resignation or his application for retirement in case he should be a career officer.

It

It would be helpful if the President would indicate whether or not he approves of the procedure as above outlined.

You will recall that, for many years, it has been the practice for the Chiefs of our Diplomatic Missions to submit to the President at the end of each administration their resignations as Ambassador or Minister to the countries to which they are at the time appointed. This practice is a courtesy which I feel should be extended to the President and, for that reason, I am sending notes similar to this to the other Chiefs of Mission, with a view towards something like uniformity in this connection.

Those Chiefs of Mission who are eligible for retirement or reinstatement in the Foreign Service by reason of their appointment directly from the Foreign Service and are affected by the provisions of the Act of February 23, 1951, may accompany their resignations with their request for retirement or reinstatement, if they so desire, for such consideration as it may be possible to give.

With regard to the procedure to be followed, communications should be addressed to the President at the White House.

D R A F T

You will recall that, for many years, it has been the practice for the Chiefs of our Diplomatic Missions abroad to submit to the President at the end of each Administration their resignations as Ambassador or Minister to the countries to which they are at the time appointed. This practice is a courtesy which I feel should be extended to the President and, for that reason, I am sending notes similar to this to the other Chiefs of Mission, with a view towards something like uniformity in this connection.

Those Chiefs of Mission who are eligible for retirement or reinstatement in the Foreign Service by reason of their appointment directly from the Foreign Service and are affected by the provisions of the Act of February 23, 1931, may accompany their resignations with their request for retirement or reinstatement, if they so desire, for such consideration as it may be possible to give.

With regard to the procedure to be followed, communications should be addressed to the President at the White House.

D R A F T.

You will recall that, for many years, it has been the practice for the Chiefs of our Diplomatic Missions abroad to submit to the President at the end of each Administration their resignations as ambassador or minister to the countries to which they are at the time appointed. This practice is a courtesy which I feel should be extended to the President and, for that reason, I am sending notes similar to this to the other Chiefs of Mission, with a view towards something like uniformity in this connection.

With regard to the procedure <sup>to be followed,</sup> ~~in this connection,~~ communications should be addressed to the President at the White House.

PSF: Moore

Staly

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Attached are cables that have just come in from Ambassador Caffery, which are nothing more than repetitions of his cables to Mr. Welles. There is also attached a brief memorandum prepared by the Chief of the Latin American Division, summarizing all that we know, up to this time, with one exception, which is that according to information telephoned this morning by Consul General Matthews, Batista has agreed to postpone action until December 23rd.

The surmise of the Latin American Division is that the tax bill will be passed over the President's veto, should the President adhere to his opposition to the measure, and that then he will be displaced and succeeded by the Vice President, who is said to be a Batista partisan, but whether this surmise is correct I am unable to determine, because of the Department not having been kept

more

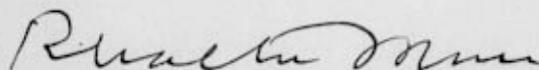
The President,

The White House.

more fully advised.

You will find that the note handed you by the Cuban Ambassador does not call for any discussion, and in fact I am sure from what he just told me that he does not desire to discuss the situation with you.

Yours very sincerely,



Enclosures:  
As stated.

P. S. Enclosed also is a memorandum with reference to the recent conference at Ottawa relative to the St. Lawrence Waterways project.

R.W.M.

PSF: Moore

State

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dec. 28, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

Do you think it would be all right for me to recommend Cordell for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1937? As, what they call in Europe, the "Head of the State", I should perhaps not do it, and also it might militate against his getting the award if I did do it; but, on the other hand, no one deserves it more than Cordell and he should have had it this year instead of Saavedra Lama.

If you think well of the idea of my proposing him, in accordance with this circular, would you give me an idea of what you think I should say and how I should say it?

F. D. R.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

PSF:  
M.M.C.

In reply refer to  
FA 093.57 N 86/296

December 23, 1936

My dear Mr. McIntyre:

The Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament has forwarded to the Department of State a number of copies of the Committee's circular furnishing information in regard to proposals of candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1937, for distribution among those persons in the United States qualified to propose candidates.

Accordingly, I beg to enclose a copy of the circular for the information of the President.

Sincerely yours,

Acting Secretary.

Enclosure:  
Circular of the Nobel Committee  
of the Norwegian Parliament.

The Honorable

Marvin H. McIntyre,  
Secretary to the President,  
The White House.

Dec. 29, 1936.

PSF:  
file - more  
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Memo to Judge Moore  
From R. C. Tanis  
Acting Chief-Mexican Affairs

In re-Property Owned by W. R. Hearst about 150 miles from  
El Paso, Texas.

SEE--Mexico-Foreign File-Drawer 2--1936

PSF: Moore  
J  
staty

Handwritten notes and initials, including "J. H. P." and "12/31/36".



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 31, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Here is a statement received by telephone from Norman Davis. Please let me know whether I should say anything at the press conference here Monday, or whether you will say something at your press conference.

I hope that tomorrow you will hear that all is well with your son, and will therefore have a very happy day, and that the year then to begin will bring you all that you deserve, with many more satisfactory years ahead of you.

You did me a great favor yesterday in seeing my young relatives, and they were of course delighted at the opportunity of meeting you.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosure:  
As stated.

The President,  
The White House.

RF: State Dept.  
Moore

RF

Moore  
State



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

The attached memorandum lists some of the matters which, speaking for the State Department, you may wish to consider in connection with your legislative program and otherwise. They are barely mentioned, and I am not now troubling you with any elaboration, but I am prepared to do that whenever you desire.

Yours very sincerely,

*Roosevelt Moore*

Enclosure:  
Memorandum.

The President,  
The White House.

*Enclosed is - letter from Bullard  
that came in after the  
when no original R.M.M.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
ACTING  
THE ~~UNDER~~ SECRETARY

*Very interesting*  
December 15, 1936.

