

N S PREFACE

I am glad to testify to the high competence of the writer of this pamphlet. Making no claim to historical authority myself, I am able to speak for the authority which belongs, in the opinion of those most expert, to the writer.

He approaches the Vansittart propaganda from an angle of the greatest importance because Lord Vansittart bases his case largely on history. There are other aspects of extreme importance, and I take this opportunity of referring briefly to some of them. While the outlook of war-time inclines one increasingly to Anti-German indignation, I see many reasons to deplore the specific argument of the propaganda. Many critics have dealt with the unsoundness of the position of a civil servant who used the prestige of his office to push a propaganda which is his own. I myself feel even more strongly the anomaly of such an action when it conflicts with the policy of His Majesty's Government. From the very beginning of the war that policy embodied an attempt to divide the German people, and indeed such a division is an essential part of the plan for victory which the Government and the public have in view. After three years it is still deliberately pursued, and is directed by a Committee representing both the Foreign Office and the War Departments. That an ex-civil servant should set out to undermine that policy provokes a strong feeling of resentment.

The propaganda conflicts with the views of men more fully entitled to confidence. I would adduce as an example, Mr. Attlee, who said: " If peace is to be lasting it must result from the

agreement of all, not from the dictation of a few nations. The failure of the Treaties at the end of the last war to bring abiding peace was largely due to the neglect of this principle". Still more explicit was the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who, when Archbishop of York, said: "I am aware, of course, that such proposals have no chance of being accepted by the Nazi Government. That is no reason for not putting them forward; for when Hitler answers "No" very many Germans may answer "Yes" in their hearts; and then, after some grave military disappointment - we can hardly hope for any change until that happens - there may be a real response from the Germany which is silenced now. Millions will fight, fight to the death, so long as they believe their Fatherland to be mortally threatened, but the task of conveying to the German people in convincing terms our pledge that Germany will be welcomed as an equal partner in a peaceful Commonwealth is one that we must not shirk."

I desire to dwell especially on one of the arguments used by Vansittart. He urged that the anti-Hitler forces in Germany are of no account because they have not resisted Hitler. Let me say a word on this because as a member of the Labour Party I met the leaders of German Labour both in International Conference, and at Berlin. The charge that no opposition to Hitler was shown though it could have been shown is one that deserves careful examination. To judge fairly we must look at the past. I adduce the experience of the Labour Movement. The German

socialists are blamed for not resisting Hitler. The Labour Party knew these men well and viewed them as friends and equals in human aims. They were chosen by many millions of voters holding similar views to those held by ourselves. The Nazi terror began before 1933 and often put loyalty to socialism to the test of personal risk, yet in 1933 twelve million voted socialist. The German Republic got no help from the Allies, yet it lasted 15 years as a free Democracy with open debate and secret voting. It was not inactive. Great numbers of British housing experts went to Germany to see the German efforts to solve the housing problem. Social security and education were pursued with equal energy. These showed what the German masses are capable of when free to speak and vote and act. Agression and domination were far from their outlook. They sought well-being on the same lines as we. In foreign policy they backed Streseman in Loyalty to the League of Nations.

Why then were they undermined? They were defeated by the great slump in 1930 which fell far more heavily on Germany than on ourselves. The unemployment of six million meant that the disaster was twice as prievous as with us. Following on the black days of inflation the growth of unemployment was terrifying. Both capitalism and socialism had proved bankrupt as solutions. Hitler alone claimed to possess a cure. It was natural that he should gain votes, and unfortunately he kept his word. Germans recovered self-respect, and relief from the fear of communism appealed to

millions. Success gave authority, and Hindenburg lent his support. A reign of terror immediately began with Hitler's access to power. The brownshirts were let loose to beat up anyone they chose, and it is absurd to say that the Trade Unions should have protested. I was in Berlin at the time and can see the folly of thinking that speech or action was possible. Savage violence had gained the day by surprise attack. Law and order had disappeared. In this country we can hardly picture the helplessness of the Anti-Nazis.

On the chance that Hitler might care for his reputation in England I sought an interview with him in order to urge that he should stop disorderly violence, and that the English Quaker agents, who were well-known in Berlin, should be allowed to visit the Concentration Camps. My hope was not justified for he responded with excited railing against Communists.

Any protest against the atrocity of the Concentration Camps was quite impossible. Moreover Germans only heard what the Government wished. We in England knew far more of the abominations than they. The absence of revolt did not even show that a majority of Germans were Nazi, but that the Nazi machine was efficient.

Since those days young Germans have been largely Nazified but they are still in a minority. The corruption of the young is bad enough, but they are not the majority. The deplorable nature of the teaching they had is emphasised for me by the recollection of a Hitler Jugend school which I visited, where within black walls, decorated with skulls and cross-bones, revenge was inculcated for

the alleged violence of Communists. A French officer in Paris before the collapse of France, in charge of German prisoners, held that they were not Nazi over 27 years of age.

No one denies that there are German characteristics which make it easy for war mongers to lead, but the absence of forcible opposition to Hitler is no proof that hostility is not worth cultivating.

When the war came Germans were fed with Polish atrocities, and told that the reason for fighting on and for making munitions is that if they are defeated Germany will be humiliated to a point beside which even the bitter experience of 1919, with its blockade and its governing of Germans by negroes from West Africa, will be negligible.

The British Government is relying on the attempt to make masses of Germans feel otherwise - to feel that they need not fear annihilation if they throw Hitler over.

It seems to me unworthy of Lord Vansittart's great gifts that he should strive to upset this policy and thereby endanger what our own Government envisages as a settlement providing for stable peace.

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N.B. draft preface

I am glad to testify to the high competence of the writer of this pamphlet. Making no claim to historical authority myself, I am able to speak for the authority which belongs, in the opinion of those most expert, to the writer.

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HIRST'S PREFACE

Suggested preface or introduction.

inf ² The manifest (and declared) object of Sir Robert Vansittart's "Black Record", written when he was Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the British Government, was to persuade the public of Great Britain and the Empire that for 2,000 years the Germans — including all the German speaking tribes of the country ~~including or comprising~~ *cd/* the Germany of Tacitus — have been treacherous, perfidious, brutal, savage, cruel and aggressive, lovers of war, bent on conquest and plunder, scourgers of Europe, and in short enemies of morality, religion and civilisation. He does not and cannot exclude from a survey which pretends to be truthful and in accordance with the facts of history, the Angles, Jutes and Saxons who formed the language of England and the bulk of the nation, or the Batavians who were ancestors of the Dutch and Flemings, or the Goths and other tribes who inhabit Scandinavia.

He ignores the fact that from the period of the Reformation onwards until our own times British wars on the Continent were usually carried on against the French with German allies. It is ridiculous to re-write the history of Chatham's alliance with Frederick the Great, or of the Battle of Waterloo. Any competent historian could show quite easily that the Spaniards, the French, the Slavs and the Turks were at least as aggressive, imperialistic, ruthless, untrustworthy, etc. as the Germans from the time of Charlemagne or Alfred the Great down to the end of the nineteenth century.

the/ Needless to say we regard the conduct of Hitler and the Nazis with the same abhorrence as that which has been expressed by Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Stalin. But we regard it as a monstrous perversion of the truth, ~~and~~ leading to ~~an~~ insane policy of refusing to distinguish (as Stalin does) between the German people and their Nazi Government, to assert that the German race is beyond the pale and beyond hope of redemption or civilised treatment even if they rid themselves of Hitler and his gang.

The "Black Record" of Sir Robert Vansittart

Sir Robert Vansittart, who entered the Diplomatic Service under the old dispensation about forty years ago, rose by degrees to be Permanent Under-Secretary. This office he held from 1930 to 1938 and so was largely responsible for our foreign policy in the critical years before the war. After his retirement he was appointed 'Chief Diplomatic Adviser' to the Government. While still holding that post he was invited by Mr. Duff Cooper, then Minister of Information (to which office he was appointed by Mr. Churchill) to give a series of seven broadcasts on the history of Germany and the character of the Germans. They were given on the Overseas wavelength; but extensive extracts appeared in the Sunday Times, and in response to numerous requests, as we are told in the preface, Sir Robert Vansittart agreed to their publication in a pamphlet of fifty-seven pages entitled "Black Record - Germans Past and Present" published price sixpence by Hamish Hamilton, London, early in 1941. On the back of this pamphlet in large red type it was advertised as by the Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the British Government; and this action by a Civil Servant on a major question of policy was severely criticised in Parliament. Indeed it was admitted in the advertisement that "it is not customary for diplomatists to take their coats off, or to remove the diplomatic gag from their mouths". Vansittart's reply was that "these talks are designed to show that the German has not really

altered since Tacitus' day. He has always been the barbarian, the war lover, the enemy - furtive or avowed - of humanitarianism, liberalism and Christian civilisation; and the Hitler regime is no accidental phenomenon but the logical fruit of German history."

It was written for a practical object, to make sure that we may never again be trapped into such weakness as the Versailles Treaty "by a mere show of penitence". Its object was Truth, "not merely propaganda" being "based upon wide scholarship, first-hand experience and the conviction of many years". The advertisement added:- "no man living was better qualified to say these things."

In view then of the origin of the pamphlet and its wide circulation, it is very important indeed that all intelligent citizens should examine the assertions of Sir Robert Vansittart. They have a vital bearing on policy and peace aims, and it will be agreed that our propaganda, whether in the shape of broadcasts to which we can listen, or of leaflets spread over Germany and other countries belligerent or neutral, of which we know little or nothing, should pay respect to historic truth. To pervert history and to present false pictures of the past would be unpardonable in Ministers and high officials and responsible editors who constantly contrast British veracity with the mendacity of Dr. Goebbels.

In "Germany's Black Record" Sir Robert Vansittart asserts

and argues that virtually all Germans for more than 1900 years have possessed and displayed the immorality of the Nazis. It is their ingrained nature. They have always been cruel, perfidious, brutal and aggressive. He traces Hitler's character back through the Kaiser, Bismarck, Frederick the Great and Charlemagne to the German tribes who overthrew the Empire and civilisation of Rome.