MEMORANDUM

1. The work of the Executive Office.

Some time ago the President referred to the possible expediency of attaching persons to his office who might relieve him of some of the incessant work which he has been performing. They might, for example, meet or receive communications from people desiring to see the President, and either dispose of the questions they have in mind or head them in some other direction. They might give an assurance to individuals that in a short time they would be satisfactorily advised. There are many things they would be able to do in order to very materially cut down demands on the President's time. It was suggested that a start could be made by selecting three very intelligent and active men who would be able to contact with the Departments and Agencies of the Government in performing their duties, and my own belief is that this would be better than to initiate the plan in a more ambitious way. I have talked with Louis Brownlow, who expects to embody a more complete plan in the proposed legislation to reorganize governmental work so as to avoid duplications, etc. But inasmuch as that kind of legislation may not be enacted for some time,

some time, I would personally like to see a step immediately taken to afford the President a measure of relief. Brownlow and I have talked a little about men who could be counted on for efficient work. Of course the staff would keep the President closely advised of its activities to the extent necessary. I do not think the annual salary should be less than \$10,000, and it will be necessary to provide a few stenographic clerks.

2. Space for the work of the Department of State.

I doubt whether any Department of the Government is now so lacking in space necessary for the proper and efficient conduct of its business. During this administration increase of the force has been required, not only because of the normal expansion of the work, but because of new activities - the Trade Agreement program, the provision of a Munitions Office, the provision of an office to consider all questions relative to the Philippines, etc. It has been necessary to house in the Winder Building two of the Divisions of the Department, the Treaty Division and the Visa Division. Several of the divisions and offices are now so crowded that besides the discomfort created there is some actual waste of effort. For example anyone making an inspection of the very important Division of Communications and Records, which handles outgoing and incoming messages, and among other things is charged with protecting the secrecy of our codes, or the Division of Accounts, which is very important,

would

would see at a glance what is meant by the crowding together of a lot of people in something like half the space that is reasonably necessary. There are photographs showing the condition in those and other places, and it is safe to say that no one dissents from the view that I am expressing. The simple truth is that the entire building should be used by the State Department by some arrangement being made that would locate the War Department work elsewhere. I do not know what use is to be made of the old Interior Department, or how much space may be available in the new Interior Department building, but it is obvious that something should be done without delay if possible. The other day I had a letter from an official of the Interior Department speaking of the construction of a new State Department building, but that is not only a far off idea, but in my own judgment the work of the State Department should be continued in the building where it is now carried on, and if so I believe no further accommodations will be needed in the next twenty-five or fifty years.

3. Amalgamation of Foreign Services.

It seems to me very obvious that there should be an amalgamation of certain of the foreign services. Apparently many disinterested observers and investigators entertain the opinion that there is undesirable duplication and unwarranted expense in failing to coordinate with the main foreign service of the State Department the services now maintained by the Departments  
of

Commerce, Treasury and Agriculture. The other departments would not suffer by this step being taken, which seems to be altogether logical and practical. If no authority for this now exists, it seems to me that it should be included in the legislation that Mr. Brownlow proposes. Very recently I have had a communication from Mr. Bullitt on this subject, and have approved his suggestion that he communicate directly with Secretary Roper, sending the President a copy of his letter. One point I may mention is that my experience during the last few weeks leads me to believe that our officials in the foreign field are, as a rule, stronger and more capable than I once believed. They are certainly as strong and capable as special representatives of the other Departments, whose work largely overlaps the work of our officials.

4. Provision for foreign buildings.

I am very strongly of the opinion that there should be a lump sum appropriation of say \$5,000,000, to be expended during a period of say five years in the construction and repair of buildings abroad to house our employees. At this time the total rent payments are considerable, and in a few places repairs are needed. When I was in the House of Representatives and a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs there was a lump sum appropriation authorized of \$10,000,000, but that is nearly exhausted and hereafter, unless there is another such appropriation authorized, recourse will have to be had to Congress in

special

special cases, a process that will be a nuisance to everybody. The expenditure of the former appropriation has been entrusted to the Foreign Buildings Commission, composed of representatives of the State, Commerce, and Treasury Departments, and the Chairmen of the two Foreign Committees of Congress, and I am satisfied that the expenditures have been very carefully guarded and in the main judiciously made. I think it is simply common sense to continue the policy that was adopted several years ago, and which has had beneficial results. Incidentally, if legislation should be enacted authorizing a lump sum appropriation, I think the Commission should be given larger powers so as to enable it to sell or exchange buildings. At this time we have a problem at Berlin, where we own and are carrying without any return the costly Bluecher Palace. There is a diversity of opinion as to what should be done, but most of those who have inspected the Palace strongly believe that it should be sold and the proceeds used in adequate construction somewhere else in the city. That is Dr. Dodd's opinion, and only last night Representative Bloom, of New York, very emphatically expressed the same opinion. I think that Mr. Phillips reached that conclusion after looking the building over. There are two or three people who think that the building should be placed in condition at a cost of approximately \$750,000.

may regard it as unwise to bring the treaty to the attention of the Senate during the coming session. While I was in favor of asking the Senate to ratify the World Court Convention during

5. Renewal of the Tariff Act.

It is to be determined whether legislation for this purpose should be initiated at once, on the theory that it will meet little opposition, and if this course is taken, then in advance of the meeting of Congress Senators Harrison and Robinson and Representative Doughton should be consulted. If there is to be anticipated a serious fight, then perhaps it might be well to postpone the matter until Mr. Hull's return. Recently the Customs Court has thrown out a suit brought to test the constitutionality of the present Act, but other litigation of that character is coming on. Nevertheless it is thought that the validity of the Act will be sustained, and personally I am more sanguine than I was prior to the election.

6. Treaties.

At any time I will be prepared to report to the President relative to the St. Lawrence Waterways Treaty on the Canadian attitude, /as ascertained by the conferences at Ottawa this month between the Canadian authorities and the representatives of our Government named by the President. Mr. Hickerson, who is, I think, perhaps more familiar with all of the details than anyone else, seems to believe that the President may regard it as unwise to bring the treaty to the attention of the Senate during the coming session. While I was in favor of asking the Senate to ratify the World Court Convention during  
the

the last Congress, I now do not believe that effort should be renewed. To do so would of course bring on a very sharp controversy and even if the Convention were ratified, it does not seem to me that that would have much effect either in the way of advantage to our Government or in its bearing upon the cause of world peace. There are doubtless officials of this Department who entertain the contrary view, and at this moment I cannot speak for the Secretary. The President will probably wish to draw the attention of the Senate to the United States-Argentine Sanitary Convention.