Any competent scholar could have told the Chief Diplomatic Adviser that the Germany of Tacitus and Orosius embraced the Angles, the Jutes and the Saxons who invaded and conquered England, and that the Anglo-Saxons who produced Alfred the Great were just as much Germans in the sense of Julius Caesar and Tacitus as the Franks who produced Charlemagne or the Prussians who produced Bismarck, or the Hanoverians who produced the Four Georges and Queen Victoria.

Vansittart does not mention "Albert the Good" or Queen Victoria. His plain purpose in blackening the character of Germany's record was no doubt to make plausible Mr. Duff Cooper's statement that the crimes of the Nazis are "the crimes of a whole nation" and that it would be "wishful thinking and dangerous thinking to believe that we could drive a wedge between the German Government and the German people". In short there is to be no peace, even if the German people throw off the yoke of the Nazis and seek a settlement which would restore liberty and independence to the occupied territories.

On page 15 our pamphleteer speaks of Germany's "long

and unbroken record of evil-doing." On page 16 he complains that Britain rescued and subsidised the bankrupt Frederick the Great. Yet every schoolboy who has read Macaulay's essays on Chatham and Frederick the Great, and every reader of Carlyle knows that Frederick was Britain's ally during the war with France, and ^{also} that if without our aid he would have been overwhelmed by the combination of Russia, Austria and France, it is equally true that but for his marvellous strategy, courage and endurance we should not have driven the French from India or North America. He then goes on to regret that the Russians "successfully pleaded on behalf of Prussia with Napoleon when he had her beaten at Jena." After this one wonders why he did not express his regret that the Prussian General Blucher did not march to the aid of Napoleon at Waterloo instead of to the aid of Wellington. Napoleon's victories over Prussia at Jena and over Austria at Austerlitz were felt by Pitt and every patriotic Englishman as national tragedies which threatened not only the independence of every nation on the continent, but the safety of our own country. When Blucher visited England he was feted as a national hero.

As a schoolboy Vansittart learnt from Julius Caesar that two thousand years ago the Germans were robbers, and from Tacitus that they were "very dirty fighters" and "never kept a pledge or treaty", and he now recognises that for two thousand years they have retained and constantly exhibited

these characteristics.

Either Vansittart has read the Germania of Tacitus, the classical account by the great Roman historian of Germany and the German tribes a few decades after the death of Christ, or he has not. If he has not, we can only pity his ignorance and the total lack of scholarship which has snatched a sentence or two divorced from their context. If he has, he is guilty of a much more serious offence against that truth of history which he professes to cultivate. For every reader of the Germania knows that Tacitus recognised many virtues as well as vices in the brave tribes whom the whole might of Rome had been unable to conquer. By dwelling not only on their courage, patriotism and love of independence, but on the chastity of their women and other qualities (in contrast with the luxury and decadence of the degenerate Romans) he conveys an impressive warning of the dangers that ultimately overwhelmed the Western Empire.

On page 21 we read:- "German barbarism first crushed Latin civilisation at the Battle of Adrianople in the year 378, and it has again crushed Latin civilisation in France today." It is quite true that the Roman Emperor Valens, whose capital was Constantinople, was defeated and slain on the field of Adrianople when two-thirds of the Roman army perished in a disaster that proved to be irreparable. But the army which overthrew Valens was not German but Gothic, and the Goths, though they were certainly barbarians then, are not

included in Vansittart's indictment. Their language though akin to the Teutonic dialects was the original of the Scandinavian tongues, and they are the ancestors of the Vikings who harried Europe, conquered most of Anglo-Saxon Britain, and established themselves in Normandy, whence one of their dukes William the Conqueror crossed to England and assumed the crown.

The truth, if it must be told, is that, unless we accuse him of deliberate misrepresentation, Vansittart knows nothing or next to nothing about the history of Germany and Europe from Roman times down to the Battle of Waterloo - say for 1815 years. For example he does not know that Alfred the Great, always regarded as the best of our English kings, was a German in the sense of Tacitus, and that though a devout Christian he proudly traced his descent through Cerdic to Woden. Had he been aware of this Vansittart might not have ~~xxx~~ spoken so disrespectfully of that pagan god who gave his name to Wednesday. If he had known anything about Alfred the Great, he would have known that Alfred was a Saxon, and that he wrote a book describing the Germany of his own day, bringing up to date the descriptions of Tacitus and Orosius. Even today the Welsh, the Gaels and the Irish still call the English 'Saxons', though we take our name from another tribe, the Angli, who colonised our Eastern districts, while the Saxons conquered Southern England. The Anglo-Saxon language was a mixture of the German dialects - Low German or Platt-Deutsch - which

prevailed along the coastline of the North Sea.

John Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford, wrote in the year 1873 an excellent book on the philology of the English tongue. In the second edition (revised and enlarged) we read pages 16-18 an account of what he calls "the Low Dutch family of languages." After giving some illustrations he proceeds:-

"The Saxons were a border people, and spoke a Low Dutch strongly impregnated with Scandinavian associations. But the more we go back to the elder form on either side, the more does it seem to come out clear that our mother tongue is in fundamentals to be identified with the Platt-Deutsch, the dialect of the Hanseatic cities, the dialect which has been erected into a national language in that which we call the Dutch, as spoken in the kingdom of the Netherlands. The people of Bremen call their dialect Nieder Sachisch, i.e. Lowland Saxon."

The Anglo-Saxon people who ultimately coalesced spoke dialects of Anglo-Saxon. Broadly speaking the Angli or Anglians occupied the South and West. The line of Watling Street running from London to Chester may be taken as the boundary line between these two races, or rather tribes, of whom we hear in the Germania of Tacitus and in the Germania described 800 years later by Alfred the Great. The most astonishing thing about the Anglo-Saxon language spoken by Alfred the Great and his predecessors and successors in England is that the Anglian and Saxon missionaries, who taught Christianity to the heathen Frisians and generally to the Low Germans between the Moselle, the Rhine and the Elbe, were themselves able after a long separation from the continent to make/~~themselves~~ intelligible to their pagan kinsfolk.

Jutland is the link between our Danish and Dutch (or Low German) ancestors. Speaking of Jutland, Alfred the Great wrote, "in these lands the Angles dwelt before they came hither to this land." Alfred the Great lived from 849 to 901 A.D. In the two centuries preceding his birth the most powerful of all the German tribes were the Franks, who ultimately conquered the whole of France and the greater part of the Germania as described by Tacitus and Alfred the Great. They gave their name to France, which had been called Gaul (Gallia) by the Romans. The greatest of their rulers Charlemagne was crowned at Rome by the Pope and founded the Holy Roman Empire.

Skipping the history of Europe from the Battle of Adrianople (378 A.D.) as merely a story of German vandalism, Vansittart can only say of Charlemagne that war, conquest and expansion "as usual" was his passion too. It matters not to Vansittart that all previous historians and writers, French, German and English, unite in admiration of Charlemagne. Guizot the famous French historian and statesman wrote of him:- "no sovereign, no human being perhaps, ever rendered greater service to the civilisation of the world." It may be admitted that he did not deserve the praise bestowed by Freeman on Alfred the Great as "the most perfect character in history." But both were Germans in the Tacitean and Vansittartite sense, and the native language of both was a Teutonic dialect.

The remainder of Vansittart's history from Charlemagne's death to the Battle of Waterloo is just as misleading, erroneous and absurd as his "Black Record" for the first eight centuries of the Christian era. There is nothing whatever in the story of mediaeval and modern Europe up to the end of the nineteenth century to support the Vansittart dogma that the Germans were more fond of fighting, more contentious, more aggressive than the French, the Swedes, the Turks, the Spaniards, the Russians, or even the English. The old tribes of Germany were split up under the Holy Roman Empire into a number of small kingdoms and dukedoms, which were often arrayed against one another, or against Austria, during the religious wars which distracted and desolated Central Europe after the Reformation. Sittart, a small Low German or Dutch town from which the Vansittarts came, was in the old duchy of Julich. Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria, came from another small German State. So did Luther and Goethe and other famous Germans whom we associate with religion, philosophy, art, music and letters. It happened for several centuries that England and afterwards Great Britain waged almost incessant war with France by land and sea for religion, commerce or empire; and in these wars we very often had one or more of the German States for our allies. All the famous battles of Marlborough and Wellington, and most of the sea fights in the annals of the British navy were against the French.

But all this is common knowledge and only needs to be

repeated because the Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the British Government has put out under the guise of authority these fantastic perversions of ancient and modern history, which are insulting not only to the intelligence of his readers, but also to many millions of people in England, in our Colonies, in the United States ^{and} ~~in~~ in South America, whose fathers or forefathers came from Germany. Most of them are friends of liberty, like Mr. Wendell Willkie, and as eager as we are to overthrow the hateful dictatorship of the Nazis.

How recent is our quarrel with German or Prussian imperialism is shown by the fact that Vansittart was sent to be educated in Germany, as we learn from some curious autobiographical details told in his "Black Record" pamphlet. In his youth our foreign policy favoured Germany and was directed against France and Russia. There were distinguished Englishmen like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Mr. Cecil Rhodes who even looked for an alliance with Germany, and the French Entente only began after Vansittart joined the Diplomatic Service. There were no complaints then of German perfidy or of the innate wickedness of the German race. Vansittart could have told us how nearly we were at war with Russia for the defence of India and with France over Siam and Fashoda. But he was engaged on what he calls 'a plain statement of the truth', which on inspection turns out to be not truth but fiction.

(With Vansittart's censure of condemnation of Nazi atrocities and treatment of subjugated countries there is no disagreement. This essay is solely concerned with his presentation of the history of Germany.)

by FWHirst. ^{Return to TB} Who writes a commentary

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these characteristics.

Either Vansittart has read the Germania of Tacitus, the classical account by the great Roman historian of Germany and the German tribes a few decades after the death of Christ, or he has not. If he has not, we can only pity his ignorance and the total lack of scholarship which has snatched a sentence or two divorced from their context. If he has, he is guilty of a much more serious offence against that truth of history which he professes to cultivate. For every reader of the Germania knows that Tacitus recognised many virtues as well as vices in the brave tribes whom the whole might of Rome had been unable to conquer. By dwelling not only on their courage, patriotism and love of independence, but on the chastity of their women and other qualities (in contrast with the luxury, and decadence of the degenerate Romans) he conveys an impressive warning of the dangers that ultimately overwhelmed the Western Empire.

On page 21 we read:- "German barbarism first crushed Latin civilisation at the Battle of Adrianople in the year 378, and it has again crushed Latin civilisation in France today." It is quite true that the Roman Emperor Valens, whose capital was Constantinople, was defeated and slain on the field of Adrianople when two-thirds of the Roman army perished in a disaster that proved to be irreparable. But the army which overthrew Valens was not German but Gothic, and the Goths, though they were certainly barbarians then, are not

included in Vansittart's indictment. Their language though akin to the Teutonic dialects was the original of the Scandinavian tongues, and they are the ancestors of the Vikings who harried Europe, conquered most of Anglo-Saxon Britain, and established themselves in Normandy, whence one of their dukes William the Conqueror crossed to England and assumed the crown.

The truth, if it must be told, is that, unless we accuse him of deliberate misrepresentation, Vansittart knows nothing or next to nothing about the history of Germany and Europe from Roman times down to the Battle of Waterloo - say for 1815 years. For example he does not know that Alfred the Great, always regarded as the best of our English kings, was a German in the sense of Tacitus, and that though a devout Christian he proudly traced his descent through Cerdic to Woden. Had he been aware of this Vansittart might not have ~~spoken~~ spoken so disrespectfully of that pagan god who gave his name to Wednesday. If he had known anything about Alfred the Great, he would have known that Alfred was a Saxon, and that he wrote a book describing the Germany of his own day, bringing up to date the descriptions of Tacitus and Orosius. Even today the Welsh, the Gaels, and the Irish still call the English 'Saxons', though we take our name from another tribe, the Angli, who colonised our Eastern districts, while the Saxons conquered Southern England. The Anglo-Saxon language was a mixture of the German dialects - Low German or Platt-Deutsch - which

prevailed along the coastline of the North Sea.

John Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford, wrote in the year 1873 an excellent book on the philology of the English tongue. In the second edition (revised and enlarged) we read pages 16-18 an account of what he calls "the Low Dutch family of languages." After giving some illustrations he proceeds:-

"The Saxons were a border people, and spoke a Low Dutch strongly impregnated with Scandinavian associations. But the more we go back to the elder form on either side, the more does it seem to come out clear that our mother tongue is in fundamentals to be identified with the Platt-Deutsch, the dialect of the Hanseatic cities, the dialect which has been erected into a national language in that which we call the Dutch, as spoken in the kingdom of the Netherlands. The people of Bremen call their dialect Nieder Sachisch, i.e. Lowland Saxon."

The Anglo-Saxon people who ultimately coalesced spoke dialects of Anglo-Saxon. Broadly speaking, the Angli or Anglians occupied the South and West. The line of Watling Street running from London to Chester may be taken as the boundary line between these two races, or rather tribes, of whom we hear in the Germania of Tacitus and in the Germania described 800 years later by Alfred the Great. The most astonishing thing about the Anglo-Saxon language spoken by Alfred the Great and his predecessors and successors in England is that the Anglian and Saxon missionaries, who taught Christianity to the heathen Frisians and generally to the Low Germans between the Moselle, the Rhine and the Elbe, were able after a long separation from the continent to make ^{themselves} ~~themselves~~ intelligible to their pagan kinsfolk.

Jutland is the link between our Danish and Dutch (or Low German) ancestors. Speaking of Jutland, Alfred the Great wrote, "in these lands the Angles dwelt before they came hither to this land." Alfred the Great lived from 849 to 901 A.D. In the two centuries preceding his birth the most powerful of all the German tribes were the Franks, who ultimately conquered the whole of France and the greater part of the Germania as described by Tacitus and Alfred the Great. They gave their name to France, which had been called Gaul (Gallia) by the Romans. The greatest of their rulers Charlemagne was crowned at Rome by the Pope and founded the Holy Roman Empire.

Skipping the history of Europe from the Battle of Adrianople (378 A.D.) as merely a story of German vandalism, Vansittart can only say of Charlemagne that war, conquest and expansion "as usual" was his passion too. It matters not to Vansittart that all previous historians and writers, French, German and English, unite in admiration of Charlemagne. Guizot, the famous French historian and statesman, wrote of him:- "no sovereign, no human being perhaps, ever rendered greater service to the civilisation of the world." It may be admitted that he did not deserve the praise bestowed by Freeman on Alfred the Great as "the most perfect character in history." But both were Germans in the Tacitean and Vansittartite sense, and the native language of both was a Teutonic dialect.

X

The remainder of Vansittart's history from Charlemagne's death to the Battle of Waterloo is just as misleading, erroneous and absurd as his "Black Record" for the first eight centuries of the Christian era. There is nothing whatever in the story of mediaeval and modern Europe up to the end of the nineteenth century to support the Vansittart dogma that the Germans were more fond of fighting, more contentious, more aggressive than the French, the Swedes, the Turks, the Spaniards, the Russians, or even the English. The old tribes of Germany were split up under the Holy Roman Empire into a number of small kingdoms and dukedoms, which were often arrayed against one another, or against Austria, during the religious wars which distracted and desolated Central Europe after the Reformation. Sittart, a small Low German or Dutch town from which the Vansittarts came, was in the old duchy of Julich. Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria, came from another small German State. So did Luther and Goethe and other famous Germans whom we associate with religion, philosophy, art, music, and letters. It happened for several centuries that England and afterwards Great Britain waged almost incessant war with France by land and sea for religion, commerce or empire; and in these wars we very often had one or more of the German States for our allies. All the famous battles of Marlborough and Wellington, and most of the sea fights in the annals of the British navy were against the French.

But all this is common knowledge and only needs to be

repeated because the Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the British Government has put out under the guise of authority these fantastic perversions of ancient and modern history, which are insulting not only to the intelligence of his readers, but also to many millions of people in England, in our Colonies, in the United States in in South America, whose fathers or forefathers came from Germany. Most of them are friends of liberty, like Mr. Wendell Willkie, and as eager as we are to overthrow the hateful dictatorship of the Nazis.

How recent is our quarrel with German or Prussian imperialism is shown by the fact that Vansittart was sent to be educated in Germany, as we learn from some curious autobiographical details told in his "Black Record" pamphlet. In his youth our foreign policy favoured Germany and was directed against France and Russia. There were distinguished Englishmen like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Mr. Cecil Rhodes who even looked for an alliance with Germany, and the French Entente only began after Vansittart joined the Diplomatic Service. There were no complaints then of German perfidy or of the innate wickedness of the German race. Vansittart could have told us how nearly we were at war with Russia for the defence of India and with France over Siam and Fashoda. But he was engaged on what he calls 'a plain statement of the truth', which on inspection turns out to be not truth but fiction.

(With Vansittart's censure of condemnation of Nazi atrocities and treatment of subjugated countries there is no disagreement. This essay is solely concerned with his presentation of the history of Germany.)

Hint

There is a public ready to back negotiation, if it is not ostensibly U.D.C. vide leader of Labour Party & leader of Liberal party at Manchester. The latter subscribes to U.D.C. secretly, & the former says Trade Unionists mainly pacific now, but anti-U.D.C.

How to arrange meetings ? U.D.C. is in touch with men who will organise on these lines & would patriotically help without credit to U.D.C., as e.g. re Central Hall Meetings (March 1917).

How to provide platform ? M.Ps loth to leave London except on Fridays, but many would be anxious to promote pro-negotiation & pro-Lansdowne movement, especially if a good show can be made. Organisers report that they can arrange meetings if a peer will speak. Snobbery still a force in pacifist movement as elsewhere.

Possible sympathisers.:

<u>Tories.</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Peers.</u>
Wood	Denman	Ashton
Bentinck	King	Farrer
Banbury	Richardson	Shaw
Agg-Gardner	Blake	Weardale
<i>Herbert</i>	Rowntree	Bryce
	Chancellor	Ray
	John	Sheffield
	Arnold	Stanmore
	Harvey	
	Kiley	
	Roch	
	Wedgwood	
	Harris	
	Pringle	
	Sir W. Runciman	
	Sir W. Collins	
	Barlow	
	J.W. Wilson	
	Shaw	
	Jones	
	Rendall	
	Bliss	
	France	
	Baring	
	Nuttall	
	Ellis Davies	
	Dickinson	
	Jardine	
	Price	
	Raffan	
	Whyte	

To The Editor of The Times

for first

Sir,

We desire to suggest that the time has come when we should take stock of our position and that consideration of the following facts may be relevant.

- a) Reason and commonsense alike condemn the bombing and counter-bombing of civilian populations as inhumane and futile.
- b) The indiscriminate sinking of merchantmen, sailors and fishermen cannot be defended on any grounds.
- c) The growth of our expenditure has already risen to £13,000,000 a day, and the draining away of all our resources in gold and foreign investments points to inflation and an empty Treasury when the war is over.
- d) There is danger of famine in Europe and severe privation at home through the sinking of food ships and the diversion of nearly all able-bodied men in the country from agriculture and productive employment into the army and munitions factories.
- e) When the war is over, we may have lost most of our foreign trade and shall have no adequate supplies of manufactures to exchange for food and raw materials.
- f) In another year, our national debt will be so large that the State will be compelled to make a composition with its creditors in Great Britain and the United States, or to pay all its obligations in depreciated paper-money, which is perhaps the worst form of confiscation. Industry and commerce will be crippled by taxation and there will inevitably be a huge army of unemployed disbanded from the army, whose prospects will become worse and worse the longer the war continues.