I have furnished Senator Pittman a full list of pending or prospective treaties, so far as now known, and that list will be plussed by treaties negotiated at the Pan American Conference.

#### 7. Neutrality.

This of course is a subject of major importance, which is under constant study in this Department, and Congress will have to deal with the present Statute prior to June 1st. All of my thought strengthens my conviction that all of our domestic legislation should be discretionary, since it is utterly impossible to forecast what will be the nature and extent of any future war, and that accordingly the Executive should have a very free hand. It may be very doubtful whether Congress could be persuaded to divest of its mandatory character the

embargo

embargo provision respecting arms, ammunition and implements of war, but I do believe that if the matter is properly handled the present statute can be so amended and enlarged as to make all of the other provisions discretionary. . . Senator Pittman was here a short time ago. At his invitation I talked with him very briefly and inconclusively. I think it would be most helpful, as a first step, for the President to fix a time to see Pittman when he comes back this month, and have a full talk with him, as I am pretty sure he can be persuaded to take the discretionary view. As Chairman of the Senate Committee, and personally popular with its members, he has great influence, and he and Robinson working together could very nearly do exactly what they desire. It would be well to dissuade Chairman McReynolds from going forward in the House until after the Senate has acted, since I am confident that the House will approve any bill passed by the Senate with the President's approval. At the President's convenience it might be well for him, before seeing Pittman, even before Mr. Hull returns, to give Mr. Hackworth and myself the opportunity of suggesting what we think Congress should do.

I regret that the word "neutrality" was ever used, and has gotten so fixed in the public mind. It would have been much better to call our domestic legislation peace legislation. In the extensive discussion of the subject with the Senate Committee in its private sessions, members were constantly suggesting that

this or that provision would not be real neutrality, because it would give a little more advantage to one belligerent than the other, which is undoubtedly true, because in practice the scales always tip one way or the other, but it is now too late to change the label.

8. Miscellaneous.

The President will probably wish to select pretty quickly a successor to Mr. Murphy, the Philippine Governor General.

He will wish to decide when to designate his representatives at the British Coronation, but about that I have already communicated with him.

The President will also wish to decide if and when he will transfer Atherton from London. The man some of us have had in mind to succeed him is Herschel Johnson, now on the London staff, and as he is in this country, I can arrange to have the President see him and size him up, should that be desired.

The Executive Order relative to the marriage of our Foreign Service Officers seems to meet general approval. Perhaps I have already told the President that in two cases, and there is a third pending, I permitted the marriage of two officials who had contracted their engagements before the order was issued, which was a possibility had in mind at the time the President signed the order.

I think some pretty fine work has recently been done towards protecting the secrecy of our codes, and also some good work in bringing about a closer supervision of the divisions and offices

offices of the Department, in analogy to what any business corporation would do in conducting its activities.

I am now attempting to effect a revision and codification of the mass of diplomatic and consular regulations, so as to save the time of officials here and in the field, in ascertaining what is required in specific cases. I think I can give the assurance that in all of the administrative improvements attempted to be made, no hostility or controversy has been created. Care has been taken to do everything in a tactful and quiet manner.

I might write almost endlessly about various matters that have come along on the basis of questions arising in the Department and presented by our officials abroad and conversations with many of the foreign representatives here, and perhaps now and then some of these things may be of interest to the President.

*Rutherford B. Hayes*

United States - ...  
against involvement in ...  
Jim, as usual, was able to see the point, and  
went on to say that he felt there were many chiefs of  
mission today who were thoroughly incompetent and  
that  
The Executive  
R. B. Hayes  
acting Secretary of State,  
Washington.

12 ✓  
Personal and  
Confidential

Paris, December 8, 1936.

Dear Judge Moore:

I want to make a suggestion to you which I believe will be of real assistance to the President.

When Jim Farley was here the other day, I tried to convince him that he should refrain from urging the President to appoint to diplomatic posts incompetents who had contributed to the campaign fund. I tried to explain to him the extreme gravity of the situation both in Europe and the Far East and tried to impress on him the fact that an intelligent Foreign Service is the first line of defense of the United States - or at least the first line of defense against involvement in war.

Jim, as usual, was quick to see the point, and went on to say that he felt there were many chiefs of mission today who were thoroughly incompetent and  
that

The Honorable

R. Walton Moore,

Acting Secretary of State,

Washington.

that there were a number the President would be glad to get rid of, but he felt the President would hesitate to ask for their resignations. I agreed with his statement and a solution suddenly occurred to me.

There used to be, as you know, a thoroughly healthy custom that all chiefs of mission should resign at the close of each Presidential term, in order to give the President a completely free hand with regard to reappointments. The custom still exists but I fear there are a number of incompetent chiefs of mission who will not resign. The change in the date of Inauguration seems to me to give you, as Acting Secretary of State, an excellent opportunity to relieve the President of the burden of asking for resignations by issuing the following circular instruction to all chiefs of mission:

"Chiefs of Mission are reminded that owing to the change in the date of Inauguration their resignations should be in the hands of the President not later than January 15, 1937."

I am writing to the President by the same pouch that will bring you this letter to make the same suggestion to him. As the instruction ~~will~~ be addressed to all chiefs of mission, no individual chief of mission could in any way feel injured by its receipt. On receipt

of

of the resignations, the President would then be in the happy position of being able to get rid of incompetents and other undesirables by writing them a polite note of thanks and praise.

If the suggestion appeals to you, I hope you will take it up with the President shortly after his return from South America as there will not be much time for the receipt of the resignations before January 15th.

I think you will find that a number of the chiefs of mission who are now conversant with the old custom will submit their resignations as a matter of course, but there will be a number, and those the less desirable, who will not. Incidentally, I submit my resignation here and now.

Before I left Washington the President said to me that he hoped I would come back for Christmas but of course, I shall not unless I receive an order from him to do so. I may take advantage of Anne's Christmas holidays to visit the French colonies in Africa by airplane.