In view of these things, should we not ask ourselves whither we are going and what is our ultimate aim? Could we not explore the possibilities of an honourable and permanent peace with adequate guarantees for its fulfilment? We suggest a permanent settlement

which would restore commerce and prosperity. This would appeal alike to good Americans and good Europeans and to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A proposal for such a settlement would not be an overture to the enemy, or betray any weakness of British determination, but it would make a strong appeal to the peoples of Italy and Germany and would encourage all the oppressed people under the Nazi yoke, and constitute the most effective form of propaganda. It would also offer an attractive Anglo-American substitute for the insidious Nazi scheme of a more or less free-trade Europe under German economic direction and political domination.

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S. W. Horst

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PRIVATE.

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WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS.

The Question of a Fight to a Finish.

We frequently read statements that the sole purpose of the war is victory and that it would never do to stop or listen to peace terms until the Germans have been vanquished. Even if there were a change of government in Germany, French and British militarists say that we should take no notice. According to them we are not fighting Hitler or Ribbentrop, but Germany and the German people; and nothing will satisfy them but utter defeat of the enemy, either on the field of battle or as the result of blockade and exhaustion. Such a theory is usually accompanied by the assumption of a dictated peace, like that which was extorted from the Germans at Versailles twenty years ago. The results of Versailles ought to serve as a warning. Treaties if they are to be honoured in the observance should be beneficial to all parties and should be signed willingly. The peace that followed Waterloo was of this character; and when it was broken by the Crimean War, nearly forty years afterwards, the two principal belligerents (who had fought one another for twenty years) were in alliance.

Moreover unless the war extends, it is almost certain that the next peace settlement will emerge from a general conference, in which neutrals as well as belligerents will take part. In the last war many of the present European neutrals, including Japan, Italy, Turkey and all the Balkan States, were belligerents;

and so was the United States in the last two years of the war. But at the beginning of the New Year we see all these neutrals, including Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian States, not only bent on keeping out of the war between Germany and the two allied democracies, but also eager to promote peace because our war is inflicting upon most of them the gravest loss and suffering. Indeed the situation of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, owing to the German submarine warfare and the floating mines and the British blockade, is almost intolerable.

If the British and French Governments were to proclaim the doctrine of 'a fight to a finish' and bang the door against peace, there would be a real danger of losing the moral support and sympathy of neutrals. This would be a very serious matter and certainly would not help to win the war. It might make it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the blockade.

War, it should be remembered, seldom goes according to programme. Six months ago who would have supposed that Russia would seize half Poland, overrun the three Baltic States and invade Finland?

No doubt there is a probability that in a long war Germany will break down before Great Britain and France. But the process of financial exhaustion will be at work here as well as in Germany, and at best war is a gamble. We have been told by our own statesmen over and over again that in the next war "there will be no victors". Great Britain and the British Empire will be poorer and weaker, our social fabric will be shaken, much private property and income will be confiscated

or lost, even if a year or two years hence Germany collapses in revolution and exhaustion. Mr. O.G. Villard's remarkable articles in the Daily Telegraph gave his impressions of Germany in October and November. He talked to all sorts and conditions of people; he reported a general longing for peace. This firm friend of the Allies, an enthusiastic admirer of England, held that "the most important thing today" is to persuade the German people that the English are not bent on destroying them, and that the Allies "are ready to stop the day that any intimation comes from Germany that there is a readiness to discuss a decent peace".

If reasonable peace terms could be formulated at a conference convened by neutral Powers, and if such terms were rejected by the German Government and accepted by the Allies, our moral and political position would be overwhelmingly strong and the German people would very likely overthrow their Government.

The folly of proclaiming a fight to a finish.

It is impossible to reconcile with common sense the theory that we went to war ^{merely} in order to win it, or that brute force must be met by brute force until one combatant or the other can administer a knock-out blow. Until Russia seized half Poland, gobbled up three little Baltic States (fellow members of the League) and made a brutal attack on Finland, it was possible to say that our great purpose was to defend liberty, democracy and members of the League against aggression. But we have not been prepared to take up arms against Russian Aggression on Poland, the Baltic States or Finland, and it is difficult therefore to say that we will fight 'to the bitter end' against one aggressor while

we remain at peace with the other. The danger and folly of reducing our war and peace aims to a fight to a finish, either by military force, or by economic pressure and exhaustion, may be summed up under four heads. (a) The effect on neutrals, (b) the effect on the British Empire, (c) the effect on France and (d) the effect on ourselves.

a. The small neutrals of Europe are already suffering terrible hardships from German U-boats and mines and from our naval blockade. The large neutrals, more especially the United States, Japan and Italy, are no doubt making considerable profits either by the sale of munitions at exorbitant prices or by ousting British shipping and commerce from peace time trade. But they are all in varying degrees anxious for a peaceful settlement and eager to mediate in order to save themselves and civilisation from disaster.

b. If we look beyond our own shores to India and the self-governing Dominions, we must recognise how dependent the Empire has always been for its prosperity and safety on the financial resources of Gt. Britain, and how serious would be the plight of our fellow subjects overseas if our capital were so depleted that we could no longer help them with loans or provide them with an adequate market for their exports. And how then could they continue to pay interest on loans which are treated as trustee securities and have hitherto been punctually paid?

c. The strength of our French Ally consists largely in the productivity of its agriculture and in its large gold reserve, but the strain of war and a vast mobilised army is enormous, and the danger of a war of exhaustion must be taken into consideration by all sensible people on both sides of the channel. At the present time the cost of the war to France is believed to be about four millions sterling a day.

d. Our own resources are limited. That is shown clearly by the War budget. We are already spending six millions a day. The graduated income tax and surtax rises to nearly seventeen shillings in the pound. Nearly all our direct and indirect taxes are at concert pitch. The yield of some important sources of revenue such as the taxes on petrol and motor cars is declining. It is doubtful if much more can be raised from either taxes or rates. The financial position of many of the municipalities and local authorities is becoming precarious. It is deplorable that so many leading Socialists should proclaim that wages and social services can be maintained by 'soaking the rich'. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has shown conclusively that if our ten thousand richest men were deprived of all their incomes it would not enable him to pay for more than a week of the war. If this colossal waste should continue for a long period, it may be predicted with certainty that private fortunes will be swept away, that the income tax payers and ratepayers will find it impossible to maintain their contributions, that it will be impossible to keep up the social services or the present high salaries, wages and pensions of state and municipal employees.

Can it be contended under these circumstances that we ought to sacrifice private property, private welfare and perhaps most of the liberties which we prize in the hope of establishing a post war Utopia on the foundations of British and European bankruptcy? What will happen to the health of our people, or to their moral, religious and intellectual life, if the funds and endowments of hospitals, charities, Building Societies, Friendly Societies, Churches, Chapels, Schools and Universities are swept away and devoured by war? Would this be a useful contribution to the cause of democracy?

We think not. Would the Trade Unions survive? We doubt it. Certainly it were vain to hope that religious, educational or charitable endowments could be preserved from the wholesale devaluation or destruction of private savings, incomes and property that must ensue from long continued war on this scale.

These are surely good reasons for proclaiming peace aims which would be embraced with enthusiasm by the people of Germany and would compel their Government at a general Peace Conference, not only to make the necessary concessions, but to provide solid guarantees for the future security of their neighbours.

One must not be surprised that so many people both here and in neutral countries find it very difficult to get a clear conception of what we are fighting for and what are the terms of peace which we should like to dictate or seek to obtain by negotiation. Again supposing that we are ready to fight to a finish in order to obtain the whole of our war aims (whatever those aims may be) the all important question arises how long will such a fight to a finish last, and how sure are we about its results? Those responsible for this memorandum think that the peace which could be got at the end of a 'fight to a finish' is likely to be worse than the peace which could be got by negotiation now or in the near future - in short that the terrible price which will have been paid would be likely to make things not better but the reverse. This may be disputed; but it is a matter of certainty that every month of war which passes will make social and economic conditions worse for our people and for the people of France, as well as for Germany

and the small neutral democracies of Europe which we want to protect against aggression.

Theoretically the terms of a dictated peace might be better than those of a negotiated peace by consent. But the Treaty of Versailles, wrung from the Germans by a famine blockade after four years of general slaughter and destruction, is a discouraging precedent. It is significant that Mr. Lloyd George, who believed in the Knock-out Blow policy and carried it through during the second half of the Great War, would now prefer a moderate negotiated peace after a short war, to the doubtful prospect of a dictated peace after a long war, involving as it would severe privations and probably also the bombing of open towns in Britain, France and Germany.

The Public Economy League

69, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Chairman: FRANCIS W. HIRST.
Hon. Treas.: Sir GILBERT JACKSON.
Hon. Secretaries: E. T. BROWN and D. J. MOLTENO.

Hirst
Beao

With the compliments of the Public
Economy League.

Hirst

Peace

The following among others have signed this memorandum. Though several of them make reservations as to one or two sentences, they all support the general argument and commend it to the attention of Editors and Members of Parliament.

Lord Arnold
Lady Barlow
Clive Bell
J.D. Beresford
Edmund Blunden
E.T. Brown

H.G. Chancellor
The Bishop of Chichester
Evelyn Bright Clark

R. Cobden-Sanderson
The Earl of Darnley
Willoughby Dewar
Hugh l'Anson Fausset
The Lady Gladstone of
Hawarden

Neal Green, J.P.
Sir Richard Gregory, Bt.,
F.R.S.

(President of the British
Association)

T.E. Harvey, M.P.
Dorothy (Lady) Henley
Francis W. Hirst
Sarah Ingham
Sir Gilbert Jackson
Caradog Jones
Andrew Law, J.P.
Lord Mamhead
D. Jervis Molteno, C.C.
Margaret Murray

Professor James F. Rees

Sir Daniel Stevenson, Bt.
The Rev. John S. Whale, D.D.

Dr. H.M. Wodehouse

Marley Corner, Haslemere.
Grosvenor House, London.
Firle, Sussex.
Selsey, Sussex.
Merton College, Oxford.
Hayward's Grange, Jarvis
Brook, Sussex.
Editor of the Arbitrator.

Overleigh House, Street,
Somerset.
Long Crendon, Bucks.
Cobham Hall, Kent.
Poole, Dorset.
Leylands, Widdington, Essex.
Broughton-by-Chester.

Holbeck Manor, Horncastle.
The Manor House, Middleton-
on-Sea.

Rydal House, Leeds.
Watford Court, Rugby.
Kensington, London.
Shipley, Yorkshire.
Hampstead, London.
Liverpool University.
Glasgow.
Mamhead Park, Exeter.
Glenlyon House, Perthshire.
Painswick Lodge, Painswick,
Gloucestershire.
Principal, University College,
Cardiff, and Vice-Chancellor
of the University of Wales.
Clevedon, Glasgow
President, Cheshunt College,
Cambridge.
Mistress of Girton College,
Cambridge.

PRIVATE.

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b. If we look beyond our own shores to India and the self-governing Dominions, we must recognise how dependent the Empire has always been for its prosperity and safety on the financial resources of Gt. Britain, and how serious would be the plight of our fellow subjects overseas if our capital were so depleted that we could no longer help them with loans or provide them with an adequate market for their exports. And how then could they continue to pay interest on loans which are treated as trustee securities and have hitherto been punctually paid?

c. The strength of our French Ally consists largely in the productivity of its agriculture and in its large gold reserve, but the strain of war and a vast mobilised army is enormous, and the danger of a war of exhaustion must be taken into consideration by all sensible people on both sides of the channel. At the present time the cost of the war to France is believed to be about four millions sterling a day.

d. Our own resources are limited. That is shown clearly by the War budget. We are already spending six millions a day. The graduated income tax and surtax rises to nearly seventeen shillings in the pound. Nearly all our direct and indirect taxes are at concert pitch. The yield of some important sources of revenue such as the taxes on petrol and motor cars is declining. It is doubtful if much more can be raised from either taxes or rates. The financial position of many of the municipalities and local authorities is becoming precarious. It is deplorable that so many leading Socialists should proclaim that wages and social services can be maintained by 'soaking the rich'. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has shown conclusively that if our ten thousand richest men were deprived of all their incomes it would not enable him to pay for more than a week of the war. If this colossal waste should continue for a long period, it may be predicted with certainty that private fortunes will be swept away, that the income tax payers and ratepayers will find it impossible to maintain their contributions, that it will be impossible to keep up the social services or the present high salaries, wages and pensions of state and municipal employees.

Can it be contended under these circumstances that we ought to sacrifice private property, private welfare and perhaps most of the liberties which we prize in the hope of establishing a post war Utopia on the foundations of British and European bankruptcy? What will happen to the health of our people, or to their moral, religious and intellectual life, if the funds and endowments of hospitals, charities, Building Societies, Friendly Societies, Churches, Chapels, Schools and Universities are swept away and devoured by war? Would this be a useful contribution to the cause of democracy?

We think not. Would the Trade Unions survive? We doubt it. Certainly it were vain to hope that religious, educational or charitable endowments could be preserved from the wholesale devaluation or destruction of private savings, incomes and property that must ensue from long continued war on this scale.

These are surely good reasons for proclaiming peace aims which would be embraced with enthusiasm by the people of Germany and would compel their Government at a general Peace Conference, not only to make the necessary concessions, but to provide solid guarantees for the future security of their neighbours.

One must not be surprised that so many people both here and in neutral countries find it very difficult to get a clear conception of what we are fighting for and what are the terms of peace which we should like to dictate or seek to obtain by negotiation. Again supposing that we are ready to fight to a finish in order to obtain the whole of our war aims (whatever those aims may be) the all important question arises how long will such a fight to a finish last, and how sure are we about its results? Those responsible for this memorandum think that the peace which could be got at the end of a 'fight to a finish' is likely to be worse than the peace which could be got by negotiation now or in the near future - in short that the terrible price which will have been paid would be likely to make things not better but the reverse. This may be disputed; but it is a matter of certainty that every month of war which passes will make social and economic conditions worse for our people and for the people of France, as well as for Germany

and the small neutral democracies of Europe which we want to protect against aggression.

Theoretically the terms of a dictated peace might be better than those of a negotiated peace by consent. But the Treaty of Versailles, wrung from the Germans by a famine blockade after four years of general slaughter and destruction, is a discouraging precedent. It is significant that Mr. Lloyd George, who believed in the Knock-out Blow policy and carried it through during the second half of the Great War, would now prefer a moderate negotiated peace after a short war, to the doubtful prospect of a dictated peace after a long war, involving as it would severe privations and probably also the bombing of open towns in Britain, France and Germany.

THE OLD MILL,
CALDECOTE,
NEWPORT PAGNELL.

P.S.
Hand some back:
I have been here. He
is going to consider
question of addressing further
meeting.

the eldest & youngest son & here
for in law. It's the subject?

Ernest has been Balfour &
think B. would fight with
peace if D.J. wants to try that.

America seems to be difficult.
How all this do for an Electro address?

"I stand for an early peace, an
honourable peace & a secure
peace, & am persuaded that
all these can be ^{obtained} ~~secured~~ in
one way only, by negotiation."

Yesterday I passed a little &
caught a $\frac{1}{2}$ lb roach & nice
perch. There are too many
men and women about.

Yours ever
J. W. W. W.

Have you
had any
luck?
Are you
all
right
again?

June 6. 1805
6, WOBURN SQUARE,
BLOOMSBURY.

My dear Buckton.

I congratulate you most heartily
on your glorious victory, which
is especially appetising to your neighbours
who live in the neighbourhood.

It looks as if you ~~will~~
have provided yourself with
a safe seat, in spite of the
Feverishness, & without scrapping
any of your opinions.

If you can get hold of a good agent -
I shall hope & expect - when your
majority - consistently increased
at the general election.

Yours very sincerely

Francis W. Horsh

Am afraid
I shall have to
visit him & his
to London at 5 or
7 in the evening
I am sorry
I have written in
of this to
me.

Friday Sept 15. 1910

THE OLD MILL,
CALDECOTE,
NEWPORT PAGNELL.

My dear Noel

We have at last got a move
on in London. I had Carmichael
Anderson Snowden & Bramley
& a lot of men lights on Friday.
I think London Trades Council
is going to initiate Lansdowne
& Parmor at Leeds.

Parmor has promised to speak
at Handley if we can arrange.
I have told Freda Thacker that we
will put into the field.

- Parmor
- N. Baxton
- Jerome K. Jerome
- Philip Howell

& F.W.H. for finance if required.

Parmor wants about 10000 needed
for Lansdowne in November. The

Success of the Police Strike has made
serious change. Govt seem frightened.
Tribunals are examining wholesale.
Even C.O.s are being entered for.

My conference was full of outrage &
for they say that Labour candidates
have to be pacifist & that old
Hodge has intimated his readiness
to return to peace trade etc!

Order Do you see that you getting knives into
War Army Comm.

We may have a lot of meetings in
London. Starting with Willesden
& Hammer-smith. Spend excellent
& strong idea that S.F. is
giving way.

As to money, I think we could use
some now as our stock has got
down to £90.

Miss Wells town of 3 or 4 thousand
has lost 120 killed.

The woman who is working for
me this week has had her

My dear Carl. Jan 6. 1922

ack

36, LADBROKE GROVE, W. 11.

That it will have to be extended in ~~the~~
TELEPHONE, PARK 1580.

future editions until it takes up a
shelf by itself. Man is born free & is
self enclosed [?] if you want a philosophy
of human freedom you will have
to return to Cobden & Bright. Tyranny
& oppression of minorities ^{are}
also ^{are}
part of the Socialist doctrine of
our Government.

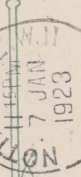
if you believe in Bureaucracy,
& want the State to manage
everything & suppress everybody,
what freedom is left?

A Socialist who denies
freedom to the individual at home
cannot defend Communism, Big
Battleships & a neglected Shulley
income tax in order to secure the
freedom & interests of individuals
in Turkey, Russia, Texas
and Korea.]

All the same let me congratulate
you & T.P.C. on your book and wish
it of the utmost success to many
including yours ever T.W.Hurst



POST & CARRIED



Novd Bxlon - Eg Dr. P

12 Rutland Gate

S. W

Beacon Hotel

Cromborough

Sussex

36, Ladbroke Grove,
London W. 11,
June 27, 1924.

My dear Evans:

Your long and interesting letter gave me much food for reflection, and confirmed my suspicions and anxieties. I stick very firmly to the view that the best hope of pacifying this unhappy region is by an economic ~~ex~~ eirenikon. Your general suggestion about the Balkan Committee is not quite feasible because for one thing it would mean a long delay, and for another, I could not very well suggest to them that they should suggest to the Foreign Office that their Chairman should visit the Balkan capitals.

Besides Greek business tot sententias on the B.C.!

I had hopes that Mr. N.B. might be able to give me through you a hint of his own views, but I presume he is too busy. *If you know them, you might inform his wife & my letter & return it?*

The Herriot talk about a new pact to entangle us in another war was very alarming, but the P.M.'s very definite repudiation seems to be explicit and satisfactory. It is to be hoped that the foreign sky will now become a little brighter.

Yours ever,
J.W. Hunt

Handwritten notes:
8
to desk
wants
up
will

PRIVATE

Hint

Oct 16 '39

Questions for the Government and Parliament raised
by Hitler's Peace Offer and Mr. Lloyd George's
Comment in the Sunday Express of October 8th, 1939.

It is almost certain that the next peace will not be dictated by the belligerents to the defeated nations, but will be the result of a general conference in which neutrals as well as belligerents will take part.

It is not suggested that Great Britain and France should now enter into direct negotiations with Hitler, or for that matter with Stalin, as both these Dictators have proved themselves aggressive in act and perfidious in word. Neither Germany nor Russia has a form of government which we like, but neither had or have Poland, Rumania, Turkey, Italy or Spain. We cannot base a refusal to discuss peace at a European conference upon the theory that democracies cannot negotiate with dictatorships or that we can pick and choose between dictatorships.