The Naval Attaché has an excellent new plane which carries five passengers and as the Christmas season usually brings a lull in political activity

in

W.C.B.

in France, I shall probably take the plane on December 18th for a brief visit to Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, returning about January 1st. All those colonies are within my official bailiwick, and such a visit would make an excellent impression, so that, if I go, I shall not feel I am playing truant. If the situation here continues to be tense, I shall, of course, remain in Paris.

My love to you and a Merry Christmas and the Happiest of New Years.

Yours devotedly,

*William C. Bullitt*

William C. Bullitt.

P.S. It was delightful to hear your voice. You sounded as if you were growing younger at an alarming rate.

Love.

W.C.B.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

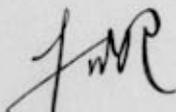
December 28, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

In regard to resignations of Chiefs of Mission, it seems best to do nothing further in regard to the career men but the non-career Chiefs should, of course, submit their resignations as has always been done in the past.

F. D. R.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'FDR', written in dark ink.

RF: Moore

State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 24, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

In connection with the suggestion that all chiefs of missions should hand in their resignations, a question has arisen that I think you will wish to consider. It does not refer to persons outside of the career service, but only to those who belonged to that service.

Should a career chief resign who has been in the service for at least thirty years, or reached the age of sixty-five years, having had a service of at least fifteen years, upon his resignation being accepted he would have the benefit during the rest of his life of a pretty generous retirement allowance. But a person who has not served thirty years, or reached the age of sixty-five years with fifteen years of service, upon his resignation being accepted, would not be entitled to retirement annuities, but only entitled to the return of the amount paid into the foreign service retirement fund with interest at four per cent.

Attached

The President,  
The White House.

Attached is a memorandum showing the two categories into which the career chiefs at this time fall.

Should a career chief's resignation be accepted, the President would have authority to reinstate him to the classified Foreign Service. This is provided for by Section 12 of the Act, copy of which is herewith enclosed. I do not believe, and Mr. Hackworth concurs in that view, that the reinstatement appointments would have to be approved by the Senate, but apparently others, who, however, are not lawyers, take a different view. Should the latter view be held correct, the President would probably find the Senate willing to confirm his nominations. You will notice the last sentence of Section 12, which limits the number of reinstatements, but at this moment seven reinstatements to Class I would be permissible.

In the event you determine to request all the chiefs to resign, I think the following form would be suitable:

To \_\_\_\_\_:

You are reminded that the date of the Presidential Inauguration has been changed to January 20th. According to a custom formerly observed, and in order to regularize procedure, your resignation should be placed at the disposal of the President, through the Secretary of State, not later than January 15, 1937.

The foregoing is being sent to all chiefs of missions.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Acting Secretary of State.

Whenever

Whenever necessary the communication would be sent  
by wire, in order to insure a reply before January 15th.

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Walter Stone*

Enclosures:

Memorandum dated  
December 19, 1936;  
Copy of Act of February  
23, 1931.

P.S. Colonel McIntyre thinks I can see you about  
two or three important matters Saturday morning, and if so,  
I will have an opportunity for a word or so with you about  
the matter to which this letter relates.

*R. W. Stone*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 19, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

It seems to me that the best thing to do would be to send out immediately a note to all Chiefs of Mission to read somewhat as follows:

"Chiefs of Mission are reminded that owing to the change in the date of Inauguration, and in pursuance of custom, their resignations should be in the hands of the President not later than January 15, 1937."

In some way it could be made clear that a similar note is being sent to all other Chiefs of Mission.

*FDR* F. D. R.

December 19, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE MOORE

The following career Chiefs of Mission, if retired during 1937, would receive no benefits from the Foreign Service Retirement Act. They have not had thirty years' service and, unless they are reinstated in the Foreign Service, which would depend upon funds and positions being available for them, would receive only the amounts contributed by them to the retirement fund:

Norman Armour, Minister to Canada.  
Jefferson Caffery, Ambassador to Cuba.  
William Dawson, Minister to Colombia.  
George A. Gordon, Minister to Haiti.  
Leo J. Keena, Minister to Honduras.  
Arthur Bliss Lane, Minister to Latvia, Estonia,  
Lithuania.  
George S. Messersmith, Minister to Austria.  
R. Henry Norweb, Minister to Bolivia.  
Frederick A. Sterling, Minister to Bulgaria.  
Hugh R. Wilson, Minister to Switzerland.  
J. Butler Wright, Minister to Czechoslovakia.

December 19, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE MOORE

The following career Chiefs of Mission are eligible to retirement or will become eligible during 1937 under the terms of the Act of February 23, 1931:

Fred M. Dearing, Ambassador to Peru, will complete thirty years' service during 1937.

Hugh S. Gibson, Ambassador to Brazil, will complete thirty years' service during 1937.

Joseph C. Grew, Ambassador to Japan, has completed thirty years' service.

Nelson T. Johnson, Ambassador to China, has completed thirty years' service.

Julius G. Lay, Minister to Uruguay, has completed thirty years' service and would retire for age August 31, 1937, if his time were not extended by the President.

Hoffman Philip, Ambassador to Chile, has completed thirty years' service and would retire for age July 31, 1937, if his time were not extended by the President.

George T. Summerlin, Minister to Panama, would retire for age November 30, 1937, if his time were not extended by the President.

Ralph J. Totten, Minister to the Union of South Africa, has applied for retirement on the basis of thirty years' service effective August 31, 1937. He will have completed thirty years' service early in 1937.

Charles S. Wilson, Minister to Yugoslavia, has completed thirty years' service.

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approved Feb 23 31

[PUBLIC—No. 715—71ST CONGRESS]

[H. R. 9110]

An Act For the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and providing compensation therefor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America shall be graded and classified as follows, and shall receive, within the limitation of such appropriations as the Congress may make, the basic compensations specified:

Senior clerks. Class 1, \$4,000; class 2, \$3,750; class 3, \$3,500; class 4, \$3,250; class 5, \$3,000.

Junior clerks. Class 1, \$2,750; class 2, \$2,500; class 3, all clerks whose compensation as fixed by the Secretary of State is less than \$2,500 per annum.

SEC. 2. Appointments to the grade of senior clerks and advancement from class to class in that grade shall hereafter be by promotion for efficient service, and no one shall be promoted to the grade of senior clerk who is not an American citizen and has not served as a clerk in a diplomatic mission or a consulate, or both, or as a clerk in the Department of State for at least five years.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of State is hereby authorized, at posts where in his judgment it is required by the public interests for the purpose of meeting the unusual or excessive costs of living ascertained by him to exist, to grant compensation to clerks assigned there in addition to the basic rates herein specified, within such appropriations as Congress may make for such purpose: *Provided, however,* That all such additional compensation with the reasons therefor shall be reported to Congress with the annual Budget.

SEC. 4. No clerk who is not an American citizen shall hereafter be appointed to serve in a diplomatic mission.

SEC. 5. The President is hereby authorized to prescribe regulations for the administration of the foregoing provisions.

SEC. 6. Section 5 of the Act of April 5, 1906, entitled "An Act to provide for the reorganization of the Consular Service" (United States Code, page 646, section 57), is hereby repealed.

SEC. 7. That the Act (Public Numbered 135, Sixty-eighth Congress) approved May 24, 1924, entitled "An Act for the reorganization and improvement of the Foreign Service of the United States, and for other purposes," be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. That hereafter the Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States shall be known as the Foreign Service of the United States.

"SEC. 9. That the official designation 'Foreign Service officers,' as employed throughout this Act, shall be deemed to denote permanent officers in the Foreign Service below the grade of minister, all of whom are subject to promotion on merit and who may be appointed



positions or assigned to serve in the  
tion 21 of this Act, at the discretion  
Foreign Service shall hereafter  
with the salaries of each class  
increases in salaries are authorized  
exceeding in number for each class  
of officers in the service represented  
ations:  
now or hereafter provided: For-  
Class 1, 6 per centum, \$9,000 to  
0,000 to \$8,900; class 2, 8 per centum,  
centum, \$6,000 to \$6,900; class 3,  
centum, 14 per centum, \$4,500 to  
centum, 8, \$3,500 to \$3,900; unclassified,

(Precedent)

[Rev. 713.]

service have demonstrated special capacity for promotion to the grade of minister and the names of those Foreign Service officers and clerks and officers and employees in the Department of State who by reason of efficient service, an accurate record of which shall be kept in the Department of State, have demonstrated special efficiency, and also the names of persons found upon taking the prescribed examination to have fitness for appointment to the service, and any Foreign Service officer who may hereafter be promoted to a higher class within the classification prescribed in section 10 of this Act shall have the status and receive the compensation attaching to such higher class from the date stated in his commission as the effective date of his promotion to such higher class.

"That the grade of consular assistant is hereby abolished.

"Sec. 15. That sections 1697 and 1698 of the Revised Statutes are hereby repealed.

"Sec. 16. Every secretary, consul general, consul, vice consul of career, or Foreign Service officer, before he receives his commission or enters upon the duties of his office, shall give to the United States a bond, in such form as the President shall prescribe, with such sureties, who shall be permanent residents of the United States, as the Secretary of State shall approve, in a penal sum not less than the annual compensation allowed to such officer, conditioned for the true and faithful accounting for, paying over, and delivering up of all fees, moneys, goods, effects, books, records, papers, and other property which shall come to his hands or to the hands of any other person to his use as such officer under any law now or hereafter enacted, and for the true and faithful performance of all other duties now or hereafter lawfully imposed upon him as such officer: *Provided*, That the operation of no existing bond shall in any wise be impaired by the provisions of this Act: *Provided further*, That such bond shall cover by its stipulations all official acts of such officer, whether commissioned as diplomatic or consular officer or Foreign Service officer. The bonds herein mentioned shall be deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury.

"Sec. 17. That the provisions of section 4 of the Act of April 5, 1906, relative to the powers, duties, and prerogatives of consuls general at large are hereby made applicable to the Foreign Service officers detailed for the purpose of inspection, who shall, under the direction of the Secretary of State, inspect in a substantially uniform manner the work of diplomatic and consular offices.

"Sec. 18. That the provisions of sections 8 and 10 of the Act of April 5, 1906, relative to official fees and the method of accounting therefor shall apply to diplomatic officers below the grade of minister and to consular officers.

"Sec. 19. That under such regulations as the President may prescribe, and within the limitations of such appropriations as may be made therefor, which appropriations are hereby authorized, ambassadors, ministers, diplomatic, consular, and Foreign Service officers may be granted allowances for representation; and also post allowances wherever the cost of living may be proportionately so high that in the opinion of the Secretary of State such allowances are necessary to enable such diplomatic, consular, and Foreign Service officers to carry on their work efficiently: *Provided*, That all such allowances shall be accounted for to the Secretary of State in such

manner and under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe and the authorization and approval of such expenditures by the Secretary of State, as complying with such rules and regulations, shall be binding upon all officers of the Government: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of State shall report all such expenditures annually to the Congress with the Budget estimates of the Department of State.

"SEC. 20. Appropriations are authorized for the salary of a private secretary to each ambassador to be appointed by the ambassador and hold office at his pleasure.

"SEC. 21. That any Foreign Service officer may be assigned for duty in the Department of State without loss of class or salary, such assignment to be for a period of not more than three years, unless the public interests demand further service, when such assignment may be extended for a period not to exceed one year. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 1742 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, any ambassador or minister or any Foreign Service officer of whatever class detailed for duty in connection with trade conferences or international gatherings, congresses, or conferences, or for other special duty not at his post or in the Department of State, except temporarily for purposes of consultation, shall be paid his salary and expenses for travel and subsistence at the rates prescribed by law.

"SEC. 22. That the Secretary of State is authorized, whenever he deems it to be in the public interest, to order to the United States on his statutory leave of absence any Foreign Service officer or vice consul of career who has performed three years or more of continuous service abroad: *Provided*, That the expenses of transportation and subsistence of such officers and their immediate families, in traveling from their posts to their homes in the United States and return, shall be paid under the same rules and regulations applicable in the case of officers going to and returning from their posts under orders of the Secretary of State when not on leave: *And provided further*, That while in the United States the services of such officers shall be available for trade conference work or for such duties in the Department of State as the Secretary of State may prescribe, but the time of such work or duties shall not be counted as leave.