The question therefore which Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier have to decide on behalf of the people of Great Britain and France is whether it would be better to have a conference of belligerent and neutral powers before the great slaughter and destruction on the Franco-German frontier begins or after.

What are the Pros and Contras for and against an attempt to negotiate a peace settlement now?

Pros and Contras

The Contras have been set forth repeatedly and almost unanimously by the London Press. But it must be remembered that the London Press is controlled by very few men - less than a dozen in all - as Lord Camrose has shown in his recent pamphlet. Their argument is briefly that Hitler's word cannot be trusted and that at most he only wants a respite before further aggression. Therefore it is argued England and France must go on fighting until another knock-out blow is achieved and another peace, more stringent even than the peace of Versailles, can be dictated to a beaten Germany. In some influential quarters it is proposed that the Allies should set up a new form of government in Germany, that Germany should be disarmed and policed for a period of years by French and British garrisons quartered over the whole country. Several newspapers are already saying that the original theme of our Ministry of Information and Propaganda - that we are not making war on the German people was wrong and that you cannot distinguish the Nazi Government from the German people and the German army. If this view is adopted by the British Government it probably means a very long war. For if it is a war against the German people they will obviously fight with desperation, and there is no certainty that they can be defeated.

Let us now consider the arguments for a peace conference in which all the nations interested in a permanent peace settlement for Europe should have a voice.

1. Hitler's position is no stronger but really weaker than it was before Munich. He is now generally distrusted and feared by all the nations that surround Germany. The Axis is broken, the agreement with Russia has alienated France and Spain. He has been forced to abandon his designs on the Baltic countries and the Ukraine and to release German communists from prison. Germany is now distracted by fear of a Red Revolution.
2. Under the pressure of war the German people and the German army are far more likely to cling to their Leader and to the Nazi system than if a peace were restored.
3. War is a gamble. It seldom goes according to programme, and prophecy is vain. The military experts cannot promise a decisive victory on the Western Front. The armies and the air forces are so equally matched that it is unlikely that either the Siegfried or Maginot lines can be forced. Any attempt to do so would certainly involve the attack in enormous losses.

4. The British naval blockade is effective but it involves enormous sufferings to friendly neutrals, especially to Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Belgium. This is clear from statements issued by the Ministry of Information. The Danes, for example, declare that they are losing £100,000 a week through the loss of their exports of bacon, butter and dairy produce to Great Britain as a result of the German blockade of their coasts. The Dutch and the Belgians seem to be suffering not less severely. It is admitted also that there is risk of serious complications with the United States, where leading politicians of both parties are pressing President Roosevelt to mediate for the purpose of bringing the war to a conclusion before irreparable damage has been done to international trade.

5. Before coming to the purely British argument for attempting to bring about a settlement during this first stage of the war, we should also think of our French allies as well as the danger to the Low Countries, whose integrity and independence has always been a fundamental part of British foreign policy.

The French Government is carrying on without a Parliament and is imprisoning the communist deputies whose object now appears to be to stop the war on the basis of a communist alliance with Russia. As the war continues France will be more and more dependent on British money and British soldiers. We have to bear in mind the possibility that as hostilities proceed and economic conditions become worse and worse, and the casualty lists grow more and more terrible, French opinion may demand peace negotiations under conditions which will not necessarily be more favourable than they are now.

6. As the British army on the Continent is now much larger than it was in October 1914, we must assume that the losses in the first year of this war will probably be greater than they were in the first year of the last war, and that if the war lasts three years - which is the basis of our Government's calculations - the losses may approximate to those of the last war. After two years of the last war about 450,000 British officers and soldiers had been killed or severely wounded, and after the next two years under conscription the total had risen to 2,437,000. On Armistice Day of last year (1938) Mr. J. Chandley, Secretary of the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association, wrote:-

"Six million men served in His Majesty's Forces during the Great War; 876,000 were killed or died on active service. Wound casualties in H.M. Forces totalled 1,920,000; 72,000 men were wounded twice, and 10,900 three times or more.

"Now, twenty years after the end of the war, 400,000 ex-Servicemen in Great Britain suffer permanent disablement, of

whom 148,000 are 50 per cent. or more disabled; 1,900 suffer total loss of sight, 55,800 are in mental hospitals, 32,350 have lost a limb or limbs."

Next to the losses of our young men we must consider when we are balancing the relative advantages and disadvantages of continuing the war, the economic losses which will be inflicted on all classes of the population. ^{about} During the last war direct and indirect taxation was increased four-fold, and the standard rate of income tax was eventually raised from fourteenpence to six shillings in the pound. Between March, 1914. and March, 1916, the National Debt rose from 649 to 2,133 millions sterling. In March, 1917, it was over £4,000 millions; in March, 1918, it was £5,871 millions; and a year later, after the end of the war, it had risen to £7,434 millions. Sir John Simon's first budget raises the income tax standard rate for the present financial year to 7/- in the pound and proposes that next year it shall be 7/6d in the pound, with a surtax rising to 9/6d (i.e. 17/-) on the highest incomes.

What will be the consequences to property, savings, wages, currency and prices of a prolonged war? How can the social services be maintained and the scale of the salaries paid to Officers, Civil Servants and the officials of local authorities?

7. No doubt it is probable that exhaustion and revolution in Germany will come before a general confiscation of property and income destroys the social fabric of Great Britain and the capital which will be so necessary to repair the ravages of war at home and in the British Empire. But these hopes and expectations are not certainties. Can such a gamble be justified and should we be in a better position to bring about a satisfactory peace if there were a communist revolution in Germany, and a consequent alliance between Germany and Russia which would extend the Soviet system to the Rhine?

13, KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS,
W.11.

TEL: PARK 4643.

18th January, 1940

My dear Noel

This memo, now completed with the help of Sir Philip Gibbs, Arnold and others, has been approved by your fellow Peer, Mamhead, the Bishop of Chichester and quite a lot of people - neutral, Tory and Socialist. Have you time to read it and tell me whether you think it should be sent to the Press with a few signatures commending it? But my special reason for writing is to enclose this card and to beg you on behalf of Sir K John Sanderson to come and give us at any rate ten minutes. It is a free discussion and we want it to be as good and as representative as possible.

Yours ever,

Francis W. Herd

*I see signs of reviving
Common sense, but also
of feminism.*

PRIVATE.

JW Hint

WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS.

The Question of a Fight to a Finish.

*This extreme view is not the present one
— or the main thing we have to meet*

We frequently read statements that the sole purpose of the war is victory and that it would never do to stop or listen to peace terms until the Germans have been vanquished. Even if there were a change of government in Germany, French and British militarists say that we should take no notice. According to them we are not fighting Hitler or Ribbentrop, but Germany and the German people; and nothing will satisfy them but utter defeat of the enemy, either on the field of battle or as the result of blockade and exhaustion. Such a theory is usually accompanied by the assumption of a dictated peace, like that which was extorted from the Germans at Versailles twenty years ago. The results of Versailles ought to serve as a warning. Treaties if they are to be honoured in the observance should be beneficial to all parties and should be signed willingly. The peace that followed Waterloo was of this character; and when it was broken by the Crimean War, nearly forty years afterwards, the two principal belligerents (who had fought one another for twenty years) were in alliance.

*This is what is
the first*

Moreover unless the war extends, it is almost certain that the next peace settlement will emerge from a general conference, in which neutrals as well as belligerents will take part. In the last war many of the present European neutrals, including Japan, Italy, Turkey and all the Balkan States, were belligerents;

and so was the United States in the last two years of the war. But at the beginning of the New Year we see all these neutrals, including Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian States, not only bent on keeping out of the war between Germany and the two allied democracies, but also eager to promote peace because our war is inflicting upon most of them the gravest loss and suffering. Indeed the situation of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, owing to the German submarine warfare and the floating mines and the British blockade, is almost intolerable.

a different part

If the British and French Governments were to proclaim the doctrine of 'a fight to a finish' and bang the door against peace, there would be a real danger of losing the moral support and sympathy of neutrals. This would be a very serious matter and certainly would not help to win the war. It might make it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the blockade.

a different part again

War, it should be remembered, seldom goes according to programme. Six months ago who would have supposed that Russia would seize half Poland, overrun the three Baltic States and invade Finland?

"Now we get into the ends of a long war" - his main subject - m/p/hk on to p. 6 (1/2)

No doubt there is a probability that in a long war Germany will break down before Great Britain and France. But the process of financial exhaustion will be at work here as well as in Germany, and at best war is a gamble. We have been told by our own statesmen over and over again that in the next war "there will be no victors". Great Britain and the British Empire will be poorer and weaker, our social fabric will be shaken, much private property and income will be confiscated

or lost, even if a year or two years hence Germany collapses in revolution and exhaustion. Mr. O.G. Villard's remarkable articles in the Daily Telegraph gave his impressions of Germany in October and November. He talked to all sorts and conditions of people; he reported a general longing for peace. This firm friend of the Allies, an enthusiastic admirer of England, held that "the most important thing today" is to persuade the German people that the English are not bent on destroying them, and that the Allies "are ready to stop the day that any intimation comes from Germany that there is a readiness to discuss a decent peace".

*And now
back to a
different point
again*

If reasonable peace terms could be formulated at a conference convened by neutral Powers, and if such terms were rejected by the German Government and accepted by the Allies, our moral and political position would be overwhelmingly strong and the German people would very likely overthrow their Government.

Another point

The folly of proclaiming a fight to a finish.