"The Secretary of State is authorized, in his discretion and subject to such regulations as may be issued by the President to grant to any officer or employee of the Foreign Service not to exceed sixty days annual leave of absence with pay. If such officer or employee returns to the United States, the leave of absence granted under the provisions of this section shall be exclusive of the time actually and necessarily occupied in going to and from the United States, and such time as may be necessarily occupied in awaiting sailing. Any portion of sixty days annual leave not granted or availed of in any one year may be cumulative, not to exceed exclusive of time in transit and awaiting sailing, one hundred and twenty days in three years or one hundred and eighty days in four years: *Provided further*, That employees, not American citizens, may be granted not to exceed thirty days leave of absence with pay in any one year.

"The Secretary of State is also authorized to grant to any officer or employee of the Foreign Service on account of personal illness or on account of exposure to a contagious disease which would render presence at a post of duty hazardous to the health of fellow

[Pub. 714]

employees, sick leave of a year, the unused portion exceed one hundred and year of operation of absence sick leave of absence of Foreign Service for more than forty-ei  
 "Section 1742 of the  
 "Sec. 23. That the  
 bered 131), which au  
 any secretary of class  
 "Provided, That  
 be so to do.

employees, sick leave of absence with pay at the rate of fifteen days a year, the unused portion of such sick leave to be cumulative not to exceed one hundred and twenty days: *Provided*, That during the first year of operation of this act not to exceed thirty days of additional sick leave of absence with pay may be granted.

"No Foreign Service officer shall be absent from his post with pay for more than forty-eight hours without permission, except as provided herein.

"Section 1742 of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed.

"SEC. 23. That the part of the Act of July 1, 1916 (Public, Numbered 131), which authorizes the President to designate and assign any secretary of class 1 as counselor of embassy or legation, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"*Provided*, That the President may, whenever he considers it advisable so to do, designate and assign any Foreign Service officer as counselor of embassy or legation."

"SEC. 24. That within the discretion of the President, any Foreign Service officer may be assigned to act as commissioner, chargé d'affaires, minister resident, or diplomatic agent for such period as the public interests may require without loss of grade, class, or salary: *Provided, however*, That no such officer shall receive more than one salary.

"SEC. 25. That for such times as any Foreign Service officer shall be lawfully authorized to act as chargé d'affaires ad interim or to assume charge of a consulate general or consulate during the absence of the principal officer at the post to which he shall have been assigned, he shall, if his salary is less than one-half that of such principal officer, receive in addition to his salary as Foreign Service officer, compensation equal to the difference between such salary and one-half of the salary provided by law for the ambassador, minister, or principal consular officer, as the case may be.

"SEC. 26. The President is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations for the establishment of a Foreign Service retirement and disability system to be administered under the direction of the Secretary of State and in accordance with the following principles, to wit:

"(a) The Secretary of State shall submit annually a comparative report showing all receipts and disbursements on account of refunds, allowances, and annuities, together with the total number of persons receiving annuities and the amounts paid them, and shall submit annually estimates of appropriations necessary to continue this section in full force and such appropriations are hereby authorized: *Provided*, That in no event shall the aggregate total appropriations exceed the aggregate total of the contributions of the Foreign Service officers theretofore made, and accumulated interest thereon.

"(b) There is hereby created a special fund to be known as the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund.

"(c) Five per centum of the basic salary of all Foreign Service officers eligible to retirement shall be contributed to the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund, and the Secretary of the Treasury is directed on the date on which this Act takes effect to cause such deductions to be made and the sums transferred on the books of the Treasury Department to the credit of the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund for the payment of annuities,

refunds, and allowances: *Provided*, That all basic salaries in excess of \$10,000 per annum shall be treated as \$10,000.

*add*  
 "(d) When any Foreign Service officer has reached the age of sixty-five years and rendered at least fifteen years of service he shall be retired: *Provided*, That if any such officer shall have served thirty years he may be retired at his own request before reaching the age of sixty-five years: *Provided further*, That the President may in his discretion retain any such officer on active duty for such period prior to his reaching seventy years of age, as he may deem for the interests of the United States.

"(e) Annuities shall be paid to retired Foreign Service officers under the following classification, based upon length of service and at the following percentages of the average annual basic salary for the ten years next preceding the date of retirement: Class A, thirty years or more, 60 per centum; Class B, from twenty-seven to thirty years, 54 per centum; Class C, from twenty-four to twenty-seven years, 48 per centum; Class D, from twenty-one to twenty-four years, 42 per centum; Class E, from eighteen to twenty-one years, 36 per centum; Class F, from fifteen to eighteen years, 30 per centum: *Provided, however*, That in computing the average annual basic salary for the ten years next preceding the date of retirement, so much of an officer's service as was rendered prior to July 1, 1924, in accordance with the classification and salaries established by laws then in effect, as it is possible to credit to him by applying to all such periods of service rendered prior to July 1, 1924, the rules for corresponding classes in the reclassification provisions in section 7 of the Act of May 24, 1924, shall be considered as having been performed in accordance with the classifications and salaries established for Foreign Service officers in section 3 of the Act of May 24, 1924: *And provided further*, That no increases in annuities under this Act shall operate retroactively and nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as reducing the rate of the annuity received by any retired officer on the effective date of this Act.

"(f) Those officers who retire before having contributed for each year of service shall have withheld from their annuities to the credit of the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund such proportion of 5 per centum as the number of years in which they did not contribute bears to the total length of service: *Provided*, That no deductions shall be made from the annuities of officers who have contributed thirty years, and no officer shall be required to contribute more than thirty years in any circumstances.

"(g) The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to invest from time to time in interest-bearing securities of the United States such portions of the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund as in his judgment may not be immediately required for the payment of annuities, refunds, and allowances, and the income derived from such investments shall constitute a part of said fund.

"(h) None of the moneys mentioned in this section shall be assignable either in law or equity, or be subject to execution, levy, or attachment, garnishment, or other legal process.

"(i) In case an annuitant dies without having received in annuities an amount equal to the total amount of his contributions from salary with interest thereon at 4 per centum per annum compounded annually up to the time of his death, the excess of said

accumulated contributions over the said annuity payments shall be paid to his or her legal representatives; and in case a Foreign Service officer shall die without having reached the retirement age the total amount of his contribution with accrued interest shall be paid to his legal representatives.

"(j) That any Foreign Service officer who, before reaching the age of retirement becomes totally disabled for useful and efficient service by reason of disease or injury not due to vicious habits, intemperance, or willful misconduct on his part, shall, upon his own application or upon order of the President, be retired on an annuity under paragraph (e) of this section: *Provided, however,* That in each case such disability shall be determined by the report of a duly qualified physician or surgeon designated by the Secretary of State to conduct the examination: *Provided further,* That unless the disability be permanent, a like examination shall be made annually in order to determine the degree of disability, and the payment of annuity shall cease from the date of the medical examination showing recovery.

"Fees for examinations under this provision, together with reasonable traveling and other expenses incurred in order to submit to examination, shall be paid out of the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund.

"When the annuity is discontinued under this provision before the annuitant has received a sum equal to the total amount of his contributions, with accrued interest, the difference shall be paid to him or to his legal representatives.

"(k) The President is authorized from time to time to establish, by Executive order, a list of places which by reason of climatic or other extreme conditions are to be classed as unhealthful posts, and each year of duty subsequent to January 1, 1900, at such posts inclusive of regular leaves of absence, of officers already retired or hereafter retired, shall be counted as one year and a half, and so on in like proportion in reckoning the length of service for the purpose of retirement, fractional months being considered as full months in computing such service: *Provided, however,* That the President may at any time cancel the designation of any places as unhealthful without affecting any credit which has accrued for service at such posts prior to the date of the cancellation.

"(l) Whenever a Foreign Service officer becomes separated from the service except for disability before reaching the age of retirement, or under section 33 of this Act, the total amount of contribution from his salary with interest thereon at 4 per centum per annum compounded annually up to the date of such separation, shall be returned to him.

"(m) The Secretary of State is authorized to expend from surplus money to the credit of the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund an amount not exceeding \$5,000 per annum for the expenses necessary in carrying out the provisions of this section, including actuarial advice.

"(n) Any diplomatic secretary or consular officer who has been or any Foreign Service officer who may hereafter be promoted from the classified service to the grade of ambassador or minister, or appointed to a position in the Department of State, shall be entitled to all the benefits of this section in the same manner and under the

same conditions as Foreign Service officers: *Provided*, That any officer now included under the Act of May 24, 1924, and the amendment thereto of July 3, 1926, shall be entitled to the benefits of this section.

"(o) For the purposes of this Act the period of service shall be computed from the date of original oath of office as diplomatic secretary, consul general, consul, vice consul, deputy consul, consular assistant, consular agent, commercial agent, interpreter, or student interpreter, and shall include periods of service at different times as either a diplomatic or consular officer, or while on assignment to the Department of State, or on special duty or service in another department or establishment of the Government, but all periods of separation from the service and so much of any period of leave of absence without pay as may exceed six months shall be excluded: *Provided*, That service in the Department of State or as clerk in a mission or consulate prior to appointment as a Foreign Service officer may be included in the period of service, in which case the officer shall pay into the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund a special contribution equal to 5 per centum of his annual salary for each year of such employment, with interest thereon to date of payment compounded annually at 4 per centum, provided that such special contribution shall be subject to the limitations established by subdivision (f) of this section.

"Sec. 27. In the event of public emergency any retired Foreign Service officer may be recalled temporarily to active service by the President, and while so serving he shall be entitled in lieu of his retirement allowance to the full pay of the class in which he is temporarily serving.

"Sec. 28. That all provisions of law heretofore enacted relating to diplomatic secretaries and to consular officers, which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, are hereby made applicable to Foreign Service officers when they are designated for service as diplomatic or consular officers, and that all Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed.

"Sec. 29. That the appropriations contained in Title I of the Act entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice and for the Judiciary and for the Departments of Commerce and Labor for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes,' for such compensation and expenses as are affected by the provisions of this Act are made available and may be applied toward the payment of the compensation and expenses herein provided.

"Sec. 30. That there is hereby established in the Department of State the office of legal adviser (in lieu of the Solicitor of the Department of State, which office is hereby abolished). The legal adviser shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and shall receive the same salary as Assistant Secretaries of State.

"Sec. 31. There shall be in the Department of State a Board of Foreign Service Personnel for the Foreign Service, whose duty it shall be to recommend promotions in the Foreign Service and to furnish the Secretary of State with lists of Foreign Service officers who have demonstrated special capacity for promotion to the grade of minister. The board shall be composed of not more than three

Assistant Secretaries of State, one of whom shall be the Assistant Secretary of State having supervision over the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, who shall be chairman. The Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel and one other member of the division may attend the meetings of the board and one of them shall act as secretary, but they shall not be entitled to vote in its proceedings. No Foreign Service officer below class I shall be assigned for duty in the Division of Foreign Service Personnel. Foreign Service officers assigned to the division shall not be eligible for recommendation by the Board of Foreign Service Personnel for promotion to the grade of minister or ambassador during the period of such assignment or for three years thereafter, nor shall such officers be given any authority except of a purely advisory character, over promotions, demotions, transfers, or separations from the service of Foreign Service officers.