It is impossible to reconcile with common sense the theory that we went to war ^{merely} in order to win it, or that brute force must be met by brute force until one combatant or the other can administer a knock-out blow. Until Russia seized half Poland, gobbled up three little Baltic States (fellow members of the League) and made a brutal attack on Finland, it was possible to say that our great purpose was to defend liberty, democracy and members of the League against aggression. But we have not been prepared to take up arms against Russian Aggression on Poland, the Baltic States or Finland, and it is difficult therefore to say that we will fight 'to the bitter end' against one aggressor while

*how back
to par. 1*

we remain at peace with the other. The danger and folly of reducing our war and peace aims to a fight to a finish, either by military force, or by economic pressure and exhaustion, may be summed up under four heads. (a) The effect on neutrals, (b) the effect on the British Empire, (c) the effect on France and (d) the effect on ourselves.

a. The small neutrals of Europe are already suffering terrible hardships from German U-boats and mines and from our naval blockade. The large neutrals, more especially the United States, Japan and Italy, are no doubt making considerable profits either by the sale of munitions at exorbitant prices or by ousting British shipping and commerce from peace time trade. But they are all in varying degrees anxious for a peaceful settlement and eager to mediate in order to save themselves and civilisation from disaster.

b. If we look beyond our own shores to India and the self-governing Dominions, we must recognise how dependent the Empire has always been for its prosperity and safety on the financial resources of Gt. Britain, and how serious would be the plight of our fellow subjects overseas if our capital were so depleted that we could no longer help them with loans or provide them with an adequate market for their exports. And how then could they continue to pay interest on loans which are treated as trustee securities and have hitherto been punctually paid?

c. The strength of our French Ally consists largely in the productivity of its agriculture and in its large gold reserve, but the strain of war and a vast mobilised army is enormous, and the danger of a war of exhaustion must be taken into consideration by all sensible people on both sides of the channel. At the present time the cost of the war to France is believed to be about four millions sterling a day.

d. Our own resources are limited. That is shown clearly by the War budget. We are already spending six millions a day. The graduated income tax and surtax rises to nearly seventeen shillings in the pound. Nearly all our direct and indirect taxes are at concert pitch. The yield of some important sources of revenue such as the taxes on petrol and motor cars is declining. It is doubtful if much more can be raised from either taxes or rates. The financial position of many of the municipalities and local authorities is becoming precarious. It is deplorable that so many leading Socialists should proclaim that wages and social services can be maintained by 'soaking the rich'. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has shown conclusively that if our ten thousand richest men were deprived of all their incomes it would not enable him to pay for more than a week of the war. If this colossal waste should continue for a long period, it may be predicted with certainty that private fortunes will be swept away, that the income tax payers and ratepayers will find it impossible to maintain their contributions, that it will be impossible to keep up the social services or the present high salaries, wages and pensions of state and municipal employees.

Can it be contended under these circumstances that we ought to sacrifice private property, private welfare and perhaps most of the liberties which we prize in the hope of establishing a post war Utopia on the foundations of British and European bankruptcy? What will happen to the health of our people, or to their moral, religious and intellectual life, if the funds and endowments of hospitals, charities, Building Societies, Friendly Societies, Churches, Chapels, Schools and Universities are swept away and devoured by war? Would this be a useful contribution to the cause of democracy?

We think not. Would the Trade Unions survive? We doubt it. Certainly it were vain to hope that religious, educational or charitable endowments could be preserved from the wholesale devaluation or destruction of private savings, incomes and property that must ensue from long continued war on this scale.

These are surely good reasons for proclaiming peace aims which would be embraced with enthusiasm by the people of Germany and would compel their Government at a general Peace Conference, not only to make the necessary concessions, but to provide solid guarantees for the future security of their neighbours.

One must not be surprised that so many people both here and in neutral countries find it very difficult to get a clear conception of what we are fighting for and what are the terms of peace which we should like to dictate or seek to obtain by negotiation. Again supposing that we are ready to fight to a finish in order to obtain the whole of our war aims (whatever those aims may be) the all important question arises how long will such a fight to a finish last, and how sure are we about its results? Those responsible for this memorandum think that the peace which could be got at the end of a 'fight to a finish' is likely to be worse than the peace which could be got by negotiation now or in the near future - in short that the terrible price which will have been paid would be likely to make things not better but the reverse. This may be disputed; but it is a matter of certainty that every month of war which passes will make social and economic conditions worse for our people and for the people of France, as well as for Germany

This is the only reference to the point which is in everyone's mind.

a meaning of the fight or to another point (no connection)

Among those who have signed or agreed to sign the memorandum are:-

The Bishop of Chichester

Earl Darnley

Neal Green *J.P.*

Dorothy (Lady) Henley

Francis W. Hirst

Sir Gilbert Jackson

Lord Mamhead

D. Jervis Molteno, C.C.

Gobham Hall, Kent.

Holbeck Manor, Horncastle, Lincs.

Watford Court, Rugby.

Kensington Park Gardens, London.

Gainsborough Gardens, London.

Mamhead Park, Exeter.

Glenlyon House, Perthshire.

Among those who approve of the memorandum but are at present abroad are Sir Philip Gibbs and Mr. Richard Stokes, M.P. for Ipswich.

TELEPHONE
WHITEHALL 4843
TELEGRAMS
% HELLENIST (PICCY)

~~Hint~~ / 3. K.P.G.
Feb 24
1940

THE ATHENÆUM
PALL MALL S.W.1

~~Tract~~

Dear Noel

Many thanks. Can you
spare $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen for me
& a dozen for Cotter's Club
might they be given out
at our next Conference?

Yes you are a
Camouflager, an expert
in the art of visinando
by which your thoughts
steal into the minds
of the unsuspecting.

I hope föring will
turn out ^{the} Rib-Her-
Goeb Co before long.
It seems honest.

I've had a long talk
with Hamstead who is
also among the sacred
company of Camouflagers X

You are
J.W.Hard

"In short designing & screwing around just."

13, KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS,
W.11.

TEL: PARK 4643.

21st February, 1940.

My dear Noel

I am very glad indeed that you
are pursuing your separate path and
congratulate you on your "War Aims".
Could you spare some copies for the Cobden
Club? And could you not send one to the
Earl of Darnley? *You are a great
Camoufleur.*

I dined with Mamhead the other
night. He is very acute.

I hope you will talk of me at St Ermin's

Yours ever,

Francis W Heriot

*Mamhead thinks Chamberlain
will fall before Long. He also
thinks that when the French find
that we won't have their kind of
peace & permanent conquest,
they will be for an easy peace.*

13, KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS,
W.11.

TEL: PARK 4643.

February 6th, 1940.

My dear Buxton

I know that you approve
of the enclosed. Will you
sign it? You will see that we
already have some good
signatures, and the names ought
to represent as many different
views as possible.

Yours ever,

Francis W. Hirst

~~Neal Green is an important business
man in Lancashire~~

Frank

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

17th January 1941

My dear Noel

Many thanks for your letter. Stokes drew my attention to the statement by the P.M. in reply to Strauss M.P. that it would be enough if Germany were defeated and that humiliation was not necessary. I'm pretty sure that the date was December 17th. *I read it in Hansard as well as in the Times and Ted Harvey wrote to me about it.*

I am going over to see the K-H News-Letter editor on Saturday January 25th at Headley near Hindhead, to discuss the idea. It is very good of you to make the suggestion you propose. If ten per cent of my old 'Lansdowne' friends were alive there would be no difficulty whatever in making the arrangement, ^{as} you suggest, for four months.

I hope Little Adstock is all right, and the great Folk it shelters. *Is Charles well again?*

Yours ever

Francis W. Hish

I can't help wishing that our bombers

had been able to do as much
damage to Berlin & other
big German towns as theirs
have done to London & ours.

For unless & until there is a
strong peace psychology in
Germany as well as here the
war will go on & on.

The bombing of French, Dutch,
Belgian & Norwegian towns
will not trouble the German
people very much, though it
damages the German war
machine.

Frank

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

3rd February 1941

My dear Noel

Thank you so much for your note. I think the enclosed more or less fulfilled my hopes and on Friday when the editor of the K-H Letter came over here, he assured me that they are quite ready to consider letters, though their space is limited. Our Association has taken 250 copies which we shall send out. Something ought to be done about the Vansittart pamphlet, which is the most mischievous piece of Government propoganda which I have seen since the war began. The New Statesman had a good criticism of it a fortnight ago - better I think than K-H's. I have written to the M.G. and also to Truth on the subject.

The K-H man did not incline to a subsidy - for which ^{you may even} I respected him. But I hope to persuade him to have a forum.

It is my foot of 7 in to doubt your proposal; but I don't see myself editing a journal. I have more than

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

19th February 1941

X
I wrote Times
First
My dear Noel

just as /
I am not sure whether you will have received the enclosed dossier. But in any case you may like to have another copy for your brother or some friend. I have felt for weeks that Vansittart's broadcasts and his pamphlet ought to be tackled, and put the case to the M.G. twice. At first they rejected my letter, but then they printed it and I have been in correspondence (with encouraging results) on the subject with Stokes, Lady Astor, Ponsonby and others. Ponsonby's effort, in the House of Lords was first rate, and Cranbourne's defence shows that the Government realises that its position and that of Duff Cooper and Vansittart is indefensible. We ought to be able to secure the retirement of Vansittart and ultimately of Duff Cooper. Otherwise there will be no atmosphere in which peace overtures or peace mediation can be discussed with success.

?
You will note also that the K-H Letter carried out my suggestion and printed twelve letters on the Vansittart question. Lady Astor tells me she will not let the Duff Cooper-Vansittart question drop. I showed clearly in the Manchester Guardian that Van was only carrying out Duff Cooper's idea that all Germans are as bad as Hitler. Pray note what the D.T. says today in the front page article on American opinion about the German city of St. Louis, which illustrates Willkie's broadcast. I see also that there are nearly 7 millions in the United States of German birth or descent and less than 4 millions of English birth. Unless the Government disavows Vansittart it will alienate people of German descent like Willkie both in the United States and in our colonies.

X
What do you think should be done next to keep ^{this} the ball rolling? It is by far the best chance and opportunity we have had for a long time to promote commonsense moderate Lansdownian views *- in readiness for Peace.*

Yours ever,

Francis W. Hurst

A Hint
say I don't seem defeatist (yet)
say I don't say a H offers peace
13, KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS, (W. 21st St)
W.H. Dunford House, Heyshott, in 18pple
Midhurst, Sussex
TEL: PARK 4643.
X (See if Hart proves a H offers peace)

17th June 1941

My dear Noel,

① I am very glad to have your letter. You have very accurately summarised the important points. But there is one that I had forgotten and of which I am reminded by a very distinguished visitor here. It is this. When you suggest a negotiated peace, many quite sensible people think and perhaps say that you mean surrender or the acceptance of Hitler's terms. It is important to make quite clear (crystal clear as my friend says) that this is not so and that our main criticism of the Government is that they have rejected Hitler's offers or barred his approaches with a flat negative, and a public statement that we will never make peace with him or the Nazis on any terms.

②
94

If you will let me know whether you agree with this, I will try to re-write the memo and bring it up to date.

It was very nice to see some of your friends here on Saturday. Lady Snowden who leaves us this afternoon tells me that there has been a remarkable change of opinion

since Greece and Crete put an end to trust
in Churchill's strategy. What is your
experience?

on amore

Yours ever, .

Francis W. Howard

My dear Noel,

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letter. You have very accurately summarized
the important points. But there is one that
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A Please return
Enclosure with
your comments

(Hirst)

Donford House,
Teyshott,
Midhurst, Sussex

Ret draft. Com. by
Say & will sponsor

1st October 1942

My dear Noel

B/

It was delightful to see you again and to have such a pleasant talk about the past, and such an edifying one about the present and future. There was not enough time and I have many queries to propound for our next meeting. Perhaps you will fix up a date after you have read the enclosed. I ought to have mentioned the Sack Magdeburg, and I might have quoted Macaulay on Frederick the Great and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

However, as I told you, the Rector of Lincoln and Sir Paul Harvey were quite satisfied with it. I had a note from Stokes this morning; but he did not mention the matter. However I have mentioned to him your visit here and said that I was sending you the memo.

Yours ever,
Francis W Hirst

Neal Green (who is here) thinks it well adapted to "Matter Versus Marxism."

Hank

Shipping - 1 serious fruit wounds

WSC won 28 units

Dope. Let's see. even right

of choice change.

Building up

Salvatore & Bob

mesmorise

Alijan didn't want to go
Drunk. You're + slanders

If we win
WSC was sanity repeat

First
write Hawley

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

12th November 1942

My dear Noel

So be it. But pray note that it was not I who thought of Hankey, but Stokes - who must I suppose have talked with him. Further if you write to Hankey and send him the clean copy, which I enclose along with your own, don't mention my name, but say:- "

"It was drafted by an Oxford scholar who took Firsts in Classical Mods and Greats, and has made a special study of the Germania of Tacitus and the Germany described by Alfred the Great. The draft was independently approved of by two other Oxford scholars - one a head of a college and the other a leading writer on classical and modern history".

As you ask for suggestions towards an introduction, I enclose a few sentences (two copies for you) which you can destroy or use in any way you like.

You might add that Vasi's policy opens up a vista of endless war & massacre & bankruptcy

Yours ever

F. W. Hirst

~~Robert Hirst~~
Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

26th November 1942

My dear Noel,

This morning I have your letter of November 19th with the melancholy postscript. I can sympathise with you as I too have been laid up with a feverish chill for nearly a week, though I have not consented to a spell in bed.

I don't think there would be any harm in waiting a little longer until the situation is a little clearer both in North Africa and Russia. Churchill said in his last speech that great events might be expected in the next few days. The question is whether these hard knocks will upset Fascism and Hitlerism.

Meanwhile I do hope you will soon be all right again. If you are able to sound H in advance you would have an idea whether it is worth while to send him the memo. If he thinks that total and unconditional surrender without any negotiations or treaty of peace is the right way to deal with Italy, Germany and Japan, he will not favour the memo, and even if he does favour it he may prefer to keep aloof and paddle his own canoe.

I wonder what you think about the latest

shuffle. I think Churchill and Eden were quite right in suppressing de G. I suppose Giraud can be trusted.

Best wishes and do take care of yourself until you feel quite fit again.

Yours ever,

F. W. Horst

Hirst

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst

28 December, 1942

My dear Noel,

Many thanks for your letter of 21st received this morning, and for the copy of your introduction, which is excellent and characteristic. The historical authorities you vouch for, who regard the statement as correct, are three Oxford scholars - the Rector of Lincoln, Sir Paul Harvey and myself. I feel sure that none of the facts can be disputed, and they might be much enlarged. I am surprised at your last paragraph; I should have thought that V's Record and poisonous pamphlet were in complete accord and well worthy of his own previous record, but perhaps it is well to pay compliments to a reputation which one is destroying! It would be very surprising and very pleasing if H were to sponsorise the memo., but personally I should like you to do it as you are a true Lansdownian as well as a Buxtonian. *

Best wishes for the New Year
Yours ever,

F. W. Hirst

* If a controversy should arise lots of us who
be prepared to tackle V, or any of his
friends who dared to back him.

many thanks

for your *Scrutator*
would do for a *non de plume*
It has been used
several - including
myself.

Private

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

16th January 1943

here of an Oxford
man

My dear Noel,

When writing to you I wrote also to Gooch. I did not say that I had written the criticism of Vansittart, but that I had one on his caricatures of German history. He replies he would be glad to read it, but would not want it, as he had written a review (very short) at the time and had printed something on the subject by a Professor Atkins.

I am not at all surprised, as Gooch is not a Lansdownian and maintains friendship with one of the most savage and bloodthirsty of all our jingo writers, as well as with numerous German and Polish jews who want the war to go on until they can hang all the Nazis and re-establish their financial control of Germany, etc. etc.

It is possible of course that he may look at it in another light when he hears from you. But really, thinking it over, I incline to the view that if it were nicely printed and distributed selectively and skilfully to the right sort of people in Parliament and the press, with your introduction, it would secure a larger influence. Still if G will take it

from you that would do very well, & it could be
represented very cheaply.

I assure you that my description of your
status is not exaggerated or magnified in any
way.

I was glad to see George Trevelyan's
letter in the Times favouring the Italians.
A shrewd friend from Lincolnshire writes to me
that he thinks we ought to offer them
acceptable terms if they will drop Musso and
Fascism.

I have written this in haste to catch
the post.

Yours ever,

Francis W. Heriot

I shall be in London Monday &
Wedⁿ but hope you will come
over here again soon for lunch
now that the sun is
mounting again.

Hirst
I asked V. to be regarded, history
I advised ~~him~~ as responsible for

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

2nd February 1943

My dear Noel,

Though a Buxtonian anti-slavery man I suspended my small subscription to the Anti-Slavery Society when this war began on the ground that we shall have to deal with white slavery under a Police State unless we fight hard against it. The secretary has now begged me to renew my subscription, and I have sent him the enclosed letter.

I ~~was~~ expected that Goodh would take the line he did, though I think he is quite wrong in suggesting that he has done his duty in the matter of V's ~~misstatements~~ lies, which are now more dangerous than ever. It is really a pity that a refutation of his mendacious 'history' is not in the hands of the small minority of intelligent readers in the Lords and Commons.

I wonder how the Vansittart and Chichester debates will result. It will depend on whether those who agree with us have the pluck to say what they think about unconditional surrender. I suspect very strongly that Smuts and Stalin as well as neutral countries and a good many of our allies disagree with the policy announced at Casablanca and so enthusiastically endorsed by the P.M. It is noticeable that our newspapers and the B.B.C. have either been unable or unwilling to quote articles on the subject from the American, Colonial and neutral press. President R. qualified his statement to a certain extent; but his description of the meeting stands, and will help Hitler and Musso in their argument that their peoples will get no advantages from ~~them~~ overthrowing Nazism & Fascism.

contention /

outside
official line /

My argument, and I think yours, is that the best way of hastening the end of the war and obtaining the quick victory that everybody wants is to supplement the Atlantic Charter with reasonable terms of peace, subject to the proviso that the allies refuse to negotiate with Hitler and Mussolini.

You will have noted Stalin's Order of the Day exhorting his armies "to chase the Germans over the boundaries of our motherland". That is his objective, and in spite of American pressure he has so far refused to declare war on

x You remember how after prolonging the Boer War for two years Milner's unconditional surrender policy had been dropped by Keldener.

Manford House, Heyshott, Midhurst

Hurst

Return d MB

13, KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS.

(See what V says W.H.)

TEL: PARK 4643.

3 February, 1943

My dear N

The Bishop of

I have a very interesting and in some ways encouraging letter from C., who has been in touch with Cranborne as you probably know, and has at last been able to arrange to bring his question forward as the first motion of the day on March 10. I daresay he has told you about the R.A.F. leaflet, and that the Govt. refuses to allow it to be discussed in Parliament. I had sent him the memo on Vansittart. He says he is much struck by it and adds "It seems to me extraordinarily good. Noel-B had told me of it. I earnestly hope it will be published". How many sensible men are there in the H. of L. to whom it might be usefully sent with your introductory letter?

Yours ever,

F. W. Hurst

Hirst

Dunford House,
Heyshott,
Midhurst,
Sussex

8th July 1943

Dear Noel,

In reply to yours of July 5 I hasten to say that I wrote my congratulations to G.P.G on publishing it. I thought it was admirable alike in aim and in style - in short in your most persuasive Lansdownian vein. If it could be circulated among the right sort of people, along with the exposure of Van's history - and among the right people I include leading democrats and republicans and also London representatives of Allied Governments, I should think it would have *very* valuable results.

USA
Rewrite

But if you do, don't make it a mere re-print. Say somewhere in a footnote that it is ~~x~~ revised and enlarged from an article in the Contemporary Review. You certainly ought to refer to Roosevelt's broadcast to the people of Italy, which is really a withdrawal of 'unconditional surrender'!

If the Germans throw off the Nazis there will be a great release of commonsense opinion here on the advantage of a negotiated peace. *Conscription to police Germany will be very unpopular.*

Yours ever,

F.W. Hirst