"SEC. 32. The Division of Foreign Service Personnel shall assemble, record, and be the custodian of all available information in regard to the character, ability, conduct, quality of work, industry, experience, dependability and general availability of Foreign Service officers, including reports of inspecting officers and efficiency reports of supervising officers. All such information shall be appraised at least once in two years and the result of such appraisal expressed in terms of excellent, very good, satisfactory, or unsatisfactory, accompanied by a concise statement of the considerations upon which they are based, shall be entered upon records to be known as the efficiency records of the officers, and shall constitute their efficiency ratings for the period. No charges against an officer that would adversely affect his efficiency rating or his value to the service, if true, shall be taken into consideration in determining his efficiency rating except after the officer shall have had opportunity to reply thereto. The Assistant Secretary of State supervising the Division of Foreign Service Personnel shall be responsible for the keeping of accurate and impartial efficiency records of Foreign Service officers and shall take all measures necessary to ensure their accuracy and impartiality. Not later than November 1 at least every two years, the Division of Foreign Service Personnel shall, under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary of State, prepare a list in which all Foreign Service officers shall be graded in accordance with their relative efficiency and value to the service. In this list officers shall be graded as excellent, very good, satisfactory, or unsatisfactory with such further subclassification as may be found necessary. All officers rated satisfactory or above shall be eligible for promotion in the order of merit to the minimum salary of the next higher class. This list shall not become effective in so far as it affects promotion until it has been considered by the Board of Foreign Service Personnel hereinbefore provided for and approved by the Secretary of State: *Provided*, That this list shall not be changed before the next succeeding list of ratings is approved except in case of extraordinary or conspicuously meritorious service or serious misconduct and any change for such reasons shall be made only after consideration by the Board of Foreign Service Personnel and approval by the Secretary of State, and the reasons for such change when made shall be inscribed upon the efficiency records of the officers affected. From this list of all Foreign Service officers recommendations for

promotion shall be made in the order of their ascertained merit within classes. Recommendations shall also be made, in order of merit, as shown by ratings in the examinations for appointment to the unclassified grade, with commissions also as diplomatic secretaries and vice consuls, of those who have successfully passed the examinations. All such recommendations shall be submitted to the Secretary of State for his consideration and if he shall approve, for transmission to the President.

"The correspondence and records of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel shall be confidential except to the President, the Secretary of State, the members of the Board of Foreign Service Personnel, the Assistant Secretary of State supervising the division, and such of its employees as may be assigned to work on such correspondence and records.

"SEC. 33. That notwithstanding the provisions of section 10 of this Act all Foreign Service officers having a rating of satisfactory or better who shall have been in classes 5, 6, 7, or 8 for a continuous period of nine months or more, shall, on the first day of each fiscal year receive an increase of salary of \$100, except that no officer shall receive a salary above the maximum of his class and all such officers in classes 1, 2, 3, or 4 shall in the same circumstances receive an increase of \$200: *Provided*, That the Secretary of State is authorized to fix the salaries of Foreign Service officers in the unclassified grade within the salary range specified in section 10 of this Act; and, within the limits of appropriation therefor, to grant to Foreign Service officers in any class additional promotion in salary within the salary range established for the classes in which they are serving, based upon especially meritorious service. Increases in salary under the terms of this section shall be paid to Foreign Service officers only as the right to such increases accrues after the effective date of this Act. The President is hereby authorized to establish by Executive order, regulations providing for the separation of Foreign Service officers from the Foreign Service, in accordance with the conditions hereinafter prescribed. Foreign Service officers so separated from the Foreign Service shall be retired from the service, after a hearing by the Secretary of State, upon an annuity equal to 25 per centum of his salary at the time of retirement, in the case of officers over forty-five years of age or in the case of officers under forty-five years of age with a bonus of one year's salary at the time of his retirement, either annuity or one year's salary to be payable out of the Foreign Service officers' retirement and disability fund and except as herein provided, subject to the same provisions and limitations as other annuities payable out of such funds; but no return of contributions shall be made under paragraphs (i) or (l) of section 26 of this Act in the case of any Foreign Service officer retired under the provisions of this section. Whenever it is determined that the efficiency rating of an officer is unsatisfactory, thereby meaning below the standard required for the service, and such determination has been confirmed by the Secretary of State, the officer shall be notified thereof, and if, after a reasonable period to be determined by the circumstances in each particular case, the rating of such officer continues to be found unsatisfactory and such finding is confirmed by the Secretary of State after a hearing accorded the officer, such officer shall be

separated from the service with the annuity or bonus provided in this section, but no officer so separated from the service shall receive the said annuity or bonus unless at the time of separation he shall have served at least fifteen years. He shall, however, if he has not served at least fifteen years have returned to him the full sum of his contribution to the annuity fund, with interest thereon at 4 per centum compounded annually. The benefits of this section, except at the option of the Secretary of State the return of an officer's contribution to the annuity fund, shall not be given to Foreign Service officers separated from the Foreign Service on account of malfeasance in office.

"SEC. 34. That nothing in this Act shall be construed to reduce the salary of any Foreign Service officer upon promotion to a higher class.

"SEC. 35. That the President is hereby authorized, whenever the necessity for such offices with a view to effecting economies in accounting procedure is apparent, to prescribe certain fiscal districts or areas and to establish within each such district as a part of the Department of State service, a district accounting and disbursing office to exercise control over the accounts and returns of all diplomatic missions and consular offices within the district in such manner as the President may direct. To each such office may be assigned the administrative accounting responsibility for receipts and expenditures of the diplomatic missions and consular offices within the district. Each district office shall be in charge of an accountable officer, to whom all fees, and other official monies, received by any diplomatic, consular, or Foreign Service officer may be accounted for, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State, all such fees and monies, or the residue thereof after the payment of salaries, allowances, and current expenses of the diplomatic missions and consular offices within the district, to be paid by the district accounting and disbursing officer into the Treasury of the United States. Such district accounting and disbursing officers accountable for public monies may entrust monies to other bonded officers for the purpose of having them make disbursements as his agent, and the officer to whom the monies are entrusted, as well as the officer who entrusts the monies to him, shall be held pecuniarily responsible therefor to the United States. All diplomatic, consular or Foreign Service officers on duty within the area covered by such district offices may be required to render accounts of their disbursements to the officer

included in his accounts. Said

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"SEC. 36. That all fees and other official monies received by diplomatic missions or consular offices or by the district accounting and disbursing offices provided in section 35 above, may be transmitted through the Department of State for deposit in the United States Treasury, or may be used in payment of salaries, allowances, and current expenses of said missions and offices, under such rules and regulations as the President may from time to time prescribe; the residue, if any, to be transmitted through the Department of State for deposit in the United States Treasury. Section 3617 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 484) is hereby amended.

"SEC. 37. That this Act shall take effect on July 1, 1931."

Approved, February 23, 1931.